

Orest Martynowych

UKRAINIANS IN CANADA

*The Formative Years
1892-1914*



Ukrainians in Canada
The Formative Period, 1891-1924

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The Formative Period, 1891-1924

OREST T. MARTYNOWYCH

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*To my mother,
Roma Sofia (née Dobrzanska) Martynowych
and to the memory of my father,
Bohdan Lev Martynowych (1915-1978)*

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Preface

This history was initiated by the Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies in 1985 (when I was still director) to commemorate the centennial of Ukrainian life in Canada in 1991-2. It is the institute's way of giving scholarly recognition to that important event. Conceived originally as a work in two volumes to 1951, it was soon evident that the time frame was too ambitious. The state of research on the interwar period did not permit a second, comprehensive volume of the same nature as the present one, and the resources of the institute were insufficient to finance the additional historical research needed. The institute has since decided to hold a public conference on the interwar period in the fall of 1991, followed by publication of the proceedings.

This centennial history is unique in several important ways. First, it is more analytic than earlier studies in that it seeks to explain rather than merely to describe the Ukrainian fact in Canada. To that end, a framework or context was needed within which to place the many individuals, organizations, institutions and events that constitute the raw material of this early, formative period. Fortunately, a very useful interpretive framework was provided by Orest T. Martynowych of Winnipeg in a master's thesis completed in 1978 for the University of Manitoba. Accordingly, Mr. Martynowych was engaged in 1985 and given the task of developing the framework and extending it to developments through 1924.

This centennial history is unique also because it is not confined to the rural settlers in the prairie provinces who, for this period, have received most of the scholarly attention to date. In this history the urban immigrants in the factories and other industries and the frontier labourers in the mining, railway and lumber camps are as important as the slightly more numerous prairie settlers. As a result, this study is the first to encompass the life of Ukrainian Canadians from coast to coast—from Sydney, Nova Scotia, to Montreal, Toronto, northern Ontario, the prairie provinces and British Columbia. It is also the first to use the archives of the Ukrainian Catholic and Ukrainian Greek Orthodox churches and draw extensively on the large amount of excellent research completed since the 1970s in Canadian labour and urban history, in Canadian ethnic studies, and in migration history generally. As a result, this study introduces a dimension

which most earlier works on Ukrainians in Canada have generally ignored, namely, the impact of social class or socioeconomic differences on ethnic group identity and on subsequent group solidarity.

The goal of this work is to delineate the dualistic cultural setting of the first Ukrainian immigrants in Canada and to show that earlier political and intellectual developments in Ukraine greatly affected their subsequent adjustment to life in the new world. For, even if most of the peasant immigrants had little worldly sophistication, not all of them were illiterate or without some schooling; moreover, even if most of them were initially without their traditional leaders, others soon came forward to fill the void. The new leaders, familiar with political and national movements in the old country, judged Canada's opportunities against that background. Thus in this study the Ukrainian-Canadian experience is not presented as an isolated phenomenon with mere bows to both Ukraine and Canada. Rather, it is firmly rooted within its Ukrainian antecedents and the Canadian imperatives of the time, and not surprisingly it draws on the most recent studies of both western Ukraine and Canada to help us understand the Ukrainian-Canadian experience more fully.

Although this book incorporates the results of the most recent scholarly research, it is not intended primarily for scholars—though if scholars see merit in the interpretive framework, they are welcome to extend it further into their studies of the two subsequent waves of Ukrainian immigration to Canada. This work is intended, first, for all Canadians who wish to understand better their Ukrainian fellow-citizens. It reaches out also to all Canadians of Ukrainian origin, who owe so much to those early pioneers who laid the foundations for Ukrainian culture in Canada. But hopefully it will most inform the descendants of the first wave of peasant immigrants who often are fiercely proud of their Ukrainian cultural heritage in Canada but understand it poorly or not at all—mired as it so frequently is in a maze of partisan history. The present volume hopefully will place the early, formative period in its full historical context and help us to celebrate the past and present with greater understanding.

Manoly R. Lupul
Professor Emeritus
University of Alberta

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The Multiculturalism sector of the Department of the Secretary of State provided generous financial assistance for the research and writing of this volume.

Libraries and archives at which research was carried out (and staff members who were especially helpful) include the Rutherford Library at the University of Alberta, Edmonton; the Glenbow Archives, Calgary; the Archives of Saskatchewan, Saskatoon; the Legislative Library and Provincial Archives of Manitoba, Winnipeg; the Archives of the Ukrainian Catholic Archdiocese, Winnipeg (Sr. Cornelia Mantyka); St. Nicholas Ukrainian Catholic parish (the Basilian Fathers) and SS. Vladimir and Olga Ukrainian Catholic cathedral, Winnipeg; the Archives of the Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church, Winnipeg (Fr. Stephan Jarmus); the Ukrainian Cultural and Educational Centre Archives, Winnipeg (Mr. Zenon Hluszok); the Ukrainian Reading Association "Prosvita" Library, Winnipeg (Mrs. Luba Balko-Pankiw); The United Church Archives, Manitoba Conference, University of Winnipeg; the United Church Archives, Victoria College, University of Toronto; and the National Archives of Canada, Ottawa (Mr. Myron Momryk). Dun & Bradstreet Canada Limited gave

permission to purchase microfilm copies of relevant reference books from the Archives of Ontario, Toronto.

Professors Gerald Friesen, John-Paul Himka and Gregory S. Kealey, Mr. Peter Krawchuk and Dr. Frances Swyripa read a large part of the first draft; although they did not agree with everything I wrote and I did not act on all of their suggestions, their judicious comments helped to improve the book greatly. In addition to offering encouragement and assistance at every stage of the project, Professor Manoly Lupul also invested a great deal of time and effort into editing a rough and lengthy manuscript and transforming it into a far better book than it would otherwise have been. For help with the preparation of the maps, I am indebted to the University of Alberta's Department of Geography, Cartographic Division, Geoffrey Lester, Supervisor. Finally, for shepherding the book through the final stages of production, my thanks to Myroslav Yurkevich, Peter Matilainen and Mark Malowany.

My debt to the countless historians, whose works I have utilized and whose ideas I have appropriated, is recorded in the endnotes to each chapter and in the bibliographical note at the end of the text. Needless to say, I am responsible for any errors of fact and interpretation that remain.

Orest Martynowych
Winnipeg

Introduction

This book is about the Ukrainians who immigrated to Canada before the First World War. More precisely, it is about the conflicting ideologies, programmes and plans developed by Anglo-Protestant missionaries and social reformers, by French-Canadian and Ukrainian Catholic churchmen, and by Ukrainian immigrant leaders ("the intelligentsia") as they confronted the problem of integrating the immigrants into Canadian society. It spans the period between 1891, when Ukrainians began migrating to Canada from the Austrian crownlands of Galicia and Bukovyna, and 1924, when the earliest consolidation of their institutions in the new world was achieved. As the political fate of Ukraine, a controversial issue in Canada almost from the earliest years, was also settled by 1923-4, the mid-1920s are an appropriate place at which to conclude this volume. The commencement of a second wave of mass immigration in 1925 began a new phase in the history of the Ukrainian people in Canada.

This book provides a scholarly yet accessible survey of the formative period of Ukrainian-Canadian history. It is a synthesis of the secondary works on the subject and it draws also on the results of archival research and a systematic reading of the Ukrainian immigrant press. It assumes no particular knowledge of Ukrainian or Canadian history on the part of the reader, and it attempts to place the immigrant experience firmly within the context of both histories. With dependable studies generally few, the book's first purpose is to provide reliable information. As such, it is a compromise between narrative, synthesis and analysis, and it hopefully will meet the needs of general readers, as well as students and specialists in Canadian and Ukrainian history.

Two major themes underlie the narrative and give it unity. The first isolates the impact of the Ukrainian national movement, which penetrated the villages of eastern Galicia and northern Bukovyna during the last quarter of the nineteenth century and shaped the outlook of many of the young men who became leaders in Canada. As a result, their efforts to rebuild the Ukrainian community in the new land either replicated or adapted many of the popular village institutions (reading clubs, co-operative stores, drama and choir circles) first introduced by the Ukrainian national movement in Galicia and Bukovyna. In their efforts Ukrainian community leaders disseminated the movement's secular and radical

precepts, which not only fuelled anticlericalism but strongly resisted heavy-handed methods of “Canadianization” and economic exploitation. The second theme concentrates on social differentiation and the emergence of class divisions among Ukrainian immigrants in Canada. While a majority of the newcomers were agriculturalists who arrived with their families and took out prairie homesteads, thousands of young, single, male and female immigrant labourers were also attracted by Canada’s prewar boom in railway construction and industrial expansion. Scattered from Cape Breton Island to Nanaimo, the labourers were especially numerous in large urban centres and in the industrial frontier districts of British Columbia, Alberta and northern Ontario. Finally, a third, thin social stratum of petty entrepreneurs, teachers and professionals, the majority dependent on the immigrants for their livelihood, had also appeared in the larger prairie towns and cities by 1914. The divergent experiences, interests and aspirations of the three main socioeconomic groups found expression in the rival ideologies and in the major institutions that emerged during these years.

The book is divided into five parts. Part One examines the forces “pushing” Ukrainian peasants out of their villages and “pulling” them to Canada, and it juxtaposes the penetration of the Ukrainian national movement into the Galician and Bukovynian countryside with the Canadian efforts to build a “northern nation” stretching from “ocean to ocean.” Part Two describes how Ukrainian immigration to Canada grew into a mass movement, compares and contrasts the lives of rural homesteaders, migrant frontier labourers and urban workers, and calls attention to the difficulties (some of them psychological) that some newcomers had in adjusting to life in the new world. It also sketches the broad social and economic trends which place concurrent events in a wider context. Part Three discusses the concerns and strategies of four groups—the Anglo-Protestant missionaries and social reformers, the French-speaking Catholic clergy, the Ukrainian Catholic priests, and the Ukrainian immigrant leaders (“the intelligentsia”)—to mould the Ukrainian immigrants, each in its own image. The cultural-educational activities and local institutions through which the Ukrainian nationalists and socialists transmitted their ideologies and mobilized supporters are singled out for special attention. Part Four shows how the same institutions and leaders attracted major attention during the First World War from both the Anglo-Protestant advocates of “Canadianization” and the Ukrainian Catholic priests. The confrontations that ensued (much aggravated by the war) are detailed, as is the impact of wartime internment, censorship, disfranchisement, nativism and repression. Part Five demonstrates how the Russian Revolution and the struggle for national independence in Ukraine after 1917 deepened existing divisions among Ukrainians in Canada. It concludes with an analysis of two new nation-wide institutions, the Ukrainian Greek Orthodox church and the Ukrainian Labour (-Farmer) Temple Association, whose emergence reflected well the social

differentiation, polarization and class divisions that characterized the Ukrainian Canadians by the 1920s.

Although prepared to commemorate the centennial of Ukrainian life in Canada, this book is not a work of filiofetism—an uncritical celebration of heroic homesteaders, saintly missionaries and visionary community leaders struggling against overwhelming odds to preserve their language and culture or to climb the ladder of economic success. This book does not hesitate to pull skeletons out of the closet. The persistence of peasant fatalism and superstition, instances of violence and alcohol addiction (typical among frontier populations with unbalanced sex, age and marital structures), and the ambitions and prejudices, intrigues and venality of prominent immigrant leaders—lay and clerical—are freely recorded.

In recent years the most interesting and innovative historical writing on immigrants has been found in studies which focus on a single community—a city, a mining town, a rural district—and probe the immigrant experience in depth paying particular attention to the socioeconomic and cultural context within which the newcomers rebuilt their lives. Rich in local detail and covering a limited time period, the very best community studies have provided invaluable information about immigrant culture, work and wages, residential patterns, family life, popular beliefs, neighbourhood associations and the aspirations of ordinary people. As yet, there have been no similar studies of the Ukrainian community in Canada. As a result, although the present volume tries to make sense of the history of some 200,000 rural, urban and migrant Ukrainians scattered across the length and breadth of Canada, it is essentially a history of public events and institutions, punctuated by dramatic episodes caused by prominent (male) personalities. The reader will learn more about Catholic priests and Protestant ministers, about nationalist school teachers and newspaper editors, about socialist and labour organizers and about the intellectual currents that influenced them, than about the ordinary immigrants. Although an attempt has been made to survey the material conditions of life in rural, frontier and urban colonies, to examine the occupational structures and entrepreneurial activities in the same colonies, and to probe the attitudes and values of ordinary immigrants, this book only begins to rescue the latter "from the enormous condescension of posterity." In Part Two the ordinary immigrants receive a good deal of attention. Everywhere (except for their presence in the urban, frontier and rural institutions in Chapter 11), they remain in the background, while the spotlight shines mainly on the leaders who compete for their allegiance. Women, rarely at or near the centre of power, are particularly absent. Such omissions are neither intentional nor the result of oversight. It will require the painstaking efforts of many more scholars working in more limited and local settings to reconstruct the experiences and to recapture the thoughts and aspirations of the thousands of ordinary Ukrainian men and women who immigrated to Canada at the turn of the

century. In the meantime, one can take solace in the hope that this book will provide readers and researchers with a useful introduction to some of the social trends, ideas, controversies and events—many of which have hitherto been largely ignored—that shaped the history of Ukrainians in Canada during the formative period.

Note on Transliteration and Terminology

In the text and endnotes transliteration follows the Library of Congress system as simplified by the Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies.

The personal names of Ukrainians who did not live in Canada or the United States are transliterated from the Ukrainian according to the simplified Library of Congress system (e.g., Konstantyn Chekhovych, Mykhailo Pavlyk) or cited according to well-established usage (e.g., Josef Oleskow not Osyp or Iosyf Oleskiv).

The personal names of Ukrainian Canadians (as well as all Ukrainians who spent any time in Canada or the United States) are cited either according to the spelling the person used (where known) when signing his or her name in English (e.g., Peter Svarich not Petro Zvarych, John Nawizowski not Ivan Nawizivsky, Julian Stechishin not Iulian Stechyshyn) or according to well-established usage in Canada and the United States (e.g., Cyril Genik not Kyrylo Genyk or Charles Genik). Where the discrepancy between the English spelling in common usage and the Ukrainian name might cause confusion, the Ukrainian name, transliterated according to the simplified Library of Congress system, is included in parentheses (e.g., Paul Crath (Pavlo Krat)); where a Ukrainian name was subsequently shortened or anglicized, the latter form follows in parentheses (e.g., John Nawizowski (Navis), Illia Eustafiewicz (Elias Eustace)).

For place names, common English equivalents, where they exist, are used (e.g., Galicia not Halychyna, Kiev not Kyiv); otherwise place names are rendered in the language of the country in which they are presently found (e.g., Lviv not Lwow, Lvov or Lemberg; Przemyśl not Peremyshl). Canadian place names of Ukrainian origin are spelled according to well-established Canadian usage (e.g., Stryi not Stryi, Trembowla not Terebovlia, Bellis not Bilyi Lis).

Rusyny. Almost all of the Ukrainians who emigrated from the Austrian lands of Galicia and Bukovyna, that is to say, the overwhelming majority of those who settled in Canada, still called themselves *rusyny* (Latin *Rutheni*, German *die Ruthenen*, Polish *Rusini*, English *Ruthenians*) at the turn of the century. The appellation, first applied to East Slavs (Ukrainians and Belorussians) in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, derived from their association

with Kievan Rus' in the Middle Ages. *Ukrainets/ukrainetsi* (Ukrainian/Ukrainians) first gained currency as a national appellation among the *rusyny* of Galicia and Bukovyna toward the end of the nineteenth century, as nationally conscious individuals recognized their identity with the Ukrainians in the Russian empire and sought to avoid popular confusion with *ruscki* (Russians), though *ukrainets/ukrainetsi* did not enter into common usage, especially among the peasantry, before the First World War. In Canada both national appellations were used by the immigrants throughout the years under consideration in this volume though *ukrainets/ukrainetsi* acquired greater currency with the passage of time, especially after 1907. In this study the immigrants are consistently referred to as "Ukrainians" except when citing source materials in which they are called by another name (e.g., "Ruthenians," "Galicians," "Bukowinians" or "Austrians").

Ukrainian Greek Catholics. The Ukrainians who emigrated from Galicia were Uniates (Greek Catholics)—Eastern-rite Christians who had entered into a union with the Vatican in 1596 and recognized the supreme authority of the Roman Pontiff while retaining the Orthodox (Greek/Byzantine) rite and liturgy. In Canada (and the United States) their church has been known either as the Ruthenian Greek Catholic church, as the Ukrainian Greek Catholic church or since the 1960s simply as the Ukrainian Catholic church. In eastern Europe, including western Ukraine, the terms "Greek Catholic" and "Greek Catholic church" continue to be in common usage among Ukrainian adherents. In this study the terms "Ukrainian Catholics" and "Ukrainian Catholic church" are used except when citing source materials which refer to the "Uniate," "Greek Catholic" or "Ruthenian Greek Catholic" church.

Ukrainian Greek Orthodox. The Ukrainian Greek Orthodox church, founded in Canada in 1918 mainly by immigrants who left the Ukrainian Catholic church because they thought it was being Latinized, is consistently referred to by its original name even though a convention (*sobor*) of the laity and clergy approved a change of name to the Ukrainian Orthodox Church of Canada in 1980.

Inteligenty/intelligentsia. Young Ukrainian community leaders, many of them lacking in higher education, specialized skills and professional status, are referred to as *inteligenty* or members of the "intelligentsia." While the young men in question were certainly not intellectuals (with whom they should not be confused), to the extent that their education set them apart from the immigrant masses, led them to question tradition in the name of reason and progress and prompted them to mobilize the immigrants in defence of their interests, they functioned as an intelligentsia: a self-conscious social stratum that assumes for itself the role of a social or political vanguard. And, whether we find the term appropriate or not, they identified themselves and were recognized by the immigrant masses as *inteligenty*.

The largest and most influential faction of this intelligentsia, the schoolteachers, petty entrepreneurs and professionals whose views found expres-

tion on the pages of the weekly *Ukrainskyi holos*, are referred to as "nationalists" in this study, even though they called themselves *narodovtsi* (populists) and were often referred to by other Ukrainians as *nezalezhnyky* (independents) or *samostiinyky* (proponents of self-reliance). Never identified as *natsionalisty* (nationalists) in Ukrainian sources, they were described as "nationalists" by Anglo Canadians, especially by Protestant missionaries and newspaper editors like J.W. Dafoe of the *Manitoba Free Press*, who found their efforts to preserve and cultivate a distinct Ukrainian identity in Canada disturbing. Although the nationalists must not be confused with the emigré integral Nationalists who became prominent in Canada during the interwar and post-Second World War years (and from whom they distanced themselves), they were, nevertheless, nationalists who set Ukrainian national interests above class and denominational concerns, identified non-Ukrainian merchants as the major obstacle to Ukrainian economic and cultural progress in Canada, freely resorted to ethnic and religious stereotypes in their speeches and writings, and called for the creation of an independent Ukrainian nation-state overseas.

Socialists/procommunists. In general, rank-and-file Ukrainian-Canadian leftists are referred to as "socialists" up to 1918 and as "procommunists" thereafter. The term "procommunists" has been substituted for "socialists" because by 1918 the Ukrainian Social Democratic party had been outlawed by the federal government and the Ukrainian-Canadian Left had rejected all socialist parties and movements opposed to the Bolsheviks. "Procommunists" was adopted rather than "Communists" or "communists" because a majority of the Ukrainian Canadians who belonged to mass organizations like the Ukrainian Labour (-Farmer) Temple Association, which endorsed Communist objectives in the Soviet Union and Canada, were not actually members of the Communist Party of Canada, and because many, especially in rural areas, were attracted by the social and cultural services offered by these organizations and remained relatively indifferent to communist ideology. Those who were party members, particularly the leaders, are referred to as "Communists."

Abbreviations

ASS	Archives of Saskatchewan, Saskatoon
AUCA	Archives of the Ukrainian Catholic Archdiocese, Winnipeg
AUGOC	Archives of the Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church, Winnipeg
BHM	Board of Home Missions (Presbyterian)
GA	Glenbow Archives, Calgary
HMC	Home Mission Committee (Presbyterian)
NAC	National Archives of Canada, Ottawa
PAA	Provincial Archives of Alberta, Edmonton
PAM	Provincial Archives of Manitoba, Winnipeg
UCA	United Church Archives, Victoria College, University of Toronto
UCECA	Ukrainian Cultural and Educational Centre Archives, Winnipeg
WCPI	Western Canada Pictorial Index, Winnipeg

PART ONE

The Old World and the New

1

Galicia and Bukovyna On the Eve of Emigration

The first Ukrainians who settled in Canada came from a European continent in the throes of migration. A growth in food supply and advances in medicine had increased Europe's population (Russia included) from 266 to 447 million between 1850 and 1910, creating a surplus which the labour market could not absorb. Indeed, historians have estimated that up to 85 per cent of Europe's population was on the move after 1850. While about 70 per cent, primarily in industrialized northwestern Europe, migrated from rural to urban centres, some 15 per cent headed overseas. At first, most emigrants were from Great Britain, Germany and Scandinavia. But between 1880 and 1914, with employment opportunities growing in northwestern Europe, emigration shifted to industrially underdeveloped southern and eastern Europe, especially Italy, Spain, Austria-Hungary and Russia. Altogether over fifty-two million Europeans emigrated between 1846 and 1932, with some twenty-four million leaving between 1890 and 1914. Although about 60 per cent settled in the United States, millions were also attracted to Argentina, Canada, Brazil and Australia before the First World War.¹

Among the 4.2 million natives of Austria-Hungary who emigrated between the 1870s and 1914, some 600-700,000 were Ukrainians. They were "pushed" out by overpopulation, the nobility's control of forest and pasture lands and the absence of an industrial sector capable of absorbing their labour; they were "pulled" to the new world by the prospect of free farm lands and employment opportunities. By 1914 over 170,000 had come to Canada, including some who had been exposed to secular and radical ideologies and experienced the Ukrainian national movement through a network of village institutions. In the new land, such immigrants would assume positions of leadership and constitute "the intelligentsia" during the early years.

Ukrainians in Galicia and Bukovyna

At the turn of the century most Ukrainians lived in the Russian (Romanov) and Austro-Hungarian (Habsburg) empires²—just over seventeen million in the former and over three million in Galicia (Halychyna), the largest and most populous Austrian crownland (province), 300,000 in Bukovyna and about 400,000 in Transcarpathia (Fig. 1). Ukrainians from the Russian empire seldom found their way to Canada; the few who left generally homesteaded in southern Siberia. Similarly, Ukrainians from Transcarpathia rarely preferred Canada to the mining towns and urban centres of Pennsylvania, New Jersey, New York, Massachusetts and Connecticut, where their relatives and friends had preceded them. As a result, most Ukrainians who came to Canada were natives of the Austrian crownlands of Galicia and Bukovyna.

They were not, however, the only inhabitants of either crownland. In 1910, Ukrainians—known to their contemporaries as Ruthenians (*rusyny*)³—constituted approximately 40 per cent of Galicia's eight million inhabitants. Poles were in the majority at just over 47 per cent, the Jews were 11 per cent and the Germans slightly more than 1 per cent. In the smaller and more ethnically heterogeneous Bukovyna, the Ukrainians formed only 38.4 per cent of the 800,000 inhabitants, the Romanians constituted 34.4 per cent, followed by the Jews (13), Germans (8.4), Poles (4.6) and Hungarians (1.3). Even in eastern Galicia and northern Bukovyna, where Ukrainians were the most highly concentrated, they were only 63 and 65 per cent of the population respectively.⁴

Galicia and Bukovyna had been part of the Habsburg empire since the early 1770s, with political and economic power always in the hands of the Polish and Romanian nobility that owned the great estates. In western Galicia and southern Bukovyna, the peasantry was predominantly Polish and Romanian; in eastern Galicia and northern Bukovyna, it was Ukrainian. In the cities and towns, Poles, Romanians, Germans and especially Jews predominated. Ukrainians were seldom more than 25 per cent of the urban population, and in the larger cities rarely more than 15 per cent.

In eastern Galicia, ruled by Poland between 1340 and 1772, the Ukrainians, originally Greek Orthodox, had recognized Rome's authority through the Union of Brest (1596), and had adhered to the Uniate (subsequently Greek Catholic, presently Ukrainian Catholic) church since 1700. In northern Bukovyna, where the Counter Reformation had not penetrated, the Greek Orthodox church—dominated by a Romanian hierarchy—continued to hold the allegiance of the Ukrainian people.

Because the Ukrainian upper classes had been assimilated by the Poles and Romanians during the preceding four centuries, the society which the immigrants left consisted of two social groups—the peasantry and the clergy. In Galicia married Uniate priests and their families came to constitute a privileged

elite. In the absence of a Ukrainian nobility, Austria's rulers, Maria Theresa (1740-80) and her son Joseph II (1765-90), turned to the Uniate clergy to consolidate the state's authority over the Ukrainian peasantry. The name of the Uniate church was changed to Greek Catholic to stress its parity with the Roman Catholic church; a series of reforms granted the Uniate clergy legal and economic equality with the Polish Roman Catholic clergy; seminaries were established in Lviv, Vienna and Rome; and priests were educated at the state's expense and imbued with a secular, service-oriented ethos. As a result, two thousand to twenty-two hundred clerical families, cemented by marriage and caste interests, were elevated to a pre-eminent position to mediate between the central government and the nobility on the one hand, and the Ukrainian peasant masses on the other.⁵ Although a secular intelligentsia, largely descended from clerical families, had emerged by the 1880s, it remained miniscule in size and largely isolated from the peasantry. As late as 1900, only 0.8 per cent of the Ukrainians in Austria were employed in the church, the government bureaucracy and the free professions, and only 2 to 3 per cent found work in commerce, trade and industry. The overwhelming majority of Ukrainians—almost 95 per cent—were peasant agriculturalists with no special privileges and an enormous problem: the rapidly diminishing supply of their most precious possession—land.

The Legacy of Serfdom

In their homeland Ukrainians had enjoyed freedom only since 1848, when the abolition of serfdom in Galicia and Bukovyna had endowed the peasants with small plots of land and relieved them of all feudal dues and services, including *corvée* (*panshchyna*)—the compulsory, free labour on the estates of the nobility. Emancipation, however, did not end peasant exploitation. The nobility not only retained its vast estates, but, relieved of all responsibility for the peasants' welfare, it exacted a tremendous price for the loss of *corvée* labour. To compensate the nobility, the peasants of eastern Galicia alone paid over fifty million gulden in taxes and another sixty-two million gulden in interest (1 gulden=46¢ in the 1870s) between 1848 and 1898.

And when disaster struck, many peasants, unable to count on the manor, borrowed money or seed grain and gradually lost their indebted lands.

The Galician nobility also denied the peasants their traditional servitude rights—free access to forests and pastures, once held in common. Reduced to dependence on the nobility for firewood and timber and grazing land, the peasants resisted by occupying land, grazing cattle and chopping down trees illegally. They also attempted legal action, losing thirty thousand of thirty-two thousand court cases and spending over fifteen million gulden on lawyers, scribes and fines before the fruitless struggle ended in the 1890s. So onerous did the payments for

grazing cattle or gathering firewood become that at the turn of the century almost half the labour on the estates of the Galician nobility continued to be wage-free.⁶

The nobility, which had required peasants to purchase liquor before 1848, also continued to monopolize the production of alcohol (*propinatsiia*) and grew rich by leasing its distribution to tavernkeepers. In 1876, Galicia boasted 23,269 taverns or one tavern for every 233 persons. It was not unusual to find ten to twenty taverns in the larger villages, and the annual per-capita consumption of 50-per-cent alcohol was twenty-six litres or about two and one-half times that in France and Germany.⁷ Although there were only 17,277 taverns in Galicia by the turn of the century, drinking on credit continued to ruin many and to contribute to the loss of land.

Despite the advantages which the landowning nobility enjoyed, plummeting grain prices—the result of improved and cheap transportation systems which enabled North American grain to flood European markets after 1870—ruined many among the lesser nobility. When they sold their estates, they further concentrated landholdings. By the turn of the century, twenty-four hundred large landowners owned over 40 per cent of the land in eastern Galicia; among them were twenty-five Polish and German magnates who owned over 20 per cent of Galicia.⁸ In Bukovyna, where the great landowners were Germans and Romanians, five hundred held over 30 per cent of the land. Some of the land sold by improvident and impoverished nobles was purchased by commoners, among whom the pre-eminent group were the Jews. By the 1890s almost 70 per cent of the Jews in Austria were concentrated in Galicia and Bukovyna, with about one-third engaged in trade, constituting over 80 per cent of all individuals in that economic sector.⁹ Granted the right to buy lands from the nobility in 1860, 543 Jewish estate owners by the turn of the century held over 300,000 hectares (1 hectare=2.47 acres) of Galician land (about 550 hectares per estate), including 7.4 per cent of the forest land. Moreover, after their civil and political emancipation in 1868, many other urban Jews migrated into the Galician countryside to replace the Polish gentry as estate stewards, managers and leaseholders. By 1900 about half the estate lands leased by the nobility in Galicia were held by Jewish lessees (*posesory*), and there were, in addition, 1,495 Jewish estate officials and up to 14,500 Jews who owned small farms, usually leased out or worked by hired labour. Besides land, Jews in the countryside also leased grain and lumber mills, dairies, pastures, hayfields, ponds and taverns from the nobility. In fact, about 80 per cent of the eighty-eight hundred Galicians who sold alcoholic beverages in 1900 were Jews.¹⁰ Not infrequently, Jewish tavernkeepers also acted as moneylenders and engaged in grain and livestock speculation. All in all, some 290,000 Galician Jews, or about 35 per cent of the total, were rural dwellers by the turn of the century. In addition to the peddlers and petty shopkeepers (the traditional middlemen between isolated villages and the cities), over 116,000 rural Jews (14.3 per cent of Galicia's Jewish population) were supported by

agriculture and forestry and up to 70,000 (9 per cent) derived a living from the liquor trade.

The influx of Jews as tavernkeepers, estate officials, leaseholders and estate owners into the countryside tended to deflect the peasants' hostility from the landowning nobility to the Jews, and fuelled anti-Semitism. Yet, the wealthier rural Jews were actually a small minority. Most Jews, including many tavernkeepers and lessees, led a precarious and impoverished existence. In fact, some prominent Ukrainians observed that most Galician Jews were "even poorer and more unfortunate than our peasants."¹¹ Jewish tavernkeepers and lessees remained at the mercy of noble Polish estate owners, who were not known for their generosity toward underlings. The greed of the nobility and the widespread competition for leases among the Jews resulted in exorbitantly high rents. As a result, the weekly income of the typical tavernkeeper rarely exceeded two gulden a week. Little wonder that many Jewish tavernkeepers, encouraged by the nobility, urged the peasants to drink and to borrow money.

Among the Ukrainians themselves, only a small number of wealthy peasants and a handful of estate owners lived off the labour of their countrymen, and only 450 could be considered estate officials.¹² In eastern Galicia at the turn of the century, forty-seven Ukrainian estate owners held forty-four thousand hectares or 2.2 per cent of all estate lands and only 0.85 per cent of all the land in the region.¹³ The largest Ukrainian landowner in the Habsburg empire was Baron Vasylo (Wassilko) whose family held 33,200 hectares in Bukovyna.¹⁴ Only the (Ukrainian) Greek Catholic church, with eighty-five thousand hectares (or 1.64 per cent of eastern Galicia's total area), owned more land.¹⁵ In the last quarter of the nineteenth century, this land was divided among seventeen hundred parishes occupied by twenty-two hundred clerical families. The typical holding was fifteen to eighty-five hectares with the average size fifty hectares, forty being arable. In addition, clergymen received a salary from the government (*congruum; kongrua*) and collected sacramental fees (*jura stolae; treby*) in cash or kind for performing baptisms, marriages and funerals. It was estimated that the average parish in the 1880s contributed seven hundred gulden annually, primarily in sacramental fees.¹⁶

Thus the overwhelming majority of peasants (Ukrainian, Polish and Romanian) who left for Canada had been saddled with onerous economic burdens: crushing taxes to compensate the nobility for the loss of corvée labour and to pay for the maintenance of roads and other services; payments for the use of forests and pastures appropriated by the nobility; lawyers' fees and court expenses to retain servitude rights; usurious interest rates at times in excess of 104 per cent per annum; and rising sacramental fees. Worse still, the rising costs were aggravated by declining incomes, as land—the peasant's primary source of income—became increasingly scarce after 1848. The population of Galicia grew from 5.2 to 8.03 million between 1849 and 1910; at 102 persons per square

kilometre (264 per square mile), it was the most densely populated *agricultural* region in Europe.¹⁷ As peasants divided their land among their children, the number of holdings in Galicia rose from 799,783 to 1,420,000 between 1859 and 1892. By 1902 about 49 per cent of holdings in Galicia (43 per cent in eastern Galicia) were less than two hectares in size and 80 per cent less than five. In Bukovyna the proportions were 56 and 85 per cent respectively.¹⁸ Although up to one-half of the peasant families owned two holdings, that was still less than the five hectares usually needed to support a household. Consequently, Galician peasants, like the pre-famine Irish, substituted “poor man’s crops” like potatoes and maize for grain¹⁹ and tried to supplement their income by working for wages. While 45 per cent of Galician peasant households, primarily those with less than five hectares, sent at least one member out to work, 700,000 landless peasants had no other choice.²⁰

The scarcity of land was aggravated by a scarcity of horses and livestock²¹ and by an abysmally low level of agricultural technology. In Bukovyna at least 45 per cent of the households had no horses and 11 per cent had no cows. In eastern Galicia 75 per cent with less than two hectares had no horses and 25 per cent had no cows; only those with two to five hectares could average a horse and cow. Scattered, dwarf-sized holdings rendered agricultural technology impractical, even when it was available and affordable. In the whole of Galicia, 1,150,000 households with less than ten hectares owned a grand total of thirty-four sowers and fifty-eight harvesting machines.²² Before the turn of the century, almost all the land was still cultivated with wooden hoes and ox- or horse-drawn ploughs; grain was sown by hand, cut with a scythe and threshed with flails; and sophisticated methods of crop rotation were rarely seen. Not unexpectedly, then, one hectare of land in eastern Galicia and Bukovyna yielded only about one-third to one-half of the grain obtained from the same amount in a western economy like Denmark’s.²³

Under such conditions the standard of life was very low for most peasants. The consumption of such staples as meat, grain and potatoes in Galicia was about half of western Europe’s and the productive capacity of the typical peasant was only one-quarter. One publicist estimated that in the 1880s over fifty thousand of Galicia’s inhabitants—Ukrainians, Poles and Jews—died annually from hunger and diseases related to malnutrition.²⁴ During the same decade the death rate in Galicia was 36/1,000, the highest in the Habsburg empire; and in several eastern Galician districts it hovered between 40 and 48/1,000.²⁵ As late as 1904, the infant mortality rate in Galicia stood at 201/1,000 and over half of the 201,000 Galicians of all ages who died in that year were five years old or younger.²⁶ Even though smallpox, typhoid fever, tuberculosis, trachoma and cholera ravaged the countryside, there were, in 1900, only eighty-seven public hospitals and fifty-eight private hospitals in Galicia with a total of fifty-three

nundred beds. Bukovyna had only nine hospitals, thirty pharmacies and 141 qualified physicians in 1906.²⁷

To make matters worse, there was no industrial sector to make up for the scarcity of land and the low level of agricultural technology. Unlike western Europe, where many land-hungry peasants could supplement their incomes by working in the cities, the urban centres of Galicia and Bukovyna were economically stagnant because of policies pursued by the Austrian government and local landowners. Only Lviv (160,000), Cracow (91,000), Chernivtsi (67,000) and Przemyśl (Peremyshl) (46,500) had over 40,000 inhabitants in 1900, and only seven other Galician towns could boast a population of at least 20,000. While Vienna encouraged industry in Lower Austria, Bohemia and Moravia, it reduced agricultural Galicia and Bukovyna to internal colonies which exported food, raw materials and labour and imported manufactured goods. The great landowners, especially the Polish magnates of eastern Galicia (the *Podolacy*), opposed industrialization lest it deprive them of cheap and plentiful agrarian labour and open the door to socialism.

To illustrate the extent of Galician and Bukovynian industrial underdevelopment, only 5.7 per cent of Galicia's population at the turn of the century was employed in industry, compared to 36.7 per cent in Austria.²⁸ The sole primary industries were coal and zinc mining in the Cracow region, salt mining at Dolyna, Kalush and Kosiv and ozocerite and oil extraction at Boryslav, near Drohobych.²⁹ In manufacturing, the distilleries held first place and produced about 40 per cent of Austria's spirits. Sawmills, matchstick factories (Kolomyia, Stanyslaviv, Stryi, Skala and Bolekhiv), a large sugar refinery (Tovmach) and a tobacco factory (Vynnyky) also provided some employment, though only 150,000 worked in eastern Galicia's industries at the turn of the century. There were practically no metallurgical and mechanical industries. In 1902, 90 per cent of Galician industrial enterprises employed five or fewer workers, and in 1912 only 168 employed more than one hundred persons and only 7 employed over one thousand.³⁰ In Bukovyna, even more backward than Galicia, industry and trade, before 1914, were fostered primarily by the local Jewish bourgeoisie, which owned the three largest breweries, all six oil refineries and twenty-eight of thirty-four major sawmills, and dominated the plumbing and grazing trades, the hotel business and the legal profession.³¹

Outnumbered by Jews and Poles in the larger cities and towns of eastern Galicia by a ratio of 4.5 : 3.0 : 2.5, Ukrainians constituted only 24 per cent of the industrial labour force (with the Poles and Jews 54 and 20 per cent respectively). The matchstick and tobacco factories employed Jewish labourers almost exclusively and Ukrainians were only 5 per cent of Lviv's industrial workers. Even railway construction in eastern Galicia was done mainly by imported French and Italian navvies. Only in the extremely hazardous oil fields around Boryslav, where over fifteen thousand Ukrainians and Jews competed for

employment, were Ukrainians well represented.³² For the peasants who contemplated emigration to Canada, there was therefore very little in the industrial sector to hold them back.

In both crownlands the economic colonialism was matched by an equally harsh political and cultural colonialism imposed by the Polish nobility with the acquiescence of the central government. The electoral system favoured the landed nobility, the propertied classes and the Poles over the peasantry and the Ukrainians. From 1861 until 1907, when universal male suffrage was introduced, elections to the central and provincial assemblies were determined by a curial system in which four groups—the great landowners, the chambers of commerce, the towns and the villages—constituted curias for representation in the provincial Diets and in the Austrian Parliament (*Reichsrat*). However, the property qualifications, the system of indirect and open balloting, and the fact that nobles could also be elected to represent the village curia greatly reduced peasant representation.³³

With its economic and political power, the landowning nobility could control (or at least impede) the cultural and national life of Ukrainians. In Galicia the Polish nobility withheld financial support from Ukrainian cultural institutions and dominated such key administrative agencies as the provincial Board of Education. Although education was compulsory since 1873, 29 per cent of Galician children at the turn of the century were still not in school (36 per cent among Ukrainians). As most nobles held the view that “education is the privilege of the gentry,” more than two thousand Galician village communities (primarily in eastern Galicia) were without schools of any kind.³⁴ Ukrainians were particularly disadvantaged. Because only the Polish language was compulsory, Polish teachers and inspectors who spoke no Ukrainian were often assigned to Ukrainian districts where they inculcated Polish culture and patriotism. In 1900 only 1,316 of 4,089 elementary school teachers in eastern Galicia were Ukrainian; moreover, 1,519 of the 1,894 elementary schools in which Ukrainian was taught had only one grade and only 5 had as many as four grades.³⁵ Finally, at secondary and tertiary levels, only five or six of sixty-five state-supported gymnasia (university entrance high schools) in Galicia offered instruction in Ukrainian at the turn of the century, and efforts to expand the lectures in Ukrainian at the University of Lviv were resisted by Polish administrators. As a result, although Ukrainians constituted over 40 per cent of the Galician population, the percentage of Ukrainian students in teachers’ seminaries was only 26, in the gymnasia only 20, at the university just 18 (29.4 per cent in Lviv and 1.2 in Cracow) and at the Lviv Polytechnical Institute a mere 5.5. In Bukovyna, where over 40 per cent of Ukrainian elementary schools had only one grade and Ukrainians represented only 12.2 per cent of the students at the University of Chernivtsi, the situation was not much better.³⁶

The high incidence of illiteracy, frequently noted in Canada, was a direct result of such domination. In 1890, 72.6 per cent of Galician and 77 per cent of Bukovynian males were illiterate, and in the rural, Ukrainian-populated districts of eastern Galicia and northern Bukovyna illiteracy stood at about 90 per cent.³⁷ Although literacy was higher among the young, Ukrainians remained the most illiterate ethnic group in the Austro-Hungarian empire at the turn of the century. The illiteracy not only bred helplessness and fatalism, it also complicated efforts to mobilize the peasantry, to make it conscious of its socioeconomic interests and to instil a sense of Ukrainian national consciousness.

The Ukrainian National Movement, Radicalism and Clericalism

Although the vast majority of Canada's first Ukrainians had little knowledge of the world beyond their village, some efforts had been made to awaken their national and cultural sensibilities during the last quarter of the nineteenth century.³⁸ The efforts were the result of constitutional changes made in Vienna to preserve the integrity of the Habsburg domains. On the heels of military setbacks in 1859 and 1866, Emperor Francis Joseph (1848-1916) introduced several reforms to appease the powerful Hungarian and Polish minorities: parliamentary government was restored, civil liberties (including freedom of speech, press and assembly) were extended, the empire was divided into Austrian and Hungarian halves, and the Polish aristocracy was given a free hand in the administration of Galicia through Polish viceroys (governors), a provincial Diet, a Polonized bureaucracy and Polish district captains (*starosty*). Polish also replaced German as the language of administration, higher education and the judiciary. Although the Austrian constitution safeguarded the language and culture of Ukrainians to some extent, in most respects Galicia was a Polish state within a state until 1918.

Educated Ukrainians responded to the changes by developing three social and political orientations after 1867—Russophilism, National Populism and Radicalism—orientations which would influence the outlook of many immigrant leaders in Canada. The Russophile (Old Ruthenian)³⁹ position, advanced by high-ranking churchmen, bureaucrats, judicial functionaries, gymnasium teachers, journalists and lawyers who controlled the major Ukrainian (Ruthenian) cultural institutions, deeply resented Polish ascendancy in Galicia. Proud of their reputation as the Habsburg dynasty's "Tyroleans of the East" and feeling betrayed by Vienna's new understanding with the rebellious Polish aristocracy, the Russophiles turned toward tsarist Russia. Even though they saw the Ruthenians of Galicia as a separate people, distinct from the Poles and Russians, Galician Russophiles nonetheless felt a sense of *cultural* kinship with all the "sons of

Rus” who inhabited the lands stretching “from the Carpathians to the Urals.” Therefore, besides publishing vitriolic anti-Polish diatribes in their press, they cultivated some of the most reactionary individuals and social circles in Russia and received subsidies from such Pan-Slavic groups as the Moscow Slavic Benevolent Society. Highly sensitive to place and position, they pointedly rejected Ukrainian as a language fit only for “peasants and shepherds” and spoke instead an outlandish mixture of Church Slavonic, Russian and Ukrainian (*iazychie*), which they promoted as a more dignified medium of literary expression, even though it confounded Ukrainian adversaries and Russian allies alike. Only a few prominent Russophiles—men like Mykhailo Kachkovsky, a wealthy jurist, and Fr. Ivan Naumovych—tried to mobilize the peasantry by publishing pamphlets, encouraging education and promoting cultural and economic institutions. Drowned in elitism and aristocratic pretensions, most Russophiles preferred to resist Polish cultural influences by preserving such formal attributes of Ruthenian identity as the Cyrillic alphabet, the Julian calendar and the Eastern-rite Byzantine liturgy.

The National Populist (or Ukrainophile) orientation (*narodovstvo*) was first articulated in 1861 in opposition to the Russophiles by a small circle of students, teachers and young professionals, generally more secular and progressive in outlook. Inspired by the democratic ideals of Taras Shevchenko (1814-61), as well as the Ukrainian movement in the Russian empire and the Polish revolutionary democrats, the National Populists repudiated the Russophiles’ social elitism, condemned tsarist autocracy, championed the interests of the peasantry and admired the constitutional regime in Austria. To them, the Ruthenians of Austria-Hungary were Ukrainians, members of one Ukrainian nation “from the Carpathians to the Caucasus,” and the Ukrainian vernacular was a legitimate language.

To fight Polish domination, the National Populists looked to Austrian constitutionalism; they would counter Polonization democratically by winning seats in the Galician Diet and the Austrian Parliament through an appeal to the Ukrainian masses. As there were virtually no urban Ukrainians, the strategy required a mobilization of the dependent, uneducated and mostly illiterate Ukrainian peasantry. Accordingly, the Populists became strong advocates of education and economic independence. With all major cultural and educational organizations controlled by Russophiles, the formation in 1868 of the popular Prosvita (Enlightenment) Society, dedicated to the publication of popular literature and the promotion of village reading circles, signalled the beginning of National Populist efforts to build a mass movement. Concentrated in Lviv, the Populists were far too few to reach millions of peasants in thousands of villages. They began, therefore, to look to such well-educated Ukrainian Catholic priests as were in direct contact with the peasantry and saw social implications in their pastoral work. By distributing National Populist publications and organizing

reading clubs, choirs, drama circles, schools, co-operative stores, loan funds and communal granaries in rural parishes, the priest-enlighteners became the intermediaries between the Populists and the peasants and thereby laid the foundations for a national mass movement.

The dependence on the clergy, however, had unforeseen negative consequences. Although some priests were genuinely committed to progressive ideas and social change,⁴⁰ the increased clerical influence in the 1870s and 1880s not only saw theology replace social and economic analysis but clerical provincialism and the pursuit of “respectability” erode the Populists’ commitment to democratic, libertarian and egalitarian ideals. The result was a return to social conservatism, philistinism and opportunism, with clerical ideologues reassuring privileged Ukrainians (and the establishment) that the peasantry’s poverty was the result of its vices—“drunkenness, prodigality and sloth”—and that all could be remedied by cultivating the virtues of “abstinence, thrift and enterprise.”⁴¹ Increasingly, universal ideals gave way to a “cult of sacred national relics” (*kult natsionalnykh sviatoshchiv*), a set of popular customs and usages believed to be the innate and unalterable indices of Ukrainian national identity: reverence for the “national” peasant costume, adherence to the Julian calendar, use of the Cyrillic alphabet, recognition of the (Ukrainian) Greek Catholic church as a “national” church and loud declamatory statements describing the sterling qualities of the Ukrainian vernacular. Shevchenko’s poetry, in turn, was published in bowdlerized editions because of its radical and anticlerical content. In short, the Ukrainophiles came largely to resemble their old Russophile adversaries in everything except their national orientation, and the struggle for political liberty and social justice was seriously compromised.⁴²

In the 1880s both conservative camps were increasingly challenged by a group of young radicals, galvanized by Mykhailo Drahomanov. A Russian-born, Geneva-based Ukrainian scholar and political emigré, Drahomanov (1841-95) articulated a radical orientation based on populist, socialist and anticlerical principles, which were popularized and developed in Galicia by his two most prominent disciples—Mykhailo Pavlyk (1850-1913), a journalist, and Ivan Franko (1856-1916), a poet, author, historian and literary critic. Radicalism accepted the original premises of Ukrainophilism but insisted that greater emphasis on political action was needed to achieve socioeconomic goals. To Drahomanov, a national movement based on notions as irrational as the “cult of sacred national relics” was reactionary: “It means that we should not alter the existing, outdated methods of production, or repudiate the servility before despots to which our people have...grown accustomed.”⁴³ The Ukrainian national movement had to strive to attain the rational universal ideals of democracy, social equality, political liberty and economic abundance for all. Since Ukrainians were a “plebian nation” (without a native exploiting class), it was incumbent upon Ukrainophiles to transmit “the results of world civilization” to the peasant masses and

“to work for their moral, political and socioeconomic interests in order to stamp out ignorance, tyranny and exploitation.”⁴⁴ Convinced that Ukrainophilism implied socialism, Drahomanov was a pragmatic ethical socialist who displayed little interest in revolution and the preparation of blueprints for a perfect society free of all social injustices and inequalities. Instead, he urged concrete measures to remedy existing social ills and to create the essential cultural and political preconditions for socialism. Foremost were issues such as “working hours, the standardization of wages, social insurance for the workers,” as well as a constitution, civil liberties, the franchise and technical education.⁴⁵

Marxism held little appeal for Drahomanov and his followers for several reasons. Marx and Engels, like many German, Russian and Polish socialists, were hostile to the smaller, “non-historical” and stateless Slavic peasant peoples of eastern Europe (including “Ruthenians”),⁴⁶ and their support for “historical” Poland sanctioned the oppression of Ukrainian, Lithuanian and Belorussian peasants by Polish landowners.⁴⁷ Drahomanov and Pavlyk, who had been influenced by Proudhon’s anarchist theories, also feared that a Marxist state would violate the freedoms of individuals, communities, labour associations and minorities. Most important, a Marxist programme seemed to have little relevance in Galicia and Bukovyna. Not only was there little capitalist industry and commerce in both crownlands, but the very small industrial working class consisted almost exclusively of Poles, Jews and Germans. Even the petroleum workers of Boryslav, the only significant concentration of Ukrainians in industry, were seasonal peasant labourers rather than representatives of a disciplined industrial proletariat conscious of its class interests. As a result, the Radicals focused on the peasantry (a group not highly esteemed by most Marxists) and prepared programmes of land nationalization and co-operative agricultural production.

Drahomanov criticized Christianity for its denigration of earthly human concerns and regarded clerical domination as the particular bane of the Ukrainian national movement in Galicia. As a result, anticlericalism became the touchstone of Ukrainian Radicalism, especially after 1880 when many Ukrainians began to suspect the Ukrainian Catholic hierarchy as an instrument of the Polish aristocracy for failing to combat efforts to “Latinize” the Ukrainian rite and for collaborating with the aristocracy in politics.

Latinization became an issue during the 1880s after the Vatican empowered the Polish Jesuits to reform the Basilians, the only Eastern-rite Ukrainian monastic order, and permitted the Jesuits to establish missions among the Ukrainian Catholics in eastern Galicia. Although the Basilians were badly in need of reform, the Jesuits carried their mandate to extremes. They encouraged practices foreign to the Eastern rite, disparaged the lay church brotherhoods that had flourished in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Galicia, destroyed Ukrainian periodicals in one Basilian monastery⁴⁸ and promoted compulsory clerical

celibacy.⁴⁹ The latter was particularly feared by many Ukrainians who believed that the elimination of a married Ukrainian secular clergy would enable the Polish nobility to destroy the one Ukrainian social group that could engender a secular intelligentsia to lead the Ukrainian national movement. Co-operation between the Ukrainian hierarchy and the Polish aristocracy became especially pronounced when Sylvester Cardinal Sembratovych became archbishop of Lviv and metropolitan of Halych (1885-98). The faithful were called upon by Ukrainian Catholic newspapers to “moderate their patriotism and live in peace with the Poles since they were Catholics” and to “submit themselves unconditionally to the *szlachta* [nobility] which governs Galicia.”⁵⁰ The same papers insisted that Ukrainians suffered no injustices and that all their demands for greater equality and liberty were the work of a few self-serving individuals. In 1885 and 1897, as a result of clerical interference, a number of progressive Ukrainian political candidates were defeated at the polls.

Realizing that pious peasants could not be transformed into freethinkers at a stroke, Drahomanov and his associates combated clerical influence by reviving traditions of lay initiative in ecclesiastical affairs among the peasantry,⁵¹ and by acquainting the Ukrainian peasantry with the principles of the more democratic and egalitarian Protestant denominations.⁵² Drahomanov prepared several popular brochures on progressive Protestants like the Stundists and on religious dissenters like Wycliffe and Roger Williams—literature which by the turn of the century could be found in reading clubs in Galicia and Bukovyna and in Ukrainian colonies in North America.⁵³

The injection of Radical ideas into the Galician milieu revitalized the Ukrainian national movement and gave birth to three major political parties and a wide range of educational, cultural and economic organizations among the peasantry between 1890 and 1914. Membership in the parties, and especially in the village institutions that they promoted, represented an important stage in the political and intellectual formation of many Ukrainian immigrants who would lead in Canada during the early years.

The first to organize, the Ruthenian-Ukrainian Radical party, established in 1890 by Drahomanov's disciples, remained the only Ukrainian political party for almost a decade. Its platform advocated the extension of civil liberties; freedom of conscience, speech, press and association; universal male and female suffrage; the abolition of the standing army; free elementary and secondary education; and shorter working hours, standardized wages and social insurance for workers. In 1895 a call for an autonomous Ukrainian province in Austria (and ultimately an independent Ukrainian state) was added in the belief that such autonomy would hasten industrialization and the advent of socialism.⁵⁴ In Canada, as we shall see, many of the first active community leaders were either former members of or (more often) sympathetic toward the Radical party.

Although the Radicals looked forward to the creation of "a collective system of labour and the collective ownership of the means of production," their minimum programme, a series of agrarian reforms to impede the proletarianization of the rural population, was rejected by Marxists. The latter criticized the Radicals' romantic vision of the peasantry as a single, undifferentiated class because it disregarded the rural social differentiation that had resulted from capitalism's penetration into the countryside. As a result, young Marxists broke with the Radical party in 1899 and established the Ukrainian Social Democratic party of Galicia (and Bukovyna, after 1906), whose social reformist and parliamentary programme also promoted national-cultural autonomy through the transformation of Austria into a federal, multinational state. Initially concerned to organize only the rural proletariat (the landless peasants) and to obtain state-sponsored health insurance and old-age social security for agrarian labourers, the Ukrainian Social Democrats increasingly cultivated the urban proletariat after 1907 and played a minor role in the trade union movement, then being organized in Galicia.⁵⁵ Before the First World War, the party maintained fraternal ties with the Federation of Ukrainian Social Democrats, established in Canada in 1909, and with its successor the Ukrainian Social Democratic Party of Canada.

In 1899 a third party, the Ukrainian National Democratic party, also emerged. A broad coalition of agrarian reformers, liberals, young and progressive members of the lower Ukrainian Catholic clergy, aging Ukrainophiles, successful professionals and a few landowners, it was formed by disenchanting right-wing Radicals and the remnants of the National Populists (minus the most reactionary lay and clerical elements who established the conservative Christian Social party). The National Democrats supported Ukrainian autonomy within the empire and loyalty to the Habsburgs as the immediate goal, and independence for all Ukrainians and the unification of the entire Ukrainian nation as the ultimate objective. By far the largest of the new parties, the National Democrats were especially active in the formation of consumers' and producers' co-operatives and numerous economic self-help organizations.⁵⁶ The emergence of similar institutions in Canada testified to the party's influence abroad, as did the esteem in which its triweekly, *Dilo* (The Deed), was held by Ukrainian-Canadian newspaper editors.

The Russophiles, too, found a new generation to carry their banner in Galicia with the formation in 1900 of the Russian National party (Russkaia Narodnaia Partiiia). Unlike their Old Ruthenian progenitors, the new Russophiles (the so-called *novokursnyky*) favoured standard literary Russian and a complete national and cultural union of Galician Ruthenians and Russians. With ties to the Pan-Slavists and the Russian National party of Count V. Bobrinsky in the Russian empire, members of the Russian National party in Galicia, unlike earlier Russophiles, disliked Ukrainians rather than Poles and willingly collaborated with the most reactionary Polish aristocrats, who gladly reciprocated,

perceiving the socially conservative group as an ally in their own opposition to Ukrainian aspirations. Subsidized by a Russian government, naturally concerned to undermine the Ukrainian national movement in Austria-Hungary and abroad, the Russophiles also left their mark on Ukrainian-Canadian life before and during the First World War.⁵⁷

Radical, Social Democratic, National Democratic (and Russophile) ideas reached the peasantry through a rapidly expanding network of local institutions "that dramatically increased the peasants' cultural level and political awareness" between 1890 and 1914. The most important institution was the reading club (*chytalnia*), where newspapers were read to illiterate peasants. Initially, as we have seen, it was the clergy who had established most reading clubs as agents for the large, umbrella organization Prosvita (3,000 clubs and almost 200,000 rural members in 1914) and its two smaller rivals, the Russophile Mykhailo Kachkovsky Society (300 clubs) and the Bukovynian and Russophile (until 1885) Ruska Besida Society (Ruthenian Club) (190 clubs and 13,000 members). At first, only illiterate village elders had opposed the clubs; by the 1880s, however, as young, literate and radical peasants used the clubs to censure priests who either violated the national movement's standards for the clergy or who levied excessive sacramental fees, many conservative priests also turned against them. In 1893 the Radicals, who encouraged such conflicts, established their own umbrella organization, Narodna Volia (People's Freedom), while the Social Democrats, who disliked "bourgeois" societies like Prosvita, established a small network of cultural-educational organizations called Volia (Freedom) shortly before the war.⁵⁸

Peasants, primarily young and middle-aged males and some unmarried girls, met in the reading clubs on Sundays and holidays, just as they would in the national homes (*narodni domy*) in Canada years later. On rare occasions, choirs and drama circles staged concerts and plays and speakers from urban centres lectured about politics, the law, agricultural techniques or economic self-help institutions. Mostly, however, members simply came to hear literate villagers read from popular newspapers, books and pamphlets. Having learned about the issues that agitated Ukrainians in nearby and distant villages (and in foreign lands), some then communicated their own concerns in letters to the press. As one scholar has aptly stated, "By joining the reading club, the peasant joined the nation."⁵⁹

The clubs also helped to sustain a network of Ukrainian institutions, including co-operative stores, credit unions, agricultural and dairy co-operatives and gymnastic societies for village youth, which covered most of eastern Galicia and parts of northern Bukovyna by 1914. By the turn of the century, most of these local self-help institutions came under the aegis of several larger umbrella organizations. Thus, Narodna Torhivlia (National Commerce) co-ordinated hundreds of co-operative stores, Kraiovyi Soiuz Kredytnyi (Crownland Credit Union)

united numerous credit unions, and Silskyi Hospodar (Village Farmer) and Maslosoiuz (Dairy Union) guided all kinds of agricultural and dairy co-operatives. Shortly after a central association of Ukrainian co-operatives was formed in 1904, it claimed 550 affiliates and 180,000 members.⁶⁰ Efforts to organize village youth included the Radical-sponsored Sich, the National Democrat-sponsored Sokil (Falcon) and the Russophile-sponsored Russkie Druzhyny (Russian Militia), all gymnastic societies and volunteer fire brigades, modeled on the Czech Sokol movement.

On the eve of the First World War, the reading club had replaced the tavern (and had come to rival the church) as the focal point of social life in many villages. The reading club and the local organizations that clustered around it, especially those devoted to economic self-help, entrenched the Ukrainian national movement and developed a sense of Ukrainian national consciousness among the peasantry. While the Russophiles offered “salvation from a mythical Russian intervention,” Ukrainophiles of all political stripes—Radicals, Social Democrats and National Democrats—appealed to “practical peasant minds” by offering solutions to vital everyday problems.⁶¹ The solutions, however, set the Ukrainian national movement on a collision course with three other groups with a large stake in how the peasantry understood the world: the Polish ruling class, the Jewish tavernkeepers and peddlers, and the hierarchy of the Ukrainian Catholic church.

With the Polish ruling class, friction revolved around three issues: the peasant question, education and electoral reform. Efforts to mobilize the peasantry by encouraging agrarian strikes were initiated by the Radicals during the 1890s and adopted by the Social Democrats (and rather more hesitantly by the National Democrats) after the turn of the century. The first isolated agrarian strikes broke out in 1897; in the ensuing decade thousands joined in a struggle which peaked in 1902, when 100,000 agrarian labourers in twenty counties and four hundred villages of eastern Galicia demanded higher wages and humane treatment and refused to work on the great estates. Four years later, under the impetus of the first Russian revolution, agrarian labourers struck in 384 eastern-Galician villages. The Polish landlords represented the strikes as a Ukrainian attempt to drive them off their own hereditary lands, but in the end they were obliged to raise agrarian wages.⁶²

At stake in education—the second issue—were secondary schools and the creation of a Ukrainian university. Even though five new state-supported Ukrainian gymnasia were established between 1897 and 1914 (bringing the total to seven), the Ruthenian Pedagogical Association (Ruske Pedagogichne Tovarystvo / “Ridna Shkola”) solicited private donations and established ten additional private gymnasia, along with several privately funded urban student residences (*bursy*) to facilitate secondary and university studies among rural students. When mass meetings and peaceful demonstrations failed to secure a

Ukrainian university, four hundred Ukrainian students seceded from the University of Lviv (1901-2), hunger strikes were organized, riots broke out (1906-7) and Polish and Ukrainian students clashed in armed battles across barricades, culminating in the death of a Ukrainian student, Adam Kotsko (1910). Finally, in 1912, Vienna promised a Ukrainian university within five years but war intervened.⁶³

Ukrainian-Polish relations, however, were at their lowest in the struggle to abolish the curiae and to secure universal male suffrage and the secret direct ballot. Even though, by 1907, similar reforms were in effect in elections to the Austrian Parliament (thereby doubling Ukrainian representation), Polish conservatives stubbornly refused to reform the curial system in Galician provincial elections or to allocate more proportional representation to Ukrainians. As a result, after several Ukrainian peasant activists were killed by gendarmes in 1908, Myroslav Sichynsky (1887-1980), a Ukrainian student, assassinated Count Andrzej Potocki, the Galician viceroy. And even though his successor, Count Michał Bobrzynski, supported Ukrainian claims, Vienna again had to mediate to end the Polish power monopoly shortly before the war.⁶⁴

Such electoral conflicts also aggravated Ukrainian-Jewish relations. Not only did the Polish nobility use Jewish estate officials and tavernkeepers to bribe peasant electors with sausages, cigars and alcohol, but Jewish goons, drawn from the urban *lumpenproletariat*, were organized to assault peasant electors and relieve them of their legitimization cards. Even more irritating to the Ukrainian leaders was the peasantry's dependence on Jewish peddlers, shopkeepers and moneylenders. As a result, the first National Populist newspaper published expressly for the peasantry habitually referred to "the clever Jew, who sucks our blood and gnaws our flesh," and pointedly failed to condemn the 1881 pogroms in the Russian empire.⁶⁵ Although Drahomanov and his followers did condemn the pogroms and demanded complete emancipation for the Jews of Russia, their attitude to the Jewish population in Ukraine proper and in Galicia and Bukovyna was not beyond reproach. Drahomanov, for example, concluded that centuries of segregation had left the Jewish proletariat incapable of solidarity with the Christian labouring masses, and like most radical populists, who identified productive work with physical labour, he spoke "much too sweepingly of Jewish 'parasitism.'"⁶⁶ His followers instructed peasants to establish their own educational and economic institutions and to boycott Jewish enterprises. They also urged peasants to abstain from alcohol, to establish reading clubs as an alternative to taverns, to form credit unions and communal granaries to escape Jewish moneylenders, and to counter Jewish shopkeepers and peddlers with co-operatives or other privately owned stores. Although there were no instances of Ukrainian mass violence against Jews in Galicia or Bukovyna before 1914, the proliferation of Ukrainian (and parallel Polish) village institutions had its effect. Some Jewish tavernkeepers and moneylenders strongly opposed Ukrainian reading clubs

and economic self-help institutions; others simply packed up and left. By 1914 private money lending had all but disappeared.

Conflict between the Ukrainian national movement and the Ukrainian Catholic church, though less fierce, was often just as bitter. Just as the young members of the lower secular clergy joined the National Democratic party or expressly favoured many of the Radical and Social Democratic objectives, and even regarded themselves as “village activists rather than ministers of God,”⁶⁷ the older and more conservative priests generally condemned radicalism as an abomination, while the Basilians (under Jesuit tutelage until 1904) actively crusaded against Radicals, Social Democrats and agnostics within the National Democratic camp. At Radical mass meetings, therefore, peasant activists pressed an anticlerical agenda which included the separation of church and state, abolition of the right of patronage,⁶⁸ expulsion of the Jesuits from Basilian monasteries, control of parish property by laymen, imposition of legal limits on sacramental fees, exclusion of priests from Radical societies and conferences, and publication of scientific analyses of religion.⁶⁹

If Radicals and Social Democrats were soon renowned for their opposition to the clergy, National Democrats, including many among the lower clergy, grew increasingly critical of the Ukrainian Catholic hierarchy, tainted by decades of collaboration with the Polish aristocracy. Nationalists noted with alarm that Cardinal Sembratovych had censured “evil people” who placed patriotism ahead of “God and salvation”; that his successor Iuliiian Sas-Kuilovsky (1899-1900), a veteran of the Polish National Guard, had forbade the clergy to establish reading clubs when he was bishop of Stanyslaviv (1891-99); and that Hryhorii Khomyshyn, bishop of Stanyslaviv (1901-46), had not only done the same but ordered the clergy to avoid National Democratic newspapers because of their “anti-Catholic” spirit, and advised them to establish youth organizations that were specifically Catholic. Even more disconcerting was the sudden rise to prominence of Andrei Count Sheptytsky (1865-1944), scion of a Polonized (and Latinized) Ukrainian noble family. Abandoning a promising legal career in 1888, Sheptytsky transferred from the Latin to the Eastern rite, entered the Basilian order and then became rapidly head of the monastery in Lviv, bishop of Stanyslaviv and, in 1901, archbishop of Lviv and metropolitan of Halych. Ukrainians, especially nationalists, suspected that the meteoric rise was promoted by the Polish aristocracy and that the young “Count” was a Polish agent planted inside the Ukrainian church to Latinize it.

Although appointed metropolitan on the recommendation of the Polish establishment,⁷⁰ Sheptytsky soon disappointed his conservative Polish backers by allying himself with the Ukrainian national movement. He campaigned incessantly for a Ukrainian university, led a Ukrainian delegation before the emperor to demand universal suffrage, pleaded for state-supported Ukrainian gymnasias, created a Ukrainian museum at his own expense and helped to establish a

free Ukrainian walk-in medical clinic in Lviv. However, in his support of the Ukrainian national movement, he did not hesitate to censure actions which benefited the national cause but were inconsistent with Christian principles and spiritual values. As a result, nationalists criticized him severely when he cautioned young priests to concentrate on their religious duties, or when he criticized partisan hatreds and the inflammation of popular passions against the possessing classes or when he condemned the assassination of Count Potocki as an act of "godless politics" and "an affront to divine law." Not until 1914, when Sheptytsky helped to negotiate the electoral compromise in the Galician Diet and then refused to leave Galicia when the Russian armies invaded, did he win the confidence and respect of the nationalists.⁷¹

Emigration

The tempo at which economic self-help institutions penetrated the countryside varied greatly from region to region. Only on the eve of the First World War was eastern Galicia (and to a much lesser extent northern Bukovyna) covered by an extensive network of co-operative stores, credit unions and agricultural co-operatives—and even then only a small minority of Ukrainian peasants could actually use them to improve their living standards. Each year thousands of peasants continued to auction off their indebted lands and to consider other alternatives to overcome their economic woes.

Emigration was always an attractive option and between 1876 and 1914 over 900,000 Polish, Jewish and Ukrainian Galicians left.⁷² They were not, however, the first Ukrainians to leave the Austro-Hungarian empire. Emigration began with the Carpatho-Rusyns and Lemkos from Transcarpathia and the adjacent counties of western and eastern Galicia,⁷³ who were recruited as strikebreakers in 1876-7 by American mine owners eager to break the labour movement in the anthracite coal-mining region of Pennsylvania. During the next decade about 35,000 followed, and by 1914 there were over 400,000 Ukrainians (Carpatho-Rusyns, Lemkos and Galicians) in the United States, mostly in the mining and factory towns of the eastern-seaboard states.⁷⁴ Besides the 170,000 who left eastern Galicia and northern Bukovyna for Canada, upwards of 70,000 settled in Brazil and Argentina, and 50,000 to 90,000 migrated annually to Germany to work on Junker estates and in the mines of Upper Silesia.⁷⁵ The Ukrainians who came to Canada were thus part of a mass movement from three Austro-Hungarian crownlands.

Although Galicia, the most populous Austrian crownland, had the highest rate of emigration, all parts of it did not share equally in the exodus. About 55 per cent of the 860,000 persons who emigrated between 1881 and 1910 came from Polish western Galicia, while 45 per cent, primarily Ukrainians, were from

the eastern part.⁷⁶ It also appears that the central and southwestern counties of eastern Galicia contributed relatively few emigrants, and that most Ukrainians who left eastern Galicia for Canada came from one of three fairly compact regions: (1) the five northwestern counties—Jarosław (Jaroslav), Cieszanów (Tsishaniv), Iavoriv, Mostyska and Przemyśl—which contributed 7 to 14.5 per cent of the emigrants; (2) the three northeastern counties—Sokal, Radekhiv and Brody—which furnished 5.5 to 16 per cent; and (3) the nine southeastern counties—Terebovlia, Husiatyn, Chortkiv, Borshchiv, Zalishchyky, Buchach, Horodenka, Kolomyia and Sniatyn—which supplied 40 to 50 per cent. In addition, the four adjoining counties of northern Bukovyna—Chernivtsi, Kitsman, Vashkivtsi and Zastavna—contributed 10 to 15 per cent (Fig. 2). It is likely that most of the Ukrainians who left for South America also came from these regions.⁷⁷

Why did these regions furnish so many emigrants? From the available research, it appears that certain features distinguished the three regions, especially the southeastern counties of eastern Galicia and those adjoining in northern Bukovyna. Each had a rural population density that was above average even by the congested standards of Galicia and Bukovyna; in each the great estates predominated; each experienced an excessive emphasis on one type of land use (whether arable, forest, pasture or meadow); and each lacked urban centres where peasants could augment their incomes.⁷⁸ Where the northwestern and northeastern regions shared some of these features, the southeast possessed them all.

In four of the five northwestern counties (Jarosław, Iavoriv, Mostyska and Przemyśl), the range in population density, 101-145 persons per square kilometre in 1900, was above the average (94.2).⁷⁹ Similarly, in each of the five counties the infant mortality rate, a good index of living conditions, was well above the Galician average. Indeed, Iavoriv in 1904 had the highest infant mortality rate in Galicia (309/1,000),⁸⁰ while Cieszanów stood third (281/1,000).⁸¹ Although the supply of arable land was plentiful, especially in Przemyśl, a disproportionately large amount was owned by large Polish landowners, which made Przemyśl one of the most turbulent counties during the agrarian strikes of 1902. As the region straddled the boundary between ethnically Ukrainian and Polish territories, acute national tensions and the example of Polish peasants who had been leaving since the 1870s also stimulated Ukrainian emigration.

In the three northeastern counties (Sokal, Radekhiv and Brody), population density (about seventy-five persons per square kilometre) was below the Galician average, mainly because arable land in 1890 was only 21 per cent of the surface area, with 27 per cent in pasture and meadow and 47 per cent in forest.⁸² The nobility (absentee Austrian barons and Polish counts) controlled vast stretches (especially in Brody) and much of the arable land (especially in Sokal). There was also apparently a substantial turnover in the estate-owning class, which may

have created tensions between the peasantry and the new landlords.⁸³ Finally, the town of Brody, with a Jewish population in excess of 66 per cent, was a refuge for Jews leaving Russia for the United States after the 1881 pogroms,⁸⁴ which again likely alerted Ukrainian peasants to opportunities overseas.

Although the southeastern counties, especially the lowland region known as southern Podilia (Terebovlia, Husiatyn, Chortkiv, Borshchiv and Zalishchyky), boasted the most fertile soil and one of the highest proportions of arable land in Galicia, there and in Pokuttia (Sniatyn, Kolomyia, Horodenka and Buchach), where arable land was also abundant, the mortality and illiteracy rates in 1890 were among the highest in Galicia.⁸⁵ In the southeast all the "push" forces were at work. Population density was well above the Galician average—101 to 110 persons per square kilometre except in Kolomyia and Sniatyn, where it hovered around 140. The typical peasant landholdings, especially in Borshchiv, Zalishchyky and Sniatyn (where nearly 92 per cent of peasant plots were under five hectares and 55 to 60 per cent under two), were smaller than anywhere else in Galicia.⁸⁶ Moreover, Zalishchyky, Borshchiv, Terebovlia, Husiatyn and Sniatyn were among the ten counties in 1890 with the fewest head of cattle in Galicia.⁸⁷

But what most distinguished the southeastern counties was the degree of aristocratic domination by the oldest, wealthiest and most prominent Polish families. If some like the Sapiehas acquired a philanthropic reputation, most others were absentee landowners whose estates were managed by stewards more interested in profits than charity.⁸⁸ Not only did these Podilian grandes (the *Podolacy*) control much of the arable land—37.2 per cent in Chortkiv, 39.6 in Husiatyn, 42.9 in Zalishchyky (or at least 10 to 15 per cent above the Galician average)—they also owned up to 98 per cent of the forest land in southern Podilia (14 per cent above the Galician average) and 50 per cent of the pasture and meadow lands.⁸⁹ Because the soil was so fertile, forest, meadow and pasture areas were constantly being converted into arable land. By 1890 arable land represented 67 per cent of the surface area of southern Podilia, leaving only 16.5 per cent in forest and 7.3 per cent in pasture and meadow.⁹⁰ Even peasants with good-sized plots were thus reduced to near total dependence on the estate owners for timber, firewood and roofing needs, and for dietary supplements like fruits, berries, mushrooms and fowl, along with fodder for livestock. If they could not pay in cash (and with the exception of Kolomyia there were practically no towns of any size in which money could be earned), wage-free labour on the great estates was the sole alternative. Moreover, with opportunities to earn money few, the wages which landless agrarian labourers could command were well below the Galician average. Agrarian strikes broke out in Borshchiv in 1900, while in 1902 and again in 1906 Zalishchyky, Chortkiv and Husiatyn experienced more agrarian strikes than most Galician counties.⁹¹ In fact, nowhere in Galicia was the peasantry as dependent on the landed aristocracy as it was in southern Podilia. Only in Bukovyna were conditions comparable. In the county

of Chernivtsi, for example, thirty-three secular and eight ecclesiastical land-owners owned 27,360 hectares of arable, meadow and forest lands with the peasantry holding the remaining 20,235 hectares. As a result, 62.6 per cent of the landholdings were under two hectares in 1900. In Kitsman county 65.5 per cent of the holdings were under two hectares in 1900.⁹² It was for such reasons that so many Ukrainian peasants emigrated from southeastern Galicia and northern Bukovyna before 1914.

Dependence on estate owners, rather than landlessness, was thus the decisive factor in emigration. Nor should it be imagined that emigration was simply a desperate flight from misery. Although economic woes provided impetus, emigration also involved a conscious decision to seek a better life and a more substantial status. It would sweep up not only the landless and peripheral elements of rural society, but also many small- and medium-sized peasant landholders.⁹³

One cannot say how many of the Ukrainians who came to Canada were acquainted with the reading clubs, co-operatives, credit unions and the other institutions established by the Ukrainian national movement in Galicia and Bukovyna. As John-Paul Himka has observed, "the penetration of the national movement into the countryside was a cumulative process, encompassing different villages at different times. Thus at any moment...there would have been some villages that had not yet been drawn into the movement, others that would have just started the process of integration into the nation and others still that would have had flourishing national institutions."⁹⁴ While relatively few of the very earliest immigrants would have been familiar with the national movement and its institutions, a substantial number of those who arrived by the turn of the century, and especially those who came in the decade before the war, would have experienced local educational and co-operative institutions, agrarian strikes and the campaign for electoral reform. A handful of young and relatively well-educated immigrants had even belonged to the Radical, Social Democratic and National Democratic parties. It would be these young men ("the intelligentsia"), imbued with the radical ideology of the Ukrainian national movement, who, more than anyone else, would shape the Ukrainian-Canadian community during the formative years by espousing secularism, promoting and establishing educational and economic self-help institutions and mobilizing immigrants for political activity in pursuit of Ukrainian interests.

Notes

1. For Europe at the turn of the century, see Eric Hobsbawm, *The Age of Empire, 1875-1914* (New York, 1987); Robert Gildea, *Barricades and Borders: Europe, 1800-1914* (New York, 1987).
2. For a recent history of Ukraine, see Orest Subtelny, *Ukraine: A History* (Toronto, 1988).
3. See "Note on Transliteration and Terminology."
4. For an overview of Ukrainians in Galicia and Bukovyna during the nineteenth century, see John-Paul Himka, "The Background to Emigration: The Ukrainians of Galicia and Bukovyna, 1848-1914," in Manoly R. Lupul, ed., *A Heritage in Transition: Essays in the History of Ukrainians in Canada* (Toronto, 1982), 11-31; Paul R. Magocsi, *Galicia: A Historical Survey and Bibliographic Guide* (Toronto, 1983), chapter 6; Ivan L. Rudnytsky, "The Ukrainians in Galicia under Austrian Rule" and "The Ukrainian National Movement on the Eve of the First World War," in *Essays in Modern Ukrainian History* (Edmonton, 1987), 315-52, 375-88.
5. John-Paul Himka, "The Greek Catholic Church and Nation-Building in Galicia, 1772-1918," *Harvard Ukrainian Studies* VIII (3-4) (1984), 426-52.
6. After 1848 the nobles appropriated almost 2,100,000 hectares of forest, meadow and pasture lands, leaving them with 90 per cent of all forests and 25 per cent of all pastures and non-arable fields. Ivan I. Kompaniiets, *Stanovyshche i borotba trudiashchykh mas Halychyny, Bukovyny, ta Zakarpattia na pochatku XX stolittia, 1900-1919* (Kiev, 1960), 64; V.M. Botushansky, *Stanovyshche i klasova borotba seliansiva Pivnichnoi Bukovyny v period imperializmu* (Kiev, 1975); Petro V. Sviezchnytsky, *Ahrarni vidnosyny na Zakhidnii Ukraini v kintsi XIX—na pochatku XX stolittia* (Lviv, 1966).
7. Anon. (Osyp Navrotsky), "Pianstvo i propinatziia na Halychyni," *Hromada* V (1882), 41, 49-50. Stella Hryniuk, "The Peasant and Alcohol in Eastern Galicia in the Late Nineteenth Century: A Note," *Journal of Ukrainian Studies* XI (1) (1986), 75-85, argues that Galicia did not have a serious problem with alcohol, though her evidence, culled from data on legally produced spirits and the number of taverns, is inconclusive.
8. Twenty-one landowners held over ten thousand hectares each in Galicia. Baron Johann Liebig was the largest landowner with 66,746 in 1900. The Schmidt family, Austrian barons, held over fifty thousand. Illustrious representatives of the Polish landowning aristocracy included the princes Sanguszko, Lubomirski, Poniński, Sapieha and Czartoryski and the counts Potocki, Badeni, Lanckoroński, Dzieduszycki, Gołuchowski and Zamoyski. For a table listing these grandees and the land they held, see Walentyna Najdus, *Szkice z historii Galicji*, I (Warsaw, 1958), 100.
9. The discussion on the Jews follows John-Paul Himka, "Ukrainian-Jewish Antagonism in the Galician Countryside During the Late Nineteenth Century," in Peter J. Potichnyj and Howard Aster, eds., *Ukrainian-Jewish Relations in Historical Perspective* (Edmonton, 1988), 111-58.

10. Raphael Mahler, "The Economic Background of Jewish Emigration From Galicia to the United States," *YIVO Annual of Jewish Social Science* VII (1952), 258.
11. Ivan Franko quoted in Himka, "Ukrainian-Jewish Antagonism in Galicia," 120. High income taxes levied on Jewish storekeepers, and the very high concentration of petty Jewish traders in Galicia and Bukovyna, reduced the weekly income of most Jews engaged in trade to three or four gulden; see also Joachim Schoenfeld, *Shtetl Memoirs: Jewish Life in Galicia under the Austro-Hungarian Empire and in Reborn Poland, 1898-1939* (Hoboken, 1985).
12. Thus the 1,495 Jewish estate officials represented "almost three-and-a-half times" the number of Ukrainian officials. Himka, "Ukrainian-Jewish Antagonism in Galicia," 127.
13. Kompaniets, 34.
14. V.A. Diadychenko, M. Braichevsky, M.N. Leshchenko and K.I. Stetsiuk, *Istoriia seliansva Ukrainskoi RSR*, I (Kiev, 1967), 513.
15. In Bukovyna the Greek Orthodox religious fund held 286,000 hectares of land or 25.7 per cent of the total, with 60,000 in arable land, pastures and meadows and 226,000 in forest. Kompaniets, 35.
16. Viacheslav Budzynovsky, "Agrarni vidnosyny Halychyny," *Zapysky Naukovoho Tovarystva im. Shevchenka* IV (1894), 59-63. One gulden could support an agricultural worker for two days. Himka, "The Background to Emigration," 13.
17. In 1890, when Galician population density stood at eighty-four persons per square kilometre, only Belgium, Holland, Great Britain, Prussia and Italy (all but the last highly industrialized countries) were more densely populated. However, the population density in *rural* Galicia, which stood at 64 persons per square kilometre, surpassed that of *rural* Italy (57), Belgium (49), Prussia (37), Great Britain (27) and Holland. Ivan Franko, "Skilko nas ie?" and "Halytskyi selianyn," in *Zibrannia tvoriv u piatdesiaty tomakh*, XLIV, pt. 2 (Kiev, 1985), 313, 508.
18. See Table 2 in Himka, "The Background to Emigration," 15, and the tables in Arnold M. Shlepakov, *Ukrainska trudova emihratsiia v SShA i Kanadi* (Kiev, 1960), 15; also Sviezhytsky, 17; Denys Kvitkovsky, T. Bryndzan and Arkadii Zhukovsky, *Bukovyna. Ii mynule i suchasne* (Paris, 1956), 449.
19. Jerome Blum, *The End of the Old Order in Rural Europe* (Princeton, 1978), 271-7. For the view that the trend away from grain crops to potatoes and maize was not evidence of impoverishment, see Stella Hryniuk, "Peasant Agriculture in East Galicia in the Late Nineteenth Century," *Slavonic and East European Review* LXIII (2) (1985), 235.
20. Kompaniets, 63; Caroline Golab, *Immigrant Destinations* (Philadelphia, 1977), 84.
21. Hryniuk, "Peasant Agriculture in East Galicia," 238-40, demonstrates that the *absolute* number of farm animals in eastern Galicia increased between 1880 and 1900. However, an analysis of the data in Table 2 of her article reveals that, on a *per capita* basis, the number of horses, cattle and sheep declined. Only pigs, which even very poor peasants could breed, multiplied at a faster rate than did the peasants. The article even suggests that the peasantry actually benefited from growing numbers of livestock: "Small

- holdings of under 2 hectares (which comprised only 6% of the total area of Galicia) were raising 9% of the horses, 21% of the cattle, 11% of the sheep and 25% of the pigs." What is not mentioned is that the same "small holdings" supported up to 49 per cent of all Galician households. In other words, half of the Galician peasant population had to be satisfied with 9 per cent of the horses, 21 per cent of the cattle, 11 per cent of the sheep and 25 per cent of the pigs.
22. Kompaniets, 41. "The distinctive plague of Galician agriculture was the 'checkerboard'...the checker division of holdings....each peasant's land was scattered all over the village field in lots so small that, as the saying ran, 'when a dog lay on a peasant's ground, the dog's tail would protrude on the neighbour's holding'....Moreover the peasants' lots were sometimes four to five miles away from farm buildings or extended in strips a few yards wide but a mile or more in length." Golab, 84.
 23. Himka, "The Background to Emigration," Table 1, 13. According to data cited by Johann Chmelar, "...in the decade 1896 to 1905, the population of Galicia produced 48 kilograms of wheat per capita, Russia (before the famine years) 130 kilograms per capita, France 240, and England 190." "The Austrian Emigration, 1900-1914," *Perspectives in American History* VII (1973), 324.
 24. Subtelny, 310; Himka, "The Background to Emigration," 17.
 25. Volodymyr Okhrymowych, "Pro smertelnist v Halychyni i ii prychnyni," *Narod* III (1892), 241.
 26. Teofil Hvozdzetsky, "Smertnist ditei v nashim kraiu," in *Pershyi ukrainskyi prosvitno-ekonomichnyi kongres* (Lviv, 1910), 266.
 27. Kompaniets, 75.
 28. Konstantyn H. Kakovsky, *Na shliakhu do velykoho zhovtnia. Straikovy rukh v Halychyni kintsia XIX—pochatku XX st.* (Lviv, 1968), Table 1, 10.
 29. While oil extraction was the most advanced sector of eastern-Galician industry and accounted for about 5 per cent of global output at the turn of the century, it was controlled by Austrian, British, French, German, Belgian and American concerns, including Rockefeller's Standard Oil. John-Paul Himka, *Socialism in Galicia: The Emergence of Polish Social Democracy and Ukrainian Radicalism (1860-1890)* (Cambridge, Mass., 1983), 114-18.
 30. Volodymyr Makaiev, *Robitnychi klas Halychyny v ostannii tretyni XIX stolittia* (Lviv, 1968), 36; Stefan Kieniewicz, *Historia Polski, 1795-1918* (Warsaw, 1969), 389.
 31. Peter Pulzer, *The Rise of Political Anti-Semitism in Germany and Austria* (Cambridge, Mass., 1988), 12.
 32. Himka, "Ukrainian-Jewish Antagonism," 115-16; Makaiev, 36; Pulzer, 335; Himka, "Voluntary Artisan Associations and the Ukrainian National Movement in Galicia (the 1870s)," in Andrei S. Markovits and Frank E. Sysyn, eds., *Nationbuilding and the Politics of Nationalism: Essays on Austrian Galicia* (Cambridge, Mass., 1983), 187.
 33. While one deputy from the curia of great landowners in the Austrian Parliament was elected by 64 voters, one deputy from the curia of villages was elected by 12,290. Similarly, in the Galician Diet one deputy from the curia of great landowners represented 3,294 persons and was elected by 51 voters and one deputy from the curia of villages represented 75,891 and was

- elected by 7,269. In 1897 a fifth curia, in which each adult male voted directly, was added. Even after the abolition of the curial system and the introduction of full universal manhood suffrage in 1907, one German deputy in the Austrian Diet represented 40,000 persons, one Polish deputy 52,000 and one Ukrainian deputy 102,000. Diadychenko et al., I, 439; William A. Jenks, *The Austrian Electoral Reform of 1907* (New York, 1974), 216; Robert A. Kann, *The Multinational Empire: Nationalism and National Reform in the Habsburg Monarchy, 1848-1918*, II (New York, 1950), 223.
34. In 1872 only 16.5 per cent of the Bukovynian and 19.7 per cent of the Galician school-aged children were in school. Ann Sirka, *The Nationality Question in Austrian Education: The Case of Ukrainians in Galicia 1867-1914* (Frankfurt-am-Main, 1980), 79; John-Paul Himka, "Cultural Life in the Awakening Village in Western Ukraine," in Manoly R. Lupul, ed., *Continuity and Change: The Cultural Life of Alberta's First Ukrainians* (Edmonton, 1988), Table 1, 15; T. Bilenky, "Nehramotnist a narodna shkola," in *Pershyi ukrainskyi prosvitno-ekonomichnyi kongres* (Lviv, 1910), 162.
 35. Bilenky, 169; Sirka, 79.
 36. Sirka, "Appendix Two," 204-17; Michael Yaremko, *Galicia-Halychyna: From Separation to Unity* (Toronto, 1967), 142; Kvitkovsky et al., 670, 689-90, 698.
 37. Himka, "Cultural Life in the Awakening Village," Table 2, 15.
 38. The discussion follows John-Paul Himka, "The Background to Emigration," "Voluntary Artisan Associations" and "The Greek Catholic Church and Nation-Building in Galicia"; also his "Priests and Peasants: The Greek Catholic Pastor and the Ukrainian National Movement in Austria, 1867-1900," *Canadian Slavonic Papers* XXI (1) (1979), 1-14; see also his *Socialism in Galicia*, and especially his most recent work, *Galician Villagers and the Ukrainian National Movement in the Nineteenth Century* (Edmonton, 1988).
 39. For a recent interpretation of the Old Ruthenian/Russophile phenomenon, see Paul R. Magocsi, "Old Ruthenianism and Russophilism: A New Conceptual Framework for Analyzing National Ideologies in Late Nineteenth Century Eastern Galicia," in Paul Debreczeny, ed., *American Contributions to the Ninth International Congress of Slavists*, II (Columbus, 1983), 305-24.
 40. Nataliia Ozarkevych Kobrynska, for example, the daughter of a Ukrainian Catholic priest and the founder of the Ukrainian women's movement in Galicia, obtained copies of Buckle, Büchner, Haeckel and Darwin from the private library of another Ukrainian Catholic priest during the 1870s and 1880s; her clerical husband, Teofil, introduced her to the works of Renan, Lassalle, Marx and Engels. Martha Bohachevsky-Chomiak, *Feminists Despite Themselves: Women in Ukrainian Community Life, 1884-1939* (Edmonton, 1988), 72-3.
 41. Himka, "Voluntary Artisan Associations," 191-2.
 42. For a memoiristic survey of Galician Ukrainian politics, see Kost Levytsky, *Istoriia politychnoi dumky halytskykh ukrainsiv, 1848-1914* (Lviv, 1926).

43. Mykhailo Drahomanov, "Chudatski dumky pro ukrainsku natsionalnu spravu," in Oleksii I. Dei, ed., *M.P. Drahomanov. Literaturno-publit-systychni pratsi*, II (Kiev, 1970), 362.
44. Mykhailo Drahomanov, "Druhyi lyst do redaktsii 'Druha'," in *ibid.*, 411.
45. Mykhailo Drahomanov, "Avstro-ruski spomyny," quoted in Ivan L. Rudnytsky, "Drahomanov as a Political Theorist," *Essays in Modern Ukrainian History*, 220.
46. Not only did Marx and Engels favour large, well-integrated economic units, but they identified the peasantry with reaction and "rural idiocy" and had censured the smaller Slavic peoples of Austria-Hungary for turning against Austrian and Hungarian revolutionaries in 1848-49 (ignoring the latter's chauvinist attitudes toward Slavs).
47. Himka, *Socialism in Galicia*, 112.
48. John-Paul Himka, "Sheptyts'kyi and the Ukrainian National Movement Before 1914," in Paul R. Magocsi, ed., *Morality and Reality: The Life and Times of Andrei Sheptyts'kyi* (Edmonton, 1989), 31.
49. For Jesuit activities in Galicia, see Ivan Franko, "Voskresinnia chy pohrebinnia," in Halyna K. Sydorenko, ed., *Ivan Franko. Publitsystyka* (Kiev, 1953), 73. The goals of the brotherhoods, established in the second half of the sixteenth century by Ukrainian Orthodox burghers and nobles, were to guarantee the autonomy of the Orthodox church in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth and to reform the church peacefully from below. Besides sponsoring schools, maintaining hospitals and publishing books, they oversaw the conduct of laymen, priests and bishops to ensure they complied with the tenets of Christianity. The patriarch of Constantinople authorized the brotherhoods to resist the authority of bishops who refused to heed their warnings. Taras Hunczak, "The Politics of Religion: The Union of Brest 1596," *Ukrainskyi istoryk* IX (3-4) (1972), 97-106; Subtelny, 96-102; George Williams, "Protestants in the Ukraine during the Period of the Polish Lithuanian Commonwealth," *Harvard Ukrainian Studies* II (1) (1978), 41-72, (2) (1978), 184-210.
50. Ivan Franko, "Ukrainski partii v Halychyni," in Mykhailo S. Vozniak, ed., *Z zhyttia i tvorchosty Ivana Franka* (Kiev, 1955), 139.
51. Believing that popular democratic, egalitarian and dissenting traditions had survived among the peasantry, Drahomanov urged the intelligentsia to fuse them with contemporary currents of social and political thought. It was "necessary to assist all anti-ecclesiastical movements among the people, be they protestant-pietist sects, or circles of freethinkers...to support those communities which are still close to the hierarchic churches by awakening movements similar to the old brotherhoods, in which the secular elements strove to subordinate the clergy, and instituted the election of priests by the laity, and of bishops by special synods of laymen and clergy." Drahomanov, "Lyst do halytskoho narodovtsia," in Ivan Franko, ed., *Pysma do Ivana Franka i inshykh*, II (Lviv, 1908), 395-6.
52. When Drahomanov learned of the emergence of a tiny group of religious dissenters among the Galician peasantry, he suggested Pavlyk advise the dissenters "to establish formally something like a Stundist community...[and] declare before the government that they are leaving the Uniate church and establishing a new Ruthenian Brotherhood." In 1892 he began corresponding with John Clifford, the English Baptist preacher and

- social reformer, and aroused his interest in beginning a Stundist movement in Galicia. According to Drahomanov's correspondence with Franko, the British Baptist Union was to send an observer to Galicia in the fall of 1892 to determine the feasibility of such a project. Mykhailo Pavlyk, ed., *Perepyska Mykhaila Drahomanova z Mykhailom Pavlykom (1876-1895)*, VI (Chernivtsi, 1910), 186, 287-8; *Pysma do Ivana Franka i inshykh*, II, 214-15.
53. Drahomanov did not complete the pamphlet on Roger Williams before his death. The titles of some of his other pamphlets were *Religion and Politics*, *Six Hundred Years of the Swiss Confederacy*, *The Baptist Brotherhoods in Ukraine*, *Tales of Jealous Gods*, *Paradise and Progress* and *Evangelicalism in Old England*. He also prepared introductions to popular translations of Maurice Verne's studies in Biblical criticism and planned pamphlets about the Ukrainian Orthodox lay brotherhoods of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. In 1898 and 1904, Pavlyk published his own translation of J.W. Draper's *History of the Conflict Between Religion and Science*.
 54. Himka, *Socialism in Galicia*, 165-70, and "Young Radicals and Independent Statehood: The Idea of a Ukrainian Nation State, 1890-1895," *Slavic Review* XL (2) (1982), 219-35.
 55. Volodymyr Levynsky, *Narys rozvytku ukrainskoho robotnychoho rukhu v Halychyni* (Kiev, 1914), 55-78.
 56. Rudnytsky, "The Ukrainians in Galicia," 340-1; Subtelny, 328.
 57. Magocsi, "Old Ruthenianism and Russophilism," 317-19.
 58. Himka, "The Background to Emigration," 20; Levynsky, 72.
 59. Himka, "The Background to Emigration," 21.
 60. Subtelny, 325.
 61. Rudnytsky, "The Ukrainians in Galicia," 337.
 62. On the strikes, see Najdus, *Szkice z historii Galicji*; Mykola M. Kravets, "Masovi selianski vystupy u Skhidnii Halychyni v 90kh rokakh XIX st.," *Z istorii URSR VIII* (Kiev, 1963), 3-27.
 63. Sirka, 136-55.
 64. Norman Davies, *God's Playground: A History of Poland*, II (Oxford, 1981), 158.
 65. Himka, "Ukrainian-Jewish Antagonism," 112-13, 143.
 66. Ivan L. Rudnytsky, "Mykhailo Drahomanov and the Problem of Ukrainian-Jewish Relations" and "The Problem of Ukrainian-Jewish Relations in Nineteenth-Century Ukrainian Political Thought," in *Essays in Modern Ukrainian History*, 283-97, 299-313; Moshe Mishkinsky, "The Attitudes of the Ukrainian Socialists to Jewish Problems in the 1870s," in *Potichnyj and Aster*, 57-68; Jonathan Frankel, *Prophecy and Politics: Socialism, Nationalism, and the Russian Jews, 1862-1917* (Cambridge, Mass., 1981), 101-13.
 67. Himka, "The Greek Catholic Church and Nation-Building in Galicia," 444.
 68. The right of patronage allowed landlords, irrespective of rite, to approve the appointment of priests to parishes on their estates.
 69. Mykhailo Drahomanov, "Novye dvizheniia sredi russkikh galichan," in Bogdan Kistiakovsky, ed., *Politicheskie sochineniia M.P. Dragomanova* (Moscow, 1908), 474-6; *Perepyska Mykhaila Drahomanova z Mykhailom Pavlykom*, VII, 9-10; M. Vozniak, "Ivan Franko v dobi radykalizmu,"

Ukraina VI (20) (1926), 135. Pavlyk was especially optimistic about the possibility of breaking clerical influence. Late in 1892, when eastern Galicia was rife with rumours that compulsory clerical celibacy was about to be introduced, he wrote Drahomanov: "There is a great war going on among us on account of the Greek Catholic clergy. It is now possible to break its power and the fatal influence it exerts on the peasantry and on Ruthenian politics in general....as far as I can see this is the breaking point which will lead to more favourable developments—let the Greek Catholic clergy be Latinized; the people will become Protestant and secularism will triumph." *Perepyska Mykhaila Drahomanova z Mykhailom Pavlykom*, VII, 111-12. While Drahomanov did not share Pavlyk's optimism, he did envisage the emergence of Protestantism among Ukrainians: "...in Galicia the clergy is narrowly educated, while the hierarchy is an overt instrument of the Polish aristocratic party, consequently any understanding between Catholicism and Radicalism is greatly complicated, though the national and social relations in eastern Galicia are very similar to those in Ireland, and it would seem these should prompt the Galician-Ruthenian clergy to imitate the Irish Catholic clergy. Thus, as the conditions of life increasingly push the Galician-Ruthenian peasantry and townsmen onto a path toward a radical political and social movement, and as the majority of the Galician-Ruthenian clergymen simultaneously proclaim themselves bitter opponents of this movement, while the Galician church hierarchy takes an openly antinational direction...and openly pursues policies opposed to the interests of the people, it is not unlikely that today's strained relations will come to a breaking point, resulting in the separation of a significant portion of Ruthenian Galicians from the Uniate church and the creation of independent confessional communities, more or less protestant in character." Drahomanov, "Novye dvizheniia sredi russkikh galichan," 480.

70. Stefan Kieniewicz, "Rudnytsky's *Essays in Modern Ukrainian History in the Eyes of a Polish Historian*," *Harvard Ukrainian Studies* XI (3-4) (1987), 525.
71. Himka, "Sheptyts'kyi and the Ukrainian National Movement," 33-42.
72. Walter F. Willcox, ed., *International Migrations*, first pub. 1931, II (New York, 1969), 588ff.
73. Lemkos were the Ukrainian-speaking inhabitants of the Nowy Targ, Nowy Saçz, Gorlice, Jasło and Krosno counties in western Galicia and the Sanok and Lesko counties in eastern Galicia. Carpatho-Rusyns (Carpatho-Ruthenians, Carpatho-Ukrainians) were the Ukrainian-speaking inhabitants of Transcarpathia in the Hungarian counties of Szepes, Sáros, Ung, Zemplén and Bereg. Before 1914 most emigrants from these regions, largely untouched by the Ukrainian national movement, did not have a clear sense of national identity.
74. Iulian Bachynsky, *Ukrainska immigratsiia v Ziedynenykh Derzhavakh Ameryky* (Lviv, 1914), 114-22.
75. On immigration to South America, see Serhii Cipko, "An Introduction to the Ukrainian Immigration into Brazil and Argentina, 1890s-1980s" (MA thesis, University of Liverpool, 1986); on seasonal migration to Germany, see Chmelar, 321.
76. Chmelar, 319.

77. Three sets of data on Ukrainians who came to Canada before 1914 were analysed for their counties of origin: (1) the biographies of 1,934 settlers who filed homestead applications between 1892 and the end of 1899, compiled by Vladimir J. Kaye (Kysilewsky) in his *Dictionary of Ukrainian Canadian Biography: Pioneer Settlers of Manitoba, 1891-1900* (Toronto, 1975), his *Dictionary of Ukrainian Canadian Biography of Pioneer Settlers of Alberta, 1891-1900* (Edmonton, 1984) and his "Dictionary of Ukrainian Canadian Biography: Saskatchewan Biographies," NAC, Vladimir J. Kaye Papers; (2) the obituaries of 1,015 individuals who arrived between 1900 and 1914 and died between 1945 and 1957, culled from Ukrainian-Canadian weeklies; and (3) the marriage registers of 2,610 brides and 2,613 grooms in the St. Nicholas and SS. Vladimir and Olga Ukrainian Catholic parishes in Winnipeg, 1903 to 1921.

The sets of data yield the following as to the counties of origin:

- (1) HOMESTEADERS: Borshchiv (23.2 per cent), Bukovyna (all counties) (15.9), Chortkiv (5.5), Jarosław (5.3), Zalishchyky (4.6), Husiatyn (3.8), Sniatyn (3.4), Terebovlia (3.4), Radekhiv (3.1), Kolomyia (2.3), Buchach (1.6), Kalush (1.6), Brody (1.2), Sokal (1.1), Horodenka (1.1), Cieszanów (0.8), Przemyśl (0.5), Mostyska (0.4), Iavoriv (0.2).
- (2) OTHER INDIVIDUALS: Bukovyna (all counties) (13 per cent), Borshchiv (12.7), Husiatyn (9.2), Chortkiv (7.3), Horodenka (5.7), Brody (5.4), Sniatyn (4.5), Zalishchyky (4.2), Sokal (4.0), Jarosław (4.0), Buchach (2.4), Iavoriv (2.4), Przemyśl (2.3), Kolomyia (2.2), Mostyska (2.0), Ternopil (1.8), Radekhiv (1.7), Stanyslaviv (1.7), Terebovlia (0.9), Cieszanów (0.7).
- (3) BRIDES AND GROOMS: Husiatyn (16.2 per cent), Borshchiv (10.4), Terebovlia (8.6), Cieszanów (8.0), Sokal (7.9), Zalishchyky (6.7), Chortkiv (6.6), Brody (6.3), Jarosław (2.2), Horodenka (2.1), Iavoriv (2.0), Sniatyn (1.9), Zbarazh (1.85), Ternopil (1.85), Radekhiv (1.8), Buchach (1.8), Stanyslaviv (1.4), Skalat (1.3), Mostyska (1.2), Przemyśl (1.2), Kolomyia (0.5). (Only about 1.5 per cent of those married in the two Ukrainian Catholic churches were Bukovynians; most of Winnipeg's Bukovynians were married in local Orthodox churches.)
78. In "A Peasant Society in Transition: Ukrainian Peasants in Five East Galician Counties, 1880-1900" (PhD dissertation, University of Manitoba, 1984), Stella Hryniuk suggests that Ukrainian peasants emigrated from southern Podilia because improvements in their living standards generated rising expectations which could only be satisfied by seeking a better life overseas. While this may be true for some emigrants, the study unfortunately does not examine in detail relations between small peasant holders and the estate-owning nobility (only three or four pages are devoted to philanthropists like the Sapiuha family (56-60)), and no effort is made to compare conditions in southern Podilia with those in regions of eastern Galicia where (a) emigration was negligible and (b) the living standards were higher.
79. Population density in the counties is based on data in Sirka, "Appendix One," 201-3. It is noteworthy that the density in most central and south-western counties was well below the average. The only exceptions were

- Tovmach and Stanyslaviv, which contributed sizable numbers of immigrants.
80. Hvozdetzsky, 266.
 81. In the late 1880s Cieszanów also had the tenth highest rate of illiteracy in Galicia and it ranked seventh on a list of counties with the fewest head of cattle. V. Okhrymovych, "Pro smertelnist v Halychyni," *Narod IV* (1893), 110, 145.
 82. Budzynovsky, 31.
 83. There were quite a few Jewish landlords in the region: Chaim Hornstein, Selig Borak, Dawid Rappaport. Szymon Chanderys, *Kompletny skorowidz miejscowości w Galicyi i Bukowinie* (Lviv, 1909).
 84. Ronald Sanders, *Shores of Refuge: A Hundred Years of Jewish Emigration* (New York, 1988), 29ff.
 85. In the late 1880s Horodenka had the highest death rate in Galicia, followed by Zalishchyky (second), Sniatyn (fifth), Kolomyia (sixth), and Chortkiv (seventh). Horodenka, Zalishchyky and Borschchiv ranked seventh, eighth and ninth in illiteracy. Okhrymovych, *Narod III* (1892), 241, *IV* (1893), 145.
 86. Najdus, I, 260; Hryniuk, "A Peasant Society in Transition," Table 31, 231.
 87. Of all Galician counties, Zalishchyky had the fewest head of cattle followed by Borschchiv (second), Terebovlia (fifth), Husiatyn (sixth) and Sniatyn (tenth). Okhrymovych, *Narod IV* (1893), 110.
 88. *Wielka Encyklopedia Powszechna*, IV (Warsaw, 1966), 311-12; *Polski Słownik Biograficzny XVI*, 442-3; Najdus, I, 100.
 89. Najdus, I, 260. Hryniuk, citing data that 8.9 to 39.8 per cent of the peasant households in the five south Podilian counties had "the right to pasture animals on communal or tabular land" and that 0.2 to 6.1 per cent had woodland rights, interprets this as ready access. The fact that at least 65 per cent lacked pasturage rights and over 95 per cent lacked woodland rights is dismissed in one sentence. "A Peasant Society in Transition," Table 34, 235-6.
 90. Budzynovsky, 31.
 91. In 1902, Zalishchyky, Przemyśl (in the northwest) and Chortkiv experienced 53, 29 and 22 agrarian strikes respectively; in 1906, Husiatyn, Chortkiv, Mostyska (in the northwest) and Buchach experienced 37, 23, 23 and 20 agrarian strikes respectively. Najdus, II, 630.
 92. Kompaniets, 34; V.M. Botushansky, "Pidnesennia straikovoi borotby selian Pivnichnoi Bukovyny na pochatku XX st. (1900-1907 rr.)," *Mynule i suchasne Pivnichnoi Bukovyny I* (Kiev, 1972), 18-29.
 93. Ewa Morawska, *For Bread with Butter: The Life-Worlds of East Central Europeans in Johnstown, Pennsylvania, 1890-1940* (Cambridge, 1987), 72-8.
 94. Himka, *Galician Villagers and the Ukrainian National Movement*, xxv.

2

Canada at the Turn of the Century

If some parts of the old world were burdened with a surplus population that their agricultural and industrial sectors could not absorb, the new world had far too few people. Not only did North and South America require agriculturalists to produce badly needed staple foods, but labourers were also needed to build the new world's railways and cities and to work in its industries. Moreover, in Canada, Argentina and Brazil the vast empty spaces in the interior jeopardized the state's territorial integrity, and geo-political considerations thus also moved the host societies to promote immigration.

Between 1850 and 1900, 16.7 million immigrants entered the United States, 2.1 million went to Brazil and 1.9 million emigrated to Canada, the same number as went to Argentina. Immigration to Canada, however, increased significantly after the turn of the century. The appropriation of the best American farmlands, advances in agricultural technology and farming practices, aggressive immigration policies and an unprecedented boom in Canadian railway construction, natural-resource development and manufacturing helped to "pull" almost three million immigrants to Canada between 1901 and 1914. Ukrainian immigration, which assumed mass proportions after 1896, grew rapidly during these years.

Canada and the Canadians

Apart from the fact that Canada had *vilni zemli* or "free lands" in great abundance, the vast majority of Ukrainian immigrants knew very little about the country they were about to settle. With a population of only 5.4 million in an area of over 3.8 million square miles (9.9 million square kilometres), Canada was one of the world's most sparsely populated countries. Indeed, in 1901 it had a population density of only 1.5 persons per square mile (0.6 persons per square kilometre). Of course, vast tracts of uninhabitable terrain contributed to the low

density, as did the fact that only 12 per cent of Canadians lived west of the Great Lakes. Yet, even in the Maritimes and in southern Quebec and Ontario, where most Canadians were concentrated, the population density rarely exceeded forty to fifty persons per square mile in rural districts.¹ In size and population, Canada's vastness and sparseness of settlement contrasted very sharply with the small, densely populated crownlands of Galicia and Bukovyna.

In its ethnic make-up, too, Canada was very different. To Ukrainians, the strangest inhabitants undoubtedly would have been the native Indian peoples who, by 1901, had been reduced by conquest, disease and starvation to 127,000 from about one million early in the seventeenth century. Of those who remained, thirty to forty thousand lived west of the Great Lakes, as did eighteen thousand Inuit and ten thousand Métis. Together, they constituted just under 3 per cent of Canada's population. Very much larger were the 1.65 million French Canadians, who formed 31 per cent of the total population. Primarily a rural people, who, like the Ukrainians in Galicia and Bukovyna, looked to their clergy for leadership, they made up 75 per cent of Quebec's population and 24 per cent of New Brunswick's. Canadians who were British (Anglo-Celtic) in origin were not only the most numerous but the most prosperous and powerful inhabitants of the country. By 1901 they numbered almost 3.1 million or 57 per cent of the whole (23.5 per cent English and Welsh, 18.5 per cent Irish, 15 per cent Scottish). Altogether, almost 91 per cent of Canadians were of native, French-Canadian or British origin in 1901. The remaining 9 per cent consisted of more than twenty European nationalities (the Germans at 5.8 per cent were by far the largest) and of small groups of American blacks, Chinese and Japanese. The prairies were the most diverse ethnically. There, persons of British origin were 57 per cent of the population and they overwhelmed the French, who were only 5.5 per cent of the whole. Immigrants from continental Europe made up 26 per cent of the prairie population in 1901, and as many among them—Icelanders, Mennonites, Doukhobors and Ukrainians—lived in exclusive and isolated enclaves, they retained their languages, customs and beliefs and stamped prairie society with a cultural pluralism that distinguished it markedly from other parts of Canada.

Unlike the basically illiterate peasant population of Galicia and Bukovyna, 82.9 per cent of Canadians at the turn of the century were able to read and write. The rate of literacy was highest in predominantly British and Protestant Ontario (89.8 per cent), somewhat below average in French and Catholic Quebec (77.9 per cent) and lowest in Saskatchewan (63.9 per cent), a new and sparsely settled frontier province.² Between 1900 and 1910 daily attendance in Canada's elementary and secondary public schools averaged 55 to 60 per cent of the total enrolment (1.2 million). During the same decade full-time enrolment at Canada's thirteen universities rose from 6,641 to 12,891, though Canadians seeking graduate degrees had to study abroad.

In sharp contrast again to the special place which the Catholic and Orthodox churches occupied in western Ukraine, Canada had no established church, though it was far from a secular society in the modern sense. Churches and clergymen were very influential and religious practices and institutions figured prominently in Canadian life. Over 96 per cent of Canadians identified themselves as Christians of the Protestant (54.9 per cent) and Roman Catholic (41.5 per cent) persuasions at the beginning of the twentieth century. Secularization had made least progress within the Roman Catholic church among its 2.23 million French-Canadian and Irish (both mainly rural and working-class adherents). Modern currents of thought were most prevalent within the two largest Protestant denominations, the "prosperous and respectable" Methodists (917,000) and the even more business-oriented Scottish Presbyterians (843,000). Anglicans (681,000), Baptists (318,000) and Lutherans (93,000) were less receptive to modern thought, though it was not unusual for Protestant clergy of all denominations to echo the denunciations of liberalism, secularism and science heard most commonly in Catholic pulpits.³

What Ukrainians had most in common with the host society was the agrarian or rural way of life. But even here there were few real parallels. The 62.5 per cent of Canadians who were rural dwellers at the turn of the century were specialized producers of surplus farm produce which, as consumers, they exchanged for manufactured goods; they were not subsistence farmers as in western Ukraine. In central Canada and in the Maritimes the typical farmer owned about one hundred acres of land and tilled forty, and increasingly he was leaving grain farming for dairy and livestock production. On the western prairies, where in 1901 there were more than fifty-five thousand farms (including cattle ranches in southern Alberta), the average farm was 280 acres (113 hectares), with most farmers concentrating on wheat and grain production.⁴ Of the 37.5 per cent of Canadians who were urban dwellers, only 12.25 per cent resided in cities of more than fifty thousand inhabitants. Indeed, there were only five cities of this size in Canada, and only two cities, Montreal and Toronto, had over 200,000 inhabitants. Although a majority of Canadians (60 per cent) were employed in the non-agricultural sector, only 27.9 per cent worked in construction and manufacturing, with most engaged in such traditional Canadian pursuits as the extraction and transportation of Canadian raw materials to markets abroad. Canadians, in short, were basically an unsophisticated, provincial people, however well-schooled and worldly-wise they might have appeared to Ukrainian peasant immigrants scarcely more than a generation removed from serfdom.

Confederation and the National Policy

While Ukrainian immigration was not envisaged when the Dominion of Canada was born in 1867, Ukrainians and other central and eastern Europeans became an important part of Canada's development once earlier plans for the rapid settlement of the prairies had failed to materialize. Both political and economic considerations loomed large in the decision to unite British North America and to expand into the northwest. Of the political factors, the two most important were fear of annexation by the United States and the desire of English-speaking Ontario Reformers to ensure the dominance of the British element in Canada. Among economic considerations, the most significant was the Canadian entrepreneur's vision of the northwest as a lucrative hinterland populated by prosperous farmers able to export agricultural products and to import manufactured goods. The Montreal-based Canadian economic and political elites were particularly enthusiastic about Confederation. Over the years, their Scottish and English merchants, financiers and transportation tycoons had extracted raw staples (furs, lumber and agricultural products) from North America's hinterland and sold them in British and American industrial centres. In the mid-1860s they joined Toronto businessmen and Ontario farmers, who were concerned to expand the province's shrinking settlement frontier and to establish a Confederation that would increase interprovincial trade, strengthen Canada's place in international trade and money markets, stimulate additional railway construction and create a strong central government capable of promoting westward expansion. The policy devised to build the new Canadian nation—the National Policy—rested on three pillars: a protective tariff system, the construction of transcontinental railways, and an immigration policy that promoted agricultural settlement and secured a large reservoir of cheap labour. The tariff, which created an east-west trade nexus and encouraged the development of industry in Canada by impeding the entry of American manufactured goods, was clearly to the advantage of central Canada's commercial elite. However, it was the second and third pillars of the National Policy that were of greatest future significance to poor peasants like the Ukrainians. The railways made it possible for immigrants to reach the west, and railway expansion furnished employment and badly needed cash for undercapitalized settlers. The agrarian-based immigration policy meant that, as the pool of agriculturalists dried up in northwestern Europe, the large pools in central and eastern Europe would be tapped.⁵

The settlement of the west before the First World War was thus closely tied to a multitude of interrelated political and economic factors, with railway construction the principal among them. Canada's transcontinental railway system was built in two phases. The first saw the Canadian Pacific Railway (CPR) constructed between 1880 and 1885 by a syndicate led by George Stephen, president of the Bank of Montreal, and his cousin Donald A. Smith, director and

largest shareholder of the Hudson's Bay Company. Concern about American westward expansion and a desire to bind the northwest to central Canada prompted the government to offer extremely lucrative incentives to the CPR. The company received twenty-five million dollars in cash, twenty-five million acres (just under ten million hectares) of prairie farmland, seven hundred miles of existing railway track and a twenty-year monopoly of all rail transport south of the CPR mainline. Extending from Montreal to Vancouver via Winnipeg, Regina, Calgary and the Kicking Horse Pass, it established the Montreal business elite's dominance over western Canada. The second phase of transcontinental railway construction, between 1900 and 1914, was the result of the sudden influx of immigrants into the prairie provinces and the ensuing increase in agricultural productivity. The Canadian Northern Railway (CNoR), from Quebec City to Vancouver via Winnipeg, Edmonton and the Yellowhead Pass, was masterminded by William McKenzie and Donald Mann, and the National Transcontinental (NTR)/Grand Trunk Pacific (GTP) was a joint venture of the Canadian government and the Grand Trunk Railway (GTR). The NTR, built by the federal government from Moncton to Winnipeg to stimulate settlement in the uninhabited regions of Quebec and Ontario, was leased to the GTR, which had constructed the GTP from Winnipeg to Prince Rupert via Saskatoon, Edmonton and the Yellowhead Pass. Expansion of this magnitude—railway mileage grew from 14,634 to 51,747 miles (23,565 to 83,330 kilometres) between 1891 and 1921⁶—greatly stimulated the Canadian economy and ultimately immigration. Railways created a demand for fuel (especially coal), as well as for lumber, iron and steel, locomotives and rolling stock. They played a crucial role in Canadian industrialization and urbanization.

Before 1885 the coal-mining industry had been confined to Cape Breton Island and New Brunswick on the east coast and to Vancouver Island in the west. After the CPR's construction, the focus of coal mining moved to southern Alberta and British Columbia, bringing with it countless immigrants in search of work. Coal mines were opened near Lethbridge, Canmore and Medicine Hat in the late 1880s and in the Crow's Nest Pass on both sides of the Alberta-British Columbia boundary after 1897. In British Columbia the Crow's Nest Pass Coal Company, controlled by Toronto's business elite with headquarters at Fernie and mines at Coal Creek, Morrissey (1902-9) and Michel, was the largest enterprise. The Pacific Coal Company, a subsidiary of the CPR, operated the mines at Hosmer (1908-14), while D.C. Corbin, an American mining magnate, controlled those at Corbin. On the Alberta side of the Pass, mines at Bellevue, Blairmore and Lille (1904-13) were owned by the Franco-Belgian West Canadian Collieries Company. Still others at Frank, Hillcrest, Passburg, Burmis, Lundbrek, Coleman and Carbondale were opened by smaller operators. Shortly after the turn of the century, the CPR opened a mine at Bankhead, near Banff, and several small privately operated mines appeared in the Edmonton region. When the GTP

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reached the Yellowhead Pass in 1909, coal mines were opened in the Coal Branch district (Coalspur, Lovett, Mountain Park, Robb, Mercoal, Sterco, Coal Valley, Foothills, Nordegg) at the foot of the Rockies. Similarly, the arrival of the CNoR in the Drumheller district (Wayne, Rosedale, East Coulee) in 1912 opened several more.⁷ As a result, between 1891 and 1920 coal production increased from 1.1 to 3.1 million tons per annum in British Columbia and from 0.2 to 6.9 million tons in Alberta, where there were over three hundred mines in 1920. The number of mine workers rose from three thousand in 1891, almost all of them in British Columbia, to eleven thousand in 1911, equally divided between the two provinces. By 1920 the two provinces accounted for over 60 per cent of Canada's coal production.⁸

Railway construction was also of crucial importance to the emergence of northern Ontario's hard-rock mining industry, the destination, especially after 1906, of many more Ukrainian and other single, male immigrant labourers. In 1883, CPR clearing parties discovered nickel and copper deposits several miles northwest of Sudbury. Shortly after the turn of the century, several small companies merged to form the International Nickel Company of Canada (INCO), a subsidiary of J.P. Morgan's U.S. Steel Corporation. With its headquarters and a smelter at Copper Cliff and the greatest nickel mine in the world at Creighton, INCO's prosperity rested on the production of armour-plate steel for the American navy. The company's major competitor in the Sudbury basin was Mond Nickel, a British-owned enterprise. Mond built its smelters at Coniston where ores from its mines at Victoria, Garson and Levack were smelted. Between 1891 and 1918, Canadian copper output rose by 1,250 per cent while nickel output increased more than twentyfold, making Canada the world's major producer of the mineral. Silver was discovered at Cobalt during the construction of a provincial railway in 1903. By 1912, when output peaked, the miners had increased from fifty-seven to thirty-five hundred. Silver prospectors stumbled upon gold veins in the South Porcupine district in 1909, and the Hollinger Consolidated Gold Mine and McIntyre Porcupine Mine emerged as the pre-eminent enterprises. In 1912 gold was also discovered at Kirkland Lake, where the Wright-Hargreaves and Lake Shore Mines dominated the industry.⁹

British Columbia's hard-rock mining industry in the Kootenay district emerged as an extension of the American mining frontier. Gold and copper ores were discovered at Rossland in 1889, silver-lead-zinc at Kelso and Slocan in 1891, copper-gold near Phoenix in 1891, and lead-silver-zinc at Kimberly and Moyie in the East Kootenays in 1892. By the turn of the century, smelters had been built at Grand Forks, Nelson and Trail, and American capitalists had been replaced by the British and Canadians. After 1906 most of the mines came under CPR control through its subsidiary, the Consolidated Mining and Smelting Company (COMINCO). The largest copper mine at Anyox on Observatory

Inlet, some eight hundred miles north of Vancouver, was owned by the Granby Company.¹⁰

Railway construction, mining and the settlement of the American and Canadian prairies revived Canada's forest industry by creating an unprecedented demand for railway ties, mining props and construction timbers. At the turn of the century, the industry, formerly concentrated in eastern and central Canada, began to expand westward along the northern shore of Lake Superior into the Thunder Bay-Lake of the Woods district and into British Columbia. The best American pine forests having been exhausted, Minnesota-based lumber barons built some of Canada's largest lumber mills in northwestern Ontario and in British Columbia shortly after the turn of the century. By 1914, British Columbia had surpassed Quebec as Canada's second lumber-producing province and the value of its yield equalled Ontario's. However, the main growth sector in the forest industry was not lumber but pulp and paper production. The demand for paper, especially newsprint, rose dramatically in the United States after 1870, as literacy advanced and newspaper circulation increased by 80 per cent during the ensuing four decades. As a result, pulp and paper production soared in Quebec and in northern Ontario where the jackpine, balsam fir and spruce trees were complemented by an abundance of cheap hydro-electric power, making mills possible at Sault Ste. Marie, Lake Nipissing, Espanola, Iroquois Falls and Dryden in Ontario and at several centres in Quebec. By 1920 pulp and paper production was Canada's leading non-agricultural industry in terms of capital invested, labour employed and product exported, and Canada became the world's largest pulp and paper exporter.¹¹

The construction of the two new railways and the industrial expansion also created an unprecedented demand for iron and steel, resulting in the establishment of the Algoma Steel Company in Sault Ste. Marie in 1901. Its major competitors were the Steel Company of Canada (STELCO) in Hamilton and the Dominion Iron and Steel Company in Sydney. After 1901, when 4,110 workers produced 245,000 long tons of pig iron and 26,000 tons of steel, production soared. By 1914, Italians, Poles, Hungarians, Ukrainians and American blacks were working side by side with Canadians, Americans and Newfoundlanders in the iron and steel industry, just as they were in railway construction, in the mines and in the forests.¹²

Immigration

By 1900, then, there was a great demand for settlers and labourers in Canada. Unless the prairies were populated by a substantial agricultural population, Canadian nationhood and the prosperity of the country's commercial capitalist elite would remain an unrealized dream. Yet, in spite of Canada's free 160-acre

(65-hectare) homesteads and a liberal "open door" immigration policy, which proscribed only individuals who were diseased, criminal, vicious or potentially destitute, emigration exceeded immigration. Between 1871 and 1901, Canada received 1.55 million immigrants and lost 1.75 million emigrants.¹³ While the United States consistently attracted 60 to 80 per cent of Europe's emigrants, Canada rarely received more than 5 per cent. Even though it drew more than either Brazil or Argentina during the 1870s and 1880s (almost 1.25 million), Canada's immigrants plummeted to 330,000 in the 1890s, well behind Argentina (650,000) and Brazil (1,145,000). Only remote and inaccessible Australia and New Zealand attracted fewer immigrants before the turn of the century. To the great frustration of numerous expectant entrepreneurs, the annual homestead entries in western Canada between 1874 and 1896 were just three thousand, often offset by an equal number of cancellations.¹⁴ By 1896 prairie settlement was still largely concentrated in the Red, Qu'Appelle and Souris river valleys, and along the CPR mainline and its branch lines to Saskatoon-Prince Albert and Edmonton.

The west developed slowly for several reasons. Before 1879, when Winnipeg was finally connected by rail to St. Paul, Minnesota, the Canadian prairies were without any rail service. When railway construction did get underway, the millions of acres set aside to enable the CPR and other railway companies to choose their land grants meant that much prime agricultural land was not available for settlement. Finally, concern about the difficult Canadian climate and the continued availability of land in the relatively humid North Dakota-Kansas corridor of the American Great Plains diverted many settlers, with at least 120,000 eastern and central Canadians taking out homesteads in the American Midwest between 1871 and 1901.

In the late 1890s, however, the tide finally began to turn. Immigration to Canada rose from 89,000 in 1902 to 211,000 in 1906 and peaked at over 400,000 in 1913. In the first decade of the new century, immigration finally surpassed emigration by between 715,000 and 980,000, as more than 2.9 million persons entered Canada between 1901 and 1914. The number, much lower than the thirteen million who went to the United States, surpassed that of Argentina, Brazil, New Zealand and Australia. Homestead entries also began to climb in 1897, reaching 7,400 in 1900 and 44,500 in 1911.¹⁵

Several economic factors were responsible for the dramatic turnabout.¹⁶ First, wheat prices recovered and the cost of transporting grain and cattle to markets fell as railway and ocean shipping expanded. In Canada railway mileage doubled between 1896 and 1914, while shipping costs from the prairies to eastern Canada fell as a result of the 1897 Crow's Nest Pass agreement. Second, although the most arid and northerly stretches of the American Great Plains continued to attract homesteaders, by 1900 the best American homestead lands were no longer available. Third, important advances in agricultural technology

and farming practices, especially increased familiarity with dry-farming techniques and the introduction of new strains of wheat, made the Canadian prairies more attractive. Finally, as we have seen, conditions in Europe were “pushing” large numbers of peasants and labourers out of villages and towns, while the Canadian agricultural, mining, lumbering and railway construction booms were “pulling” them to Canada.

But economic considerations alone would not have sufficed to divert so many immigrants to Canada. The newly elected Liberal government led by Wilfrid Laurier (1896-1911), and especially the energetic and aggressive policies of his minister of the interior, Clifford Sifton (1896-1905), were just as important.¹⁷ Sifton not only pressured the railways to select, patent and put their land grants on the market, he also streamlined homestead procedures and promoted irrigation and ranching in southwestern Saskatchewan and southern Alberta. Most importantly, under him, the Interior Department’s Immigration Branch systematically promoted Canada in Great Britain, the United States and continental Europe.

As Sifton was particularly anxious to populate the prairies with farmers, Canada’s “open door” immigration policy became more selective. It focused on experienced agriculturalists who would persevere under harsh pioneer conditions, *tame the prairie and remain on the land for generations*. Although American farmers with capital and a knowledge of North American agricultural techniques were deemed the most desirable, and settlers from the rural districts of northern England and Scotland were also favoured, continental Europeans, including all the “stalwart peasants in sheepskin coats” that could be found in eastern Europe, were strenuously recruited. On the other hand, artisans, mechanics, labourers and most city-dwellers, especially the urban poor, were discouraged because Sifton did not think they would succeed as prairie farmers. Although he was especially scornful of English artisans and labourers—“riotous, turbulent and with an insatiable appetite for whisky”—he was equally reluctant to encourage American blacks, Orientals, Jews and Italians. Even so, he supported only one piece of legislation to limit immigration: the head tax on Chinese immigrant labourers that was first imposed in 1885 and then raised from fifty to one hundred dollars in 1900 and to five hundred in 1903.

Under Sifton the Immigration Branch was overhauled and revitalized. Incompetent employees were replaced, millions of promotional pamphlets were published annually, journalists from all parts of the Western world were given free tours of western Canada, displays and exhibits were mounted at American and British fairs and the immigration agents were increased dramatically. The United States, with only six Canadian agents in 1896, had three hundred by 1899, and settlement bonuses of three dollars for every man, two for every woman and one for every child were offered to the agents. In Great Britain, where more promotional funds were spent than elsewhere, separate immigration offices

to supplement the Canadian high commissioner's efforts were established in London, and local agents, who received \$1.75 for each British agriculturalist settled in Canada, were appointed in most rural districts. In continental Europe, where recruiting of immigrants was frequently illegal, steamship agents received bonuses for promoting Canada. To co-ordinate the often clandestine efforts, Sifton, in 1899, allowed the North Atlantic Trading Company to be established by Donald A. Smith (Lord Strathcona), high commissioner in London, and W.T.R. Preston, inspector of immigration agencies in Europe. Agents, especially in Germany, Austria-Hungary, Serbia and Russia, received five dollars for each adult agriculturalist they settled in Canada. The Canadian public, informed in 1899 that all continental bonuses had been discontinued, was not aware of the arrangements. Between 1899 and 1906 the company dispatched over seventy-one thousand immigrants at a cost of more than \$367,000. With three thousand pounds spent annually just on advertising in Galicia, the Kingdom of Poland, Romania and Serbia, it is not surprising that its agents were especially successful in eastern Europe. Smith even concluded that "without these efforts we should never have secured the Galicians."

Sifton's policies changed the character of Canadian immigration, and the proportion of Americans and continental Europeans swelled dramatically. Where only 2,400 Americans had arrived in 1897, their number increased to 12,000 in 1899 and between 1903 and 1906 the intake annually was 45-60,000. Between 1899 and 1903 the Americans outnumbered British newcomers and thereafter they represented 30 to 40 per cent of all who came. For continental Europeans, the figures were even more remarkable. Before 1896 they rarely numbered more than 5,000 in any year or represented more than 5 or 6 per cent of all arrivals. From less than 8,000 in 1897, they grew to almost 22,000 in 1899 and to over 37,000 in 1903 and 45,000 in 1906. Indeed, between 1897 and 1905 about 170,000 or 26.5 per cent of the 644,000 immigrants who arrived in Canada came from continental Europe. They included 72,500 immigrants from Austria-Hungary (of whom 60,000 were Ukrainians), 28,000 from Russia, 23,000 from Scandinavia, 20,000 from Italy and about 12,500 from Germany.¹⁸

The arrival of so many immigrants who were neither British nor, in many instances, Protestant provoked a nativist backlash which the Conservative opposition eagerly exploited. As a result, Frank Oliver, Sifton's successor (1905-11), tried to reverse his predecessor's policy. Although "Galicians" and other East European settlers were good agriculturalists, Oliver believed that their cultural peculiarities were "a drag on [Canadian] civilization and progress." "[The foreigner] may be a better man, but he is not one of us ... he is not helping us develop along those lines providence has chosen for us, or that we have chosen for ourselves."¹⁹ Consequently, instead of selecting agriculturalists without regard to ethnicity, Oliver opted for English-speaking immigrants from Britain and the United States.

Efforts to stem the influx of continental Europeans began in 1906. Not only was the North Atlantic Trading Company liquidated, but the settlement bonuses to British booking agents were raised from \$1.75 to \$5.00 for every adult and from 87 1/2¢ to \$2.50 for every child under eighteen.²⁰ "The Englishman, Irishman, Scotchman, comes to Canada practically a ready-made citizen," Oliver declared. "He is of the same race and speaks the same language as Canadians. Therefore, he is preferable." Accordingly, the newly amended Immigration Act excluded any class of persons deemed undesirable, regulated entry according to the immigrant's funds and provided for stricter medical inspections.²¹

During the next two years anxiety over immigrants from Asia led to more restrictive measures. Between 1906 and 1908, 5,000 East Indians and 11,500 Japanese, almost all males, were lured to British Columbia by the CPR's shipping line, suffering after Chinese immigration declined in 1903. Opposition from nativists and organized labour led to a gentlemen's agreement between Canada and Japan in 1908, which limited Japanese immigration annually to four hundred domestics, merchants, students and spouses. At the same time the Japanese and East Indians who reached Canada via Hawaii were cut off by an order-in-council requiring all immigrants to enter by a "continuous passage" from their country of origin, thus effectively barring all East Indian immigration. The 1910 Immigration Act not only included the provision for "continuous passage," it also prohibited "immigrants belonging to any race deemed unsuited to the climate or requirements of Canada" and discouraged the entry of Italians and East Europeans from the United States by stipulating that immigrants had to possess \$25 in cash, money for rail fare and \$12.50 for every child aged five to eighteen. During the winter the sums were doubled. As a result, Oliver could boast, by 1911, that Canada's immigration laws were as restrictive as those in any part of the world.²²

Oliver's best efforts notwithstanding, neither he nor Robert Rogers, his successor (1911-14) in the prewar Conservative administration of Robert Borden, could halt the torrent of immigration. Of the almost 2.4 million persons who entered Canada between 1906 and 1914, 39 per cent came from Great Britain, 34.2 from the United States, 23.3 from continental Europe and 2.5 from Asia. Over 31,000 Chinese arrived between 1908 and 1914 and up to 560,000 continental Europeans came between 1906 and 1914, almost 250,000 during the two years before the First World War, many from southern and eastern Europe and most of them unskilled labourers rather than agriculturalists. Alongside the 161,000 who arrived from Austria-Hungary (including 110,000 Ukrainians) and the 155,000 from the Russian empire and 93,000 from Italy, 38,000 came from Scandinavia and 27,000 from Germany.²³

The Ukrainians and other continental Europeans who continued to arrive did so because immigration to Canada from central and eastern Europe had, by 1906, developed a momentum which the dissolution of the North Atlantic Trading

Company and amendments to the Immigration Act could not affect. Immigrants in Canada proclaimed the new land's virtues in letters that drew neighbours, friends and relatives like a magnet. Even more significant was Canada's business elite, who needed a cheap and malleable labour force. Men who ran the country's industrial enterprises knew that illiterate and underfed immigrants would keep labour costs low and labour unions in disarray. They spoke highly of such immigrants, lobbied for the removal of restrictions on their entry and actively recruited them overseas. The CPR, which needed rural settlers, navvies, mine workers and passengers for its shipping lines, was especially active, and by 1912 it operated branch offices in all Austrian provincial capitals and in several Galician and Bukovynian towns, with a vast network of local agents in both crownlands.²⁴

Racial, Ethnic, Sectional and Class Conflicts

Even though Indian wars, institutionalized racism and lynchings, and violent state-sanctioned repression of labour on a scale comparable to the United States were not part of the Canadian experience, racial discord and occasional violence, intolerance of minority groups who did not share the values and standards of the Anglo-Protestant middle class, and sectional and class conflict were historically part of Canadian society. Few of the Ukrainians who came to Canada after 1891 were aware of these facts or had considered their implications. Of course, knowledge of the strained relations between the federal government and the country's regions, or of the primitive struggle between capital and labour or of the bitter relations between the white settlers and the native peoples and Métis on the one hand, and the country's English-speaking and French-speaking citizens on the other, would hardly have kept the peasants of Galicia and Bukovyna from immigrating to Canada. Nevertheless, the tensions and conflicts at the heart of Canadian society greatly complicated the efforts of Ukrainian leaders to realize the goals which they later articulated on behalf of the immigrants.

By the 1890s the human-relations record of Canadians was anything but good. The annexation of Rupert's Land had disrupted the traditional prairie life of the Métis and native Indians. Once the decline of the fur trade, the disappearance of the buffalo and the triumph of railway transportation deprived the Métis of their livelihood, Canadian surveyors and soldiers and settlers treated them with scant regard if not outright contempt, while eastern land grabbers deceived and harassed them and Ottawa ignored their pleas for a clear title to their land. By the early 1880s at least two-thirds of the Métis had abandoned their homes in Manitoba and moved to the United States or deeper into the Canadian northwest.²⁵

Prairie Indians, in turn, presented Canadian expansionists with an even greater challenge. Viewing them as a dangerous military force capable of imped-

ing settlement, Canadian officials negotiated a series of treaties which placed the Indians on reserves and provided them with certain benefits: annual cash payments, ammunition and fishing twine, the right to fish and hunt on unoccupied crown lands, and the promise of schools and agricultural instruction. Thereafter, while Ottawa regarded the treaties as one-time transactions that simply stipulated the terms of land transfer and relieved the crown of all unspecified obligations, the Indians saw them as agreements akin to alliances—the beginning of ongoing relationships that obliged the crown to provide for their long-term economic security. The extermination of the buffalo herds between 1874 and 1879 obliged the Indians either to accept the government's terms or starve. The government's superior military strength, demonstrated in the collapse of Métis resistance at Red River in 1870 and in the crushing of the North-West Rebellion at Batoche in May 1885, left the Indians little choice. After 1885 the Métis practically disappeared as a distinct entity, while the Indians, confined to their remote and isolated reserves, were urged to assume an agricultural lifestyle. Their children were taught by Christian missionaries whose "civilization" suppressed native traditions and languages, and they were denied Canadian citizenship.²⁶

If relations between the native Indians and Métis and the white settlers were harsh, those between the English- and French-speaking white settlers were equally acrimonious. In 1870 the French Catholics of Manitoba had been guaranteed complete separation and equality for state-financed Catholic public schools and the right to use French in the courts and in the debates, records and legislation of the Manitoba legislature. In 1877 a similar federal statute had guaranteed the same rights to French Catholics in the North-West Territories. However, when French colonization of the prairies failed to keep up with the influx of settlers from Ontario, the Maritimes, Great Britain and the United States,²⁷ the legislative assemblies in Manitoba and the Territories revoked the rights in the early 1890s and plunged Canada into a period of controversy, whose intensity threatened the foundations of Confederation itself. Although the official status of French was not restored in Manitoba, French- and English-speaking Catholics struggled to preserve the province's public Catholic schools in appeals that eventually reached the Vatican. In 1897 the Laurier-Greenway compromise created a single, non-denominational (but not secular) public school system in which, under certain circumstances, instruction could be provided in English and in any other language "upon the bi-lingual system."²⁸ In the Territories, French remained largely a nascent official language, with its use in the classroom confined, in 1892, to the primary grades. Subsequent school legislation continued to erode minority rights through a system that imposed the same curriculum and regulations on all state-supported schools. Provisions less broad than in Manitoba allowed religious instruction and second-language learning under certain circumstances.²⁹

Continental European and Asian immigrants, with customs and standards which differed markedly from the English-speaking majority, also felt the sting of public opprobrium. Between 1897 and 1900, when for the first and only time Slavic immigrants rivalled British and American arrivals, nativists and Conservative opponents strongly pressed the Liberal government to end the influx of sheepskin-clad undesirables. The cry grew after 1899, when sixty-nine hundred "Galicians" (primarily Ukrainians) and seventy-four hundred Doukhobors arrived.³⁰ Asian immigrants, in turn, had to contend with unrelenting public opposition. The Chinese, first recruited in the 1880s to help construct the CPR, not only had to pay a "head tax" to enter Canada after 1885, but once in the country they were paid only half the wages of white labourers for identical work. In 1895 the British Columbia legislature disfranchised Japanese and Chinese immigrants (including naturalized British subjects and their Canadian-born children) in provincial and municipal elections, and subsequently the law excluded them from most professions. Hostility to Orientals exploded in 1907, when, with unemployment high, white mobs rampaged through the Japanese and Chinese sections of Vancouver. East Indian immigrants, British subjects by birth, were also disfranchised in British Columbia in 1907, several months before their entry was halted. In 1914 they were at the centre of Canada's most spectacular anti-Asian incident, when the *Komagata Maru*, an immigrant ship that had arrived in Vancouver with 376 East Indians on board, was prevented from docking for two months before being escorted out to sea. Blacks in western Canada endured less racism only because they were widely scattered and few in number. When, in 1911, it was learned that a large group was planning to emigrate from Oklahoma to Alberta, strong anti-black sentiment manifested itself. The Immigration Branch let prospective immigrants know that medical and character inspections would be strictly enforced, and the group immigration of blacks did not materialize.³¹

Clearly, then, the treatment meted out to native Indian and Métis peoples and to the French Catholic minority by the Anglo-Canadian majority, as well as the latter's reception of immigrants from Asia and eastern Europe, left much to be desired. Yet, as we shall see, there was little that anyone could do to change the situation. Those affected were powerless, being too few, too scattered, too disoriented and too disorganized to offer much resistance. Such, however, was not the case with the prairie farmers and Canada's burgeoning labour force, and each tried to organize movements strong enough to challenge the status quo.

Westerners, especially prairie farmers, laboured under numerous handicaps that provoked widespread discontent. Particularly resented was the National Policy's tariff, which compelled farmers to buy equipment and supplies at artificially protected prices and to sell their products on a highly competitive world market. To many, it seemed as if western farmers were to make sacrifices and sink into debt so that inefficient central- and eastern-Canadian industrialists could

make a profit. Prairie farmers also resented the “interests” and “syndicates” that dominated the marketing of agricultural products, and they especially disliked the largest symbol of that domination, the CPR. Even after the latter was forced to lower its freight rates and surrender its monopoly of the carrying trade, the new railways, including the CNoR which made a special effort to serve rural districts ignored by the CPR, remained pampered recipients of government largesse and operated under non-competitive conditions which created numerous irritants, especially at harvest time.³² By the turn of the century, as the grain trade and the meat-processing industry grew, prairie farmers found themselves at the mercy of another set of middlemen with strong ties to the railway companies—the packing plants and especially the grain elevator companies.

The high cost of building grain elevators meant that their construction was dominated by flour-milling companies and wealthy grain merchants. While the first elevator companies were owned by Canadians, Americans owned at least 40 per cent of the 2,001 prairie elevators by 1911.³³ Prairie farmers objected strongly to the way the elevator companies conducted their business. They were accused of price fixing and avoiding competition because ownership was concentrated in the hands of men who belonged to the North-West Grain Dealers’ Association and sat on the Winnipeg Grain Exchange. Farmers resented having to sell at the lower “street” price whenever they failed to fill a boxcar with the same variety and grade of grain. And they suspected elevator agents of downgrading their grain, tampering with the weigh scales and assessing too much dockage (for impurities in the grain). During the first decade of the century, farmers’ organizations—the Manitoba Grain Growers’ Association, the Saskatchewan Grain Growers’ Association and the United Farmers of Alberta—were established to obtain legislation that would regulate the grain trade and explore alternative methods of grain marketing. When unco-ordinated local initiatives to establish “farmers’ elevators” failed because of the high costs and the retaliatory price-cutting tactics of the large companies, the farmers’ organizations established farmer-controlled co-operative elevator companies—the Manitoba Grain Growers’ Company, the Saskatchewan Co-operative Elevator Company and the Alberta Farmers’ Co-operative Elevator Company. In the two decades after 1910, such farmer-owned co-operatives would revolutionize the grain-handling business.³⁴ As we shall see (Chapter 11), the Ruthenian Farmers’ Elevator Company (1917-30) was an offspring of this co-operative movement, but there is little evidence that Ukrainians were active in the provincial farmers’ organizations before 1920.

Like prairie farmers, Canadian workers also formed organizations to redress grievances.³⁵ Apart from the perennial problems of job insecurity and low wages, workers complained that many employers, especially in the frontier camps, mining communities and urban immigrant ghettos, routinely disregarded safety and sanitary regulations; that city councils failed to provide sanitation,

recreation and health services in working-class districts; and that provincial governments were reluctant to regulate workplace safety and sanitary standards, hours of work and the age of employees lest potential investors be discouraged. As a result, such factory legislation as did exist before 1914 was either inadequate or poorly enforced. Nor did the laissez-faire governments provide any federal or provincial welfare legislation. Workers who were injured or contracted occupational diseases had to sue to prove employer negligence. Workers' compensation was introduced only during the war years and old-age pensions and unemployment insurance only appeared many years later.³⁶

Some workers' grievances were unique to western Canada. Unlike central-Canadian workers who benefited indirectly from the National Policy's immigration and tariff provisions, western workers generally resented both. Increased immigration merely created large pools of surplus labour that depressed wages, reduced ethnic homogeneity within the labour force and eroded the labour movement's efficacy; the protective tariff, in turn, while providing central-Canadian workers with some degree of job security, merely obliged western workers to pay artificially high prices for everyday necessities.³⁷

While the Trades Union Act of 1872 had legalized trade unions and peaceful picketing, employers were under no obligation to recognize either. They could, moreover, dismiss employees who joined unions and they freely imported strike-breakers, expecting governments to intervene when unions called strikes. As a result, trade-union membership was only twenty thousand in 1900. By 1911, on the heels of a decade of prosperity, membership had risen to 133,000 or 8.5 per cent of Canada's non-agricultural labour force.³⁸ Equally significant, industrial conflict increased between 1901 and 1914, with no fewer than 1,478 strikes involving 9,063 employers and over 10.5 million workers.³⁹

Most Canadian trade unionists were skilled workers, with 90 per cent in 1911 affiliated with the United States-based American Federation of Labour (AFL), which had expanded rapidly in Canada between 1898 and 1902. Organized along narrow craft lines mainly in the construction, manufacturing and metal industries, members of the AFL were not only cautioned to eschew all talk of socialism and revolution and all partisan politics (which only divided workers), but urged to exercise their economic power for such immediate, short-term goals as shorter hours, higher wages, better working conditions and greater benefits. Most craft unions which affiliated with the AFL denounced mass immigration, especially that of Orientals. Canadian mine workers, on the other hand, were organized in two industrial unions—the Western Federation of Miners and the United Mine Workers of America—which sought to bring all miners into one union. Originating in the hard-rock mines of Montana in 1893, the Western Federation fostered a militant commitment to political action and socialism to counter the hard-nosed mining barons of the "inland empire." From its first Canadian local at Rossland, British Columbia (1895), it spread into the hard-rock

mines of the West Kootenays (1899) and northern Ontario (1906), garnering fourteen locals in the former and eight in the latter by 1913.⁴⁰

The United Mine Workers of America, less radical than the Western Federation of Miners and one of the few industrial unions to affiliate with the AFL, obtained a foothold in the Crow's Nest Pass in 1903 and then expanded rapidly in Alberta to form District 18, with twenty locals in southern Alberta's coal mines by 1907. In the next ten years the United Mine Workers led some of the largest and most violent strikes in prewar Canada. It failed, however, to establish itself in Saskatchewan's Souris coal field (1908-9), in Nova Scotia (1911) and on Vancouver Island (1912-14), and by 1914 it had only nine locals in British Columbia and twenty-one in Alberta. The United Mine Workers, unlike most AFL-affiliated unions, eagerly courted "foreign" immigrant miners. Union literature was distributed in several languages, Italian and Slavic organizers were appointed and the union's organ, the *District Ledger*, carried articles in four languages (none in Ukrainian). United Mine Workers' officials also helped "foreign" miners to secure sickness and funeral benefits and compensation for injuries.⁴¹

The only concerted effort, however, to organize native-born and foreign migrant labourers (including Orientals) between 1908 and 1914 was made by the Industrial Workers of the World, the "Wobblies." Founded in Chicago in 1905, the Wobblies rejected craft unionism and looked beyond industrial unionism to the day when all workers would constitute "one big union." The stage would then be set for a final confrontation between labour and capital—a massive general strike—that would paralyze capitalism and establish workers' control of the means of production. Avoiding political action because most frontier labourers did not have the vote, the Wobblies enjoyed their greatest success among loggers and railway navvies. In 1912 over ten thousand navvies, representing sixteen different nationalities employed by the GTP and CNoR, struck in British Columbia. Although the strikes were broken by employer resistance and government intervention, they helped the Wobblies to organize unskilled urban immigrant labourers, primarily general labourers and street construction workers.⁴²

Before 1914 socialism appealed little to Canadian workers. Many English-speaking workers still dreamt of becoming employers or businessmen, while "foreign" workers generally were either farmers who laboured seasonally or sojourners eager to return to the old country with their earnings. However, in British Columbia, Ontario and in cities like Winnipeg, self-made entrepreneurs like Robert Dunsmuir of Canada Collieries, T.R. Deacon of Manitoba Bridge and Iron and the Barrett brothers of Vulcan Iron periodically enlivened socialist oratory by cutting wages, blacklisting unionists, importing strikebreakers, hiring detective agencies and company spies, calling out the militia and influencing provincial and municipal labour legislation. Socialism was usually

espoused by British, American and East European workers exposed to radical ideas in their homelands. Canada's first socialist party, the Socialist Party of British Columbia, was established in Nanaimo in 1901 by British- and American-born radical miners. Two years later, three party members were elected to the British Columbia legislature and the following year negotiations with socialists in Winnipeg and several Ontario cities led to the formation of the Socialist Party of Canada, whose leadership, in rejecting trade unionism, insisted that the capitalist system was beyond reform and that workers could only advance their interests by seizing the state. Although some leaders and members were moderate unionists, the party was hampered by the doctrinaire sectarianism of its executive. Its national membership in 1910 was approximately three thousand, including several hundred Ukrainians in over a dozen branches.⁴³

Ukrainian peasants were attracted to Canada by the prospect of securing "free lands" and by employment opportunities in Canada's urban and frontier industries. Virtually all in the first category were permanent settlers who realized that their future lay beyond the borders of their homeland, and they arrived with families and all their earthly possessions. They built humble homes on western Canada's prairies and began the arduous process of clearing and improving the land. Most frontier and urban labourers, on the other hand, were unattached male migrant labourers who, at least at the outset, seldom intended to stay. They came to earn enough money in a year or two to help their parents or to establish themselves as small landholders in the old country. Highly mobile, they usually chose Ontario, Alberta or British Columbia, where jobs were more plentiful, and most accepted any type of work to realize their goals.⁴⁴ Their lives—the experiences of Ukrainian peasant-immigrant settlers and frontier and urban labourers in a young Canada on the threshold of "its century"—are part of the painful and fascinating aspects of Canada's early years.

Notes

1. Unless otherwise noted, all statistics are taken or calculated from F.H. Lacey, ed., *Historical Statistics of Canada*, 2nd ed. (Ottawa, 1983).
2. Robert Bothwell, Ian Drummond and John English, *Canada, 1900-1945* (Toronto, 1987), 189 and especially 1-23. For Canada at the turn of the century, see also R. Craig Brown and Ramsay Cook, *Canada, 1896-1921: A Nation Transformed* (Toronto, 1974); Jack L. Granatstein, Irving M. Abella, David J. Bercuson, R. Craig Brown and H. Blair Neatby, *Twentieth Century Canada* (Toronto, 1983). The standard work on western Canada is Gerald Friesen, *The Canadian Prairies: A History* (Toronto, 1984).

3. For brief sociological sketches of the major denominations at the turn of the century, see André Siegfried, *The Race Question in Canada*, first pub. 1906 (Toronto, 1966), 19-58; for liberal currents of thought within Protestant denominations, see Ramsay Cook, *The Regenerators: Social Criticism in Late Victorian English Canada* (Toronto, 1985), 3-40.
4. Ray D. Bollman and Philip Ehrensaft, "Changing Farm Size Distributions on the Prairies Over the Past One Hundred Years," *Prairie Forum* XII (1) (1988), 44.
5. For the background to Confederation and the National Policy, see James M.S. Careless, *The Union of the Canadas, 1841-1857* (Toronto, 1967); William L. Morton, *The Critical Years, 1857-1873* (Toronto, 1964); Peter B. Waite, *Canada, 1874-1896: Arduous Destiny* (Toronto, 1971). For the role of the Canadian commercial elite, see Wallace Clement, *The Canadian Corporate Elite: An Analysis of Economic Power* (Toronto, 1975), 44-96; Donald Creighton, *The Empire of the St. Lawrence, 1760-1850* (Toronto, 1956); Tom Naylor, "The Rise and Fall of the Third Commercial Empire of the St. Lawrence," in Gary Teeple, ed., *Capitalism and the National Question in Canada* (Toronto, 1972), 1-42. For changing images of the Northwest, see Doug Owram, *Promise of Eden: The Canadian Expansionist Movement and the Idea of the West, 1856-1900* (Toronto, 1980).
6. Malcom C. Urquhart and Kenneth A.H. Buckley, eds., *Historical Statistics of Canada*, 1st ed. (Ottawa, 1965), S24-38.
7. The western coal-mining industry is discussed in William J. Cousins, "A History of the Crow's Nest Pass" (MA thesis, University of Alberta, 1952); Sally A. Hamilton, "An Historical Geography of Coal Mining in the Edmonton Area" (MA thesis, University of Alberta, 1971); David W. Lake, "A Study of Landscape Evolution in the Crowsnest Pass Region, 1898-1971" (PhD dissertation, University of Oklahoma, 1972); Andrew A. den Otter, "A Social History of the Alberta Coal Branch" (MA thesis, University of Alberta, 1967) and his *Civilizing the West: The Galts and the Development of Western Canada* (Edmonton, 1983).
8. Lacey, Q1-5; Allen Seager, "Socialists and Workers: The Western Canadian Coal Miners, 1900-1921," *Labour/Le Travail* 16 (1985), 25-6.
9. Wallace Clement, *Hardrock Mining: Industrial Relations and Technological Changes at INCO* (Toronto, 1981); Gilbert A. Stelter, "Community Development in Toronto's Commercial Empire: The Industrial Towns of the Nickel Belt," *Laurentian University Review* VI (3) (1974), 1-53; *The Canada Yearbook*, 1925, 360-9, 372; Doug Baldwin, "A Study in Social Control: The Life of the Silver Miner in Northern Ontario," *Labour/ Le Travailleur* 2 (1977), 79-106; Harold A. Innis, *Settlement and the Mining Frontier* (Toronto, 1936), 321-71; Morris Zaslow, *The Opening of the Canadian North, 1870-1914* (Toronto, 1971), 147-98.
10. Innis, 270-320; Paul Phillips, *No Power Greater: A Century of Labour in British Columbia* (Vancouver, 1967), 27-8; J. Hughes, "A History of Mining in the East Kootenay District of British Columbia" (MA thesis, University of Alberta, 1944).
11. Ian Radforth, *Bushworkers and Bosses: Logging in Northern Ontario, 1900-1980* (Toronto, 1987); Arthur R.M. Lower, *Settlement and the Forest Frontier in Eastern Canada* (Toronto, 1936); Margaret Ormsby, *British Columbia: A History* (Toronto, 1971), 357; Martin Robin, *The Rush for*

- Spoils: The Company Province, 1871-1933* (Toronto, 1972), 116-17; Zaslow, 147-98; Trevor J.O. Dick, "Canadian Newsprint, 1913-30: National Policies and the North American Economy," *Journal of Economic History* XLII (3) (1982), 659-87.
12. Craig Heron and Robert Storey, "Work and Struggle in the Canadian Steel Industry, 1900-1950," in C. Heron and R. Storey, eds., *On the Job: Confronting the Labour Process in Canada* (Montreal, 1986), 210-44; Duncan L. McDowall, *Steel at the Sault: Francis H. Clergue, Sir James Dunn and the Algoma Steel Corporation, 1906-1956* (Toronto, 1984), 23-68; Craig Heron, *Working in Steel: The Early Years in Canada, 1883-1935* (Toronto, 1988).
 13. Robert H. Coats, "Canada," in Walter F. Willcox, ed., *International Migrations*, first pub. 1931, II (New York, 1969), 130; Charles M. Studness, "Economic Opportunity and the Westward Migration of Canadians During the Late Nineteenth Century," *Canadian Journal of Economics and Political Science* XXX (4) (1964), 570-84; Duncan M. McDougall, "Immigration into Canada, 1851-1920," *ibid.*, XXVII (2) (1961), 162-75.
 14. Walter F. Willcox, ed., *International Migrations*, first pub. 1929, I (New York, 1969), 172; Ken H. Norrie, "The Rate of Settlement of the Canadian Prairies, 1870-1911," *Journal of Economic History* XXXV (2) (1975), 410-27.
 15. Estimates of immigration and emigration during these years vary; on home-stead entries, see Norrie, 410.
 16. The discussion follows Friesen, 249-50.
 17. On Sifton, see Mabel F. Timlin, "Canada's Immigration Policy, 1896-1910," *Canadian Journal of Economics and Political Science* XXVI (4) (1960), 517-32; David J. Hall, "Clifford Sifton: Immigration and Settlement Policy, 1896-1905," in Howard Palmer, ed., *The Settlement of the West* (Calgary, 1977), 60-85; D. J. Hall, *Clifford Sifton: The Young Napoleon, 1861-1900* (Vancouver, 1981), 253-69; John C. Lehr, "The Role of Clifford Sifton in Ukrainian Immigration to Canada, 1896-1905," *Studia Ucrainica* 2 (1984), 225-36.
 18. During this period 30,000 Asian immigrants (including 29,000 from China) also arrived. Calculated from tables in Canada, *Sessional Papers*. "Report of the Deputy Minister" and "Report of the Superintendent of Immigration," in Paper no. 25, Department of the Interior (1898-1906). Between 1901 and 1905 alone there were over 2,000 Poles and over 17,000 Jews, primarily among the immigrants from Russia, Austria-Hungary and Germany. The figures on continental European immigration cited in Granatstein et al., 27-8, seem to confuse data for 1901-5 with data for 1896-1905; those on p. 244 for the period 1901-14 appear completely unfounded.
 19. Oliver cited in Howard Palmer, *Patterns of Prejudice: A History of Nativism in Alberta* (Toronto, 1982), 45; also H. Palmer, "Responses to Foreign Immigration: Nativism and Ethnic Tolerance in Alberta, 1880-1920" (MA thesis, University of Alberta, 1971), 104.
 20. *Canadian Annual Review*, 1907, 289.
 21. *Ibid.*, 1906, 282, 286; Palmer, "Responses to Foreign Immigration," 177-9.
 22. Timlin, 526-30; Norman Buchignani and Doreen Indra, *Continuous Journey: A Social History of South Asians in Canada* (Toronto, 1985); Edgar B.

- Wickberg, ed., *From China to Canada* (Toronto, 1982); *Canadian Annual Review*, 1910, 383; Palmer, "Responses to Foreign Immigration," 179-81.
23. Calculated from tables in Canada, *Sessional Papers*, "Report of the Superintendent of Immigration," in Paper no. 25, Department of Immigration (1907-1915).
 24. John C. Lehr, "Propaganda and Belief: Ukrainian Emigrant Views of the Canadian West," in Jaroslav Rozumnyj, ed., *New Soil—Old Roots: The Ukrainian Experience in Canada* (Winnipeg, 1983), 1-17; Donald Avery, "Canadian Immigration Policy and the 'Foreign' Navy, 1896-1914," *Canadian Historical Association Historical Papers* (1972), 135-56, and his "Continental European Immigrant Workers in Canada 1896-1919: From 'Stalwart Peasants' to Radical Proletariat," *Canadian Review of Sociology and Anthropology* XII (1) (1975), 53-64; Johann Chmelar, "The Austrian Emigration, 1900-1914," *Perspectives in American History* VII (1973), 367-70.
 25. On the Métis, see George F.G. Stanley, *The Birth of Western Canada: A History of the Riel Rebellions* (Toronto, 1960); Douglas N. Sprague, *Canada and the Métis, 1869-1885* (Waterloo, 1988).
 26. On the treaties, see G. Friesen, 129-61; Jean Friesen, "Magnificent Gifts: The Treaties of Canada with the Indians of the Northwest, 1869-76," *Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada*, 5th series, I (1986), 41-51. On the Canadian government's Indian policy, see John L. Tobias, "Protection, Civilization, Assimilation: An Outline History of Canada's Indian Policy," *Western Canadian Journal of Anthropology* VI (2) (1976), 13-30, and "Canada's Subjugation of the Plain's Cree, 1879-1885," *Canadian Historical Review* LXIV (4) (1983), 519-48.
 27. Arthur I. Silver, "French Canada and the Prairie Frontier, 1870-1890," *Canadian Historical Review* L (1) (1969), 11-36.
 28. The standard work is Paul Crunican, *Priests and Politicians: Manitoba Schools and the Election of 1896* (Toronto, 1974). The compromise conceded the following to minority groups: (1) ten taxpayers in a rural school district could request religious instruction by a clergyman for thirty minutes at the end of the public school day; (2) at parental request, public school trustees had to hire a Catholic teacher for every forty Catholic pupils in urban schools and for every twenty-five Catholic pupils in rural school districts; and (3) "When up to ten of the pupils in any school speak the French language or any language other than English, as their native language, the teaching of such pupils shall be conducted in French, or such other language, and English upon the bi-lingual system."
 29. The standard work is Manoly R. Lupul, *The Roman Catholic Church and the North-West School Question: A Study in Church-State Relations in Western Canada, 1875-1905* (Toronto, 1974). As in Manitoba, religious instruction could be provided at the end of the school day, with Catholic or Protestant teachers hired according to the wishes of the majority. The minority retained the right to establish its own "separate" schools. In 1901 trustees, on parental request, could employ "competent persons to give instruction in any language other than English," provided that the course did not "supersede or in any way interfere with" the curriculum and that a special rate was levied on participating parents to cover additional costs.

30. John C. Lehr and D. Wayne Moodie, "The Polemics of Pioneer Settlement: Ukrainian Immigration and the Winnipeg Press," *Canadian Ethnic Studies* XII (2) (1980), 88-101.
31. Ken Adachi, *The Enemy That Never Was: A History of the Japanese Canadians* (Toronto, 1976), 63-85; Buchignani and Indra, 21-2, 53-8; Harold M. Troper, "The Creek-Negroes of Oklahoma and Canadian Immigration, 1909-11," *Canadian Historical Review* LIII (3) (1972), 272-88.
32. William L. Morton, *The Progressive Party in Canada* (Toronto, 1950), 6-8; Brown and Cook, 144-61.
33. The most prominent Canadian grain elevator magnates were Nicholas Bawlf and James Richardson of Winnipeg, W. Max Aitken (Lord Beaverbrook) of Montreal and R.B. Bennett of Calgary, while the Peavey and Searle families of Minneapolis were the most prominent American ones. For grain elevator companies, see Deryck W. Holdsworth and John C. Everitt, "Bank Branches and Elevators: Expressions of Big Corporations in Small Prairie Towns," *Prairie Forum* XIII (2) (1988), 183; Charles F. Wilson, *A Century of Canadian Grain: Government Policy to 1951* (Saskatoon, 1978).
34. G. Friesen, 332-4.
35. On the Canadian labour movement, see Bryan D. Palmer, *Working-Class Experience: The Rise and Reconstitution of Canadian Labour, 1800-1980* (Toronto, 1983), 136-70; Desmond Morton and Terry Copp, *Working People: An Illustrated History of the Canadian Labour Movement* (Ottawa, 1984), 1-100; A. Ross McCormack, *Reformers, Rebels and Revolutionaries: The Western Canadian Radical Movement, 1899-1919* (Toronto, 1977); Donald Avery, 'Dangerous Foreigners': *European Immigrant Workers and Labour Radicalism in Canada, 1896-1932* (Toronto, 1979), 7-64; David Bercuson, *Confrontation at Winnipeg: Labour, Industrial Relations and the General Strike* (Montreal, 1974), 1-31.
36. Dennis Guest, *The Emergence of Social Security in Canada* (Vancouver, 1980).
37. McCormack, 9-11; David J. Bercuson, "Labour Radicalism and the Western Industrial Frontier, 1897-1919," *Canadian Historical Review* LVIII (2) (1977), 154-75.
38. Granatstein et al., 144.
39. Calculated from data in Canada, *National Industrial Conference: Official Report of Proceedings and Discussions* (Ottawa, 1919), xxviii-xxxi.
40. Robert Babcock, *Gompers in Canada: A Study of American Continentalism Before the First World War* (Toronto, 1975); Harold A. Logan, *Trade Unions in Canada: Their Development and Functioning* (Toronto, 1948), 158-61.
41. Stuart M. Jamieson, *Times of Trouble: Labour Unrest and Industrial Conflict in Canada, 1900-1966* (Ottawa, 1968), 104-31, 162-4, 202-6; Kirk Lambrecht, "Regional Development and Social Strife: Early Coal Mining in Alberta," *Prairie Forum* IV (2) (1979), 263-79; Seager, "Socialists and Workers," 25-34; Avery, 'Dangerous Foreigners', 56-7.
42. McCormack, 98-117.
43. *Ibid.*, 7, 77-97; D. Morton, 54-6, 93-4.
44. For a discussion of the difference between "immigrants" and "migrant labourers," see Caroline Golab, *Immigrant Destinations* (Philadelphia, 1977), 44-50.

PART TWO

Life in the Promised Land,
1891-1921

3

Immigration and Settlement

Traditional interpretations of Ukrainian immigration have treated the experience primarily as one of individuals and families seeking a better life in the new world. The emphasis has been on individual choice. Recent research, however, suggests that immigration is more a combination of political and economic changes in “sending” societies meeting shifts in the demand for labour in “recipient” societies.¹ We have seen that by the 1890s conditions in Galicia and Bukovyna were ripe for the emigration of Ukrainian peasants to Canada. The unmitigated subdivision of peasant landholdings, the alienation of lands by the nobility, the few opportunities to earn wages, and the high taxes and indebtedness were literally “pushing” the peasants out of their villages. Simultaneously, the demand in Canada for agriculturalists to settle the vast and underpopulated prairies and for labourers to work in the burgeoning frontier industries and urban centres were practically “pulling” them abroad.

Emigration was always a gamble and not all of the peasant immigrants benefited equally. Those with adequate financial resources who settled on productive land usually did quite well; however, thousands of young, single men and women seeking employment in Canada’s frontier regions and urban centres were often much less fortunate. Sucked into a vortex of backbreaking toil and indebtedness, the men, in particular, faced death and disability practically daily, the victims of exploitation, humiliation and brutalization under working and living conditions that were frequently unspeakable. Moreover, the stress of departure and resettlement strained family and community bonds and added to the social disarray observed among Ukrainian immigrants in all regions—rural, frontier and urban—and in all parts of the new country.

Ukrainian Emigration from Galicia and Bukovyna

Although there is some evidence that a few individuals of Ukrainian origin arrived in Canada before the 1890s,² the first wave of immigration began when a handful of families from Nebyliv, Kalush county, Galicia, set out in April 1892 and settled northeast of Edmonton. They were preceded by two fellow villagers, Ivan Pylypow (Pylypiv) and Wasyl Eleniak, who had heard stories about free lands across the ocean and visited Canada during the fall of 1891. The initiative to emigrate was Pylypow's. A logging contractor and once-prosperous peasant, he had fallen upon hard times and, like many others, was seeking new fields to improve his fortune. Having received glowing reports about Canada from German-speaking neighbours,³ Pylypow had written to Johan Krebs, a former classmate who had settled near Medicine Hat, learned from him about the abundance of good, cheap land and then convinced Eleniak to accompany him to Canada.

Pylypow and Eleniak arrived in Halifax on 7 September 1891 aboard the steamship *Oregon* and proceeded to Winnipeg. There, they located several German-speaking loggers who had once worked for Pylypow, and together they travelled to Langenburg, Saskatchewan, to visit the loggers' homesteads. Learning that the land and climate were even better in the vicinity of Edmonton, Pylypow and Eleniak took the CPR as far west as Calgary, but they were unimpressed by the agricultural potential of the land along the railway and returned to Winnipeg with dwindling funds. A visit to the prosperous German Mennonite settlement at Gretna, Manitoba, convinced them that there was good land available for farming in Canada. It was decided that the impecunious Eleniak would spend the winter working for the Mennonites, while Pylypow would return to Nebyliv for their families and other interested villagers.

Pylypow's account of the acres of free land available in Canada naturally created a great sensation. Peasants who inquired about his travels were actively encouraged to book passage with a steamship company in Hamburg, from which Pylypow would receive an agent's commission. Some were eager to join Pylypow; others were skeptical about his claims. When the latter learned about the commission, the local police were informed that Pylypow was attempting to swindle prospective emigrants of their fares, and on 12 May 1892 he was charged with sedition, inciting people to emigrate and defrauding them. After three months in jail awaiting trial, he was found guilty and sentenced to an additional month.⁴

Even though Pylypow's arrest dampened the open promotion of immigration in the district, the trial generated much publicity about Canada, and a group of seven families from Nebyliv, led by Anton Paish and Mykola Tychkowsky,

left for Canada even before Pylypow's release. While Paish and Tychkowsky proceeded directly to east central Alberta, the others joined Eleniak to work for the Mennonites at Gretna. With their earnings, they continued to Edmonton where they met Paish, Tychkowsky and Pylypow's friend Johan Krebs, who found them homesteads adjacent to a German-speaking colony near Fort Saskatchewan. In 1893, Pylypow and his family finally caught up with the earlier settlers and selected a homestead nearby.

Pylypow's efforts notwithstanding, few Ukrainians would have been aware of Canada's existence without the work of Dr. Josef Oleskow (Osyp Oleskiv), a professor of agriculture at the Teachers' Seminary in Lviv. Born into a clerical family and educated at universities in Galicia and Germany, Oleskow (1860-1903) was a member of the intelligentsia who subscribed to the National Populist programme which, as we have seen, had influenced many of his generation in Galicia. To him, salvation for the Ukrainian peasantry lay in education and emigration—in directing the peasants out of overpopulated Galicia to a country that offered agricultural opportunities and political freedom. He was alarmed that many peasants were so anxious to leave that they fell victim to "immigration fever." In 1891-2, for example, six thousand Ukrainian peasants had sold their land, packed their belongings and emigrated to the Russian empire, lured by incredible rumours of wealth and opportunity. Hundreds more, enticed by promotional literature distributed by unscrupulous agents of various steamship companies, set in motion an exodus to Brazil that would assume mass proportions by 1895.

The rumours, like the promotional literature "concocted in European libraries by authors who rarely left their armchairs,"⁵ were often quite fanciful. In the wake of the Jewish exodus from the Russian empire after the pogroms of 1881, prospects of free land, cattle and even brick homes and farm buildings were held out to the peasants. The Russian tsar, it was said, needed "Ruthenians" to replace the "useless" Jews who had been driven out or simply killed off. Others implied that the tsar and the Austrian emperor had decided to trade subjects, with the tsar giving the emperor his Jews in exchange for the emperor's Ruthenians, who could leave with his blessing.⁶ Such rumours, which seemed to arise "spontaneously," subsided after many would-be immigrants were turned back at the border by Russian officials. However, those about Brazil, which was eager to recruit immigrants, were circulated by Brazilian agents. Some sought to convince Ukrainian peasants that Archduke Rudolph, the Austrian crown prince, had not committed suicide in 1889 but was actually in Brazil beckoning to them from a kingdom established out of gratitude to a Ruthenian soldier who had helped him flee from a prison, where he had been held against his will. The most unique ruse by an agent was a bizarre scheme devised by a certain Gargioletti, who reportedly crisscrossed eastern Galicia on foot, pretending to be Archduke Rudolph and imploring his Galician subjects to join him in Brazil. As a result,

the Archduchess Stephanie received numerous letters from Ukrainian peasants, assuring her that her husband was not only alive but was calling them to follow him to Brazil. The story contributed to a sharp rise in emigration from Galicia to Brazil after 1895.⁷

Under the circumstances Dr. Oleskow convinced the Prosvita Society in Lviv that the steamship agents had to be replaced by non-commercial promoters who had no vested interest in exploiting the peasantry. In July 1895 the society published Oleskow's pro-immigration pamphlet *Pro vilni zemli* (About Free Lands) in which he argued that Canada, a country with abundant land for settlement, a climate similar to Galicia's and a stable and democratic government, was the best destination for Ukrainian immigrants. Although his detailed account was based on information supplied by the Canadian government, Oleskow still wished to visit Canada to obtain first-hand knowledge of the conditions and to discuss with Canadian officials his plan for the settlement of large numbers of Ukrainian peasants in the Canadian west. He therefore pleaded with prospective emigrants to Brazil to await his return from Canada. In endorsing Oleskow, the Prosvita Society recommended that two well-known peasants join him to bring back their own impressions, but only Ivan Dorundiak, a native of Kolomyia county, could obtain permission to accompany him.⁸

Oleskow's journey to Canada lasted nearly three months.⁹ Departing from Lviv on 25 July 1895, he was able to consult at length with Sir Charles Tupper, Canada's high commissioner in London. On 12 August he arrived in Montreal and proceeded to Ottawa, hoping to confer with Thomas Mayne Daly, minister of the interior, but he was able to see only departmental officials. On reaching Winnipeg, Oleskow and Dorundiak met with H.H. Smith, commissioner of dominion lands, who assigned Hugo Carstens to act as an interpreter and guide for their tour of western Canada. Oleskow sought out the few Ukrainians he could find in the Winnipeg area and also examined selected farms in the vicinity of Calgary. Impressed by agricultural developments in the German Moravian settlements in the vicinity of Edmonton, he visited Beaverhill, Beaver Creek, Whitford, Limestone Lake and the Ukrainian settlement at Edna-Star. Pleased with what he saw, he returned to Edmonton to outline to Daly his plans to direct Ukrainian peasants to Canada. Although Daly was noncommittal, Oleskow was optimistic, and after a brief trip to British Columbia, he returned to Winnipeg after visiting the Indian Head Experimental Farm and the local Mennonite colony at Gretna.

Before leaving North America, Oleskow travelled to Shamokin, Pennsylvania, where he advised the Ruthenian National Association to encourage Ukrainians in the United States to obtain homesteads in western Canada. On 6 August 1896 the Association's official organ, *Svoboda* (Liberty), published a lengthy appeal, urging American Ukrainians to accept "free" homesteads in Canada and outlining details of an agreement reached with the Canadian govern-

ment agent who had visited Shamokin in June 1896.¹⁰ The response, however, was very limited, because, as we have seen, the majority of Ukrainian immigrants in the United States were Lemkos and natives of Transcarpathia, very often single men who preferred coal mining to farming. Nevertheless, a few did come to Canada, and some made a significant impact on the communities in which they settled.¹¹

Upon his return to Galicia, Oleskow unobtrusively set about to organize an immigration movement to Canada. In a popular booklet entitled *O emigratsii* (About Emigration) released in December 1895, he described in detail what Canada had to offer settlers. To secure the widest possible distribution, he allowed the Russophile Kachkovsky Society, rather than Prosvita, to publish the work. Not surprisingly, he was soon swamped with requests for additional information and advice. In Ottawa, however, he was viewed very skeptically. He had demanded many concessions for the immigrants he would send, which led Canadian officials, who suspected pecuniary motives, to regard him as a visionary with little comprehension of the political and organizational difficulties involved in group settlement in western Canada.¹² As a result, they categorically rejected his various schemes, including his idea of establishing farm co-operatives for Ukrainian settlers to help finance such common needs as seed grains, tools, machinery, and stoves and to facilitate the building of mills, elevators and creameries.¹³ Although his proposal would undoubtedly have alleviated many of the hardships of the early years, the Department of the Interior was consistently cautious in its dealings with Oleskow. Uncertain about his ability to deliver a well-organized group of immigrants from Galicia, the Canadian government never entrusted him with the full authority to organize emigration from western Ukraine.

Although frustrated by the lack of support and inadequate funding—and with no special recognition of his efforts—Oleskow continued to popularize Canada as a field for emigration and to organize parties of immigrants for the long journey. To his dismay, the publicity he generated only spurred many other immigrants to book passage with independent steamship agents, who, unlike Oleskow, had no real concern for the immigrants' welfare. The agents imposed no restraints on the class and condition of the immigrants they booked, and destitute immigrants who arrived claiming they had heard about Canada through Oleskow's writings only reinforced the worst fears of Canadian government officials. Oleskow was suspected of being interested only in establishing a business franchise for personal profit.¹⁴ Nonetheless, he persevered and in 1898 the government gradually became convinced of his reliability, and in 1900 it belatedly sent him two thousand dollars as payment for the expenses he had already incurred. Soon afterward, however, Oleskow became seriously ill and died in Lviv at the age of forty-three.

Oleskow's accomplishments in organizing Ukrainian immigration to Canada were threefold. First, he diverted to Canada thousands of Ukrainians destined for Brazil. Second, in attempting to regulate the number of peasants leaving western Ukraine in any given year, he tried to prevent land prices from falling drastically, though in this he was only partially successful. Third, in organizing the immigrants' journey, he sought not only to prevent exploitation by unscrupulous officials and ticket agents but to secure the Canadian government's co-operation in the early stages of immigration. It was through his efforts that Cyril (Kyrilo) Genik (1857-1925), an educated immigrant, was appointed interpreter in the government's Immigration Branch in 1896 and that Nestor Dmytriw, a Ukrainian Catholic priest in the United States, briefly served the branch as interpreter in 1897. Both were representatives of the Radical intelligentsia in Galicia who shared Oleskow's views on the needs of the peasantry. Genik's appointment, initially temporary, produced such dividends that he remained until 1911. As a translator and immigration agent, he met incoming immigrant trains, accompanied new arrivals to their homesteads and advised them on the practical necessities for immediate survival. He used the pages of *Svoboda*, the only Ukrainian-language newspaper published in North America before 1903 and widely read in Galicia, to transmit Oleskow's advice that only those with sufficient money should emigrate; that they should arrive in the spring so as to establish a homestead before winter; and that they should avoid dealing with steamship agents and shysters intent on selling them land in Canada.¹⁵

Departure and Arrival

"No one," Genik complained in *Svoboda* in 1898, "had a sincere word for our peasants who were left to fend for themselves and to make their way through a maze of agents, so that, in the end, only those who were interested in tearing away their last cent took any interest in them." Despite Oleskow's best efforts, few among the better-educated in western Ukraine were prepared to endorse the idea of mass emigration to Canada. Members of the clergy, who derived much of their income from peasant fees, were greatly alarmed about their own prospects. Among the nationally conscious intelligentsia, large-scale emigration was suspect because it threatened to weaken the Ukrainian national movement. Emigration would only decrease the number of Ukrainians relative to Poles and Romanians in eastern Galicia and northern Bukovyna, precisely when Ukrainians were attempting to assert their political rights as a majority. Many conceded that seasonal or temporary migration to western Europe or the United States might benefit some peasants, provided it was carefully regulated and the migrants rejoined their families, but under no circumstances should peasants be encouraged

to sell their lands to foreign landowning and commercial classes to facilitate permanent emigration. The common task of the Ukrainian peasantry and the intelligentsia was not emigration but the national struggle to overcome oppression.¹⁶

In *O emigratsii*, Oleskow stressed the beneficent effects of the absence of hereditary class privilege in the new world: "There are no noblemen in America. There are no officials to whom one has to bow." He also rebuked the Ukrainian intelligentsia, who "have not succeeded in forming a healthy social class, which would eliminate the fatal caste differences. They have partly remained peasants and slaves themselves, and partly have followed the example of the nobility in their relationship with peasants."¹⁷ Even leaders in the Radical party and other progressive intellectuals were not committed to emigration. When Oleskow called a meeting of lawyers, journalists and priests in Lviv in November 1895 on behalf of emigration to Canada, the handful who attended (among them Ivan Franko) unanimously resolved to form a permanent Immigrants' Aid Committee, but little came of the initiative. The chairman, Vasyl Nahirny, kept a low profile, which provoked editorial skepticism about the committee's effectiveness.¹⁸

The reaction of the Austrian authorities to the steep rise in emigration from Galicia and Bukovyna was more ambivalent. The Ministry of Trade saw emigration as a necessary phenomenon, "a safety-valve for social revolutionary pressure"; moreover, the support which transportation companies, travel bureaus and railway and shipping lines gave it ruled out state intervention.¹⁹ Opposition to emigration was strongest within conservative and aristocratic circles. The military establishment was particularly alarmed as many male immigrants were between twenty and forty years of age. The concern was especially marked in Galicia, where most immigrants originated, because of its location on the Russian frontier. Some disliked the prospect of immigrants serving in enemy armies in the future.²⁰ Backed by industrialists and the great estate owners, who feared for their supply of cheap labour, the Ministry of War insisted that compulsory military service provided a legal basis for restricting the principle of free emigration enshrined in the Austrian constitution of 1867.

Before 1912, however, with the government unable to reach a consensus, Austria (like Russia) had no emigration laws. Laws passed in 1897 to regulate the operation of licensed emigration bureaus only stipulated penalties for promoting emigration without government authorization or using falsehoods to incite emigration. Licensed agents were therefore legal in the larger towns and cities, and it was practically impossible to control the hordes of unlicensed sub-agents in the pay of giant shipping companies and their immigration agencies which descended upon eastern Europe once emigration from Germany and north-western Europe declined after 1880. By the turn of the century, local notables like the village innkeeper or banker, and even reeves, railway clerks, teachers and

the odd clergyman, operated illegally as subagents in most Galician and Bukovynian villages. They were not above exploiting the immigrants, bribing local officials or assisting with illegal getaways. Not until December 1912, under pressure from the Ministry of War, did the government forbid for a year the emigration of all males who had not met their military obligations. And not until March 1914 was a network of border stations established and manned by local police to prevent draft evaders from leaving the country.²¹

As a result, before 1912 aristocratic estate owners and the military establishment had to rely on local administrative hurdles to stem the rising tide of emigration.²² County administrative officials (*starosty*) were counselled not to issue passports, which ordinarily could only be denied to applicants under investigation or with a criminal record; railway officials were instructed to turn back prospective immigrants who did not have 320 crowns, as required by a decree of 1880; small boys emigrating with their parents were refused passports because they were “potential conscripts”; and county officials who favoured emigration often colluded with emigration agencies by not granting passports unless peasants also purchased passages from them (at highly inflated prices).

Ultimately, however, neither legal nor extra-legal impediments could hold back the tide. Between 1881 and 1910 no fewer than 389,000 persons left eastern Galicia legally and between 1901 and 1910 alone, over 35,000 legal immigrants departed Bukovyna.²³ Economic considerations and the underhanded activities of immigration agents continued to fuel the exodus. The latter had lured thousands of Ukrainian peasants to Brazil by circulating rumours about Archduke Rudolph’s “Ruthenian Kingdom.” They now invoked his widow, the Archduchess Stephanie, in a similar way, indicating that she had set aside two million crowns in Chernivtsi for peasants who wished to emigrate. In the winter of 1896-7 two hundred Ukrainian peasants actually visited the provincial capital to collect the funds and, when refused, simply concluded that the rapacious officials were concerned to keep the money for themselves. A sharp rise in emigration followed.²⁴ Emigrating peasants sold their land, livestock and buildings, often at no more than one-half, one-third or one-quarter their value, and they bribed local officials, if necessary, to obtain passports for sons of military age. Some continued to leave for South America; others were duped into accepting jobs as indentured labourers in Hawaii or bought useless land in Georgia and Texas.²⁵ Increasingly, however, more and more went to Canada, largely as a result of Oleskow’s efforts.

For most immigrants, the voyage to western Canada unfolded in three stages. The train trip from the nearest railway station to a North Sea, Adriatic or Mediterranean port was followed by the trans-Atlantic crossing and then by a second train trip across Canada from Halifax or Quebec City to Winnipeg, Regina or Edmonton. The journey, which cost about one hundred dollars per adult at the turn of the century and lasted about three weeks, severely tested the

immigrants' physical, emotional and monetary resources.²⁶ At their destination most were not only exhausted but drained and short of cash, having been fleeced by an army of agents, officials and merchants at every point along their arduous journey.

Although Austrian immigrants, Ukrainians included, embarked for the new world from ports at Fiume, Trieste, Genoa, Le Havre, Rotterdam and Antwerp, 70 per cent left from the two German North Sea ports of Hamburg and Bremen. Bukovynian and eastern Galician immigrants reached these ports after a nine hundred-mile train trip lasting at least two days.²⁷ They travelled northwest to Lviv across the Podilian plain or in the shadow of the Carpathian Mountains along a scenic route highly recommended to middle- and upper-class European tourists by Karl Baedeker.²⁸ From Lviv they crossed the northwestern half of the Galician crownland until they reached Cracow, some forty-five miles from the German frontier.²⁹ There, they changed trains and proceeded to one of the nearby Austrian border towns, usually Szczakowa or Oświęcim (Auschwitz), and then to the German control station at Myslowitz, where they underwent medical examinations and means tests, before being whisked five hundred miles across central and northern Germany to one of the two seaports.

The overland train trip was a harrowing ordeal. The immigrants travelled in stuffy, noisy, gloomy and crowded little railway cars. Only a fortunate few could sit on the narrow benches that stretched along both sides of the cars. Most "sat or fidgeted uncomfortably atop their bags" and belongings.³⁰ The journey was especially difficult for the women, few of whom had ever travelled much. They worried and anxiously clutched their little ones amid the crowds and commotion. The men, having served in the army or engaged in seasonal employment abroad, were generally more confident and composed.

Nevertheless, for most, the physical discomforts and anxiety were dwarfed by the fear that they or a relative might be stopped, sent back or kept off the steamship. At county railway stations, in Lviv, Cracow and again at Oświęcim or Szczakowa, gendarmes, commissioners and various officials checked passports, verified the immigrants' funds and looked for young men of military age. Parents whose sons were turned back were invariably approached by agents who promised (for a fee) to smuggle the detainees across the German frontier; naturally, some simply took the disconsolate parents' money and disappeared.³¹ Once across the German border, immigrants who had not booked on one of the two large German lines—the Hamburg-America or the North German Lloyd out of Bremen—were herded out of the train, examined by physicians for trachoma, fauvus and a variety of contagious diseases, bathed and disinfected (if necessary), subjected to a means test, often driven about like dumb animals and then steered, if possible, to one of the German lines.³² Those with prepaid passages were treated with more respect and allowed to proceed to the seaports in relative peace, the two steamship lines being responsible for them. Their trains might still be

boarded by commissioners in the environs of Berlin for another means test since German institutions for paupers were swamped with destitute immigrants sent back from the United States. Exploitation was rampant, as commissioners, gendarmes, train conductors, border officials, innkeepers and doctors on both sides of the border intimidated the immigrants and extorted money from the more helpless, unfortunate or disoriented among them.

In Hamburg or Bremen all the immigrants underwent another medical examination, were bathed and their belongings were disinfected. By the turn of the century, those at Bremen could stay either in a new, well-kept immigrant hotel owned by North German Lloyd and its principal booking agent, Missler, or seek lodgings in privately licensed boarding houses. In Hamburg most immigrants stayed at the *Auswandererhallen*, a "small but regularly laid out village on the outskirts of the city." Here, in the most complete immigrant reception facility in Europe, the travellers slept in large, well-ventilated dormitories and ate in large, clean dining halls, all for two marks (forty-six cents) a day. They were also relatively isolated from the legions of con men who swarmed the large port cities. Nevertheless, many, especially at other seaports, still fell victim to thieves, thugs, cardsharps and dishonest moneychangers, while once again passing under the scrutiny of physicians, police and government officials before finally climbing aboard their haven-like vessel.

The second leg of the immigrants' voyage, the ocean crossing, lasted six to eighteen days, depending on the type of vessel, the route followed, the number of ports at which it dropped anchor, the nature of its cargo (some vessels transported cattle) and the season of the year.³³ Like most East Europeans, the immigrants travelled in the ship's steerage compartment located below waterlevel and reached by descending a narrow, steep and slippery stairway. It was furnished with two-, three- and four-tiered wooden or iron bunkbeds, but some newer ships had separate rooms with two to eight berths. Invariably, the quarters were hot, crowded, noisy, stuffy, ill-smelling and dirty, with the food often unpalatable and the drinking water rationed grudgingly.

During the first few days the immigrants walked on the deck, observed their fellow travellers and became acquainted. Most, however, preferred the company of fellow villagers. Usually the poorer peasants clung together, talking about their misfortunes and the estate owners and innkeepers they had left behind; wealthier peasants formed their own circles and discussed the properties they had sold, village politics and their prospects in the new world. Where there were musicians on board, a violin, flute and dulcimer trio might entertain with a *kolomyika* dance or members of a church or reading-club choir might sing. Otherwise, the passengers played cards, told stories, sang or contemplated the future.

On the stormy high seas, the journey took on an entirely different complexion. Herded below deck as soon as the ocean waves began to rock the boat, some

passengers experienced nausea and headaches, and others began to vomit from sea sickness. Garlic, onions and whisky were used freely as palliatives and only added to the odours below deck. Prayers were said and saints invoked by lighting candles, but until the storm played itself out, nothing helped. Healthy men and women would not eat for days and frequently lost all their strength; among the very young and the very old some perished. In 1897 an old man and a child aboard the *SS Arcadia* died during a seventy-two-hour storm; three years later six children under four perished aboard the same ship.³⁴ Even after a storm, the thick fog and the blaring fog horns, the icebergs and even the whale sightings continued to terrify the travellers, most of whom had never been at sea before. Little wonder that the immigrants were overjoyed when they finally sighted Canadian shores and disembarked.

After producing their passports, proving they had twenty-five dollars (after 1906) and undergoing a routine medical examination that was seldom as gruelling as that at Ellis Island in the United States, the newcomers were put on special, unscheduled trains bound for western Canada. They were segregated by nationality, and, among the Ukrainians, the Galicians and Bukovynians usually travelled in separate groups. The spacious colonist cars, with their comfortable wooden seats that could be converted into sleepers and their washrooms, cold running water, heaters and cooking stoves, were a great improvement over the stuffy little railcars in east central Europe. Unfortunately, most Ukrainian immigrants did not know how to use the modern facilities, and within a few hours the washrooms and cars were "veritable pigsties" with the stench "unbearable." Conductors, coachmen, stewards and car cleaners cursed and damned the exotic sheepskin-clad newcomers who did not know how to use the toilets. When the train stopped, some men invariably went into town to purchase tobacco and alcohol and occasionally they were left behind to be picked up by the next train. During the early years some Bukovynians brought their own kegs of whisky on the advice of friends and relatives already in the west, who complained about the absence of taverns in rural Canada. Many saw no reason to abstain on the last leg of the journey.³⁵

The first colonist trains travelled from Halifax or Quebec City to Montreal. Montreal was either by-passed or the car doors were locked when the train was stationary to protect the dishevelled and disoriented immigrants from local vendors who charged exorbitant prices. From Montreal the train proceeded to Ottawa to take on food before the long journey (two to three days) through the unpopulated, desolate, barren, swampy and rocky wilderness of northern Ontario, which caused women to weep and men to shake their fists and cry out at being betrayed. When they finally saw fertile prairie farmlands forty to fifty miles east of Winnipeg, most had experienced skepticism, doubt, anxiety and despair. Disembarked into the Immigration Hall near the CPR station in Winnipeg, many

still wondered whether they had made the right decision to come to such a forbidding new land.

Settlement

Even though the realities of settling in Canada were often much more difficult than the immigration propaganda had indicated, the first settlers were not completely abandoned to their own resources. Those who landed at Canadian ports were transported to Winnipeg free of charge by the CPR. At Fort William, immigration agents of the Department of the Interior, accompanied by translators, boarded to collect information from mistrustful immigrants to assist with settlement. Different districts were recommended according to the amount of capital immigrants possessed. In centres such as Winnipeg and Edmonton, they were accommodated in immigration halls for periods from a few days to several months (in the case of obstinate or penniless immigrants). Immigrants were cautioned about second-hand dealers who charged exorbitant prices and land agents who disparaged the homestead lands so as to sell privately owned, second-rate lands to the naive and trusting peasants. When, in 1899, a second Immigration Hall was built in East Selkirk, twenty-five miles north of Winnipeg, at least a portion of the immigrants were removed from the reach of such predators (as well as from the growing scrutiny of a censorious public). Until January 1899 the settlers were also transported free of charge from Winnipeg to the railway station nearest their homestead; thereafter, a fee—\$10.35 from Winnipeg to Edmonton—was charged.³⁶

Detachments of the North-West Mounted Police (NWMP) were also established near Ukrainian colonies with interpreters hired to assist in communication. During the winter of 1897-8 the NWMP distributed relief supplies to several Ukrainian settlements, which brought the force into conflict with the immigration agents of the Department of the Interior, theoretically responsible for the welfare of settlers. And when an officer at Fort Saskatchewan requested to aid starving settlers near Edna-Star, departmental officials objected and the NWMP were ordered out of the colony, not to return until 1901.³⁷

Between 1894 and 1906 the nuclei of ten major Ukrainian bloc settlements were established in western Canada (Fig. 3).³⁸ The first permanent settlers arrived in Canada in the late spring of 1892. They selected homesteads several miles northeast of Fort Saskatchewan, next to Johan Krebs and a group of German Moravian Brethren from Galicia. In the summer of 1894 most migrated several miles further northeast to Edna-Star to be near a group of families newly arrived from Nebyliv. Thus was born the first and ultimately the largest Ukrainian settlement in western Canada. In the spring of 1895 it consisted of twelve families. While a few Ukrainians who arrived that summer settled near

the Moravians or in the Rabbit Hill district around Leduc, most opted for Edna-Star. So, too, did the majority of the first group dispatched by Oleskow in April 1896. By December 1898 five hundred Ukrainian families occupied ten townships north, east and southeast of Edna-Star.

Three bloc settlements were established in 1896. In the spring eight families from Galicia, including five who had arrived with Oleskow's first contingent, selected homesteads near Brokenhead and Whitemouth, thirty to forty miles northeast and east of Winnipeg. That summer, seventeen 'Oleskow' families led by Cyril Genik, and nine who had come on their own from Bukovyna, also settled in Manitoba in the Stuartburn district. Although Oleskow had not recommended the district, Genik preferred Stuartburn to Whitemouth (suggested by *immigration officials*), because of its proximity to the large Mennonite settlement near Gretna and to the advanced commercial farms in North Dakota and Minnesota, where undercapitalized Ukrainian settlers might earn some money. In the same summer (1896) fifteen families from Galicia settled five miles northwest of Dauphin, in an area highly recommended by Oleskow. They were joined the following spring by several families who squatted on a timber reserve immediately north of the Riding Mountains because of the area's similarity to the Carpathian foothills.

Two more bloc settlements were established in June 1897. The first, north of Yorkton, Saskatchewan, was very large and consisted of three main groups: 51 families, almost all from Galicia, in the Beaver Hills near Theodore, Insinger and Sheho; 110 Galician and Bukovynian families in the Crooked Lake district near Canora; and 31 Bukovynian families in the Calder and Wroxton districts, twenty-five miles northeast of Saltcoats. As most of the latter had succumbed to outrageous promises made by unscrupulous agents in the old country, they were penniless and literally had to be dragged out of the Winnipeg Immigration Hall to settle on the land. The Calder and Crooked Lake colonies were established next to Scandinavian and German settlements (founded a decade earlier) to help the impoverished Ukrainians earn capital. A second, smaller settlement founded in 1897 was in Manitoba's Interlake region, near Pleasant Home, some forty miles north of Winnipeg. The eleven Galician families in difficult financial straits were directed to the area by Genik, who saw nearby Winnipeg as a source of work and potential capital.

The last two bloc settlements to emerge before the turn of the century were Fish Creek-Rosthern and Shoal Lake. The first, established in June 1898, was immediately east of a large Mennonite colony (founded in 1893) and south of the Métis settlement at Duck Lake. Because so many brought here by immigration officials hoped to homestead near friends or relatives, only twenty-one of sixty-eight families stayed; the others left for Edna-Star and Dauphin after a minor confrontation. Shoal Lake on the southern slopes of the Riding Mountains, 150 miles northwest of Winnipeg and some 16 miles north of Strathclair, was estab-

lished in May 1899 by over one hundred families. Only two bloc settlements, both in Saskatchewan, emerged after the turn of the century. In the spring of 1903 five families settled near the eastern shore of Redberry Lake, just west of a large Doukhobor settlement founded in 1899, and in 1906 Ukrainians began to settle the area northeast of Prince Albert.³⁹

It has long been recognized that some Ukrainians settled on marginal agricultural lands. All Ukrainian blocs were along the transitional zone between the parkbelt and the southern fringe of the northwestern coniferous forest; none were on the open prairie grasslands. Many Ukrainian areas were generously, if not excessively, timbered and most had been rejected or by-passed by settlers of other nationalities. The best homesteads were either in western Manitoba (Dauphin, Shoal Lake), in Saskatchewan generally or in the core areas of Edna-Star. In each, the country was usually high and rolling, the soil rich brown, black or grey chernozem free of stones, and the terrain well-watered with hay and meadow lands plentiful.

Elsewhere the conditions were less promising. At Stuartburn the soil was generally light, sandy and dotted with patches of granite and limestone, and the terrain was flat with drainage poor and spring floods frequent. Around Brokenhead, and especially south of Whitemouth, the second-rate soil was swampy and covered with brush and stumps. The Interlake region was also flat, heavily forested, poorly drained, stone covered and marshy, with the soil inferior north of Pleasant Home. In Alberta's large Edna-Star settlement, the northwestern and eastern areas (the last to be settled) were also poor. The lands north of the North Saskatchewan River around Smoky Lake and Vilna were heavily forested and the soil not as good as elsewhere. Further east, the lands north and south of Plain Lake were also densely forested, covered with stony patches, with the soil marginally inferior to that in the core regions of the bloc.

Why did so many Ukrainians select marginal or poor agricultural lands? Of the two main explanations advanced, the first suggests that the best open grasslands had already been occupied; the second implies that the government's land agents discriminated against Ukrainians and forced them to accept poorer lands.⁴⁰ Recently, geographers and historians in reassessing the evidence have rejected both explanations and argued that certain social factors—the traditional resource perceptions of peasants, nostalgia, and the strength of kinship, village, county and religious ties—were primarily responsible for Ukrainian settlement on inferior lands.⁴¹

Unlike farmers from southern Ontario, the United States and northern Europe, most Ukrainian peasant immigrants expected to continue semisubsistence agricultural practices in Canada. They had come to the new world to provide a better life for their families, not to maximize profits. Thirty acres of good land was assumed to be sufficient and homesteads were not chosen to meet the needs of a capitalist market economy. Besides fertile agricultural lands,

subsistence farming required woodlands for fuel, building material and fencing, and for fruits, berries and mushrooms to vary the diet and furnish ingredients for folk medicines. It also required a marsh or swamp to provide water for cattle, slough grass, thatched roofing and game birds; and heavy yellow clay deposits, stones, sand, willow and juniper were needed to construct peasant dwellings.

Such resources were prized for other reasons. Peasants remembered their total dependence on their former masters after emancipation, when the nobility had appropriated most of the forest, meadow, pasture and marsh lands. Possessing little capital, many were also inclined to appraise land on its potential for short-term survival, not commercial grain farming. Finally, Oleskow himself had advocated settlement in the park belt since the immigrants lacked the capital and know-how to work on the open prairie.

Among subconscious factors, sentiment and nostalgia also played important roles. Uprooted from areas where they and their ancestors had lived for centuries, peasants looked for continuity in a distant land whose customs and language were frequently incomprehensible. The peasants' material and popular culture, their songs and folklore, were closely intertwined with the natural environment of their homeland. As Galicia and Bukovyna were forested regions at the base of the Carpathian Mountains, wooded land created the illusion of "at homeness," a comforting sense of environmental familiarity that eased adjustment to the new land.

In the same vein, settlers placed a high priority upon the company of kinsmen, fellow villagers, natives of the same county and co-religionists. Chain migration became apparent as early as the summer of 1898,⁴² as relatives, friends and neighbours rushed to join those already in Canada. While the first immigrants to settle an area usually picked reasonably good land, those who followed were prepared to accept marginal or submarginal homesteads to obtain a familiar social and cultural milieu. Some even rejected good land or abandoned improved homesteads on fertile soil to be near friends and relatives.

Ukrainian settlements reproduced kinship, village, county and denominational affiliations to an unusual degree. Relatives and those with the same surname frequently settled next to each other. Neighbours were often non-relatives from the same village or county. Of the 316 families in the Stuartburn district before 1900, 79 were from Bukovyna and 195 from Borshchiv and Zalishchyky, the two Galician counties immediately to the north. No fewer than forty-five families were villagers from Synkiv, Zalishchyky county. In the Dauphin settlement 195 of 453 homesteaders in 1899 were from Borshchiv county, 40 were from Terebovlia and at least 25, squatting on the timber reserve, were from three adjoining villages in Kolomyia. The Edna-Star settlement was dotted with colonies reflecting the same county origins. The original group from Nebyliv was concentrated immediately around Edna-Star; ninety-four families from Jaroslaw county were at Jaroslaw, immediately northwest of Edna-Star; and

natives of the same county were almost the sole Ukrainian settlers in the Rabbit Hill district southwest of Edmonton. Sixty families from Sniatyn county settled near Hilliard and in the Sniatyn district near Whitford. The Bukovynians, too, settled separately and rarely mixed with Galician Ukrainians, except from such adjoining counties as Borshchiv, Zalishchyky or Sniatyn. Virtually all Bukovynians were either around Stuartburn or in the central portions of the Yorkton and Edna-Star bloc settlements.⁴³

While there is little evidence that government authorities consciously discriminated against Ukrainians in the selection of land, some did receive submarginal quarter sections because of ethnic stereotyping. As most Ukrainians arrived with little capital and appeared to prefer wooded country, some government officials directed them toward the parkbelt, assuming that all Ukrainians wanted such land. Social and cultural considerations also affected official decision-making.⁴⁴ When it became apparent that most Ukrainians wished to settle near their countrymen in the Edna-Star settlement, the prospect of a solid bloc covering east central Alberta and spilling over into central Saskatchewan clashed with the government's goal of assimilating and Canadianizing the immigrants. Because complete dispersal was not possible, smaller bloc settlements or "settlement nodes" were established throughout the west. Wooded areas and lands adjacent to established non-Ukrainian settlements and industries were chosen to enable settlers to generate capital by chopping and selling cordwood or by working as farm labourers. Officially encouraged were the prosperous Fish Creek-Rosthern and the Shoal Lake districts, as well as the impoverished Brokenhead and Whitemouth settlements. Immigrants with no clear destination and no friends or relatives in Canada were usually sent to the new "settlement nodes." While immigrants occasionally resisted government officials who tried to settle them far away from relatives or friends, such protests were usually motivated by social considerations rather than by suspicions about the quality of land.

By 1901 there were 9,000 Ukrainians in the Edna-Star bloc settlement, 5,000 in the Dauphin settlement, 4,500 in Yorkton, 3,000 in Stuartburn and over 1,000 each in the Shoal Lake, Interlake, Brokenhead-Whitemouth and Fish Creek-Rosthern settlements.⁴⁵ Between 1896 and 1914 these settlements grew from a few quarter sections in one or two townships to large areas encompassing thousands of square miles. In terms of population, the largest boasted fifteen to twenty thousand individuals on the eve of the First World War. However, not all Ukrainians settled on the land; many came to find work in the country's frontier industries and urban areas. As the experiences of the rural settlers, frontier

labourers and urban immigrants were substantially different, each will be presented separately.

Notes

1. Eric R. Wolf, *Europe and the People Without History* (Berkeley, 1982), 352-83, 423-4.
2. The question of the first Ukrainian to arrive in Canada has preoccupied a generation of amateur and professional scholars with little result, mainly because of the ambiguities in Ukrainian, Polish, Slovak and Russian surnames and the difficulty of obtaining precise evidence. Because isolated individuals made no impact on the communities in which they lived, the issue is largely academic. For some of the individuals suggested as the "first" Ukrainians in Canada, see Iuliian Stechyshyn (Julian Stechishin), *Istoriia poseleennia ukrainsiv v Kanadi* (Edmonton, 1975), 80-116; Vladimir J. Kaye and Frances Swyripa, "Settlement and Colonization," in Manoly R. Lupul, ed., *A Heritage in Transition: Essays in the History of Ukrainians in Canada* (Toronto, 1982), 33-5.
3. The Germans in Galicia (*Volksdeutsche*) had been settling on ethnic Ukrainian territories as agricultural colonists since the eighteenth century. Relations between the two groups were generally good and they would continue to be close during their first years in Canada. Tyt Ziniak, a third villager who was supposed to accompany Pylypow and Eleniak, was turned back at the border by Austrian authorities for lack of funds. Stechyshyn, 122.
4. William A. Czumer, *Recollections About the Life of the First Ukrainian Settlers in Canada*, trans. Louis T. Laychuk (Edmonton, 1981), 16-17.
5. Vladimir J. Kaye, *Early Ukrainian Settlements in Canada, 1895-1900: Dr. Josef Oleskow's Role in the Settlement of the Canadian Northwest* (Toronto, 1964), 15; Robert F. Harney, "Emigrants, the Written Word and Trust," *Polyphony* III (1) (1981), 3.
6. Ivan Franko, *Zibrannia tvoriv u piatdesiaty tomakh*, XLIV, pt. 2 (Kiev, 1985), 282-3, 327-31, 334-8, 341-64, 392-400, 430-1, 439-41, 449-55, 459-67, 470-1, 477-95.
7. *Svoboda* 7 March 1895; Ivan Franko, "Emihratsiia," *Tvory*, XIX (Kiev, 1956), 314.
8. Sr. Severyna, "Emihratsiia v ukrainskim pysmenstvi," *Propamiatna knyha Ukrainskoho Narodnoho Soiuzu* (Jersey City, 1936), 409.
9. For a full account of his journey, see Iosyf Oleskov (Josef Oleskow), *O emigratsii* (Lviv, 1895); for a summary, see Kaye, 19-43.
10. Kaye and Swyripa, "Settlement and Colonization," 39; *Svoboda* 25 June 1896.
11. For example, Theodosy Wachna, a young Lemko who emigrated from Mayfield, Pennsylvania, to Stuartburn, Manitoba, in 1897, was elected secretary-treasurer of the newly created Stuartburn municipality in 1902. Kaye, 380.

12. NAC, S.W. Coryn to Archie Baker, 10 February 1896, RG 76, Immigration Branch, vol. 109, file 21103; Kaye, 53-5, 117-26.
13. Kaye, 105-8.
14. *Svoboda* 8 October 1896.
15. John C. Lehr, "The Process and Pattern of Ukrainian Rural Settlement in Western Canada, 1891-1914" (PhD dissertation, University of Manitoba, 1978), 49-50; *Svoboda* 1 January 1897.
16. *Svoboda* 15 December 1898; Franko, "Emihratsiia," *Tvory* XIX, 315.
17. Quoted in Kaye, 122.
18. *Svoboda* 12 December 1895, 13 February, 16, 30 April 1896.
19. Johann Chmelar, "The Austrian Emigration, 1900-1914," *Perspectives in American History* VII (1973), 284-6.
20. *Ibid.*, 285.
21. *Ibid.*, 363-77; *Svoboda* 25 March 1897.
22. The discussion follows Benjamin P. Murdzek, *Emigration in Polish Social-Political Thought, 1870-1914* (Boulder, 1977), 101-30.
23. Chmelar, 319, 329.
24. *Svoboda* 1 April 1897.
25. The Bremen agents Karesch and Stotzky sent Ukrainian peasants from Zalishchyky and Horodenka counties to work on Texas cotton plantations by telling them that they would receive four hundred acres of free land. *Ibid.*, 29 October 1896. The agent Missler, the principal European booker for Bremen's North German Lloyd shipping line, sent Ukrainians to Georgia (in the United States), where he owned land which he sold for five dollars an acre. Some of the families eventually made their way to Canada. *Ibid.*, 1 January 1897; Nestor Dmytriv (Dmytriw), *Kanadyiska Rus'. Podorozhni spomyny*, first pub. 1897 (Winnipeg, 1972), 11.
26. *Svoboda* 29 September 1898.
27. Chmelar, 301-2. The distance from Chernivtsi to Lviv was 165.5 miles by rail; from Lviv to Cracow, 212.5; from Cracow to Oświęcim, 40.5; and from the German border to Hamburg and Bremen, about 500.
28. The route across Podilia was Chernivtsi - Kitsman - Zalishchyky - Chortkiv (junction Buchach - Halych) - Kopychyntsi - Terebovlia - Berezhany - Rohatyn - Khodoriv - Lviv; Baedeker's scenic route was Chernivtsi - Luzhany - Sniatyn/Zaluche - Zabolotiv - Kolomyia - Korshiv - Stanyslaviv - Halych - Burshtyn - Khodoriv - Lviv. Karl Baedeker, *Austria-Hungary with Excursions to Cetinje, Belgrade and Bucharest: Handbook for Travellers* (Leipzig, 1911), 380-2.
29. The route passed through Lviv - Horodok (Gródek Jagielloński) - Sudova Vyshnia - Przemyśl - Jarosław - Łańcut - Rzeszów - Dębica - Tarnów - Bochnia - Cracow. *Ibid.*, 377-80.
30. Peter Humeniuk, *Hardships and Progress of Ukrainian Pioneers: Memories from Stuartburn Colony and Other Points* (Steinbach, Man., n.d.), 30.
31. *Svoboda* 28 May 1896, 30 September 1897.
32. The account of the reception in Germany follows *Reports of the Immigration Commission: Emigration Conditions in Europe*, IV (Washington, 1911), 93-102.
33. The account of the ocean crossing follows Humeniuk, 32-5.
34. Kaye, 193; *Yorkton Enterprise* 7 June 1900.

35. *Svoboda* 2 July, 25 August 1898; see also Dmytriv, 3-13; *Svoboda* 16 August 1896, 26 May 1898; Petro Zvarych (Peter Svarich), *Spomyny, 1877-1904* (Winnipeg, 1976), 101 ff. for descriptions of conditions in the German immigration halls.
36. Based on *Svoboda* 6 August, 8 October 1896, 26 August, 21 October, 25 November 1897, 13 January 1898, 9 March, 17 August 1899.
37. NAC, RG 18/A1, RCMP, vol. 141, file 545, vol. 146, file 96; Carl Betke, "Pioneers and Police on the Canadian Prairies, 1885-1914," *Canadian Historical Association Historical Papers* (1980), 9-32.
38. The discussion of the bloc settlements follows Kaye, 318-60 *passim*.
39. Stechyshyn, 267.
40. For the debate, see John C. Lehr, "Governmental Coercion in the Settlement of Ukrainian Immigrants in Western Canada," *Prairie Forum* VIII (2) (1983), 179-94.
41. The most important contribution to the re-evaluation has been made by John C. Lehr. Besides his doctoral dissertation (n. 15 above), see his two articles: "The Government and the Immigrant: Perspectives on Ukrainian Block Settlements in the Canadian West," *Canadian Ethnic Studies* IX (2) (1977), 42-52, and "The Rural Settlement Behaviour of Ukrainian Pioneers in Western Canada, 1891-1914," in Brenton M. Barr, ed., *Western Canadian Research in Geography* (Vancouver, 1975), 51-66.
42. *Svoboda* 16 June 1898.
43. Based on Vladimir J. Kaye, *Dictionary of Ukrainian Canadian Biography: Pioneer Settlers of Manitoba, 1891-1900* (Toronto, 1975), *Dictionary of Ukrainian Canadian Biography of Pioneer Settlers of Alberta, 1891-1900* (Edmonton, 1984), and "Dictionary of Ukrainian Canadian Biography: Saskatchewan Biographies," NAC, Vladimir J. Kaye Papers.
44. Lehr, "The Process and Pattern," 290ff.
45. William Darcovich and Paul Yuzyk, eds., *Statistical Compendium on the Ukrainians in Canada, 1891-1976* (Ottawa, 1980), 513-14.

4

Rural Settlers

By 1905 ten Ukrainian bloc settlements had been established in western Canada, stretching from east central Alberta to southeastern Manitoba in the transitional zone between the aspen parkland and the southern fringe of the boreal forest. The largest and most homogeneous blocs were Edna-Star in Alberta, Fish Creek-Rosthern and Yorkton in Saskatchewan and Dauphin-Ethelbert, Shoal Lake-Rosburn, the Interlake and Stuartburn in Manitoba. Between 1901 and 1921 the number of Ukrainians in the ten bloc settlements established after 1894 grew from 27,000 to 130,000.¹

Dominant Characteristics

An overwhelming majority of the early Ukrainian rural settlers emigrated as family units.² Of the men who took out homesteads, only a small minority were bachelors or married men with wives and children in the old country. The latter almost always joined the men within a few months or a year or two. As a result, the imbalance between the sexes, so common in frontier societies and among most urban sojourners, was not as serious in rural Ukrainian communities. The sex ratio among rural Ukrainians fell from 1.17:1 in 1911 to 1.14:1 in 1921 and compared favourably with the 1.23:1 ratio of the population of Alberta.³

The male heads of rural immigrant families were men in the prime of life. The median age of fifteen hundred Ukrainian males who took out homesteads between 1892 and 1900 was 38.5 years; no fewer than 60.2 per cent were 30-44 and another 24.8 per cent were 45-59. Only 13.1 per cent were under thirty upon arrival. The median age of their wives was 32.5, with 62 per cent 25-39, 22 per cent 40-54 and only 14.9 per cent under 25.⁴ Although there is little data on those who brought their families between 1900 and 1914, there is no reason to suppose they were much younger.⁵ As we shall see, the relative maturity of the rural settlers was in sharp contrast to the young, single and unattached men and

women who came in great numbers between 1907 and 1914 to work in Canada's frontier industries and urban centres.

There were virtually no childless families among the Ukrainian settlers who arrived between 1892 and 1900. The typical family of three children doubled or tripled in size within a decade. Families led by men in their late forties and early fifties often arrived with between six and nine children, with the eldest being young men in their early twenties (most girls usually married and left the parental household by their early twenties). By 1900 most of the single young men had homesteads of their own and were looking for wives to help begin farming.

Settlers usually emigrated in nuclear family units, with several from the same village travelling together. Occasionally, three or four generations of the same family left at once. Men and women in their fifties or sixties, who accompanied their married sons' families to Canada, established their own households if they still had young children; otherwise, they lived with the son's family and farmed both homesteads together. Among such older immigrants, at least a score were born in 1830 or earlier and must have retained vivid memories of the serfdom abolished in 1848. Petro (1811-1910) and Irena (1819-1922) Kolodie, the parents of Pavlo Kolodie, who settled in 1898 near Pleasant Home, Manitoba, appear to have been the eldest among Ukrainian rural settlers.⁶

The fact that most pre-1900 settlers came as complete families of five or more persons suggests that some were fairly substantial farmers in the old country. Anton Paish of Nebyliv, who settled with his wife and five children near Edna-Star in 1892, brought eighteen hundred dollars in cash.⁷ We have seen that Dr. Oleskow envisaged an orderly and controlled emigration of hand-picked peasant farmers with capital, and the few groups of immigrants sent out by him conformed to that model. His first group, which reached Quebec City aboard the *SS Christiania* on 30 April 1896, consisted of seventeen families and seven single men and carried \$7,250 in cash or \$302 per household. One family brought \$800, the others \$250 to \$700 each. Another group of twenty-seven families and two single men, who settled in the Edna-Star district in 1898, brought a total of \$5,640 or about \$200 per household. One family had \$1,000 and six others had \$400 or more.⁸

From the outset, however, poorer peasants accompanied the more affluent. Nine of the thirty-one families who had settled in Stuartburn during the summer of 1896 were destitute by December and appealed to the government for assistance. They and a large group of destitute families in the Yorkton district in 1897 were Bukovynians who had come to Canada on their own, without Oleskow's blessing.⁹ In November 1898, Fr. Paul Tymkiewich observed that only about a quarter of the immigrants brought more than \$250 with them, and letters in the immigrant press reveal that many were penniless by the time they reached Winnipeg or Edmonton.¹⁰ Indeed, it appears that, as the years went by,

more and more relatively poor peasants emigrated to Canada. After 1905 it seems that more men came on their own to earn the cost of ocean passage for their families, who joined them after three or more years, with the teen-aged children often left behind with relatives.¹¹

A survey of Ukrainian rural settlers in western Canada in 1916 revealed that 50 per cent had arrived without cash and 42 per cent had amounts up to five hundred dollars with one hundred dollars the norm. The fact that many in the second category, and the 8 per cent who arrived with more than five hundred dollars, had emigrated before 1900 suggests that with time immigration fever spread to the poorer peasants.¹² Recent research on emigration from central Europe, Scandinavia and Ireland corroborates this view.¹³ As in Galicia and Bukovyna, "the first to leave, although they usually constituted a minority of the emigrant population,"¹⁴ were the independent farmers, artisans and craftsmen, followed within a few years by a much larger group of marginal landowners and the landless.¹⁵

Ukrainian settlers acquired "free" homestead land from the Canadian government and they could buy additional land from either the government, the railways or the Hudson's Bay Company (HBC). A "free" homestead of 160 acres was acquired after payment of a ten-dollar registration fee. To receive title to the land, a homesteader had to reside on it for at least six months each year for three consecutive years, cultivate thirty acres of wild prairie (or a fraction of the total if the land was heavily forested) and construct a habitable dwelling. After 1908 the new homesteader was encouraged to pre-empt an adjoining 160-acre quarter section at four dollars an acre payable to the government within three years. Railway and HBC lands were more expensive. CPR lands, which sold for less than \$3.25 an acre between 1890 and 1902, cost \$21.53 by 1917, while CNR lands rose from \$3.44 an acre in 1903 to \$18.52 in 1918. HBC lands, offered for the first time in 1906, sold at about \$12.10 an acre.¹⁶ During the early years most Ukrainian immigrants either lacked the financial means or the foresight to purchase additional land. To them, the 160 acres seemed more than enough when compared to the seven or eight acres a very few might have owned in the old country.

The first task that the settler on a homestead faced was the construction of a dwelling. Whether rich or poor, most Ukrainian families spent between a few months and two to three years in a temporary dug-out (*burdei* or *zemlianka*).¹⁷ The typical *burdei* had a two metre-high, inverted V-roof frame atop a rectangular pit three metres wide by four to five metres long and 3/4 to 1 1/4 metres deep. The roof and gables consisted of poplar or aspen poles and tall prairie grass and were covered with prairie sod. The *burdei* had a door in the south gable and was heated by a clay stove and furnished with homemade rail beds, tables, benches and tree stump seats.

Life in a *burdei* could be extremely uncomfortable, especially for a family with three or four children. Accordingly, a more elaborate dwelling—usually a one-room log house—quickly followed. Within five years of arrival, most permanent homes were rectangular, single-storey, 3 x 8 metre or 4 x 10 metre, two-room, clay-plastered, whitewashed log houses with central hallways and thatched or shingled roofs.¹⁸ Such homes could be built by anyone with an axe, a saw, an auger and access to logs, clay, straw and lime. Neighbours and expert housebuilders (usually Hutsul highlanders) were often invited to help with the construction. Men felled trees, fashioned logs and put up the walls and roof; women plastered the walls with clay and whitewashed them.

Such dwellings represented the most desirable form of peasant housing in Galicia and Bukovyna at the turn of the century. Besides their whitewashed exterior, they featured glossy clay floors, a clay embankment (*pryzba*) at the base of the exterior walls and a high-pitched, thatched roof with wide overlapping eaves, especially pronounced along the southern end to provide shade. The two-room interior had a central hallway (*siny*) that served as a vestibule or storage space. The all-purpose western room (*mala khata*) served as a kitchen, bedroom and living room; it was dominated by a large clay stove (*pich*) and furnished with a large bed, a table, benches and shelves. The eastern room (*velyka khata*) was reserved for formal occasions and to accommodate guests, though large families often used it as a second bedroom.

During the early years such dwellings were frequently very crowded as parents and children, and friends and relatives without homes, jostled one another for living space. In later years a single male lodger or farm hand might share the home, along with fowl and young calves on cold winter nights. As late as 1916, a fair number of the two-room homes accommodated ten or more persons. Indeed, in 1916 about two-thirds of all Ukrainian settlers lived in such traditional peasant dwellings,¹⁹ and they were the prevalent type in Ukrainian settlements across western Canada well into the 1920s, when only a minority possessed modern frame housing.

To begin farming, settlers needed capital for seed, livestock and implements. Depending on the family's wealth, the number of sons and their ages and the nature of the settled terrain, this first "pioneer" phase could vary "from five years in the country of light timber and good soil to an indefinite time in other districts."²⁰ Historians differ about the cost of establishing a viable farming operation, with estimates ranging from only a few hundred dollars to between \$975 and \$1,425.²¹ While Ukrainians did not require a great deal of capital—contemporaries suggested two hundred to five hundred dollars²²—most lacked such amounts when they arrived. Even those who brought flails, scythes, axes, sieves, spades and querns still needed oxen, ploughs, harrows and seed grain to start farming, with cows, poultry, hogs, wagons and horses following shortly thereafter. In addition, barns, stables and granaries had to be built, wells dug and

the property fenced. As a result, only the wealthiest male immigrants, or those blessed with single adult sons, did not spend a few years in off-farm work. The latter entailed leaving wives and children to look after the homestead, while the men searched for work on railway construction, in the mines or lumber camps or as farm hands and harvest labourers on large commercial farms. Here, only agricultural labour is considered; work on the railways, in the forests and mines will be discussed later.

Most Ukrainian farm labourers sought summer employment in south-western Manitoba, North Dakota, southern Saskatchewan or south central Alberta, where they could earn anywhere from ten to thirty-five dollars a month plus room and board, depending on the time of year and their skill and experience. The typical harvest labourer earned \$79 (1901) to \$240 (1920) for two or three months' work. At first, Ukrainians usually performed the backbreaking and mindnumbing, low-paid task of stooking. This consisted of gathering eight to ten sheaves, dropped by a horse-drawn self-binding reaper, and stacking them into piles "designed to protect the grain from weather damage until it became ripe enough to thresh."²³ Stookers worked from dawn to dusk, racing after the binder, bending, lifting and piling up the stooks. The more skilled work of threshing was usually performed by experienced farmers and their sons. Inexperienced Ukrainians served as "field pitchers," forking sheaves from stooks onto wagons. Although threshing was less onerous and paid more, it was also more dangerous because of boiler explosions and clothing entangled in grain separators. Nonetheless, the harvest experience exposed Ukrainians to new farming methods and modern machinery, and it also frequently introduced them to the English language.

While the men were away, women and children performed the farm work. They walked miles to the nearest country store or railway town for sacks of potatoes and flour. They cleared, ploughed and cultivated an acre or two and they harvested by hand, cutting, threshing and bagging the grain, stacking the straw and cutting the hay to provide fodder for cows and oxen. They also tended the poultry and hogs (if they had any) and planted gardens—"the most distinguishing characteristic of Ukrainian farming."²⁴ Potatoes, lentils, cabbages, beets, onions, garlic, carrots, turnips, parsnips and corn provided a basic subsistence diet and enabled Ukrainian settlers to survive where others failed.

Women's work thus made a singular contribution to Ukrainian survival. In Canada the division between male and female labour was not as strictly observed as in Galicia and Bukovyna, where ploughing, harrowing and seeding had always been men's work and women did the stooking. Women had spent less time in the fields in the old country, where peasant landholdings were smaller and the harvest less bountiful.²⁵ In Canada threshing with the flail and winnowing became men's work and grain grinding with a quern (*zhorna*) the task of women. Women also looked after gardens, milked the cows and fed the pigs and cattle,

while men cared for the horses. Making and washing clothes was also women's work, but the former task soon disappeared because men and the young generally were under pressure to adopt North American dress codes, and the heavy emphasis on developing homesteads and producing cash crops reduced weaving to a leisure-time activity.²⁶

Writing in the 1920s, a Canadian sociologist termed "the woman's share" to be the most "distinctive feature of labour on the Ukrainian farm," with most women contributing more than the average hired man on a typical summer day:

She gets up between four and five in the morning and goes to bed at eleven at night. When she gets up she does the chores outside, feeds the cattle and milks the cows. She then prepares breakfast and washes the dishes, after which she follows the family to the field where she may hoe or drive a gang-plow, stook, etc. She comes in shortly before dinner, prepares it and cleans up, a matter of one and one half or two hours, then returns to the field until eight o'clock when she milks, after which she gets supper. This is a man's share in any other community.²⁷

Women's labour was always a large factor in the undeniable progress which Ukrainian peasant immigrants made during the first two decades of the century.

Agriculture

Except in Alberta's Smoky Lake and Wasel districts and in Manitoba's wet and stone-covered Stuartburn district and in its heavily forested Interlake region, most settlers were able to turn to full-time farming after a few years. During the next five to ten years, they cleared, improved and sometimes purchased more land, replaced the oxen with horses, expanded livestock holdings, and acquired double-bladed riding gang ploughs, seeders, mowers and binders. Many combined with neighbours to purchase steam threshers. Simultaneously, gambrel-roofed log barns began to replace the traditional *staini* (low stables that sheltered livestock) and *stodoly* (structures with flailing floors which stored hay, unthreshed crops and straw). Specialized outbuildings also sprang up: pig and poultry houses, granaries and machine and implement sheds, all usually of logs.²⁸ On the eve of the First World War, government reports noted that "remarkable material progress" was being made by settlers with five or six quarter sections, comfortable North American-style frame houses, stables, herds of hogs and cattle and a bevy of superior horses. In Alberta some of the Bukovynian settlers in the Andrew and Willingdon districts had already earned three thousand dollars from the sale of a single grain crop while others had threshed thirteen thousand bushels of grain in one season.²⁹

Such "progress," however, was relative, uneven and much more apparent in some districts than in others. Overall, Ukrainian farmers in the prairie provinces

were well behind other farming communities. From Table 1, which compares the average prairie farm with farms in forty-five municipal and local improvement districts where Ukrainians were at least 33 per cent of the population, one can see that, by 1916, Ukrainian farms were about three-fifths the size of the prairie average and their improved acreage less than three-eighths of the same average. Wheat, the principal cash crop, constituted 52 per cent of the average field crop acreage, but it was only 36 per cent among Ukrainians. Moreover, the average Ukrainian farmer had only 18.5 acres in wheat, about two-sevenths of that on the average prairie farm. He also had one-half the horses and about seven-eighths the cattle of the average. Although he generally took good care of his horses, he paid scant attention to other livestock. Only the swine herds, especially large in east central Alberta, were numerically on a par with those in the prairie region, the result of economic factors in Galicia and Bukovyna, where Ukrainian peasants had traditionally raised hogs, cattle and poultry as cash crops. As a result, hog-raising became the quickest, easiest and most profitable way to raise cash for land and mortgage payments. It furnished the best opportunity to convert skim milk, whey, slops and frozen grain into cash. Such a cheap and easy approach to hog-raising, however, had negative results. High-grade Yorkshire bacon hogs could not be raised in this manner, and by the 1920s Ukrainian farmers could not market hogs raised in the traditional way.³⁰

Table 2 indicates the extent to which agricultural development varied according to district and bloc in 1916. It was clearly most advanced on Ukrainian farms in Saskatchewan (Fig. 4). In the nine southern districts of the Yorkton bloc, in Fish Creek-Rosthern and in Redberry, northeast of North Battleford, most farms were about 220 acres in size, including 65 to 140 acres of improved land. Most farmers there boasted a full complement of agricultural implements and machinery and some even owned automobiles. Recently settled areas like the five northern districts in the Yorkton bloc and the Russia district, northeast of Prince Albert, were underdeveloped by comparison. While mixed farming—the cultivation of a variety of grains and vegetables, livestock and poultry raising and dairying—was practised in all areas of the province settled by Ukrainians, it was especially well developed in the Yorkton bloc. There, most farmers had fourteen to twenty head of cattle and three or four hogs, with oats rather than wheat the major cash crop. Wheat predominated only in Fish Creek-Rosthern and Redberry, where it constituted up to 75 per cent of the field crop acreage.

In Alberta (Fig. 5) agricultural development in the five western and the two southeastern districts of the bloc was almost equal to the more advanced Ukrainian districts in Saskatchewan. However, even in Alberta's advanced districts, Ukrainian farmers invested less acreage in wheat and more in cattle and especially in hog production. In the two eastern and the four northwestern districts of the bloc, most Ukrainians conducted little more than bare subsistence farming in 1916.

Agricultural progress was least apparent in Manitoba (Fig. 6), apart from Shoal Lake, Dauphin and Gilbert Plains, where farm size, improved acreage and the number of cattle were on a par with the advanced Ukrainian districts in Saskatchewan and Alberta. In Dauphin and Gilbert Plains wheat growing was almost as important as in Fish Creek-Rosthern and Redberry, while oat production in Shoal Lake was greater than in Yorkton. In the two less-developed Dauphin districts (Ethelbert and Mossy River), dairying and stock raising were fairly successful by 1915. In Manitoba's three remaining settlements, agricultural development was slower. In the Stuartburn, Brokenhead-Whitemouth and Interlake bloc settlements, farms were rarely more than a quarter section in size and only twenty to forty acres were improved on the typical farm in the first two settlements. In the Interlake only ten to fifteen acres were improved and only five to ten cropped; the little grain produced rarely sufficed to feed the cattle, hogs and poultry.³¹

Conditions in Stuartburn and the Interlake were so unfavourable that in 1906 the Ukrainian press was already warning immigrants to avoid Manitoba. Some settlers left Stuartburn for Montana, for the region east of Prince Albert, and, just before the First World War, for the Peace River country.³² Those who remained or replaced them scratched out a meagre living as farm labourers, or by selling cordwood, milk products and seneca root and cutting wire grass for carpets and mats produced by the Deltox Grass Mat Company of Wisconsin.³³ In the even less-developed Interlake region, many settlers survived during the early years only because the woods teemed with rabbits, blackbirds, sparrows and wild berries. By 1916 vegetable and potato gardens, a few cows, two or three hogs and a few chickens (preyed upon constantly by wolves, foxes and hawks) sustained the inhabitants. During the summer months women and girls could earn up to two hundred dollars selling eggs, vegetables, butter, wild berries, honey and young chickens in the resorts on the western shore of Lake Winnipeg from Whyteford to Winnipeg Beach. The men—farm labourers, railway navvies and dockhands in Fort William during the summer—cut cordwood, hewed railway ties and occasionally tried their hand at fishing during the winter. Teen-aged children also supplemented the family income. While the girls worked as maids and waitresses in Winnipeg hotels and restaurants, the boys and young men either searched for work with their fathers or set out on their own. By the 1920s many had travelled to Minneapolis-St. Paul, Chicago and Detroit in search of seasonal or permanent employment.³⁴

How can these disparities in agricultural development be explained? First, many of the least developed areas were the last to be settled. In the eastern and northwestern districts of the Alberta bloc (especially Wasel #575 and Smoky Lake #576), in Prince Albert, in the five northern districts of Yorkton and in the northern districts of the Manitoba Interlake region, settlement began in earnest only after 1905, and many who were farming in 1916 did not take out home-

steads until 1912 or 1913. In sharp contrast, the more advanced districts had been settled since the 1890s. This was certainly the case in the western and southeastern districts of the Alberta bloc, in Fish Creek-Rosthern, in the heart of the Yorkton settlement and in Dauphin and Shoal Lake. Indeed, several of the most advanced districts in all three provinces—Dauphin, Gilbert Plains, Harrison, Silver Creek, Hoodoo, Beaver Lake, Birch Lake, Norma—had been settled in the 1870s and 1880s by English-, German- and French-speaking settlers who were still a plurality, if not the majority, in 1916.

Another factor causing agricultural disparities was the quality of land. The ARDA Canada Land Inventory, which groups soils into seven categories from the most to the least productive (class 1 to class 7), reveals that all land in the advanced areas was excellent.³⁵ Virtually all parts settled by Ukrainians in Saskatchewan, in the southeastern and most of the western region of the Alberta bloc, and in most parts of Shoal Lake, Dauphin (especially the south) and Brokenhead-Whitemouth (except Birch River) in Manitoba had class 1, 2 and 3 soils. These were deep, retained moisture well and were rich in plant nutrients. In the underdeveloped districts—Stuartburn and Birch River, the Interlake north of Pleasant Home and south of Fisher Branch, Smoky Lake and Wasel in the northwestern and Sobor and Ukraina in the eastern part of the Alberta bloc—most soils were class 4, 5, 6 and 7. Except for class 4, such soils were poor for sustained crop production and more suited to grazing animals (apart from class 7). In many districts, especially Stuartburn and Interlake Manitoba, the land was very poorly drained, marshy and stony. Indeed, it was not unusual for Ukrainian farmers in the Stuartburn district to spend twenty-five to fifty dollars annually repairing ploughs and other implements.³⁶

Proximity to railways was a third factor which created disparities. Farms were almost always larger and more land was usually improved where railways were easily accessible. The grain- and produce-marketing facilities in the railway towns were an incentive to improve land, expand livestock holdings and produce for the market. Where grain and livestock had to be hauled thirty miles or more over poor roads—as in the Interlake before 1914, in the settlement east of Prince Albert and in the northwestern and eastern regions of the Alberta bloc before 1920—there was little reason to abandon subsistence for commercial farming.

Why did agricultural development in the Ukrainian bloc settlements lag behind the rest of the prairies? First, at a time when up to \$975 were needed to establish a farm, most Ukrainians arrived with little or no cash and began farming in earnest much later than did most homesteaders from Ontario, the United States or northern Europe.³⁷ Nor were they usually in a good position to pre-empt adjoining quarter sections or to buy railway lands. The desire of Ukrainian settlers for an ample supply of wood and other natural resources necessary for survival (rather than commercial farming) also slowed down agricultural development. In Brokenhead-Whitemouth, in the Interlake, along the southern

slopes of the Riding Mountains, in Ethelbert and Mossy River north of Dauphin, in the settlement northeast of Prince Albert, and in Smoky Lake and Wasel north of the North Saskatchewan River, the moderately to heavily timbered Ukrainian lands required more time and energy to clear and improve than did those on the open prairie further south. Agricultural development in such districts was usually well below the prairie average. Finally, peasant conservatism—the unwillingness to break with traditional methods—and the absence among Ukrainian farmers of programmes about new agricultural methods also checked agricultural growth before the 1920s. As a result, few practised crop rotation,³⁸ while those in livestock production remained suspicious of new breeds and feeding methods. Most shunned minerals and proteins for their hogs and cattle, displayed little interest in high-grade Yorkshire bacon hogs and were not particular about their milch cows.³⁹ Not until the appointment of Ukrainian-speaking provincial and federal agriculturalists during the 1920s did new farming methods gain widespread acceptance.

Not surprisingly, only a small minority of Ukrainian farmers made the transition to commercial farming during the first decade of the new century, while most Ukrainians continued in subsistence farming until the war years. High agricultural prices during and immediately after the First World War helped many to make the transition. With crops poor in 1914 and the economy in a state of recession, the bumper crop and war-generated European demand for Canadian agricultural products in 1915 were most welcome. An unprecedented expansion in western-Canadian agriculture followed, especially in wheat, whose price per bushel rose steadily from 91¢ in 1914 to \$2.31 in 1920. Prairie wheat acreage expanded by 35 per cent, especially in Saskatchewan and Alberta, and by war's end "about 55 per cent of all land seeded to field crops was planted to wheat [and] another 30 per cent of acreage was seeded to oats which were grown to provide feed for the horsepower needed to produce the wheat crop."⁴⁰ The increase in hog and cattle prices was almost as rapid but, because livestock required more skill, labour and higher investments, production did not increase significantly. By 1921 farms of one-half section were the norm and three-quarter sections were becoming common in each prairie province. Western farmers enjoyed their newfound prosperity by purchasing automobiles, farm machinery and new homes.

With the exception of Ukrainians in southeastern and Interlake Manitoba, most prospered during the war years. Perceived as "enemy aliens" of Austrian origin, they and their sons were prevented from enlisting in the Canadian armed forces (though many contrived to do so). Accordingly, they took full advantage of wartime prices. Their greater reliance on family labour rather than machinery and hired labour lowered operating expenses and increased real profits. Some even worked their own farms and then hired themselves or their sons out as harvest labourers to increase income. Even their traditional emphasis on mixed farming stood them in good stead. Concentrated in the parkland belt, they were not only

less susceptible to sudden shifts in the wheat market, but their crops had sufficient moisture even during the dry summers of 1917-19. As a result, wheat acreage in Ukrainian districts increased by more than 51 per cent between 1916 and 1921.⁴¹

Although the war years were prosperous for Ukrainian farmers, Table 3 shows that in 1921 they still lagged behind other prairie farmers. Ukrainian farms were only two-thirds the size of most, with only five-ninths of the usual improved acreage and only one-third of the usual acreage seeded to wheat. In Manitoba and Saskatchewan, for example, where German-speaking settlers predominated, farm size, improved acreage and acreage seeded to wheat and oats were substantially larger than in adjacent Ukrainian districts.⁴² Table 4 also shows that the regional disparities of 1916 were not eliminated during the war years. In fact, the differences between the highly developed and most of the least developed districts became greater. By 1920 progress in land improvement and crop acreage was visible in the least developed districts of Alberta (especially Ukraina #513 and Sobor #514), but in southeastern and Interlake Manitoba, and to a lesser extent in Ethelbert and Mossy River, Ukrainian farmers were replacing cereals with forage crops, livestock and dairying. While such mixed farming was more labour intensive and entailed higher production and transportation costs, it did shield practitioners from sudden shifts in the wheat market, which became especially important in 1921-4 when farm prices, especially wheat, plummeted below prewar levels. Many Ukrainians in the grain-producing regions, especially those in the Dauphin and Shoal Lake blocs who had purchased machinery and large tracts of land at inflated prices at the height of the wartime boom, forfeited payments and lost their farms and machinery. As a result, by the late 1920s even Ukrainian farmers in the pre-eminently grain-producing districts of Saskatchewan and Alberta were increasing their livestock and dairying operations.⁴³

Business Enterprises

Farmers, even Ukrainian peasant farmers unaccustomed to a wide variety of consumer goods and a high standard of living, were not economically self-sufficient. To purchase essentials, they had to negotiate muddy or snow-covered trails, wind-swept plains and dark and forbidding woods in ox- or horse-drawn wagons or sleighs. Before 1910, when railway towns were relatively few, a trip could take a week or longer as Interlake Ukrainians, who had to travel up to sixty miles to reach Teulon, the nearest town, soon discovered.⁴⁴ To fill the desperate need for supply centres nearer the homestead, enterprising settlers opened country stores on their farms, and these led occasionally to the emergence of rural hamlets with a blacksmith shop, an implement agency and a general

store. Once railways were built, such businesses were usually transferred to one of the nearby townsites, established at approximately ten-mile intervals along the railways to market farm products and distribute manufactured goods. By 1920 most farmers sold their products and made purchases in such railway towns.

In 1920 there were 2,203 railway towns or trade centres in the prairie provinces,⁴⁵ with about 230 located within the Ukrainian bloc settlements (Figs. 7, 8, 9; also Table 5). Railway stations, grain elevators and general stores were the first business enterprises to appear in the railway towns. They were usually followed by lumber yards, livery stables, blacksmith shops, cafés and restaurants, billiard halls, small hotels and, around 1920, auto repair garages. Only the larger towns with at least five hundred to one thousand inhabitants could sustain more specialized services—shoemakers, tailors, milliners, florists, jewellers, booksellers, automobile dealers, motion picture theatres, banks, veterinarians, druggists, doctors, dentists, lawyers, high schools, hospitals and churches. Between 1910 and 1940 such towns were relatively few, with about 70 per cent containing ten or fewer businesses and only 2.5 per cent boasting fifty or more.

In marked contrast to the surrounding Ukrainian countryside, most of the 230 trade centres within the bloc settlements were largely English-speaking, non-Ukrainian islands in 1921 (and for several decades thereafter). Ukrainians were the majority in only seven of the ninety towns on which population data are available,⁴⁶ and they owned a majority of the businesses in only 29 of 192 railway centres where more than a grain elevator was located. The overwhelming majority of the businesses in such localities were owned and operated by Canadian-, American- or British-born individuals. The largest and most profitable enterprises—grain elevators, lumber yards, banks—were usually the property of national and international corporations with headquarters in London, Minneapolis, Montreal, Toronto, Winnipeg, Calgary and Edmonton. Here and there, in towns where Ukrainian settlements intersected with those of other ethnic groups, merchants of German (Bruderheim, Rosthern, Bruno, Humboldt, Emerson), Icelandic or Scandinavian (Gimli, Arborg, Wynyard) and French-Canadian or Métis (Prud'homme, Vonda, Duck Lake, St. Paul de Métis) origins dominated business activity. Although they did not predominate in any of the 230 towns, Jewish-owned businesses—usually one or two general stores—could be found in 50 to 66 per cent of the towns in Manitoba and in the Yorkton bloc, where sizable Jewish populations occasionally existed, especially in Kamsack, Canora and Yorkton. In the Fish Creek-Rosthern, Prince Albert, Redberry-Battleford and Alberta blocs, Jewish-owned businesses were found in only 10 to 30 per cent of the railway towns.⁴⁷

The first Ukrainian country stores were established shortly after the turn of the century and a fair number of the modest enterprises were still Ukrainian-owned in 1921. In the railway towns the Ukrainian settlers' lack of business experience and capital is strikingly apparent. In 1911 only 2.25 per cent of the

1,507 business enterprises in Ukrainian-bloc towns were Ukrainian-owned. Although Ukrainians, by 1921, owned over 13 per cent of the 3,135 business enterprises in such towns—9.8 per cent in Saskatchewan, 15.5 per cent in Manitoba and 18.7 per cent in Alberta—their businesses were still a disproportionately small fraction of those in predominantly Ukrainian areas.⁴⁸ Moreover, most constituted relatively unprestigious and unprofitable business ventures. As a rule, Ukrainian businesses did not require a great deal of capital, experience or formal education. Besides general stores, Ukrainians generally owned livery stables, blacksmith shops, shoe and harness repair shops, butcher shops, feed mills, confectionery, grocery, hardware and second-hand stores, implement dealerships, garages and most of the billiard halls and tobacco shops. Grain elevator agents, lumberyard managers, professionals, auto dealers, hotel owners and persons in the luxury trades—tailors, clothiers, milliners, jewellers, florists, bakers—were usually of non-Ukrainian origin. Only one Ukrainian professional (Michael Stechishin, a lawyer in Wakaw, Saskatchewan) was active in any of the railway towns in 1921. Most Ukrainian enterprises were also concentrated in small towns in the poorest and least developed districts: Stuartburn, the Interlake, Ethelbert and the Alberta bloc's northwestern districts (Smoky Lake and Wasel). The only large towns in affluent districts with a significant Ukrainian business presence were Mundare and Vegreville in Alberta. Finally, the R.G. Dun & Company ratings reveal that only a handful of Ukrainian enterprises had an "estimated pecuniary strength" of more than three thousand dollars, with the majority valued at under two thousand and only a "fair" or "limited" credit rating, where one existed at all.

Occasionally, dependence on non-Ukrainian businesses left Ukrainians at the mercy of individuals who took advantage of their helplessness and ignorance. Letters in the Ukrainian press complained about implement dealers, grain buyers and elevator agents of non-Ukrainian origin who sold implements without spare parts and downgraded Ukrainian farm produce, offering a fraction of the price paid to non-Ukrainians.⁴⁹ At Biggar, Saskatchewan, for example, a Ukrainian farmer who had been offered an unsatisfactory price for a wagonload of wheat by an English-speaking elevator agent received twenty cents a bushel more when a German neighbour delivered the same load to the elevator several hours later and passed it off as his own. Butchers at Biggar also allegedly paid Ukrainian farmers half the price English-speaking farmers received for beef of equal quality.⁵⁰

The above notwithstanding, most Ukrainians were content to deal with non-Ukrainians who offered a wide range of goods at competitive prices and extended credit. In Galicia and Bukovyna they had patronized non-Ukrainians and the very idea that Ukrainians rather than Jews, for example, should operate stores was still a radical notion.⁵¹ Only two groups—the Ukrainian storekeepers themselves and the community leaders influenced by the ideology of the Ukrainian national movement—were alarmed by the settlers' dependence on non-Ukrainian mer-

chants. The storekeepers naturally envied such merchants, while the nationalists disliked to see profits flow into the pockets of those who had no interest in the cultural and educational needs of Ukrainians. Both were especially opposed to Jewish merchants, to whom Ukrainians turned first out of habit. The hostility was strongest in densely populated Ukrainian districts—Stuartburn, Ethelbert, Yorkton and in the environs of Mundare and Vegreville—where Jewish businessmen were perceived as “intruders” (*zaidy*). In the Ukrainian press they were accused of using false weights and measures, selling inferior merchandise at inflated prices, writing bogus cheques and demoralizing settlers by selling alcoholic beverages, operating hotels with beverage rooms, distributing free beer to attract new customers and criticizing Ukrainian reading clubs and co-operative stores. By allowing settlers to haggle with them, offering free biscuits, apples, candy and cigarettes, hiring Ukrainians to direct customers to their establishments and selling coupons redeemable only at Jewish stores, they were charged with manipulating Ukrainians.⁵²

Even the critical had to admit, however, that sound business practices were also among the reasons for Jewish success. Jewish merchants like the Chmelnytskys of Mundare, Vegreville and Vermilion knew Jewish wholesalers in Montreal through whom they could offer a wider selection than could most Ukrainians. More experienced and in the country longer, they had a stronger line of credit and could extend it for longer periods. Prices in Jewish stores were also frequently lower.⁵³ On the other hand, Ukrainian merchants laboured under several frustrating disadvantages. Not only were Ukrainian peasants habituated to dealing with Jewish businessmen, many were suspicious of fellow Ukrainians who broke with tradition and joined them. They were accused of exploiting their countrymen to fill their own pockets and many refused to patronize Ukrainian establishments unless prices were *lower* than in Jewish stores. Finally, as one prominent, concerned Ukrainian immigrant admitted, many Ukrainians preferred to frequent Jewish stores where, they believed, they could steal without sinning since Jews were not Christians.⁵⁴

Old-World Traits Transplanted

Scholars have usually assumed that peasant immigrants in rural districts experienced relatively little difficulty adapting to life in the new world. Social scientists and historians who have seen immigration as a painful, dislocating and demoralizing experience for peasants in the cities have been optimistic about their prospects as rural settlers. Unlike the urban settlers, those in ethnically homogeneous rural colonies were allegedly not trapped in an impersonal and alienating environment, isolated from kin and community or reduced to total dependence on themselves. In their bloc settlements, which resembled trans-

planted old-world villages, they were sheltered from many of the hardships, fears and anxieties that afflicted immigrants in the cities and frontier camps. Theirs was a smooth and painless adjustment to life in the new land.⁵⁵

While most rural Ukrainians made the transition from old-country village to prairie homestead with a minimum of difficulty, not all Ukrainian rural settlements were idylls of rustic harmony and co-operation. On 14 October 1898, for example, a forty-year-old settler and his children aged three, five, eight and ten, near Stuartburn, were robbed of \$68.25, shot with a handgun and hacked to death with an axe by two male neighbours aged twenty-three and fifty. The ensuing trial revealed a seamy spectacle of marital infidelity, envy, greed, mistrust, vengeance, perjury, violence, superstition and alcoholism. This is not to suggest that such episodes were common occurrences, but hundreds of letters in the immigrant press which describe domestic conflicts and strife among neighbours indicate that for some rural settlers adjustment was, in fact, neither smooth nor painless.⁵⁶ Here, only the traditional peasant beliefs and behaviour patterns that threatened to impede adjustment are presented; the institutions and voluntary associations that helped immigrants to ease the transition are discussed in Chapter 11.

It would be wrong to conclude that the social problems reported by concerned settlers, Ukrainian community leaders and Anglo-Canadian observers were simply symptoms of trauma or "social disorganization" caused by emigration. Of course, the strain of moving half way round the world, the hardships of pioneering and the preponderance of young, single males among the immigrants had some bearing, but the centuries of oppression, scarcity and exploitation with their brutality, ignorance and helplessness had also left their mark. In Canada, where many Ukrainian rural settlers were plunged into an economic and cultural environment that was, at least at the outset, more backward than the one they had left behind, deeply ingrained peasant anxieties, perceptions and habits were reinforced, especially in the more remote, inhospitable and unproductive rural districts.⁵⁷ Sometimes, the persistence of these old-world traits impeded adjustment.

The family, the primary unit of Ukrainian peasant society, usually withstood the stresses and strains of immigration. As most rural settlers migrated in conjugal units and were joined by parents, siblings and other relatives, the family did not dissolve or disintegrate, though it continued to experience the tensions that troubled peasant families in all parts of the world. In Canada, as in the old country, the family remained primarily an economic institution—the basic unit of production, consumption, property holding and mutual aid. While this arrangement enabled Ukrainian settlers to farm under the most adverse conditions, it was also occasionally a source of discord. Many male rural settlers continued to regard wives, children and relatives primarily in economic terms. Proverbs taught the peasant that a man who wished to become prosperous had to

get married (*Khto khoche dorobytysia musyt ozhenytysia*) and have children to help with the work (*Dai Bozhe dytynu, nai khoch vidpochynu*).⁵⁸ As a result, marriages were usually contracted between sixteen- or seventeen-year-old girls and young men of at least twenty-three or twenty-four. Although most couples were two or three years older by the late 1920s,⁵⁹ girls occasionally married as young as fourteen. Parents arranged many marriages, especially when a young woman and her dowry were needed around the homestead. In a surplus of daughters, girls were given away with little thought since they could always return if the marriage failed.⁶⁰ Few girls, however, were forced into marriage against their will; when they were, the marriages could end in failure or tragedy.⁶¹ Spousal infidelity and physical abuse of wives by husbands also destroyed marriages, culminating at times in homicide.⁶²

The preponderance of young, single males, especially the presence of migrant labourers who sought work or shelter in rural districts in times of unemployment, posed a challenge to the stability of the rural family. With rural families large and living space limited, male farm hands and lodgers frequently shared sleeping quarters with family members, especially the children. The results could be tragic. Some married women abandoned their families and ran off with lodgers; occasionally, single women unknowingly married men with wives in the old country; and in one case a seventy-year-old man killed the thirty-year-old lover of his forty-five-year-old wife.⁶³ The most common victims, however, were young girls, usually ten to sixteen years of age, who were seduced, raped or abducted by men often twice their age.⁶⁴ The most brutal crime during these years—a murder-suicide involving six lives in Wakaw in 1916—was perpetrated by a hired man related to his victims. After his amorous advances had been snubbed by a niece, who herself had left her husband shortly after being married off at fourteen, the hired man murdered all the family members and then shot himself.⁶⁵

Relations among rural neighbours could also be unpleasant. Where years of toil produced meagre results, and a harsh winter, late spring or summer hailstorm could bring destitution, it was easy to believe that the necessities of life would always be in short supply. Accordingly, as in the old world, wealth and possessions had to be guarded jealously to stay ahead in the perpetual struggle for scarce resources.⁶⁶ As a result, interpersonal relations could be riddled with petty conflict. Among rural settlers, who otherwise extended hospitality to visitors from afar, helped newcomers to build homes and barns (*toloka*), took up collections for the victims of tragedy and adopted orphaned children,⁶⁷ solidarity could quickly give way to suspicion, envy and rivalry when one of their number was seen to get ahead. A Canadian journalist familiar with the bloc settlement in Alberta observed:

One element which...helped to retard progress somewhat was the fact that if one man happened to very far outdistance his neighbours they at once began to look upon him with suspicion. They were peasant people and in the crowded conditions in the homeland had found it practically impossible to ever better their conditions very materially. The man who succeeded in doing so in this country must have some look in somewhere that they did not have. Immediately he was treated with suspicion and more than likely boycotted.⁶⁸

Proverbs warned that the wealthy were responsible for the misfortunes of others (*Bahatstvo odnoho ie ruinoiu desiatokh*) and enjoyed the patronage of the devil (*Za bahachem sam chort z kolachem*). A Protestant medical missionary stationed at Teulon, Manitoba, observed that in the Interlake region

the Galicians are often narrow, suspicious [and] wrong-headed...Their co-operative power is very small and they are not as helpful to one another as they should be. The brutal struggle for life among the European peasantry has dulled their finer feelings...the Galician will seldom do anything for his neighbour unless he is paid.⁶⁹

Letters in the Ukrainian press confirm such observations. In Stuartburn a co-operatively owned threshing machine was sabotaged by a Bukovynian farmer who had been profitably renting out his own. Elsewhere, settlers who had been swindled by shysters refused to warn their neighbours, declaring "let others learn the way I learned."⁷⁰ It was not unusual for "one neighbour to waylay another in order to cause him harm." Settlers suspected others of coveting their wealth and of trying to dishonour them, and old, single, poor women were thought capable of bewitching oxen with the "evil eye" and of spreading or transferring poverty by concealing objects from impoverished households in the homes of wealthy neighbours.⁷¹ Such suspicions were also reinforced by proverbs which warned that neighbours were aware of the peasant's weaknesses (*Znaiut susidy tvoji obidy*), took stock of all his belongings (*Hist pryide na khvyliu, a bachyt na myliu*) and urged him to take precautions against friends (*Z nym druzhy, a kamin za pazukhoiu derzhy*), who often turned out to be worse than enemies (*Borony mene Bozhe vid pryiateliv, bo z voroham ia sobi dam radu*).

As in the old country, the Ukrainians in western Canada had an insatiable appetite for litigation. In Galicia, for every 10,000 inhabitants, no fewer than 721 in 1904 were involved in minor lawsuits, compared to 366 in Lower Austria and 158 in Bohemia. In Canada litigation continued to be a "Galician disease," as one correspondent observed in 1898.⁷² The most costly and drawn-out cases involved disputes over church property. More prevalent, however, were arguments over personal property or wounded pride (*za obrazu honoru*). Two men who had quarreled in the summer of 1913 while cutting hay near Hubbard, Saskatchewan, had spent eight hundred dollars on litigation by April 1914. In

1910 an educated immigrant who gave his countrymen free legal advice lamented that rural settlers from all parts of east central Alberta came daily to Vegreville to lay charges against one another. By 1919 they were flocking to Edmonton in search of “advocates” (*za hadukatamy*), many of whom merely relieved them of their money.⁷³

Suspicion, envy and mistrust erupted at times into violence. In 1897, Fr. Nestor Dmytriw, the first Ukrainian Catholic missionary in Canada, observed that “in his ignorance our impoverished peasant is extremely malicious and unkind toward his brother.”⁷⁴ In subsequent years Ukrainian settlers used sticks, pitchforks, axes, iron bars, knives and rifles in the course of disputes over property boundaries, the right of way across unfenced land, straying cattle, stolen geese, missing fish baskets and fishing nets, the costs of threshing grain and breaking soil, and outstanding debts. In at least five instances individuals were critically wounded⁷⁵ and on at least six other occasions lives were actually lost.⁷⁶ The most bizarre episode occurred in Pine River, Manitoba, in 1923, when a twelve-year-old boy, ordered by his mother to shoot in the direction of a female neighbour with whom the family had been arguing for years about straying cattle, accidentally hit and killed the woman. On a lighter note, an argument in 1917 about straying cattle near Andrew, Alberta, ended when one of the belligerents, a middle-aged woman, lifted her skirts, exposed herself to a male neighbour and unleashed a torrent of obscenities that sent the poor man running.⁷⁷

Isolated, at the mercy of the elements and exposed to the constant threat of illness and death, some Ukrainian settlers retreated into fatalism. Proverbs had taught the peasant that God created him to suffer misfortune and poverty (*Rusyna Pan Bih sotvoryv na bidu ta nuzhdu*); that nothing could be done to change things—as God ordains, so it shall be (*Tak bude iak Boh dast*); that man’s life and destiny were bitter because of the will of God (*Hirke zhyttia i hirka dolia, nych ne vdiiesh Bozha volia*); that misery was universal (*Bez lykha v sviti ne buvaie*), pain a natural attribute of life (*De nema bolii, tam nema i zhyttia*) and misfortunes were certain to follow one another (*Bida bidu perebude, odna myne druha bude*).

The resulting sense of hopelessness and resignation was noted by contemporaries. Fr. Dmytriw observed with some concern that “our peasant places himself at the mercy of God with complete resignation.” A Protestant medical missionary at Sifton noted that because of the great amount of sickness “the sick invariably are neglected. If they recover, all is well, if they die, God wants them. This view is characteristic.”⁷⁸ In 1903 a missionary in east central Alberta reported that a woman “broke the quarantine regulations in a diphtheria case, saying ‘God will punish whom He will,’ and in consequence lost five children.”⁷⁹ Indeed, most Ukrainians knew nothing about infectious diseases and broke quarantine regulations with reckless abandon. After the death of a child, a

Saskatchewan man herded his remaining children into a one-room house, boarded up all the windows and kept the door firmly shut, convinced that a local woman had cast a spell and killed his child by invoking an "evil spirit" (*didko*), which had entered the home at night through a window. The infectious disease naturally spread in the damp, crowded, unventilated cabin, but even after four of the five children had perished the pathetic man was still desperately concerned to keep out "the evil one."⁸⁰

The high rate of illiteracy—over 50 per cent among adults⁸¹—and ignorance of the English language also engendered suspicion of outsiders, conservatism and superstition. Again, nothing illustrates this better than some of the responses to sickness and injury. Many settlers concealed illnesses and sought medical aid only when it was too late.⁸² In 1899, in the midst of a scarlet fever epidemic among Ukrainians in Shoal Lake where twenty-six children died, mothers concealed stricken children from government agents anxious to help.⁸³ Several years later, the parents of a fourteen-year-old boy, whose legs were badly mangled by a hay-cutting machine, kept the youth concealed at home until an enlightened settler stumbled upon the tragedy and rushed the child to hospital in Vegreville. Another settler, whose four-year-old son was in hospital with blood infection after stepping on a dirty nail, fearing the boy's inevitable death and the body's subsequent dissection and burial in unconsecrated ground, removed the child forcibly to his home, where the boy died. When a young woman experienced acute stomach cramps after eating some wild berries near Sheho, Saskatchewan, a soothsayer (*prymivnytsia*) was called to undo the "spell" that was believed to be responsible for the pain. After she died, the local people concluded stoically that "such is God's will" (*tak Boh daie*).⁸⁴

The isolation, suspicion, ignorance and the absence of qualified medical personnel in most rural areas contributed greatly to the survival of magical beliefs and practices. While some of the latter were not without therapeutic value, others were highly suspect. Thus some women treated burns by applying mud and ink; a mother applied "brandy poultices to the inflamed eyelids of a five weeks old baby"; another tried "to revive her boy who was fainting by spitting at him"; and a recent widow, practising sympathetic magic, stooped over the bed in which her dead husband lay and rubbed her gums with his finger "to prevent...ever having toothache."⁸⁵

The same absence of medical practitioners led others to resort to "healers" (*znakhari, likari*), some of whom preyed upon the settlers' helplessness. Mike Strutynsky, who operated in east central Alberta before 1916, was a case in point. A highly regarded *likar*—over two hundred settlers signed or affixed their mark to a petition on his behalf when most Ukrainian peasants were loath to sign any document—Strutynsky set up shop on innumerable homesteads after convincing residents that he was from their county. When news of his arrival spread, the deaf, the lame and the otherwise disabled flocked to consult the *likar*.

His popularity rested on the seeds and herbs he distributed and on his promises to keep the ill out of hospital. Although convicted and fined three times for practising medicine illegally, Strutynsky always returned. In 1916 his career finally ended when the husband of a female patient questioned the unorthodox therapy prescribed for his wife. Upon investigation, it was revealed that Strutynsky had ordered the same treatment for several female patients with a variety of ills, including eye trouble. After asking them to disrobe, he massaged the women with butter, wrapped them in a long roll of cloth and advised them to share his bed. Several naively complied when he insisted that the alternative was an operation in the hospital. He was ultimately convicted of one count of rape and another of abduction and carnal knowledge of a girl under the age of fourteen.⁸⁶

Magical beliefs and superstitions were also evident in the daily lives of some settlers. After an elderly settler convicted of murdering his wife with an axe was executed, settlers near Mundare, Alberta, refused to co-operate with NWMP constables because they believed the execution had caused the absence of badly needed rain, and "if any more persons were punished the further consequences would be disastrous." In 1914 the body of a woman was exhumed near Pine River, Manitoba, because her death was believed to be the cause of drought.⁸⁷ In east central Alberta a half-built barn was "taken down and removed because the displeasure of the evil spirits over the first choice of site had resulted in the serious illness of the owner's wife."⁸⁸ When a settler near Stennen, Saskatchewan, "dreamt that his wife was being unfaithful to him...[he] challenged her to swear on the muzzle of a loaded shot gun that she was not immoral." He insisted that if she had been unfaithful "the gun would go off, but if she was a good woman it would not go off." Fortunately, a neighbour intervened before a verdict was rendered in this domestic trial by ordeal.⁸⁹

Like peasants the world over, Ukrainian settlers, in their hopelessness and desperation, drank "without end and without measure."⁹⁰ In Galicia and Bukovyna the nobility had encouraged the use of alcohol, whose production and sale they monopolized. Proverbs which intimated that the tavern was more popular than the church (*Do korchmy hostynets bytyi, a do tserkvy travoiu ukrytyi*) reflected the extent of alcohol consumption and warned that brawling (*Kolo horilky ne obiudetsia bez biiky*) and wife-beating (*Khto horilku pie, toi zhinku bie*) were the inevitable results of drinking. In Canada drinking was a social problem of major proportions in some of the rural settlements. Ukrainian and non-Ukrainian sources agree that alcohol flowed freely at Ukrainian weddings, baptisms, funerals, Christmas and Easter celebrations, dances and other festive occasions. At a wedding, "it is a point of honour that every guest should drink as much as he wishes," noted one Protestant missionary in 1910, while another observed that "it is thought right and proper to furnish all kinds of liquor by the gallon and keg. I have heard of poor families spending over a hundred

dollars on liquor for a wedding.”⁹¹ Letters in the Ukrainian press confirm that about \$150 were expended on weddings and \$100 on funerals in 1911, the bulk on alcohol. In 1916 some ten to fifteen gallons of 65 per-cent-proof spirits were consumed at a typical wedding around Alvena, Saskatchewan. One colony of two hundred Ukrainians consumed fifty-two barrels of beer and forty-eight gallons of whisky worth \$448 during the two-week Christmas holiday in 1911.⁹² Alcohol-free weddings and social gatherings were few in number, only one in twenty in Poplarfield, Manitoba, according to one report.⁹³

Although weddings, baptisms and dances witnessed collections for various local and overseas charitable, cultural and political causes, they often were also the source of considerable violence. Not all Ukrainian weddings were “joyful expressions of an intense sense of community,” as some well-meaning Canadian historians have suggested.⁹⁴ At any number of weddings, men and women were assaulted; fights with stones, pitchforks, fence posts, iron bars, sticks, knives, ropes and handguns spilled onto the main streets of towns like Yorkton, Lamont and Mundare;⁹⁵ brutal beatings sent victims to hospital and assailants to jail; and attempts were made to settle old scores with a round of bullets.⁹⁶ Sometimes, homicides (and at least one suicide) were committed under the influence of alcohol, usually at dances and weddings and less frequently during card games among farm hands.⁹⁷ Men also died of alcohol poisoning and drowned or froze to death on their way home from weddings, dances and drinking binges at their neighbours or in hotel beverage rooms. A few fortunate individuals, found unconscious in the snow, were taken home before they died or lost more than a limb or two.⁹⁸

Prohibition during the war years did little to stop alcohol abuse, as the production of homebrew became widespread. Fines of hundreds of dollars every few months did not deter brewers who could earn handsome profits. In some areas, settlers competed with one another to produce the strongest homebrew, and some parents even boasted about precocious two-year-olds who consumed small amounts of their concoctions.⁹⁹ A small minority of settlers were prepared to imbibe anything—wood alcohol, horse linament, Hoffman’s drops and ether. One exasperated correspondent feared that “soon our people will be drinking nitroglycerine and chewing sticks of dynamite.”¹⁰⁰ Hoffman’s drops and ether—a cocaine-based patent medicine and a solution containing alcohol and sulphuric acid—were especially popular. Although prevalent on the prairies, their use apparently was particularly widespread in the Bukovynian settlements of Sundown, Caliento and Gardenton in Manitoba’s Stuartburn district.¹⁰¹ Not only could these items be purchased in most stores, including those owned by Ukrainians, they cost less than whisky or homebrew. Some stores in Stuartburn in 1916 sold bottles of Hoffman’s drops by the dozen each day. Several families who had moved from Stuartburn to Peace River in 1913 actually returned when they realized that Hoffman’s drops were not available in the remote colony. Near

Calder, Saskatchewan, in 1911, forty-eight bottles of Hoffman's drops were consumed at a dance in several hours.¹⁰²

Unlike Hoffman's drops, which addicts drank straight from the bottle, ether was mixed with water, nine parts to one part ether. At \$1.80 a quart, ether could be purchased in large quantities. Many dipsomaniacs were attracted to it because water-diluted ether produced no hangover, allowing intake five or six times daily.¹⁰³ Nevertheless, the effects of both substances could be devastating. In 1907 two wedding guests died in rural Saskatchewan when Hoffman's drops were used in lieu of alcohol. Several deaths were also reported in 1911. The addicted could not eat or sleep without a daily fix, and they and their children often suffered brain damage.¹⁰⁴ In two townships inhabited by eighty-six families in Stuartburn in 1916, there were "eleven feeble minded persons in need of institutional care,"¹⁰⁵ though no connection was made to the widespread use of Hoffman's drops. Chronic ether users lost consciousness, fell into sudden fits of laughter or sat motionless for twenty minutes at a time after imbibing. They suffered from chronic indigestion, inflammation of the stomach and loss of memory. Several who smoked burned their mouths, and small fires and explosions were reported in the homes of addicts.¹⁰⁶

The Ukrainian settlers' syncretic religious ideas—a mixture of traditional folk beliefs and Christianity—did little to improve domestic and interpersonal relations or temper drinking habits. With life a brutal and relentless struggle for survival, peasants became hardened realists who paid little heed to Christian ethical principles. Proverbs compared "goodness" with "foolishness" (*Dobryi durnomu brat*) and insisted that only children and fools told the truth (*Dity i durni hovoriat pravdu*). The concept of sin was not always associated with moral transgressions, though it seemed to encompass transgressions against custom. In the old country, bribery and perjury were rarely perceived as crimes by the peasantry, though blasphemy and failure to observe fast days were so regarded.¹⁰⁷ What really mattered to many settlers was the ritual—the correct manner of appeasing a fickle deity and securing its favour.

The ritualistic aspects of religion took many forms. Before retiring for the night, pious settlers made signs of the cross on doors, windows and other apertures to prevent evil spirits from entering. Holy water was seen as a potent remedy for illnesses. A woman who had a tooth pulled in Sifton in 1905 refused to rinse with ordinary water and brought her own holy water.¹⁰⁸ Settlers near Smoky Lake, Alberta, observed the Lenten fast with such rigour in 1903 that during the last (seventh) week several had to be hospitalized.¹⁰⁹ Near Bruno, Saskatchewan, one woman purchased a painting of a man from a German settler because without icons she had "nothing to pray to."¹¹⁰ Books, especially the Bible, were feared by many settlers who believed they would become Protestants the moment they purchased a Bible, thereby imperilling their souls.¹¹¹ Summing up his impressions in 1916, Wasył Swystun, an able, churchgoing

Ukrainian immigrant, stated that the settlers "attend the church with little thought of trying to understand the religion or apply it in their daily life. The church rites are regarded by them as important."¹¹²

It must not be assumed that the foregoing account represents a complete or balanced description of life in rural Ukrainian districts. It merely relates the social problems that alarmed representatives of the host society and caused the Ukrainian intelligentsia to consider strategies for the uplift and enlightenment of the immigrants (see Chapter 7). If the depiction appears unduly harsh, it corresponds in many respects to contemporary descriptions of peasant life in Galicia and Bukovyna.¹¹³ It should surprise no one that a minority among Ukrainian rural settlers who found themselves on remote, uncultivated homesteads at the edge of the civilized world, ignorant of the local language and culture, practically penniless and without such traditional leaders as the village priest and school teacher, should retreat, at times, into fatalism, alcoholism and superstition.

For many Ukrainian rural settlers, the Canadian prairies proved to be something less than the promised land during the first two decades of the century. Isolated, obliged to travel for days over impassable roads to reach the nearest railway or market centre and dependent on merchants and agents who did not always have the settlers' best interests at heart, some found themselves initially in conditions more primitive and trying than those in Galicia and Bukovyna. Settlers materially comfortable by 1916 conceded that in Canada they had had to work harder and longer than in the old country. Many Ukrainians on heavily timbered, poorly drained and unproductive lands, especially in southeastern and Interlake Manitoba and north of the North Saskatchewan River in Alberta, regressed economically and culturally. Yet, even the poorest Ukrainian farmer, settled on the most unproductive land, had the wherewithal to provide for his family's existence, however modest. Much hard work and perseverance, coupled with new agricultural methods and some luck, gave most Ukrainian rural settlers a fighting chance to carve out a better life for themselves and their children. Most Ukrainian frontier labourers, on the other hand, were seldom that lucky.

Notes

1. Vladimir J. Kaye, *Early Ukrainian Settlements in Canada, 1895-1900: Dr. Josef Oleskow's Role in the Settlement of the Canadian Northwest* (Toronto, 1964), 372, and *Census of Canada 1921*, I, Table 27, 488-539. The number of Ukrainians was determined by adding the number of "Ukrainians" and "Austrians" in the municipalities. In most western-

- Canadian municipalities, especially in Saskatchewan and Alberta, many Ukrainians were classified as "Austrians" by enumerators even when they protested they were Ukrainians. Not until 1931 did virtually all of the "Austrians" disappear and the number of Ukrainians rise correspondingly.
2. Based on Kaye's monograph (above) and the data in his three dictionaries of Ukrainian-Canadian biography, which list the settlers who took out homesteads in Manitoba and the North-West Territories before 31 December 1899 (n. 4 below).
 3. Calculated from data on "Galicians," "Bukovynians," "Ruthenians" and "Austrians," in *Census of Canada* 1911, II, Table X, 340ff., and *ibid.*, 1921, I, Table 26, 376ff.
 4. Calculated from data in Vladimir J. Kaye, *Dictionary of Ukrainian Canadian Biography: Pioneer Settlers of Manitoba, 1891-1900* (Toronto, 1975), *Dictionary of Ukrainian Canadian Biography of Pioneer Settlers of Alberta, 1891-1900* (Edmonton, 1985) and "Dictionary of Ukrainian Canadian Biography: Saskatchewan Biographies," NAC, Vladimir J. Kaye Papers.
 5. Based on an examination of 1,015 obituaries of rural settlers who arrived between 1900 and 1914 and who died between 1945 and 1957. While the marital status upon arrival is not always given, very few of the married men were under thirty.
 6. Kaye, *Pioneer Settlers of Manitoba*, 208.
 7. *Svoboda* 30 July 1896.
 8. Kaye, *Early Ukrainian Settlements*, 60-2, 304-5.
 9. *Ibid.*, 146 ff.; *Svoboda* 13 January 1898.
 10. *Svoboda* 19 December 1896, 23 December 1897, 3 November 1898.
 11. Based on the obituaries of 1,015 settlers who arrived between 1900 and 1914 (see n. 5 above).
 12. J.S. Woodsworth, comp., "Ukrainian Rural Communities: Report of an Investigation by the Bureau of Social Research, Governments of Manitoba, Saskatchewan and Alberta" (Winnipeg, 1917), 6. The more detailed breakdown of cash-on-arrival data in individual settlements shows that few settlers had more than one hundred dollars. Most who arrived with five hundred dollars resided in the area near Edna-Star, suggesting that they arrived between 1892 and 1900.
 13. Josef J. Barton, *Peasants and Strangers: Italians, Rumanians, and Slovaks in an American City, 1890-1950* (Cambridge, Mass., 1975), 27-47; Jon Gjerde, *From Peasants to Farmers: The Migration from Balestrand, Norway to the Upper Middle West* (Cambridge, 1985), 119-34; Kerby A. Miller, *Emigrants and Exiles: Ireland and the Irish Exodus to America* (New York, 1985), 193-201, 293-7, 346-53; John Bodnar, *The Transplanted: A History of Immigrants in Urban America* (Bloomington, 1985), 45-56.
 14. Bodnar, 55-6.
 15. The data on the occupational background of Ukrainians entering Canada are not very accurate. They do reveal that, of the 78,899 male Ukrainians who arrived between 1905 and 1914, 44,029 or 53.9 per cent were general labourers, 32,834 or 41.6 per cent were farmers or farm labourers and 2,036 had "miscellaneous" occupations; of the 17,462 females, 43.2 per cent were listed as farmers or farm labourers, 32.9 as servants and 20.5 as general labourers. Jaroslav Petryshyn, *Peasants in the Promised Land: Canada and the Ukrainians, 1891-1914* (Toronto, 1985), 147-52.

16. Robert E. Ankli and R.M. Litt, "The Growth of Prairie Agriculture: Economic Considerations," *Canadian Papers in Rural History* I (1978), 46; John H. Thompson, "'Permanently Wasteful But Immediately Profitable': Prairie Agriculture and the Great War," *Canadian Historical Association Historical Papers* (1976), 195; Theodore D. Regehr, *The Canadian Northern Railway* (Toronto, 1976), 235; Chester Martin, "*Dominion Lands*" Policy (Toronto, 1973), 26.
17. Andriy Nahachewsky, *Ukrainian Dug-Out Dwellings in East Central Alberta* (Edmonton, 1985).
18. John C. Lehr, "Ukrainian Houses in Alberta," *Alberta Historical Review* XXI (4) (1973), 9-15, "Changing Ukrainian House Styles," *ibid.*, XXIII (1) (1975), 25-9, *Ukrainian Vernacular Architecture in Alberta* (Edmonton, 1976), "The Log Buildings of Ukrainian Settlers in Western Canada," *Prairie Forum* V (2) (1980), 183-96, and "The Landscape of Ukrainian Settlement in the Canadian West," *Great Plains Quarterly* II (2) (1982), 94-105; Demjan Hohol, *The Grekul House: A Land Use and Structural History* (Edmonton, 1985).
19. Woodsworth, *passim*.
20. Charles H. Young, *The Ukrainian Canadians: A Study in Assimilation* (Toronto, 1931), 80.
21. See Ankli and Litt, 51-56, for the higher estimate; also Lyle Dick, "Estimates of Farm-Making Costs in Saskatchewan, 1882-1914," *Prairie Forum* VI (2) (1981), 183-201; Irene M. Spry, "The Cost of Making a Farm on the Prairies," and Lyle Dick, "A Reply to Professor Spry's Critique," *ibid.*, VII (1) (1982), 95-9, 101-2, and Lyle Dick, "Factors Affecting Prairie Settlement: A Case Study of Abernethy, Saskatchewan, in the 1880s," *Canadian Historical Association Historical Papers* (1985), 11-30.
22. *Svoboda* 13 August 1896, 28 January, 15 April 1897, 25 August 1898, 8 June 1899.
23. John H. Thompson, "Bringing in the Sheaves: The Harvest Excursionists, 1890-1929," *Canadian Historical Review* LIX (4) (1978), 483; Fred Magera and William Kostash, "They Came to Farm," in *Ukrainians in Alberta* (Edmonton, 1975), 54; *Svoboda* 15 December 1898.
24. Young, 84.
25. Woodsworth, 113.
26. Radomir B. Bilash, "The Colonial Development of East Central Alberta and Its Effect on Ukrainian Immigrant Settlement to 1930" (MA thesis. University of Manitoba, 1983), 126-33; on women's work, see also Helen Potrebenko, *No Streets of Gold: A Social History of Ukrainians in Alberta* (Vancouver, 1977), 46-50.
27. Young, 88; also Mary Kinnear, "'Do you want your daughter to marry a farmer?': Women's Work on the Farm, 1922," *Canadian Papers in Rural History* VI (1988), 137-53.
28. Bilash, 101-5, 154-63; also Sonia Maryn, *The Chernochan Machine Shed: Land Use and Structural History* (Edmonton, 1985) and *The Chernochan Machine Shed: Material History* (Edmonton, 1985).
29. Province of Alberta, Department of Education, *Annual Report* 1915, 84.
30. Magera and Kostash, 57; see also *Ukrainskyi holos* 4 September 1918, 15 March 1922.
31. Based on Woodsworth, 7-22, 39-61, 67-72.

32. *Svoboda* 1 and 8 November 1906, 30 June 1910; *Ukrainskyi holos* 25 May 1910, 23 February 1916, 31 July 1918; *Kanadyiskyi rusyn* 22 May 1914; Woodsworth, 11.
33. Woodsworth, 14, 23-9; Young, 82, 99; *Ukrainskyi holos* 12 September 1917.
34. Gus Romaniuk, *Taking Root in Canada: An Autobiography* (Winnipeg, 1954), 20-57; Mykhailo Ivanchuk (Michael Ewanchuk), *Istoriia ukrainskoho poselessnia v okolytsi Gimli* (Winnipeg, 1975), 44-91.
35. The major Ukrainian bloc settlements are covered by the following ARDA "Soil Capability for Agriculture" series maps: Winnipeg 62H, Selkirk 62I, Neepawa 62J, Riding Mountain 62K, Duck Mountain 62N, Dauphin Lake 62O, Hecla 62P; Melville 62L, Yorkton 62M, Hudson Bay 63D, Wynyard 72P, Melfort 73A, Saskatoon 73B, Prince Albert 73H; Vermilion 73E, Edmonton 83H, Tawatinaw 83I. Less detailed maps encompassing each prairie province are also available.
36. Woodsworth, 11.
37. Estimates indicate that the average American immigrant to Canada arrived with \$800 to \$1,400, though amounts of \$4,000, \$5,000 or even \$10,000 were not unusual. Ankli and Litt, 45.
38. Most surveys in Woodsworth indicate this was the case.
39. Magera and Kostash, 57; also reports of William N. Pidruchney and Alex J. Charnetski in Province of Alberta, Department of Agriculture, *Annual Report* 1928-1933.
40. Thompson, "'Permanently Wasteful but Immediately Profitable,'" 193; also Robert E. Ankli, "The North American Wheat Futures Market During World War I," *Canadian Papers in Rural History* VI (1988), 172-91.
41. Andriy Makuch, "Ukrainian Canadians and the Wartime Economy," in Frances Swyripa and John H. Thompson, eds., *Loyalties in Conflict: Ukrainians in Canada During the Great War* (Edmonton, 1983), 71-3. The increase in wheat acreage was calculated from data in *Census of the Prairie Provinces* 1916, Table XXV, and *Census of Canada* 1921, V, Tables 81 and 82.
42. The contrast was least apparent in southeastern Manitoba, where the soil in the Mennonite East Reserve (Hanover municipality), settled in the mid-1870s, was no better than in neighbouring Stuartburn; farms averaged 234 acres with 87 improved and 9 seeded to wheat. In the West Reserve (Rhineland municipality) the soil was good and farms averaged 196 acres with 166 improved and 75 seeded to wheat. Emerich K. Francis, *In Search of Utopia: The Mennonites in Manitoba* (Glencoe, Ill., 1955), 110-36. In Saskatchewan, German farming operations were especially advanced in the St. Joseph's (Tramping Lake #380, Grass Lake #381) and St. Peter's (St. Peter #369, Humboldt #370) colonies, established in 1903 by American-born, German-speaking Catholics. In the former, farms averaged 410 acres with 255 improved, 142 seeded to wheat and 45 to oats; in the latter, farms averaged 340 acres with 140 improved and 55 seeded to each of wheat and oats. In the Rosthern colony (Warman #374, Rosthern #403, Laird #404), settled after 1890 by German-speaking Mennonites from southern Ukraine, farms averaged 280 acres with 168 improved, 92 seeded to wheat and 32 to oats. Calculated from data in *Census of Canada* 1921, V, Tables 81 and 82.
43. Young, 79 ff.

44. *Chervonyi prapor* 11 January 1908.
45. The discussion follows Carle C. Zimmerman and Gary W. Moneo, *The Prairie Community System* (Ottawa, 1970), 30.
46. Population data on many railway towns in Manitoba are not available because the minimum requirement for incorporation as a village was five hundred inhabitants per square mile (640 acres). In Saskatchewan and Alberta the minimum requirement was one hundred inhabitants per 240 acres. As a result, towns of less than five hundred in Manitoba and less than one hundred in Alberta and Saskatchewan did not appear in the *Census of Canada* reports.
47. Among the Jewish merchants in Ukrainian districts were Yechiel Bronfman and his sons, tobacco planters who emigrated from Bessarabia (in the Russian empire) in 1889. Between 1902 and 1922 they operated hotels in Emerson, Manitoba; Yorkton (2), Sheho, Leslie, Wynyard and Saltcoats, Saskatchewan; Port Arthur, Ontario; and Winnipeg (3), as well as several livery stables, a motion picture theatre, an automobile dealership and the Canada Pure Drug Company, which distributed alcoholic liquors "for medicinal purposes" during the prohibition era. On this very atypical family of immigrant Jewish entrepreneurs, see Peter C. Newman, *Bronfman Dynasty: The Rothschilds of the New World* (Toronto, 1978).
48. Calculated from data in Table 5; for Ukrainian-owned country stores in Alberta, see Orest T. Martynowych, *The Ukrainian Bloc Settlement in East Central Alberta, 1890-1930: A History* (Edmonton, 1985), 225-8.
49. *Chervonyi prapor* 27 February, 25 April 1908; *Nova hromada* 23 June 1911; *Ukrainskyi holos* 26 February, 1 October 1913, 20 September 1916.
50. *Ukrainskyi holos* 3 April 1912.
51. John-Paul Himka, "Ukrainian-Jewish Antagonism in the Galician Countryside During the Late Nineteenth Century," in Peter J. Potichnyj and Howard Aster, eds., *Ukrainian-Jewish Relations in Historical Perspective* (Edmonton, 1988), 132.
52. *Svoboda* 4 August 1904; *Kanadyiskyi farmer* 26 April 1906, 2, 23 April 1909; *Ukrainskyi holos* 15 June 1910, 25 January, 8 March, 24 May 1911, 14 February, 3 April, 8 May, 9 October 1912, 4 June, 24 August, 29 October, 3 December 1913, 13 September 1916, 20 February 1918; *Kanadyiskyi rusyn* 20 September, 18 October 1913, 11 November 1914, 14 February, 28 March 1917, 10 July 1918. Letters in *Kanadyiskyi rusyn* warned Ukrainians to stop patronizing Jewish "leeches and loafers" (*piavky i neroby*), who had encouraged Ukrainian peasants to drink in the old country, acted as the nobility's usurers and poisoned Ukrainian peasants with their homebrew (*syvukha*) (20 September 1913, 14 February, 28 March 1917). One correspondent even invoked the German sociologist Werner Sombart, author of *Die Juden und das Wirtschaftsleben* (Jews and Capitalism; 1910), to slur Jews as thieves, parasites and pornographers. *Ibid.*, 11 October 1913.
53. Vasyly Havrysh (William Hawrysh), *Moia Kanada i ia* (Edmonton, 1974), 65; William A. Czumer, *Recollections About the Life of the First Ukrainian Settlers in Canada*, trans. Louis T. Laychuk (Edmonton, 1981), 89; *Kanadyiskyi farmer* 14 September 1910; *Ukrainskyi holos* 9 August 1911, 28 February, 6 March 1912, 24 January 1917.

54. *Ukrainskyi holos* 15 June 1910, 22 November 1911, 14 February, 3 April 1912.
55. Migration was first described as a dislocating and painful experience in William I. Thomas and Florian Znaniecki, *The Polish Peasant in Europe and America*, first pub. 1918-20 (New York, 1958), and in the works of contemporary sociologists like Georg Simmel, Robert Park and Louis Wirth; Oscar Handlin's *The Uprooted: The Epic Story of the Great Migrations that Made the American People* (Boston, 1951) popularized the Thomas and Znaniecki conclusions. For a refutation of Handlin, see Rudolph J. Vecoli, "Contadini in Chicago: A Critique of *The Uprooted*," *Journal of American History* LI (4) (1964), 404-17. On the adjustment of rural settlers, see Kathleen N. Conzen, "Historical Approaches to the Study of Rural Ethnic Communities," in Frederick C. Luebke, ed., *Ethnicity on the Great Plains* (Lincoln, 1980), 1-18.
56. On the murder in Stuartburn, see *Manitoba Free Press* 17-21 October 1898, 15-23 March 1899; a cursory examination of the Ukrainian-Canadian press, the published NWMP reports and the annual reports of the Alberta Provincial Police reveal at least sixty homicide cases in rural Ukrainian settlements between 1898 and 1923.
57. Young, 260-83, provides the most convincing version of the "social disorganization" thesis with respect to rural Ukrainians; for the suggestion that economic and cultural conditions on the prairies were more backward than those in Galicia and Bukovyna, see John-Paul Himka, "Cultural Life in the Awakening Village in Western Ukraine," in Manoly R. Lupul, ed., *Continuity and Change: The Cultural Life of Alberta's First Ukrainians* (Edmonton, 1988), 19.
58. All proverbs are from Volodymyr S. Plaviuk, *Prypovidky* (Edmonton, 1946).
59. During this period Ukrainian brides and grooms remained several years younger than their non-Ukrainian counterparts. Frances Swyripa, "From Princess Olha to Baba: Images, Roles and Myths in the History of Ukrainian Women in Canada" (PhD dissertation, University of Alberta, 1988), chapter 7, Tables 1 and 2.
60. *Ukrainskyi holos* 14 June 1911, 24 January 1912, 4 April, 5 December 1917.
61. A sixteen-year-old girl forced to marry against her will left her husband after two weeks and disappeared; a mother of two committed suicide when she learned that the man she loved had married; and a young woman, forced by her father to marry a neighbour, refused to live with her husband (a notorious philanderer), cohabited with several others after he disappeared and was finally gunned down in cold blood by her spouse when he returned home after three years. *Ibid.*, 2 June 1920; NAC, RG 18/B1, RCMP, vol. 1571, file 49-35 (pt. 2) (1906) and RG 18, RCMP, vol. 462, file 218.
62. *Svoboda* 20 March 1902, 25 August 1904; *Winnipeg Daily Tribune* 24 February 1902; *Ukrainskyi holos* 29 November 1911, 1 December 1915, 5 April 1916, 22 July, 10 January 1917, 6 July 1921, 6 June, 17, 24 October 1923; PAA, Alberta Provincial Police (APP) Annual Report 1924, "A Division," 7-8, 8-10; Canada, *Sessional Papers* XLIV (1910), vol. 17, no. 28, p. 87, XLVII (1913), vol. 21, no. 28, pp. 74-5, L (1915), vol. 23, no. 28, pp. 56-57, LII (1917) vol. 18, no. 28, p. 91.

63. *Kanadyiskyi rusyn* 9 January 1918; *Svoboda* 17 August 1902; PAA, Criminal Case Files, 1915-1928, vol. 40, file 2631; *Robochyi narod* 11 April 1917.
64. *Ukrainskyi holos* 27 May 1914, 5 December 1917; PAA, Criminal Case Files, 1915-1928, vol. 2, file 165, vol. 4, file 298, vol. 12, file 907, vol. 14, file 1038, vol. 15, file 1140, vol. 33, file 2228, vol. 78, file 5092, vol. 80, file 5215. Cases of incest were also tried, though they do not seem to have been as numerous: see, for example, vol. 15, file 1123, vol. 38, file 2532, vol. 39, file 2598, vol. 59, file 3947, vol. 68, file 4477, vol. 76, file 4994.
65. Canada, *Sessional Papers* LII (1917), vol. 18, no. 28, pp. 61-4, and NAC, RG 18/A1, RCMP, vol. 512, file 368 (1916); see also the article on the Wakaw incident by Max Haines in *The Ottawa Citizen* 10 July 1982.
66. George M. Foster, "Peasant Society and the Image of the Limited Good," in Jack M. Potter, May N. Diaz and George M. Foster, eds., *Peasant Society: A Reader* (Boston, 1967), 304.
67. *Ukrainskyi holos* 11 September 1912, 15 May 1918.
68. Miriam Elston, "The Russian [sic] in our midst," *The Westminster* XXI (June 1916), 535.
69. Alexander J. Hunter, "The Galician—Physical, Social, Intellectual," *The Home Mission Pioneer* VI (1909-10), 71.
70. *Svoboda* 24 December 1903; *Kanadyiskyi rusyn* 20 September 1913.
71. *Ukrainskyi holos* 7 January 1914.
72. Chmelar, "The Austrian Emigration," 326; *Svoboda* 24 March 1898.
73. *Ukrainskyi holos* 29 April 1914, 10 August 1910, 5 November 1919.
74. Nestor Dmytriv (Dmytriw), *Kanadyiska Rus'. Podorozhni spomyny*, first pub. 1897 (Winnipeg, 1972), 28-9.
75. *Ukrainskyi holos* 28 December 1910, 5 September 1917; PAA, Criminal Case Files 1915-1928, vol. 34, file 2279; Canada, *Sessional Papers* XLVI (1912), vol. 20, no. 28, p. 20, XLVII (1913), vol. 21, no. 28, p. 122.
76. *Svoboda* 16 July 1903; *Ukrainskyi holos* 12, 26 September, 3 October, 28 November, 12 December 1923; PAA, Criminal Case Files 1915-1928, vol. 1A, file 13, vol. 6, file 517, vol. 26, file 1778, APP *Annual Report* 1927, "A Division," 2-4.
77. *Ukrainskyi holos* 12, 26 September, 3 October, 28 November, 12 December 1923; PAA, Criminal Case Files 1915-1928, vol. 14, file 1061.
78. Dmytriv, 19; *The Presbyterian* IX (4) (19 July 1906), 69.
79. *The Missionary Bulletin* IX (1912-13), 94.
80. *Ukrainskyi holos* 17 August 1910, 17 September 1913.
81. Up to 48 per cent of rural males over fourteen and 70 per cent of the females surveyed in 1916 could not read or write Ukrainian, while 86 per cent of the men and 98 per cent of the women could not read or write English. Woodsworth, 5-6. Of all the peoples from the Austro-Hungarian empire who entered the United States between 1902 and 1911, Ukrainians were the most illiterate, with only 51 in 100 adults able to read or write. Chmelar, 345.
82. This was the case as late as 1916, according to Dr. Gilbert of Ethelbert. Manitoba. *Ukrainskyi holos* 3 February 1916.
83. Kaye, *Early Ukrainian Settlements*, 260, 264.
84. *Ukrainskyi holos* 13 July, 10 August, 28 September 1910.

85. Alexander J. Hunter, "Superstitions Among the Foreigners," *The Missionary Messenger* II (1915), 12-13.
86. PAA, Criminal Case Files, 1915-1928, vol. 2, file 117, vol. 8, file 641.
87. Canada, *Sessional Papers* XLV (1911), vol. 19, no. 28, p. 75; *Ranok* 15 July 1914.
88. *The Missionary Bulletin* XII (1915-16), 691-2.
89. Canada, *Sessional Papers* XLVIII (1914), vol. 24, no. 28, pp. 32-3. On magical beliefs among Ukrainian peasants, see Dov Neuman, "Five Hucul Healing Incantations," *Indiana Slavic Studies* I (1956), 194; Samuel Koenig, "Magical Beliefs and Practices Among the Galician Ukrainians," *Folklore* XLVIII (1) (1937), 59-91, "Beliefs Regarding the Soul and the Future World Among the Galician Ukrainians," *ibid.*, XLIX (2) (1938), 157-61, "Supernatural Beliefs Among the Galician Ukrainians," *ibid.*, XLIX (3) (1938) 270-6, "Beliefs and Practices Relating to Birth and Childhood Among the Galician Ukrainians," *ibid.*, L (2) (1939), 272-87, and "Marriage and the Family Among the Galician Ukrainians," in George P. Murdock, ed., *Studies in the Science of Society* (New Haven, 1937), 299-318; Ivan Franko, "Liudovi viruvannia na pidhiriu," *Etnografichnyi zbirnyk* V (1898), 160-218; Filiaret Kolessa, "Liudovi viruvannia na pidhiriu," *ibid.*, 76-98; Robert B. Klymasz, "Ukrainian Folklore in Canada: An Immigrant Complex in Transition" (PhD dissertation, Indiana University, 1971).
90. *Kanadyiskyi rusyn* 21 June 1913.
91. James S. Woodsworth, "Foreign Immigrants and Temperence," *The Christian Guardian* 13 April 1910, 8; Alexander J. Hunter, "The Future of the Foreign Immigrant," *The Home Mission Pioneer* VI (1909-10), 159.
92. *Ukrainskyi holos* 8 February, 22 March 1911, 13 December 1916.
93. *Ibid.*, 31 January 1912; *Kanadyiskyi rusyn* 25 April, 30 May 1914.
94. James E. Rea, "The Roots of Prairie Society," in David P. Gagan, ed., *Prairie Perspectives* (Toronto, 1970), 51-2.
95. *Ukrainskyi holos* 18 January, 12 July, 6, 27 September 1911, 17 January 1912, 29 January, 21 May, 10 December 1913, 31 June 1914, 9 February, 12 April, 13 September 1916, 2 January 1918; *Kanadyiskyi rusyn* 15 February, 1 March, 15 November 1913, 23 September 1914.
96. *Ukrainskyi holos* 28 June 1911, 7, 14 February, 17 April 1912, 16 July 1913, 20 May 1914; *Robochyi narod* 16 April 1913.
97. *Ukrainskyi holos* 13 March, 24 September 1913, 26 January, 29 November 1916, 3 January 1917, 31 August 1921, 10, 24 October 1923; Canada, *Sessional Papers* XLVIII (1914) vol. 24, no. 28, pp. 24-5, 179, LII (1917) vol. 18, no. 28, p. 93; NAC, RG 18/A1, RCMP, vol. 537, file 397 (1917); PAA, APP Annual Report 1922, "A Division," 4-6.
98. *Svoboda* 18 August 1904, 30 November 1905; *Ukrainskyi holos* 22 January 1913, 25 March, 22 April 1914, 14 March, 11 July 1917; *Kanadyiskyi rusyn* 7 March 1914.
99. *Ukrainskyi holos* 15 October 1919, 27 April, 11, 25 May, 7 September, 12 October 1921, 22 February, 12 April, 3, 24 May 1922. Although the Ukrainian clergy and intelligentsia welcomed prohibition, many Ukrainian rural settlers were opposed. During the 21 July 1915 referendum in Alberta, the almost solidly Ukrainian Whitford and Victoria constituencies rejected prohibition, as did many Ukrainian settlements in the Sturgeon, Vermilion

- and Vegreville constituencies. *Edmonton Journal* 22 July 1915; *Edmonton Bulletin* 22 July, 2-3 August 1915.
100. *Ukrainskyi holos* 23 February 1916.
101. *Ibid.*, 5 June 1910, 28 February, 10 July 1912, 13 August 1913, 8 April 1914, 16 May 1917. On the three Stuartburn areas, see *ibid.*, 5 April 1916; for the first major account, written by Wasyl Mihaychuk, a young teacher, of how much alcohol and Hoffman's drops had come to dominate life around Stuartburn, see *ibid.*, 14, 21 August 1912.
102. *Ibid.*, 8 February 1911, 1 September, 3, 24 November 1915, 23 February, 26 April, 10 May, 14 June, 5, 19 July, 23 August, 6, 20 December 1916, 18 April 1917, 12 June 1918.
103. *Ibid.*, 12, 19 January, 23 February, 6 December 1916.
104. *Svoboda* 14 March 1907; *Ukrainskyi holos* 22 November 1911, 12, 19 January, 14 June, 19 July 1916, 7 February 1917, 6 March 1918.
105. Woodsworth, "Ukrainian Rural Communities," 10.
106. *Ukrainskyi holos* 12, 19 January, 7 February 1917.
107. Samuel Koenig, "The Ukrainians of Eastern Galicia: A Study of Their Culture and Institutions" (PhD dissertation, Yale University, 1935), 523.
108. *The Missionary Bulletin* X (1913-14), 790.
109. C.H. Monro, "The Galician at Home," *The Westminster* X (October 1905), 238.
110. *Ranok* 6 December 1911.
111. *Svoboda* 30 May 1901.
112. Woodsworth, "Ukrainian Rural Communities," 118.
113. For realistic, yet sympathetic and compassionate descriptions of peasant life in Galicia and Bukovyna between 1890 and 1914, see the novels, short stories and plays of Vasyl Stefanyk, Les Martovych, Tymofei Borduliak, Marko Cheremshyna, Osyp Makovei, Olha Kobylianska, Ivan Franko and Mykhailo Kotsiubynsky.

5

Frontier Labourers

Between 1890 and 1914 the Canadian prairies, as we have seen, were transformed from a sparsely populated outpost of the fur trade into one of the world's major grain-producing regions. One of the by-products of this transformation was the expansion of Canada's railways and the development of primary industries in the nation's frontier regions. By the turn of the century, railway construction, forestry and mining represented highly interdependent, labour-intensive industries which expanded by tapping the large reservoir of cheap labour in southern and eastern Europe. Of the immigrants entering Canada between 1907 and 1914, unskilled labourers increased from 31 to 43 per cent while agriculturalists decreased from 38 to 28 per cent. Simultaneously, immigrants from southern and eastern Europe increased from 29 to 48 per cent. Ukrainian immigration reflected these trends. While 63,425 Ukrainians entered Canada between 1891 and 1905, 108,113 arrived between 1906 and 1914, with 45 per cent coming between 1912 and 1914. Over 48,000 who arrived between 1906 and 1914 remained in the eastern provinces, almost 79,000 were males and 44,000 of these identified themselves as labourers rather than farmers.¹

Dominant Characteristics

When the first coal mines opened in the Crow's Nest Pass in 1897-8, several Ukrainians were among the workers hired. By the turn of the century, they could also be found in Lethbridge, on Vancouver Island and in the gold mines of Rossland, where at least forty-two Ukrainians from east central Alberta were employed during the winter of 1901-2.² Most who worked in the frontier industries during the early years were homesteaders who returned to farming within a few years. Before 1905 only a few Ukrainians at Copper Cliff and Cobalt were without ties to the land, and it was not until the boom years after 1906 that a Ukrainian proletariat of mine workers and migrant labourers began to develop.

By 1914 it was dispersed throughout the frontier regions of Canada (Fig. 10), but to date it has received very little attention.

Who were these forgotten men and why did they come to Canada? On the whole, they were much younger than the thirty- and forty-year-old homesteaders who settled in the rural colonies with their families. About one-third of those who arrived between 1906 and 1914 were seventeen to twenty years old, another third were between twenty-one and twenty-eight, and the rest were either boys as young as fourteen or mature men in their thirties and early forties.³ The younger men usually emigrated in groups ranging from three or four individuals to twenty or more. Frequently led by older villagers with experience in Canada, some had already worked in western Europe, where fifty to ninety thousand Ukrainian seasonal labourers had been migrating annually since the turn of the century. Eighteen-year-old Iakiv Kramar had spent two years as a blacksmith's helper in German factories before emigrating to Cobalt in 1908, and nineteen-year-old Fedir Vakaliuk, who arrived in Winnipeg in 1910, was a veteran of the Bessarabian sugar refineries and German coal mines. Many others had worked closer to home in Romania or Hungary.⁴

Whether married or single, the men were members of peasant families who had left for the new world after much deliberation. They were burdened with economic responsibilities, charged with improving or restoring the family fortune or securing their own future. Typical was Mykola Hoholiuk, who recalled that in May 1911 he had "travelled to Canada with the thought of earning \$400, exchanging them for 2,000 Austrian crowns, returning to [his] native village of Isakiv in Horodenka county, purchasing a thresher, marrying a rich girl and making money by threshing in all the neighbouring villages."⁵ However, what was to be a one- or two-year absence often turned into an involuntary exile that lasted a lifetime.

Migrant labourers were under a great deal of pressure the moment they docked in Halifax or detained in Winnipeg. Virtually penniless, their first concern naturally was to find employment. Few were as fortunate as Petro Zhmurchyk, who arrived alone in Medicine Hat one morning in May 1907, found a job on a CPR section gang the same afternoon and forty-four years later was still working in Medicine Hat.⁶ Some found work with the help of fellow villagers who were already gainfully employed, and others simply joined them in a particular frontier town or campsite. The coal mines of Canmore, Alberta, for example, annually attracted twenty or more men from Shypyntsi in Bukovyna before 1914. Some who worked for periods of two or three years made the pilgrimage four times before the outbreak of war. Similarly, the mines and smelters of Copper Cliff drew peasants from Serafyntsi, Husiatyn county. Such village networks even emerged in remote construction sites. For example, all the Ukrainian workers in hydro-electric construction at Kakabeka Falls, on the Kaministikwia River west of Fort William in 1911, were from Velykyi

Kuchuriv, Bukovyna, while all the CPR workers near Victoria Mine in 1913 were from Khorostkiv, Husiatyn county. The networks offered some migrant labourers several job options. Iurii Luchuk, for example, was one of six youths from Stetsiv, Sniatyn county, who travelled directly to Frankford, Ontario, where several countrymen were employed on canal construction. When laid off after two months, the young men headed directly for the sawmills of Manitoulin Island, where no fewer than twenty men from Stetsiv were known to be working.⁷

Labourers without such networks had to rely on private employment agencies in all the larger towns and cities. For the basic fee of one dollar, migrants were advanced train fare and the cost of meals en route to the place of employment. While told how much they would earn, they usually learned little about the transportation costs and the weekly deductions for bunk and board in the frontier camps. Nor were those bound for railway construction camps informed how many miles beyond the end of steel they would have to walk before reaching the work site. To ensure that all reached the appointed destination, some agencies transported their human cargo in sealed trains under armed guard.⁸

Keeping a job also presented many difficulties. Where contractors colluded with employment agents, labourers could be fired once they had worked off the money advanced to them. Foremen and senior workers practised extortion by threatening to dismiss workers who refused to pay. Failure to report for work because of illness, exhaustion or a religious holiday could also result in dismissal. Even when such pitfalls were avoided, the harsh Canadian climate and the Canadian economy's heavy dependence on staple exports meant that most jobs would end quickly with the onset of winter.

As a result, migrant labourers, unlike agricultural settlers who resorted to seasonal labour in frontier industries, led peripatetic and homeless lives. Migrant frontier labourers did not retreat to 160-acre homesteads when laid off; they tried to persevere as navvies on railway construction, as swampers at hydro-electric construction sites, and as loggers, sawmill hands, members of steel gangs, harvesters or coal miners—all often within the space of twelve to eighteen months. Many traversed the continent looking for work. Mykola Tkachuk and a group of friends *walked* from Winnipeg to New York City and from there to Montreal in a futile quest for work just before the war. In 1907, Andrii Hahaliuk “rode the rods” from Winnipeg to Chicago and Spokane and then back to Chicago before finally finding work in a Milwaukee brewery. Several years later, he was on the move again, riding freight trains to Winnipeg, Trail, Vancouver and Prince Rupert.⁹

For migrant labourers, insecurity and uncertainty were the only constants. If injured or dismissed, there was neither workman's compensation nor unemployment insurance to collect. During recessions, as in 1907-8 and 1913-15, migrants were the first to suffer wage cuts and unemployment. In 1913-15, for

example, over fifty-four thousand railway construction workers, among them many Ukrainians, lost their jobs. With the outbreak of war, Austrian subjects were labelled "enemy aliens" and hundreds of Ukrainian miners were dismissed in the Crow's Nest Pass and in Cobalt. Those who remained worked short-time—one to three days a week. In 1915, as we shall see (Chapter 12), thousands of such underemployed, unemployed, destitute and homeless unnaturalized "enemy aliens" were interned and put to work clearing bush and building roads for twenty-five cents a day. When overseas demand for Canadian agricultural products and munitions increased, most internees were released into the custody of farmers and industrialists, and many who had worked only in western Canada and northern Ontario now found themselves in the factories and steel mills of southern Ontario and Nova Scotia. The end of the railway construction boom and the growth of the pulp and paper industry displaced still others from the west to Ontario and Quebec.

The story of Pylyp Yasnowsky illustrates well the fate that overtook more than one migrant frontier labourer.¹⁰ Married with a wife and three small children, Yasnowsky left his native village of Dubliany, Lviv county, to earn enough to pay off debts and purchase a plot of land. Telling his wife he would return soon, he arrived in Winnipeg in May 1911 and immediately found work on a CPR extra gang. Within a month, he realized it was impossible to save more than twenty dollars per month and began looking for a better job. Unfortunately, none was available. His earnings exhausted and without food for four days, he finally found work for the rest of the summer as a harvester in North Dakota and southwestern Manitoba at two dollars per day plus board. Back in Winnipeg in the autumn of 1911, he earned thirty dollars a week loading tar-covered ties at the CPR's Transcona yards until the onset of winter. Without sufficient funds to return home and with winter unemployment high in Winnipeg, he left for Fort William. There, he became a freight handler on a ship that transported grain to Buffalo and returned to Fort William with coal. The job, however, lasted one month and in December 1911, after visiting an employment agency in Port Arthur, he found himself in South Porcupine, Ontario.

In South Porcupine he worked as a machinist's helper in the Hollinger gold mine. Even though the wages were adequate and the food good, he left after four months because of chronic headaches, respiratory problems, nausea and exhaustion. His plan to return to the Transcona railway yards, with their attractive piece rates, was dashed when he learned that a one-way ticket to Winnipeg would cost fifty dollars, the equivalent of two months' savings. Instead, he travelled to Sudbury and found a job in the Cringle mine at Copper Cliff. Nine days later, he was again on the road, discouraged by deplorable living conditions and a terrifying one thousand-foot descent into the mine by a series of ladders. An employment agent advised him to join a railway maintenance crew in Alberta, but his plan to slip off the train in Winnipeg was foiled by the group's escorts, who

drugged the men several miles outside the city. Yasnowsky was still bleary-eyed and dizzy when he revived in Saskatchewan.

After several weeks of changing railway ties and rails on the outskirts of Calgary, he and several Irish co-workers were fired for "slacking." To save his meagre earnings, he walked and rode freight trains from Calgary to Winnipeg for three weeks, being manhandled regularly by freight train attendants and soaked to the bone by frequent cloudbursts. In boots whose soles were completely worn down, he reached Winnipeg and managed to get work at the Transcona railway yards. After more than a year in Canada, he was finally earning \$4.50 to \$6.00 per day tarring and loading railway ties, and it appeared that within five or six months he would earn enough to return home. As fate would have it, however, within a month fire destroyed the Transcona yards and nothing remained but to become a harvester again on a farm north of Moose Jaw.

By the autumn of 1912, Yasnowsky was once more in northern Ontario, where, with no jobs in the mines, he went to work for a contractor who hauled coal to the smelters at Shumacker, one mile outside Timmins. In the summer of 1913 local Ukrainians helped him to get work as a deckman in one of the district's new gold mines. He earned three dollars a day but was obliged to give his "boss" ten dollars every month. By complying, he was promoted to machinist's helper and received a raise of one dollar a day several months later. After almost two years on the same job, he was finally able to remit some money to his despondent wife in the old country. When he lost the job in 1915, it was no longer possible to return to wartorn Europe; nor could he, as an Austrian subject, find employment in Canada. A futile quest for work took him to North Bay, Toronto and St. Catharines, where he decided to ride a freight train into the United States. Before he could find a suitable train, however, he was arrested and interned at Kapuskasing, Ontario.

Released two years later, Yasnowsky worked briefly in a sawmill, where it became clear that internment had left him too weak for frontier labour. With the odd jobs in Toronto both unsatisfying and unremunerative, he hired on a ship bound for Rochester, New York, where in the summer of 1917 he decided to become an American. Only in 1923, after several years of steady employment in the coal mines of Pennsylvania, was Pylp Yasnowsky able to send for his wife and two surviving children. An odyssey which had begun as a six-month trip twelve years earlier was finally at an end. Although his relations with his family could never be completely normal, he was more fortunate than many others who were never reunited.

Work, Wages and Fatalities

Canada's climate and economy imposed a harsh rhythm on the movements of Ukrainian migrant labourers. Between April and November they might work as railway navvies (or failing that, as farm hands and harvesters), and during the winter a minority might mine or work in the forests. The majority, however, sheltered themselves in the cities, where their savings were gradually depleted, or on the farms. Before the First World War, only a minority could find full-time or year-round employment.

Usually Ukrainian immigrants first tasted frontier labour in a railway extra gang or grade camp,¹¹ with the first generally less traumatic. Extra gangs, which repaired the track and ballasted the railway bed, were usually near towns or settlements; their tools—grub-hoes, spades and crowbars—were familiar to Ukrainians; and their members—sixty to one hundred men—were usually ethnically homogeneous. Their major drawback were the low wages (\$1.35 to \$1.75 for a ten-hour day with 60¢ subtracted daily for bunk and board), which yielded few savings and were better suited to the needs of homesteaders who wanted to earn extra cash without travelling great distances.

The grade camps were found beyond the end of steel. Located at approximately ten-mile intervals, they often stretched for 150 to 200 miles into the wilderness. They housed the navvies who prepared the road bed upon which steel gangs subsequently laid ties and rails. With hand shovels and barrows, horses, steamshovels and blasting powder, the navvies heaped up soil, muskeg, clay and loose rock to grade level. Most grade camps consisted of six to ten log buildings and included bunkhouses, kitchens, commissaries and offices. They were operated by subcontractors, with each usually responsible for ten miles of road bed. Shortly before the war, navvies earned \$2.00 to \$2.50 for a ten-hour day minus deductions of \$4.50 to \$6.00 a week for bunk and board and \$1.25 a month for medical services, which were rarely provided.¹²

In most grade camps the heavier operations, which required horses and large machinery, were completed by the subcontractor's foremen and groups of navvies employed at day wages. Whenever possible, all the lighter pieces of grade were leased out to station men, who undertook to prepare the road bed and grade level along a one hundred-foot stretch. Working in groups of two to twenty men, they might contract to complete from five to twenty stations. Station men were expected to provide their own food, shelter and equipment (all usually purchased or leased from the subcontractor); they were paid for the soil, clay, muskeg and rock displaced by the cubic yard, the rate varying with the kind of earth removed. Station men set their own hours and might be on the job from four in the morning until sundown; under ideal conditions they could earn at least five dollars a day.

Whether day labourers or station men, the navvies were hard pressed to accumulate savings, as most arrived in camp exhausted, broken in spirit and thirty dollars in debt. For basic necessities (gloves, boots and overalls), price markups were as much as 200 to 300 per cent, with the costs deducted from the navvy's earnings, often much reduced by inclement weather. In 1911, for example, Fedir Vakaliuk took only seventy-two dollars home after working almost nine months in a grade camp in British Columbia.

Station men took even greater risks. Where the terrain was difficult, blasting powder, horses and railcars had to be purchased or rented from the subcontractor. In inclement weather boots and waterproof clothing were also needed. But the greatest risk were the company officials who underestimated the amount and kind of earth to be displaced and heaped. As a result, many station men were fortunate to clear one dollar per day plus board.¹³

Finding jobs in the forest industry was initially more difficult for Ukrainians,¹⁴ because logging, unlike railway construction, placed a premium on experience and the ability to speak English, as many loggers worked in pairs and had to communicate verbally. As a result, it was the road gangs—eight to fifteen labourers working to clear trails and roadways through the forest—that provided Ukrainians with an entrée into the industry. Because the work resembled the initial stages of railway construction, it was an ideal transition into forest work for railway navvies. Before the war, most loggers worked ten hours a day, six days a week. Wages were somewhat lower in the Ottawa River valley and the Lake Huron north shore than in the Lake of the Woods district and in British Columbia. Day wages in the latter varied from \$2.50 to \$4.00 (minus 90¢ for bunk and board), depending on the type of work and location of the lumber camp.¹⁵ Although deductions were also made for non-existent medical services, the expenses involved in lumbering were generally less onerous.

Of all the frontier industries, mining placed the highest premium on skill. The work force in the coal mines was divided into "contract miners" and "company men."¹⁶ Skilled contract miners and their semi- or unskilled helpers worked in pairs at the coal face. They drove tunnels into the coal seam, widened them into "rooms," removed coal by picking or blasting it, laid track to the coal face and buttressed the rooms. Contract miners were paid by the ton or cubic yard of coal mined. Before the war, the average contract miner moved eight tons a day at between fifty cents and one dollar per ton. While they might gross as much as two hundred dollars (or even more) each month, their net earnings were usually much less because equipment and blasting powder had to be purchased. Company men performed most of the preparatory underground work. They did everything, from building the shafts and airways to separating the rock from the coal at the picking tables. They were paid hourly and earned on average \$2.50 to \$3.75 for a nine-hour day before 1914.

Most Ukrainians entered mining as unskilled company men and miner's helpers and became in time contract miners and skilled machine drillers. Opportunities for advancement were usually greatest in the hard-rock mines of northern Ontario, where the demand always exceeded the supply, especially after the 1907 Cobalt strike, when many skilled Nova Scotia miners left. Ivan Petrachenko, who entered the Nipissing Silver Mine in Cobalt in 1906, was a qualified powderman and machine driller by 1910.¹⁷ Similarly, the inexperienced Yasnowsky was hired as a machinist's helper in South Porcupine in 1912. It appears that the new coal mines in the Coal Branch and Drumheller districts of Alberta provided similar opportunities for advancement.

Before 1914 an ethnic caste system characterized all frontier industries. Not only did Anglo-Saxons and Celts, and to a lesser degree Scandinavians and French Canadians, monopolize the skilled and remunerative jobs, they also dominated most authority positions from contractor and subcontractor to timekeeper and foreman. Semiracial categories were invoked and ideologically justified. A distinction between "whites" and "foreigners" was drawn, with Anglo-Celts, Scandinavians and French Canadians representing the former and Slavs, Italians and Orientals the latter. The "whites," it was believed, were distinguished by superior intelligence, skill, virility and a "natural aptitude for machinery"; the "foreigners," especially the Slavs, were said to be "slow and immobile, lacking initiative...with but limited mechanical ability...easily brow-beaten...just plodders in the day's work." Nevertheless, their "quiet strength...unpretending courage...perseverance...[and] staunchness" guaranteed that "the Slav can and does succeed even as a railway navvy."¹⁸ The presence of the "foreigners" freed the "whites," especially the Anglo-Celts, from the most menial, dangerous and degrading tasks and permitted even the most exploited among them to take solace from the knowledge that there was always someone beneath them on the socio-economic scale.

Railway work, lumbering and mining were the most dangerous occupations in Canada. Although employing no more than 9 per cent of the total Canadian work force,¹⁹ they were responsible, as Table 6 indicates, for 46 per cent of the 23,614 fatal industrial accidents recorded between 1904 and 1923. Railway contractors were not required to register fatalities before 1912. Thereafter, it seems that few did, especially if the victims were "foreigners." Consequently, the data on railway fatalities encompass primarily permanent employees—members of the running trades as well as yardmen, maintenance workers and freight handlers, most of whom were crushed or run over by railway cars and locomotives. On railway construction, navvies were killed by dynamite explosions, falling rock and timber, and moving locomotives. An average of 320 railway employees were killed annually between 1907 and 1914, and death notices in the Ukrainian press suggest that many among them were Ukrainian navvies. After a disastrous explosion at a GTP construction site in 1908, a Ukrainian corre-

sondents compared the hospital in Kenora to a war zone, with stretcher bearers delivering men to an institution crowded beyond belief. Work on extra gangs was also fraught with peril. In January 1916, near Brandon, a CPR locomotive collided with a snow plough carrying an extra gang of sixty Ukrainians and Poles, killing seventeen instantly, injuring fifteen critically and wounding another twenty-five.²⁰

Work in the forest industries was equally dangerous. Before the First World War, almost one hundred loggers were killed annually, about twenty-five in British Columbia's forests. A Ukrainian correspondent from Fort Frances lamented in 1913 that too many Ukrainian loggers sustained serious injuries because they could not understand standard warnings in English.²¹ Ten to twenty men annually were mangled by machinery in the saw mills, while countless others lost limbs and then were unceremoniously dismissed. As the industry expanded after 1917, fatalities mounted dramatically.

Mining, especially in the western coal mines, was the most dangerous occupation in Canada. Death rates in Alberta and British Columbia were more than twice those in Nova Scotia or the United States because western-Canadian operators and miners were relatively inexperienced and abnormally high levels of gas seepage led to frequent explosions. As small western owners were also reluctant to invest in safety measures, the falling coal, rock and timber and the fires, asphyxiation, runaway mine cars and premature dynamite explosions caused many deaths. In Alberta alone, 604 miners perished between 1904 and 1923; about 100 were Ukrainians, including 29 of the 189 victims in the Hillcrest mine explosion in June 1914.²² In the hard-rock mines of northern Ontario, 278 miners were killed between 1904 and 1913, most of them non-English-speaking immigrants.²³

Mine accidents which maimed victims and industrial diseases which caused premature deaths were even more common. In 1914, 104 of the 109 workers injured in the Mond Nickel mines in the Sudbury basin were "foreigners."²⁴ In the much deeper, hotter and wetter hard-rock mines, workers who stripped to the waist while standing in pools of water contracted pneumonia, developed rheumatism, suffered from paralysis and occasionally had to have their legs amputated. Near Anyox, British Columbia, a Ukrainian miner reported children who coughed like old men and looked extremely pale because of the polluting local smelters. The miners' eyes also deteriorated in the poorly lit mines, as did their lungs from inhaling coal dust or tiny particles of silica, quartz and slate. Children and crippled miners who screened and cleaned coal at the tipples were especially vulnerable to coal dust. From death notices in the Ukrainian press, it is clear that emphysema, silicosis and heart disease were claiming many twenty- and thirty-year-old Ukrainian miners by the early 1920s.²⁵

Living Conditions

Living conditions, practically identical in the railway and lumber camps, were abhorrent. It was not unusual for at least fifty men to occupy the damp, poorly lit, badly ventilated and crowded log bunkhouses 34' x 52' x 9' in size. Their tarpaper or canvas-covered roofs leaked; the bedding—two or three blankets and straw or pine-bough mattresses on a wooden platform—was infested with lice, nits and bedbugs; and the floors were never swept or cleaned. At the Bishop Lumber Company camp near Sault Ste. Marie, Ukrainian loggers shared a bunkhouse with local trappers—the camp foreman's business partners—who dried animal hides and furs that created a foul odour and infested the premises with fleas and vermin. While bunkhouses were equipped with stoves, around which wet socks and overalls were frequently suspended overnight, the only washing and bathing facilities were usually a water barrel and several wash-basins. In some British Columbia lumber camps, water was so scarce that baths were taken at six-month intervals. Water shortages and poor sanitation caused frequent illnesses of the digestive system and epidemics of typhoid fever.²⁶ The extra gangs lived in box cars converted into bunkhouses. Although less crowded and easier to keep clean, they, too, were infested with vermin and frequently cold. Fresh water was rarely available; near Brooks, Alberta, many Ukrainian navvies, whose water was brought from Medicine Hat, sixty-six miles away, suffered from typhoid fever in 1906.²⁷ The quality and variety of food varied from camp to camp. Unrefrigerated meat from Edmonton, for example, was often shipped deep into the interior of British Columbia, 150 miles beyond the end of steel, with predictable results. One Ukrainian navvy recalled that potatoes and eggs were generally unavailable and that "the men had to make do with a steady diet of beans, hard cheese and half raw bread baked in the camp stove."²⁸

Unlike the men in remote frontier camps, miners lived in small towns situated on or near railways. With the amenities of civilization nearer, many lived with their wives and children. Even so, their conditions often resembled those in the camps and could be even more demoralizing. Many mining communities were company towns with the houses, retail outlets and service facilities owned and operated by mine owners or their licencees. Even in such nominally independent communities as Fernie, Coleman, Drumheller, Lethbridge, Sudbury, Cobalt and South Porcupine, the mines were usually several miles distant, with the men and their families forced to live in company camps or at the town's edge. Mining towns were usually highly segregated and polarized communities, in which company officials occupied choice housing in pleasant surroundings and rarely mixed with the miners, who lived in humble, dilapidated shacks surrounded by foul-smelling outhouses and streets strewn with garbage. In some towns ethnic segregation prevailed. In Coleman the British miners lived on the hill while Ukrainians and Poles lived in "Bushtown" and "Slavtown," separated

from Coleman proper. An "Italian town" also existed. Similar residential patterns characterized Bellevue, Lethbridge, Cobalt and Copper Cliff.²⁹

With the life cycle of most mining towns brief, the bunkhouses, boarding houses and hotels for single miners were especially deplorable, particularly in the coal-mining districts of Alberta. Cadomin, where thirty-two men shared an 18' x 24' x 9' wood-frame bunkhouse in 1919, was typical. The local company charged each \$1.25 daily for accommodation and board, which rarely included staples like bread and sugar. Elsewhere, sixty to seventy men were crowded into slightly larger buildings. As a result, many Ukrainians preferred shacks which they built themselves. Conditions were somewhat better in northern Ontario. In Cobalt, for example, some company-owned bunkhouses had kitchen and dining facilities, iron beds with springs and mattresses, electric lights, hot baths and steam-heated rooms. Even by the 1920s, when boarding houses and hotels (two men in each small room) began replacing bunkhouses in some towns, housing remained in short supply and miners continued sleeping in boarding-house basements and using beds in shifts.³⁰

Some married men rented or purchased small cottages. In the Crow's Nest Pass these were usually one-storey, wood-frame structures with clapboard siding, four or five rooms and 750 square feet. By 1918 most had a single stove and electric lighting but no sanitary facilities and running water. Water was carried from wells or delivered daily for a nominal fee. The rent was about nine dollars a month in 1919. In Copper Cliff, where most houses and shacks were initially privately owned, married employees, by 1920, could rent four types of housing from INCO for seven to thirty dollars a month, running water included. Privately owned homes in many communities stood on wooden blocks to ease relocation. Ukrainian and East European families often kept pigs and cows nearby.³¹

Married miners and their wives frequently took in boarders or lodgers. In 1910 seven Ukrainian families on Copper Cliff's Elizabeth Street lodged eighty-six single men. When Yasnowsky worked near Copper Cliff in 1912, he was one of three single men who each paid one dollar a day to board with a married couple. He slept in the kitchen on two benches with a rag-filled sack for a pillow and no covers; the others slept on the floor. All were delighted by the absence of vermin.³²

Sanitation and fire-safety standards were primitive in most mining communities. Fernie was the only town with a sewage system in the Crow's Nest Pass. In Hosmer, Ukrainian miners from Podilia lived in a shack colony called New York, where garbage was collected three times a year by the CPR. The colony's water supply was contaminated and typhoid fever was endemic, as it was elsewhere. Towns like Lethbridge and Cobalt, where 73 of the 1,100 residents infected with typhoid fever in 1909 died, experienced annual typhoid epidemics. With most of the buildings constructed of wood, fires repeatedly swept through the towns. Fernie was destroyed in 1904 and 1908, Michel in 1902, Bellevue in

1917 and 1921, Cobalt in 1909 and South Porcupine in 1911. In the Ukrainian quarter of Creighton Mine, three miners lost their lives in a 1909 conflagration.³³

Responses to Frontier Life and Labour

The response of Ukrainians to the low wages and dreadful working and living conditions varied considerably. As a rule, Ukrainian navvies and loggers, like most men employed on the railways and in the forest industries, were less openly defiant. Coming from a rural, preindustrial society, they judged working conditions and wages by the standards of old-world poverty.³⁴ When several extra gangs near Moose Jaw struck for higher wages in 1905, a group of Ukrainians compared the \$1.75 per day in Canada with the daily wage of 15¢ in the old country and refused to strike.³⁵ The ethnic caste system also worked to control Ukrainian navvies and loggers. As one sympathetic observer noted, "The Ukrainians were held in check by the small Anglo-Saxon element present in every camp, who, being decently treated, were always ready to put down with fists, clubs, and even guns, any outbreak of the 'Bohunks.'"³⁶ Foremen regularly intimidated "foreign" navvies. In 1903, when a group of Ukrainians requested payment before the normally designated day, a CNoR timekeeper shot and killed one of the men, Dmytro Deshevy.³⁷ The high job turnover of navvies and loggers also discouraged militancy. As most jobs lasted only several months, it was difficult to establish a consensus on wages and working conditions or to develop bonds of solidarity. In intolerable circumstances navvies and loggers preferred to vote with their feet and flight replaced militancy, as many had short-term objectives and hoped to return to the old country.

But not all Ukrainian navvies and loggers were equally stoic. Having engaged in a slow, silent and grinding struggle with old-world exploiters for centuries, some immigrant labourers readily transferred familiar forms of resistance—refusal to perform obligatory labour, land occupations and sabotage—to new-world conditions. Others had encountered more modern forms of resistance—public meetings, demonstrations, electoral campaigns and strikes—in Galicia and Bukovyna or while working in Germany. As a result, traditional and modern forms of resistance co-existed. Sabotage, a traditional tactic favoured by unions like the Industrial Workers of the World (IWW), was readily adopted by some Ukrainian and Russian loggers. They destroyed their tools when forced to work against their will and, in one instance, Ukrainians demolished the heaters in a British Columbia logging camp when ordered to work on Ukrainian Christmas day (7 January). Small local strikes similar to traditional forms of village protest were also organized. In 1901, when one hundred Ukrainians on a CPR extra gang west of Fort William demanded that their wage be raised from

\$1.50 to \$1.75 per day and the foreman refused to listen, the men put down their tools, seated themselves on the flat cars, forced the foreman to telegraph the company office and ultimately won their case. Several years later, a similar protest failed when English-speaking navvies refused to join forty Ukrainian strikers near Thelford, Manitoba. On the other hand, a more elaborate strike, organized with the aid of a Ukrainian-speaking American timekeeper, paralyzed twenty GTP grade camps for ten days in September 1909.³⁸ Far more often, however, Ukrainian navvies and loggers, fearing dismissal, replaced overt protest with the "everyday forms of peasant resistance"—shirking, shoddy workmanship, dissimulation, pilfering and feigned ignorance.³⁹ Too informal to be noticed by government statisticians or urban newspapers, such forms of resistance were usually the most widespread in the frontier camps, and during the First World War they would be adopted by Ukrainian labourers interned as "enemy aliens" (see Chapter 12).

Ukrainian miners, on the other hand, were much more militant, especially in the Crow's Nest Pass, a reflection of the conflict which wracked coal mining during the first quarter of the century. Between 1901 and 1926 there were 181 strikes in Alberta and British Columbia alone, which involved 117,907 men and 6,878,239 lost work days.⁴⁰ Contributing to the militancy were the high proportion of experienced British-born unionists, the activity of the United Mine Workers of America after 1903 and the high concentration of miners in the Pass and on Vancouver Island. On the Alberta side, for example, ten mining communities existed along a fourteen-mile stretch of railway between Burmis and Coleman. The area resembled "one large mining camp."⁴¹ Under such conditions consensus and solidarity readily developed. It helped also that miners had to depend upon one another at work and that there was little incentive to migrate to the even poorer wages and working conditions of the railway and lumber camps. Trapped in their communities, the miners' only alternative was to fight back.

Some Ukrainian miners were confused at first about the United Mine Workers and by the very nature of unions. Several Orthodox Bukovynians refused to join "the union" in 1905 because they feared they would become Uniate (i.e., Catholic) schismatics by joining.⁴² By 1905, however, all twenty-five Ukrainian mine workers in Lille, Alberta, were unionized. During the 1906 Lethbridge strike some Ukrainian miners were proud that there were no Ukrainian strikebreakers, and when the company subsequently bribed three Bukovynians to recruit them, they were run out of town. Despite a misunderstanding over the apportionment of strike funds between the union leaders and Ukrainian strikers, the latter would not break ranks until the larger dispute was resolved.⁴³ In the same year a correspondent from Frank, Alberta, reported that Ukrainians, unlike Italians, had a reputation as strikers. The contempt of Ukrainian miners for countrymen who became company spies or informers was spelled out in letters to the Ukrainian press, where the reprobates were identified

and held up to public scorn.⁴⁴ By 1911, when N.D. Tkachuk, a veteran Ukrainian miner, represented Canmore at the United Mine Workers' District 18 convention, there were reportedly up to fifteen hundred Ukrainian members in the union, the majority in the mines at Canmore and Hosmer.⁴⁵

While small informal groups and ethnic associations could promote labour militancy, conditions in frontier camps and mining towns were rarely conducive to the formation of Ukrainian societies of any kind. When not completely exhausted, Ukrainians in the camps spent their evenings and Sunday afternoons dictating letters, playing violins and harmonicas, singing ribald songs to the accompaniment of reedpipes (*sopilky*) or listening to the stories of worldly old men or to young men who read aloud. On a steel gang near Superior Junction, Ontario, Mykola Hubka, a sixty-year-old Bukovynian who sported shoulder-length hair, smoked a pipe and danced on the rails, regaled his younger listeners with tales of his adventures and anecdotes about life in Canada. In the South Porcupine district Peter Kyforuk, who had a copy of *A Thousand and One Arabian Nights* and could read, was designated storyteller by a group of Ukrainian navvies. Mykola Hoholiuk, who regularly received newspapers from the old country, read them aloud in every camp. Such edifying recreation, however, was not the rule. Near Graham, Ontario, where only ten of seventy Ukrainian labourers were literate, the illiterates mockingly boasted they would survive as had their fathers and grandfathers without learning the alphabet.⁴⁶

Although the mining towns provided greater opportunities for social life, Ukrainians could sustain only the most rudimentary organizations and activities, because the men moved about a lot and there were very few Ukrainian women. In 1911, "Austrian," "Galician" and "Bukovynian" men outnumbered women seven to one in the frontier regions of British Columbia, southwestern Alberta and northern Ontario.⁴⁷ Nor did mining towns have the priests and teachers who usually organized reading clubs, drama circles and choirs in old-country villages and in the rural colonies of western Canada. Only Ukrainian socialists, as we shall see (Chapter 10), tried to fill the void by organizing branches of the Ukrainian Social Democratic party.

With Ukrainian social life severely limited, frontier labourers generally spent their leisure time gambling, frequenting brothels and drinking. Gambling was a favourite pastime in bunkhouses. Many men, spellbound by the prospect of winning one or two months' wages in a single evening, lost every penny they owned. When Yasnowsky realized that his gambling was becoming habitual, he immediately sent his wife the earnings that remained. Others, without such foresight, lost hundreds of dollars and blamed "God's will" or "fate" for their bad luck. Camp men were especially vulnerable at the end of a contract. In the larger cities, and in towns like Cardiff and Drumheller, legions of cardsharps preyed

upon them. Many were doped and robbed in the bars or rolled by petty criminals in the streets and alleys.

Prostitution also thrived in frontier regions. Although much more prevalent in the cities and in mining towns like Lethbridge, Drumheller and Frank, it was not confined to urban areas. In the summer of 1910, for example, "Boxcar Rosie" travelled from camp to camp in the Lake Nipigon region with an imposing convoy of canoes filled with cooks, cashiers and a bevy of "fancy women." Her "tents of ill fame" stood near each camp for several days with the men invited to participate at five dollars a visit. In 1914 a similar tent camp was established one mile east of Nordegg, Alberta, by a madam who insisted that she was only camping with friends and "there was no law forbidding ladies' camping in the woods and gentlemen's visiting them."⁴⁸

Alcohol, though legally banned in or near construction camps and (in Ontario) within five miles of producing mines, was nonetheless frequently smuggled into the camps and bootlegging rings emerged to expedite distribution. As one observer noted, a camp might be alcohol-free for several weeks until "some 'bootlegger'...sneaks into camp with a bagful, or a bunch of men come up from Edmonton with their pockets bulging, and the whole camp seems to go mad." In the mining towns of Alberta and British Columbia, miners frequented provincially licenced beer parlors in the evenings and on weekends. Towns of two to three thousand like Fernie had up to a dozen hotels, each with a bar. On payday, NWMP constables rode through the streets of Frank on horseback, firing revolvers into the air to disperse the mobs pouring out of bars and hotels. Where there were no bars, Ukrainian miners imported beer from larger centres.⁴⁹

As the most popular form of recreation in mining towns, drinking became a social problem of major proportions. Assault, one of the most common criminal charges laid against Ukrainian frontier labourers, was almost invariably related to alcohol. Letters in the Ukrainian press regularly lamented the brutish behaviour associated with leisure-time drinking: infidelity toward wives, gambling, arguing about religion and about members of the Habsburg dynasty,⁵⁰ and fighting in bars and at weddings. In 1912 a CPR section hand shot and killed another in a drunken row near Redcliffe, Alberta; a month later a miner died at the hands of an unknown assailant after a wedding reception in Stafford, north of Lethbridge; on Ascension Sunday 1914, at Garson, near Sudbury, an intoxicated miner stabbed and almost killed another miner while cronies engaged in a vicious rock-throwing mêlée that seriously injured many. So common were drunken brawls among Ukrainian labourers that an anecdote current in Creighton Mine in 1918 had the Finns building the local reading hall, the Italians organizing the local orchestra and the "Galicians" erecting the local courthouse (with the fines they regularly paid for drinking and brawling!).⁵¹

Ukrainians were also involved in more serious crimes, including several homicide cases investigated by the NWMP in the Crow's Nest Pass. A

Ukrainian navy was murdered and another almost lost his life at the hands of axe-wielding countrymen who stole their savings; two single men involved with their landlords' wives waylaid and murdered the unfortunate husbands; and another man acquitted of the brutal murder of a prostitute subsequently murdered his wife. Other homicides and assaults seemed even more pointless and bizarre. A miner was killed by his host on Easter Sunday 1913 after warning the host not to profane the Lord's Day; two miners beat and kicked a third to death after the latter, trying to sleep, brandished an iron pipe; and a miner stabbed a roommate five times after a minor scuffle at the doorway of their shack.⁵²

How is one to explain such intemperance and violent behaviour? The predicament of most migrant frontier labourers was desperate. Unlike homesteaders in rural bloc settlements or immigrant families in ethnic city neighbourhoods, most frontier labourers were usually rootless, without membership in any community and with little or no access to the immigrant institutions and voluntary associations that eased adjustment. For the very young and the old, in particular, immigration could be a devastating experience. The barren isolation of Canada's northern frontier was quite overwhelming. Removed from loved ones and having come half way round the world to improve family living standards, immigrant labourers found themselves deceived, exploited and humiliated in an endless cycle of backbreaking toil and indebtedness. Daily, they were brutalized by the deplorable camp conditions, subjected to the arbitrary rule of contractors and foremen, and exposed to death, disabling injury and debilitating disease. With each new day and every new job, they sensed the approach of failure; in every new and unfamiliar camp, they were overwhelmed by a sense of their own impotence to cope with the forces that seemed inexorably to shape their destiny. As months and years passed, they felt older, weaker and more trapped in an involuntary exile. Gradually, with their goals still hopelessly unrealized, some lost all self-respect. For such men, alcohol provided "an emotional substitute for practical success, an illusory feeling of power." In the company of countrymen in the same predicament, drinking produced "a substitute" for the primary-group atmosphere which all immigrants missed.⁵³ That nostalgia for family and friends bulked large is clear from the large amount of drinking on major religious holidays and immediately after the outbreak of war, when thousands of men suddenly confronted the painful prospect of never seeing their families again.⁵⁴

Even the apparently pointless assaults and homicides were nurtured by the frontier labourer's experiences in Canada. To the real or perceived acts of aggression, often no more than disparaging remarks or gestures, immigrant labourers reacted with exaggerated apprehension, hostility and violence because the exploitation and humiliation they experienced aggravated the peasant's habitual attitude of mistrust. The youth and immaturity of many, and the stress created by constant movement and rootlessness, only exaggerated the potential for violent reaction. Without a legitimate community as arbiter and with only their own

strength to rely on, they struck back fiercely when threatened.⁵⁵ They had learned from experience that only the weak were overwhelmed and destroyed.

Besides work in the frontier camps and mining towns, many of the fifty thousand Ukrainians who did not settle on the land between 1906 and 1914 found employment in urban centres from Sydney to Vancouver. Moreover, as already indicated, most of the men who worked in the frontier regions spent their winters in the same centres. For these urban dwellers, the working and living conditions were often as deplorable as those on the frontier.

Notes

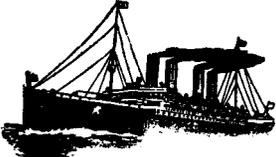
1. Donald Avery, "Continental European Immigrant Workers in Canada, 1896-1919: From 'Stalwart Peasants' to Radical Proletariat," *Canadian Review of Sociology and Anthropology* XII (1) (1975), 56; Jaroslav Petryshyn, *Peasants in the Promised Land: Canada and the Ukrainians, 1891-1914* (Toronto, 1985), 148-9, 151.
2. *Svoboda* 4 November 1897, 10 October, 28 November 1901.
3. Based on an examination of 150 obituaries and 50 brief memoirs commemorating men who came to Canada before 1914 and who spent most or all of their lives as frontier or urban labourers. The obituaries were drawn from *Ukrainske zhyttia*, *Ukrainskyi holos* and *Ukrainski visti* for the years 1945-57. The memoirs were published in *Ukrainske zhyttia* and *Ukrainske slovo* in 1951.
4. Johann Chmelar, "The Austrian Emigration, 1900-1914," *Perspectives in American History* VII (1973), 321; *Ukrainske zhyttia* 15 January, 8 February, 5 July 1951.
5. *Ukrainske slovo* 27 June 1951.
6. *Ukrainske zhyttia* 24 June 1951.
7. *Ibid.*, 11 January, 8 February, 25 April 1951; *Ukrainske slovo* 24 October 1951; *Ukrainskyi holos* 2 April 1913.
8. *Ukrainske zhyttia* 5 February 1953; Edmund Bradwin, *The Bunkhouse Man: A Study of Work and Pay in the Camps of Canada, 1903-1914*, first pub. 1928 (Toronto, 1972), 54-62.
9. *Ukrainske slovo* 10 January, 11 July 1951.
10. Pylyp Iasnovsky (Yasnowsky), *Pid ridnym i pid chuzhym nehom. Spohady pionera* (Buenos Aires, 1961), 135-247.
11. Based primarily on Bradwin, whose description of railway construction work is the most thorough.
12. A Dutch settler who worked in a grade camp for several weeks in 1911 lamented, "You work from 6:30 to 12 and from 1 to 6 without a minute's rest, not even time to blow your nose, and they've never heard of a coffee break in Canada," quoted in Herman Ganzevoort, ed., *A Dutch Homesteader*

- on the Prairies: *The Letters of Willem De Gelder 1910-13* (Toronto, 1973), 17.
13. *Ukrainske zhyttia* 5 February 1953; Anne B. Woywitka, "Labouring on the Railroad," *Alberta History* XXVII (1) (1979), 30.
 14. Bradwin, 156-66; *Ukrainske slovo* 17 January 1951.
 15. *Robochyi narod* 1 October 1913.
 16. David J. Bercuson, *Fools and Wisemen: The Rise and Fall of the One Big Union* (Toronto, 1978), 1-19; also his *Alberta's Coal Industry 1919* (Calgary, 1978), vii-xi, and *Coal Mining in Crow's Nest Pass* (Edmonton, n.d.).
 17. *Ukrainske zhyttia* 10 May 1951; Doug Baldwin, "A Study in Social Control: The Life of the Silver Miner in Northern Ontario," *Labour/Le Travailleur* 2 (1977), 87.
 18. Bradwin, 91-112.
 19. Calculated on the basis of *Census of Canada 1921*, IV, Table 1, pp. 2-9.
 20. For the explosion near Kenora, see *Chervonyi prapor* 17 March 1908. *Manitoba Free Press* 10 March 1908; for the collision near Brandon, see *Ranok* 12 January 1916 and *Manitoba Free Press* 13 January 1916, where the seventeen victims (and seven others not expected to live) are listed.
 21. Bercuson, *Fools and Wisemen*, 19; *Kanadyiskyi rusyn* 1 February 1913.
 22. Bercuson, *Fools and Wisemen*, 3-5; GA, "List of Fatalities in Coal Mines of Alberta, 1904 to 1965," UMWA District 18, Box 148, file 655, makes it possible to estimate the number of Ukrainian fatalities.
 23. Baldwin, 95.
 24. Gilbert A. Stelter, "Community Development in Toronto's Commercial Empire: The Industrial Towns of the Nickel Belt," *Laurentian University Review* VI (3) (1974), 45.
 25. *Ukrainski robotnychi visty* 1 October 1921; *Robochyi narod* 26 August 1914, 28 January 1915, 19 September 1917; for examples of death notices regarding miners, see *Ukrainski robotnychi visty* 19 May, 11 December 1920, 25 January, 17 May, 27 December 1922, 25 July 1923.
 26. Bradwin, passim; *Ukrainski robotnychi visty* 31 March 1920; *Ukrainske slovo* 17 January 1951.
 27. *Svoboda* 23 August 1906.
 28. For conditions in logging camps, see Ian Radforth, *Bushworkers and Bosses: Logging in Northern Ontario, 1900-1980* (Toronto, 1988), 92-106; for conditions in construction camps, see Woywitka, 28-9.
 29. David J. Bercuson, "Labour Radicalism and the Western Industrial Frontier: 1897-1919," *Canadian Historical Review* LVIII (2) (1977), 166-73; Stelter, 13-14, 41; William J. Cousins, "A History of the Crow's Nest Pass" (MA thesis, University of Alberta, 1952), 91.
 30. *Ukrainski robotnychi visty* 1 October 1919; Bercuson, *Alberta's Coal Industry 1919*, passim; Baldwin, 83; Andy A. den Otter, "Social Life of a Mining Community: The Coal Branch," *Alberta Historical Review* XVII (4) (1969), 6.
 31. Stelter, 14; Cousins, 91.
 32. Mary Stefura, "Ukrainians in the Sudbury Region," *Polyphony* V (1) (1983), 71; Iasnovsky, 181-7.
 33. Douglas O. Baldwin, "Public Health Services and Limited Prospects: Epidemic and Conflagration in Cobalt," *Ontario History* LXXV (4) (1983),

- 390; also *Svoboda* 1 July 1909, which identifies the men who died on 22 June as Pavlo Manyliuk, Iurko Maryniuk and Semen Dutchak.
34. Irving Abella and David Millar, "Introduction," in *The Canadian Worker in the Twentieth Century* (Toronto, 1978), 4. Between 1901 and 1926 lumbering and railway construction and maintenance accounted respectively for a mere 3.6 and 1.2 per cent of all Canadian industrial disputes, 2.6 and 2.5 per cent of strikers and 2.1 and 3.5 per cent of the time lost due to strikes. Calculated from the "Detailed Table of Trade Disputes in Canada" for the years 1901-26, *Labour Gazette*, 1913-27.
35. *Svoboda* 26 October 1905.
36. Eli Culbertson, *The Strange Lives of One Man* (Chicago, 1940), 273.
37. NAC, Northwest Mounted Police, Crime Report, RG 18, vol. 259, file 673; *Svoboda* 8 October, 12 November 1903.
38. On sabotage, see A. Ross McCormack, *Reformers, Rebels and Revolutionaries: The Western Canadian Radical Movement, 1899-1919* (Toronto, 1977), 109; *Ukrainske slovo* 17 January 1951. Twenty-three-year-old Oleksa Sholdra, who was arrested after participating in IWW-led strikes in British Columbia in 1912, subsequently participated in IWW strikes and free-speech demonstrations and spent time in jails in Sioux City, St. Louis, Denver and Oregon. *Ukrainske slovo* 18 July 1951. On the strikes, see *Ukrainske slovo* 11 July 1951; *Svoboda* 19 July 1906; Culbertson, 273-5.
39. For a suggestive essay on changing forms of popular resistance, see Charles Tilly, *The Contentious French: Four Centuries of Popular Struggle* (Cambridge, Mass., 1986), 380-98; on the "everyday forms of peasant resistance," see James C. Scott, *Weapons of the Weak: Everyday Forms of Peasant Resistance* (New Haven, 1985), 28-47.
40. Calculated on the basis of "Detailed Table of Trade Disputes in Canada" for the years 1901-26 in *Labour Gazette*, 1913-27. On the miners of the Crow's Nest Pass, see Allen Seager, "Socialists and Workers: The Western Canadian Coal Miners, 1900-21," *Labour/Le Travail* 16 (1985), 23-59, and "Class, Ethnicity, and Politics in the Alberta Coalfields, 1905-1945," in Dirk Hoerder, ed., "*Struggle a Hard Battle*": *Essays on Working-Class Immigrants* (Dekalb, 1986), 304-24.
41. This is how NWMP inspectors described the area.
42. *Ukrainske slovo* 13 December 1950.
43. *Svoboda* 22, 29 March, 19 April, 31 May, 19 July 1906.
44. *Ibid.*, 12 October 1905, 13 September 1906; *Robochyi narod* 10 September, 15 October 1913; *Ukrainski robotnychi visty* 1 October 1919.
45. Donald Avery, *'Dangerous Foreigners': European Immigrant Workers and Labour Radicalism in Canada, 1896-1932* (Toronto, 1979), 59; *Nova hromada* 20 October 1911.
46. *Ukrainske zhyttia* 15 February 1951; Anne B. Woywitka, "Recollections of a Union Man," *Alberta History* XXIII (4) (1975), 7-8; *Ukrainske slovo* 27 June 1951; *Robochyi narod* 24 July 1912. According to De Gelder, "the Galicians are all mighty noise makers and fighters, crazy guys, but not as low and mean and degenerate as the Englishmen. The Galicians love to make music, the more noise the better." Quoted in Ganzevoort, 16.
47. Calculated on the basis of data in *Census of Canada* 1911, II, Table XV, 376-425.

48. Arthur M. Lower, *My First Seventy-Five Years* (Toronto, 1967), 64-6; Theodore D. Regehr, ed., *The Possibilities of Canada are Truly Great: Memoirs 1906-1924 by Martin Nordegg* (Toronto, 1971), 199-200; James H. Gray, *Red Lights on the Prairies* (Toronto, 1971).
49. J. Burgon Bickersteth, *The Land of Open Doors: Being Letters from Western Canada* (London, 1914), 156; on conditions in Frank, see William J. Cousins, *A History of the Crow's Nest Pass* (Calgary, 1981), 57-8.
50. In Field over half the Ukrainian men in 1911 apparently believed that Archduke Rudolph (d. 1889) would reappear after the death of Emperor Francis Joseph and "settle scores with the Jews." *Ukrainskyi holos* 19 April 1911. In Iroquois Falls, Ontario, many were outraged to hear the emperor of Austria criticized. *Robochyi narod* 7 November 1917.
51. "Report of the Commissioner, Royal Northwest Mounted Police," *Sessional Papers XLVIII* (1914), no. 24, paper no. 28, pp. 72-4; *Ukrainskyi holos* 24 June 1914; *Robochyi narod* 30 January 1918.
52. "Report of the Commissioner, Royal Northwest Mounted Police," *Sessional Papers XXXIX* (1905), no. 12, paper no. 28, p. 35, LII (1917), no. 18, paper no. 28, pp. 118-19, XLV (1911), no. 19, paper no. 28, p. 84, XLVI (1912), no. 20, paper no. 28, p. 94, XLVII (1913), no. 21, paper no. 28, pp. 61-2, 74-5, XLIII (1909), no. 16, paper no. 28, pp. 66-7, XLVIII (1914), no. 24, paper no. 28, pp. 205, 207, L (1915), no. 23, paper no. 28, p. 92; PAA, Criminal Case Files, 1915-1928, Acc. 72.26, file 1628.
53. William I. Thomas and Florian Znaniecki, *The Polish Peasant in Europe and America*, first pub. 1918-20, II (New York, 1958), 1691; Robert F. Harney, "Men Without Women: Italian Migrants in Canada, 1885-1930," *Canadian Ethnic Studies* XI (1) (1979), 29-47.
54. *Robochyi narod* 18 November 1914.
55. Thomas and Znaniecki, II, 1772-5.

Північно-Німецький Льюїд в Бремї
 (Norddeutscher Lloyd, Bremen)



Генеральна Агенция для Галичини
 у Львові, улица Городецька, ч. 93.

Правильний, безпосередній перевіз поспішними (шсарськими)
 і поштовими пароплавами

з Бремї до Америки, Канади

Зєднених Держав (Ню-Йорку, Філадельфї, Бальтїморе, Бо-
 стону, Гальвестону) Бразилїї й Аргентини (Буенос Айрес і т. д.)

Продаж аєланичних билетів до кожної стації

Північної Америки і Канади.

Всїкї поясненя щодо подорожї подає

Генеральна Агенция для Галичини
 у Львові, улица Городецька ч. 93

На листї відписуєть ся по руськи, по польськи і по німецьки.

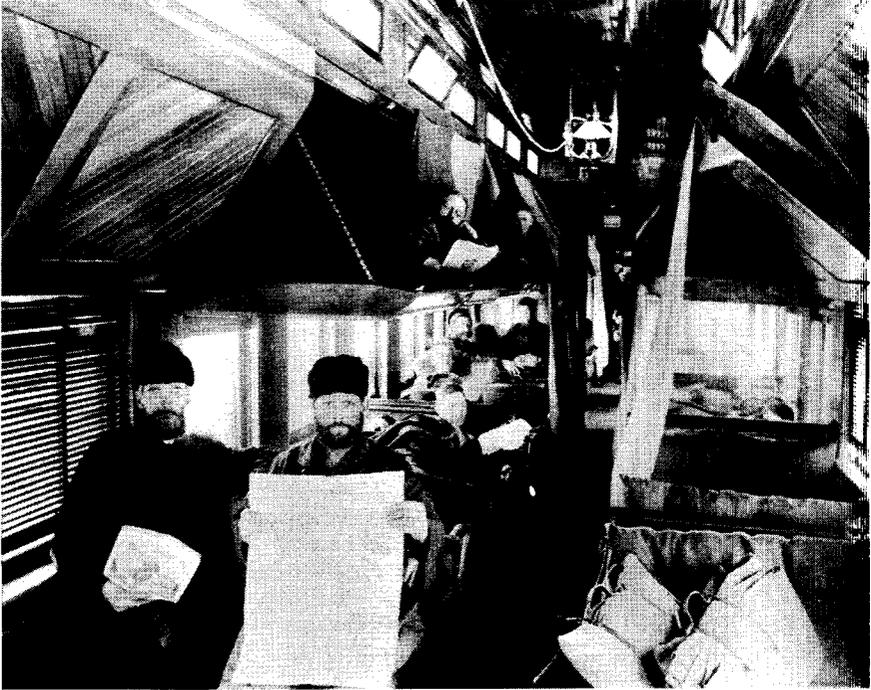
1. Poster advertising North German Lloyd Steamship Line out of Bremen (UCECA)



2. Josef Oleskow (NAC, C9366)



3. Cyril Genik (NAC, C682)



4. The interior of a CPR colonist car, 1908 (SAS, R-B3275)



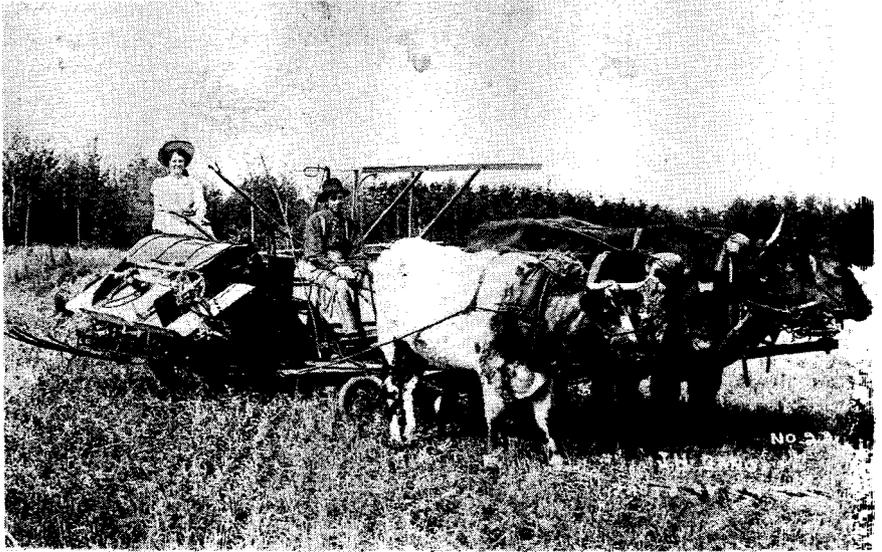
5. Ukrainian settler and wife clearing land, near Hadashville, Manitoba (PAM, Sisler Coll. 79)



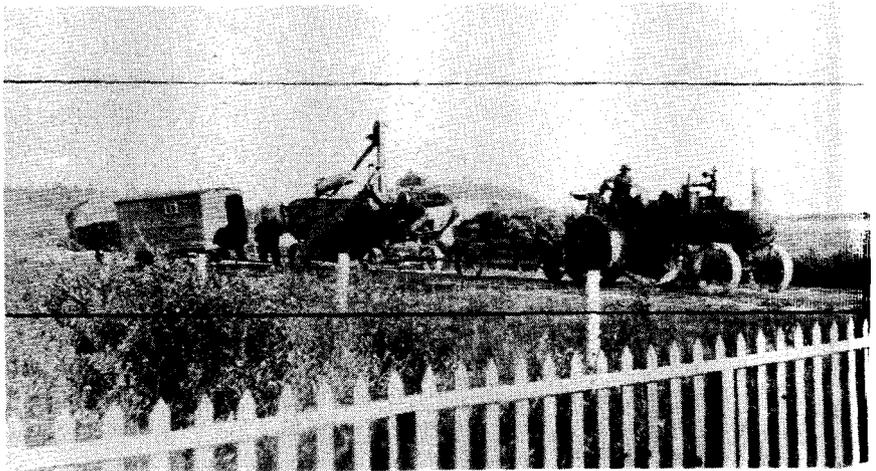
5. Ukrainian homesteader and wife plastering house, north of Vita, Manitoba, 1916 (PAM, Sisler Coll. 118)



7. Harvesting with flail, Gonor, Manitoba, 1905 (PAM, Sisler Coll. 147)



8. Ukrainian boy and girl on binder pulled by oxen, near Stuartburn, Manitoba 1912 (PAM, Mihaychuk Coll. 66)



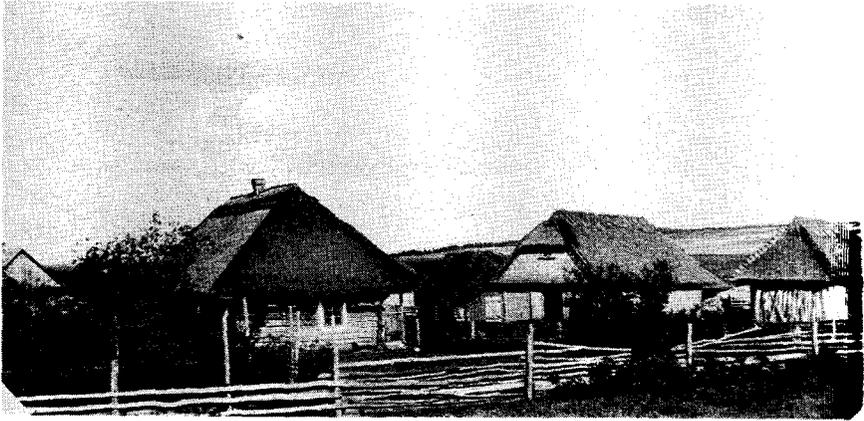
9. Threshing outfit, Sarto, Manitoba, 1923 (UCECA, Bobersky Coll.)



Ukrainian women binding wire grass, south of Vita, Manitoba, 1915 (PAM, Sisler Coll. 192)



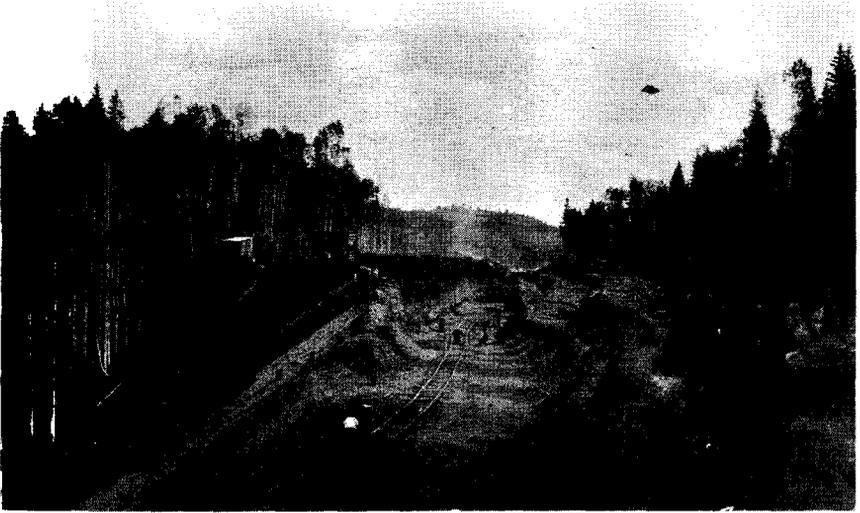
Bukovynian parishioners of St. Michael's Russian (later Ukrainian) Orthodox church, Gardenton, Manitoba, Easter Sunday, 1912 or 1915 (UCECA)



12. Ukrainian farmstead, north of Vegreville, Alberta, 1924 (GA, NA 700-4)



13. Sheho, Saskatchewan, typical medium-sized prairie railway town, viewed from a grain elevator, 1921 (UCECA, Bobersky Coll.)



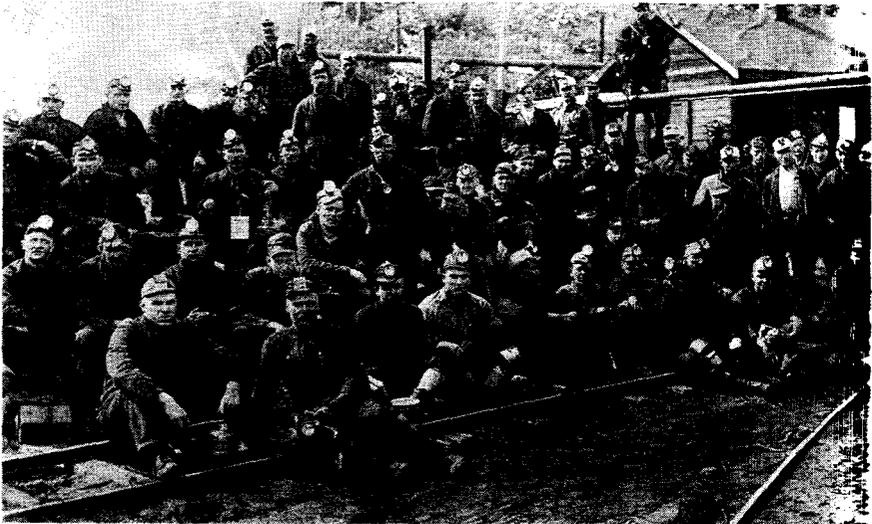
4. Steam shovel on railway construction, Alberta (PAA, A6926)



5. Grade camp, railway construction, Alberta (PAA, A6256)



16. Coal mine and housing, Drumheller, Alberta, ca. 1910 (PAA, Pollard Coll. P850)



17. Ukrainian miners, Brule Mines, Alberta, 1919 (PAA, UV376)



8. At the coal face, Rosedale Mines, Drumheller, Alberta, ca. 1910 (PAA, Pollard Coll. P842)



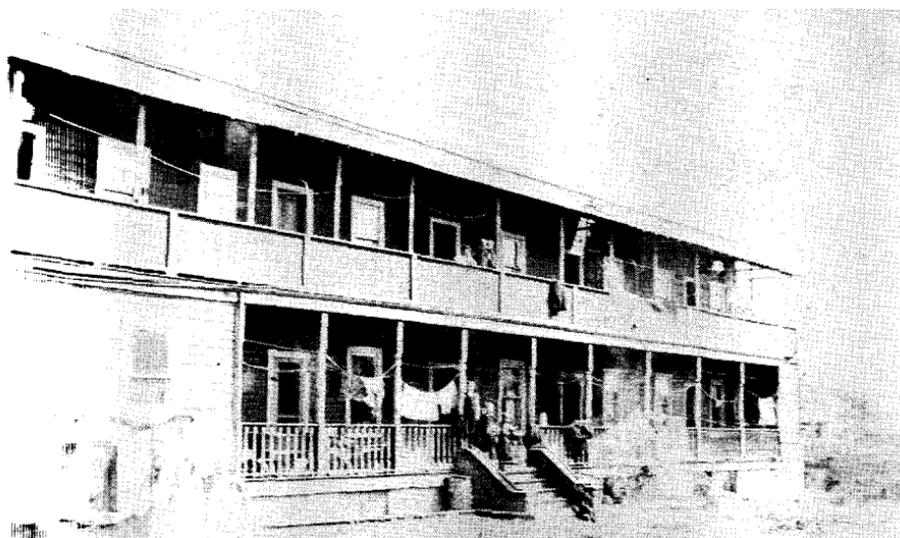
9. "Pickers" at the table of a coal mine, Entwistle, Alberta (PAA, P858)



20. Immigrants at an employment agency, Winnipeg, 1910 (PAM, Sisler Coll. 61)



21. Street asphalt crew, Winnipeg, 1922 (PAM, Foote Coll. 1983)



22. Tenement house, Point Douglas district, Winnipeg, 1909 (PAM)



23. Interior of slum home, Winnipeg, ca. 1915 (PAM, Foote Coll. 1491)



24. Ukrainian labourers, Fort William, Ontario, 1922 (UCECA, Bobersky Coll.)



25. View of the Ukrainian colony, West Fort William, Ontario, 1923 (UCECA, Bobersky Coll.)

6

Urban Immigrants

We have seen that, as the nineteenth century drew to a close in Canada, thousands of labourers were needed to meet the demands of industrial expansion. In the rapidly growing cities, thousands more were needed to construct buildings, lay sewers and pave miles of streets and sidewalks. As a result, many of the Ukrainians who did not settle on the land either found permanent jobs in the cities and became residents or lived in them as transients during the winter months. To date, these urban dwellers have received even less scholarly attention than the Ukrainians in the frontier camps.

Dominant Characteristics

Although most larger cities in western Canada and southern Ontario had at least the semblance of a Ukrainian community on the eve of the First World War, it was Winnipeg, Montreal and Fort William that emerged as the first major centres. Each was an important labour distribution point with railway yards and shops, docks, terminal elevators and stockyards, all of which employed men and women with strong backs and few formal skills. When the migrant frontier labourers descended upon them during the winter, the number of Ukrainians in each could rise to 4,000 (Fort William), 7,000 (Montreal) and 15,000 (Winnipeg). Smaller cities like Saskatoon and Edmonton had relatively few Ukrainians until the railways transformed them into regional distribution points. Large cities like Toronto, whose major industries put a premium on skilled labour, absorbed few Ukrainians until the outbreak of war generated a demand for unskilled labour in the munitions industries.¹

The first urban immigrants were single men and women. Before 1907 western cities attracted mainly the older children of rural settlers, concerned to supplement the family's income, and young single men and women who had emigrated with their older married siblings. For girls and single women, in

particular, the hotels, restaurants, cafés, laundries and affluent homes offered unique employment opportunities. In 1903, several years before the CNoR mainline reached Edmonton, the city's Ukrainian population consisted of seven or eight families, a handful of male youths and over one hundred single girls employed as domestics, chambermaids, charwomen, waitresses, dishwashers and laundresses. Winnipeg, on the other hand, with its railway yards, construction projects, meat-packing plants and hundreds of miles of sewerless, unpaved streets, attracted single males even before the turn of the century, and by 1902 it was beginning to draw single men who came on their own as sojourners rather than settlers.²

While the number of Ukrainians in urban areas increased greatly after 1907, most were transients. The first *permanent* urban Ukrainians were usually families. Dr. Oleskow noted in 1895 that several families from Nebyliv were already living in Winnipeg. The men worked in the CPR shops, owned homes and kept cows in the backyard; their wives earned one dollar a day as laundresses. After 1896 rural settlers who arrived late in the year or lacked capital also settled in Winnipeg, and those who managed to find jobs often remained permanently. Blacksmiths, carpenters, cobblers and tailors, though few in number, joined them. Wives and children usually followed once a permanent job was secured. As a result, by 1911 the ratio of Ukrainian men to women in Winnipeg and Edmonton was 1.45:1 and 1.38:1 respectively.³

Unlike single men, who moved about constantly, even unskilled family men in urban centres, whose wives and children worked, could aspire to relative stability. With unemployment and low wages chronic, urban immigrant families that continued to function as co-operative economic units were uniquely equipped to survive. All members who worked at home or joined the labour force augmented the male householder's income. Through such non-moneyed economic activity as tending vegetable gardens, processing food, raising chickens and rabbits, making and repairing clothes or looking after younger siblings when parents worked, women and children supplemented family incomes or carried families through periods of unemployment. Taking in boarders had the same effect, a strategy particularly well suited to residential families, who could purchase or rent a house or large apartment and provide such basic services as laundry and meals.⁴

An overriding concern for urban immigrants, as for frontier labourers, was finding employment. A study of ninety-six male Ukrainian immigrants, who settled in Montreal before the First World War, revealed that most found their first job within fourteen days of arrival in Canada. Usually friends or relatives took them to the factory or work site and introduced them to the boss or foreman. Some went from factory to factory, instructed by those with jobs to answer "yes" to every question and to insist they were experienced in whatever job was offered. Others sought work through employment agencies.⁵ The latter were

accumulated risks, however, as few were very reliable, especially in Montreal and Winnipeg. By 1914 some fifty agencies near the two railway stations in Montreal catered to Poles and Ukrainians. Although some were fined up to \$250 each month for fraud and related offences, they continued to thrive. In 1914 the Jewish proprietor of the Cosmopolitan Labour Bureau on St. James Street charged five hundred immigrants five dollars each for jobs aboard a seagoing freighter, and then promptly disappeared before any men were placed. In 1911, Wasył Brado-*truk* was fined for taking fees from fellow Ukrainians in Winnipeg without intending to find them jobs. The Slobodsky and Katerynsky agency of Montreal, under a special arrangement with local foremen, charged Ukrainian and Russian immigrants ten to fifteen dollars for factory jobs that rarely lasted more than three days. A similar scam was operated by a Bukovynian named Todor, who supplied thousands of Ukrainian labourers for the construction of the Northern Electric factory in Montreal in 1913. Although the Ukrainian proprietors of one Montreal agency did find jobs for a one-dollar fee, they refused to send workers who would not make an additional two-dollar deposit on a steamship ticket to the old country; only the high costs of litigation prevented suits by outraged immigrants.⁶

To hold jobs, pay-offs to foremen were common. At the Morgan Hat Company in Montreal, a Jewish foreman collected ten dollars monthly from his men, and those who refused to pay were fired. They also provided a pack of cigarettes and a few pints of beer every Friday. In Calgary, Ukrainians in 1913 paid foremen like Mykhailo Shapka, a Bukovynian, as much as sixty dollars to get work on a street-construction crew. It was even alleged that, to keep their jobs, some Ukrainian labourers in 1913-14 had to permit foremen at the Northern Electric construction site in Montreal to sleep with their wives.⁷

While six of the ninety-six men in the Montreal study noted above had had some clerical training or secondary education and fifteen were skilled workers, fewer than half found jobs commensurate with their old-country training, because of language difficulties or because they were craftsmen rather than specialized factory workers. As a result, whether skilled or unskilled, they took what jobs they could get. Their first rarely lasted more than three months, half held at least two to four jobs in the first five years and almost 40 per cent worked in at least three other communities before settling down in Montreal.⁸

Recessions in 1907-8 and again in 1913-15 brought wage cuts, layoffs, poverty and hunger, and added to the insecurity which haunted urban immigrants. In May 1908 many Ukrainians in Winnipeg went without food for two or three days at a time, and faintings, deaths and suicides were reported. The unemployed who congregated near places of employment or on street corners were dispersed by police wielding clubs and water hoses. Many Ukrainians who had purchased small homes in the years since 1903 sold them and left the city. In Montreal, Ukrainian immigrants in 1908 picked through the refuse in the city dump look-

ing for shoes and clothing. Private relief agencies could do little for the unemployed, and municipal efforts were inconsequential. Winnipeg city council, for example, hired one thousand men in 1915 to work in the fields adjacent to the old Agricultural College for four hours a day, in exchange for three meals and overnight accommodation, or forty-five cents in cash. This, when at least twenty-five thousand unemployed men had descended upon the city from all parts of western Canada.⁹ Once again, many Ukrainians sold their homes, took to the road in search of work or settled on such homesteads as were still available.¹⁰ Some, as we shall see (Chapter 12), even tried to leave *en masse* for the United States.

In such circumstances men and women had to fend for themselves with ingenuity. Twenty-year-old Toma Kobzey, his eighteen-year-old wife Olena and fifteen unemployed boarders lived on their paltry savings for the better part of the winter of 1914-15. They took their meals in a Chinese restaurant with an all-you-can-eat-for-fifteen-cents buffet and at a hotel where a pint of beer and biscuits cost five cents; they heated their rented home with coal collected along the railway tracks; they outwitted city officials by illegally reconnecting power and water lines at night; and they got up early to pilfer bottles of milk from front porches in wealthy residential districts. Even then, they only survived because their landlord did not require them to pay the rent. Ultimately, only war in Europe improved the situation. Wages, fairly steady between 1900 and 1915, rose by 20 per cent, but even these gains were nullified by a 40-per-cent rise in the cost of living between 1915 and 1918.¹¹

Work and Wages

In 1913, Rev. James S. Woodsworth calculated that in Winnipeg a man with a wife and three children needed an annual income of twelve hundred dollars, or forty-five cents an hour, nine hours a day, three hundred days a year, "to maintain an ordinary 'decent' Canadian standard of living." Only a handful of skilled craftsmen earning fifty to seventy cents an hour could enjoy such a standard.¹² Labourers in railway yards and packing houses, teamsters, sewer excavators, builders' labourers and even painters in the CPR's car repair shops, whose wage range was 17 1/2¢-36¢ an hour and who often worked just eight months in the year, could earn only \$350-720 annually.

Certainly very few urban Ukrainian family men could earn as much as twelve hundred dollars. *Henderson's* Winnipeg city directories for 1911 and 1921 provide an overview of the Ukrainian labour force (Tables 7 and 9).¹³ In 1911 over 44 per cent of the Ukrainian males (whose employers could be identified) worked for the City of Winnipeg, primarily on crews engaged in street, sidewalk, sewer and street railway construction and repair; 31 per cent worked for the CPR.

CNR and GTP railways; and 6.5 per cent for such city contract iron shops as Manitoba Bridge and Iron, Dominion Bridge, and Vulcan Iron Works. Of the Ukrainian males whose occupations were listed, about 84 per cent were unskilled labourers or employees; only 10 per cent could be classified as skilled or semiskilled workers, craftsmen or tradesmen. A decade later, in 1921, the railways still employed 30 per cent of Ukrainian males, but only 6 per cent worked in the city since street and sewer construction had been completed and the boom years had ended. As a result, 10 per cent now worked for the iron shops, another 10 per cent for the meat-packing houses (primarily Swift's and Gordon, Ironside and Fares, which had expanded greatly during the war years), 6 per cent for the Winnipeg Street Railway Company, and 3.5 per cent for various hotels, cafés and restaurants. About 71 per cent were in unskilled work, while almost 17 per cent could be classified as skilled and semiskilled craftsmen and tradesmen.

The data on employers and occupations of Ukrainian women in Winnipeg (Tables 8 and 10) are much less reliable and basically incomplete, but they do suggest several trends. Of the women listed in 1911, almost 30 per cent were employed in hotels as maids; the remainder were fairly evenly dispersed among restaurants, cafés, paper box factories, garment factories, meat-packing houses and department stores. In 1921 hotels, restaurants/cafés, paper box factories, garment factories, meat-packing houses and various confectionery manufacturers each employed about 7 per cent of the Ukrainian women (for a total of 42 per cent). Department stores (Woolworth's, Eaton's, Hudson's Bay), hospitals and private homes each employed 5 per cent (total 15 per cent). The occupation of most women who worked outside the home was given simply as "labourer" or "employee"; about 15 per cent were maids, waitresses, domestics, cooks or laundresses; another 15 per cent were clerks, stenographers, typists or bookkeepers.

The nature of the Ukrainian labour force in Edmonton, Fort William and Montreal was similar. In Edmonton (Tables 7 and 9) some men worked in the small local coal mines, but many more were employed by the city, the railways and the meat-packing plants. In Fort William, which had no such plants, significant numbers worked for the CPR as freight and/or coal handlers and in the local iron foundries. Although some Ukrainian men in Montreal were employed in the CPR and GTP (later CNR) railway yards, most appear dispersed among the local abattoirs, sugar refineries, paint factories, rubber factories, iron contract shops, foundries, steel rolling mills and the city's gas plant. By 1921 a fair number were also window cleaners. The overwhelming majority were unskilled labourers. As late as 1933, when only 25 per cent of Montreal's work force was unskilled, the estimated percentage of unskilled among Ukrainians was 90.¹⁴

Most Ukrainian women in Edmonton were employed as domestics, waitresses, maids and charwomen, and a fair number found work in the city's garment factories. In Montreal single girls were most frequently employed as domestics, almost exclusively in the homes of Jewish families who spoke

Russian, Polish or Ukrainian; some were waitresses, dishwashers, laundresses and scrubwomen in restaurants and hotels. Married women usually worked in cigar and garment factories or as cleaning women in private homes.

In the cities, as in the frontier regions, Ukrainian immigrants held the most arduous, dangerous and debilitating jobs. Most work paid little, was irregular or seasonal in nature and was devoid of opportunities for advancement.¹⁵ In 1913 street and sewer work paid 17 1/2¢-20¢ per hour in eastern Canada and 25¢-30¢ in the west (where the cost of living was higher).¹⁶ Street workers could be run over by trains and trolleys or maimed by steam rollers; sewer workers were threatened by cave-ins and noxious gases.¹⁷ In the meat-packing houses, where unskilled workers earned 15¢-18¢ per hour in 1913 and had the option of working from twelve- to eighteen-hour days, machines set the pace. As a result, hands were scarred and lacerated, thumbs cut off by knives, finger joints eaten away by acid, lungs perforated by dry-blood dust and bodies afflicted with rheumatism from work in refrigerated rooms.¹⁸ In the eastern iron and steel plants, where unskilled labourers earned twenty-six cents per hour in 1916 and worked twelve-hour days until 1930, workers had to dodge locomotives and red-hot beams that swung through the air. At Algoma Steel in Sault Ste. Marie, seventy fatal accidents occurred between 1906 and 1920, while in 1916 alone 488 persons were seriously injured (one fatally) at the Steel Company of Canada plants in Hamilton.¹⁹

Railway-yard work was also fraught with danger. In April 1906, Nykola Haidiuk was run over by a locomotive in the Fort William yards, a mere three days after coming to Canada.²⁰ Several months later, nine men, including four Ukrainians and four Poles, were killed while loading a flat car at the CNoR yards in Winnipeg. At the Lakehead, where work was tied to ship arrivals, Ukrainian freight, rail and coal handlers might work four hours one day and eighteen hours the next, earning 17 1/2¢-22 1/2¢ per hour before the First World War. To ensure an adequate supply of handlers, the CPR and CNoR withheld the 1¢-2 1/2¢ hourly bonus from those who failed to remain on the job for the entire shipping season, a source of much industrial strife at the Lakehead.²¹

Before 1920 female workers were paid about 40 to 60 per cent of what men in similar jobs earned.²² Maids and domestics in hotels and private homes frequently worked sixteen to eighteen hours a day, six or seven days a week. By 1921 the weekly rate for female domestics was \$7.75 in Montreal and \$9.00 in Winnipeg; charworkers and cleaners earned \$9-10.00 a week, while waitresses earned about \$10.00. The latter, frequently young teen-agers, were especially vulnerable to the advances of men who promised marriage, took advantage of them and then disappeared.²³ Women in garment and cigar-making factories faced piecework quotas, overbearing foremen, inadequate washroom facilities and dirty, dusty, humid and crowded work areas often in dim and poorly ventilated lofts. By

1921, when Ukrainian women were beginning to enter these industries, female garment factory employees earned about twelve dollars for a sixty-hour week.²⁴

The experience of Liudvyka Buksak illustrates well the predicament which many single women faced in Canada. A resident of Sniatyn county, Galicia, fifteen-year-old Liudvyka arrived in Montreal in the summer of 1913. She had come alone to earn money to help her widowed mother and a boyfriend ambitious to further his education. After several months of irregular part-time work in a garment factory and in a tinsmith's shop, Liudvyka almost took a clerking job in a Ukrainian grocery store until fellow boarders warned her that the storekeeper, a fifty-year-old man with a wife in the old country, had a personal interest in her.

With the aid of an employment agency, Liudvyka found her first permanent job with a large and fairly prosperous Lithuanian-Jewish family that lived in a two-storey, nine-room house. She got on well with the younger members of the family but felt mercilessly exploited by the aging mistress. She did the laundry for nine adults and two children, helped with the housework and meal preparation and took care of the children. She received ten dollars per month, slept on a sofa in the downstairs corridor and pilfered food from the pantry to supplement her meagre rations. From doing the laundry and scaling fish, her hands were cut, scuffed and blistered. During the winter rats scurried up and down the corridor where she slept and occasionally bit her. When ill, she was not paid, even though the doctor's medications cost the equivalent of one month's wages. Unable to send any money home, Liudvyka, after a year, found a new job in a restaurant with the aid of a Jewish girl she had befriended. For eighteen dollars per month, she did the dishes and laundry from six in the morning until late at night, while living in a damp basement room with a tiny window. Accepting marriage as the best way out of her predicament, she met Diordii Lukiiian, a Romanian who had emigrated from Bukovyna ten years earlier and earned fifty-five dollars per month as a fire fighter, and three weeks later they were wed. A year later, the first of their eleven children was born. To feed, clothe and put the children through school, Liudvyka took in boarders and worked as a charwoman for the next thirty years.²⁵

Besides the many labourers, urban colonies also included a tiny group of self-employed Ukrainian storekeepers, restaurateurs, hoteliers and small businessmen. By the time the First World War ended, some white-collar workers and a handful of professionals were also visible in Winnipeg, Edmonton and Saskatoon. Ukrainians generally had great difficulty entering the business world because of illiteracy, the lack of capital and experience, and weak English. George Panyshchak, an illiterate but relatively prosperous peasant who had emigrated from Nebyliv in 1893, opened what may well be the first urban Ukrainian business enterprise (a grocery store) in Winnipeg in 1902, but there were few Ukrainian business enterprises in urban areas before 1907. The first

businesses—steamship and employment agencies and boarding houses—emerged to serve migrant workers. Restaurants, barbershops, billiard rooms and shoe repair shops followed. By 1907, Ukrainians in Edmonton owned two general stores, a butcher shop and a restaurant, and within four years there were three groceries, two billiard rooms, a hotel and several real estate agencies. In Winnipeg a Ukrainian employment agency, a restaurant and a hotel opened in 1907. By 1913, Ukrainians there owned about fifteen grocery stores, one iron goods shop, two small woodworking shops, several real estate and steamship ticket agencies, and one movie theatre.²⁶

With ten to fifteen thousand Ukrainians in Winnipeg by 1914, the scarcity of Ukrainian businesses is striking. In 1911, out of a total of 115 groceries and 35 general stores in the city's North End (the immigrant quarter), there were only 7 Ukrainian-owned groceries and 2 general stores—virtually all capitalized at under five hundred dollars.²⁷ About half of the grocery and two-thirds of the general stores in the North End were owned by Jewish immigrants, who began leaving the Russian empire in the 1880s. Unlike Ukrainians, most were literate,²⁸ spoke Russian, Polish and/or Ukrainian, had more capital and better credit and offered a wider selection of goods. Many even posted Ukrainian-language signs and appealed to Ukrainians to “patronize your own” (*svii do svoho*).²⁹ As most Ukrainian women were accustomed to buying from Jewish merchants, many prospective Ukrainian entrepreneurs were discouraged. Ukrainian businessmen generally resented Jewish competition, while Ukrainian nationalists, as we shall see (Chapter 10), advocated economic self-reliance and encouraged boycotts of non-Ukrainian merchants. By 1921, when Ukrainians in the North End owned forty-five groceries, four confectioneries, four restaurants, four meat markets, three general stores, three billiard rooms, two hotels and a score of small businesses (including several bookstores, tailor shops, barbershops and shoe repair shops), they still represented a small fraction of the area's entrepreneurs. Few businesses were capitalized at more than five hundred dollars and virtually none at more than five thousand. Jewish entrepreneurs owned about half of the North End's 210 groceries, many of its general stores and shops and several of the large garment factories in the downtown warehouse district.³⁰

Elsewhere in Canada, Ukrainian business activity also emerged slowly. Saskatoon had virtually no Ukrainian businesses before the war and only ten in 1921. Fort William had only one Ukrainian grocery store and two meat markets in 1911; a decade later there were eight grocery and meat stores, two or three men's furnishings stores, two cobblers, one tailor, one bookstore and three or four barbershops with billiard rooms.³¹ Montreal had no more than thirty Ukrainian-owned businesses in 1921, but they included a fur-dressing shop and the Brooklyn Window Cleaning Company, which became the largest in the city. Its founder, Hryhorii Mekh (1877-1942), came to Montreal from New York in 1905 and quickly established himself as the leading Ukrainian entrepreneur in the

... operating also a steamship ticket office and a bookstore. Edmonton, with thirteen groceries, seven confectioneries, three meat markets, two general stores, nine billiard rooms, three hotels and several other small enterprises, was probably, on a *per capita* basis, the most active Ukrainian entrepreneurial centre in 1921. A handful of the city's Ukrainian businessmen—Paul Rudyk and Gregory Krakiwsky were the most prominent—had made large profits in 1906 when the CNoR's arrival sent real estate prices soaring. Thereafter, local Ukrainian merchants benefited from the steady flow of Ukrainian coal miners and farmers to Alberta's coal fields and to the largest Ukrainian bloc settlement in Canada.³²

In 1914 some twenty Ukrainian Catholic priests and three newspaper editors, all but one educated in the old country, represented the only university-educated Ukrainians in Canada. Between 1913, when Orest Zerebko (1887-1943) became the first Ukrainian to graduate from a Canadian university with a BA degree, and 1923, when Mary Sawchak-Dyma (b. 1899) became the first female graduate, thirty to thirty-five Ukrainian Canadians graduated from Canadian and American universities. All either had been raised in western Canada or had completed their secondary education there, with some attending universities in Toronto, Montreal and Chicago. The graduates included nine lawyers, two dentists and five medical doctors, with one of the latter also a university professor. The first Ukrainian medical doctor to practise in Canada, Ivan Konstantyn Pazdrii (1887-1919), was educated in the United States and took his MD degree at Northwestern University in Chicago before coming to Winnipeg in 1915.³³ In 1920, Hryhorii Novak (1888-1961), the first Canadian-educated Ukrainian doctor, graduated from McGill. Jaroslaw Arsenych (1887-1953), the first Ukrainian lawyer, was admitted to the bar in Manitoba in 1917, while Manoly Mihaychuk (1894-1967), the first Ukrainian dentist, graduated from the University of Toronto in 1922. About a third of the university graduates and even a higher percentage of the professionals had attended the gymnasium in Galicia before immigrating to Canada. Very few had received all their education in Canada.

By 1923 most of the graduates and professionals were pursuing careers in Winnipeg, Edmonton and Saskatoon or one of the larger rural railway towns. Although the Ukrainian population in Toronto and Montreal was well over five thousand in the 1920s, Toronto had only one professional (a lawyer) and there were no Ukrainian professionals in Montreal until the late 1930s. Indeed, few Ukrainians in eastern cities normally graduated from secondary school before the 1930s. None of the professionals were women, though Winnipeg boasted the only two fully qualified, Ukrainian urban public school teachers, both women.

The Urban Environment

Large Canadian cities at the turn of the century were highly polarized communities controlled by commercial and industrial elites. City councils did not respond to the needs and aspirations of working people and immigrants. In Winnipeg only 21 of 515 aldermen between 1874 and 1914 were workers, and of these only 2 or 3 were genuinely representative of labour interests. Even more striking, only 5 of the 515 aldermen (2 Jews, 2 Icelanders and 1 Ukrainian) were of non-Anglo-Celtic origin. On the other hand, no fewer than 419 businessmen (the 5 non-Anglo-Celts included) sat on city council during these years, with the mayor's chair occupied by 37 businessmen and 4 professionals. This was largely because the franchise in municipal elections was limited to male British subjects over twenty-one who owned property and paid either one hundred dollars annually in municipal taxes or at least two hundred dollars annually in rent. As a result, in 1906 only 7,784 Winnipeggers out of more than 100,000 could vote in municipal elections.³⁴

The businessmen on city councils, who resided in posh neighbourhoods like Armstrong's Point and Wellington Crescent in south Winnipeg or Westmount and Outremont in Montreal, were indifferent to conditions in distant immigrant and working-class districts. In an age of *laissez-faire*, they extended enormous tax concessions to railways and spent millions to attract industries, but public health and adequate housing for immigrants and the poor were neglected, resulting in living conditions only marginally better than those in the frontier camps and mining towns.

Like other immigrants, Ukrainians settled close to their place of work, where cheap housing and public transportation were available.³⁵ By 1914, Winnipeg had four major Ukrainian enclaves. The oldest was at Point Douglas, one of the city's most desirable districts before the coming of the CPR in 1882. By 1896, when Ukrainian settlement began, Point Douglas was already an industrial working-class district, the home of the CPR station, Ogilvie Flour Mills, Vulcan Iron and Engineering and several sawmills. Early in the new century Ukrainians began to move into the North End proper, the new working-class district north and west of Point Douglas and the CPR yards. Within walking distance of the latter and several other medium-sized industrial enterprises, the North End quickly became the centre of Ukrainian life. There, frame houses rather than rented apartments prevailed, with residents either buying, renting or building their own modest dwellings. The third Ukrainian enclave emerged between 1905 and 1914 in the Brooklands, a district in northwestern Winnipeg near the CPR shops. The last and smallest Ukrainian enclave was in Fort Rouge on the eastern edge of central Winnipeg near the CNoR yards built in 1904. Here, four miles from the centre of the North End, over one hundred Ukrainian families resided on Scotland, Lorette and Dudley streets.³⁶

At the Lakehead, Ukrainians lived in the "coal docks" section of Fort William and in West Fort William (Westfort), with relatively few in Port Arthur. The "coal docks," settled by CPR workers, were wedged in between the CPR tracks and the grain elevators, freight sheds, coal docks and railway yards along the Kaministikwia River. Here, Ukrainians, Italians, Greeks, Poles, Slovaks and other immigrants mingled with one another. In Westfort, some three miles to the southwest, Ukrainians, who unloaded coal imported from the United States, established an almost completely homogeneous colony around 1901. Others joined them after 1906 to work in the newly constructed Canadian Corporation Foundry, Canada Car and Foundry Company and the National Tube Company.³⁷

In Montreal four Ukrainian enclaves were discernible by 1914. The first and largest was located in Point St. Charles (St. Gabriel and Ste. Anne wards), north of the GTR yards and shops and south of the Lachine Canal, lined with such industries as Northern Electric, the Redpath Sugar Refinery, the Sherwin Williams Paint Company and Canada Cord. Initially inhabited by English-speaking artisans, the area was polyethnic by 1914. A second major enclave emerged in Frontenac (Hochelaga ward), northwest of the CPR's Hochelaga yards and southwest of its Angus shops. Here, Ukrainians crowded into the district's numerous boarding houses to work for the CPR and in various factories. Minor concentrations also emerged in Centre, where many single men and women in construction and domestic service settled, and in Lachine, beyond the city limits, where Bukovynians employed by the Blui Bonnet, Dominion Bridge, Dominion Engineering and Canada Car Turcot iron shops and plants began building their own shanty town in 1907-8.³⁸

Adequate housing to accommodate the throngs of immigrants after 1896 was lacking in all the large cities. In Winnipeg and Fort William (not to mention such new prairie boom towns as Edmonton and Saskatoon), the problem was exacerbated by an absence of old housing. Although private developers might erect modern frame dwellings in Winnipeg's North End, where 43 per cent of the city's population (primarily Jews, Slavs and Germans) resided by 1906, such homes could cost as much as three thousand dollars and were well beyond the reach of most immigrants. Nor could many, whether single or married, afford to rent them at twenty dollars per month. Even purchasing a narrow twenty-five-foot lot, and building a frame shack no larger than the traditional peasant dwelling, could strain finances severely. And in the older cities like Montreal and Toronto even such options were not available; immigrants had to take rooms in tenements or boarding houses at rents that constantly escalated as other newcomers pressed into the districts.³⁹

To cope with the shortage and the high costs of housing, many immigrants who purchased, built or rented houses and apartments took in boarders. Boarding could take several forms. Two or more families might share a dwelling; a family

might take in single male and/or female boarders or lodgers; or a group of single men might rent a house and share all the expenses, food included. Historians have recently pointed out that boarding was simultaneously a business and a social institution that served the interests of both the home-owner and the boarder. The former was able to meet house payments or pay the rent; the latter found affordable housing, an opportunity to save money and possibly even membership in a surrogate family.⁴⁰ One's own countrymen could also provide invaluable information about job opportunities, trustworthy merchants, leisure activities and events in the old country.

Boarding was ubiquitous among urban Ukrainians, especially before 1914 when thousands of single men spent at least part of each year in the cities. One estimate has at least 75 per cent of the Ukrainian families in Sydney, Nova Scotia, keeping boarders at one time or another. Boarders were frequently relatives or fellow villagers, whom the home-owner's children addressed as "uncle" (*vuiko*). In the dilapidated tenements of Point St. Charles in Montreal, it was not uncommon for families to take in as many as ten boarders during the winter months or during recessions.⁴¹ Along the Kaministikwia River in Westfort, seven to ten persons routinely occupied the three- to five-room frame houses hastily erected by Ukrainian immigrants. For \$2-2.50 per month, the home owners provided sleeping accommodation and meals, with the cost of food, purchased once a month, divided evenly among all the residents.⁴² Similar arrangements existed in all the larger cities.

Not all immigrants, however, were fortunate enough to find such accommodation. Some were victimized by greedy slum lords who subdivided homes and squeezed families into one-room apartments without adequate sanitation. Large Victorian homes in Winnipeg's Point Douglas district, built for seven or eight persons, regularly housed twenty-five to thirty-five, with single men frequently sleeping in cellars and attics. In one instance a room 20' x 12' with continuous bunks along each wall accommodated forty-two men, a boy and a woman. In April 1909 a six-room house was found to contain 49 Ukrainians, with three other houses in the neighbourhood accommodating 126 more. A survey revealed that forty-one houses with 286 rooms were occupied by 837 persons, of whom only 50 lived in clean rooms.⁴³ The virtual absence of sewage and drainage facilities in Winnipeg's North End before 1910 aggravated the consequences of overcrowding.

Fort William's immigrant quarters, located "on low swampy land completely lacking in drainage," were just as crowded. In 1913 one city block in the coal dock district had 29 families and 129 single men, a total of 238 persons (141 of them Ukrainians), in 35 dwellings with 88 rooms and 131 beds. In Westfort, 37 families and 174 single boarders, in all 337 persons (282 of them Ukrainians), lived in 41 dwellings with 132 rooms and 207 beds. Only 41 of the 76 dwellings had water taps and both areas had no baths, indoor toilets or munic-

ipal garbage collection. A less crowded section of Port Arthur, populated for seven years by Italians and Ukrainians, was without sewers, garbage removal, drainage or sidewalks, and residents obtained water from wells or by melting snow.⁴⁴

Not surprisingly, immigrant quarters became breeding grounds of disease and illness. Before 1914, Montreal and Winnipeg frequently had the highest death rates in North America with typhoid fever, smallpox, tuberculosis, venereal diseases, scarlet fever, diphtheria and gastro-enteritis often at epidemic proportions. Between 1904 and 1906, for example, 377 of the 4,056 persons who contracted typhoid fever in Winnipeg died, while in Montreal, as late as 1927, 533 perished during a typhoid epidemic. Outbreaks of typhoid fever were normal occurrences. Only after the 1904-6 epidemic did Winnipeg's city council begin to provide the North End with sewer and water connections and to remove the 6,339 outdoor privies that lined the city's back alleys. As a result, the death rate dropped from 23.2/1,000 in 1906 to 9.6/1,000 in 1914.⁴⁵

Infant mortality rates, too, were extremely high because of improper sanitation, poor diets and the sale of contaminated milk. In Montreal the rate stood at an unbelievable 330/1,000 during the first decade of the century. Although highest among the French Catholic population, it hovered between 180/1,000 and 238/1,000 among the non-French, and in 1921 it was still 180/1,000 in Point St. Charles. Winnipeg's rate rose from 143.1/1,000 in 1908 to 199.5/1,000 in 1912. While it was only 112-135/1,000 in the city's south side, it was over 212/1,000 in all the North End wards, including 282.3/1,000 in Ward Five, immediately north of the CPR yards. Even more alarming, among central and southern Europeans the rate was 372/1,000. Several years later, it was still 147/1,000 in Point Douglas and 164/1,000 in a part of the North End.⁴⁶

As infant mortality rates are a sensitive barometer of environmental conditions, the latter in Canada's urban immigrant quarters were very bad indeed. On the eve of the First World War, the infant mortality rate in Russia stood at about 270/1,000, while in London's working-class districts it had fallen below 140/1,000.⁴⁷ As Table 11 indicates, infants and children died much more frequently than did adults in Ukrainian urban colonies. By 1918 the war, the end of mass immigration and the improved sewage and sanitation facilities began to eliminate overcrowding and disease in Winnipeg's North End. A survey of Point Douglas revealed that only ten rooms in 440 dwellings were overcrowded and that only 26 per cent were dirty. In a section of the North End developed after 1905, only 11 of 504 houses were dirty and no rooms were overcrowded. A 1921 survey showed that in an older area of the North End only 20 per cent of the single-family houses were dirty or overcrowded. Yet, even though the occupants owned 50 to 60 per cent of the houses, living conditions were far from ideal. About 45 per cent of the families (averaging 4.5 persons) lived in three rooms or

less and fewer than 33 per cent had baths. Where more than one family lived in a house, sinks, washbasins and toilets had to be shared. Most of the frame homes were heated by coal or wood stoves and were cold in winter. In the older North End, 112 of 617 homes were rat-infested; none in Point Douglas had rats, though the district was known to be overrun by them. In Montreal, where only 10 per cent of the Ukrainians owned their own homes in the 1930s, the war brought few improvements. As Ukrainians and others continued to crowd into the soot-black brick tenements of Point St. Charles, the area deteriorated until, by the 1920s, it constituted a *bona fide* slum.⁴⁸

The Transplanted and the Uprooted

As we have seen (Chapter 4), the ability of peasant immigrants to adjust to an urban environment has generated considerable controversy among scholars. Initially, some maintained that the uprooting from villages, where harmony and solidarity supposedly prevailed, resulted in “disorganized” or “pathological” behaviour. Cut off from kin and community, overwhelmed by the impersonal anonymity of urban life and reduced to total dependence on themselves, many peasant immigrants became so alienated that they succumbed to alcoholism, crime and self-destruction. More recently, scholars have focused on the resiliency of immigrant families and on the continuity between the rural and urban experiences of newly urbanized peasants. Immigration to the city, they have argued, did not destroy the family, weaken interpersonal ties and produce alienation. On the contrary, chain migration brought groups of countrymen to the same city and facilitated the formation of closely knit ethnic neighbourhoods. Ultimately, family life, voluntary associations, immigrant institutions and ethnic sub-cultures, all of which flourished in the new enclaves, offered peasants a positive way of adapting to the city and to the new world. Thus peasant immigrants were not “uprooted” from old-world village communities; the latter were “transplanted” to the new urban environment.⁴⁹

However accurate the new consensus, several qualifications are in order. Above all, one has to distinguish between the immigrant who settles permanently in a particular city—often with a wife and children, numerous kinsmen and countrymen, a steady job and a fixed address—and the single, sojourning, migrant labourer, with few (if any) kinsmen or close acquaintances, who must drift from camp to camp and city to city to find employment. Clearly, the latter would experience greater difficulties of adjustment. For example, the migrant workers who detrained in Winnipeg, walked out of the CPR station and stood on the corner of Main and Higgins instantly found themselves at the centre of “Winnipeg the wicked,” “the vice capital of Canada.” To the south, along Main Street, were wholesale booteries and free-admission parlours full of slot ma-

chines, as well as sixty hotels, their bars fully stocked with whisky and other refreshments. The area swarmed with pickpockets, prostitutes, cardsharps and pool sharks. To the north, in Point Douglas, was Winnipeg's notorious red-light district, where 250 prostitutes plied their trade in fifty-two brothels in 1910.⁵⁰ Although several Ukrainian parish, benevolent and cultural-educational associations existed in the city by 1910 (see Chapter 11), they catered mainly to permanent residents and families. Few helped migrant labourers to adjust to city life and some explicitly excluded single sojourners. Not surprisingly, many of the latter, cooped up in crowded rooms when not roaming the streets in (usually) a futile search for work, found their way into the billiard rooms, hotel bars, dance halls and brothels. There was nowhere else to go.

It was this large floating population of single, migrant labourers, with little emotional solace and material support and few recreational outlets, that created the most serious social problem in Ukrainian urban colonies. Brawling in bars, dance halls and private homes in Winnipeg was common after 1902. By 1914 the *Manor* (*Manorka*), Oriental, Ontario, Dufferin and Savoy hotels had become part of Ukrainian-Canadian folklore, renowned across Canada for the money spent and the blood spilled in their dark, smoke-filled beverage rooms.⁵¹ In the evenings groups of single, young men, often from the same village, roamed the streets of the North End and Point Douglas looking for a dance, wedding reception or party to crash. If resisted, trouble usually followed. On Sundays, holidays and religious feast days, men gathered in boarding-house rooms or private homes to gamble, drink, sing, argue and fight. After 1910 drunken brawls culminating in serious injuries were reported in most Ukrainian urban colonies from Sydney to Edmonton.⁵² In Toronto, for example, several young migrant workers from Winnipeg and Fort William broke into the apartment of a Ukrainian woman and her daughter in 1916 and proceeded to beat both because the daughter had refused to dance with one of them at a wedding.⁵³

Sometimes, fights and arguments leavened by alcohol resulted in homicide. Between December 1904 and June 1906 there were at least four cases in Winnipeg that involved Ukrainians. In 1907 two more men were killed. Luts Sorobey, slain in June 1907 at a wedding, was "one of a party who seem to have been going the rounds of weddings." He was dispatched by a cobblestone hurled at his head in the course of a fight after twenty-five large kegs of beer had been consumed by the guests. On the same evening, another Ukrainian was robbed by unknown assailants and left for dead.⁵⁴ In 1910 two Ukrainians were murdered in drunken brawls in Winnipeg—one beaten to death at a wedding, the other stabbed by a fellow boarder after an argument over a girl.⁵⁵ Almost identical tragic incidents were reported in Port Arthur, Fort William, Montreal, Saskatoon, Regina and Toronto before 1915.⁵⁶

Such drunkenness and brawling were especially marked during the winter months, when the cities overflowed with seasonally unemployed migrant labour-

ers. Almost always, violence peaked in the aftermath of Ukrainian Christmas and Easter celebrations. Drinking and fighting were especially evident at Easter, with its six weeks of fasting and abstinence during Lent. On 11 April 1905 twenty-three Ukrainians were charged in Winnipeg police court, ten with assault and battery, six with drunkenness and seven with theft. In 1914, 190 Ukrainians were arrested on Easter Sunday in Winnipeg. In the same year one man was shot, six injured and twenty-five arrested in Montreal's Point St. Charles area.⁵⁷ Drinking and the violence associated with it, on the decline between 1911 and 1913, began to escalate just before Easter 1913, when the effects of the recession were first felt.⁵⁸ During the next two years, as thousands lost jobs and were cut off from families in the old country by war, alcoholism and its after-effects were much in evidence in all urban colonies.

The strength and resiliency of the urban immigrant family also needs qualification. While the overwhelming majority of Ukrainian families did hold together and the family, more than any other institution, facilitated accommodation, immigration subjected some families to unparalleled strains and a number failed the test, often in quite dramatic fashion.⁵⁹ As early as 1905, letters in the Ukrainian press accused Ukrainian housewives in Montreal of carrying on with male boarders while their husbands worked. Several years later, a man beat his wife to death because a new-born child, unlike either parent, had black hair.⁶⁰ In 1913 a thirty-year-old Winnipeg man poured gasoline over his wife and, assuring her no harm would come if she had been faithful, set her on fire with a match; the woman died several hours later.⁶¹ The menial jobs, low wages and recurring unemployment undermined the respect of wives for their husbands as providers, while the need to keep crowded homes clean, prepare meals and look after children and boarders created difficulties for wives that annoyed husbands. A wife was beaten late at night because she would not prepare supper for her husband who had been drinking and carousing with cronies. Another, a charwoman who supported a husband who spent his days drinking and looking after boarders, was battered after she told him to get a job.⁶² Women rarely responded to abuse with violence; under unbearable conditions they simply left, frequently moving in with one of the single men always present in urban areas.⁶³

Relations between parents and children could also be strained. In the family the values and customs of old-world culture often clashed sharply with those of the new world to which the children were especially exposed. As they acquired knowledge of Anglo-Canadian ways and obtained better-paying jobs, some lost respect for parents who had to seek enlightenment and assistance from them. The incessant pressure and opportunity to consume and spend, so widespread in an urban environment, added to intergenerational tensions by intensifying competition within the family for scarce financial resources. Moreover, unskilled, semi-employed fathers whose work carried little prestige often clung desperately to external signs of status and provoked conflict by becoming hyperauthoritarian.⁶⁴

Girls who worked in wealthy English-speaking homes or in Anglo-Canadian environments were most prone to reject parental authority. They rebelled by speaking broken English, anglicizing their names, spending money on expensive clothes, refusing to share their earnings with the family and shunning their parents altogether. Boys were less susceptible to such pressures because, once out of school, most worked among Ukrainians in the railway yards and meat-packing plants. Nevertheless, some, especially the socially ambitious, did reject their parents and pretended not to recognize them when in the company of English-speaking teachers and friends. The Ukrainian press lamented such slights, as did the literature and drama produced by immigrant writers during these years.⁶⁵

Although Winnipeg, Fort William/Port Arthur and Montreal were among the most strife-torn cities in Canada between 1901 and 1921, Ukrainians were not prominent in the urban labour movement or in industrial disputes before 1914. During these years urban trade unions organized mainly skilled workers and Ukrainians were primarily unskilled sojourners uninterested in labour organizations and long, costly strikes. The Industrial Workers of the World, with branches in Calgary, Edmonton and Winnipeg, tried to organize the unskilled, but those who struck were almost invariably replaced by others from the vast labour reservoir created by Canada's immigration policy. Not until after the First World War, when many urban Ukrainian labourers settled down permanently and established households with long-term goals, did Ukrainians begin to join unions and participate in sustained labour action.⁶⁶

This does not mean that, before 1914, Ukrainian urban workers either accepted their fate meekly or were indifferent to the plight of their fellow workers. Skilled Ukrainians joined trade unions and occasionally rose to high office, while the unskilled resorted to the "everyday forms of peasant resistance," so familiar in the frontier camps. Thus many of the two hundred unskilled labourers in Edmonton's Branch No. 82 of the Industrial Workers of the World were Ukrainians, as were most of the 400 members in Branch No. 47 in Winnipeg. Both branches even boasted Ukrainian secretary-treasurers.⁶⁷ Urban Ukrainian workers also participated in acts of open defiance. In the summer of 1901 newly arrived Ukrainians refused to break a strike by the Brotherhood of Railway Trackmen in Winnipeg and Calgary after Immigration Branch officials ordered them to do so. In 1905 some two hundred CPR yardmen, mostly Ukrainians, staged a wildcat strike in Winnipeg by putting down their tools, hoisting a red banner and demanding more than their \$1.50 daily wage. In September 1912 about 250 sewer diggers and general manual labourers, again mostly Ukrainians, walked off the job in Edmonton demanding an eight-hour day, thirty-five cents an hour and time and a half for overtime. With the strike on the verge of collapse, the Industrial Workers of the World rallied the strikers to

victory.⁶⁸ Ukrainians also joined in several freight and coal handlers' strikes that shook Fort William and Port Arthur regularly before 1914. While most were initiated by Greeks and Italians, Ukrainians, the largest ethnic minority at the Lakehead by 1913, participated in 1906, 1909 and 1912.⁶⁹ They were also involved in the April 1913 strike at the Canada Car plant construction site in Fort William and in the May 1913 Fort William Street Railwaymen's strike, where police fired into a crowd of immigrants out to support the English-speaking strikers and killed Osyp Stefaniuk, a twenty-five-year-old native of Borshchiv county, Galicia. "Such is the fate of our Ruthenian people in this new adopted fatherland, where we die like flies in the coal mines, in the factories or from police bullets," concluded a Ukrainian bystander.⁷⁰

Notes

1. The number of urban Ukrainians is based on estimates commonly used in the Ukrainian-Canadian press. See, for example, *Ukrainskyi holos* 30 July, 3 September 1913, 13 May 1914. Official census returns, which usually lumped Ukrainians (Ruthenians, Galicians and Bukowinians) with Austrians, Poles and Russians (before 1931), underestimate the Ukrainian population—urban and rural—in Canada.
2. *Svoboda* 29 April 1902, 10 September 1903.
3. Vladimir J. Kaye, *Early Ukrainian Settlements in Canada, 1895-1900: Dr. Josef Oleskow's Role in the Settlement of the Canadian Northwest* (Toronto, 1964), 29. The sex ratio was compiled by combining the figures for "Galicians," "Bukowinians" and "Austrians" in the *Census of Canada* 1911, II, Table 16, 426-39. Other cities had the following ratios: Toronto 1.36:1, Montreal 1.78:1, Regina 2.20:1, Fort William/Port Arthur 3.26:1, Vancouver 3.29:1, Sydney 3.45:1, Calgary 6.26:1, Saskatoon 11.20:1 and Moose Jaw 25.35:1. The disproportion in the last two cities was the result of their small size and few employment opportunities for women. In Winnipeg, Edmonton, Montreal and Toronto, the disproportion grew during the winter, when frontier labourers were present.
4. On immigrant families in Canadian urban centres, see Robert F. Harney and Harold Troper, *Immigrants: A Portrait of the Urban Experience, 1890-1930* (Toronto, 1975); Robert F. Harney, "Boarding and Belonging," *Urban History Review* VII (2) (1978), 8-37; Varpu Lindstrom-Best, "The Finnish Immigrant Community of Toronto, 1887-1913," *Occasional Papers Multicultural History Society of Ontario* (Toronto, 1979); John Zucchi, "The Italian Immigrants of the St. John's Ward, 1875-1915: Patterns of Settlement and Neighbourhood Formation," *ibid.* (Toronto, 1981); Bruno Ramirez, "Montreal's Italians and the Socio-Economy of Settlement, 1900-1930: Some Historical Hypotheses," *Urban History Review* X (1) (1981), 39-48; A. Ross McCormack, "Networks Among British Immigrants and Accommodation to Canadian Society: Winnipeg, 1900-1914," *Histoire sociale/Social History* XVII (34) (1984), 357-74.

5. Stephen W. Mamchur, "The Economic and Social Adjustment of Slavic Immigrants in Canada: With Special Reference to the Ukrainians in Montreal" (MA thesis, McGill University, 1934), chapters 4 and 5.
6. *Winnipeg Free Press* 3 May 1911; *Kanadyiskyi rusyn* 9, 30 May 1914.
7. Mamchur, Appendix: Note no. 1, Document no. 6; *Robochyi narod* 2 July 1913; *Kanadyiskyi rusyn* 30 May 1914.
8. Mamchur, chapter 5.
9. *Ranok* 15 May 1908; *Kanadyiskyi farmer* 29 May 1908; *Svoboda* 23 May 1907, 7 May, 9 July 1908; *Ukrainskyi holos* 3 December 1913; *Robochyi narod* 27 November 1912, 28 April 1915.
10. In 1915 a colony was established near Sprague, Manitoba, by Ukrainians driven out of Winnipeg by unemployment. *Ukrainskyi holos* 9 February 1916.
11. Toma Kobzei (Kobzey), *Na ternystykh ta khreshchatykh dorohakh. Spomyny z pivstorichchia v Kanadi*, I (Scranton, 1972), 31-2; Bryan D. Palmer, *Working-Class Experience: The Rise and Reconstitution of Canadian Labour, 1800-1980* (Toronto, 1983), 144.
12. Woodsworth's report was originally published in *The Christian Guardian* 11 June, 9, 12, 16 July 1913. It is reprinted as "Appendix D" in Alan F.J. Artibise, *Winnipeg: A Social History of Urban Growth, 1874-1914* (Montreal, 1975), 308-19. The craftsmen who earned forty-five to seventy cents per hour, according to the Manitoba government's fair wage schedule, included (in ascending order): electricians, sheet metal workers, structural ironworkers, portable and stationary engineers, asbestos workers, tile setters, carpenters, steamfitters, plumbers, lathers, plasterers, stone cutters, marble workers, bricklayers and masons. *Ibid.*, 314. Many earned less, and of course only a tiny minority were Ukrainians.
13. The data in the tables are not precise, as it is difficult to distinguish Ukrainian from Polish and Jewish names. As a result, the number of skilled and semiskilled workers, craftsmen, tradesmen and merchant/proprietors is probably overstated.
14. On Fort William, see Ivan Humeniuk, *Moi spomyny. Do rozvytku orhanizovanoho zhyttia ukraintsiv u skhidni Kanadi* (Toronto, 1957), 9-30, and Jean Morrison, "Community and Conflict: A Study of the Working Class and Its Relationships at the Canadian Lakehead, 1903-1913" (MA thesis, Lakehead University, 1973), chapter 2; on Montreal, see Mamchur, chapter 4, and Charles M. Bayley, "The Social Structure of the Italian and Ukrainian Immigrant Communities in Montreal, 1935-1937" (MA thesis, McGill University, 1939).
15. See, for example, the discussion in Bruno Ramirez, "Brief Encounters: Italian Immigrant Workers and the CPR, 1900-1930," *Labour/Le Travail* 17 (1986), 9-27. The Ukrainian experience was similar.
16. The wage rates were culled from the Ukrainian press, which carried this type of information; see also "Wages and hours of labour in Canada from 1901 to 1920," supplement to *Labour Gazette* 1921, 449-546.
17. Harney and Troper, 51-7, 156.
18. *Ukrainske zhyttia* 28 June 1951; see also Doug Smith, *Let Us Rise: A History of the Manitoba Labour Movement* (Vancouver, 1985), 102-4; Warren Caragata, *Alberta Labour: A Heritage Untold* (Toronto, 1979), 86-9.

19. Craig Heron, "Hamilton Steelworkers and the Rise of Mass Production," Canadian Historical Association *Historical Papers* (1982), 105; Craig Heron and Robert Storey, "Work and Struggle in the Canadian Steel Industry, 1900-1950," in Craig Heron and Robert Storey, eds., *On the Job: Confronting the Labour Process in Canada* (Montreal, 1986), 210-44; Frances M. Heath and Gail E. Tessier, "Industrial Accidents and Working Conditions, 1900-1920," in *Fifty Years of Labour in Algoma: Essays on Aspects of Algoma's Working-Class History* (Sault Ste. Marie, 1978), 19-36.
20. *Svoboda* 17 May 1906. The same fate befell Stefan Dembytsky of Husiatyn county one month after arriving in Winnipeg. *Ukrainskyi holos* 21 May 1913.
21. *Svoboda* 3 January 1907; Jean Morrison, "Ethnicity and Violence: The Lakehead Freight Handlers Before World War One," in Gregory S. Kealey and Peter Warrian, eds., *Essays in Canadian Working Class History* (Toronto, 1976), 150.
22. Palmer, 145.
23. There is much evidence of this in the PAA, Criminal Case Files, 1915-1928, Acc. 72.26.
24. Harney and Troper, 54; Mercedes Steedman, "Skill and Gender in the Canadian Clothing Industry, 1890-1940," in Heron and Storey, 152-176; James D. Mochoruk and Donna Webber, "Women in the Winnipeg Garment Trade, 1929-45," in Mary Kinnear, ed., *First Days, Fighting Days: Women in Manitoba History* (Regina, 1987), 134-48; Marie Lavigne and Jennifer Stoddart, "Ouvrières et Travailleuses Montréalaises, 1900-1940," in Marie Lavigne et Yolande Pinard, eds., *Les Femmes dans la société québécoise* (Montréal, 1977), 127-32; *Census of Canada* 1921, III, Tables 38 and 39, pp. 150-7.
25. *Ukrainske zhyttia* 27 September, 4, 11, 18, 25 October, 1 November 1951; for a description of women's work in the family, see also "Interview With an Anonymous Ukrainian Woman," in Irving Abella and David Millar, eds., *The Canadian Worker in the Twentieth Century* (Toronto, 1978), 109-12.
26. *Svoboda* 9 May 1907; *The Mercantile Agency Reference Book (and Key) for the Dominion of Canada* (R.G. Dun & Company, September 1911), 15-23, hereafter *Dun & Company Reference Book*; *Ukrainskyi holos* 22 January 1913.
27. Calculated from *Henderson's Winnipeg City Directory* 1911, pt. 2, "Business Directory." The North End consisted of the area enclosed by the CPR rail yards, the Red River, Mountain Avenue and McPhillips Street.
28. In 1921 only 6.72 per cent of Jewish males over twenty-one were illiterate, compared with 32.38 per cent of Ukrainians. *Census of Canada* 1921, II, Table 98, pp. 668-71.
29. *Ukrainskyi holos* 21 August 1912. There were fewer complaints in the Ukrainian press about urban Jewish merchants than about rural ones. *Ukrainskyi holos* only printed one brief note about Jewish merchants in the North End, who allegedly delivered goods of an inferior quality to those sold to unsuspecting customers (4 November 1914). Two letters in the Catholic *Kanadyiskyi rusyn* alleged that the Ukrainian (predominantly Bukovynian) population of Moose Jaw was totally dominated by the local Jewish merchant: he ran the local "tavern" (*korchma*), handled the mail,

- held money and valuables for safekeeping, operated the local store/meat market and paid the Ukrainians' fines (for drunk and disorderly conduct) to win their confidence and dominate them more effectively. The letters did admit, however, that "educated" Ukrainians also exploited their countrymen (15 March, 15 November 1913).
30. Calculated from listings in *Henderson's Winnipeg City Directory* 1921. For the Jews in the garment industry, see Tom Kosatsky, "Jews in the Clothing Industry in Winnipeg," in *Jewish Life and Times: A Collection of Essays* (Winnipeg, 1983), 40-50.
 31. *Dun & Company Reference Book* (September 1911), 242-4, (September 1921), 305-6, 742-5.
 32. For a brief biography of Mekh, see *Ukrainskyi holos* 19 June 1935; on Ukrainian business enterprises in Montreal, see Mamchur, chapter 4; on Edmonton, see *Svoboda* 2 May 1907 and *Dun & Company Reference Book* (September 1921), 22-8.
 33. *Ukrainskyi holos* 1 September 1915. Data on Ukrainian-Canadian university graduates were gathered from the Ukrainian press. Biographies of successful graduates and lists of university students who passed their exams were published annually in the June, July and August issues of *Ukrainskyi holos*.
 34. Artibise, 24-7.
 35. In Toronto, Ukrainians, like other immigrants, first settled in "the Ward" (i.e., St. John's Ward, the area bounded by Yonge, College, University and Queen streets), where they resided in Jewish-owned boarding houses on Terauley, Alice, Elizabeth and Edson streets. By 1920 the main Ukrainian enclave was located in West Toronto around the CPR yards near "the junction." Zoriana Sokolsky, "The Beginnings of the Ukrainian Settlement in Toronto, 1903-14" and Andrew Gregorovich, "The Ukrainian Community in Toronto from World War One to 1971," in *Polyphony* VI (1) (1984), 55-9, 123-7. In Edmonton, Ukrainians were concentrated east of (10)1st Street and north of Jasper Avenue, in the vicinity of the CNoR yards along Kinistino (97th) Street and in Norwood, south of Alberta (118th) Avenue, near the meat-packing houses.
 36. *Ukrainskyi holos* 30 March 1921. Large numbers of Ukrainians also lived in Elmwood (across the Red River from the North End) and in nearby Transcona.
 37. Morrison, "Ethnicity and Violence," 149; Bryce M. Stewart, "The Housing of Our Immigrant Workers," *Canadian Political Science Association Papers and Proceedings* 1 (1913), 98-111, reprinted in Paul Rutherford, ed., *Saving the Canadian City: The First Phase, 1880-1920* (Toronto, 1974), 137-54.
 38. Mamchur, chapter 3; Bailey, chapter 2.
 39. Artibise, 158-65, 240-1.
 40. Harney, "Boarding and Belonging," 12.
 41. John Huk, *Strangers in the Land: The Ukrainian Presence in Cape Breton* (n.p., 1986), 43; *Ukrainske zhyttia* 4 October 1951.
 42. Humeniuk, 17.
 43. J.S. Woodsworth, *My Neighbor: A Study of City Conditions*, first pub. 1911 (Toronto, 1972), 136-43; *Winnipeg Tribune* 1 September 1908, 26 February, 3, 22 April 1909; *Winnipeg Free Press* 9 April, 1 May 1909.
 44. Morrison, "Ethnicity and Violence," 149; Stewart, 142-6.

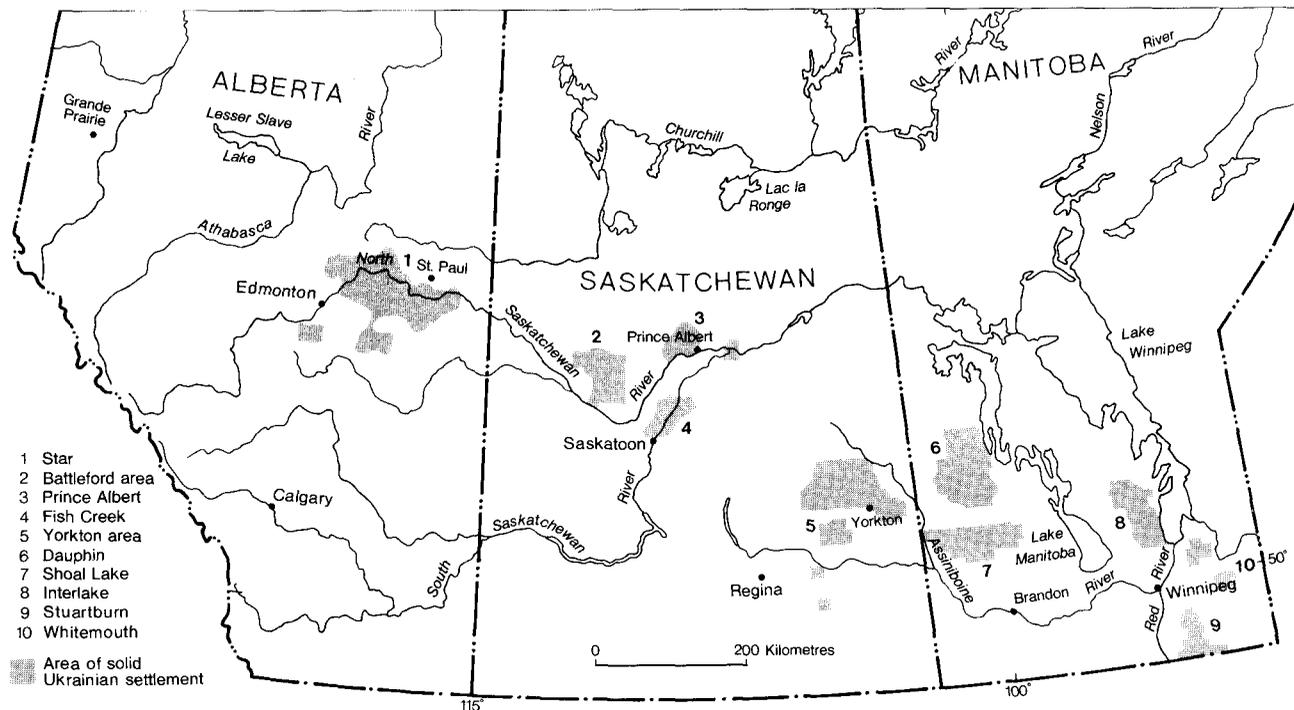
45. On Montreal, see Terry Copp, *The Anatomy of Poverty: The Condition of the Working Class in Montreal, 1897-1929* (Toronto, 1974), 70-115; Martin Tetrault, "Les maladies de la misère: Aspects de la santé publique à Montréal, 1880-1914," *Revue d'histoire de l'Amérique française* XXXVI (4) (1983), 507-26; on Winnipeg, see Artibise, 224, 235.
46. On Montreal, see Copp, 93-5; on Winnipeg, see Artibise, 236-9, 354 n. 33; PAM, *Report on a Housing Survey of certain districts selected for that purpose made during the months of May and June 1918* (Winnipeg, 1918), 70; *Report...made during February and March 1921* (Winnipeg, 1921), 63. The "infant mortality rate" refers to the number of children per 1,000 live births who die before their first birthday. In contemporary societies the rate varies from 5-10/1,000 in the Western world to 10-25/1,000 in the Soviet bloc and 200/1,000 in war-ravaged Third World countries like Angola and Afghanistan. *Britannica Book of the Year 1989* (Chicago, 1989), 764-9.
47. Anthony S. Wohl, *Endangered Lives: Public Health in Victorian Britain* (Cambridge, Mass., 1983), 10-42.
48. *Report on a Housing Survey* (1918), 29-70, (1921), 51-83; Mamchur, chapter 4.
49. The debate is summarized in Lynn H. Lees, *Exiles of Erin: Irish Migrants in Victorian London* (Manchester, 1979), 17-21, 247; Rudolph J. Vecoli, "Contadini in Chicago: A Critique of *The Uprooted*," *Journal of American History* LI (4) (1964), 404-17; Eli Zaretsky, "Editor's Introduction," in William I. Thomas and Florian Znaniecki, *The Polish Peasant in Europe and America*, abridged ed. (Urbana, 1984), 1-53.
50. Artibise, 152-8, 246-64; James H. Gray, *Red Lights on the Prairies* (Toronto, 1971), 42-76. By 1918 the Ukrainian neighbourhoods in Montreal were also vice centres. St. Dominic and St. Urbain streets crawled with cardsharps and prostitutes, and many of the thieves and prostitutes in Frontenac and Point St. Charles were apparently Ukrainians (many driven to crime by chronic unemployment). *Ukrainskyi holos* 14 May 1919. Ukrainian women were first observed prostituting themselves in Edmonton in 1902. *Svoboda* 14 August 1902.
51. *Chervonyi prapor* 13 February 1908; M(ykhailo) M(arunchak), "Zamist peredmovy," in Iakiv Maidanyk (Jacob Maydanyk), *Vuiko Sh. Tabachniuk i inshi novi, korotki opovidannia* (Winnipeg, 1959), 5-7.
52. *Svoboda* 17 October 1901, 24 April 1902, 23 March, 14, 21 September, 23 November, 21 December 1905, 5 July 1906; *Nova hromada* 26 January 1912; *Robochyi narod* 1 January 1913; *Kanadyiskyi rusyn* 26 April 1913.
53. *Ukrainskyi holos* 5 July 1916.
54. *Svoboda* 23 March, 21 December 1905, 5 April, 28 June, 16 August 1906; *Kanadyiskyi farmer* 14 June, 8 November 1907; *Winnipeg Tribune* 11 June 1907 and regularly for several weeks thereafter.
55. *Ukrainskyi holos* 28 September, 14 December 1910, 15 March 1911; *Winnipeg Tribune* 26 September, 2 December 1910.
56. *Kanadyiskyi rusyn* 27 December 1913; *Ukrainskyi holos* 22, 29 April 1914, 27 January 1915; Canada, *Sessional Papers* XLVIII (1914), vol. 24, no. 28, pp. 22, 25, 185-6.
57. *Svoboda* 11 May 1905; *Winnipeg Free Press* 12 April 1909; *Ukrainskyi holos* 22, 29 April 1914.

58. *Ukrainskyi holos* 10 January 1912, 15 January, 30 April, 3 December 1913.
59. For the current consensus on the family, see John Bodnar, *The Transplanted: A History of Immigrants in Urban America* (Bloomington, 1985), chapter 2; for the traditional view of the immigrant family, see William I. Thomas and Florian Znaniecki, *The Polish Peasant in Europe and America*, first pub. 1918-20 (New York, 1958), I, pp. 87-128, II, pp. 1134-71, 1703-53, and Oscar Handlin, *The Uprooted: The Epic Story of the Great Migrations that Made the American People* (Boston, 1951), 227-58.
60. *Svoboda* 12 January 1905; *Ukrainskyi holos* 6 December 1916.
61. *Ukrainskyi holos* 4 June 1913. Wives and their lovers were also killed by several jealous husbands. *Ibid.*, 3 January 1917; PAA, Criminal Case Files, 1915-1928, Acc. 72.26, file 3677.
62. *Ukrainskyi holos* 15 March 1922; *Winnipeg Tribune* 21, 26 April 1909.
63. *Ukrainskyi holos* 13 February 1918; PAA, Criminal Case Files, 1915-1928, Acc. 72.26, file 3677.
64. Bayley, chapter 3; Handlin, 240-58; Lees, 148-61.
65. *Svoboda* 31 January, 14 March 1901, 14, 28 August 1902, 30 July, 10 September, 10 December 1903; *Chervonyi prapor* 5 January 1908; *Ukrainskyi holos* 3, 24 August, 12 October 1910, 18 March, 25 November 1914, 5, 12 January, 28 June, 8 November 1916. See also the cartoons and satirical letters of "Vuiko Shtif Tabachniuk" by Jacob Maydanyk and plays like Maydanyk's *Manigrula* and Dmytro Hunkevych's *Zhertyv temnoty* (Victims of Ignorance), discussed in chapter 11. For some of the female aspects of this phenomenon, see Frances Swyripa, "From Princess Olha to Baba: Images, Roles and Myths in the History of Ukrainian Women in Canada" (PhD dissertation, University of Alberta, 1988), chapters 5-7.
66. Ron Rothbart, "'Homes Are What Any Strike Is About': Immigrant Labour and the Family," *Journal of Social History* XXIII (2) (1989), 267-84.
67. Petro Hnatiuk and Dmytro Stechishin served as secretary-treasurers of the IWW's Winnipeg branch (1910-14), while Steve Lysyk held the same position in Edmonton in 1912. *Ukrainske zhyttia* 17 May 1951; *Edmonton Bulletin* 28 September 1912. Theodore Stefanik (1880-1951), a self-taught electrician employed as a machinist in Winnipeg's CPR shops, was elected president of Local No. 122 of the International Association of Engineers in 1902. *Svoboda* 23 August 1907.
68. Caragata, 12; *Svoboda* 11 July 1901, 17 August 1905; *Ukrainskyi holos* 25 September 1912; *Edmonton Bulletin* 24 September through 1 October 1912.
69. Morrison, "Ethnicity and Violence," 151-6; *Svoboda* 1 November 1906.
70. *Kanadyiskyi rusyn* 24 May 1913; *Ukrainskyi holos* 14 May 1913. *Ukrainskyi holos* identified the Ukrainian victim as Iosyf Smoliak. Morrison, citing the local English-language press, states that an "Italian onlooker" was killed. It is not clear whether an Italian was *also* killed or the English-language press took Stefaniuk/Smoliak for an Italian.

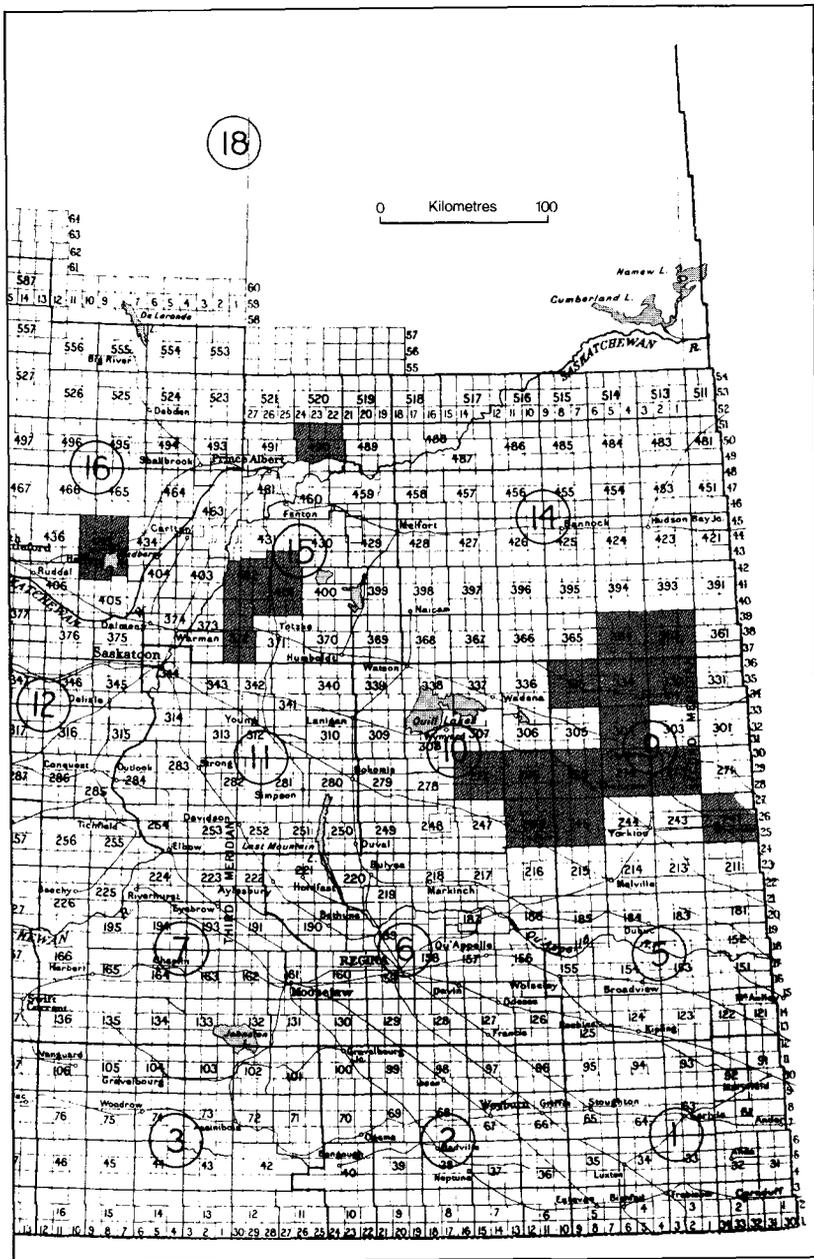
MAPS



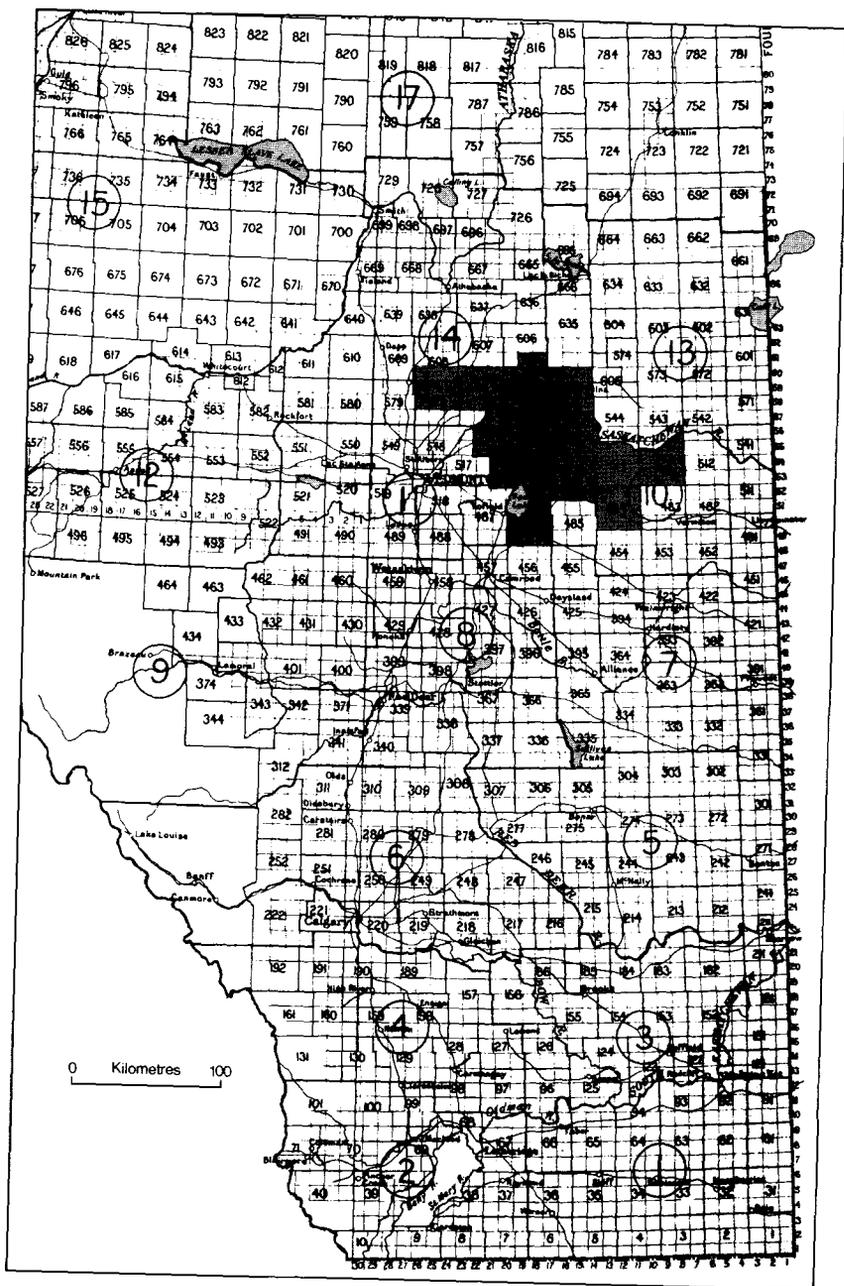
1. Ukrainian lands in the Austro-Hungarian and Russian empires
 (Source: Orest Subtelny, *Ukraine: A History*, Toronto: University of Toronto Press in association with the Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies, 1988)



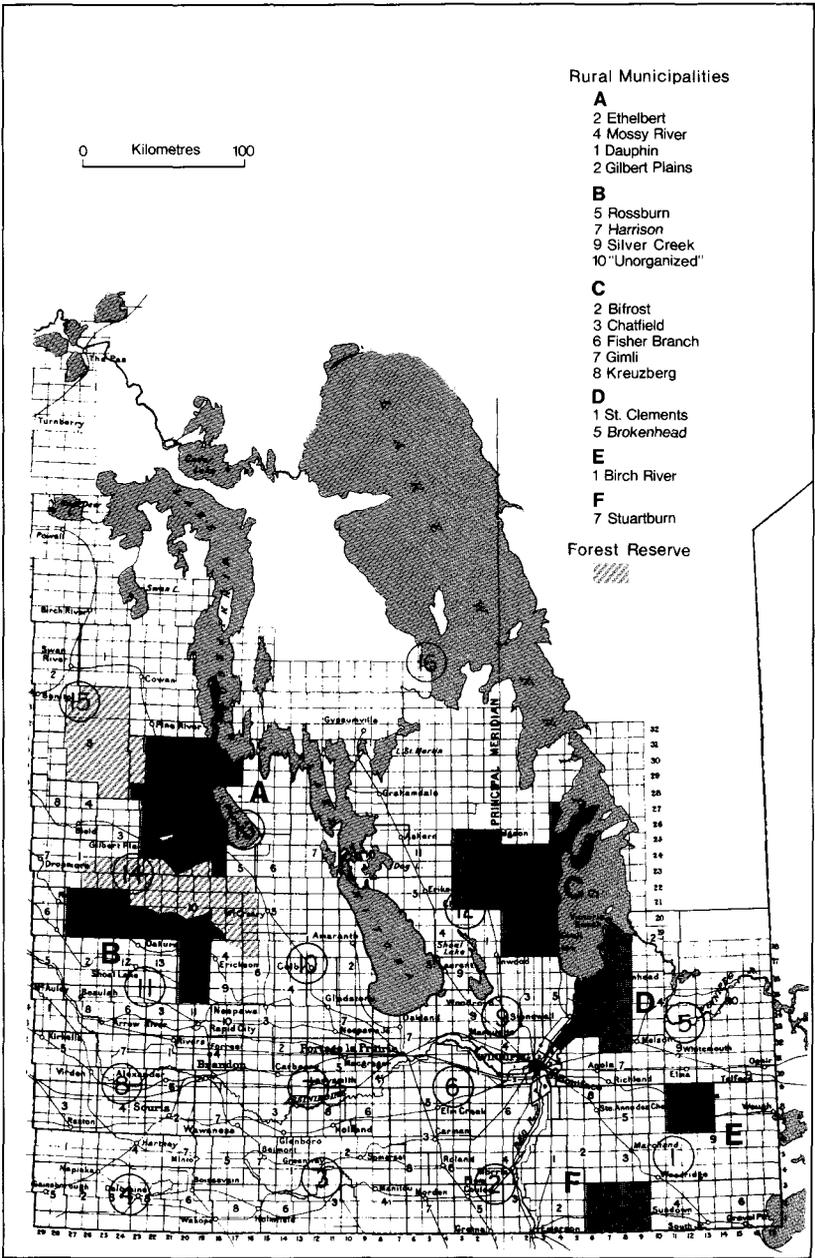
3. Ukrainian bloc settlements in the prairie provinces ca. 1914
 (Source: John C. Lehr, "The Process and Pattern of Ukrainian Rural Settlement in Western Canada, 1891-1914," Ph. D. dissertation, University of Manitoba, 1978)



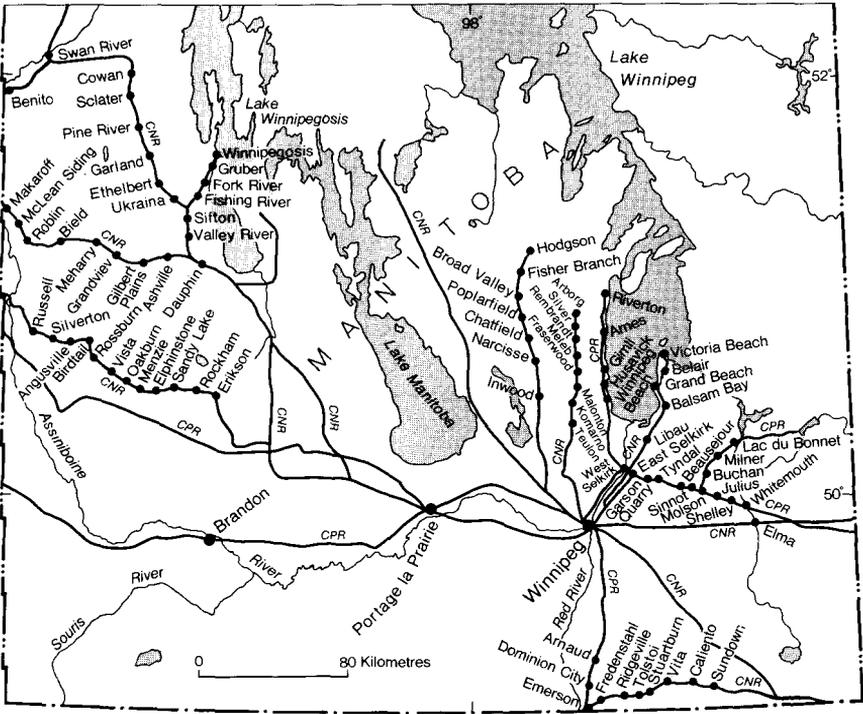
4. Municipal districts with at least 33 per cent Ukrainian population, Saskatchewan 1921
 (Source: Calculated from data in *Census of Canada, 1921*)



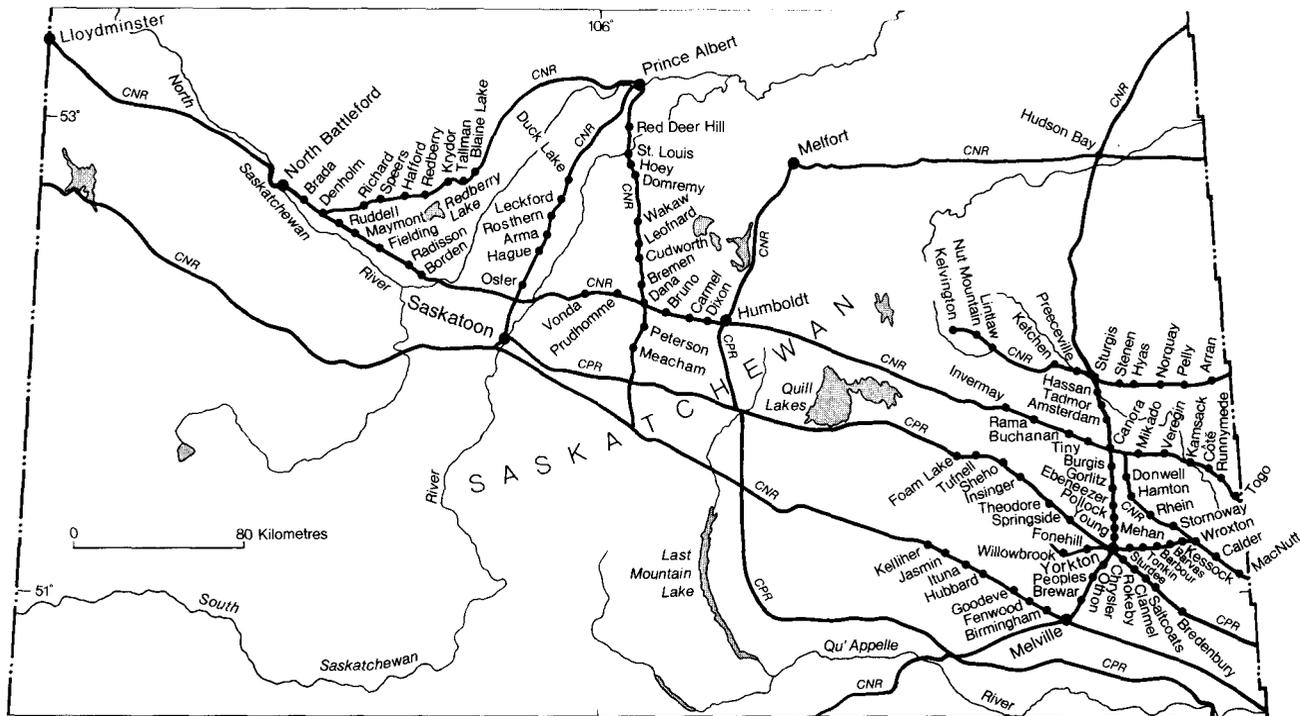
5. Municipal districts with at least 33 per cent Ukrainian population, Alberta 1921
 (Source: Calculated from data in *Census of Canada, 1921*)



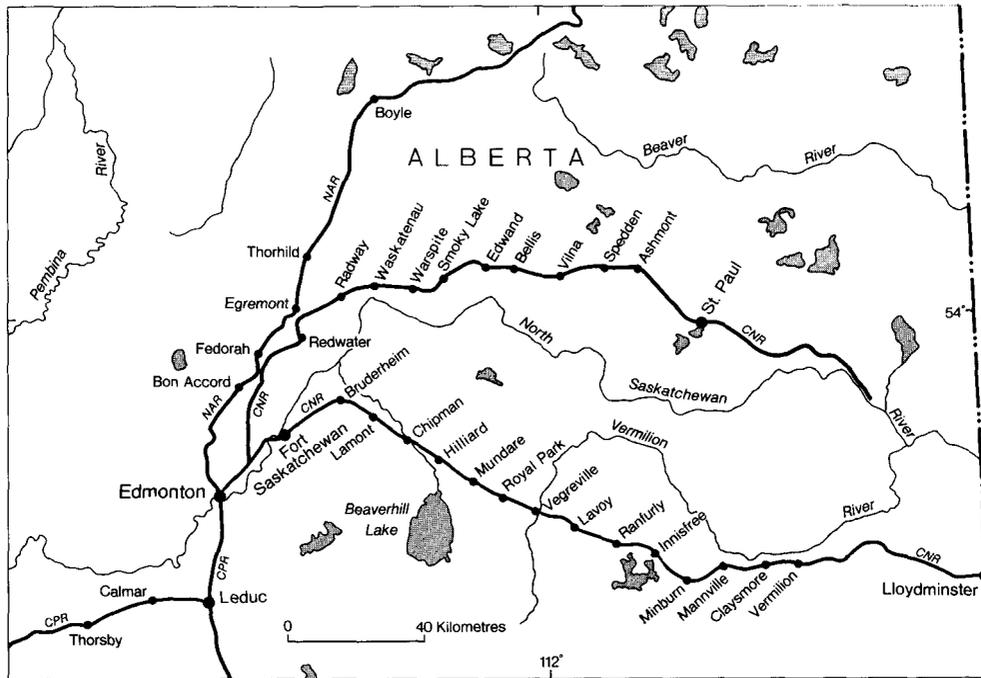
6. Municipal districts with at least 33 per cent Ukrainian population, Manitoba 1921
 (Source: Calculated from data in *Census of Canada, 1921*)



7. Railway towns and sidings in and adjacent to the principal Ukrainian bloc settlements, Manitoba 1921

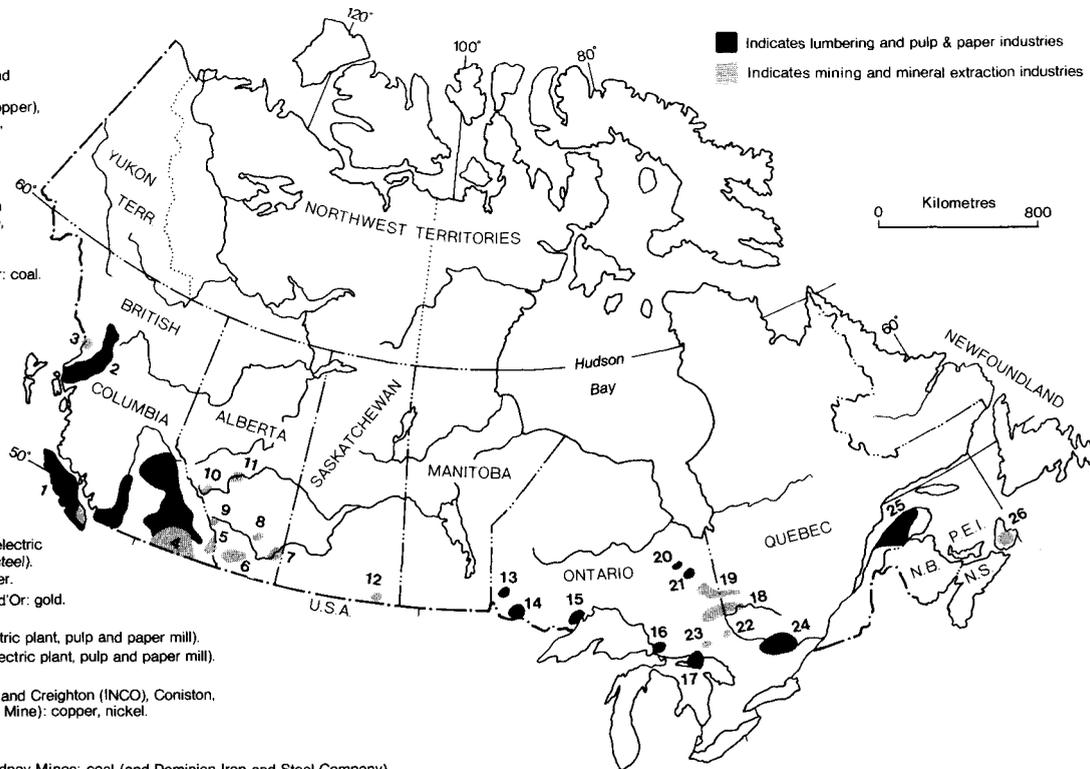


8. Railway towns and sidings in and adjacent to the principal Ukrainian bloc settlements, Saskatchewan 1921



9. Railway towns and sidings in and adjacent to the Ukrainian bloc settlement, Alberta 1921

1. Vancouver Island: coal, lumber.
2. Prince Rupert: terminus NTR/GTR.
3. Anyox: copper.
4. Kootenays: hard-rock mining, Rossland (gold, copper), Kelso and Slocan (silver, lead, zinc), Phoenix (gold, copper), Kimberly and Moyie (silver, lead, zinc), Nelson, Trail, Grand Forks (COMINCO smelters)
5. Crow's Nest Pass: coal; on British Columbia side- Fernie, Coal Creek, Morrissey, Michel, Hosmer, Corbin; on Alberta side- Bellevue, Blairmore, Lille, Frank, Hillcrest, Passburg, Burnis, Lundbrek, Coleman, Carbondale.
6. Lethbridge, Coalhurst, Coaldale, Taber: coal.
7. Medicine Hat: coal.
8. Drumheller, Wayne, Rosedale, East Coulee: coal.
9. Canmore, Banff, Bankhead: coal.
10. Coal Branch, Coalspur, Lovett, Mountain Park, Robb, Mercoal, Sterco, Coal Valley, Foothills, Nordegg: coal.
11. Edmonton: coal.
12. Souris Fields, Bienfait, Taylorton: coal.
13. Lake of the Woods: lumber.
14. Fort Frances: lumber.
15. The Lakehead: lumber.
16. Sault Ste. Marie: lumber (and hydro-electric plant, pulp and paper mill, ALGOMA steel).
17. Espanola and Manitoulin Island: lumber.
18. Kirkland Lake, Rouyn, Noranda, Val-d'Or: gold.
19. South Porcupine, Timmins: gold.
20. Kapuskasing: lumber (and hydro-electric plant, pulp and paper mill).
21. Iroquois Falls: lumber (and hydro-electric plant, pulp and paper mill).
22. Cobalt: silver.
23. Sudbury Basin, Sudbury, Copper Cliff and Creighton (INCO), Coniston, Victoria, Garson and Levack (Mond Mine): copper, nickel.
24. Ottawa River Valley: lumber.
25. St. Lawrence River Valley: lumber.
26. Cape Breton Island, Sydney and Sydney Mines: coal (and Dominion Iron and Steel Company).



10. Major frontier towns, camps and work sites, Canada ca. 1914

TABLES

T A B L E 1

Land, field crops and livestock, Ukrainian districts and prairie provinces, 1916: average per farm

	No. Farms	Size (acres)	Improved (acres)	Wheat (acres)	Oats (acres)	Horses	Cattle	Swine
Ukrainian Districts	22,973	195.06	59.58	18.45	25.42	4.27	10.98	5.58
Prairie Provinces	218,606	335.31	157.04	65.53	33.67	8.44	12.70	6.23

SOURCE: Calculated from data in *Census of the Prairie Provinces* 1916, Table XXV, 322ff.

TABLE 2

Land, field crops and livestock, Ukrainian bloc settlements and municipal districts, Manitoba, Saskatchewan and Alberta, 1916

<i>Bloc Settlement/ Municipal District</i>	No. Farms	Acres/ Farm	MANITOBA										
			Acres Improved/ Farm	Acres Field Farm	Crops/ Farm	Acres Wheat/ Farm	Acres Barley/ Farm	Acres Oats/ Farm	Acres Rye/ Farm	Horses/ Farm	Cattle/ Farm	Sheep/ Farm	Swine/ Farm
<i>Stuartburn</i>													
Stuartburn	829	151.17	20.36	15.81		6.97	0.91	4.63	2.45	0.85	9.01	0.94	1.33
<i>Brokenhead-Whitemouth</i>													
Brokenhead	695	116.78	42.89	32.98		15.48	4.11	10.03	0.84	2.83	7.14	0.53	3.80
St. Clements	821	90.42	20.11	16.28		6.65	1.96	4.87	0.19	2.28	6.30	1.03	1.75
<i>Interlake</i>													
Kreuzberg	714	154.89	8.02	6.79		1.03	1.72	2.42	0.59	0.64	6.79	0.008	1.18
Gimli	421	139.62	11.45	7.36		0.41	1.86	3.66	0.27	1.35	7.38	3.00	1.53
Bifrost	1076	172.81	13.83	9.06		1.37	2.17	4.12	0.95	1.13	8.57	3.20	0.83
<i>Shoal Lake</i>													
Harrison	273	274.90	118.47	90.56		19.73	7.79	61.85	0.14	6.91	12.93	0.45	3.54
Rosburn	478	202.52	62.81	56.71		6.05	3.43	45.73	0.08	7.63	14.03	0.10	2.35
Silver Creek	273	363.18	171.98	131.52		17.21	8.38	104.95	0.08	9.90	20.05	1.21	3.64
<i>Dauphin</i>													
Dauphin	870	194.11	90.13	81.99		43.95	11.94	21.72	0.04	5.21	12.54	0.62	3.86
Ethelbert	533	170.09	33.99	29.60		20.74	2.20	5.75	0.11	1.65	7.50	0.00	2.78
Mossy River	434	179.26	32.74	28.22		15.35	3.30	8.02	0.62	2.05	9.54	1.06	1.96

T A B L E 2 (cont'd)

<i>Bloc Settlement/ Municipal District</i>	No. Farms	Acres/ Farm	Acres Improved/ Farm	Acres Field Crops/ Farm	Acres Wheat/ Farm	Acres Barley/ Farm	Acres Oats/ Farm	Acres Rye/ Farm	Horses/ Farm	Cattle/ Farm	Sheep/ Farm	Swine/ Farm
Gilbert Plains	682	223.98	121.44	95.05	51.99	12.29	22.55	0.31	5.57	11.54	1.57	6.07
Total	8,099	172.51	48.34	39.39	15.90	4.57	16.14	0.50	3.10	9.56	1.18	2.53
Total Manitoba	46,623	288.20	154.17	109.75	58.38	14.75	30.96	0.64	7.26	12.23	1.65	4.73
SASKATCHEWAN												
<i>Yorkton</i>												
Calder (#241)	484	222.85	94.80	78.57	22.58	3.65	51.73	0.01	6.17	13.61	0.38	3.43
Garry (#245)	374	218.37	70.72	59.49	16.33	2.89	39.82	0.06	6.37	13.43	0.24	4.13
Ituna (#246)	344	212.62	79.49	64.25	13.72	1.87	47.88	0.003	6.95	20.03	0.02	4.40
Sliding Hills (#273)	620	236.65	116.13	100.89	14.26	4.30	81.40	0.23	6.97	11.55	0.12	5.34
Good Lake (#274)	519	245.60	100.13	88.76	25.11	3.00	59.76	0.10	5.63	14.10	0.45	3.81
Insinger (#275)	554	223.52	67.26	59.36	18.60	1.95	38.08	0.04	4.14	12.11	0.06	3.21
Beaver (#276)	525	249.71	78.75	66.36	20.46	2.40	39.77	0.06	5.65	13.18	0.47	3.44
Emerald (#277)	447	227.62	64.85	53.00	16.28	3.93	31.07	0.02	5.20	13.71	0.73	3.89
Buchanan (#304)	397	249.57	98.94	85.65	19.05	3.26	62.58	0.09	6.33	15.89	0.51	2.66

T A B L E 2 (cont'd)

<i>Bloc Settlement/ Municipal District</i>	No. Farms	Acres/ Farm	Acres Improved/ Farm	Acres Field Crops/ Farm	Acres Wheat/ Farm	Acres Barley/ Farm	Acres Oats/ Farm	Acres Rye/ Farm	Horses/ Farm	Cattle/ Farm	Sheep/ Farm	Swine/ Farm
Clayton (#333)	441	179.63	41.36	37.14	8.32	4.09	23.81	0.10	2.29	7.45	0.23	2.43
Preeceville (#334)	494	197.89	53.80	47.41	10.58	4.35	31.72	0.26	4.00	11.45	0.66	2.39
Hazel Dell (#335)	284	175.20	25.41	19.02	4.21	2.58	11.36	0.007	2.19	7.36	0.20	1.92
Unorganized (#363)	37	164.46	14.78	11.78	1.14	5.22	4.49	0.00	1.08	10.27	0.00	1.86
Unorganized (#364)	126	162.54	11.68	9.78	0.33	1.83	7.04	0.20	1.33	5.59	0.00	0.73
<i>Fish Creek-Rosthern</i>												
Grant (#372)	410	250.85	139.80	114.81	89.15	2.26	22.28	0.05	4.70	6.48	0.01	5.53
Hoodoo (#401)	438	206.99	88.25	70.88	43.66	4.31	21.45	0.07	4.53	9.72	1.20	9.95
Fish Creek (#402)	420	225.32	94.35	73.42	54.24	2.32	16.25	0.08	4.90	8.17	0.61	5.96
<i>Redberry-Battleford</i>												
Redberry (#435)	611	220.09	96.95	74.35	56.04	0.94	16.32	0.02	4.10	8.50	0.005	4.87
<i>Prince Albert</i>												
Russia (#490)	276	167.47	18.59	16.82	7.62	1.33	7.10	0.01	1.41	7.48	0.41	2.25
Total	7,801	219.81	80.06	66.95	26.21	2.94	36.70	0.08	4.84	11.38	0.36	4.11
Total Sask.	104,006	353.83	188.76	165.07	86.70	3.53	36.46	0.22	8.24	9.88	1.19	5.14

T A B L E 2 (cont'd)

<i>Bloc Settlement/ Municipal District</i>	No. Farms	Acres/ Farm	Acres Improved/ Farm	Acres Field Crops/ Farm	ALBERTA				Horses/ Farm	Cattle/ Farm	Sheep/ Farm	Swine/ Farm
					Acres Wheat/ Farm	Acres Barley/ Farm	Acres Oats/ Farm	Acres Rye/ Farm				
<i>West</i>												
Leslie (#547)	630	207.93	62.46	54.49	13.38	9.53	28.47	0.08	5.84	13.18	1.01	11.76
Wostok (#546)	714	184.01	49.58	39.75	11.07	7.29	20.66	0.12	5.18	12.02	1.09	12.08
Eagle (#545)	542	207.75	66.39	61.82	19.39	7.89	31.94	0.05	6.25	13.68	1.89	15.67
Pines (#516)	535	208.09	64.99	59.85	17.20	8.05	31.71	0.05	6.36	14.36	0.79	15.49
Beaver Lake (#486)	418	258.38	85.88	74.91	23.27	3.52	45.58	0.05	9.46	24.10	1.34	14.10
<i>Northwest</i>												
Smoky Lake (#576)	690	157.82	25.34	22.32	5.86	4.39	11.03	0.04	3.16	6.63	0.42	6.67
Vilna/Wasel (#575)	655	163.32	29.18	26.66	7.24	4.28	14.13	0.06	2.97	6.16	0.47	7.48
Unity (#577)	742	169.81	21.02	18.42	3.09	2.87	11.78	0.01	2.61	6.52	0.16	4.25
Opal (#578)	565	180.00	34.87	30.32	4.39	4.83	18.81	0.03	3.66	8.64	0.64	8.46
<i>Southeast</i>												
Norma (#515)	358	294.36	117.07	104.28	30.95	9.93	59.63	0.05	9.61	26.33	0.73	19.79
Birch Lake (#484)	280	232.36	85.04	71.71	34.73	4.71	31.42	0.02	7.04	18.68	2.57	9.91
<i>East</i>												
Ukraina (#513)	483	161.82	32.77	29.51	8.66	5.53	14.36	0.31	3.48	10.73	0.83	10.36

T A B L E 2 (cont'd)

<i>Bloc Settlement/ Municipal District</i>	No. Farms	Acres/ Farm	Acres Improved/ Farm	Acres Field Crops/ Farm	Acres Wheat/ Farm	Acres Barley/ Farm	Acres Oats/ Farm	Acres Rye/ Farm	Horses/ Farm	Cattle/ Farm	Sheep/ Farm	Swine/ Farm
Sobor (#514)	461	175.84	38.62	35.62	13.43	4.36	16.27	0.08	4.21	12.95	0.10	10.13
Total	7,073	193.58	49.86	44.01	12.80	5.02	23.59	0.07	4.99	12.19	0.84	10.70
Total Alberta	67,977	339.27	110.48	81.00	38.05	4.95	31.25	0.26	9.53	17.34	4.34	8.93

SOURCE: Calculated from data in *Census of the Prairie Provinces* 1916, Table XXV, 322 ff.

T A B L E 3

Land and field crops, Ukrainian districts and prairie provinces, 1921: average per farm

	No. Farms	Size (acres)	Improved (acres)	Wheat (acres)	Oats (acres)	Horses	Cattle	Swine
Ukrainian Districts	26,107	226.47	76.04	24.56	28.45	--	--	--
Prairie Provinces	255,657	343.94	175.48	75.52	32.07	--	--	--

SOURCE: Calculated from data in *Census of Canada 1921*, V, Tables 81, 82, 250 ff.

TABLE 4

Land and field crops, Ukrainian bloc settlements and municipal districts, Manitoba, Saskatchewan and Alberta, 1921

<i>Bloc Settlement/ Municipal District*</i>	No. Farms	Acres/ Farm	Acres Improved/ Farm	MANITOBA					
				Acres Field Crops/ Farm	Acres Wheat/ Farm	Acres Barley/ Farm	Acres Oats/ Farm	Acres Rye/ Farm	Potatoes & Roots Farms
<i>Stuartburn</i>									
Stuartburn (88.6%)	857	152.2	26.6	22.0	6.3	1.4	7.1	6.50	0.48
<i>Brokenhead-Whitemouth</i>									
Brokenhead (41.0%)	694	137.6	58.8	43.1	22.0	4.8	13.5	1.75	0.68
St. Clements (45.3%)	934	91.2	29.7	18.4	9.1	2.3	3.6	0.06	1.68
Birch River (86.4%)	213	119.7	15.9	12.3	1.5	1.3	3.5	1.33	0.72
<i>Interlake</i>									
Kreuzberg (72.6%)	672	154.6	11.6	8.9	1.8	1.8	3.8	0.41	0.90
Gimli (43.3%)	386	143.1	15.6	10.4	1.5	2.0	5.3	0.27	0.82
Chatfield (67.1%)	471	166.6	12.0	10.4	1.6	2.7	5.2	0.15	0.78
Bifrost (38.9%)	982	178.3	18.9	15.0	1.7	3.3	6.6	0.15	0.43
Fisher Branch (34.3%)	441	188.7	26.6	20.3	4.5	4.2	10.3	0.91	0.59
<i>Shoal Lake</i>									
Harrison (55.1%)	316	270.2	117.0	91.2	32.2	13.8	44.4	0.00	0.42
Rossburn (75.5%)	553	219.8	74.5	58.7	15.3	6.8	35.2	0.03	0.50
Silver Creek (37.0%)	302	373.4	160.4	128.0	18.9	10.6	98.2	0.00	0.24
Unorganized (14.10) (92.6%)	276	194.5	57.2	48.1	22.9	4.9	19.7	0.00	0.75

T A B L E 4 (cont'd)

<i>Bloc Settlement/ Municipal District*</i>	No. Farms	Acres/ Farm	Acres Improved/ Farm	Acres Field Crops/ Farm	Acres Wheat/ Farm	Acres Barley/ Farm	Acres Oats/ Farm	Acres Rye/ Farm	Potatoes & Roots Farms
<i>Dauphin</i>									
Dauphin (52.6%)	1048	215.8	103.3	83.3	46.3	10.1	21.5	2.04	0.35
Ethelbert (94.8%)	533	172.7	43.6	37.6	20.1	4.3	11.9	0.56	0.50
Mossy River (72.3%)	520	165.4	42.6	35.0	14.9	4.0	12.2	2.51	0.51
Gilbert Plains (50.4%)	811	223.2	121.2	90.6	46.8	13.1	23.2	1.58	0.41
Total	9,709	184.5	55.5	43.2	17.6	5.5	16.5	1.32	0.67
Total Manitoba	53,252	274.5	151.3	110.0	52.8	15.5	33.7	3.29	0.53
SASKATCHEWAN									
<i>Yorkton</i>									
Calder (#241) (78.9%)	551	282.7	120.9	94.1	24.2	8.4	60.9	0.13	0.39
Garry (#245) (55.0%)	481	285.4	87.6	71.9	34.6	3.0	33.8	0.07	0.11
Ituna (#246) (60.0%)	425	279.0	99.1	84.8	23.8	3.1	57.1	0.17	0.37
Sliding Hills (#273) (58.6%)	657	322.3	160.1	131.2	23.4	5.3	101.6	0.05	0.52
Good Lake (#274) (68.5%)	613	266.7	115.9	96.9	36.5	5.4	54.2	0.26	0.55
Insinger (#275) (83.6%)	648	239.6	80.6	68.8	29.3	4.1	34.4	0.22	0.54
Beaver (#276) (51.6%)	553	294.6	93.7	78.4	30.2	7.1	39.7	0.05	0.18
Emerald (#277) (37.5%)	517	270.6	81.2	66.6	34.9	3.5	26.7	0.45	0.22
Buchanan (#304) (47.9%)	447	309.5	125.6	102.9	30.3	2.5	69.1	0.39	0.14
Clayton (#333) (44.9%)	599	205.8	62.5	56.7	15.3	5.1	35.9	0.16	0.15
Preeceville (#334) (45.4%)	579	241.8	78.0	62.8	11.7	4.3	45.1	1.28	0.31

T A B L E 4 (cont'd)

<i>Bloc Settlement/ Municipal District*</i>	No. Farms	Acres/ Farm	Acres Improved/ Farm	Acres Field Crops/ Farm	Acres Wheat/ Farm	Acres Barley/ Farm	Acres Oats/ Farm	Acres Rye/ Farm	Potatoes & Roots Farms
Hazel Dell (#335) (35.6%)	386	195.6	28.6	21.4	3.3	3.1	13.5	0.36	0.25
Unorganized (#363) (89.3%)	37	168.6	28.2	27.1	1.2	5.0	20.1	0.00	0.89
Unorganized (#364) (64.5%)	123	187.3	25.4	20.6	1.0	2.0	16.3	1.12	0.01
<i>Fish Creek-Rosthern</i>									
Grant (#372) (55.6%)	391	324.5	189.4	136.5	102.2	1.2	22.7	0.52	0.14
Hoodoo (#401) (48.7%)	529	264.8	115.1	91.4	57.6	6.9	23.8	0.67	0.35
Fish Creek (#402) (80.1%)	419	251.2	110.2	81.3	59.4	1.4	17.9	1.27	0.64
<i>Redberry-Battleford</i>									
Redberry (#435) (70.9%)	564	310.3	155.9	101.4	74.5	0.3	21.4	1.54	0.46

T A B L E 4 (cont'd)

<i>Bloc Settlement/ Municipal District*</i>	No. Farms	Acres/ Farm	Acres Improved/ Farm	Acres Field Crops/ Farm	Acres Wheat/ Farm	Acres Barley/ Farm	Acres Oats/ Farm	Acres Rye/ Farm	Potatoes & Roots Farms
<i>Prince Albert</i>									
Russia (#490) (54.3%)	402	206.0	21.6	19.3	9.6	1.5	7.6	0.08	0.56
Total	8,921	266.9	101.4	80.6	34.0	4.1	41.0	0.46	0.35
Total Sask.	119,451	368.5	209.6	149.2	97.5	3.5	40.7	2.30	0.27
ALBERTA									
<i>West</i>									
Leslie (#547) (72.1%)	626	256.4	93.4	71.2	24.0	10.7	33.3	0.33	0.57
Wostok (#546) (85.4%)	684	234.1	69.9	57.1	22.3	8.8	25.1	0.26	0.27
Eagle (#545) (80.4%)	565	258.6	97.2	77.0	33.4	5.7	33.3	0.08	0.38
Pines (#516) (62.5%)	575	254.7	87.3	75.1	33.4	6.3	34.0	0.17	0.51
Beaver Lake (#486) (45.1%)	478	328.1	113.3	97.0	36.3	4.0	54.3	0.45	0.18
<i>Northwest</i>									
Smoky Lake (#576) (81.7%)	740	167.1	36.6	30.5	8.9	4.2	15.9	0.26	0.32
Vilna/Wasel (#575) (77.3%)	633	174.4	43.4	33.9	10.8	2.4	19.6	0.13	0.37
Unity (#577) (46.2%)	799	189.1	31.8	26.7	3.8	3.2	17.2	0.30	0.44
Opal (#578) (37.2%)	595	216.3	56.5	47.9	9.9	9.8	24.8	0.31	0.53

T A B L E 4 (cont'd)

<i>Bloc Settlement/ Municipal District*</i>	No. Farms	Acres/ Farm	Acres Improved/ Farm	Acres Field Crops/ Farm	Acres Wheat/ Farm	Acres Barley/ Farm	Acres Oats/ Farm	Acres Rye/ Farm	Potatoes & Roots/ Farm
<i>Southeast</i>									
Norma (#515) (51.3%)	446	369.6	152.5	130.8	47.3	7.9	71.3	0.52	0.49
Birch Lake (#484) (43.9%)	412	271.9	108.7	92.5	46.2	7.2	34.5	0.36	0.11
<i>East</i>									
Ukraina (#513) (83.8%)	462	178.8	53.6	38.2	15.1	3.6	17.2	1.48	0.29
Sobor (#514) (87.2%)	462	209.0	53.8	45.6	24.5	2.5	16.4	0.58	0.51
Total	7,477	232.7	72.4	59.6	22.3	5.9	29.0	0.37	0.39
Total Alberta	82,954	353.1	141.9	102.8	58.5	4.7	30.7	2.52	0.30

*Percentages in parentheses refer to the number of "Ukrainians" and "Austrians" in the municipal districts, according to the 1921 Census of Canada. The figure for Leslie in Alberta (#547) also includes "Russians" who, in this district, were Ukrainian Russophiles from Galicia.

T A B L E 5 (cont'd)

Railway/Town	Population			Business Enterprises					
	1911 Total	1921 Total	1921 Ukr.	1911 Total	1911 Ukr.	1916 Total	1916 Ukr.	1921 Total	1921 Ukr.
Smoky Lake	--	--	--	1	1	3	2	30	18
Edward	--	--	--	--	--	1	1	3	3
Bellis	--	--	--	--	--	2	1	20	8
Wasel/Vilna	--	--	--	--	--	2	1	16	9
Spedden	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	6	2
Ashmont	--	--	--	--	--	1	0	12	0
St. Paul de M�tis	--	869	34	8	0	25	0	50	4
<i>3. Alberta -- Edna-Star -- A&GWR (Northwest)</i>									
Bon Accord	--	--	--	1	0	8	0	9	0
Fedorah	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	1	1
Egremont	--	--	--	1	0	2	1	2	0
Thorhild	--	--	--	--	--	1	0	6	3
<i>4. Alberta -- Leduc -- CPR</i>									
Leduc	450	756	10	30	1	32	1	45	1
Calmar	--	--	--	--	--	1	0	2	0
Thorsby	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
Total Alberta				268	11	375	30	652	122

T A B L E 5 (cont'd)

Railway/Town	Population			Business Enterprises					
	1911 Total	1921 Total	1921 Ukr.	1911 Total	1911 Ukr.	1916 Total	1916 Ukr.	1921 Total	1921 Ukr.
Rama	--	127	76	1	0	2	1	11	4
Invermay	93	147	7	12	0	10	0	11	0
<i>11. Saskatchewan -- Yorkton -- CNoR (North)</i>									
Arran	--	142	52	--	--	5	0	17	7
Pelly	82	288	17	--	--	16	1	24	2
Norquay	--	198	41	--	--	6	0	18	4
Hyas	--	95	22	--	--	9	0	12	3
Stenen	--	195	27	--	--	15	0	16	3
Sturgis	--	179	43	1	0	12	0	12	2
Preeceville	--	319	23	--	--	21	0	25	2
Ketchen	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	2	0
Lintlaw	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	19	0
Nut Mountain	--	--	--	1	0	2	0	2	0
Kelvington	--	--	--	1	0	3	0	16	0
<i>12. Saskatchewan -- Fish Creek-Rosthern -- CNoR (Centre)</i>									
Humboldt	859	1822	129	38	0	61	0	68	0
Dixon	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
Carmel	--	--	--	2	0	7	0	5	0
Bruno	37	311	25	12	0	15	0	25	0
Dana	78	75	9	11	0	8	1	9	1
Howell/Prud'homme	112	182	4	14	1	14	0	15	0
Vonda	268	383	85	27	0	29	1	30	4

T A B L E 5 (cont'd)

Railway/Town	Population			Business Enterprises					
	1911 Total	1921 Total	1921 Ukr.	1911 Total	1911 Ukr.	1916 Total	1916 Ukr.	1921 Total	1921 Ukr.
<i>13. Saskatchewan -- Fish Creek-Rosthern -- CNoR (West)</i>									
Osler	--	--	--	5	0	8	0	9	0
Hague	300	228	7	21	1	24	0	25	0
Arma	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
Rosthern	1172	1074	38	44	0	40	3	44	3
Leckford	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
Duck Lake	379	437	10	28	0	27	0	27	0
<i>14. Saskatchewan -- Fish Creek-Rosthern/Prince Albert -- GTP (Centre)</i>									
Meacham	--	90	6	--	--	9	0	12	4
Peterson-(Dana)	--	--	--	--	--	1	0	2	0
(Dana)-Bremen	--	--	--	--	--	1	0	1	0
Cudworth	--	331	92	--	--	16	0	22	3
Leofnard	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
Wakaw	--	387	123	2	1	29	8	33	12
Domremy	--	77	3	4	0	12	0	11	0
Hoey	--	--	--	--	--	5	0	12	0
St. Louis	--	--	--	4	0	6	0	6	0
Red Deer Hill	--	--	--	--	--	2	0	4	0
(Prince Albert)	6254	7558	192	155	0	180	1	189	3)
<i>15. Saskatchewan -- Redberry-Battleford -- CNoR (Centre)</i>									
Borden	96	160	7	12	0	16	0	19	0
Radisson	305	431	23	28	0	32	1	34	2

TABLE 5 (cont'd)

Railway/Town	Population			Business Enterprises					
	1911 Total	1921 Total	1921 Ukr.	1911 Total	1911 Ukr.	1916 Total	1916 Ukr.	1921 Total	1921 Ukr.
Fielding	77	105	0	11	0	13	0	11	0
Maymont	121	151	0	--	--	13	0	15	0
Ruddell	--	96	0	15	0	13	0	13	0
Denholm	--	90	7	5	0	9	0	8	0
Brada	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
Hamlin	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
<i>(North Battleford)</i>	<i>2105</i>	<i>4108</i>	<i>111</i>	<i>75</i>	<i>0</i>	<i>120</i>	<i>0</i>	<i>130</i>	<i>0</i>
<i>16. Saskatchewan -- Redberry-Battleford -- CNoR (West)</i>									
Lilac	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
Richard	--	--	--	--	--	9	0	10	0
Speers	--	105	2	--	--	16	1	16	1
Hafford	--	183	94	--	--	22	4	22	7
Redberry	--	--	--	--	--	1	1	2	2
Krydor	--	104	64	--	--	10	4	20	14
Tallman	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
Blaine Lake	--	334	8	--	--	27	0	27	0
Total Saskatchewan <i>(excluding North Battleford and Prince Albert)</i>				810	4	1257	44	1638	161
<i>17. Manitoba -- Stuartburn -- CPR & CNoR</i>									
Arnaud (CPR)	--	--	--	--	--	5	0	7	0
Dominion City	--	--	--	--	--	19	1	17	0

T A B L E 5 (cont'd)

Railway/Town	Population				Business Enterprises				
	1911 Total	1921 Total	1921 Ukr.	1911 Total	1911 Ukr.	1916 Total	1916 Ukr.	1921 Total	1921 Ukr.
Emerson (CPR & CNoR)	1043	895	45	28	0	28	1	27	2
Fredenstahl (CNoR)	--	--	--	--	--	1	0	1	0
Ridgeville	--	--	--	7	0	6	0	7	0
Oleskiw/Tolstoi	--	--	--	2	2	3	2	6	4
Stuartburn	--	--	--	8	3	4	2	6	4
Vita	--	--	--	2	0	4	2	9	7
Caliento	--	--	--	1	0	2	1	1	1
Sundown	--	--	--	--	--	2	2	4	3
<i>18. Manitoba -- Whitemouth-Brokenhead -- CPR</i>									
(West) Selkirk (CPR North)	2977	3726	295	64	0	63	0	75	1
Libau	--	--	--	1	0	2	1	5	1
Balsam Bay	--	--	--	--	--	3	0	2	0
Grand Beach	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	2	0
Belair	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
Victoria Beach	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	3	0
Bird's Hill (CPR East)	--	--	--	1	0	2	0	4	0
Gonor	--	--	--	--	--	1	0	2	1
East Selkirk	--	--	--	4	1	3	0	3	1
Garson Quarry	--	--	--	--	--	6	0	5	0
Tyndall	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	6	3
Beausejour	847	994	544	30	2	30	2	24	4
Sinnot	--	--	--	1	0	--	--	--	--
Molson	--	--	--	2	1	1	0	1	0

T A B L E 5 (cont'd)

Railway/Town	Population			Business Enterprises					
	1911 Total	Total	1921 Ukr.	1911 Total	Ukr.	1916		1921	
						Total	Ukr.	Total	Ukr.
(Buchan)	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
(Milner)	--	--	--	--	--	1	0	--	--
(Lac du Bonnet)	--	--	--	--	--	8	0	9	0
Julius	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
Shelley	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
Whitemouth	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	11	0
{Elma} (GTP)	--	--	--	--	--	6	1	3	1
<i>19. Manitoba -- Interlake -- CPR (2) and CNR</i>									
Winnipeg Beach									
(CPR-East)	245	214	58	12	1	15	2	18	5
Husavick	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
Gimli	496	617	2	25	0	25	0	18	1
Arnes	--	--	--	--	--	4	0	5	1
Teulon (CPR-Centre)	--	--	--	17	0	13	0	19	1
Komarno	--	--	--	3	1	8	6	7	5
Malanton	--	--	--	--	--	4	2	3	2
Kreuzberg/Fraserwood	--	--	--	--	--	3	1	4	3
Meleb	--	--	--	--	--	3	0	3	0
Rembrandt	--	--	--	--	--	4	2	6	2
Silver	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	2	0
Arborg	--	--	--	3	0	11	0	16	3
Inwood (CNR-West)	--	--	--	2	0	8	0	10	1
Narcisse	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	3	1
Chatfield	--	--	--	--	--	3	1	5	1

T A B L E 5 (cont'd)

Railway/Town	Population			Business Enterprises					
	1911 Total	1921 Total	1921 Ukr.	1911 Total	1911 Ukr.	1916 Total	1916 Ukr.	1921 Total	1921 Ukr.
Poplarfield	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	2	2
Broad Valley	--	--	--	--	--	2	2	2	2
Fisher Branch	--	--	--	--	--	9	2	14	7
Hodgson	--	--	--	--	--	3	0	8	3
<i>20. Manitoba -- Shoal Lake-Rosburn -- CNoR</i>									
Erickson	--	--	--	1	0	7	0	15	0
Rockham	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
Sandy Lake	--	--	--	4	0	10	2	16	7
Elphinstone	--	--	--	9	0	10	1	17	2
Menzie	--	--	--	1	0	1	0	2	1
Oakburn	--	--	--	5	0	8	1	10	1
Vista	--	--	--	3	0	3	0	4	0
Rosburn	--	357	60	20	0	25	2	29	1
Birdtail	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	1	0
Angusville	--	--	--	5	0	5	0	13	1
Silverton	--	--	--	1	0	2	0	3	0
Russell	562	696	44	30	0	31	0	40	2
<i>21. Manitoba -- Dauphin -- CNoR (South)</i>									
Dauphin	2815	3885	368	74	0	84	0	102	5
Ashville	--	--	--	1	0	2	0	3	1
Gilbert Plains	542	737	26	28	0	28	0	36	0
Grandview	637	846	79	40	0	38	2	38	0

T A B L E 5 (cont'd)

Railway/Town	Population			Business Enterprises					
	1911 Total	Total	1921 Ukr.	1911 Total	1911 Ukr.	1916 Total	1916 Ukr.	1921 Total	1921 Ukr.
Maharry	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
Bield	--	--	--	--	--	1	0	2	0
Roblin	--	617	41	20	0	26	1	33	0
McLean Siding	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
Makaroff (-Togo)	--	--	--	--	--	1	0	1	0
<i>22. Manitoba -- Dauphin -- CNoR (North)</i>									
(Dauphin)-Valley River	--	--	--	1	0	5	2	5	2
Sifton	--	--	--	7	2	11	3	18	8
(Fishing River)	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
(Fork River)	--	--	--	3	0	6	1	8	2
(Gruber)	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
(Winnipegosis)	518	750	122	14	1	15	1	28	2
Ukraina	--	--	--	--	--	1	0	2	2
Ethelbert	--	--	--	7	1	16	10	20	10
Garland	--	--	--	2	1	2	1	4	3
Pine River	--	--	--	2	0	6	3	5	3
Slater	--	--	--	1	1	--	--	4	4
Cowan	--	--	--	--	--	1	1	1	1
Total Manitoba				492	19	660	64	845	131

T A B L E 6

Fatal accidents in Canadian frontier industries, 1904-1923

Year	Lumbering	Mining	Railway Construction	Service Industries	All Industries
1904	69	103	--	272	890
1905	75	70	--	140	963
1906	119	119	--	252	1107
1907	129	181	--	342	1353
1908	113	148	--	326	1272
1909	130	160	--	283	1291
1910	110	180	--	287	1380
1911	71	104	49	178	1084
1912	54	152	90	332	1220
1913	80	216	149	348	1500
1914	58	356	57	187	1381
1915	53	169	14	117	836
1916	58	159	8	252	950
1917	156	235	13	262	1195
1918	155	263	7	255	1222
1919	158	137	35	189	1068
1920	187	160	--	178	1170
1921	128	109	--	158	1192
1922	153	170	24	143	1128
1923	195	187	31	168	1412
Total	2,251	3,378	477	4,669	23,614

SOURCE: "Report of the Deputy Minister of Labour," *Sessional Papers* 1913-16, 1924-5; *Labour Gazette* 1917-22.

T A B L E 7

Occupations of male Ukrainians, Winnipeg and Edmonton, 1911, 1914, 1921

OCCUPATIONS	WINNIPEG		EDMONTON		
	1911	1921	1911	1914	1921
<i>Professionals</i>					
Medical doctors	--	1	--	--	--
Lawyers	--	2	--	--	--
Clergymen	4	6	1	5	2
Teachers	--	1	--	--	--
Students	7	10	3	5	3
<i>White Collar Workers</i>					
Clerks and tellers	16	49	5	13	6
Managers	2	15	--	5	9
Editors	2	7	1	3	1
Others	11	22	3	14	7
<i>Merchants/Proprietors</i>					
Grocers	7	45	3	10	13
Confectioners	--	4	--	2	7
Restaurateurs	--	4	1	4	7
Meat markets	--	4	1	1	3
General stores	2	3	1	1	2
Billiard rooms	--	3	2	3	9
Hoteliers	--	2	1	2	3
Others	1	20	4	4	5
<i>Craftsmen/Tradesmen</i>					
Carpenters	42	76	7	9	10
Tailors	16	39	--	1	7
Shoemakers	13	44	2	5	8
Blacksmiths	5	19	6	6	--
Tinsmiths	5	7	1	1	--
Steamfitters	2	2	1	1	--
Watchmakers	--	2	--	--	1
Printers, bookbinders, linotypists, pressmen	9	18	1	10	1
Electricians	--	4	--	4	--
Moulders	8	17	--	--	--
Plumbers	2	4	--	2	--
Photographers	--	3	--	--	--
Barbers	2	26	1	6	4
Bakers	2	16	1	2	4
Butchers	2	4	1	2	4
Others	2	7	1	1	--

T A B L E 7 (cont'd)

OCCUPATIONS	WINNIPEG		EDMONTON		
	1911	1921	1911	1914	1921
<i>Skilled & Semi-Skilled Workers</i>					
Machinists	10	41	--	2	2
Mechanics	--	9	--	1	2
Boilermakers	5	9	--	--	2
Firemen	13	14	--	--	--
Engineers	1	8	--	--	--
Painters	10	15	1	1	1
Meatcutters	--	11	--	1	--
Apprentices	1	7	--	1	--
Motormen	--	6	--	--	--
Harnessmakers	2	5	--	1	--
Plasterers	2	5	--	--	1
Carmen	--	22	--	--	--
Foremen	3	14	1	5	6
Cooks	6	25	--	6	6
Others	43	26	3	20	8
<i>Unskilled Workers</i>					
Car repairers	78	50	1	2	--
General helpers	10	93	1	7	1
Teamsters, truckers, drivers	44	92	4	17	6
Chauffeurs, taxi drivers	--	13	--	--	1
Waiters	4	17	--	4	2
City construction workers	615	--	--	--	--
Labourers	583	918	100	515	143
Employees	148	725	54	72	101
Others	131	151	22	38	25
<i>Miners</i>	--	--	15	33	62
<i>Farmers</i>	2	2	3	3	4
<i>Not Given</i>	177	324	20	48	63
TOTAL	2,050	3,089	273	899	552

SOURCE: Compiled from *Henderson's* Winnipeg and Edmonton City Directories, 1911, 1914, 1921.

T A B L E 8
Occupations of female Ukrainians, Winnipeg and Edmonton, 1911, 1914, 1921

OCCUPATIONS	WINNIPEG		EDMONTON		
	1911	1921	1911	1914	1921
Teachers	--	3	2	--	2
Students	--	4	--	--	3
Bookkeepers	--	1	--	2	1
Stenographers	--	12	--	5	1
Ledgerkeepers	--	1	--	--	--
Clerks	7	34	--	5	3
Typists	--	3	--	--	--
Interpreters	--	1	--	--	--
Cashiers	--	2	--	1	--
Phone operators	--	1	--	1	--
Apprentices	--	1	--	--	--
Midwives	2	--	--	--	--
Druggists' helpers	--	1	--	--	--
Medical assistants	--	1	--	--	--
Milliners	--	1	--	--	--
Tailors	--	3	--	--	--
Dressmakers	2	--	1	--	1
Seamstresses	2	1	--	--	--
Sewers	1	--	--	--	--
Furfinishers	1	--	--	--	--
Garment workers	--	--	--	--	14
Upholsterers	2	--	--	--	--
Finishers	--	1	--	--	--
Grocers	--	1	--	--	--
Confectioners	1	--	--	--	--
Barbers	--	1	--	1	1
Hairdressers	--	1	--	--	--
Maids	15	22	5	19	11
Bartenders	1	--	--	--	--
Waitresses	--	15	2	4	7
Domestics	1	6	8	11	2
Housekeepers	1	1	--	--	--
Cooks	1	4	1	2	--
Charwomen	1	--	--	--	--
Silvergirls	1	--	--	--	--
Hospital workers	--	--	--	--	6
Laundresses	--	2	--	2	--
Pressers	--	1	--	--	--
Ironers	--	--	1	--	--

T A B L E 8 (cont'd)

OCCUPATIONS	WINNIPEG		EDMONTON		
	1911	1921	1911	1914	1921
Operators	4	10	--	--	--
Packers	1	3	--	--	--
Boxmakers	1	11	--	--	--
Bottlers	--	1	--	--	--
Helpers	--	4	--	--	--
Dippers	--	3	--	--	--
Candymakers	--	3	--	--	--
Wrappers	--	2	--	--	--
Machinists	--	1	--	--	--
Bindery hands	--	1	--	--	--
Labourers/employees	19	120	3	6	11
Widows	7	18	--	--	--
Not Given	7	45	5	16	19
TOTAL	78	347	28	75	72

SOURCE: Compiled from *Henderson's* Winnipeg and Edmonton City Directories, 1911, 1914, 1921.

T A B L E 9

Major employers of Ukrainian males, Winnipeg and Edmonton, 1911, 1914, 1921

EMPLOYERS	WINNIPEG		EDMONTON		
	1911	1921	1911	1914	1921
Steam railway companies	468	652	20	67	73
Street railway companies	7	120	2	--	1
City and/or contractors	668	122	33	234	19
Meat-packing houses	28	194	22	66	37
Iron shops	100	197	--	--	--
Mines	--	--	--	25	33
Hotels, restaurants, cafés	28	71	--	--	--
Others/unidentified	779	1773	196	507	389
TOTAL	2,050	3,089	273	899	552

SOURCE: Compiled from *Henderson's* Winnipeg and Edmonton City Directories, 1911, 1914, 1921.

T A B L E 10

Major employers of Ukrainian females, Winnipeg, 1911 and 1921

EMPLOYERS	1911	1921
Hotels	23	24
Restaurants, cafés	4	26
Private homes	4	17
Hospitals	--	17
Paper box and bag manufacturers	6	26
Garment factories	3	25
Meat-packing houses	3	24
Major department stores	3	17
Food processing	2	21
Others/unidentified	17	87
TOTAL	78	347

SOURCE: Compiled from *Henderson's* Winnipeg City Directory, 1911, 1921.

TABLE 11

Ages of deceased, St. Nicholas and SS. Vladimir and Olga Ukrainian Catholic parishes, Winnipeg, 1905-1921

YEAR/AGE	-2	2-14	15-29	30-39	40-49	50-59	60-69	70-79	80+
1905	57	5	4	4	1	1	--	--	--
1906	46	4	3	5	2	1	--	--	--
1907	58	2	8	2	1	1	1	--	--
1908	57	3	12	--	1	--	--	--	--
1909	42	--	8	7	3	--	--	1	--
1910	54	16	5	3	2	--	1	--	--
1911	56	7	11	3	3	1	2	--	--
1912	49	1	9	7	2	1	1	--	--
1913	60	3	6	3	1	--	--	--	1
1914	77	4	11	2	--	2	--	1	--
1915	78	3	13	2	5	3	2	--	--
1916	100	13	7	15	6	4	5	1	1
1917	85	11	18	12	7	3	5	--	--
1918	66	18	46	30	9	3	5	--	--
1919	64	12	14	11	7	5	4	2	--
1920	53	19	16	9	5	7	3	1	--
1921	31	7	13	11	5	6	6	3	1

SOURCE: Parish Archives, St. Nicholas (1905-21) and SS. Vladimir and Olga (1914-21)

PART THREE

Mobilizing Ukrainian Immigrants, 1896-1914

Conflicting Visions of Canada and the Immigrants

Continental European immigration had its most enthusiastic supporters among pragmatic politicians like Clifford Sifton and among Canada's lumber, mining and railway magnates, who stood to benefit most from large pools of cheap, docile labour. English- and French-speaking Canadian nationalists, however, greeted the newcomers with apprehension and anxiety. The Ukrainians in the rural bloc settlements, urban ghettos and frontier camps of western Canada struck many of them as a particularly difficult group whose presence threatened to upset the delicate balance between Anglo Protestants and French-Canadian Catholics. Anglo Protestants, the ascendant group on the prairies, feared that Catholic and Orthodox Ukrainian immigrants, often illiterate and uneducated and with little or no experience of electoral politics, would imperil their efforts to stamp the prairies as an 'English' and Protestant society. Archbishop Langevin, primate of the French Catholics, themselves on the cultural defensive since the early 1870s, regarded the immigrants as potential allies in the struggle for French Catholic linguistic and religious rights. Between 1896 and 1914 both groups made strenuous efforts to win the immigrants and thereby guarantee the triumph of their vision of Canada. Such exertions, however, were greatly complicated by the Ukrainian intelligentsia and the radically secular ideology of the Ukrainian national movement. Inclined at first to favour the Protestants, its members soon developed their own ideas and strategies as to what was best for Ukrainians, and the competition for immigrant support was thus transformed into a three-cornered fight between the Anglo Protestants, the French Catholics and the Ukrainian intelligentsia, each with its own often conflicting programmes, institutions and plans to mobilize the immigrants and to facilitate their integration into Canadian society.

The Anglo Protestants: "His Dominion"

Between 1896 and 1914 the Canadian prairies had acquired a distinctive, polyethnic character that set them apart from Ontario, the Maritimes and British Columbia, not to mention Quebec. Yet, while not as uniformly Protestant as the rest of Canada outside Quebec, the prairies were still clearly dominated by English-speaking Protestants. In 1911, 53.5 per cent of the 1.33 million prairie inhabitants were of English, Scottish, Irish or Welsh stock, while 52.4 per cent belonged to one of the three major Protestant denominations—Church of England, Methodist, Presbyterian—with roots in the British Isles. Another 20 per cent of various ethnic backgrounds belonged to several smaller Protestant sects and denominations.¹

By 1911 primacy among prairie Protestants belonged to the Presbyterians. Overwhelmingly of Scottish and Anglo-Irish stock, most had migrated from southern Ontario and the Maritimes. Although the last major denomination to send missionaries to the Canadian northwest, they enjoyed the allegiance of 20.1 per cent (266,872) of prairie inhabitants, who were ministered to by some four hundred clergy. Many of the Presbyterian missionaries who moved west between 1880 and 1900, when Presbyterian ascendancy was established, were "muscular Christians": young, robust, practical and worldly men who combined Christian belief with self-reliance, enthusiasm for outdoor life and interest in social issues and Canadian patriotism. In many respects they resembled the activist secular Ukrainian Catholic clergy of eastern Galicia. Most had been educated at Toronto's Knox College or at Queen's University in Kingston, while a minority had pursued graduate studies at the finest Scottish, German and American universities. Presbyterian laymen, especially well represented in urban centres, exercised great influence in the financial and business communities and dominated the region's legislative assemblies, institutions of higher learning and intellectual circles.²

Like the Presbyterians, most Methodists, primarily of Anglo-Saxon and Welsh background, had migrated from southern Ontario. In 1911 they comprised 15.7 per cent (208,591) of the prairie population. About two-thirds of their 680 ordained ministers and probationers in the prairie provinces were born and educated in Canada. Unlike the Presbyterians, the Methodists remained predominantly rural and relatively underrepresented in political and academic circles, though "respectable bourgeois" Methodists increasingly were joining the region's most successful businessmen and merchants.³

In marked contrast to the Presbyterians and Methodists, prairie Anglicans, who constituted 16.6 per cent (219,798) of the population, were often newcomers directly from Britain. As in England and Ontario, Anglicanism on the prairies was at once the religion of both the rich and pretentious and of the poor. While Anglican laymen, especially the Canadian-born, were more prominent in

politics and the professions than the Methodists, the two to three hundred Anglican parish clergy recruited almost exclusively in Britain were rarely as active outside the church as their Presbyterian and Methodist colleagues. Without a well-developed sense of Canadian identity, few participated in debates on major national issues such as immigration.⁴

At the turn of the century, the most prominent and influential Protestants were concentrated in Manitoba, primarily in Winnipeg and its environs. Although Anglican archbishops and Methodist superintendents made Winnipeg their base, the city was, above all, a bastion of Presbyterianism, second only to Toronto. Presbyterianism, as one European scholar observed in 1906, had “stamped the life and habits” of the city’s residents “with its imprint of somewhat gloomy sternness.” The Presbyterians in Winnipeg exercised a “moral dictatorship just as in Edinburgh” and everyone had to submit to it “willy nilly.” The city’s Presbyterian elite included men who were well known among their contemporaries. Foremost was James Robertson (1839-1902)—“the Presbyterian Bishop”—the church’s first superintendent of missions in the Canadian northwest. The Princeton-educated Robertson, who believed that missionaries should learn “less Latin and more horse,” was notorious for his abrupt manners and inelegant dress. Even so, it was through his efforts that the Presbyterians became the largest and best organized denomination on the prairies.⁵

Shortly after his arrival in Winnipeg in 1875, Robertson began to assemble a group of Presbyterian ministers who came to dominate Manitoba’s cultural and political life. They sat on the provincial Board of Education, helped establish the University of Manitoba and the Historical and Scientific Society of Manitoba, led the temperance movement, participated in moral and social reform groups and usually supported the Liberal party in politics. Among the most prominent clergy were George Bryce (1844-1931), an educator and historian; Andrew Baird (1855-1917), a Leipzig- and Edinburgh-educated classicist and church historian; William Patrick (1852-1911), a linguist and philosopher born and educated in Scotland, who was principal of Presbyterian Manitoba College between 1899 and 1910; James A. Carmichael (1848-1912), Robertson’s Princeton-educated successor; and Charles William Gordon (1860-1937), Canada’s most successful author before 1920, who wrote under the pseudonym Ralph Connor and used his sentimental and melodramatic novels to preach “muscular Christianity” and Canadian nationalism. Each, as we shall see, would be prominent in Presbyterian efforts to “Canadianize” Ukrainian immigrants.

By the 1890s, Presbyterian divines like Patrick and Gordon, and Methodist clergy like Salem Bland (1859-1950), a popular professor at Winnipeg’s Wesley College, and James Shaver Woodsworth (1874-1942), the son of the Methodist superintendent in western Canada, strongly supported the tenets of liberal Protestantism. Under the impact of the natural sciences and the rise of the “higher” Biblical criticism, between 1850 and 1914 many Protestant theologians had

rejected a view of the world that accepted intervention by supernatural and miraculous forces and posited a radically new and optimistic view of man and God.⁶ The God of the liberal Protestants was not the transcendent and stern Judge of Calvinist orthodoxy, existing outside the created world; He was an immanent and loving Father, present everywhere in the universe, including nature. He worked through history—through men and women who lived in accordance with Christian teachings and who strove to build a society founded on Christian love. Because God was present in nature and man, humanity was not fallen and inherently corrupt; it was essentially good and capable of developing the inner divine spark, just as Christ had done more completely than any other person. Individuals attained salvation—reconciliation with God—by becoming “one in purpose with Christ and with God,” by flinging themselves “into the labours and causes of the history in which God is realizing His eternal purpose.”⁷ In other words, salvation was not a matter of heavenly reward; it was achieved by moral activity in this world.

Liberal Protestantism was one current of thought at the turn of the century. Two other currents—imperialism and the social gospel—were even more important in determining the response of Protestants to immigrants and immigration. While both grew out of liberal Protestantism and complemented one another, imperialist ideology helped the Protestants to define their vision of Canada’s national destiny, while the social gospel provided a recipe for its realization.

In 1897 the British empire was at the height of its power, covering 20 per cent of the earth’s land surface and embracing 23 per cent of its population. To Anglo Canadians, especially Protestant clergy and intellectuals, the empire was “the greatest secular instrument for good in the world.”⁸ It represented the divinely inspired march of progress, civilization and Christianity, rather than a mundane quest for raw materials, cheap labour, economic markets and outlets for capital and surplus population. The men at the forefront of imperial expansion were “masterful men,” singularly endowed with the energy, moral strength and self-reliance peculiar to “northern races.” Their physical endurance, love of liberty and innate sense of “fair play” made the British “born leaders of men,” uniquely equipped to establish orderly and progressive societies among native populations, who were, in any case, either merely “adolescent races unequal to the full burden and responsibilities of life” or the decrepit remains of worn-out civilizations. Through subjugation to the British, be it in Africa, Asia or North America, they would be introduced by Providence to the highest culture, religion and political institutions known to man.⁹

In this context the integration of the prairies into both the Dominion of Canada and the empire gave Canada a grander destiny than any other imperial possession. It was only a matter of time before Canada’s geographic location, strategic position and immense natural resources made it “the keystone” of the empire, the “connecting link” between Asia and Europe. “The empire ought to

prepare for the time when the base of government will be transferred from Britain to Canada," declared Rev. Gordon in 1910.¹⁰ In this view the prairies, with their immense grain-producing capacity, natural resources and an anticipated population of one hundred million, would become the most important variable in the imperial equation. The Canadian west was destined to lead the empire and thus the world.

Canada's glorious destiny imposed awesome responsibilities on its citizens. To bear "a larger share of 'the white man's burden'...[and] take a larger part in the moral elevation and spiritual betterment of the whole human race,"¹¹ Canadians had to transform the new Dominion into "His Dominion": a temperate, churchgoing, law-abiding Protestant society, free of poverty, disease and divisive social conflicts, a society committed to British institutions and the British way of life.¹² The vision of Canada as "His Dominion," however, was imperilled by industrialization and rampant capitalism, for even before the massive influx of immigrants from southern and eastern Europe, political corruption, economic distress, labour disputes, urban slums, Sabbath desecration, prostitution, intemperance and ethnic tensions had become prominent features of the Canadian social landscape.

The blueprint for creating "His Dominion" in Canada was provided by the social gospel, the ultimate expression of liberal Protestantism. Its major premise declared Christianity a social religion concerned with restoring "right relations among men on earth" and "transforming the life on earth into the harmony of heaven."¹³ In the words of Rev. Bland, an outstanding exponent of the social gospel, Christianity was not "a sort of immigration society to assist us from the hurly burly of this world to heaven"; its purpose was "to bring the spirit of heaven to earth."¹⁴ The orthodox Christian concern for the salvation of individual souls had to yield to the salvation of society. Arguing that Christ wanted men to live in goodness, health and joy, social gospellers set out to realize the Kingdom of God on earth and to transform Canada into "His Dominion."

There was, however, little unanimity among social gospellers as to means beyond a commitment to social service, a de-emphasis on prayer and on formal church attendance, assertions about the brotherhood of man and lamentations about the excesses of individualism and the profit motive. Of the major Protestant denominations, the Anglicans were coolest toward the social gospel and the Methodists its most enthusiastic exponents. By 1914, Methodist clergy like Bland and Woodsworth enjoyed national renown (even notoriety) as vigorous critics of laissez-faire capitalism and advocates of democratic socialism. They demanded decent wages for workers, recognition of trade unions, public ownership of essential utilities and services and provision by the state of a broad range of cultural amenities for the underprivileged. Bland even declared that "the distinctive task of the age...was the abolition of capitalism" because its selfish, individualistic ethic was directly opposed to Christian teachings.¹⁵

Such social radicalism was atypical. Presbyterian clergymen, from the same milieu generally as Canada's leading businessmen and industrialists, tended to interpret the social gospel in more moderate and conservative terms. They believed capitalists were doing "big things for the country" and regarded socialism, especially the theory of class conflict, as "the greatest threat to national unity and strength." To them, the social gospel was an alternative to subversive doctrines. Rather than inveighing against capitalism and championing the rights of workers, they hoped to reconcile labour and capital by urging a new ethic of co-operation and of "mutual understanding and mutual concessions." Although sympathetic toward underpaid and overworked labourers, Presbyterian social gossellers generally distrusted trade unions and collective bargaining and viewed strikes as the work of "agitators" and "malevolent rabble-rousers." Harmony between "masters and men" required the privileged classes to provide guidance and leadership for the working people. Christian stewardship and the refinement of character, rather than fundamental socioeconomic changes, were the best solution for Canada's social ills.¹⁶

The arrival of immigrants from southern and eastern Europe elicited an ambivalent response from the Protestant clergy. On the one hand, the newcomers appeared to imperil Canada's status as "His Dominion"; on the other, they provided Canadians with a great opportunity to assume an even larger share of the imperial burden, presenting the social gossellers with their greatest challenge. Unlike Protestant immigrants from northern and western Europe, perceived to be manly, hardy, self-reliant, morally upright, eager for education, accustomed to free political institutions and possessed of good work habits, Slavs (not to mention Orientals) were believed to be deceitful, dependent on others, lacking in initiative and morally lax; in brief, "much inferior physically, mentally and morally to the North-Western Europeans." In 1912, Rev. Roderick MacBeth, a Presbyterian of Selkirk settler stock, warned his compatriots that

...this is Canada's critical hour...Canada is today the Mecca of the world's emigration. With one accord the peoples of the earth who are on the move seem to be heading in our direction. And those who are coming are by no means immigrants like Abraham, who builded an altar in the new land before he built anything else. Nor are they immigrants like the early settlers in the Province of Ontario, or the Maritime Provinces or the Red River country, who took no rest till they had erected churches and schools and colleges, even in the midst of their struggles for a livelihood. Some of the newcomers are of that highly desirable class but they are tremendously in the minority. For the most part those who have been coming in recent years are of inferior races and lower civilizations.

Rev. Gordon concurred: "It is not with Southern Europeans we shall build up an empire, but by placing upon the outskirts of this Canadian base a rampart of

Anglo-Saxon life....If we place a section of the most virile type of Britishers out there, they will make an empire, I affirm, that will hold the world.”¹⁷

Of greatest concern to the Protestant clergy and social reformers was the immigrants' impact on Canada's social and national life. Because the newcomers aggravated the many social problems that predated their arrival, Slavic immigrants, and especially the numerous Ukrainians, soon became the scapegoats for age-old social ills. Even so, the threat which the newcomers posed to the economic well-being of resident Canadian *workers* was of slight concern to most Protestant clergy and reformers. That the immigrants worked for low wages, acted as strikebreakers, threatened to undermine the living standards of Canada's unskilled labourers, strained the resources of charitable organizations and congregated in slums that bred disease troubled few Anglo Canadians outside the labour movement and the more radical social gospel circles. Even the Ukrainians' severest critics recognized that they were rugged, hard-working and frugal. “They make excellent and untiring labourers of every sort,” remarked Rev. J.G. Shearer. And Rev. Gordon put the case with remarkable candour:

...we need them for our work. They do work for us that Canadians will not do. They do work for us that Americans will not do; and were it not for the Galicians and the Doukhobours...we could not push our enterprises in railroad building and in lumbering and manufacturing to a finish. We must have them.¹⁸

What concerned Protestant reformers most was the apparent lack among the immigrants of those qualities of mind and spirit needed to become exemplary citizens of “His Dominion.” That Ukrainian immigrants were of the Catholic and Orthodox faiths was especially disturbing. Catholicism (and Orthodoxy) “was an inferior, misguided [and] dangerous religion.” Ukrainians, like other Catholics, were perceived to be “nominal Christians,” “lashed into submission” by priests who imbibed intoxicating spirits, retailed stories of miracles and hell fire and spent their time “carrying out elaborately devised ceremonials and ritualistic observances” instead of imparting Christianity's ethical precepts. They lacked all sense of practical Christianity, being often violent, intemperate and deceitful despite a meticulous observance of fasts and feast days.¹⁹

Of equal concern was the apparent lack of political experience among Ukrainian immigrants. As illiterate and uneducated fugitives from autocratic empires, barely removed from serfdom, it was feared they would “use their newfound liberty as a ‘licence to do evil’ or to sell their vote to the highest bidder.”²⁰ (That votes were almost always purchased by corrupt Protestant politicians of Anglo-Saxon and Celtic backgrounds rarely disturbed the missionaries and social reformers!) The immigrants' religion also seemed to threaten Canadian political institutions. Hierarchical and authoritarian in character, it was believed to be incompatible with democracy. Under the rule of priests who

discouraged Bible reading and thinking for oneself, Catholics could not 'know individual liberty.' The prospect of a political alliance between French-Canadian Catholics and Catholic immigrants from central Europe drove the Protestant clergy to distraction. Neither Ukrainian priests nor the French hierarchy could be allowed to dictate the immigrants' political behaviour. No greater threat to the survival of Canada as "His Dominion" could be imagined. On the other hand, however, exposure to new ideas might erode the influence of the old-world churches, leaving Ukrainians highly susceptible to the appeals of socialist 'rabble-rousers' and atheist 'agitators.' The Protestant churches thus had a very heavy moral obligation to fill the breach.

Ukrainian isolation in remote rural bloc settlements and in urban ghettos also alarmed many Protestants. According to Robertson, such colonies constituted an "undigested, unassimilated...foreign, unsympathetic, unhealthy element" in the Canadian body politic. To *The Presbyterian Record*, the segregation encouraged immigrants to perpetuate their own cultural and linguistic peculiarities. Content to live in "squalor," they would outbreed "the best British stock," their children would be left uneducated (or miseducated by "unqualified" teachers of their own nationality and faith) and their colonies would remain steeped in filth, superstition, alcohol and violence. Even worse, they would breed social and national "separatism" by encouraging "ambitious men of their own race, who for their own purposes desire to keep alive national sentiment and prevent absorption into the life of the Canadian nation."²¹

Although immigration threatened the Protestant vision of Canada, it also presented a "great opportunity" to participate in the empire's civilizing and Christianizing mission. According to one Methodist exponent of the social gospel, "Christ gave an imperative command 'Go and teach all nations' but we heeded not. Now he has taken the only alternative for a world's salvation, he is sending them to the Christian lands."²² The immigrants had been sent to Canada by God Himself, "brought here for a purpose, viz., that they should come under the quickening, renewing, uplifting influences of pure Christianity."²³ By Christianizing them, Canadians would discharge the duties faced by the British in India and Africa and assume their place at the forefront of the empire.

Before 1914, in prosperous times, most Protestants confidently maintained that the immigrants could be "Christianized," "Canadianized" and "incorporated...into the bone and sinew of our national life."²⁴ While a minority fretted that Canada had "as many of these people here now as we can masticate, digest and properly assimilate,"²⁵ most Methodist and Presbyterian clergy, and most Anglo Canadians, insisted that the Protestant churches and the public schools—"the only gastric juices capable of digesting these foreign elements"—would solve the problem. The Protestant churches would deploy medical missions, student residences, settlement houses and Sunday schools to win the immigrants' confidence and bring them to the Gospel. The public schools would

create a "community of language" and inculcate "common ideals of citizenship." The final result would be the emergence in the near future of a "new and superior race," a race "wherein the Anglo-Saxon peculiarities shall prevail."²⁶

Archbishop Langevin: "A Catholic Empire"

As the prairies assumed an increasingly English-speaking and Protestant complexion between 1870 and 1914, the French and Catholic elements declined in importance. Where about half of the prairie population had been French-speaking and Catholic in 1871, by 1911 Catholics were only 17 per cent (226,413) of the whole and the proportion of French-speaking inhabitants had fallen to 5.5 per cent (74,000). Unlike Ontario, Quebec responded with little enthusiasm when the prairies had opened up—the region being judged too distant and too inhospitable. When French Canadians left the St. Lawrence River valley, they migrated either to frontier areas in northern Quebec and Ontario or to the industrial towns of New England. The exodus south had been so great—130,000 between 1881 and 1891 alone—that by the 1890s French-Canadian leaders were anxious to stop French emigration out of Quebec.²⁷

Unlike the Catholic church in eastern Canada—overwhelmingly French with an influential Irish minority—prairie Catholicism was polyethnic, consisting of at least eight or nine different groups. There were, in fact, almost as many Ukrainian Catholics (73,000) as French-speaking Catholics (that is, French Canadians and French, Belgian and Swiss immigrants). English-speaking Catholics (primarily Irish and Highland Scots) and German, Polish, native Indian and Hungarian Catholics also constituted sizable minorities within the prairie church by 1911. In one respect, however, the church on the prairies did resemble that in the east. No fewer than 78 per cent (329 of 418) of the region's Catholic priests were French-speaking in 1911, when the French laity was no more than a third of the prairie Catholic population. The fifty-two German priests, 12.5 per cent of the clergy, were the only sizable minority. Priests of Anglo-Saxon, Celtic, Polish, Dutch, Italian, native Indian and Ukrainian origins were a tiny minority, with the Ukrainians having only five priests in 1911.²⁸

The prairie clergy also differed from those in the rest of Canada in other, more subtle ways. Whereas 80 per cent of the Catholic priests in Quebec were secular clergy and only 20 per cent were regular monastic clergy (almost half in Montreal), on the prairies the proportions were reversed: in 1911 over 66 per cent (277) of the priests were monks and just under 34 per cent (141) were secular clergy. Fourteen monastic orders were represented among the prairie clergy, the largest (167 priests) being the Oblates of Mary Immaculate, who had dominated Catholic missionary work in the Canadian northwest since 1845.²⁹ Indeed, during the years before 1914 the Canadian northwest was an Oblate

“empire”: thirteen of the sixteen bishops and archbishops west of the Great Lakes between 1820 and 1914 were French Oblates, including ten born and educated in France. Only two had been French-Canadian secular priests, and only one, appointed in 1912, was an English-speaking secular priest.³⁰ The high proportion of bishops born and educated in France and the exclusively French-speaking character of the hierarchy also distinguished the church on the prairies from its eastern-Canadian wing. All of the nineteen French-speaking bishops in eastern Canada were natives of Quebec and all were secular priests rather than monks. Moreover, there were fourteen English-speaking (primarily Irish) bishops and archbishops scattered across the eastern half of the country, even though only 15 per cent of the Catholic population was of Anglo-Celtic origin.³¹

At the head of the Catholic church on the prairies between 1895 and 1915 was the archbishop of St. Boniface, Louis-Phillipe-Adélarde Langevin (1855-1915), a native of Quebec and an Oblate. His suffragan bishops included Vital Grandin (1829-1902) and Emile Legal (1849-1920), successive bishops of St. Albert, and Albert Pascal (1848-1920), bishop of Prince Albert, all born and educated in France and all Oblates; Olivier-Elzior Mathieu (1853-1929), a Quebec-born secular priest appointed bishop of Regina in 1911; and John Thomas McNally (1871-1952), who became bishop of Calgary in 1912.

Langevin, a short, rotund, clean-shaven, round-faced man with a receding hairline, thin lips, full cheeks and a shrill, piercing voice, was of old French-Canadian stock, his family having landed in Quebec in 1610. He was the son of a pious small-town notary who had married the daughter of an equally pious solicitor. His eldest brother had enlisted as a *zouave* in 1868 and fought for the Papal States against Garibaldi and his Italian nationalist forces; a younger brother earned a doctorate and served as a parish priest in Quebec. An uncle, Bishop Racicot, Mme Langevin’s elder brother, was the auxiliary at Montreal. After graduating from the Sulpician college in Montreal, where Langevin came to know many men destined to become secular and ecclesiastical leaders in French-Canadian society, he studied theology and entered the Oblate order. An unsuccessful preacher, he was for almost a decade director of the Catholic seminary in Ottawa and professor of moral theology at the Université d’Ottawa, before his elevation to the episcopacy. A nervous, abrupt, imperious and highly opinionated man, Langevin, as we shall see, was one of the most controversial figures in western Canada before the First World War.³²

In spirit, discipline and outlook the Roman Catholic clergy stood apart from both the Protestant ministers of western Canada and the Ukrainian Catholic secular priests of eastern Galicia, largely because of their prolonged period of socialization into the clerical life. Unlike Ukrainian Catholic priests, who attended secular gymnasia and often dabbled in the liberal arts and law before enrolling in theology, Roman Catholic priests were cloistered in missionary schools (*écoles apostoliques, juvenats*) and junior seminaries (*petits séminaires*)

from the age of twelve or thirteen. In addition to studying Latin and Greek grammar, they were exposed to a severe discipline, which included devotional exercises, daily mass with communion, prayers before and after every class, meal and recreation, relentless surveillance by confessors charged with supervising "the purity of their morals," and isolation from all but the closest family members. In theological seminaries, where one year was devoted to philosophy and four to theology, the atmosphere was often even more rigorous and secular learning was virtually non-existent. After graduation the regular clergy were bound by their order's discipline, while the secular clergy were expected to meditate, recite the rosary and receive daily communion, attend retreats, participate in clerical associations and avoid the theatre. As a result, many French Catholic priests were dogmatic, intolerant of human failings, hostile to secular society and zealously committed to defending clerical rights and privileges. Compared to Ukrainian Catholic secular priests in eastern Galicia and Protestant ministers in western Canada, the French clergy displayed little interest in social and political issues and were little inclined to become activists.³³

Moreover, the whole tenor of late nineteenth-century Catholicism reinforced the Roman Catholic clergy's isolation from the modern world. While most Protestant churches absorbed new ideas, the Catholic church refused all compromise with the modern world. Liberal Catholic theologians were silenced and the natural sciences and the historical criticism of the Bible were ignored by reaffirming faith in the supernatural and miraculous. The state, too, was regarded with suspicion. As a result, civil marriages and secularized education were resisted, as was any transfer of traditional church functions to the state. The Protestant practice of allowing congregations to own and administer church property was particularly suspect. In response to political and intellectual challenges in Italy, Germany and France in the second half of the nineteenth century, the papacy made a determined effort to revitalize traditional religious life. Marian devotions were encouraged; the Catholic world was consecrated to the Sacred Heart of Jesus; papal encyclicals stressed the recitation of the rosary and the adoration of the Holy Eucharist; the faithful were enjoined to receive communion daily and children were encouraged to participate in the sacrament from the earliest years; new feast days were introduced; and an unprecedented number of saints were canonized and their cults popularized through shrines and pilgrimages. The church also declared war on liberalism, in both thought and practice. In 1864, Pius IX (1846-78) issued the *Syllabus of Errors*, which condemned political liberalism and modern thought and denied that human reason was the "sole arbiter of truth and falsehood, of good and evil"; refused to acknowledge that Protestantism was part of "the true Christian religion"; asserted that salvation was only possible through the Catholic church; and condemned the secularization of education, the separation of church and state and tolerance by the state of religions other than Catholicism.³⁴ In 1870 the dogma of papal infallibility in

matters of faith and morals administered a crushing blow to liberal tendencies within the church. Although Leo XIII (1878-1903) tried to address pressing social issues by admonishing employers to pay fair wages and to recognize labour unions, the church in most other respects remained a bastion of reaction. Between 1903 and 1907, Pius X (1903-14) condemned Modernism, which championed the right of Catholic theologians to engage in historical Biblical criticism, and in 1910 priests were required to take an anti-Modernist oath which recognized miracles and prophecies as evidence of Christianity's divine origin.

In Quebec the French-speaking clergy were among the papacy's staunchest defenders. Alienated from France by the radical secularism and anticlericalism of the French Revolution and the Third Republic, they subscribed wholeheartedly to ultramontanism, which championed the unqualified supremacy of papal authority. Just as the clergy in Quebec *did everything to prevent overseas French secular culture from contaminating the faithful*, on the prairies the Oblates (established in Marseilles in 1816 by an ultramontane royalist emigré bishop) "reinforced the uncompromising ultramontane Catholicism of Quebec."³⁵ And as Catholic France, "the eldest daughter of the church," succumbed to repeated assaults during the nineteenth century, elements within the French-Canadian clergy concluded that they had to assume greater responsibility for the fate of Catholicism beyond Quebec's boundaries.

Thus, at just about the time that the Anglo-Protestant clergy were assuming their mission to establish "His Dominion" in Canada, the French Catholic clergy were assuming theirs (ordained by Providence) to become "the Apostles of North America." Did not Providence, asked Bishop Laflèche (1818-98) of Trois Rivières, select men "inspired by faith and piety" like Cartier and Champlain to discover, explore and colonize North America? Did not "Providence...use our fathers to bring the enlightenment of the Scriptures and the principles of Christian revival to the wretched [native] communities that, for centuries, had been floundering in an abyss of ignorance and brooding in the shadow of death?" Had not Providence subsequently "kept...careful watch over [Quebec]"; protected the colony "in moments of dread battle"; "placed it under...the British flag" to shelter it from the ravages of the French Revolution; and immunized it against "the advances and solicitations of our powerful republican neighbour?"³⁶ In the wake of Confederation, Laflèche and several colleagues "hoped to realize in the West...the dreams of the Jesuits of the seventeenth century who had sought to make the continent French and Catholic."³⁷

The Anglo-Protestant assault on Catholic (and French) schooling in the years after 1870 only increased clerical zeal to guard the church's prerogatives. In 1871, New Brunswick had ended public support of Catholic education and established a compulsory public school system. In 1890, Manitoba also withdrew public funding from Catholic schools, abolished French as an official language and threatened its use as a language of instruction in the public schools.

Although French remained part of the bilingual school system introduced by the Laurier-Greenway agreement in 1897, its status was subordinated to English as a medium of instruction. Religious instruction was permitted at the end of the school day, but the standard secular curriculum and textbooks prevailed. In 1892, French-language instruction was curtailed in the North-West Territories, and in 1905 the legislation that created the new provinces of Saskatchewan and Alberta continued the uniform curriculum, textbooks and system of inspection established earlier for all schools, with religious instruction again confined to the last half hour. Finally, after 1912, Ontario took steps to curtail the use of French in school instruction. While religion was not directly affected, the French Catholic clergy, to whom English was a medium for transmitting Protestant values, were incensed.³⁸

These events, when coupled with the French Catholic community's precarious minority status on the prairies and the church's conflict with modern science and the secular state in Europe, produced a siege mentality among the Canadian clergy that was remarkable even within the context of late nineteenth-century Catholicism. Priests saw freemasons, Jews, freethinkers and republicans everywhere, conspiring with liberals, Orangemen and Protestants to bring down the Catholic church and the eternal verities that held society together. To keep the destructive forces of secularism at bay, prairie bishops ruled their dioceses in quasi-despotic fashion and reacted with outrage at the slightest challenge to their authority.³⁹

No churchman was more sensitive, more inflexible or more committed to the recovery of French Catholic rights than Archbishop Langevin of St. Boniface. Although Leo X's encyclical *Affari vos* had instructed Catholics to accept the 1897 Laurier-Greenway agreement for the present and urged moderation, Langevin refused to recognize it. To him, it was the work of federal and provincial Liberals, "the worst enemies of Catholicism in Canada," men whose party represented the "sum total of all the heresies"—"the triumph of Freemasonry." He also deeply regretted Bishop Legal's decision in 1905 to accept the school system established in Alberta and Saskatchewan. How, he wondered, could anyone be satisfied with half an hour of religious instruction in schools which were otherwise "neutral," if not overtly "Protestant" in everything but name. What was needed were Catholic teachers trained in Catholic normal schools, Catholic textbooks in French and English, Catholic school inspectors, and, ultimately, the restoration of publicly financed Catholic schools under church control.⁴⁰ In the end, Langevin concluded that the thorny school question would not be satisfactorily resolved until the political strength of the French Catholics on the prairies was greatly increased. If the French-speaking and "foreign" Catholic peoples could be integrated into a cohesive force, prairie Catholics might yet obtain the kind of state-supported Catholic schools that their secular and Protestant adversaries were determined to withhold. Langevin was perhaps

the last French-Canadian churchman to dream of a "Catholic Empire" in the west.

In welcoming Catholic immigrants, Langevin hoped to reinforce an ethnic pecking order that the French Canadians favoured. The most desirable Catholics were French-Canadian agriculturalists, uncontaminated by modern secular ideas. Aware of their reluctance to embrace prairie life, Langevin tried doubly hard to redirect emigration from Quebec to the prairies. He also dispatched agents to New England and urged federal and provincial governments to engage in repatriation work. His efforts, however, bore little fruit. While the Conservative government of Rodmond P. Roblin in Manitoba extended its modest immigration operations to the United States, Clifford Sifton and the federal Department of the Interior were much less obliging. To Langevin, Sifton was in too much of a hurry to populate the prairies with "foreigners," preferring "the ragamuffins who come from Russia, the Socialists," to French-Canadian colonists. Nor did the federal government do enough to recruit French-speaking European immigrants, the third group of preferred Catholics (as long as they were not "liberal minded" French, Belgian and Swiss immigrants with anticlerical and republican ideas, "led astray by the revolution").⁴¹ Among other Catholic immigrants from Europe, the fourth in order were the Irish and English, followed by the Flemish, German, Polish and Hungarian. Ukrainian Catholics were the least desirable; they were not of the Latin rite, their social standing in Austria and Canada was low and their ability to adapt to Canadian society was questionable. Even so, by 1911, Ukrainian Catholics equalled the number of French Catholics and by 1914 they were easily the largest Catholic group (over 100,000) on the prairies. Langevin appreciated their provocative potential and he began early to champion their right to learn Ukrainian. He would not, however, tolerate the slightest challenge to his authority in ecclesiastical matters from the Ukrainians or from anyone else.

Langevin was notorious for the severe discipline he demanded of his clergy and for the rigorous moral standards he imposed upon them, insisting that "the first virtue of a priest is obedience."⁴² Like all French-Canadian bishops, he was, above all, apprehensive about admitting "foreign" priests into his archdiocese, especially "foreign" secular priests. While members of the regular clergy expelled from France after 1880 were welcomed with open arms, even secular priests from France were "ruled out on principle...eight times out of ten,"⁴³ and priests from non-French-speaking countries faced the most formidable barriers. Determined to maintain the French clergy's leading role in western Canada, Langevin feared that "foreign" priests would erode clerical unity at a time when the church was locked in a fateful struggle against secularism, Protestantism and Anglo chauvinism.

To Langevin, English-speaking priests were particularly suspect not only because they advocated the assimilation of "foreign" Catholic immigrants into the English-speaking milieu, but because they reinforced the Anglo presence on

the prairies and frequently shared the imperialist sentiments of their Protestant counterparts. By 1905, English-speaking Catholics were pressing Langevin for English-speaking priests, more English-speaking parishes, an English-language Catholic college and an English-speaking bishop. The archbishop and his suffragans resisted such demands, and when John Thomas MacNally was finally appointed bishop of Calgary in 1912, it was against their wishes. As we shall see, in Langevin's eyes, Ukrainian Catholic priests and a Ukrainian bishop were even less desirable.⁴⁴

The Ukrainian Intelligentsia: Moulding "New People"

By 1911 over seventy-three thousand Catholic Ukrainians (primarily Galicians) and up to twenty-five thousand Orthodox Ukrainians (primarily Bukovynians) had settled on the prairies and another twenty to thirty thousand Ukrainians, primarily Catholics, were scattered across eastern Canada and British Columbia. Yet Ukrainian clergy—both Catholic and Orthodox—were very scarce, with only five Ukrainian Catholic priests—four Basilian monks and one secular priest—in the west and one secular priest in the east.⁴⁵ While few priests of either denomination in the old country were eager to endure Canadian pioneer conditions, there were other reasons for the great shortage. The Greek Orthodox metropolitan of Chernivtsi, in Bukovyna, although independent of Moscow, refused to dispatch priests to North America "out of deference to the jurisdictional claims of the Russian Orthodox Church,"⁴⁶ which had appointed its first North American bishop in 1840. Although the Ukrainian Catholic archbishops of Lviv, in eastern Galicia, had sent a handful of missionaries to the United States and Canada during the 1880s and 1890s, their efforts were stymied by Rome. During the 1890s a series of decrees by the Sacred Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith (the Propaganda Fide) had forbade married priests to serve in North America and, at a stroke, had disqualified 97 per cent of the Ukrainian Catholic priests in Galicia from missionary work in the new world. As it was especially the younger generation of secular priests in Galicia who had established a variety of secular village institutions and taken a lively interest in Ukrainian cultural and political life, the immigrants were thus deprived not only of spiritual care but of their traditional leaders.

The virtual absence of Ukrainian Catholic priests before 1912 affected Ukrainian community life in Canada in two very important ways. First, Russian Orthodox missionaries subsidized by the tsarist regime were able to infiltrate Orthodox *and* Catholic colonies, a phenomenon that will be examined in the next chapter. Even more significant, in the absence of Ukrainian priests, leadership within the Ukrainian community devolved upon members of the lay "intelligentsia"—young men influenced by the secular ideas of the Ukrainian

national movement. Possessed of enough old-country education to become bilingual public school teachers, government and political party agents, newspaper editors and labour organizers in Canada, the new leaders were uniquely qualified to act as intermediaries between their countrymen and Canadian society. Before the 1920s, virtually all Ukrainian secular institutions in Canada, from reading clubs and drama circles to co-operative stores and political organizations, were established by them. As we shall see, they were also instrumental in the formation of two new churches during the first two decades of the century—the Independent Greek church and the Ukrainian Greek Orthodox church.

The first representatives of the intelligentsia—Cyril (Kyrylo) Genik, Ivan Bodrug and Ivan Negrich—had guided contingents of Dr. Oleskow's settlers to Canada in 1896 and 1897. All three were from the village of Bereziv in the county of Kolomyia.⁴⁷ Genik (1857-1925), the eldest, was the son of prosperous farmers descended from a clan of the Ukrainian gentry. Although their standard of living did not differ from that of most prosperous peasants, families such as Genik's retained "traditions of status, learning and leadership," as well as "the consciousness that they had never been serfs of the lords of the manors."⁴⁸ Genik had graduated from the prestigious Ukrainian Academic Gymnasium in Lviv and studied law briefly at the University of Chernivtsi. Personally acquainted with Ivan Franko and Mykhailo Pavlyk, the founders of the Radical movement, he had been arrested in 1880 for possessing socialist literature and he was subsequently refused admission into the Austrian civil service because of his political views. He had established the first school in his native village, organized a branch of the Radical party and operated a general store to support his wife and children. After escorting the second contingent of Oleskow settlers to Canada in July 1896, he remained in Winnipeg as an immigration officer in the Department of the Interior. Bodrug (1874-1952) and Negrich (1875-1946) had qualified as primary school teachers in Galicia. Before emigrating, Bodrug had acquired a reputation as a Radical, and after escorting a contingent of settlers in 1897, he found employment as a government translator.⁴⁹ Negrich took out a homestead near Dauphin, Manitoba.

Genik, Bodrug and Negrich constituted the nucleus of the intelligentsia in Canada, whose ranks gradually expanded by 1914 to include between 200 and 250 individuals.⁵⁰ At first, the members were exclusively young men with some formal education and community-life experience in the old country. By 1914 others educated primarily in Canada—graduates of teacher-training schools for "foreigners" in Manitoba and Saskatchewan (see Chapter 13) and the first Ukrainian high school and university students—became its dominant element. Apart from a few female teachers, there were practically no women among the intelligentsia. Not only was female illiteracy very high in Galicia and Bukovyna, but women constituted only 5 per cent of reading-club members⁵¹ and the wives

and daughters of priests, usually the only educated women, did not emigrate to Canada.

Members of the immigrant intelligentsia were not (and should not be confused with) intellectuals. Indeed, few would have been perceived as *inteligentny* even in Galicia, where only individuals who had at least graduated from the gymnasium usually qualified. In Canada the middle-aged, well-educated Genik, who had married the daughter of a Catholic priest and was personally acquainted with some of the most prominent Galician Ukrainians, was something of an anomaly. Most Canadian *inteligentny* not only were much younger, but they had less formal education and were of humbler social origins. In a semiliterate, peasant-immigrant society, however, their education did set them apart from most Ukrainians and led them to question norms and values which seemed no longer viable. The intelligentsia's most striking feature was its youth. With the exception of Genik (who, in any case, was publicly inactive by 1905), all members were born between 1872 and 1895, the overwhelming majority between 1882 and 1893. As a result, the most influential leaders in Ukrainian-Canadian communities before 1921 were young men in their early twenties to midthirties, ten to fifteen years younger, on the average, than the typical Ukrainian homesteader.

Like most immigrants, the majority of the intelligentsia's earliest members were natives of Bukovyna and the southeasternmost counties of Galicia. Many came from three Galician districts—Kolomyia, Sniatyn and Terebovlia—where the Radical movement was particularly strong in the 1890s. They were, in the main, sons of poor, often illiterate, peasants who eked out a subsistence by tilling the soil. Only one, Paul Crath (Pavlo Krat), a political emigré from eastern Ukraine, was the son of a professional, and only three were members of Ukrainian Catholic clerical families. A small minority were sons of literate, enlightened, politically active peasants. Most possessed little formal education upon arrival in Canada. No more than ten had attended university and of these only three or four, one the son of a Ukrainian Catholic priest, had graduated. A handful had completed the gymnasium; a much larger number had no more than three or four years of schooling. Attendance for seven or eight years was typical: four years in a village primary school and three or four years in a gymnasium. Several, like Bodrug and Negrich, had also attended (and sometimes completed) the teachers' seminary, agricultural college, technical school or art school. Those with a few gymnasium years were fluent in Polish and had mastered German. Most, especially those in their teens, continued their education in Canada—in high schools, teacher-training schools, special "Galician" classes at Manitoba College, theological courses sponsored by the Presbyterian church, normal schools and, after 1909, at universities. As we have seen, between 1913 and 1923 over thirty graduated from Canadian and American universities.

Only a fraction, probably no more than a quarter, had been actively involved in the Ukrainian national movement before coming to Canada. The majority had imbibed their politics by attending rallies (*vicha*) organized by the Radicals, Social Democrats or National Democrats or by working in electoral campaigns, participating in agrarian strikes, organizing student demonstrations, belonging to the Sich Society or joining some informal socialist students' circle. Only a few—between ten and twenty—had actually been members of the Radical, Social Democratic or National Democratic parties. As a result, political emigrés were few: three or four from the tsarist empire fleeing persecution after the revolution of 1905, a handful of Radical and Social Democratic party organizers and about a dozen young men expelled for political activity from Galician universities, gymnasias and teachers' seminaries. Most others had emigrated with their parents and relatives or had come alone to earn enough to further their studies in Galicia. Many, especially the adolescents, were introduced to the ideology of the Ukrainian national movement in reading clubs and student circles organized in Canada by "older" members of the intelligentsia.

Although most *inteligenty* lacked higher education, specialized skills or professional status, they were an intelligentsia in the historically specific sense of the word. Exposure to new ideas made them aware of the clash between modern and traditional societies and alienated them from many peasant values. As a critically thinking elite, they formed discussion groups and challenged tradition in the name of reason and progress. Determined to improve the lot of the immigrant masses, they spread their ideas by organizing mass meetings, publishing newspapers and establishing countless educational-cultural societies.⁵²

Unlike the Protestants and French Catholics, the Ukrainian intelligentsia had no clear vision of Canada and its destiny; they saw only the potential of "reborn" Ukrainian peasant immigrants transformed into "new people" in the new world, and they felt an obligation to "enlighten and elevate" them (*prosvityty i pidnesty*). Familiar with peasant life in Galicia and Bukovyna, as well as in Canada, they feared that peasant conservatism, fatalism, suspicion, illiteracy, superstition and intemperance might doom the immigrants to perpetual dependence and social subservience in the new world. They were much alarmed by the growing prejudice in Canada toward Ukrainians and wanted to raise their prestige. Inspired by the Radical, Social Democratic and National Democratic efforts to transform Ukrainian peasants into conscious and active participants in the struggle for Ukrainian social and national liberation, they subscribed to the overseas Ukrainian press and espoused the secular values of the Ukrainian national movement in Canada. Above all, they were determined that the life of Ukrainian peasant immigrants be established on enlightened and rational principles.

Genik, for example, consistently warned immigrants to consider "the bad old country ways, and...avoid renewing them in the new country....In the new

country let us establish a new way of life.”⁵³ He was very pleased that the Canadian homestead system prevented the establishment of old-world peasant villages. Such an arrangement would be tragic: “[...]the peasants] will proceed to fight among themselves....[If you] settle sixty-four families on one section of land they will split each other’s heads quarreling about their children, their pigs and their chickens.” A village, Genik concluded, “is not a convenience, it is hell, and we simply will not have any villages here; you will live a mile from one another and even then it will become too crowded for you.”⁵⁴ To help peasant immigrants adapt to new-world conditions and to protect them from sharks and speculators, Genik encouraged English-speaking Ukrainians in Pennsylvania, accustomed to life in North America and aware of the importance of co-operation, to migrate to Canada. He also criticized traditional peasant attire as “impractical and unbecoming.” It marked the immigrants as rubes, made them easy prey for shysters and con men and provoked prejudice.⁵⁵ Bodrug, too, thought that traditional dress symbolized the social inferiority of peasants and their subservience to the aristocracy, because before the abolition of serfdom, “no man or woman was allowed to wear such clothing as the nobility did.” Occasionally, he referred to peasant dress as “our people’s serf costume” (*nash narodno panshchyzniani strii*).⁵⁶

In articles published in *Svoboda*, Genik leaned toward socialism and encouraged workers to organize. Although there were “individuals who have millions of dollars at their disposal and millions of people who have only the hands with which they labour,” the emergence of an international working-class movement promised a brighter future for all mankind. Workers were urged to “join in the struggle against capitalism and exploitation, and demand absolute social justice, justice to which [you] are entitled as human beings.” Since workers’ labour was the source of all wealth, “workers [who] provide mankind with all its material goods and services are entitled to benefit from these themselves. They are entitled to have comfortable dwellings, good food, good and comfortable clothing, and access to schools, theatres and libraries.” To that end, he urged that workers organize associations and unions.⁵⁷

Despite the Radical ideology which shaped the intelligentsia’s world view, its members were not an organized or unified group. Drawing on the anticlericalism, national populism and ethical socialism of Drahomanov, Franko, Pavlyk and their disciples, the intelligentsia disagreed on numerous issues, most notably on the best strategy for transforming the immigrants into “new people.” Just as the Ukrainian Radical movement in Galicia and Bukovyna splintered into three groups between 1890 and 1900 (Radicals, Social Democrats and National Democrats), the intelligentsia in Canada also divided into three groups between 1900 and 1910—Protestants, nationalists and socialists. They were united only in their opposition to the Catholic and Russian Orthodox churches and in a common desire to win for the immigrants a better way of life by rooting out

peasant beliefs and behaviour that weakened their ability to take advantage of the new environment. Their goal was self-respecting and self-reliant human beings who could resist economic exploitation and manipulation by missionaries and politicians.

Protestantism was first advocated shortly after the tragic robbery and mass murder in Stuartburn in 1898 (see Chapter 4). Genik, reflecting on the crime, concluded that

...we received a very faulty religious upbringing. Our religion is entirely concerned with forms and it has not even occurred to us to live according to its precepts. We must change our way of life and realize once and forever that religion without deeds is meaningless...Let our hearts become the dwelling places of the Lord...Rather than spending money on church buildings we should spend it on the support of the needy; only then will we begin to build a living church.⁵⁸

In subsequent years, those who espoused the Protestant cause criticized Catholicism and Orthodoxy for failing to provide Ukrainians with moral and ethical precepts, insisting that both were purely ritualistic religions permeated by superstition and folk beliefs.

Of those who favoured Protestantism, Bodrug and Negrich took the most decisive steps with Genik's encouragement. After attending Anglican, Methodist and Presbyterian church services, they decided to seek admission to Manitoba College, a Presbyterian institution in Winnipeg. They were impressed by the "exemplary orderliness, unpretentiousness [and]...dignity" of Presbyterianism, which set it apart from the Anglican "ritualism" that reminded them of Catholicism, and from Methodist "piety." A meeting with prominent Presbyterian divines, including Rev. Gordon, facilitated their entry into the college's theology course in the fall of 1898. Next year, they interrupted their studies to serve as interpreters among Doukhobor and Ukrainian settlers. After Rev. Robertson persuaded them to take schools built at Presbyterian expense in the Dauphin district,⁵⁹ they and Ivan Danylchuk (1878-1945), a young man who had attended a classical gymnasium for four years, became the first Ukrainian teachers in Canada. All three resumed their studies several years later. By the turn of the century, members of the "protestant" intelligentsia had earned the lasting enmity of Catholic (and Russian Orthodox) missionaries and acquired a reputation as "atheists" among many immigrants. As we shall soon see, it was they who would establish the Independent Greek church and draw closer to Presbyterianism during the century's first decade.

Ecclesiastical questions preoccupied the intelligentsia almost exclusively until about 1907. The first explicitly socialist and working-class Ukrainian organizations were not established until 1907, shortly after the first great influx of Ukrainian frontier labourers. The same year also saw the appearance of several

Ukrainian-owned businesses, the formation of the Ukrainian Teachers' Association (the first Ukrainian professional association) and the emergence of a nationalist current within the community. At the risk of oversimplification, it could be said that the socialist and nationalist orientations expressed the class interests respectively of an emerging Ukrainian-Canadian proletariat and of a barely visible Ukrainian-Canadian middle class, made up of teachers, budding professionals, small businessmen and prosperous farmers.

The socialist and nationalist orientations were first nurtured by the Shevchenko Educational Society in Winnipeg's North End. Here, young *intelligenty* read newspapers and journals from the old country, discussed popular pamphlets by or about Drahomanov, Franko, Draper, Bakunin, Kropotkin, Reclus, Darwin and Marx, delivered public lectures on theories and issues that they had themselves barely digested, organized public meetings and put on plays and concerts. The society was a forum for all Ukrainians without regard to political affiliation until the autumn of 1907, when a faction led by Myroslaw Stechishin and Paul Crath (Pavlo Krat) organized a Ukrainian branch of the Socialist Party of Canada and declared the society open to all labourers, regardless of ethnic origin. Within months, a weekly, *Chervonyi prapor* (The Red Flag), was established; a dozen Ukrainian socialist circles were organized in urban centres, frontier towns and rural districts; and plans were laid for a Ukrainian socialist federation.

Efforts to transform the Shevchenko Society into an international workingmen's club were resisted by Taras Ferley and Jaroslaw Arsenych. They and their followers objected to the society becoming preoccupied with "socialism and the Russian revolutionary spirit....They have little or nothing to say about our national movement, our history and our future....Marx, Bakunin and other utopians are presented as the only 'heroes' of the working people." While socialism was not rejected in principle, the "nationalists" insisted that the society had to provide "something more appropriate to the cultural and spiritual level of the average Ukrainian-Ruthenian immigrant in Canada." Besides teaching literacy, it should familiarize the people with "the laws and peculiarities of this country [and] awaken an inclination and fondness for work among them."⁶⁰ To Ferley and his followers, Ukrainians had to organize along national or ethnic rather than class lines; the cultivation of national identity and pride took precedence over fostering international working-class solidarity. As a result, the Shevchenko Educational Society collapsed in 1908, and the nationalists—primarily students and graduates of the Ruthenian Training School and members of the Ukrainian Teachers' Association—grouped themselves around Ferley. In 1910 they established the Ukrainian Publishing Company, launched the weekly *Ukrainskyi holos* (The Ukrainian Voice) and began organizing a network of reading clubs, co-operative stores and national homes or community centres (*narodni domy*).

For almost two decades before the First World War, Anglo Protestants led by the Presbyterian and Methodist clergy, French-speaking Catholic priests with the help of a handful of Ukrainian Catholic missionaries, and the Ukrainian intelligentsia (Protestants, nationalists and socialists) strove to remake Ukrainian peasant immigrants in their own image. The efforts of each prepared the ground for confrontation during the First World War.

Notes

1. *Census of Canada* 1911, II, Table I, 2-3, Table VIII, 332-40.
2. On Canadian Presbyterianism at the turn of the century, see Edward A. Christie, "The Presbyterian Church in Canada and Its Official Attitude Toward Public Affairs and Social Problems, 1875-1925" (MA thesis, University of Toronto, 1955); John S. Moir, *Enduring Witness: A History of the Presbyterian Church in Canada* (Toronto, 1975); Brian J. Fraser, *The Social Uplifters: Presbyterian Progressives and the Social Gospel in Canada, 1875-1915* (Waterloo, 1988); Donald C. Masters, *Protestant Church Colleges in Canada: A History* (Toronto, 1960).
3. On Canadian Methodism at the turn of the century, see William H. Magney, "The Methodist Church and the National Gospel, 1884-1914," *The Bulletin* (United Church Archives) 20 (1968); William H. Brooks, "Methodism in the Canadian West in the Nineteenth Century" (PhD dissertation, University of Manitoba, 1972); George N. Emery, "Methodism on the Canadian Prairies, 1896-1914" (PhD dissertation, University of British Columbia, 1970).
4. On the Church of England, see André Siegfried, *The Race Question in Canada*, first pub. 1906 (Toronto, 1966), 51-8, which also contains information on Presbyterians and Methodists; Trevor Powell, "The Church of England and the 'Foreigner' in the Dioceses of Qu'Appelle and Saskatchewan," *Journal of the Canadian Church Historical Society* XXVIII (1) (1986), 31-48; L. Norman Tucker, "The Anglican Church and its Missions," in Adam Shortt and Arthur G. Doughty, eds., *Canada and Its Provinces: A History of the Canadian People and Their Institutions*, XI, pt. 1 (Toronto, 1913), 199-248.
5. Siegfried, 54, 191. Catherine Macdonald, "James Robertson and Presbyterian Church Extension in Manitoba and the North West, 1866-1902," in Dennis L. Butcher, Catherine Macdonald, Margaret E. McPherson, Raymond R. Smith, and A. McKibbin Watts, eds., *Prairie Spirit: Perspectives on the Heritage of the United Church of Canada in the West* (Winnipeg, 1985), 95.
6. On liberal Protestantism, see John H. Randall, Jr., *The Making of the Modern World: A Survey of the Intellectual Background of the Present Age* (New York, 1926), 550-60. For a reflection of these ideas in Canada, see Alexander B. McKillop, *A Disciplined Intelligence: Critical Inquiry and Canadian Thought in the Victorian Era* (Montreal, 1979); Ramsay Cook,

The Regenerators: Social Criticism in Late Victorian English Canada (Toronto, 1985); B. Kiesekamp, "Presbyterian and Methodist Divines: Their Case for a National Church in Canada, 1875-1900," *Studies in Religion* II (3) (1973), 289-302.

7. George Blewett to James S. Woodsworth, cited in McKillop, 223-4.
8. For a discussion of Canadian imperialism, see Carl Berger, *The Sense of Power: Studies in the Ideas of Canadian Imperialism, 1867-1914* (Toronto, 1970).
9. Such attitudes were especially prominent in the works of George Bryce. Roderick MacBeth and C.W. Gordon (Ralph Connor). See, for example, George Bryce, *The Remarkable History of the Hudson's Bay Company* (Toronto, 1900), *Mackenzie, Selkirk, Simpson* (Toronto, 1909), *The Romantic Settlement of Lord Selkirk's Colonists: The Pioneers of Manitoba* (Toronto, 1911), *The Scotsman in Canada: Western Canada* (Toronto, 1911) and *A Short History of the Canadian People* (Toronto, 1914); Roderick MacBeth, *The Making of the Canadian West* (Toronto, 1898), *The Romance of Western Canada* (Toronto, 1918), *Policing the Plains: Being the Real-Life Record of the Famous North-West Mounted Police* (London, 1924) and *The Romance of the Canadian Pacific Railway* (Toronto, 1924); Ralph Connor, *The Foreigner: A Tale of Saskatchewan* (New York, 1909) and his many other novels. The reference to "adolescent races" is from *The Christian Guardian* 13 February 1907, 6.
10. "The Church and the Problems of Empire," *The Christian Guardian* 21 September 1910, 10.
11. E.D. McLaren, "Our National Aspirations," *Empire Club Speeches: Being Addresses Before the Empire Club of Canada* (Ottawa, 1906), 136.
12. Norman K. Clifford, "'His Dominion': A Vision in Crisis," *Studies in Religion* II (4) (1973), 315-26.
13. On the social gospel in Canada, see especially the works of Richard Allen: *The Social Passion: Religion and Social Reform in Canada, 1914-1928* (Toronto, 1971), "The Social Gospel and the Reform Tradition in Canada," *Canadian Historical Review* XLIX (3) (1968), 381-99, "Children of Prophecy: Wesley College Students in an Age of Reform," *Red River Valley Historian* (Summer 1974), 15-20, "The Background of the Social Gospel in Canada," in Richard Allen, ed., *The Social Gospel in Canada* (Ottawa, 1975), 3-24, "The Social Gospel as the Religion of the Agrarian Revolt," in Carl Berger and Ramsay Cook, eds., *The West and the Nation: Essays in Honour of W.L. Morton* (Toronto, 1976), 174-86; also George N. Emery, "The Origins of Canadian Methodist Involvement in the Social Gospel Movement, 1890-1914," *The Bulletin* (United Church Archives) 26 (1977), 104-19.
14. Cited in McKillop, 221.
15. On Woodsworth, see Kenneth McNaught, *A Prophet in Politics: A Biography of J.S. Woodsworth* (Toronto, 1959) and reprints of two of his early works: *Strangers Within Our Gates*, first pub. 1909, with an "Introduction" by Marilyn Barber (Toronto, 1972) and *My Neighbor*, first pub. 1911, with an "Introduction" by Richard Allen (Toronto, 1972). On Bland, see two articles by Richard Allen: "Salem Bland: The Young Preacher," *The Bulletin* (United Church Archives) 26 (1977), 75-93, and "Salem Bland and the Spirituality of the Social Gospel: Winnipeg and the West, 1903-1913," in

- Butcher et al., 217-32; also Richard Allen's "Introduction" to the reprint of Salem Bland, *The New Christianity*, first pub. 1919 (Toronto, 1977).
16. Fraser, 99, 231; also Cook, 205-13.
 17. J.G. Shearer, "The Strangers Within Our Gates," *The Presbyterian Record* XXXV (7) (July 1910), 306; Roderick MacBeth, *Our Task in Canada* (Toronto, 1912), 20; C.W. Gordon (Ralph Connor) quoted in "The Church and Problems of Empire," *The Christian Guardian* 21 September 1910, 10.
 18. Shearer, 307; C.W. Gordon, "Our Duty to the English Speaking and European Settlers," *Canada's Missionary Congress 1909* (Toronto, 1910), 106.
 19. Marilyn Barber, "Nationalism, Nativism and the Social Gospel: The Protestant Church Response to Foreign Immigrants in Western Canada, 1897-1914," in Richard Allen, ed., *The Social Gospel in Canada*, 186-226; George N. Emery, "Methodist Missions Among the Ukrainians," *Alberta Historical Review* XIX (2) (1971), 8-19; *The Missionary Bulletin* V (1907-8), 223, 451; E.D. McLaren, "The Perils of Immigration," *The Presbyterian* VII (24) (7 December 1905), 715-16. The Protestants had little understanding of peasant societies and the causes of their endemic prevarication, intemperance and violence. George M. Foster, "Peasant Society and the Image of the Limited Good," in Jack M. Potter, May N. Diaz and George M. Foster, eds., *Peasant Society: A Reader* (Boston, 1967), 300-23.
 20. Vivian Olender, "The Canadian Methodist Church and the Gospel of Assimilation, 1900-1925," *Journal of Ukrainian Studies* VII (2) (1982), 66; also Carol Lee Bacchi, *Liberation Deferred: The Ideas of the English-Canadian Suffragettes, 1877-1918* (Toronto, 1983); Veronica Strong-Boag, "Introduction" to Nellie McClung, *In Times Like These*, first pub. 1917 (Toronto, 1972).
 21. Robertson quoted in Michael Owen, "'Keeping Canada God's Country': Presbyterian School-Homes for Ruthenian Children," in Butcher et al., 186-7; *The Presbyterian Record* XLIV (4) (April 1919), 102.
 22. William Ivens, "Canadian Immigration" (MA thesis, University of Manitoba, 1909), 46, 73.
 23. W.D. Reid, "The Non-Anglo-Saxons in Canada—Their Christianization and Nationalization," *Pre-Assembly Congress* (Toronto, 1913), 121.
 24. E.D. McLaren, "The Perils of Immigration," *The Presbyterian Record* XXXI (1) (January 1906), 11.
 25. Wellington Bridgeman, "The Immigration Problem as it Affects Canadian Methodism," *Vox Wesleyana* XII (3) (1907), 64.
 26. M.C. Kinsale, "The Non-Anglo-Saxons in Canada—Their Christianization and Nationalization," *Pre-Assembly Congress* (Toronto, 1913), 132.
 27. *Census of Canada* 1911, II, Table I, 2-3, Table VIII, 332-40; Arthur I. Silver, "French Canada and the Prairie Frontier, 1870-1890," *Canadian Historical Review* L (1) (1969), 11-36; Robert Painchaud, "The Catholic Church and the Movement of Francophones to the Canadian Prairies, 1870-1915" (PhD dissertation, University of Ottawa, 1976); A.N. Lalonde, "L'intelligentsia du Québec et la migration des Canadiens français vers l'Ouest canadien, 1870-1930," *Revue d'histoire de l'Amérique française* LXXXIII (2) (1979), 163-85.

28. L.-P.-Adélarde Langevin, *Mémoire confidentiel sur la situation religieuse et statistiques de la population catholique de l'archidiocèse de Saint-Boniface* (Saint-Boniface, 1911), 18-38.
29. Ibid.; also Jean Hamelin et Nicole Gagnon, *Histoire du catholicisme québécois: Le XXe siècle*, I (Montréal, 1984), 123. On the Oblates, see also Gaston Carrière, "The Early Efforts of the Oblate Missionaries in Western Canada," *Prairie Forum* IV (1) (1979), 1-25.
30. The three exceptions were Norbert Provencher (1787-1853), who was elevated to the episcopacy in 1820, only two years after the Oblate order was founded; Olivier Elziar Mathieu (1853-1929), consecrated bishop of Regina in 1911; and John Thomas McNally (1871-1952), consecrated bishop of Calgary in 1912. All thirteen western-Canadian bishops and archbishops consecrated between 1850 and 1910 were Oblates. *Centenary of the Oblate Fathers in Western Canada, 1845-1945* (Winnipeg, 1945).
31. Hamelin et Gagnon, 107, 115-22.
32. Adrien G. Morice, *Vie de Mgr. Langevin, o.m.i., Archevêque de Saint-Boniface* (Saint-Boniface, 1919).
33. On the clerical life in Quebec and France, see Hamelin et Gagnon, 122-55; Pierre Savard, *Aspects du catholicisme canadien-français au XIXe siècle* (Montréal, 1980), 23-46; Theodore Zeldin, *France, 1848-1945: Anxiety and Hypocrisy* (Oxford, 1981), 217-51.
34. Randall, 543-50; John McManners, *Church and State in France, 1870-1914* (New York, 1973); Thomas A. Kselman, *Miracles and Prophecies in Nineteenth-Century France* (New Brunswick, N.J., 1983), 197.
35. Raymond Huel, "Gestae Dei Per Francos: the French Catholic Experience in Western Canada," in Benjamin G. Smillie, ed., *Visions of the New Jerusalem: Religious Settlement on the Prairies* (Edmonton, 1983), 30-54.
36. L.-F.-R. Laflèche, "The Providential Mission of the French Canadians," in Ramsay Cook, ed., *French Canadian Nationalism: An Anthology* (Toronto, 1969), 91-106.
37. Mason Wade, *The French-Canadian Outlook* (Toronto, 1964), 46, and *The French Canadians: 1760-1911* (Toronto, 1968), 331-89; also Susan M. Trofimenkoff, *The Dream of Nation: A Social and Intellectual History of Quebec* (Toronto, 1983), 115-30.
38. Hamelin et Gagnon, 87-100; Robert Choquette, "Adélarde Langevin et les questions scolaires du Manitoba et du nord-ouest, 1895-1915," *Revue de l'Université d'Ottawa* XLVI (3) (1976), 322-44.
39. Arthur I. Silver, "Introduction" to Jules P. Tardivel, *For My Country*, trans. Sheila Fischman (Toronto, 1975), vi-xl; Siegfried, 19-51; Robert Choquette, "Problèmes des moeurs et de discipline ecclésiastique: Les catholiques des Prairies canadiennes de 1900 à 1930," *Histoire sociale/Social History* VIII (15) (1975), 102-19.
40. Choquette, "Adélarde Langevin et les questions scolaires," 329, 337-8; Manoly R. Lupul, *The Roman Catholic Church and the North-West School Question: A Study in Church-State Relations in Western Canada, 1875-1905* (Toronto, 1974), 208 ff.
41. Painchaud, 124, 350; also Maurice Dupasquier, "Quelques aspects de l'oeuvre de Paul Benoit au Nouveau Monde, 1891-1915," *La Société canadienne d'histoire de l'Église catholique Sessions d'étude XXXVII* (1970), 111-44.

42. Choquette, "Problèmes de mœurs," 115. When Fr. Charles Caron, who was ordained after being widowed, alluded to his married life in casual conversations with his parishioners, Langevin strongly reprimanded him.
43. Siegfried, 32-3.
44. On the recruitment of priests and conflict with English-speaking Catholics, see Robert Painchaud, "Les exigences linguistiques dans le recrutement d'un clergé pour l'Ouest canadien, 1818-1920," *La Société canadienne d'histoire de l'Église catholique Sessions d'étude XLII* (1975), 43-64; Raymond Huel, "The Irish French Conflict in Catholic Episcopal Nominations: The Western Sees and the Struggle for Domination within the Church," *Canadian Catholic Historical Association Study Sessions XLII* (1975), 51-70; Mark G. McGowan, "'Religious Duties and Patriotic Endeavours': The Catholic Church Extension Society, French Canada and the Prairie West, 1908-1916," *ibid.*, LI (1984), 107-19; John S. Moir, "A Vision Shared? The *Catholic Register* and Canadian Identity Before World War I," *Canadian Issues/Thèmes canadiens* VII (1985), 356-66.
45. Six French-speaking missionaries, who had transferred to the Eastern rite, were also in the field. A sixth Ukrainian Catholic priest in Winnipeg refused to recognize Langevin.
46. Paul Yuzyk, *The Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church of Canada, 1918-1951* (Ottawa, 1981), 34.
47. The free village of Bereziv Nyzhnyi had a tradition of anticlericalism and *opryshkivstvo*, a form of social banditry peculiar to the Carpathians in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. According to Volodymyr Hrabovetsky, it was one of eight villages with the highest incidence of *opryshkivstvo*. *Borotba karpatskoho opryshkivstva XVI-XIX stolittia* (Lviv, 1966), 233.
48. Vladimir J. Kaye, *Early Ukrainian Settlements in Canada, 1895-1900: Dr. Josef Oleskow's Role in the Settlement of the Canadian Northwest* (Toronto, 1964), xiv, and his "The Descendants of the Boyars of Halych on the Prairies of the Canadian West," in Oleh W. Gerus, Alexander Baran and Jaroslav Rozumnyj, eds., *The Jubilee Collection of the Ukrainian Free Academy of Sciences* (Winnipeg, 1976), 361-78.
49. On Genik, see Kaye, *Early Ukrainian Settlements*, *passim.*, and Petro Kravchuk (Peter Krawchuk), *Kanadskyi druh Ivana Franka* (Toronto, 1971). Petro Zvarych (Peter Svarich), *Spomyny, 1877-1904* (Winnipeg, 1976), 218, states that Bodrug was a radical, a nonbeliever and a socialist (*zailyi radykal, sotsiialist-bezbozhnyk*) when both were students at the gymnasium in Kolomyia.
50. The figure is an estimate based on the community activists compiled in the course of this study; analysis of the group is based on the biographical data of 125 of the most prominent individuals.
51. John-Paul Himka, *Galician Villagers and the Ukrainian National Movement in the Nineteenth Century* (Edmonton, 1988), 97-104.
52. For definitions of the intelligentsia, see Anthony D. Smith, *Theories of Nationalism* (New York, 1971), 134-7; Orest Subtelny, *Ukraine: A History* (Toronto, 1988), 223-4.
53. *Svoboda* 25 May 1899.
54. Quoted in Zvarych, 98.

55. *Svoboda* 28 January, 11 November 1897, 31 March, 19 May, 16 June 1898, 1 June, 19 October 1899.
56. *The Home Mission Pioneer* IV (1907), 106-7; *Ranok* 5 June 1912.
57. *Svoboda* 8 March 1900, 2 January 1902.
58. *Ibid.*, 25 May 1899.
59. John Bodrug, *Independent Orthodox Church: Memoirs Pertaining to the History of a Ukrainian Canadian Church in the Years 1903 to 1913*, trans. Edward Bodrug and Lydia Biddle (Toronto, 1980), 10, 24-5; Negrich taught seven miles south of Ethelbert, Bodrug (and later Ivan Danylchuk) taught at Kosiw school, thirty-seven miles south of Ethelbert.
60. *Kanadyiskyi farmer* 16 August 1907.

8

The Catholic Clergy

Up to 80 per cent of the Ukrainians who came to Canada before 1914 were Catholics of the Eastern (Byzantine) rite, but Archbishop Langevin, who had jurisdiction over Ukrainian Catholics in western Canada, was staunchly opposed to Ukrainian priests in his archdiocese and to the appointment of an Eastern-rite bishop. Convinced that Ukrainian secular priests, in particular, were deficient in zeal, his single-minded pursuit of an exclusionist policy opened the door to Russian Orthodox and Protestant proselytizing among Ukrainians and brought the intelligentsia's latent Protestant sympathies to the fore. Only the threat of mass apostasy by Ukrainian Catholics and the intervention of Metropolitan Andrei Sheptytsky of Lviv forced Langevin to reconsider his position. In 1912 a Ukrainian Catholic bishop and secular priests were finally admitted to Canada, but by then the church's prestige had been seriously damaged.

Latin-rite Bishops and the Immigrants

Disputes between Ukrainian Catholic immigrants and the Roman Catholic hierarchy in the new world antedated the arrival of Ukrainians in Canada. They originated in the United States, to which Carpatho-Rusyns and Lemkos from Transcarpathia and Galicia had been emigrating since the 1870s. Until 1884, they attended Latin-rite services in Polish and Slovak parishes. In that year, Ukrainians in Shenandoah, Pennsylvania, appealed to Metropolitan Sylvester Sembratovych of Lviv for a priest, and Ivan Voliansky (1856-1926), a young, married, Ukrainian Catholic secular priest was dispatched from Galicia. Familiar with the ideas of the Ukrainian national movement, Voliansky did not limit himself to the immigrants' religious needs. Besides organizing nine Ukrainian Catholic parishes, whose property was incorporated with lay trustees, he established the first Ukrainian choir, reading club, library and evening school in the United States, organized a fraternal organization and several co-operative stores

and published the first Ukrainian newspaper, the short-lived *Ameryka*. He also sought to ease tensions between Ukrainian labourers and Irish miners, co-operated with the Knights of Labor and, unlike the Polish clergy, supported the coal miners' strike of 1887 in Shenandoah. Without jurisdiction from Archbishop John Patrick Ryan of Philadelphia, he was suspended at the instigation of the Polish clergy, whose income and authority his political activism and missionary work had threatened, and he was recalled by Sembratovych in 1889.¹

In succeeding years several married Carpatho-Rusyn and celibate Ukrainian Catholic priests immigrated to the United States. With no precedent for the co-existence of two rites in North America and with compulsory clerical celibacy a characteristic of the Latin rite since the eleventh century, relations between Ukrainian Catholics and the Latin clergy were soon very strained. On 1 October 1890 the Sacred Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith (the Propaganda Fide) placed all Eastern-rite priests in North America under the authority of local Latin bishops and advised Eastern-rite bishops in Galicia and Transcarpathia not to send married priests. On 10 May 1892 the new prefect of the Propaganda Fide, Count Mieczysław Cardinal Ledóchowski, deprived married priests of all jurisdiction in the United States and on 12 April 1894, Eastern-rite priests were forbidden to come unless specifically requested by the Latin hierarchy and approved by the Propaganda Fide. Finally, on 1 May 1897, Ledóchowski permitted Ukrainian Catholics to *adapt* (but not to transfer) to the Latin rite for the duration of their sojourn in the new world and ordered Latin bishops to appoint a qualified celibate Eastern-rite priest (or when unavailable a Latin one) to supervise the Ukrainian clergy and laity according to the ordinances of the Latin bishops. Subsequently, bishops often appointed Latin clergy as supervisors even when qualified, celibate Eastern-rite priests were available.²

In the circumstances Ukrainian Catholics were often treated like pariahs by the Latin hierarchy, against the wishes of the Vatican. Priests could not minister outside assigned parishes or without permission of the local priest in a Latin parish. Priests who refused to comply were occasionally arrested. As most Latin bishops granted only brief jurisdiction, Ukrainian priests had to make frequent and humiliating requests to carry on their ministry. Sometimes, they could not perform baptisms, marriages and funerals or were ordered to hand over fees to their Latin colleagues. In addition, Ukrainian Catholics were pressured to incorporate their church properties with Latin episcopal corporations, diocesan taxes were levied on Ukrainian Catholics, the "catholicity" of the Eastern-rite was questioned, and the validity of Ukrainian ministrations was disputed. On one occasion a Latin bishop refused to participate in a liturgy until a married Ukrainian Catholic priest was removed from the altar.³

The Propaganda Fide's decrees also placed Ukrainian Catholics in Canada under the authority of the Latin hierarchy. Although western-Canada's French-speaking hierarchy was more courteous than its Irish-American counterpart, it did

not win the immigrants' confidence, and the intelligentsia was especially suspicious. To Archbishop Langevin, the Ukrainians had to be Latinized "prudently and gradually" to ensure a unified Catholic church in the west. To this end, priests of Ukrainian nationality had to be resisted, as did the nomination of a Ukrainian subdelegate to the apostolic delegation in Ottawa and the appointment of a Ukrainian Catholic bishop.⁴

Langevin insisted that Latin priests were sufficient to safeguard the Catholic faith of such Ukrainians as were truly religious. As a result, Oblate missionaries of French and German origin struggled to look after the religious needs of Ukrainians during the early years. In 1898 two Oblates of Polish origin—Wacław Kuławy and his brother Albert—took charge of Catholic immigrants in Winnipeg, mostly Ukrainians. While the Kuławy brothers may have misled the archbishop about the ethnic composition of the immigrants, Langevin continued to support them long after he had learned the truth. The Kuławys, natives of Silesia who spoke no Ukrainian, organized the Holy Ghost parish in north Winnipeg, established a Polish-language school, advised Ukrainian Catholics with Latin-rite spouses to transfer to the Latin rite and tried to convince Latin-rite Ukrainians that they were Poles. They also cajoled Ukrainians into donating to the Polish church, treated itinerant Ukrainian Catholic missionaries with scant courtesy, insisted that Langevin would never permit the construction of a Ukrainian church in Winnipeg and forbade Ukrainians to canvas for a church of their own. When *Svoboda* criticized their activity, they ordered immigrants to stop reading the weekly, and they actually refused to minister in Sifton because a reading club that subscribed to secular Ukrainian newspapers was housed in the church basement.⁵

Relations between the Latin hierarchy and the few Ukrainian Catholic missionaries who came to Canada were also tense. Nestor Dmytriw and Paul Tymkiewich, young, celibate priests from the United States who visited Canada in 1897 and 1898, were refused jurisdiction by Langevin after they advocated "an independent Ukrainian Catholic church, with its own bishop, dependent directly on Rome and equal in status with the Latin church." While in Alberta in 1897, Dmytriw was informed by Bishop Legal that "it would be impossible to have two Catholic churches in Canada." The following year, Legal, who had secured land for the Ukrainian Catholic church in Edna-Star, tried to have it registered with his episcopal corporation without consulting the settlers. Dmytriw and Tymkiewich, populists who had established many reading clubs in the United States and paid all their own expenses while in Canada, advised Ukrainians to be wary of the French clergy if they wished to preserve their own rite. In 1899 and 1901, Damaskyn Polivka, an Eastern-rite Basilian dispatched from Galicia, and Ivan Zaklynsky, a secular priest who came from the United States without proper authorization, aroused Langevin's ire for helping Winnipeg's Ukrainians to establish their own parish and advising them to avoid the Kuławy brothers.

While Polivka left for the United States after less than two months, Zaklynsky, whose insubordination and lax personal conduct had already offended Bishop Grandin in Alberta, lingered in Manitoba for two years criticizing the Latin clergy.⁶ Only the emergence of popular opposition in the United States and Canada, which threatened to destroy the allegiance of Ukrainians to the Catholic church, forced Langevin to modify his attitude to the Eastern rite and its clergy.

The Emergence of Opposition to the Catholic Church

Ukrainian Catholics—priests and laymen—responded to the Propaganda Fide's decrees and to the authority of the Latin hierarchy by either turning to the Russian Orthodox church in North America or attempting to create their own "independent Ruthenian church." The turn toward Russian Orthodoxy manifested itself first. Before 1890 the Russian Orthodox establishment in North America, headed by the Bishop of the Aleutian Islands and Alaska, had only a handful of parishes in such centres of Russian population as San Francisco, New York and New Orleans. It expanded rapidly after 1890 when several Carpatho-Rusyn and Ukrainian Catholic congregations in the United States and Canada converted to Russian Orthodoxy because of conflicts between Ukrainian Catholic priests and Latin bishops.⁷

The first conversions took place in St. Paul, Minnesota, where in 1890 Archbishop John Ireland refused jurisdiction to Alexei Tovt, a widowed Catholic priest from Transcarpathia. When Tovt and his parishioners seceded and were admitted into the Russian Orthodox church, other Carpatho-Rusyn and Ukrainian Catholic priests and parishes, many with Russophile sympathies, followed, and by 1909 some sixty parishes had taken the step.⁸ The unexpected windfall caused Bishop Nicholas Zerov (1891-97) of the Russian Orthodox church and his successors, Archbishops Tikhon Beliavin (1898-1907) and Platon Rozhdestvenskii (1907-14), to expand the church's missionary activity among Ukrainians and Rusyns. Tikhon transferred his diocesan seat from San Francisco to New York to be closer to the immigrants from Austria-Hungary, and in 1897 a missionary school, transformed in 1905 into a Russian Orthodox theological seminary, was established in Minneapolis to train priests. The intense missionary activity was but one "aspect of the foreign policy of tsarist Russia in the three decades prior to the outbreak of World War One. The Russian government hoped to undermine the power of the Hapsburg empire by converting Greek Catholic peasants within Austria-Hungary and its emigrants in the United States [and Canada] to Orthodoxy; conversion to the Russian Orthodox church was thought to foster loyalty to the tsar and all things Russian."⁹ As a result, by 1900 the tsarist regime was providing the Russian Orthodox church in North America with eighty thousand dollars annually. When, shortly before the war, the theological seminary was

transferred from Minneapolis to Tenafly, New Jersey, some sixty thousand Carpatho-Rusyn and Ukrainian immigrants, the great majority former Catholics, had joined the Russian Orthodox church. Many believed themselves to be "Russians."¹⁰

In Canada, Russian Orthodox missionaries began to penetrate Ukrainian settlements in the 1890s. In 1896 a group of settlers at Wostok, Alberta, many from Kalush and Brody in eastern Galicia, where Russophilism had been widespread, wrote Bishop Nicholas and requested priests. The settlers, led by Theodore Nemirsky and Anton Sawka, were congratulated for remembering that they were "Russians" and then welcomed back into their "ancestral faith." In July 1897, Dmitrii Kamenev and Vladimir Alexandrov celebrated the first Russian Orthodox liturgy at Wostok, and within a year Jacob Korchinsky, the first resident Russian Orthodox missionary in Canada, was working in the Wostok area, while Ivan Maliarevsky was touring southern Manitoba and Saskatchewan. By 1899, Konstantin Popoff of Minneapolis was making regular visits to the large Bukovynian colony around Stuartburn. Thereafter, Russian Orthodox missionaries continued to infiltrate the settlements of disaffected Ukrainian Catholics from Galicia and of Orthodox Bukovynians across Canada.¹¹

Because of widespread fear that the Ukrainian rite would be "latinized" by the French hierarchy, Russian Orthodoxy grew in Canada. In some Ukrainian Catholic colonies, two hostile camps emerged: a pro-Catholic group, which urged co-operation with the Latin hierarchy until permanent Ukrainian Catholic missionaries could be obtained, and a pro-Russian Orthodox group, frequently led by Russophiles who condemned the church union of 1596, counselled a "return to the ancestral Orthodox faith" and invited Russian Orthodox missionaries to minister to the colony's spiritual needs. Where churches already existed, as in Edna-Star, litigation often ensued to determine which group was entitled to use the church building. Generally, the process proved to be long and costly.¹²

The expansion of the Russian Orthodox church was much assisted by the fact that a large proportion of the missionaries spoke Ukrainian, having been born and educated in eastern Ukraine. Still others were Galician Russophiles educated in theological seminaries in Russia or the United States. Moreover, the Russian Orthodox liturgy, sung in Old Slavonic, was almost identical to that in the Catholic and Orthodox churches of eastern Galicia and Bukovyna. The fact that many Ukrainian peasant immigrants from Austria-Hungary felt no national antagonism toward Russians before 1914 also facilitated expansion. Finally, the Russian church was especially attractive because the missionaries made few financial demands and rarely insisted that parish property be incorporated with their hierarchy. During the early years some missionaries even distributed food and candy to attract parishioners.¹³

At first, the church expanded slowly in Canada and by 1906 it had only five parishes, nineteen missions and 6,748 faithful, all from Galicia and Bukovyna.¹⁴

The questionable behaviour of some Russian Orthodox missionaries was undoubtedly a factor. For example, Iaroslav Sichynsky, a graduate from a Catholic theological seminary in Galicia who had been refused ordination after separating from his wife, had to flee Winnipeg in 1906 after incurring heavy debts and misappropriating parish funds. Several other missionaries were given to public drunkenness.¹⁵ However, between 1906 and 1911, the church, under Archpriest Arsenii Chekhovtsev's leadership in Winnipeg and Edmonton, expanded very rapidly. Arriving from Pennsylvania, Chekhovtsev, a charismatic preacher of Kirghiz origin who spoke some Ukrainian, used Winnipeg's Holy Trinity parish (formed in 1904 by Galicians who had left the Catholic church, but frequented subsequently primarily by Orthodox Bukovynians) to establish twenty-seven Russian Orthodox parishes in Manitoba by 1910. In Alberta he converted several Ukrainian Catholic parishes, among them Rabbit Hill, Bufford and Eastgate. In 1908 he launched a bimonthly newspaper, *Kanadiiskaia niva* (The Canadian Field). Edited by a committee of Russophiles whom he organized in Edmonton, the paper featured transcripts of his sermons and strong doses of Russophile propaganda. Plans were laid for a student residence in memory of Ivan Naumovych, the prominent nineteenth-century Galician Russophile, but before the project could be realized Chekhovtsev left, frustrated in his efforts to be named Russian Orthodox bishop of Canada. The position was ultimately bestowed upon Alexander Nemylovsky, a Russified Ukrainian from Volhynia in the Russian empire, who resided in the United States and visited Canada infrequently.¹⁶

The expansion of Russian Orthodoxy was one factor that affected Archbishop Langevin's attitude toward the Eastern rite and its clergy. Equally important were the protest meetings in the United States organized by young Ukrainian Catholic secular priests, which revealed the depth of resentment in many Ukrainian Catholic communities across North America and obliged the Latin hierarchy to reconsider its policy.

Influenced by the Radical party's populist ideals, a group who came to be known as the "radical priests" (eight in number, among them Dmytriw and Tymkiewich) had turned down comfortable positions in Galicia, taken the vow of celibacy and immigrated to the United States in the early 1890s to minister to the immigrants' spiritual needs and to act as their advisers, teachers and spokesmen. Seeing themselves as "dreamers" who "believe that peasants and labourers should know how to read and write and live like human beings," they linked Christian teachings to the plight of "the poor, mistreated Ruthenian people." "Ruthenian patriotism," they insisted, "is nothing else than the realization of the commandment to love one's neighbour." Through *Svoboda*, which they controlled between 1896 and 1907, they advised the immigrants to stop building churches ("soon there will be more churches in America than there are Ruthenian families"), to start practising Christianity in their daily lives and to assume

control of their religious affairs (“the people and their priests should govern the church and its property by themselves”).¹⁷

In May 1900 the radical priests and lay delegates from fifteen Ukrainian Catholic parishes in the United States met in Shamokin, Pennsylvania, and established the Association of Ruthenian Church Congregations in the United States and Canada, with a governing council of three priests and three laymen. Although Ukrainians in Canada did not participate in any of the association’s meetings, they corresponded with it and read about its activities in *Svoboda*.¹⁸ The first open opposition of the radical priests to the Latin hierarchy occurred in 1902. On 13 February, Fr. Ivan Ardan, as editor of *Svoboda*, insisted in an editorial (“Away from Rome!”) that not only had the Vatican always been impatient with Ukrainian Catholics, but that the Latin bishops were responsible for the Polonization, Magyarization and Slovakization of Ukrainians in Austria-Hungary and for the attempts to destroy the Ukrainian community’s national integrity in North America. The editorial proposed a convention to address several issues:

The convention should declare our secession from the Union with Rome and the abrogation of all relations with its representatives; the convention should protest against interference by Latin-rite bishops and priests in the affairs of our faith and church, and enact specific measures to regulate our ecclesiastical affairs in accordance with the practice of the early Christians. Our priests should inform Latin-rite bishops that they have no right...to assert even nominal jurisdiction over us. Finally, the convention should strive to obtain the services of honest, patriotic Ruthenian priests from the old country who will defy prohibitions...and serve God by working for their people in America.

On 26 March 1902 the Association of Ruthenian Church Congregations held its first convention in Harrisburg, Pennsylvania. After appeals to the democratic traditions of the sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Ukrainian church,¹⁹ resolutions were adopted to democratize and to guarantee the autonomy of the Ukrainian Catholic church in the United States. The most important declared:

Those assembled consider secession from Rome to be necessary in principle for the welfare of the Ruthenian church and people in America; nevertheless, because of its gravity the resolution of this issue is postponed to enable all of the people to evaluate and resolve it for themselves at the next convention...

The convention strenuously protests against the imposition of any religious authority over American Ruthenians without their consent and declares itself in favour of the ancient and well-established tradition of the Christian church, especially of the Ruthenian church, whereby the hierarchy was elected by the people themselves.²⁰

The "Harrisburg Resolutions" also demanded that all decrees by the Propaganda Fide regarding Ukrainian Catholics in the United States be revoked; that Ukrainians in the United States be allowed to elect their own bishop, who "would not be entitled to an enormous palace and pension, and would reside in the larger parishes thereby freeing the faithful of all financial burdens"; that the bishop be responsible directly to the pope rather than to the Propaganda Fide; and that a Ukrainian Catholic patriarchate be created to oversee all Ukrainian Catholic bishops in Europe and America.

The response of the Vatican was to excommunicate Ardan and to send an apostolic visitor, who then ignored most of the issues. Desperate, the association considered affiliation with the Orthodox church. Letters were sent to the Russian Holy Synod in St. Petersburg and to the Greek Orthodox monastery on Mount Athos in Greece inquiring whether a "bishop of the Ukrainian Orthodox church," *independent* of the Russian Orthodox mission in the United States and *elected* by Ukrainian priests and laymen, would be recognized. Needless to say, the Holy Synod refused to participate in such a venture. The monks on Mount Athos, as we shall soon see, may have been more obliging. In any case, the radical priests and their parishioners ultimately reconciled themselves with the Catholic church. In Canada, however, where there were no resident Ukrainian Catholic priests before the fall of 1902 (and far too few thereafter), the revolt against the Latin hierarchy and the Catholic church continued to gather momentum.

Bishop Seraphim and the Independent Greek Church

Events in the United States encouraged members of the intelligentsia impressed by Protestantism to champion an independent Ukrainian church in Canada. In March 1902, a month after Ardan's provocative editorial, Cyril Genik urged Ukrainians in Canada to leave the Latin hierarchy and the Russian Orthodox clergy and "organize an independent Ruthenian people's church" governed by the laity and lower clergy, with parishioners the sole owners of the churches and all parish property. Several months later, another correspondent from Winnipeg urged Ukrainians to "issue a public statement that we are withdrawing from the Union of the Ruthenian church with Rome and simultaneously establishing and organizing a Ruthenian people's church [*narodna tserkva*] with Jesus Christ as its Invisible Head."²¹

At the same time Ukrainian suspicions of the Latin hierarchy greatly increased. In February 1903, at Langevin's request, Joseph Bernier, a member of the Manitoba legislature, introduced a bill "praying for an act...conveying properties of the Greek Ruthenian Church in Communion with Rome into the control of corporations under control of the Church of Rome." Although the bill was withdrawn in response to protests, Langevin still maintained in 1910 that

“the Ruthenians must prove themselves Catholics by turning property over to the church, and not like Protestants...to an individual or committee of laymen, independent of the priest or bishop.” Parishes that refused to comply would be denied priestly ministrations.²²

In the circumstances, when an opportunity to establish an independent Ukrainian church presented itself in 1903, members of the intelligentsia seized it. In April, Stephan Ustvolsky, a defrocked Russian Orthodox priest who had been living as a monk on Mount Athos, arrived in Winnipeg claiming to be Seraphim, “Bishop and Metropolitan of the Orthodox Russian Church for the whole of America.” It appears that Ustvolsky had initially landed in New York in November 1902, perhaps in response to appeals by the radical priests after the Harrisburg convention. Although “a man of deep faith and a fine preacher” who possessed “a melodious voice and knew the whole Scripture by heart,” it seems doubtful that Ustvolsky had been consecrated on Mount Athos, as he claimed, by the aged Patriarch Anfim, who disliked the Russian Orthodox establishment and sent him to North America to spite the Holy Synod. What is clear is that Ustvolsky’s stay in the United States had been brief. His Russophile and protsarist sentiments had offended the radical priests, and the firmly entrenched Russian Orthodox church made it difficult for him to secure a popular following. In Winnipeg, almost completely without Ukrainian priests, Ustvolsky/Seraphim proceeded to ordain cantors, deacons and others selected by their communities into the priesthood of the “All-Russian Patriarchal Orthodox Church” or, more commonly, the “Seraphimite Church.” Prospective candidates had only to pay a twenty-five-dollar ordination fee to cover the indigent Seraphim’s travel and living expenses.²³

Although doubts about Seraphim’s legitimacy and authority were widespread, the appeal of his church to both settlers and intelligentsia was undeniable. Many settlers were enthusiastic about a bishop who elevated to the priesthood “poor but pious farmers,” men like the “simple uneducated fishermen” whom Christ had selected as Apostles.²⁴ The intelligentsia, in turn, realized that the all-Ukrainian Seraphimite clergy, albeit poorly educated, could undermine the authority of both Latin and Russian Orthodox priests, and with better leadership perhaps even create a progressive, democratic and independent Ukrainian church. Thus almost immediately after Seraphim’s arrival, Genik wrote to Bodrug:

Seraphim is an obstinate Russian who has no understanding either of our people or of western culture. His ignorant priests will bring about religious chaos among our people. They will need wise leadership beyond Seraphim. Perhaps you and Negrich could undertake this task.²⁵

Although skeptical, Bodrug nevertheless agreed: “...if there were any possibility of creating a reformed Christian church out of Orthodoxy, then for the sake of the idea I would leave everything, and go forth to serve God and my people.”

Shortly thereafter, he, his father-in-law Aleksii Bachynsky, an experienced old-country church cantor and choir director, and Negrich presented themselves for ordination; they would respect Seraphim, “but having...established leadership over his priests, [they] would undertake to preach not Orthodoxy but Evangelical Christianity.”²⁶

In May 1903 the newly ordained Bodrug and Negrich approached their old mentors at Manitoba College, with whom they secretly drafted the constitution for a new institution—the Independent Greek church. The new church would temporarily retain the Eastern Christian liturgy, but “pagan customs and beliefs with which the Orthodox Church had become imbued were to be gradually eliminated.” While the clergy’s sermons had to espouse evangelical principles from the outset, the liturgy and ritual practices would undergo gradual reform so as not to arouse the traditionalist sensibilities of the peasant immigrants. In the near future general confession would replace auricular confession and the liturgy would be shortened. Membership would be open to all who believed in God and the Holy Trinity and accepted Jesus Christ as their Saviour. The church would be independent of all ties with the Vatican, the Russian Holy Synod and all Eastern Orthodox patriarchs, and it would be organized and administered democratically through a synod (*sobor*) comprising clergymen and lay delegates from each congregation, who would meet at one- to three-year intervals to elect a consistory. The latter would consist of a chairman, secretary, treasurer, organizer and a superintendent (who would preside). As the executive branch of the church, the consistory would also ordain clergy. Each congregation would be governed by its clergyman and three elected lay elders. Congregations would select and dismiss clergymen with the consistory’s approval, and elected trustees would administer the property of each congregation.

Encouraged by Presbyterian support, Bodrug began cultivating the better-educated Seraphimite priests and recruiting others. Among the clergy who formed the nucleus of the Independent Greek church were Ivan Danylchuk, a junior gymnasium graduate and school teacher; Michael Bachynsky, Bodrug’s brother-in-law and a teacher; Joseph Cherniawsky, a comptroller; Efreim Perih, a self-taught man; Dmytro Iarmii, a well-read farmer; and Andrew Wilchynsky, a fairly well-educated Bukovynian cantor. A young Methodist minister described the group as “men of the people, not well-educated, but intelligent, earnest, devout and possessing good common sense.”²⁷

When Seraphim left Winnipeg for St. Petersburg later that year to seek recognition from the Holy Synod, Bodrug and his followers called a convention, accepted the recently prepared constitution and announced the formation of the Independent Greek church. Seraphim excommunicated the founders in September 1904, shortly after returning empty-handed from Russia, and in January 1905 Bodrug and his followers formally left the Seraphimite church. While some did so out of conviction, others distrusted Seraphim or simply saw the Independent

Greek church as the best means to retain the pay and prestige Seraphim's ministry had brought. However, the presence of poorly educated, conservative men in the new church, either indifferent toward or actually opposed to Protestantism, was a constant weakness. At the same time a handful of uneducated and semiliterate Seraphim loyalists continued to minister to dwindling numbers after Seraphim's departure in 1908. Makarii Marchenko, a Russian monk, and Mykhailo Kachkovsky, a farmer and native of the Galician county of Cieszanów, even proclaimed themselves "archbishops" and successors to their departed mentor.²⁸

For the first two or three years, the Independent Greek church enjoyed considerable esteem among immigrants in Canada and in Radical circles overseas. The American *Svoboda* and Galician *Hromadskyi holos* sympathized with the movement, Mykhailo Pavlyk encouraged its founders and Kyrylo Trylovsky even considered starting a similar one in Galicia.²⁹ Bodrug, in turn, compared himself to Luther, Calvin and Hus and hoped "to show Rome that he could destroy within three years the church Union which Rome and the Poles had been enforcing among Ukrainians for 300 years."³⁰ An excellent organizer and preacher, he travelled across the prairies with his father-in-law, who easily passed for an old-country priest in his vestments. After the liturgy, Bodrug mixed pathos, irony and humour in sermons which surveyed Ukrainian history and warned that the church union of 1596 had been disastrous for the Ukrainian people.

The Independent Greek church expanded rapidly between 1904 and 1907. In October 1903, Genik, Bodrug and Negrich had founded the first Ukrainian newspaper in Canada, *Kanadyiskyi farmer* (The Canadian Farmer). Conceived as a "Ruthenian people's newspaper, which would safeguard our rights and defend the interests of Canadian Ruthenians," it was established with financial support from the federal Liberal party—the only political party to support Ukrainian immigration at the time. Its founders believed that once the paper became a self-sufficient enterprise they would "take it away from the Liberals and assume control,"³¹ but by 1906 it had passed squarely into Liberal hands and Bodrug and the Presbyterians had to establish *Ranok* (Morning) to serve as the weekly organ of the Independent Greek church.

The Presbyterians also established special classes at Manitoba College for young Ukrainians who wished to become school teachers or Independent Greek church ministers. Tuition fees were waived for most students and living costs were offset by grants from Presbyterian women's missionary societies. Students with little or no English were taught the language, while those with English were prepared for the college's matriculation course. Michael Sherbinin, a Russian linguist and philologist fluent in Ukrainian who had been persecuted by the tsarist regime for his evangelical beliefs, taught the classes from 1904 through 1907. Thereafter, others, including several Ukrainian assistants, assumed respon-

sibility. One hour of daily Ukrainian-language instruction was provided after 1906, with the boys expected to attend Bible class on Sunday afternoons. Some 193 Ukrainians attended the special classes between 1904 and 1912, many qualifying for teaching permits in Manitoba, and especially in Saskatchewan, where no training school for Ukrainian teachers existed before 1909 and where Bodrug served as a school organizer in 1906. To disseminate Protestant teachings, Bodrug and Sherbinin prepared in 1904 a Ukrainian translation of the *Christian Catechism* by Rev. J. Oswald Dykes. And in 1905, Rev. Patrick, principal of Manitoba College, began special summer courses to introduce Independent Greek church clergymen to the principles of evangelical Christianity. Finally, in 1906, Bodrug and Sherbinin again collaborated to produce *An English Manual for Ruthenians*.³²

By some estimates, the church in 1907 numbered sixty thousand members and sympathizers in Canada, but official Presbyterian records for the year indicate that only 2,485 families were members and another 628 families were sympathizers in the three prairie provinces. Thus the church may have had fifteen to twenty thousand adherents, served by twenty-four clergy, with eleven working full-time for an annual salary of about \$480 from the Board of Home Missions. Bodrug, the superintendent (both Genik and Negrich had left the movement by 1906), earned \$630 annually. While the church was represented in all the major Ukrainian districts, more than half of its members and supporters were in Manitoba, one-third were in Saskatchewan and fewer than one-sixth in Alberta. By 1911 it had seventy-two congregations, forty church buildings and nineteen full-time clergy.³³ Friends and foes alike considered it the greatest threat to the survival of Catholicism among Ukrainians in Canada.

Recruiting a Ukrainian Catholic Clergy

The radical anti-Catholic sentiment among the intelligentsia and the Russian Orthodox, Seraphimite and Independent Greek church missionaries in Ukrainian colonies alarmed the Latin hierarchy in Canada and the Ukrainian hierarchy in Galicia. There was, however, little unanimity regarding a solution. Langevin continued to believe that Latin missionaries (of French, German and Polish origins) would suffice to hold the Ukrainians. While in Europe during the summer of 1898, he had recruited three Belgian Redemptorist monks to minister to Catholic immigrants from east central Europe within his archdiocese. One recruit, Fr. Achille Delaere, had spent a year in the Galician town of Tuchów learning Polish before assuming his responsibilities among Polish and Ukrainian immigrants in the Brandon-Shoal Lake district in 1899. It was Bishops Legal and Pascal, therefore, who first inquired into the availability of Ukrainian priests. Both were wary of Ukrainian Catholic secular priests, but

neither was opposed to Basilian monks. Accordingly, in the course of a meeting in Vienna in the fall of 1898, Pascal asked Konstantyn Chekhovych, the Ukrainian Catholic bishop of Przemyśl, to dispatch Basilian missionaries to Canada, and simultaneously informed the Vatican of his and Legal's wishes. In the spring of 1900, on Legal's initiative, Fr. Albert Lacombe was sent to Europe to secure missionaries for Ukrainian Catholics, even though, according to Legal, Langevin disapproved and had rejected Lacombe's proposals to have a Ukrainian subdelegate appointed to the apostolic delegation in Ottawa.³⁴ Lacombe, who met with Pope Leo XIII, Emperor Francis-Joseph and Bishop Andrei Sheptytsky of Stanyslaviv, was treated coldly by the emperor, but his meeting with Sheptytsky, soon to become archbishop of Lviv and metropolitan of Halych, bore dividends almost immediately.

Sheptytsky's all-consuming vision was to unite the Orthodox East and the Catholic West, which required the continued integrity of the Ukrainian Catholic church and its Eastern rite. In his correspondence with Langevin, he thought it only natural that Ukrainians in Canada should want a bishop of their own. They were only following European precedent, and the Holy See did not limit the prerogatives of the Eastern church to Europe. To neutralize Russian Orthodox proselytizing, it was "absolutely indispensable" that the "Ruthenian rite" have the same "legal and canonical" position in Canada that the Holy See had given it in Europe. Ukrainian Catholics were not eager to incorporate their churches with Latin bishops because in Austrian civil law churches did not belong to the diocese but to the whole community. While the latter could not dispose of church property without the approval of priest and bishop, the faithful in each village did consider the church to belong to them.³⁵ In the fall of 1901, shortly after becoming archbishop of Lviv, Sheptytsky sent his secretary, Fr. Vasyl Zholdak, to Canada. After nine months, he returned with Alphonse Jan, an Oblate from Edmonton, and a request followed from the metropolitan to the newly reformed Basilian order, the only Ukrainian Catholic male monastic community, to send missionaries to Canada. Langevin had grudgingly agreed to the Ukrainian monks, believing that the "gradual Latinization of the Ukrainians...could be effected more smoothly if the immigrants initially had priests of their own rite to serve them."³⁶

Accordingly, in October 1902, Zholdak led the first contingent of Ukrainian Catholic missionaries to Canada: three Basilian Fathers—Platonid Filias, Sozont Dydyk and Anton Strotsky—and four Sisters Servants of Mary Immaculate—Amvroziia Lenkevych, Taida Wrublewska, Izydora Shypovska and Emiliia Klapovchuk.³⁷ Filias, an outstanding preacher and co-founder and editor of *Misionar* (The Missionary), a periodical devoted to combating the Radicals in Galicia, was the first superior of the Canadian mission. Because of Russian Orthodox missionary activity among Ukrainian Catholic settlers in east central Alberta since 1897, the three Basilians established themselves at Rabbit Hill

(Leduc), Edmonton, Beaver Creek (Edna-Star) and Beaver Lake (Mundare), where their first monastery was built. Zholdak remained in Winnipeg where two additional Basilians—Matei Hura and Navkrytii Kryzanowsky—arrived in November 1903. The three visited Ukrainian colonies in Manitoba and southeastern Saskatchewan, where Seraphimite and Independent Greek church missionaries had been winning converts since the spring of 1903. For the same reason, Strotsky, after visiting Ukrainian miners in the Crow's Nest Pass, was assigned to the Fish Creek-Rosthern district of central Saskatchewan. On rare occasions, the Basilians also visited the large Ukrainian urban colonies in (West) Fort William and Montreal.

Although Zholdak returned to Galicia in October 1904 and Filias followed in January, three new recruits—Atanasii Filipow, Ivan Tymochko and Roman Volynets—arrived within a few months of Filias's departure, and by the summer of 1905 there were seven Basilians in Canada. The situation began to worsen in the fall of 1906 when Strotsky left for the United States amid rumours of scandal and dissolute morals, and a year later Volynets also left Canada. Tymochko, responsible from 1907 for the entire four thousand-square-kilometre Ukrainian bloc settlement east of Edna-Star, died in December 1909. Not one of the missionaries was replaced. The last Basilian to join the Canadian mission before 1914 was Vasyl (Basil) Ladyka, who arrived as a theology student in 1909 and three years later was ordained upon graduating from the Grand Séminaire in Montreal.³⁸

The Basilians were young men in the prime of life (born between 1864 and 1884) and well-adapted for missionary work in Canada. Their social origins were humble, though somewhat more privileged than those of the average immigrant, being the sons of a blacksmith (Filias), wealthy peasant (Hura), prosperous miller (Dydyk), village school teacher (Kryzanowsky), burgher (Filipow) and an oil worker (Ladyka).³⁹ To cover the costs of missionary work, the Basilians tried to collect three dollars annually from each family in the colonies they served. At Beaver Lake the annual tariff was four dollars plus two bushels of oats to support both the local monastery and the school run by the sisters. Outlying congregations were occasionally charged up to fifteen dollars to cover travel expenses, and during the early years the costs naturally caused some consternation among settlers accustomed only to sacramental fees in Galicia.⁴⁰

Although well-suited for missionary work, the Basilians lacked manpower. In 1910 there were only sixty Ukrainian Basilians in Galicia, where their conservative outlook constituted "one of the most powerful ramparts against the incessantly rising tide of socialism and free thinking."⁴¹ Besides Galicia and Canada, they established missions in Brazil in 1897 and in Argentina in 1909. They were, as a result, hard pressed to furnish the personnel needed. Accordingly, by 1904, Archbishop Langevin devised what to him was the definitive solution to "the Ruthenian problem": the transfer of French-speaking Latin-rite mission-

aries to the Eastern rite, after they had learned the language and the liturgical practices of the Ukrainians. By minimizing clerical divisions, Langevin sought to diminish the authority of any future Ukrainian Catholic bishop that might be appointed.⁴²

In the summer of 1906 the Belgian Redemptorist Achille Delaere became the first of eleven French-speaking missionaries to transfer to the Eastern rite before 1914.⁴³ Until 1909, Delaere, whose brother was a missionary in the Belgian Congo, laboured alone among eight hundred Ukrainian families in an eight thousand-square-kilometre area north of Yorkton. By July 1914 he was joined by four additional Belgian Redemptorists—Henrich Böels, Noel Decamps, K. Têcheur and Louis Van Den Bosh (Boski). While the Yorkton district was the Redemptorists' primary mission field, Böels was stationed at Brandon (1910-13) and Delaere and Boski in Manitoba's Interlake district (1916-24), and services were occasionally held in eastern urban centres, including Montreal and Toronto.

Like the Basilians, the Belgian-born Redemptorists were young men. Delaere and Decamps, who had lived with the Polish Redemptorists before coming to Canada, were weaker in Ukrainian than Böels and Boski, who had acquired their Ukrainian from the Basilians in Galicia. They levied the same modest three-dollar annual tax on their families, but were less successful in collecting it than the Basilians. In the end, they survived largely because their order contributed seventy-five thousand dollars for missionary work among Ukrainian, Polish and Irish settlers in the Brandon and Yorkton districts between 1898 and 1909.⁴⁴

Besides the Belgian Redemptorists, five French-Canadian secular priests also transferred to the Eastern rite before 1914. The first, Joseph Adonais Sabourin, a protégé of Langevin's,⁴⁵ was assigned to the Sifton district in April 1908. As a stronghold of Russian Orthodoxy and the Independent Greek church movement, the area, abandoned by the Basilians after two years of unsuccessful missionary activity, became the focal point of French-Canadian efforts. In 1911, Sabourin was joined by Désiré Claveloux, a native of France, and a year later Joseph-Pierre Gagnon and François-Joseph (Josaphat) Jean arrived. A fifth missionary, Joseph-Arthur Desmarais, served the Ukrainian Catholic parish in Montreal briefly (1912-13) before moving to Sifton in August 1913.⁴⁶

The French-Canadian secular priests (born between 1878 and 1885) were generally younger and with less pastoral experience than either the Basilians or Redemptorists. Although all had studied for one to two years with the Basilians in Galicia, only two—Sabourin and Jean—spent more than two or three years among the Ukrainians. Philip Ruh (Philippe Roux), a native of Alsace-Lorraine and an Oblate, was the last French-speaking Latin missionary to transfer to the Eastern rite before 1914. After two years in Galicia with the Basilians and the teachers at the Ukrainian gymnasium in Buchach, the thirty-year-old missionary was sent to east central Alberta in 1913, where he served twelve colonies with

five hundred families scattered across fifteen hundred square kilometres north of the North Saskatchewan River.⁴⁷

Priests and Immigrants

The Basilian and French-speaking missionaries elicited the full gamut of emotions within the Ukrainian community—from tears of joy and heartfelt gratitude to suspicion and hostility. Members of the intelligentsia, as well as many immigrants who shared the secular values of the Ukrainian national movement, were especially wary of them. Taking the worldly, married secular priests of eastern Galicia as their model, they preferred priests who participated in political life and established reading clubs, drama circles, co-operative stores and temperance societies to men of exceptional piety and devotion to the church. By such secular standards, only a handful of the missionaries who served in Canada before 1912 could be deemed adequate.

Most Basilians were animated by a spirit and discipline that concentrated on obtaining eternal salvation for their flock. The Ukrainian national movement and social activism were definitely subordinate to preserving the immigrants' faith and allegiance to the Catholic church. In September 1903, Filius organized the first of many three-day missions at which four sermons were delivered daily. According to Iulian Bachynsky, who visited Canada in 1906, the sermons were "full of demons, hell-fire, thunder, the Last Judgment, the groaning of sinners and the gnashing of teeth."⁴⁸ Basilians like Filipow, who believed that "virtually the entire world...is made up of the enemies of God, of His Church and of everything they command and encourage,"⁴⁹ sought to foster religiosity by promoting devotional practices in honour of the Holy Eucharist, the Sacred Heart of Jesus and of the Virgin Mary. Religious confraternities and apostleships of prayer to foster common devotions, visitations of the sick and the beautification of churches were also much favoured by most Basilian missionaries.

Unlike the itinerant secular priests who visited Canada during the early years, the Basilians were prepared to co-operate with the Latin hierarchy and clergy. While some Basilians did criticize the excesses of the Polish Kulawy brothers, they generally subordinated themselves and advised parishioners to register their church property either with the Latin episcopal corporations, the Basilian order or simply as "Congregation[s] of Greek Ruthenian Catholics United to Rome." Tymochko and Filipow boycotted parishes that registered their property with lay trustees, who subsequently might convey them into Russian Orthodox or Independent Greek hands.⁵⁰ The Basilians also welcomed the financial assistance of Latin bishops. St. Josaphat's church in Edmonton was constructed on land donated by Legal, while St. Nicholas in Winnipeg was built with a thirty thousand-dollar-interest-free loan from Langevin. Finally, the

Basilians were reserved with Ukrainian secular priests. Filias, who supported compulsory clerical celibacy, was unimpressed by Galicia's secular clergy.⁵¹ In Canada the Basilians shunned "independent" Ukrainian Catholic parishes like Winnipeg's SS. Vladimir and Olga, established by immigrants who welcomed secular priests who would not recognize the authority of Latin bishops.⁵²

However, even though Latin architectural motifs and ecclesiastical decor were evident in some of their churches, the Basilians were no more interested in undermining the Ukrainian Catholic church than were the secular clergy. They simply believed that Ukrainians who did not alienate the Latin hierarchy would secure their rights more quickly, including a Ukrainian bishop. They protested strongly when their rights or identity as Ukrainian Catholics was jeopardized. Thus in 1907, Kryzanowsky refused to allow Delaere to construct a church that Ukrainians and Latin-rite Poles would share at Starleigh, Saskatchewan.⁵³

The Basilians, on the other hand, zealously opposed everything that smacked of secularism, liberalism and radicalism. They condemned "evil and godless" newspapers like *Svoboda*, *Kanadyiskyi farmer* and *Ranok* for their numerous anticlerical editorials and letters critical of the Vatican. The same was true of *Hromadskyi holos*, published by the Radicals in Galicia, and *Ukrainskyi holos*, published after 1910 by local Ukrainian nationalists. Individuals who established reading clubs with such periodicals, or who simply belonged to reading clubs permeated by a "purely national" areligious spirit, were labelled "rebels" (*buntari*) and "atheists," and attempts were made to subvert the clubs.⁵⁴ In 1905, Kryzanowsky flooded the Sifton district with copies of *Misionar* and other pious old-country publications fresh off the Basilian presses in Zhovkva (in Galicia), leading some parishioners to commit Kvitka-Osnovianenko's sentimental novella *Marusia* and similar innocuous works to the flames. Nor did the Basilians hesitate to condemn political activity that displeased them on religious grounds. In 1906 they refused to endorse a "combat fund" (*boievyyi fond*) set up in Europe to finance the activity of radical Ukrainian political parties in Austria and Russia.⁵⁵

Public education, with its "evil and godless" schools and teachers, was also a frequent Basilian target. In 1907, Hura declared that modern schools "confuse people and lead them astray"; in good schools catechism is taught, priests serve as principals and children do not lose their faith.⁵⁶ To Filipow, the principles that Catholic schools disseminated were each child's "greatest inheritance."⁵⁷ To avoid the many "godless" teachers in the rural Ukrainian-English bilingual public schools, parents were counselled either to use the Catholic separate schools, to await the arrival of the Sisters Servants or to hire only "good" Catholics as teachers.⁵⁸ In 1905 the Basilians helped the sisters to establish Ukrainian Catholic schools in Beaver Lake and Edmonton. In Winnipeg the St. Nicholas school, first opened in 1905 in the basement of the Basilian church, moved to a two-storey brick building constructed in 1911 at Archbishop

Langevin's expense. In Yorkton the Sacred Heart Academy for girls was completed in 1916 with a loan from the Sulpician Fathers of Montreal. Besides religious instruction, the schools taught English and Ukrainian and all the prescribed subjects.⁵⁹

Although Hura and Kryzanowsky acquired a modest reputation as "populists" for organizing several Catholic reading clubs and community halls and aiding unemployed immigrants, there was little to commend the Basilians to the intelligentsia. In Winnipeg the austere and self-righteous Fr. Filipow was the quintessential personification of the Basilian order in the intelligentsia's eyes. By 1912 his St. Nicholas parish, the largest in Canada, had no secular societies because of his incessant meddling and supervision. "There is not a drop of patriotism in our Basilians," declared the nationalist *Ukrainskyi holos* on 31 August 1910. "It is their business to be concerned with heaven rather than with Shevchenko, Sichynsky, Kahanets, Kotsko, student residences, organizations or enlightenment—yet, we are faced with the kind of vital questions that cannot be avoided or patched up by contemplating heaven."

Nor did the Belgian Redemptorists and French-Canadian secular priests help to dispel suspicions. They were "foreigners" (*chuzhyntsi*) who spoke Ukrainian badly and were associated with missionaries who worked among the pagans of Africa.⁶⁰ Even more than the Basilians, the French-speaking missionaries concentrated on preserving the Ukrainian immigrants' allegiance to the Catholic church, as their attitude toward the bilingual schools illustrates. While supporting the principle of bilingual education as an antidote to the transmission of Protestant principles through English, the idea of establishing a network of such schools staffed by teachers from the secular Ruthenian Training School or from the special classes at Manitoba College incensed Langevin and his clergy. According to Delaere, Ukrainian public school teachers were not only "pedantic and puffed up with the little knowledge they may have acquired," they were also "perverted, imbued with Protestant principles" and given to exercising "a very dangerous apostleship among their compatriots." In 1909, in a public lecture in St. Boniface, Sabourin accused J.T. Cressey, principal of the Training School at Brandon, of being an Orangeman and criticized Taras Ferley, the school's Ukrainian-language instructor, for frequenting "socialist circles" in Winnipeg and for trying to explain the existence of life without mentioning God. The majority of Ukrainian bilingual teachers, he said, avoided religious instruction by telling parents either that it was forbidden by law or that the multiplicity of faiths made it impossible. He cited examples of teachers who argued that the priesthood was superfluous, that a knowledge of the Bible was sufficient for salvation and that God was a myth, and he singled out Jaroslaw Arsenych, a teacher at Dauphin descended from a Ukrainian Catholic clerical family, for calling Ukrainians in the region to a meeting at which he uttered all kinds of "monstrosities" against the pope, the episcopate and the secular and regular clergy.⁶¹

Such lectures did nothing to narrow the growing gap between the intelligentsia and the missionaries. Nor did it help when the latter advised the faithful to avoid (or remove) Ukrainian teachers who refused to teach catechism after school hours, or when names of school districts were changed from Myroslav (in honour of Myroslav Sichynsky, the assassin of Count Potocki) to Monastyr (Monastery).⁶² The intelligentsia interpreted such actions as assaults on Ukrainian national life. Nor did they welcome missionary strictures against associating with Bukovynian Ukrainian “schismatics” and “heretics,”⁶³ or the clergy’s designation of certain newspapers and books as “dangerous to the Faith” or their refusal to confess unrepentant readers of *Ukrainskyi holos*.⁶⁴ From the intelligentsia’s perspective, such behaviour only sowed discord among Ukrainians of various religious persuasions and did nothing to recognize their common needs and interests.

But what really disturbed the intelligentsia were missionary efforts to blur the distinction between the Eastern and Latin rites and to keep secular Ukrainian Catholic priests out of Canada. The Redemptorists were criticized for introducing pious exercises such as novenas and the rosary; establishing confraternities of the Eucharistic Heart of Jesus and encouraging members to wear scapulars; promoting the veneration of “Latin saints,” including St. Alphonsus Liguori, the order’s founder; and encouraging the adoption of the Gregorian calendar. French-Canadian missionaries like Sabourin were accused of conspiring against the admission of Ukrainian secular priests. Like Langevin, Sabourin opposed the appointment of a Ukrainian bishop and was skeptical when the First Plenary Council in Quebec recommended a junior college (*petit séminaire*) for Ukrainian boys under the direction of the Basilians. He believed Ukrainian boys should study at the *petit séminaire* in St. Boniface (which did not always provide a Ukrainian instructor or opportunities to attend Eastern-rite services).⁶⁵ Moreover, unlike the Redemptorists, the French-Canadian clergy seemed to believe that Ukrainian Catholics should remain permanently under the care of French-speaking priests who had transferred to the Eastern rite. The impression was strengthened with the establishment in 1912 of the Congrégation de St. Josaphat (with Sabourin as superior and Jean as master of novices) to promote vocations and train missionaries recruited primarily in Quebec for work among Ukrainians in western Canada. The missionary school (*école apostolique*) for Ukrainian boys established in 1912 in Sifton by Jean at Langevin’s request also aroused much apprehension.⁶⁶

But whatever may have been the true intentions of the French-Canadian missionaries, it is clear that the Redemptorists were generally better disposed toward the Ukrainians. In fostering a greater sense of identity between the two rites, their goal was not Latinization but a desire to impress upon Ukrainians that both rites were different expressions of the same Catholic faith. They wanted to persuade the immigrants that it was better for Ukrainians to approach Latin

priests than Protestant and Russian Orthodox missionaries, and that in doing so they were not committing treason or renouncing their Ukrainian church and nationality.⁶⁷ When the Redemptorists introduced devotions and pious exercises, they did not necessarily harbour sinister designs on the Eastern rite. It is a fact that in Galicia many secular priests "thought of themselves more as village activists than as ministers of God." As a result, there was a real need to revitalize the immigrants' devotional life and to provide the type of religious nourishment that appeared lacking in the Ukrainian church, which "looked to both East and West for religious guidelines" without quite making up its mind.⁶⁸ Moreover, it is also clear that by 1909 differences between the Redemptorists and Archbishop Langevin were growing. Increasingly, the Redemptorists insisted that colonies which refused to register their parish property with Latin bishops could not be abandoned, and some even began to petition for the appointment of a Ukrainian bishop.⁶⁹

The Appointment of a Ukrainian Catholic Bishop

In March 1907, after more than two decades of strife, the Ukrainian Catholic church in North America was granted a measure of recognition when Soter Ortynsky, a Basilian monk, was appointed bishop for the Ukrainian Catholics in the United States. The powers granted the new bishop were very modest. *Ea Semper*, the papal letter, designated Ortynsky titular Bishop of Daulia and did not create a separate Ukrainian Catholic diocese (eparchy) in the United States. Ortynsky was expected to function as an auxiliary of all Latin bishops in whose dioceses Ukrainian Catholics resided. In addition, Ukrainian Catholic priests could not administer the sacrament of confirmation at baptism and the Vatican reaffirmed its ruling that confined jurisdiction to celibate priests approved by the Propaganda Fide. Not until 1913, when Ortynsky was granted complete independence from the Latin hierarchy, were steps taken to guarantee the integrity of the Eastern rite in the United States.⁷⁰

Ortynsky's appointment naturally revitalized efforts to secure a Ukrainian Catholic bishop for Canada. Shortly after his arrival in August 1907, Ortynsky seems to have dispatched Mykola Strutynsky, a secular priest, to Canada. Establishing himself in Winnipeg, Strutynsky visited rural colonies in Manitoba and urged Ukrainian Catholics not only to retain control of their church property but to petition Rome to extend Ortynsky's powers to include Canada. Archbishop Langevin was outraged, and his letters of protest to the apostolic delegate and to the federal government in Ottawa resulted in Strutynsky's recall within a month of arrival.⁷¹ When Bishop Legal, always on the lookout for missionaries to serve the numerous Ukrainians in his diocese, invited Ortynsky to visit in 1908, Langevin forbade the move and was backed up by the Propaganda Fide.

By the summer of 1909 relations between Ortynsky and Langevin were at a breaking point. In July the Philadelphia-based Committee for the Defence of the Ruthenian Faith and People, led by Ortynsky's diocesan clergy, issued an appeal to Ukrainian Catholics in Canada which censured the French Catholic hierarchy for keeping Ortynsky and his priests out of Canada, accused Filias (now the Basilian head in Galicia) of putting too much faith in the ability of Latin bishops to save Ukrainian Catholics in Canada from schism, and described Langevin as "a wolf not a shepherd" bent on destroying the Eastern rite.⁷² Insisting that the appeal had been issued without his approval, Ortynsky informed Langevin that recourse to non-Ukrainian missionaries could only be temporary and that Ukrainian Catholic missionaries were essential if the Ukrainian population was to remain within the Catholic church.⁷³

While the bishops argued, the immigrants themselves grew impatient with their anarchical religious life. Five Basilians and a handful of French-speaking missionaries could not possibly meet the religious needs of 100,000 Ukrainian Catholics across Canada. Besides turning to the Russian Orthodox and Independent Greek churches, some of the faithful tried to recruit Ukrainian Catholic priests from Galicia and the United States without going through proper channels. As a result, between 1902 and 1912 itinerant secular priests regularly visited Canada, often without the approval of the Galician hierarchy and the Propaganda Fide. A few—Ivan Krokmalny, Alexander Humetsky and Tymotei Vasylevych—even tried to establish an "independent" "Greek Ruthenian" church in 1908-9 and flirted with the Russian Orthodox church, thereby detaching several parishes in Manitoba and Alberta before being suspended by Metropolitan Sheptytsky.⁷⁴ It was becoming increasingly clear that something had to be done to restore the church's authority among Ukrainians.

On 2 May 1909, Archbishop Donatus Sbarretti, the apostolic delegate, announced the First Plenary Council of the Canadian Catholic church for September. Several weeks later, he asked Delaere to prepare a memorial on "the Ruthenians" in the Canadian northwest. The memorial, signed by Filipow and Sabourin, recommended the creation of Ukrainian charitable institutions administered by the Sisters Servants in all major urban centres, the publication of a Ukrainian Catholic newspaper under Basilian supervision, the development of a network of Ukrainian Catholic schools run by the sisters, the acquisition of more Ukrainian Catholic priests, the creation of a Ukrainian Catholic theological seminary, and the appointment of a Ukrainian Catholic bishop of Ukrainian nationality responsible only to the apostolic delegate and equal in status to the Latin bishops.⁷⁵ Even though Langevin still regarded such an appointment premature, when the council met in Quebec City a special committee on "the Ruthenian question" was formed consisting of Langevin, Bishops Legal, Pascal and Grouard and Fr. Dydyk. Reflecting Langevin's views, its report expressed reservations about a Ukrainian nomination, especially as Ortynsky's American

efforts to halt the spread of schism had been largely unsuccessful. Nevertheless, the report, incorporating suggestions made in writing by Filias, did urge full jurisdiction for Ortynsky in the United States and declared that the Canadian hierarchy was ready (if not eager) to accept a Ukrainian Catholic bishop should the Vatican nominate one. With the council still in session, Fr. Böels published a letter in the *Catholic Register*, which appealed to the Catholic Church Extension Society for financial assistance and argued for a bishop of Ukrainian nationality. While the young missionary's letter, especially its appeal to the "Irish" Church Extension Society, annoyed Langevin, it also brought "the Ruthenian question" to the attention of Canadian Catholics and prompted the bishops assembled in Quebec to establish "a Ruthenian fund" from which ten thousand dollars would be disbursed annually over the next decade for missionary work among Ukrainian Catholics.⁷⁶

The campaign for a Ukrainian bishop swung into high gear in September 1910, when Metropolitan Sheptytsky took advantage of the Twentieth Eucharistic Congress in Montreal to visit his flock in North America. He would have come sooner but Cardinal Ledóchowski and the Propaganda Fide would not permit it.⁷⁷ The metropolitan was anxious to visit Canada because, he wrote later, "nowhere are the enemies of our faith so persistent and so powerful." He was particularly disturbed by the success of the Independent Greek church, which he attributed to the influence of the Ukrainian Radicals and the support of the Ukrainian-Canadian press:

The radical party in Galicia, which has been fighting the clergy for some time now, and the Ruthenian radical party of the United States have greatly assisted them in gaining this position. The atheist radicals, who have come to Canada from Galicia or from the United States, range themselves without much hesitation on the side of the Independents and help them to win over to their side the young people, who, for that matter, are the object of their greatest solicitude and of all their hopes; and in this respect, it must be admitted, the Protestants have managed to do and to gain a great deal.⁷⁸

Sheptytsky's experiences in Canada seemed to bear out his fears. Members of the intelligentsia—Protestants, nationalists and socialists—were united in the belief that the Ukrainian Catholic hierarchy in Galicia was subservient to the interests of foreign aristocratic oppressors. When he visited Canada, Sheptytsky's popularity in Galicia and North America was at its nadir, largely because of ambivalent relations with the Ukrainian national movement and his unequivocal condemnation of Myroslav Sichynsky, the assassin of Count Potocki. The intelligentsia explained Sheptytsky's behaviour in terms of family and class loyalties. Not only was he descended from and related to prominent aristocratic families, but the social circles in which he turned included Count Michał

Bobrzyński, the governor of Galicia, Count Stanisław Badeni, brother of the late Austrian prime minister, the Polish archbishops Bilczewski and Bandurski (both notorious Ukrainophobes) and members of the Sapieha family.⁷⁹ As a result, the intelligentsia referred to the metropolitan as a “Polish Count” with the “blood and bones of a Pole,” accused him of having forgotten the common people and attributed his elevation to the primacy of the Ukrainian Catholic church to the Poles, who “hope to cover up the movement for democracy with an aristocrat.”⁸⁰

As he travelled across Canada, Sheptytsky was inundated by petitions requesting a Ukrainian Catholic bishop, married Ukrainian secular priests and the removal of the French-speaking missionaries. While most immigrants were charmed by his informal, relaxed and friendly manner, members of the intelligentsia were unimpressed. They jeered him, called him a traitor when he declined to celebrate mass in a church that would not recognize Langevin, described his sermons as “childish” and “lacking in sincerity and empathy,” and groups of young nationalists and socialists even pelted him with eggs in Winnipeg and Vancouver.⁸¹

Back in Galicia, after a visit to North America of almost four months, Sheptytsky prepared two letters, one addressed to the immigrants, the other to the Catholic bishops of Canada. The first, *Kanadyiskym rusynam* (To the Ruthenians of Canada), was written in February 1911. Because (he told the bishops) he was “astonished at the small number of young people in the colonies who attend church,”⁸² his letter to the laity addressed their difficult situation by drawing on the church’s teachings to refute the intelligentsia. He dismissed the appearance of Seraphim and the Independent Greek church as a Presbyterian plot to denationalize the immigrants; he advised the faithful to avoid Russian Orthodox priests because of their heresy; and he censured the administration of parish property and the selection of priests by the laity as being based on “Protestant principles.” While encouraging prayers for a Ukrainian Catholic bishop, he warned that “it does not become us to threaten, or to sunder ourselves from His [the pope’s] superior authority if He should not provide us with a bishop, for he who disobeys Him sunders himself from the universal Church, from our Lord Jesus Christ Himself.” Finally, he displayed uncharacteristic ethnic prejudice by laying the socialist movement squarely at the feet of the Jews, who were concerned “with severing as many people as they possibly can from the Holy Church and the faith” and with organizing “an army which will submit and surrender itself to their dictates.”⁸³

In his *Address* to the Canadian hierarchy, prepared in March 1911,⁸⁴ Sheptytsky argued that a bishop of Ukrainian nationality was needed to save the Ukrainians in Canada from schism. Unlike Roman Catholics, Ukrainians were bound to the Catholic church by attachment to their priests and bishops rather than to the pope. Thus only a Ukrainian bishop could restore with a stroke the authority and status of the French-speaking missionaries and reassure the

Ukrainian priests who might otherwise oppose the Latin bishops. A Ukrainian bishop would also resolve the issue of church registration. With only twenty-one of ninety-three Ukrainian Catholic churches registered with a Catholic corporation in 1910, the problem was "the most serious argument" for a bishop. Ukrainians who saw registration with a Latin bishop as "treason" would willingly register with a Ukrainian Catholic episcopal corporation. Moreover, with priests no longer having to boycott unregistered parishes, the rationale for the latter to become Russian Orthodox or Independent Greek would disappear. Finally, the appointment would reassure Eastern-rite Catholic churches the world over that Rome had no intention of Latinizing them.

The *Address* removed the last obstacles to the appointment of a Ukrainian Catholic bishop. In May 1911, *Kanadyiskyi rusyn* (The Canadian Ruthenian) was launched as a Ukrainian Catholic weekly with Langevin's financial assistance, and in August, after conferring with Delaere (who again urged a Ukrainian appointment), Langevin informed the Vatican that the hierarchy in western Canada would "submit" to Rome's will if a Ukrainian Catholic bishop was appointed. In May 1912, Delaere was summoned to confer with Pius X, and on 15 July, after consulting the Ukrainian Catholic hierarchy in Galicia, Rome appointed Fr. Nykyta Budka bishop of the Ukrainian Catholics in Canada.⁸⁵

The thirty-five-year-old Budka, formerly prefect of studies at the Lviv Theological Seminary and editor of the periodical *Emigrant*, arrived in Canada in December 1912, accompanied by his secretary, Fr. Ivan Bala, and the multilingual Fr. Lev Sembratovych of Buffalo, New York. In addition to the five Basilians, four Belgian Redemptorists and five French-Canadian secular priests, Budka found five Ukrainian secular priests in the country. Among the latter were Karlo Jermy, a young priest dispatched in February 1911 at the Propaganda Fide's request to organize parishes in eastern Canada, and four older, experienced clergy. Sixty-year-old Evhen Andrukhovych had been visiting remote rural parishes in Manitoba and Saskatchewan since 1908, and Emyliian Krasicky, a fifty-five-year-old populist descended from an Old Ruthenian clerical family, had been serving the "independent" SS. Vladimir and Olga parish in Winnipeg since 1909.⁸⁶ The two other secular priests, in their early forties, had been sent by Sheptytsky in the summer of 1912. Epifanii Ksenofont Rozdolsky, also from an old and distinguished clerical family, had been ministering to almost twenty thousand settlers in twenty-two parishes scattered across seventy-two hundred square kilometres in central Saskatchewan. Married, he had left his wife and children in Galicia. Although Bishop Pascal, in desperate need of Ukrainian missionaries, had granted him jurisdiction, Langevin, who feared the precedent Rozdolsky was setting, reversed the decision. Thus, when Budka arrived in Winnipeg, he found the bewildered missionary waiting for him and restored his jurisdiction.⁸⁷ The second priest, Maksymylian Kinash, a widower who arrived with three young children, was a renowned preacher and publicist, who had done

much to weaken the Russophile movement in the Galician county of Kaminka Strumylova. Stationed in the Ethelbert-Dauphin district, with its nine churches scattered across 2,450 square kilometres, he had incurred the disapproval of Sabourin, who had apparently once asked, "Why do you [Ukrainian priests] force your way among us?"⁸⁸

During the eighteen months between his arrival and the outbreak of war, the new bishop recruited a number of secular priests, seminarians and Catholic laymen, among them Dr. Alexander Sushko, a historian and publicist, and Ivan Petrushevich, an economist. Of the twelve new priests who arrived from Galicia and the United States at this time, two remained for only a few months and two others left within three years. Moreover, by 1914, Bala, Sembratovych and Rozdolsky had returned to Galicia, while Jermy and Kinash left for the United States. The new recruits were generally young, of non-clerical background and with very little pastoral experience.⁸⁹

Ten seminarians were also recruited in Galicia during this period.⁹⁰ As virtually all had begun theological studies at the seminary in Lviv, they spent only one or two years at St. Augustine's Seminary in Toronto or at the Grand Séminaire in Montreal, where Fr. Amvrozii Redkevych taught the Eastern rite, liturgy, canon law and ecclesiastical chant. Ordained between 1914 and 1916, they raised the number of Ukrainian Catholic secular priests to twenty, twice the number of all Basilian, Redemptorist and French-Canadian missionaries.

By 1914, when the outbreak of hostilities interrupted communication and travel between Canada and Austria, Ukrainian Catholics had a bishop and clergy of their own rite and nationality. After more than a decade, widespread opposition and the threat of mass apostasy had forced Archbishop Langevin to accept Ukrainian secular priests and the appointment of a Ukrainian bishop. Nevertheless, the archbishop's protracted inflexibility and his hostile attitude toward the secular concerns of most Catholic priests—French- and Ukrainian-speaking—had provoked much discontent and aroused numerous suspicions about the church's ultimate objectives. The wide-ranging sense of popular dissatisfaction and mistrust prompted some members of the intelligentsia, in turn, to seek an alliance with the Presbyterian church and emboldened Presbyterian and Methodist missionaries to proselytize Ukrainian immigrants.

Notes

1. Iuliiian Bachynsky, *Ukrainska immigratsiia v Ziedynenykh Derzhavakh Ameryky* (Lviv, 1914); Bohdan Procko, "Pennsylvania: Focal Point of Ukrainian Immigration" and Walter C. Warzeski, "The Rusin Community in Pennsylvania," in John E. Bodnar, ed., *The Ethnic Experience in Pennsylvania* (Lewisburg, 1973); on Voliansky, see John-Paul Himka, "Ivan Voliansky: The Formative Years of the Ukrainian Community in America," *Ukrainskyi istoryk* XII (47-9) (1975), 61-73; Victor R. Greene, *The Slavic Community on Strike: Immigrant Labor in Pennsylvania Anthracite* (Notre Dame, 1968), 87, 106-7.
2. Bohdan Kazymyra, "Pershi osiahy. Dukhova opika nad ukraintsiamy v Kanadi," in *Iuvileina knyha oo. Redemptorystiv skhidnoho obriadu* (Yorkton, 1956), 338-42; Paul Yuzyk, *The Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church in Canada, 1918-1951* (Ottawa, 1981), 40-3; Bachynsky, 295-300.
3. Bachynsky, 295-300; see also Ivan Konstankevych and Antin Bonchevsky, *Uniiia v Amerytsi. Vidpovid Andreievi hr. Sheptytskomu* (New York, 1902), for a statement of grievances by two young "radical" priests.
4. Roberto Perin, "Religion, Ethnicity and Identity: Placing the Immigrant Within the Church," *Canadian Issues/Thèmes canadiens* VII (1985), 221; Gilbert-Louis Comeault, "The Politics of the Manitoba School Question and Its Impact on L.-P.-A. Langevin's Relations with Manitoba's Catholic Minority Groups, 1895-1915" (MA thesis, University of Manitoba, 1977); Bohdan Kazymyra, "Metropolitan Andrew Sheptytskyj and the Ukrainians in Canada," *Canadian Catholic Historical Association Report XXIV* (1957), 75-86. At first, Archbishop Diomede Falconio, the apostolic delegate in Ottawa (1899-1903), also believed that the Ukrainians would have to be brought into the Latin church "prudently and gradually." Unlike Langevin, however, he did not favour the use of non-Ukrainian clergy among the immigrants, urged the Propaganda Fide to send Ukrainian priests and recommended the appointment of a Ukrainian Catholic vicar general. Roberto Perin, *Rome in Canada: The Vatican and Canadian Affairs in the Late Victorian Age* (Toronto, 1990), 165-82.
5. Perin, "Religion, Ethnicity and Identity," 223. Almost forty items of correspondence describing the activities of the Kulawy brothers were published in *Svoboda* between 13 April 1899 and 4 August 1904. Frances Swyrypa and Andrii Makuch, *Ukrainian Canadian Content in the Newspaper Svoboda, 1893-1904*, CIUS research report no. 7 (Edmonton, 1985), 124. Other Latin missionaries who ministered to Ukrainians in western Canada during the early years included Agit Page, Hippolyte Leduc, Alphonse Jan, August Leopold Forner, Wilhelm Brueck, Jules Decorby, Leo Balter and Paul Kulawy (a third brother), all Oblates, and one secular priest, Fr. Olszewski. For biographies of the Oblates, see Gaston Carrière, *Dictionnaire biographique des Oblats de Marie-Immaculée au Canada*, 3 vols. (Ottawa, 1976).
6. *Svoboda* 9 June 1898, 23, 30 November, 21 December 1899, 4 January 1900; Nestor Dmytriv (Dmytriw), *Kanadyiska Rus'. Podorozhni spomyny*, first pub. 1897 (Winnipeg, 1972); Bohdan Kazymyra, *Pershyi Vasyliianyn u Kanadi* (Toronto, 1961). For an exchange of views between Polivka and

- Cyril Genik concerning Canada, see *Svoboda* 3, 17, 24 May 1900. In Winnipeg, in 1901, Zaklynsky apparently lived "with a divorcée." Perin, *Rome in Canada*, 176. Zaklynsky denied such accusations, insisting that the woman in question was a maid employed by him with her family's knowledge and approval. *Svoboda* 22 May, 12 June 1902.
7. For details, see Bachynsky; also Michael Palij, "Early Ukrainian Immigration to the United States and the Conversion of the Ukrainian Catholic Parish in Minneapolis to Russian Orthodoxy," *Journal of Ukrainian Studies* VIII (2) (1983), 13-37; Paul Yuzyk, "The Expansion of the Russian Orthodox Church Among the Ukrainians in North America to 1918," *Studia Ucrainica* 2 (1984), 213-23.
 8. Yuzyk, "The Expansion," 221.
 9. Paul R. Magocsi, "Carpatho-Rusyns," in Stephen Thernstrom, Ann Orlov and Oscar Handlin, eds., *Harvard Encyclopedia of American Ethnic Groups* (Cambridge, Mass., 1980), 204.
 10. Yuzyk, *Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church*, 46, 48; Procko, 226, suggests that 43,000 of the 100,000 members of the Russian Orthodox church in the United States in 1914 were Ukrainians, mostly ex-Catholics.
 11. *Svoboda* 4 November 1897; 13, 27 January, 30 June, 18 August 1898; John Panchuk, *Bukowinian Settlements in Southern Manitoba (Gardenton Area)* (Battle Creek, Michigan, 1971), 9.
 12. The Edna-Star conflict was not resolved until 1907 when the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council in London awarded the church to the original lay trustees, who were in the Russophile/Russian Orthodox camp. The case is discussed in Yuzyk, *Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church*, 38-40.
 13. *Svoboda* 3 January 1907.
 14. Yuzyk, "The Expansion," 218.
 15. Fr. Korchinsky had sent several Galician families to the Russian empire on a wild goose chase in search of free land. *Svoboda* 17 December 1903, 30 March, 25 May, 1 June, 5 October 1905, 14 June, 5 July 1906, 3 January 1907, 17 September 1908; *Ukrainskyi holos* 26 October 1910.
 16. Panteleimon Bozhyk, *Tserkov ukrainsiv v Kanadi* (Winnipeg, 1927), 21-3, 129.
 17. *Svoboda* 5 March, 9 July 1896, 18 December 1902.
 18. *Ibid.*, 17 June 1901. Parishes in Sifton, Fishing River, Ethelbert, Trembowla (in the Dauphin bloc) and in Winnipeg were associated with the organization.
 19. Thus Ivan Konstankevych, one of the "radical" priests, stated: "We know that in the past the Ruthenian Church was different from what it is now. The people had a not insignificant influence in ecclesiastical affairs, elected bishops, etc., and the Patriarch of Constantinople, who had jurisdiction over them, only confirmed and consecrated bishops. The Union gradually revoked the Ruthenian people's rights and in their place the Polish aristocracy and kings began to appoint bishops....Today in the old country the people have no voice in the selection of bishops, who are appointed by the Polish aristocracy, by the governors, Emperors and Popes." *Ibid.*, 17 April 1902.
 20. The proceedings of the Harrisburg convention were published in *ibid.*, 3, 10, 17, 24 April, 8, 15 May 1902. For a broader perspective on the problem of lay initiative and dissent, which demonstrates that other

Catholic immigrants also experienced prejudice in the new world, see Rudolph J. Vecoli, "Prelates and Peasants: Italian Immigrants and the Catholic Church," *Journal of Social History* II (3) (1969), 215-68; Karel D. Bicha, "Settling Accounts with an Old Adversary: The Decatholicization of Czech Immigrants in America," *Histoire sociale/Social History* IV (8) (1971), 45-60; Frank Renkiewicz, ed., *The Polish Presence in Canada and America* (Toronto, 1982).

21. *Svoboda* 20 March, 7 August 1902.
22. *Winnipeg Tribune* 25 February 1903; *Manitoba Free Press* 2 September 1910.
23. *Svoboda* 23 July, 13 August, 24 September, 1, 8, 15 October 1903; John Bodrug, *Independent Orthodox Church: Memoirs Pertaining to the History of a Ukrainian Canadian Church in the Years 1903 to 1913*, trans. Edward Bodrug and Lydia Biddle (Toronto, 1982), 33 ff.
24. *Svoboda* 7 May, 25 June 1903. Subsequently, Independent Greek church missionaries invoked the example of Russian Old Believers who elected laymen to the priesthood and presented them for consecration to the bishops; priests, they argued, did not have to be "academics." *Ibid.*, 1 January 1905.
25. Bodrug, 36; *Svoboda*, by 15 October 1903, had concluded that Seraphim, even if he had been legitimately consecrated, was not the type of person who should be a Ukrainian bishop.
26. The discussion follows Bodrug, 36-7, 41-5, 77-80.
27. Bodrug, 48; *Svoboda* 23 July 1903; James S. Woodsworth, "The Stranger Within Our Gates," *The Methodist Magazine and Review* LXII (July 1905), 44. For the movement's theology, see Vivian Olender, "The Reaction of the Canadian Presbyterian Church Towards Ukrainian Immigrants (1900-1925): Rural Home Missions as Agencies of Assimilation" (PhD dissertation, University of Toronto, 1984), chapter 4. Contemporaries referred to the church in Ukrainian as the Ruthenian Orthodox Independent church (Ruska Pravoslavna Nezalezhna Tserkva).
28. Bozhyk, 45-50, 55-7.
29. *Ranok* 25 November 1914.
30. Petro Zvarych (Peter Svarich), *Spomyny, 1877-1904* (Winnipeg, 1976), 217.
31. Quoted in Mykhailo Marunchak, "Khto zorhanizuvav vydavnytstvo i chasopys *Kanadyiskyi farmer*?" *Studii do istorii ukrainsiv Kanady*, IV (Winnipeg, 1970-72), 114.
32. Bodrug, 65, 87 ff.
33. *Acts and Proceedings of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in Canada*, 1907, 16-18; *The Presbyterian Record* XXXVI (2) (February 1911), 56.
34. Joseph Jean, "S.E. Mgr Adélarde Langevin, Archevêque de Saint-Boniface, et les Ukrainiens," *La société canadienne d'histoire de l'Église catholique Rapport XI* (1944-45), 101-10; Kazymyra, "Metropolitan Andrew Sheptyckyj"; Perin, "Religion, Ethnicity and Identity," 224. Lacombe had also "dismissed as illusory" Langevin's hope that Ukrainian immigrants or their children would eventually accept the Latin rite. Perin, *Rome in Canada*, 178.

35. For Sheptytsky's correspondence with Langevin before 1911, see Bohdan Kazymyra, "Lystuvannia Mytropolyta A. Sheptytskoho z lat. ierarhiieiu pivnichnoho zakhodu Kanady," *Logos* IX (1) (1958), 60-6, (2) (1958), 142-4, (4) (1958), 286-91, X (1) (1959), 59-65. The quotations are from Sheptytsky's letter to Langevin 24 August 1903, in *ibid.*, 65-6; see also Bohdan Kazymyra, "Sheptyts'kyi and Ukrainians in Canada," in Paul R. Magocsi, ed., *Morality and Reality: The Life and Times of Andrei Sheptyts'kyi* (Edmonton, 1989), 333-5; Vasyl Lentsyk, "Ideia tserkovnoi jednosti u Mytropolyta Sheptytskoho," *Bohosloviia* XXXV (1971), 175-201.
36. Perin, "Religion, Ethnicity and Identity," 221. While in Canada, Zholdak urged Falconio to press for the creation of a Ukrainian Catholic vicariate in Canada and warned his successor, Bishop Donato Sbarretti, that "unless a Ukrainian bishop were appointed, the clergy from Galicia would never agree to serve in Canada." Perin, *Rome in Canada*, 179.
37. There is much useful information on the Basilians in *Propamiatna knyha oo. Vasyliian u Kanadi* (Toronto, 1953); on the Sisters Servants, see Claudia H. Popowich, *To Serve Is To Love: The Canadian Story of the Sisters Servants of Mary Immaculate* (Toronto, 1971).
38. Volynets is not mentioned in Basilian publications, but see *Les Cloches de Saint-Boniface* 15 August 1905, 1 December 1905, 1 May 1906; also *Kanadyiskyi farmer* 26 April 1907. For the most serious indictment of Strotsky's conduct, see Iuliian Bachynsky, "Z diialnosity oo. Vasyliian v Kanadi," *Svoboda* 7 March 1907, 2-3; see also *Ranok* 1 May, 1 July 1907 and the cryptic references to Strotsky in Filias's 1906 correspondence with Pascal, Sbarretti and Cardinal Gotti about the baneful effects of allowing monks to work outside their religious communities. *Propamiatna knyha*, 76-8. Similar uncontested accusations were made against Hura, who was transferred from Winnipeg to Alberta in 1907. *Ranok* 1 July 1907; Bodrug, 106-7. Basilian publications attribute Tymochko's death to asthma (*Propamiatna knyha*, 376), but there is evidence that alcohol was involved. PAA, Inquest Files, 1909, Acc. 72.82, file 2
39. For biographical data, see *Propamiatna knyha*, 366-431.
40. *Svoboda* 29 June, 9 September, 30 November 1905, 31 May 1906.
41. *Les Cloches de Saint-Boniface* 1 April 1908.
42. Jean, 104; Émilien Tremblay, *Le Père Delaere et l'Église ukrainienne du Canada* (Berthierville, 1960), 175-80.
43. For biographical data on the Belgian Redemptorists, see Tremblay, 310-26; *Iuvileina knyha oo. Redemptorystiv skhidnoho obriadu* (Yorkton, 1956), 424-38; and George W. Simpson's more superficial account, "Father Delaere, Pioneer Missionary and Founder of Churches," *Saskatchewan History* III (1) (1950), 1-16.
44. *Ukrainskyi holos* 1 May 1912, 14 May 1913; Tremblay, 155.
45. Jean described Sabourin as "celui en qui [Mgr. Langevin] avait mis ses plus chères espérances, celui qu'il aimait comme un fils" (104).
46. There is much information on these missionaries, including several letters they wrote while in Galicia, in *Les Cloches de Saint-Boniface* 1 November 1906, 1 December 1907, 1 April, 1 May, 15 October 1909, 1 January, 15 April, 1 June, 15 August, 15 November 1910, 15 January, 1 May 1911, 1 September 1912; also Adrien G. Morice, *Histoire de l'Église catholique*

- dans l'Ouest canadien: Du Lac Supérieur au Pacifique (1659-1915)* (Montréal, 1922), III, 335-409, IV, 31-119.
47. Pylyp Ru (Philip Ruh), *Misionar i arkhitekt. Avtobiohrafiiia* (Winnipeg, 1960).
 48. *Svoboda* 7 March 1907.
 49. *Propamiatna knyha*, 236.
 50. *Ibid.*, 368-70, 402; *Svoboda* 8 November 1906.
 51. Nestor Dmytriw accused Filias of "thundering against the secular clergy in *Dushpastyr* [a Galician periodical] for ten years." *Svoboda* 16 July 1903.
 52. *Ukrainskyi holos* 6 July 1910, 28 June 1911, 4 June 1913.
 53. Tremblay, 125-6. St. Nicholas church in Winnipeg was especially Latin in its decor.
 54. *Svoboda* 26 January 1905, 17 May, 14 June, 23 August, 20 September 1906; *Ukrainskyi holos* 30 October 1912, 14 May, 15 October 1913; *Propamiatna knyha*, 94.
 55. *Svoboda* 12 October 1905, 14 June 1906.
 56. *Ibid.*, 28 March 1907.
 57. *Kanadyiskyi rusyn* 5 July 1916.
 58. *Svoboda* 17 August 1905, 7 March 1907.
 59. Josephat Skwarok, *The Ukrainian Settlers in Canada and Their Schools, 1891-1921* (Edmonton, 1958).
 60. The French-speaking priests were regarded with suspicion from the start (*Kanadyiskyi farmer* 31 January 1907); they were mocked for their inability to pronounce Ukrainian words correctly (*Ukrainskyi holos* 12 October 1910, 2 July 1913, 15 June 1921); and Fr. Delaere was told to go minister to the Bushmen of the Belgian Congo (*ibid.*, 3 May 1922).
 61. Achille Delaere, *Memorandum on the Attempts of Schism and Heresy Among the Ruthenians in the Canadian Northwest* (Winnipeg, 1909), 25; J.-Adonais Sabourin, *Les catholiques ruthènes au Manitoba* (Saint-Boniface, 1909), 8-11; see also the latter's *L'Apostolat chez les Ruthènes au Manitoba* (Quebec, 1911).
 62. *Ukrainskyi holos* 19 October 1910, 20 May, 15 July 1914.
 63. *Ibid.*, 21 September 1910, 23 August 1913.
 64. *Ibid.*, 18 March 1914.
 65. On Latinization, see S.V. Savchuk (Sawchuk), "Iak povstala Ukrainska Pravoslavna tserkva u Kanadi," *Pravoslavnyi vistnyk* I (4) (July 1924); on Sabourin's views, see Tremblay, 140; *Ukrainskyi holos* 21 January 1914.
 66. Tremblay, 162; Jean, 108; see also notes in Budka's hand on the French question, AUCA, JAS 12-13, Sabourin file; Skwarok, 44-50.
 67. Delaere, 32; Tremblay, 126-7.
 68. See John-Paul Himka, "The Greek Catholic Church and Nation-Building in Galicia, 1772-1918," *Harvard Ukrainian Studies* VIII (3-4) (1984), 444, and his "Sheptyts'kyi and the Ukrainian National Movement Before 1914," in Magocsi, 38.
 69. *Iuvileina knyha*, 128-42, 347-51; Tremblay, 152 ff, 175-6.
 70. Bohdan P. Procko, "Soter Orzynsky: First Ruthenian Bishop in the United States, 1907-1916," *Catholic Historical Review* LVIII (4) (1973), 513-33, and *Ukrainian Catholics in America: A History* (Washington, 1982). For Orzynsky's controversial efforts to assert his authority over the secular life

- of the Ukrainian-American community, see Bachynsky, *Ukrainska immigratsia*, 320 ff.
71. *Kanadyiskyi farmer* 6, 27 September, 8 November 1907. Mykhailo Marunchak, "Zmahannia za nezalezhnist tserkvy," *Studii do istorii ukrainsiv Kanady*, II (Winnipeg, 1966-67), 429, suggests that Strutynsky was dispatched by Ortynsky; Semen V. Savchuk (Sawchuk) and Iurii Mulyk-Lutsyk, *Istoriia Ukrainskoi Hreko-Pravoslavnoi Tserkvy v Kanadi*, II (Winnipeg, 1987), 417 ff., deny any connection between the "populist" Strutynsky and the "reformed Basilian" bishop.
 72. *Svoboda* 1, 29 July, 12, 19 August 1909; Marunchak, *Studii*, II, 439-45.
 73. Tremblay, 135-8.
 74. By 1909-10, Krokmalny and Humetsky had joined the Russian Orthodox church and moved to the United States. *Kanadyiskyi farmer* 8 November 1907, 17, 31 January, 3, 17 April, 15 May, 2, 30 October, 27 November 1908, 8 January, 19 March, 19 November 1909; *Svoboda* 7 May, 1 October 1908, 2 December 1909; Bozhyk, 23-4; Tremblay, 132-6.
 75. The *Mémoire sur les Ruthènes du Nord Ouest canadien* was prepared in July 1909 and should not be confused with the *Memorandum on the Attempts of Schism and Heresy*, which was published in French and English in 1908; the former is discussed at length in Roman Khomiak, "Otsi Redemptorysty skhidn. obriadu v Kanadi ta Z.D. Ameryky," *Iuvileina knyha*, 131-4.
 76. Kazymyra, "Pershi osiahy," 351-4; *The Catholic Register* 29 October 1909; Khomiak, 136-7; Tremblay, 152 ff. The Sifton mission, where Langevin's French-Canadian protégés were stationed, received a generous portion of the funds collected annually by the Canadian hierarchy for "Ruthenian missions." Between November 1909 and the spring of 1911, the amount was \$9,194.56 out of the \$25,672.80 disbursed. *Les Cloches de Saint-Boniface* 1 June 1911.
 77. Kazymyra, "Metropolitan Andrew Sheptytsky," 79-81. Falconio, Sbarretti and even Langevin had been asking Rome to allow Sheptytsky to visit Canada since 1901. Perin, *Rome in Canada*, 172.
 78. Andrei Sheptytsky, *Kanadyiskym rusynam* (Zhovkva, 1911), 9-10; *Address on the Ruthenian Question to their Lordships the Archbishops and Bishops of Canada*, first pub. 1911, in Michael H. Marunchak, ed., *Two Documents of the Ukrainian Catholic Church 1911-1976* (Winnipeg, 1977), 12.
 79. *Ukrainskyi holos* 7 September 1910, 10 January, 8 May 1912.
 80. *Kanadyiskyi farmer* 30 July 1909; *Ukrainskyi holos* 28 September, 26 October, 23 November, 14 December 1910; *Ranok* 18 October 1911; *Robochyi narod* 8 January 1914.
 81. Sheptytsky, *Kanadyiskym rusynam*, 60; *Ukrainskyi holos* 12 October 1910; *Propamiatna knyha*, 109-10.
 82. Sheptytsky, *Address on the Ruthenian Question*, 13.
 83. Sheptytsky, *Kanadyiskym rusynam*, 58-62; for Sheptytsky's assistance to the Jewish community during the Holocaust, see Philip Friedman, "Ukrainian-Jewish Relations During the Nazi Occupation," *YIVO Annual of Jewish Social Science* XII (1958-59), 290 ff., and Shimon Redlich, "Sheptyts'kyi and the Jews During World War II," in Magocsi, 145-62.
 84. The twenty-five-page address, completed on 18 March 1911 in Lviv, appeared in French and English versions. The introduction to the *Address* by Vasylyl Markus in the reprint edited by Marunchak greatly exaggerates the

- strength of Protestantism (as opposed to secular nationalism and anticlericalism) among Ukrainian Canadians at the time.
85. Khomiak, 139-41. The bishop's recently published doctoral dissertation was a stinging indictment of Photius (820-91), patriarch of Constantinople and persistent critic of the Latin church, who precipitated the "Photian Schism." N. Budka, *Distsyplina hretskoi tserkvy v svitli poliemyky za chasiv Fotyia* (Lviv, 1910).
 86. Kazymyra, "Lystuvannia," *Logos* X (1) (1959), 61; *Providnyk* (Winnipeg) 1930, 1933; *Kanadyiskyi ukrainets* 13 February 1929.
 87. *Ukrainskyi holos* 27 August, 3 September 1913; *Providnyk* 1930; *Kanadyiskyi ukrainets* 13 January 1929.
 88. *Ukrainskyi holos* 13 August 1913; for a brief biographical sketch, see Maksym Kinash, *Pokhoronni propovidi z prashchanniamy* (Philadelphia, n.d.), 4-8.
 89. Frs. Zakharii Orun and Luka Biliansky were in Canada only briefly; Frs. Ivan Perepelytsia and Ivan Dumych left in 1916; Frs. Roman Krupa, Mykhailo Irkha, Iosyf Boyarczuk, Amvrozii Redkevych, Mykhailo Olenchuk, Nestor Drohomiretsky, Appolinarii Kaluzhniatsky and Mykhailo Kuzmak remained for many years. With the exception of Kaluzhniatsky (b.1852), all were born between 1879 and 1889.
 90. The ten seminarians were Petro Kamenetsky, Atanasii Cherepaniak, Iosyf Fylyma, Wasyl Gegeychuk, Nykolai Shumsky, Petro Pasichnyk, Andrii Sarmatiuk, Petro Oleksiw, Atanasii Nestor Krakiwsky and Myron Zalitch. Most were in their early twenties, though two were in their forties, one a former government employee, the other a lawyer.

9

Protestant Missionaries

The Ukrainian intelligentsia had first approached representatives of the Presbyterian church in the late 1890s, convinced that Catholicism and Orthodoxy, with their emphasis on ritual and custom, had failed to provide peasant immigrants with moral standards of behaviour. At the turn of the century, Methodists and Presbyterians opened schools and medical missions in Ukrainian rural colonies, but, as we have seen, the initiative to establish the Independent Greek church in 1903 had come from the Ukrainian intelligentsia. By 1912, however, differences in outlook, tactics and objectives had pushed the Presbyterian clergy and the Ukrainian proponents of Protestantism far apart, which doomed the Independent Greek church and obliged the Presbyterians and Methodists to rely thereafter mainly on medical missions, school homes and settlement houses to carry on their missionary work. Although a number of Anglican clerics, who were convinced that thousands of "Galicians" were "living in virtual heathenism," were eager to undertake missionary work among Ukrainians, the Church of England refused to interfere because the immigrants "belonged to the Greek Church" with which it was in communion.¹

Presbyterians and the Independent Greek Church

Members of the intelligentsia who subscribed to the radical ideas of Drahomanov and his followers were favourably disposed to Protestantism when they arrived in Canada. In 1898, as we have seen, Ivan Bodrug and Ivan Negrich had decided to enrol at the Presbyterian Manitoba College rather than the Catholic St. Boniface College. Presbyterian medical missions followed at Sifton, Teulon, Ethelbert and Wakaw between 1900 and 1903, and Bodrug, Negrich and Ivan Danylchuk were engaged to teach in schools built at Presbyterian expense. From there, it was but a short step for the intelligentsia to establish the Independent Greek church under Presbyterian patronage.

The Ukrainian leaders and their Presbyterian patrons shared an antipathy toward the Catholic and Orthodox churches. Catholic and Orthodox Ukrainians were “nominal Christians”—“a devoutly religious but not a highly ethical people”—which made both churches inimical to the best interests of Ukrainians and Canadians. Both the secular leaders and their religious mentors were anxious to integrate or “assimilate” Ukrainians into Canadian society, though, as we shall see, they did not always understand the end in the same way, and their differences eventually led the Presbyterians to terminate the Independent Greek church experiment.

The founders of the Independent Greek church had two main goals: to rid the Ukrainian colonies of Russian Orthodox and Catholic missionaries, and, more importantly, to function as a bridge to Protestantism and spiritual and secular enlightenment. To Bodrug and his closest associates, Protestantism could change the peasant immigrants’ values, perceptions and lifestyle for the better. Because of the Bible’s central place in Protestantism, Ukrainian advocates looked to it to stimulate the acquisition of literacy. Freedom of conscience and the egalitarian notion of the priesthood of all believers, in turn, were important to eliminate clerical tutelage, minimize social distinctions between laity and clergy and encourage self-reliance and self-esteem. “I believe that only the Gospel will enable our people to be reborn just as it has enabled other peoples to be reborn,” a correspondent asserted in *Ranok*. In Protestant communities “the people are free and somehow conversation with them is more cheerful because equality exists among them....Ministers are not proud and self-important, they are equals among equals.” Finally, by inveighing against moral lapses rather than the failure to comply with ritual and custom, Protestantism would foster personal discipline and the habits needed to survive in Canada. Catholicism and Orthodoxy with their “Babylonian ritual” tended to “isolate Ruthenians from the demands of our era.” For example, Bodrug suspected that the numerous feast days—seventeen in May alone in some parts of Galicia—contributed to poverty and destitution in the old country, and he feared the same in Canada.² Only when honesty, thrift, sobriety and self-mastery replaced peasant superstition, fatalism and demoralization would Ukrainians be able to capitalize on the economic, political and cultural opportunities which the new world offered.

However, when Bodrug and his associates advocated “assimilation” and “Canadianization,” they did not want Ukrainians to discard their language and culture. In 1898, Ivan Danylchuk insisted that

...we must cherish our Ruthenian language schools. A child who begins to attend an English school soon becomes accustomed to what he or she hears. A Ruthenian child who receives his or her education exclusively in English, and who learns nothing in Ruthenian, will surely develop an aversion to, and become ashamed of, the Ruthenian language—that is, if he or she does not refuse to speak the language altogether.

Three years later, Bodrug appealed to the settlers to “secure Ruthenian teachers...learn the Ruthenian language [and] avoid being submerged immediately in a foreign culture.”³ “Assimilation” meant casting-off obsolete peasant habits and perceptions and adopting beliefs and a way of life based on reason and Christian ethics; it meant challenging the view that Ukrainian identity was synonymous with Catholicism or Orthodoxy or with customs like “spattering the ceiling with wheat” or “carrying bundles of hay and sheaves of wheat into the house” at Christmas time.⁴ Familiarity with Ukrainian arts and letters was important, but adhering mechanically to traditional folk usages and religious practices was not. In this respect their views were in the tradition of Drahomanov, who condemned the “cult of sacred national relics” (*kult natsionalnykh sviatoshchiv*).

For the new church to contribute to Ukrainian spiritual and secular enlightenment, educated clergy were needed. Accordingly, in 1905, Ivan Bodrug travelled to New York to visit Ivan Ardan, the “radical priest” excommunicated after the Harrisburg convention. As editor of *Svoboda*, Ardan was ideally placed to help recruit suitable candidates, since virtually all educated Ukrainian newcomers to the United States visited the paper’s editorial offices. As a result, by 1907 several young men, all students at Lviv University or in one of the pedagogical seminaries in Galicia, were dispatched to Canada: Zygmunt Bychynsky, Ardan’s colleague on the staff of *Svoboda* who had studied law at Lviv University and completed two years of theology at the Presbyterian seminary in Pittsburgh; Maksym Berezynsky, a graduate of the Ukrainian Academic Gymnasium in Lviv who had completed two years of theology and philosophy at the university; Semen Semotiuk, an engineering student; Jacob Krett, a former Basilian novice who had also studied theology in Pittsburgh; Volodymyr Pyndykowsky and Onufrii Charambura, school teachers, and Julian Sytnyk and Vasyl Piniansky, philosophy students.⁵

The strategy of recruiting Galician “academics” proved to be a mixed blessing. The newcomers criticized their less-educated colleagues and soon considered themselves more qualified than Bodrug, an “uneducated Hutsul,” to lead the movement. Several influenced by Bychynsky pressed for an immediate reform of the new church. Speaking before the Presbyterian Home Mission Committee in November 1907, Bychynsky indicated it was “his mission here to reform the church” and complained

...that he had joined the Independent Greek church on the understanding that the church was really the same as the Presbyterian; that he finds that there is little difference between the Independent Greek church and the Roman Catholic church, so that he cannot stay in it. Not only is the liturgy used but the preaching gets a low place and is not such as is calculated to lead to the Protestant faith.

Bodrug disagreed. The “academics,” influenced by the reformers of western Europe, were determined “to reform the Independent church with no thought for the psychology or customs of the Ukrainian people.” He himself saw the new church as a long-term project that would introduce reforms gradually “according to the spiritual growth and traditions of [the Ukrainian] nation.”⁶

In the circumstances the Home Mission Committee compromised. With the majority of Independent Greek clergy in favour of retaining the liturgy, Bychynsky was sent to Edmonton, the church’s most prosperous and progressive congregation, where he introduced reforms. The congregation’s subsequent application to enter the Presbyterian church was, however, turned down. The step, the committee reasoned, “would break the unity of the Independent movement both in method and spirit [and] create strife in many congregations.” Moreover, major reforms had to be postponed because “doing away at present with the Liturgy and vestments would cause many outside the Church to suspect the motives of the Independent Greek Church...put a barrier in the way of many from joining, and cause some who have identified themselves with the movement to withdraw.”⁷

Disturbed by the revolt of the “academics,” several conservative clergy persuaded Bodrug to visit Bishop Platon of the Russian Orthodox church in New York in December 1907. While no agreement emerged, a frustrated Bodrug decided to move to the United States. Early in 1908, with Rev. James Carmichael’s blessing, Bodrug, his in-laws Aleksii and Michael Bachynsky, Volodymyr Pyndykowsky, who had just married Bodrug’s sister, and two other Independent Greek ministers left for Newark to help Osyp Kosovy, editor of the anticlerical weekly *Soiuz*, organize an “independent” church in the United States. For two years, Bodrug and Kosovy jointly edited *Soiuz* and *Ranok* and promoted Protestantism. Bodrug also managed to translate Bunyan’s *Pilgrim’s Progress* into Ukrainian and to write a popular five-act play, *Ubiinyky* (The Murderers), which inveighed against alcoholism, violence and superstition.⁸

By May 1910, Bodrug was back in Winnipeg, invited to return by Rev. George Bryce of the Home Mission Committee. In his absence, discipline among the Independent Greek clergy had collapsed and the church had begun to disintegrate: Ivan Danylchuk and Dmytro Iarmii had joined the Russian Orthodox mission; Julian Bohonko had eloped with another man’s wife and caused the Sifton congregation to return to the Catholic fold; Nicholas Zaitsev, the first priest ordained by Seraphim in 1903, had fled to Australia after being charged with sexual misconduct; Jacob Krett and Julian Sytnyk had gone into private business, the latter after scandalizing the faithful by living “with a woman not his wife”; and Maksym Berezynsky, among the most upstanding of pastors, had joined the Baptists.⁹

Bodrug and Carmichael, in patching up the faltering institution, persuaded Danylchuk and Berezynsky to return and recruited some Manitoba College

students and others from abroad. Among the latter were two natives of eastern Ukraine, Ivan Popel and Maksym Zalizniak. Popel had been a Catholic theology student in Lviv and a secretary to Metropolitan Sheptytsky. Zalizniak, a university student in Kiev, had fled to the United States after the 1905 revolution, and, after studies at the Cooper Union Theological Seminary in New York, was ordained into the Presbyterian Church of America. Other old-country recruits were Illia Glowa and Theodore Bay, both drop-outs from the Basilian novitiate at Krekhiv after two years of theology; Volodymyr Plaviuk, a school teacher from Galicia; and Volodymyr Kupchynsky, the son of a Ukrainian Catholic priest.¹⁰

Bodrug's efforts notwithstanding, the days of the Independent Greek church were numbered. With the possible exception of Patrick and Carmichael, who appreciated the new church's difficulties, most Presbyterian backers could not understand why it had not been reformed. Anxious to "Canadianize" immigrants in the narrowest sense, most prominent Presbyterians had been among the leading advocates of English instruction and the abolition of bilingual schools in the prairie provinces since 1900. To them, the task of the Independent Greek church was to convey Protestant values to a loyal immigrant elite, who would then influence the immigrant masses. The latter, in turn, were to discard their rustic ways and old-world ecclesiastical affiliations, cheerfully substitute English for Ukrainian and continue in the menial and unremunerative tasks for which they had been recruited. Such Presbyterian objectives were most clearly spelled out in 1909 in Rev. Gordon's (Ralph Connor's) best-selling novel, *The Foreigner*.¹¹

By 1911 the same Presbyterians saw the church experiment as an unmitigated failure. Not only had there been no reform, but the Presbyterian church could be accused of deception by not stating clearly at the outset that the new church was intended as a bridge to Protestantism. Even more distressing, with public opinion among Ukrainians being shaped by socialists and nationalists, rather than by the Independent Greek clergy, the rationale for the church's existence had disappeared entirely. As a result, the Home Mission Committee reversed its tactics in the summer of 1910 and began to encourage Independent Greek ministers to introduce reforms. It was important that the sermon replace the Eucharist as the liturgy's focal point, that the faithful learn about the doctrine of salvation by faith alone, that a collection of hymns be published, that the sacraments be reduced from seven to two and that prayers to the Virgin Mary, the saints and the angels be discontinued. If Bodrug objected, he said nothing,¹² even though the reforms split most congregations. In Winnipeg a proreform faction led by Manitoba College students was pitted against a majority of older traditionalists by January 1911. The Vegreville congregation collapsed in March, while in July, Volodymyr Kupchynsky, the missionary in Canora, quarreled with Bodrug and left the church, opposed to the imposition of reform. A prore-

form successor, Andrew Wilchynsky, was turned out by the congregation several months later,¹³ and similar episodes shook most congregations.

The sudden introduction of reform also aroused the nationalist editors of *Ukrainskyi holos*, who dubbed the reformers “mercenaries” and “assimilators,” opposed to the best interests of the Ukrainian people. Even though several Independent Greek clergy had done much good, their church, the paper declared, was at the mercy of its “Presbyterian masters” and therefore not “independent.” Bodrug, in response, barred Manitoba College students who had received financial assistance from the Presbyterians from attending any events sponsored by the nationalist intelligentsia, and *Ranok*, for the first time, lashed out against Ukrainian bilingual teachers, most of whom supported the nationalists. If instruction in Ukrainian were allowed in rural settlements, declared a 1911 editorial, “our patriotic teachers would teach more Ruthenian than English” and retard the children’s progress. Two years later, it observed that most Ukrainian bilingual teachers did not take their calling too seriously, as none in western Canada held a first-class teaching certificate and apparently regarded teaching as a stepping stone to a career in business or the professions. In 1916, *Ranok* insisted that teachers with higher qualifications, steeped in good Ukrainian literature, Ukrainian translations of European classics and scholarly works in Ukrainian, would be a greater obstacle to denationalization than the bilingual school system.¹⁴

Relations between the reformers and their critics became violent in February 1912, when at a meeting of the Independent Greek clergy a Manitoba College student lunged at Bodrug and accused him of being “a sell-out [*khrun*], a national traitor, a mercenary.” One month later, Joseph Cherniawsky, a popular Independent Greek missionary, who had established many reading clubs amid much praise, was murdered in Goodeve, Saskatchewan, apparently by a Catholic fanatic.¹⁵ It was only a matter of time, therefore, before the Home Mission Committee withdrew its support from the Independent Greek church. The death, in 1911-12, of both Patrick and Carmichael, the two men closest to the church since its inception, hastened the end. Carmichael’s successor, Rev. A.S. Grant, openly admitted his “ignorance as to what the relation of our Church is to this work.” The committee’s mounting deficit, in turn, only increased its eagerness to wind up an embarrassing experiment whose cost annually was at least sixteen thousand dollars. “The time has come when we as a Church must go at this work along distinctly Presbyterian lines and remove the unjust reproach of acting as Jesuits in this Independent Church,” concluded Rev. D.G. McQueen in April 1912. “The only way to remove the jealousy and bickerings from these Ruthenian workers is to put them all directly under someone other than any of their race.”¹⁶

In August 1912 the Presbyterians cancelled the special classes at Manitoba College, withdrew financial assistance from the Independent Greek church and

placed its congregations under local presbyteries. Clergymen who had at least four years of theological training could apply for positions as Presbyterian ministers, the rest as missionaries. After interviewing twenty-one in October, a committee of prominent divines admitted nineteen into the Presbyterian fold. Although Bodrug, the church's leader for nine years, was among them, he ultimately declined to serve. Years later, he would imply that reservations about enforced reform of the Independent Greek church from above prevented him from joining the parent body. However, it appears that personal reasons, including wounded pride, may have influenced his decision. Not only had Carmichael's successors shown little regard for Bodrug, but he only qualified as a Presbyterian missionary and his salary was reduced.¹⁷

Although the Presbyterian church absorbed most Independent Greek clergy, few were able to convince their congregations to follow them. Nevertheless, after 1912, Presbyterians would continue to "Canadianize" Ukrainian immigrants through a network of rural medical missions and school homes developed since 1900. Nor did the Ukrainian intelligentsia's infatuation with Protestantism disappear entirely. Although Protestant sentiments were never again as pervasive, during the ensuing decade several influential and well-educated immigrants entered the Presbyterian church as members and clergy, edited *Ranok* and promoted Protestantism among Ukrainians in Canada. To an even greater extent than Bodrug and his associates, they identified their objectives with those of the Radical party in Galicia which, they argued, was also concerned to liberate the Ukrainian masses from blind traditionalism, superstition and clerical tutelage.¹⁸

Presbyterian Rural Missions

Unlike the Independent Greek church, Presbyterian rural missions were a much more conventional approach to "Canadianizing" Ukrainian immigrants. Medical missions, viewed as "the best means" to win the settlers' confidence and introduce them to "British ideals," were established in each prairie province before 1914. The first medical mission, a small dispensary and hospital, opened near Sifton in 1900 when Dr. J.T. Reid, a graduate of McGill University, was sent into the district by the Home Mission Committee. Two years later, Rev. Alexander J. Hunter, a University of Toronto medical graduate, was appointed missionary at Teulon, where he developed a small hospital with funds provided by the Women's Home Missionary Society. In 1903, Reid was replaced by Rev. R.G. Scott, a graduate of Knox College, while Rev. C.H. Monroe established another small mission in Ethelbert. Almost simultaneously, the first of two missions was established in Saskatchewan, with the appointment of Rev. George Arthur, a graduate of Dalhousie University, to the Lake Geneva mission at Wakaw, east of Rosthern. In 1908, after completing their medical studies,

Arthur was transferred to the newly constructed hospital in Vegreville, while Scott replaced him at Lake Geneva. The Hugh Waddel Memorial Hospital, built in Canora in 1914, was the largest Presbyterian medical mission on the prairies with forty-six rooms and facilities for sixty patients.¹⁹

From the outset, the missionaries offered much more than medical services. At Wakaw, for example, Arthur built a store, established the first post office and opened the first grist mill in the district. He was also justice of the peace, with ample opportunity to become well acquainted with Ukrainians. At each mission, education received special attention. Accompanying Reid to Sifton was J. A. Cormie, a theology student charged by the Home Mission Committee with allocating two hundred-dollar grants for the construction of school houses. In the fall of 1906, Rev. T.A. Broadfoot organized a mission school in Vegreville to teach English to Ukrainian boys and young female domestics. Besides medical and Sunday school work, Arthur and Monroe taught school before the advent of public schools. Once the latter appeared, Presbyterian missionaries established boarding homes to encourage school attendance and to speed up the assimilation of children. Unlike in Wakaw, Sifton and Ethelbert, where there were only a few children, in Teulon, and especially in Vegreville, where one girls' and three boys' homes were constructed between 1910 and 1914, many boarders were accommodated.²⁰

The Presbyterian medical missions were an undeniable boon to Ukrainian rural settlers. Without public medical facilities, the private hospitals and dispensaries filled an important need, and well into the 1920s they were all that was often available in some blocs. Besides providing medical attention and warm winter clothing, they helped break down the peasants' fatalism, imparted information about health and hygiene and enabled children who lived in the boarding homes to receive a year-round education.

Ultimately, however, the goal of Presbyterians was to "Canadianize" the immigrants and, according to Dr. Hunter of Teulon, the boarding homes were especially well suited to realize that end. "If a fairly extensive scheme could be organized for securing young Galicians at the age of ten or twelve years...and giving them a good education, while not allowing them to forget altogether their own language, we should in this way develop a large body of good material for teachers and leaders among these people."²¹ As the boys' home, established on Hunter's initiative in 1912 for thirty-five Ukrainian boys at the Teulon Consolidated High School, was the most successful of the Presbyterian boarding homes, it is worth examining his objectives more closely.

Hunter thought that Ukrainians on the prairies faced "two dangers":

The one is that they may get under the control of a reactionary priesthood which will endeavour to hold them in ignorance and mental slavery. The other possibility is that they may break violently away from the old

religion passing from the extreme of superstition to the other extreme of utter worldliness and materialism.

Troubled by the “doctrines of materialistic socialism and atheism...running rampant among them,” he was even more alarmed by the desire of Ukrainians to cultivate their own identity:

There is another thing that causes a great difficulty and that is their nationalism, their intense enthusiasm for their own nation, language, history and ideals....I regard this feeling of nationalism among them as a great danger unless it is wisely guided. The children attending public schools are not very dangerous, but away in the settlements many hear nothing but Ruthenian and hardly ever is an English word spoken. These will remain Ruthenians for years to come.

Although encouraged that “many of the younger people are changing their names for English ones and trying to forget their old relationships,” Hunter believed that the bilingual school system threatened “to develop a serious peril to our national ideal and to become a great handicap to the English language and the English speaking people in the rural districts.” Because bilingual teachers drove English-speaking teachers out of mixed school districts, “Canadian families” moved out and left “the Galicians” to themselves, which was “the worst thing that could happen to them.” Hunter feared that unlike immigrants from northern and western Europe, who “are becoming English just as fast as they can,” the Ukrainians “may become very unwholesome and very dangerous. They may increase so fast that they will outnumber the English....The battle for the future of Canada may yet turn on what is done for these people, on how and what they think.”²²

If Ukrainian immigrants were not “Canadianized” rapidly, Hunter thought western Canada would become “another Quebec”:

...the total number of French settled in Canada and Louisiana in 1812 was only 80,000; today there are at least 200,000 Ruthenians in Canada, or nearly three times as many as there were French a hundred years ago. Now, we can recognize the significance of this fact if we look at the unsatisfactory situation brought about by a divided nationality. Quebec differs in religion, in language and in ideals from other parts of the Dominion. Because of the policy of separation which has been carried out, there exist in that province a settled feeling of hostility, of suspicion, and of aloofness towards the rest of the country. Now, if the big Slavonic immigration of the present day is suffered to separate itself in the same way, retaining its own language, its own religion, and customs peculiar to itself, a condition similar to that in Quebec will be brought about in many parts of Canada.

In 1916 he was convinced that linguistic and religious heterogeneity, not economic exploitation and national oppression, were mainly responsible for war in Europe. In the United States—with only one language—peace, harmony and progress were everywhere, whereas in Europe—with its many languages—war and conflict were endemic and progress had been halted. Referring to Ukrainian settlers of Catholic and Orthodox persuasion, he declared that “in Europe people with just such types of religion but of different nationalities had been living side by side for centuries, yet their faith had done nothing to check their national animosities; they had gone on cherishing age long hatreds against one another.” He was also apprehensive about young Ukrainian immigrants seeking greater social mobility:

The ambition of the average young Ruthenian seeking an education is to find an easy way of making a living. The fathers have been hewers of wood and drawers of water and they wish their sons to be gentlemen. There is danger of the country being filled with half-educated young men looking for easy places in teaching or elsewhere. Such men will become a great political danger—an army of incompetents looking for public employment.²³

The inference was clear: national unity and social stability required Ukrainians to discard their language and culture and submit to evangelization by Protestant missionaries; they were also to continue working on the land and in the frontier camps for which they had been recruited in the first place.

The regimen at the Teulon Boys' Home reflected well the Presbyterian objectives of proselytization, denationalization and social control. All boys had to attend services at the local Presbyterian church, where sermons in English and Ukrainian familiarized them with the principles of evangelical Protestantism. In the smaller boarding homes at Ethelbert and Sifton, the missionaries were even more aggressive:

...[the pupils] have prayers morning and night, Sunday school and all kinds of meetings, and so wonderful is the children's knowledge of the Bible, and so truly do they reverence it, and so earnestly do they study it that Dr. Gilbert [Monroe's successor] stated that in a Bible contest the older children at Ethelbert would know more than the English speaking people.

At Vegreville “two little lads on stools [were observed] memorizing the Twenty-third Psalm, with the hope of getting five cents when it was done.” Home children were also forbidden to attend Ukrainian weddings and were encouraged to “do away with their own custom of dancing and crude forms of enjoyment.” While immigrant weddings often *were* violent and drunken affairs, the blanket condemnations demoralized the children and encouraged them to reject Ukrainians

as “bad people.” “When I grow up,” a mission girl declared, “I will teach our people to be good.”²⁴

Just before the war and more than a decade after beginning work among Ukrainians, Hunter began learning Ukrainian. Although he sympathized with them, he assumed that Ukrainians would have to forfeit their language: “We demand of them...the sacrifice of their native tongue, of their customs and traditions. They must conform to our institutions and painfully seek to fashion themselves to the pattern of our lives.” By 1915, he cautioned, “We must be careful about the use of the word ‘assimilate.’ It angers and infuriates the Ruthenians...We must rely on patience, faith and common sense.” At the boys’ home, Ukrainian was deprecated subtly and covertly. While the students were not forced to speak English outside the classroom, and Ukrainian-language newspapers and books were permitted, one student recalled later that Hunter believed “they should not attach much importance to [their] native language because this was an Anglo-Saxon country.” During a regular Sunday afternoon talk with the boys in 1913, he inquired, “What is language?” and replied, “Language is only a medium of expression, a means to communication. The most useful language is the one spoken by a majority of the people.” Several years later, he wrote in *Ranok*: “While it is true that the Ukrainian language has the rudiments of a literature, when compared with languages of universal significance—English, French, German, Russian—these beginnings are very insignificant.” While acknowledging that the Ukrainian poetry of Shevchenko and Franko “will always have its value,” he insisted that from a practical point of view

...it will be much easier for Ukrainians to learn one of the well developed languages than to translate tens of thousands of important books into Ukrainian. I tell you bluntly, that the number of scholarly works available in the English language, when compared with those in the Ukrainian language, is like an Eaton’s department store compared with one of the smallest rural stores you have ever seen.

The library at the boys’ home contained no Ukrainian books or newspapers and a request by Ukrainian Presbyterians for a Ukrainian-language instructor was vetoed by Hunter in 1913. At Vegreville, under an apparently more liberal regimen, Rev. Maksym Zalizniak taught Ukrainian: “He...taught us to read and write in Ukrainian and to sing our dearly-beloved songs,” one of the boys recalled later. “We enjoyed these Ukrainian classes for we felt freer and at home. There was no one around to continually remind us to ‘Speak English.’”²⁵

At the Teulon Consolidated High School “the non-English-speaking population” was taught “some of the practical arts” to impress children with “the dignity of labour and the scientific and cultural possibilities of rural life.” Besides the regular academic course, the school provided

...boys destined to become teachers...[with] practical instruction in mixed farming, in manual training, housebuilding and other subjects having a close relation to the settlers' daily life. To the prospective girl teachers the school [gave]...training in domestic economy, dairying, dressmaking and other tasks which fall to the lot of the woman.

At the Teulon Boys' Home residents did "their share of the work of housekeeping," with Hunter scornful of "the occasional parent [who] may think such work rather beneath the dignity of a budding professional man." A student later recalled that any who judged washing dishes to be unjust punishment were reprimanded by Hunter: "We don't want to have any young lawyers here... Either you submit and take your punishment or you will have to leave the Boys' Home." In Sifton girls were taught "sewing, cooking, laundry, waiting on tables and general house-management." As evidence of the "practical results," the *Missionary Messenger* cited the case of a Dauphin businessman, "who, on different occasions, has had Home-trained girls as servants in his home. He speaks highly of such training...for they make diligent and intelligent domestic help." From such statements, it would appear that Presbyterians did not necessarily foresee a future for Canadian-educated Ukrainian children that was qualitatively different from that of their parents. In an article in *Ranok* entitled "Our Happy Ruthenian People," Rev. Bryce insisted that

Manitoba and Saskatchewan are giving all boys and girls good training in the schools. They learn to do business, to get good positions to work in stores, in shops, or even in schools if they have learned enough to teach a school or keep books.

...Boys and girls should remain at school till they are able to do what business they have to do in the store, or the bank, or the taxpayer's office, or in buying horses or cattle or sheep or swine, or reading a newspaper or magazine.

Such educational objectives would provide only the rudiments of literacy and permit most children to function efficiently largely in the same occupations as their parents.²⁶

Presbyterians and Frontier Labourers

The presence of some 200,000 male labourers, predominantly "foreigners," in remote frontier railway, road-building, logging, mining and hydro-development camps also greatly concerned the Protestant missionaries. To extend the services of missionaries and teachers into these regions, Rev. Alfred Fitzpatrick, a Presbyterian from Nova Scotia and a graduate of Queen's University, founded the Reading Camp Association in 1899. Although not formally sponsored by the Presbyterian church, the association illustrates well the goals shared by Presbyte-

rian advocates of "Canadianization." Initially an experiment in adult education, the association supplied lumberjacks, miners and railway navvies with "carefully chosen" books (Fitzpatrick especially liked Ralph Connor's novels), newspapers and periodicals as an outlet for "wholesome" recreation. During the railway construction boom and later during the war years, Fitzpatrick became increasingly interested in the problem of "Canadianization." Reading Camp instructors taught English to "foreigners," tried to convey an "intelligent conception of Canadian citizenship" ("Our motto/No hyphenated Canadians")²⁷ and sought to neutralize social unrest among frontier labourers.

Although the association was the first to make known the appalling working conditions in frontier camps, Fitzpatrick, a model Victorian,²⁸ was no radical social reformer. Work to him was the very essence of life and idleness "the occasion of all evil." Preserving the sanctity of labour and providing uplifting activity took precedence over alleviating human suffering and ending exploitation. While he admitted that "long hours are an evil...the greater evil is idleness when off work. The most urgent need is intellectual occupation and entertainment when not engaged in manual labour."²⁹ As another writer observed, idleness not only bred "recklessness" and a lust for "evanescent pleasure," but "uneducated immigrants" left to themselves were susceptible to "the seeds of revolutionary Socialism."³⁰

To Fitzpatrick, the social problems created by immigration and mounting labour unrest demanded Christian stewardship and character refinement rather than any fundamental socioeconomic change. Harmony between "masters and men" required the privileged classes to fulfill their Christian duty as stewards by furnishing workers with guidance and leadership. The university, which he saw as a bastion of privilege, was "pre-eminently called to [the] high office of joining the hands of the downtrodden poor and the wealthy" by sending "young men of culture and good common sense" into the frontier camps to work simultaneously as labourers and instructors. Such men would "redeem the privileged classes from the imputation...that they would do anything for the worker except get off his back." Working with frontier labourers as equals among equals, demonstrating how to be "more contented, happier and vastly better workmen," the labourer-instructors would win the respect of workers and influence their social attitudes and political behaviour. "Is it not an advantage to the company," Fitzpatrick asked D.B. Hanna, president of the Canadian National Railway, "that illiterate foreign workers are brought under the influence of men, trained in the thought of the universities of Canada, rather than left to the machinations of their own leaders who are often breeders of discontent?" Such instructors would be "the best antidote for extreme forms of radicalism."³¹

To finance the work of the association, Fitzpatrick naturally turned to businessmen, industrialists and large corporations, along with missionary societies and provincial departments of education. At first, the Presbyterian and

Methodist churches and the Ontario Department of Education were his main supporters; by 1912, however, Canadian business and the three transcontinental railway companies were firmly behind him. In 1910, William Whyte, second vice-president of the CPR, was the association's honorary president, and D.B. Hanna, third vice-president of the CNoR, its first vice-president. As donations rose from fifteen hundred to twenty-two thousand dollars between 1901 and 1914, the number of instructors also rose from five (all in Ontario) to seventy-one (in eight provinces). Between 1906 and 1913, 176 of the 273 instructors worked among railway navvies, where the concentration of foreigners was highest. Fitzpatrick estimated that between 1914 and 1920 the association spent thirty to thirty-five thousand dollars on work among railway navvies alone.³²

Ukrainians, who comprised about 13 per cent of such navvies, may have been the largest ethnic group in railway construction.³³ Concerned initially to recruit Ukrainian instructors to work among those whom English-speaking instructors could not reach, Fitzpatrick, in 1908 and 1909, arranged with Rev. Carmichael to employ four young Ukrainians enrolled at Manitoba College.³⁴ The war, which "clarified" Fitzpatrick's "national vision," put an end to such efforts. He became alarmed that immigrants were living in settlements on the prairies or, "what is worse," forming colonies in large industrial centres where "their racial characteristics are continued and encouraged by native societies and leagues, forming unassimilated groups, which are a menace to Canadian unity." For Canadians to "secure the well-being and security of this Dominion and maintain a worthy place within the Empire," it was imperative that Canadianization proceed only "through Canadians. Those who live and dwell in foreign settlements of their own race in Canada are not ready to be healthy Canadianizers."³⁵

Fitzpatrick commended W.E. Givens, a camp instructor among Ukrainian navvies in Saskatchewan and Alberta, for "outnavvying the navvies." "Givens started to work...and soon set a new pace for a twelve-hour day. According to Henry Ford, an eight-hour day pace is faster than a ten-hour gait...but Givens set an eight-hour pace for a twelve-hour day and kept it up." Few instructors, however, had the physical strength to drive navvies to the limits of their endurance; most settled for teaching English classes, writing letters and inculcating "healthy" attitudes from books like Fitzpatrick's own *Handbook for New Canadians*. In it, naturalized Canadians were advised to anglicize their names and the "good citizen" was defined as someone who "Loves God, Loves the Empire, Loves Canada...Works hard...Does his work well...Is every inch a Man." Canada was presented as a country in which success was entirely the result of personal effort: "On ourselves depends our success in Canada. We must rely on our own efforts; we must be industrious and sober; we must have energy and determination to get along...Let us do our best each day and we shall succeed."³⁶ Such lessons were reinforced by instructors in private conversations and

lectures. On “socialistic questions,” Andrew E. MacKague, who recognized that an instructor acquires “knowledge which may be of value to him if he should someday become a capitalist,” endeavoured “to convince men that if they save [and] persevere, they will get ahead and that the capitalists are not keeping them in shovel.”³⁷ Indeed, the Reading Camp Association, similar to other Presbyterian missionary ventures, reinforced Anglo-Protestant cultural dominance and the socioeconomic order in which Ukrainians and other immigrants performed the menial labour that members of the dominant group avoided.

Methodist Missionaries and Ukrainian Immigrants

Unlike the Presbyterians, drawn to the Ukrainians because of the Independent Greek church, the Methodists, before 1914, had rural missions only in the large Ukrainian bloc settlement in east central Alberta. Even All People’s Mission in Winnipeg’s North End, perhaps the best known of Methodist missions, concentrated on Germans, Czechs and Poles rather than on the more numerous Ukrainians. An informal agreement in 1899 between Methodist and Presbyterian superintendents established a division of labour to minimize denominational competition.³⁸ As a result, Methodist missionary activity was concentrated in the western section of Alberta’s bloc settlement. In 1901, Rev. C.H. Lawford, a graduate of Wesley College, whose ambition to serve in China had been shattered by the Boxer rebellion, established a mission at Pakan, seventy-five miles northeast of Edmonton on the north bank of the North Saskatchewan River, an area settled primarily by Bukovynians. A church was built in 1906, and when Lawford’s home became too small for his medical practice, a hospital followed in 1907. “Unable to surmount a personal dislike for the Ukrainians,” Lawford never learned Ukrainian, though he remained in Pakan until 1922 when the hospital was moved to Smoky Lake.³⁹

Two mission homes were established by the Women’s Missionary Society. In June 1904, Rita Edmonds and Jessie Munro developed a home at Wahstao, eight or nine miles northeast of Pakan, to serve as a chapel, medical dispensary and school. Together with Edith Weeks and Ethel Chace, they focused on the children and women. Besides holding day and Sunday school classes, they taught in the public school established in 1907, introduced women to the domestic arts, took in young Ukrainian female boarders, organized an evening school for the boys and men and provided medical assistance and clothes to the needy. All tried to learn Ukrainian to communicate more effectively. A second mission home, built in 1908 at Kolokreeka, eleven miles north of Pakan, conducted Sunday school and evening classes and women’s meetings, and in 1912 added a residential school. During the 1920s the home became a dormitory for girls attending high school in nearby Smoky Lake. In 1911, Rev. J.K. Smith, who had taught

school at Chipman and studied Ukrainian at Pakan for a year, established a third mission at Chipman among Galicians. A year later, a hospital opened at Lamont, seven miles northwest of Chipman, with Drs. A.E. Archer and W.T. Rush in charge. Girls' and boys' homes were also operated in Edmonton by Jessie Munro and Rev. W.H. Pike, a graduate of Victoria College who had learned Ukrainian. The girls' home accommodated eighteen to twenty-four boarders (primarily young girls employed in the city's hotels and restaurants) and offered medical care as well as English evening classes. By the 1920s it functioned as a residence for girls attending high school.

Like their Presbyterian counterparts, the Methodist missionaries also offered much more than pastoral and medical care. Dr. Lawford, whose fee was usually less than the minimum set by the Alberta Medical Association, assisted with the assembly of farm machinery, explained the land laws, advised on the formation of school districts and wrote letters to government officials, employers and creditors. The female missionaries provided sewing, knitting and quilt-making lessons and taught English in evening schools. The goal was always to Canadianize and Christianize the beneficiaries. At Pakan all literate patients were furnished with the Scriptures, while chaplains read the Bible to others. Special Sunday services and visits to patients' homes were also held. Besides promoting temperance, female missionaries waged war on Sabbath desecration, which they identified with dancing on Sunday. At the school homes children routinely sang Protestant hymns, memorized the Scriptures and attended Sunday services.

Most Methodist missionaries also strongly opposed bilingual schools and the Ukrainian-language press. At Kolokreeka children were forbidden to speak Ukrainian at any time and were rewarded with picture postcards when they refrained for an entire day. When Ukrainian was permitted, it was justified on the grounds "that the children could carry the lessons learned at the mission to their parents." Similarly, in 1912 the First Convention of Methodist Ruthenian Workers "deemed it advisable...to teach those who wished to learn their own language...[if it] helped us to win them for Christ."⁴⁰ The convention also launched a Ukrainian-language weekly, *Kanadyiets* (The Canadian), assuming it "would do the work of 40 ministers." Edited by Michael Belegay, who had studied at Lviv University, the weekly was much narrower denominationally than the Presbyterian *Ranok*.

Although eager to win converts, the Methodists had little success. Lawford, at first, refrained from direct proselytizing, preferring to undermine Orthodox and Catholic church authority by stressing the importance of the Scriptures. He even thought of working through the Independent Greek church, and abandoned the idea only on the advice of superiors. Not until 1909 did he win his first two converts—twenty-one-year-old Metro Ponich, a chore boy and translator, and his eighteen-year-old friend Taranty Hanocho. Both were sent to Alberta College

and became licenced preachers, but before 1914 the Methodists in Alberta had only fifty converts.

In Winnipeg even these modest figures were not reached. All People's, established in 1889 on private initiative, became a Methodist mission in 1899. During the next eight years several Austrian-born Protestant missionaries, including Frank Dojacek, a young Czech destined to become the city's foremost ethnic publisher and bookseller, had little success in bringing evangelical Protestantism to North End residents. Then, in 1907, just as Winnipeg was beginning to expand, Rev. James S. Woodsworth, slated to become Canada's most prominent exponent of the radical social gospel, was appointed superintendent of All People's.⁴¹

Almost immediately, the thirty-three-year-old Woodsworth adopted a new course for the mission. While immigrants were still exposed to Protestant principles, no effort was made to convert them. By 1910 evangelical and denominational concerns were definitely subordinate to meeting the immigrants' secular needs and improving Winnipeg's social conditions. Besides its kindergarten, sewing and gardening classes, mothers' meetings and several settlement houses, the mission, from the fall of 1909, held a Sunday afternoon "People's Forum," first at the Grand Theatre, then in the auditorium of St. John's High School. At the forums, civic and social questions were discussed by citizens "irrespective of nationality or creed," science and art were popularized and good music was provided, "especially by encouraging the musical talent latent in our diverse population." Several prominent Ukrainians spoke at forum meetings and Ukrainian choirs participated occasionally. The ultimate goal was to "take people out of their own little circles...broaden their interests and make them sympathetic toward those who hold views different from their own." With the majority in attendance English-speaking residents, it was primarily their understanding of European immigrants that was broadened.⁴²

When Woodsworth first took charge of All People's, he shared many of his fellow-Protestants' anxieties about immigrants from eastern Europe—their low living standards, their authoritarian clergy and the poor quality of education provided by their bilingual schools. By the time he left in 1913, his views had changed dramatically. "Six years ago the church sent me to North Winnipeg to convert the foreigner," Woodsworth wrote in 1913. "During these years I have learned much concerning his needs and his weaknesses, but the thing that has most impressed me is the need of converting the Canadians, who through their selfishness and indifference are degrading him."⁴³ Perhaps the best way to appreciate the change is to compare Woodsworth's views to those of Rev. C. W. Gordon (Ralph Connor), himself an exponent of the "progressive" social gospel. In *The Foreigner*, Gordon portrayed Slavic immigrants as a "dangerous element," as wily, wrathful and ignorant representatives of a "semi-barbaric" people, generations behind Anglo Canadians in moral development. Incapable of progress

because of “drunkenness and greed,” victimized by men of their own nationality and cursed by “the fierce lust for vengeance which had for centuries run mad in...[their] Slavic blood,” the immigrants were desperately in need of moral uplift by Protestant Canadians, who risked their own welfare to provide them with “honest work.” Their benefactors introduced them to the Gospel, taught them English until it became “easier” than their native tongue, instilled work habits by driving them “to the limit of their endurance,” convinced them to exchange their “sheep skin and shawl” for the “ready made suit and hat of the latest style” and thus transformed them into “good Canadians.”⁴⁴

In contrast, Woodsworth insisted that “the ‘foreigner’ is our equal, in some respects our superior, and...if he becomes a menace to our civilization the fault is not really his, but is due to the peculiar conditions surrounding him in a new land and to our general indifference to his welfare.” Not only were the “foreigners” the real creators of Canada’s wealth, they brought with them “a high idealism; love of art, music and literature; patient industry; deep religious devotion,” and they were “imbued with a reverence and a patriotism we need in this new and commercialized country of ours.” For a unified Canadian nation to emerge, English-speaking Canadians, he wrote during the war, “must not attempt to make the immigrants Canadians after our own pattern, but rather to mediate between the old life and the new and to express emerging Canadian ideals.” Anglo-Protestant efforts to create “a homogeneous people with a common language and common ‘mores’” were “incapable of realization.” By assuming that theirs were “the only and final standards” and by attempting “somewhat arrogantly to assert [their] own superiority,” those who set out to “Canadianize and Christianize” only “undermined...the foundations on which...true character is built.” Sensing that they belonged to a despised group, many immigrants became “ashamed of being foreign-born,” “ashamed even of the excellencies in [their] own civilization.” Immigrant children were especially vulnerable. They

readily adopt Canadian dress, Canadian smartness, Canadian slang, and quickly learn to despise the reverence and obedience and modesty that characterizes their parents...Too often the children despise their parents and disregard their views and thus constitute the class from which our juvenile criminals are recruited...They who can most easily forget the motherland are not those who will make the greatest contribution to the land of their adoption.⁴⁵

Canadians, Woodsworth insisted, had to learn to treat the immigrant with “respect and intelligent sympathy.” Provision for his basic socioeconomic needs was the most crucial factor. It was not enough to “bring him out here, get what labour power he has, maim him, and then throw him back again.” The state had to assume responsibility for the immigrant’s welfare:

If the protection of property justifies "State intervention," much more so the safeguarding of the welfare of men and women and little children. Our Governments have bonused industry, subsidized steamship lines and railway companies, and encouraged immigration. Is it too much to ask that the Government care for the worker and the immigrant?

What was most needed were government labour bureaus, vocational training programmes, unemployment insurance, regulation of women's work, factory inspection, workmen's compensation, prohibition of child labour, widows' pensions and minimum wage legislation, as well as good schools, playgrounds and recreational facilities. Moreover, the vast cultural resources that immigrants brought had to be preserved and absorbed into Canadian culture. To those who advised the immigrants to "be British," Woodsworth replied, "Fuddle-de-dee!" There was nothing "reactionary" or even "un-British" about wanting children to retain one's mother tongue:

Personally I have a great deal of sympathy for the foreigner in his desire to retain the language which his father and mother speak and which is the language of his religious expression. I can see no reason why under proper safeguards provision should not be made for the teaching of other than the English language. We do this in our universities, where we recognize the cultural value of the various European languages. Why should it not be done at the age when children can most readily learn a second language.

As long as second-language learning did not interfere "with the unifying influences of the school" and English was "taught thoroughly," Woodsworth favoured it.⁴⁶

As his subsequent career showed, James Shaver Woodsworth was an exceptional man. His humane views would cost him more than one position and prompt his resignation from the Methodist ministry. Woodsworth and others like him⁴⁷ indicate that not all Anglo Protestants were cut from the same cloth; that among them were some men and women who understood the immigrants and sympathized with their plight, even if that sympathy did not necessarily increase the number of conversions.

Long before the outbreak of war in 1914, Protestant missionary endeavours had run up against a brick wall. Their medical, educational and social services had failed to win converts in significant numbers. Even more disquieting, Protestantism had lost credibility with the Ukrainian intelligentsia. The sudden, hurried and enforced Presbyterian reform in 1912; the narrow assimilationist

objectives of the rural missions, as eager apparently to wage war on the immigrants' language and collective memory as to combat "paganism and superstition" in religious practice; and the inculcation of values and attitudes which reinforced exploitative capitalist socioeconomic practices had alienated the intelligentsia. By 1912 its members espoused either socialism or nationalism; only a handful continued to believe that Protestantism was a viable strategy for moulding "new people."

Notes

1. Trevor Powell, "The Church of England and the 'Foreigner' in the Dioceses of Qu'Appelle and Saskatchewan," *Journal of the Canadian Church Historical Society* XXVIII (1) (1986), 31-44.
2. *Ranok* 10 July 1912, 1, 29 July 1914.
3. *Svoboda* 21 April 1898, 4 April 1901.
4. John Bodrug, *Independent Orthodox Church: Memoirs Pertaining to the History of a Ukrainian Canadian Church in the Years 1903 to 1913*, trans. Edward Bodrug and Lydia Biddle (Toronto, 1980), 112.
5. *Ibid.*, 92 ff.
6. UCA, Presbyterian Church in Canada, Synod of Manitoba and the Northwest Territories, Minutes of the Executive of the Home Mission Committee, 22 November 1907. Hereafter Minutes Presbyterian HMC; Bodrug, 119.
7. Minutes Presbyterian HMC, 3 April 1908.
8. Bodrug, 99 ff.
9. *Ibid.*, 102-4; Minutes Presbyterian HMC, 7 March 1908; *Ukrainskyi holos* 31 August 1910, 3 April 1912.
10. For biographical sketches of all prominent Independent Greek church missionaries and ministers, see Oleksander Dombrovsky, *Narys istorii ukrainskoho evanhelsko-reformovanoho rukhu* (New York-Toronto, 1979).
11. *Manitoba Free Press* 3 January 1902; Thomas Hart, "The Educational System of Manitoba," *Queen's Quarterly* XII (3) (1905), 240-51; Ralph Connor, *The Foreigner: A Tale of Saskatchewan* (New York, 1909). The writer has discussed the latter in "'Canadianizing the Foreigner': Presbyterian Missionaries and Ukrainian Immigrants," in Jaroslav Rozumnyj, ed., *New Soil—Old Roots: The Ukrainian Experience in Canada* (Winnipeg, 1983), 37-41.
12. Bodrug wrote to Carmichael on 18 February 1910: "I am glad to hear that the Ruthenian ministers of Manitoba and Saskatchewan have at last decided to make effort to bring the people to the Presbyterian church....But the start must come from the ministers themselves. They must tolerate the views of those not yet converted and not attack the feelings of the individuals except in a general way from the pulpit." UCA, Presbyterian Church in Canada, Board of Home Missions, Box 1, file 5. Hereafter Presbyterian BHM.
13. *Ukrainskyi holos* 18 January, 1, 8 March, 12 April, 10, 17 May, 9, 30 August, 11, 18 October 1911, 3 April 1912.

14. Ibid., 13 July, 19 October 1910, 8 March, 10 May, 9 August 1911; *Ranok* 7 July 1911, 19 February, 18 June 1913, 10 May 1916.
15. *Ukrainskyi holos* 21, 28 February 1912. For a detailed description of the murder, see Canada, *Sessional Papers XLVII* (1913) vol. 21, paper no. 28, p.160, XLVIII (1914) vol. 24, paper no. 28, p. 176; *Ranok* 20, 27 March, 10 December 1912; *Ukrainskyi holos* 20 March 1912. The accused, a certain Oryshchuk, had allegedly declared that anyone who killed "that kind of priest" would be absolved of all his sins. He was acquitted by a jury in December 1912 because all the evidence was circumstantial.
16. UCA, Presbyterian BHM, A.S. Grant to J. Farquharson, 10 August 1911, Box 1, file 1, "Estimate of the cost of Ruthenian Work ending 31 March 1912," Box 1, file 5, D.G. McQueen to J. Farquharson, 30 April 1912, Box 1, file 4.
17. The minutes of the 24 October 1912 meeting of "the sub-committee on the reception of ministers of the Independent Greek Church as either ministers or missionaries of the Presbyterian Church" (ibid., Box 2, file: re Ruthenian work) list Bodrug as one of the twenty-one candidates who presented themselves for interviews. The others were Volodymyr Pynydkowsky, Illia Glowa, Ivan Popel, T. Patzerniuk, Maksym P. Berezynsky, Ivan Danylichuk, Aleksii Bachynsky, Efrem Perih, Havrylo Tymchuk, Nykola Sikora, Andrew Wilchynsky, Petro Uhryniuk, Teodor Berezowsky, Illia Eustafiewicz (Elias Eustace), Mykhailo Bachynsky, Ivan Hryhorash (Gregorash), Mykhailo Hutnykevych (Hutney), Volodymyr Plaviuk, Aleksander Maksymchuk, Ivan Zazuliak and Petro Melnychuk; A.M. Zaluzniak was already an ordained Presbyterian minister. In 1912, Bodrug was earning \$1,080 annually as an Independent Greek church minister and editor of *Ranok*. On 2 March 1912 he informed Farquharson that he and his fellow Ruthenian ministers had concluded that "the Independent Greek Church as an organization has done its work as far as it could do and...the time come, when our people are prepared to listen to the Presbyterian ministers." They were "ready to quit now with organizing the Independent Greek congregations; we would gladly join Presbyterian Church as ministers in full standing or as ministers with temporary ordination." Ibid. On 17 July 1912, Grant wrote to Farquharson concerning Bodrug: "I do not regard him in any way as superintending the work among the Ruthenians and I scarcely see why he should get \$90 a month for the same class of work as other men are doing at \$40, these latter being married as well as he." Ibid., Box 1, file 5.
18. This was especially so in 1913-17 when *Ranok* was edited by Illia Glowa and Paul Crath.
19. On Presbyterian medical missions and school homes, see Marilyn Barber, "Nationalism, Nativism and the Social Gospel: The Protestant Church Response to Foreign Immigrants in Western Canada, 1897-1914," in Richard Allen, ed., *The Social Gospel in Canada* (Ottawa, 1975), 186-226; A. Becker, "The Lake Geneva Mission, Wakaw, Saskatchewan," *Saskatchewan History* XXIX (2) (1976), 51-64; Vivian Olender, "The Reaction of the Canadian Presbyterian Church Towards Ukrainian Immigrants (1900-1925): Rural Home Missions as Agencies of Assimilation" (PhD dissertation, University of Toronto, 1984); Michael Owen, "'Keeping Canada God's Country': Presbyterian School Homes for Ruthenian Children," Margaret E. McPherson, "Head, Heart and Purse: The Presbytie-

- rian Women's Missionary Society in Canada, 1876-1925"; Raymond R. Smith, "A Heritage of Healing: Church Hospital and Medical Work in Manitoba, 1900-1977," in Dennis R. Butcher, Catherine Macdonald, Margaret E. McPherson, Raymond R. Smith and A. McKibbin Watts, eds., *Prairie Spirit: Perspectives on the Heritage of the United Church of Canada in the West* (Winnipeg, 1985).
20. Stephen Urchak, "Boys' and Girls' Homes in Vegreville," in *Ukrainians in Alberta* (Edmonton, 1981), 47-53.
 21. *The Presbyterian* XII (7) (13 February 1908), 202-3.
 22. *The Presbyterian Record* XXXV (4) (April 1910), 182-3, XXXVI (3) (March 1911), 130; *The Missionary Messenger* II (1915), 200-2; *The Presbyterian* XII (7) (13 February 1908), 202-3.
 23. *The Home Mission Pioneer* X (1913-14), 70; *Ranok* 12 January 1916; Alexander J. Hunter, *A Friendly Adventure* (Toronto, 1929), 8; *The Missionary Messenger* III (1916), 273-4.
 24. *The Missionary Messenger* III (1916), 150-1, V (1918), 44, 282-3.
 25. *The Presbyterian Record* XXXIV (2) (February 1909), 89-91; *The Missionary Messenger* II (1915), 200-2; O.T. Martynowych interview with Nicholas Zalozetsky, Winnipeg, 27 November 1977; *Ranok* 12 January 1916; *Kanadyiskyi rusyn* 8 February 1913; Urchak, 51.
 26. *The Missionary Messenger* III (1916), 12, VI (1919), 116-17; interview with Nicholas Zalozetsky; *Ranok* 18 December 1918, 22 January 1919.
 27. Jean Bruce, *The Last Best West* (Toronto, 1976), 129.
 28. For a discussion of Victorian culture and social attitudes, see Walter E. Houghton, *The Victorian Frame of Mind* (New Haven, 1957); Carl Berger, *The Sense of Power: Studies in the Ideas of Canadian Imperialism, 1867-1914* (Toronto, 1970).
 29. Alfred Fitzpatrick, *The University in Overalls: A Plea for Part-Time Study* (Toronto, 1920), 38, 44.
 30. Joseph Wearing, "The Frontier Problem," *The Canadian Magazine* XXXIV (January 1910), 264.
 31. *Eleventh Annual Report* (Toronto, 1911); NAC, Frontier College Papers, A. Fitzpatrick, "Redeeming the Reputation of the Cultured Classes," vol. 179, A. Fitzpatrick to D.B. Hanna, 18 December 1920, vol. 34.
 32. NAC, Frontier College Papers, A. Fitzpatrick to E.W. Beatty, 28 December 1920, vol. 34.
 33. Based on information provided in Edmund Bradwin, *The Bunkhouse Man: A Study of Work and Pay in the Camps of Canada, 1903-1914*, first pub. 1928 (Toronto, 1972), 249.
 34. For fragments of Fitzpatrick's correspondence with Carmichael, see NAC, Frontier College Papers, vols. 6, 7, 186, and UCA, Minutes Presbyterian HMC.
 35. Alfred Fitzpatrick, *Handbook For New Canadians* (Toronto, 1919), 1, and *University in Overalls*, 136.
 36. Alfred Fitzpatrick, "Outnavvying the Navvies," *The Canadian Magazine* XLVII (May 1916), 23, and *Handbook*, 56-7.
 37. NAC, Frontier College Papers, Instructors' Reports, vol. 147; also George L. Cook, "Alfred Fitzpatrick and the Foundation of Frontier College (1899-1922)," *Canada: A Historical Magazine* III (4) (1976), 15-39.
 38. *The Presbyterian* XVIII (12) (23 March 1911), 359-60.

39. On Methodist rural missions, see George N. Emery, "Methodist Missions Among the Ukrainians," *Alberta Historical Review* XIX (2) (1971), 8-19; Vivian Olender, "The Canadian Methodist Church and the Gospel of Assimilation, 1900-1925," *Journal of Ukrainian Studies* VII (2) (1982), 61-74, and "'Save Them For the Nation': Methodist Rural Home Missions as Agencies of Assimilation," *ibid.*, VIII (2) (1983), 38-51.
40. *The Missionary Bulletin* VIII (1912), 1018-19.
41. George N. Emery, "The Methodist Church and the European 'Foreigners' of Winnipeg: The All People's Mission, 1889-1914," *Transactions of the Historical and Scientific Society of Manitoba*, Series III (1971-72), 85-100; the standard biography on Woodsworth is Kenneth McNaught, *A Prophet in Politics: A Biography of J.S. Woodsworth* (Toronto, 1959).
42. "Nation Building," *The University Magazine* XVI (1) (1917), 96. Ivan Petrushevich spoke on "The Retention of Native Languages by Non-English People's in Canada" (March 1914), the poet Frances R. Livesay spoke on Ukrainian poetry and read several of her translations (March 1915) and Rev. Arthur O. Rose spoke about the Polish, Czech and Ukrainian national revivals (April 1915).
43. "How to Help Our European Immigrants," *The Missionary Outlook* XXXIII (July 1913), 150.
44. Martynowych, "Canadianizing the Foreigner," 37-41.
45. *The Missionary Outlook* XXXIII (July 1913), 150; "The Immigrant Invasion After the War—Are We Ready for it?" (address delivered before the Canadian Club of Winnipeg 15 December 1914); *University Magazine* XVI (1) (1917), 90-1, 98-9; "Our Citizens of Foreign Birth," *The Missionary Outlook* XXXII (June 1912), 125-6.
46. "Canadians of To-morrow: The Canadian Protestant Churches and the Immigrant," *The Christian Guardian* 21 July 1915; "The Community and the Immigrant," *The Missionary Outlook* XXXIV (December 1914), 280; "Canadians of To-morrow: How to Make True Canadians," *The Christian Guardian* 16 June 1915; "The Immigrant Invasion."
47. Ramsay Cook, "Frances Marion Beynon and the Crisis of Christian Reformism," in Carl Berger and Ramsay Cook, eds., *The West and the Nation: Essays in Honour of W.L. Morton* (Toronto, 1976), 187-208.

10

The Ukrainian Intelligentsia

The Ukrainian intelligentsia's efforts to mould "new people"—literate, nationally conscious, self-reliant—out of the peasant immigrants who flooded Canada after 1896 met with little success during the first decade of the new century. Their first project, the Independent Greek church, for all the fear that it threw into the hearts of Catholic bishops and missionaries, was a miserable failure. Likewise, the intelligentsia's entry into Canadian political life was less than auspicious. As there were no labour or farmers' parties of any consequence in Canada at the turn of the century, and as Ukrainians were too few to elect independent candidates of their own, the intelligentsia was obliged to work through the two mainstream parties—the Liberals and the Conservatives, an alternative better suited to meeting the needs of individual fortune hunters than to realizing lofty objectives. While both parties eagerly sought the immigrant vote and were perfectly willing to reward the individual Ukrainians who helped them, they were far less anxious to satisfy the cultural needs of Ukrainians. The emergence of nationalist and socialist orientations around 1907, reflecting the onset of class differentiation among Ukrainians, also signalled a rejection of machine politics and its instruments, the party agents. Between 1907 and 1914 nationalists and socialists alike articulated social and political programmes that repudiated both parties and established institutions that would specifically realize their own ideals.

Party Agents

Even more than today, Canadian political life at the turn of the century was dominated by an elite composed of nationally prominent financiers, industrialists, railway barons and locally successful merchants, entrepreneurs and professionals. All shared an acquisitive individualism whose politics linked the private self-interest of propertied classes with the public good. The political elite

exercised its leadership through patron-client relationships. In return for assistance or patronage, they expected political support during elections. Patronage was usually dispensed in the form of jobs and contracts and depended upon the ability of patrons and clients to secure such advantages as new roads, railways, government-funded local improvement projects or adjustments in the tariff. Between 1890 and 1914 patronage politics reached its apogee. Prime ministers and premiers presided over extensive political "machines" that controlled the flow of government patronage and directed recipients to support local party candidates. While no government could sustain itself on patronage alone, the most successful distributed it judiciously through networks bound together by traditional loyalties and ethnic and religious ties.¹

After 1900 the federal and prairie governments relied on machine-style politics to win and hold power. The federal Liberal government of Sir Wilfrid Laurier (1896-1911) depended on powerful ministers and Liberal premiers to act as power brokers in the various regions, relying on Roman Catholics, French Canadians and continental European immigrants for electoral support. The Liberals secured the crucial prairie immigrant vote by promoting immigration and by developing a well thought-out "system for the politicization of the immigrant."² With the connivance of the Department of the Interior, influential immigrants were hired as immigration officials, recruited into the Liberal party and encouraged to undertake electoral work on behalf of a government that had provided them with "free lands." Ethnic newspapers were also established and/or subsidized to promote the Liberal party and its candidates.³

At the provincial level, influential premiers dispensed political patronage and were aided by brokers (usually cabinet ministers) with close ties to railway and business interests as well as religious and ethnic leaders. The Conservative government of Sir Rodmond P. Roblin (1900-15) in Manitoba and the Liberal governments of Walter Scott (1905-16) and William M. Martin (1916-22) in Saskatchewan, and of Alexander C. Rutherford (1905-10), Arthur L. Sifton (1910-17) and Charles Stewart (1917-21) in Alberta were all of this type. They were assisted by minor government employees who owed their positions to particular ministers and worked to maintain the political machines. As civil servants, they were, in effect, part of the party's political organization. The formal constituency executives and central party councils "constituted a democratic facade which hid from the common gaze the naked autocracy of effective party management."⁴ Civil servants worked under cover to learn who was most deserving of government largesse.

In Saskatchewan, Alberta and Ontario the Conservative party received most of its support from persons of Anglo-Celtic origin and Protestant persuasion, while the Liberals relied mainly on Roman Catholics, French Canadians and non-Anglo-Celtic immigrants. The Liberal dependence on the immigrant vote is best seen in Saskatchewan. In the province's first election in 1905, the Liberals

carried twelve of the thirteen ridings north of the CPR transcontinental line, while the opposition Conservatives won eight of the twelve seats in southern Saskatchewan.⁵ From 1905 to 1929 the Liberal party maintained a stranglehold on ridings in central and northern Saskatchewan, particularly where Roman Catholics and East Europeans predominated. Premier Scott understood the value of courting East European votes through concessions in education and symbolic gestures and appointments, which, he said, "would tend to show our many European settlers in the West that with proficiency they may expect to be counted as real Canadians."⁶ In Alberta political divisions along religious and ethnic lines were less sharp. Even so, Liberal majorities were usually most impressive north of Red Deer, populated in the main by continental Europeans.⁷ During the first provincial election in 1905, the Liberal party quickly established an effective organization by borrowing key political workers from Edmonton's Frank Oliver, minister of the interior in the Liberal federal government. A Conservative newspaper attributed the large Liberal victories in northern Alberta to "Oliver's Galicians and Polacks who were voted like cattle by the machine."⁸ Subsequently, constituencies with many continental Europeans continued to return government candidates until the Liberals fell in 1921.

In Manitoba the political alignment along religious and ethnic lines was gradually reversed between 1904 and 1914, after Premier Roblin abandoned the traditional Conservative opposition to East European immigration and concessions to Roman Catholics. With the support of Archbishop Langevin and his clergy, the Roblin government opposed compulsory education to spare Roman Catholic children the necessity of attending public schools, liberalized the restrictive language qualifications that had prevented many immigrants from voting in provincial elections and established bilingual public schools and teacher-training centres to please French Canadians, Ukrainians, Poles and Germans (see Chapter 13). As a result, the government's political machine penetrated the major ethnic communities and gradually converted many Liberal voters. By 1914, Roblin depended so heavily on the immigrant and Catholic votes that he could win with a minority popular vote by sweeping the constituencies in which the non-Anglo-Celtic settlers predominated. His seven-seat majority rested on seven Roman Catholic members and on majorities in eleven constituencies heavily populated by Ukrainians.⁹

To harness Ukrainian voters at election time, Liberals and Conservatives employed local notables—merchants, teachers, municipal reeves and others of Ukrainian, Polish and Jewish origins—to act as agents or intermediaries. Also engaged were employees of the federal and provincial governments and some members of the intelligentsia. While some became agents to extract concessions for their communities, the majority did so for personal gain. Their activity, as we shall see, did much to demoralize the peasant immigrants and led the more

conscientious among the intelligentsia to seek other avenues of political expression.

The Liberals began to recruit Ukrainian agents early. Cyril Genik, the intelligentsia's first representative in Canada, and the government's first Ukrainian employee, was also the Liberal party's first Ukrainian agent.¹⁰ He campaigned on behalf of Liberal candidates, recruited potential party workers and, as we have seen, helped to establish *Kanadyiskyi farmer*, the first Ukrainian-language newspaper and the official "Ruthenian" organ of the Liberal party. (In 1904 the Conservatives established their own paper, *Slovo* (The Word), which collapsed after several issues.) In fact, by 1906, Genik's activity as a Liberal agitator had weakened his reputation with some of the intelligentsia and ultimately among Ukrainians generally.¹¹ Yet, unlike many others, Genik's motives were not self-interested. His old-world Radical sympathies drew him toward the Liberals, who not only supported large-scale Ukrainian immigration but defended Ukrainians when Conservatives described them as "foreign scum" and tried to restrict the franchise among East Europeans.¹²

The practice of most Ukrainian agents deployed by the Liberals and Conservatives and rewarded with positions as weed inspectors, school organizers or immigration officers reflected the political corruption of the day. To win votes, they distributed free sausages, liquor and money and played on the immigrants' naiveté with stories of government solicitude or rumours of homestead confiscation and military conscription. The immigrants were also encouraged to impersonate voters who had not cast ballots or whose names were fraudulently added to the electoral lists.¹³ Political corruption was especially widespread among Roblin's Conservatives in Manitoba, who appointed bilingual school organizers who spent more time organizing voters than school districts. In 1909, for example, John Baderski, a Polish school organizer who earned seventy-five dollars per month, organized only three schools.¹⁴ Before elections, men like Baderski received generous travel subsidies to cajole and bribe immigrants into voting Conservative. More than one bilingual school teacher campaigned on behalf of Conservative candidates, since admission to the Ruthenian Training School often depended upon political considerations. To block a student admitted to the school on the recommendation of a Liberal, Robert Fletcher, deputy minister of education, informed the school's principal that "we may have to declare that he is too weak in English. Kindly say nothing whatsoever of this." On the other hand, another applicant who spoke no English was permitted to teach in a bilingual school because of his work on behalf of a Conservative member of Parliament during the 1908 federal election.¹⁵

Of Ukrainians among Conservative party agents, three men—Toma Jastremsky, Paul Gegeychuk and Theodore Stefanik—acquired the most notoriety. Jastremsky, who owned a hall in Winnipeg's North End in which drunken brawls took place on occasion, presided over a "Ruthenian Conservative Club"

and helped Conservative candidates at all political levels. Gegeychuk, who had studied at the Ruthenian Training School and the Manitoba Agricultural College, was a provincial weed inspector who became a bilingual school organizer in 1910 on the recommendation of Archbishop Langevin. His role was to keep an eye on Training School students and bilingual teachers and to stall the organization of school districts until the Catholic church could establish its own. Neither Jastremsky nor Gegeychuk shared the Radical and anticlerical sentiments of the intelligentsia and were apparently drawn into the Manitoba Conservative party through its alliance with Langevin and the Catholic church.¹⁶

Theodore Stefanik (1880-1951), the Ukrainian kingpin in the Conservative machine, began his career as a critic of the Catholic church. Clever and self-taught, the tall, heavy-set Stefanik arrived in Canada in 1898 and in the next decade changed careers many times. Between 1903 and 1907 he was a CPR machinist, Seraphimite priest, special detective in the Winnipeg police department, provincial constable and steamship ticket agent. Active in the Ukrainian community, he acquired a reputation as a "patriot" and in 1907, shortly after the Conservatives were returned to power in Manitoba, he became inspector and organizer of Ukrainian bilingual schools on the recommendation of the newly organized Ukrainian Teachers' Association, which disliked the work of Baderski. Thereafter, he made the most of his role as intermediary between the government and the Ukrainian teachers. In rapid succession he became a commissioner of oaths, notary public, and justice of the peace, and in 1912-13 he served on the Winnipeg city council as alderman for Ward 5. Stefanik resigned his position as school organizer in 1910, after it was revealed he had broken windows in a school whose trustees had refused to permit a Conservative party meeting. Shortly after the 1913 Gimli by-election, which shocked even hardened observers of Manitoba politics, Ukrainian teachers began to speak out against Stefanik. For several weeks before the by-election, Stefanik, Gegeychuk, Jastremsky and other Conservative agents, "accompanied by provincial policemen wearing badges," advised the electors "to take whatever was offered to them during the election" and distributed Hoffman's drops and alcohol on an unprecedented scale. During the campaign residents witnessed "a constant procession of automobiles filled with drunken men...[who] shouted...and brawled in the most disorderly way." Up to "80 per cent of the corruption and demoralization which went on was done by heelers of the government," declared Orest Zerebko, a prominent Ukrainian teacher and community activist.¹⁸

In Saskatchewan the ruling Liberal party eventually became as adept at soliciting Ukrainian votes as Roblin's Conservative machine. It relied on close contacts with Liberals in Manitoba to recruit Ukrainian school organizers and teachers who "would have the Party interest in view in all dealings with Galicians," and it looked to its civil service network to monitor the political loyalty of its recruits. Ivan Bodrug, the Independent Greek church superintendent and first

Ukrainian school organizer in the province, was deemed “altogether unreliable in his political tendencies” and dismissed because he associated with Conservatives and Liberals. On the other hand, Zygmunt Bychynsky, an Independent Greek church minister who had edited *Kanadyiskyi farmer* and organized a Ukrainian Liberal club in Winnipeg in 1908, was praised for his work on behalf of Liberal candidates in the predominantly Ukrainian constituency of Saltcoats.¹⁹

Bodrug’s successor as school organizer, Joseph Megas (1882-1955), became the government’s key Ukrainian political agent in Saskatchewan. The son-in-law of Genik, to whose influence he owed his appointment, Megas received a gymnasium and commercial education in Galicia before immigrating to the United States in 1903. Coming to Canada in 1905, he taught school and studied at Manitoba College before replacing Ivan Negrich as editor of *Kanadyiskyi farmer*. In Saskatchewan, where he began in 1908, he monitored Ukrainian districts while organizing schools and recommending Ukrainian bilingual teachers with acceptable political leanings. At first, he recruited teachers from the special “Galician” class at Manitoba College and from the Training School in Brandon, though Manitoba Liberals cautioned that “every such teacher and school inspector is a Tory party organizer.”²⁰ As a result, the political loyalty of Ukrainian teachers became a matter of intense concern to Saskatchewan Liberals; prospective candidates were vetted through Liberal contacts in Manitoba and Megas was obliged to keep them under close surveillance. When it became difficult to find “bright young men...to counteract the Tory work,” the Liberal government established its own school—the Training School for Teachers for Foreign Speaking Communities—in Regina in 1909. Megas had then to contain and diffuse student discontent and such demands (including one for a Ukrainian-language teacher) as the government was unwilling to meet. With graduates of Manitoba’s Training School continuing to drift into the province, and with *Ukrainskyi holos*, the organ of the Ukrainian Teachers’ Association, giving qualified support to Conservatives in Manitoba for their concessions to Ukrainian bilingual education, Liberal paranoia grew. In 1911, Megas dismissed Orest Zerebko and Jaroslaw Arsenych, two young teachers with close ties to *Ukrainskyi holos*, and recommended the cancellation of their teaching certificates for alleged “socialistic and freethinking tendencies” and rumours of having participated in Manitoba Conservative party campaigns.²¹

From his base in Rosthern, Megas also built support for the Liberal party. In March 1910, together with Petro Shvydky, a village school teacher, cantor and organizer for the National Democratic party in Galicia, he established the Association of Canadian Ruthenian Farmers (Tovarystvo Ruskykh Farmeriv v Kanadi). Even though the founding conference barred outsiders from speaking and elected no one to edit the association’s organ, *Novyi krai* (The New Country), when the latter appeared in August, Megas and Shvydky were in charge.²² The association collapsed at its first convention in December 1910, after it was

revealed that there were seventeen (rather than three hundred) members and only fifty-five cents in the treasury. Still, for two additional years *Novyi kraj* praised the Liberal government for training Ukrainian public school teachers and urged Ukrainians to establish rural co-operatives, while endorsing the activities of Premier Scott, James Calder, minister of education, and the Liberals who ran in Ukrainian constituencies. Megas frequently accompanied Liberal candidates on the campaign trail, translated their speeches and arranged for local school choirs to pay tribute to the candidates in song.²³

In Alberta the chief political intermediary between the Liberal government and the Ukrainian community was Peter Svarich (1877-1966). A native of Sniatyn county, Galicia, Svarich, the eldest son of prosperous peasants who immigrated to Canada in 1898, had financed a gymnasium education by tutoring classmates. He read widely in Ukrainian, Polish and German, became acquainted with radical and socialist literature, and once considered joining the Radical party. Educated and fairly prosperous, he quickly mastered English in Canada and was briefly a member of the Independent Greek church. As a supporter of the free enterprise system, Svarich must have impressed the Liberals as a reliable ally, but relations between him and the party were, in fact, often strained. Svarich was not a self-seeking careerist who would lie, bribe or spy on his countrymen. He was active in politics to win benefits for his community, and by 1909 he and several other prominent Ukrainian Liberals were concerned that Ukrainians were not realizing fully the opportunities the new world offered. Because teachers and schools in the Alberta bloc were scarce, they feared that Ukrainians would regress culturally and fall behind their countrymen in Galicia, where, as we have seen (Chapter 1), remarkable social and cultural changes were then underway.²⁴ On their initiative, as a result, Liberal constituency meetings and Ukrainian public meetings passed resolutions urging the Alberta government to resolve the teacher shortage by establishing a bilingual school system like that in Manitoba or in Saskatchewan. They also suggested that constituency boundaries be redrawn to enable Ukrainians to elect their own Liberal candidates at the next provincial election as a reward for consistent political support.

Unlike the Roblin and Scott governments, the Alberta Liberals refused to concede anything to their Ukrainian supporters. To them, bilingual schools were inherently inferior to unilingual English schools, and when Svarich and his associates persisted, the Liberals cast him off and embraced Andrew Shandro, a young Bukovynian farmer of Russian Orthodox persuasion under the recent influence of the Russophile circle in Edmonton. Poorly educated, Shandro had worked on the farm of W.H. White, the Liberal member for the federal riding of Victoria, and the Liberals, as we shall soon see, looked to him and a contingent of Russophile agents to deliver "the Ruthenian vote" without raising the troublesome bilingual school issue.²⁵

Most party agents left a legacy of degradation and demoralization among Ukrainians. They made no effort to familiarize the immigrants with Canadian electoral issues, while their corrupt and sordid behaviour left the impression that elections were only opportunities to obtain large quantities of free liquor, beer and Hoffman's drops. Even more distressing, by renegeing on promises and slandering opponents, the agents reinforced the peasants' traditional distrust of all "gentlemen" and "educated" people (*pany*), including those well-disposed toward their interests. Finally, they did nothing to change the image Ukrainians had of themselves as supplicants, who, cap in hand, would beg for favours rather than advance socially with the same rights, privileges and obligations as other taxpaying citizens.

The degree of cynicism about the electoral process which was engendered among Ukrainians is reflected in the satirist Jacob Maydanyk's portrayal of a Canadian election. His central character, Shtif Tabachniuk, a rough, middle-aged, migrant labourer, views Canada through the eyes of a simple peasant and finds it to be a strange but wonderful place, full of contradictions and surprises. One day Shtif is asked by Onufrii Hykawy, in real life the editor of *Kanadyiskyi farmer* and a prominent Liberal agent, how he intends to vote. Conscious of a vote's value, Shtif demands five dollars from Hykawy as the price of support. Hykawy agrees, offers Shtif some liquor and accompanies him to several polling stations, where Shtif impersonates individuals on the voters' lists. Eventually, Shtif's luck runs out and he is arrested at a polling booth while impersonating a man who had already voted. After Hykawy intervenes with the authorities and Shtif is allowed to go scot-free, Shtif concludes that Canadian elections are a remarkable exercise in democracy, since "for a little x-mark, you can have a five-dollar bill in your pocket and live like a prince for a day."²⁶

Nationalists

The continued dependence of the Independent Greek church on its Presbyterian patrons with their narrow assimilationist objectives, the gnawing doubts about the intentions of the Catholic hierarchy and the failure to extract concessions from Liberal and Conservative governments led to the emergence of a nationalist²⁷ current among the intelligentsia in Winnipeg and Edmonton. Advocates of the new orientation maintained that, if Ukrainians were to be "enlightened and elevated" to maximize their opportunities in Canada, they would have to take their destiny into their own hands and relinquish all self-appointed guardians (*opikuny*)—Anglo-Protestant missionaries, French-speaking Catholic priests and party agents of all nationalities—who did not have their genuine interests at heart. The nationalist orientation gained currency after 1905 among the teachers, students and graduates of the Ruthenian Training School in Manitoba. It was

carried into the rural bloc settlements by the bilingual teachers and found fertile soil among many farmers and businessmen in each prairie province. *Ukrainskyi holos*, which appeared on 16 March 1910, became the mouthpiece of both the nationalists and the teachers. It was the first Ukrainian newspaper to champion the interests of “the Ukrainian people” rather than a particular religious denomination, social class or political party.

Prominent nationalist leaders were usually relatively well-educated and upwardly mobile immigrants. Taras Ferley (1882-1947), a native of Kolomyia county, Galicia, generally recognized as the first to articulate the nationalist orientation, was a gymnasium graduate who had attended the University of Lviv briefly and belonged to the Radical party. A serious, soft-spoken, patient man, with a neatly trimmed beard, he had taught Ukrainian at the Ruthenian Training School, organized the Ukrainian Publishing Company (the financial base of *Ukrainskyi holos*) and operated a real estate agency before becoming the first Ukrainian member in the Manitoba legislature in 1915. Orest Zerebko (1887-1943) and Jaroslaw Arsenych (1887-1953), both students at Manitoba College and among the founders of the Ukrainian Teachers’ Association, were the first Ukrainians to enrol in regular degree programmes at Canadian universities. In 1913, when he earned a BA from the University of Manitoba, the intense and acerbic Zerebko, one of the most articulate and outspoken members of the intelligentsia, became the first Ukrainian to graduate from a Canadian university; three years later, the bespectacled, balding and militantly anticlerical Arsenych became the first Ukrainian lawyer in Canada. Wasyl Kudryk (1880-1963), the first editor of *Ukrainskyi holos*, and Peter Woycenko (1882-1956), its long-time administrator, had also taught in rural bilingual schools. Kudryk, a man of strong religious convictions who had sided with the Basilians before 1906 and obtained a post at the Training School on Archbishop Langevin’s recommendation, had railed in a newspaper column in 1911 against the “atheist propaganda” disseminated by his colleague Arsenych, even though he himself was very suspicious of both the Latin- and Eastern-rite Catholic hierarchs. Woycenko, the son of an old-world village cantor who had served as a Seraphimite and Independent Greek priest in Alberta, had studied at Manitoba College and taught in several rural bilingual schools.²⁸ In addition, among the Ukrainian Publishing Company’s board of directors and shareholders were some of the most successful and influential Ukrainians in Canada. They included Peter Svarich and his close associates from Alberta—Paul Rudyk, Gregory Krakiwsky and Michael Gowda—all eminently successful entrepreneurs and members of the Ukrainian Presbyterian congregation in Edmonton.

The first nationalist appeals were tinged with socialism. Ferley and Arsenych asserted that labour created capital, urged public ownership of railways and grain elevators and encouraged trade unionism. Capitalists were censured for exploiting workers and Ukrainians were urged to vote for farmers’ and labour

candidates rather than Liberals and Conservatives, who were indifferent to their socioeconomic needs. In a single year, for example, *Ukrainskyi holos* endorsed Ed Fulcher, a Labour candidate, in north Winnipeg during the 1910 Manitoba provincial election; R.A. Rigg, a Social Democrat, for city comptroller during the 1910 municipal election in Winnipeg; and Wasył Holowacky, also a Social Democrat, who contested the 1911 federal election in the rural constituency of East Selkirk, Manitoba. As late as December 1913, the nationalist weekly endorsed Rigg for alderman in Winnipeg's municipal election.²⁹

Nevertheless, from the outset the nationalist current was dominated by men who were more favourably disposed toward free enterprise. This was especially true of the nationalist spokesmen in Edmonton and east central Alberta, though Ferley, Arsenych and other Winnipeg businessmen and professionals also became less radical as they prospered. Writing in one of the first issues of *Ukrainskyi holos*, Svarich thought it time Ukrainians stopped complaining about capitalists and began learning from them, because "it will be easier and more practical for us to take advantage of the existing order rather than to destroy it." To capitalism, people owed the discoveries, technical advances and improvements in living standards which they enjoyed. Producers or labourers, he insisted, were not the only creators of wealth; capitalists with their entrepreneurial initiative and risk capital were entitled to reap profits: "...the millions [they earn] belong to individual capitalists just as grain belongs to the farmer." If the profit motive were removed, "no one would exert himself and in place of gigantic enterprises stagnation and apathy would reign. People would become indifferent, disinterested and would live from day to day, without any ambitions, without any yearnings, without any progress."

Svarich and others close to *Ukrainskyi holos* believed that most Ukrainians were well on their way to becoming successful commercial farmers and businessmen. The major obstacle to economic and cultural progress was dependence on non-Ukrainian merchants and businessmen. A change in personal habits was needed: "[We] must first of all turn our attention to economic activity. We must organize co-operatives, educate the people to turn to trade and industry, inculcate thrift, punctuality and self-reliance." Instead of class struggle and a radical transformation of socioeconomic relations, wealthier individuals had to assume their new responsibilities toward less fortunate Ukrainians. Rev. Alfred Fitzpatrick would certainly have approved.

The nationalists' programme was designed for immigrants materially comfortable enough to ignore socialist appeals for radical social change. It sought to rid Ukrainians of manipulation by missionaries, party agents and non-Ukrainian merchants. The programme rested on four pillars—non-sectarianism, bilingual education, economic self-reliance and political independence—with the first the most important. In Canada, where Ukrainians of Catholic, Orthodox and Protestant persuasions lived side by side, the community had to organize itself on

secular or non-sectarian rather than denominational principles. As we have seen (Chapter 8), the nationalists suspected the French Catholic hierarchy in Canada and its Ukrainian counterpart in Galicia of wanting to Latinize Ukrainian Catholics and of trying to keep apart Catholic Galicians and Orthodox Bukovynians. To the nationalists, the worldly, married, secular priests of eastern Galicia were model pastors, and they dismissed the Basilians (and, of course, the French-speaking missionaries) as religious fanatics deficient in Ukrainian patriotism. Their attitude toward Russian Orthodox and even Independent Greek church missionaries was equally hostile.

The nationalists feared that local institutions—reading clubs, community halls, co-operatives—organized along denominational lines would only fan conflict among the immigrants. Such institutions had to transcend denominational differences, foster national identity and pride, and encourage solidarity. They had to overcome the peasant immigrants' individualism and suspicion—the unwillingness or inability to co-operate with others—and to forge an awareness of common socioeconomic and cultural interests. *Ukrainskyi holos* also justified the secular orientation as one grounded in “the most recent advances in scholarship rather than...opinions held thousands of years ago.” It believed that “faith is the private affair of every individual” and urged readers to study books about “religion that are based on scientific research.”³⁰

When the nationalists organized the Ukrainian National Home in Winnipeg in 1912, its constitution stated that only Ukrainians, “regardless of their religious or political views,” could become members, and that the property of the National Home “shall never pass under the jurisdiction of any party or sect.” An even more pointed article declared that “only laymen may be elected to the Executive.”³¹ As a direct challenge to the Catholic church's quest for primacy, such stipulations set the stage for years of conflict between the nationalists and the clergy.

The nationalists were also the leading proponents of bilingual Ukrainian-English education. They maintained that Canada had never been, and was certainly no longer, an “English” country. Anglo Canadians may have seized it from the native Indians, but presently Canada “belonged” to all peoples who were labouring to make it their homeland. All persons, regardless of national or ethnic origin, were entitled to the same rights and privileges in preserving their cultural heritage. “Since we have willingly given the state everything we possibly could,” declared Zerebko, “we have every right to demand the protection of our material and moral wealth in return.” “The acquisition of one's native language cannot be considered a special privilege because it is a natural requirement of life, just as walking on one's feet is not a privilege.” The abolition of bilingual education was not a prerequisite for national unity, as some Anglo Canadians had argued; rather, it served the interests of a narrow ruling elite which hoped to control and exploit the immigrants: “Give a people only one language,

provide them with tendentious newspapers and books, and the people will know nothing, will think nothing but that which they are told to think and know. Such a people can be manipulated in every which way, anything can be done with them and anything may be demanded of them.”³²

The third part of the nationalists’ programme, economic self-reliance, rested on the assumption that no real cultural or economic improvement was possible as long as profits that might accrue to Ukrainian co-operatives or private merchants for subsequent rechannelling into Ukrainian cultural and educational institutions went to non-Ukrainians with no interest in the needs of the Ukrainian community.³³ Consequently, the nationalists, who exaggerated the altruism of Ukrainian merchants, popularized the slogan *svii do svoho* (patronize your own) and promoted Ukrainian co-operative ventures. The most successful, the National Co-operative Company Limited (Ruska Narodna Torhivlia) in east central Alberta, served as a training ground for some Ukrainians who later established their own businesses (see Chapter 11).

The nationalist intelligentsia’s efforts to break Ukrainian dependence on non-Ukrainian businessmen, especially Jewish merchants in the railway towns of Manitoba and Saskatchewan, embittered Jewish-Ukrainian relations. Although *Ukrainskyi holos* rarely editorialized against Jewish merchants,³⁴ in 1911 the nationalists dispatched a director of the Ukrainian Publishing Company, Havrylo Slipchenko, an emigré from the Russian empire who had recently abandoned the socialists, to organize Ukrainian co-operative stores in rural Manitoba and Saskatchewan. In towns like Radisson and Mitchelview, Saskatchewan, he referred venomously to “our sincere, inseparable friends, the Jewish storekeepers...[who] sucked the last drop of our blood in the old country, and who have followed us,” and urged Ukrainians to drive Jewish merchants out by boycotting their establishments and supporting only Ukrainian business enterprises, whether private or co-operative. Similarly, the one occasion on which *Ukrainskyi holos* supported the Liberal *Novyi krai* occurred in 1912-13, when Myron Temnytsky, a teacher at Wakaw, was sued by Jews in Saskatoon for an article which implied that “the Jews follow us like a pestilence, pretend to be our friends, but in fact exploit us at every step.” A *Ukrainskyi holos* editorial insisted that Temnytsky was being sued because he had revealed the unpleasant, historical truth about Jewish-Ukrainian relations: “The Jews have been clinging to our national organism since time immemorial, gnawing and destroying it like maggots in their capacity of tavernkeepers, village usurers and agents of political demoralization during elections.” While a majority of the letters condemning Jewish business practices described earlier (Chapter 4) were published in the nationalist weekly, the latter at least did not print letters which urged Ukrainians to “throw stones at them [the Jews] the way they threw stones at Christ,” as had the Catholic *Kanadyiskiy rusyn* on several occasions.³⁵

By 1910 many nationalists had also concluded that political independence, where Ukrainians elected their own non-partisan candidates to derive advantages from Canadian politics, was essential. From experience, they had learned that Liberals and Conservatives were only interested in Ukrainians at election time when free cigars, kegs of beer, bribes and minor patronage appointments were distributed. But in touting political non-partisanship, the nationalists themselves were not above reproach. Even though they regularly criticized the Roblin Conservatives in Manitoba, they and *Ukrainskyi holos* were just as regularly accused by the Presbyterian *Ranok*, the socialist *Robochyi narod* and the Liberal *Novyi krai* and *Kanadyiskyi farmer* of being in the pay of Conservatives, at least until *Kanada* (Canada), a Conservative weekly, appeared in 1913. Such suspicions were easily aroused because prominent bilingual teachers like Arsenych and Zerebko had agitated on behalf of Conservative candidates, and their nationalist newspaper had given unqualified support to the Conservatives' bilingual school system. Moreover, Ferley's appointment as assistant teacher at the Ruthenian Training School and as a commissioner of oaths was suspect, especially as the school position followed immediately upon the 1907 provincial election. Political relations were also much affected by close ties between Theodore Stefanik and prominent nationalists. Stefanik owned shares in the Ukrainian Publishing Company; his associate, Jaroslaw Kunynsky, a notary and an active Conservative, was a director of the Ukrainian Publishing Company; *Ukrainskyi holos* endorsed Stefanik's bid for a seat on the Winnipeg city council in 1910 and 1911; and Stefanik, Jastremsky and Gegeychuk sat on committees that endorsed Ferley's unsuccessful bid for city council in 1912 and 1914.³⁶ While they may have supported Stefanik out of a misguided sense of nationalism—he's a Ukrainian, he's one of us, we need our own representatives³⁷—the nationalists' cosy relations with the most notorious Conservative agent played into the hands of opponents.

The nationalists' initial forays into Winnipeg municipal politics were poorly prepared and met with little success. As members of a Ruthenian-Polish-German citizens' committee, they had nominated Stefanik in 1910 and helped to elect him in 1911 on a progressive platform³⁸ endorsed by A.W. Puttee, an "advanced Liberal" who had earlier served as Winnipeg's first Labour member of Parliament and published *The Voice*, a labour weekly. Stefanik's record on council, however, was quite undistinguished. According to a Jewish weekly, he was "a big ignoramus" who "sat silent as a fish" during his term in office, and both the minutes of council and the Ukrainian press confirm the assessment.³⁹ He did not fulfill any of his campaign promises and he failed even to call the trimonthly constituency meetings he had promised.

Ferley's electoral campaigns in 1912 and 1914 were, in turn, complete failures. Although his platform in 1912—an eight-hour day and fair wages for city workers, municipal ownership of public utilities, proportional taxes, a

public park and better street lighting, more public works projects in the North End, the abolition of municipal property qualifications and a multilingual public library—was appealing, his abrupt entry (less than two weeks before the election) was resented by Jewish leaders, who had been assured by Stefanik's adherents in 1911 that, in exchange for Jewish support, Ukrainians would back a Jewish candidate in 1912. On election day few Ukrainians turned out, and many of those who did voted for R.A. Rigg, the Social Democratic candidate, and for John Kimmel, a German contractor nominated by a German-Polish-Ruthenian committee weeks before Ferley entered the race.⁴⁰ At the polls, with machine methods in evidence, "Ruthenian and Jewish scrutineers hotly abused each other and sometimes came near to blows as one accused the other of illegal practices."⁴¹ As a result, Ferley, endorsed by neither the Catholic *Kanadyiskyi rusyn* nor the socialist *Robochyi narod*, finished second to the winner Altar Skaletar, a retired Jewish businessman.

The campaign in 1914 brought Jewish-Ukrainian resentments to the surface, as once again Skaletar was confronted by Ferley, this time as the candidate of a German-Polish-Ruthenian citizens' committee in what again appeared as a last-minute decision. In letters and editorials, *The Canadian Israelite* described Ferley as "a bitter enemy of the Jews" who had "agitated against Jewish storekeepers" and "besmirched the Jewish name," sentiments no doubt exacerbated by fears that Ferley might win by splitting the Jewish vote as the third candidate was also Jewish. Nor did *Ukrainskyi holos's* endorsement of school board candidate P.J. Alekno, a Lithuanian photographer whose professional advertisements had been naked appeals to popular anti-Semitism, help matters. Once again, Ferley finished second to Skaletar. *Ukrainskyi holos*, which had not published Ferley's platform or referred to Skaletar during the campaign, attributed Ferley's defeat to the fact that "the Jews have economic power and this guarantees political power," likely an elliptical reference to corrupt electoral practices that obliged Skaletar to forfeit his seat in 1917.⁴² The citizens' committee, it added weakly, had also failed to propose any fresh ideas.

Even more dramatic, though equally unsuccessful, was the entry of four Independent Ukrainian candidates into the 1913 Alberta provincial election. Led by Peter Svarich and other Liberals disturbed by the chronic shortage of teachers and impressed by the school systems in Manitoba and Saskatchewan, Ukrainians had been urging the government since 1909 to introduce bilingual education. In February 1912 a convention of ninety-five Ukrainian school trustees from fifty-two school districts and sixty-six other delegates elected a school council, which appealed to C.R. Mitchell, minister of education, for a special Ukrainian teacher-training school (with a Ukrainian-language instructor), an official Ukrainian school organizer, translation of the School Act into Ukrainian and permits for Ukrainian teachers from Manitoba and Saskatchewan to teach in Alberta. When Mitchell resigned after rejecting the appeal, Svarich and his associates worked to

return his successor, J.R. Boyle, in a subsequent by-election. As a result, several Ukrainian teachers from Manitoba and Saskatchewan were issued permits and an English School for Foreigners was established in Vegreville, though it failed to meet Ukrainian expectations as it neither trained nor certified teachers. At the same time, to the consternation of Svarich and his colleagues, the government introduced a Redistribution Bill late in 1912 that proposed new electoral boundaries which minimized "the effectiveness of the Ukrainian vote by concentrating it in one riding (Whitford) and then splitting the remainder among three others."

Exasperated, Svarich and his associates convened a public meeting attended by two hundred Ukrainians in Vegreville on 15 January 1913, and one week later its committee (*narodnyi komitet*) criticized the Redistribution Bill before Premier Sifton and Boyle and presented demands for educational concessions that were again rejected. With relations very strained, the government abandoned Svarich as its main Ukrainian intermediary and turned to Michael Ostrowsky, a Galician Russophile and a prominent Liberal party organizer in Edmonton. Because the latter could deliver the "Ruthenian vote" while "keeping a lid on the school question," only the Russophile Andrew Shandro among Ukrainians secured a Liberal nomination in the April provincial election.

Spurned by the Liberal party, the committee fell apart when overtures to the Conservatives by several members were also rejected. Svarich, Paul Rudyk, Michael Gowda and Gregory Krakiwsky, shareholders and directors of the Ukrainian Publishing Company, entered the race as Independents in Vegreville, Whitford, Victoria and Vermilion respectively. While Gowda and Krakiwsky ran modest and quixotic campaigns—the former spent \$317, the latter confronted the incumbent premier—Svarich and Rudyk (who brought in Ferley) mounted serious challenges. Although actively supported by most of the Ukrainian teachers and backed by *Ukrainskyi holos* and *Novyny* (The News), the only Ukrainian newspaper in Alberta, the four candidates lost.⁴³ With largely a single-issue platform (educational concessions for Ukrainians), their appeal to non-Ukrainian voters (and to some Ukrainians undoubtedly) was limited, and both Rudyk and Svarich were opposed by Ukrainian-speaking Liberal opponents—Shandro and Joseph McCallum, a Scot who had learned Ukrainian. The Independents had, moreover, to contend with the well-oiled Liberal machine. Entering the campaign two weeks before the election, they were no match for the Liberals who had cultivated the immigrant vote for years. Ukrainian agitators like Onufrii Hykawy from Manitoba and Julian Andruchowicz from Saskatchewan were brought in and scores of local agents like Ostrowsky and Theodore Nemirsky were deployed. Ukrainian settlers were told that the Independents had either "withdrawn" or were "socialists." Rudyk's defeat by Shandro in Whitford is especially revealing. During the campaign Rudyk was arrested and briefly detained on trumped up charges, and on election day several

polls failed to open, deputy returning officers refused to show ballot boxes to Rudyk's scrutineers and Shandro's associates distributed bribes and threatened Rudyk's supporters.⁴⁴ The Ukrainian community, too, was deeply divided. Besides the Russophiles and Russian Orthodox clergy, the Ukrainian Catholic Basilian Fathers hesitated or simply refused to support the Independent candidates because all either were or had been members of the Independent Greek and Presbyterian churches. Some Catholics believed that they would imperil their souls by voting for apostates, while the clannish Bukovynians were little inclined to vote for Galicians. Finally, *Ukrainskyi holos* lamented, some of the less enlightened Ukrainians, consumed by envy, refused to support their own countrymen.⁴⁵

The nationalist intelligentsia's efforts to establish the Ukrainian community on non-sectarian or secular foundations, and its work on behalf of bilingual education, economic self-reliance and independence from machine politics, produced few apparent results before 1914. Apart from antagonizing a host of rivals—Catholic missionaries, Anglo-Canadian advocates of "Canadianization," Jewish merchants and community leaders, Liberal and Conservative party organizers—such efforts made only a modest impact upon the immigrants themselves, and especially upon the first generation of rural settlers who had emigrated with their families and were weighed down with economic responsibilities. Even so, it was at this time, as we shall soon see, that many bilingual teachers and some rural settlers and urban immigrants began establishing the institutions—reading clubs, drama circles, national homes and co-operatives—through which the nationalists would reach the younger generation of farmers, businessmen and professionals during and after the First World War. Most urban and frontier labourers, and many of the less prosperous farmers, however, would remain outside the nationalists' field of vision and find their spokesmen among those members of the intelligentsia who advocated socialism before 1918 and were later sympathetic to communism.

Socialists

Although individuals like Genik had tried to disseminate socialist ideas before the turn of the century, the social base for a Ukrainian socialist movement in Canada did not exist before 1907. The situation changed rapidly, however, once massive infusions of British capital, combined with restrictions on Oriental immigration, prompted Canadian railway and mining interests to turn to southern and eastern Europe for their "coolie labour."⁴⁶ Over 79,000 of the 110,000 Ukrainians who arrived in Canada between 1905 and 1914 were males and of these 44,000 identified themselves as labourers rather than farmers. Together with the 10,000 Ukrainian female labourers and servants who also

arrived at this time, they began to constitute the equivalent of a Ukrainian-Canadian proletariat.

The first explicitly socialist Ukrainian society—Volia (Freedom)—was established on 16 June 1907 by twenty-six men near the Brechin coal mine in Nanaimo, British Columbia. On the advice of Myroslaw Stechishin, who had called the meeting, the members of Volia affiliated with the Socialist Party of Canada, then the country's only socialist party. Three months later, socialists led by Paul Crath (Pavlo Krat) took control of the radical and progressive but non-partisan Shevchenko Educational Society in Winnipeg. When the society's nationalist members led by Ferley withdrew, Crath and his followers established a Ukrainian branch of the Socialist Party of Canada and it and the Shevchenko Society's hall were opened to all workers regardless of ethnic background.⁴⁷ On 15 November the first Ukrainian socialist newspaper, *Chervonyi prapor* (The Red Flag), edited by Crath and Wasyl Holowacky, appeared in Winnipeg, dedicated to the task of "creating among Ukrainians in Canada cadres of socialist fighters for a new socioeconomic order, for a better way of life for all people, a way of life which mankind cannot realize under the capitalist system." By the summer of 1908 at least ten Ukrainian socialist societies had been established, mainly in British Columbia and Manitoba.⁴⁸ Those at Nanaimo, Winnipeg and Portage la Prairie had affiliated with the Socialist Party of Canada, but within months *Chervonyi prapor* and many of the societies had collapsed, victims of the 1908 economic recession.

Another attempt to mobilize Ukrainian workers was made in May 1909 when *Robochyi narod* (The Working People), edited by Myroslaw Stechishin, appeared in Winnipeg. The response was sufficiently promising to convoke a socialist conference there in November. Delegates from eleven Ukrainian socialist societies formed the Federation of Ukrainian Social Democrats and resolved that the basis of federation would be class rather than nationality, that autonomy within the Socialist Party of Canada was important to facilitate propaganda in Ukrainian and that unskilled Ukrainian workers should be encouraged to join locals of the Industrial Workers of the World. The national executive of the Socialist Party of Canada was also censured for refusing to join the Socialist International, for its dogmatic opposition to unions, electoral politics at the municipal level and female suffrage, and for its contempt for remedial legislation. When its executive took little notice, the Ukrainians and other North Winnipeg "language locals" severed their relations with the Socialist Party of Canada on 24 July 1910 and called for the formation of a new party, the Social Democratic Party of Canada, which was established in 1911.⁴⁹

The decision to break with the Socialist Party of Canada was made by the central executive of the Ukrainian Social Democratic federation in Winnipeg, led by Stechishin and Holowacky. It was opposed by members in Alberta and British Columbia, where relations between Ukrainian socialists like Toma

Tomashewsky and such pragmatic party leaders like C.M. O'Brien, member from Rocky Mountain in Alberta's legislature, and Frank Sherman, of the United Mine Workers of America, were more amicable.⁵⁰ As a result, the Ukrainian socialist movement in 1911-12 was riven by schism, as branches in the two westernmost provinces (mainly miners) constituted themselves as the Federation of Ukrainian Socialists and for eighteen months published their own newspaper, *Nova hromada* (The New Community), edited by Roman Kremar and Tomashewsky. Personal ambitions among the leaders exacerbated the conflict, which was not resolved in favour of the Federation of Ukrainian Social Democrats until late in 1912.

Before 1912 the Ukrainian socialist movement was largely confined to western Canada. Total membership entailed some ten to twenty branches and never surpassed 350. Winnipeg, the movement's institutional centre and home to thousands of migrants, always had a Ukrainian Social Democratic branch, though it was rarely the largest or most active. In rural Manitoba, branches appeared and disappeared at regular intervals during the early years; most of the eleven that existed in 1912 had collapsed by 1913, never to reappear. Of the first Social Democratic branches established in Saskatchewan in 1912 at Yorkton, Hyas and Moose Jaw, only the last survived, though a second permanent one appeared in Regina in 1914. The indisputable heart of Ukrainian socialist activity during these years were the coal-mining towns of the Crow's Nest Pass, where members also belonged to the United Mine Workers of America (District 18). Social Democratic branches also appeared sporadically in Lethbridge, Cardiff, Calgary, Canmore, Edmonton, Hosmer, Vancouver and Nanaimo.

In 1912 the Federation of Ukrainian Social Democrats began to expand into eastern Canada. An earlier socialist circle established in Montreal (1908) soon collapsed and was renewed only in 1911. New branches appeared in Cobalt, Ottawa and Toronto, and by the summer of 1913, nine of twenty-five Social Democratic branches existed east of Manitoba. By February 1915, one year after the federation changed its name to the Ukrainian Social Democratic party, ten of twenty-eight branches with 320 of 820 members were in Ontario and Quebec. Besides Montreal, Lachine, Ottawa, Toronto and Welland, the following had branches: the nickel- and copper-mining towns of the Sudbury basin (Sudbury, Copper Cliff, Coniston, Creighton Mine), the silver-mining town of Cobalt, the gold fields of South Porcupine and Timmins and the pulp and steel centre at Sault Ste. Marie. On the eve of the war, only the remote miners of Cape Breton were untouched by the Ukrainian socialist movement.⁵¹

Three men—Myroslaw Stechishin, Paul Crath and Roman Kremar—dominated the movement during its formative years. Each was essentially a populist whose primary commitment was to the "Ukrainian working people" rather than to the working class irrespective of national origins, and by 1914 each had either left or was on the verge of leaving the socialist movement. Stechishin (1883-

1947), a native of Terebovlia county, Galicia, was the second son of a literate peasant who had helped to establish a reading club and served several terms as the village reeve. With local politics dominant in the home, Myroslaw and his brothers were politicized at an early age. After four years of primary education and studying German with a private tutor, Stechishin enrolled in the Ukrainian gymnasium at Buchach, run by the Basilian Fathers, only the third boy from his village to enter a gymnasium. At Buchach he was introduced to radical and anticlerical literature by Osyp Nazaruk, the son of a cobbler with whom the young Stechishin was lodging. Nazaruk, a future lawyer and prominent Galician Radical, had a decisive influence on Stechishin through his anticlerical pamphlets. In 1899, Stechishin failed the course on religion and was refused both a chance to repeat his third gymnasium year and a letter of recommendation to seek admission elsewhere. Although admitted to the teachers' seminary at Ternopil in 1900, he was expelled in 1902 for owning a small library of radical booklets and then denied admission to teachers' seminaries in Lviv, Sokal and Zalishchyky. In May 1902 he left for Canada after reading Peter Svarich's articles about Alberta in *Hromadskyi holos*. During the next five years the frail, introverted and bespectacled young man moved about a lot. He worked on an extra gang in Saskatchewan, where he was bullied by resentful countrymen who disliked "intellectuals" who spent their leisure time reading; participated in the Ukrainian Brotherhood, a communal venture in Hayward, California; and was employed as a ship builder in San Francisco, a fisherman on the Fraser River and a lumber jack, sawmill hand and reluctant and unsuccessful real estate agent in British Columbia. The two years he spent in California, where he attended lectures by Jack London and Eugene Debs and read voraciously, were a turning point in Stechishin's transformation from a budding Galician Radical into a North American socialist.⁵²

Unlike his associates, Paul Crath (1882-1952) was descended from Ukrainian gentry. A native of Poltava gubernia in eastern Ukraine, where his father was director of the Agricultural School in Lubni and his maternal grandfather had extensive investments in the Donbas industrial region, Crath graduated from the gymnasium in Lubni and dabbled in studies at universities in Kiev, Warsaw and Lviv. In 1902 he joined the Revolutionary Ukrainian party and in 1904 he was among the left-wing members who left to form the Ukrainian Social Democratic Union (Spilka). Convinced that revolution was imminent, Spilka joined the Menshevik wing of the Russian Social Democratic Workers' party and during the 1905 revolution organized peasant strikes and boycotts and advocated the immediate parcellization of aristocratic estates in Ukraine. As a result, Crath had to flee to Galicia in 1906, where he again attended Lviv University and participated in clashes between Ukrainian and Polish students, before leaving for Winnipeg in September 1907 in response to Stechishin's appeal for socialist organizers. In Canada he tried a number of occupations,

including farming, lumbering, railway construction and fur trapping, but before 1914 he could always count on financial assistance from his father.⁵³

A romantic nationalist no less than a social revolutionary, Crath typified the turn-of-the-century eastern-Ukrainian radical, who carried "the works of Shevchenko, the Ukrainian national poet, in one pocket and the works of Karl Marx in the other, though tradition...allied [him] with the narodniks or anarchists rather than with the Marxists."⁵⁴ As a youth, he had, in fact, had numerous conversations with the widow of Nicholas Kybalchych, a member of the Narodnaia Volia terrorist group who had been executed for his part in the assassination of Tsar Alexander II. Crath enjoyed disrupting opponents' public meetings, publishing incendiary poems and short stories and mobilizing rural settlers—tactics better suited to Imperial Russia than to western Canada. A charismatic individual who could charm as well as outrage people, he introduced a strain of adventurism, instability and intrigue into the Ukrainian socialist movement, often with damaging results.⁵⁵

Roman Kremar (1886-1953), a native of Sokal county, Galicia, was the son of a wealthy peasant who had failed to win a seat in the Galician *sejm*. As a law student at Lviv University, he organized peasant meetings, participated in agrarian strikes and agitated for electoral reforms. In 1907 he participated in a hunger strike at the university and the following year he published a broadsheet called *Khlopske pravo* (The Peasants' Right). Having acquired many influential enemies and disqualified himself from a successful legal career in Austria, he immigrated to Canada in 1909, settling first in Calgary, then in Edmonton.⁵⁶

Socialists like Stechishin, Crath and Kremar believed that capitalism was an inherently exploitative system of production. Only social revolution—the abolition of private property in the means of production and the creation of a just and egalitarian social order where production would satisfy human needs rather than accumulate private profits—could assure freedom from want and cultural progress for working people. They differed, however, on the strategy to effect social revolution. Thus Kremar and others in the short-lived Federation of Ukrainian Socialists adopted the Socialist Party of Canada's position and expressed skepticism about municipal elections, remedial legislation and most unions as distractions that diverted workers from seizing the state, the true objective. Crath, Stechishin and other Ukrainian Social Democratic leaders, in turn, believing that a mature capitalist society was a prerequisite for successful revolution, encouraged membership in unions, including the Industrial Workers of the World; participated in electoral politics (Wasył Holowacký was nominated in East Selkirk in the 1911 federal election); and called for shorter working hours, the abolition of child labour, old-age and disability insurance, universal suffrage and the introduction of the initiative, referendum and recall into Canadian politics. Such reforms, they maintained, advanced the evolution of capitalism and created the preconditions for a socialist society.⁵⁷

The socialists were appalled that not only were many Ukrainians unaware they were little more than “free white slaves” and “white niggers” (*bili nehry*) within the capitalist system but were actually grateful to the “gentlemen” who gave them land and jobs. They worked hard, therefore, to make the immigrants conscious of their place in the Canadian socioeconomic order and to convey a sense of international working-class solidarity through socialist newspapers, lectures, demonstrations, libraries and drama and choral groups. They also pursued several distinctly Ukrainian concerns. In 1910 the first convention of the Federation of Ukrainian Social Democrats in Edmonton created a Society for the Liberation of Myroslav Sichynsky, the student sentenced to life imprisonment for the 1908 assassination of Count Potocki, the governor of Galicia. Over the next two years an executive dedicated to securing Sichynsky’s release and to supporting the Ukrainian liberation movement collected over four thousand dollars, and some of the funds were used to spring Sichynsky from prison in November 1911. In their critique of public schooling the socialists also consistently supported bilingual education. Unilingual English classes were imposed on immigrant children to make it more difficult for them to discover the truth about the capitalist ruling class’s worship of “the almighty dollar” and its biased interpretation of history, which praised “all kinds of murderers, robbers, homicidal maniacs and tyrants” and ignored the oppression which drove people to rebellion and revolution. As a result, *Robochyi narod* insisted that “all parents who wish to educate their children in their native language have the right to do so,” and in 1913 the Social Democrats’ Manitoba-Saskatchewan regional conference demanded that the right to Ukrainian bilingual instruction in the public schools be formally recognized in both provinces.⁵⁸

The efforts of Ukrainian Social Democrats to organize farmers also set them apart from other Canadian socialists. Unlike the nationalists, they realized that many Ukrainian rural settlers, especially in Manitoba, were not becoming prosperous commercial farmers. As a result, in 1907-8 and again in 1911-12, they organized ten to fifteen rural branches, mostly in southeastern and Interlake Manitoba. At their meetings they stressed that banks and implement dealerships were the real owners of the farmers’ means of production, that giant capitalist corporations like the railways and grain elevator companies exploited them as well as the urban and frontier labourers, and that proletarianization was the fate of every homesteader who could not meet his debts. Farmers were urged to unite with labour in the common struggle against capitalism. Holowacky’s campaign in 1911 and the nomination of Mykhailo Gabora, a farmer, as an Independent (socialist) candidate in Canora in the 1912 Saskatchewan provincial election were intended to draw farmers into the socialist movement. Both campaigns, mounted at the last moment on shoe-string budgets and hounded by scores of Liberal and Conservative agents who painted improbable scenarios in the aftermath of socialist victory, were miserable failures. That Crath launched Gabora’s candi-

dacy almost single-handedly to disrupt nationalist efforts to organize Ukrainian farmers in Saskatchewan also did not help.⁵⁹ Ukrainian socialists would organize no more rural branches until the summer of 1918.

Socialist efforts to foil nationalists followed naturally from their contention that the nationalists represented “bourgeois” class interests. To the socialists, the main purpose of the nationalist agenda—Ukrainian unity, co-operation, self-reliance and thrift—was to mask the irreconcilable class differences that were already apparent among Ukrainians in Canada. The interests of struggling Ukrainian labourers and homesteaders and those of the Ukrainian-Canadian “bourgeoisie”—the real estate speculators, employment agents, businessmen, budding professionals and legions of party agents—were fundamentally at odds. The Ukrainian bourgeoisie had a vested interest in the existing capitalist socioeconomic and political order; they were “native exploiters” (*ridni eksploatatory*), no better than non-Ukrainian exploiters. They were mere opportunists in their belief that since someone had to get rich at the Ukrainian immigrants’ expense, it might as well be other Ukrainians.⁶⁰ Similarly, the socialists were not prepared to support Ukrainians politically just because they were Ukrainians. “Sheep [could] not be expected to unite with wolves,” declared *Robochyi narod*. Although especially contemptuous of Ukrainian office seekers with a history as Conservative or Liberal “heelers,” the Ukrainian “independents” approved by nationalists were also rejected as passive supporters of the unjust capitalist system. Thus in Winnipeg’s municipal elections the socialists opposed both the notorious Stefanik and independent candidates like Ferley, especially when up against Social Democrats like R.A. Rigg. And in Manitoba generally, Ukrainian socialists preferred such Anglo-Canadian and Jewish labour and/or socialist candidates as Rigg, Herman Saltzman, Bill Hoop, A.A. Heaps, A.W. Puttee and John Queen to “bourgeois” Ukrainians.

In 1912 the leadership of the Ukrainian socialist movement began to slip from its founders. Kremar was the first to leave. He quit in a huff when the Federation of Ukrainian Socialists and the Federation of Ukrainian Social Democrats in Canada decided to resolve their dispute through a tribunal of prominent Ukrainian Social Democrats in Galicia and Bukovyna. By 1913 he was publishing a commercial weekly, *Novyny*, in Edmonton and dabbling in real estate as manager of the Athabasca Landing/Grouard Land Company. When his closest associates in the Federation of Ukrainian Socialists also left, the Ukrainian socialist movement in the Crow’s Nest Pass was demoralized and the way was paved for reunification with the Ukrainian Social Democrats.⁶¹ Stechishin resigned from *Robochyi narod* in April 1912 and from the Social Democratic federation in September 1912 amid controversy over the disbursement of Sichynsky funds. To him, the money earmarked for Sichynsky’s “defence” after his escape in 1911 could not be used for other purposes. Crath and several other Social Democratic leaders insisted, however, that the funds could

further other socialist projects which contributed to Ukrainian liberation. When it became clear that Sichynsky, who was still a fugitive in Europe, had received little of the money collected since 1911, while substantial amounts had covered *Robochyi narod's* debts and the expenses of Social Democratic organizers, Stechishin resigned. With a wife and children to support, he was in Edmonton within a year editing Kremar's increasingly Catholic and Conservative *Novyny*.⁶² By 1913, Crath was also reassessing his priorities, though he did not leave until 1916. On one of his organizational tours, he met Illia Glowa, the Independent Greek/Presbyterian church minister, and was persuaded that, besides socialist organization, Ukrainian immigrants needed firm moral standards to escape the vortex of poverty, ignorance and exploitation. Accordingly, in the summer of 1913 he began publishing *Kadylo* (The Censer), an irreverent illustrated tabloid that mercilessly lampooned the Catholic and Orthodox clergy. By the fall of 1914, impressed by Protestant exponents of the social gospel, he enrolled in theology at Manitoba College and began editing both the socialist *Robochyi narod* and the Presbyterian *Ranok*. The fact that he too had a family to support undoubtedly contributed to the unusual situation. Only the disorganization within the Ukrainian socialist movement in the fall of 1914 because of recession, layoffs and unemployment postponed Crath's expulsion.⁶³

As the old guard quarrelled and its commitment to socialism waned, leadership passed to a new generation of young men, most of them recent arrivals with first-hand knowledge of the dramatic social and political changes then underway in Galicia and Bukovyna. Foremost among them were Matthew (Matvii) Popovich (1890-1943) and John Nawizowski (Navis) (1888-1954). Popovich, the son of poor peasants, and Nawizowski, whose father was a cobbler and part-time farm labourer, had belonged to a clandestine student socialist circle while at the teachers' seminary in Zalishchyky. A cautious and colourless but hard-working functionary, Nawizowski had graduated from the seminary with honours, while the charismatic and gregarious Popovich, a fine singer and actor who had organized several reading clubs and drama circles, had been expelled for his political activity from a number of provincial seminaries and refused the right to matriculate as an external student in Lviv. Ultimately, the harassment and the military draft prompted both to immigrate to the United States, where they joined the Socialist Party of America. By 1911, Popovich and Nawizowski, who had worked as a ranch hand in Texas and a miner in Pennsylvania, were in Winnipeg, working for the Federation of Ukrainian Social Democrats.⁶⁴

From the fall of 1912 until the summer of 1916, the Ukrainian socialist movement and *Robochyi narod* were in a state of chaos. In November 1912 the central executive was moved from Winnipeg to Montreal, where it remained until January 1914. Andrii Dmytryshyn (1891-1970) and especially Ivan Hnyda (c.1890-1935), a former typographer for the Social Democratic press in Chernivtsi, revitalized the Montreal branch, organized others in northern Ontario

and became the new executive's most prominent members. After Stechishin's resignation, Nawizowski, working as a printer, assumed editorial responsibility for *Robochyi narod* until September 1913. He was followed in rapid succession by Evhen Hutsailo (1880-1928), on loan from the Ukrainian Social Democrats in Galicia and Bukovyna, Ivan Stefanicky (1892-1975), who had immigrated to the United States as a teen-ager and joined the Socialist Party of America before moving to Toronto in 1911, and Crath. Were it not for several experienced Radical and Social Democratic organizers—Hryhorii Tkachuk, Mykola Korzh and, above all, Tymofei Koreichuk (1879-1919), one of the founders of the Ukrainian Social Democratic party in Bukovyna—who arrived during this period and revitalized the socialist movement in the Crow's Nest Pass and in Ontario, it would have collapsed.⁶⁵ Not only did it survive, however, but it experienced two years of remarkable growth after 1916.

On the eve of the First World War, the Protestant intelligentsia's Independent Greek church experiment was little more than a memory, its legacy limited to *Ranok*, several reading clubs and a handful of small Presbyterian congregations. The nationalists and socialists, on the other hand, had begun to establish local institutions that would become the infrastructure for nation-wide associations in the 1920s. While the nationalists, especially the bilingual teachers, organized scores of reading clubs, drama circles and choirs in rural colonies, towns and cities across the prairies, the socialists formed branches in the mining towns of British Columbia, Alberta and northern Ontario, and in large industrial centres across Canada. It was through such local institutions that both groups transmitted their ideas, mobilized supporters and implemented programmes. During the war years, in an atmosphere charged with fear, suspicion and rumour, the activities of the "alien" institutions would become a major source of anxiety for Anglo Canadians intent on accelerating the "Canadianization" of immigrants. They would also become a major concern for the Ukrainian Catholic clergy, especially Bishop Budka, who saw in them a threat to the immigrants' faith.

Notes

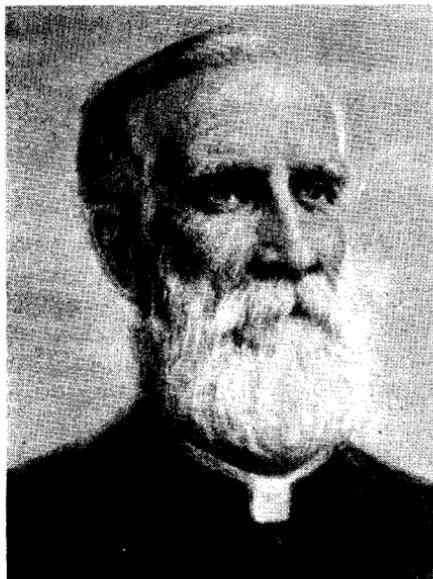
1. S.J.R. Noel, "Leadership and Clientism," in David J. Bellamy, Jon H. Pammett, Donald C. Rowat, eds., *The Provincial Political Systems: Comparative Essays* (Toronto, 1976), 197-213; Escott M. Reid, "The Saskatchewan Liberal Machine Before 1929," *Canadian Journal of Economics and Political Science* II (1) (1936), 27-40.

2. David J. Hall, "Clifford Sifton: Immigration and Settlement Policy, 1896-1905," in Howard Palmer, ed., *The Settlement of the West* (Calgary, 1977), 80-1.
3. Newspapers like the Ukrainian *Kanadyiskyi farmer* and later the Polish *Czas*.
4. Reid, 27.
5. M. Janine Brodie and Jean Jenson, *Crisis, Challenge and Change: Party and Class in Canada* (Toronto, 1980), 43-4; J. William Brennan, "Wooing the 'Foreign Vote': Saskatchewan Politics and the Immigrant, 1905-1919," *Prairie Forum* II (1) (1979), 65-6.
6. Quoted in David E. Smith, *Prairie Liberalism: The Liberal Party in Saskatchewan, 1905-1971* (Toronto, 1975), 57.
7. Thomas Flanagan, "Ethnic Voting in Alberta Provincial Elections, 1921-1975," in Carlo Caldarola, ed., *Society and Politics in Alberta: Research Papers* (Toronto, 1979), 304.
8. Quoted in Lewis G. Thomas, *The Liberal Party in Alberta* (Toronto, 1959), 66; see also William A. Griesbach, *I Remember* (Toronto, 1946), 216-17.
9. Peter Melnycky, "A Political History of the Ukrainian Community in Manitoba, 1899-1922" (MA thesis, University of Manitoba, 1979), 104-56; Tom Peterson, "Ethnic and Class Politics in Manitoba," in Martin Robin, ed., *Canadian Provincial Politics: The Party Systems of the Ten Provinces* (Scarborough, 1972), 74-5.
10. For examples of Genik's work on behalf of the Liberals, see Donald H. Avery "Canadian Immigration Policy and the Alien Question, 1896-1919: The Anglo-Canadian Perspective" (PhD dissertation, University of Western Ontario, 1973), chapter 6, n. 86.
11. As early as July 1901, Genik was accused of ousting Ukrainians from Winnipeg's Immigration Hall and urging them to take advantage of a CPR strike by finding jobs. *Svoboda* 11 July 1901. Genik and the Independent Greek church leaders parted company in December 1904. *Ibid.*, 15, 29 December 1904. Subsequently, he was accused of trying to eliminate all educated Ukrainians who threatened his pre-eminence within the community or with Anglo Canadians. *Ibid.*, 2 August, 27 September, 27 December 1906, 7 February 1907.
12. Peter Melnycky, "Political Reaction to Ukrainian Immigrants: The 1899 Elections in Manitoba," in Jaroslav Rozumnyj, ed., *New Soil—Old Roots: The Ukrainian Experience in Canada* (Winnipeg, 1983), 18-32; John C. Lehr and D. Wayne Moodie, "The Polemics of Pioneer Settlement: Ukrainian Immigration and the Winnipeg Press," *Canadian Ethnic Studies* XII (2) (1980), 88-101; John C. Lehr, "Government Perceptions of Ukrainian Immigrants to Western Canada, 1896-1902," *ibid.*, XIX (1) (1987), 1-13.
13. Melnycky, "A Political History," 119-22; *Svoboda* 5 January, 28 December 1905, 21 February 1907; *Kanadyiskyi farmer* 8 March 1907; *Winnipeg Evening Tribune* 7, 11 March 1907.
14. *Ukrainskyi holos* 16 March 1910.
15. PAM, Robert Fletcher Letterbook 1905-1911, 273, 276, 373-4, 525, 586, 625.
16. Jastremsky left behind a sanitized memoiristic history: *Kanadyianizatsiia. Politychnyi rozvytok kanadyiskykh ukraintsiiv za poslidnykh 46 rokiv*

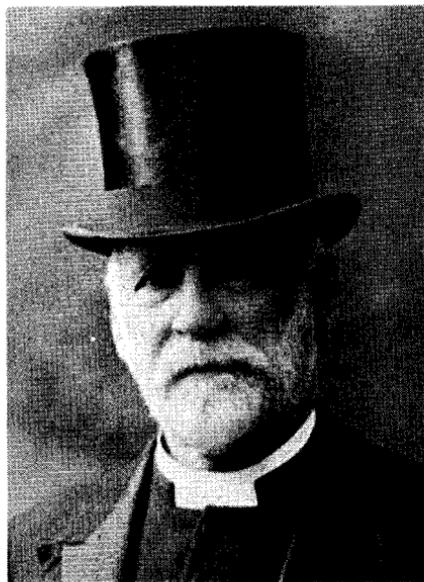
- ikhnoho pobutu v Kanadi* (Winnipeg, 1946). For a note on Gegeychuk's relation to Langevin, see *Ukrainskyi holos* 3 August 1910.
17. For Stefanik's career, see *Svoboda* 6 September 1906, *Kanadyiskyi farmer* 23 August 1907, *Ukrainski visti* 10 April 1951.
 18. *Kanadyiskyi farmer* 9 March, 4 May 1910; Iastremsky, 93; *Manitoba Free Press* 16 July 1913.
 19. ASS, James Calder Papers, H.E. Perry to James Calder, 2 April 1909, 16, James Peaker to James Calder, 8 August 1909, 20.
 20. *Ibid.*, T. Walter Scott Papers, T.A. Burrows to T.W. Scott, 14 November 1907, 18; for a brief biographical note on Megas, see *Ukrainskyi holos* 23 May 1917.
 21. ASS, Calder Papers, Joseph Megas to James Calder, 25 July 1911, 18. Arsenych and Zerebko had worked on behalf of Conservative candidates in the early years and the former was prominent among the "freethinkers" and "anarchists" who frequented the Shevchenko Educational Society in Winnipeg. He also admitted working for the Conservatives in Dauphin during the 1907 provincial election. *Ukrainskyi holos* 22 February 1911. By 1911, however, both men were free of such ties. Zerebko was a Liberal member in the Saskatchewan legislature (1938-43), who died in office.
 22. For a brief biographical note on Shvydky, see *Ukrainskyi holos* 4 December 1918; on the association, see *ibid.*, 3 May, 24 August, 21 September, 2 November 1910.
 23. *Ibid.*, 4, 11 January, 29 March 1911. On 24 April 1914 the Liberal *Kanadyiskyi farmer* published a public apology from Shvydky to Ferley, Arsenych and Zerebko for printing lies about them in the 1 March 1911 issue of *Novyi krai*.
 24. *Ukrainskyi holos* 8 March 1911; on Svarich, see Petro Zvarych (Peter Svarich), *Spomyny, 1877-1904* (Winnipeg, 1976).
 25. On Shandro's background, see Joseph M. Lazarenko, "Ukrainians in Provincial Politics," in Joseph M. Lazarenko, ed., *The Ukrainian Pioneers in Alberta, Canada* (Edmonton, 1970), 42-6; an excellent introduction to Ukrainian political activity in Alberta is Andrij Makuch, "In the Populist Tradition: Organizing the Ukrainian Farmer in Alberta, 1905-1935" (MA thesis, University of Alberta, 1983).
 26. *Illiustrovanyi kaliendar "Novyn"* 1915 (Edmonton), 31-3.
 27. See "Note on Transliteration and Terminology."
 28. For biographical data on Ferley, see *Canadian Parliamentary Guide* 1916, 387, *Ukrainskyi holos* 6, 20 August 1947; on Zerebko, *Ukrainskyi holos* 21 May 1913, *Ukrainski visti* 23 February 1943; on Arsenych, *Ukrainskyi holos* 16 May 1917; on Kudryk, *ibid.*, 16, 23 October, 27 November 1963, 9 January 1965, 8 November 1967, 17 April 1974; also *Svoboda* 16 April 1905 for Kudryk's defence of the Basilians in Winnipeg and *Ukrainskyi holos* 21 March 1911 for his comments on Arsenych's "atheism"; on Woycenko, see *Ukrainskyi holos*, 19, 26 September, 3 October 1956; also Zvarych, 221, for information on Woycenko's father.
 29. *Svoboda* 23 February 1905, 5 July, 13 September 1906, 21 March 1907, 28 May 1908; *Ukrainskyi holos* 29 June, 6 July, 9 November 1910, 6, 13, 27 September, 11 October 1911, 10 December 1913.
 30. *Ukrainskyi holos* 16, 23 March, 20, 28 April, 13 May, 15 June, 31 August 1910, 5 November 1913, 27 September 1916.

31. Dmytro Doroshenko and Semen Kovbel (Kowbell), eds., *Propamiatna knyha Ukrainskoho Narodnoho Domu u Vynypegu* (Winnipeg, 1949), 125-30.
32. *Ukrainskyi holos* 2 April 1913, 11 February, 8 April 1914, 17, 24, 31 March, 7, 14 April 1915.
33. *Ibid.*, 7 December 1910.
34. The above (n. 33) and another editorial on 12 February 1913 appear to be the only anti-Jewish ones.
35. *Ibid.*, 22, 29 March 1911, 12 February 1913; *Novyi krai* 1 December 1912; *Kanadyiskyi rusyn* 23 May 1914.
36. Ferley admitted that some directors of the Ukrainian Publishing Company (but not Kudryk, Zerebko, Arsenych or he himself) had worked for the Conservatives and/or Liberals during the 1911 federal election campaign. *Ukrainskyi holos* 27 September 1911; see also the 4 December 1912 and 2 December 1914 issues.
37. Paraphrased from *ibid.*, 30 November 1910.
38. The 1910 platform, endorsed by Puttee, was published in *ibid.*, 23 November 1910; see also the 22 November and 13 December 1911 issues.
39. *The Canadian Israelite* 10 December 1914, cited in Henry Trachtenberg, "Unfriendly Competitors: Jews, Ukrainians and Municipal Politics in Winnipeg's Ward 5, 1911-1914" (paper delivered at the annual conference of the Canadian Association of Slavists, Winnipeg, 1986), 11; *Ukrainskyi holos* 16 October 1912; *The Minutes of the City Council of the City of Winnipeg, Manitoba* (Winnipeg, 1913, 1914) show that Stefanik spoke five times in 1912 and five times in 1913. In 1913, the year of several provincial by-elections, he missed sixteen of thirty-six council meetings. However, he did help Ukrainian workers employed in the construction of city water mains to present their grievances before city council. *Ukrainskyi holos* 12 June 1912.
40. *Ukrainskyi holos*, 4, 25 December 1912; Trachtenberg, 8.
41. *The Voice* 20 December 1912, cited in Trachtenberg, 9.
42. *The Canadian Israelite* 10 December 1914, cited in Trachtenberg, 11; for Alekno's anti-Semitic advertisements, see *Kanadyiskyi rusyn* 2 November 1912; for the election campaign, see *Manitoba Free Press* 4, 11, 14 December 1914 and *Ukrainskyi holos* 2, 9, 16 December 1914; on Skaletar's resignation in 1917 for numerous transgressions against the Election Act after charges of corruption were brought against him by A.A. Heaps, the Social Democratic candidate, see *Robochyi narod* 12 January, 9 March, 6 April 1917. Heaps, of Jewish-British origin, won the supplemental election in April 1917. Leo Heaps, *The Rebel in the House: The Life and Times of A.A. Heaps MP* (London, 1970), 17.
43. Makuch, 46, 56, 61; *Ukrainskyi holos* 28 February, 13 March, 1 May, 5 June, 10 July, 23 October 1912.
44. *Edmonton Journal* 10 November 1914, 18 January 1915.
45. Fr. Kryzanowsky was accused of urging parishioners to vote only for Catholic candidates. *Ukrainskyi holos* 2, 30 April, 7, 14 May 1913.
46. Donald Avery, "Canadian Immigration Policy and the 'Foreign' Navy, 1896-1914." Canadian Historical Association *Historical Papers* (1972), 141.
47. *Svoboda* 27 June 1907; *Chervonyi prapor* 15 November 1907.

48. Mykhailo Marunchak, "Toma Tomashevsky pro sotsiialistychnyi rukh mizh ukrainsiamy u Kanadi," *Studii do istorii ukrainsiv Kanady*, IV (Winnipeg, 1973), 144. The societies were located in Nanaimo, Frank and Vancouver (British Columbia); Winnipeg, Stonewall, Sarto, Gimli, Pleasant Home and Portage la Prairie (Manitoba); and in Rainy River (Ontario). Most of the rural Manitoba branches folded after several months. By 1909 the eleven existing branches were located in Montreal, Winnipeg, Brandon, Cardiff, Calgary, Canmore, Edmonton, Wostok, Vancouver, Hosmer and Phoenix.
49. *Robitnychyh kaliendar* (Winnipeg, 1918), 97 ff; also Petro Kravchuk (Peter Krawchuk), *Ukrainskyi sotsiialistychnyi rukh u Kanadi (1907-18)* (Toronto, 1976); Martin Robin, *Radical Politics and Canadian Labour: 1880-1930* (Kingston, 1968), 110.
50. *Chervonyi prapor* 19 June 1908; *Nova hromada* 29 December 1911.
51. Most issues of *Robochyi narod* carried a list of party branches.
52. Mykhailo Stechyshyn (Michael Stechishin), "Vstup do biografii Myroslava Stechyshyna," *Ukrainskyi holos* 29 March 1950.
53. NAC, John Robert Kovalevitch Papers, "Autobiography of Rev. Paul Crath," Book I, 116, Book II, 23, 45, 47, 63.
54. Edward H. Carr, *The Bolshevik Revolution*, I (London, 1966), 296-7.
55. See, for example, his outlandish programme prepared for the 1912 Canora by-election, *Robochyi narod* 22 May 1912.
56. For a brief biography, see *Nova hromada* 28 April 1911.
57. *Ibid.*, 7, 14, 21 July 1911, 12 January 1912; *Robochyi narod* 7 February 1912.
58. *Robochyi narod* 23, 30 October 1912, 18 October 1913.
59. In 1911, Holowacky obtained 234 of 6,343 votes in Selkirk and finished last in a field of three; in 1912, Gabora received 102 of 1,153 votes in Canora and finished third in a field of three. *Canadian Parliamentary Guide* 1912, 257, and 1914, 577; *Robochyi narod* 22 May, 5, 26 June, 3 July 1912; *Ukrainskyi holos* 12 June, 10, 17 July 1912.
60. *Robochyi narod* 19 February, 7 May, 24 September 1913, 18 February 1914.
61. *Ibid.*, 22 January, 5 March, 7, 21 May, 22 July 1913. The last issue of *Nova hromada* appeared on 18 September 1912.
62. For Stechishin's side of the controversy, see *Ukrainskyi holos* 25 September, 9, 16, 23 October 1912. After being hired by Kremar, Stechishin, who had been involved in a common-law relationship since 1908, was ordered to get married in the Basilian church. *Ranok* 10 February 1915.
63. Crath also enjoyed the confidence of John Nawizowski (Navis), the administrator of *Robochyi narod*, as Crath's and Nawizowski's wives were sisters.
64. For biographical data on Popovich, see *Ukrainske slovo* 28 August 1943, *Ukrainske zhyttia* 16 July 1953, Peter Krawchuk, *Mathew Popovich: His Place in the History of Ukrainian Canadians* (Toronto, 1987); on Nawizowski, see *Ukrainske slovo* 5 May 1954. Brief biographical notes on both are also available in the appendices to Petro Kravchuk (Peter Krawchuk), *Na novii zemli* (Toronto, 1958).
65. *Robochyi narod* 21 October 1914, 9 June, 25 November 1915; *Ukrainske zhyttia* 21 June 1951; *Zhyttia i slovo* 12 May 1975.



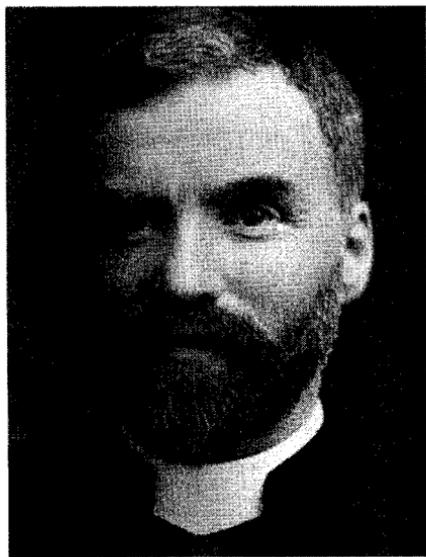
26. James Robertson
(UCA, Toronto, P 5567)



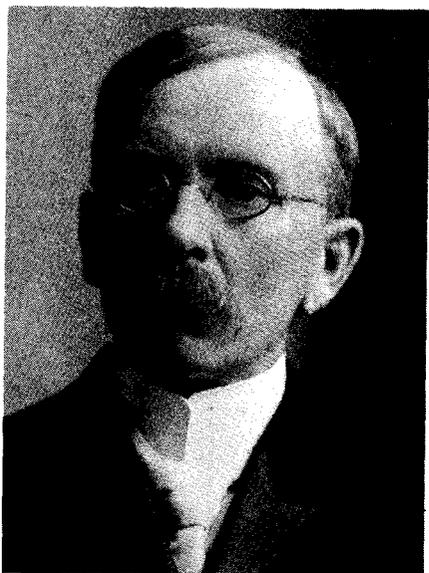
27. George Bryce
(UCA, Manitoba, 82-P16)



28. Charles W. Gordon ("Ralph
Connor") (WCPI, 0032-0968)



29. William Patrick
(UCA, Manitoba, 82-P475)



30. Alexander J. Hunter
(UCA, Toronto, P2908)



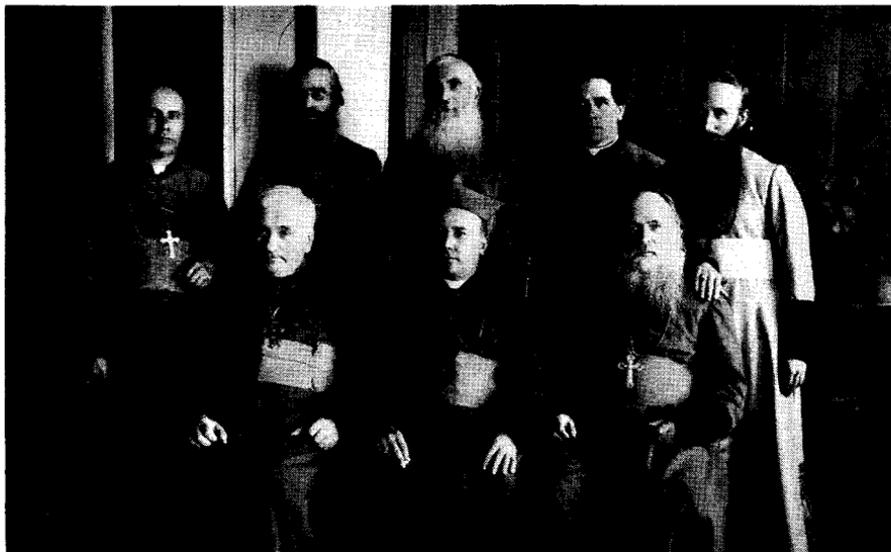
31. Alfred Fitzpatrick
(NAC, C47539)



32. James S. Woodsworth, 1912
(PAM)



33. Platonid Filias, 1905
(PAA, Brown Coll. B3750)



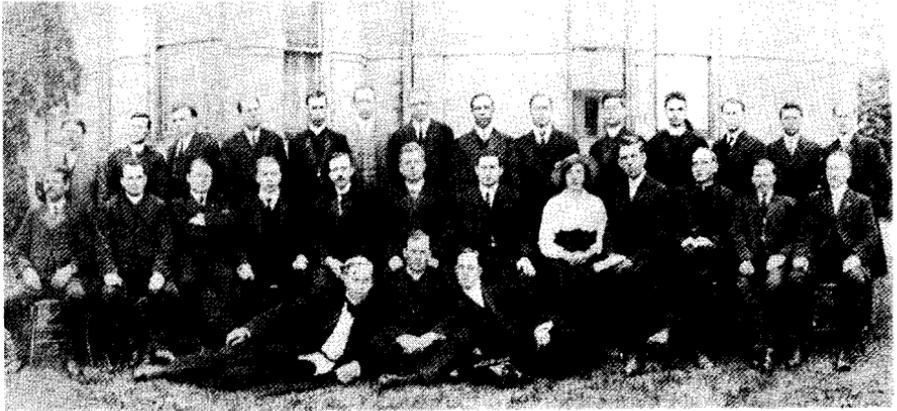
34. Western Canada's Roman Catholic hierarchy, 1902. Seated (centre) Archbishop Langevin (to his right) Bishop Grandin; standing (first and second from left) Bishops Legal and Pascal (PAA, Brown Coll. B 9517)



35. Metropolitan Sheptytsky (centre) with Basilian Fathers, Edmonton, 1910. Matei Hura and Sozont Dydyk (standing); unidentified priest and Navkrytii Kryzanowsky (seated) (PAA, Brown Coll. B 3690)



36. Theology class for Independent Greek church ministers and missionaries, Manitoba College, Winnipeg, 1910. *Back row* (fifth from left) Ivan Bodrug; *centre row* (third from left) Aleksii Bachynsky, Bodrug's father-in-law (UCA, Manitoba)



37. Conference of Ukrainian Presbyterian ministers and missionaries, Winnipeg, 1916. *First row* (left to right) M. Zalizniak, A. Maksymchuk, V. Pyndykowsky; *second row* (first through seventh from left) D. Roshko, I. Popel, V. Kupchinsky, Dr. O. Sushko, Z. Bychynsky, I. Bodrug, P. Rudyk (delegate) (third and fourth from right) E. Pyrih, I. Glowa; *third row* (second from left) H. Tymchuk (first through eleventh from right) I. Eustafiewycz-Eustace, M. Hutney, V. Plaviuk, T. Bay, I. Hryhorash, P. Uhryniuk, I. Danylchuk, I. Kotsan, P. Krat (Crath), A. Wilchynsky, M. Berezynsky (O. Dombrovsky, *Narys istorii ukrainskoho ievanhelsko-reformovanoho rukhu* (1979), 525)



38. Members of Methodist Church Women's Society and friends, Kolokreeka (near Smoky Lake), Alberta, 1916. *Front row* (third from right) Dr. C.H. Lawford with his three daughters; *centre row* (first from left, standing) Taranty Hannocho (first from right, seated) Mrs. Lawford; *back row* (first from left) Michael Bellegay (beside him) Rev. and Mrs. Smith (third from right) Metro Ponich (GA, NA1649-2)



39. Reading Camp instructor and navvies (NAC, PA 61772)



40. "Bishop" Seraphim and faithful in front of his "scrap iron cathedral," North End Winnipeg before 1908 (PAM, Foote Coll. 1464)



41. The Conservative party machine seen as an octopus by the Liberal *Manitoba Free Press*, 1914; note inclusion of Theodore Stefanik as "Foreign Minister" (PAM)



42. Paul Gegeychuk, Conservative party agent, 1922 (UCECA, Bobersky Coll.)



43. Convention of the Federation of Ukrainian Social Democrats, Edmonton, 1911. Centre row (seated fourth from left) Myroslaw Stechishin (third from right) Paul Crath (PAA, Brown Coll. B 7225)



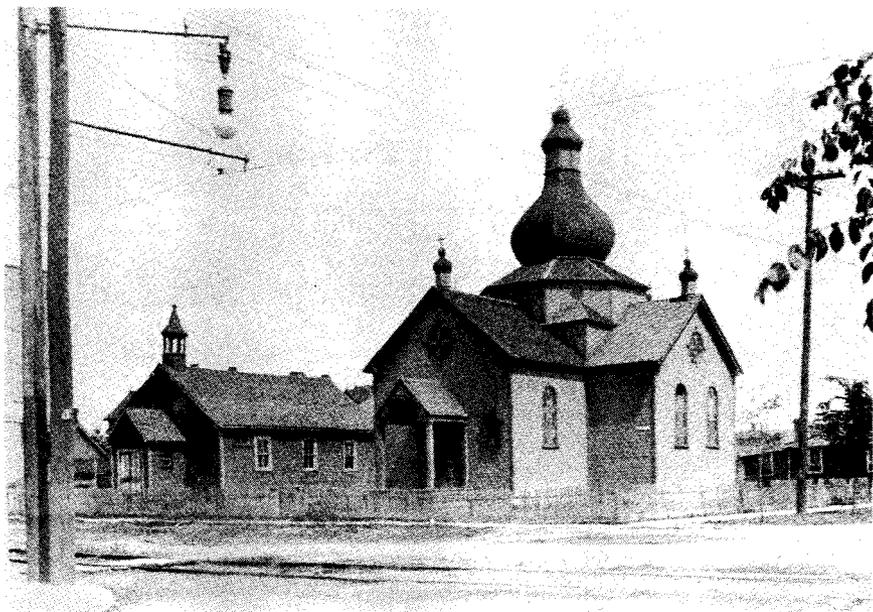
44. Myroslaw Stechishin (standing) and Matthew Popovich in the editorial offices of *Robochyi narod*, 1912 (Peter Krawchuk, *Mathew Popovich: His Place in the History of Ukrainian Canadians*, 1987)



45. Founding convention of the Ukrainian Teachers' Association, Winnipeg, 1907. *First row* (first from left) D. Yakimischak (first through third from right) P. Woycenko, O. Zerebko, T. Ferley; *second row* (first and third from left) W. Kudryk, Y. Arsenych, (first and third from right) A. Novak, W. Holowacky; *third row* (second and fourth from right) W. Czumer, P. Gegeychuk; *fourth row* (third and fifth from left) Y. Kuninsky, O. Hykawy; *fifth row* (fourth from left) T. Stefanik (*Iuvileina knyha Ukrainskoho Instytutu imeny Petra Mohyly v Saskatuni, 1916-1941* (1945), 25)



46. Russophile leaders: directors of *Russkii golos*, 1913. Seated (left to right) M. Ostrowsky (manager), A.S. Shandro (president), T.A. Fujarczuk (treasurer); standing (left to right) I. Sheremeta (secretary), P. Dubets (director), W.S. Cherniak (editor), P. Shewchuk (director) (*Russkii narodnyi kaliendar*, 1914)



47. The first (on left) and second Holy Ghost Independent Greek church buildings, North End Winnipeg (UCECA)



48. St. Joseph's College, monastery of the Redemptorist Fathers and Ukrainian Catholic church, Yorkton, Saskatchewan, 1920 (UCECA, Bobersky Coll.)



49. Ukrainian National Association building, North End Winnipeg, purchased 1916 (UCECA)



50. Staff of the National Co-operative Company, main branch, Vegreville, Alberta, 1921; (second from right) Andrew Svarich, manager (PAA, A 10073)



51. Grain elevator, Ruthenian Farmers' Elevator Company, Sheho, Saskatchewan, 1921 (UCECA, Bobersky Coll.)



52. Meeting in the Ukrainian National Home, Arbakka, Manitoba, 1916 (WCPI 1662-54627)



53. Members of drama circle, Lanuke, Alberta, 1917 (PAA, UV 849)

Spreading the Word: Ideologies and Community-Building

Historians have interpreted institutional life among immigrants as attempts to cope with life in the new world, as a “spontaneous expression of the desire to be not alone.” Unfamiliar with the host society’s language and culture and often removed from family and friends, immigrants band together and create new organizations which “fulfill the old supportive functions of the...village community.”¹ Such generalizations do not necessarily reflect the early Ukrainian experience in Canada. While immigrants eagerly formed numerous church parishes and a few benevolent associations, most of the secular societies that defined the Ukrainian community by 1918 were introduced, if not imposed, externally. Reading clubs (*chytalni*), socialist circles, libraries, drama societies, choirs, co-operatives and national homes (*narodni domy*) were almost always established by the intelligentsia with little popular enthusiasm and not infrequently considerable opposition. It was through these institutions that the nationalist, socialist and Protestant leaders competed with the Catholic priests for mass support.

Urban Institutions

While the majority of Ukrainian immigrants settled in rural areas, it was among the urban dwellers, generally better-educated, more skilled and more ambitious, that immigrant institutions and cultural activities were the most vibrant. Not only did the cities contain a disproportionately large number of *inteligenty* and priests, they were also the home of Ukrainian students and literate labourers, artisans and small businessmen, eager ‘to improve’ themselves through reading clubs, lectures, plays and concerts. Unlike older immigrants, the young, literate and single individuals gladly devoted their leisure time to choral groups and

drama circles that offered unique opportunities for socializing. Moreover, the polyethnic character of cities encouraged the proliferation of Ukrainian institutions and activities. Interaction with Jews, Germans, Poles, Finns, Italians and native-born Canadians prompted Ukrainians to emulate their achievements and to seek recognition. The churches, halls, local societies, plays and concerts that satisfied the immigrants' spiritual, aesthetic and nostalgic needs were thus, in the end, also attempts to show that the 'backward' Ukrainians were the equals of others.

Any examination of Ukrainian institutions in an urban setting must begin with Winnipeg. Populated by some fifteen thousand Ukrainians in 1914, the city was the indisputable centre of Ukrainian life in Canada. It was the seat of Latin- and Eastern-rite Catholic bishops, headquarters of the Independent Greek church and its Presbyterian sponsors, home base for most nationalist school teachers and socialist organizers who carried their ideas into the rural and frontier regions of Canada, and the address of practically every Ukrainian newspaper in Canada. It was in Winnipeg, moreover, that the battle between clericalism and radical secularism was first joined and efforts to mobilize Ukrainian immigrants were first tested.

The clergy and the secular intelligentsia began to mobilize immigrants almost simultaneously. In September 1899, Winnipeg's first radically secular society, the "international reading club" (*mizhnarodna chytalnia*), was organized by Cyril Genik, Theodore Stefanik, Sava Charnetsky and George Panyshchak. For eight years, the reading club in its various incarnations (Taras Shevchenko Reading Club, 1903; Taras Shevchenko Educational Society, 1906) remained the city's only secular association and a thorn in the clergy's side. Less than three months later, on 8 December, the clergy established their first parish. At a meeting chaired by Fr. Polivka, Ukrainian Catholics, who had been attending services at the Latin-rite Immaculate Conception and Holy Ghost churches, laid the foundations for the St. Nicholas Ukrainian Catholic parish.² Until 1904, when the Basilian Fathers assumed control and proceeded to erect a large new building, the congregation worshiped in a tiny frame structure (built in April 1900) that accommodated sixty.

During the early years, however, it was not the secular institutions established by radicals that posed the greatest challenge to the Catholic church and its Basilian vanguard. Institutional hegemony was most seriously threatened by the Seraphimite, Independent Greek and Russian Orthodox movements. Winnipeg's second congregation was established in July 1903 when Bishop Seraphim's followers organized the Holy Ghost parish. Before a church was erected in 1904, the parishioners (but not their pastor Theodore Stefanik) left Seraphim for the Independent Greek church.³ (Seraphim subsequently erected his notorious "scrap-iron cathedral" near the CPR station.) The first Russian Orthodox parish, Holy Trinity, was organized during the summer of 1905 by a group of dissident

Catholics (including the ubiquitous Stefanik), who refused to recognize the authority of the Latin hierarchy and objected to the Basilians' conciliatory stance. Opposition to both also led to the formation in 1907 of the city's fourth parish, SS. Vladimir and Olga, an "independent" Ukrainian Catholic congregation (until Bishop Budka's appointment in 1912),⁴ which worshiped in the tiny church built in April 1900. During the war years three more parishes appeared in Greater Winnipeg: the small independent Orthodox St. Michael's, organized by nationally conscious Bukovynians who broke away from Russophile Holy Trinity, and two Ukrainian Catholic parishes, Holy Eucharist in Elmwood and Archangel Michael in Transcona.

It is not surprising that the first public buildings were churches. Apart from the solace provided within the domed, candlelit structures, where the timeless liturgy celebrating Christ's sacrifice reassured the immigrants that their sufferings were not in vain, churches became the setting for a wide spectrum of organizations and community activities. Most parish organizations fell into two broad categories—'salvation-oriented' and cultural-educational societies. Both were established by zealous pastors to attract members and to provide churchgoers with an alternative to urban working-class recreation, protecting them thus from the corroding influence of modern ideologies and rival denominations.

The first 'salvation-oriented' societies were established in 1901 by Fr. Ivan Zaklynsky, the secular priest who briefly served at St. Nicholas before the Basilians and Sisters Servants arrived. Although the societies collapsed soon after he left in 1902, St. Nicholas parishioners, by 1911, could participate in the Apostleship of Prayer, the Confraternity of St. Barbara (for visitations of the sick and for church decoration) and the Sodality of St. John the Almsgiver (for charitable work among the poor), as well as the usual round of church suppers, bazaars, teas and school concerts. Their children could also attend St. Nicholas school, a two-storey brick building with eight large classrooms and 334 pupils in 1913.⁵

The Basilians, too, established cultural-educational and fraternal societies to isolate the faithful from the church's secular critics. In 1905, Matei Hura, the first Basilian pastor at St. Nicholas, became the first president of the Ukrainian Reading Association Prosvita (Chytalnia Prosvity) with membership restricted to St. Nicholas parishioners. The first fraternal sickness and death benefit society (with membership again restricted to Catholics) was the St. Nicholas Mutual Benefit Association, also organized in 1905 by Hura and Volodymyr Karpets, an immigrant who had belonged to a branch of the Ruthenian National Association in Buffalo, New York.⁶ It was not long, however, before both associations were at loggerheads with the Basilians. In 1908 the Mutual Benefit Association joined the SS. Vladimir and Olga parish because of opposition to the Basilians' friendly policy toward the Latin hierarchy, and in 1912 members of the Mariia Zankovetska Choir and Drama Circle, established in 1910 by the most active

members of the Reading Association, left the parish *en masse*. Fr. Filipow had apparently ordered all meetings, practices and rehearsals to be held on Sunday afternoons between three and six so that he could be present. Although re-established in 1913, the Reading Association's relations with Filipow were stormy well into the 1920s, when the society finally broke its parish ties. By 1918 it had 289 members, a three hundred-volume library and an eighteen-man band, and held literary evenings, concerts, excursions, dances and plays.⁷

From the Basilians' standpoint, it was fortunate that the Russian Orthodox and Independent Greek church parishes were small and unable to sponsor activities that might appeal to dissatisfied Catholics. The Holy Ghost Independent Greek church congregation was probably the most attractive, with a mutual benefit society and a reading club that sponsored English-language evening classes for adults and catechism and Ukrainian lessons for children. However, the Ukrainian Presbyterian congregation, which succeeded it in 1916, only had English-language evening classes and the Ivan Franko Reading Club at the Robertson Institute. The Holy Trinity Russian Orthodox parish, served by Russophile priests and increasingly composed of Bukovynians and a handful of Ukrainians from the Russian empire, also sponsored few cultural activities.⁸

As a result, it was the secular societies established by the socialists and nationalists that ultimately were the most troublesome to the Catholic clergy. By 1906 the Taras Shevchenko Educational Society had 130 members and was led by young and radical *intelligenty*—Stechishin, Ferley, Holowacky, Arsenych—who rejected clerical tutelage and debated the relative merits of socialism, nationalism and anarchism. Besides maintaining a reading room and combating illiteracy, the society organized lectures, plays and public meetings to commemorate or protest developments in Ukraine. On Sunday mornings members distributed radical, anticlerical pamphlets and displayed their youthful irreverence by bellowing secular songs in a hall across from St. Nicholas church to drown out the priest's sermon.⁹ In 1907 the society, always plagued by personal bickering, began to fall apart. First, the short-lived Ukrainian Free-thinkers' Federation was established in January, then, in the fall, a Ukrainian branch of the Socialist Party of Canada split the society along socialist and nationalist lines and precipitated its demise in 1908. The ensuing rivalry between socialists and nationalists, while subdued before 1913, did nothing to diminish the hostility of either group toward the clergy.

During the decade after the Shevchenko Educational Society collapsed, the Ukrainian branch of the Socialist Party of Canada (which became the Federation of Ukrainian Social Democrats in 1909 and the Ukrainian Social Democratic party in 1914) was the only Ukrainian socialist society in Winnipeg with a membership that fluctuated greatly: 55 (1907), 144 (1908), about 60 (1909-15), 25 (mid-1916, at a time of recession and internment) and 130 (1917-18).¹⁰ Small Social Democratic branches, rarely more than twenty members, also existed in

Elmwood from 1911 and in Transcona from 1914. Besides several short-lived drama circles and choral societies named after Marko Kropyvnytsky (1908-9), Ivan Tobilevych (1911-12) and Volodymyr Vynnychenko (1915-18), and an equally short-lived sick benefit society in Transcona, Winnipeg's socialists participated in public lectures and meetings, workers' rallies, May Day parades and dances to raise funds. Only in 1917-18, with expansion fuelled by a booming wartime economy and news of revolution in Ukraine, did Social Democratic leaders begin to contemplate the construction of a large labour temple (*robotnychy dim*), with office space and an auditorium for the party's national conventions.

Unlike the socialists, the nationalists, who had the skills and resources of teachers, small businessmen, university students and the first Ukrainian professionals at their disposal, could establish numerous societies and undertake a great variety of social and cultural activities. The first society organized by the nationalist intelligentsia was the Zaporizka Sich Association in July 1910. Modelled on the Radical Sich in Galicia and Bukovyna, it was led by Taras Ferley and his associates and at its height it numbered about 120 young people.¹¹ Members met at Jastremsky's hall, established a small library, sponsored weekly or bi-weekly lectures and debates during the fall and winter, offered special literacy classes and, on Friday evenings, cultivated the *fin de siècle* passion for physical exercise and gymnastics. In 1911 the society's leaders also participated in a series of Sunday afternoon "Free School" lectures, apparently sponsored jointly with the local socialists.

During its brief life Zaporizka Sich initiated two projects which, as we shall soon see, had an enormous impact on the Ukrainian-Canadian community. The first was a non-denominational Ukrainian student residence (*bursa*) in Winnipeg to facilitate the higher education of the young; the second was a large, non-denominational Ukrainian national home (*narodnyi dim*) complete with an auditorium, stage and office space, where all of the city's Ukrainian cultural-educational societies could store their books and property, hold meetings and lectures and stage concerts and plays. Other ethnic groups like the Jews, it was pointed out, already had such facilities, while fire safety by-laws and the escalating costs of rented premises also spurred the institution.¹² Accordingly, in November 1912, Ferley and his associates dissolved the Zaporizka Sich and established the Ukrainian National Home Association. In the next two years three new cultural organizations—the Boyan Society, the Mariia Zankovetska Choir and Drama Circle and the Ivan Kotliarevsky Drama Circle—affiliated with the association and made generous donations from plays and concerts toward a national home. Student groups like Samoobrazovannia (Self-Education), established at Manitoba College in 1912, and its successor, the Ukrainian Students' Debating Circle, founded in November 1914 by students who taught in rural bilingual schools in the spring and summer and attended fall and winter classes at

the University of Manitoba, also supported a student residence and a national home in Winnipeg.¹³

In September 1915 the nationalists' efforts bore fruit when the Adam Kotsko student residence opened, followed in the summer of 1916 by the purchase of a two-storey, twenty-five-room building with a small auditorium, valued at thirty-five thousand dollars. Although the student residence, located in a rented downtown building for one year and in the National Home for another, folded in 1917, the National Home emerged as the foremost Ukrainian cultural institution in the city. During the 1917-18 fall and winter season, its three constituent societies (fifty to one hundred members each) produced nineteen of the city's thirty-four Ukrainian plays, its library (over sixteen hundred volumes) was open on Wednesday and Friday evenings and on Sunday afternoons, its Zankovetska Circle offered music lessons, and its activities for children included Ukrainian evening and summer classes, a children's society, gymnastics classes and knitting and embroidery lessons. From the fall of 1916 the National Home had the only active secular female society in Canada, the Ukrainian Women's Educational Association, a ladies' auxiliary consisting of the wives and female relatives of prominent nationalists who organized lectures and plays, helped to run the children's society and held innumerable picnics, excursions and dances to liquidate the National Home's debt.¹⁴

The expansion of activities under the aegis of the secular intelligentsia provoked a flurry of similar effort in Ukrainian Catholic parishes during the war years, especially among the recently arrived secular priests. The Bandurist Society, established in 1916 during the pastorate of Mykola Olenchuk at SS. Vladimir and Olga parish, had 522 (including 350 dues-paying) members, a 325-volume library, an orchestra and a drama circle by 1918. At Holy Eucharist in Elmwood, Petro Oleksiw organized a reading club and a children's evening Ukrainian school in 1918.¹⁵ And both young priests also strongly supported the Metropolitan Sheptytsky student residence, which opened in St. Boniface in the fall of 1916, and laid the groundwork for the construction of a large community centre (Instytut Prosvity) in which Catholic societies could pursue their cultural activities.

The only other cultural-educational society to emerge in Winnipeg before 1918 was the Taras Shevchenko Reading Club, organized by CPR labourers in the Brooklands district on the city's northwestern periphery. Established in 1914 by natives of the village of Hovylyv Velykyi to provide evening Ukrainian classes for their children, by 1918 the non-partisan society had also acquired a 150-volume library, a drama circle and a modest building valued at twenty-five hundred dollars in which lectures and public readings were held. Between 1914 and 1920 the ninety-member organization held thirty-eight lectures (many by prominent members of Winnipeg's Ukrainian intelligentsia and clergy) and

eighty-six concerts and ninety-seven plays, most of them in Winnipeg's North End where larger audiences could be attracted.¹⁶

Because space does not permit the same detailed examination of Ukrainian institutions in other Canadian cities and towns, certain overall trends within Winnipeg's community-building process will be delineated to gauge similar activities elsewhere. It is clear that parishes were the first institutions organized and churches were the only public buildings until at least the onset of the First World War, each often with several religious, cultural-educational and/or benevolent societies. The Basilians generally favoured 'salvation-oriented' confraternities while the secular priests preferred cultural-educational societies. Outside the parochial framework, associations usually grew out of reading clubs formed by secular *inteligenty*. The first associations were small and embraced all local progressives, but as Ukrainians experienced a degree of urban social differentiation, distinct socialist and nationalist societies emerged. With upwardly mobile individuals like teachers and university students involved in nationalist societies, these were generally larger and sponsored more lectures, choral groups, drama circles and debating clubs than their religious or socialist competitors. Not until 1917-18 did socialist societies begin to offer *bona fide* challenges to nationalist predominance. Benevolent or mutual benefit societies, often the first and most popular immigrant institutions in the United States, were peripheral in the lives of most first Ukrainians. Apart from Winnipeg's St. Nicholas Mutual Benefit Association with 653 members by 1918, only two or three similar societies emerged before the 1920s, consisting usually of a handful of natives from the same village.¹⁷

Edmonton's experience was very similar to Winnipeg's. Ukrainians attended services at St. Joachim's Latin-rite church before organizing St. Josaphat's Ukrainian Catholic parish in 1903 and erecting a church the following year. Independent Greek and Russian Orthodox churches followed. Members of the former established a benevolent society affiliated with the Ruthenian National Association in 1907 and opened the first *non-denominational* Ukrainian-run student residence in Canada in 1912; the Russian Orthodox, in turn, established the Ivan Naumovych Association. But it was St. Josaphat's that was the most active during the early years. In Edmonton, with fewer representatives of the intelligentsia, the Basilians were much more dominant. They organized the Apostleship of Prayer (1909), a parochial school run by the Sisters Servants (1910), a Confraternity of St. John the Almsgiver, the Sodality of St. Josaphat (1918) and several reading clubs.¹⁸ The Taras Shevchenko Reading Club, formed in March 1906 by Fr. Hura (transferred from Winnipeg), was the first, and it was soon riven by conflict because of statutory stipulations that the parish priest be the club's president in perpetuity. It vanished in 1909 after a resolution denying priests the right to vote was passed amid "shouts and disorder." In 1910 the Boyan Drama Circle was established, and three years later Hura organized the

Markiiian Shashkevych Reading Club in Edmonton and the Taras Shevchenko Association in Strathcona. Then, in 1917, after staging more than thirty plays in one of the city's Catholic separate schools, the Basilians and their parishioners erected a national home (chartered as the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Association), with membership restricted to Ukrainian Catholics lest "everyone including Jews" apply for admission.¹⁹ The Shashkevych Reading Club, the Boyan Drama Circle and a women's society founded in 1913 were the first to affiliate with the new institution. A Catholic student residence, the Taras Shevchenko *bursa*, was opened in September 1918.

Edmonton's first secular society, a reading club established in 1901 by Michael Gowda, was frequented by young female domestics who worked in the city. In 1904 the short-lived Ukrainian Labour Fraternity (Rivnist), which met in Paul Rudyk's home and embraced a wide range of radicals and progressives, was established.²⁰ During the next decade a succession of quasi-socialist societies, some affiliated with the Federation of Ukrainian Social Democrats or the Federation of Ukrainian Socialists, appeared and disappeared at regular intervals, but strong socialist and nationalist societies did not emerge until after the war's outbreak, when miners and labourers seeking employment, and students attending the city's high schools, normal schools and university, converged upon Edmonton. The first noteworthy socialist society, the Taras Shevchenko Self-Education Association (Samoobrazovannia), evolved out of a drama circle organized in 1915 by former Ukrainian Social Democratic party members who met above a downtown Ukrainian restaurant. By 1917 the sixty members rented a hall to house a very active drama circle, library and reading room, and a choir directed by Matthew Shatulsky, a well-read and well-travelled dock worker and miner from Volhynia gubernia. Concurrently, a nationalist Ivan Franko Association began to meet in the back room of the city's Ukrainian bookstore. By 1918 societies professing a nationalist orientation also included the Adam Kotsko Student Circle and the Mykhailo Hrushevsky student residence. The Kotsko Circle, which began with thirty members, only four of them university students, quickly became the most dynamic group in the city, sponsoring lectures, Ukrainian evening classes, plays and concerts.²¹

Catholic parishes were also the first stable organizations in Brandon and Portage la Prairie (early in the new century) and in Calgary (1909) and Saskatoon (1912). However, there is no evidence of substantial cultural activity before secular priests arrived in 1913-14. Indeed, in Portage la Prairie and Saskatoon, which had a Russian Orthodox parish, it was the Independent Greek church reading clubs that were the most active before the war. Saskatoon and Brandon, where no socialist organizations existed until the 1920s, resembled Winnipeg in that they emerged as nationalist strongholds. In Brandon between 1910 and 1917, the Ruthenian Training School and Normal School students had a literary society, a short-lived Mykhailo Drahomanov Society, a reading association, the Ivan

Franko Student Circle and the Marko Kropyvnytsky Drama Circle. The students also sponsored debates and lectures and taught Ukrainian classes on Saturday mornings. Their relations with the Catholic parish were cordial before 1918, though the ideological orientation for the local national home became a divisive issue.²² In Saskatoon the first noteworthy local society, the Taras Shevchenko Reading Club established in 1912, was dissolved in 1914 in a power struggle between Catholic and Presbyterian factions. The next year the two groups reconstituted themselves as the Taras Shevchenko Association, consisting of Galician immigrants, and the short-lived Presbyterian Kanadiiska Zoria Association, which tried to include Ukrainian immigrants from the Russian empire. From 1915 until the early 1920s, local cultural activity was dominated by the Ukrainian Student Circle, led by Wasyl Swystun and other prominent bilingual teachers enrolled at the University of Saskatchewan. In March 1916 they decided to establish a non-denominational student residence, the very controversial Petro Mohyla Institute (see Chapter 14), and one year later a national home was purchased on their initiative. The new national home included a workers' benevolent society among its member organizations.²³

Western centres like Vancouver, Regina and Moose Jaw remained without Ukrainian church parishes well into the 1920s. Before 1918, Ukrainians in Vancouver and Moose Jaw were primarily transients who gave little thought to parishes, though a Russian Orthodox church did exist in Moose Jaw. In Regina, where 60 per cent of the Ukrainians were Bukovynians and 10 per cent were immigrants from the Russian empire, the Orthodox population attended the Romanian Orthodox church, while Catholics worshiped in Latin-rite churches. Only the Presbyterian missionary Ivan Zazuliak, who ultimately joined the Russian Orthodox church, tried unsuccessfully to establish a Ukrainian congregation before 1918. Nor were the nationalists more successful in Vancouver and Calgary. Both cities had only short-lived progressive groups like Vancouver's Myroslav Sichynsky Association and its Borotba Drama Circle and Choir, along with weak, unstable Social Democratic party branches. The 1913-15 recession and the war interrupted cultural activities in both cities for almost a decade. In Regina and Moose Jaw socialist and nationalist societies competed for influence after 1914. In Regina the Ukraina Association, consisting of students in the Special Class for Foreigners at the provincial Normal School led by the instructor of Ukrainian, gradually lost ground to the Ukrainian Social Democratic party branch. In Moose Jaw the Social Democrats competed with the Ivan Franko Association, and by 1916 the former, numbering one hundred of the town's seven hundred Ukrainians, had a library, sponsored lectures and staged fourteen plays in the next two years.²⁴

In eastern Canada, where the clergy were at a serious disadvantage, churches were the first institutions only in small communities like Sydney, Nova Scotia (where the Russian Orthodox and Ukrainian Catholics organized parishes in

1912), and Kitchener (where a Catholic parish was organized in 1917). Elsewhere, societies established by secularly minded individuals predominated. In eastern cities before 1912-13, there were no permanent Ukrainian Catholic missionaries among the young, single, male sojourners, who were little inclined to attend church services or to organize parishes. Devout Ukrainian Catholics attended Latin-rite churches and were virtually without community organizations before secular priests arrived on the eve of the war. Russian Orthodox churches, frequented by some Ukrainian labourers from the Russian empire and Bukovyna, existed in Montreal, Ottawa, Toronto, Hamilton, Oshawa, Welland and Fort William before 1917, though it is not known what role Ukrainians had played in their formation. Ukrainian Presbyterian missions also operated in Fort William, South Oshawa, Toronto and Montreal in 1917.²⁵

In eastern Canada secular societies were not polarized into socialist and nationalist camps, as in Winnipeg and some of the western settlements. In Montreal, Fort William and Toronto, the three largest Ukrainian centres, the first organizations were mutual aid societies which evolved into non-partisan associations. In Ottawa and the smaller industrial centres in southern Ontario (Hamilton, Oshawa, Sarnia, Brantford, Welland, St. Catharines), the secular societies were small, socialist-orientated and affiliated with the Ukrainian Social Democratic party. With no bilingual teachers and virtually no high school and university students, the nationalists exercised little influence in the east. Catholics and socialists made up the two polar camps, especially after secular priests arrived in 1913-14. By 1917 young and energetic pastors were challenging the socialists in many cities.

Montreal, Fort William and Toronto exemplified the trends in the east. The first Ukrainian organization in Montreal, the Society for the Protection of Immigrants, established in 1904, held dances, raised funds and met incoming immigrant trains to protect newcomers from the con men who preyed upon Ukrainians in the city. It collapsed in 1906 and was replaced by a mutual aid society (Samopomich), which shared many of its eighty members with the Mykhailo Drahomanov Society, established almost concurrently by old-country freethinkers and radicals. Until 1911, when a Social Democratic branch emerged, these were the only active Ukrainian organizations in Montreal. Shortlived Social Democratic branches were also established in Lachine and Blui Bonnet before the war.²⁶ In Fort William a sick benefit society and a radical reading club formed in 1904 by Mykola Babyn, an old-country radical, collapsed in 1905. Cultural activity revived in 1910 when a dormant Prosvita Reading Club, affiliated with the Catholic parish, split over a subscription to *Hromadskyyi holos*, the organ of the Radical party. The radicals seceded and established two societies: the Zaporizka Sich Association, sixty youthful members who modeled their society on the Radical Sich in Galicia, and the Ruska Besida Association, comprised of older radicals. After both groups amalgamated, a spacious Taras

Shevchenko National Home was constructed in 1914, where the usual readings, lectures, plays and gymnastics were held.²⁷ In Toronto a St. Nicholas Mutual Benefit Society was founded in 1906, renewed in 1910, chartered as the Ruthenian National Benefit Society in 1911 and renamed the Taras Shevchenko Association in 1914, all the while sponsoring dances and plays to raise money. The association had a nationalist complexion and constituted the nucleus of the National Home Association established in the 1920s. The first of several Social Democratic branches appeared in 1911, though a strong and stable branch did not emerge until 1915. By 1917 it claimed approximately two hundred members.²⁸

Although the first Ukrainian Catholic parishes in Fort William and Toronto were formed in 1909, and in Montreal in 1911, it was only in 1913 that priests took up residence and began developing alternative institutions. In Montreal, Fr. Ivan Perepelytsia and his successor, Amvrozii Redkevych, organized three reading clubs or *prosvity* (named after Taras Shevchenko, Ivan Franko and Markiian Shashkevych), four primary classes for Ukrainian children in the city's Catholic school system, a women's society and a Catholic benevolent society (because the secular Samopomich Society refused priests as members). In 1917 a church dedicated to the Archangel Michael was constructed.²⁹ In Toronto, Fr. Iosyf Boyarczuk constructed St. Josaphat's church, the first Ukrainian public building in the city, and by 1918 there were a Ukrainian evening school, choir, orchestra, drama circle, two mutual aid societies and a cultural-educational society in the parish. In Fort William, where priests barely eked out a living, and in Hamilton, Ottawa and Oshawa, churches were built in 1917 and similar, if somewhat less successful, efforts were made to provide a constellation of Catholic parish societies between 1915 and 1918.³⁰

Although it is clear that benevolent (mutual aid) societies did exist in several cities (Winnipeg, Edmonton, Saskatoon, West Fort William, Hamilton, Montreal, Toronto), most were organized by individuals who had belonged to similar associations in the United States. Compared with the ten Ukrainian and Carpatho-Rusyn nation-wide benevolent organizations in the United States with at least seventy to eighty thousand members in 1912, Canadian endeavours were most unimpressive, and compared unfavourably even with the achievements of other Canadian immigrant groups. In Montreal, for example, where Ukrainians organized only two benevolent societies between 1904 and 1923, Italian immigrants, with no special reputation for creating associations, established almost forty, though they outnumbered Ukrainians only two to one.³¹ The dearth of such societies before the 1920s was likely the result of their being less common in Galicia and Bukovyna than in other parts of Europe. Canadian Ukrainians also lacked the large and stable urban population base and did not live near large and dynamic Polish and Slovak communities whose self-help institutions they could emulate. Or perhaps such institutions simply had little appeal to transient Ukrainian labourers in Canada, who had to traverse great distances to find work

and had few opportunities to establish roots in any particular community. What was the point of making monthly or weekly contributions when one lived in at least two or three widely separated cities and frontier towns each year and never knew where the next job might be?

Frontier Institutions

If Ukrainian cultural and institutional life was most vibrant in the cities, it was least developed in the frontier towns and camps of British Columbia, Alberta and northern Ontario. Remote and isolated, with few social amenities and no opportunities for social advancement, frontier regions did not attract the educated and ambitious, who were the catalysts of cultural activity in urban areas. The frontier had no bilingual schools to teach, no universities or trade schools to attend and few opportunities to establish a business or professional career. Even the clergy rarely penetrated the forbidding regions, and before 1918 only three priests appear to have done so. In 1904 the Basilian, Anton Strotsky, visited miners in the Crow's Nest Pass; in 1909, Tymotei Vasylevych, the suspended priest at Winnipeg's "independent" Catholic SS. Vladimir and Olga parish, travelled to Copper Cliff to bless a church after the Basilians had declined; and in 1918 the Redemptorists conducted a mission in Copper Cliff. The first and only Catholic priest to serve permanently in a frontier town, Wasył Gegeychuk, the younger brother of the notorious Conservative party agent, was of dubious moral character. He was "exiled" to northern Ontario in 1914, because it would have been impolitic to station him in or near a major centre. As a result, only Copper Cliff, Sault Ste. Marie and Kenora had Ukrainian Catholic churches before 1918, and Kenora was on the CPR mainline a mere 120 miles east of Winnipeg.³²

The only educated Ukrainians to visit the frontier regions with any consistency were socialist organizers, who worked either in the mines, forests and factories or for the Social Democratic organizations. Among them were Toma Tomashewsky and Dmytro Solianych in the Crow's Nest Pass before 1910, Wasył Holowacky, Paul Crath, Tymofei Koreichuk, Andrii Dmytryshyn and Mykola Korzh in the Pass and northern Ontario between 1912 and 1916, and William (Wasył) Kolisnyk and Mykhailo Kniazevych in northern Ontario in 1917-18. On the prairies 90 per cent of the societies in almost fifty frontier towns and camps were Social Democratic branches. Most emerged only after a party organizer visited, spoke for two or three hours on a topic like "Why Workers Age Quickly and Die Young?" and exhorted his audience to subscribe to *Robochyi narod* and to establish a branch.³³

Although the Progress Reading Club (Chytnia Postup), formed in Lethbridge in 1904, described itself as being socialist, Volia (Freedom), established in Nanaimo in 1907, is commonly regarded as the first Ukrainian socialist

society. Before 1912 others could be found in southern Alberta and British Columbia—in towns like Frank, Hillcrest, Hosmer, Michel, Nelson, Coleman, Canmore and Cardiff—and by 1918 they could be found, most Alberta mining districts. In northern Ontario they appeared in 1912, after the Social Democrats established branches in Cobalt, South Porcupine and Timmins. However, with fifteen to forty transient members, most branches were rarely able to sustain a regular schedule of events. Lectures were delivered on the rare occasions when party organizers visited, and drama circles appeared only before the war, with few really active before 1917. In most frontier socialist societies, meetings and the opportunity to commiserate with comrades was the standard fare. Perhaps the two most active branches were Hillcrest, where several plays and concerts attended by many non-Ukrainians were held before 1914, and Fernie, headquarters of the Ukrainian Social Democratic party's western regional executive, where lectures, debates, English and Ukrainian evening classes, a large library and the Volodymyr Vynnychenko Drama Circle were part of the cultural activities.³⁴

Non-socialist societies existed in Rainy River, Fort Frances, Kenora, Sault Ste. Marie and in the Sudbury basin at Mond Mine and Coniston/Worthington, where INCO and Mond Nickel tried to keep out unions and "socialist agitators." The society at Rainy River, founded in 1907, had its own Prosvita building by 1909, while Coniston, Mond Mine and Sault Ste. Marie, where the Prosvita Association performed thirteen plays in 1918 alone, had national homes by 1917.³⁵

Instability was the common curse of all frontier organizations, with accidents, layoffs, lockouts, the departure of an activist, the closing of a mine, internment during the war years or the lure of alcohol often sufficient to curtail activities. Hillcrest did not recover its pre-eminence after the 1914 mine explosion killed twenty-nine Ukrainians, among them several activists; the Ivan Franko Association in Mond Mine collapsed after several members returned to the old country in 1919; and two years after its construction the Prosvita in Rainy River stood empty, its bookshelves cluttered with whisky bottles and glasses. The Social Democratic branch in Hosmer, with 163 members in 1909, was defunct by 1912, while that in Canmore, first established around 1910, had to be renewed in 1914 and again in 1918 after disintegrating on at least two occasions.³⁶ In fact, most branches had to be revived at least once and many more disappeared never to be heard from again.

Rural Institutions

Just as frontier labourers were largely inaccessible to nationalists, so socialists had great difficulty penetrating rural settlements. Socialist organizational efforts among farmers in Manitoba's Whitemouth-Brokenhead and Interlake regions and

in Canora, Saskatchewan, met with little success in 1911-12. Rural settlers were generally suspicious of outsiders who claimed to be motivated by a zeal for public rather than private ends; they also harboured many popular misconceptions about socialism. Socialist organizers had to explain that they did not intend "to take away the farmers' land and livestock and divide them among themselves" or "to exchange their own thin cows for the farmers' seed drills."³⁷ As a result, the community-building process in rural areas, once the Independent Greek church disappeared in 1912, became largely a tug of war between Catholic priests and nationalist school teachers. In the conflict the clergy could count on centuries of tradition, the inertia of habit and the support of older settlers; the teachers, who outnumbered the clergy ten to one, could appeal to progress, the young and the promise of a better future.

Parishes and churches were the first and often the only institutions established in rural settlements before 1914. The first Ukrainian churches were erected in the Star colony in 1897 and in the Stuartburn and Dauphin settlements in 1898. By 1914 there were at least 150 rural Ukrainian Catholic churches on the prairies and 203 by 1921, with 85 in Manitoba, 75 in Saskatchewan and only 43 in Alberta.³⁸ Most Ukrainian Catholic churches were in the Yorkton bloc settlement, where the Redemptorists built almost fifty; in east central Alberta, where the Basilians were active since 1902; and in the densely populated bloc north of Dauphin. Ukrainian Catholic parishes were relatively few in the Stuartburn colony, where most settlers were Bukovynians; in the Shoal Lake region with its substantial number of Latin-rite Ukrainians; and in the three blocs north of Saskatoon, where the Independent Greek church had had a large following. In the Manitoba Interlake, another Independent Greek church stronghold, Ukrainian Catholics made significant gains only after 1912.

Even though the Russian Orthodox church, with twenty-nine priests on the prairies in 1917, had more clergy than its understaffed Ukrainian Catholic rival, it had only forty-five rural churches—twenty in Manitoba, twelve in Saskatchewan and thirteen in Alberta.³⁹ In Manitoba they were concentrated in the Stuartburn and Interlake districts, and especially in the Dauphin bloc, where many Galicians had converted to Russian Orthodoxy. In Saskatchewan all but two churches were clustered in the crescent-shaped Bukovynian colony that stretched from Calder and Wroxton southeast of Yorkton to Insinger and Sheho. In Alberta, where the Russian Orthodox church was firmly rooted, all parishes but two near Leduc were in the bloc settlement east of Edna-Star, consisting of Orthodox Bukovynians and Galician converts to Russian Orthodoxy.

Although rural parishes could not duplicate the great variety of cultural activities in the cities, a few 'salvation-oriented' and cultural-educational societies did exist. The Basilians organized apostleships of prayer and sodalities of St. Barbara in Mundare and Round Hill, Alberta; the Redemptorists established confraternities of the Eucharistic Heart of Jesus in Goodeve, Hubbard, Jasmin

and Rama-Dobrovody, Saskatchewan; and the Sisters Servants, with forty-seven members by 1917, ran elementary schools in Mundare (1904) and Sifton (1917), a school for girls in Yorkton (1917) and orphanages in Mundare and Ituna (1920). By 1914, St. Joseph's school and orphanage in Mundare enrolled 126 children, including 86 boarders (virtually all orphans), while three years later 22 of the 55 children at the Sacred Heart Institute in Yorkton were orphans.⁴⁰ After their arrival in 1913-14, several young secular priests in western Manitoba organized reading clubs and drama circles and built parish halls.⁴¹ Even the Basilians organized two or three reading clubs in Alberta during the war, and when a church choir, band, and drama circle were formed in Mundare (at their behest), they helped to establish a Catholic national home.⁴²

The church, however, had an importance in rural parishes that urban centres could never duplicate. Services on Sundays and holy days were rare social occasions, a chance to wear one's finest clothes, meet friends and relatives, talk business or flirt with members of the opposite sex. The church was particularly important to women and prosperous farmers (*gazdy*). For women, church services offered a unique opportunity to escape the isolation and monotonous toil of the homestead. Some women and their families even flocked to the church on Sundays when there were no services.⁴³ For the *gazdy*, the church confirmed their status as local notables, who served as trustees, elders, cantors and sacristans and hosts for the priest when he visited. They marched at the front of processions and carried banners, flags and icons on the feast day of the church's patron saint, during pilgrimages to distant shrines and on special occasions such as episcopal visitations. The bitter and expensive lawsuits over church property between Ukrainian Catholic and Russian Orthodox factions demonstrated how important pre-eminence in parish life was to status-conscious peasant immigrants.

Most settlers continued to live according to a liturgical calendar that marked the major work cycles in peasant communities. The first and most important period began at Lent with preparations for the resumption of outdoor activities, continued into spring when fields were ploughed and sowed, and culminated early in July on the feast days of St. John the Baptist and SS. Peter and Paul. By 1914, Mundare and Yorkton hosted annual pilgrimages that attracted thousands from hundreds of miles away. Special services, sermons and processions added solemnity and allowed settlers to renew acquaintances, exchange information and hire additional workers. The second period, from midsummer through autumn, involved harvesting and threshing and culminated in a two-week period of Christmas celebrations and a seven-week period between Epiphany and Lent, when meat was eaten and weddings and dances held.⁴⁴

Public schools were the second rural institutions to be established. Unlike parishes and churches, which were organized spontaneously and built by the whole community, school districts usually required the initiative of enlightened

individuals or the prodding of provincial departments. Indeed, as we shall see (Chapter 13), many immigrants at first resisted school districts and schools, either because they feared taxes or believed that their children should assume farm work as soon as possible. By 1914, however, with almost 150 public schools in Manitoba and Saskatchewan and 100 in Alberta, schools outnumbered churches in rural Ukrainian settlements.

The establishment of a public school was a major boon to community-building. Where a Ukrainian teacher was hired, as was increasingly the case in Manitoba and Saskatchewan after 1907, the first concerts, lectures, public meetings, plays, reading clubs, national homes and co-operative stores usually followed. Often for the first time in their lives, settlers were introduced to the secular ideas of the Ukrainian national movement and, through the newspapers, they entered into communion with Ukrainians in other parts of Canada, the United States, Galicia and Bukovyna. Because the most active teachers were exponents of the nationalist agenda articulated by Ferley and *Ukrainskyi holos*, public schools helped the nationalist intelligentsia to gain ascendancy in rural areas. Although some reading clubs and national homes were established by Protestants, socialists, Ukrainian Catholic priests and even Russophiles, the overwhelming majority popularized the views of the nationalist intelligentsia.

The teachers and other would-be enlighteners met with resistance from several quarters: Russophile school trustees; Latin-rite settlers who thought of themselves as Poles; Bukovynians under the influence of Ukrainophobic Russian Orthodox priests; and pious Catholics who feared for the salvation of their souls. At Sarto, Manitoba, when a teacher's newly established reading club proposed a play to raise money for books, it was confronted by the local cantor, his illiterate father-in-law and a group armed with sticks and clubs who threatened to destroy the props and costumes and cancel the play, convinced that the actors would "represent demons and mock religion" and "purchase books which spoil the people."⁴⁵ Nonetheless, religious or ideological opposition took second place to the peasant immigrants' own indifference and suspicion of outsiders. Teachers and others who encouraged reading clubs and national homes, or who collected books and newspaper subscriptions, were accused of lining their own pockets.⁴⁶ "Will a reading club provide me with food and drink?" opponents asked. "Our fathers and grandfathers did not belong to societies and managed to live to a ripe old age, so why can't we do likewise?" In Ebenezer, Saskatchewan, when a reading club was suggested, settlers wondered, "Why would we want such a curiosity here? What else will you try to foist on poor people like us?"⁴⁷

Often the most passionate opponents were the *gazdy*: prosperous, older homesteaders, frequently school trustees or municipal councillors, usually quite illiterate. Sensing a threat to their primacy, they tended to measure the worth of others by the number of horses, cows and hogs they possessed, the extent and quality of their land and the honours accorded them on festive occasions. They

were contemptuous of teachers and other outsiders who challenged their time-tested values. The newfangled societies were led by “snotty-nosed boys” (*smarkachi*) who had the effrontery to hold meetings on Sunday afternoons. What could school teachers—propertyless ne’er-do-wells in city clothes and spectacles who dealt only with children and never did an honest day’s work in the fields—teach them? Would they prepare the young to become proprietors or merely fill their heads with impractical book learning?⁴⁸

Such hostility revealed a serious generation gap. Reading clubs and national homes were institutions of the younger generation. Most of the settlers who took out homesteads at the turn of the century were born before compulsory education had been introduced in the old country, and they had reached maturity before reading clubs and other cultural institutions had proliferated in many Galician and Bukovynian villages. By 1914 many were *gazdy* in their fifties and sixties; on the other hand, reading clubs and national homes were organized by young men in their twenties, and their most active members were literate sons and daughters of the homesteaders.

Developments in Tolstoi, Manitoba, and Lanuke, Alberta, illustrate the point. In Tolstoi, Ukrainian Catholics from Galicia, aided by local teachers, had established reading clubs in 1906 and 1908, which folded quickly because of illiteracy. Not until 1914, when Wasyl Kolodzinsky, a twenty-nine-year-old bilingual school teacher and a secularly minded nationalist, organized the Iednist (Unity) Society was the first national home built by sixteen young volunteers under the supervision of a master builder. A concert commemorating the centennial of Shevchenko’s birth followed, as did the district’s first play. In the national home, young people, who had previously loitered in the local general stores on Sunday afternoons, now learned folk songs, put on plays, read aloud books like Mark Twain’s *The Prince and the Pauper* or Nechui-Levytsky’s *Kaidasheva Simia*, and heard lectures on Ukrainian and Canadian history, agriculture and other topics delivered by Kolodzinsky and teachers from neighbouring districts. Temperance was promoted through debates and humorous monologues on the evils of alcoholism, and by 1917 the society had a library, a complete theatrical wardrobe and Saturday morning Ukrainian classes. A picnic in July 1917 attracted over five hundred persons, but most of the local *gazdy*, who refused to abandon their liquid refreshments and scorned the new institution as a “Baptist chapel” or a “socialist fortress,” stayed away.⁴⁹

In the Lanuke district, northeast of Vegreville, internal divisions among three groups—Catholics from Przemyśl county, converts to the Independent Greek church from Sniatyn county and a handful of Russophiles—militated against organizations until 1911, when Peter Teresio and Wasyl Humen, local youths who had mined in the Crow’s Nest Pass, established a short-lived Social Democratic branch. In October 1914 they organized the Mykhailo Pavlyk Prosvita, which subscribed to the socialist *Robochyi narod*, the nationalist

Ukrainskyi holos and the American *Svoboda*. Within a year the society's membership had grown from eighteen to forty, the Mykhailo Pavlyk National Home was constructed for six hundred dollars, three concerts were held and Tymofei Koreichuk, the Social Democratic organizer, had addressed them. The local *gazdy*, who had confidently predicted the new institution's demise because of its youthful executive, avoided it "as if the devil dwelt inside." The Prosvita, however, not only survived, but the first Ukrainian teacher staged the first play in 1916 and a year later a children's club was organized. Although the founders sympathized with the movement, a branch of the Social Democratic party did not emerge because there were no local socialist leaders and many settlers identified socialism with "godlessness."⁵⁰

The year 1914 was a turning point in the expansion of cultural activities in rural Ukrainian settlements. Although reading clubs in private homes and school houses had been forming and reforming since the turn of the century, only seventy-five reading clubs, many short-lived, had been organized in sixty rural localities on the prairies before 1914. In that year, however, and for several years thereafter, about 25 new clubs were established annually and by 1921 there were at least 210 in some 150 rural localities. In 1914 the first rural national homes were also constructed in Tolstoi, Ethelbert, Lanuke and Vegreville, and by the autumn of 1921 at least fifty others dotted the prairie landscape. Although the first rural play was staged in Pleasant Home in 1907 and concerts became increasingly common after 1911, in a great many rural districts such events were not introduced until 1914, and only in subsequent years did they become a staple feature of Ukrainian life outside the cities.⁵¹

The cultural 'renaissance' after 1914 was the result of converging social and economic circumstances. By 1914-15 many more Ukrainian bilingual teachers were employed in rural Manitoba and Saskatchewan and for the first time Ukrainian Catholic secular priests were stationed in most bloc settlements. Schools, where reading clubs often met and the first plays and concerts were usually held, were much more plentiful. Concerts to commemorate the centennial of Taras Shevchenko's birth in 1914 also stimulated cultural activity. While pious Catholic settlers in Glen Elmo, Manitoba, were opposed because the poet "was not a saint" but an Orthodox "schismatic" unworthy of celebration,⁵² elsewhere the sight of small children reading aloud, singing songs and reciting poetry promoted cultural societies. Economic prosperity, too, encouraged cultural activity. After five to fifteen years of clearing land and establishing a homestead, the transition by some from subsistence agriculture to commercial farming brought increased wealth and greater leisure time. Moreover, the recession of 1913-14 obliged young men to remain on the farms and caused thousands of urban and migrant labourers to seek refuge in rural settlements. Thus audiences for plays and concerts increased, as did recruits for reading clubs and drama circles, who occasionally added to the supply of able leaders. The war,

which intensified concern about developments overseas, spurred the formation of reading clubs and stimulated the illiterate to learn how to read.⁵³ It also brought increased agricultural prices, which made it easier not only to construct national homes but to sustain organizational activity in the buoyant and optimistic atmosphere.

Many districts, of course, remained untouched by such developments and others were always vulnerable. The departure of a teacher or another leader could destroy the reading club and end all cultural activity. Where clubs survived, members—rarely more than thirty or forty—often preferred social activities. In Roblin, for example, members of the reading club opposed the purchase of books and questioned their utility, while in nearby Arran, Saskatchewan, individuals who preferred football and dancing to literature locked up the library and refused to surrender the key to local bibliophiles.⁵⁴ Thus the growth of societies and cultural activity varied greatly among provinces, bloc settlements and districts. Before 1921 about 45 per cent of the rural reading clubs and other societies, and 33 per cent of the national homes, were in Manitoba, where Ukrainians were more numerous and there were more bilingual teachers. Saskatchewan and Alberta trailed with 35 and 20 per cent of the rural reading clubs and 42 and 25 per cent of the national homes.⁵⁵ Within each province, certain districts stood out—Ethelbert and the region west of Dauphin, the Fish-Creek/Rosthern settlement north of Saskatoon, and Vegreville and its environs. Each was densely populated, economically prosperous and well provided with indigenous leaders, who, like the Hryhorczuks of Ethelbert and the Svariches of Vegreville, were natives of Kolomyia and Sniatyn counties. In 1910, Vegreville and Ethelbert already had active reading clubs, frequent lectures, concerts and plays and successful Ukrainian co-operative stores; by 1918 the local national homes sponsored libraries, Ukrainian classes for children, two of the first rural Ukrainian women's societies and even a student residence (in Vegreville).⁵⁶ On the other hand, the sparsely populated Whitemouth-Brokenhead district, the Shoal Lake bloc (with the possible exception of Oakburn), large sections of the vast Yorkton colony and parts of the bloc in east central Alberta populated by the Bukovynians were *relatively* dormant before 1918. They were, in the main, Catholic and/or Russian Orthodox strongholds.

Areas settled by Bukovynians were particularly devoid of cultural activity before 1918. In 1897, Fr. Dmytriw had remarked that the Bukovynians were the most ignorant (*temni*) of all Ukrainian immigrants. The Ukrainian national movement had made fewer inroads in Bukovyna before 1914, and the presence of Russian Orthodox clergy in their settlements and the antipathy of many Bukovynian peasants toward outsiders, including Galician Ukrainians, did not help. As a result, in most districts settled by Bukovynians “the only public assemblies patronized by all the people [were] weddings and funerals.”⁵⁷ Would-be activists were told to “go to the devil” and the few reading clubs that were

organized had brief lifespans. It was not unusual for organizers to complain that Bukovynians "have no idea what the word enlightenment [*prosvita*] means." The first societies and national homes established in Bukovynian areas—Stuartburn, Canora and Smoky Lake—were usually organized by natives of Galicia. A notable exception was the Iurii Fedkovych reading club and national home in Arbakka, Manitoba, organized by the local teacher and municipal reeve, Wasył Mihaychuk, a native of Bukovyna who emigrated as a small boy and received his education in Canada.⁵⁸ Cultural life in most Bukovynian communities began to stir only in the 1920s after the younger generation acquired influence.

Co-operative stores, the last institutions to emerge in Ukrainian rural settlements, were also scarce among Bukovynians, though they were not that much more plentiful among Galicians. No more than a dozen, organized usually by bilingual teachers who shared the nationalist commitment to greater economic self-reliance, were noted in the press before 1918, and very few survived more than two or three years.⁵⁹ The two most successful were the National Co-operative Company (Ruska Narodna Torhivlia) and the Ruthenian Farmers' Elevator Company. The first originated in December 1909 when a group of prosperous businessmen and farmers led by Peter Svarich of Vegreville and Paul Rudyk of Edmonton formed a joint-stock company that offered one thousand shares at twenty dollars each. By 1911 the company had established successful general stores in Vegreville, Chipman and Innisfree, which sold everything from coffee and tea to farm clothes, fancy dresses, iron goods and farm machinery. At first, the company operated on capital advanced by Rudyk and other directors and prominent shareholders—among them Peter and Andrew Svarich, Gregory Krakiwsky, Peter Kolmatycky, Wasył Czumer and (before 1913) Andrew Shandro. It expanded cautiously by renting premises and purchasing stock from bankrupt stores. As a result, annual profits grew from less than \$6,000 in 1910 to more than \$13,000 in 1912, levelled off at \$5-7,000 during the recession and rose to about \$20,000 annually between 1917 and 1920. By 1917 over \$50,000 worth of shares had been sold, the company's assets stood at well over \$125,000 and annual sales had surpassed \$200,000. To justify its identification as a national (*narodna*) institution, the company employed young Ukrainians and provided them with an invaluable background to pursue business careers. At least forty clerks were employed between 1910 and 1916 alone, and many went into business after their apprenticeship. Economic self-reliance was encouraged through a five hundred-dollar loan fund established in 1916 for youths to attend business college in Edmonton. The company also made annual donations to a variety of Ukrainian institutions in and outside Alberta. In the decade 1911-20 gifts totalled just over \$4,000, less than 4 per cent of the company's net profits of \$110,000. Almost half went to student residences in Edmonton, Vegreville, Saskatoon and Winnipeg, and to the sisters' school and orphanage in Mundare. Other beneficiaries included the Ukrainian Publishing Company in Winnipeg,

several national homes in rural Alberta, Ukrainian private schools in Galicia and the Ukrainian Red Cross in postwar Europe.⁶⁰

The other important co-operative enterprise was the Ruthenian Farmers' Elevator Company chartered in May 1917. Organized and directed by prominent nationalists like Ferley (the company's president), Ivan Petrushevich (an economist originally recruited by Bishop Budka), Havrylo Slipchenko, Wasyl Kolodzinsky, Nicholas Hryhorczuk and other teachers and prosperous farmers, the company operated grain elevators and traded in agricultural products. From its first two elevators, constructed in Ethelbert, Manitoba, and Jasmin, Saskatchewan, in the fall of 1917, the company expanded rapidly with the rise in wartime agricultural prices, and by 1919 it had elevators in fourteen towns—twelve in the Dauphin, Shoal Lake and Yorkton bloc settlements—the limits of its expansion. With twelve hundred shareholders and profits over twenty-two thousand dollars, it was easily the largest Ukrainian-owned enterprise in Canada. "Were it not for our company," the 1920 annual report concluded triumphantly, "this sum of money would have found its way into the pockets of private capitalists, whereas today it remains in the possession of our people, farmers and labourers, who are members and shareholders of the company."⁶¹

The National Co-operative and Ruthenian Farmers' Elevator companies were the most visible symbols of the nationalist intelligentsia's growing influence in rural areas. Both were but the tip of an iceberg whose base was a network of reading clubs and national homes, legions of rural school teachers and *Ukrainskyi holos's* twelve thousand subscribers, many of them prosperous, influential and increasingly confident farmers. To the Catholic church and clergy, the rapidly expanding nationalist strength and influence was a direct challenge, one to which, as we shall see, they were not about to yield.

The Transmission of Ideologies

By 1918 the reading clubs, drama circles, national homes and Social Democratic branches established by nationalist and socialist *inteligenty* to transmit their ideas had become fixtures in many Ukrainian urban, frontier and rural colonies. Secular ideologies would begin to penetrate Ukrainian colonies shortly after a reading club or a Social Democratic branch established a library. Located in schoolhouses and in private homes, most libraries were modest—a small selection of newspapers and a few books. For most reading clubs, the press was the primary source of information about the outside world. Before 1914 most rural clubs organized by Independent Greek church clergy and bilingual teachers subscribed to three or four Ukrainian newspapers, though the Prosvita Reading Club in Ethelbert subscribed to eight in three languages.⁶² In addition to the American *Svoboda*, which published much on Canada before 1908, and

Ukrainian-Canadian newspapers (*Kanadyiskyi farmer, Ranok, Ukrainskyi holos, Kanadyiskyi rusyn, Novyi krai, Novyny*, and occasionally *Robochyi narod*), several rural clubs subscribed to Ukrainian newspapers and periodicals published in Galicia (*Hromadskyi holos, Zemlia i volia, Svoboda, Misionar*). In general a club's denominational or political loyalties determined the papers available, though clubs led by broad-minded individuals had newspapers that reflected a variety of viewpoints. High-brow periodicals like the National Democratic *Dilo* (The Deed) and *Literaturno-naukovyi vistnyk* (The Literary-Scientific Herald), a quarterly of literary and social criticism, could be found in some clubs and editorial offices in Winnipeg.

Social Democratic libraries also carried three or four newspapers, and shortly before its demise in 1913 the Vancouver branch subscribed to twelve in four languages.⁶³ At first, socialist libraries tended to subscribe to the Radical *Hromadskyi holos*, as well as to non-socialist periodicals like the Kievan *Rada* (The Council) and *Dzvin* (The Bell); by 1914, however, most Social Democratic branches eschewed such "bourgeois" newspapers. In addition to Ukrainian-Canadian socialist newspapers (*Chervonyi prapor, Robochyi narod, Nova hromada, Robitnyche slovo, Kadylo*) and left-wing Ukrainian-American newspapers like *Haidamaky* (The Haydamaks) and *Robitnyk* (The Worker), some branches also subscribed to such overseas Ukrainian socialist newspapers as *Borba* (The Struggle), *Nash holos* (Our Voice), *Vpered* (Forward) and *Pratsia* (Labour). Polish social democratic and anticlerical newspapers published in Cracow and Chicago such as *Naprzód* (Forward), *Prawo Ludu* (The People's Right), *Dziennik Ludowy* (The People's Daily), *Bicz Boży* (The Whip of God), the Russian Social Democratic party's New York organ *Novyi mir* (The New World) and Canadian and American socialist newspapers (*Cotton's Weekly, The Western Clarion, Canadian Forward, Appeal to Reason*) could also be found in some branch libraries.

Rural reading clubs and frontier Social Democratic branches rarely had libraries of more than 150 to 200 volumes before 1921, even though the Taras Shevchenko Reading Club in Senkiw, Manitoba, amassed 500 volumes between 1907 and 1921, a size more usually found only in the cities.⁶⁴ Most book collections consisted of *belles lettres* (poetry, novels, drama) and popular "scientific" non-fiction works. Poetry was usually limited to Shevchenko's *Kobzar*, selected works by Franko and Fedkovych, and Rudansky's *spivomovky*—short anecdotal poems which constituted "a kind of catalogue-encyclopedia of the variegated small-town and village life of his [Rudansky's] native Podillia."⁶⁵ Drama, examined at length below, was represented by the standard nineteenth-century central-Ukrainian repertoire and by plays written expressly for Galician villagers. While a selection of the realistic and naturalistic novels of Marko Vovchok, Ivan Nechui-Levytsky and Ivan Franko was available

in some libraries, historical novels and adventure stories set in distant and exotic lands were the most typical fiction in most reading clubs. Translations of Defoe's *Robinson Crusoe*, Swift's *Gulliver's Travels*, Verne's *Twenty Thousand Leagues Under the Sea*, Dumas's *The Three Musketeers* and Robert Louis Stevenson's *Treasure Island* were usually borrowed by school boys and read aloud on winter evenings to provide momentary escapes from the monotony of daily life. Ukrainian historical novels like Gogol's *Taras Bulba*, Kulish's *Chorna rada*, Franko's *Zakhar Berkut*, as well as tales about Karmeliuk, Oleksa Dovbush, Kudeiar and other social bandits, celebrated heroic lives and perhaps even fostered a sense of national pride and class consciousness.

Non-fiction holdings included popular works on history, religion, politics and the natural sciences. Hrushevsky's one-volume history of Ukraine, Antonovych's history of the Ukrainian Cossacks and Franko's outline history of Ukrainian literature were usually the only historical works. Religion, a topic of great interest especially to teachers, was represented by titles such as Drahomanov's *Rai i postup* (Paradise and Progress), Maurice Verne's *Life of Christ*, J.W. Draper's *History of the Conflict Between Religion and Science*, Karl Kautsky's *Foundations of Christianity* and Theodore Bartošek's *Modern Society and the Church*. Naturally, such titles were rarely found in reading clubs established by the Catholic clergy, but elsewhere they were widely available in inexpensive, often abridged editions. Works dealing with the natural sciences—Karl Ewald's *The Bi-ped*, Robert Blatchford's *The Environment* and illustrated volumes like *Evolution in Pictures* that sought to popularize Darwinian views—could also be found in many libraries established by progressive and radical individuals.

Pamphlets by prominent Ukrainian and European socialists were readily available in the cities and frontier mining towns through the efforts of *Robochyi narod*, Ivan Hnyda's "Novyi Svit" publishing house in Montreal and various Ukrainian publishers in the United States, who brought out at least fifty titles before 1918. Included were Ukrainian works by Myroslaw Stechishin, Paul Crath, Ivan Hnyda and the prolific Volodymyr Levynsky, a prominent Galician Social Democrat,⁶⁶ as well as translations of Marx and Engels's *Communist Manifesto*, Engels's *Socialism: Utopian and Scientific*, Karl Renner's *The Nation As a Legal Concept and the International*, Kautsky's *On the Origins of Nationality*, Emil Haecker's *Karl Marx*, Wilhelm Liebknecht's *Knowledge Is Power—Power Is Knowledge*, Friedrich Adler's *Speech*, Anatolii Lunacharsky's *The International*, Nikolai Bukharin's *Organize!* Aleksandra Kollontai's *Who Are the Socialists and What Do They Want?* Julius Martov's *Class Against Class*, Charles H. Kerr's *What Do the Socialists Think?* and Morris Hillquit's *A Brief History of Socialism*. Also widely available through *Robochyi narod* was a translation of *The God Pestilence*, a pamphlet by Johann Most, the German Social Democrat-turned-American anarchist who followed in the footsteps of

Proudhon and Bakunin and argued "that it is the idea of an all-powerful god that leads men to submit themselves to political and social tyranny and not simply the economic forces that surround him."⁶⁷

It is, of course, impossible to determine how many immigrants actually read the books or what their impact might have been. Although the consciousness of most immigrants, including the activists, was likely forged in the school of life rather than in reading-club libraries, the latter, nonetheless, would have influenced individuals predisposed to ask questions. The writer Illia Kiriak recalled that he "became fully civilized in the national and political sense" as a member of the Myroslav Sichynsky Workers' Association in Hosmer in 1909-10.⁶⁸ Besides a variety of Radical and Social Democratic publications, the association's library had nearly all of the popular works published by the Shevchenko Scientific Society, *Dilo* and Prosvita in Lviv.

Teachers and socialist organizers who delivered lectures also belonged to that minority who read the books and pamphlets found in the libraries. Not infrequently what they said was based on what they found there. As oral propaganda, the lectures were most important. What has recently been written about the efforts of German Social Democrats to mobilize workers at the turn of the century applies in large measure to the efforts of nationalist and socialist *intelligenty* to mobilize Ukrainian immigrants in Canada: "Speech was more important than printed texts for the politicization process....Talking to colleagues, attending meetings and listening to speeches could make an immediate impact, whereas the printed word could be influential only if the potential followers made the effort to read."⁶⁹ While the nationalists delivered lectures on Ukrainian identity ("Who Are We? Hrushevsky's *Istoriia Ukrainy-Rusy*," "Is Ukrainian National Liberation Possible?" "Our Identity: Canadian-Ukrainian, Ukrainian-Canadian or Canadian?") and addressed topical issues ("The Emancipation of Women," "Capital Punishment," "Is Militarism Justified?"), the socialists preferred the revolutionary tradition ("The Paris Commune, 1871," "The Revolutions of 1848, 1871 and 1905," "The Rise and Fall of the First and Second International") and pressing economic concerns ("The Economic Crisis, the War and the Rising Cost of Living," "The Fate of the Working People Under Capitalism," "What Is Socialism and What Kind of Future Does it Offer?"). Lectures on self-improvement were also popular with speakers of all persuasions ("Canadian Laws," "On Taxation," "Human Hygiene," "Self-Education," "What to Read?" "How to Raise Children").

Religion and the nature of man were topics that both socialists and nationalists addressed repeatedly, either to undermine clerical authority or to persuade immigrants that the social order was not some immutable divine creation but the result of human greed and ambition, which men like themselves could change and improve. Among the subjects discussed by socialists like Stechishin and Koreichuk and nationalists like Arsenych and Zerebko were "The Origin of

Man," "How Our Forefathers Understood Nature," "The Beliefs of Ancient Peoples," "On the Development of the Deities," "Biblical Morality," "Ecclesiastical Morality in the Light of Higher Criticism," "The Church's Attitude to Slavery," "The Inquisition" and "Superstition in Religion." Devout Catholics and their clergy often responded with outrage. In Saskatoon, when a lecturer at the Taras Shevchenko Reading Club compared Jesus Christ to contemporary socialists and Havrylo Slipchenko suggested that the Bible was a collection of ancient Hebrew myths and legends, the faithful were told to boycott the institution. Catholics also strongly disliked presentations which suggested, as they put it, "that we are descended from monkeys and snails," because such themes undermined religious faith and demoralized the young.⁷⁰

But lectures like books did not attract a mass audience, as rarely more than one hundred attended, even in Winnipeg. Concerts that combined speeches, songs, recitations, humorous monologues and appeals on behalf of numerous causes were far more effective in communicating ideas, values and useful advice to unlettered peasant immigrants. In rural areas, concerts were held at Christmas, at the conclusion of the school year and on special days to commemorate national heroes like Shevchenko, Franko and Pavlyk. In many districts the first concerts were in 1911, the fiftieth anniversary of Shevchenko's death, or in 1914, the centennial of his birth, and they sometimes represented the immigrants' first introduction to the poet. "What a fine man this Shevchenko was, and to think that this is the first time I've heard about him," a settler was heard to remark in Tolstoi in 1914.⁷¹ Such concerts usually began with a speech or brief lecture in which the teacher or another local notable presented biographical information about the celebrated individual and exhorted the audience to follow the person's ideals. Songs and recitations reinforced the exhortations and stirred the audience's national pride. For example, Shevchenko's poems recited by school children reminded those in attendance that

There was a time in our Ukraine
When cannon roared with glee,
A time when Zaporozhian men
Exceeded in mastery!

and conjured up visions of Cossack exploits:

The daring Cossacks dart with clangour
No mortal may escape their anger!
At flames the Cossack warriors scoff
They tear down walls and carry off
Capfuls of silver and of gold
To stow within their vessels hold.

Youthful declaimers also issued appeals to the audience:

Gain knowledge, brothers! Think and read,
 And to your neighbours' gifts pay heed,
 Yet do not thus neglect your own:
 For he who is forgetful shown
 Of his own mother, graceless elf,
 Is punished by our God Himself.
 Strangers will turn from such as he
 And grudge him hospitality—
 Nay, his own children grow estranged;
 Though one so evil may have ranged
 The whole wide earth, he shall not find
 A home to give him peace of mind.

Singing, an integral part of every concert, also transmitted nationalist and socialist ideology. Immigrants who did not read sang on numerous occasions. Concerts, lectures and public meetings organized by the nationalists concluded with one or both Ukrainian national anthems—Franko's hymn (*Ne pora*), which declared

It is time, it is time, it is time
 To refuse to serve Russian and Pole!
 For an end is at hand to the past and its crime;
 Our Ukraine claims your life and your soul

and Chubynsky's "Ukraine has not perished," which prophesied that

All our enemies will vanish
 Like dew in the morning;
 Brothers, we shall soon be masters,
 Our own land adorning.⁷²

Socialists, in turn, sang workers' songs (*robotnychi pisni*) on formal occasions and at weddings, christenings, funerals and dances. Especially popular were "The Workers' Marseillaise," "The Red Flag" and "The International," which exhorted workers to solidarity, class consciousness and political awareness and prophesied the collapse of the unjust capitalist social order. The first, for example, called upon workers to

Cast off the old world's idols
 Shake off its dust from your feet
 We are hostile to riches and altars
 We find odious the powers that be....
 Have we not suffered enough grief?
 Let us all rise, everywhere and at once!
 From the east to the west
 From the south to the north
 Against the thieves, the scoundrels and the rich!

May the evil old order perish
Strike down, lay waste the damned thieves....⁷³

Because they encouraged "an infinite repetition of ideas," songs affected the immigrants' consciousness much more deeply than speeches and lectures heard only once, or books and pamphlets that only a few read.⁷⁴

However, it was the theatre that most effectively transmitted socialist and, in particular, nationalist ideology to the immigrant masses. Even the illiterate, uneducated and physically exhausted, with powers of concentration sapped by work, worry and alcohol, could be reached through plays with simple and direct plots, which manipulated a few stock characters and situations and dispensed with the subtleties of character development. In an era before radio, television and motion pictures, the theatre monopolized the imagination of all and shaped popular opinion.

The repertoire to which most Ukrainians were exposed before the 1920s was parochial and unsophisticated. Unlike Finnish and Jewish immigrants, whose theatre familiarized them with European classics, introduced them to mainstream North American culture and examined such contemporary social problems as the status of women and class relations in modern industrial societies,⁷⁵ the plays performed in rural, frontier and urban Ukrainian colonies were fixated on the nineteenth-century Ukrainian village. Although plays like Shakespeare's *Julius Caesar*, Gogol's *Inspector General*, Molière's *Le Mariage Forcé* and Wilde's *An Ideal Husband* were occasionally presented, non-Ukrainian classics, even when available in Ukrainian translation, were ignored by virtually every Ukrainian drama circle in the country. Nor did modern Ukrainian drama fare any better. Even drama groups which chose Volodymyr Vynnychenko as their patron rarely performed his plays. This was certainly the case with the socialists in Winnipeg, while the nationalists played him only once when Winnipeg's Mariia Zankovetska Drama Circle performed *Moloda krov* (Young Blood) in 1916.⁷⁶ There is no evidence that any Vynnychenko plays were produced elsewhere before 1921.

The actual repertoire of Ukrainian-Canadian drama groups may be divided into three categories. The first consisted of the standard nineteenth-century central-Ukrainian plays, especially the works of Kotliarevsky, Kvitka-Osnovianenko, Kropyvnytsky, Starytsky, Tobilevych, Hrinchenko and Tohobochny. The second category included plays written expressly for the Galician village stage by priests, teachers, actors and lawyers rather than by professional writers or dramatists. The only exception were several popular plays by Ivan Franko. The third category, a small fraction of the whole before the 1920s, were plays written by the immigrants themselves, which treated their experiences and were intended for the immigrant stage, where they enjoyed considerable popularity.

As it is not possible to examine the entire immigrant repertoire—over two hundred titles by 1921—the discussion of the ideas, beliefs and values disseminated by the theatre is based on the thirty most popular plays.⁷⁷ Thirteen of the thirty fall into the standard nineteenth-century central-Ukrainian category. They were popular with unsophisticated Canadian audiences because they were intended for peasant and lower-class urban audiences.⁷⁸ Contrary to popular belief, few of the central-Ukrainian plays staged in Canada portrayed the heroic exploits of seventeenth-century Ukrainian Cossack chieftains. Plays like Sarytsky's *Khmelnysky*, which idealized Cossack leaders, were rarely staged in Canada. In fact, only four of the thirteen plays under consideration—Shevchenko's *Nazar Stodolia*, Kropyvnytsky's *Nevolnyk* (The Captive), Tobilevych's *Bondarivna* (Bondar's Daughter) and Hrinchenko's *Stepovyi hist* (The Visitor from the Steppes)—were set in the seventeenth century and only the last three depicted confrontations between heroic Ukrainian Cossacks and vicious but cowardly non-Ukrainian villains represented by Turks, the Polish *szlachta* and (in *Bondarivna*) the *szlachta*'s Jewish agents. The nine other plays were set in the nineteenth-century Ukrainian village and almost invariably depicted the tribulations of star-crossed lovers. In comedies like Kotliarevsky's *Natalka Poltavka*, Kvitka-Osnovianenko's *Svatannia na Honcharivsi* (Matchmaking at Honcharivka), Tobilevych's *Martyn Borulia* and Kropyvnytsky's *Poshylysia v durni* (Deceived), rich, old, unattractive bachelors (or the fathers of young simpletons) pursue beautiful and virtuous girls. They conspire with neighbours and with greedy and socially ambitious parents to separate the young heroines from their handsome, noble and youthful admirers. A similar story line runs through Sarytsky's incongruous *Oi, ne khody, Hrytsiu, tai na vechornytsi* (Don't Go to the Party, Hryts), "a drama in five acts with songs and dancing"⁷⁹ in which the hero dies after drinking a vial of poison provided by Khoma, a wealthy old bachelor in pursuit of Marusia, the hero's girl friend. More conventional works like Tobilevych's *Beztalanna* (The Unfortunate Girl) and Tohobochny's *Zhydivka vykhrestka* (The Baptized Jewess), both of which dispensed with the peculiar mixture of tragedy, songs and dances so characteristic of nineteenth-century Ukrainian theatre, focused on the tragic fate of women who were beaten, abandoned, murdered or driven to suicide by unfaithful husbands.

The heroes and villains of these plays were almost always Ukrainians. Because they were set in and written by natives of Left Bank Ukraine, where the Jewish population was small, Jews, who are stock villains in Galician plays, were rarely mentioned. Although three plays make passing (usually unflattering) references to Jewish tavernkeepers, five do not mention Jews and one, Tohobochny's *Zhydivka vykhrestka*, depicts Jews very sympathetically while exposing the prejudice and ignorance of Ukrainian peasants. Polish and Russian villains also do not appear in the central-Ukrainian non-historical dramas.

Many of these plays had a moralizing or didactic edge that appealed to leaders intent on “uplift” and “enlightenment.” Tragedies like *Beztalanna* and *Zhydivka vykhrestka* implicitly condemned wife-beating and evoked sympathy for victimized heroines. In comedies, drinking was invariably a vice that led to terrible consequences. Had not their alcoholic fathers frittered away the family fortune, the heroines of *Natalka Poltavka* and *Svatannia na Honcharivtsi* would not have been pursued by repulsive elderly bachelors. In Tobilevych’s plays the patriarchalism, aristocratic airs and social climbing of wealthy old bufoons like Martyn Borulia, and the condescension in *Suieta* (Vanity) of the educated Barylchenkos, who speak Russian rather than their native Ukrainian and feel ashamed of their peasant parents, were satirized mercilessly.

Fourteen of the thirty plays under consideration fall into the second category set in the nineteenth-century Galician village. Although they dealt with the traditional themes of love, adultery, greed and ambition, the Galician plays were concerned to instruct rather than entertain. Only two plays—*Verkhovyntsi* (The Highlanders), a translated adaptation of Korzeniowski’s *Karpaccy-górale*, the tragic tale of a youth who joins a band of brigands when forced to flee into the Carpathians, and Franko’s *Ukradene shchastia* (Stolen Happiness), a compassionate portrayal of a woman’s tragic fate after leaving her elderly husband for the man she loves—did not moralize or presume to instruct. All the rest were highly didactic and moralistic, some no more than thinly veiled vehicles for disseminating national-populist propaganda.

Nearly all plays presented a Manichaean vision of the Galician village caught in a struggle between the forces of darkness and oppression and those of enlightenment and national liberation. Ironically, only Malanchuk’s *Sichynsky-Potocki*, which depicts the Galician viceroy as a callous megalomaniac who dreams of placing a scion of the Potocki family on the throne of a Polish state restored to its “historic” boundaries, showed the landowning aristocracy among the oppressors. In eleven plays the enemies were invariably stereotypically avaricious and cunning Jewish tavernkeeper/usurers. Modern, secular incarnations of the stock figures in traditional Christmas puppet theatre (*vertep*), the villainous Jewish tavernkeepers no longer advised Herod or spat on the Infant Jesus⁸⁰ but exploited the Ukrainian peasants and tried to subvert the temperance and Ukrainian national movements. Nevertheless, in some plays, as in Bilous’s *Muzhyky arystokraty* (Peasant Aristocrats), Jewish villains were carried off the stage screaming to receive their just deserts as the final curtain fell.

Figures of fun, no less than incarnations of evil, Jewish tavernkeepers were usually named Itsko, Moshko, Hershko, Shlioma, Srul or more ominously Wolff. They provoked howls of laughter by murdering the Ukrainian language, gesticulating wildly and bowing and scraping before powerful adversaries. As symbols of evil and oppression, they snared peasants into a web of alcoholism and indebtedness to repossess their tiny plots of land, led the opposition to

sobriety and literacy (which cut into their profits), framed opponents for crimes they had themselves committed, acted as spies, informers and corrupt electoral agents for landlords, spread fantastic rumours about the violent intentions of peasants who boycotted their establishments or struck for higher wages, led gangs of Jewish, Gypsy and (occasionally) Ukrainian thieves who stole from peasants and robbed churches, and bore moral responsibility for the deaths of peasant demonstrators and village activists murdered by soldiers and gendarmes whom they had called. In a word, they were presented with utter hostility.

While it is true that *some* Jewish tavernkeepers did behave badly, these plays suggested that *all* Jews engaged *exclusively* in such activities. The fact that “the overwhelming majority [of Jews] in our land are even poorer and more unfortunate than our peasants,” as Ivan Franko put it, was completely ignored (even by Franko himself in plays like *Uchytel* (The Teacher)). The plight of Jewish artisans, urban proletarians and thousands of petty storekeepers, obliged to pay higher income tax than their competitors and also victimized by usurers, was never mentioned. Only affluent and rapacious Jewish tavernkeepers, usurers and estate agents were depicted without placing their admittedly reprehensible behaviour in proper social context. For example, none of the plays noted that the tavernkeeper’s rapacity was related to the exorbitant rents charged by landowners from whom the taverns were leased. Nor would one learn that land expropriation by Jewish moneylenders was encouraged by estate owners to create a reservoir of landless agrarian labourers.⁸¹ Audiences were merely left with the simplistic impression that heartless Jews, devoid of all human qualities, were somehow singularly to blame for the Ukrainian peasantry’s desperate condition.

A host of shady Ukrainian figures, who allowed themselves to be manipulated by the Jewish archvillains, also peopled the plays: illiterate village reeves and their spoiled ne’er-do-well sons, who used force, violence and murder to maintain their authority; rich, illiterate *gazdy*, who fondly recalled ‘the good old days’ when people danced and drank by the barrelful and deceived school inspectors by “borrowing school children” from neighbouring villages instead of sending their own to school; aging army veterans, village scribes and church cantors, who put on airs of social superiority and used Polish and German expressions in their speech; Russophiles, including priests, who feared the democratic spirit, opposed mass literacy, played cards with the great landowners, sided with Polish teachers against Ukrainian students and leased church lands to Jewish speculators rather than Ukrainian peasants; and legions of demoralized, spineless alcoholics who could only do the Jewish tavernkeeper’s bidding. Unlike the Jewish villains, however, their Ukrainian counterparts were not hopelessly evil and sometimes found redemption before the final curtain.

The forces of enlightenment were represented by abstemious and literate peasant youths, Ukrainian teachers, university students and lawyers. In plays like Bilous’s *Muzhyky arystokraty*, Mydlovsky’s *Kapral Tymko* (Tymko the Cor-

poral), Nahoriansky's *Okh, ne liuby dvokh* (Oh, Don't Fall in Love with Two), Trembitsky's *Itsko svat* (Izzy the Matchmaker), Bobykevych's *Nastoiaishchi* (The Genuine Articles), Lopatynsky's *Svekrukha* (The Mother-in-Law) and Bodrug's *Ubiinyky* (The Murderers), the heroes upbraided pretentious small-town clerks and *gazdy* who use Polish and German phrases to put on aristocratic airs. Above all, they preached sobriety, appealing to the audience's prejudices:

Do not laugh at these people; rather pity them, for having betrayed everything for whisky they have light-headedly stumbled to the very edge of an abyss. And remember to steer clear of the tavernkeeper because he sets his evil snares for you. He thinks with his head but he does not labour with his hands. He does not apply himself like we do; sweat mixed with blood does not stream down his forehead as it does ours. He entices us with his whisky and then takes away our property. Whisky is our perdition, only sobriety can deliver us from poverty! Sobriety will be our salvation!...Blessed are those communities where sobriety has paid a visit and found a permanent home!⁸²

In other plays the heroes emerged as spokesmen for the Ukrainian national movement. Besides encouraging young men to take the oath of sobriety, Mykola, the young hero of Kurtseba's *Zamrachenyi svit* (A Muddled World), establishes a reading club, convinces the village girls to substitute meetings (*prosvitni vechernytsi*) where they read, sing and recite poetry for dancing in front of the tavern on Sunday afternoons, and leads the struggle against a corrupt village council. Omelian Tkach, the protagonist of Franko's *Uchytel*, frees an entire village from an unscrupulous Jewish moneylender before leaving for one of the most remote and backward villages of Galicia to combat popular opposition to schools. Les Skrytiuk, the abstemious hero of Biliavsky's *Arendar v klopoti* (The Perplexed Tavernkeeper), provides a classic statement of the "shopkeeper's anti-Semitism" present in the Ukrainian national movement. Working in the home of a benevolent Ukrainian merchant, Skrytiuk becomes literate and is encouraged to master the barrel-maker's craft. Afterwards he promotes sobriety and economic self-reliance in the village, urges peasants to provide their younger sons with a business education, struggles against popular prejudice which holds that "selling is a Jewish calling," advocates primogeniture and cash settlements for younger sons to preserve peasant landholdings and drive Jewish merchants out of villages, and informs villagers it is time to stop living "in fear of the mangy [*parshyvi*] Jews," "feeding these devils in human flesh with the sweat of your brow."⁸³ In addressing the Jewish tavernkeeper, his tone is full of scorn and latent violence, though Skrytiuk, like exponents of the national movement, would confine opposition to Jewish merchants to economic competition.

The heroes of two overtly political plays advocated independent Ukrainian political action. The student agitator in Strutynsky's *Straik* (The Strike) helps

villagers gain economic concessions from their landlord by organizing a strike, establishing a strike fund and co-ordinating a boycott of enterprises run by Jewish agents of the landlord. The Radical lawyer in *Sichynsky-Potocki* calls a public meeting to instruct peasants on the wisdom of electing independent Ukrainian candidates to the *sejm*. In the play's finale Sichynsky assassinates Potocki to avenge the murder of Marko Kahanets, a peasant political activist who had also encouraged his fellow villagers to pool their resources to prevent the local tavernkeeper from expanding his landholdings. Interestingly enough, both plays, though explicit statements of nationalist ideology, were equally popular with socialists and nationalists in Canada.

Only three of the thirty plays under consideration were set in North America and commented on the immigrant experience. The first, a translation from the Yiddish of David Edelstadt's *Amerykanskyi robotnyk* (The American Worker), was the most popular with socialists and the only play that clearly distinguished their repertoire from that of the nationalists and Catholics. An unemployed and hungry worker, driven to participate in the robbery of a millionaire's mansion by concern for his wife and child, witnesses a murder and is captured, arrested and sentenced to the gallows for a crime he did not commit because he steadfastly refuses to identify the murderer. Edelstadt, an anarchist from Kiev who dreamt of a world where superstition, ignorance and exploitation had been vanquished, explicitly condemns (North) American society for making money its god, reducing "justice" to a purchaseable commodity and allowing union-busting capitalists to monopolize "armaments, rifles, cannons, machine guns and all instruments of death." He also rejects organized religion and its hypocritical morality and calls for solidarity among the world's oppressed and exploited.⁸⁴

The didactic and moralizing nature of the two other North American plays—Maydanyk's *Manigrula* and Lutsyk's *V nevoli temnoty* (Enslaved by Ignorance)—resembled the Galician repertoire (to which Lutsyk had made numerous contributions under the *nom de plume* Roman Surmach). Set in boarding houses, both plays contain a gallery of negative urban immigrant types: landlords who drink with their boarders and neglect their school-aged children; philanderers who seduce women of all ages, promise marriage and then abscond with their life's savings; dance hall thugs who gamble by day and brawl by night; shallow working girls who spend all their money on clothes and express contempt for hard-working, literate Ukrainian youths; unemployed drifters who drown their sorrows in alcohol; and older immigrants who condemn reading clubs because their literate adult children do not defer to them. Earnest, hard-working young men and women who promote sobriety, read books and organize reading clubs serve as foils for the negative characters and inform the latter that "it is because of people like you that the Ruthenians have become a laughing-stock [in North America]." Although Jews appear in the plays—to collect debts, draw up contracts and express disdain for reading clubs—they are not as powerful

or sinister as in the Galician plays. Dmytro Hunkevych's *Zhertvy temnoty* (Victims of Ignorance), written shortly after the war to warn newcomers about the frightening consequences of alcoholism and bigamy among Ukrainians in Canada, has no Jewish characters, and during the 1920s Poles and Russians would supersede Jews as villains on the Ukrainian stage.⁸⁵

Although many old *gazdy* and pious Catholic parishioners, to whom plays were "sinful," would continue to oppose the theatre, it would emerge by 1918 as the most effective medium for transmitting nationalist and socialist ideologies. Not only did Winnipeg stage at least seventy plays during the 1919-20 fall and winter season, but even residents in out-of-the-way places like Slawa, Alberta, reported ten plays in their community in 1920-1.⁸⁶ The theatre brought those who did not read newspapers and books or attend lectures and concerts into the intelligentsia's domain, and for many in an increasingly secular society, national homes became the centres of social and cultural activity on Saturday evenings or Sunday afternoons. No longer did one have to go to church to nurture friendships, gossip, flirt or exchange information. In fact, just as the national homes with their reading clubs and libraries full of secular books often emerged as the adversaries of the church, the plays on their stages came to resemble a kind of secular liturgy: rather than celebrating Christ's redemption of fallen, sinful humanity they celebrated the redemption of the Ukrainian people through sobriety, literacy and economic self-reliance (or working-class solidarity).

Although churches were the first institutions established by Ukrainians in Canada, during the decade before 1918 reading clubs, socialist circles, drama societies, co-operative stores and national homes organized by members of the secular intelligentsia also took root in many urban centres, frontier regions and rural districts. The institutions organized by nationalist school teachers generally predominated in prairie rural districts and urban centres; most prevalent in frontier mining and pulp and paper towns and several eastern cities were institutions established by socialists. Most of the societies—rural and urban, nationalist and socialist—were fragile; they were led by teachers or immigrants with some education and the active members were relatively few. It was estimated that before the war not much more than 10 per cent of Ukrainians, even in Winnipeg, attended functions sponsored by the secular societies.⁸⁷ Nevertheless, the proliferation of such organizations and institutions challenged the Ukrainian Catholic clergy and made Anglo-Canadian circles anxious. The clergy, and especially Bishop Budka, feared that secular ideas and institutions would threaten the immigrants' faith; the Anglo Canadians saw the proliferation of Ukrainian institutions as a serious obstacle to assimilation and the creation of an English-speaking nation founded on British (Anglo-Saxon) values and ideals. It was only

a matter of time before confrontations occurred between Ukrainians and Anglo-Canadian advocates of rapid assimilation, between Ukrainian nationalists and Bishop Budka and between Ukrainian socialists and the Canadian economic and political establishment. The strains and social dislocations created by the First World War hastened the confrontations.

Notes

1. Oscar Handlin, *The Uprooted: The Epic Story of the Great Migrations that Made the American People* (Boston, 1951), 172; Kathleen N. Conzen, *Immigrant Milwaukee, 1839-1860: Accommodation and Community in a Frontier City* (Cambridge, Mass., 1976), 154.
2. Mykhailo Marunchak, "Na slidakh pershykh," *Studii do istorii ukrainsiv Kanady*, II (Winnipeg, 1966-67), 345; *Svoboda* 7 September, 23, 30 November, 21 December 1899, 4 January 1900; Bohdan Kazymyra, *Pershyi Vasyliianyn u Kanadi* (Toronto, 1961), 16-34.
3. *Svoboda* 19 November 1903, 7 January 1904; Marunchak, 348-9. Stefanik's association with the Seraphimite movement was brief and he was never an Independent Greek church missionary; from about 1913 until his death in 1951, he was a pillar of the SS. Vladimir and Olga Ukrainian Catholic parish.
4. *Kanadyiskyi rusyn* 8 November 1906; *Kanadyiskyi farmer* 6 September, 8 November 1907; Marunchak, 352.
5. *Svoboda* 17 October 1901; *Propamiatna knyha oo. Vasyliian u Kanadi* (Toronto, 1953), 183-9; Claudia H. Popowich, *To Serve Is To Love: The Canadian Story of the Sisters Servants of Mary Immaculate* (Toronto, 1971), 57ff.; Gilbert-Louis Comeault, "The Politics of the Manitoba School Question and Its Impact on L.-P.-A. Langevin's Relations with Manitoba's Catholic Minority Groups, 1895-1915" (MA thesis, University of Manitoba, 1977), chapter 2. By way of comparison, there were only 41 Ukrainian pupils in Aberdeen School and 147 in Strathcona School, the two largest public schools in the North End. Manitoba, Department of Education, *Special Report on Bilingual Schools in Manitoba* (Winnipeg, 1916), 25-6.
6. *Pivstolittia pratsi ukrainskoho tovarystva Chyitalni Prosvity u Vinnipegue* (Winnipeg, 1958), 9 ff.; Semen Romaniv, "Istoriia Ukrainskoho Zapomohovoho Bratstva sv. Nykolaia v Kanadi," in *Ukrainske Zapomohove Bratstvo sv. Nykolaia v Kanadi. Almanakh zolotoho iuvileiu 1905-1955* (Winnipeg, 1957), 137-48; Maria Wasylkewycz, "Three Case Studies of Mutual Aid in the Ukrainian Immigrant Community of Winnipeg, 1900-1918" (MSW thesis, University of Manitoba, 1987), 248-305.
7. *Ukrainskyi holos* 14 August, 4 September 1912; *Kanadyiskyi rusyn* 14 August 1918.
8. *Svoboda* 14 June 1906, 7 May 1908; Marunchak, 350; *Ranok* 11 October 1916.
9. *Svoboda* 26 July 1906; Vasyl (William) Kolisnyk, "Pivstolittia v Kanadi," *Ukrainske zhyttia* 24 May 1951.

10. *Chervonyi prapor* 15 November, 26 December 1907, 17 March 1908; *Robochyi narod* 28 January, 14 August 1916, 16 January 1918.
11. *Ukrainskyi holos* 6, 27 July, 3, 24 August 1910.
12. *Ibid.*, 23, 30 October 1912; Dmytro Doroshenko and Semen Kovbel (Kowbell), eds., *Propamiatna knyha Ukrainskoho Narodnoho Domy u Vynypegu* (Winnipeg, 1949), 117 ff.
13. *Ukrainskyi holos*, 3 January, 18 December 1912, 5 March 1913, 11 November 1914.
14. *Ibid.*, 20 May 1914, 7 April 1915, 16 August 1916, 3 January, 30 May, 18 July, 1 August, 19 September 1917, 14 November 1917, 30 January, 17 July 1918; Nataliia L. Kohuska, *Pivstolittia na hromadskii nyvi* (Edmonton, 1986), 21-4.
15. *Kanadyiskyi rusyn* 22 May, 19 June 1918.
16. *Ibid.*, 24 July 1918; *Ukrainskyi holos* 23 July 1919; A. Krysky, *Pidsumky nashoi pratsi* (Winnipeg, n.d.), 30.
17. *Kanadyiskyi rusyn* 11 September 1918; two other benevolent societies were *Tovarystvo Samopomich* (Self-Help Association), established on 18 August 1912 by natives of the Galician village of Lysoverts, and *Kasa Khorykh* (Sick Benefit Society), established by members of the Transcona Ukrainian Social Democratic party branch in 1916. *Ukrainskyi holos* 21 April 1915; *Almanakh TURFDim*, 1918-1929 (Winnipeg, 1930), 71.
18. *Svoboda* 15 December 1904, 27 June 1907; *Ukrainskyi holos* 23 October 1912; Panteleimon Bozhyk, *Tserkov ukraintsiv v Kanadi* (Winnipeg, 1927), 127; *Propamiatna knyha oo. Vasyliian*, 292-303.
19. *Propamiatna knyha. Ukrainskyi Narodnyi Dim, 1906-1965* (Edmonton, 1965), 44; *Kanadyiskyi rusyn* 7 February 1917.
20. *Propamiatna knyha. Ukrainskyi Narodnyi Dim*, 43; *Svoboda* 6 October 1904.
21. *Almanakh TURFDim*, 185-9; *Ukrainskyi holos* 11 April, 7 November 1917, 6 March, 1, 15 May 1918. In 1918-19 the Hrushevsky Institute, which had forty residents (including eleven university students), offered private courses in Ukrainian literature and history, music and singing, sponsored a Ukrainian-language school for children and English-language evening classes for working youth, provided instruction in Ukrainian crafts, and sponsored a drama circle and choir. A building was purchased in the fall of 1919. *Ibid.*, 23 July 1919.
22. *Zoloty iuvilei isnuvannia ukrainskoi katolytskoi tserkvy u Kalgarakh, Alberta, 1912-1962* (Calgary, 1962), 36-50; *Svoboda* 11 September 1907; *Ukrainskyi holos* 27 May 1914; *Robochyi narod* 17 July 1918; *Kanadyiskyi rusyn* 19, 26 June, 21 August 1918.
23. *Kanadyiskyi rusyn* 16 May 1914; *Ukrainskyi holos* 1 April 1914, 20 January 1915, 19 January, 3, 9, 16, 23 February, 22, 29 March 1916; *Iuvileina knyha 25-littia Instytutu im. Petra Mohyly v Saskatuni* (Winnipeg, 1945), 43-53.
24. Bohdan Z. Kazymyra, "Early Ukrainian Settlement in Regina (1890-1920)," in Bohdan Z. Kazymyra, Fred Nakonechnyi and Ievhen Shtendera, eds., *Spilnym zusyilliam i napolehlyvoiu pratseiu. Iuvileina knyha ukrainskoi katolytskoi parafii sv. Vasyliia Velykoho. 1925-1975* (Regina, 1975), 68-83; Toma Tomashevsky (Tomashewsky), "Do istorii ukraintsiv v Brytiiskii Kolumbii," in *Brytiiska Kolumbiia i ukraintsi* (Vancouver, 1957), 22 ff;

- Svoboda* 20 September 1906; *Ukrainskyi holos* 15 November 1910; *Almanakh TURFDim*, 171-5. The quarterly reports in *Robochyi narod* (1917-18) suggest that there were only forty members in Moose Jaw's Social Democratic branch.
25. On Sydney, see *Kanadyiskyi rusyn* 26 April, 14 June, 6 December 1913; *Propamiatna knyha z nahody zolotoho iuvileiu poseleattia ukrainskoho narodu v Kanadi, 1891-1941* (Yorkton, 1941), 99 ff., and John Huk, *Strangers in the Land: The Ukrainian Presence in Cape Breton* (n.p., 1986), 13-15; on Kitchener, where conflict with the local Polish Latin-rite priest led to the organization of a Ukrainian Catholic parish and the Taras Shevchenko Reading Club, see *Kanadyiskyi rusyn* 12 December 1917, 7 August 1918. By the summer of 1918, Kitchener also had a Social Democratic branch; for a list of Russian Orthodox churches, parishes and priests in 1917, see "Adresar kanad. russkoi pravoslavnoi missii," in *Kalendar Russkogo naroda* 1918 (Winnipeg), 181-6; *Ranok* 31 January 1917.
 26. *Kanadyiskyi farmer* 8 December 1909; *Ukrainskyi holos* 4 January, 15 February, 29 March 1911; Charles M. Bayley, "The Social Structure of the Italian and Ukrainian Immigrant Communities in Montreal, 1935-1937" (MA thesis, McGill University, 1939), chapters 5-8; Petro Kravchuk (Peter Krawchuk), "Vynyknennia i rozvytok ukrainskoho robitnychoho rukhu v Montreali," *Ukrainske zhyttia* 21 June 1951. The branch at Blui Bonnet was established on 7 July 1912 and at Lachine on 7 September 1913. *Robochyi narod* 17 July 1912, 1 October 1913.
 27. *Svoboda* 19 January, 17 August 1905; *Kanadyiskyi farmer* 12 January 1910; *Ukrainskyi holos* 1 March 1911, 6 May 1914, 19 February 1916; Ivan Humeniuk, *Moi spomyny. Do rozvytku orhanizovanoho zhyttia ukraintsiv u skhidnii Kanadi* (Toronto, 1957), 15-31; *Almanakh TURFDim*, 149-50, 154-7.
 28. Dmytro A. Nykoliak, *Korotkyi istorychnyi narys Ukrainskoho Narodnoho Domu v Toronto* (Toronto, 1953), 7-13; Zoriana Sokolsky, "The Beginnings of the Ukrainian Settlement in Toronto, 1903-14" and Andrew Gregorovich, "The Ukrainian Community in Toronto from World War One to 1971," in *Polyphony VI* (1) (1984), 55-8, 123-6; Zoriana Sokolsky, "The Beginnings of Ukrainian Settlement in Toronto, 1891-1939," in Robert F. Harney, ed., *Gathering Place: Peoples and Neighbourhoods of Toronto, 1834-1945* (Toronto, 1985), 279-302.
 29. *Ukrainskyi holos* 25 July, 28 November 1917, 26 June 1918, 10 July, 13 August 1919; *Kanadyiskyi rusyn* 8 November 1913, 13 October, 15 December 1915, 26 January 1916, 3 January, 18 April, 8 August, 19 December 1917; AUCA, Redkevych to Budka, 1 September 1915, 29 February 1916, AR 71-74, 82-84, Redkevych file.
 30. *Kanadyiskyi rusyn* 7 March, 2 May, 21 October 1914, 9 August 1916, 20 February 1918; Sokolsky, "The Beginnings...1891-1939," 283-7, 291-3. In Fort William, Fr. Roman Krupa oversaw the construction of an eighteen thousand-dollar church in the fall of 1917; more expensive churches were built by Fr. Fylyma in Hamilton, Fr. Kuzmak in Ottawa and Fr. Irkha in Oshawa.
 31. Iuliian Bachynsky, *Ukrainska immigratsiia v Ziedynenykh Derzhavakh Ameriky* (Lviv, 1914), 330-1; Bayley, 129.

32. *Svoboda* 14 April 1904; *Kanadyiskyi farmer* 19 March 1909; Émilien Tremblay, *Le Père Delaere et l'Église ukrainienne du Canada* (Berthierville, 1960), chapter 22; AUCA, "Personal affidavit of Paul Gegeychuk," 31 January 1944, BG 70-73, Gegeychuk file. For brief thumbnail historical sketches of every Ukrainian Catholic parish in Canada, see *Propamiatna knyha z nahody zolotoho iuvileiu*, 97-331.
33. The itinerary of organizational tours may be reconstructed from articles and letters in *Chervonyi prapor* and *Robochyi narod*; the figures are based on a list of local organizations compiled by the writer, primarily from newspaper reports and articles. *Robochyi narod* 25 September 1912.
34. *Svoboda* 25 February 1904, 27 June 1907; *Robitnychi kaliendar* (Winnipeg, 1918), 125-7.
35. *Kanadyiskyi farmer* 1 January 1909; *Ukrainskyi holos* 21 March, 4 July, 1 August, 19 September, 19 December 1917, 30 April 1919. Coniston and Sault Ste. Marie also had tiny circles of the Russian-Ukrainian Group of Socialist Revolutionaries. *Robochyi narod* 28 April 1917, 23, 30 January, 27 March, 1, 4 May 1918. Similar small circles led a precarious existence in Sudbury and Creighton Mine until September 1918, when INCO had their members arrested. *Ibid.*, 24 July, 11, 18 September 1918.
36. *Ukrainskyi holos* 8 February 1911, 24 August 1921; *Kanadyiskyi farmer* 24 September 1909; *Robochyi narod* 12 August 1914, 23 January 1918.
37. *Nova hromada* 19 May 1911, 23 June 1911, 7 July 1911; *Robochyi narod* 29 May 1912, 12 January 1918.
38. *Propamiatna knyha z nahody zolotoho iuvileiu*, 95.
39. Based on "Adresar kanad. russkoi pravoslavnoi missii," 181-6.
40. *Propamiatna knyha oo. Vasyliian*, 266-9, 315; Volodymyr Ivashko and Bohdan Kazymyra, comps., *Iuvileina knyha Apostolskoho Ekzarkhatu Ukraintsiv Katolykiv Saskachevanu* (Saskatoon, 1955), 130; Popowich, 78, 84-5.
41. Especially Fr. Kinash (1912-13) in the Ethelbert district and Frs. Olenchuk and Oleksiw in the Sifton and Dauphin areas (1913-18).
42. *Monder uchora i siohodni* (Mundare, 1969), 56-7; *Propamiatna knyha oo. Vasyliian*, 180.
43. Popowich, 46.
44. *Ibid.*, 84; *Kanadyiskyi rusyn* 18 July 1917; Marie Lesoway, "The Pylypow House: A Narrative History" (Report, Historic Sites Service, Alberta Culture, 1982), chapters 6 and 7.
45. *Ukrainskyi holos* 16 December 1914.
46. *Svoboda* 30 May 1901, 15 March, 26 July 1906; *Ukrainskyi holos* 20 April, 15 June, 21 November 1910, 8, 15 March, 12 April 1911, 24 January, 21 February 1912, 18 April 1917, 5 April 1922.
47. *Ukrainskyi holos* 20 April 1910, 23 June 1915, 10 April 1918, 3 May 1922.
48. *Kanadyiskyi rusyn* 29 August 1917; *Ukrainskyi holos* 23 June, 3 November 1915, 7 March 1917, 13 July, 10, 24 August 1921, 15 March, 3 May 1922. On status hierarchies in peasant and immigrant societies, see Ewa Morawska, "The Internal Status Hierarchy in the East European Immigrant Communities of Johnstown, PA 1880-1930s," *Journal of Social History* XVI (1) (1982), 75-107.

49. *Svoboda* 9 May 1907; *Ukrainskyi holos* 2 November 1910, 4 February, 25 March, 13, 27 May, 17 June, 8, 22, 29 July, 21 October, 9 December 1914, 24 February, 3 March, 9 June, 1, 22 September, 27 October, 3 November, 1, 22 December 1915, 29 March, 10 May, 5 July, 16 August 1916, 31 January, 6 June, 1 August, 12 September, 24 October 1917. On the conflict of generations in Galician reading clubs, see John-Paul Himka, *Galician Villagers and the Ukrainian National Movement in the Nineteenth Century* (Edmonton, 1988), 97-104.
50. *Ukrainskyi holos* 1 February 1911, 2 December 1914, 6 January, 6 October 1915, 23 February, 10 May 1916, 7 February, 2 May, 29 August 1917; *Robochyi narod* 9 March 1917; see also Vasyl Teresio, "Pershi poselentsi v Leniuk, Alberta," *Ukrainske zhyttia* 5 April 1951.
51. Based on a list of reading clubs, drama circles and national homes compiled by the writer from articles and letters in the contemporary Ukrainian-Canadian press. For the first rural play, see *Svoboda* 8 November 1907.
52. *Kanadyiskyi rusyn* 3 May 1913.
53. *Ukrainskyi holos* 21 October 1914; Jeffrey Brooks, *When Russia Learned to Read: Literacy and Popular Literature, 1861-1917* (Princeton, 1985), 28, notes that "wars and revolutions...were a spur to reading" by stimulating group readings and an interest to read among illiterates.
54. *Ukrainskyi holos* 14 April 1915, 7 June 1916.
55. Based on the lists compiled by the writer.
56. *Svoboda* 28 December 1905; *Kanadyiskyi farmer* 5 June, 18 December 1908, 9 February 1910; *Ukrainskyi holos* 15 June, 7 December 1910, 25 January 1911, 14 August 1912, 10 June 1914, 10 August 1918, 14 January, 11 February 1920.
57. Dmytriv, 27; The backwardness of the Shandro district in Alberta is described by Miss S.G. Mosher in J.S. Woodsworth, comp., "Ukrainian Rural Communities: Report of an Investigation by the Bureau of Social Research, Governments of Manitoba, Saskatchewan and Alberta," (Winnipeg, 1917), 79.
58. *Ukrainskyi holos* 17 January 1912, 27 March 1918, 31 March 1920, 13 July 1921.
59. Examples of successful co-operatives were the Ruthenian Trading Company, established in 1910 with branches in Ethelbert and Garland, Manitoba; the Vita Trading Company Limited, established in 1913 with branches in Vita and Arbakka, Manitoba; and the Russian Mercantile Company, established in 1913 (by Galician Russophiles) in Lamont, Alberta. Less successful co-operatives included the Ruthenian Trading Company (1910-13) with branches in Rosthern, Vonda and Cudworth, Saskatchewan; the Brokenhead Farmers' Trading Company Limited in Ladywood, Manitoba (1910-12); and the small co-operatives in Parkerview, Goodeve, Calder, Ponass Lake, Canora and St. Julien (Saskatchewan), Myrnam (Alberta) and Oakburn (Manitoba).
60. Petro Zvarych (Peter Svarich), "Istoriia, rozvii i uprava Ruskoj Narodnoj Torhovli v Alberti," *Almanakh Ukrainskoho holosu* 1916 (Winnipeg), 135-46. Annual reports of the company were published in *Ukrainskyi holos* 8 March 1911, 13 March 1912, 26 February 1913, 18 February 1914, 17 March 1915, 8 March 1916, 21 March 1917, 20 March 1918, 12 March 1919, 14 April 1920. The company collapsed in 1921 when an ambitious

- attempt to expand its operations (a mail order service, a wholesale warehouse and three new branches north of the North Saskatchewan River) coincided with a precipitous decline in agricultural prices. Farmers stopped making purchases and the company, unable to pay its creditors, expired.
61. The company's reports were published in *Ukrainskyi holos* 22 August 1917, 24 July 1918, 17 September 1919, 22 September 1920. The elevators were located in Tolstoi, Fisher Branch, Elphinstone, Menzie, Oakburn, Ethelbert and Sifton (Manitoba), and in Sheho, Mikado, Goodeve, Jasmin, Arran, Norquay and Krydor (Saskatchewan). In 1916-17, Paul Rudyk and several Ukrainian Presbyterian laymen established a Ruthenian Grain Bureau in Edmonton and the Progressive Farmers' Grain Company Limited in Edmonton and Fort William. It traded in agricultural products, purchased a grain mill in Rossburn and was building elevators in Gorlitz and Wakaw, Saskatchewan, in 1917. The board of directors included Rudyk, Wasyl Owchar, Dmytro Iaremii, N. Shepytka and Rev. Volodymyr Pyndykowsky. *Ibid.*, 21 March, 22 August 1917.
 62. *Kanadyyskyi farmer* 18 December 1908.
 63. *Robochyi narod* 29 January 1913. The Social Democratic libraries with the widest selection of newspapers were located in Montreal, Vancouver, Fernie, Winnipeg and Edmonton.
 64. *Ukrainskyi holos* 10 May 1922.
 65. George G. Grabowicz, "The Jewish Theme in Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Century Ukrainian Literature," in Peter Potichnyj and Howard Aster, eds., *Ukrainian-Jewish Relations in Historical Perspective* (Edmonton, 1988), 335. Mykhailo Ivanchuk (Michael Ewanchuk), *Istoriia ukrainskoho poselennia v okolysi Gimli* (Winnipeg, 1975), 224-5, lists some of the holdings in the Chyaltalia Prosvity library in Gimli, Manitoba; bookstore advertisements in the contemporary press also provide an overview of the books then available.
 66. The Ukrainian works were Myroslav Stechyshyn (Myroslav Stechishin), *Smert za 8 hodynnnyi den* (Death for the 8-Hour Day); Pavlo Krat (Paul Crath), *Za zemliu i voliu* (For Land and Liberty), *Khodzhenie Boha po zemli* (God's Wanderings on Earth); Ivan Hnyda, *Hory trupiv i more krovny i sliz* (A Mountain of Corpses and a Sea of Blood and Tears); and Volodymyr Levynsky, *Pochatky ukrainskoho sotsializmu v Halychyni* (The Origins of Ukrainian Socialism in Galicia), *Selianstvo i Sotsial Demokratiiia* (The Peasantry and Social Democracy), *Zasady komunizmu* (The Basic Principles of Communism).
 67. Quoted in William D. Reichart, *Partisans of Freedom: A Study in American Anarchism* (Bowling Green, 1976), 380.
 68. Tomashevsky, 25.
 69. Vernon L. Lidtke, *The Alternative Culture: Socialist Labour in Imperial Germany* (New York, 1985), 18.
 70. *Kanadyyskyi rusyn* 16 May 1914, 3 April 1918.
 71. *Ukrainskyi holos* 9 April 1913, 13 May 1914.
 72. Constantine H. Andrusyshen and Watson Kirkconnell, *The Poetical Works of Taras Shevchenko* (Toronto, 1964), 40, 256, and *The Ukrainian Poets, 1189-1962* (Toronto, 1963), 122, 181, 210.
 73. Translation by the writer from Wasyl K. Holovatsky (Wasyl Holowacky), *Robitnychi pisni* (Winnipeg, 1915).

74. Lidtke, 108.
75. Maxine Schwartz-Seller, "Introduction," *Ethnic Theatre in the United States* (Westport, 1983); Robert F. Harney, "Introduction: Immigrant Theatre," *Polyphony V* (2) (1983), 1-14; Taru Sundsten, "The Theatre of the Finnish-Canadian Labour Movement and Its Dramatic Literature, 1900-1939," in Michael G. Karni, ed., *Finnish Diaspora*, 1 (Toronto, 1981), 77-91; Irving Howe, "The Yiddish Theatre," *World of Our Fathers: The Journey of the East European Jews to America and the Life They Found and Made* (New York, 1976), chapter 14 (460-96).
76. Petro Kravchuk (Peter Krawchuk), *Nasha stsena* (Toronto, 1981), 25-9.
77. An examination of the following Ukrainian newspapers—*Svoboda* (1905-10), *Chervonyi prapor* (1907-8), *Nova hromada* (1910-12), *Robochyi narod* (1912-18), *Ukrainskyi holos* (1910-22), *Kanadyiskyi rusyn* (1913-14, 1917-18), *Ukrainski robotnychi visty* (1919-20)—revealed 997 performances in all parts of Canada and the following as the thirty most popular plays (number of performances in parentheses): Ivan Bodrug, *Ubiinyky* (41); Antin Ivan Nahoriansky, *Okh ne liuby dvokh* (37); Hryhorii Kvitka-Osnovianenko, *Svatannia na Honcharivtsi* (36); Lev Lopatynsky, *Svekrukha* (32); Mykola Strutynsky, *Straik* (26); Mykola Starytsky, *Oi ne khody Hrytsiu* (22); Marko Kropyvnytsky, *Perekhytryly* (22); Iakiv Maidanyk (Jacob Maydanyk), *Manigrula* (18); Marko Kropyvnytsky, *Nevolnyk* (17); Ivan Tobilevych, *Beztalanna* (17); Ivan Franko, *Ukradene shchastia* (16); Volodymyr Dmytrenko, *Satana v bochtsi* (15); Ivan Tobilevych, *Bondarivna* (14); Ivan Kotliarevsky, *Natalka Poltavka* (14); Ivan Tohobochny, *Zhydivka vykhrestka* (14); Antin Malanchuk, *Sichynsky-Potocki* (13); Ivan Tohobochny, *Maty naimychka* (13); Taras Shevchenko, *Nazar Stodolia* (13); Mykhailo Biliavskiy, *Arendar v klopoti* (12); Izydor Trembitsky, *Itsko svat* (12); M. Bilous, *Muzhyky arystokraty* (12); Davyd Edelstadt (David Edelstadt), *Amerykanskyi robotnyk* (11); Oleksa Bobykevych, *Nastoiashchi* (11); Osyp Kozheniovsky, *Verkhovyntsi* (11); I. Mydlovsky, *Tymko kapral* (11); Ivan Tobilevych, *Martyn Borulia* (10); Borys Hrinchenko, *Stepovyi hist* (10); Ieronim Lutsyk, *V nevoli temnoty* (10); Mykola Kurtseba, *Zamrachenyi svit* (9); Ivan Franko, *Uchytel* (9).
78. Dmitriy Tschizewskij, *A History of Ukrainian Literature: From the Eleventh to the Nineteenth Century* (Littleton, Colorado, 1975), 613.
79. Grabowicz, 339.
80. Elizabeth A. Warner, *The Russian Folk Theatre* (The Hague, 1977), 98.
81. John-Paul Himka, "Ukrainian-Jewish Antagonism in the Galician Countryside During the Late Nineteenth Century," in Potichnyj and Aster, 111-58.
82. Translation by the writer from Izydor Trembitsky, *Itsko-svat. Komediia na odnu diiu* (Lviv, 1930), 15.
83. Mykhailo Biliavsky, *Arendar v klopoti. Komediia z silskoho zhyttia v chotyriokh aktakh* (Winnipeg, n.d.), 35.
84. On Edelstadt, see Sol Liptzin, *A History of Yiddish Literature* (New York, 1972), 93-6.
85. See Iroida L. Wynnyckyj, "Ukrainian Canadian Drama from the Beginnings of Immigration to 1942" (MA thesis, University of Waterloo, 1976), which focuses on the interwar years.

86. *Kanadyiskyi rusyn* 30 January, 6 June 1917, 22 May 1918; *Ukrainskyi holos* 9, 23 May 1917, 10, 17 April 1918, 10, 24 August 1921.
87. *Ukrainskyi holos* 6 April, 30 July 1913.

PART FOUR

The Impact of the
First World War,
1914-1919

12

Loyalties in Conflict: The Great War, 1914-1916

The outbreak of hostilities in Europe in the summer of 1914 placed Ukrainians in Canada in a very difficult position. Although the vast majority of homesteaders had sunk roots in Canadian soil, opted for naturalization as British subjects and discarded whatever attachments they may have had to their Austro-Hungarian “fatherland,” this was not true of all Ukrainians in Canada. Few of the seventy thousand who had arrived between 1910 and 1914—many of them male sojourners employed in frontier camps and urban centres—had the desire or opportunity to take out citizenship papers. Anxious only to earn a few dollars before returning home, they had remained Austrian nationals. Even more significantly, members of the Ukrainian Catholic clergy and some of the more conservative Catholic and nationalist lay leaders continued to sympathize with Austria—a Catholic state where Ukrainians enjoyed the political and cultural freedoms they could only dream of in the absolutist Russian empire, which had become Great Britain’s (and Canada’s) wartime ally. Not surprisingly, doubts were soon raised about the loyalty of Ukrainians just as they were about all nationals of enemy states, and the Canadian government took steps to limit their freedom. During the first two years of the war, the restrictive measures were directed exclusively against “aliens of enemy nationality”—immigrants from enemy states who were not naturalized British subjects. Thus Austrian nationals, unnaturalized Ukrainians among them, were required to register with Canadian authorities, forbidden to leave or move about the country without permission, and even interned if deemed a threat to Canadian security. Although naturalized Ukrainians were not affected by these restrictions and were exempt from internment, they, with time, also experienced prejudice and intolerance and felt the heavy hand of government repression. The war also brought to a head two major issues that had festered for years—Ukrainian bilingual education in the public schools and the differences between the Ukrainian nationalists and Bishop Budka

that led to the formation of the Ukrainian Greek Orthodox church in 1918. In 1917-19 additional repressive measures were passed by the federal government to stem political dissent and labour unrest.

The Guns of August

On 28 June 1914 Gavrilo Princip, a young Serb from Bosnia, assassinated Archduke Francis Ferdinand, nephew of the Habsburg Emperor Francis Joseph and heir to the Austrian throne, in Sarajevo, the capital of Bosnia-Herzegovina, a Serb-populated province that had been annexed by Austria in 1908. The assassin had been supplied with weapons by a Serbian terrorist organization committed to unifying all Yugoslavs (South Slavs) into a single Serbian nation that would include the large Serbian, Croatian and Slovenian minorities in Austria-Hungary.

Sympathy for the Habsburgs rapidly declined when Vienna decided to meet Yugoslav irredentism by resorting to military action against Serbia. Only Germany offered its support in the confident belief that Russia would not come to Serbia's defence and that Britain would remain neutral. The central powers, however, miscalculated badly. Russia, whose credibility as champion of the Slavic peoples had been damaged when Austria annexed Bosnia-Herzegovina in 1908, reacted with anger, and the mobilization of Russia and Austria against one another set off a disastrous chain reaction which saw Britain declare war on Germany on 4 August. Within a week, all of Europe was engulfed in a Great War between two large power blocs, the Entente Cordiale and the Central Powers, with Britain, France and Russia squared off against Germany and Austria-Hungary as the principal protagonists.¹

When the archduke was assassinated in June, few Canadians foresaw that a terrorist act in an obscure city in a remote corner of the exotic Austro-Hungarian empire would involve them in war. Like most Europeans, most Canadians had assumed that Asquith's Liberal government would contrive to keep Britain neutral. Yet, five weeks later, Canada had offered to equip a contingent of twenty-five thousand men and on 3 October the first Canadians were on their way to Europe.² The British and Canadian entry into a war where tsarist Russia was an ally and Austria-Hungary an enemy put Ukrainian-Canadian leaders on the horns of a terrible dilemma. If members of the secular intelligentsia felt little sympathy for Austria, they nevertheless preferred Austrian constitutionalism with its electoral politics and cultural pluralism to Russian autocracy with its intolerance of all things Ukrainian. The clergy, in turn, identified even more readily with Catholic Austria. Although Ukrainian leaders repeatedly declared their loyalty to Canada and the British empire and to the Entente's war effort, doubts about their sincerity would continue for at least the first two years of the war—doubts fuelled by the activities of Ukrainian leaders in Galicia and

Bukovyna, who actively supported the Central Powers, and by the utterances of prominent Ukrainian spokesmen in North America.

Ukrainian Reaction to the War: Europe

In December 1912, during an international crisis in the Balkans, some two hundred prominent members of the National Democratic, Radical and Social Democratic parties reaffirmed the loyalty of Galician Ukrainians to Austria and the Dual Monarchy should war break out between Austria and Russia. The pro-Austrian stand of the political elite was hardly surprising. However poor the material condition of Ukrainian peasants in the Habsburg empire, it was not substantially worse than that across the frontier in the Romanov empire, and, as we have seen (Chapter 1), the political and cultural situation for Ukrainians under the Habsburgs was far superior to that under the Romanovs. Moreover, the tsarist regime was subsidizing the anti-Ukrainian activity of Russophiles in Galicia, Bukovyna and Transcarpathia and made no secret of its desire to annex these regions and solve "the Ukrainian question" by destroying the Ukrainian cultural sanctuary in eastern Galicia.³

When the First World War again pitted Austria-Hungary against Russia, the three major Ukrainian political parties in Galicia and Bukovyna formed a Supreme Ukrainian Council (Holovna Ukrainska Rada), and on 3 August the council issued a manifesto to the Ukrainian people which accused the tsarist regime of Russification and strongly supported the Dual Monarchy: "The more severe the blow to Russia the quicker will arrive the hour of Ukrainian liberation."⁴ A council committee was then charged with recruiting volunteers for the Ukrainian Sich Sharpshooters (Ukrainski Sichovi Striltsi), two Ukrainian battalions numbering twenty-five hundred men who would form a distinct unit within the Austrian army and serve as the nucleus of a future Ukrainian national army. The Supreme Council had two main objectives: to persuade the Austrian government to free eastern Galicia from Polish domination and unite it with Bukovyna as an autonomous Ukrainian crownland within the empire; and to foment rebellion and revolution in the Russian empire by inciting its Ukrainian population with visions of a resurrected Cossack state.

The council, however, was not the only Ukrainian group to solicit the support of the Central Powers. On 4 August a group of Ukrainian emigrés from the Russian empire residing in Galicia formed the Union for the Liberation of Ukraine (Spilka Vyzvolennia Ukrainy), an amalgam of Ukrainian socialist elements of varying shades, including a number of Galician Social Democrats and Radicals. In discussions with German and Austrian officials, union spokesmen accused the Supreme Council of being totally ignorant of realities in eastern Ukraine. What was needed most was propaganda carried into Ukraine by revolu-

tionaries or by a victorious army, which advocated agrarian reform, democratic self-government and a Ukrainian state carved out of territories under Russian control.⁵

Neither Austria nor Germany, however, favoured a Ukrainian state of any kind. Austria opposed its formation out of Ukrainian lands in the Russian empire because it would encourage irredentism among Ukrainians in Galicia and Bukovyna and thus “contained all the elements for the making of ‘another Serbia.’”⁶ Some form of autonomy for its Ruthenian (Ukrainian) subjects within the Dual Monarchy might be contemplated, but no commitments were made since the powerful Polish aristocracy was adamantly opposed to losing Galicia in the creation of a Ukrainian crownland. German war policy, in turn, ruled out a Ukrainian buffer state once it became clear, early in 1915, that the Central Powers could not win a two-front war and a separate peace with Russia (which precluded carving out an independent Ukraine) was essential. Although Germany and Austria continued to utilize both the council and the union for subversive purposes in Russian Ukraine, their activities served only the limited diplomatic ends of the Central Powers.

Unlike their brethren in Galicia and Bukovyna, leaders of the Ukrainian national movement within the Russian empire did not support the Central Powers. They realized that Berlin and Vienna were eager to use Ukrainian nationalism only to undermine the Russian empire without reciprocal political commitments to Ukrainians, and they feared that overtures to the Central Powers would merely compromise the Ukrainian movement in Russia and provoke cruel reprisals from the tsarist regime. Never having subscribed to a “separatist” programme, they envisioned the future of the Ukrainian people within a democratic and federal Russian state. The victory of the Entente powers, they hoped, would help to liberalize the Russian state and make it possible to attain Ukrainian cultural and national rights.

Ultimately, such hopes proved to be no more realistic than those of the Austrophile Galician Ukrainians. Only one group of Ukrainian spokesmen—a handful of Ukrainian emigrés from Russia in Geneva, members of the Ukrainian Social Democratic Workers’ party led by Lev Iurkevych—was free of all illusions concerning the Austro-Hungarian and Russian empires. A champion of Ukrainian national autonomy within a federal Russian state, Iurkevych began to publish *Borotba* (The Struggle) in February 1915, which condemned the “social patriotism” of socialists who supported the “imperialist war,” attacked the political opportunism of the council and the union and rejected the Russian patriotism of Ukrainian leaders in the Russian empire. Instead of accepting handouts from the Central Powers or declaring their support for the Russian war effort, Ukrainian Social Democrats were urged to adopt democratic, antiwar programmes and to struggle for national and civil rights in Austria and Russia.⁷

The war provided the tsarist regime with an excellent opportunity to crush the Ukrainian national movement. In July 1914 the few existing Ukrainian newspapers and periodicals were shut down, Prosvita societies that had survived the repressive measures of Count Peter Stolypin were banned, and many prominent Ukrainian editors and intellectuals, including the historian Mykhailo Hrushevsky who had just returned from Galicia, were arrested. In September, having occupied Galicia and Bukovyna, Russian officials under Count Georgii A. Bobrinskii embarked on a policy of harsh Russification. A weak-willed man of little administrative ability, and totally ignorant of Galicia, Bobrinskii relied on pro-Russian Poles and Ukrainian Russophiles, who took every opportunity to settle old scores with their Ukrainophile adversaries. All Ukrainian institutions—co-operatives, schools, bookstores, scientific and cultural-educational societies—were closed; the use of the Ukrainian “dialect” was banned in all societies, organizations, courts and administrative agencies; Ukrainian books, periodicals and newspapers were prohibited; and thousands of Ukrainians of all social classes and educational backgrounds were arrested or deported from Galicia. The Ukrainian Greek Catholic church was singled out for persecution, as Metropolitan Sheptytsky was imprisoned in a Russian monastery and plans were laid to dismantle the church and convert the Ukrainian population to Russian Orthodoxy by force.⁸ By the time the Russian forces were driven out of Galicia by an Austro-German counter-offensive in May-June 1915, the Ukrainian population was unanimously opposed to the Russians. Only a handful of prominent Russophiles voluntarily followed the retreating tsarist armies into the interior of Russia; thousands of other Ukrainians were evacuated against their will.

Needless to say, the Russian occupation of Galicia brought the Supreme Council and the Union for the Liberation of Ukraine even closer to the Central Powers, as both groups retreated to Vienna from where they fed the press of friendly and neutral countries with propaganda and dispatched emissaries abroad—the council to the United States, the union to Germany, Turkey, Bulgaria, Sweden and Italy. The Central Powers, for their part, brought together several council and union representatives and created the General Ukrainian Council (Zahalna Ukrainska Rada) on 5 May 1915, just as the Austro-German counter-offensive was being launched. During the next two months the General Council issued proclamations to the Ukrainian people that condemned Russian atrocities in Galicia, called for an independent state for Ukrainians in the Russian empire and national autonomy for Ukrainians in Austria, and repeated such slogans as “Forward march the Austrian armies, forward march the German armies—with them our Sich Sharpshooters advance triumphantly,” which were then carried by some Ukrainian newspapers in North America.⁹

The emissary which the Galicians (the Supreme Council) sent to the United States was Dr. Semen Demydchuk (1884-1965), a lawyer and a regular contributor to the National Democratic *Dilo*, who had first travelled across the United

States and Canada in the fall of 1912, soliciting donations for Ukrainian private schools in Galicia. He was now "to inform American Ukrainians about our [the western Ukrainian] position in the war" and "to organize assistance for the Ukrainian liberation struggle in Europe." Demydczuk, an Austrian reserve officer on active duty, reported to military headquarters in Przemyśl before proceeding to Vienna and then to New York. In the United States he visited the Austro-Hungarian ambassador in Washington and solicited donations on behalf of the Supreme Council for Ukrainian war victims in Galicia and for postwar reconstruction. His primary task, however, was to organize a convention (*ukrainskyi soim*) and establish an organization that would align all Ukrainians in the United States squarely behind the Supreme Council and its pro-Austrian orientation. As he lacked written instructions or letters of recommendation from the council (before June 1915), Demydczuk was viewed apprehensively by Bishop Ortynsky who, although himself friendly with the Austro-Hungarian ambassador, was inclined to suspect a representative of the Galician secular intelligentsia, especially one eager to unite Ukrainians of all religious denominations into one organization.

In pamphlets and in numerous articles in *Svoboda*, Demydczuk tried not only to sustain the morale of North American Ukrainians, shaken by news of the Russian occupation of Galicia, but to win them over to a pro-Austrian position.¹⁰ The war, he argued, whatever its outcome, had already brought the Ukrainian question into the spotlight and the Central Powers, in particular, were paying attention to Ukrainian demands for liberation and statehood. By sanctioning the formation of a "Ukrainian army" (the Sich Sharpshooters), Austria had shown that she approved of "our objectives"; Germany had followed suit by inviting Galician Ukrainian parliamentarians "to give public lectures" on Ukrainian independence; the Turkish foreign minister had "expressed agreement" with his German and Austrian allies on the necessity of liberating Ukraine from Russian domination; and Romania and Bulgaria, as well as neutral Norway and Sweden, would support Ukrainian statehood because each had an interest in weakening Russia.

According to Demydczuk, Ukrainians stood to benefit most if the Central Powers won the war. Triumphant, they would, in all likelihood, establish an independent Ukrainian buffer state or at least an autonomous Ukraine, joined to Austria as was Hungary. Even if they did not do so, a defeated Russia would have to grant a real constitution and concessions to her oppressed national minorities to prevent revolution. Nor should Ukrainians abandon the Central Powers in the unlikely event of defeat; Germany and Austria would remain influential in any postwar peace conference, where it would be in their interest to press for a dismemberment of Russia and the creation of a Ukrainian buffer state.

On the other hand, Demydczuk insisted, a Russian victory, especially if it entailed the annexation of Galicia, Bukovyna and Transcarpathia, would spell

doom for the Ukrainian people. Deprived of their sanctuary in Austrian Galicia, Ukrainian cultural institutions and the Ukrainian national movement would be crushed by the tsarist regime. However, such a scenario, though ominous, was unlikely, for even if Russia did defeat the Central Powers, she would soon find herself isolated, because Britain was an unwilling ally of the tsarist autocracy. The British did not want Russia to capture Constantinople and gain control of the straits. Should this happen, an Anglo-Russian war would likely follow immediately, which would seriously weaken Russia and allow a Ukrainian state to rise from the ashes. In the circumstances Demydczuk appealed to Ukrainian Canadians—loyal British subjects who had tamed Canada's wilderness regions—to petition Ottawa and London to take up the cause of enslaved peoples and, in the name of humanity and their own interests, call for the destruction (*rozbytta*) of tsarist Russia: "Barbarism must not be allowed to triumph."

In the end, however, Demydczuk failed to win North American Ukrainians over to a pro-Austrian orientation. Although the Ukrainian convention, held in New York on 30-31 October 1915, established a national organization and called for Ukrainian autonomy within the Austro-Hungarian and Russian empires, it refused to endorse the Central Powers.¹¹ By the spring of 1916 an emissary of Ukrainian emigré circles in Switzerland, who opposed the pro-Austrian orientation, was actively undermining Demydczuk's efforts in the United States.¹² Simultaneously, the two councils and the union were losing whatever credibility they still possessed. In April 1916, when Germany and Austria began to consider "independent" Finnish, Latvian, Lithuanian and Polish states, no mention was made of a Ukrainian state. On 5 November 1916 the councils and the union suffered an embarrassing setback when the emperors Wilhelm II and Francis Joseph issued a joint proclamation that promised an independent Polish state carved out of Polish territories within the Russian empire, and autonomy for Galicia only within existing boundaries. The latter was a particularly stinging rebuke to the two councils, for it delivered Ukrainian-populated eastern Galicia into the hands of the Polish aristocracy. Ukrainian leaders protested, but there was little they could do; their romance with the Central Powers was over.

Ukrainian Reaction to the War: Canada

Like their compatriots in Europe, Ukrainian leaders in Canada responded to the war's outbreak with little unanimity. Bishop Budka and Dr. Alexander Sushko, editor of the Catholic *Kanadyiskyi rusyn*, proclaimed their loyalty to Austria and the Habsburg dynasty and then continued to publish manifestos of the Supreme and General councils, even after backtracking and redefining their loyalties once Britain entered the war. Paul Crath, speaking with two voices—as a Presbyterian theology student on the pages of *Ranok* and as a Social Democrat in *Robochyi*

narod—adopted a position that was at once anti-Austrian, pro-British and ambivalent toward Russia. Unlike Crath, more orthodox Social Democrats dismissed all the belligerents as enemies of the working people and condemned the conflict as an inevitable consequence of capitalist greed. The nationalists, through *Ukrainskyi holos*, declared their loyalty to the British empire and then struggled to reconcile it with their opposition to the policies of Britain's Russian ally in Galicia. The war even revived the moribund Russophile movement, as the editors of Edmonton's *Russkii golos* and Winnipeg's *Russkii narod* took full advantage of Britain's wartime alliance with tsarist Russia to label Ukrainian cultural and national aspirations in Europe and North America as the treasonous fruits of German and Austrian propaganda.

It was natural for Bishop Budka and Alexander Sushko to be initially pro-Austrian. Although Budka was the son of only a moderately prosperous peasant,¹³ his education would incline him to the Dual Monarchy in a moment of crisis. After attending the gymnasium in Ternopil, he had studied law at the University of Lviv (1897-1901), performed his compulsory military service in Vienna and worked for the aristocratic Sapieha family as a private tutor. In 1902 he had enrolled in theology at the University of Innsbruck "because in Lemberg [Lviv] there was too much fighting between Ukrainian and Polish students." Innsbruck, on the other hand, attracted theology students from all parts of Austria-Hungary, Europe and North America and its faculty consisted of distinguished "German Jesuit professors," albeit "unfriendly to Imperial Germany."¹⁴ After ordination and the completion of his doctoral dissertation, Budka returned to Lviv to teach at the diocesan theological seminary. In his free time, he worked with St. Raphael's Immigrant Aid Society and did missionary work among Ukrainian migrant labourers in Germany and Bosnia-Herzegovina. His loyalty to the Catholic church and his Ukrainophile orientation reinforced the young bishop's loyalty to Austria, which was both Europe's leading Catholic power and a multinational state where Ukrainians pursued their cultural aspirations in relative peace. The fact that the costs of his relocation to Canada had been subsidized by the imperial treasury may also have affected his attitude.¹⁵

Alexander Sushko (1880-1966), who arrived from Galicia in January 1914 to edit *Kanadyiskyi rusyn*, had unabashedly supported Austria and the Habsburgs to further his own career. A historian and a gymnasium teacher, Sushko had graduated from the universities of Lviv and Vienna and earned a reputation as an exponent of ultramontanist. Long before he reached Canada, he had been recognized as a prominent adherent of the reactionary Christian Social party and a contributor to its newspaper *Ruslan*. It was a foregone conclusion that Sushko, who saw himself proudly as the right hand of Aleksander Barvinsky, the party's founder and leader, and who fully intended to return to Galicia after the war, would adopt a pro-Austrian orientation.¹⁶

The assassination of the archduke was greeted with dismay by the Ukrainian Catholic clergy in Canada, who like other Catholic clergy had continued to celebrate the Catholic Habsburgs.¹⁷ To no one's surprise, several days after the tragedy in Sarajevo, Bishop Budka held a special requiem in memory of the assassinated archduke.¹⁸ Then, on 27 July, hours after the Austro-Hungarian consul-general declared an amnesty for all Austrian army deserters and draft evaders and appealed to all Austrian reservists to return to the "Fatherland," the bishop issued the most controversial pastoral letter of his fifteen-year term in Canada. In it he not only expressed a profound sense of loss as a result of the untimely death (especially tragic "for Ruthenians"), but lamented that the emperor, "our peaceloving...dear old [*starenkyi*] monarch," would be denied the privilege of a quiet and peaceful death and declared that "whoever is called should go to defend the threatened Fatherland." Those who had decided to remain in Canada permanently were also urged to help the "old Fatherland" in any way they could.¹⁹ Although the bishop's letter was issued more than a week before Britain entered the war and two weeks before she declared war on Austria-Hungary, and although it was also motivated by concern for the fate of Ukrainian culture—"perhaps we shall have to defend Galicia against seizure by Russia with her greedy appetite for Ruthenians"—when Britain did finally enter the war, the letter was incorrectly construed by many as an expression of anti-British sentiment.

Sushko's editorial comments in the 1 August issue of *Kanadyiskyi rusyn*, which carried the bishop's letter, did little to dispel the notion that Ukrainians were pro-Austrian and by extension anti-British. According to the recently arrived editor, the war was

...a struggle between two cultures, two worlds—a struggle between Europe and Asia, a struggle between European culture and Asiatic barbarism, a struggle between light and darkness. The fact that the Germanic states—Austria and Germany, illustrious representatives of European progress and culture are confronted by old Latin France and old Germanic England, who have aligned themselves with Asiatic Russia in this great conflict, is a momentary and fortuitous matter of little consequence....Our sympathies have been, are and always will be on the side of European progress, that is to say, principally on the side of Austria which is especially well-disposed to us, and never on the side of barbaric Russian tsarism, the age-old oppressor of the Ukrainian people and the mortal enemy of all progress and humanity....Our sentiments have been conclusively and most accurately documented by recent reports concerning the enthusiasm with which our countrymen are hastening from all corners of the world...to take their place beneath the triumphant banners of Austria—hastening to manifest their loyalty to the remarkable Austrian Emperor and their love and readiness to sacrifice their lives and fortunes for their families, for the future of their Fatherland and for the glorious destiny of their own people.²⁰

A report in the *Winnipeg Tribune*, which stated that Ukrainian Canadians were ignoring the Austrian consul's appeal because they had nothing to gain by rushing to Austria's defence, and because they were happy to live under the British flag, was dismissed by an indignant Sushko as the work of traitors (*zradnytska roboty*): "We love our new Fatherland...but do not forbid us to love our old Fatherland as well."²¹

On 6 August, two days after Britain declared war on Germany, the bishop issued a second pastoral letter in which he explained that the first was written "when few believed that [the war] would spread to other states." He warned the faithful that it "no longer serves any purpose and must not be read publicly," and urged them "to join the colours of our new fatherland...which has taken us to its bosom and given us protection under the banner of liberty of the British Empire."²²

Nevertheless, the damage had been done. During the years that followed hostile groups and individuals would have a pretext for labelling the bishop an Austrian "agent" and "recruiting officer." And, even if he asserted and reasserted his loyalty to the British empire and urged Ukrainian enlistment and generous contributions to the Patriotic Fund, he and Sushko inadvertently continued to promote a naive and uncritical Austrophilism. In March 1915, for example, the bishop's Canadian Ruthenian Relief Association not only accepted a \$440 donation collected by Bishop Ortynsky and the Austro-Hungarian and German consulates in Philadelphia for the relief of unemployed Ukrainian Canadians,²³ but Sushko continued to reprint practically every declaration of the Supreme and General councils and the union that *Svoboda* published. Thus the immigrant who read *Kanadyiskyi rusyn* not only learned about the atrocities of the tsarist occupation in Galicia, but was also informed over and over again that the victory of the Central Powers would result in a free and independent Ukraine and that Russia, even a liberal and progressive Russia, would never concede autonomy to Ukraine.²⁴ In fact, during the war's first year *Kanadyiskyi rusyn* reprinted not only a summary of an 1888 project for a "Ukrainian Kingdom" attributed to Bismarck by the *German* scholar Eduard von Hartmann, but a *German* Social Democratic deputy's speech calling for the creation of a Ukrainian state on the ruins of Russia, followed by an article on "The Ukrainian State" by the *German* National Liberal leader Ernst Basserman.²⁵ Only the Canadian federal government's decision, in July 1915, to monitor the "foreign" press, and Sushko's departure, ended the Catholic weekly's Austrian bias. Under Ivan Petrushevich (1875-1950), the son of a Ukrainian Catholic priest who had studied at the universities of Lviv and London and spoke English and French fluently, the weekly assumed a more restrained position.²⁶

If the initial reaction of Budka and Sushko mirrored the response in Galicia of the conservative Ukrainian elite to the war, the response of Paul Crath, a native of the Russian empire, paralleled that of the Ukrainian intelligentsia in

Russia. As storm clouds gathered in the summer of 1914, "a hope awakened [in his] soul that through the war the revolution would come and Ukraine would be freed from the Czar." Late in July, after lengthy discussions with Revs. Zalizniak and Glowa, Paul Rudyk and other prominent Ukrainian Presbyterians in Edmonton, Crath established the Society for an Independent Ukraine (Tovarystvo Samostiina Ukraina) and called for a united Ukrainian front to achieve an independent Ukrainian republic, irrespective of class and denominational affiliations. Within a month, branches of the society appeared in Vegreville, Cardiff, Calgary and Winnipeg, where socialists, Protestants and nationalists became members.²⁷ In speeches and articles during the next three months, he argued that the war presented Ukrainians with an opportunity to liberate themselves from Austria and Russia and counselled Ukrainian reservists in Canada against enlisting in the Austrian army. On the other hand, he also published union appeals, argued that by supporting the war the German Social Democrats were accelerating the collapse of tsarism, endorsed the formation of the Sich Sharpshooter battalions (which he seemed to identify as the nucleus of a revolutionary army), and supported even a "bourgeois Ukraine" since it would create the preconditions for a socialist one later.²⁸

Crath's society, however, soon began to unravel, the victim both of sensational denunciations by Edmonton Russophiles as "a pro-German movement" and of its own inner contradictions. Not only did Budka and the Catholic clergy suspect all organizations that sought to unite Catholics and Protestants, but the nationalists could not believe that a notorious socialist and internationalist like Crath would forsake the class struggle and commit himself to an independent Ukraine; the Social Democratic party, in turn, became concerned that its own movement would be undermined as labourers began to confuse the party with Crath's society.

By the early winter of 1914-15 the society had collapsed. As the union's support of the Central Powers became increasingly apparent, Crath, not to mention the younger, more radical Social Democratic leaders, became thoroughly disillusioned. Crath's position now combined the views of the *Borotba* group with those of Russian Ukrainian "social patriots." Not foreign armies but a revolution by Ukrainian working people, including the Jewish and Russian proletariat, could liberate Ukraine. There was no reason why "honest, heroic youths" in the Sich Sharpshooters should die to protect "the interests of millionaires who reside in Berlin and Vienna...their place is not under Habsburg colours but beneath the red banners of revolution." The Ukrainian bourgeoisie must not be allowed to impose a Habsburg monarch on Ukraine. Ukrainians should struggle for an independent Ukrainian republic, where not only lands belonging to emperors, nobles and churches would be confiscated without compensation and distributed among the peasantry, but large industrial enterprises would be nationalized and progressive labour legislation enacted.²⁹ But while condemning both

Austrian and Russian imperialism, he feared the former more because many Ukrainians in Canada, especially the Catholic clergy, regarded Austria with an indulgence not accorded to Russia, and because he believed that "the war was working a silent regeneration from which a freer Russia—and in particular a freer Ukraine—would emerge."³⁰

Crath's editorial views, published in *Ranok* and *Robochyi narod*, were not typical of either Protestant or Social Democratic attitudes toward the war. *Ranok's* reaction was pro-British; it condemned all manifestations of Austrophilism and declared its loyalty early: "We will remain free citizens of Canada and defend our liberty and the British flag." It also referred frequently to Budka's *faux pas* so as to discredit the Catholic church and the bishop, whom it described, late in August 1914, as a "naive, servile and deceitful" individual with a "flexible conscience." Thereafter, it unjustly blamed him and his advisers for virtually all the misfortunes that befell Ukrainian Canadians during the war. *Robochyi narod*, on the other hand, lashed out at the "crowned bunglers and...capitalist bloodsuckers" who would send millions to their deaths and in the process destroy the cultural rebirth of all working people. Yet, with Crath the editor, it also declared its loyalty to the British empire.³¹ Actually, between 1914 and the fall of 1916, as the paper hovered on the brink of bankruptcy, appeared irregularly and changed editors frequently, its attitude to the war was not clearly defined.

Through *Ukrainskyi holos*, the nationalist intelligentsia vigorously proclaimed their loyalty to Empire, King and Country. On 9 August, Ferley, Arsenych, Negrich and the ubiquitous Theodore Stefanik, accompanied by Petrushevich and Fr. Redkevych, delivered declarations of loyalty before three thousand Ukrainians who had crowded into Winnipeg's Industrial Bureau.³² Although *Ukrainskyi holos* had carried the Austro-Hungarian consul-general's appeal to immigrant reservists,³³ it prudently refrained from publishing the pro-Austrian manifestos from Europe, advised readers that their sympathies during the war were to be the same as those of other Canadians, and accused Austria of grave error in failing to provide equal opportunities for the Slavic peoples within its borders. As a result, it insisted that Galicians and Bukovynians in Austria had stopped being patriots, as they grew conscious of the identity of interests that bound them to Ukrainians within the Russian empire.³⁴ But the tsarist regime was also abominable for its lawlessness, its efforts to Russify Galicia and its failure to provide a constitution. In June 1915 the nationalist weekly rebuked *Ranok* for saddling Budka with responsibility for the government's repressive measures.³⁵

But for all their prudence and discretion the nationalists too were soon tarred with the brush of Austrophilism and Germanophilism. Early in 1916, Orest Zerebko returned to Winnipeg from Galicia via Vienna and New York. In the fall of 1913 he had left to study at the university in Lviv and to improve contacts

between Galician Ukrainians and those in Canada. Zerebko became the centre of controversy when it was learned that he had transmitted a set of instructions from the General Ukrainian Council in Vienna to Ukrainian-American leaders in New York City. The instructions, it seems, were intended to help effect a reconciliation between Bishop Ortynsky and Dr. Demedczuk and to create the impression that all Ukrainian Americans supported the Central Powers. Needless to say, when the English-language press learned that Zerebko had been used as a courier for the Central Powers, the nationalists were embarrassed and their activity handicapped (see Chapter 13), though no formal charges were laid against Zerebko, a naturalized British subject.³⁶

The nationalists, and indeed all Ukrainian Canadians, were also weakened by the activity of the Russophiles, to whom the war offered a wonderful opportunity to disseminate their propaganda. In July 1914 the Galician Russophiles had dispatched Onufrii Getseff, a prominent member of the Russian National party and "commander-in-chief" of the Russophile-sponsored Russian Militia (*Russkie Druzhiny*), to North America. His presence in Canada in the fall of 1914 enabled the Russophiles to hold a series of well-publicized rallies in Winnipeg, Edmonton and several rural colonies, attended by prominent Russophiles like Andrew Shandro, Michael Ostrowsky, Julian Andruchowicz, Viktor Hladyk, Wasyl Cherniak and a recent recruit, the embittered old Radical Cyril Genik. Getseff's speeches and articles, which appeared in *Russkii golos* and *Russkii narod*, did much to replenish the meagre arsenal of ideas at the disposal of the Russophile leaders.³⁷

At their public meetings and in the press the Russophiles had always denied the existence of a Ukrainian nation and had confined the designation "Ukrainian" to a geographical context, insisting that the Ukrainian "dialect" was a Polonized variant of the Russian language and that the non-Polish inhabitants in Galicia and Bukovyna were "Carpatho-Russians" rather than Ukrainians. They buttressed their position during the war by reducing Ukrainians to a political party conceived and promoted by such intractable enemies of the Russian state and people as Otto von Bismarck, the Polish aristocracy, the Jews, Mykhailo Drahomanov, the Austrian government and Metropolitan Sheptytsky. All were intent on splitting the Russian people into two (or more) warring factions.³⁸

Thus the idea of a distinct Ukrainian nationality, the Russophiles argued, was conceived by Bismarck during his term as Prussian ambassador in St. Petersburg (1859-62). It was subsequently borrowed by Polish aristocrats, who realized that Poland's historic frontiers could only be restored if the "Russian" inhabitants of "Little Russia," Galicia, Bukovyna and Transcarpathia came to believe they were distinct from the Russian nation. Beginning in the 1870s, the "anti-social anarchist" Mykhailo Drahomanov popularized the same notion to subvert the Russian state, while simultaneously Jewish merchants and moneylenders, anxious to divert public attention from their profits and economic

dominance, incited Ukrainian nationalism among the peasants of "Little Russia" by projecting the latter's misery onto the tsar, the nobility and the Russian government. Austria, which shared Bismarck's desire to weaken Russia, then joined in the conspiracy. It promoted the notion of Ukrainian separatism by introducing the Ukrainian "dialect" into the public school curriculum in Galicia and Bukovyna and by indoctrinating a whole generation of Russophobic teachers. Finally, the (Ukrainian) Greek Catholic church, which had manfully resisted insidious Ukrainophilism for years, had recently been infiltrated by the "Pole" Sheptytsky, who introduced the phonetic alphabet into church publications and began to court "the Ukrainian party."

Between 1914 and the summer of 1917, when, brimming with confidence, Russophile spokesmen attacked everything that promoted Ukrainian identity in Canada, Ukrainian activists were branded as products of the Austrian school system—as individuals indoctrinated in a "Bismarckian" spirit to deny their Russian identity and plot the destruction of Russia. They represented a dangerous, disloyal and subversive element in time of war. The resolutions passed at Russophile rallies and their petitions to government officials professed loyalty to King George V and expressed gratitude to Tsar Nicholas for "liberating" Galicia and Bukovyna, condemned Bishop Budka for urging the "Russian" people to submit to their enemies, called upon Galician "Russians" to return to the Orthodox faith of SS. Vladimir and Olga and petitioned the government to allow "Russian" natives of Galicia and Bukovyna to serve in the Canadian Expeditionary Force. More ominously, they demanded the suppression of all newspapers identified as "Ukrainian" or "Ruthenian"—"terms cunningly applied by [the] pro-German element to Russians who reside in Galicia and Bukovyna in order to divide the Russian nation"—and urged that "literary Russian" be substituted for the Ukrainian "dialect" in the prairie public schools.³⁹

Thus the outbreak of hostilities in Europe greatly compounded the divisions that already existed among educated Ukrainian immigrants in Canada. The war's outbreak also demonstrated that a few influential Ukrainians—primarily conservative Catholic leaders but also some of the nationalists—continued to see Austria and Germany as potential allies in the struggle for Ukrainian independence. For the Canadian government, suddenly at war with Austria and Germany and allied to tsarist Russia, any sign of conflicting loyalties was potentially a serious domestic problem. There were over 600,000 natives of enemy states residing in Canada in 1914, and of these, approximately 19,000 Germans and 95,000 Austro-Hungarians (the majority Ukrainians) had not yet been naturalized.⁴⁰ Moreover, by 1914 many of the unnaturalized Austro-Hungarians, lured to Canada by railway, mining and lumbering interests, were unemployed and destitute, the victims of a recession that enveloped Canada in 1913. Large numbers descended upon the urban centres, fruitlessly demanding "Work or Bread" in marches and demonstrations that startled respectable middle-class Canadians, who

began to fear the potential for crime and violence among unemployed "foreigners." Clearly something had to be done.

Registration, Internment and Censorship

Canada's entry into the war stimulated patriotic fervour to unprecedented heights among English-speaking Canadians. Spurred by the "innocent enthusiasm"⁴¹ for war, universal in August 1914, many Canadians were captivated by the prospect of participating in the glorious British victory that was sure to follow. While western-Canadian radicals—the Social Democratic Party of Canada, the Socialist Party of Canada and leaders of the United Mine Workers of America District 18—generally opposed the war, the Trades and Labour Congress dropped its antiwar position and craft unionists affiliated with the American Federation of Labour were advised to do their "patriotic duty." Volunteers practically stormed recruiting offices in 1914, a large percentage being British immigrants who had come to Canada to "try their luck," only to have their dreams torpedoed by the recession of 1913-15. War offered deliverance from unemployment and despondency.⁴²

The extraordinary degree of unity in Anglo Canada was echoed in the House of Commons. On 18 August the Borden government, in a special session of Parliament, received unanimous support for the War Measures Act, which enabled the federal cabinet to meet the wartime emergency through orders-in-council. The Act also suspended the right of *habeas corpus* by allowing federal agents—the police or the military authorities—to arrest and detain without showing "probable cause" before the courts. As no one arrested under the Act could be released or tried without the consent of the minister of justice,⁴³ Parliament had, in effect, suspended democratic rights and given dictatorial powers to the prime minister and cabinet.

Two weeks before the Act was passed, the government had begun to implement comprehensive measures to circumscribe the movements and activities of "enemy aliens"—*unnaturalized* immigrants from countries with which Canada was at war. The largest group of such enemy aliens were not Germans (or German-speaking Austrians) but unnaturalized Ukrainian subjects of the Austro-Hungarian empire—nearly seventy thousand of whom had come to Canada between 1910 and 1914, the peak years of prewar immigration.⁴⁴ Over 70 per cent of the latter Ukrainians were unattached males, who had neglected to seek naturalization in the belief that their stay in Canada would be a short one. Unemployed or underemployed because of the recession, many had begun to cross the American border in search of work.

The departure of Ukrainians and other enemy aliens to a neutral United States (and possible military service should they reach Europe) greatly troubled

the Canadian government during the war's first weeks. After some confusion about German and Austro-Hungarian army reservists (initially the British government advised Canada to allow them to depart for the United States), the Militia Department was directed, on 7 August, to arrest all German officers and reservists and to keep their Austrian counterparts under surveillance. Next day, the government assured German nationals that they would not be interfered with provided they did not try to aid the enemy (PC 2086). Five days later, the government extended the assurance to Austro-Hungarian subjects, along with an order to arrest Austrian reservists who attempted to leave (PC 2128).⁴⁵ The rationale behind the cautious policy was provided by the comptroller of the RNWMP: "Owing to the very large foreign element in western Canada, it seems inadvisable that any action should be taken which would tend to excite or cause dissatisfaction among them."⁴⁶

On 15 August the Borden government announced its comprehensive policy toward enemy aliens: any subject of an enemy country whose departure from Canada might be helpful to the enemy, or anyone engaged in espionage, transmitting information to the enemy or helping others to escape, would be subject to internment. All, however, who continued to pursue their "ordinary avocations" and signed a "parole" to report to the police at regular intervals and to observe the law would remain free. Parolees who failed to report or who changed their place of residence or work without police approval would be interned (PC 2150). A proclamation on 2 September reassured enemy aliens that they could continue to hold property and conduct business provided they did not aid the enemy. Another, next day, commanded them to hand in their firearms, ammunition and explosives to the nearest justice of the peace or police officer (PC 2283).

The preceding measures were a response to the pressure of Canadian public opinion, increasingly uneasy about the many aliens in cities across the country. Fears were aroused by rumours of an extensive German espionage network, of possible sabotage in Canada and even of possible raids by Midwestern German Americans on Canada. A number of "suspicious characters" were arrested, including a German reservist who attempted to dynamite a bridge between Maine and New Brunswick early in 1915. However, most reports of spies and saboteurs were unfounded. Although zealous patriots attributed numerous fires, explosions and train derailments to enemy sabotage, hundreds of investigations failed to uncover a single instance of enemy-agent involvement.⁴⁷

To the federal authorities, the frontier between the Canadian prairies and the American west was the most vulnerable part of the country, and it was here that the RNWMP deployed five hundred additional men. However, even though the force did apprehend hundreds of enemy aliens at the border during the war's first weeks, an estimated eight thousand individuals were able to leave Canada before America's entry into the war in 1917 effectively sealed it.⁴⁸ In September 1914,

A. Bowen Perry, the commissioner of the RNWMP, indicated the need for concern: "There is no doubt there has been an organized attempt to pass Austrians and Germans into the U.S. via Lethbridge," as some reservists arrested by the police carried correspondence from enemy governments with orders to report for military service. However, the logistical difficulties of monitoring more than 100,000 enemy aliens were enormous and the police were soon pressing for increased penalties for lawbreakers. Two months into the war, Commissioner Perry declared the parole system ineffective, as only a few of the released enemy aliens were reporting to the police on a monthly basis. They "have nothing at stake in this country. Their own land is calling for them, and they do not hesitate to break their promise." Moreover, there was no penalty for failing to report or for breaking parole. As a result, by late October 1914 only some ten thousand German and Austro-Hungarian subjects had signed the undertaking provided for in the proclamation of 15 August. But, with reports from RNWMP intelligence in western Canada indicating that the enemy aliens posed little military threat, the commissioner concluded that most of the "Austro-Hungarians" were from Galicia "and their sympathy is not very warm toward their homeland." Many Galicians had left Europe to avoid military service and were unlikely to return to Austria to serve in the imperial armed forces. Informants suggested that "if anything, their sympathies are with Russia."⁴⁹ Only the Germans, the commissioner believed, were a problem, as they were "entirely in sympathy with their native land" and could become active, particularly if Germany were perceived to be winning the war. However, little could be done to stifle the pro-German element, as the vast majority were not enemy aliens but British subjects by birth or naturalization.⁵⁰

If the loyalty of Ukrainian settlers and labourers was not in question, mass unemployment did demonstrate another, even more pressing, dimension to the enemy alien problem. On 26 May 1914 some two thousand unemployed "foreigners," most of them Ukrainians, marched from Winnipeg's Market Square to the city hall, from where, having learned that relief officials would try to find jobs only for married men, they headed north along Main Street with shovels in hand, "hooting and yelling" and demanding "work or bread." When a police constable tried to arrest Joseph Dudar, who had mounted a soap box, the marchers beat the officer "unmercifully" until twenty club-wielding constables dispersed the crowd. With the approach of winter, the presence of unemployed enemy aliens took on ominous dimensions. In August, Sir Thomas Shaughnessy, president of the CPR, had urged the government to establish detention or internment centres for unemployed Germans and Austrians, many of whom had been former labourers on CPR extra gangs and construction crews. In October, Prime Minister Borden cabled the British government that the "situation with regard to Germans and Austrians, particularly Austrians very difficult. From fifty to one hundred thousand will be out of employment during coming winter as

employers are dismissing them everywhere under compulsion of public opinion." It was imperative to "let them go, provide them with work or feed them, otherwise they will become desperate and resort to crime." The Colonial Office, concerned to prevent "Germans or Austrians drifting, by way of the United States of America, back to the enemy's firing line," suggested that in return for feeding and sheltering enemy aliens, "it would be quite proper under war conditions to make them labour at public works." With the comptroller of the RNWMP also in favour of interning unemployed enemy aliens, and with many urban municipalities reluctant to provide relief, the government set in motion its internment procedures.⁵¹

On 28 October an order-in-council authorized the appointment of civilian registrars in major centres across Canada (PC 2721). Working under RNWMP supervision, registrars were to compel enemy aliens within twenty miles of their offices to register and report on a monthly basis. Enemy aliens not considered by the registrars to be security risks could leave the country. For enemy aliens who remained, the registrars had first to determine whether they had the desire and means to remain in Canada, and then to recommend departure or internment. The order-in-council was purposely framed to impinge only upon enemy aliens living within twenty miles of the major urban centres in which registrars' offices were located. As a result, Ukrainian rural settlers, most already naturalized in any case, were unaffected by the regulations.⁵²

To administer the camps in which enemy aliens were to be held an Internment Operations Branch was created and placed under the direction of Sir William Otter, a septuagenarian and a retired major-general. The branch was responsible for the work, physical care and internment of "aliens of enemy nationality." (There were no provisions, it must be emphasized, for the internment of naturalized natives of enemy countries.) During Otter's six years as head of Internment Operations, nineteen internment camps and five receiving stations were established, the latter in large metropolitan centres like Winnipeg, Toronto and Montreal, where many Austro-Hungarian nationals lived under indigent conditions. Except for intermediate holding camps at Brandon and Lethbridge, from which internees were transferred elsewhere, most camps were in frontier areas close to major projects on which the internees worked. Ten camps were in the Rocky Mountains and the coal-mining districts of British Columbia and Alberta, one was in Manitoba, five in the frontier districts of northern Ontario and Quebec, one in southern Ontario and two in Nova Scotia.⁵³ While Ukrainians could be found in most camps, the majority were in the western camps and at Kapuskasing, Ontario, and Spirit Lake, Quebec.

The 8,579 males interned during the war included 99 Bulgarians, 205 Turks, 312 persons of miscellaneous origins, 2,009 Germans and 5,954 Austro-Hungarians. While the last group included Croats, Serbs, Slovaks, Czechs, Poles, Jews and probably at least a few Hungarians, the majority were Ukrainians. Even

under the most generous interpretation, no more than 3,179 of the internees were enemy reservists; most were interned because they were unemployed and indigent.⁵⁴ While some of the Germans were fairly well-educated commercial agents with families and some property, a large majority of the others, including the Ukrainians, were young, single, migrant frontier and/or urban labourers interned during the 1914-15 and 1915-16 winters. The first internments were in November 1914; by March 1915 some four thousand men (including one thousand Germans) had been interned and at the peak of internment operations, in December 1915, over seven thousand men were in confinement.⁵⁵

Ukrainians were interned for several reasons. Individuals who sent remittances to families in Galicia might be interned for transmitting money to the "enemy." Those who enlisted in the Canadian Expeditionary Force, whether naturalized or not, might be interned if discovered and returned by British military authorities. Unnaturalized Ukrainian enemy aliens, who failed to register or broke their parole by travelling about Canada without permission, were also interned.⁵⁶ However, most were interned for economic reasons. Urban municipal councils, unwilling to provide relief for destitute "enemies," convinced civilian registrars that the "foreigners" threatened civil order and had to be interned. Such was the fate of some eight hundred Ukrainians at the Lakehead in the winter of 1914-15.⁵⁷ During the war's first year countless Ukrainians were apprehended trying to steal across the American border in search of work.⁵⁸ Following a series of large demonstrations of the unemployed in Winnipeg in May 1915, two groups of five hundred to two thousand men, tired of waiting for jobs, set out for the United States on foot. Most were without food or money, and when the police finally arrested the two hundred "worn out and utterly dispirited foreigners" who had managed to reach the border, they welcomed internment at Brandon, where they knew there was food and shelter.⁵⁹

Many Ukrainian miners and frontier labourers were also interned after bitter confrontations with fellow workers in the spring of 1915. The recession and numerous enemy aliens in the mines aroused Anglo-Canadian, British, Italian, French, Belgian and Russian miners to demand that the former be fired and interned. The threat of strikes and violence forced the companies and the federal government to comply. Although officials of the United Mine Workers of America tried to mediate, they could stem neither the virulent anti-alien sentiment nor the federal order-in-council on 26 June, which authorized internment to prevent "a serious danger of rioting" (PC 1501). As a result, many unnaturalized Ukrainians in Michel, Fernie, Hosmer, Bellevue, Hillcrest, Sault Ste. Marie and in northern Ontario's mining towns lost their jobs and were interned. In Hosmer, Hillcrest and Sault Ste. Marie it seems that some of the "Russians" who agitated for the expulsion of "Austrian" enemy aliens were, in fact, ethnic Ukrainian migrant labourers from Podilia gubernia.⁶⁰

Among the factors that determined the conditions of internment was the formal status of the internee. According to the 1907 Hague Convention, which governed POW camps, "first class" treatment had to be accorded to military officers and to civilians of equivalent social standing. This group, composed primarily of German internees, received preferred accommodation and rations, and was not required to perform the physical labour of "second class" internees. Otter also tried to segregate the Germans from the Austrians because the former were generally well-educated and had seen service in the German armed forces, while the latter were mainly workers with little ability to aid the enemy. As a result, the Germans were held in relative comfort but under close supervision, primarily at Amherst, Fort Henry and Vernon, while the Austrians were put to work in remote frontier districts. At Kapuskasing and Spirit Lake, for example, they constructed model farms, clearing hundreds of acres of land, erecting fences, large barns and other buildings, installing water pipes and drains, and building roads. Elsewhere, they cleared forests and built roads. For this work, they were paid twenty-five cents per day, equivalent to the "working pay" of soldiers for tasks above and beyond their routine military duties.⁶¹

Although such work could be demanding and entail injuries or frostbite, it appears that in most camps internees worked as little as possible. "Ignorant, sullen, inert, the mass of these internees were the very incarnation of passive resistance," reported Watson Kirkconnell, who had served at Kapuskasing. "They worked because they were compelled, and they exerted themselves as little as possible, though by dawdling steadily, they accomplished much through sheer force of numbers." A Ukrainian internee confirmed the assessment: "We worked pretty poorly, goofing off most of the time. We'd pretend to be working while really we were relaxing in shifts."⁶²

Conditions in the Brandon camp, where 820 of 950 internees were Ukrainians in the fall of 1915, were especially lenient. The American consul-general, who inspected the camp, reported that "To a prisoner who conducts himself properly and obeys camp orders, life in this camp is not a hard one." Camp routine consisted of roll calls and inspections and two daily one-hour exercise sessions. Occasionally, the men took walks in Brandon, accompanied by camp guards. A reading club, established by a Ukrainian socialist, offered seventy-five Ukrainian and thirty-four Polish members a choice of Drahomanov's *Rai i postup*, Kulish's *Chorna rada*, Gogol's *Taras Bulba* and selected works by Franko, Shevchenko and Rudansky. Although a chagrined librarian could not obtain Marx and Engels's *Communist Manifesto*, lectures and discussions enabled many to "learn for the first time that they can gain liberty only by fighting capitalism." Literate internees also offered Ukrainian and, ironically, German language and literacy courses, the latter because camp authorities could not come up with textbooks to teach English. In their spare time craftsmen carved picture frames, made necklaces and trinkets and fashioned *at least* fifty

violins. At Christmas, the local Ukrainian Catholic parish, a reading society and students of the Ruthenian Training School put on plays and concerts, prepared a special Christmas dinner and distributed fruit, candy, tobacco, writing paper and pencils, which Ukrainian Catholics and socialists had purchased in Winnipeg and Regina. Ukrainian Catholic priests also visited the camps at Brandon, Kapuskasing and Spirit Lake. At Morrissey, socialist internees did educational work and presented at least one concert; at Kapuskasing, where there was time and energy to play mandolins and to sing and dance the *hopak* and *kolomyika* in the evenings, Kvitka-Osnovianenko's popular melodrama *Svatannia na Honcharivtsi* was performed.⁶³

Needless to say, such conditions did not prevail in all camps. At the other extreme was the notorious Castle/Banff compound "where...everyone—prisoners, guards, and staff alike—were at odds with the commandant." Here, the inmates slept in tents on rubber sheets with only one blanket, the food was bad, men fainted at work and suffered from rheumatism and were ordered by the camp doctor to work on pain of receiving only bread and water for periods of three to fourteen days in dark cellars. Camp guards abused and mistreated the men. Internees were prodded with bayonets, slapped, forbidden to speak or smoke while at work and strung up by the wrists as punishment.⁶⁴ How widespread such conditions were is not known, but escape attempts were common, especially at the outset when expectations were uncertain. Indeed, six men (at least two or three Ukrainians) were killed by gunshot while trying to escape. In 1917 a confrontation at Kapuskasing, where several internees refused to work when denied permission to observe a holy day, culminated in a full-scale riot with camp guards firing on the prisoners and using bayonets freely. Fortunately, only a few prisoners were wounded seriously enough to be hospitalized and there were no casualties among the guards.⁶⁵ Appeals and protests by and on behalf of the interned fell on deaf ears. Ottawa categorically rejected protests from German and Austro-Hungarian governments, arguing that Canadian policy "had been inordinately generous by allowing starving indigents to become prisoners of war and by permitting them to earn a full twenty-five cents a day, the working pay of a Canadian soldier." A petition from a committee of Ukrainian-Canadian leaders on behalf of the interned brought a meeting with Robert Rogers, minister of the interior, with no tangible results.⁶⁶

Ultimately, however, changes in the economic climate led to the release of most internees. Europe's demand for Canadian agricultural products, manufactured goods and munitions, coupled with the enlistment of half a million Canadians, created a serious labour shortage and obliged Internment Operations to free such internees as were not a threat to national security. In the spring of 1916 some were released in the custody of farmers; others were formed into railway construction gangs or allowed to return to the mines. In the spring of 1917 most of the "Austrians" who had been interned at Kapuskasing and Spirit

Lake were transferred to the mines and steel plants of Cape Breton and given their freedom. Employers were expected to pay the current market wage and to cover the cost of transportation. By the fall of 1917 most of the internment centres were closed and nearly all of the "Austrians" (but not the Germans) were paroled.⁶⁷

Not all Ukrainian internees were eager to work as contract labourers. The officer in charge of the Brandon camp complained, "At present I can hardly get a man who will accept parole to farmers without almost begging each one to go."⁶⁸ More than a hundred Ukrainians were ultimately forced to leave Brandon at bayonet point. The military authorities were determined that "non-dangerous prisoners" would not remain a burden on the public purse. With conditions in the frontier industries little better than those in most internment camps, the insecurity of migrant seasonal labour made it an unattractive option, even if the wages were higher.

The release of the "Austrian" internees in the midst of the war confirmed the fact that economic factors, combined with popular anti-alien prejudices fed by wartime patriotism, were responsible for their internment. Yet, if the loyalty of the typical Ukrainian immigrant was no longer in doubt, many government officials remained skeptical about the loyalty of the Ukrainian intelligentsia and the Ukrainian Catholic clergy. Besides promoting Ukrainian national sentiment through the Ukrainian press and organizations, some members of the intelligentsia and clergy apparently saw the Central Powers as allies in the struggle for Ukrainian autonomy and independence.

Shortly after the war's outbreak, Bishop Budka, Paul Crath and even Paul Gegeychuk had been independently investigated and cleared by the police.⁶⁹ Subsequently, it was not unusual for Ukrainians of all religious and political backgrounds to denounce one another. Accordingly, the Canadian government concluded that only a systematic monitoring of the enemy-alien population could provide the intelligence needed to make informed decisions about the danger it presented. Although the War Measures Act had empowered the government to conduct press surveillance and censorship, a cabinet committee to examine the question was not established until several articles considered pro-German, pro-Austrian or unsympathetic to the British empire had appeared. In June 1915 the government appointed a chief press censor in the Secretary of State Department to prevent the publication of any material that adversely affected the Allied war effort. The appointee, Lieut.-Col. Ernest J. Chambers, an old militiaman with a background in journalism, had a highly distorted initial view of the "enemy language press": With "all the papers printed in Canada in the enemy languages...openly pro-enemy in their sympathies...the only safe way to deal with what seemed a very real danger was to forbid the publication in Canada of papers printed in the enemy languages."⁷⁰ He relented only after the commissioner of the RNWMP pointed out that, if German and Ukrainian papers printed in Canada

were suppressed, readers would obtain American newspapers which the Canadian government could not possibly control.

From the outset, Chambers expected a higher standard of loyalty from non-English-language editors because immigrants from hostile countries were "not naturally disposed to be favourable to the allied cause." Although his office was more anxious about the German than the Ukrainian press, "the menace" posed by certain Ukrainian publications did cause some concern. Editors of Ukrainian papers, eager to provide information about the war in Galicia, included even the atrocities and cultural repression perpetrated by the armies of "His Majesty's ally," Tsar Nicholas II.⁷¹ J. Fred Livesay, the western press censor responsible for Ukrainian publications, who considered Ukrainians a very impressionable and ill-informed people, consistently brought even the most improbable⁷² transgressions of censorship regulations to the attention of Ukrainian editors. Although Livesay and Chambers understood why Ukrainian leaders sympathized with Austria, they insisted that nothing about Russian atrocities or military setbacks should appear in the Ukrainian press. Chambers warned errant editors that "hostility to one of His Majesty's allies is considered in the same light as hostility to His Majesty King George V. No expression of hostility towards Russia or any other powers allied to Great Britain during the present great struggle for the world's freedom will be tolerated in Canada." When *Kanadyiets* (The Canadian), a Ukrainian Methodist weekly with a decidedly pro-Allied bent, printed a letter which described the shooting of a young Galician girl by a Russian officer, Livesay admonished the editor, Michael Belegay, to "endeavour to put the best side rather than the worst side of the Ruthenian question, from the standpoint of the Allies."⁷³

Livesay believed that Ukrainian immigrants "left to themselves and free from clerical and other fomentations" were a "perfectly harmless, safe people." Nationalists, and even more so the Catholic clergy, were responsible for leading the immigrants astray. Ukrainians were "really indifferent to Austria and it takes the influence of the Catholic Church...to keep them in line." Indeed, he compared the situation of Ukrainians to "the Irish question," where "a band of agitators inspired and directed by the Catholic Church, forever are stirring a harmless and otherwise contented people to unrest and intrigue." Convinced that "the Dominion Government should offset...this dangerous propaganda by [using] some of their educated fellow countrymen who are loyal to us,"⁷⁴ Livesay recruited three prominent Ukrainian Presbyterians to serve as translators in 1915-16: Rev. Illia Glowa, editor of *Ranok*, Paul Crath, then studying theology at Manitoba College and helping the press censor's wife (Florence Randall Livesay) with her translations of Ukrainian folksongs, and Ivan Bodrug. Each, as a militant critic of Catholicism, was convinced that Bishop Budka and the nationalists put too much faith in Austria's commitment to the Ukrainian cause overseas. Crath, for example, had attended the Ukrainian convention (*ukrainskyi soim*) in

New York in October 1915 to speak against a pro-Austrian orientation and to call for a Ukrainian republic.⁷⁵ He agreed to work for the press censor because "The Ukraine is a buffer state [*sic*] over which the armies of Austria and Russia pour in turn; we have nothing to hope from either—least of all Austria. We cannot love Russia, but because we love Canada, we will do as you ask, and say nothing that may hurt Russian susceptibilities."⁷⁶

Livesay also relied on Frank Dojacek—a Czech Protestant and a Liberal—whose Winnipeg-based National Press published several ethnic newspapers, including *Kanadyiskyi farmer*. Dojacek eagerly volunteered information about Ukrainian- and other non-official-language newspapers because it was in his interest to undermine their competitive influence. He was especially anxious to ban uncensored Ukrainian-American papers that cut into *Kanadyiskyi farmer*'s circulation.⁷⁷ Accordingly, in 1915-16 these papers became the major villains in the chief press censor's eyes. Commenting on *Svoboda*, *Ameryka*, *Narodna volia* and *Haidamaky*, Chambers noted that "the dangerous character" of the papers had been pointed out by "some of the most influential Ruthenian people in Canada, who have asked that they be kept out of the country on account of the spirit of unrest and antagonism which they are fostering." *Svoboda*, in particular, caused concern because of Demydczuk's association with it. With a reported circulation of twenty-one thousand in Canada in 1915, its influence could not be dismissed, but attempts to ban it that autumn failed, leading Livesay to suggest naively that it was "the pull of the Church at Ottawa that keeps the paper on the mail lists." Only in January 1916, after Chambers, Livesay and J.W. Dafoe, editor of the influential *Manitoba Free Press*, had concluded that *Svoboda* was being subsidized by the Austrian embassy in Washington "to win over the million or so Ukrainians on this continent to the Teutonic side," was the weekly banned. With Livesay also convinced that "the line of right thought" required the exclusion of all Ukrainian-American papers, *Narodna volia* and *Haidamaky* were added to the prohibited list in short order.⁷⁸

The Catholic *Kanadyiskyi rusyn* and the nationalist *Ukrainskyi holos* also received their due share of attention. Of course, Sushko's overtly pro-Austrian, anti-Russian pronouncements had earned the first paper a questionable reputation during the war's initial year. Nevertheless, even after Ivan Petrushevich replaced him, and every effort was being made to adjust to the new censorship regulations, the accusations continued. It seems that Crath "picked out the bad points" and took no notice of the many articles "hostile to the Austrian rule in Galicia" that were appearing in the Catholic weekly. At any rate, by March 1916, Livesay was convinced that the anti-Russian indiscretions of *Kanadyiskyi rusyn* were at least balanced by anti-Austrain news stories, and that "the general tone of the paper is loyal to our cause."⁷⁹

Such, however, was not the case with *Ukrainskyi holos*. As we shall soon see, the war's outbreak greatly intensified the controversy over bilingual schools

in Manitoba, and in November 1915 Livesay indicated that the editorials in *Ukrainskyi holos* were testing the limits of his tolerance. "This does not seem a very appropriate time to push claims for nationalities or bilingual schools," he wrote to Chambers. Although the latter explained that the press censor had no say in such matters, Livesay was convinced that the bilingual school issue, in which Budka was also prominent, was related to Austrian efforts to secure the sympathies of Ukrainians in Canada: "This campaign, proceeding along bilingual lines, tends to dissatisfy these people, for the most part ignorant, with their lot and to cause them to cast their eyes to Austria, as the liberator of their nationality."⁸⁰

In the spring of 1916 sharply worded editorials by Orest Zerebko in *Ukrainskyi holos* on Ukrainian-language instruction in Saskatchewan once again caught Livesay's attention. He was convinced that Zerebko, who had been appointed co-editor shortly after returning from Vienna, was a "spy." Citing his source, he informed Chambers in May that

Mrs. Orest Zerebko told Mrs. Hykawy [wife of Onufrii Hykawy, editor of Dojacek's *Kanadyiskyi farmer*] that while in Vienna they lived like princes—spent money like water. This can be sustained by affidavit.

Rev. Mr. Glowa...tells me he has received a letter from a [Ukrainian Presbyterian] clergymen...at Newark, N.J. to the effect that Zerebko delivered a series of addresses to the Ruthenians of the US, to the effect that conditions in Galicia under Austrian rule were now fine, etc. It also appears that Zerebko, an agnostic, has been entertained since his arrival here by Bishop Budka. All this tends to prove that Zerebko is now in Western Canada, a renegade Canadian citizen, as agent of the Austrian Government.

In June, Chambers sent materials to General Otter and the RNWMP which cast suspicion on Zerebko's activities in Europe; he hoped to see Zerebko interned or at least sufficiently frightened to tone down his editorials. The RNWMP commissioner pointed out that Zerebko, as a naturalized British subject, was not considered an enemy alien and was thus of no concern to the federal police. Nevertheless, Chambers informed Zerebko, along with other editors of the Ukrainian press, that further editorials supporting bilingual schools would be considered a breach of the censorship regulations and result in the suppression of their newspapers.⁸¹ The expedient appears to have had the desired result; *Ukrainskyi holos* tempered its editorials on the school issue.

By the summer of 1915 a network of registrars, internment camps and press censors had been created to control the activities of "aliens of enemy nationality" and to monitor the loyalties of all immigrants from enemy states. Yet these

officials and agencies rarely impinged on the day-to-day lives of most Ukrainians, especially naturalized homesteaders. In sharp contrast to Canadian internment operations between 1942 and 1946, when more than 90 per cent of the Japanese population—men, women and children, the employed and the unemployed, naturalized Canadian citizens and Japanese nationals—were uprooted and interned, their property confiscated and their institutions annihilated, only 2 to 3 per cent of Ukrainians, almost all unnaturalized, unemployed, propertyless, single, male migrant labourers, were deprived of their freedom.⁸² For Ukrainian homesteaders and community leaders, who, as we have seen, prospered during the war years, the climate of fear and intolerance generated by the war was more menacing than the threat of internment and barbed-wire fences. In particular, they were concerned by the mounting fervour of attacks on bilingual schools and second-language instruction.

Notes

1. For a recent introduction to the background of the First World War, see James Joll, *The Origins of the First World War* (London, 1984); for British policy, see Wilfried Fests, *Peace or Partition: The Habsburg Monarchy and British Policy, 1914-1918* (New York, 1978).
2. Desmond Morton, *A Military History of Canada* (Edmonton, 1985), 130.
3. Ivan L. Rudnytsky, "The Ukrainians in Galicia under Austrian Rule" and "The Ukrainian National Movement on the Eve of the First World War," in *Essays in Modern Ukrainian History* (Edmonton, 1987), 315-52, 375-88. On 14 December 1912, Ukrainian female activists, excluded from an earlier meeting, "took issue with the men's unqualified support of Austria and their lack of a constructive strategy in case of war." Martha Bohachevsky-Chomiak, *Feminists Despite Themselves: Women in Ukrainian Community Life, 1884-1939* (Edmonton, 1988), 101.
4. Cited in Dmytro Doroshenko, *A Survey of Ukrainian History*, edited and updated by Oleh W. Gerus (Winnipeg, 1975), 589.
5. Jerry H. Hoffman, "The Ukrainian Adventure of the Central Powers, 1914-1918" (PhD dissertation, University of Pittsburgh, 1967), 30ff., 53-4; Oleh S. Fedyshyn, "The Germans and the Union for the Liberation of the Ukraine, 1914-1917," in Taras Hunczak, ed., *The Ukraine, 1917-1921: A Study in Revolution* (Cambridge, Mass., 1977), 305-22.
6. Hoffman, 29.
7. Adriian Hoshovsky, "U borotbi z SVU i sotsiial patriotamy," *Ukrainskyi kalendar* 1966 (Warsaw), 214-22; Myroslav Yurkevich, "A Forerunner of National Communism: Lev Iurkevych (1885-1918)," *Journal of Ukrainian Studies* VII (1) (1982), 50-6.
8. Dmytro Doroshenko, *Moi spomyny pro nedavnie mynule (1914-1918)*, I (Lviv, 1923), 16-20. The policies were compounded "by widespread rape and pillaging by the troops and by the multiplicity of petty restrictions and excesses indulged in by the administrators." Daniel W. Graf, "Military

- Rule Behind the Russian Front, 1914-1917: The Political Ramifications," *Jahrbücher für Geschichte Osteuropas* XXII (3) (1974), 397. Protests by Russian liberals were to no avail since the repressive policies were favoured by court circles and the local Russian front commander. Paul Miliukov, *Political Memoirs, 1905-1917* (Ann Arbor, 1967), 308-11; Richard Pipes, *Struve: Liberal on the Right, 1905-1944* (Cambridge, Mass., 1980), 210-19.
9. "Vidovza videnskoï Holovnoï Ukrainskoï Rady do ukrainskoho narodu Halychyny i Bukovyny" (24 June 1915), in *Svoboda* 7 August 1915; *Kanadyiskyi rusyn* 16, 23 September, 28 October, 4, 25 November 1914.
 10. Semen Demydchuk, "Pidhruntia ukrainsko-amerykanskoï zhurnalista," in *Pivstorichchia hromadskoï pratsi Dr.-a S. Demydchuka, 1905-1955* (New York, 1956), 28-9; for a concise statement of his views, see his *Ne skuie dushi zhyvoi! ...* (New York, 1915).
 11. *Svoboda* 20, 23, 25, 27, 30 November, 2, 4, 7 December 1915; *Ranok* 10, 17, 24 November, 1 December 1915.
 12. The representative of the Swiss emigrés, M. Tsehlynsky, arrived in March 1916. M. Nastasivsky, *Ukrainska imihratsiia v Spoluchenykh Derzhavakh* (New York, 1934), 123.
 13. Nykyta Budka (1877-1949) was the second of three sons born to Mykhailo Budka (1848-1917) in Dobromirka, Zbarazh county, Galicia. The latter, though himself the son of a prosperous peasant (*podviinyi hospodar*), did not inherit any land from his father and left only a farm of fifteen morgen at his death in 1917. *Kanadyiskyi rusyn* 19 October 1912, 23 May 1917.
 14. AUCA, "Brief Autobiography," NB 1, Budka file.
 15. On 17 August 1913, Budka told local Ukrainian Catholics at Jasmin, Saskatchewan, that the Emperor Francis Joseph had subsidized his trip to Canada and had since sent him financial aid. *Kanadyiskyi rusyn* 6 September 1913.
 16. Oleksander Dombrovsky, *Narys istorii ukrainskoho evanhelsko-reformovanoho rukhu* (New York, 1979), 206. On Sushko's ultramontanism, see Ivan Franko, "Ultra-Montes," *Literaturno-naukovyi vistnyk* XVII (3) (1902), 136-47.
 17. On 13 June 1908 the English-language *Central Catholic and Northwest Review* had referred to the emperor as "a Great Catholic Monarch," of whom it could be said that "there is no more beloved ruler among the nations." On the occasion of the emperor's eighty-first birthday in 1911, services had been held at St. Boniface cathedral for Austrian, Polish and Ukrainian clergy in the archdiocese, and Fr. Joseph Dugas, vicar of the cathedral, had delivered a sermon: "Render unto God what is due to God and unto Caesar what is due to Caesar." In 1913 *Kanadyiskyi rusyn* had marked the emperor's eighty-third birthday by publishing a large photo on the first page. *Ibid.*, 3 June 1911, 16 August 1913.
 18. *Kanadyiskyi rusyn* 4 July 1914. It is not clear why "Ruthenians [should have] placed great and justified hope" in the archduke. His close circle of advisers and potential ministers included Germans, Romanians, Slovaks, Transylvanians and Croatians, but no Ukrainians. Although he supported a strong central government, "wished Austria to be a great power," opposed the annexation of Bosnia and "Magyar claims for greater independence," and felt sympathy for "backward peasant peoples" who made good soldiers

and loyal subjects "devoted to God and emperor," the ideas and plans of the archduke "remain a mystery." Hugh and Christopher Seton-Watson, *The Making of a New Europe: R.W. Seton-Watson and the Last Years of Austria-Hungary* (London, 1981), 63-4.

19. *Kanadyiskyi rusyn*, 1 August 1914; for a translation of the letter, see Frances Swyripa and John H. Thompson, eds., *Loyalties in Conflict: Ukrainians in Canada During the Great War* (Edmonton, 1983), 161-3.
20. The same editorial was reprinted word for word in the 28 July 1915 issue.
21. *Kanadyiskyi rusyn* 1 August 1914. Stella Hryniuk, "The Bishop Budka Controversy: A New Perspective," *Canadian Slavonic Papers* XXIII (2) (1981), 154-65, does not include any of these facts.
22. *Kanadyiskyi rusyn* 8 August 1914; Swyripa and Thompson, 164-5. A meeting in Yorkton, Saskatchewan, on 6 August 1914, attended by the town mayor and residents of various ethnic backgrounds, passed a resolution condemning Budka for acting "as a political agent of a foreign country"; the resolution was sent to Prime Minister Borden with a request that he "take such action as will settle for all time in the minds of Bishop Budka, and others who may have been misled by his letter, the relationship they must sustain to Canada and to the empire so long as they remain within its borders." *Yorkton Enterprise* 13 August 1914.
23. *Kanadyiskyi rusyn* 31 March 1915.
24. *Ibid.*, 16 September, 28 October, 4, 25 November, 16 December 1914, 27 January, 14, 21 April, 5 May, 7, 21 July, 4 August 1915.
25. *Ibid.*, 23 September 1914, 7, 21 April 1915.
26. An economist, Petrushevich had come to Canada in October 1913 to establish a branch of Dostava (Delivery), a Galician Ukrainian co-operative that produced and distributed Hutsul wood-carvings and church goods; for biographical data on Petrushevich, see *Ukrainskyi holos* 13 September 1950 and NAC, Ivan Petrushevich Papers (Hoover Institution Archives, microfilm).
27. NAC, John Robert Kovalevitch Papers, "Autobiography of Rev. Paul Crath," Book II, p. 84; *Robochyi narod* 29 July, 26 August, 2, 11 September 1914; *Ukrainskyi holos* 5 August, 9 September 1914. Semen V. Savchuk (Sawchuk) and Iurii Mulyk-Lutsyk, *Istoriia Ukrainskoi Hreko-Pravoslavnoi Tserkvy v Kanadi*, II (Winnipeg, 1987), 644 ff., erroneously attribute the formation of the society to the nationalists around *Ukrainskyi holos*.
28. *Robochyi narod* 2, 11 September, 7, 16 October, 19 November 1914.
29. *Ibid.*, 28 October, 25 November 1915; *Ranok* 10, 17, 24 November 1915.
30. NAC, RG 6/E1, Chief Press Censor's Papers, J. Fred Livesay to E.J. Boag, 7 April 1916, vol. 532, file 196-1.
31. *Ranok* 12, 26 August 1914, 17 March, 19 May, 9 June 1915; *Robochyi narod* 19 August, 2 September 1914.
32. *Ukrainskyi holos* 12 August 1914; *Kanadyiskyi rusyn* 15 August 1914. In 1915, at a concert commemorating Taras Shevchenko, Arsenych apparently declared: "Let all the Ukrainian people rejoice on the occasion of Shevchenko's anniversary, for upon the completion of the present European war an independent Ukraine will arise and her liberator will be Great Britain, a nation which has always led the struggle for national liberation."

The reporter of the speech thought that such hopes were no more realistic than those of the Ukrainian Austrophiles. *Robochyi narod* 2 June 1915.

33. *Ukrainskyi holos* 5 August 1914.
34. "All Austro-Hungarian Slavs, with the exception of the Poles, are deprived of the opportunity to develop because their development is opposed by the Germans in Austria and by the Magyars in Hungary....Not one Slavic people in Austria, with the exception of the Poles to whom Ukrainians have been sacrificed, can state that they are well-off and that they desire to continue living in Austria." *Ibid.*, 26 August 1914, 3 February, 19 May, 30 June 1915.
35. *Ibid.*, 26 August 1914, 3, 17 February, 2 June 1915.
36. While in Galicia, Zerebko met many Galician Ukrainian politicians, became acquainted with George Raffalovich (a British national who promoted the Ukrainian cause in Britain and the United States) and briefly acted as an instructor in the POW camp at Freistadt, Austria. Pavlo Dubrivny, "Soiuz Vyzvolennia Ukrainy v 1914-1918 rr.," *Naukovi zapysky* (Ukrainskyi Technichno-Hospodarskyi Instytut) XV (Munich, 1966), 78. Zerebko's role as messenger was revealed by Myroslaw Stechishin in *Narodna volia* (no. 33) 1916. It was reported in Canada by *Ranok* 3 May 1916. On Raffalovich, see David Saunders, "Aliens in Britain and the Empire During the First World War," in Swyripa and Thompson, 115-16.
37. *Russkii golos* 26 October 1914; *Edmonton Bulletin* 24 October 1914. The Winnipeg-based *Russkii narod* first appeared on 19 November 1914, while Getseff was still in Canada. From Canada, Getseff set off for Galicia via Siberia and Russia; he died at Rostov-on-the-Don in January 1916. Genik published several articles in *Russkii narod*, including a vicious attack slandering his former mentors Drahomanov, Franko and Pavlyk (22, 29 April 1915).
38. *Russkii narod* 15 July 1915. For the Russophile version of the genesis of "the Ukrainian party," see especially "Shmaigelesy ot ierusalymskoi shliakhty" and "Ukraina v Vienie," *Russkii golos* 6 August 1914, 12 July 1915; "Ukrainofilstvo," *ibid.*, 25 March, 1 April 1915; "V oboronie russkago naroda v Kanadie," *ibid.*, 3 June 1915; "Idiotizm ili sumashestvie—variantstvo?" *ibid.*, 15, 22, 29 July, 6 August 1915; "Divide et impera," *ibid.*, 15 July 1915.
39. In addition to Winnipeg and Edmonton, Russophile rallies in 1915 were held in Manitoba at St. Andrew's, Sifton, Drifting River, Sundown, Glenella and Sandy Lake and in Alberta at Rabbit Hill, Peno, Chipman, Shepentsi and Wostok. For the resolutions, see *Russkii golos* 26 October 1914, 4 October 1915; *Russkii narod* 3 June 1915 (for the petition submitted to D.M. Cameron, lieutenant-governor of Manitoba), 21 October 1915.
40. The 1911 census recorded 393,320 persons of German origin and 129,103 of Austro-Hungarian origin. The number of enemy aliens was calculated from Robert H. Coats, "The Alien Enemy in Canada: Internment Operations," in *Canada in the Great World War: An Authoritative Account of the Military History of Canada from the Earliest Days to the Close of the War of the Nations*, II (Toronto, 1917-21), 146. Coats's precise figures are 94,325 "Austrians" and 18,606 Germans.

41. The phrase is from John H. Thompson, *The Harvests of War: The Prairie West, 1914-1918* (Toronto, 1978), chapter 1. Most Canadians believed the war would be short and decisive with the troops home by Christmas, an assessment shared by European participants. "Lloyds of London set odds at even money that the war would be over by December 31." *Ibid.*, 23.
42. A. Ross McCormack, *Reformers, Rebels and Revolutionaries: The Western Canadian Radical Movement, 1899-1919* (Toronto, 1977), 119-20; Desmond Morton and Terry Copp, *Working People: An Illustrated History of the Canadian Labour Movement* (Ottawa, 1980), 103, 112; Desmond Morton, *A Military History of Canada*, 130 ff.; Thompson, 24-5.
43. Jack L. Granatstein, Irving M. Abella, David J. Bercuson, R. Craig Brown and H. Blair Neatby, *Twentieth Century Canada* (Toronto, 1983), 94.
44. William Darcovich and Paul Yuzyk, eds., *A Statistical Compendium on the Ukrainians in Canada, 1891-1976* (Ottawa, 1980), Table 504 (series 50.11-23), Table 514 (series 50.62-77), Table 517 (series 50.99-103).
45. Desmond Morton, "Sir William Otter and Internment Operations in Canada During the First World War," *Canadian Historical Review* LV (1) (1974), 34; *Manitoba Free Press*, 8 August 1914.
46. NAC, RG 18/A1, RCMP, Laurence Fortescue to Borden, 13 August 1914, vol. 467, file 422.
47. *Ibid.*, vol. 462, file 126, vol. 469, file 442, vol. 482, file 138, vol. 484, file 175, vol. 537, file 409; *Canadian Annual Review* (1914), 282, (1916), 225-6; Roderick C. MacLeod, "The North West Mounted Police," *Canadian Historical Association Historical Booklet* no. 31 (Ottawa, 1978), 19. Trials of German spies in the United States in 1916 indicated that German agents had definite plans for sabotage in Canada. Joseph A. Boudreau, "The Enemy Alien Problem in Canada, 1914-1921" (PhD dissertation, University of California at Los Angeles, 1965), 41.
48. Boudreau, 38.
49. NAC, RG 18/A1, RCMP, Perry to Fortescue, 1 September 1914, Fortescue to Borden, 22 October 1914, Perry to Fortescue, 16 October 1914, vol. 467, file 422; for the RNWMP reports, see *ibid.*, vol. 468, file 432. Robert Fletcher, a school inspector in the Ukrainian districts in Alberta, echoed the RNWMP conclusions: "During the period of the War the Ruthenians have remained loyal and industrious.... Their sympathies are largely with the allies in this great struggle," in J.S. Woodsworth, comp., "Ukrainian Rural Communities: Report of an Investigation by the Bureau of Social Research, Governments of Manitoba, Saskatchewan and Alberta" (Winnipeg, 1917), 144.
50. It has been estimated that of the German-speaking immigrants in western Canada before the war, 44 per cent had originated in the Russian empire, 18 per cent in the United States, 6 per cent in Romania and only 12 per cent in the German empire. Boudreau, 16.
51. *Ranok* 27 May 1914; *Manitoba Free Press* 27 May 1914; *Winnipeg Tribune* 26 May 1914; Morton, "Sir William Otter," 37; NAC, RG 25/A2, Department of External Affairs, Borden to G.H. Perley, 20 October 1914, Harcourt to G.H. Perley, 26 October 1914, Perley to Borden, 30 October 1914, vol. 253, file P 2-31; Marilyn Barber, "The Assimilation of Immigrants in the Canadian Prairie Provinces, 1896-1918: Canadian

- Perception and Canadian Policies" (PhD dissertation, University of London, 1975), 231.
52. Mulvey, "Our Alien Enemies," 139.
 53. William D. Otter, *Internment Operations, 1914-1920* (Ottawa, 1921), 6-9; Peter Melnycky, "The Internment of Ukrainians in Canada," in Swyrypa and Thompson, 7-8. For a map of the camps and stations, see Lubomyr Y. Luciuk and Bohdan S. Kordan, *Creating a Landscape: A Geography of Ukrainians in Canada* (Toronto, 1989), 20.
 54. Otter, 6; Morton, "Sir William Otter," 32, 37-8.
 55. Desmond Morton, *The Canadian General: The Life of Sir William Otter* (Toronto, 1974), 333, 337-8. The male internees were accompanied by 81 women and 156 children, all of whom were quartered and fed in two camps (Spirit Lake, Quebec, and Vernon, B.C.). The women and children were not identified by ethnic origin, though it is known that most of the male internees at Spirit Lake were "Austrians" (Ukrainians) while most at Vernon were Germans. Another 40 women and 81 children related to internees remained at home, where the Department of Internment Operations maintained them on meagre allowances of food, fuel and rent. They were probably the families of German businessmen. Otter, 6. For excerpts from the minute book of the Ukrainian Catholic Archangel Michael parish in Montreal, which mention the internment of sixty Ukrainian families at Spirit Lake, see Nadia A. Hrymak-Wynnycky, "Les églises ukrainiennes à Montréal" (MA thesis, Université de Montréal, 1964), 49-50. Fifteen Slavic infants were baptised and two buried in the parish of Sainte-Thérèse (near Spirit Lake) in 1915-16. Jean Laflamme, *Les camps de détention au Québec durant la Première Guerre Mondiale* (Montréal, 1973), 29-30.
 56. Melnycky, 3-7.
 57. Morton, *The Canadian General*, 334.
 58. NAC, RG 18/A1, RCMP, S.B. Steele to The Secretary, Militia Council, 28 January 1915, vol. 467, file 422, Commissioner Sherwood to the Deputy Minister, Militia and Defence, 27 February 1915, vol. 482, file 138.
 59. For the demonstrations and trek, see *Ukrainskyi holos* 28 April, 19 May 1915; *Manitoba Free Press* 20, 21, 26 April, 3, 15, 17, 19, 20 May 1915. An article in the latter (19 May) reported: "Several of [the trekkers], when spoken to before their departure were informed that the members of the first lot were to be interned at Brandon. These men, who spoke English, were quite satisfied, and said that at Brandon they would get 25 cents a day, three meals, and some tobacco. This was all they wanted, and there was not the least fear on the part of those who were told that they would be sent to Brandon of what would happen to them there. They insisted that all they wanted was work and food or enough work to pay for their board. They could not get this in Winnipeg, and they were going to get it somewhere else." Between 1914 and 1920, however, cash totalling \$329,000 was confiscated from internees; \$298,000 was returned, leaving just over \$31,000 in the hands of the Receiver General after the termination of internment operations. Otter, 10-11.
 60. NAC, RG 18/A1, RCMP, vol. 490, file 433; *Canadian Annual Review* 1916, 325-8; *Robochyi narod* 2, 23 June, 14, 28 July 1915.

61. Morton, "Sir William Otter," 41-2; Otter, 9. The enlisted man's basic pay was \$1.10 per day. Forty Spirit Lake internees sent to work on railway construction under guard were paid \$1.50 plus board. Laflamme, 35.
62. Watson Kirkconnell, "Kapuskasung: An Historical Sketch," *Queen's Quarterly* XXVIII (3) (1921), 267-8; Lubomyr Luciuk, "Internal Security and an Ethnic Minority: The Ukrainians and Internment Operations in Canada, 1914-1920," *Signum* IV (2) (1980), 57.
63. Melnycky, 8, 10; *Kanadyiskyi rusyn* 13 October, 3, 10 November 1915, 26 January 1916; *Robochyi narod* 28 August, 28 September, 28 October, 25 November 1915, 28 January, 15 March, 15 May, 13 June 1916; Philip Yasnowskyj, "Internment," in Harry Piniuta, trans., *Land of Pain, Land of Promise: First Person Accounts by Ukrainian Pioneers, 1891-1914* (Saskatoon, 1978), 189. At Spirit Lake internees and guards were housed in identical 27' x 75' bunk houses and received the same food rations. Laflamme, 11, 23.
64. Morton, *The Canadian General*, 339; *Robochyi narod* 28 August, 28 October 1915.
65. Otter, 12. The Ukrainian victims were Ivan Gregoraszcuk, an escapee from Spirit Lake (killed at La Sarre by a settler, who was subsequently imprisoned), Andrew Grapko (killed by guards while fleeing Brandon), and possibly John Bauzek (killed by guards while fleeing Montreal). Laflamme, 41; Melnycky, 9; Yasnowskyj, 191-5; Luciuk, 56. Of the 8,579 internees, 107 (including 69 "Austrians") died while interned, primarily from tuberculosis and pneumonia; one "Austrian" committed suicide. Otter, 11-12.
66. Morton, "Sir William Otter," 45-6; Melnycky, 13.
67. NAC, RG 18/A1, RCMP, S.T. Wood to the Commissioner, 22 July 1916 and Col. Sherwood to officers authorized to parole or intern aliens of enemy nationality, 24 July 1916, vol. 514, file 490; Otter, 3; Morton, *The Canadian General*, 344; Boudreau, 37.
68. Quoted in Melnycky, 14.
69. NAC, RG 18/A1, RCMP, vol. 469, file 511; RG 26/H, Robert Borden Papers, vol. 190, no. 667, p. 106235.
70. *Ibid.*, RG 18/A1, RCMP, C.F. Hamilton to L. Fortescue, 28 October 1914, vol. 471, file 5, part 1; RG 6/E1, Chief Press Censor's Papers, Chambers to Wilfrid Laurier, 14 June 1918, vol. 509, file 119-N-1, part 2.
71. *Ibid.*, RG 6/E1, Chief Press Censor's Papers, Chambers to T.J. Marciniw (Marciniw), 7 September 1915, vol. 532, file 196-1, memorandum from Chambers to Livesay, January 1916, vol. 646, file 395-2.
72. Livesay insisted that a letter from Metropolitan Sheptytsky to Fr. Prystay in Galicia (passed by the Russian censor and subsequently published in *Kanadyiskyi rusyn*), in which the imprisoned metropolitan inquired about the health of Prystay's mother, was, in fact, a veiled reference to Austria, an attempt "to give your readers the impression that their 'Mother' state is Austria." *Ibid.*, Livesay to Petrushevich, 31 January 1916, Petrushevich to Livesay, 31 January 1916, vol. 532, file 196-1.
73. *Ibid.*, Chambers to Frank Dojacek, 21 October 1915, vol. 533, file 196-2, Livesay to Editor, 28 February 1916, vol. 533, file 196-5.
74. *Ibid.*, Livesay to Chambers, 27 April 1916, vol. 533, file 196-4, Livesay to Chambers, 13 January 1916, vol. 517, file 144-C, Livesay to Chambers, 27 May 1916, vol. 579, file 249-1.

75. *Ranok* 10, 17, 24 November, 1 December 1915.
76. NAC, RG 6/E1, Chief Press Censor's Papers, Livesay to Chambers, 31 December 1915, vol. 516, file 144-A-1, part 2.
77. *Ibid.*, Livesay to Chambers, 14 September 1917, vol. 533, file 196; RG 18/A1, RCMP, Chambers to Fortescue, 10 August 1915, vol. 471, file 5, part 1.
78. *Ibid.*, RG 6/E1, Chief Press Censor's Papers, Chambers to R.M. Coulter, deputy postmaster general, 10 August 1915, Livesay to Chambers, 13 January 1916, Livesay to Chambers, 3 February 1916, vol. 515, file 144, Livesay to Chambers, 15 March 1916, vol. 579, file 249-1; *Manitoba Free Press* 18 February 1916.
79. NAC, RG 6/E1, Chief Press Censor's Papers, Livesay to Chambers, 31 March 1916, vol. 532, file 196-1.
80. *Ibid.*, Livesay to Chambers, 24 November 1915, vol. 515, file 144-1, Livesay to E.J. Boag, 7 April 1916, vol. 532, file 196-1.
81. *Ibid.*, Livesay to Chambers, 27 April and 1 May 1916, vol. 533, file 196-4, Col. Sherwood to Chambers, 5 July 1916, vol. 517, file 144-C, Chambers to Zarebko (Zerebko), 8 July 1916, vol. 517, file 144-A-1.
82. For the internment of Japanese Canadians during the Second World War, see Ken Adachi, *The Enemy That Never Was* (Toronto, 1976), 199-334, and Ann G. Sunahara, *The Politics of Racism: The Uprooting of Japanese Canadians During the Second World War* (Toronto, 1981). Two polemics which pointedly ignore these differences are Lubomyr Luciuk, *A Time for Atonement: Canada's First National Internment Operations and the Ukrainian Canadians, 1914-1920* (Kingston, 1988) and Lubomyr Y. Luciuk and Bohdan S. Kordan, "And who says time heals all?" *Globe and Mail* (Toronto) 28 October 1988.

The War Forces the School Issue

The education of immigrant children in the prairie provinces was a volatile issue long before the outbreak of the First World War. It was the public schools, after all, that were to create "a community of language," inculcate "common ideals of citizenship" and forge a "homogeneous Canadian nation." And it was the bilingual schools, often exploited for partisan ends by provincial politicians, that appeared to stand in the way of developing good Canadian citizens. Thus, when not censured for neglecting schools altogether, Ukrainians who favoured bilingual education were criticized for employing teachers who lacked English skills and were "untouched by Canadian ideals." In Manitoba the alleged inefficiency of bilingual schools was a running source of controversy by 1912-13, while in Alberta, where no serious effort had been made to train Ukrainian teachers or to provide Ukrainian-language instruction, virtually all Ukrainian teachers were dismissed in 1913 after a group of Russophiles had won the government's confidence.

But if opposition to bilingual schools antedated the war, the climate of intolerance engendered by it raised the opposition to fever pitch. The Ukrainian intelligentsia's efforts to cultivate Ukrainian language and culture in the public schools struck many Anglo Canadians as a disloyal and subversive activity that only bred dissatisfaction and accentuated divisions among Canadians in a time of national crisis. The proliferation of Ukrainian cultural institutions and the entry of Ukrainians into municipal and provincial politics only added to Anglo-Canadian fears and generated appeals for "English only" schools. As a result, Manitoba's bilingual school system was abolished in 1916 and two years later the opportunity to teach in languages other than English disappeared in Saskatchewan's public schools.

Schools and Teachers

Although many Ukrainian immigrants, literate and illiterate, welcomed an education for their children, anyone familiar with peasant societies will not be

surprised that the subject did not inspire universal enthusiasm. In many areas the development of schools became a Sisyphean task that dragged on for a decade or more.¹ Economic considerations, traditionalism and simple ignorance were responsible for opposition to schools. Before 1914, during the struggle to establish homesteads, children were needed at home to perform innumerable tasks. At the turn of the century, a rural settler was heard to remark:

In Canada there is plenty of land; there are no estates on which one is forced to work for the landlord's benefit and thereby prevented from making a good living for himself....If we manage to raise our children and work our farms, our homesteads will be just like the landlords' estates. If we feed freeloaders [i.e., teachers] to play with our children we will never make our fortune here.²

The arguments in opposition to schools were legion: schools entailed higher municipal taxes;³ they were promoted by "radicals" who were always "causing trouble" by trying to change things; Canada was "a free country where parents can do as they please with their children";⁴ and children could manage without schooling just as had earlier generations for centuries.⁵ Occasionally, opponents threw school organizers out of their homes,⁶ though few apparently went as far as Dmytro Khalus and his wife of Canora. When a group at their homestead began to discuss the need for a school, Khalus declared his total opposition while his wife grabbed a shotgun and proceeded to upbraid the others:

You villains, you robbers, why have you come into my home? I will shoot all of you! We came here to plough not to build schools. I have been so happy since we fled the old country with its schools and now you want to make schools here.⁷

It is very difficult to determine the extent of such resistance, but it was more common than some historians care to admit.⁸ Perhaps nothing reflected the lack of unanimity better than the numerous exhortations and injunctions in Ukrainian newspapers to send children to school. *Svoboda*, *Kanadyiskyi farmer* and *Ukrain-skyi holos* were frequently alarmed by the numerous letters which described the opposition to schools or denied the need for an education.⁹ Concerned settlers like Wasył Romaniuk and Peter Svarich of Alberta filled the Ukrainian press with desperate pleas to build schools. Romaniuk maintained that the opposition was unrelated to poverty, because most opponents could afford to build and maintain schools and to enrol their children.¹⁰ Svarich was especially troubled that in 1911 only one-third of Alberta's Ukrainian population had schools and only four Ukrainian children in rural Alberta had gone beyond the fourth grade. Bukovynians, it seems, were especially opposed to schools. "Bukovynians fear schools like the devil fears holy water" was a common refrain at the time. Yet Galicians were not much better. Referring to all Ukrainian settlers, Michael

Stechishin insisted that at first "90 per cent of our farmers opposed the organization of school districts."¹¹

Nevertheless, there were perceptible changes in popular attitudes before the First World War, as the practical advantages of schooling became evident. By 1909 settlers in Alberta were taking school children into town to help with calculations. In 1911 the provincial school organizer reported that "where at first they wanted large districts in order to keep down the taxes, now they favour moderate-sized districts so that none of the children have too great a distance to travel." Settlers also no longer suspected school trustees of trying to levy "unnecessary taxes."¹²

Yet, if hostility gradually decreased, the attitudes of immigrants and educators did not necessarily coincide.¹³ Irregular school attendance continued, occasionally falling below the 50-55 per cent daily average of rural prairie schools before the war, though the absence of roads and warm clothes were certainly contributing factors. Because many parents continued to believe that two or three years to learn the 3 Rs were sufficient, few Ukrainian children over fourteen were in school.¹⁴ In Winnipeg only seven or eight Ukrainian pupils passed the grade eight high school entrance examination in 1916; two years later only forty in Alberta passed exams in grade eight or higher.¹⁵ The narrow, utilitarian view of education was also reflected in widespread opposition to "frivolous" school activities. Teachers complained that parents and trustees forbade children's games lest clothes be torn and objected to such extra-curricular activities as concerts and plays that detained children.¹⁶ Also, as with most agricultural societies, female literacy continued to receive low priority. Teachers were told by irate parents: "I don't send my girl to school because she is not going to be a priest's wife (*popadia*)."¹⁷ Unlike the boys, who were relatively free during the winter, girls had a great variety of domestic chores. Finally, schools were deliberately closed for a large part of the year to save money and new and larger buildings were resisted when the one-room schools became crowded. Many Ukrainians considered consolidated schools to be "nothing less than the imposition of serfdom."¹⁸

One should not be surprised, however, that some Ukrainians did not favour schools. When Austria-Hungary introduced compulsory education in 1872, only 19.7 per cent of Galicia's and 16 per cent of Bukovyna's school-aged population was in school. In the next three decades almost two thousand new schools were established but the availability of education was still uneven. In 1900, 1,519 of 2,299 Ukrainian schools in Galicia had only one grade and only 25 had more than two grades; in Polish schools, also attended by Ukrainian children, the emphasis was on spoken Polish rather than literacy; and there were more than one thousand unqualified teachers in Galicia. Moreover, as late as 1907 some two thousand communities in Galicia were without schools, and in Borshchiv,

which probably sent more Ukrainians to Canada than any other Galician county, twenty of seventy-five communities lacked schools.¹⁹

Once schools were built, most settlers had great difficulty finding teachers. The pioneer prairies, with a rapidly expanding school-aged population and few teacher-training facilities, recruited in eastern Canada, Great Britain and the United States. Annual salaries of five to six hundred dollars in rural districts and the modest investment of time and energy did not encourage young people to take up teaching as a career.²⁰ Before 1918 candidates who had completed grades ten, eleven or twelve could earn third-, second- or first-class teaching certificates by attending a normal school session that rarely lasted more than four months. Most taught for two or three years and then left to get married, go into business or pursue a university education. A 1916 survey of Saskatchewan's rural teachers revealed that 47.4 per cent had taught less than two years, only 27 per cent had taught more than five years and 70 per cent were between seventeen and twenty-five years of age.²¹ Since the proportion of female teachers on the prairies grew from 55 per cent at the turn of the century to 80 per cent in 1920, the typical prairie teacher was a nineteen- or twenty-year-old girl with a grade ten or eleven education.²²

As a result, it was especially difficult to find qualified English-speaking teachers for Ukrainian districts; they simply did not care to teach among "Galicians." While prejudice, a sense of cultural superiority and more lucrative positions elsewhere were factors, most 'English' teachers were discouraged by the loneliness and isolation in districts where settlers spoke little or no English. The absence of suitable accommodation was also important, as most nineteen- or twenty-year-old females did not care to share one- or two-room peasant dwellings with immigrant families (and possibly several small animals in winter). Ukrainians had therefore to draw from a dwindling pool of male teachers and most of these, like the Alberta teacher who spent his first winter in a tent, left after one term.²³ Nor did the hastily constructed shacks that began to appear as teacherages in some Ukrainian districts shortly before the war make it much easier to attract qualified teachers.

In the circumstances many districts were left with a poor assortment of teachers. Shortly before the war, the teacher at Kolomea school near Vegreville was "an old Englishman who whammed the bigger boys over the head with a willow cane." In nearby Togo school, one of the university students hired for the summer, the son of a high-ranking eastern-Canadian government official, closed the school several weeks before the end of term, doctored the school register and retired to Vegreville to spend the summer playing billiards. In Manitoba permits to teach in "Galician" districts were often patronage crumbs. In 1909, for example, Robert Fletcher, deputy minister of education, wrote W.H. Hastings, a member of the legislature, about a certain W.H. Gray:

This lad failed 29 marks in Spelling, 8 marks in Literature, and 26 marks in Grammar, in his examinations for a third class non-professional certificate. Under no circumstances could he have been given a permit to teach the school which had been offered him by a teachers' bureau. I believe he has some knowledge of the Ruthenian language. There are a number of schools among the Galicians employing English speaking teachers, and in most cases, these districts requiring an English teacher must take someone who is not fully qualified as a qualified teacher can get employment amid more congenial surroundings. If Mr. Gray were to secure a school among these people, we would have no hesitation in giving him a permit.

Some male English-speaking teachers in the same province were accused of drinking and sleeping during classes and of teaching children to curse in English; female teachers allegedly made pillowcases and bedcovers in school; and university students who taught in summer often boasted they could do whatever they pleased in "Galician" colonies. While many pupils taught by 'English' teachers of this calibre memorized their primers, few were able to understand English.²⁴

To help resolve the teacher shortage (and to secure the allegiance of Ukrainian voters), Manitoba, Saskatchewan and Alberta established special schools to assist young Ukrainian males to qualify as teachers. Unfortunately, the schools lacked a common purpose and similar programmes and failed to provide fully qualified teachers. The Ruthenian Training School, established in Winnipeg in 1905 and moved to Brandon in 1907, offered Ukrainian males between eighteen and twenty-four years of age a three-year programme leading to the grade nine examinations, followed by an eleven-week course at the provincial Normal School to obtain a third-class non-professional certificate. The Training School for Teachers for Foreign Speaking Communities, established in Regina in 1909, prepared young men aged fifteen to twenty-two for grade eight examinations and subsequent entry into one of the province's high schools. As in Manitoba, students without certificates were issued permits to teach in Ukrainian districts during the summer. The English School for Foreigners in Vegreville, which enrolled young men between sixteen and twenty-two in February 1913, simply taught English and covered enough of the school curriculum for students to attempt the grade nine examinations. Students in Alberta were not prepared for certification as teachers nor were they issued permits to teach during the summer, because government policy insisted upon uniform qualifications to avoid a "segregated" teaching force, even if it meant leaving Ukrainian districts without teachers.²⁵

The quality of instruction in the training schools left much to be desired. Not only were the school terms inordinately brief (five to six months), but some of the instructors were most inadequate. Admittedly, in Brandon, Principal J.T. Cressey, an Englishman, was described as a "well-qualified, kindly and sympathetic man," and his assistants were rarely criticized for their pedagogy or their

attitudes toward Ukrainians.²⁶ In Regina, however, Principal Joseph Greer, a native of Ontario with only a second-class teaching certificate and no teacher-training experience, was described as "a despot and dictator." He could not solve mathematical problems, failed to explain lessons clearly, ordered students who requested additional explanations to leave the room, and made disparaging remarks about Ukrainians. As a result, student strikes occurred in November 1910 and again in February 1914.²⁷ Although a Department of Education committee exonerated Greer and recommended the expulsion of six students in 1914, the deputy minister of education forced him to resign and closed the school. Thereafter, a special class for "foreigners" supervised by Inspectors W.E. Stevenson and H.A. Everts was conducted for three years in the provincial Normal School.²⁸ Student protests also occurred in Vegreville in December 1913, after Principal W.A. Stickle, an intolerant and condescending disciplinarian, disparaged Ukrainians and insisted that the students attend Protestant services on Sundays. Here, too, Stickle was exonerated and three students were expelled.²⁹

Who were the young men who taught in the Ukrainian school districts before 1918? Altogether, 148 Ukrainians attended at Regina (the special classes included) for at least one term between 1909 and 1917, with another 150-200 at Winnipeg and Brandon between 1905 and 1916.³⁰ While many of the earliest applicants knew very little English, in later years a fair number ironically could not read or write Ukrainian.³¹ Quite a few at Brandon had attended the gymnasium in Galicia for several years, but this was seldom the case in Regina and Vegreville, where the students were not only weak in English but rarely had the equivalent of a fourth-grade education in Canada or the old country. As a result, Brandon students often scored higher on the grade nine examinations than did native-born Canadians, while many Regina students received poor grades and were not always too eager to learn.³² Between 1910 and 1913 only nineteen earned grade eight standing while twenty-eight did so between 1915 and 1917. Indeed, many at Regina openly admitted their intention to teach on permits without qualifying fully.³³ The great demand for teachers made this possible, at least before 1916 when wartime nativism attacked the granting of "favours" and "privileges" to unqualified "foreigners."

Needless to say, only a minority ever graduated from Brandon and Regina, much less obtained professional certificates. Not only were training-school students allowed to teach on permits, but the handful of Ukrainian high school and university students were also given permits. Sometimes men who knew no English received them. In March 1913, Wasył Swystun, a graduate of the gymnasium in Kitsman, taught in the Khmelnytsky school near Glen Elmo, Manitoba, a mere three months after arriving in Canada.³⁴ Although the twenty-year-old Swystun was a well-educated young man who spoke Ukrainian, Polish and German, he knew no English. Nor for that matter did many others who enrolled shortly after leaving Europe. One can therefore sympathize with school

inspectors like H.A. Everts of Saskatchewan, who lamented that he had "teachers who cannot speak two sentences in English without making errors."³⁵

Between 1905 and 1911 only twenty-one of the ninety-two men at Brandon had completed the course and received third-class non-professional certificates; similarly, by 1913 only eleven at Regina had passed the first part of the exam for a third-class certificate.³⁶ The first fully qualified (grade ten plus normal school) Ukrainian teachers in Saskatchewan, A.T. Kibzey and Semen W. Sawchuk, did not graduate until the spring of 1914.³⁷ Of the ninety-seven Ukrainian teachers in Saskatchewan in the fall of 1915, three held second-class certificates, eight had third-class certificates and eighty-six taught on permits;³⁸ in Manitoba about two-thirds of the seventy-five Ukrainian bilingual teachers surveyed in November 1915 held third-class (professional and non-professional) certificates while the rest taught on permits.³⁹ These qualifications did not compare favourably with the teaching profession as a whole: almost 35 per cent of Saskatchewan's rural teachers and about 60 per cent of all Manitoba teachers held first- or second-class certificates.⁴⁰ By 1918 the situation in Saskatchewan had improved slightly, with sixty-six of the eighty-six Ukrainian teachers on permits, and sixteen holding third-class certificates, three second-class certificates and one a first-class certificate. Moreover, three were university graduates and thirteen others (most on permits) were university students (including several from Manitoba attracted by Saskatchewan's higher salaries). Only thirty-three of the eighty-six had attended the Regina training school; the majority were graduates of the regular school system, including nine Ukrainian female teachers.⁴¹

Like their English-speaking colleagues, most Ukrainians did not look upon teaching as a career before the 1920s. Of the thirty-five Ukrainian teachers in Manitoba in 1907, only fifteen were still teaching in 1912 and only nine in 1915.⁴² In Saskatchewan only half of the thirty-seven men who taught in 1910 were still teaching in 1915 and only a third in 1918; 55 per cent of the ninety-seven Ukrainians who taught in the province in 1915 were no longer teaching in 1918.⁴³ Most former teachers entered business, the professions or public life. At least twenty-three of the young men who taught in Ukrainian districts before 1918 had earned university degrees by the early 1920s, while five others had entered the priesthood, five were elected to provincial legislatures and one to Parliament during the twenties and thirties.⁴⁴

If the prospect of more lucrative and satisfying careers lured many away from teaching, a fair number were pushed out by settlers who did not appreciate their work. The attitudes and behaviour of Ukrainian trustees displeased teachers greatly, especially where salaries were involved. Teachers complained that trustees regarded them as "loafers" (*neroby*), who deserved no more than forty to fifty dollars a month since their work was so "easy." Teachers who presumed to ask for raises were sometimes fired on the spot and many complained that trustees preferred cheap teachers to competent ones. Trustees suspected teachers

of gouging and took that as the sole purpose of the Ukrainian Teachers' Association. As late as 1921, teachers reported that many in Saskatchewan would vote only for municipal candidates who promised lower teachers' salaries. The absence of teacherages was also an important source of friction. Teachers who boarded with families found preparation very difficult and complained that without decent teacherages and with their miserable salaries they were practically condemned to a lifetime of bachelorhood.⁴⁵ Finally, the ignorance and arrogance of trustees irritated many teachers. Some hired teachers on their penmanship and rejected candidates who used "big" words that they could not understand; others dismissed teachers whom they suspected of being "atheists" because they "did not even teach three words of the Lord's Prayer"; and in one instance a trustee expected the teacher to bow to him.⁴⁶ Trustees were also accused of demanding passing grades for their children, accepting bribes and failing to attend provincial trustees' conventions.⁴⁷ Indeed, there is no apparent record of Ukrainian involvement in such gatherings before 1915 and only token participation thereafter.

The Role of the Public School

Ultimately, however, the arguments with Ukrainian trustees were a minor irritant; much more disturbing was the increasingly acrimonious debate between Anglo-Canadian educators and Ukrainian teachers about the purpose and function of the public school. The great majority of Anglo Canadians firmly believed that the immigrants on the prairies had to be moulded into English-speaking Canadians with British (Anglo-Saxon) values. Of the two great socializing agencies—the church and the public school—the latter was the single most important agency of "Canadianization" because, unlike the church, it was not divided by narrow denominational interests and could influence young minds at their most impressionable age. In the words of Inspector James T.M. Anderson of Yorkton, the prairie educator who gave the subject the most attention, the public school was to be "the great melting-pot into which must be placed these divers racial groups, and from which will eventually emerge the pure gold of Canadian citizenship."⁴⁸

In the school the teaching of English—the "common solvent" to dissolve differences and forge Canadians—was the teacher's first and most important responsibility. "A knowledge of the English language is the fundamental need and every other school study must take a secondary place," declared W.J. Sisler, principal of Strathcona school in Winnipeg's North End. As most immigrant homes gave children little opportunity to speak English and most children rarely went beyond the third or fourth grade, English had to be taught quickly and efficiently. Besides transmitting the fundamental values of British civilization, teachers also had to build character by instilling manners, morals and the rules of

hygiene. The public school, in short, was to create “a homogeneous people” by teaching English and developing loyal and patriotic Canadian citizens and British subjects.⁴⁹ To perpetuate or accentuate differences—be they religious, cultural or linguistic—was to engage in subversive, even treasonable, activity, and to threaten Canada’s future as a single nation in a unified state.

Bilingual schools, instruction in languages other than English and foreign-born teachers “untouched by the loftiness of Canadian ideals” presented a serious challenge to this view of the public school. Naturally, provincial authorities insisted that they were doing everything possible “to instill” into the minds of foreign-born teachers “the true Canadian sentiment, so that they will love their adopted country, love its laws and love our national flag.” Department of Education officials maintained that the Ukrainian language and literature courses offered at the training schools in Brandon (1905-10, 1913-14) and Regina (1912, 1914-15) were optional and had been conceded unwillingly. Moreover, the native language was used only “as a medium of explanation”; the training schools were “not preparing these teachers to teach the children to read and write the Ruthenian language.”⁵⁰ But such declarations did little to dispel the growing apprehensions of the English-speaking majority.

Norman F. Black’s *English for the Non-English*, the first Canadian study of the subject published in 1913, expressed the apprehensions well. Anxious to determine how to “impart a working knowledge of [English]...in the briefest period,” Black, a Saskatchewan school inspector, canvassed educators in all corners of the British empire and concluded that “the key note to the correct teaching of English to beginners is the practically exclusive use of that language in the school room.” Where this “direct method” was rejected and teachers taught English through the medium of the mother tongue, it took “as a rule fully twice as long for the pupils to acquire a working knowledge of English.” Although the vernacular helped teachers to win the sympathy and attention of pupils and allowed them to explain subtle differences in meaning, Black rejected the view that teachers who taught immigrant children had to know their mother tongue. Bilingual schools like those in Manitoba and provisions for native-language instruction in the primary grades merely diminished the time devoted to English. Parents interested in another language “of acknowledged practical value” should look to the higher grades, provided the schools remained open for at least 150 days in the year. “English must be the dominant subject in all elementary schools” and “anything tending towards the creation of racial separate schools” had to be avoided. Rather than special training schools, provincial governments were advised to establish scholarships to enable “promising young men and women from immigrant communities to attend the ordinary schools of their English-speaking brethren.”⁵¹

While most Anglo-Canadian educators endorsed Black’s position, some like Sisler and Anderson went even further. Sisler insisted that “no language but

English should be allowed" in public schools attended by immigrant children. Anderson added that "the sooner we get rid of the subordinate European languages the sooner will we be in a position to make citizens of the vast numbers that now, with their confused jargons, cover our province." He was especially critical of teachers who spoke the vernacular. "Generally speaking a native teacher is the worst in my estimation," he informed Black. "Get an English teacher for a foreign school every time." Not only were teachers of "foreign" origin deficient in English, they were not representatives of "Anglo-Saxon civilization" and were therefore unable to transmit the norms that underpinned Canadian society. Teachers, in Anderson's view, were not just instructors, they were the prime exemplars of what the term "Canadian" means.⁵²

In the end, Anglo-Canadian educators approached the education of immigrant children exclusively from the perspective of nation-building, with little appreciation for the difficulties involved in transforming the children of peasant immigrants into Canadians. To ensure their smooth integration into Canadian society and the modern world, all that was needed was English taught by "strong types of Canadian manhood and womanhood." Largely ignored were such traditional pedagogical values as the child's morale, enthusiasm for learning, a broad education or the ability to think critically. It was simply assumed that "when they grow up very few will have to write anything more than an ordinary letter"; "they [will] have to take the place of their parents as tillers of these broad sections."⁵³ It sufficed therefore to teach the children English and to indoctrinate them with Anglo-Canadian values and norms.

And, in fact, the public schools were largely temples dedicated to this narrow purpose. In Winnipeg's North End elementary schools were named after "men of eminence" like King Edward, Lord Strathcona, Lord Aberdeen, Lord Selkirk, Cecil Rhodes and William Whyte, president of the CPR, so that immigrant children might "learn their significance."⁵⁴ Inside most rural one-room schools a Union Jack covered the front wall above and behind the teacher's desk, while portraits of the royal family and assorted prime ministers and other national heroes adorned the walls so that pupils could "learn to admire their qualities." Children were taught such patriotic songs as "Rule Britannia" and "The Maple Leaf Forever"; on maps of the British empire, teachers "clearly pointed out to the pupils that the country from which their parents came was eighteen times smaller in area than Canada";⁵⁵ and some teachers even attempted to introduce second graders to the glories of British history.⁵⁶ In some schools children were strapped, made to write "lines" or detained after hours for speaking Ukrainian in class or on the playground.⁵⁷ Little wonder that many immigrants remained skeptical about the idea of schooling for their children.

Ukrainian teachers and community leaders saw the school's role differently. While English was certainly very important, it was incumbent upon the public school to help maintain Ukrainian language and culture. Ukrainians, *Ukrainskyi*

holos warned in 1912, had to insist upon preserving their “national distinctiveness” or they would become “the soulless raw material out of which another people’s nation will be built.”⁵⁸ An education limited to English-language instruction and citizenship training would transform Ukrainian children “into...English fanatic[s] who recognize nothing greater and holier than English traditions.” Nor would it necessarily promote Canadian national unity; Switzerland demonstrated that cultural pluralism, not enforced unilingualism, fostered harmony and a sense of national unity.⁵⁹

The retention and expansion of bilingual schools and second-language learning were matters of grave concern to most educated Ukrainians, especially nationalists and Catholics. To *Ukrainskyi holos*, bilingual schools were synonymous with Ukrainian national survival in Canada; they were a matter of life and death. Initially, the goal was modest: the use of Ukrainian to explain English words and concepts and the study of Ukrainian up to one hour daily to acquire literacy. After 1907 the demands of the nationalists escalated to include an extension of bilingual schools into Saskatchewan and Alberta, at least three Ukrainian bilingual teachers in Winnipeg’s North End,⁶⁰ the preparation of Ukrainian bilingual textbooks and Ukrainian instructors at the training schools in Brandon and Regina.⁶¹ By 1914, *Ukrainskyi holos* also wanted the children “to know their own history and literature in addition to English and Canadian history.” Orest Zerebko, more outspoken than most, argued that Ukrainians required

...schools in which our language and our national [*narodni*] interests will stand on a par with the English language and the interests of the state....The schools will be ours when they are taught by our teachers and when our linguistic rights are equalized with those of the English language *in the school*. The French demand that all subjects taught in English should also be taught in French in their schools, and we must make the same demand, because only then will our national requirements be fully satisfied.

In 1915, *Ukrainskyi holos* returned to this position on several occasions.⁶² For bilingual education to be more than tokenism, at least half of the school day had to be devoted to instruction in non-English languages.

For still other Ukrainians, what was at stake in the debate over bilingual schools was not how best to teach English, but how best to educate the immigrant child. According to teachers like Wasyl Mihaychuk, the first need of immigrants and their children was to cultivate respect and enthusiasm for schools and learning, which could only be accomplished in bilingual schools. Schools staffed exclusively by unilingual English-speaking teachers would frustrate the children struggling to comprehend, and the complete absence of their language and cultural heritage would breed in them a sense of inferiority and self-con-

tempt. Where children showed little progress, parents, too, would soon become discouraged, and ultimately the unilingual schools would only perpetuate the very psychological traits—fatalism, resignation, lack of self-respect—that already hindered the peasant immigrants. On the other hand, through bilingual education children would identify readily with the subject matter, develop enthusiasm for learning and develop self-esteem because of comprehensible role models:

Our boys do not become excited at the mention of Lord Nelson's name, nor do our girls respond to Darling. They remain indifferent to the heroic deeds of these characters. However, we observe an entirely different phenomenon when we tell them stories about the lives of Shevchenko and Pavlyk, or about our other heroes, and when we read them the short stories of Vera Lebed. Their eyes shine and the heart rejoices when one sees their joy and alacrity of spirit as they read or listen to these Ukrainian stories. Such is the nature of the human spirit that it comes to life and acquires independence when one sees that people like oneself overcome obstacles, perform noble deeds and become heroes.⁶³

In fact, the mere presence of bilingual Ukrainian teachers in immigrant colonies could affect the children's morale positively by offering "living proof" that others could better themselves and strive for a way of life that earlier seemed unattainable.

Clearly, the uses which Ukrainian leaders saw for the public school were quite different from those of most Anglo-Canadian educators. The idea that schools should help cultivate a "foreign" language and culture appeared to subvert the vision of a unified English-speaking Canadian nation. Conflict and confrontation were inevitable, and by 1913 advocates of rapid "Canadianization" were certain that Ukrainian nationalists were conspiring to undermine Canadian ideals and institutions.

The School Revolt in Alberta

Nowhere was the sense of conspiracy felt more keenly than in Alberta. As we have seen (Chapter 10), demands for more extensive use of Ukrainian in the public schools and Ukrainian opposition to a Redistribution Bill had prompted the Liberals to cast off men like Peter Svarich in favour of Russophiles led by Michael Ostrowsky and Andrew Shandro to deliver "the Ruthenian vote" in the provincial election on 17 April 1913. When the Liberals nominated a Ukrainian candidate (Shandro) in only one of the constituencies heavily populated by Ukrainians, Svarich, Paul Rudyk, Michael Gowda and Gregory Krakivsky ran unsuccessfully as Independents, supported by a handful of Ukrainian teachers (to whom permits had been issued by the Department of Education several months

earlier) and by Roman Kremar's weekly, *Novyny*, which was already making subtle overtures to the Conservative party.

Within a month of the election, Alberta's Liberal government announced that it had discovered a "conspiracy" to undermine the province's public school system. According to the annual report of the Department of Education, early in 1913 a number of

...Ruthenian schools were raided by would-be teachers from Manitoba and Saskatchewan. The majority of these young men had a very indifferent education. Their written English was faulty in idiomatic expression, while their speech was characterized by indistinct articulation. Some of them could scarcely make themselves understood in either written or spoken English.⁶⁴

The teachers had been recruited by an "organization...composed of certain well known agitators who had ulterior motives to serve" and who "agitated that Ruthenian be taught in our Ruthenian schools and that unqualified Ruthenians be allowed to teach." Robert Fletcher, the province's "Supervisor of Schools Among Foreigners," counselled the trustees of eleven Ukrainian school districts to replace the unqualified Ukrainians with the qualified teachers he would provide, and when four of the districts refused, he assumed the powers of official trustee, dismissed the teachers and appointed his own.⁶⁵ The trustees of Bukowina school promptly built a private school for their "unqualified" teacher and proceeded to collect taxes to pay his salary, while rejecting Mr. Armstrong, the teacher installed by Fletcher.

To end the revolt, section 149 of the School Act was amended in October to prohibit teachers without valid certificates "under the regulations of the department" from receiving remuneration. The deposed trustees were then warned to stop collecting taxes and to pay those already collected to Fletcher. When they refused, Fletcher resorted to distraint of chattel, and in December five horses were seized from the "leading belligerents of the district." A brief lull ensued, but when Armstrong assumed his duties in January 1914, "he was assaulted by two men, two women and two grown boys." Fortunately, the female "ringleader" was apprehended, fined and sentenced to a term in jail. The school revolt was over.⁶⁶

Ukrainian accounts see the same events differently. Ukrainians had been teaching on permits in Alberta since 1909, when Svarich, as secretary of some ten school districts, began recruiting them. At least one of the teachers—Mr. Boychuk, a stern and aging old-country disciplinarian—was unable to speak English; the English of the others was "faulty in idiomatic expression." They included men like Zygmunt Bychynsky, who had studied at the University of Lviv and the Presbyterian seminary in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania; Mykola Starodvorov, a Ukrainian-speaking University of Alberta engineering student of Belorussian origin; Hryhorii Novak, Ivan Yakimischak and Mykola Romaniuk,

students who would go on to successful careers in medicine and law; and Michael Luchkowich, an American-born and -educated Ukrainian enrolled at the University of Manitoba who would become the first Ukrainian-Canadian member of Parliament.⁶⁷ Those dismissed by Fletcher in 1913 included three Alberta College students, three graduates of Brandon's Training School and seven Manitoba College students.⁶⁸ While one of the teachers could not speak English, the other young men spoke English adequately and were at least as well-educated as the typical prairie teacher.⁶⁹

Although the Department of Education could dismiss the teachers, the Liberals were also motivated by partisan considerations and a determination to head-off demands for Ukrainian-language instruction. While Hryhorii Shevchyshyn, a graduate of the Brandon school who taught near Leduc and had not been involved in the election campaign, was not granted a new permit, he was allowed to continue teaching on condition he refrain from criticizing the Liberals.⁷⁰ Nor were all of Fletcher's replacements model teachers. Warren Dykeman, who replaced Ivan Genik (a second-year Arts student at Manitoba College) in the Kolomea school, sexually molested three ten- to twelve-year-old girls during his first week and was subsequently incarcerated in the Fort Saskatchewan penitentiary.⁷¹

Wasył Czumer, the teacher at the centre of the Bukowina school controversy, was a director of the Ukrainian Publishing Company and a past president of the Ukrainian Teachers' Association in Manitoba. He had graduated from the Ruthenian Training School in 1907 and taught in Manitoba for five years, often in school districts where he also made use of his Polish and German. Of the five English-speaking teachers who preceded him in the Bukowina school, only one had made a serious effort to teach. In March 1914, Judge Crawford of the Edmonton District Court, who fined Czumer for violating the amendment to section 149 and ordered him to vacate the school, remarked that Czumer "could speak the English language so as to qualify in that respect as a teacher in one of our district schools." He was "a man that impressed me very favourably...bright, intelligent, and of an honest disposition," but "for some reason or other, which I will not attempt even to guess at, the Department of Education refused to grant him a permit."⁷²

Armstrong, the teacher who replaced Czumer, was "assaulted" because he first refused to heed the settlers' request that he leave and then ordered them to get out of the teacherage that they had built. Two weeks earlier, the settlers' horses had been seized by Fletcher and a man named Ravliuk, one of Shandro's in-laws. A woman who refused to surrender her mare had been struck repeatedly by Ravliuk and, according to some accounts, by Fletcher. The female "ringleader" who assaulted Armstrong, Mary Kapitsky, was sentenced to two months in the women's prison at Macleod, which she served with her eighteen-month-old child.⁷³

To add insult to injury, officials of the Department of Education, including J.R. Boyle, the minister, and Fletcher, began referring to Ukrainians as "Russians" shortly after the Liberal-Russophile alliance was formed and the teachers were expelled. The School Act was translated and published in the etymological script favoured by the Russophiles, and the government justified its actions by citing laudatory resolutions passed at Russophile-sponsored public meetings attended by "Russians, Little Russians and Poles." Moreover, even while the "unqualified" Ukrainian teachers were being expelled, the Vegreville school board was excluding children of "foreigners" who were outside its municipal boundaries because of congestion.⁷⁴

However, from the very beginning the Ukrainian response was vitiated by the involvement of Roman Kremar and his newspaper *Novyny*. By 1913-14, Kremar, the socialist-turned-real estate speculator, was flirting with the Basilians and making eyes at the Alberta Conservatives. Consequently, he was not satisfied merely to bring the expulsion of Ukrainian teachers to public attention and to condemn Boyle, Fletcher and their Russophile agents; Kremar and *Novyny* launched a bitter campaign of vilification against Svarich and Rudyk as former Liberals, in which Alberta's Conservatives were praised and the Conservative opponents of Ukrainian teachers were consistently identified as "Liberals."⁷⁵ When Shandro was convicted of "malicious prosecution" for bringing false charges against Rudyk during the 1913 electoral campaign and then unseated because his agents had bribed voters on the day of the election, Kremar entered the March 1915 Whitford by-election as a Conservative, even though the Conservatives and Liberals were of one mind on the school issue. During the campaign Kremar distributed leaflets which proclaimed in English that "My political views on the school question in Alberta are and always will be governed by the principles of my party and that party is the Conservative party," and urged Ukrainians in Ukrainian to "Vote on March 15 for the Conservative-Nationalist candidate and native [*ridni*] schools in Alberta." Such tactics disgusted many Ukrainians and outraged the Conservatives. The recently discredited Shandro regained his seat by a wider margin than in 1913, while the Conservatives publicly "disclaimed all sympathy with any candidate who was opposed to the present educational system of Alberta."⁷⁶ Rather than helping Ukrainian districts to regain their teachers, Kremar merely convinced the Liberals that Ukrainian demands for such teachers were inspired by the Conservative party. And in the next few years, as the war rendered the political issue largely academic, many Ukrainian school districts had still to find teachers.

“The Roblin-Langevin-Nationalist-Ruthenian Combination” in Manitoba

Events in Alberta had serious repercussions in Manitoba, where the Roblin administration had politically exploited the officially sanctioned bilingual school system for years. Ukrainian bilingual schools came under increased scrutiny after 1911, when several Protestant reform groups began to coalesce around the Liberal opposition. To the reformers, the children of intemperate Slavic immigrants, ignorant of democratic political institutions and easily corrupted by the government’s unscrupulous agents, had to be “Canadianized” quickly through the public school system.⁷⁷

At the centre of the Liberal-reform coalition stood John Wesley Dafoe (1866-1944), editor of the *Manitoba Free Press*, a Liberal daily owned by Sir Clifford Sifton. Born in the backwoods of Ontario, the self-educated Dafoe, though of United Empire Loyalist stock, was no admirer of British imperialism. He was a fervent Canadian nationalist, thoroughly committed to transforming western Canada’s polyethnic and multilingual population into a new English-speaking Canadian nation. In the process, however, the immigrant would not have to forfeit “his language, his literature or a thousand associations which are entwined inextricably in his memory.” These would be preserved privately or through voluntary associations. Nor would the immigrant have to forget his homeland. Aware that Ukrainians and Poles had “suffered long and wearily from the heel of the conqueror,” Dafoe expressed “the keenest sympathy with [their] national aspirations” and, with one eye on Europe, thought they were “about to be realized.” Nonetheless, Canada could not be a country inhabited by peoples “cherishing divergent ideals.” Immigrants who settled in Canada had to become “Canadians first,” “Canadians without adjectives”; immigrants had to give Canada their “first allegiance...to decide every question that might arise by the test ‘What is best for Canada?’” All attempts to build separate nationalities or to lead a separate existence were “subversive and destructive of...Canadian nationhood,” and between 1913 and 1916 Dafoe gradually concluded that Ukrainian nationalists and Catholics, abetted by Premier Roblin and Archbishop Langevin, were doing just that.⁷⁸

Liberal reservations about bilingual schools were first articulated at length in a series of fifty-four articles published in the *Free Press* between 1 January and 17 March 1913. The first thirty articles on Ukrainian and Polish bilingual schools were relatively objective and charitable. They conceded that Ukrainians and Poles had been settled on poor, remote and inaccessible lands, denied social and cultural opportunities and corrupted by a provincial administration that neglected their educational needs. The Slavic settlers had also received “little assistance and little sympathy from the English-speaking people of the

province." Many Ukrainians and Poles were eager to provide their children with an education and a knowledge of English, but school organizers like Paul Gegey-chuk appointed by Roblin and Langevin prevented the formation of public school districts. Non-Slavic municipal councils also often resisted school districts in Slavic colonies to avoid higher taxes. Among the Ukrainian and Polish bilingual teachers, only a few were "political workers"; the vast majority were "conscientious young fellows...desirous of doing their best by the children."

Nonetheless, there was much cause for concern. Attendance in the Ukrainian and Polish school districts was well below the provincial average.⁷⁹ Good teachers—whether English-speaking or bilingual—found themselves at the mercy of illiterate, quarrelsome trustees, who incurred constant teacher migration. In several instances trustees replaced fully qualified English-speaking teachers with bilingual ones who, for all their earnestness, fell far short in English and in their knowledge of Canadian ways. At fault, however, were not the teachers but the Roblin administration, whose training schools admitted young men who knew no English, segregated them from English-speaking student teachers, crammed a five-year programme into three years and produced only forty-three graduates—thirty Ukrainians and thirteen Poles—between 1905 and 1912. Indeed, the bilingual teachers represented only 50 per cent of the instructors in Ukrainian and Polish districts and only 25 per cent of the teachers that the districts actually needed.

The remedy lay in amending the bilingual clause so "that the employment of bilingual teachers—with possibly an exception in the case of the French—would depend upon the approval of the department of education." Moreover, official trustees "possessing the requisite tact and sympathy" were needed to control school districts plagued by factional struggles and to protect teachers from "petty tyrannies." The teachers, in turn, had to be highly qualified native English-speakers, preferably married couples or teams of young single women who could also provide social and medical services. To "win the hearts and minds" of the settlers, government and philanthropic organizations had to provide such teachers with decent teacherages, adequate salaries, reasonable security of tenure and a knowledge of elementary Ukrainian and Polish. Where Ukrainian and Polish teachers were hired, preference had to be given to graduates of ethnically integrated institutions like the consolidated school at Teulon, whose regular high school and normal school courses produced teachers who spoke English fluently. They would provide what was needed most—"English schools for the foreign settlements"—though immigrants had neither to forget nor to forfeit their language and culture. Ultimately, of course, the Ukrainians and Poles would have to maintain the latter "at their own expense," just as the Scandinavians and Jews were already doing. In the meantime, because both were very poor and they had been allowed to employ bilingual teachers, and because

knowledge of "foreign" languages was a value in itself, the provincial government had to provide "generous financial assistance" for them to hire private teachers (rather than bilingual public school teachers) to teach Ukrainian and Polish.

Because many of the problems discussed in the *Free Press* articles had received regular attention on the pages of *Ukrainskyi holos*, Ukrainian nationalists (and others) were not surprised by anything they read.⁸⁰ They were, however, outraged by the tone of the articles. At a public meeting in Winnipeg, on 2 February 1913, indignant speakers, including the liberal-minded Ferley and Zerebko, challenged the Liberal daily. They denied there was widespread animosity between bilingual teachers and trustees; insisted that dismissed English-speaking teachers were drunks who had slept in class; complained that children taught by unilingual English-speaking teachers could not answer simple questions in English; maintained that attendance and "general progress" were best in schools taught by bilingual teachers; and questioned the wisdom of teaching immigrants the duties of citizenship by appointing official trustees to run their schools. In a lengthy speech Zerebko compared the "British ideals and Canadian standards of life," which bilingual teachers allegedly were unable to teach, to crass materialism, the worship of the "holy dollar," the inculcation of "business skills" and an admiration of brute force. Rather than absorbing such values, Ukrainian parents were cautioned to protect their children from being infected by them. Although only two protest meetings were held outside Winnipeg, *Ukrainskyi holos* and *Kanadyiskyi rusyn* continued to pillory the Liberals for months, comparing them to the Russian Black Hundred gangs in their efforts to tear away the Ukrainian language from the children.⁸¹

The passions aroused spilled over into the May 1913 Gimli by-election. Despite Liberal assurances that they stood only for compulsory education, the acquisition of English by all children and increased grants to school districts, E.L. Taylor, the Conservative candidate, portrayed the *Free Press* articles as a malicious attack on bilingual schools and declared that the Liberals "would arrest and fine Ukrainians who did not send their children to English schools."⁸² Hundreds of "civil servants," including Stefanik, Gegeychuk and Jastremsky, descended upon the constituency to bribe and cajole settlers to vote for the Conservative candidate whose victory was, as we have seen (Chapter 10), decisive in the end.

It was at this point that news of the school revolt in Alberta reached Manitoba. After years of temporizing, the government quickly approved Ukrainian-English readers for the bilingual classrooms and promised a Ukrainian instructor for Brandon.⁸³ Late in July, after the annual convention of the Ukrainian Teachers' Association (stage-managed as usual by Gegeychuk and Stefanik) passed resolutions which condemned the *Free Press* articles and commended G.R. Coldwell, minister of education, for supporting the bilingual school system,

Petro Karmansky (1878-1956), who had just arrived from Galicia to teach a private summer course on Ukrainian civilization, was appointed to teach at Brandon.⁸⁴ A poet, translator and gymnasium teacher who had graduated from the University of Lviv and studied at the Collegium Ruthenum in Rome (where the pope had awarded him a silver medal), the appointee pleased both Bishop Budka and the nationalist school teachers. On 2 September 1913 the Conservatives also launched *Kanada* (Canada), a Ukrainian weekly that repeatedly contrasted the Manitoba Conservatives' support of bilingual education with the efforts of Liberals in Alberta and Manitoba to "make our children 'good Canadians,' that is, to spit on their parents and their language and to use only the language of the 'civilized [Anglo-Canadian] nation.'" ⁸⁵

The most controversial of *Kanada's* articles were penned by Karmansky. While events in Alberta prompted his anti-Liberal tirades, the articles were so full of venom and exaggeration that the *Free Press* condemned the "professor" for preaching "racial war" and *Ukrainskyi holos* dismissed him as a Conservative hack. "The Alberta Liberals have beaten the record of the Galician Pan-Poles and the Russian Black Hundreds," he wrote on 7 October 1913, repeating an already familiar theme. "They undertook to solve the question of the existence of the Ruthenian language and the existence of Ukraine. Their decision is a very simple one: neither Ukraine nor the Ukrainian-Ruthenian people shall exist." Not content to lambaste Alberta's Liberals, the intemperate Karmansky labelled Zerebko a "traitor" and "renegade" for his letter to the *Free Press* condemning Stefanik's activity during the Gimli by-election, criticized compulsory education as a device "to stamp out our national existence" and expressed his admiration for Catholic separate schools. He also described Canada as a "sly, base harlot," "an absolutely savage country, a country of holdups and thieves...devoid of ideals and ethics," a country without "literature, art and science" best characterized by "the wild yells of the prairie cowboy, symbol of ox-like satisfaction." And he warned opponents of Ukrainian in the public schools: "Either we will find in free Canada that which is refused to us by the Poles, Russians and Hungarians...or we will proclaim war for the purpose of preserving our life. One or the other."⁸⁶

The appearance of *Kanada* provided grist for Daffoe's mill and generated widespread opposition to bilingual schools. Quoting Karmansky out of context and without reference to events in Alberta, the *Free Press* set out to show that the Ukrainian instructor at Brandon, "a salaried servant of the taxpayers of Manitoba," was not only an agent of the Conservative party and the Catholic church, but a "racial firebrand" who "slurred Canadian institutions," propagated "racial war," opposed "efficient" and "adequate education in English," dreamed of "destroying Canadian citizenship and smashing Canadian nationhood" and hoped to establish an "independent Ruthenian nation"—"the Canadian Ukraine"—in the very heart of Canada.⁸⁷ In October 1913 the powerful provincial Loyal Orange Lodge (already incensed by the Coldwell amendments to provide relief from

school taxes for urban Catholics) not only withdrew its support from the Conservatives but began pledging candidates in the province's forthcoming general election to abolish the Laurier-Greenway agreement, hoping thereby to rid Manitoba of the Coldwell amendments, bilingual schools and Catholic teachers in a single stroke.⁸⁸ The Liberals, while courting the Orangemen, did not call for the abolition of bilingual schools. Indeed, on numerous occasions the *Free Press* denied ever having pressed for abolition and even insisted "that the request for a certain amount of instruction in the mother tongue of the children in the Slav settlements is not an unreasonable request," as long as English was taught efficiently.⁸⁹

Such reassurances notwithstanding, the Ukrainians began aligning themselves squarely behind the Conservatives, just as opponents of bilingualism were coalescing around the Liberals. In the November 1913 Kildonan-St. Andrew's by-election, Ukrainian polls that had voted Liberal in 1910 went solidly Conservative, and in the July 1914 provincial general election the Conservatives held on to power by capturing the "foreign" vote in remote rural constituencies, populated primarily by Ukrainians. Both the Catholic *Kanadyiskyi rusyn*, always a Conservative supporter, and the nationalist *Ukrainskyi holos* endorsed the governing party (though Ferley ran unsuccessfully as an Independent in Gimli). Although *Ukrainskyi holos* knew that official Liberal policy in Manitoba did not favour the abolition of bilingual schools, it pointed to the Liberals in Alberta to justify its Conservative stance. Dafoe, in turn, attributed the Ukrainian position to a "nationalist-clerical movement" opposed to compulsory education and efficient English instruction that aimed at "nothing less than the establishment in Western Canada of a distinct Ruthenian nationality, which with its language, institutions, customs and ideals shall persist forever as a nation within a nation." Because Roblin and Langevin had abetted such aspirations, the *Free Press* warned that the Manitoba school system was at the mercy of a "Roblin-Langevin-nationalist-Ruthenian combination."⁹⁰

The war's outbreak confirmed Dafoe's apprehensions about the loyalty and objectives of Ukrainian nationalists and Ukrainian Catholics. He saw Bishop Budka's first pastoral letter as a "failure to recognize that the first duty of allegiance is to Canada and to the Empire of which Canada forms a part." The bishop's appeal demonstrated the absolute need to use the schools to make "all who come to this country into Canadians." During the 1914 Winnipeg municipal election, Dafoe referred to the candidates of the German-Polish-Ruthenian citizens' committee as representatives of "racial and religious factions" who hoped to smash the national school system. And, for the first time, a *Free Press* editorial declared "that as far as Manitoba cities and towns are concerned, the bilingual clause of the Public School Act should at once be repealed." In *Kanadyiskyi rusyn's* praise of Montreal's Catholic school board for hiring teachers who knew "very little of any language other than Polish or Ruthenian,"

Dafoe found “eloquent confirmation of the *Free Press* criticism of the Slav bilingual schools in Manitoba.” The avowed objective of Ukrainian Catholic leaders was to use the schools “to perpetuate in Manitoba a Canadian Ukraine” rather than to introduce Ukrainian children “to Canadian nationality and Canadian citizenship.”⁹¹

In May 1915, in the wake of the “Parliament Building Scandal,” Roblin’s Conservative administration resigned amid charges of graft and corruption and in August the Liberals were swept into power, winning forty-one of forty-nine seats. As before, the Liberals did not make the abolition of bilingual schools an issue. Ukrainians, therefore, abandoned the discredited Conservatives, and, with solid support for the Liberals, elected Taras Ferley, who ran as an Independent Liberal in Gimli.⁹² However, with public opinion among Anglo Canadians increasingly inimical to bilingual schools, Dafoe and the *Free Press* continued to monitor the Ukrainian press and saw its appeal for bilingual education in Saskatchewan and a strong prairie organization of Ukrainian teachers and school trustees as a demand for “a separate existence in Canada for the Ukrainian race.” Public schools as centres of “Ukrainian nationalist propaganda” could lead to “civil war”; what was needed were English-speaking teachers with missionary zeal in the “foreign” districts.⁹³

If Dafoe saw conspiracies where none existed, it is also true that at times *Ukrainskyi holos* could be quite difficult, even abrasive. Early in 1915 it rejected Rev. J. S. Woodsworth’s appeal to merge Canada’s people into one nation by insisting that Ukrainians would never agree “to their own destruction and transformation into another nationality....In a free Canada we should enjoy complete liberty to develop our national soul in accordance with its natural capacity for growth.” To suggest that “English-speaking teachers imbued with the missionary spirit” should teach in Slavic settlements was to brandish “the German mailed fist.”⁹⁴ Dafoe upbraided the nationalist weekly for its exaggerations and demanded, “Will the Ruthenian children in the public schools of Manitoba, either urban or rural, become Canadians or Ruthenians?” *Ukrainskyi holos* replied that they would become “Ukrainian Canadians.” To become “Canadians without adjectives” would entail learning how to “take part in Canadian politics in the Canadian way, dissipate the country’s wealth and show our patriotism in connection with Government contracts.” Bilingual schools were no menace, they were sanctioned by the law; rather than attacking them the *Free Press* should demand better training facilities for bilingual teachers.⁹⁵ Such defiant editorials in time of war incensed Dafoe and alarmed the press censor. The strife over bilingual schools was breeding dissatisfaction with Canada among natives of an enemy country, and by November 1915 Dafoe and Livesay had had enough of the controversy. “In the opinion of the *Free Press*,” Dafoe declared, “the time is ripe and more than ripe for the abolition of the bilingual clause.”⁹⁶

The new government agreed. Several weeks earlier, R.S. Thornton, the new minister of education, had commissioned C.K. Newcombe, superintendent of schools, to investigate the bilingual schools. The Newcombe report, released in January 1916, revealed that 16,720 pupils (16 per cent of the provincial total) were enrolled in 298 French, German, Polish and Ukrainian bilingual schools with 6,513 pupils in 111 Ukrainian and Polish schools. Average daily attendance in the latter was 59 per cent, or 8 per cent lower than the provincial average, and only 2 per cent of the Ukrainian and Polish pupils were in the fifth grade or higher (compared to 32 per cent for the province as a whole). Progress in English varied greatly, depending on the teacher's qualifications, the presence of English-speaking pupils and the proximity of the district to English-speaking settlements. Although the admixture of nationalities was such that in 110 bilingual and unilingual districts the arrival or departure of a single family could alter the linguistic status quo overnight, settlers did compromise and there was little evidence of administrative chaos. Thus eighty-five school districts entitled to bilingual instruction remained unilingual English and in forty-one districts, where bilingual teaching could have been demanded in two or three languages, instruction was only in English or in English and one other language. The only evidence of "chaos" was in the fact that up to one-quarter of the 298 bilingual schools had French, German, Polish or Ukrainian children receiving instruction in English and a language other than their own. The report said nothing about attendance in bilingual schools being low because all bilingual schools were rural, or about progress in acquiring English being affected by half of the Ukrainian and Polish schools being only three or four years old. Ukrainian and Polish pupils who had reached the higher grades had a good command of English.⁹⁷

Ultimately, the opponents of bilingual schools used terms like "justice," "fair play" and "progress" to justify abolition. The victims—the non-English-speaking minorities—were represented as pawns, manipulated by selfish and ungrateful nationalist and clerical agitators, who forced "intolerable conditions" upon the English-speaking majority. In the legislature on 12 January 1916, Thornton insisted that "in almost every district of mixed nationalities a prolonged and continuous struggle takes place to gain control of the trustee board." Citing two examples, he declared, "During the last few months there has been a steady movement towards the elimination of teachers who have been teaching English entirely, whether of British nationality or otherwise." "Outlawing English in an English land," he insisted, was "giving the English a poor show in their own country." An enthusiastic *Free Press* now added that abolition of the bilingual system was not enough; even the clause permitting the teaching of non-English languages for one hour each day had to be repealed to free English-speaking settlers from "foreigners" eager to hire inferior teachers to teach their language.⁹⁸



A python with the head of T.C. Norris, leader of Manitoba's Liberal party, wrapped around a Ukrainian bilingual school, hisses "Away with the Ruthenian School," as the children to the right implore the serpent, "Grant us our native language," *Kanada* (Winnipeg), 30 June 1914.

With a bill to abolish bilingual schools in the offing, Winnipeg's Ukrainians elected a Ukrainian Committee for the Defence of Bilingual Schools at a public meeting on 26 December 1915. On 7 January a four-man delegation led by J.W. Arsenych and Ivan Petrushevich pressed Premier Norris and Thornton on the government's position regarding bilingual schools, a Ukrainian school organizer, bilingual textbooks, the expansion of the Ruthenian Training School and the appointment of another Ukrainian instructor (Karmansky having returned to Galicia in May 1914). When, within five days, Thornton's speech in the legislature made it clear that the bilingual era was about to end, the Ukrainian committee immediately called for public meetings to send representatives to Winnipeg on 30 January. On that day, over one thousand Ukrainians gathered at the Grand Opera House and passed resolutions that supported the bilingual school system and censured the English press for "traitorous, unpatriotic and unchristian terrorism." Two days later, 150 delegates from all parts of the province assembled for a special meeting attended by six of the seventeen members of the legislature in whose ridings Ukrainians were numerous. On 3 February a twenty-eight-man delegation led by Ferley, Arsenych, Petrushevich and Nicholas Hryhorczuk presented a petition with six thousand signatures to Premier Norris, Thornton and their cabinet colleagues. Reform rather than the abolition of bilingual schools was urged; otherwise, it was implied, Ukrainians might be obliged to establish private bilingual schools under the control of clergy. A chair of Ukrainian language and literature at the University of Manitoba was also requested and the earlier demands were reiterated. The premier, unmoved, admonished the delegates for being "selfish" by asking for "privileges" and promised school legislation to benefit all Manitobans.⁹⁹

In the end, Ukrainian protests and petitions availed nothing. For weeks, the government had been deluged with demands for abolition, as Anglicans, Baptists, Presbyterians, Orangemen, members of the Canadian Club, the Manitoba School Trustees' Association, the Manitoba Home Economics Society and many other organizations aroused by the war came out against bilingualism. On 18 February a bill to repeal the bilingual clause in the Public Schools Act was introduced by Thornton. When Ferley's last ditch effort to salvage a degree of bilingualism in the lower grades failed, the curtain came down on bilingual education in Manitoba.¹⁰⁰ During the debate the *Free Press* insisted that supporters of bilingual schools were led by a clique of selfish, ungrateful "factionalists," many of them creatures of the late Conservative regime, out of touch with the otherwise "contented" Ukrainian people. Ferley, it maintained, spoke only for himself and "for certain clerical and political influences," allied with forces trying "to win over the million or so Ruthenians on this continent to the Teutonic side," a direct reference to Dr. Demydczuk, the North American representative of the pro-Austrian General Ukrainian Council in Vienna. D.A. Ross, the Liberal member for St. Clements, accused Bishop Budka of trying to "crowd English out of the

schools"; "Budka was not a genuine bishop and should be sent out of the country as an undesirable." On Ferley's final attempt to alter Thornton's bill before the law amendments committee on 7 March, Viktor Hladyk, the Galician Rus-sophile editor of *Russkii narod*, also appeared to inform the committee that "the Ruthenians are not a nationality, they are a political party organized to aid the German cause." Teachers in Ukrainian bilingual schools "taught not merely the Ruthenian language but German politics." The following day, Thornton's bill passed third reading by a vote of thirty-five to eight and received assent two days later.¹⁰¹

Ultimately, the abolition of bilingual schools was little concerned with the immigrant child's welfare or even with the "rights" of English-speaking settlers. While compulsory education for children between seven and fourteen was finally introduced, the provisions for official trustees and special school organizers ensured that public schools in "foreign" districts would be agencies of indoctrination and Anglo-conformity. Besides providing qualified English-speaking teachers, Ira Stratton, as "Special School Organizer and Official Trustee," saw to it that the schools instilled Canadian patriotism by purging all traces of bilingualism and "alien" culture from the classroom. School trustees who conducted meetings in Ukrainian were replaced by the official trustee or his designate. Portraits of Shevchenko were removed from several schools and Ukrainian reading halls were attacked by non-Ukrainian teachers as the public school's "rival." In many Ukrainian districts zealous teachers, among them some returned war veterans, introduced military drill and numerous patriotic exercises, including songs like "Tipperary" and "British Troops Passing Through Boulogne."¹⁰² By 1917 officials in the Manitoba Department of Education were, in fact, proclaiming that the "first question in certificating a teacher should not be with regard to his scholarship and training but with regard to his character and loyalty." And Thornton, shortly before leaving office, declared that "the greatest object of education is not to teach children to read and write, but to make good citizens of them."¹⁰³ Ironically, a public school system reformed by Liberals had subordinated the rights of individuals and minorities to the interests of the state—presumably an apt model for teaching good citizenship.

"The Crusade for Better Schools" in Saskatchewan

In Saskatchewan the Liberal government, supported by Roman Catholic, French-speaking and continental European settlers, favoured Catholic separate schools and had extended minor concessions in second-language instruction. Opposition to bilingualism in the schools was therefore spearheaded by the Conservatives, who were quick to exploit the anxieties bred by war.¹⁰⁴ At the Saskatchewan school trustees' convention in March 1915, W.L. Ramsay, president of the

Saskatchewan Educational Association, lamented that “trustees and teachers were not always British subjects.” Motions that all trustees be able to read and write English and that only English be taught in all schools were rejected, but one requesting the Department of Education to grant certificates only to out-of-province teachers who “read and write English with precision and accuracy” was passed. In June 1915 the Conservatives argued in the legislature that only individuals who spoke English exclusively and were British-born could instill British ideals and perform the duties of a school teacher. Only days later, Premier Scott inadvertently gave such voices an opportunity to mobilize popular support. On 22 June, in a call for a non-partisan, province-wide discussion of rural education, Scott launched his “crusade for better schools,” an educational reform movement designed to encompass agricultural education, school finances, rural high schools and the teaching profession. Instead, it was quickly transformed into a “vehicle for war-time xenophobia” by the Conservative opposition and other advocates of rapid “Canadianization.”¹⁰⁵

Within days of the premier’s appeal, a Citizens’ Committee on Public Education set in motion a convention for Regina in September, where the highlight was an address on “The Country School in Non-English-Speaking Communities in Saskatchewan” by Rev. Edmund H. Oliver (1882-1935), professor of history at the University of Saskatchewan and principal of the Presbyterian theological college in Saskatoon. Although Oliver himself would be in Europe between 1916 and 1919, his address set the tone for the “crusade.” Based on a private survey of the Mennonite, French-Canadian, German, Doukhobor and Ukrainian school districts, he argued that language was the greatest obstacle to efficient education in rural areas, and insisted that the issue had to be resolved before the prairies were inundated by an “avalanche” of postwar immigration and forced “to repeat the tragic sufferings of polyglot Austria.” In some French-Canadian schools, he said, French was being taught “to the detriment of a knowledge of English”; among the Germans and Mennonites it was common to substitute “a private school for a public school” to facilitate catechism or German for at least half the school day; the Doukhobors either completely opposed schools or were indifferent; and although the Ukrainians had “shown a desire to secure for their children the educational advantages that have been offered” and improvements were many in recent years, they posed a greater threat to Canadian nation-building than any of the other groups because of “the rising nationalist spirit” among them. From students like Paul Crath and Denys Perch, he had learned much about Ukrainian history, and he feared that the fierce attachment of Ukrainians to their language and to teachers of their own nationality militated against the public school’s nation-building objectives. His survey of seventeen Ukrainian school districts in eastern Saskatchewan indicated that Ukrainian teachers were rarely qualified to teach in English-speaking districts, that at least 20-25 per cent taught English through the medium of

Ukrainian, that nearly all taught Ukrainian between three and four in the afternoon, and that few children benefited from classes in Canadian history, literature and citizenship, as most did not attend beyond the third or fourth grade.

But even more disconcerting was the realization that Ukrainians were “intensely interested in politics”:

One fact stands out with tremendous clearness—the Ruthenians have become a force. Not in this Province alone but throughout the prairies. They have control of school districts, they dictate the policy in more than one Rural Municipality, they have entered the Legislature of Manitoba, and are knocking at the doors of the Legislative Assemblies of other Provinces. As school trustees they frequently get the affairs of the school districts in a frightful mess, as Rural Councillors they have not exhibited any great administrative genius. And yet they have an aptitude for political agitation. There is little doubt that there are potent forces in the west of a strongly nationalistic character that stand ready to exploit the Ruthenians.

“For the moment,” he believed, “owing to the war, the Ukrainian movement hides its head. But it is here and must be grappled with.” Consequently, it “would be desirable to have the teacher in every Ruthenian school thoroughly Canadian.” The special classes in Regina and the permits to Ukrainian teachers had to end: “...we cannot afford to have short cuts and special devices open to the non-English.” A policy of “firmness” rather than “concessions” was needed to effect “a strict enforcement of the regulations governing the teaching of non-English languages, the employment of the direct instead of the indirect method even in the primary grades...[and] the one dominating policy of making Canadian citizens here on the prairies.”¹⁰⁶ The address helped to shift “The Crusade for Better Schools” into an all-out assault on the teaching of second languages.

Oliver’s remarks provoked protests from Inspector Merrill of Canora and even from Inspector Anderson of Yorkton, who insisted that their Ukrainian teachers were better than Oliver had suggested. Merrill even claimed that Oliver’s “investigation” was based on one interview with him and casual conversations with a few Ukrainian teachers at a picnic; “many English teachers,” he added, “have lamentably failed to conduct Ruthenian schools and have been a source of annoyance and friction.”¹⁰⁷ Nonetheless, in the months that followed agitation for “English only” education gathered momentum. Between January 1916, when the Conservative party added “English only” instruction to its platform, and 30 June, “Better Schools Day,” when innumerable local meetings passed “English only” resolutions, the Saskatchewan Grain Growers Association, the Association of Rural Municipalities and scores of individual rural municipalities entered the fray. At its annual convention in March, the Saskatchewan School Trustees’ Association moved to amend the School Act to prohibit second languages in the first five grades. When 150 delegates, in protest, demanded that the resolution be

translated into French, German, Polish and Ukrainian, A.J. Sparling, chairman of the Saskatoon Public School Board, termed their action "scandalous" and called upon his English-speaking colleagues to fight "the foreigners...as our sons and brothers were fighting them on the continent of Europe."¹⁰⁸

Newspapers like the *Saskatoon Daily Star* and the *Manitoba Free Press* also joined the campaign. The *Star* accused Ukrainian trustees of trying "to oust" English in their districts, asserted that in sixty to seventy schools Ukrainian was taught "for the better part of the school day" and spuriously implied that Ukrainians were trying to "deorganize public school districts and...establish in their place private schools." The *Free Press* added that "Ruthenian readers" in some Saskatchewan schools bore the Habsburg coat of arms and blamed Ukrainian resistance to efficient schools on the "incendiary appeals" of *Ukrainskyi holos*, "controlled by T.D. Ferley, MPP for Gimli and edited by Orest Zerebko, late of Vienna, kindly returned to this country by the Austrian authorities." The struggle to retain Canada as an English-speaking country "might yet be lost" if Ukrainians in Saskatchewan were not treated firmly.¹⁰⁹

In the rapidly deteriorating climate, the Department of Education refused to sanction conventions of the Association of Ukrainian-English Teachers of Saskatchewan in 1915 and 1916 and advised members to attend the regular teachers' conventions. In December 1915, Mykola Romaniuk, the Ukrainian instructor in Regina, was dismissed for "subversive" activities (he had established the Ukraina Association, a reading club, in the city). At the same time the Liberal government tried to defuse the troublesome issue. In 1916, W.R. Motherwell, minister of agriculture, warned against efforts to Canadianize immigrants by "the lionizing process of squeezing their mother tongue out of them all at once," while W.M. Martin, who became premier and minister of education in the fall of 1916 after Scott retired, insisted that it was absurd to expect people recently arrived from central Europe "to acquire English just as quickly as we would like them to." In May 1917 he revealed that out of 4,000 provincial schools only 185 (77 French, 71 German and 37 Ukrainian) taught other languages for an hour each day. In the same month Joseph Megas, the Ukrainian school organizer, in a long article in the *Saskatoon Phoenix*, refuted the *Star's* accusations.¹¹⁰ Nonetheless, with an election scheduled for the summer of 1917, the government prepared itself: a new School Attendance Act was passed; Harold W. Foght, an American expert on rural school systems, was commissioned to survey the province's schools; the special class for "foreigners" at the Regina Normal School was allowed to expire; and school supervisors Andruchowicz and Kuhn were dismissed. In June the government managed to keep the provincial election from becoming a referendum on the language question and the Liberals were returned with an increased majority.

In the fall of 1917, with the war overseas an ugly stalemate, the agitation over language intensified. Although the Methodists and Presbyterians reaffirmed

their commitment to unilingual education, leadership on the issue passed to the school trustees. At their last convention, in February 1917, a large contingent of delegates from non-English-speaking districts had not only managed to table several hostile resolutions from Anglo extremists but to elect P.M. Friesen, a German Canadian, as association president. In advance of the next convention Orangemen, the Sons of England, the British Citizenship League, the Daughters of the Empire and others led by J.F. Bryant, a Regina barrister and Orangeman educated at Upper Canada College and Queen's University,¹¹¹ regained control of the School Trustees' Association, and in February 1918 the extremists pushed through their "English only" resolutions and jeered French and German speakers who argued that loyalty to Canada and the British empire was not contingent on unilingual schools. The Great War Veterans' Association, the Soldiers' Wives and Mothers League, the Association of Rural Municipalities, the Anglican Synod and the Baptist Conference followed with similar resolutions.

In March 1918, H.W. Foght submitted his report on education in Saskatchewan. Although he concluded that the Colony Doukhobor and Colony Mennonite schools were a greater threat to Canadian unity than French, German or Ukrainian schools, the latter were not without serious shortcomings. In Ukrainian districts, for example, there were many "meagerly prepared and naturally unqualified teachers," the school term was short, attendance was poor and only 2.5 per cent of the pupils progressed beyond grade four (compared with 20 per cent in all rural schools). Foght recommended that promising young English-speaking candidates—of Ukrainian and Canadian origins—attend the normal schools at government expense and that second languages be taught only after-school hours.¹¹²

Although the report noted that Ukrainians were eager to learn English and all immigrant groups were making progress, the nativist tide paid little attention. In September, Orangemen and the Sons of England flooded the province with circulars and petitions calling for an end to second-language learning in public schools. Under the mounting pressure, the Liberal administration gradually gave way. During the summer of 1918 Ukrainian teachers without formal qualifications were relieved of their posts and, with the shortage as great as ever, many Ukrainian districts were left without teachers. On 14 September, Inspector Anderson, an Orangeman who had just published a book on *The Education of the New-Canadian*, was appointed "Director of Education among New Canadians" to "obtain better administration and hasten the assimilation of the population."¹¹³ Finally, on 17 December 1918 the government repealed section 177 of the School Act: effective 1 May 1919 English would be the only language of instruction and, except for French, other languages would not be taught during school hours. French, in turn, would be confined to the first grade and taught as a subject for one hour thereafter. For other minorities, the sole option was to teach their languages after school.

Ukrainians responded to these events with the same equanimity they had shown since 1915. No Ukrainian trustees were present at the 1915 trustees' convention and efforts to establish an association of Ukrainian trustees in 1916 generated little enthusiasm. Although some Ukrainians were present at the 1917 and 1918 trustees' conventions, they came as individuals rather than as members of an organization, and they were not much in evidence.¹¹⁴ Nor did they protest by seceding from the association after the 1918 convention as had the French-Canadian and German trustees. The lack of organized protest was probably the result of the conciliatory attitude which the students in Saskatoon, part of the province's Ukrainian intelligentsia, had encouraged after the defeat in Manitoba. Demands, protests, petitions, threats, delegations and speeches had availed little in Manitoba. In Saskatchewan, where relations between Ukrainians and the Liberal administration had been generally good, threats and protests seemed inappropriate, especially since the Liberals appeared committed to the educational status quo until the fall of 1918. Moreover, the linguistic provisions in the School Act were modest and far from satisfactory. Even where teachers used the daily hour of Ukrainian-language instruction, they merely transmitted the bare rudiments of literacy. For a sense of Ukrainian identity, Ukrainian literature and history were needed and this only the private *narodni domy*, the special Saturday classes and the private Ukrainian student residences (*bursy*) could provide.¹¹⁵ In the circumstances whether Ukrainian was taught between three and four in the afternoon or on Saturday mornings mattered little. The training school and special classes, in turn, provided student teachers with almost no instruction in Ukrainian language, literature and history, and members of the intelligentsia may have concluded that allowing unqualified young men to teach on permits merely discouraged them from upgrading their education and qualifications.

The first Ukrainian national convention (*narodnyi zizd*) in Saskatoon on 4-5 August 1916, attended by Ukrainians of all political and religious persuasions and by prominent Anglo Canadians, reflected well the Saskatchewan intelligentsia's approach to the school issue. Bilingualism and second-language learning in the public schools did not appear on the programme as distinct topics.¹¹⁶ Instead, the organizers declared that they had "one aim only in view and that is to encourage a Province-wide campaign among the Ruthenian citizens to educate their boys and girls in the higher grades." To this end, the 400 delegates urged that Ukrainian language, literature and history courses be offered at the University of Saskatchewan and approved plans to establish the Petro Mohyla student residence in Saskatoon. The latter would not only enable young rural Ukrainians to attend the city's high schools and university, but offer instruction in Ukrainian language, literature and history and encourage students to pursue careers in teaching and the professions. Conference organizers stressed that "the Ruthenian citizens in Canada have become true Canadians and wish to remain as such."¹¹⁷ Anglo Canadians like Woodsworth came away with the

impression that “those who were present were very keen on having their people acquire a thoroughgoing knowledge of the English language.” Indeed, Woodsworth’s widely publicized remarks on the convention, especially his insistence that “the nationalistic movement appears to be considerably misunderstood,”¹¹⁸ likely did much to calm fears about Ukrainian nationalism and “separatism,” not least in the feverish imagination of John Wesley Dafoe. In subsequent years Dafoe would turn his attention from Ukrainian nationalists to Ukrainian “Bolshevists.” Of course, not everyone was convinced that Ukrainian nationalists did not pose a serious problem. J.T.M. Anderson continued to stalk “nationalistic agitators.” In 1919 he suggested that “if some two hundred men out of all Canada were to be deported the foreign problem would be solved.” “These people must have leaders and the leaders must come from us.”¹¹⁹

When it became apparent that Ukrainian-language instruction in the public schools would be abolished and the special teacher-training schools in Brandon and Regina dissolved, the nationalists moved to fill the void by establishing student residences (*bursy*). In them, Ukrainian high school and university students would be immersed in Ukrainian culture and prepared to work in the Ukrainian community. As the residences established by the nationalists were secular in nature and open to Ukrainian students of all denominations, they became, in 1917, the centre of controversy between the nationalists and Bishop Budka. Because of the war and Bishop Budka’s own personality and difficult circumstances, tensions within the Ukrainian Catholic community provoked by the residences steadily rose and eventually resulted in the formation of the Ukrainian Greek Orthodox church in Canada.

Notes

1. *Svoboda* 9 November 1905; *Ukrainskyi holos* 20 April, 25 May 1910, 21 October 1914; *Kanadyiskyi rusyn* 13 September 1913.
2. Toma A. Iastremsky (Jastremsky), *Kanadyianizatsiia. Politychnyi rozvytok kanadskykh ukrainsiv za poslidnykh 46 rokiv ikhnoho pobutu v Kanadi* (Winnipeg, 1946), 38-9.
3. *Svoboda* 9 November 1905; Anna Navalkowski, “Shandro School,” *Alberta Historical Review* XVIII (4) (1970), 10; *The History of Two Hills Including Lanuke District* (n.p., n.d.), 34-5.
4. *Svoboda* 4 June 1903; *Kanadyiskyi rusyn* 2 May 1914; *Ukrainskyi holos* 10 October 1917.

5. "If I didn't go to school and survived, so too will my children," insisted a settler near Newdale, Manitoba. *Svoboda* 30 November 1905, 30 August 1906; *Ukrainskyi holos* 25 May 1910.
6. *Svoboda* 12 April 1906.
7. *Kanadyiskyi farmer* 25 January 1906.
8. Stella M. Hryniuk and Neil G. McDonald, "The Schooling Experience of Ukrainians in Manitoba, 1896-1916," in Nancy M. Sheehan, J. Donald Wilson and David C. Jones, eds., *Schools in the West: Essays in Canadian Educational History* (Calgary, 1986), 155-73.
9. *Svoboda* 28 May 1903; *Kanadyiskyi farmer* 1 March 1906; *Ukrainskyi holos* 7 August 1918, 23 July 1919.
10. *Svoboda* 5 May 1903, 9 February 1905, 9 November 1905, 12 April 1906.
11. *Ukrainskyi holos* 8 March, 28 June 1911; *Svoboda* 3 January 1907; M. Stechyshyn (Stechishin), "Nashe shkilnytstvo," *Narodnyi kaliendar. Ukrainska rodyna* (Winnipeg, 1915), 150.
12. Alberta, Department of Education, *Annual Report* 1909, 60-1, 1911, 78-9.
13. For a discussion of identical trends in prerevolutionary Russia, see Ben Eklof, *Russian Peasant Schools: Officialdom, Village Culture, and Popular Pedagogy, 1861-1914* (Berkeley, 1986), 251-83.
14. *Ukrainskyi holos* 12 August 1914, 22 August 1917, 7 August 1918, 23 July 1919, 24 May 1922.
15. *Ibid.*, 12 July 1916, 22 August 1917, 28 August 1918.
16. Vasyi Svystun (Wasyi Swystun), "Nashe shkilnytstvo v Kanadi" and Vasyi Mihaichuk (Wasyi Mihaychuk), "Ukrainsko-angliiske uchytelstvo v Kanadi," in *Kaliendar Ukrainskoho holosu* 1915 (Winnipeg), 122-9, 130-6.
17. *Ukrainskyi holos* 17 July 1912, 18 February 1920.
18. Stechyshyn, 160; *Ukrainskyi holos* 14 March 1917.
19. Ann Sirka, *The Nationality Question in Austrian Education: The Case of Ukrainians in Galicia, 1867-1914* (Frankfurt-am-Main, 1980), 75 ff; T. Bilenky, "Nehramotnist a narodna shkola," in *Pershyi ukrainskyi prosvitno-ekonomichnyi kongres* (Lviv, 1910), 168. Borshchiv, with its fifty-seven (mostly one-room) schools, served over 110,000 persons. In such counties as Jaroslaw, Pidhaisi, Przemyśl, Mostyska and Brody, which also sent substantial numbers to Canada, twenty to forty communities were without schools in 1905.
20. The salaries of teachers varied according to qualifications, gender and whether they taught in urban or rural school districts. Robert S. Patterson, "History of Teacher Education in Alberta," in David C. Jones, Nancy N. Sheehan and Robert M. Stamp, eds., *Shaping the Schools of the Canadian West* (Calgary, 1979), 192-207.
21. Harold W. Foght, *A Survey of Education in the Province of Saskatchewan, Canada: A Report to the Government of the Province of Saskatchewan* (Regina, 1918), 104-16.
22. Based on data in the appendices of Department of Education annual reports for the prairie provinces; the outbreak of war in 1914 accelerated the "feminization" of the teaching profession.
23. L. Semeniuk (ed.), *Dreams and Destinies: Andrew and District* (Andrew, 1980), 204-5.
24. *Vegreville in Review: History of Vegreville and Surrounding Area, 1880-1980 I* (Vegreville, 1980), 193-4; Petro Zvarych (Peter Svarich), *Spomyny*,

- 1877-1904 (Winnipeg, 1976), 231-2; PAM, Robert Fletcher Letterbook 1905-1911, 667; *Ukrainskyi holos* 12 October 1910, 8 May 1912, 26 February, 9 March 1913, 21 January 1914, 29 September 1915.
25. Morley P. Toombs, "A Saskatchewan Experiment in Teacher Education, 1907-1917," *Saskatchewan History* XVII (1) (1964), 1-11; Cornelius Jaenen, "Ruthenian Schools in Western Canada, 1897-1919," *Paedagogica Historica* X (3) (1970), 517-41; Manoly R. Lupul, "Ukrainian-language Education in Canada's Public Schools," in Manoly R. Lupul, ed., *A Heritage in Transition: Essays in the History of Ukrainians in Canada* (Toronto, 1982), 215-43; Borislav N. Bilash, "Bilingual Public Schools in Manitoba, 1897-1916" (MEd thesis, University of Manitoba, 1960); Elaine Holowach-Amiot, "Assimilation or Preservation: Ukrainian Teachers in Saskatchewan, 1905-1920" (MA thesis, McGill University, 1983).
 26. *Ukrainskyi holos* 22 March 1911. Students did complain about the food; in 1910-11 five were hospitalized with various stomach ailments. *Ibid.*, 8 March, 6 December 1911, 10 January 1912.
 27. Living conditions in the Regina school were likened to a CPR bunkhouse, with thirty-four students expected to sleep in one large dormitory. The food was substandard, milk was rationed and Greer personally examined the students' cups and plates after meals to determine which students did not finish. The atmosphere in the school was like that on a "South American plantation." Greer also mocked Ukrainian national heroes, opposed Ukrainian concerts and claimed to be personally opposed to Ukrainian immigration to Canada. The 1910 strike was provoked when Greer, who had forbidden brief student speeches in Ukrainian on the occasion of Metropolitan Sheptytsky's visit to the school, expelled Mykhailo Sawiak after the latter disobeyed and said a few words on behalf of the students. In 1914 the forty-six student strikers claimed that Greer, in addition to being incompetent and hostile to Ukrainians, had referred to the students as "swine" and "jackasses"; that he had suspended for two days students who were not in bed by 10 p.m.; and that he had forced a student caught speaking Ukrainian in his spare time to leave the premises at 10:30 p.m. *Ibid.*, 11 January, 1, 8 February 1911, 7 February, 27 November 1912, 5, 19 February 1913, 4 March 1914, 6 January, 10 November 1915; Iakiv Stratiichuk, "Uchytelska seminariia u Ridgaini; spomyny kolyshnioho studenta z 1910-1912 rokov," in Bohdan Z. Kazymyra, Fred Nakonechnyi and Ievhen Shtendera, eds., *Spilnym zusyllyam i napolehlyvoiu pratseiu. Iuvileina knyha ukrainskoi katolytskoi parafii sv. Vasylia Velykoho, 1925-1975* (Regina, 1975), 247-53.
 28. Toombs, 9.
 29. On 8 December 1913 the students went out on strike. The immediate cause was Stickle's insistence that the students attend Sunday services at the local Protestant church and his refusal to serve meals to those who had boycotted them. When the students protested, Stickle and his wife, armed with a revolver, expelled two of the student leaders and proceeded to patrol the students' dormitories. *Ukrainskyi holos* 24 December 1913.
 30. Holowach-Amiot, 56-7; Jaenen, 520.
 31. *Ukrainskyi holos* 15 November 1911, 10 March 1915.
 32. *Ibid.*, 8 November 1911, 19 November 1913; Holowach-Amiot, 59-60, 64; Manitoba, Department of Education, *Annual Report 1912-13*, 13-14.

33. Holowach-Amiot, 66-9, 78; see also the letters from Wasyl Swystun in *Ukrainskyi holos* 14 July, 6 October 1915, lamenting this state of affairs.
34. Swystun taught the children folk songs and folk dances and held Sunday afternoon meetings for residents in the school district, where he read aloud from newspapers, delivered lectures on Ukrainian history and encouraged discussions on local and old-country affairs. *Ukrainskyi holos* 29 March 1913; *Kanadyiskyi rusyn* 26 April 1913.
35. Holowach-Amiot, 60.
36. Jaenen, 521; Holowach-Amiot, 66-9, 78.
37. *Ukrainskyi holos* 11 February 1914; the two young men, a future physician and psychiatrist and a high-ranking Ukrainian Greek Orthodox priest, graduated on 1 March 1914.
38. *Ukrainskyi holos* 24 February 1915; Holowach-Amiot, 100.
39. Calculated from the original "Inspection Reports: Bilingual Schools 1915" in PAM. The inspectors surveyed eighty-seven "Ruthenian and Polish" bilingual teachers, of whom seventy-one were Ukrainians and sixteen were Poles; five Ukrainian teachers also taught in schools which were not bilingual.
40. Foght, 11; Manitoba, Department of Education, *Annual Report* 1915-16, statistical tables, 32.
41. Holowach-Amiot, 103 ff. The surnames of the six female teachers were Koretzka, Kun, Kalaturnyk, Boykovych, Urbanowska and Hawryliuk. In Manitoba six of the seventy-five Ukrainian bilingual teachers surveyed in November 1915 were females: Salomea Buczynska, Mary Dragan, Rose Chekaliuk, Dora Hunchak, Phyllis Bhekaliuk, Emily Bilinska; two had been born in the United States, one in Canada and three had come to Canada as infants or small children.
42. *Ukrainskyi holos* 10 July 1912 and "Inspection Reports," which reveal that only nine of the Ukrainian teachers had taught for eight years or more.
43. Holowach-Amiot, 211.
44. Based on the writer's incomplete notes.
45. *Ukrainskyi holos* 28 February, 10 July, 14 August, 10, 20 November 1912, 24 March 1920, 8 June 1921.
46. *Ibid.*, 27 September 1911, 15 July 1914, 24 February 1915; *Kanadyiskyi rusyn* 18 October, 27 December 1913.
47. *Svoboda* 28 May 1903; *Ukrainskyi holos* 7 September 1910, 8 March, 3 May, 28 June 1911, 28 February, 13 March 1912, 21 October 1914, 31 March, 1 September 1915, 9 March, 6 April 1921.
48. James T.M. Anderson, *The Education of the New-Canadian: A Treatise on Canada's Greatest Educational Problem* (Toronto, 1918), 114.
49. W.J. Sisler, "The Immigrant Child," *The Western School Journal* I (3) (1906), 5; Marilyn Barber, "Canadianization Through the Schools of the Prairie Provinces Before World War One: The Attitudes and Aims of the English-Speaking Majority," in Martin L. Kovacs, ed., *Ethnic Canadians: Culture and Education* (Regina, 1978), 281-94.
50. Manitoba, Department of Education, *Annual Report* 1908, 482; PAM, Robert Fletcher, deputy minister of education, Manitoba, to D.P. McColl, deputy minister of education, Saskatchewan, 24 November 1909, Robert Fletcher Letterbook 1905-1911, 808.

51. Black's views are summarized in "Western Canada's Greatest Problem: The Transformation of Aliens into Citizens," *The Western School Journal* IX (5) (1914), 90-6, and in a series in the *Manitoba Free Press*, "The English Language and the 'Foreign Child,'" 23-28 June 1913.
52. Sisler, 5; *Manitoba Free Press* 25 June 1913; Norman F. Black, *English for the Non-English* (Toronto, 1913), 55-6, 68; Caroline Melis, "J.T.M. Anderson, Director of Education Among New-Canadians and the Policy of the Department of Education: 1918-1923," *Saskatchewan History* XXXIII (1) (1979), 7.
53. I.S., "The Non-English," *The Western School Journal* XII (10) (1917), 404; Anderson, 146.
54. George F. Chipman, "Winnipeg: The Refining Process," *The Canadian Magazine* XXXIII (October 1909), 550.
55. Cited with approval in Anderson, 148.
56. *Ukrainskyi holos* 16 September 1914; *Memories of Mundare: A History of Mundare and Districts* (Mundare, 1980), 142.
57. Peter Melnycky, "A Political History of the Ukrainian Community in Manitoba, 1899-1922" (MA thesis, University of Manitoba, 1979), 186-91.
58. *Ukrainskyi holos* 12 April 1912.
59. *Ibid.*, 18 February 1914.
60. *Ibid.*, 17 March 1915; *Svoboda* 4, 25 July 1907.
61. In Manitoba petitions were submitted to the Department of Education in 1911 and again in 1912, when thirty-eight bearing over one thousand signatures were presented; in Saskatchewan a major campaign was launched in the summer of 1911 and again in the spring of 1914. *Ukrainskyi holos* 7 June, 30 August to 11 October 1911, 17 April, 24 July, 14 August 1912, 25 March 1914.
62. *Ibid.*, 28 January, 11 February 1914, 31 March, 14 April 1915.
63. *Ibid.*, 29 March 1916; see the exchange between W.J. Mihaychuk and G.W. Burrell, "The School and the Citizen," *The Western School Journal* VI (7) (1911), 253-5, VI (9), 327-8, VI (10), 364-6; also Mihaychuk's articles in *Ukrainskyi holos* 15-29 March 1916.
64. Alberta, Department of Education, *Annual Report* 1913, 39-49.
65. The school districts were Oleskow No. 1612, Podola No. 2065, Molodia No. 1486, Zawale No. 1074, Spring Creek No. 1519, Paraskevia No. 1487, Stanislawow No. 1485, Vladymyr No. 1217, Kolomea No. 1507, Lwiw No. 1474 and Bukowina No. 1162; trustees in the last four resisted Fletcher's orders.
66. Alberta, Department of Education, *Annual Report* 1914, 68-9. Most accounts of the 'revolt' uncritically reproduce this official version: James G. McGregor, *Vilni Zemli (Free Lands): The Ukrainian Settlement of Alberta* (Toronto, 1969), 217-33; John W. Chalmers, "Strangers in Our Midst," *Alberta Historical Review* XVI (1) (1968), 18-23.
67. Zvarych, 231-3. For a corrective to standard accounts, see William A. Czumer, *Recollections About the Life of the First Ukrainian Settlers in Canada*, trans. Louis T. Laychuk (Edmonton, 1981), 96-126; Andrij Makuch, "In the Populist Tradition: Organizing the Ukrainian Farmer in Alberta, 1905-1935" (MA thesis, University of Alberta, 1983), 49-73. References in the Ukrainian press are too numerous to list.

68. Among the teachers were Nykola Gavinchuk, Mykhailo Goshko, Panteleimon Bozhyk, Wasył Czumer, Semen Mykytiuk, Ivan Genik, M. Sytynk and E. Kozlovsky. *Kanadyiskyi rusyn* 19 July 1913.
69. *Vegreville Observer* 10 September 1913.
70. *Ukrainskyi holos* 24 December 1913, 21 January 1914; Shevchyshyn resigned at the end of December 1913, apparently because of a disagreement with trustees.
71. For the incident, see *ibid.*, 3 September 1913, *Kanadyiskyi rusyn* 6 September 1913. The press identified the victims and added that on other occasions English-speaking teachers in Alberta had made sexual advances toward older girls. Warren Dykeman, the accused, was a single, temperate Baptist, born in 1869 in New Brunswick. He entered the Fort Saskatchewan gaol on 27 August 1913, two days after his arrest. He was charged with carnal knowledge of a girl under fourteen, indecent assault of a girl under twelve and attempted indecent assault of a girl under twelve. On 31 October 1913 he stood trial before Judge Taylor (also a native of New Brunswick), who dismissed the charges. However, one should not assume he was an innocent man, falsely accused by resentful settlers. During this period RNWMP officers lamented the frequency of "carnal knowledge of girls under 14" by school teachers and regretted the "difficulty of obtaining convictions owing to the lack of corroboration of the victim's evidence." The difficulty of obtaining evidence from twelve-year-old Ukrainian girls who spoke little (if any) English must have been even greater. See PAA, Department of the Attorney General, Fort Saskatchewan Gaol, Acc. 68.29, Box 1 (Punishment Book 1913) and Box 2 (Description Book, p. 213); Canada, *Sessional Papers*, vol. XLVII, no. 21, 1913, "Report of RNWMP 1912."
72. Czumer, 114-15.
73. *Ukrainskyi holos* December 24 1913; Czumer, 116.
74. Lupul, 233; *Edmonton Capital* 2, 4, 9 April 1914; *Edmonton Bulletin* 20 January, 13 April 1914; *Canadian Annual Review* 1914, 665; Czumer, 120-1.
75. *Ukrainskyi holos* 1, 29 April 1914; on Kremar's attacks on Svarich and Rudyk, see *ibid.*, 3, 17 December 1913, 14 October 1914.
76. *Edmonton Journal* 10 November 1914, 18 January 1915; *Edmonton Bulletin* 15 March 1915.
77. The reform groups included the Women's Christian Temperance Union, the Direct Legislation League, the United Grain Growers, the Political Equality League, the Single Tax League, and the Moral and Social Reform Council. See Lionel Orlikow, "A Survey of the Reform Movement in Manitoba, 1910-1920" (MA thesis, University of Manitoba, 1955). Of course, concerns about the education of Ukrainian children, especially among the Protestant clergy, was nothing new. On 2 January 1902 the Committee on the Education of Galician Children, all prominent Protestant clergy and laymen, met with Premier Roblin and advised that bilingual education should not be extended into "Galician" districts. Rev. Gordon denied "that the Galicians insist on being taught in their language," while William Whyte, first vice-president of the CPR, "said every Canadian must recognize the fact that if we hope to upbuild a nation on this half of the North American continent, there must be only one language spoken." When

- Roblin pointed out that the bilingual system was the law in Manitoba, Rev. Bryce stated flatly that "he did not think there would be any difficulty" in having the law changed. He was seconded by Professor Hart, while Rev. Patrick "said that he thought the clause was one which should be repealed and he did not think the government should hamper itself by committing itself to any principle of sending in Galician teachers among them." *Manitoba Free Press* 3 January 1902.
78. *Manitoba Free Press* 11 February, 29 July 1914, 30 October, 2 December 1915. For Dafoe, see Ramsay Cook, *The Politics of John W. Dafoe and the Free Press* (Toronto, 1963) and Murray Donnelly, *Dafoe of the Free Press* (Toronto, 1968).
 79. The absence of a compulsory school attendance law, inclement weather and the lack of roads meant that only 70 per cent of the Ukrainian and Polish children in twenty-nine school districts surveyed in 1910 were in school, and of these only 40 per cent attended most days. In other words, only 28 per cent of the Slavic children were in school on any given day. Chance visits to twenty-six schools in the Teulon, Whitemouth and Beausejour districts in the fall of 1912 revealed that only nineteen were open and only 400 of 3,400 school-aged children in the districts (11.8 per cent) were in attendance. Charles B. Sissons, "Illiteracy in the West," *The University Magazine* XII (4) (October 1913), 443.
 80. *Ukrainskyi holos* 22 January, 5, 12 February 1913; the editors admitted that four to five thousand Ukrainian children in the province were not attending school for various reasons.
 81. Zerebko's speech was reprinted in *ibid.*, 19, 26 February, 13 March 1913. The first editorial in the nationalist weekly to invoke the Black Hundreds appeared on 22 January 1913.
 82. *Manitoba Free Press* 10, 14 May 1913, cited in Melnycky, 142.
 83. After Ferley's dismissal in 1910, the administration had repeatedly refused to consider another appointment. *Ukrainskyi holos* 4 July, 14 August 1912.
 84. The *Manitoba Free Press* 1 September 1913 noted that the Ukrainian Teachers' Association did not condemn "the employment by the Roblin government, as agents of corruption amongst their people, of men like Gigeiczuk and Theodore Stefanik" and censured the teachers for this "cowardly silence and inaction."
 85. Caroline Haydey, "Karmansky's 'Na mandrivtsi stolit': A Study of An Hitherto Unknown Manuscript" (MA thesis, University of Manitoba, 1974), contains some biographical data; *Kanada* 4 November 1913; see also Petro Karmansky, *Kriz temriavu. Spohady* (Lviv, 1957), 43 ff., memoirs which are less than accurate about his sojourn in Canada.
 86. *Manitoba Free Press* 5 March, 13 May 1913; *Kanada* 7 October, 9 December 1913.
 87. *Manitoba Free Press* (editorial pages) 27 December 1913, 5, 8, 14, 23, 30, 31 January, 7 February, 5 March, 17, 23 April, 13 May, 7 July 1914.
 88. *Canadian Annual Review* 1913, 564 ff.
 89. *Manitoba Free Press* 5 January 1914; also 1, 11, 25 September, 27 December 1913, 11 February 1914.
 90. Melnycky, 147-8; *Ukrainskyi holos* 27 June, 1, 8, 15 July 1914; *Manitoba Free Press* 29 July 1914.

91. *Manitoba Free Press* 5, 10, 13 August, 4, 11, 14 December 1914, 24 February 1915; *Kanadyiskyi rusyn* 10 January 1915.
92. Melnycky, 164 ff. Ferley outpolled the Conservative incumbent, S. Thorvaldson, 1,172 to 562, after the official Liberal candidate, E.S. Jonasson, was persuaded to withdraw from the race one week before the election. Ferley's campaign was led by Dr. St. Clair Dunn, a local physician, and by the Ukrainian teachers in the constituency. Mykhailo Ivanchuk (Michael Ewanchuk), *Istoriia ukrainskoho poselennia v okolytsi Gimli* (Winnipeg, 1975), 239-50.
93. *Manitoba Free Press* 1, 16 June 1915.
94. *Ukrainskyi holos* 24 February, 17 March 1915; also citation in *Manitoba Free Press* 30 October 1915.
95. *Manitoba Free Press* 30 October 1915; *Ukrainskyi holos* 17 November 1915.
96. *Manitoba Free Press* 20 November 1915; the call for abolition was repeated on 30 November 1915.
97. Manitoba, Department of Education, *Special Report on Bilingual Schools in Manitoba* (Winnipeg, 1916). The first published summary of the report was highly selective, being edited to create an unfavourable impression. Only the inspectors' evaluations of the pupils' ability to speak English were published; the generally favourable evaluations of the bilingual teachers and their knowledge of English, as well as the schools' general progress, were not published. For the evaluations in their entirety, see PAM, "Inspection Reports: Bilingual Schools 1915." Negative evaluations of English-speaking teachers like Joseph Spearing, a native of London—"I was surprised to find so little difference between this [school] and schools with bilingual teachers in regards to conversation"—were not published (#337). For the complete text of Ferley's criticism of the report in the legislature and his case for the retention of bilingual schools, see *Ukrainskyi holos* 8, 15, 22, 29 March 1916.
98. *Manitoba Free Press* 13, 24 January, 19 February 1916.
99. *Ukrainskyi holos* 12 January, 9, 16 February 1916; *Manitoba Free Press* 4 February 1916.
100. *Canadian Annual Review* 1916, 673 ff.; Melnycky, 178-80; *Manitoba Free Press* 29 February 1916. Ferley suggested that, where more than 75 per cent of the pupils spoke a language other than English, bilingual instruction should be retained in the first two grades; all instruction would be in English in grades three through eight, with the second language a subject of study between three and four in the afternoon. Where at least 50 per cent of the pupils spoke a second language, all instruction would be in English, with the second language a subject of study in grades one through eight.
101. *Manitoba Free Press* 8, 18 February, 1, 8 March 1916.
102. Manitoba, Department of Education, *Annual Report* 1919, 77; Melnycky, 188; F.L. Ormond, "The Reflex Influence of the School on the Non-English Home," *Western School Journal* XII (5) (1917), 203-5; *Acts and Proceedings of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in Canada* 1920, 36-7; PAM, "Education among New Canadians" (pamphlet), Sisler Papers, Box 7, file 68; "New Canadians," *Western School Journal* XVIII (7) (1923), 655.

103. "Editorial," *The Western School Journal* XII (7) (1917), 255; *Winnipeg Tribune* 10 January 1920.
104. On developments in Saskatchewan, see Keith A. McLeod, "Education and Assimilation of the New Canadians in the North-West Territories and Saskatchewan, 1885-1934" (PhD dissertation, University of Toronto, 1975) and Raymond Huel, "The Public School as a Guardian of Anglo-Saxon Traditions: The Saskatchewan Experience, 1913-1918," in Kovacs, 295-303.
105. *Canadian Annual Review* 1915, 673-81; McLeod, 252.
106. *The Country School in Non-English-Speaking Communities in Saskatchewan* (n.p., n.d.), 7, 17.
107. *Ukrainskyi holos* 20, 27 October 1915; *Manitoba Free Press* 15 October 1915. On Oliver, see Gordon Barnhart, "The Prairie Pastor—E.H. Oliver," *Saskatchewan History* XXXVII (3) (1984), 81-94, and Michael Owen, "'Building the Kingdom of God on the Prairies': E.H. Oliver and Saskatchewan Education, 1913-1930," *Saskatchewan History* XL (1) (1987), 22-34.
108. *Saskatoon Daily Star* 4 March 1916, cited in Huel, 299.
109. *Saskatoon Daily Star* 4 May, 20 July 1916; *Manitoba Free Press* 20, 30 June, 17, 24 July 1916.
110. Holowach-Amiot, 81-2, 147, 152; McLeod, chapters 6 and 7; *Saskatoon Phoenix* 27 May 1916.
111. *Canada Who's Who and Why* 1917, 614.
112. Foght, 145-54, 174.
113. *Ukrainskyi holos* 1 May 1918; Melis, 4.
114. *Ukrainskyi holos* 31 March, 21 July 1915; Holowach-Amiot, 143 ff.
115. *Ukrainskyi holos* 6 October 1915. A letter from Alvena summarized a speech by Myron Temnytsky, a teacher, who stated that the *narodni domy* would soon replace the bilingual schools, whose days were numbered. *Ibid.*, 17 April 1918.
116. Holowach-Amiot, 155, points out that *Ranok* (30 August 1916) suggested this was due to Joseph Megas, one of the convention's organizers.
117. *Canadian Annual Review* 1916, 713.
118. *Manitoba Free Press* 15 August 1916.
119. James T.M. Anderson, "Canadianization," *Western School Journal* XIV (6) (1919), 214.



54. Bishop Nykyta Budka, ca. 1921
(UCECA, Bobersky Coll.)



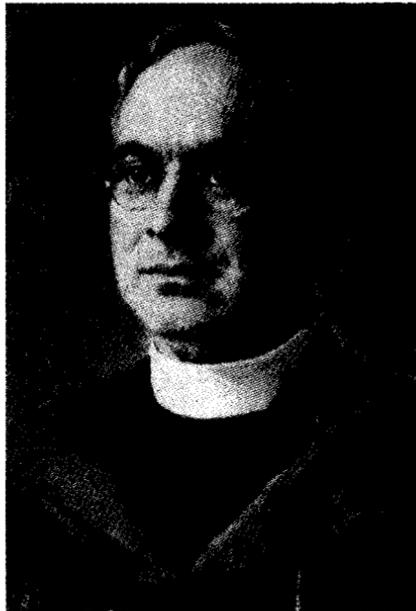
55. Alexander Sushko
(UCECA, Bobersky Coll.)



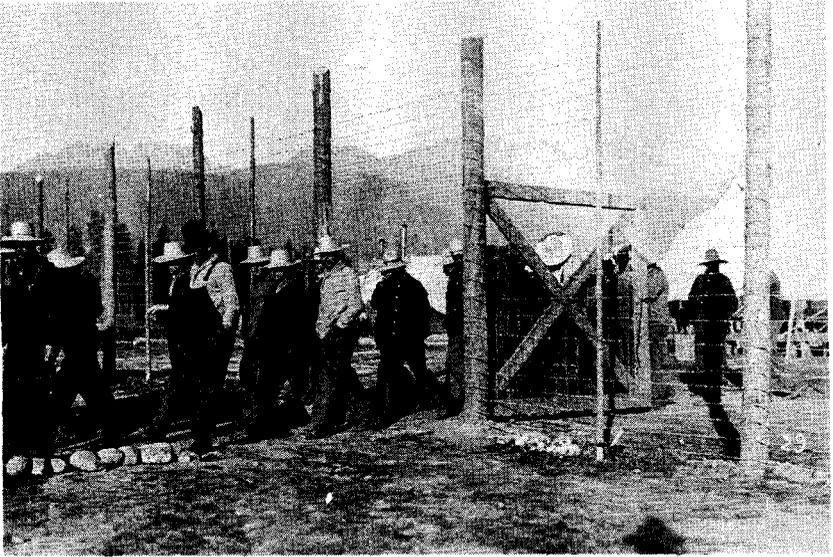
56. Semen Demydczuk
(PAA, 75.74/790)



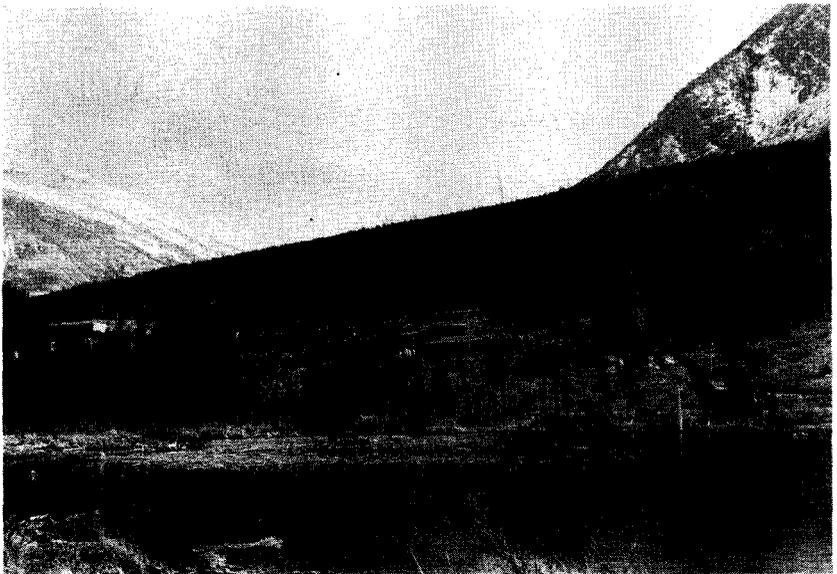
57. John Wesley Dafoe, 1920 (WCPI 1300-38932)



58. Edmund H. Oliver, ca. 1931 (UCA, Manitoba, 1880)



59. "Enemy aliens" at internment camp, Castle Mountain, Alberta, 1915 (GA, NA 3959-2)



60. Internment camp near Cave and Basin, Banff, Alberta, ca. 1918 (Whyte Museum, Banff, NA71-3570)



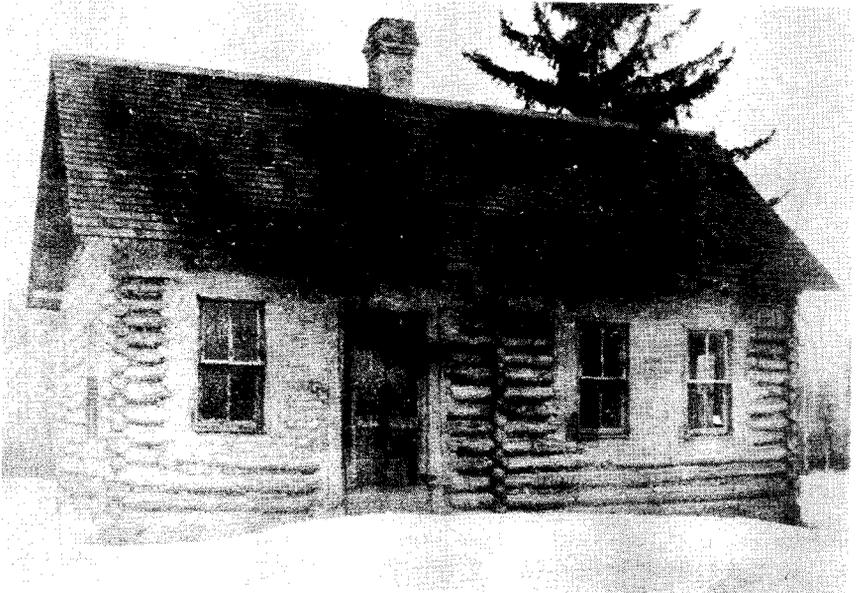
61. Staff and students, Ruthenian Training School, Brandon, Manitoba, 1915 (UCECA)



62. School in Kolomea district, between Mundare and Vegreville, Alberta, organized and built by Peter Svarich in 1907 (UCECA)



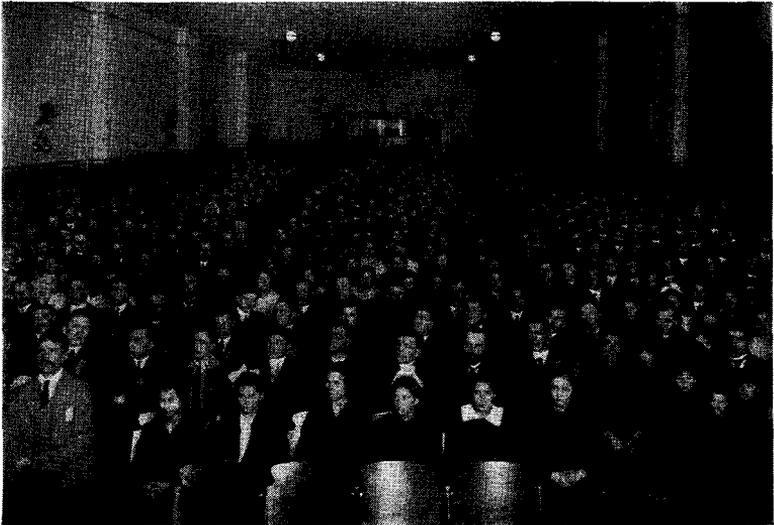
63. Ukrainian children walking to school through water, Arbakka, Manitoba, 1913 (WCPI 1662-54631)



64. Teacherage, Arbakka, Manitoba, 1915 (PAM, Mihaychuk Coll. 61)



65. T.C. Norris, Manitoba premier (left), and Dr. R.S. Thornton, minister of education, 1919 (WCPI 18-528)



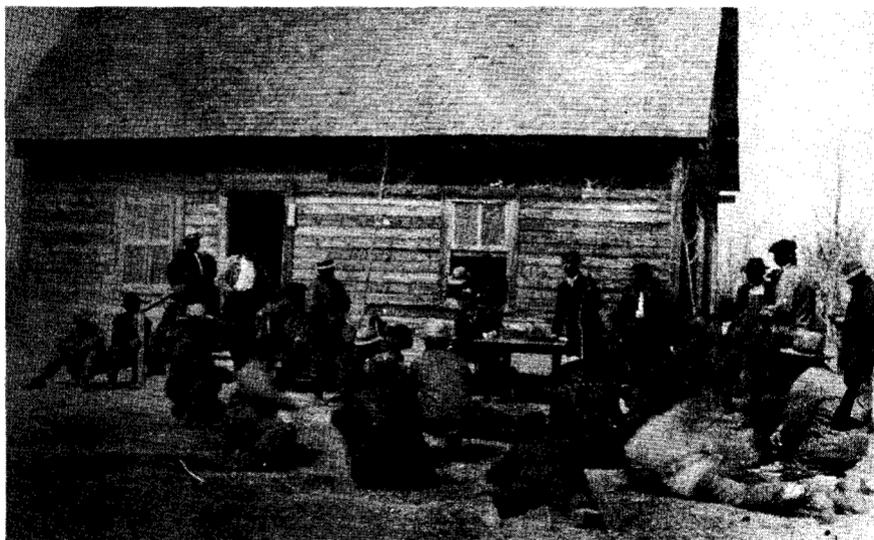
66. Second Ukrainian National Convention, Saskatoon, 27-29 December 1917. *Second row* (fifth through eighth from left) Michael Stechishin, Joseph Megas, Wasyl Swystun, Taras Ferley (AUGOC)



67. Staff and residents, Petro Mohyla Institute, Saskatoon, 1917. *Second row* (seated, fourth and sixth from right) Wasyl Swystun, Michael Stechishin (PAA, A 7791)



68. Directors of Petro Mohyla Institute, Saskatoon, 1917. *First row* (left to right) Semen W. Sawchuk, Havrylo Slipchenko, Joseph Megas, Wasyl Swystun, Taras Ferley, Michael Stechishin; *centre row* (first and third from left) Nicholas Hryhorczuk, Peter Svarich (AUGOC)



69. Meeting to settle a church argument, Arbakka, Manitoba, 1916 (PAM, Mihaychuk Coll. 44)



70. Delegates to the Second Congress of the Ukrainian Social Democratic party, Winnipeg, 16-19 August 1917. *Front row (holding copy of Robochyi narod) Mykhailo Kniazevych; third row (fourth and sixth from right) Matthew Popovich, William (Wasył) Kolisnyk (UCECA)*



71. Great War Veterans' Association parade/demonstration, Winnipeg, 4 June 1919 (PAM)

The One Big Issue in the Winnipeg "Strike" is Plain
THE PEOPLE MUST CHOOSE

Between This ← → And This



The Alien Enemy

The spirit of a noble republicanism, and more along the line of the national spirit, is the only one that will support all efforts on the part of the authorities, to deport all the undesirable aliens, and send them to their native countries. The people who are the enemy of the nation, are the enemy of the nation.

The Strike Committee, from Mr. Armstrong, Dixon, Queen and the rest tried to do nothing and to do in an effort to make this town. To find the national authority that they say, "We do not want that we will support all efforts on the part of the authorities, to deport all the undesirable aliens, and send them to their native countries." They are the enemy of the nation, and they are the enemy of the nation. Are the strikers demanding unreasonable things? Most certainly they are not.

The people who are the enemy of the nation are the same people who were the enemy of the Calgary convention last March.

That the statement of all members of the International Working class being identical, that this body of workers **RECOGNIZES NO ALIENS** has the significance." (Extracted by the Winnipeg Trades and Labor Council, March 18, 1919.)

They are the same people who were the enemy of the nation, made on the floor of the Calgary convention.

We are asking for the release of those whom they can order an occasion, that is, actively working for the Government in the country." (From official Calgary convention report, released to strikers' committee, via the Winnipeg Trades and Labor Council March 18, 1919.)

They are the same people who are, "All strikers (including the hundreds of alien war veterans) must be given back their jobs before we call off this strike."

They are exactly the same people who did everything in their power to hinder Canada's war efforts, to prevent an advance in being sent overseas. They are the same people who fought imperialism, took and sold.

They are the same people who are doing everything in their power, at the present moment, to prevent peace and stability, including the sick wounded soldiers at "Trade Hospital," from obtaining relief.

There is no room in Canada for the undesirable aliens who hinder our flag, intimidate our citizens and dominate our government.



The Flag

That is the symbol of law and order in this country; that government to every man, woman and child in this country the right to live; this government - the authority which now enables the people of Winnipeg to get the necessities of life, without prosecution of the strike committee.

The Citizens' Committee of One Thousand

72. Poster issued by the Citizens' Committee of One Thousand to suggest that the Winnipeg General Strike was fomented and led by "enemy aliens," 1919 (J.E. Rea, ed., *The Winnipeg General Strike* (1973), 20)

The War Intensifies Ukrainian Catholic Religious Turmoil

As we have seen, Ukrainian Catholic immigrants and French-Canadian bishops had been at loggerheads since the turn of the century. The appointment of a Ukrainian bishop in 1912 and the arrival of some twenty Ukrainian Catholic secular priests and seminarians in 1913-14 helped to allay popular apprehensions about French intentions and restored a degree of harmony within the Ukrainian Catholic community. The nationalists, however, continued to resent both the influence of the French-Canadian and Belgian missionaries and the Vatican decree banning married priests and widowers with children from Canada. The outbreak of war strained relations further. While Bishop Budka's first pastoral letter on the war brought his judgment into question, the war itself made it impossible to recruit clergy in Galicia and prolonged his dependence on the very French-speaking missionaries whom the nationalists abhorred. It also interrupted communications with Metropolitan Sheptytsky at a crucial time in the church's history. In this context, the high-strung, young bishop's clericalism in collision with the nationalist intelligentsia's most fundamental assumptions created a very difficult situation. In mid-1918, Bishop Budka's strident opposition to non-sectarian student residences precipitated a rebellion that culminated in the formation of the Ukrainian Greek Orthodox church in Canada.

Bishop Budka

As the first Ukrainian Catholic bishop in Canada, Nykyta Budka found himself between two very difficult poles. A Ukrainian patriot, he was also a loyal and obedient churchman; a teacher and missionary by vocation, he was obliged to administer the largest and most understaffed diocese in the world; a hierarch deeply committed to the autonomy of the Ukrainian Catholic church, he was

financially dependent on the Latin hierarchy during his entire term in Canada; a pastor who mistrusted anyone who criticized the church and clergy, he was allied with some of the most unscrupulous opportunists in the Ukrainian community; a leader appointed to restore the confidence of Ukrainians in the Catholic church, he was himself regarded with suspicion. The clergy were disappointed because they had hoped for the appointment of Fr. Platonid Filias;¹ the intelligentsia, in turn, suspected that the new bishop was an ally of the Polish aristocracy. Because in his youth Budka, like Bishop Ortynsky in the United States, had been employed as a tutor in the household of Princess Theresa Sapieha, the intelligentsia concluded that her family, Polonized Lithuanian magnates who owned large estates in eastern Galicia, was using its influence to appoint bishops for Ukrainian Catholics in North America. The fact that the Sapieha and Sheptytsky families were related by marriage only fuelled the rumours.²

However, whatever else may be said of Bishop Budka, he was not indifferent to the immigrants' daily needs or to Ukrainian national aspirations. In his first pastoral letter (*Dorohovkaz*) on 5 April 1913, he warned newcomers to beware of employment agents when signing contracts because all earnings were frequently deducted for room and board, and he counselled against drinking. In his subsequent pastoral letters and correspondence, he urged parishioners to "admit boldly that you are Ukrainians" and to "behave in a manner that brings honour to the Ukrainian people."³ He also encouraged young priests to organize Ukrainian classes, and he lobbied for a chair of Ukrainian language, literature and history at one of the prairie universities. In a letter to Metropolitan Sheptytsky in 1918, he confided that the "national liberty" of the Ukrainian people was always on his mind and that he sympathized deeply with the struggle for national self-determination, "which in theory is universally recognized, but which has to be attained with blood and suffering in our part of the world."⁴

Budka was also totally committed to preserving the Eastern rite and the integrity of the Ukrainian Catholic church. Although grateful to Archbishop Langevin for his assistance, he was apprehensive about the French-speaking missionaries. He bristled at the news that Frenchmen were teaching Ukrainian boys in Sifton and blessed Fr. Jean's efforts only after learning that Ukrainian instructors were also offering Ukrainian subjects. In 1913 he vetoed Fr. Sabourin's schemes to entrench an Eastern-rite clergy of French-Canadian origin, and he urged Sheptytsky to lobby the Vatican to admit married Ukrainian secular priests.⁵ Refusing to recognize Sabourin's *Congrégation de St. Josaphat* (which was dissolved), Budka requested that he choose between missionary work and teaching,⁶ and when Sabourin chose the latter, he was replaced by a Ukrainian secular priest in Sifton. Within a year of Budka's arrival, Frs. Claveloux, Gagnon and Desmarais, who refused to subordinate themselves to Budka, returned to the Latin rite, while Sabourin followed in June 1917. In 1914, Jean,

who would serve in the Eastern rite permanently, entered a Basilian monastery in Galicia to immerse himself in Ukrainian culture.

The new bishop's relations with Fr. Delaere and the Redemptorist monks, whom he held in greater esteem, were also cool at the outset. Budka supported Sheptytsky's efforts to "Ukrainianize" the Redemptorists by persuading them to establish an Eastern-rite province in 1913 with monasteries in Yorkton, Saskatchewan, and Univ, Galicia. Budka then insisted that the first generation of Eastern-rite Redemptorists be trained in Galicia, and he got Delaere to postpone a juvenate in Canada until Ukrainian-born Redemptorists were available to educate Ukrainian-Canadian recruits. Disconcerted by Budka's "cold neutrality," Delaere was counselled by the Belgian provincial to abandon the Ukrainians in Canada. The differences were ironed out and a juvenate opened in 1920, but Budka's subsequent assignment of Ukrainian secular priests to parishes within the Redemptorists' sphere of influence in southeastern Saskatchewan created tensions and even caused Delaere to wonder about his transfer to the Eastern rite.⁷

The bishop's Ukrainian patriotism and apprehensions about the French-speaking clergy did not diminish his loyalty to the Catholic church and the papacy. More than most Ukrainian secular priests, Budka was greatly alarmed by the rising tide of secularism and in one of his first pastoral letters displayed the siege mentality that pervaded European Catholic circles at the turn of the century:

Today...the Head of the Church, the Holy Father, Pontiff of Rome, is confined to the Vatican like a prisoner, unable to stir, deprived of everything that once belonged to the Church. Today in all the lands of the Christian world the Church is struggling for its freedom with liberal-masonic paganism recently come into fashion, and with schismatics and protestants of all kinds who have nothing in common with the Church...that emerged from the catacombs.⁸

It was this fear of secular ideologies ("liberal-masonic paganism") and of proselytizing by Russian Orthodox, and especially Protestant, missionaries that set the tone for Budka's career in Canada and accounted for his stridency. Conditions in Canada were obviously very different and the immigrants' Catholic faith and Ukrainian identity were in much greater danger. Unlike Galicia, where the Russophiles were a dying species and there were practically no Protestants, in Canada the Russophiles were not only allied with Russian Orthodox "schismatics," who attracted Orthodox Bukovynians and Catholic Galicians, but the strength of the Protestant "sects" and their "paid" Ukrainian agents was such that Budka referred to the Training School in Regina and the School for Foreigners in Vegreville as "Presbyterian missions."⁹ The faithful were therefore urged to look to Canadian Catholics for guidance, warned to avoid Protestant missionaries and advised to beware of the innumerable Ukrainian newspapers

published in Canada, especially “the sectarian newspapers financed in order to delude Ruthenians and to convert them to Lutheran-Calvinist principles and the socialist newspapers which, in league with the Jews, wage war against Christians here in Canada as elsewhere.” Anti-Semitism thus also tinged the bishop’s outlook, just as it did that of many Catholic clergy at the turn of the century.¹⁰

Budka was, of course, highly apprehensive about the intelligentsia’s efforts to organize the Ukrainian community on secular lines; anyone critical of the Catholic church was, to him, a Protestant “hireling.” In his second pastoral letter (*O potrebi orhanizatsii*), he described himself in grandiloquent terms as “the Moses and Aaron of the Canadian Ruthenians, sent in response to their prayers to...lead, defend and protect them, to be all things to all men in this foreign land.” History taught that only Ukrainians faithful to the Ukrainian Catholic church and to its “beautiful rite” retained their national identity and remained true to their people. “The organization of Ruthenians in Canada as a single people cannot be imagined in any manner except through the Church....When people speak of the Ruthenians in Canada they have in mind only those who support their Greek Catholic Bishop. They alone constitute the core of the nation...they alone are not a party but the nation.” In practical terms this meant “Local organization under the aegis of the parish...[and] our own (*ridni*) Catholic schools.”¹¹ Needless to say, the intelligentsia, and especially the nationalists, saw matters differently.

To organize the Ukrainian community in line with these precepts, Budka established the Ruthenian Greek Catholic Episcopal Corporation and published a set of by-laws (*statut*) for the governance of Ukrainian Catholic parishes. Because Ukrainians had been reluctant to register parish property with Latin bishops, the first article of the new corporation’s charter placed the administration of all “property, business and other temporal affairs” under Budka’s jurisdiction “and his successors in office...of the same faith and rite and persevering in communion with the Roman Pontiff,” and parishes were instructed to register their churches and other property with the corporation to prevent disgruntled lay trustees from transferring them into Protestant or Russian Orthodox hands. (The bishop’s successor, it must be noted, was to be “of the same faith and rite” but not necessarily a Ukrainian, a distinction that soon spurred much argument.) As Metropolitan Sheptytsky had argued that a Ukrainian Catholic bishop would secure such properties for the Catholic church, Budka urged the matter often in every colony he visited. The by-laws, in turn, struck an uneasy balance between clerical control and lay participation. On the one hand, the parish priest, “appointed and removed by the Greek Catholic Ruthenian Bishop,” automatically became the head (*predsidatel*) of the parish, with the right to exclude officers or members who “did not live up” to their duties; on the other hand, the board of trustees consisting of the priest and four elected lay officials—vice-president, financial secretary, recording secretary and cashier—could report the priest to the

Колись а нині.



"Then and Now." *Left panel:* A Ukrainian Catholic immigrant carrying a French-Canadian bishop on his back. *Right panel:* The same Ukrainian Catholic immigrant carrying Bishop Budka, who has a copy of the episcopal corporation's charter and a pastoral letter under his arm. Note that Budka has covered the immigrant's eyes so that he cannot see where he is going. *Kadylo* (Winnipeg) I, (3) (July 1913).

bishop for failing properly to discharge his duties. Although no parish meetings could be held without the priest's knowledge, he had to announce all meetings two weeks in advance and a meeting had to be called if the majority requested one. Six months after joining, paid-up parishioners had the right to vote and speak at meetings, but individuals who failed to go to Easter confession or who caused public scandal or attended the services of non-Catholic religious groups or who tried to transfer the parish church "into the hands of enemies" ceased to be members and lost all rights. Finally, elected lay auditors would scrutinize parish accounts, but the borrowing of funds and the sale and transfer of property required the bishop's consent, as did amendments to the by-laws and new rules or regulations.

To check secular ideologies and Protestant and Russian Orthodox proselytizing, a set of "Regulations" (*Pravyla*) was adopted at a synod of the Ukrainian Catholic clergy in November 1914. The regulations denied absolution to parents who sent their children to public schools (where Catholic schools existed), forbade marriage outside the Catholic church unless the non-Catholic spouse promised to raise the children in the Catholic faith and directed priests to "paralyze...the malicious separation of our national life from the influence of the Church and priest" and to "remind the people not to vote for those who may harm the Church."¹² While the bishop and the Redemptorists invoked the regulations, many secular priests regarded some of them with skepticism.

Ukrainian Catholic Secular Priests

The secular priests and seminarians who arrived between 1912 and 1914 possessed both the virtues and defects usually associated with the Ukrainian Catholic secular clergy. Few were imbued with the piety, ecclesiastical discipline and moral austerity that generally distinguished the Basilian and Redemptorist missionaries. Although they were hostile to Protestant proselytizing,¹³ the secular priests were much more tolerant of Orthodox Ukrainians and infinitely more charitable toward Ukrainian public school teachers. One secular priest even characterized the latter as "active sons of the people, who amid daunting circumstances...bring light to the people and with few exceptions fulfill their obligations with honour."¹⁴ The secular priests also were generally more sociable, approachable and worldly than the regular clergy. While a few may have been guilty of moral laxity,¹⁵ most confined their worldly pleasures to music, the study of languages and the law, beekeeping and the occasional hunting or fishing trip. Although they usually did not establish apostleships of prayer or religious confraternities, quite a few organized summer and/or evening schools where they taught catechism and Ukrainian.

Ultimately, what most distinguished the secular priests from the regular clergy was their extensive involvement in community affairs.¹⁶ Some organized reading clubs, national homes, drama circles, choirs, co-operative stores and benevolent societies. Others provided free legal advice, obtained hospital space and helped parishioners find employment. Still others attended public meetings, plays and concerts, delivered patriotic speeches and took up collections for orphans, victims of floods and famine in Galicia (1914) or for the unemployed and interned in Canada (1915-16). The most active were the younger men in urban areas, but even in large rural parishes energetic priests like Maksymyliian Kinash, a widower with three children sent to Canada in 1912 by Metropolitan Sheptytsky, did much. In the Ethelbert district in 1912-13, he and several Ukrainian public school teachers (including two who were Orthodox and one a notorious "freethinker") organized public meetings (*vicha*) attended by up to five hundred persons, at which they promoted reading clubs and national homes, protested efforts to discredit the bilingual school system, lectured on the evils of alcoholism, recited Shevchenko's poetry and encouraged the settlers to be proud of their accomplishments and to believe in their ability to carve out a better life for themselves and their children.¹⁷

Underlying the activism was a strong sense of Ukrainian nationalism—the type of Ukrainian Catholic nationalism that coloured the world-view of many conservative Galicians. Even if Ukrainian Catholicism was not the religion of the majority of Ukrainians, it was, the conservatives believed, still the religion best suited to preserve Ukrainian identity. Although seen initially as an instrument of assimilation, the Uniate church over the centuries, according to the conservatives, had had just the opposite effect. It had acted as a barrier to Polonization in Galicia and, to a lesser extent, even prevented Russification in Right Bank Ukraine (before the church's abolition in 1839). Once the Russian empire collapsed, Ukrainian Catholicism might still win the allegiance of most Ukrainians. To repudiate it, therefore, was not only to imperil one's soul but to undermine the very foundations of Ukrainian national identity and the future of Ukrainian nationhood.¹⁸

Although the entire burden of supporting the clergy fell on the immigrants in Canada, the fact that priests were unmarried and without families and that they did not monopolize such scarce economic resources as fields, pastures and forests eliminated traditional tensions and muted economic discord. So, too, did the standardization of clerical salaries and sacramental fees. On 18 August 1913 a decree, "On Matters Pertaining to the Eastern Rite," issued by the Propaganda Fide, made clerical salaries and sacramental fees dependent on local custom, advised priests to waive sacramental fees for the poor and forbade exclusion of the indigent from sacramental services.¹⁹ In November 1914, at the first Canadian synod of the clergy, a detailed schedule of salaries and fees was established. Priests serving up to two thousand souls could claim a monthly salary of eighty

dollars; for a larger number they were entitled to one hundred dollars. Baptism, marriage and burial fees conceivably could double a priest's income, especially in prosperous rural districts or large urban parishes during periods of full employment.²⁰ In 1913 no secular priest (including the bishop) had a monthly salary in excess of seventy dollars, and few secular priests enjoyed significantly higher incomes before 1921.²¹ Unlike the Basilians and Redemptorists, with parishes in Winnipeg and Edmonton and in some of the finest agricultural settlements established by Ukrainians, secular priests generally ministered to settlers on marginal or inferior lands or in eastern cities with transient populations, highly vulnerable to economic fluctuations.

With clerical salaries and fees regulated, economic conflict was largely confined to two issues: the collection of funds to build churches and other institutions, and the clergy's alleged collusion with capitalist employers. The first was especially contentious during the war years. When, in the depths of the 1913-15 recession, Fr. Olenchuk asked the faithful to show other Canadians that they were "a real people," equal to the French and English, by donating money to construct a cathedral in Winnipeg, the socialist *Robochyi narod* condemned clerical indifference to the plight of workers. Similar accusations were levelled at priests like Fr. Fylyma, who constructed an eighteen thousand-dollar church in Hamilton in 1917. One local socialist suggested that Fylyma "should visit the infernal steel factories of Hamilton, where workers pass all their days being roasted alive just as if they were already in the priests' hell," and the church was labelled a "foundry where the chains of [the workers'] ignorance are being forged anew." When Bishop Budka tried to solicit donations in eastern Canada for Winnipeg's Sheptytsky *bursa* and Prosvita Institute, even Fr. Redkevych of Montreal rebuked him: "What possible interest can a student residence arouse out east? Our people are obliged to travel west to [your] farmers to earn money and then you expect them to donate this money so that the sons of their employers may benefit?!...It is stupefying—why should labourers come to the aid of farmer-proprietors instead of the other way around."²²

Accusations of clerical collusion with capitalists were made by Ukrainian Protestants and socialists. Both took strong exception to articles in *Kanadyiskyi rusyn* which either told immigrants that they stole from employers when they performed their duties indifferently or advised workers to treat contracts with employers "just as if they had been concluded with God Himself." They also condemned special agreements between priests and capitalist employers. In Sydney, Nova Scotia, for example, Fr. Krasicky and a Catholic foreman arranged for the CPR to deduct fifty cents a month from Ukrainian workers in 1913 to build a church, while four years later Fr. Irkha of Oshawa accepted a five hundred-dollar donation from a local factory owner for the same purpose. One of *Robochyi narod's* correspondents insisted that the donation would not have been

made “were it not for the fact that the priests serve the interests of the masters [pany].”²³

Although reading clubs, national homes and socialist circles could undermine the priest’s authority, the secular clergy’s response to secular ideologies was generally less alarmist than that of Bishop Budka and the regular clergy. However strained the relations with Protestants and socialists might be, the secular clergy rarely launched frontal assaults on non-Catholic nationalist institutions, though occasionally there were skirmishes. In Montreal, Fr. Perepelytsia instructed his parishioners to avoid the Drahomanov Society after Ivan Bodrug, the founder of the Independent Greek church, became a member. In Vita, Manitoba, several churchgoers left the local reading club and objected to readings of Franko’s and Drahomanov’s works after Fr. Jermy arrived.²⁴ Fr. Petro Kamenetsky became embroiled in a heated controversy with Nicholas Hryhorczuk, a Radical sympathizer and reeve at Ethelbert, by demanding religious instruction and prayers in the public school and urging his parishioners to take over the local national home by joining *en masse*.²⁵ Occasionally, laymen rather than priests took the lead against “harmful influences.” In Kulish, Manitoba, for example, a Ukrainian Catholic school teacher, educated at St. Boniface College, excluded “harmful” books from the reading-club library.²⁶

Only one secular priest—Roman Krupa—consistently imposed his authority upon the faithful. In Winnipeg in 1913 he warned against reading newspapers “because here in Canada one finds all kinds of publications; all have fine names, but they are all poison.” A year later in Rainey, Saskatchewan, he advised a woman to leave her husband if he continued to read *Ukrainskyi holos*. But it was in (West) Fort William that he was most assertive. Arriving in the fall of 1917, he immediately declared war on the local Zaporizka Sich Society, which adhered to the statutes of the Radical Sich in Galicia. He attacked the society’s Ukrainian classes (*ridna shkola*) because they were “full of Protestants, Presbyterians and schismatics,” and established a Catholic *ridna shkola* that precipitated divisions and much bitterness. Next, he joined the non-denominational Prosvita Society where he argued that only “educated” individuals (like himself) should sit on the executive and that membership be restricted to Catholics. When opposed, he established a rival—Zoria—and a Catholic benevolent society, both closed to members of Zaporizka Sich and Prosvita. *Ukrainskyi holos* was banned from Zoria’s library and attacked from the pulpit every Sunday. Church services and dances were also scheduled to conflict with Prosvita and Sich functions and parishioners were warned not to admit Christmas carolers from either society.²⁷

Before the Storm

During the eighteen-month interval between his arrival in Canada and the outbreak of the First World War, Bishop Budka elicited a wide variety of responses. *Kanadyiskyi rusyn* reported that in some larger railway towns four hundred to five hundred Ukrainians, “with tears in their eyes, like children greeting their father,” came to meet his train. Some from Bilche Zolote, Borshchiv county, who had known him as a Sapielha employee, approached him to renew acquaintances. On visits to parishes he was almost always greeted in the traditional manner with bread and salt and after church services a concert or play was presented. Occasionally, he was received in a manner befitting a “Prince of the Church”: triumphal arches proclaimed “Welcome Your Excellency” (*Vitaite Vladyko!*), his car or buggy was escorted by a cavalcade of up to twenty youths on horseback in Cossack attire with banners or Ukrainian and Canadian flags at their sides, young girls strewed his path to the church with flower petals, school children sang in chorus and the oldest parishioners presented the bishop with bread and salt. Correspondents invariably remarked that there was much joyful weeping and that all felt they were momentarily “back in the old country.” At such times the bishop heard confessions, distributed holy pictures and crucifixes and stressed the absolute necessity of registering churches with his Episcopal Corporation. He also discussed his own precarious financial circumstances.²⁸ Although diocesan expenses—routine household and administrative costs, travel expenses, tuition fees and allowances for seminarians, the publication of *Kanadyiskyi rusyn*—were covered, in part, by the ten thousand dollars donated annually for “Ruthenian missions” by the Latin bishops of Canada, Budka also hoped to levy an annual *cathedraticum* of one dollar per family to prepare for the day when the subsidy would end. Although congregations did begin to register their churches, efforts to collect the *cathedraticum* met with little success and Budka was reduced to almost complete dependence on the subsidy.

Failure to collect the *cathedraticum* was partly due to the nationalists’ apprehensions about the bishop. Reaction to his second pastoral letter was highly critical. *Ukrainskyi holos* thought it contained two “very harmful” errors: first, exclusively Catholic organizations would condemn the Orthodox Bukovynian and Protestant minorities to denationalization by Russian Orthodox missionaries and absorption by the English-speaking majority; second, as the training schools in Regina and Vegreville were not “Protestant,” the advice that Ukrainians establish their “own [*ridni*] Catholic schools” was simply “grist for the Frenchmen’s mill.” What was needed were non-sectarian bilingual public schools: “...our own [*ridni*] schools...taught by our Ukrainian teachers, where instruction in our native mother tongue [is] provided together with instruction in the English language.” The bishop was advised to get rid of the French-speaking “uninvited guardians.”²⁹

The Presbyterian *Ranok* was even more critical of the bishop's letter. Rev. Glowa, the editor, thought Budka confused loyalty to the Ukrainian nation with loyalty to the Catholic church; a change of faith had no bearing on one's national allegiance. Moreover, history did not support the view that Ukrainian Catholics had always been the truest Ukrainians. Indeed, well into the nineteenth century priests like Markiiian Shashkevych had been penalized by their Catholic bishops for publishing in Ukrainian, and contemporary Ukrainian Catholic primates still stood by while their Polish co-religionists bayoneted Ukrainians in broad daylight. It was not Catholicism that had stimulated Ukrainian national consciousness in eastern Galicia but such factors as the poetry of Kotliarevsky and Shevchenko (whose poem "The Heretic" celebrated John Hus and described the pope as a "fatted monk" and a "tiara'd liar"), the secular Prosvita Society and its network of reading clubs, the Radical organizer Kyrylo Trylovsky and the Sich Society, and the deeds of national heroes like Myroslav Sichynsky. The bishop was admonished to discard his "vestments woven with gold," his "jewelled mitre" and his "silver staff" and to follow the Nazarene by preaching the Gospel rather than serving Mammon while invoking the discipline of the Catholic church.³⁰

In the next few months, while *Ranok* concentrated on the antidemocratic character of the Catholic church and the by-laws which governed Ukrainian parishes, *Ukrainskyi holos* grew increasingly impatient with the French-speaking clergy and the absence of Ukrainian secular priests, who began arriving only in the fall of 1913. The French-speaking priests, it thought, could not work "for the welfare and rebirth of our people" because their whole purpose was to keep Ukrainian priests out of Canada. On account of the Eastern-rite Redemptorists, it was only a matter of time before the Franciscans, Jesuits, Sulpicians, Trappists and other orders would be training missionaries and introducing Latin practices into the Eastern rite. As for Sabourin and the French Canadians, who had made life so miserable for Frs. Rozdolsky and Kinash, the paper asked the bishop to declare himself on the French "impudence" (*nakhabstvo*) and to indicate whether he or they were in charge. In the meantime, Catholic congregations were advised to stop registering churches and properties with the new Episcopal Corporation.³¹

The decree of the Propaganda Fide, issued on 18 August 1913, to regulate relations between Latin- and Eastern-rite Catholics in Canada appeared to confirm the intelligentsia's worst fears. While the decree offered guarantees to the Eastern rite,³² the intelligentsia thought it blurred distinctions and violated Ukrainian privileges with a view to future Latinization.³³ Particularly disturbing was its ban on married priests and widowed priests with children and its stipulation that theology students take a vow not to marry. *Ranok* saw the decree as "a pogrom...of clearly stipulated Ruthenian rights" and published a list of 127 celibate Catholic priests convicted of sexual crimes in the United States.

Ukrainskyi holos thought the Ukrainian Catholic hierarchy would “consciously” contribute to Ukrainian “denationalization” if it submitted to the decree. There were no precedents, it insisted, for compulsory clerical celibacy in the Gospels; married priests, moreover, were more prudent and responsible than carefree unmarried priests. Because compulsory celibacy was but the first step in an all-out assault on the Eastern rite, Ukrainian Catholics were advised to organize protest meetings and to boycott church registration and the French-speaking missionaries, who were implored to go to France where there were hundreds of thousands of socialists and freemasons who needed conversion.

In the fall of 1913 public meetings protesting the Propaganda Fide’s decree passed six resolutions, which demanded that 1) the ban on married priests and widowed priests with children be revoked, 2) the order forbidding seminarians to marry be withdrawn, 3) transfer from the Eastern to the Latin rite be proscribed, 4) leavened bread only be used in the Eastern-rite Eucharist, 5) the Eastern-rite Redemptorists be abolished and 6) all French-speaking missionaries be recalled immediately from the Eastern rite.³⁴

To stem the rising tide of popular discontent, Bishop Budka issued a pastoral letter in November which argued that immigrants lacked the resources to support clerical families adequately or to assume responsibility for clerical widows and children, that missionary priests, who had to travel incessantly and were frequently transferred, would neglect their families and find it difficult to educate their children, that few married priests were eager to come to Canada, and that the rights of the Ukrainian church were not being violated because the ban on married clergy applied only to Canada and not to Galicia. His opponents, however, insisted (without evidence) that there were plenty of married priests in Galicia anxious to come to Canada, that clerical families could live more economically and that priests concerned about their family’s future could purchase life insurance. A dozen congregations, primarily in rural Manitoba and Saskatchewan, then announced that they would not admit French-speaking priests or register their churches until all demands made at the protest meetings were met.³⁵

On the whole, it appears that Bishop Budka’s position was more tenable than the intelligentsia’s. Fr. Kinash, the only priest with a family, had to move to Philadelphia to make ends meet. After almost twelve months in (West) Fort William, his income for 1913-14 was only three hundred dollars. “Many years will pass,” he declared, “before Canada, demoralized by shysters and Protestant flunkies, will be able to provide an adequate standard of living for single priests, much less married ones.” He was especially worried about his children, who could not be uprooted annually and could socialize with few Ukrainian families. Their education was suffering and they could not expect to be anything but school teachers or secretaries in Canada. “Canada is not for me. Here one needs single priests without families, priests who can ignore material considerations

because they are not bound by family concerns and obligations, priests who can work, and work some more, for their ideals and for Christ.”³⁶

The controversy stirred by the decree also seriously affected the bishop's immediate circle. In December 1913, after months of temporizing, Budka finally dismissed Mykola Syroidiv, editor of *Kanadyiskyi rusyn*. In an open letter in *Ukrainskyi holos* several weeks later, Syroidiv revealed that Budka was financially dependent on the French-Canadian hierarchy, whose pressure had compelled the bishop to request his resignation.³⁷ Syroidiv (1883-1942), the son of a Ukrainian Catholic priest, had been at loggerheads with the French-speaking missionaries since 1912. He had come to Rozdolsky's aid when Langevin wanted to remove him; he had insisted that only a Ukrainian should teach the Ukrainian subject matter at the *petit séminaire* in St. Boniface; he had warned Budka that Sabourin was very hostile toward the Ukrainian clergy and had furnished notarized depositions about Sabourin's moral character;³⁸ and he had revealed that the rector of St. Boniface College had deprived Ukrainian Catholic boys of Ukrainian church services for six weeks in succession. Syroidiv's opposition to the Propaganda Fide's decree, his active participation in the National Home Association and his dislike of the French-speaking missionaries became insurmountable burdens, and Budka, himself already thinking of resigning and returning to Galicia,³⁹ dismissed him.

The Syroidiv episode illustrated well the bishop's isolation among educated Ukrainian Canadians. Virtually the entire intelligentsia, including the overwhelming majority of school teachers and high school and university students, were opposed to the policies of the Catholic church. Indeed, the only influential laymen around Budka were Paul Gegeychuk, Theodore Stefanik, Toma Jastremsky and a handful of less prominent Conservative party agents. After Syroidiv's departure, the bishop could count only on a few young school teachers and two intellectuals: Petro Karmansky, an erratic ally whose articles in *Kanada* alienated the intelligentsia, and Ivan Petrushevich, the sole voice of reason and moderation in the bishop's entourage between the fall of 1913 and 1916. Petrushevich, however, was detested by Stefanik, Gegeychuk and Jastremsky, who considered him an “intruder” (*zaida*) and their rival as an intermediary between the Ukrainian community and the Conservative governments in Winnipeg and Ottawa. They did not shrink from threatening Budka when they learned he was promoting Petrushevich over men like themselves, who “had been working for the welfare of Rus'-Ukraine for the past fifteen years in Canada.”⁴⁰

Nor did Dr. Alexander Sushko, Syroidiv's replacement, enhance the prestige of the bishop and the church during his brief eighteen-month career. With the bishop's blessing, he threw himself into Ukrainian community life to stem Protestant and secular influences and to expand those of the clergy. At the annual meeting of the National Home Association, he opposed the “sectarians” (Protestants) within its ranks and condemned the association's constitution,

which excluded clergy (of all denominations) from the executive (but not from membership). He then tackled Winnipeg's Shevchenko Jubilee Committee (established to honour the poet's centenary) by demanding the removal of Rev. Glowa. When a majority of the committee's cultural organizations refused, representatives of the city's two Ukrainian Catholic parishes, led by Sushko and Ivan Sliuzar, editor of the Conservative *Kanada*, withdrew and held their own celebrations.⁴¹

These efforts were supplemented by vitriolic editorials in *Kanadyiskyi rusyn*. Although Syroidiv was Sushko's initial target, it was not long before he took on the entire intelligentsia. In an editorial, "Treason," which appeared in eleven instalments, Sushko declared that treason and lack of character were "the mental illnesses of our intelligentsia...the most painful wound on our national organism in Canada." Together with Karmansky, who contributed similar articles to *Kanada*, Sushko dragged Ukrainian-Canadian 'journalism' into the gutter. While Karmansky described Ukrainian Presbyterians as "an English kennel," "a refuse heap," "an Augean stable" and "Apaches" whose "temples...serve as saloons, brawl rooms and even as houses of ill-repute," Sushko dismissed the intelligentsia as "trash" and "a devil's brood" of "atheists ... spies ... moral rotters ... corruptors ... swineherds ... stableboys ... religious renegades ... hirelings ... traitors ... and debasers of the people," who wished "to make our sacred national relics appear abominable." Karmansky's description of the intelligentsia as "a rabble of moral proletarians" and "scum from Galicia's lower schools," which had "imposed itself upon our farmers as leaders and teachers," was complemented by Sushko's declaration that leadership within the Ukrainian community had to rest with Bishop Budka, "the most eminent of all Canadian Ruthenians," and with "priests who have a university education."⁴²

Sushko's tirades culminated early in May after Ferley, Arsenych and Zerebko were accused of misappropriating public funds, bribing and corrupting Ukrainian voters and philandering. Ferley and Arsenych (Zerebko was in Europe) sued for libel and Sushko was arrested and released only after the bishop put up bail. Although settled out of court at Budka's request, the case cost over one thousand dollars. It also undermined the Catholic paper's credibility and led to a falling out between Sushko and Petrushevich, who had cautioned against printing the items and subsequently refused to defend Sushko. When the latter tried to mobilize the secular clergy against the "traitor" Petrushevich, the bishop, caught in the middle, once again contemplated returning to teaching in Galicia.⁴³

The embarrassment and expense of Sushko's arrest, Karmansky's return to Galicia (also in May) and the adverse publicity generated by Budka's ill-considered first pastoral letter on the war had a sobering effect on the Catholic camp. Taking the battle directly to the enemy had backfired; the bishop's prestige was plummeting while that of his opponents was rising. It was clearly time to prepare a new plan of action. On the other side, the intelligentsia, especially the

nationalists, were also ready to declare a truce. Although they wanted a church free of "uninvited foreign guardians," few nationalists at this time seriously contemplated breaking with the Ukrainian Catholic church. The arrival of over twenty Ukrainian secular priests and seminarians in the ten months before the war had, for the moment, reassured even those most suspicious of a conspiracy between the French Catholic hierarchy and the Vatican to keep *all* Ukrainian priests out of Canada. Thus for more than two years, between the summer of 1914 and the fall of 1916, the religious controversy simmered as the nationalist intelligentsia and the Ukrainian Catholic clergy jointly pursued (as we have seen) the other major crisis precipitated by the war: the preservation of the bilingual school system on the prairies.

Non-Denominational Student Residences

The abolition of bilingual instruction in prairie public schools and the dissolution of the teacher-training schools in Brandon and Regina, coupled with the increase in Ukrainian secondary and postsecondary students, led to the formation of several Ukrainian student residences (*bursy*) during the war years. Besides providing room and board for students attending high school, normal school or university, the residences introduced young men and women to Ukrainian history and culture and inducted them into community work. Open to Ukrainians of all religious denominations and without formal provisions for religious instruction, the non-sectarian residences were suspect from the Catholic point of view, and it was only a matter of time before their nationalist sponsors experienced the wrath of Bishop Budka and his clergy.

The controversy centred around the Adam Kotsko residence in Winnipeg and the Petro Mohyla Institute in Saskatoon. In Winnipeg, where the nationalists had been collecting donations since 1910, pandemonium broke out at a meeting of Kotsko donors in July 1915 after a Catholic motion by Toma Jastremsky and Harry Bodnar to change the institution's name to "The Greek Catholic Adam Kotsko Student Residence" was defeated 82-70. As irate Catholics displayed their displeasure by stomping their feet and hooting, the nationalist-led majority withdrew to another hall, elected a new executive (among whose members were Ferley, Arsenych, Ivan Negrich and Onufrii Hykawy, editor of the Liberal *Kanadyiskyi farmer*), approved by-laws that guaranteed the residence would remain non-sectarian and decided to open it in September. The Catholics, in turn, announced a fund-raising campaign for the Metropolitan Andrei Sheptytsky *bursa* under the patronage of Bishop Budka.⁴⁴

The Petro Mohyla residence, named after a Moldavian nobleman who had promoted Western learning as the Orthodox Metropolitan of Kiev (1633-47), was established under more propitious circumstances. A student residence in Saska-

toon "open to all persons of Ukrainian nationality" was first proposed by the Ukrainian Student Circle in March 1916. The response was so enthusiastic that a student conference for August was transformed into the first Ukrainian national convention attended by over five hundred prairie delegates. The speakers included Walter C. Murray, president of the University of Saskatchewan, J.S. Woodsworth, Ferley, Megas and Budka. Although the bishop stressed the relationship between religion and Ukrainian national identity and called for more religious instruction, it was assumed that by attending and encouraging priests and teachers to co-operate, he was giving the new institution his blessing.⁴⁵

That impression was soon dispelled. In October an editorial in *Kanadyiskyi rusyn* asked whether "*Ukrainskyi holos* and its student residences...are in agreement with the world view of Greek Catholic Ukrainians, or opposed?" Orest Zerebko, a member of the Kotsko executive and co-editor of the nationalist weekly, replied that the executive regarded Greek Catholicism and Orthodoxy as "national" faiths insofar as "our people have grown accustomed and have been raised in both." However, as religious instruction was the responsibility of parents, there were "no plans to provide anyone with a religious education." "We give primacy to Ukrainianism, religious education takes second place.... We must place our own Kiev ahead of alien Rome." He thought the church had neglected cultural endeavours, and he now advised it not to interfere with the two new residences but to tend to its own boarding schools which the "French" missionaries controlled and which were therefore no more Ukrainian than the Presbyterian and Methodist school homes. *Kanadyiskyi rusyn* retorted that student residences "concerned only with Ukrainianism" would become "recruiting centres and agencies of godlessness." It also denied that the Catholic and Orthodox faiths were of equal standing, insisted that one could be loyal to Kiev and Rome, pointed out that Ukrainian nuns taught in all six Ukrainian boarding schools and upbraided Zerebko for invoking the French bogey.⁴⁶

In January 1917 the Mohyla residence, which had twenty-three Ukrainian Catholic, six Protestant, four Orthodox and two Roman Catholic students during its first term (1916-17), was incorporated as "The Petro Mohyla Institute" under the Saskatchewan Companies Act. According to the institute's charter, only Ukrainians could be shareholders and its objective was "to promote, establish, maintain and manage institutions for students of Ukrainian descent, both male and female, and of any religious denomination." Ignoring *Kanadyiskyi rusyn's* persistent inquiries, the executive informed the bishop that the institute was a non-denominational institution conducted on Christian principles. Budka found the vague response unacceptable because non-denominationalism amounted to "protestantism or the complete absence of religion"; it was "a pernicious principle from the religious and national point of view." Non-denominational residences, he insisted, would not only undermine the respect of Ukrainian Catholic students for the teachings of their church but weaken the Ukrainian

“national organism,” immunized as it was against Russian Orthodox proselytizers and Anglo-Protestant assimilators by firm adherence to the Ukrainian Catholic faith. If the institute did not appoint a spiritual moderator and continued to jeopardize the religious convictions of most of its students, and if its charter did not guarantee that the institution would never fall into enemy hands, the bishop would be unable to support it and would have to call for a Catholic rival. He did not oppose Orthodox and Protestant students, but “they must sit in silence and keep their beliefs to themselves.”⁴⁷

With Budka scheduled to visit Saskatchewan in June, Wasył Swystun, the institute’s vice-president and rector, and Michael Stechishin, its treasurer, were delegated to make one more effort to explain the institute’s position. Of the two men, Swystun (1893-1964) was the more polished and charismatic personality. A native of Skalat county, Galicia, he was the son of poor but enlightened peasants. Having obtained a gymnasium education, he had helped his younger brother through school by tutoring and winning one of Metropolitan Sheptytsky’s many scholarships. A year before graduation from the Ukrainian Academic Gymnasium in Lviv, he was expelled for organizing a student strike to have Shevchenko’s birthday declared a school holiday. As a result, he graduated from the gymnasium in Kitsman, Bukovyna, where he supervised a residence for Galician students. In the spring of 1912 he enrolled in the law faculty at the University of Lviv but lack of funds obliged him to immigrate to Canada in December—“for two years only”—to earn some money. With his impeccable Catholic credentials, Paul Gegeychuk obtained a teaching permit for him and he was even offered Syroidiv’s job as editor of *Kanadyiskyi rusyn*. An excellent choir director, the stocky, bespectacled and goateed Swystun participated in Winnipeg’s Boyan Society, taught school in the summer and was an editorial assistant at *Ukrainskyi holos*. In 1915 he enrolled in philosophy and political economy at the University of Saskatchewan and worked as an investigator for the Bureau of Social Research directed by Woodsworth. Although he shared all the nationalist apprehensions about the Ukrainian Catholic church, Swystun, unlike most prominent nationalists, continued to attend regularly.⁴⁸

Michael Stechishin (1888-1964), like his older brother Myroslaw, had grown up in a home filled with books and local politics. In 1902, when Galicia experienced a wave of agrarian strikes, the gendarmes had detained the fourteen-year-old Michael for reading a pamphlet on how to strike to illiterate villagers. Because of his father’s premature death, he, unlike Myroslaw, attended school for only three years and at the age of seventeen left Galicia illegally to join his brother in Canada. After two years as a labourer on railway construction and in the mines, he enrolled at the Ruthenian Training School in Brandon, graduated in 1910 and, as a teacher in rural Manitoba and Saskatchewan, continued his secondary education and entered the law faculty at the University of

Saskatchewan in 1916. Unlike Swystun, Stechishin rarely went to church, and when he did, he preferred the Russian Orthodox parish in Saskatoon.⁴⁹

Swystun and Stechishin confronted the bishop at the train station in Canora on 16 June 1917. Once again Budka insisted that in Canada, where Ukrainians were divided into several competing religious factions, Ukrainian Catholics had to organize along denominational lines and could not permit the institute to fall into the hands of anyone hostile to the church. Yet, as long as the institute's fate depended upon a simple majority vote of the shareholders, such a possibility always existed. "It is absolutely essential to stipulate in the charter of incorporation that the residence is entrusted to the care of some permanent and stable organization or individual who will not waver hither and thither. Such, for example, is the case with churches registered under the Greek Catholic Episcopal Corporation."⁵⁰ Swystun, who had argued that Ukrainians had to organize along national lines to overcome religious divisions, pointed out that the corporation did not guarantee the Ukrainian character of institutions registered with the bishop. In the past many Ukrainian Catholic bishops had opposed Ukrainian national interests and even in their own time bishops of Ukrainian origin in the Catholic church (like the recently appointed Bishop Novak in Transcarpathia) were trying to destroy Ukrainian national identity. Budka, on his way to a pressing engagement, became highly agitated at this point and closed the discussion. Next day, in nearby Antonivka, he warned the faithful during his sermon that the Mohyla Institute would be their children's perdition. The faithful, however, were not convinced and within a month newly established student residences in Canora and Vegreville affiliated with the institute. The first shots had been fired in the year-long struggle that would culminate in the formation of the Ukrainian Greek Orthodox church in Canada.

At first, the bishop's nationalist opponents couched their criticism in the language of nineteenth-century liberalism, anticlericalism and radicalism; there was nothing to indicate that they were eager to establish another church. On 1 August 1917, for example, in a long article in *Ukrainskyi holos*, Swystun,⁵¹ claiming that at Canora the bishop had demanded that the institute be registered with his corporation, asked "the Ukrainian people": "Will you permit the expansion of the clerical clique which wants to control your property and all your cultural gains?...It is indeed strange and ridiculous that at this point during the Great War, after the Russian Revolution, when nations are throwing off the shackles of absolutism, Bishop Budka is trying to become an absolute Prince of the Church among Ukrainians, a Turkish Sultan of sorts, and, be it noted, not only in ecclesiastical, but in all secular, cultural and political affairs as well." Two weeks later, Arsenych dismissed the Russian Orthodox and Ukrainian Catholic churches because neither was "a unifying or consolidating element among our people." Turning to the bishop and his clergy, he declared:

Your rule is not based on reason; it is based on ignorance and obedience....You are uncomfortable when people read newspapers and books which are not written by you...when people belong to educational organizations which are not under your control...when our children are educated in an independent spirit. You are uncomfortable when people think. Hence this energetic campaign against everything which does not bear the stamp of Catholicism. Your Kingdom resides in darkness.

Other prominent nationalists took up the theme and accused Budka of trying “to make all of us obedient footmen” and of confusing religion with observing external forms and blind obedience to clerical dictates. When *Kanadyiskyi rusyn* denied that the bishop wanted to be a “Prince,” but insisted that “a student...should learn from the Bishop because the Bishop is the supreme teacher of his people,” Swystun retorted: “We are Greek Catholics but we refuse to tolerate arbitrary clerical power. We oppose Bishop Budka treating us like meek sheep who allow themselves to be sheared without protest.” In the Catholic Sheptytsky residence, he added, where all political newspapers were forbidden and all other reading materials had to have the director’s approval, Ukrainian students were prevented from developing their critical faculties and were moulded into “blind instruments” of the clergy. Only secular (*svitski*) institutions could provide the well-rounded, broad-minded, critically thinking leaders that were needed.⁵²

In the fall, after *Kanadyiskyi rusyn* (in its appeal to “the Ukrainian people”) denounced the institute’s charter and accused the executive of preparing “vagabonds without faith in God and without honour,” Stechishin scrutinized several Ukrainian Catholic charters and declared that within the corporation the bishop had virtually unrestricted powers (subject only to Rome’s intervention) in all matters related to the church—ecclesiastical, secular and business. More alarming, however, the bishop’s charter did not stipulate that Budka’s successors had to be Ukrainians. All institutions registered with the corporation could fall under the jurisdiction of a non-Ukrainian since the successor had only to be “of the same faith and rite...persevering in communion with the Roman Pontiff.”

According to this act our Ukrainian Bishop in Canada could be not only the Frenchman Sabourin or the Belgian Delaere, but also an Italian from Rome or an Irishman from Dublin. The first paragraph clearly states...that the Bishop is not a Ukrainian Greek Catholic Bishop in Canada. It states that he is “Bishop for the Ruthenian Greek Catholics.”...This is an important matter. Not a Ruthenian Greek Catholic bishop, but a bishop for the Ruthenian Greek Catholics.

“Bishop Budka drew up this charter himself,” Stechishin added, “and it was his duty as a Ukrainian Greek Catholic bishop to insert into the charter the distinct

stipulation that only a Ukrainian may become the bishop for our people in Canada.”

Stechishin overlooked the fact that, as bishops were appointed by the pope, Budka could not possibly have bound Rome in the manner indicated. He also failed to appreciate, as did Swystun when he spoke to Budka in Canora, that even native Ukrainian bishops could be hostile to Ukrainian national interests. Moreover, for him to say that Budka had “personally violated” the rights of the Ukrainian church by “permitting Rome to introduce unmarried priests into our Greek Catholic church” was deceptive, for the bishop was in no position to “permit” or “forbid” the Vatican to do anything, and we have seen (Chapter 8) that Budka had specifically asked Sheptytsky to press for married priests.⁵³

Budka, in response, maintained that he had not demanded and still did not demand “the incorporation of the Saskatoon student residence either in my name or under the Episcopal Corporation.” Nevertheless, he and his weekly continued to advise the faithful to avoid non-denominational residences, and increasingly the bishop’s missionary work degenerated into a campaign against the “clique” from *Ukrainskyi holos*, composed of “traitors” and “English hirelings.” Consequently, when more than seven hundred delegates of all political and religious persuasions assembled for the second Ukrainian national convention in Saskatoon in December 1917, Budka received a stinging rebuke. The delegates pledged over fourteen thousand dollars to the institute and condemned the bishop and his weekly as “enemies of national progress.” Budka contributed to the humiliation by refusing to attend the convention and by advising the faithful to stay away since “only scum” (*same shumovynie*) would be present.⁵⁴

The Formation of the Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church of Canada

The convention was the last occasion on which Ukrainian Canadians of all political and religious persuasions met under one roof. The deliberations were permeated by a radically secular spirit. Volodymyr Kazanivsky, representing Winnipeg’s nationalist Ivan Kotliarevsky Society, congratulated the Mohyla executive for rejecting Budka’s “Jesuitical proposal” and declared that “priests and the church are the greatest obstacle to human progress.” Matthew Shatulsky of Edmonton’s socialist Samoobrazovannia Society also praised the institute’s non-sectarian orientation and warned fellow Ukrainians to “take care that you do not become manure for the Pope; preserve your freedom from Tsars and from Rome.” When a Ukrainian Catholic delegate from Winnipeg declared that the Ukrainians were not ready to fend for themselves and that only “highly educated” priests were qualified to lead them, the assembly erupted in laughter.

The highlight of the convention, however, was Swystun's address. "The history of mankind," he declared, "is the history of the struggle between the clergy and the laity." For centuries, priests—a privileged caste able to control the common people by monopolizing education and identifying their own narrow caste interests with religion, faith and God—had used the inquisition, excommunication, papal interdicts and accusations of "godlessness" and "atheism" against their critics. Bishop Budka, unfortunately, was now doing everything to force Ukrainians to accept his position on ecclesiastical, educational and national issues. Such pretensions were intolerable; the education of Ukrainian youth had to be many-sided. Those in attendance completely agreed and Swystun received a tumultuous ovation and was carried around the hall on the shoulders of his friends in triumph. The convention, however, did not discuss an alternative church. Only Alexander Maksymchuk (1880-1959), a Presbyterian minister from Dana, Saskatchewan, raised the matter. Budka's attacks on the institute, he declared, meant that "the Ukrainian people have only one alternative, and that is a Free Ukrainian church, unencumbered by foreign influences." While the convention paid little heed, *Kanadyiskyi rusyn* immediately labelled the institute's supporters "hirelings of the Protestant missions" and portrayed Swystun as Pilate condemning the bishop while an "ignorant mob of Presbyterian preachers bellowed 'Crucify him, crucify him!'" Thereafter, Catholic polemicists persistently identified support of the institute and opposition to the bishop with Presbyterianism.⁵⁵

In December 1917, however, the formation of a "free" church was simply not on the nationalists' agenda. Although they had consistently rejected clericalism and censured priests who failed to live up to the ideals of the Ukrainian national movement, the forces behind *Ukrainskyi holos* saw religion as "a private matter." While the nationalists were not necessarily the "godless atheists" of the Catholic press, most were not particularly devout. They valued the church primarily as an agency of Ukrainian nationhood, not as a medium of salvation. If it refused to co-operate, they would proceed on their own. The Mohyla Institute was proof enough that the Ukrainian community could fend for itself without clerical leadership. The institute's executive was also reluctant to engage the bishop. Joseph Megas, the president, did not believe that a full-scale confrontation was justified and feared that the clergy would emerge victorious. When, in a private conversation, Stechishin suggested that "we must return to the Ukrainian Orthodox church, to the church established by Volodymyr the Great; we must have our own church in Canada," he was rebuffed by Megas and Swystun. The former insisted that "the Catholic church is a powerful organization, it will crush you"; the latter argued that Budka was the real problem. In fact, Swystun maintained that it was necessary to remain within the church and force Budka "to abandon once and for all his plans to subordinate the social and national life of

the Ukrainian Greek Catholic community in Canada to the rule of the Catholic church."⁵⁶

How is it, then, that the Ukrainian Greek Orthodox church was formed a mere six months later? First, the polemics in the wake of the Canora meeting precipitated an extensive debate—mainly on the pages of *Kanadyiskyi farmer* and *Ranok*, not *Ukrainskyi holos*—about whether an independent “national” (*natsionalna*) / “people’s” (*narodna*) church should be established. Second, parishes which had heeded the nationalists and not registered their churches demanded action once Budka ordered the priests to boycott such parishes. Finally, the bishop’s increasingly acrimonious campaign against the institute’s supporters forced the nationalists to retaliate.

The idea of a “national”/“people’s” church was first canvassed in the fall of 1913, when *Ukrainskyi holos* published three letters on the subject.⁵⁷ On 21 December 1917, *Kanadyiskyi farmer* revived the debate when Fr. Ivan Kusy (1885-1950), who signed his articles with the cryptonym “people’s priest” (*narodnyi sviashchennyk*), called for the formation of a Ukrainian national church (*ukrainska natsionalna tserkva*). The ideas put forth by Kusy, one of three “independent” Ukrainian priests ordained by Bishop Paul Markiewicz of Chicago, an Old Catholic primate who was loosely connected to the Polish National Catholic church, reflected the nationalist spirit and democratic organizational principles that characterized both movements.⁵⁸ According to Kusy, a Ukrainian national church would substitute “God’s truth and [Ukrainian] patriotism” for the “fear, demons and abuse of people...that characterizes the Roman church.” A broad spectrum would embrace the church: those who opposed Rome and wanted to control their church property but did not wish to abandon the faith of their fathers; those who regretted joining Protestant “sects” that were destroying the rites they cherished; those (including Bukovynians) who realized that pastors of all denominations were distorting the teachings of Christ; and those who yearned for priests active within the community as well as in the church. Modelling the organization of a Ukrainian national church on the Polish National Catholic church, Kusy saw the church governed by a synod of six priests and six laymen chaired by a bishop “elected by the people themselves.” The clergy would be “sincere Ukrainians,” preferably married men, widowers or single men “of mature years.” Lay trustees would control church properties and parishes would dismiss priests and petition for replacements. Unlike the Polish church, which retained Latin practices, the Ukrainian church would combine elements of Ukrainian Catholicism with Orthodoxy, adhere to the Eastern rite in perpetuity and build churches “in the ancient style.” To eliminate Latin accretions and to establish greater conformity between Ukrainian Catholic and Orthodox practices, several reforms were needed. While icons—painted on paper, cloth, wood and on crosses—were acceptable, pictorial representations of the Sacred Heart, Jesus and Mary wearing crowns and St. Josaphat Kuntsevych would be removed, as would

crucifixes, rosaries and all forms of statuary; the feast days of the Holy Eucharist, the Sacred Heart of Jesus and St. Josaphat Kuntsevych would be stricken from the liturgical calendar; prayers of remission or indulgence would be eliminated; and general confession would replace the auricular form.⁵⁹

Fr. Kusy's articles elicited a sharp response from the Presbyterian *Ranok*. In 1916, influenced by the rambunctious Crath, *Ranok* had attacked the Mohyla Institute for its "collaboration" with Budka and for its alleged discrimination against the children of poor farmers.⁶⁰ However, as the controversy between Budka and the institute heated up, many prominent Ukrainian Presbyterians became strong institute supporters, anxious to promote the emergence of a reformed church. In January 1918, Rev. Maksymchuk therefore argued in *Ranok* that religion was not "a private matter" and urged the intelligentsia to call a convention of all denominations to deal with the religious question rather than to await its resolution in Ukraine. Unlike Kusy, he opposed an Eastern-rite "national" church with its "superstitions," "ceremonies," "Babylonian rags," saints, bishops and fear of a "bearded Byzantine deity." Such "caprices" (*vytrebenky*), even if part of the Ukrainian heritage, had little to do with Christianity. A "national" church which served political ends would only revive national "hatreds, conflicts and chauvinism." Invoking Drahomanov, he maintained that the new church's primary task was not only to liberate Ukrainians, who had no concept of spiritual freedom, from the "religious and spiritual chains" that had fettered them for centuries, but to elevate them to a higher level of culture. Late in May 1918, Maksymchuk was joined by Rev. A.J. Hunter. While Presbyterians were happy to have Ukrainians in their church, Hunter believed they would be "even happier if the Ukrainians established their own completely independent democratic church in which religious liberty and freedom of conscience would prevail." In it the people would select priests and elect bishops (if they wanted any), just as they had under the sixteenth-century Ukrainian Orthodox church brotherhoods. The needs of Ukrainian Canadians being paramount, Hunter advised against imitating old-country developments slavishly. In fact, in view of the greater religious freedom enjoyed by Ukrainians in Canada, it was the old country that had to learn from them. While the Presbyterian forms could be emulated, they were not perfect and Ukrainians should resolve the ecclesiastical issue by themselves.⁶¹

Ukrainskyi holos did not comment on the numerous articles published by Kusy, Maksymchuk and Hunter between December 1917 and July 1918. Its neutrality reflected the nationalist intelligentsia's reluctance to become entangled in theological disputes (as distinct from those about property and the nationality of the clergy). Bishop Budka and *Kanadyiskyi rusyn*, increasingly cut off and isolated, saw themselves, in turn, as victims of a conspiracy concocted by the institute's executive and "godless atheists" (Ferley and Arsenych), "schismatics"

(the “people’s priest”) and “heretics” (Maksymchuk and Hunter), all eager to deprive Ukrainian Catholics of their faith and national identity.

The first signs of grass-roots pressure on the intelligentsia to resolve the church issue came in January 1918, when *Ukrainskyi holos* published an appeal from the Ukrainian Catholic parish in Tolstoi, Manitoba. In 1913 the latter had followed the intelligentsia’s advice and declined to register its church. In the fall of 1917, Fr. Andrukhovych announced the suspension of sacramental services pending incorporation, and when the Latin clergy declined to baptise and marry parishioners, the people appealed to the intelligentsia. Religion for them, they said, was a practical, everyday concern and not “a private matter” or a troublesome issue to be avoided at all costs. It was their money and toil that had built the church; it was their children who were becoming indifferent to religion, education and spiritual values; and it was they who were now being deprived of the sacraments. By encouraging non-incorporation, individuals like Swystun and Stechishin were not offering a solution, they were simply leading the people into a “blind alley” (*v slipyi kut*). Swystun and Stechishin, in reply, counselled parishes to submit a new set of demands to the bishop. They called for married Ukrainian priests, the immediate removal of the “French-Belgian” missionaries, recognition that all parish property belonged exclusively to the congregation and a convention to be attended by Budka, the clergy and delegates from every parish. The convention would set clerical salaries, revise the by-laws of the church and amend the corporation’s charter to guarantee that Budka’s successors would be Ukrainians recommended by a convention of lay delegates and the clergy. If Budka did not comply, an appeal directly to the pope would follow, and if that failed, future developments in Ukraine might offer a solution. Neither Swystun nor Stechishin was ready to break with the church.⁶²

The new demands, which in effect sought to transform the Ukrainian Catholic church into a democratic institution, caused Bishop Budka to intensify the campaign against his critics and led increasingly to uncharitable, tactless and erratic behaviour that convinced the nationalists to replace the Ukrainian Catholic church with one that was Ukrainian and Orthodox. The bishop’s injudicious behaviour was the result of his exceedingly difficult circumstances. Not only were many accusations unjustified, but the demands placed before him were frequently outside his jurisdiction, and he was increasingly isolated. By 1917, Sushko, fired as editor of *Kanadyiskyi rusyn* in August 1915,⁶³ was making common cause with the Presbyterians and socialists, while Ivan Petrushevich, who found the atmosphere around the bishop stifling and intrigue-ridden, was helping Ferley to organize the Ruthenian Farmers’ Elevator Company.⁶⁴ As a result, *Kanadyiskyi rusyn* was in the hands of Fr. Myron Zalitch, an unmarried Galician-trained lawyer who had entered the priesthood in middle age,⁶⁵ and the bishop’s most faithful assistants were Frs. Olenchuk and Oleksiw and two

students at St. Boniface College, Andrew Zaharychuk and George Skwarok. By 1918, Budka was also taking advice from Roman Kremar in Edmonton.⁶⁶

The bishop's obsession with "the coming of Seraphim II"⁶⁷ increased the tension, as did his exaggerated fear of Protestant plots. In June 1917 dissension within the ranks of his own clergy erupted when Adonais Sabourin, the last remaining French-Canadian missionary, returned to the Latin rite. Budka maintained that Sabourin chose to leave, but the Belgian Redemptorists, suspecting he had been forced out by Budka, interpreted the departure as a great triumph for the nationalists. They feared they would be next and Budka's reassurances to Delaere did not help.⁶⁸ The Redemptorists had always regarded the bishop as vacillating and weak, unable or unwilling to deal firmly with the nationalist critics of the church. In 1913, it will be recalled, the order's Belgian provincial had suggested abandoning the Ukrainian-Canadian missions, and now, in 1917, such a move would have been disastrous. The war, which had cut off priests and seminarians from Galicia, was in its fourth year with no end in sight. Priests were desperately needed to keep Russian Orthodox, Protestant and other proselytizers at bay and to collect the *cathedraticum* to finance the diocese, especially as the annual ten thousand-dollar subsidy from the Latin bishops was slated to end in 1919.

Firm and decisive action was therefore needed to restore the Redemptorists' confidence, and it was soon forthcoming. Early in 1918, Budka requested that the Mohyla Institute be run strictly on Catholic principles and implied that it be registered with his corporation. When rejected, he and *Kanadyiskyi rusyn* began calling the institute's founders self-interested "hirelings," "Protestants" and "business-patriots." On Easter Sunday, in Saskatoon, Budka bitterly condemned the institute and especially its "foolish" and "godless" director, Swystun, whom he vowed to destroy.⁶⁹ With popular resistance mounting, the bishop disowned Catholic supporters of non-denominational residences and denied them the sacraments. On 13 June 1918 he told Tymko Goshko, a prosperous and devout Alberta farmer who had donated one thousand dollars to the institute, that he would be denied a Christian burial unless he withdrew the donation. Two weeks later, in Yorkton, he insisted that "the principles of Christ" obliged him to withhold the sacraments and reminded the faithful that "it is forbidden to bury the unconfessed in a consecrated cemetery because swine are not wanted there."⁷⁰ Thus the bishop's inability (*on account of the war*) to replace the French-speaking clergy with fresh recruits from Galicia drove the Ukrainian Catholic church steadily into the jaws of rebellion.

The eagerness with which the clergy participated in the events of 1917-18 varied considerably, with the Redemptorists, whose missions had been pilloried by the nationalists for more than a decade, the most zealous. During Christmas 1917-18 they had refused to confess the institute's supporters, while Fr. Decamps declared that anyone who aided the institute deserved to be buried "like

a dog." Fr. Böels, who criticized the residence for its "Protestantism," told the people of Goodeve, Saskatchewan, to pay less attention to Ukraine: "Ukraine will not save your souls. You are Catholics and that should be enough for you." However, the most ardent opponent of the nationalists was Fr. Boski (Van Den Bosh), who cautioned Ukrainian Catholics to "place Rome before Kiev" and "Catholicism before Ukraine." Insisting that the historian Hrushevsky had misrepresented the 1596 church union and the role of St. Josaphat Kuntsevych, Boski made deprecatory remarks about Shevchenko and forbade membership in reading clubs that contained books not approved by the church. Such reading clubs only made people forget about God: "Whatever the Church builds, the school ruins and the reading club destroys."⁷¹ When he asserted on 7 July 1918 in Hafford that individuals who sent their children to public schools and non-denominational residences, or who supported residences, national homes and reading clubs that subscribed to *Ukrainskyi holos*, were sinners who merited eternal damnation, pandemonium broke out in the church. Harry (Hryts) Worobec, a farmer who had contributed \$250 to the institute, shouted "That's a lie!" When the bishop, who was present, referred the matter to a justice of the peace, Worobec charged the bishop and Boski with "treason against the state," which led to their immediate arrest. Although the charges against both were dismissed, the bishop had suffered another public humiliation.⁷²

The enthusiasm of the Ukrainian clergy was generally less marked. The Basilians, whose missions were mainly in east central Alberta, far from the conflict, were the most restrained. Frs. Hura and Kryzanowsky established several Catholic community halls and tried to promote Catholic student residences, but they distanced themselves from the vilification that characterized relations between the bishop and the institute's supporters. Ukrainian secular priests were also more reserved than the Redemptorists and the bishop. The controversy generated little interest in eastern Canada. Fr. Redkevych of Montreal even warned Budka that constant references to the residences and various western personalities were destroying *Kanadyiskyi rusyn's* credibility.⁷³ But even in Manitoba and Saskatchewan, where the controversy was hottest, the bishop emerges as the institute's major antagonist. Some priests had co-operated with local teachers by collecting donations for it during its first term.⁷⁴ Others were present when the bishop fulminated against it, but they did not refer to it as a "Protestant" institution, nor did they threaten Catholics who donated funds.⁷⁵ Occasionally, secular priests were concerned about the institute's "godless" atmosphere, but unlike the Redemptorists they confessed its supporters and residents.⁷⁶

Thus it was Bishop Budka who contributed most to the rift within the Ukrainian Catholic church in 1918. By ordering priests to boycott parishes that had not registered their churches and by refusing the sacraments to institute supporters, he effectively put numerous devout settlers outside the fold. By

impugning the character of prominent nationalists, he made them more receptive to popular pressure for action. Swystun, whose role in the events of 1918 was second to none, first declared himself in favour of a Ukrainian Orthodox church on Easter Sunday after the bishop attacked him personally and “preached hatred and falsehoods” in his sermon.

In May, Swystun, Stechishin and several institute colleagues concluded that it was time to call a “confidential meeting” (*dovirochni zbory*) of “conscious and informed” (*svidomi*) individuals to resolve the religious issue. After Swystun had drawn up an invitation list of 310 individuals of Catholic, Orthodox and Protestant persuasion, Stechishin suggested that the invitations be endorsed by a “people’s committee” (*narodnyi komitet*). The two colleagues then simply appended a list of thirty prominent individuals, known to be sympathetic to the cause, to a circular mailed on 26 June 1918 to the 310, inviting them to a “confidential meeting” in Saskatoon on 18-19 July “to discuss, resolve and clarify the status of our church.”⁷⁷ Although by then Swystun and Stechishin were both committed to a new church, one could not assume that others would concur. Bishop Budka, for example, had been on the original list, but as he announced he would not attend, he was in the end apparently not invited.⁷⁸

When the meeting opened in Saskatoon’s Ukrainian National Home, over 150 persons were present, among them some of the most prominent nationalists (Ferley, Arsenych, Kudryk, Svarich), Liberal agents (Megas, Hykawy, Shandro, Shvydky) and Protestants (Rudyk). Also present were many teachers and several clerics, including Kusy, Dmytro Kyrstiuk, a Bukovynian and one-time Independent Greek church priest who had joined the Russian Orthodox mission, and at least two other Russian Orthodox priests of Ukrainian origin. The meeting heard three major speeches. First, Michael Stechishin analyzed the bishop’s corporation and concluded that a new charter was needed. Swystun followed and his remarks on the Eastern and Western churches were the highlight. The Eastern (Orthodox) church, he said, had always been more democratic and tolerant than the Western (Catholic) church, having never used “barbaric” methods like the Holy Inquisition or imposed clerical control over all aspects of public life or tried to dominate the state. The purpose of the 1596 Union of Brest was to subordinate the Orthodox church to Rome and to Polonize the Ukrainian population, but because Ukrainians who had accepted the union resisted Polonization and subordination, a concerted effort had been made to “Latinize” the Ukrainian Catholics. In Canada this policy was leading to alienation from the church and from religion in general. Ukrainian Canadians had two alternatives: to seek a compromise with the bishop, a “blind instrument in the hands of the French-Belgian Fathers,” or to choose the path of independence. Swystun recommended the latter and asked that a Ukrainian Greek Orthodox brotherhood begin organizing a Ukrainian Greek Orthodox church. Jaroslaw Arsenych also criticized the “Latinization” of the Ukrainian church and appealed for a new corporation that

would free Ukrainians from Rome, safeguard local control of parish property and establish a democratic church administration. Any doubts about the outcome were soon removed. Bishop Budka was repudiated and a majority favoured "renewing our old ancestral Orthodox church." The next day, an Orthodox brotherhood was established and mandated to organize a Ukrainian Greek Orthodox church in Canada. It had also to form local brotherhoods and congregations, create a theological seminary, recruit priests and find candidates for a bishop. The new church was to enter into communion with the Eastern Orthodox churches and accept their dogma and rites, priests would marry before ordination, all congregations would control their property, priests would be appointed and dismissed only with the consent of the congregation, and the bishop would be elected at a general council (*sobor*) of the clergy and lay delegates. Three weeks later the brotherhood appealed to Ukrainian Canadians to form a Ukrainian Greek Orthodox church, "a truly democratic institution which will work for the glory of God and the welfare of the people."⁷⁹

The prominent role played by such nationalist freethinkers as Ferley, Arsenych and Svarich in the formation of the new church was greeted (by some) with incredulity. After invoking Drahomanov, delivering lectures on "Religion and Superstition," championing "the most recent advances in scholarship" and urging that Ukrainians read "books about religion that are based on scientific research," their participation was at best problematic. *Kanadyiskyi rusyn* labelled the new institution "A Godless Church for Ukrainians," "A Ukrainian National Church Supported by Protestant Finances" and "A Church in an Elevator," reflecting the triple contention that atheists established the church with Presbyterian money to promote the Ruthenian Farmers' Elevator Company. The new church was consistently referred to as the "People's" or "National" church to create the impression that it was the same church about which Kusy and Presbyterians like Maksymchuk and Hunter had written at length. Budka was convinced that the Presbyterians were involved. He informed Sheptytsky in November that "this past year the student Swystun established a new Orthodox faith in Saskatoon for Presbyterians and atheists."⁸⁰

The socialist *Robochyi narod*, in turn, accused the founders of hypocrisy. While they justified "free thought" and "love of liberty" among themselves, the nationalist *inteligenty* fretted about "irreligion" among the masses. This double standard reflected their desire to keep the immigrants "ignorant, superstitious and intimidated, thereby making it easier to exploit them...and dupe them with talk of 'married priests,' 'independent churches,' elevators, etc., etc." To *Ranok*, the new church betrayed "the golden appeals for progress and education made by Shevchenko, Drahomanov, Franko, Pavlyk and other sublime Ukrainian giants." The founders were indifferent to the rites and rituals of the Eastern church; those who formerly had opposed all churches were now dragging the Ukrainian people "out of the mud and into the swamp," into the "old putrid Orthodox



Shtif Tabachniuk teaches prominent nationalists (from left to right, Joseph Megas, Taras Ferley and Ivan Petrushevich) how to make the sign of the cross. *Kaliendar Shtifa Tabachniuka* 1918.

church...[which] has even more...religious superstitions than the Catholic church." They were, in fact, following in the footsteps of Seraphim, not Drahomanov. Uneducated cantors wearing vestments, swinging censers and posing as priests would do little to elevate the cultural level of Ukrainians.⁸¹

The accusations were largely undeserved. Not only was there no Presbyterian financial backing or any link with the Ruthenian Farmers' Elevator Company, but even the efforts to associate the new church with Fr. Kusy's project were deceptive. Although Kusy was present at the meeting in Saskatoon, two and one-half years passed before he joined the church. His objective, moreover, was a kind of independent Ukrainian Catholic national church (patterned after the Polish National Catholic church) with an Eastern rite purged of the Latin accretions accumulated since the Union of Brest. The new church, by contrast, was to be an Orthodox church in communion with the Eastern Orthodox churches. And, unlike Kusy's church, which a synod of twelve clerics and laymen would govern, the new church would be governed by a general assembly (*sobor*), with only single or widowed priests eligible to become bishops. *Ranok's* concern about religious commitment, on the other hand, was justified. It was nationalism, not doctrinal dissent, that led to the formation of the Ukrainian Greek Orthodox church. Nor was it any appreciation of Eastern theology and spirituality that attracted the founders; the attraction was political. Orthodoxy, "the faith of our ancestors," had played a decisive role in the emergence of Ukrainian national consciousness and statehood in the seventeenth century; the church union and Catholicism, on the other hand, had been "imposed by the Polish aristocracy" to subjugate the Ukrainian people. The centralized and hierarchical structure of Catholicism—dominated as it naturally was by non-Ukrainians—appeared to jeopardize Ukrainian national identity in Canada; Orthodoxy, on the other hand, was decentralized and seemed both to tolerate organizational diversity and to encourage national autonomy. The Orthodox church's historic record of political unobtrusiveness, its relatively democratic structure and its opportunities for lay participation in church government also appealed to the founders of the Ukrainian Greek Orthodox church, who hoped it would foster self-reliance and self-esteem among the immigrants.

On 28 September 1918 the newspaper polemics sparked by the formation of the Ukrainian Greek Orthodox church were abruptly interrupted by two orders-in-council, which suppressed newspapers published in enemy-alien languages and outlawed several socialist and anarchist organizations. The repressive measures reflected the Canadian government's new concern about national security. In 1917 the government had used conscription to meet its military commitments. Now, from a special report, it learned that "Russians, Ukrainians and Finns em-

ployed in the mines, factories and other industries [were]...being thoroughly saturated with the Socialist doctrines which have been proclaimed by the Bolshevik faction of Russia."⁸² The growth of labour unrest and the resurgence and radicalization of the Ukrainian socialist movement in 1917-18 led the Canadian government to adopt repressive measures which had dire consequences for all Ukrainian Canadians, and especially the socialists.

Notes

1. Émilien Tremblay, *Le Père Delaere et l'Église ukrainienne du Canada* (Berthierville, 1960), 223; Bohdan Kazymyra, "Metropolitan Andrew Sheptyckyj and the Ukrainians in Canada," Canadian Catholic Historical Association *Report XXIV* (1957), 84-5; also his "Lystuvannia Mytropolyta A. Sheptytskoho z lat. hierarkhiieu pivnichnoho zakhodu Kanady," *Logos X* (1) (1959), 60, where it is revealed that Sheptytsky's first choice for bishop had been Emyliian Vanio (b. 1862), pastor of Zalaniv, Rohatyn county, a celibate secular priest.
2. *Ranok* 30 April 1913, 30 August, 6 September 1916; *Ukrainskyi holos* 4 September 1918.
3. *Dorohovkaz dlia rusyniv, shcho idut do Kanady. Lyst pastyrskiy N. Budky* (Winnipeg, 1913), 5-7; *Hostynets dlia ukrainskykh poselentsiv v Kanadi* (Yorkton, 1923), 17.
4. AUCA, Budka to Fylyma, 16 July 1914, Fylyma file, Budka to Sheptytsky, 22 November 1918, NB 20-22, Budka file; NAC, Ivan Petrushevich Papers, Budka to Petrushevich, 7 March, 21 May 1914, microfilm no. 2.
5. Joseph Jean, "S.E. Mgr. Adélarde Langevin, Archevêque de Saint-Boniface, et les Ukrainiens," La société canadienne d'histoire de l'Église catholique *Rapport XI* (1944-45), 108; AUCA, Budka to Sabourin, 16 September 1913, JAS 5-6, 12-13, Sabourin file, Sheptytsky to Budka, 22 July 1913, AS 9-11, Sheptytsky file.
6. AUCA, Olenchuk to Sabourin, 14 February 1916, JAS 38, Sabourin file.
7. R. Khomiak, "Mytropolyt Andrei Sheptytsky v Kanadi" and Volodymyr Malanchuk, "OO. Redemptorysty v Zakhidnii Ukraini," in *Iuvileina knyha oo. Redemptorysty skhidnoho obriadu* (Yorkton, 1956), 109-18, 160-70; Tremblay, 224, 226-7.
8. *Lyst pastyrskiy o 1600-litnim iuvileiiu nadanoi svobody tserkvi* (Winnipeg, 1913), 6.
9. *Lyst pastyrskiy o potrebi orhanizatsii* (Winnipeg, 1913), 6-7.
10. *Dorohovkaz dlia rusyniv*, 8-9, 10. There is little evidence of Ukrainian Catholic clerical anti-Semitism in the Ukrainian-Canadian press during these years, but see (Fr.) M(ykola) O(lenchuk), "Ukrainets pro pytanie zhydivske zi stanovyska pravno-suspilnoho," *Kanadyiskiy rusyn* 29 September, 6, 20, 27 October, 3, 10 November 1915.
11. *Lyst pastyrskiy o potrebi orhanizatsii*, 3, 9.
12. "An Act to incorporate the Ruthenian Greek Catholic Parishes and Missions in the Province of Manitoba," *Statutes of Manitoba*, 3 Geo. V, c. 127

- (1913) and "An act to amend 'An Act to incorporate the Ruthenian Greek Catholic Parishes and Missions in the Province of Manitoba,'" *ibid.*, 4 Geo. V, c. 154 (1913-14); *Statut Ruskoi Hreko-Katolytskoi Tserkvy v Kanadi* (Winnipeg, 1913); the "Regulations" are summarized in Paul Yuzyk, "The History of the Ukrainian Greek Catholic (Uniate) Church in Canada" (MA thesis, University of Saskatchewan, 1948), chapter 8.
13. See, for example, Fr. M. Kinash's pamphlet *Ruski protestanty a spovid* (Philadelphia, 1915).
 14. M(ykola) O(lenchuk), "Pytannia na chasi," *Kanadyiskyi rusyn* 26 July 1916.
 15. See, for example, AUCA, Budka to Drohomiretsky, 13 September 1916, ND 26-29, Drohomiretsky to Budka, 12 September 1916, ND 34-37, Drohomiretsky file, "Personal affidavit of Paul Gegeychuk," 31 January 1944, BG 70-73, Gegeychuk file, Fylyma to Budka, 9 August 1918, Fylyma file.
 16. Of the twenty-one secular priests who spent more than one or two years in Canada between 1913 and 1921, only four—the aged Fr. Andrukhovych (b. 1852), Fr. Gegeychuk (b. 1882), Fr. Pasichnyk (b. 1888) and the youthful, Canadian-educated Fr. Pelech (b. 1895)—do not seem to have done any community work, if the fact that no letters describing their activity in a positive light were published in *Ukrainskyi holos* or *Kanadyiskyi rusyn* is any criterion.
 17. *Ukrainskyi holos* 22 January, 5 March, 7, 14 May, 4 and 25 June, 3 September, 31 December 1913, 7 January, 24 June 1914; *Kanadyiskyi rusyn* 25 January, 1 March, 17, 24 May, 5 July, 27 December 1913, 7 February, 20 June 1914. For the Canadian Ruthenian Relief Association, established in north Winnipeg in 1915 by secular priests, see Maria Wasylkewycz, "Three Case Studies of Mutual Aid in the Ukrainian Immigrant Community of Winnipeg, 1900-1918" (MSW thesis, University of Manitoba, 1987), 316 ff.
 18. See, for example, M(ykola) O(lenchuk), "Pytannia na chasi," *Kanadyiskyi rusyn* 9 August 1916, and S. Tomashevsky, "Hr. Kat. Tserkva v ukrainskii istorii," *ibid.*, 23 June 1915.
 19. *Ibid.*, 13, 20 December 1913.
 20. Yuzyk, "Ukrainian Greek Catholic (Uniate) Church," 239 ff. The parishioners also were to provide and maintain the church building and a fully furnished rectory. Outlying communities without a resident priest were to pay fifteen dollars for each visit and to cover the priest's travel expenses and the costs of room and board during his stay. While only members who paid their dues had a right to spiritual ministrations, dues were to be reduced or waived for the poor. Moreover, priests were to minister to the families of men who refused to pay dues. To enforce payment, only those who produced a membership booklet showing that dues had been paid or waived would receive Easter confession, and priests could refuse to bless the Easter-bread (*paska*) of those who renege on dues.

The clergy were allowed to charge one dollar for a baptism, eight for a marriage, and five to twenty dollars for a funeral, depending on the proximity of the cemetery and whether a requiem, procession and/or graveside eulogy was included. Priests, however, were obliged to baptize infants and to solemnize marriages even if the faithful could not pay fees. They were

also forbidden to demand fees for administering extreme unction, confession or the Eucharist to the ill.

21. AUCA, Budka to Redkevych, 12 August 1913, AR 13-14, Redkevych file. Fr. Drohomiretsky's salary was \$679 in 1915-16, while earnings from sacramental services raised his total income to \$1,008. However, his expenses were \$945, including \$320 for furniture, which his parishioners could not provide, and \$425 for a team of horses to enable him to visit the twelve mission stops on the southern slopes of the Riding Mountains for which he was responsible. Ibid., Drohomiretsky to Budka, 12 September 1916, ND 34-37, Drohomiretsky file. In 1914-15 the newly ordained Fr. Fylyma received \$50 per month in Brantford/Preston, Ontario, but was obliged to pay \$35 per month for room and board with the local Latin priest. When his "very poor, unemployed and indebted" parishioners suddenly disappeared at the end of the summer road-construction season, he asked to be transferred to Ottawa. There, his earnings totalled \$700 during a twelve-month period in 1915-16, before falling to \$500 in 1916-17 in Hamilton. Ibid., Fylyma to Budka, 4 June, July 1914, 9 May 1916, 28 April 1917, Fylyma file. Fr. Redkevych of Montreal had to moonlight as a steamship agent in 1919, when most of his unattached male parishioners decided to return to the old country, leaving him with virtually no clerical income. Ibid., Redkevych to Budka, 12 November 1918, 9 July 1919, AR 116-18 and 124-28, Redkevych file.
22. *Robochyi narod* 25 February 1914, 22 August 1917; AUCA, Redkevych to Budka, 22 September 1917, AR 100-05, Redkevych file.
23. *Kanadyiskyi rusyn* 13 June 1914, 6 December 1913; *Ranok* 10 December 1913; *Robochyi narod* 14 November 1917.
24. *Ukrainskyi holos* 7 January, 4 February 1914.
25. Ibid., 27 December 1916, 7 March, 4 April 1917; *Kanadyiskyi rusyn* 17 January, 28 March, 4 April 1917.
26. *Ukrainskyi holos* 11 March 1914.
27. *Ranok* 26 November 1913; *Ukrainskyi holos* 18 March 1914, 3, 31 October, 14, 21, 28 November, 26 December 1917, 23 January, 6 February, 25 September 1918.
28. *Kanadyiskyi rusyn* 18 January, 8, 29 March, 6 September, 4 October 1913 11 July, 11 November 1914.
29. *Ukrainskyi holos* 14 May 1913.
30. *Ranok* 7, 14, 21 May 1913.
31. Ibid., 8 October 1913; *Ukrainskyi holos* 4 June, 6, 13, 20, 27 August, 3 September 1913.
32. The decree was published in *Kanadyiskyi rusyn* 13, 20 December 1913. It stipulated that the Ukrainian bishop was directly responsible to the Holy See in Rome rather than to the Canadian hierarchy; placed priests who had transferred to the Eastern rite under his jurisdiction; called for a Ukrainian seminary and empowered the Ukrainian bishop to recruit priests; forbade Ukrainians in Canada to transfer to the Latin rite except when permitted by the Ukrainian bishop and the Propaganda Fide; forbade Latin priests to encourage Ukrainians to transfer to the Latin rite; and permitted Ukrainian women who had married Latin-rite men to return to the Eastern rite after their husband's death.

33. Under exceptional circumstances, Ukrainian and Latin priests could dispense the sacraments to the faithful of the opposite rite; Ukrainian and Latin Catholics were allowed to confess and receive the Eucharist in each other's churches; in emergencies Ukrainian priests could use unleavened bread in the Eucharist while Latin priests could use leavened bread; where there was no Ukrainian church, Ukrainians could adapt (but not transfer) to the Latin rite; where there was no Ukrainian liturgy on a particular Sunday, Ukrainians were encouraged to attend the local Latin church and to receive the Eucharist; where it was impossible to observe holy days and fasts according to the Eastern rite (i.e., the Julian calendar), Ukrainians were permitted to observe them according to the Latin rite (i.e., the Gregorian calendar); and, in contrast to Galicia, all children of a mixed-rite marriage had to be baptized in the father's rite. *Ukrainskyi holos* 24 September, 1, 8 October 1913.
34. *Ranok* 22, 29 October, 24 December 1913; *Ukrainskyi holos* 1, 8, 29 October, 5, 19 November 1913, 4 February 1914.
35. *Nykyta Budka...Vsechesnomu dukhovenstvu i vsim virnym svoiei eparkhii* (Winnipeg, 1913), issued on 26 November 1913 and published in *Kanadyiskyi rusyn* 13 December 1913; *Ukrainskyi holos* 1 October 1913; *Ranok* 24 December 1913; for a list of the dissident congregations, see Paul Yuzyk, *The Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church of Canada, 1918-1951* (Ottawa, 1981), 64.
36. AUCA, Kinash to Budka, 9 September 1914, KM 1-4, Kinash file; see also his letter in *Kanadyiskyi rusyn* 14 February 1914, which discusses the inconsistencies of those who demand married priests but are not prepared to afford them an adequate standard of living.
37. *Ukrainskyi holos* 21 January 1914; see also Syroidiv's correspondence in the 14 January, 11 February 1914 issues.
38. In these depositions Sabourin was accused of making indecent advances to Ukrainian girls. Abridgements were published in *Ranok* 26 June, 10 July 1912 and copies of the paper are among the documents in AUCA, Sabourin file. The text of the original depositions is bound in the volume with the 1912 issues of *Ranok* in NAC, John Robert Kovalevitch Papers.
39. NAC, Ivan Petrushevich Papers, Petrushevich to "Dorohyi Druh," 11 November 1913, Letterbook, microfilm no. 3. At the time, the bishop's health was very poor.
40. *Ibid.*, Petrushevich to "Pan Professor" (Petro Karmansky), 22 July 1914, Letterbook, microfilm no. 4. In the spring of 1914, Budka obtained for Petrushevich the position of "Inspector over Western Canada in connection with Ruthenian immigration" through his connections with Fr. Burke and Robert Rogers, minister of the interior. The position paid fifteen hundred dollars per annum. Petrushevich was appointed on 19 June 1914, but the position was discontinued on 29 January 1915 because the war had decreased immigration. Budka had hoped Petrushevich would secure the appointment of Catholic teachers to the training schools in Regina and Vegreville and lobby for a chair of Ukrainian literature, language and history at one of the prairie universities. *Ibid.*, Budka to Petrushevich, 7 March, 21 May 1914, microfilm no. 2, Bruce Walker, commissioner of immigration, to Petrushevich, 19 June 1914, 29 January 1915, microfilm no. 2.

41. *Ukrainskyi holos* 18 February, 11 March, 8 April 1914; *Ranok* 4, 11, 25 February, 4 March, 8 April 1914.
42. *Kanadyiskyi rusyn* 24 January and editorials 31 January through 9 May 1914; *Kanada* 28 October 1913, 3, 17 February, 31 March, 14 April 1914; for a lengthy list of epithets used by Karmansky in his attacks on the Ukrainian Presbyterians, see *Ranok* 5 November 1913.
43. *Kanadyiskyi rusyn* 28 March, 9, 23 May, 13 June 1914; NAC, Ivan Petrushevich Papers, Budka to Petrushevich, 21 May 1914, microfilm no. 2, Petrushevich to "Pan Professor" (Petro Karmansky), 22 July 1914, microfilm no. 4. The libelous article was originally written by Joseph Megas and published by Shvydky in the *Liberal Novyi krai* 1 March 1911.
44. *Ukrainskyi holos* 24, 31 August, 5 October 1910, 7 July 1915; *Kanadyiskyi rusyn* 4 August 1915.
45. *Ukrainskyi holos* 22 March, 30 August 1916.
46. *Kanadyiskyi rusyn* 25 October, 8, 15 November 1916; *Ukrainskyi holos* 1 November 1916.
47. *Ukrainskyi holos* 7 October 1917. The letter was published in its entirety in *ibid.*, 11 February 1925.
48. *Ibid.*, 29 May 1918 contains a lengthy biography on the occasion of Swystun's graduation from the University of Saskatchewan with a BA degree (Hons.) in political economy; on Swystun as a regular churchgoer, see Iurii Mulyk-Lutsyk, *Istoriia Ukrainskoi Hreko-Pravoslavnoi Tserkvy v Kanadi*, III (Winnipeg, 1987), 183. The author cites the unpublished "Autobiography" of Michael Stechishin.
49. *Ukrainskyi holos* 27 October 1920; on Stechishin's preference for the Russian Orthodox church in Saskatoon, see Mulyk-Lutsyk, III, 337 n. 4.
50. Cited in Chuinyi, "Pid sud naroda," *Ukrainskyi holos* 1 August 1917.
51. The articles signed "Chuinyi" in *ibid.* were penned by Swystun, though Semen W. Sawchuk and Iurii Mulyk-Lutsyk insist that "Chuinyi" was Michael Stechishin. See *Istoriia Ukrainskoi Hreko-Pravoslavnoi Tserkvy v Kanadi*, II (Winnipeg, 1987), 729-30. One only has to compare the speeches delivered by Swystun in 1917-18 with these articles to realize that Swystun was "Chuinyi." Moreover, contemporaries like Julian Stechishin (Michael's brother) also identify Swystun as "Chuinyi." Michael Stechishin's role in 1917-18 was limited to producing dry legalistic analyses of Catholic charters. The Sawchuk and Mulyk-Lutsyk position is part of their effort to prove that Stechishin rather than the controversial Swystun (who quarreled with the leaders of the Ukrainian Greek Orthodox church in the 1930s and joined the Ukrainian National Federation and then the procommunist Association of United Ukrainian Canadians) was the real founder of the Ukrainian Greek Orthodox church in Canada.
52. *Ukrainskyi holos* 15 August, 12, 19 September 1917; *Kanadyiskyi rusyn* 22 August 1917.
53. *Kanadyiskyi rusyn* 19 September 1917; *Ukrainskyi holos* 3 October 1917.
54. *Ukrainskyi holos* 17 October, 21 November 1917; *Kanadyiskyi rusyn* 18 January 1918. The convention also condemned the attacks on the institute made by Presbyterian missionaries like Paul Crath in 1916-17.
55. *Kanadyiskyi rusyn* 4, 11, 18 January 1918; *Kanadyiskyi rusyn* 23 January 1918.
56. Mulyk-Lutsyk, III, 182-4.

57. See the contributions by Wasyl Zaporzhan and S. Chuko (Stefan Savchuk) in *Ukrainskyi holos* 3 September 1913 and by "Ch." (Wasyl Czumer) in *ibid.*, 5 November 1913.
58. Kusy was the pastor of parishes in East Selkirk, St. Norbert, Portage la Prairie and Poplar Park, Manitoba; the two other "independent" priests ordained by Bishop Markiewicz were Ivan Kokolsky, who served parishes in the environs of Mikado and Canora, Saskatchewan, and Dmytro Drapaka, who served three parishes near Whitkow, Saskatchewan. Yuzyk, *Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church*, 83-4.

The Old Catholic church traces its origins to 1870 when a "number of Catholic priests and laymen in Germany refused to accept the definitions of Vatican Council I on papal infallibility and primacy" and broke away from the Roman Catholic church. In 1889 a number of Old Catholic communities formed the Union of Utrecht under the presidency of the archbishop of Utrecht, who had broken with the Roman Catholic church in the eighteenth century. The church called itself Old Catholic because its founders believed that Vatican I introduced innovations at variance with traditional Catholic beliefs. *The New Catholic Encyclopedia*, X, 672-3.

The Polish National Catholic church was the product of quarrels between Polish immigrants and Irish bishops in the United States over non-Polish priests and the administration of parish property. In 1895, Fr. Anton Koslowski of Chicago, excommunicated for establishing a Polish parish on his own initiative, received episcopal consecration from the Old Catholic church. After his death in 1907, he was succeeded by Fr. Franciszek Hodur of Scranton, Pennsylvania, who had been elected bishop in 1904 by representatives of several dissident Polish parishes. Consecrated in 1907 by an Old Catholic bishop, Hodur united his followers with Koslowski's and established the Polish National Catholic church. The church differed from the Roman Catholic church in its rejection of the papacy, use of Polish in the liturgy, lay control of property, appointment of pastors and married clergy, and introduction of liturgical feasts expressive of Polish nationalism. Bishop Hodur, eager to assist other ethnic groups establish their own national Catholic churches, helped to found the Lithuanian National Catholic church in 1914. *Ibid.*, XI, 505-6.

59. *Kanadyiskyi farmer* 21 December 1917, 8 March, 13 April 1918.
60. *Ranok* 13, 20 December 1916, 31 January 1917; *Iuvileina knyha 25-littia Instytutu im. Petra Mohyly v Saskatuni*, (Saskatoon, 1945), 61-3. A major confrontation between Ukrainian Presbyterians and the founders of the institute occurred in Saskatoon at the Presbyterian-sponsored convention of Ukrainian Christian Farmers, 27-28 December 1916, where a nationalist (Zhary) pelted Crath and Bodrug with eggs after being denied an opportunity to speak. *Ranok* 10, 17 January 1917.
61. *Ranok* 30 January, 6 February, 13 March, 10, 25 April, 1, 29 May, 12 June, 10 July 1918.
62. *Ukrainskyi holos* 23 January, 20, 27 February 1918; *Kanadyiskyi farmer* 8 March 1918.
63. Sushko was fired after issuing a broadside under the heading "Ukrainians of Manitoba and of All Canada, the Frenchmen Sold Us to the Conservatives, Let Us Save Ourselves." He alleged that the French-speaking Catholic directors of the West Canada Publishing Company (publishers of *Kanadyiskyi*

- rusyn*) tried to persuade Frs. Olenchuk and Perepelytsia and the Basilians in Winnipeg to throw their support behind the recently discredited Conservative party during the August 1915 provincial election. *Manitoba Free Press* 5, 6 August 1915. According to *Kanadyiskyi rusyn* (4 August 1915, 12 July 1916), Sushko had tried to extort twelve thousand dollars from the Conservative candidate in Winnipeg North by threatening to support the Liberals. Budka, who was in charge of editorial policy but was absent from Winnipeg because of illness, had told Sushko to remain neutral during the election.
64. Petrushevich left the bishop's camp at some point late in 1916 or early in 1917.
 65. Zalitch edited *Kanadyiskyi rusyn* for two years, beginning early in 1917; he left in January 1919, complaining that he had received only room and board for two years' labour. AUCA, Zalitch to Budka, 25 February 1919, MZ 29-38, Zalitch file.
 66. Kremar, it will be remembered, had allied himself with the Catholic church in 1914. By the summer of 1918 he was accusing the bishop's opponents of being part of a "pro-German conspiracy." Yuzyk, *Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church*, 75. In January 1919, Kremar surfaced in Winnipeg, where he became editor of *Kanadyiskyi rusyn*.
 67. Budka first mentioned his fear of a "Seraphim II" in a letter to Sabourin. AUCA, 16 September 1913, JAS 5-6, Sabourin file.
 68. *Ibid.*, Delaere to Budka, June 1917, JAS 46-50, Sabourin file.
 69. See Swystun's open letter to *Kanadyiskyi rusyn* in *Ukrainskyi holos* 28 August 1918; Mulyk-Lutsyk, III, 191-3.
 70. *Ukrainskyi holos* 31 July 1918.
 71. *Ibid.*, 24 January, 23 May, 8 August, 5 and 26 September, 5 December 1917, 6 March, 5 June 1918.
 72. *Ibid.*, 17 July 1918. Budka immediately and mistakenly concluded that Swystun and the Presbyterians had convinced Worobec to provoke a scene in church to have the bishop arrested. For Swystun's refutation of these charges, see *ibid.*, 28 August 1918.
 73. AUCA, Redkevych to Budka, 22 September 1917, AR 100-105, Redkevych file.
 74. Frs. Shumsky and Cherepaniak of Saskatoon and Alvena. *Ukrainskyi holos* 13 December 1916.
 75. Fr. Drohomiretsky. *Ibid.*, 17 October 1917.
 76. Frs. Drohomiretsky, Sarmatiuk and Kamenetsky. *Ibid.*, 5 June 1918.
 77. The "committee," which never met to discuss the meeting it endorsed, was composed of the following: (1) MANITOBA: W. Kudryk, editor of *Ukrainskyi holos*; O.H. Hykawy, editor of *Kanadyiskyi farmer*; J.W. Arsenych, lawyer; T.D. Ferley, MLA; D. Yakimischak, law student; I. Petrushevich, secretary-treasurer; W. Mihaychuk, teacher and reeve; P. Hykawy, farmer; W. Romanchych, farmer; (2) SASKATCHEWAN: F. Hawryliuk, BA, teacher; J. Bohonos, teacher; S. Sawchuk, secretary-treasurer; A. Worobec, storekeeper; Michael Stechishin, law student; A. Bodnarchuk, farmer; W. Mykhailiuk, farmer; P. Shvydky, farmer; B.M. Sawiak, secretary-treasurer; D.J. Stratychuk, bank employee; T. Stadnyk, farmer; A. Markowsky, farmer; P. Mamchur, farmer; M. Chorneyko, teacher; I. Kulczycki, buyer; (3) ALBERTA: T. Goshko, farmer; J.J. Ruryk, teacher; A.T. Kibzey, medical student; S.B. Mykytiuk, teacher; P. Svarich,

- farmer and businessman; M. Sutkowych, farmer. On 27 May 1918 some, but apparently not all, "committee" members were informed of their selection; in the end, only one of the thirty complained about being included. Mulyk-Lutsk, III, 265.
78. *Ukrainskyi holos* 21 August 1918.
 79. *Ranok* 25 September 1918; *Ukrainskyi holos* 7 August 1918. The latter stated that there were about 150 persons present at the meeting but, with no lists extant, it is not known how many actually supported the formation of the new church. *Ranok* suggested "there were no more than forty-five people who came from the colonies for the meeting."
 80. *Kanadyiskyi rusyn* 24, 31 July, 4 September, 14 August 1918; AUCA, Budka to Sheptytsky, 22 November 1918, NB 20-22, Budka file.
 81. *Robochyi narod* 17 August 1918; *Ranok* 25 April, 21 August, 4 September 1918. *Ranok* (25 September 1918) reported that during the winter Ukrainian Presbyterian ministers had been approached by prominent nationalists and told that the people would follow them if only they broke with their English-speaking masters. At the July meeting one of the new church's founders had allegedly stated, "We educated people can do without all kinds of ceremonies, but you simply can't attract the yokels (*svatky*) without censers, sprinklers and other ecclesiastical implements."
 82. Donald Avery, *'Dangerous Foreigners': European Immigrant Workers and Labour Radicalism in Canada, 1896-1932* (Toronto, 1979), 75.

15

The Turn to Compulsion: The Great War, 1917-1919

In 1916-17, as more Anglo Canadians became acutely aware of the grim realities of war, hostility toward all natives of Germany and Austria-Hungary—both naturalized and unnaturalized—intensified, especially as the naturalized immigrants enjoyed all the rights of citizenship and were able to prosper economically. War veterans' associations and patriotic societies urged innumerable repressive measures upon the federal government, but most appeals were resisted until September 1917, when virtually all naturalized immigrants from enemy countries, Ukrainians included, were disfranchised for the war's duration. A year later, practically all publications in a dozen "enemy" languages, Ukrainian included, were temporarily banned. On another level a sudden upsurge in labour militancy and an unprecedented degree of co-operation between Anglo-Canadian and foreign-born labour radicals prompted the government to shift attention from "enemy aliens" to "radical aliens"—from Ukrainian nationalist "agitators" and Austrophile Ukrainian Catholic clergy to Ukrainian socialists and other exponents of "Bolshevism." Beginning in the summer of 1917, Ukrainian Social Democratic and union activists were harassed, arrested and interned (if they were not naturalized British subjects). In September 1918 the Ukrainian Social Democratic party, in the throes of a remarkable resurgence since 1916, was one of several radical organizations outlawed by the government, and the harassment continued through the winter of 1919-20, when a number of Ukrainian socialists were deported to Galicia and Bukovyna.

National Registration, Conscription, and Disfranchisement

Enthusiasm for the war waned as it dragged on and many Canadians lost relatives on the battlefields of northern France and Belgium.¹ By the summer of 1916 voluntary enlistment totalled almost 400,000, more than 100,000 below the number pledged by Prime Minister Borden. Mounting casualties also increased the hostility toward “foreigners” and “aliens” and bred discriminatory and repressive measures. “Foreigners” from “enemy” countries were finding jobs and apparently reaping large profits, especially once agricultural prices rose as the economy revived in 1916-17. “Foreigners...are growing rich while our poor men are spilling their blood,”² became the cry of resentful Anglo Canadians. By 1917-18, amid rumours and suspicions, Ukrainian labourers were accused of conspiring “to hold up the farmer for the maximum wage” and of refusing bushwork for seventy-five dollars a month plus board on the advice of a “secret organization.”³ Ukrainian farmers, in turn, were accused of sabotaging efforts to increase the supply of food to Allied countries by limiting land cultivation to their own subsistence level.⁴

The passions aroused by the war led many Anglo Canadians to see all “foreigners” and “aliens” as a single, hostile “enemy” bloc. To the undiscerning eye, Ukrainians, Poles, Czechs and Yugoslavs were all “Austrians” and therefore “enemies,” even though the overwhelming majority had little (if any) sympathy for Austria and the Central Powers. Few Canadians considered the low-paid and dangerous occupations of most employed immigrant labourers, or how productivity was affected by the rocky and tree-covered homesteads of many immigrant farmers. Few realized that immigrants from Germany and Austria-Hungary, including naturalized citizens, either could not enlist in the Canadian Expeditionary Force or were discouraged from doing so between 1915 and 1917.⁵ And even fewer knew that, despite impediments, many immigrants from Germany and Austria and their Canadian-born sons did manage to enlist. Although the exact number of Ukrainians in the force will never be known, many enlisted by giving Poland, Russia, Romania or Canada as their birthplace and by adopting ‘English’ names. Moreover, a great many ‘Russian’ immigrants accepted by the Expeditionary Force were ethnic Ukrainians. Contemporary estimates indicate that at least two thousand Ukrainians had enlisted by 1916.⁶ On several occasions nationalist, Catholic and Russophile delegations urged the government to allow Ukrainians (“Carpatho-Russians” to the Russophiles) to enlist.⁷ When, in 1917, Canadian authorities accepted naturalized immigrants of enemy origin into the force, even more Ukrainians enlisted, though military reluctance to send them to the front meant that most Ukrainians were used in non-combatant forestry units.

By the fall of 1916, as the horrors of war and a stronger domestic labour market cut deeply into the flow of volunteers, the government decided to survey Canadian manpower resources with an eye to military conscription. Simultaneously, growing popular anti-alien sentiment sought to compel "aliens" to make greater "sacrifices" by assuming a larger share of the wartime burden. As pressure on the government increased to disfranchise natives of enemy countries, dismiss them from jobs, restrict their movements, conscript their labour, confiscate their property, levy surtaxes on their earnings and withhold homestead patents, a war in Europe to save the world for freedom and democracy threatened to erode the same principles at home.

The most vociferous and aggressive appeals came from the over ten thousand soldiers who returned between September 1916 and March 1917.⁸ They were outraged by the inadequate preparations for their homecoming and by the "enemy aliens" who now occupied some of their jobs. On 10 April 1917 delegates from veterans' organizations across Canada met in Winnipeg and established the Great War Veterans' Association to facilitate the transition from military to civilian life and to inculcate loyalty to Canada and the empire. Trained to fight and inured to violence, the veterans in 1916 had ransacked restaurants and businesses in Calgary that employed Germans and "Austrians." On 12 April 1917 returned soldiers and a contingent of fresh recruits at Toronto's Exhibition Camp went on a one-week rampage when "foreigners" "insulted a crippled soldier" in a restaurant and told a veteran who had applied for a factory job to "get the hell out of here." On that day, five hundred soldiers marched along Yonge Street, yelling "with all the rancour and vengeful purpose of troops ready to attack the German front lines" and "calling to all men in khaki to join them in their crusade to wipe out the enemy in their midst." Subsequently, some packs—up to fifty men usually—executed combat-style raids on German-owned businesses and on restaurants and munitions factories and rounded up "enemy aliens," "as if in a charge on the German trenches." Many among those rounded up were natives of allied states (Russians, Serbians, Italians) or "Austrians" (including several Ukrainians) who were themselves Expeditionary Force veterans. The Russell Motor Company, raided on 13 April, indicated that only 3 per cent of its three thousand employees were "enemy aliens," all recently released from the Kapuskasing internment camp and employed as unskilled labourers at thirty to thirty-five cents an hour. Most of the soldiers called to restore order at the Russell company "were in sympathy with the wounded soldiers and did not seem disposed to interfere with them....Nor did the city police lift a finger to check the war veterans."⁹ Although the Toronto raids ended after six leaders were court-martialed, in the ensuing months veterans publicized their demands with increased urgency. The Great War Veterans' founding convention in Winnipeg resolved that all aliens, friendly and hostile, should be conscripted "for any service the Government deems fit."¹⁰ And veterans' societies

thereafter regularly petitioned the government to disfranchise “enemy aliens,” to conscript “allied aliens” for military service and “enemy aliens” for labour on soldiers’ pay (\$1.10 per day), and to suppress all “enemy alien” newspapers.

The first steps toward compulsion occurred in August 1916, when the government created the National Service Board, chaired by R.B. Bennett, the millionaire lawyer and Conservative member of Parliament for Calgary East. Males of military age were required to return a signed registration card stating their age, health and job status. Carried out during the first few months of 1917, the National Service Registration revealed 475,363 military prospects in Canada. Unlike the patriotic societies, service clubs, veterans’ associations and Canadian craft unions affiliated with the conservative American Federation of Labour, Canadian socialists and left-wing labour leaders strongly opposed registration, regarding it as a prelude to military and industrial conscription and the elimination of collective bargaining. Opposition was especially marked in British Columbia, in the coal-mining towns of District 18 and in Winnipeg, where the city’s Anti-Registration League advocated the conscription of wealth rather than labour and urged recipients not to fill out their cards.¹¹

Many Ukrainian immigrants were reluctant to return their cards, fearing conscription for military service or assessment of higher taxes; some even fled to the United States.¹² However, apart from the Social Democratic party and its weekly *Robochyi narod*, Ukrainian leaders and their press endorsed registration. The nationalist *Ukrainskyi holos* advised Ukrainians to fill out the cards, while the Catholic *Kanadyiskyi rusyn* warned readers to beware of “English socialists” like the Social Democrat R.A. Rigg and the Labourite F.J. Dixon, members of the legislature from Winnipeg who opposed registration. On 24 January 1917, Taras Ferley rebuked Rigg and Dixon in the legislature for their antiwar and antiregistration speeches. “We are at war,” he proclaimed, “and everything should be subordinated to the winning of the war.”¹³ Although Ferley hoped thereby to dispel rumours that Ukrainians were destroying their registration cards, hoarding rifles and ammunition and preparing for an uprising in Winnipeg’s North End, *Robochyi narod* nevertheless labelled him a “loyal Tyrolean of the East.” Nor did the speech reassure Anglo-Canadian nativists. D.A. Ross, the alarmist Liberal member for St. Clements, judged Ferley’s speech to be hypocritical since he “belonged to an association which was trying to set up a Ukrainian nationality here and establish a Balkan problem.”¹⁴

No sooner was the National Service Board’s work completed than its opponents’ worst fears were realized. In the spring of 1917, Borden, after attending meetings of the Imperial War Cabinet in London and visiting the Canadian troops in northern France, concluded that conscription was absolutely essential if Canada was to put 100,000 more men in the field. On 18 May he announced his decision in the House of Commons and on 11 June the Military Service Act was introduced. The Act provided for the selective conscription of

British subjects twenty to forty-five years old, especially unmarried men and childless widowers between twenty and twenty-four. Exempted were men with special skills or in essential wartime industries, conscientious objectors, clergymen of all denominations, all Mennonite and Doukhobor settlers and men whose conscription might cause "serious hardship." Conscription was most popular with the urban middle-class Anglo Canadians; farmers, organized labour, French Canadians and immigrants in western Canada disliked it most. French-Canadian opposition was the result mainly of weak emotional ties between Quebec and France, the general absence of French-Canadian battalions and Ontario's efforts to restrict the use of French in its schools. Many immigrants, too, were not as emotionally involved in the war as were Canadians of Anglo-Celtic origins, while Germans, and to a lesser extent Slavs, were reluctant to go to the front where they might have to kill their brethren.

Ukrainian spokesmen were far more divided on conscription than on registration. Bishop Budka, anxious to atone for his *faux pas* of July 1914, wrote Borden, after the Act was introduced, that Ukrainians were eager to fulfill their responsibilities as citizens and opposed exemptions from compulsory military service. He suggested that Ukrainian conscripts be used for home defence, or if sent abroad, that they be engaged on "other fronts than those in France, Rumania or Servia, where they would not be opposed to their own kith and kin." The Ukrainian Catholic, nationalist and Protestant press said nothing, while the Liberal *Kanadyiskyi farmer* expressed the forlorn hope that the government "would not be thoughtless enough to impose conscription." Only *Robochyi narod* unequivocally condemned conscription, as prominent Social Democratic leaders and the rank and file participated in massive anticonscription demonstrations in Montreal and Winnipeg, which the Great War Veterans' Association harassed.¹⁵

Although the Military Service Act passed in July (with twenty-six of thirty-eight English-speaking Liberal members voting with the Conservatives), Borden had still to face a long-postponed federal election. If Sir Wilfrid Laurier and the anticonscription Liberals could mobilize the French-Canadian, farmer, "foreign" and labour votes, the Conservatives might still be defeated and the Military Service Act set aside, especially as French Canadians in Quebec and continental European immigrants on the prairies were traditional Liberal supporters, and the anticonscriptionists had hurt the Conservatives that year in provincial elections in Saskatchewan and Alberta. To ensure victory, Borden set about to undermine the Liberal vote. First, in August, the Military Voters' Act enfranchised the Canadian armed forces (including females), whose members were simply to vote for or against the government and not for particular candidates in home ridings. Then, in September, the Wartime Elections Act enfranchised all mothers, wives, widows, sisters and daughters of servicemen and disfranchised all Mennonites, Doukhobors, German-speaking immigrants born in Russia, conscientious

objectors and individuals convicted under the Military Service Act or who had applied for exemption. Also disfranchised were immigrants from enemy countries naturalized after 31 March 1902 (unless they had sons, grandsons or brothers on active duty). As a result, most Ukrainians lost the federal vote for the duration. The government, conceding that naturalized citizens who could not vote should not have to enter the armed forces, formally exempted them and their sons from military service.

Calls for disfranchisement had been inundating the government since the fall of 1916. Advocates argued that naturalization did not change “enemy aliens,” that their earlier ties were stronger than their allegiance to Canada and that the franchise empowered them to interfere in the war’s prosecution. Canadian public opinion, however, was not unanimous on the Wartime Elections Act. If patriotic societies, businessmen’s associations, British fraternal organizations, Orangemen, veterans’ associations and certain women’s groups welcomed the Act, it was opposed by those English- and French-speaking Canadians who realized that good interethnic relations rested on mutual trust and co-operation rather than discrimination and compulsion. Laurier described the Act as “a retrograde and German measure” and “a blot upon every instinct of justice, honesty and fair play.” In Edmonton, Frank Oliver concurred. Dr. Margaret Gordon, president of the Canadian Suffrage Association, dismissed it as blatantly partisan. In the Commons the Liberals opposed the bill vigorously and forced the Conservatives to resort to closure. Of the contemporary press, only openly Conservative papers like the *Winnipeg Telegram* and *Edmonton Journal* approved the Act. The Liberal press, including proconscription papers like the *Toronto Star*, *Manitoba Free Press*, *Saskatoon Star*, *Regina Leader*, *Calgary Albertan* and *Edmonton Bulletin* rejected it. J.W. Dafoe, for example, argued that disfranchisement would constitute “a gross breach of contract and a violation of Canadian justice” and insisted that “the honour and self-respect of the Canadian people” required that the agitation for disfranchisement “be firmly withstood.” The socialist and labour press also condemned the Act.¹⁶

Except for the Presbyterian *Ranok*, which ignored the Act, the Ukrainian press was indignant. *Kanadyiskyi rusyn*, usually well-disposed toward Conservatives, accused the government of looking for “enemies” where none existed and of putting partisan loyalties ahead of national interests. To deny naturalized citizens the vote was as shameful as to deny them the right to serve in the army. *Ukrainskyi holos*, which had sparred with advocates of disfranchisement since January 1917, compared “the blind Canadian chauvinists,” who favoured disfranchisement of naturalized citizens without simultaneously exempting them from taxes and all other obligations to the state, to the German kaiser and the Russian tsar. Since the interests of “democratic Ukraine” were at odds with those of Germany and Austria, only partisan politics could justify disfranchising Ukrainian Canadians and exempting them from military service.

The “betrayal of our citizenship,” it added, offered proof positive that Ukrainians had to organize politically; pleas, explanations and protests without political power availed little. The most unrestrained criticism was provided by the Liberal *Kanadyiskyi farmer* and the socialist *Robochyi narod*. Ukrainian Canadians, the first declared, having seen Ottawa “trample the British constitution, tear the principles of democracy to shreds and introduce the Junker autocracy of the Prussian military caste,” would no longer believe that Great Britain was “fighting for the rights of small nations against German and Austrian militarism and autocracy”; they would never forgive the Conservatives for passing the Act. *Robochyi narod*, denouncing the Act as an example of “obligations without rights,” saw it as the work of “capitalist political crooks” and “malicious chauvinists” and warned that Ukrainians would soon be deprived of all their rights.¹⁷ If the editors were outraged, it is much more difficult to gauge grassroots reaction. Several correspondents complained and there is some evidence that Ukrainian contributions to the Patriotic Fund and Red Cross fell off in 1917-18. Yet, many naturalized Ukrainian settlers were undoubtedly pleased that their sons could remain on the farm at a time of rising agricultural prices. And, as one Saskatoon resident pointed out late in January, it was pointless to fuss about a lost franchise that would be restored as soon as the war ended.¹⁸

The federal legislation greatly improved the government’s electoral prospects. Such prominent western-Canadian proconscription Liberals as Premier Arthur Sifton in Alberta, James Calder in Saskatchewan and Thomas Crerar in Manitoba, who had resisted Borden’s overtures to establish a coalition government, now realized that the Conservatives could not be defeated and entered the cabinet to form a “Union Government.” Sworn in on 12 October 1917, the new government, concentrating on conscription and armed with a “progressive” platform that included temperance, votes for women, civil service and tariff reform, government regulation of the economy and support for basic social services, won 153 of 235 seats in December, virtually sweeping the west and most of Ontario.

The Wartime Elections Act and the formation of the Unionist government appeared to sanction anti-alien prejudices and emboldened nativists and advocates of compulsion to press for even more drastic measures, and especially for the conscription of alien labour. From November 1917 until April 1918, Unionist politicians, patriotic societies and veterans’ associations insisted that “enemy aliens” had to be compelled to work in essential industries for no more than the \$1.10 per day earned in the armed forces. R.L. Richardson, editor of the *Winnipeg Tribune* and a Unionist candidate, argued at a pre-election rally that any who refused had to be placed under armed guard and forced to work; a few laggards might even be shot as an example to others.¹⁹ On the day after the election, Maj.-Gen. S.K. Mewburn, the new minister of the militia, indicated that he favoured “conscripting” all wages earned by aliens above \$1.10 per day.

Conventions of the Great War Veterans' Association demanded in January that all "enemy aliens" not engaged in essential work be interned, that their movements and that of the disfranchised be restricted and monitored monthly and that surtaxes be levied on their incomes. Some association members opposed alien acquisition of farm lands and even advocated that their homesteads be expropriated.²⁰

Such demands alarmed many Ukrainians. In east central Alberta settlers feared that their savings, property and lands were about to be confiscated; some even contemplated bank withdrawals and wondered about planting crops in the spring. *Ukrainskyi holos* insisted that Ukrainian farmers and labourers were just as beneficial to the state as were soldiers in the trenches, though unlike soldiers' families, Ukrainian farm and worker families were unable to collect benefits when their members were killed or injured. The proposals to conscript alien labour or reduce earnings were completely unjustified and would only benefit capitalist profiteers. On 25 January 1918, Ferley, in the Manitoba legislature, characterized the Wartime Elections Act as an unjustified denial of the civil rights of Ukrainians and termed the conscription of alien labour even more indefensible. Meetings were simultaneously held in Edmonton, Mundare, Vegreville and several other centres in east central Alberta and over one thousand dollars were collected to send Andrew Shandro and Peter Svarich as a "western delegation" to Ottawa. After additional meetings in Saskatoon and Winnipeg brought Havrylo Slipchenko and Ivan Petrushevich into the delegation, the four met Borden and A.L. Sifton on 22 February. Their memorandum protested internment and disfranchisement, pressed for the naturalization of all Ukrainians who entered Canada before 1915 and argued against the conscription of alien labour. Borden indicated that the government favoured neither labour conscription nor surtaxes, and that it had already issued a special bulletin to that effect on 16 February.²¹

The Social Democratic party and *Robochyi narod* also reacted sharply to the appeals for labour conscription, terming them "outrageous" and condemning "our patriotic [Ukrainian] leaders" for not protesting more vigorously.²² On 17 February, three days after the nationalist "western delegation" spoke in Winnipeg, the Social Democratic party held mass meetings there and in Edmonton. While the Edmonton rally acknowledged that veterans were entitled to jobs, it complained that "we also desire to live and work...or else we will perish from hunger."²³ At Winnipeg, where two thousand labourers attended, resolutions cabled to the prime minister urged an end to registration, the release of all internees, government-run employment offices and called for a statement on the conscription of alien labour. The Social Democratic party also asked that "self-styled leaders and past political manipulators" like the "western delegation" be ignored and that the party executive be recognized "as official representatives of the Ukrainian people in Canada in relations between the government and the

Ukrainians at large.”²⁴ The latter reflected the fact that the chasm between the socialists and the nationalists was already too great to bridge.

The agitation to conscript alien labour subsided after the issue was debated in the Commons on 22 April. Initiated by Conservative Unionists from British Columbia and Ontario, the debate saw prairie members defending “enemy aliens” for their many contributions to the war effort. But with the government’s position already clear, the debate was pointless. In response to the German March offensive in Europe, the government passed an “anti-loafing law,” which not only required all males sixteen to sixty to be regularly engaged in a useful occupation but cancelled the exemptions of all men between twenty and twenty-two under the Military Service Act. The cancellation affected farm labourers (to the chagrin of prairie farmers) as well as the sons of disfranchised immigrants exempted under the Wartime Elections Act. Once again, young Ukrainian males could be conscripted for non-combatant service. Only *Robochyi narod* expressed indignation when it wondered whether the law would also be applied against the “loafers” (*neroby*) who would spend the entire summer at their cottages on Winnipeg Beach.²⁵

The “anti-loafing law” and exemption cancellations were the last government measures to facilitate the war effort. By the summer of 1918 fear of Germans and Austrians in Europe and of “enemy aliens” at home receded before a new threat from eastern Europe: the Bolshevik seizure of power in Russia in November 1917 and the subsequent appeal for “world revolution,” which coincided with an unprecedented upsurge of labour strife in Canada. While rapidly escalating living costs and inadequate wages, rather than Bolshevik propaganda, caused the Canadian unrest, many “foreign” and English-speaking socialists and labour leaders did, in fact, admire Bolshevik efforts to establish a “workers’ state.” Because Russian, Ukrainian, Finnish and Jewish radicals were especially enthusiastic, the government, not to mention the business establishment, succumbed to fears of a revolution led by “radical aliens” and inspired and perhaps even financed by the Bolsheviks. In particular, they were alarmed by the activity of the Ukrainian Social Democratic party and *Robochyi narod*.

The Resurgence of the Ukrainian Socialist Movement

During the first two years of the war, the Ukrainian socialist movement was in a state of chaos. The economic recession and the increased hostility toward aliens only compounded the problems of a movement already consumed by internal disputes and the defection of prominent leaders. As more and more Ukrainian labourers were interned or lost their jobs, Ukrainian Social Democratic party members scattered, party branches collapsed, funds dried up, organizational tours were suspended and *Robochyi narod* gradually shrank from a six-page weekly, to

a biweekly and finally to a nondescript four-page monthly. However, as the demand for labour grew in 1916, most Ukrainian internees reintegrated into the labour force and for the first time many sojourners, especially those in eastern Canada's munitions factories, were permanently employed at regular if not necessarily generous wages. By December 1917, *Robochyi narod* was a semiweekly and a Russian-language edition (*Rabochii narod*) was being edited by Michael Charitonoff, a Russian-born socialist of Jewish origin and a member of Winnipeg's Russian Progressive Club.²⁶ Simultaneously, registration, conscription, the disfranchisement of naturalized citizens, the rising cost of living (especially acute in the west), war-weariness and reports of war-profiteering provided issues around which to mobilize the movement, as did the fall of the tsarist regime, the emergence of socialist parties and leaders in Ukraine proper and the Bolshevik seizure of power in Petrograd. Finally, a new generation of leaders—Matthew Popovich, John Nawizowski (Navis), Danylo Lobay, Ivan Hnyda, Denys Moisiuk—who were younger, more disciplined and more committed to the class struggle, provided an important new stabilizing element.

The expansion of the party was especially impressive in eastern Canada, where itinerant organizers like Tymofei Koreichuk, Mykhailo Kniazevych (1893-1975) and William (Wasyly) Kolisnyk (1887-1967) were very active. By the summer of 1918, of the party's fifty-four branches (almost half established after November 1917) and just under two thousand members, twenty-one with eight hundred members were in Ontario and Quebec. Ontario with nineteen branches and seven hundred members outdistanced all other provinces, and in many respects the branches in Welland, Hamilton, Toronto and Montreal were larger, more active and more radical than those in Winnipeg, Edmonton and even the Crow's Nest Pass, the movement's traditional bastions.²⁷

Gradually, the war forced Ukrainian socialists out of rented meeting halls and onto the streets of urban centres and mining towns. In April 1915, Ukrainian, Jewish and English-speaking Social Democrats organized several massive demonstrations in front of Winnipeg's city hall and the Manitoba legislature. On the twenty-second and twenty-third, they met Mayor Waugh and Premier Roblin and demanded free soup kitchens, jobs for the unemployed and an opportunity to take out homesteads. Three days later, representatives from the provincial government, city and railways met and promised to find work for several thousand men. In May 1917 the General and Building Trades Labourers' Union was formed at a meeting in Winnipeg's Queen's Hall organized by Popovich, Kolisnyk and Janicki and attended by R.A. Rigg, James Winning and A.A. Heaps. By month's end it had 640 members, primarily Ukrainians, Poles and Russians, but also French Canadians, Italians and Icelanders, with only 16 per cent unnaturalized "enemy aliens." However, the Winnipeg Builders' Exchange refused to recognize the new union on the preposterous grounds that it

consisted of "enemy aliens" whose higher wages would be sent back to Germany and Austria. Forced to strike for recognition late in June, the union won within a month and working conditions in the construction industry became more tolerable.²⁸

More Ukrainian miners in Alberta and British Columbia also joined the United Mine Workers of America after 1916, and prominent Social Democrats became more involved in District 18 politics. When three thousand miners struck in the summer of 1916 and fifty-eight hundred half a year later, Ukrainians participated. A year later, Ukrainians were again among the miners who struck after owner Frank Moody refused "union shop" status to the United Mine Workers in Drumheller's Rosedale Mines. As District 18 miners bettered their situation in 1916-18, relations between English-speaking and "foreign" miners also improved. In February 1918, N.D. Tkachuk, influential in the Social Democratic party and the United Mine Workers, ran for vice-president of the district and lost by a narrow margin (1,949-1,638).²⁹

If the Ukrainian socialist movement thrived at the grass-roots level after 1916, the leadership power struggles that had bedeviled it for years remained. Well into 1918 the enigmatic figure of Paul Crath—revolutionary, poet, satirist, scourge of the Orthodox and Catholic clergy, Presbyterian divinity student and, most recently, translator in the office of the western press censor—remained controversial. Although the idea of a Social Democrat preaching from a Presbyterian pulpit rankled many Ukrainian socialists, Mykola Jeremijczuk, party secretary in 1914-15, and John Nawizowski, married to Crath's sister-in-law, tolerated Crath. Popovich, editor of *Robochyi narod* after August 1916, refused to do so, however, and Crath was expelled in the same month. Within a year, Crath, who had illusions of high government office in Ukraine, asked to be reinstated. The Social Democratic convention in 1917 agreed to a referendum on the issue, but to no one's surprise Crath lost his desire to return to Ukraine once the Bolsheviks seized power. Instead, he moved to Toronto and joined forces with Jeremijczuk and Ivan Stefanicky, who were also suspended by the Social Democratic party. In Toronto they published *Robitnyche slovo* (The Workers' Word), a socialist weekly launched by Stefanicky in 1915. Crath also revived his satirical tabloid *Kadylo* and after helping local workers establish a "socialist school," he lectured on various topics in Toronto and Hamilton for \$120 a month.³⁰

Although relations between *Robochyi narod* and *Robitnyche slovo* were amiable by the fall of 1917, by year's end they were again at loggerheads over the revolution in Ukraine. *Robitnyche slovo* supported the Ukrainian Central Rada, composed of Ukrainian Social Democrats, Socialist Revolutionaries and several liberal and democratic parties; *Robochyi narod* gravitated toward the Bolsheviks because, Popovich and Lobay argued, the Bolsheviks had toppled the Russian Provisional Government, which had waged an aggressive imperialist

war and neglected social reform. Moreover, Lenin had promised to recognize the right of national self-determination and *Robochyi narod* took his words at face value. When the Central Rada delayed agrarian reforms and refused to allow Bolshevik troops to cross Ukrainian territory to confront General Kaledin's armies, *Robochyi narod* concluded that the Central Rada was "bourgeois" and consigned *Robitnyche slovo* to the same camp. Yet another Social Democratic referendum was held, the Toronto branch was dissolved in March and a new one formed in May. Expelled once again by the party, Crath, finding himself isolated and without options once his contract to teach expired in July, reluctantly assumed the Ukrainian Presbyterian mission in Toronto. His career as a socialist had finally come to an end.³¹

Except for individuals like Crath, Jeremijczuk and (for the moment) Stefanicky, the Ukrainian Social Democratic party increasingly fell under Bolshevik influence as the war dragged on. As early as December 1914, *Robochyi narod* had carried the Bolshevik reply to Emil Vandervelde—an unequivocal refusal to support the tsarist war against Germany and an uncompromising declaration of war on the Russian autocracy. A month later, an article, "Comrade Lenin About an Independent Ukraine," praised Lenin's speech at Zurich, which had condemned the tsarist regime's repressive policies in Ukraine. In April 1915 another article, "War and Ukraine," which denounced tsarist atrocities and Russification in eastern Galicia, was reprinted from *Sotsial Demokrat*, a Bolshevik periodical in Switzerland. Subsequently, *Robochyi narod* carried other pro-Bolshevik, anti-war items, but before the fall of 1917 it also published a variety of non-Bolshevik and anti-Bolshevik Russian and Ukrainian socialists, including Julius Martov and Lev Iurkevych, both opposed to Lenin. Articles by Volodymyr Levynsky, Volodymyr Vynnychenko and Mykhailo Hrushevsky also appeared, and donations were solicited for Kiev's Ukrainian Social Democratic daily *Robitnycha hazeta*.³²

More direct, though still tenuous links between the Social Democrats, *Robochyi narod* and the Bolsheviks began to emerge in 1917. Popovich, while in New York in 1912 to organize Slavic workers for the American Socialist party, met the editors of the pro-Bolshevik Russian Social Democratic *Novyi mir* (The New World), who included, after 1914, Volodymyr Volodarsky, Aleksandra Kollontai, Nikolai Bukharin and, briefly in 1917, Leon Trotsky. Also in New York between 1914 and early 1917 was a young Ukrainian Bolshevik, Ivan Kulyk (pseudonym R. Rolinato), a member of *Novyi mir*'s staff when Bukharin was editor. In 1917, Kulyk agreed to a position on *Robochyi narod*, but when entry to Canada was officially denied, he returned to Ukraine with Bukharin and a group of Russian socialist emigrés. Within weeks, he was contributing articles to *Robochyi narod* that censured the Ukrainian Central Rada, and late in 1917 the weekly was publishing articles like Lenin's "Political Parties in Russia" on a regular basis and declaring that "the Russian Revolution

is the prologue to the inevitable proletarian revolution that must sweep across the entire world destroying the present intolerable order.”³³

As the leaders of the Social Democratic party drew closer to the Bolsheviks, the patriotism of the nationalist intelligentsia repelled them even more, as did conditions in Canada generally. While the nationalists promoted the sale of Victory Bonds, solicited for the Canadian Patriotic Fund and the Red Cross and pledged their loyalty to the British flag, the socialists denounced the war as “mindless carnage,” “mass murder” and “four years of pointless bloodletting” that benefited only the richest capitalists. Week after week, *Robochyi narod* condemned the moral hypocrisy of a government that branded workers as slackers and traitors for wanting only a livable wage and celebrated capitalist profiteers as patriots. A government that expected workers to sacrifice themselves in the trenches while urging private entrepreneurs to provide loans at 5 per cent interest served only capitalist interests.³⁴

By the summer of 1917 the line between the socialists and nationalists within the Ukrainian community was firmly drawn. In August, at the second national convention of the Social Democrats in Winnipeg, a constitutional amendment declared that “no branch of the USDPC [Ukrainian Social Democratic Party of Canada] may co-operate with any group of people who do not recognize the class struggle and the necessity of abolishing the capitalist order.” Thereafter, while the nationalist intelligentsia solicited for student residences and national homes, sponsored patriotic Ukrainian song-writing contests, established Ukrainian grain elevator companies and encouraged working girls and women to join choirs and drama circles, the Social Democrats organized unskilled workers, mobilized street demonstrations and encouraged Ukrainian females to join unions and the Women’s Labour League. For lasting peace and the elimination of catastrophes similar to the war, workers needed “to put an end to production for profit...to destroy capitalism and replace it with socialism.”³⁵

By 1917 a Ukrainian socialist subculture was beginning to emerge, primarily in eastern Canada’s urban centres and in the Crow’s Nest Pass. Defined by common work experiences, it was cemented by the hostility of Ukrainian and Anglo-Canadian elites and celebrated in a variety of secular rituals. Ukrainian socialists read social democratic newspapers, sang workers’ songs rather than the Ukrainian national anthem or church hymns on festive occasions, perceived themselves as a “conscious and informed” (*svidomi*) minority in a sea of “ignorance” (*temnota*) and called each other “comrade” (*tovarysh*). Although the subtleties of Marxist doctrine did not penetrate all levels, most party members believed that capitalism was inherently exploitative and therefore beyond reform. “Reforms are not enough for us,” wrote a correspondent from Sault Ste. Marie, “because a rotting structure cannot be fixed; workers are no longer satisfied with the bones thrown their way by the high and mighty of this world, they demand

the complete destruction of the shameful social order and the construction, on its ruins, of a new world of freedom and work for all."³⁶

Two particular aspects of the socialist movement separated it from the rest of the Ukrainian-Canadian community—its internationalism and its rejection of the church. The movement's internationalism was derived from an appreciation that capital, highly concentrated and without national boundaries, could be resisted only where the solidarity of workers transcended the same boundaries. In Canada, moreover, workers' solidarity was particularly important because many competing ethnic groups constituted the labour force. As a correspondent to *Robochyi narod* observed, "I am aware of my obligations to Ukraine, [but] I also know that I am a proletarian and a member of the international proletarian family, and that it is my duty, together with the Social Democratic party to which I belong, to struggle for the political and economic liberation of the working people who live where I live, wherever that might be."³⁷ In Social Democratic circles loyalty to class frequently co-existed with loyalty to the ethnic group.

Internationalism had been part of the Ukrainian socialist experience from the outset. The first 'Ukrainian' socialist organization in the Crow's Nest Pass, the Slavic Socialist Union established in Frank on 22 December 1907 by Toma Tomashewsky and A. Susnar, a Czech, consisted of twenty Ukrainians, eight Czechs, four Yugoslavs (South Slavs) and one Anglo Canadian. In the Crow's Nest Pass, Ukrainian socialist lectures, concerts, plays and rallies had an international flavour and were frequently attended by Serbian, Czech, Slovak, Russian, Polish and Ukrainian workers, with speeches at times in several languages. In eastern Canada the first Ukrainian socialist meetings, encouraged by Finnish workers, were often held in halls of the Finnish Socialist Organization of Canada. The well-organized Finns fostered Ukrainian Social Democratic party branches and made small donations to *Robochyi narod*. In 1915, Sudbury's Finnish Social Democratic branch purchased one hundred subscriptions to it and distributed free copies to unorganized Ukrainian workers. By the spring of 1917, Ukrainian Social Democratic branches in southern Ontario were collecting donations to defend Isaac Bainbridge, the imprisoned editor of the Social Democratic party's *Canadian Forward*. In Winnipeg, Ukrainian, Jewish, Polish and Russian socialists jointly commemorated St. Petersburg's 1905 "Bloody Sunday," protested the imprisonment of socialists and unionists everywhere and organized picnics, concerts, plays and "Socialist Sunday Schools." The latter in Winnipeg, established in 1917, had three goals: "to neutralize the inculcation of submission in the capitalist public school system," to provide an education "based on socialist and rationalist principles" and "to implant the high moral values and socialist ideals of peace and international brotherhood."³⁸ May Day parades, "the labour army's annual trooping of colours," were the most visible urban manifestations of

internationalism and working-class solidarity. Led by red banners and bands playing the "Marseillaise," "Internationale" and other labour anthems, workers marched with placards demanding an eight-hour day, work and bread, peace and an end to exploitation. The largest parades occurred in 1915 when war and unemployment created widespread unrest. The parades usually culminated at central locations like Winnipeg's Market Square or Montreal's Champs de Mars, where as many as ten podiums accommodated the various ethnic speakers. Sometimes, a workers' ball followed.³⁹

The rejection of organized religion and church rituals by the socialists and their elaboration of alternatives provided the most striking evidence of a nascent subculture. Most socialists did not attend church and the scarcity of priests before 1914 only reinforced the tendency. However, some Social Democrats carried the rejection much further. By 1915 letters in *Robochyi narod* revealed that socialist marriages were solemnized "without priestly ceremonies...as befits civilized people." The marriages "without priests and incense" (*shliub bez popa i kadyla*) were either civil ceremonies or gatherings of friends, where the bride and groom vowed to be faithful. Between May and October 1917 several similar christenings were reported in Hamilton and Welland, where the newborn infant was not initiated as "God's slave" (*rab Bozhyi*) by a black-robed priest but welcomed into the socialist community as a free human being. Usually a local activist delivered a speech in honour of the infant and parents, extolling a life dedicated to "the good of the working people," "free thought" and "the glory of socialism." Workers' songs and collections of money for socialist causes, newspapers or injured comrades were integral features of socialist weddings and christenings. At funerals without priests, Ukrainian (and occasionally Anglo-Canadian) miners sang workers' songs (in both languages), recited poems and spoke about "the fate of the enslaved working people, about how the majority of them die in the flower of their youth."⁴⁰

Alternative secular rituals, with their speeches (sermons), workers' songs (hymns) and collection plate, adapted portions of the traditional church service to the new socialist context. Sometimes, the parallel went further. Socialism was the "new gospel," socialists were people who actually practised the teachings of Christ, the Social Democratic party was the only "church" Ukrainian workers needed and the international socialist movement was the rock on which a new society would be built. By the spring of 1919 the Ukrainian Labour Temple was completed in Winnipeg's North End. Valued at seventy-two thousand dollars, it was the most imposing public building erected by Ukrainians, a secular cathedral *par excellence*. The trappings of popular religion were also imbued with socialist content. Calendars and almanacs listed the anniversaries of prominent heretics, revolutionaries, socialists, progressive writers, strikes and uprisings in lieu of saints' days and miraculous happenings. Lectures were held on Sundays and activists were reminded to schedule events on religious holidays "to spoil the

priests' business." In 1917 the Social Democratic branch in Hamilton celebrated the "Nativity of Socialism" on 7 January (Ukrainian Christmas) and went door-to-door singing "socialist carols"—radical workers' lyrics set to traditional Yuletide melodies—and collecting donations for *Robochyi narod*. The Social Democrats also popularized a "socialist catechism," which consisted of the "Proletarian's Ten Commandments," the "Seven Deadly Sins," "Four Sins Against the Human Spirit" and "Four Final Happenings." The catechism exhorted workers to solidarity and urged them to join socialist organizations, to work for the advancement of their class, to study socialist literature and to support equal rights for women. It cautioned against alcohol, servility, strikebreaking, bourgeois political parties and newspapers, indifference to the workers' struggle, and fatalism. And it prophesied the triumph of organized labour, the destruction of capitalism and the coming of the socialist millennium.⁴¹

The revival and militancy of the Ukrainian socialist movement after 1916 was part of the overall expansion of the Canadian labour movement. Despite unprecedented wartime employment opportunities, most Canadian workers, particularly in western urban centres where munitions factories were few, found wages no match for runaway inflation. Between August 1914 and December 1917, prices rose by 65 per cent and the inflation rate in 1918 was 13.5 per cent. Declining real wages, the high cost of food and accommodation and tolerance by the government of business profiteering, while refusing to enforce "fair wage" provisions, intensified worker discontent. As a result, union membership rose from 143,000 in 1915 to 378,000 in 1919, while strike activity increased from 86 disputes involving 11,500 workers and 95,000 lost work days in 1915 to 428 disputes, 150,000 workers and over 3,400,000 lost work days in 1919.⁴² Factory owners, businessmen, Unionist politicians and many comfortable, respectable middle-class Canadians, with little or no knowledge of working-class life, concluded that German agents, the Industrial Workers of the World (the Wobblies) and Bolshevik propaganda were responsible for the sudden upsurge in labour militancy. In the spring of 1918 a concerted effort was made to nip the incipient "revolution" in the bud.

Repression

While Canadian security agencies began monitoring the antiwar activities of labour radicals in 1914, not until 1917 did the chief press censor, military intelligence and the RNWMP begin a systematic surveillance of radical organizations. Three developments were primarily responsible for the increased attention: the opposition of radical organizations to conscription, the growth of

labour militancy, and the success of the Russian Revolution, especially the Bolshevik seizure of power in November.

Radical organizations which opposed compulsory military service were particularly obnoxious to the authorities. For his antiwar editorials, Isaac Bainbridge of the Toronto-based Social Democratic *Canadian Forward* was charged with sedition in April 1917. Lieut.-Col. Ernest J. Chambers, the chief press censor, was so disturbed by the antiwar and anticonscription stance of the labour press in western Canada that he had several English socialist papers raided and urged the government to suppress the *B.C. Federationist* and *Western Clarion*.⁴³ Although the government ignored his advice, it was more attentive to that proffered by businessmen and industrialists, who by 1917 were urging it to restore industrial harmony by removing all radical "agitators," especially the Wobblies. The special section established by the Dominion Police showed that fear of the Wobblies was greatly exaggerated, but a tenuous connection between European immigrants and the Wobblies did exist. Several Ukrainian Social Democratic locals in Alberta, for example, maintained ties with the Wobblies' headquarters in Chicago, a few Wobblies were active in the United Mine Workers' Drumheller local and some Finns in Sudbury, the Lakehead and on the west coast remained members of the radical industrial union.

The Ukrainian Social Democrats had occasionally felt the strong arm of government after war was declared. In 1915 at least fifty members were interned after losing jobs in the Crow's Nest Pass, and several months later party secretary Mykola Jeremijczuk was interned for breaking parole by travelling across Canada as an organizer without permission from the registrar of "enemy aliens" in Winnipeg. But systematic harassment of Ukrainian socialists and labourers did not begin until 1917. On 10 June the police raided a meeting of Toronto's Ukrainian Social Democratic branch and arrested all of the men because, the police claimed, conscription had been attacked and the charter of the Social Democratic party stated that its mission was to help workers "seize the reins of Government and transform all capitalistic property into the collective property of the working class." Although the naturalized British subjects were released within hours, the unnaturalized members were freed after two days with the warning to "keep their mouths shut; the people who are entitled to speak now are the citizens of Canada." Six weeks later, twenty-five Ukrainian members of the striking General and Building Trades Labourers' Union in Winnipeg were arrested after challenging strikebreakers at a government grain elevator in nearby Transcona. Seven, all naturalized British subjects or natives of Russia, were released to civilian authorities; among the rest—all accused of breaking parole (by going to Transcona!) and committing a hostile act by attempting to retard work on a government building—thirteen were fined by a military tribunal and sentenced to a two-month prison term and five were interned at the camp in Cochrane, Ontario.⁴⁴

Efforts to intimidate and imprison “radical aliens” were intensified in 1918, once the Bolsheviks seized power and separate peace treaties with the Central Powers were concluded in Brest-Litovsk by the Ukrainian Central Rada and the Bolsheviks. In February, after Social Democratic party organizer William (Wasył) Kolsnyk, a naturalized British subject, was arrested at Creighton Mine, Ontario, and ordered to return to Winnipeg, members of the new branch were threatened with dismissal if they did not cut party ties. Several weeks later, all Ukrainian Social Democratic members were fired in an Oshawa factory, and in April *Robochyi narod* warned that its mail was being steamed open by security officials and delayed for at least two weeks. By the spring, raids on Ukrainian Social Democratic premises and the internment of unnaturalized party members had become routine. On 1 May the Ottawa local was raided, all files, books and pamphlets were confiscated and seventeen unnaturalized members, including Petro Haideichuk, were interned at Kapuskasing. Two weeks later, Ivan Hnyda was arrested in Montreal, his “Novyi Svit” printshop was seized and auctioned off and he himself was interned at Kapuskasing. Subsequently, branches in Timmins, Brantford and Montreal were raided and several members and organizers, including Mykhailo Kniazevych, were interned.⁴⁵ A similar fate befell party activists in Vegreville, Whitford, Copper Cliff and Hamilton, all charged with sedition or the possession of seditious literature.⁴⁶ Several Ukrainian members of the Russian Socialist Revolutionary party, most of them Russian-born, were sentenced in the civil courts to hard labour or fines of several thousand dollars.⁴⁷ In one instance a Ukrainian Catholic priest (Wasył Gegeychuk) was accused of bringing Ukrainian socialists to the attention of police. Just days before the Ukrainian Social Democratic party and its paper were banned, the editors urged all branches to establish defence committees and to prepare for more arrests.⁴⁸

Labour militancy and reports of increased activity by Wobblies and socialists among “foreigners” led the federal government to commission C.H. Cahan, a Montreal lawyer, to investigate labour radicalism. Cahan canvassed police officials, businessmen, conservative labour leaders and ethnic spokesmen (including Bishop Budka, who indicated that *Robochyi narod* was at the centre of “a distinct and well-organized Bolshevik movement in Canada”). In September, Cahan submitted a report which concluded that a Bolshevik conspiracy, not German intrigue, was responsible for the labour militancy.⁴⁹ Implying that Bolshevik emissaries trained in Russia were organizing and inflaming the working class, Cahan recommended the suppression of radical organizations and “foreign”-language publications, the extension of search and surveillance operations, and the establishment of a public safety branch to co-ordinate security operations. As the recommendations were reinforced by the Great War Veterans’ Association and the Chief Press Censor’s Office, several repressive orders-in-council followed. The government, on 5 August, had already made the

control of enemy aliens more comprehensive by lowering the age of registration to sixteen (PC 1908). On 25 September it prohibited virtually all publications in twelve "enemy" languages, including Ukrainian, German, Russian and Finnish (PC 2381).⁵⁰ Three days later, fourteen radical organizations, including the Industrial Workers of the World (the Wobblies), the Social Democratic Party of Canada and its Ukrainian, Russian and Finnish affiliates, were declared illegal.⁵¹ All meetings (other than religious services) in Russian, Ukrainian or Finnish were also outlawed. Fines up to five thousand dollars and imprisonment up to five years were prescribed for possessing prohibited literature or holding membership in the illegal organizations (PC 2384). Finally, on 11 October, the government banned strikes and lockouts for the duration and prescribed severe penalties for violations (PC 2525). Cahan was then appointed director of the Public Safety Branch and charged with enforcing the new regulations.

Labour and ethnic leaders protested the repressive measures vigorously, especially the ban on newspapers and organizations. Labour argued that the newspaper ban would restrict union activities among the ethnic groups affected. Ukrainian editors, in turn, insisted that Ukrainian aspirations paralleled those of "friendly aliens" like the Czechs, Poles and Serbs, who could publish and hold meetings in their languages.⁵² While the appeals fell on deaf ears, the war's end brought some relief. On 13 November certain newspapers in prohibited languages were allowed, provided English (or French) translations were supplied in parallel columns. While all non-socialist Ukrainian weeklies were licensed immediately after the war ended, Ukrainian socialists had to wait until March 1919 and German-language newspapers until January 1920 for licences. The ban on strikes and lockouts was rescinded on 19 November 1918 and that on organizations on 2 April 1919. Ukrainian socialists, some already underground, could thus resume activities, though neither *Robochyi narod* nor the Ukrainian Social Democratic party was revived. On 22 March 1919, *Ukrainski robotnychi visty* (Ukrainian Labour News) appeared, and shortly thereafter Ukrainian Labour Temple (Stovaryshennia Ukrainskyi Robotnychyi Dim) circles began to replace the defunct Social Democratic party.

War veterans, businessmen, factory owners and the government, alarmed by the "Bolshevik menace," continued to harass "enemy aliens" and labour radicals after the war ended. With the armistice, almost 500,000 veterans and 250,000 munitions workers needed work at a time in the year when jobs were always scarce in Canada. As a result, many unemployed returned soldiers became enthusiastic advocates of repression, confiscation of alien property and deportation. In 1919 many, driven by restlessness and resentment, rioted in Vancouver, Calgary, Winnipeg, Hamilton, Toronto and Halifax. The riots in Winnipeg left a particularly painful impression on the Ukrainian populace. Ignited on Sunday evening, 26 January 1919, when a mob of veterans aborted an outdoor memorial service to honour the recently assassinated German Social Democrats Karl Liebknecht

and Rosa Luxemburg (both outspoken critics of the kaiser and the war), the two-day rampage victimized "enemy aliens" and "Bolsheviks." Rioters wrecked the headquarters of the Socialist Party of Canada, burning its publications and furniture; sacked a dry-cleaning establishment run by Sam Blumenburg, a prominent Jewish Social Democrat; demolished a German-owned brewery in Elmwood; and roamed the streets of Point Douglas and the North End, looting stores and restaurants owned by "foreigners." Among the institutions that felt the veterans' wrath was the Ukrainian Reading Association Prosvita (described as an "Austro-Hungarian club" by the *Free Press*). Within ten minutes, all its windows were broken; the piano, furniture and bookshelves were flung into the street; clarinets, trumpets and other musical instruments were smashed; and the drama circle's wardrobe was destroyed. Damages totalled fifteen hundred dollars but the association recovered nothing.⁵³

Next day, several hundred veterans gathered in front of the Swift packing plant in Elmwood to "demand that all aliens be replaced by white labour." At the last moment, the men were persuaded to disperse, reassured by Brig.-Gen. H.D.B. Ketchen, the district commanding officer, and Mayor Charles Gray that, while they wanted "to get the aliens out," they wished to "do it constitutionally." The mob then attacked the downtown area, roaming up and down Main Street and along William, Henry, Logan, Dufferin and Selkirk avenues, wrecking restaurants, besieging factories and warehouses, and pummeling male "foreigners" after forcing them to kneel and kiss the flag. A Ukrainian restaurateur and his customers were robbed of \$575 "by men in khaki who ordered them to produce naturalization papers." Beyond arresting a few looters and advising victims to sue assailants, Winnipeg's constabulary did little; the press, in turn, commented on the "cowardly and furtive" behaviour of the aliens and endorsed demands for their registration and deportation. The Norris government obliged with an Alien Investigation Board to determine which "enemy aliens" had been loyal.⁵⁴

During the next few months, while magazines and tabloids fanned anti-alien, and especially anti-Ukrainian, hysteria,⁵⁵ the federal government was deluged with petitions demanding deportation. Hamilton's veterans called a mass meeting "to discuss the advisability of having all alien enemies ousted from Canada." In Winnipeg the Great War Veterans' Association demanded "the immediate internment of the alien enemy population of Manitoba, their deportation, and the confiscation of their money and property over \$75 in favour of the widows and orphans of the soldiers." Although they conceded that most Ukrainians were "inoffensive if left alone," they took issue with two types—the "Bolsheviks" who wanted a soviet republic and the (nationalist) "opponents of assimilation and good citizenship." They were particularly incensed that Bishop Budka, "still an alien enemy, is permitted to go where and when he pleases without being required to report to the police like other alien enemies." Not until November

1919, after the association was unable to substantiate its accusations against the bishop in court, did it leave the beleaguered cleric in peace.⁵⁶ Worried about radicalizing unemployed veterans, employers dismissed "foreigners" to placate them. On the day after the Winnipeg riots, the local Canadian Manufacturers' Association met and resolved to replace "enemy aliens" with returned soldiers. In British Columbia the manufacturers', employers' and loggers' associations passed similar resolutions, while in Ontario INCO fired twenty-two hundred of its thirty-two hundred employees, most of them "foreigners."⁵⁷

The riots, petitions and dismissals stunned and frightened the Ukrainian community. On 28 January, Jaroslaw Arsenych and Theodore Stefanik, representing the Ukrainian Canadian Citizens' Committee, a union of nationalist and Catholic organizations, petitioned Mayor Gray to protect "our very lives against the crusades of youthful looters." While deploring the "intolerance and hatred towards everything that is foreign," the petition nonetheless supported the veterans' appeal for the "suppression of Bolsheviki who are liable to undermine public order." In the Manitoba legislature, Ferley condemned deportation and suggested that the border be opened to enable the surplus population to leave of its own accord. In the next three months Ukrainian mass meetings, attended mainly by single, unemployed males, were held in Hamilton, Montreal, St. Catharines and Fort William. They denied that Ukrainians had ever been hostile to the Allied war effort and appealed to Ottawa "to open the borders for the re-emigration of the Ukrainians from Canada to their native land." At Hamilton the meeting explicitly affirmed that Ukrainians did not wish "to fill the ranks of the industrial unemployed army which could be used for the reduction of wages in Canada." Simultaneously, Ukrainian rural settlers in Ethelbert, Elma, Kosiw and Hadashville (Manitoba) and in Arran, Canora and St. Julien (Saskatchewan) offered to help veterans interested in the Soldiers' Settlement Act by providing free transportation to new farms, at least one day's free labour and any other assistance needed.⁵⁸

If the government, to its credit, did not intern, dispossess or deport "enemy aliens" *en masse*, it did deport some "radical aliens." What frightened many Canadian government officials and businessmen was not only the unabated radicalization of labour in western Canada, but the unprecedented degree of cooperation between Anglo-Canadian and "foreign" labour radicals. When the government continued to ban "foreign" newspapers and organizations after the armistice and sanctioned Canadian participation in the anti-Bolshevik Siberian expedition, labour radicals, led by the Socialist Party of Canada, held meetings in western Canada and deluged Ottawa with petitions condemning the continued restriction on civil liberties and the Allied intervention in Soviet Russia. Simultaneously, the Alberta Federation of Labour and the Trades and Labour councils in Winnipeg, Regina, Vancouver and Victoria invoked the general strike to force the government's hand, and in February 1919 delegates at District 18's annual

convention—one third “foreigners”—condemned the Siberian expedition and press censorship, endorsed industrial unionism and discussed ways to reconcile the interests of alien workers and returned soldiers. The new spirit was also much in evidence in Calgary in March, where the Western Labour conference called for an end to censorship, government by orders-in-council and economic production for profit; endorsed the principle of proletarian dictatorship and sent fraternal greetings to the Soviet government in Russia; resolved to replace the conservative American Federation of Labour and the Canadian Trades and Labour Congress with a new, radical industrial union, the One Big Union; and endorsed the tactic of the general strike. Proclaiming that there is “no alien but the capitalist,” the One Big Union appointed foreign-born organizers and with the support of ethnic labour radicals, including the editors of *Ukrainski robotnychi visty*,⁵⁹ captured virtually all locals in District 18 from the United Mine Workers of America, still resented because its American-based executive had adopted a prowar position and refused to sanction many wartime strikes.

The growing labour radicalism was complemented by rumours of a Bolshevik conspiracy. In December 1918, British intelligence had informed Borden that the Bolsheviks were placing “very large credits...in the hands of their agents,” and it was assumed that Winnipeg, with its large Slavic and Jewish population, would be a major centre of Bolshevik activity. Indeed, RNWMP intelligence, which had penetrated most Canadian radical organizations by April 1919, reported that Michael Charitonoff of Winnipeg, former editor of the Russian-language *Rabochii narod*, was receiving funds from Ludwig Martens of the Soviet Bureau in New York, the unrecognized Soviet embassy in the United States. Efforts were also made to suppress *Ukrainski robotnychi visty*, and in the last week in April, D.A. Ross, member of the Manitoba legislature for St. Clements, and R.L. Richardson, member of Parliament for Springfield, Manitoba, prophesied “uprisings” and “bloodshed” in rural Manitoba. Ross, who had accused Budka of being an Austrian recruiting officer in 1916, now placed the bishop at the centre of a Bolshevik conspiracy. Ukrainians in St. Clements and Springfield, he insisted, “are holding regular revolutionary meetings and openly boasting that they are going to have a revolution this spring, and that they will respect no government and intend taking the law into their own hands.”⁶⁰

Such was the background against which the Winnipeg General Strike, which paralyzed the nation’s third largest city between 15 May and 28 June, took place. Involving twenty-five to thirty thousand unionized and non-unionized workers, it was led by a Central Strike Committee composed of moderate Anglo-Canadian labour leaders (only one was a member of the One Big Union), and it was opposed by prominent businessmen and industrialists represented by the Citizens’ Committee of One Thousand. Although thousands of Ukrainian, Jewish, Russian and other “foreign” workers were involved, these groups did not figure among the strike leaders because they were rarely prominent in unions and trade

councils, and because, in the light of recent events, known socialists who had not been arrested were keeping a low profile. All this did not prevent the Citizens' Committee in Winnipeg—and similar committees in centres where sympathetic strikes broke out—from portraying the strike as the work of bomb-throwing alien “anarchists” and “Bolsheviks” and of a few misguided British-born fanatics, committed to violent revolutionary upheaval and the establishment of a “soviet” order. Such charges, in the words of one historian, were “a calculated attempt to appeal to fear and prejudice in order to mislead the public.” The Citizens' Committee, determined to destroy popular support for the strike, to keep returned soldiers out of the radical labour movement and to provoke government intervention, was strongly supported by individuals like J.W. Dafoe of the *Free Press*, to whom the best way to restore order was “to clear the aliens out of the community and ship them back to their happy homes in Europe which vomited them forth a decade ago.”⁶¹

Although there were no Ukrainians (mostly Britons and Jews) among the strike leaders arrested during the last two weeks of June, they felt the government's wrath nonetheless. On 17 June the RNWMP raided the Ukrainian Labour Temple, seized its correspondence and address and account books and inflicted much damage on the printshop and offices. The homes of Matthew Popovich and John Nawizowski were also searched, though both were apparently away from the city at the time.⁶² On 21 June, “Bloody Saturday,” the RNWMP and the special constables of the Citizens' Committee clashed with demonstrators, fired into the crowd and left thirty men wounded and two men—Mike Sokolowski and Steve Szczerbanowicz—dead. Some thirty-one “foreign rioters” were arrested and thirteen—including nine from Galicia, two from Bukovyna, one from Volhynia gubernia in Ukraine and one from Germany—were sent to the internment camp at Kapuskasing.⁶³

The strike helped to change Canadian immigration policy. Early in June, amendments to the Immigration Act made it possible to deport anyone other than a Canadian citizen for advocating “the overthrow by force...of constituted law and authority.” Simultaneously, the Naturalization Act was changed to permit the authorities to denaturalize and deport radical aliens. Several weeks later, the government, which had the power since 1910 to bar the entry of immigrants “belonging to any nationality or race deemed unsuitable,” issued two additional restrictive orders-in-council. Natives of Germany, Austria (including Ukrainians), Hungary, Bulgaria and Turkey were prevented from entering Canada because of their “wartime associations” (PC 1203), and Doukhobors, Mennonites and Hutterites were barred because of their “peculiar customs, habits, modes of living and methods of holding property” (PC 1204). Although provisions for the reunification of families were made in 1920, both measures remained in force until 1923.⁶⁴

Having crushed the Winnipeg General Strike and barred undesirables, the forces of law and order continued the repression for the rest of the summer, rounding up a number⁶⁵ of "anarchists and revolutionaries." The RNWMP raided socialist meetings in the Crow's Nest Pass, returned soldiers attacked striking miners in Drumheller and employers in the British Columbia lumber industry blacklisted radicals and One Big Union activists. By August a strike of sixty-two hundred miners, concerned to win recognition for the One Big Union, was broken, and by December the radical union was being driven out of the west's mining communities. Although a number of Ukrainian radicals, including N.D. Tkachuk, were arrested during these months, the fate of Tymofei Koreichuk was especially tragic. In 1918, suffering from tuberculosis, the veteran Social Democratic organizer settled with relatives on a farm near Vegreville, Alberta, where he continued to lecture publicly. His presence, however, rankled members of the local national home, who had vowed to rid the community of all "agitators," and on 17 September, Koreichuk, who had not been naturalized, was arrested and interned at the camp in Vernon, where he died within a month.⁶⁶

Of the Ukrainians arrested and/or interned as "enemy" and "radical" aliens between 1914 and 1919, the number repatriated or deported in the fall and winter of 1919-20 is not known. What is certain is that, of the four to five thousand Ukrainians holding Austrian citizenship and interned as "enemy aliens" during the first two or three years of the war, the vast majority were paroled in 1916-17 when the demand for labour increased. At war's end there were only 2,200 internees left and of these only 489 were Austrian nationals. Ultimately, 1,644 German, 302 "Austrian" and 18 other internees were repatriated between March 1919 and February 1920. Ukrainians, however, were likely well represented, judging from the presence among the "Austrians" of such prominent socialists as Petro Kovalyshyn, Semen Tatoryn and Vasyi Kanazhdii, all interned in 1918.⁶⁷ Ten of the thirteen men interned in the aftermath of the Winnipeg General Strike were also part of this group. Besides the repatriated internees, 1,109 persons deemed medically unfit, public charges or undesirable criminals were also deported in 1919 and 1920. Some historians have speculated that some deported as "criminals" (570) may, in fact, have been radical immigrants charged with 'crimes' like picketing or obstructing the police.⁶⁸ Even so, only a handful could have been Ukrainians since up to 85 per cent of the deportees during these years were Britons and Americans. Ultimately, most of the several thousand Ukrainians who left Canada in 1919-20 did so voluntarily to join families they had not seen for almost a decade. Few left with pleasant memories or any burning desire to return.

During the war years the division of Ukrainians into Catholics, Orthodox, nationalists, socialists and Protestants, incipient before 1914, became clearly marked. While poor judgment by Bishop Budka and his closest advisers and the church's very difficult manpower situation (aggravated by the war) were largely responsible for the setbacks which Catholics suffered between 1914 and 1918, outbursts of Anglo-Canadian nativism, discriminatory legislation and harassment by the authorities discredited Ukrainian representatives of Protestantism. On the other hand, nationalistic advocates of Orthodoxy and the socialists used these developments to their advantage and emerged from the war stronger and more influential. Both groups, however, were on a collision course by 1919, largely because of their divergent economic experiences. For farmers, businessmen and professionals—the backbone of the new Orthodox movement—the war years had been a period of unprecedented economic prosperity, with all benefiting from the higher agricultural prices. For labourers, on the other hand, the same years were a period of unemployment or underemployment; dismissal from jobs and, in some instances, internment as “enemy aliens”; and beginning in 1917, harassment in the workplace by war veterans and by rapidly rising living costs that always seemed to outpace wages. There was among Ukrainians in Canada very little, by 1919, on which to build a united Ukrainian community and the revolution in Ukraine, by then well into its second year, only made matters worse.

Notes

1. By war's end Canadian casualties totalled almost 60,000 dead and more than 150,000 wounded, 70,000 permanently. For good overviews of the war years in Canada, see R. Craig Brown and Ramsay Cook, *Canada, 1896-1921: A Nation Transformed* (Toronto, 1974), 212-338; Jack L. Granatstein, Irving M. Abella, David J. Bercuson, R. Craig Brown and H. Blair Neatby, *Twentieth Century Canada* (Toronto, 1983), 87-178, 249-53; Robert Bothwell, Ian Drummond and John English, *Canada, 1900-1945* (Toronto, 1987), 119-87. On western Canada during the war years, see John H. Thompson, *The Harvests of War: The Prairie West, 1914-1918* (Toronto, 1978). Very useful also are R. Craig Brown, *Robert Laird Borden: A Biography*, II (Toronto, 1980), 1-174, and Desmond Morton's *Canada and War: A Military and Political History* (Toronto, 1981), 54-81, and his *A Military History of Canada* (Edmonton, 1985), 130-72.
2. Cited in Marilyn Barber, “The Assimilation of Immigrants in the Canadian Prairie Provinces, 1896-1918: Canadian Perspectives and Canadian Policies” (PhD dissertation, University of London, 1975), 260.

3. *Manitoba Free Press* 1 March 1917, 12 February 1918; *Winnipeg Tribune* 24 April 1917; *Robochyi narod* 9 March, 11, 28 April 1917; *Ukrainskyi holos* 4, 18 April, 2 May 1917, 20 February 1918.
4. *Winnipeg Tribune* 13, 14 May 1918; *Ukrainskyi holos* 22 May 1918.
5. At first, Canadian recruiters were not particular about the nationality (citizenship) of volunteers. British military authorities, on the other hand, did not want natives of Germany and Austria-Hungary at the front. In November 1914 they sent back a number of German and Austrian nationals, as well as naturalized British subjects of German and Austro-Hungarian origin, who had enlisted in the Expeditionary Force. Among them were several Ukrainians. As a result, a directive from the Canadian Department of National Defence in February 1915 stated that "for a person to be eligible for enlistment in any unit of the CEF, he must be a British Subject by birth or naturalization and...it is considered inadvisable to enlist persons of foreign birth or nationality." By 1917 declining enlistment obliged Canadian authorities to reconsider, and naturalized immigrants of enemy origin were accepted "provided their loyalty was deemed satisfactory." Barber, 237, 265.
6. Frances Swyripa, "The Ukrainian Image: Loyal Citizen or Disloyal Alien," in Frances Swyripa and John H. Thompson, eds., *Loyalties in Conflict: Ukrainians in Canada During the Great War* (Edmonton, 1983), 58. There is no evidence to confirm that ten thousand Ukrainians served in the Canadian armed forces, as is widely believed. For a preliminary investigation of Ukrainian participation in the Canadian armed forces, see Vladimir J. Kaye, *Ukrainian Canadians in Canada's Wars: Materials for Ukrainian Canadian History* (Toronto, 1983), 29-58. A list of 393 "Ukrainian Canadian Fatal Casualties 1915-1921" is appended to the volume, though at least 50 appear to be Jewish, Russian, Polish and Slovak.
7. In December 1916 a Ukrainian delegation led by Roman Kremar approached Borden in Edmonton and declared that Ukrainians were eager to fight against the Central Powers "to prevent the Ukrainian Peoples from being incorporated into a Polish Kingdom...under the Hegemony of Germany and Austria, and to liberate their fellow-nationals and their territory now under Austrian rule." After assuring the prime minister that ten thousand Ukrainians would enlist in the west alone, a non-combatant Ruthenian Forestry Company was formed. It was disbanded in June 1917 because only forty-nine Ukrainians had enlisted. Kaye, 35-42; Swyripa, 61-4; *Ukrainskyi holos* 10 April 1917.
8. Desmond Morton and Glen Wright, *Winning the Second Battle: Canadian Veterans and the Return to Civilian Life, 1915-1930* (Toronto, 1987), 68.
9. *Toronto Globe* 13-14, 16-21 April 1917; *Toronto World* 13, 16, 19 April 1917.
10. Morton and Wright, 71.
11. A. Ross McCormack, *Reformers, Rebels and Revolutionaries: The Western Canadian Radical Movement, 1899-1919* (Toronto, 1977), 124-7.
12. *Robochyi narod* 12 January 1917. When Hryts Bodnar, a naturalized thirty-five-year-old who had farmed near Bird's Hill, Manitoba, since 1904, refused to fill out his card, he was interned at Morrissey, British Columbia, on orders of local officials. He was released when local Ukrainian and

- Anglo-Canadian farmers intervened through Maj.-Gen. Otter. *Ibid.*, 11, 18 April 1917.
13. *Ibid.*, 5, 12, 26 January 1917; *Ukrainskyi holos* 3 January, 7 February 1917; *Kanadyiskyi rusyn* 3 January 1917; *Manitoba Free Press* 25 January 1917.
 14. *Ukrainskyi holos* 31 January, 21 February 1917; *Robochyi narod* 2 February 1917; *Manitoba Free Press* 26 January 1917.
 15. Budka to Borden, 19 June 1917, cited in Barber, 272-3; *Kanadyiskyi farmer* 25 May 1917; *Robochyi narod* 30 May, 6 June, 18 July, 29 December 1917.
 16. Barber, 276-84; *Kanadyiskyi farmer* 14 September 1917; *Ukrainskyi holos* 5, 26 September 1917; *Manitoba Free Press* 18 May 1917.
 17. *Kanadyiskyi rusyn* 3 October 1917; *Ukrainskyi holos* 2, 23 May, 5, 26 September 1917; *Kanadyiskyi farmer* 14, 21 September 1917; *Robochyi narod* 5, 12, 19 September 1917.
 18. *Ukrainskyi holos* 7 November 1917, 30 January, 20 February 1918; Swyripa, 56.
 19. Barber, 284 ff.; *Robochyi narod* 12 December 1917.
 20. *Robochyi narod* 22 December 1917; *Ukrainskyi holos* 26 December 1917; *Edmonton Journal* 18 January 1918.
 21. Barber, 287; *Ukrainskyi holos* 5 December 1917, 6 January, 6, 20 February, 6 March 1918; *Manitoba Free Press* 26 January 1918.
 22. *Robochyi narod* 8 December 1917, 12 January 1918.
 23. Cited in Joseph A. Boudreau, "The Enemy Alien Problem in Canada, 1914-1921" (PhD dissertation, University of California at Los Angeles, 1965), 172-3.
 24. *Manitoba Free Press* 18 February 1918; *Robochyi narod* 20, 23 February 1918.
 25. Barber, 292-6; *Robochyi narod* 26 June 1918.
 26. *Robochyi narod* 22 December 1917.
 27. The following centres had Ukrainian Social Democratic branches in the summer of 1918: BRITISH COLUMBIA: Vancouver, Fernie, Corbin, Michel; ALBERTA: Edmonton, Lethbridge, Coleman, Hillcrest, Canmore, Cardiff, Calgary, Diamond City, Bellevue, Hardieville, Coalhurst, Medicine Hat, Vegreville, Boian, Brule Mine, Redcliffe, Stry, Wahstao, Nordegg, Taber, Beverly, Hope Valley; SASKATCHEWAN: Moose Jaw, Regina; MANITOBA: Winnipeg, Transcona, Elmwood, Portage la Prairie, Angusville; ONTARIO: Ottawa, Toronto, South Porcupine, Fort William, Welland, Brantford, Sault Ste. Marie, Timmins, Hamilton, St. Catharines, Creighton Mine, Oshawa, Giroux Lake, Kitchener, Espanola, Coniston, Guelph, Thorold, Sudbury, Fort Francis; QUEBEC: Montreal, Shawinigan Falls.
 28. *Manitoba Free Press* 20, 21, 26, 27 April, 3 May 1915, 23 July 1917; *Robochyi narod* 21, 28 April, 5 May 1915, 9, 23, 30 May, 27 June, 18, 25 July, 1, 8 August 1917.
 29. Karl Lambrecht, "Regional Development and Social Strife: Early Coal Mining in Alberta," *Prairie Forum* IV (2) (1979), 271 ff.; *Robochyi narod* 14 August 1916, 11 July 1917, 16 February 1918. Tkachuk, defeated by Phil Christophers, carried Bankhead, Bellevue, Brule Mine, Canmore, Frank, Hillcrest, Nordegg and Wayne (863-307), but trailed badly in Coalhurst, Commerce, Lethbridge and Taber. *Ibid.*, 6 February 1918.

30. Crath first resigned in December 1914, returned to edit *Robochyi narod* in the spring of 1915 and was asked to resign in January 1916. *Ibid.*, 2 January, 21 April, 2 June 1915, 28 January, 14 August 1916, 12 September 1917; NAC, John Robert Kovalevitch Papers, "Autobiography of Rev. Paul Crath," Book II, 128 ff. From its inception in February 1915 until 1916, Stefanicky's paper appeared as *Svidoma syla* (The Conscious Strength). With *Robochyi narod* struggling to survive, a party referendum refused to sanction the new weekly, but Stefanicky ignored the verdict. Early in 1917, Popovich revealed that several of Stefanicky's editorials were plagiarized translations of articles published in Anglo-Canadian papers.
31. "Autobiography of Rev. Paul Crath," Book II, 134.
32. For the articles by prominent Bolsheviks, see *Robochyi narod* 2 December 1914, 9 January, 24 March, 14 April 1915; also Maksimovich's (Litvinov's) "Address," an unsparing indictment of socialists who supported the war effort (5 May 1915), summaries of speeches by Karl Liebknecht and Klara Zetkin (4 February 1915), articles from the German *Spartak* (early 1917), the Zimmerwald Manifesto (9 February 1917), Lenin's "The Socialist Revolution and the Right of Nations to Self-Determination" (26 January, 2, 23 February 1917), and Bukharin on the significance of the Russian Revolution (8 August 1917). For articles by non-Bolsheviks and Lenin's critics, see *ibid.*, 6 November 1914, 9, 23 June 1915, 16 March, 8 April, 6, 20 June, 4, 18 July, 1, 8 August, 3 October 1917.
33. *Ibid.*, 7 August 1912, 18 April, 16 May, 12 September, 14 November, 26 December 1917. Kulyk (1897-1941) returned to Ukraine in June 1917 and was a member of the first Soviet government in Ukraine the following year. Active in the proletarian writers' group "Hart," he served as a Soviet consul in Canada (1924-7) and from 1932 was involved in the Writers' Union of Ukraine, heading it in 1934-5. Elected to the Central Committee of the Communist Party (Bolshevik) of Ukraine in 1937, he disappeared during the purges, though himself prominent earlier in the hunt for literary "nationalists" and "counter-revolutionaries." *Encyclopedia of Ukraine*, II, 711.
34. *Robochyi narod* 16 February, 9 March, 8 August 1917, 19 September, 17 October, 14 November 1917, 3 April, 1 June 1918.
35. *Ibid.*, 29 August, 3 October 1917, 15 July 1918.
36. *Ibid.*, 20 June 1917.
37. *Ibid.*, 26 December 1917.
38. *Chervonyi prapor* 18 January 1908; *Robochyi narod* 19 May 1915, 2 May, 26 September 1917, 13 July 1918.
39. Eric Hobsbawm, *Worlds of Labour: Further Studies in the History of Labour* (London, 1984), 76; *Robochyi narod* 15 May 1912, 5 May 1915.
40. *Robochyi narod* 25 February 1915, 16 September 1916, 9, 23 May, 1 August, 17 October 1917, 27 February 1918; *Ukrainski robotnychi visty* 31 December 1919.
41. *Robochyi narod* 7 May 1913, 2 February, 6 June, 14 November 1917; *Kaliendar Novyi svit* 1918 (Montreal), ii; *Almanakh TURFDim, 1918-1929* (Winnipeg, 1930), 5-10. The catechism was published in *Robotnychyi kaliendar* (Winnipeg, 1918) and in several pamphlets, including Vasyl K. Holovatsky (Wasył Holowacký), *Robotnychi pisni* (Winnipeg, 1915).

42. Gregory S. Kealey, "1919: The Canadian Labour Revolt," *Labour/Le Travail* 13 (Spring 1984), 16.
43. McCormack, 131. Besides McCormack, the following also provide good overviews of Canadian labour radicalism in 1917-19 and the government's efforts to contain it: Desmond Morton, *Working People: An Illustrated History of the Canadian Labour Movement* (Ottawa, 1984), 91-124; David Jay Bercuson, *Confrontation at Winnipeg: Labour, Industrial Relations and the General Strike* (Montreal, 1974) and *Fools and Wise Men: The Rise and Fall of the One Big Union* (Toronto, 1978); Donald Avery, 'Dangerous Foreigners': *European Immigrant Workers and Labour Radicalism in Canada, 1896-1932* (Toronto, 1979); Bryan D. Palmer, *Working-Class Experience: The Rise and Reconstitution of Canadian Labour, 1800-1980* (Toronto, 1983), 166-84.
44. *Robochyi narod* 2, 23 June, 14 July 1915, 13, 20 June 1917, 25 July, 1, 8 August 1917; *Toronto Globe* 11 June 1917; *Toronto Daily Star* 11 June 1917; *Manitoba Free Press* 23 July 1917.
45. *Robochyi narod* 30 January, 9, 13 March, 10 April, 11, 18 May, 5, 12 June, 31 July, 3, 17 24 August, 11 September 1918. In Brantford and Montreal, Russian-born Ukrainian, Jewish and Russian members of the Russian Socialist Revolutionary party were also harassed and arrested. *Ibid.*, 12 June, 31 July, 3, 17 August 1918.
46. In Hamilton, Vasyi Kanazhdii (Kenardzii) was interned for sedition after requesting a raise on behalf of a large group at the Canadian Steel Company. *Ibid.*, 11 September 1918.
47. In the Sudbury basin eight members of the Russian Socialist Revolutionary party and the Ukrainian Social Democratic party, all Ukrainians, were arrested by INCO police on 20 August. Three Austrian-born members were interned, three were released and two Russian-born men, Pavlo Ubohy and Lev Mikhnevych, the latter a village school teacher from Kiev province and an active Socialist Revolutionary since 1902, were fined three thousand dollars or three years at hard labour. *Ibid.*, 24 July, 11, 18 September 1918.
48. *Ibid.*, 24 July, 18 September 1918.
49. Avery, 75; McCormack, 151.
50. The twelve languages were German, Hungarian, Bulgarian, Turkish, Romanian, Russian, Ukrainian, Finnish, Estonian, Syrian, Croatian and Livonian. "Austrian" and "Ruthenian" were also prohibited for good measure! PC 2381 is reproduced in Swyripa and Thompson, 190-2.
51. The outlawed organizations were the Industrial Workers of the World, the Social Democratic party, the Russian Social Democratic party, the Ukrainian Social Democratic party, the Russian Revolutionary Group, the Russian Social Revolutionists, the Russian Workers' Union, the Social Labour party, the Group of Social Democrats of Bolsheviks, the Group of Social Democrats of Anarchists, the Workers' International Industrial Union, the Chinese Nationalist League, and the Chinese Labour Association. PC 2384 is reproduced in Swyripa and Thompson, 193-96. Several days later, the Finnish Socialist Organization of Canada was added by PC 2786.
52. Bercuson, *Confrontation at Winnipeg*, 83; Barber, 302. The Ukrainian editors ignored the fact that the Ukrainian regime of Hetman Skoropadsky

- (April-December 1918), which succeeded the Central Rada, was a German puppet.
53. Morton and Wright, 121; *Manitoba Free Press* 27 January 1919; *Pivstolittia pratsi ukrainskoho tovarystva Chyталni Prosvity u Vinnipeg* (Winnipeg, 1958), 19, 23, 174-5, 180-1.
 54. *Manitoba Free Press* 28, 29 January, 4 February 1919; *Winnipeg Telegram* 29 January 1919. "There was some desire on the part of the board to deport immigrants who had been disloyal, but the Immigration Branch did not transfer any power to this provincial body." See Henry Drystek, "'The Simplest and Cheapest Mode of Dealing With Them': Deportation From Canada Before World War Two," *Histoire sociale/Social History* XV (30) (1982), 423.
 55. In January 1919, *MacLean's Magazine* proclaimed that Bolshevism was spreading throughout Canada and that Ukrainians "are really Austrians" who subscribe to Wobblies' doctrines and support Lenin and Trotsky. *Saturday Night* (18 January 1919) censured Bishop Budka for "prancing up and down the Prairie Provinces...demand[ing] the immediate repeal of the Order-in-Council prohibiting the publication of Ukrainian books and newspapers without the required English translation in parallel columns." *Jack Canuck* (1 February 1919), a "satirical" tabloid published in Toronto, referred to "Ukrainian swines" whose relatives "sold out to the Hun" and who "want to keep their own gibberish." Asserting that "this is a white man's land," the tabloid called for the disfranchisement of all Ukrainians, Bolsheviks and pro-Germans until "they take a cast iron oath of allegiance to Canada, accompanied by bail bonds." For editorial reactions, see *Ukrainskyi holos* 8 January, 19 February 1919; *Kanadyiskyi rusyn* 29 January 1919.
 56. *Hamilton Spectator* 31 January 1919; *Manitoba Free Press* 2 May 1919; *Calgary Herald* 26 April 1919. On 26 November 1919, Judge Paterson of the Winnipeg County Court acquitted the bishop of all charges and stated that "there was no grounds shown why there should be any doubt cast upon Bishop Budka's loyalty to Canada." *Manitoba Free Press* 27 November 1919; see also Kaye, 19-23.
 57. *Manitoba Free Press* 29 January 1919; Avery, 77, 86.
 58. *Ukrainskyi holos* 5, 12, 19 February, 5, 12, 19 March, 2, 9, 23 April, 14 May, 18 June 1919.
 59. *Ukrainski robotnychi visty* 10 May 1919.
 60. Donald Avery, "The Radical Alien and the Winnipeg General Strike of 1919," in Carl Berger and Ramsay Cook, eds., *The West and the Nation: Essays in Honour of W.L. Morton* (Toronto, 1976), 216; *Manitoba Free Press* 1, 2, 5, 8, 9 May 1919.
 61. Bercuson, *Confrontation at Winnipeg*, 127; *Manitoba Free Press* 22 May 1919.
 62. *Ukrainski robotnychi visty* 12 July 1919; Peter Krawchuk, *Mathew Popovich: His Place in the History of Ukrainian Canadians* (Toronto, 1987), 31.
 63. *Ukrainski robotnychi visty* 16 July 1919; Kealey, 40. Sokolowski, whose brother was a war veteran, died instantly; Szczerbanowicz died several days later. Both men were "Galicians," though it is not clear whether they were Ukrainians; the allegation that they were throwing rocks at the "special constables" was disputed. *Winnipeg Telegram* 24 June 1919; *The*

Enlightener 26 June 1919. Four of the thirteen internees were German (Thos. Forman, Alfred Adam, Peter Missler, Max Fickensher) and nine were Ukrainian or Polish (Pete Kupczuk, John Jarewkewicz, Sam Okrainec, Sam Baran, Harry Kuzinski, Steve Prycun, Iwan Melenski, Joe Sokerka and Olia Skaz (Illia Skach?)). None of the men had been active participants in the demonstration. *Strikers' Defence Bulletin* 27 August 1919.

64. Avery, '*Dangerous Foreigners*', 90-100; Barbara Roberts, "Shovelling Out the 'Mutinous': Political Deportation from Canada Before 1936," *Labour/Le Travail* 18 (1986), 84-5.
65. There is confusion among historians about the number of radicals apprehended, arrested, interned or deported in the summer of 1919. Avery, '*Dangerous Foreigners*', 87, implies two hundred were rounded up; Drystek, 426, insists only twenty to thirty were held and "not more than a handful were deported."
66. *Ukrainski robotnychi visty* 17 September, 29 October 1919, 20 May 1922.
67. William Otter, *Internment Operations, 1914-1920* (Ottawa, 1921), 14; *Ukrainski robotnychi visty* 22 October, 10, 17 December 1919, 28 April 1920.
68. Barbara A. Roberts, *Whence They Came: Deportation from Canada, 1900-1935* (Ottawa, 1988), 37-52, 71-97.

PART FIVE

The End of an Era, 1919-1924

Ukrainian Immigrants and Ukraine

During the years between the end of the First World War and the resumption of Ukrainian mass immigration to Canada in 1925, divisions within the Ukrainian-Canadian community became deeper and all but irreparable. After 1917, revolution and armed struggle in Ukraine created a fundamental breach between the socialists (now procommunists),¹ who favoured a Soviet regime in Ukraine, and the nationalists, Catholics and Protestants, who supported an independent Ukrainian nation state. Henceforth, the Ukrainian-Canadian Left would be shunned, ostracized and dismissed as traitors by their nationalist opponents. At the same time, the nationalist intelligentsia's determination to proceed with the organization of a Ukrainian Greek Orthodox church, which expanded at Ukrainian Catholic, Russian Orthodox and Protestant expense, generated an unprecedented degree of sectarian strife and threw the anticommunist forces into disarray. As a result, the Ukrainian-Canadian community was plunged into another bitter three-cornered struggle as Ukrainian Catholic priests, nationalist proponents of Ukrainian Orthodoxy and procommunist leaders of the Ukrainian Labour (-Farmer) Temple Association (which succeeded the Ukrainian Social Democratic party in 1919) competed for the allegiance of the Ukrainian people. Although advocates of Protestantism and Russian Orthodoxy occasionally joined the fray, by the 1920s they were largely on the sidelines.

The Revolution in Ukraine

On 8 March 1917 chronic food shortages and war weariness provoked strikes and riots in Petrograd (formerly St. Petersburg), capital of the Russian empire. Within a week, Tsar Nicholas II abdicated, a Provisional Government committed to transforming Russia into a liberal democratic republic was established by Russian parliamentarians and a Soviet (Council) of Workers', Peasants' and Soldiers' Deputies was formed by radical socialists. Eight months later, on 7

November, the Bolsheviks, who had gained control of the Petrograd Soviet, seized power from the Provisional Government and precipitated four years of civil war and radical social experimentation.

If socioeconomic issues dominated the ensuing struggle in all parts of the disintegrating empire, the revolution in Ukraine also had a national dimension.² Shortly after the formation of the Provisional Government in Petrograd, Ukrainians established their own Central Rada (Council) in Kiev. Committed to Ukrainian autonomy and the transformation of the old Russian empire into a federal and parliamentary state, the Rada encompassed the liberal Society of Ukrainian Progressives, Ukrainian Social Democrats, and Ukrainian Socialist Revolutionaries, along with representatives of the Russian, Polish and Jewish communities in Ukraine, attracted by the Rada's promise of cultural autonomy for national minorities. Although challenged by an executive committee acting as an arm of the Russian Provisional Government, and by the Kiev Soviet of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies, the Rada was supported by Ukrainian intellectuals, school teachers, nationally conscious priests, zemstvo officials, junior officers and affluent peasants. Indeed, from April through June, all-Ukrainian congresses of peasants, soldiers and workers threw their support behind the Rada, so that by July even the Provisional Government, which opposed Ukrainian autonomy, had to recognize the Rada's authority in five Ukrainian provinces.

The Rada's popularity, however, was short-lived. Led by young and inexperienced men and engaged in disputes with the Provisional Government, it lost contact with the Ukrainian rural masses and the largely non-Ukrainian urban labour force by neglecting such burning issues as land redistribution and the provisioning of the cities, though it did reassure the propertied classes that their property rights would be protected. As a result, the Bolsheviks, who were very weak in Ukraine, were able in time to capitalize on the Rada's indecisiveness and on the sense of betrayal felt by the Ukrainian masses.

Relations between the Bolshevik regime in Petrograd and the Rada deteriorated rapidly. Although Lenin, in 1914, had recognized the right of all nations to self-determination, once in power he was loath to lose Ukraine, the source of 98 per cent of the empire's wheat and 87, 82 and 77 per cent respectively of its coal, sugar and iron ore. With Russian cities suffering severe food shortages, Lenin argued that Ukrainian separatism was contrary to the interests of the Russian working class and the socialist revolution. The Rada, in turn, refused to recognize the Bolshevik Soviet regime as the legitimate government of Russia, convened a conference of nationalities with a view to transforming the Russian empire into a federation, and permitted Don Cossacks from the European front to cross Ukrainian territory and join General Kaledin's anti-Bolshevik army. The Bolsheviks retaliated by proclaiming a Soviet Ukrainian Republic in Kharkiv on 30 December 1917, and almost immediately a force of some twelve thousand men, mainly Red Guards recruited in Petrograd and Moscow (with special squads

of food requisitioners), began to advance on Ukraine, where its ranks were swelled by disenfranchised peasants and workers.

The first Soviet Ukrainian regime, which lasted just over two months, was carried into Ukraine "on the tips of bayonets." The government, composed primarily of Russians with several Jewish and Ukrainian Bolsheviks, was little more than a façade for the real power holders, the military led by Mikhail Muravev. Interpreting popular hostility to the Rada as indifference to all things Ukrainian, Muravev determined that the new regime would be Russian by suppressing the Ukrainian press, bookstores, school teachers and the public use of Ukrainian, and by incarcerating or summarily executing "enemies of the Revolution." In addition, foodstuffs were requisitioned and "practically everything of value that could be seized was taken for immediate shipment to Russia."³ Ironically, while the first *Soviet* Ukrainian regime pleased the local Russian bourgeoisie, it alienated the most radical elements of the Ukrainian population.

The Soviet invasion of Ukraine in January 1918 jarred the Rada to undertake its own radical reforms. First, it approved the nationalization of the great estates; then it proclaimed an independent Ukrainian National Republic (Ukrainska Narodna Respublika) and elected the historian Mykhailo Hrushevsky as its first president. Finally, it sent its own delegates to Brest-Litovsk, where representatives of the Soviet Russian regime were negotiating a separate peace with the Central Powers. On 9 February 1918, almost a month before the Bolsheviks came to terms, the Rada signed a separate treaty with Germany and its allies, a move which the Entente naturally resented. In exchange for promises of Ukrainian grain and other foodstuffs, the Central Powers recognized the new republic and offered military assistance. Driven into the arms of the Central Powers by the invading Bolshevik forces and indirectly by the Entente (especially France, which was determined to restore a single, indivisible non-Soviet Russia), the Rada returned to Kiev on 3 March 1918 under the protection of a German army of occupation. Collaboration with the Germans, however, was short-lived. When the Rada refused to force the peasantry to deliver grain to the Germans, it was replaced in April by a German puppet regime under General Pavlo Skoropadsky.

Hetman Skoropadsky (his official title) was one of the largest landowners in Ukraine; he had been an aide-de-camp to the deposed Tsar Nicholas II, while his wife was the daughter of Petr Nikolaevich Durnovo, who as minister of the interior had ruthlessly crushed the 1905 revolution. Eager to restore law and order, Skoropadsky abolished the cultural autonomy granted to the national minorities, revoked the nationalization of large estates and sheltered fugitive royalists from all parts of the Russian empire. Scorned and resisted by the overwhelming majority of Ukrainians, the new regime was supported by industrialists and businessmen, high-ranking bureaucrats, some wealthy peasants and

especially by Russian, Polish and Ukrainian estate owners. Skoropadsky also attracted a handful of conservative Ukrainian intellectuals, who recoiled at the sight of the elemental forces unleashed by the revolution and approved of the hetman's efforts to promote Ukrainian scholarly activity. Otherwise, the heavy-handed measures employed by the German army to requisition grain from the peasants, and the regime's tacit approval of landlord-inspired punitive measures against peasants who had participated in the partition of the great estates, precipitated a peasant rebellion that engulfed the countryside by the summer. As imperial Germany tottered and then collapsed, Skoropadsky appointed a government dominated by Russian monarchists and vowed to federate Ukraine with a non-Bolshevik Russia. To no one's surprise, his regime was overthrown shortly after the First World War ended, and the hetman withdrew to Berlin.

Power had changed hands five times between March 1917 and April 1918 in central Ukraine, but events became even more hectic after the November armistice. With the Central Powers and Skoropadsky gone, the resulting power vacuum brought forth marauding partisan and anarchist bands, led by *otamany* (warlords), and three new regimes: the Western Ukrainian National Republic (Zakhidno-Ukrainska Narodna Respublika) in eastern Galicia and northern Bukovyna, the second incarnation of the first Ukrainian National Republic under a five-man Directory, and the second Soviet Ukrainian Republic. Simultaneously, Polish, French interventionist, and counter-revolutionary White Russian armies began to assemble along the western, southern and southeastern frontiers of Ukraine. In 1919, as no fewer than six armies battled for a share of Ukrainian territory, all authority collapsed and chaos engulfed the land.

The Western Ukrainian Republic, proclaimed in Lviv on 1 November 1918, faced a life-and-death struggle from the moment of its birth. It quickly lost northern Bukovyna to Romanian troops, while Lviv and the northwestern districts of eastern Galicia fell to the Poles before the end of November. Although the well-organized Galician Ukrainians were able to assemble a regular army (Ukrainska Halytska Armiiia) of some fifty thousand men by the spring of 1919, they lacked officers and munitions and were ultimately forced to retreat by General Józef Haller's Polish army. On 25 June the Allied Supreme Council in Paris, eager to prevent the spread of Bolshevism into central Europe, authorized Polish troops to occupy all of eastern Galicia. Consequently, in July, Evhen Petrushevych, president of the Western Ukrainian Republic, his cabinet and the Galician army withdrew eastward to Kamianets Podilskyi, the seat of the Ukrainian National Republic's Directory. The governments of both republics, which had entered into a formal union on 22 January 1919, had been on the run ever since. Having overthrown the hetman, many of the Directory's peasant irregulars had returned to their villages, and Symon Petliura, the Directory's war minister, had to forge an army by placing under his command innumerable partisan bands led by *otamany*. The result, as historians have pointed out, was a

regime of plundering and often openly reactionary warlords, who alienated workers and peasants and sent them back into the arms of the Bolsheviks, who had begun to advance into Ukraine once again. By 2 February 1919 the Directory had been forced to abandon Kiev and retreat westward to Kamianets Podilskyi.

To make matters worse, ideological and tactical differences soon divided the politicians and parties who controlled the Directory. The radical left, led by Volodymyr Vynnychenko, argued for a soviet system of government, greater attention to socioeconomic issues and a *modus vivendi* with the Soviet Russian regime. The nationalist elements, led by Petliura, stood for parliamentary government, the abandonment of socialist experiments, the development of a strong army, and an understanding with the Entente, which was dispatching interventionist forces to Ukraine and Russia to overthrow the Bolshevik regime. In mid-February, when Petliura prevailed and Vynnychenko went into exile in Vienna, Left Social Democrats and Left Socialist Revolutionaries withdrew their support, established separate parties and adopted a Soviet platform. Petliura and his supporters, in turn, were rebuffed by the Entente, which refused to recognize the Directory and preferred the White counter-revolutionaries—General Denikin's Volunteer Army—committed to restoring "Russia one and indivisible."

Although the second Soviet Ukrainian regime benefited from the popular disenchantment with the hetman and the Directory, it did not prevail, as once again it underestimated the strength of Ukrainian national feeling and ignored the wishes of the Ukrainian peasantry. The government of Iurii Piatakov and Khrystiiian Rakovsky consisted primarily of Russians and Russified non-Ukrainians, though several Ukrainians held subordinate posts. Under directives of the Russian Soviet government, the second Soviet regime refused to recognize Ukrainian as the language of administration and incarcerated individuals accused of "national agitation," while the CHEKA (secret police) waged a campaign of terror against "class enemies," executing many at will. Even more infuriating from the peasantry's point of view was the regime's view of Ukraine as Russia's food reservoir. As in 1918, brigades were dispatched from Petrograd and Moscow to requisition grain and numerous other items, by force if necessary. Collective farming was introduced, local authority was placed in the hands of Committees of Poor Peasants, and villagers were inducted into the Red army.⁴ As a result, by the summer of 1919 Ukraine was in open revolt against the Soviet regime. With Petliura's forces advancing from the west and the Whites from the southeast, the Soviets evacuated Kiev in August.

The arrival of Denikin's army during the summer of 1919 brought to a climax one of the darkest periods in Ukrainian history. Although the Directory had restored cultural autonomy to the Jewish minority and appointed two Jewish ministers, the territories under its control after January 1919 had witnessed a series of very brutal and bloody Jewish pogroms. Blood was first spilled as partisan bands and regulars under Petliura's command retreated from the advancing

Red army. While not an anti-Semite in the conventional sense, Petliura did little to prevent the pogroms that *otaman*-led irregulars usually perpetrated, because without the warlords Petliura would literally have had no army. It also appears that he (like the many Ukrainian peasants who had had their grain requisitioned by Jewish commissars) unfairly identified all Jews with Bolshevism and held them collectively responsible for the fact that some prominent Bolsheviks were of Jewish origin. While he issued several injunctions against "excesses," an explicit condemnation of the pogroms was not made until late July, some eight months after they had begun. Even then, nothing was done to have the instigators apprehended and punished, though some Directory members had demanded such measures in February.⁵ Ultimately, however, the majority of the Jews who perished in Ukraine in 1919-20 fell victim to General Denikin's Volunteer (White) Army. Because an "obsessive anti-Semitism...full of paranoid delusions" was the "focal point of White ideology," the Whites instigated the most systematic and bloody pogroms in which Russian officers, Terek and Kuban Cossacks and some local Ukrainian peasants participated. Neither Denikin nor anyone in his entourage condemned the pogroms.⁶

Denikin's thrust into Ukraine not only helped to topple the second Soviet Ukrainian regime, but it complicated the highly problematic relationship between Petliura's central Ukrainians and Petrushevych's western Ukrainians. To the former, the Galicians were pedantic and provincial reactionaries; the Galicians, in turn, scorned the central Ukrainians for their lack of organization and their excess of social radicalism. Even more serious, while Petrushevych and the Western Ukrainian Republic regarded the Poles as Ukraine's greatest enemies, Petliura and the Directory reserved that honour for the Russians, both Red and White. The tensions, which dogged the combined Ukrainian offensive in the summer and fall of 1919, reached the breaking point in November. With the Poles, Romanians, Whites and Reds converging upon them, the exhausted Ukrainian forces, plagued by food and munitions shortages and devastated by a typhoid epidemic, disintegrated. To save his depleted army, the Galician commander concluded an alliance with Denikin, while Petrushevych and his retinue made their way to Vienna, where they established a Western Ukrainian government-in-exile. Petliura, in turn, took refuge in Poland, where in April 1920, through a treaty with the Poles, the Directory renounced all claims to eastern Galicia and Petliura promised to appoint several Polish ministers to his government in exchange for Polish support for a Ukrainian buffer state between Poland and Soviet Russia. The Polish-Ukrainian forces then advanced as far as Kiev, only to be driven back by the Red army, which reached the gates of Warsaw and even established a short-lived Galician Socialist Soviet Republic in Ternopil in the summer of 1920. Peace talks between Poland and Soviet Russia culminated in March 1921 in the Treaty of Riga, which recognized Polish control of eastern Galicia and conceded large stretches of Volhynia and western Belorussia to

Poland. Although the League of Nations did not recognize Polish sovereignty over eastern Galicia until 15 March 1923, the struggle for Ukrainian independence was over.

The Red army, which had decimated Denikin's army only weeks before Petliura and the Poles invaded Ukraine, now finally took control of the country. Ready to admit that they had alienated the peasantry and underestimated Ukrainian nationalism, Bolshevik leaders in Moscow and Ukraine gave Ukrainians more prominent positions in the third Soviet Ukrainian government established in November 1919. Under intensified recruitment, Ukrainians constituted over 23 per cent of the Communist party's membership in Ukraine by 1922, second only to the Russians.⁷ Although grain continued to be requisitioned, the government mollified the peasantry by ending collectivization. Peasants who continued to resist—some one hundred partisan units numbering over forty thousand armed men led by the anarchist Makhno and the nationalist Tiutiunnyk—were ultimately crushed by the Red army.

By 1920 prominent Ukrainian emigrés, including several who had been members of the Rada and the Directory, were not only openly condemning the activities of Petliura and Petrushevych and expressing their contempt for the counter-revolutionary policies of the Entente but calling for a *modus vivendi* with Soviet Ukraine. Even though Volodymyr Vynnychenko, the leading advocate of an independent Soviet Ukrainian state, who had visited Russia and Ukraine in 1920 and condemned the Russian Bolsheviks for their excessive centralism and chauvinism, refused to join the Soviet Ukrainian government,⁸ non-Bolshevik emigré and Galician Ukrainian leftists increasingly began to adopt a pro-Soviet orientation. In 1921 a faction within the Ukrainian Socialist Revolutionary party in Vienna, led by Mykhailo Hrushevsky, argued that Ukrainian emigrés should return to help construct the new Ukrainian state. Of even greater significance was the introduction in 1923 of "Ukrainization" policies in Soviet Ukraine. As the number of Ukrainian publications and institutions of higher learning multiplied, the prestige of Soviet Ukraine grew in Galicia and the European emigré colonies and among many Ukrainian immigrants in North America.⁹

Ukrainian-Canadian Responses to the Revolution

Except for a few Russophile and Russian Orthodox diehards, who mourned the tsar's abdication and the disintegration of "Russia one and indivisible," Ukrainian-Canadian leaders of all persuasions welcomed the collapse of the tsarist regime in March 1917. In the months that followed all looked forward to a democratic and federal Russian state, where the civil rights of all would be respected and where the aspirations of Ukrainians and other oppressed national-

ties would be fulfilled. In the summer and fall of 1917, the Ukrainian press in Canada endorsed the Rada and its efforts to wrest Ukrainian autonomy from the Provisional Government in Petrograd.¹⁰

Yet, even before the Bolsheviks seized power, it was apparent that the socialists expected more from the revolution than did most Ukrainian Canadians. Nationalist, Catholic and Protestant spokesmen saw developments in Ukraine primarily as a struggle for civil liberties, national self-determination and the union of all Ukrainian lands into one Ukrainian state. To them, the major conflict was national, one which pitted Ukrainians up against their Russian, Polish, Romanian and Jewish oppressors. While the socialists sympathized with the struggle for national liberation, they saw the turmoil as a class struggle, as an attempt by peasants and workers of all nationalities to end exploitation by landlords, industrialists and the bourgeoisie. To them, the revolution had to transform socioeconomic relations, transfer land to the peasantry and give workers control of the factories. An independent Ukraine did not guarantee social justice. To “abolish the exploitation of man by man” and to secure social and economic liberty, it was necessary to build a socialist Ukraine.¹¹

As events in Ukraine unfolded, the nationalist, Catholic and Protestant press endorsed the successive governments—the Rada, the Directory, the Western Ukrainian Republic and even the Hetmanate—while the socialist press supported the Soviet regimes. Both sides whitewashed the policies adopted and worked to discredit their opponents. As a result, by the early 1920s many Ukrainian Canadians had grown weary of the claims of both sides.

When the Central Rada emerged, *Ukrainskyi holos*, *Kanadyiskyi rusyn* and *Ranok* praised its efforts to mobilize the oppressed nationalities against the Russian imperialists and described a Ukraine totally united behind the Rada; only foreigners and Russians, primarily Black Hundred gangs and reactionaries under their influence, would oppose the Ukrainian movement.¹² Neither paper noted the Rada’s failure to address pressing socioeconomic issues. The nationalist weekly even suggested that ultimately the Rada’s failure was the result of excessive socialism and unwarranted lenience toward non-Ukrainian elements like the Jewish Bund, which refused to support it adequately.¹³ Indeed, by 1918, *Ukrainskyi holos* regarded the struggle between the Central Rada and the Soviet regime as nothing less than an assault by Russians, and in particular Jews, upon the Ukrainian people. *Ukrainskyi holos* and *Kanadyiskyi rusyn* even maintained (incorrectly) that the first Soviet Ukrainian regime, which had witnessed unspeakable atrocities and pushed the Rada into the deadly embrace of the Central Powers, consisted of eleven Jews and three Russians. While the Catholic weekly intimated sarcastically that the first Soviet Ukrainian regime had provoked “great rejoicing in all the synagogues of Ukraine, Palestine, the East Side of New York and Winnipeg’s North End,” the nationalist paper sounded a more ominous note by declaring that “for some reason socialist internationalism is Jewish through

and through” and by condemning the Soviet regime as “Muscovite-Jewish-Bolshevik rabble.”¹⁴

Robochyi narod's interpretation of the first phase of the Ukrainian revolution was equally selective. Far from being too socialist, the Rada had not been socialist enough. Not only had it alienated the Ukrainian masses by failing to deliver land and factories to the peasants and workers, but it had betrayed the socialist revolution by concluding a separate peace treaty with the Central Powers in Brest-Litovsk, which forced Lenin and Trotsky to do the same a month later. The first Soviet Ukrainian regime was not a Russian and Jewish effort to crush Ukraine's national aspirations or to conquer its natural resources. The Bolshevik forces, overwhelmingly Ukrainian, only opposed the bourgeoisie in Ukraine; they simply wanted the Ukrainian working people to control Ukraine's vast resources. Indeed, it even implied that the Soviet regime compensated peasants for the grain it requisitioned; and if Ukrainians, especially teachers and intellectuals, were persecuted, it was because they were hardened “counter-revolutionaries.”¹⁵

During Skoropadsky's brief seven-month reign, Catholics, Protestants and socialists were united in their opposition. Even *Kanadyiskyi rusyn*, arguably the most conservative weekly, described the hetman as a “German agent,” who had been installed with the aid of “German bayonets” to serve the interests of German Junkers and Polish and Russian estate owners. Only *Ukrainskyi holos* stuck by Skoropadsky, naively hoping he would be “a strong iron man” (*sylnyi zaliznyi cholovik*) able to restore law and order and drive out the “German criminals.” Praising him for trying to “Ukrainize” the armed forces and for attending a Ukrainian artists' congress, it maintained that negative reports were simply part of a campaign of “disinformation” orchestrated by Poles and other enemies. Not until December 1918 did the editors criticize the regime.¹⁶

Polemical battles became more acrimonious after Skoropadsky was overthrown, with the procommunist *Ukrainski robotnychi visty* (which had replaced *Robochyi narod* in March 1919) the most restrained. While the Catholic *Kanadyiskyi ukrainets* (renamed in April 1919) focused on developments in eastern Galicia, *Ukrainskyi holos* resumed its attack on the Bolsheviks, stressing their allegedly Jewish character. Ukraine's second Soviet government was an “urban Jewish-worker clique,” entire divisions of the Red army were composed of Jews, and Jewish and Russian hooligans were deployed by the Bolsheviks to destroy the Ukrainian movement and nation-state.¹⁷ At best exaggerations and at worst lies, such statements merely recapitulated the arguments in numerous overseas and local Ukrainian and other periodicals.¹⁸

Ranok, which reprinted editorials that described Bolshevism as a perversion of socialism, rarely identified Jews with Bolshevism. Paul Crath, on the other hand, provided the most systematic formulation of the myth of Judeo-Bolshevism within the Ukrainian-Canadian community. To him, the Bolshevik revolu-

tion and the Soviet regimes in Russia and Ukraine were a Jewish conspiracy, as most Bolshevik leaders, commissars and party members were Jews—expert demagogues who had stirred up the Russian and Ukrainian masses against middle-class patriots, teaching the people to despise their religion and nationality, while themselves remaining “nationalists and religious in their own way.” By “destroying Christianity” and “the leading classes” in the former Russian empire, the Jews were “preparing to make Russia the first Jewish state” from where they would “conquer all the world.” Young Jews everywhere were “sowing the seeds of discontent among the working classes” and “preaching Atheistic liberalism to the higher classes.” Indeed, “all the Jews in the world, whether poor or millionaires looked towards Trotsky as their long hoped for Messiah and Russia [as] the first Messianic Kingdom.”¹⁹

There is little evidence that views as extreme as Crath’s were widely accepted among Ukrainian Canadians. Nevertheless, the perception that Bolshevism was “Jewish” coloured the response of the non-socialist press to the pogroms in Ukraine. While all papers quickly condemned the pogroms perpetrated by the Poles in Lviv in November 1918, the response to those in Right Bank Ukraine between January and July 1919 was more ambivalent. As a rule, the Catholic, Protestant and nationalist weeklies either shifted the blame, denied that Ukrainians had participated in the pogroms, implied that Ukrainian authorities had done everything possible to prevent them, or tried to rationalize the atrocities.

Kanadyiskyi ukrainets, for example, in condemning all pogroms and expressing sympathy for the Jewish victims, speculated that the pogroms were carried out by the Bolsheviks, who allegedly massacred Jews because they identified them with capitalism. When this theory proved impossible to sustain, the weekly hinted that some Ukrainian peasants may have participated because they “consider the Jews to be the creators of Bolshevism, which they despise.” In the fall of 1919, however, when it was clear that the most recent pogroms were the work of Denikin’s army, the Catholic weekly changed its line again, insisting that it was absolutely inconceivable that the Ukrainian people or the Ukrainian army could have perpetrated pogroms. “There is no anti-Semitism among Ukrainians,” the editor declared. “When it manifests itself on Ukrainian territory it is a transient phenomenon, brought in by foreign rulers like the Poles and Russians.”²⁰ Although *Ranok* attributed the pogroms to *otamany* and criminal elements, it speculated nevertheless about the universality of anti-Semitism and suggested that it could only be explained by the fact that “the champions of Jewish interests perceive all religions, not just Christianity, as their enemies, and consequently strive to destroy all religions but their own.” It also warned that anti-Semitism in Ukraine would remain strong as long as the Jews continued to oppose the Ukrainian movement. The most chilling response was that in *Ukrainskyi holos*. After describing the second Soviet Ukrainian regime as a

Jewish clique, the nationalist weekly stated nonchalantly that “the Ukrainian population began to react instinctively against hostile Hebrew Bolshevik rule in all of Ukraine. Disturbances and anti-Jewish pogroms erupted everywhere.” Invoking the decrees by which the Ukrainian National Republic granted cultural autonomy to the Jews, the paper insisted that Jews had only themselves to blame for the pogroms, because they “did not give the Ukrainian government the support which Ukraine expected.”²¹

Only *Ukrainski robotnychi visty* held Petliura responsible for failing to stop the pogroms. The semiweekly also rejected the notion that they were a spontaneous manifestation of anti-Bolshevism or an act of retribution for Jewish failure to support Petliura’s regime. After all, the editors observed, most Ukrainians did not support Petliura’s government either. In fact, by the winter of 1919-20, growing disenchantment in Ukraine and among Ukrainian immigrants in North America with Petliura’s Directory and Petrushevych’s Western Republic was playing into the hands of Ukrainian-Canadian procommunist leaders. Having prudently tempered an obvious enthusiasm for the Soviet regime during the months following the Winnipeg General Strike, *Ukrainski robotnychi visty* was nevertheless able to win new adherents by focusing on the chaos, anarchy and corruption that characterized Petliura’s regime, and by dwelling on the conflicting interests that were driving the two national republics apart. When Petrushevych’s devastated army concluded its short-lived alliance with Denikin in November, followed by Petliura’s preliminary agreement with the Poles in December, the paper had little difficulty convincing many immigrants that the two “bourgeois” regimes had betrayed the Ukrainian people.

The editors of *Ukrainski robotnychi visty* realized that relentless criticism of Petliura’s and Petrushevych’s regimes would bear greater dividends than championing a Soviet regime that requisitioned grain and displayed open contempt for Ukrainian culture. From the summer of 1919 through the fall of 1921, Canadian domestic issues were all but forgotten as the paper strove to discredit the two Ukrainian national republics. Petrushevych and his government were dismissed as “reptiles” who had moved their armies from the Polish front, redeployed them against “Ukrainian workers and peasants” (that is, the Red army) and facilitated the advance of Denikin’s counter-revolutionary forces on Moscow. Petliura, who drew most of the paper’s fire, was a “vile pogromshchik” and a “petty bourgeois clown...with ambitions to become Hetman,” and his associates were “betrayers of Ukrainian workers and peasants, adventurers, pogromshchiks and grafters.” Rather than guiding Ukraine into the twentieth century, Petliura was turning it back to the seventeenth by unleashing all kinds of dark elements in the villages and small towns against the urban proletariat. His “independent” Ukrainian state would serve only the interests of European imperialists and the Polish *szlachta*, not the Ukrainian peasants and workers. The havoc wrought in Kiev and eastern Galicia in the summer of 1920 by Petliura’s and Piłsudski’s retreating armies

was evidence, to the editors, of the duplicity and bankruptcy of those who opposed the Soviet regime.²²

By the spring of 1920 disenchantment with Petrushevych, and especially Petliura, had spread well beyond the procommunist camp. Both *Ranok* and *Kanadyyskiy ukrainets* repudiated the alliances concluded by both leaders with Ukraine's traditional enemies.²³ The Catholic weekly was especially critical of Petliura's alliance with the Poles, who, it said, were perceived as the greatest enemy by eight out of ten Ukrainians. Reports that Petliura had agreed to appoint a Pole as minister of agriculture in a future Ukrainian state, and rumours of pillaging in eastern Galicia by his forces in September 1920, only confirmed Catholic disenchantment. Sharply worded condemnations of Petliura's policy by several Ukrainian emigré groups soon appeared in the Catholic and Protestant weeklies.²⁴ *Ranok* even reprinted articles from Vynnychenko's *Nova doba* (The New Era), which advocated an independent Soviet Ukrainian republic.²⁵

As in 1918, when *Ukrainskyi holos* had stood with the hetman, it now refused to censure Petliura, an "implacable Ukrainian whose highest ideal is the unification of all Ukrainian lands into one, great and free Ukraine." Petliura was absolved of any responsibility for the pogroms, because, the editors claimed, he had issued decrees to restore order in the countryside and he had sheltered Jews from Denikin's army. In the face of growing criticism and a flood of queries, the paper strenuously denied that Petliura was negotiating with the Poles. When, in April 1920, it became clear that Petliura had, in fact, surrendered all claims to eastern Galicia and Volhynia through an alliance with Poland, the paper blamed adversaries for pushing him into the enemy's embrace. Far from betraying the Ukrainians of eastern Galicia, Petliura had simply recognized the status quo of June 1919, when Poland had been allowed to occupy the region.²⁶ Needless to say, many immigrants were not impressed.

Ukrainskyi holos was also the strongest critic of the Soviet government in Ukraine and of those Ukrainian emigrés who advocated reconciliation. While admitting that the third Soviet Ukrainian government enjoyed a degree of sovereignty and was relatively tolerant of Ukraine's cultural aspirations, and that there were even a few "idealists" among the Bolshevik revolutionaries, it insisted that the party and government were controlled by "imperialists," men like the "notorious Jewish commissars" Kamenev and Chicherin, who had always scoffed at the right of national self-determination and rejected Vynnychenko's appeal for an independent Soviet Ukrainian republic in 1920.²⁷ Although the editors welcomed Vynnychenko's condemnation of centralism and Russian nationalism within the Bolshevik party, they would not forgive him and his associates at *Nova doba* for their scathing critique of Petliura's regime. Nor would they accept Hrushevsky's suggestion that Ukrainians opt for Moscow rather than Warsaw, because Soviet efforts to establish a socialist society were an undertaking of universal significance for humanity, the flaws notwithstanding. Poles and Bol-

shéviki, the paper declared, had to be resisted with equal fervour because both were guilty of atrocities against the Ukrainian people. Ultimately, the Treaty of Riga gave the nationalists their trump card, as it exposed the bankruptcy of the Soviets by handing over eleven million Ukrainians and Belorussians to the Poles. The Soviet regime had done, in fact, what Petliura had been unjustly accused of doing.²⁸

By 1921-2, however, Ukrainian immigrants who followed developments in Ukraine were increasingly disillusioned with Petliura and Petrushevych. While only a minority in Canada were prepared to join the procommunist camp, the credibility of the nationalists was in decline. Their decision to send Ukrainian-Canadian delegates to the Paris Peace Conference, and their efforts to raise funds on behalf of the Ukrainian war victims and the Western Ukrainian Republic's government-in-exile, also damaged their prestige and redounded to the advantage of the procommunist Ukrainian Labour Temple Association.

The Paris Delegation

In the first week of December 1918, an appeal to "Countrymen and Friends," signed by the Ukrainian Canadian Citizens' Committee (Ukrainskyi Horozhanskyi Komitet), appeared in the Ukrainian-Canadian press.²⁹ Buoyed by President Wilson's support of self-determination for all peoples within the former Austro-Hungarian empire, the committee, composed of Winnipeg's most prominent lay Ukrainians,³⁰ appealed for donations to send representatives to the Paris Peace Conference, who would inform the Western powers about the cause of Ukraine and assist the delegates dispatched by the two Ukrainian national republics.

Within a week, differences between the nationalists, in the throes of organizing the Ukrainian Greek Orthodox church, and the Catholics began to paralyze the committee. At issue was the composition of the Ukrainian-Canadian delegation. While most members thought that Ivan Petrushevich, who had studied in England, spoke English and French fluently and was a distant relative of the Western Ukrainian republic's President Evhen Petrushevych, should be one of the delegates, he did not enjoy Bishop Budka's confidence. After resigning as editor of *Kanadyiskyi rusyn*, Petrushevich had become a close associate of prominent nationalists like Ferley and Arsenych, and the bishop sensed betrayal.³¹ As a result, the Catholics insisted specifically on a "Catholic" delegate, ultimately settling on George Skwarok (1887-1950), a graduate student at the University of Manitoba and rector of the Sheptytsky *bursa*. Although *Ukrainskyi holos* accepted Skwarok, it thought he should be the representative of all Ukrainian Canadians and reiterated its belief that Petrushevich was the best possible delegate.³²

To break the impasse, the bishop, at a convention of Ukrainian Catholic laymen in January 1919, established the Ukrainian People's Council (Ukrainska Narodna Rada)³³ and empowered it to solicit for a Quarter Million (Dollar) Fund. As the executive of the new council included three Catholics who were also members of the Citizens' Committee executive,³⁴ suspicions were raised that the bishop and his principal advisor, Roman Kremar, now editor of the Catholic weekly, wished to undermine the interdenominational committee and to assume control of Ukrainian-Canadian efforts to help the homeland. The suspicions were confirmed when *Kanadyiskyi rusyn* came out against the committee and announced that donations received for the Paris delegation would be transferred to the council's Quarter Million Fund.³⁵

By February 1919 both groups were competing for donations. While the committee appealed to send delegates to Paris, the council questioned the latter's legitimacy and appealed on behalf of the Ukrainian Press Bureau of the Ukrainian National Republic in Paris.³⁶ Even though both groups collected a small fraction of what had been expected, enough was donated to sustain a modicum of activity and to fuel the conflict. The committee dispatched Petrushevich and Joseph Megas, the rector of Mohyla Institute, to Paris in February, where they joined the combined delegation of the two Ukrainian national republics as translators, publicists and lobbyists. The council, which repudiated the committee's "self-appointed delegation," sent modest sums to the Press Bureau in Paris and focused its efforts on Ottawa, where Kremar spent much time trying to convince Canadian and British policy-makers that an independent Ukraine would be a natural ally of the British empire.³⁷ The council also petitioned the Canadian government for permission to ship food to Galicia, and suggested that Austro-Ukrainian prisoners of war in Italy should be organized "into an army of volunteers for the purpose of fighting Russian Bolsheviki who have invaded Ukraine."³⁸ In July, after the Council of Ambassadors allowed Poland to occupy eastern Galicia, both groups not only dispatched delegations to Ottawa but organized more than a hundred Ukrainian protest meetings across Canada, which inundated Canadian, British and American delegations in Paris with telegrams demanding the withdrawal of Polish troops from all Ukrainian territories.³⁹ Ultimately, however, the committee and council did more to generate conflict within the Ukrainian-Canadian community and to diminish the credibility of nationalist and Catholic leaders than to aid the Ukrainian cause in Paris. The latter, in any case, was doomed from the outset. Not only were Ukrainian interests at odds with those of the Entente powers, the delegates dispatched by the two Ukrainian national republics were unable to sort out their own differences.

Even under the most ideal conditions, however, the prospects for Ukrainian independence would have been bleak. Russia having been an ally of Britain, France, Italy and the United States, President Wilson and the Entente were therefore committed to restoring its territorial integrity as a non-Bolshevik state.

Even though Poland, Finland and the Baltic region might be excepted, the issue of Ukrainian independence from Russia was never seriously considered. Not only had the Ukrainians signed a separate peace treaty with the Central Powers at Brest-Litovsk, but in 1919 Ukraine was in a state of chaos. Most Western diplomats saw it as "another Mexico," overrun by bands of peasant partisans and invading armies, and devastated by pogroms. It was well nigh impossible to prove that the Directory of the Ukrainian National Republic was a sovereign government, much less that it could be a bulwark against Bolshevism. In fact, the Entente was suspicious of the Directory's leftists and chose to support Denikin's army and other Russian counter-revolutionary forces.⁴⁰

Eastern Galicia, however, was another matter. Not only was it part of the defeated Austro-Hungarian empire, but there was some sympathy for an independent Ukrainian eastern Galicia in the British Foreign Office and the Polish-Ukrainian struggle in the beleaguered province was part of the formal agenda at Paris. In the end, strategic considerations prevailed. With the Western powers anxious to establish a chain of strong buffer states in the east (in the ever more likely event that the Bolsheviks carried the Russian civil war), a strong Greater Poland was seen as the best bulwark against Bolshevism. An independent eastern Galicia, it was argued, would only weaken Poland by depriving it of valuable oil and kainite reserves. Once Polish representatives in Paris convinced the Western powers that the Ukrainian peasants of eastern Galicia were ignorant, inarticulate and lacking in national consciousness, and that its elite was incapable of administering a state, Ukrainian representatives were "reduced to issuing dramatically-phrased appeals for assistance against the 'Polish yoke' and the 'Polish menace,'" which went virtually unheeded.⁴¹

If these circumstances were not daunting enough, the delegates dispatched to Paris by both Ukrainian republics were not equal to the task. Not only did they lack formal diplomatic recognition, but most were provincial bureaucrats who knew no French or English and were unfamiliar with diplomatic protocol. Hryhorii Sydorenko, president of the delegation, was an engineer, eternally optimistic, impressed by the most fleeting victories and blissfully ignorant of how to comport himself in diplomatic circles. Vasyl Paneiko, his Galician counterpart and the delegation's vice-president, was a pompous and pretentious man who relentlessly pursued a narrowly Galician policy. As a result, the Ukrainian delegation was torn by strife almost from the moment of arrival in Paris. In particular, Paneiko insisted that the Western Ukrainian National Republic was "a separate state" and that its "diplomatic affairs had to be treated separately from those of the Ukrainian National Republic." Accordingly, he refused to discuss Galician strategy with central Ukrainian delegates, established a separate bureau and cultivated a variety of anti-Bolshevik Russian delegations, all of which held the Ukrainian National Republic in great contempt. Needless to say, disunity and

petty intrigue were the result, which did nothing to raise the delegation's prestige in the eyes of Western diplomats.⁴²

The two Ukrainian-Canadian representatives joined the delegation during the first week of March. While Petrushevich was content to perform his duties as a translator (and to work for the Western Ukrainian Republic until 1923), Megas was soon embroiled in public controversy with Paneiko. His commitment to a united Ukrainian republic that would encompass all Ukrainian lands, and his belief that a Ukrainian eastern-Galician state could not survive on its own, led Megas to reject Paneiko's policies. Although he lobbied British, American and Canadian representatives on behalf of the Ukrainian delegation, arranged a meeting between Sydorenko and Canadian Prime Minister Robert Borden and tried to correct anti-Ukrainian propaganda in the English and French press, he found it increasingly difficult to work with the delegation. On 1 May he resigned as translator, frustrated by "the idiocy and servile, self-seeking flattery of some of our most prominent delegates and the lack of discipline and subordination of personal interests to the common goal." He remained in Europe for another nine months, collecting material for a book on Polish atrocities in eastern Galicia, and travelling to Kamianets Podilskyi, where he spoke with Petliura, Petrushevych and members of their governments.⁴³

If the Ukrainian delegation failed to impress the Western diplomats in Paris, it certainly caused a major stir among Ukrainians in Canada. Reports that the delegates were at cross purposes hurt the nationalist cause and the credibility of community leaders soliciting funds on the delegates' behalf. As there was also a great deal of acrimony between the Ukrainian Canadian Citizens' Committee and the Ukrainian People's Council, it was the procommunists who benefited most from the fiasco in Paris. *Ukrainski robotnychi visty* pointed to the incompetence of Ukrainian nationalists overseas and brought the wisdom and honesty of their Canadian counterparts into question, demanding that both the committee and council account fully for the funds entrusted to them.⁴⁴

The barbs hurt, for neither group could point to any concrete accomplishments in Paris or Ottawa and their financial accounts were soon a source of some embarrassment. While no funds had been misappropriated, most of the money had been used for a variety of unanticipated purposes. When the Citizens' Committee published its financial statement in September 1919, only \$505.10 of the \$17,300 collected had been sent directly to the Ukrainian delegation in Paris; the lion's share had been given to Petrushevich and Megas. The former received \$2,930 to cover his travel expenses and to provide for his family in Canada; the latter, who received no salary after his resignation, had been paid \$7,195. The remaining funds covered a secretary's salary, routine office expenses and the printing of memorials. The financial statement of the People's Council, published in January 1920, revealed that only \$1,366 of the \$14,000 donated to the Quarter Million Fund had been sent to the Ukrainian Press Bureau in Paris; the

rest had been spent on various publications and demonstrations in Canada and on Kremar's lobbying efforts in Ottawa.⁴⁵

The credibility of the Citizens' Committee suffered even more once Megas returned from Europe in February 1920. In public lectures at Montreal, Ottawa and Winnipeg, he affirmed that Petliura had to seek refuge in Poland after the Galician army surrendered to Denikin in November 1919. He added, however, that Petliura did not appear to have the economic interests of Ukrainian workers and peasants at heart, as he had given little thought to the internal structure of the independent Ukrainian state he had hoped to establish. The Bolsheviks, too, were not as frightening as their portrayal in the Western press. Indeed, in eastern Galicia, where conditions under Polish occupation were truly appalling, Ukrainian peasants "prayed day and night for the Bolsheviks to come and save them." Needless to say, Megas's nationalist associates did not appreciate such comments. The Citizens' Committee criticized Megas for failing to produce a detailed written report of his activities and expenditures, and it accused him of selling his manuscript *Tragediia halytskoi Ukrainy* (The Tragedy of Galician Ukraine) to a commercial publisher after having been funded by the committee. Megas countered that he had had to spend three thousand dollars of his own on the trip to Europe, and that the committee and *Ukrainskyi holos* had refused to publish his financial accounts and had repeatedly postponed publication of his manuscript. By the summer of 1921 the first rector of the Mohyla Institute was appearing at rallies sponsored by the Ukrainian Labour Temple Association and *Ukrainski robotnychi visty*, where he condemned Petrushevych and Petliura for ignoring the economic aspirations of the Ukrainian peasantry and argued that, with the Entente's commitment to a strong Polish buffer state, Soviet Ukraine represented the only hope for the liberation of eastern Galicia and northern Bukovyna.⁴⁶

The Ukrainian Red Cross and Famine Relief

Much bitter controversy was also aroused by fund-raising campaigns on behalf of war victims and the indigent and hungry in Polish-occupied eastern Galicia and in European emigré centres, Soviet Ukraine and the Volga-Ural region in Russia. As the campaigns provoked nationalists and procommunists to hurl unfounded accusations at each other, they, like the Paris delegation, bred suspicion and cynicism and reinforced existing social and class divisions among Ukrainian Canadians.

The plight of Ukrainians in eastern Galicia, where the fighting had been especially bloody during the Great War, and where the Ukrainian-Polish and Russo-Polish wars dragged on into the summer of 1920, was already a source of concern in 1919. Five years of war had destroyed 233,000 peasant farmsteads,

122,000 homes, 3,617 schools and 246 churches, and devastated the agricultural economy. By the autumn of 1919 the easternmost Podilian districts were ravaged by typhoid and dysentery epidemics, while the following year famine stalked the Carpathian region.⁴⁷ In human terms, up to 100,000 orphans, at least five thousand war widows and untold invalids were left among the Ukrainian population of eastern Galicia.⁴⁸ In addition, up to seventy thousand Ukrainians had been incarcerated in Polish prisons and thousands more, including many students and veterans of the Ukrainian Galician army, had gone into exile in Czechoslovakia and Austria, where they joined another army of impecunious functionaries and supporters of the two defeated Ukrainian national republics.⁴⁹

As early as March 1919, the Ukrainian People's Council had approached the Canadian government about shipping clothes and foodstuffs to eastern Galicia. With war and the threat of Bolshevik annexation in the area, nothing could be done, but Joseph Megas's eyewitness reports sustained popular concern with the fate of Galician Ukrainians. When it was learned that the aid sent to Poland by American relief organizations was not reaching the Ukrainian Galicians, Ukrainians in North America mobilized and in August 1919 the Ukrainian Canadian Citizens' Committee established an ad hoc relief committee to solicit donations for needy overseas Ukrainians. In November, at the fourth Ukrainian national convention, sponsored by the Mohyla Institute, the Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Brotherhood and the Citizens' Committee, the relief committee was transformed into the Ukrainian Red Cross Society of Canada. In view of the desperate conditions in eastern Galicia, the new society immediately took steps to broaden its social base. Denominational differences were temporarily pushed aside and within a month a joint central committee was established, consisting of fifteen Citizens' Committee and fifteen People's Council members, together with representatives from almost thirty Winnipeg-based organizations and parishes. Responsibility for the daily operation of the Ukrainian Red Cross was placed in the hands of an elected nine-member executive, which immediately urged Ukrainian Canadians to establish local branches and to send donations to the central committee in Winnipeg.⁵⁰

Enjoying wide support, the Red Cross was able to raise over fifty thousand dollars by the autumn of 1922, mostly in Manitoba and Saskatchewan, where the nationalist/Orthodox and Catholic influences were strongest. At least three-quarters of the funds were sent to the Ukrainian Citizens' Committee in Lviv, chaired by Dr. Stefan Fedak, and used to aid the destitute and hungry. Committees in Prague and Vienna received the rest to sustain indigent invalids, war veterans and university students. Because of the postwar recession and numerous other Ukrainian-Canadian campaigns, the Red Cross executive was profoundly disappointed with the results. That over 200,000 Ukrainian Canadians had contributed only fifty thousand dollars by March 1922 was "simply laughable" in the opinion of the society's treasurer.⁵¹

For this, the Ukrainian procommunists were partly to blame. Early in 1921, *Ukrainski robinychi visty*, neutral in 1920, began to insinuate that intellectuals in Prague, Vienna and Lviv, rather than needy Ukrainian peasants, widows and orphans in eastern Galicia and northern Bukovyna, were the real beneficiaries of the Red Cross funds. Questions were also raised about the money collected for the Paris delegation, the Quarter Million Fund and the "Postwar" (*Povoiennyi fond*) and "Orphan Johnny" (*Fond dlia Syroty Ivasia*) funds for which the Catholics had been soliciting donations. Although Bishop Budka indicated that the monies would be donated to Metropolitan Sheptytsky's Orphan Defence Fund, *Ukrainski robinychi visty* continued to fan the flames of controversy and doubt.⁵²

Two developments were primarily responsible for the procommunists' campaign. First, Ivan Bobersky, a special delegate of the Western Ukrainian Republic's government-in-exile, arrived in Winnipeg in November 1920 and became actively involved in the Red Cross Society.⁵³ Then, in the summer and fall of 1921, news of famine in Soviet Russia and Ukraine began to reach North America. Ukrainian procommunists and several Canadian labour organizations responded with Soviet famine-relief committees and fund-raising drives that brought them into direct competition with the Ukrainian Red Cross for scarce resources.

Famine had struck Russia's Volga-Ural region and the southern provinces of Ukraine (Odessa, Mykolaiv, Zaporizhzhia, Katerynoslav and Donetsk) in the summer of 1921. In both areas the forcible requisitioning of grain during the civil war had alienated the peasantry, which sowed only a small fraction of the land. By 1920 grain output was well below average and, with the spring and summer of 1921 the driest since 1840, both regions experienced devastating famines that killed two to three million persons, more than one million in Ukraine. Although the government in Moscow acknowledged the famine and appealed to the international community for aid, its desire to crush peasant partisans, including Makhno's anarchist bands, delayed relief to Ukraine. While the plight of the Volga-Ural region was publicized in the summer of 1921 and relief efforts were in motion by October, grain was still being requisitioned in southern Ukraine until the end of the year and inhabitants from the Volga were actually being evacuated to Ukraine. Not until December 1921 did the Soviet governments in Moscow and Kharkiv finally acknowledge the famine in Ukraine and allow representatives of the American Relief Administration and the International Red Cross to inspect conditions in the country. And only in April 1922, when over four million inhabitants of southern Ukraine were known to be starving, did Relief Administration food kitchens begin to operate.⁵⁴

On 7 August 1921, shortly after news of the Volga famine reached North America, several radical Winnipeg labour groups, including the Ukrainian Labour Temple Association, established the Canadian Famine Relief Committee

for the Drought Stricken in Soviet Russia. By February 1922, when it became known that the famine was also devastating southern Ukraine, the committee had transmitted over fifty-three thousand dollars to the Russian Red Cross Society in Moscow. It was estimated that up to 70 per cent of the funds had been donated by Ukrainian labourers, primarily in the mining towns of Alberta and northern Ontario and in the industrial centres of southern Ontario.⁵⁵ Although the committee immediately assigned five thousand dollars for Ukrainian famine victims and made provisions to allocate more money for Ukrainian famine relief, by late March the Ukrainian Labour Temple executive had established the Famine Relief Committee for Soviet Ukraine under Danylo Lobay to centralize the Ukrainian famine-relief effort. Over the next six months the committee raised \$10,850, once again primarily in mining towns and large industrial centres, and the funds were transmitted to Ukraine through Mykhailo Levytsky, who headed the Soviet Ukrainian diplomatic mission in Prague.⁵⁶

The nationalist and Catholic camps reacted negatively to the efforts of both pro-Soviet famine-relief committees. Although the Ukrainian famine was discussed at a meeting of the Ukrainian Red Cross in February 1922, no appeal for famine relief was issued nor were any of the society's funds allocated for that purpose. *Ukrainskyi holos*, which informed its readers of the Ukrainian famine on 15 February, attributed it to Bolshevik military and economic policies rather than to drought, and then proceeded to ignore it for the next four months. While *Kanadyiskyi ukrainets* mentioned the famine more frequently, it did not solicit donations for the victims. Moreover, both weeklies hinted strongly that funds collected by leftist relief committees would be used for Soviet propaganda or be siphoned off to benefit the secret police (CHEKA) and the Red army in Moscow.⁵⁷

Only in mid-June, after most Ukrainian leaders in central Europe and Polish-occupied Galicia had issued urgent appeals on behalf of victims in Soviet Ukraine, did Ukrainian-Canadian nationalists, Catholics and Protestants follow suit.⁵⁸ Nevertheless, the nationalists, in particular, remained reluctant to take concrete steps. Pointing out correctly that the famine in Ukraine had been hushed up for some six months, *Ukrainskyi holos* continued to deny that drought had caused the famine, repeatedly declared that the funds already collected were being used for Soviet propaganda, and maintained that the Soviet regime wanted to replace starved-out Ukrainians with Russian colonists.⁵⁹ In Fort William supporters of the Ukrainian Red Cross allegedly tried to sabotage a municipally approved tag day on behalf of Ukrainian famine victims, while in Winnipeg the nationalists refused to postpone a picnic scheduled for the same day as a fund-raising event sponsored by the Famine Relief Committee for Soviet Ukraine.⁶⁰ Indeed, it was only after "a lengthy discussion" on 31 August 1922 that the Red Cross sent five hundred dollars to Mykhailo Hrushevsky's famine-relief commit-

tee in Vienna, and ultimately it assigned to Soviet Ukrainian famine victims only one thousand of the fifty-five thousand dollars it had raised.⁶¹

The niggardly attitude adopted by the nationalist and Catholic press and committees to the famine in Soviet Ukraine did nothing to diminish the prestige of nationalist and Catholic leaders. Although *Ukrainski robotnychi visty* labelled the editors of both weeklies "rabble" and "vermin,"⁶² most Ukrainian Canadians, as natives of eastern Galicia and northern Bukovyna, were unmoved. Beyond the mining towns and industrial centres, where the Ukrainian Labour Temple Association was influential, they remained relatively indifferent to the tragedy in southeastern Ukraine, their gaze being fixed squarely (where Ukraine mattered at all) on the Galician and Bukovynian villages and counties which they had left.

The Western Republic's Loan Campaigns

In 1921-2 the government-in-exile of the Western Ukrainian National Republic in Vienna decided to capitalize on the immigrants' concern with eastern Galicia. Although its occupation by Poland had been sanctioned by the Allied Supreme Council on 25 June 1919, Poland's sovereignty was still at issue. The uncertain status of the region encouraged Petrushevych's government to continue lobbying for the creation of an independent Ukrainian eastern-Galician state.⁶³ However, its efforts to maintain representatives in Vienna, Prague, Budapest, Belgrade, Berlin, Paris, London and the Vatican required large sums of money and in straitened circumstances it decided, in 1921, to seek financial assistance from Galician Ukrainians in North America. While the activities of Ivan Bobersky, the exile government's first special delegate to Canada, were above reproach, other representatives often embarrassed the nationalist and Catholic leaders, played into the hands of the procommunists and further polarized the Ukrainian-Canadian community.

Bobersky, who arrived in Winnipeg in November 1920, travelled extensively in western Canada and delivered over eighty lectures about the war, the Ukrainian struggle for independence and the plight of Galician and Volhynian Ukrainians under Polish rule. Enlivened by the speaker's personal reminiscences and vividly illustrated with over 150 slides, his remarks skillfully contrasted the achievements of prewar Galician Ukrainians with images of trenches, machine guns, internment camps, scaffolds, young corpses, burning towns and villages, peasants in flight, limbless war invalids and emaciated Ukrainian students in Vienna and Prague. His lectures stimulated the Red Cross's fund raising and paved the way for the Western Ukrainian Republic's campaign.⁶⁴

Although Bobersky was authorized to solicit funds on behalf of the exile government, its campaign in Canada was initiated in July 1921 by Dr. Lonhyn Cehelsky, Petrushevych's special envoy in the United States, through an appeal

to Ukrainian Canadians for subscriptions to a National Liberty Loan (*Pozychka natsionalnoi svobody*) in the amount of one million dollars. Potential subscribers were informed that the Liberty bonds bearing 8 per cent annual interest were "secured by the wealth of the Western Ukrainian Republic, viz., her wealth in lands, buildings, railways, forests, salt mines and her future receipts from monopolies, taxes and customs duties," and that they could be redeemed in Canadian currency up to ten years after the Western Ukrainian National Republic was restored to power. A syndicate headed by F.A. Boyer of Montreal had been appointed to act as principal agents for the bond sale, and the Sun Trust Company of Montreal was designated the exile government's trustee for the campaign.⁶⁵

Kanadyiskyi ukrainets, *Kanadyiskyi ranok* and even *Ukrainskyi holos*, which had championed Petliura and the Ukrainian National Republic, immediately endorsed the campaign and urged the purchase of bonds. "If the Galician government's efforts to win independence for our homeland were without prospect, and if it could not reimburse the funds borrowed in Canada," *Ukrainskyi holos* reassured its readers, "the Canadian authorities would not permit it to take money out of Canada." There was, it added, simply no justification for opposition to the Liberty Loan campaign; those like the Ukrainian Labour Temple Association and *Ukrainski robotnychi visty* who did so were "Judases."⁶⁶ Even before the nationalists had endorsed the loan, the procommunist semi-weekly had called upon its readers to "Drive out the Denikinists" and all other "dollar-grabbing" agents of the "traitor" Petrushevych.⁶⁷ At more than a dozen Labour Temple rallies in large urban centres, speakers like Popovich, Nawizowski, Shatulsky and Megas warned Ukrainians that any money collected by the "Habsburg flunkies" and "bankrupt Viennese counter-revolutionaries" would only benefit "National Democratic gentlemen" (who whiled away their time in European capitals) and their Canadian agents. All talk of Sinn Fein tactics, widespread in Petrushevych's circles, was idle banter, the paper insisted, as not a penny of the loan would go to support the grass-roots struggle of the Ukrainian masses in Galicia. "The liberation of Galicia from the yoke of the Polish *szlachta* can only be realized through the class struggle, waged by the workers themselves, not by a handful of bond-selling adventurers." In several cities, including Winnipeg, Hamilton and Oshawa, Labour Temple activists infiltrated public meetings and subverted the efforts of the exile government by heckling speakers and posing embarrassing questions.⁶⁸

One of the charges levelled at the promoters of the loan by *Ukrainski robotnychi visty* deserves special attention because of the paper's insistence that not only was Canada's Conservative government exploiting the loan campaign for partisan ends, but that the Canadian loan (unlike the one in the United States) had not been authorized by Petrushevych. Boyer, termed by the paper a "clever Montreal agent" who realized that a federal election was about to be called, had

brought friends of Arthur Meighen's Conservative government together with Cehelsky and his associates, and impressed upon all that co-operation was to their mutual advantage. By endorsing the Conservatives, the Ukrainians would be allowed to sell their bonds and acquire greater leverage in government circles. The Conservatives, who had interned and disfranchised Ukrainians during the Great War, would redeem themselves, in turn, by appearing to champion the oppressed Ukrainian population in eastern Galicia. Moreover, canvassing on behalf of the loan would give Conservative agents an excellent opportunity to represent Meighen before Ukrainians as a great friend and benefactor.⁶⁹

Whether Boyer's role was as pivotal as *Ukrainski robotnychi visty* made it out to be is not clear; what is clear is that, in the summer of 1921, Boyer first met Arsenych, Ferley, Woycenko and Myroslaw Stechishin of *Ukrainskyi holos*, Onufrii Hykawy, editor of *Kanadyiskyi farmer*, and Ivan Rudachek and Ivan Sliuzar of *Kanadyiskyi ukrainets* and discussed the Liberty Loan and the forthcoming election with them.⁷⁰ On 21 September, on the eve of the election campaign, a Ukrainian Central Committee was secretly established in Winnipeg, which also included Rev. Zygmunt Bychynsky, editor of *Kanadyiskyi ranok*, and Fr. Panteleimon Bozhyk, editor of *Bukovyna*, a periodical aimed at Bukovynians within the Russian Orthodox church. At another secret meeting in Winnipeg on 27 September, attended by seven Central Committee members, along with Boyer, Meighen, Senator W.H. Sharpe, H.H. Stevens, minister of trade and commerce, and E.L. Newcombe, deputy minister of justice, permission was granted to sell the Liberty bonds in Canada.⁷¹

Immediately after the meeting, the Ukrainian press began to criticize the policies of the Liberal and Progressive parties, while praising the record of the Conservative administration under Borden and Meighen. The Progressives, expected to make major gains in the prairie provinces, were dismissed particularly as representing, among other things, the interests of wealthy and intolerant "Anglo-Saxon" farmers, and Borden and Meighen were portrayed as consistently supporting Ukrainian claims to eastern Galicia against those of Poland and of working to bring the British government around to the Ukrainian position.⁷²

At the centre of the Conservatives' international efforts was an innocuous and non-committal speech delivered in Geneva on 13 September 1921 by C.J. Doherty, one of Canada's delegates to the League of Nations. In requesting that the General Assembly urge the Council of Ambassadors to expedite its decision on the status of eastern Galicia, Doherty referred to Ukrainian Canadians as "valuable citizens" without expressing any opinion on the merits of the dispute over eastern Galicia. Nevertheless, *Ukrainskyi holos* hailed Doherty's appeal as the first public voice on behalf of Ukrainians and solemnly declared that the Canadian government was paying off the debt it had incurred to Ukrainians during the First World War. *Kanadyiskyi ukrainets*, always closer to the Conser-

vatives, was even more effusive in its praise of Meighen and Doherty. In numerous editorials and in a pamphlet, *Ukrainska sprava v Otavi* (The Ukrainian Issue in Ottawa), the Catholic weekly soft-pedaled and justified the internment of Ukrainians by the Conservative government during the war years, insisted that “of all the governments that we have had in Canada none were more friendly to the Ukrainians and none prized them as much as the present Meighen government” and celebrated the prime minister and members of Parliament like Dr. R.M. Blake of North Winnipeg and H.A. Mackie of East Edmonton as “defenders of Ukrainian rights in eastern Galicia.” The interests of the Ukrainian nation demanded that all Ukrainian electors cast their ballots for Meighen and the Conservatives, thereby renewing the government’s mandate “to defend the affairs of eastern Galicia.”⁷³

During the first two months of the electoral campaign Boyer appeared to enjoy the confidence of the Ukrainian Central Committee. With his two sub-agents—George Kurdydk and Ivan Tkachuk—he remained entirely in control of the Liberty Loan campaign, which, he assured all concerned, was making rapid headway. He also participated in committee meetings at which Ukrainian election strategy was charted. In the middle of November, however, the committee’s bubble suddenly burst. First, it learned that Petrushevych had not authorized the Canadian loan campaign and that Boyer’s fund-raising efforts had yielded a mere four thousand dollars. Even more shocking was news that Cehelsky, who had incurred large debts, had obtained a thirty-six thousand-dollar advance from Boyer by forging the signature of the exile government’s finance minister, Kost Levytsky, and that Boyer was threatening to have Cehelsky arrested for taking money under false pretences. Somehow the scandal was hushed up and the loan campaign was stayed on the grounds that Boyer had made “other financial arrangements”; Cehelsky, in turn, was packed off to Vienna.⁷⁴ The secret marriage between the committee and the Conservatives, however, was in shambles. Unlike *Ukrainskyi holos*, which lashed out at the *Manitoba Free Press* for exposing the Conservative efforts to exploit the loan campaign and then stuck by the Conservatives to the bitter end, *Kanadyiskyi ukrainets* accused the Conservatives of hypocrisy, acknowledged the failure of the party’s attempt to exploit the Liberty Loan and, one week before the election, threw its support behind the Progressives, who, it declared, enjoyed the support of most Ukrainian farmers.⁷⁵ Of course, none of this had any bearing on the election results. Conscription, the Wartime Elections Act and the tariff issue doomed the Conservatives in Quebec and on the prairies and catapulted the Liberals back into office.

Having survived the loan fiasco, the Ukrainian Central Committee resumed its efforts on behalf of the Western Ukrainian National Republic in April 1922. Pro-Ukrainian and anti-Polish marches and rallies, in which all organizations except the Labour Temple Association participated, were organized in Fort

William, Brandon, Saskatoon, Edmonton and Winnipeg. The demonstrations, which displeased the Polish press and consulates,⁷⁶ were supplemented by two delegations to the new prime minister, William Lyon Mackenzie King, who gave polite assurances that Ukrainian-Canadian concerns would be communicated to Canadian delegates at the League of Nations.⁷⁷ The committee also rallied round Dr. Osep Nazaruk, dispatched to Canada by Petrushevych's government in August to announce a National Defence Loan (*Pozychka natsionalnoi oborony*).⁷⁸ A lawyer, publicist and prominent Radical who had served as minister of propaganda in the Directory before abandoning Petliura and joining Petrushevych, Nazaruk reached Winnipeg on 2 September, and at a closed meeting of the Ukrainian Central Committee explained that Petrushevych's government needed \$2,350 each month to sustain its foreign missions and that only North America's Ukrainians could contribute sums of that magnitude. He reassured the committee that a thorough inquiry into Dr. Cehelsky's activities was under way and submitted a document in which Boyer renounced all claims to the money obtained through the sale of Liberty bonds.⁷⁹

Although Nazaruk had requested \$200,000, it soon became clear that even the more realistic goal of \$50,000 was unattainable because of the economic recession, falling grain prices, the indebtedness of Ukrainian farmers who had expanded their operations much too rapidly during the war years, and several other fund-raising campaigns launched by Ukrainian-Canadian institutions like the Mohyla Institute, itself on the verge of bankruptcy. Even more important was the failing credibility of Petrushevych and his government. Although the Cehelsky scandal was managed successfully, critics, including some of Petrushevych's own ministers and envoys, were increasing everywhere. In the forefront in Canada were the Labour Temple activists and *Ukrainski robotnychi visty*, which gleefully printed every barb. The exile government, it was said, was little more than a clique dominated by Petrushevych's relatives—a son, two nephews and another relative held important ministerial and diplomatic posts—and by his cronies from the prewar National Democratic party; its agrarian programme was both vague and inadequate; its publication expenses were unnecessarily high and its fund-raising campaigns were inefficient. Of the \$107,000 raised in the United States in 1921-2, only \$63,500, it was claimed, had reached Vienna, with the remainder squandered on agents' fees and commissions. The fact that none of the funds supported the grass-roots struggle of Ukrainian peasants, workers and intellectuals in eastern Galicia was, of course, a major source of popular dissatisfaction. Like many European emigrés and eastern-Galician Ukrainians, many Ukrainian Canadians were growing tired of Petrushevych's "high level diplomacy" and his eternal optimism concerning the possibility of a diplomatic resolution of the eastern-Galician question.⁸⁰

In the fall of 1922 the criticism gained added weight once Ukrainian peasants began to attack landlords and to burn the great estates in Ternopil, Husiatyn and

other counties of southern Podilia. When the Polish authorities executed Petro Sheremeta and Stefan Melnychuk, two veterans of the Galician army who had joined the Red army and returned to Galicia to initiate an armed struggle, the procommunist opponents of the exile government acquired a pair of martyrs whose heroism contrasted sharply with Petrushevych's futile diplomacy.⁸¹ A fund-raising campaign, launched by the Labour Temple Association in November 1922 on behalf of leftist political prisoners and the revolutionary movement in eastern Galicia, gathered momentum after the tragic fate of Sheremeta and Melnychuk became known. In fact, in the winter of 1922-3 Ukrainian labourers and farmers contributed over ten thousand dollars to the fund in just six weeks, while it took Nazaruk and Bobersky four and one half months to raise sixteen thousand dollars in loans and donations.⁸²

Ultimately, after twelve months, Nazaruk and Bobersky had collected \$33,290. At 116 public meetings, 4,662 individuals and organizations had contributed \$23,856; local Defence Loan committees in 191 cities, towns and rural communities added another \$10,000 from 2,080 donors.⁸³ To a large extent, the meagre amounts were the result of the two envoys' inability to penetrate the urban and frontier strongholds of the Ukrainian Labour Temple Association. More than two-thirds of the public meetings were held in rural Manitoba and Saskatchewan, where almost two-thirds of the funds were also collected. No public meetings were held in any of the frontier and mining towns of Ontario, Alberta and British Columbia, and less than a tenth were held in urban Ontario and British Columbia. As a result, bond sales and donations in all of the frontier and mining regions totalled a mere \$20, and only \$2,960 were raised east of the Lakehead. Although Winnipeg, Edmonton, Toronto, Fort William and Saskatoon contributed more⁸⁴ than did most of the railway towns and rural communities, the urban response to the campaign was very disappointing. A total of just under nine thousand dollars was raised in twenty-one urban centres. Even in Winnipeg, which contributed the most (\$1,745), the level of participation was negligible. Despite its 10,000 Ukrainian residents, only six organizations and 130 individuals there (mostly prominent nationalist and Catholic community leaders) had purchased bonds or made donations to the National Defence Loan. The campaign furnished telling evidence of the weak influence of the nationalists in urban centres. The cities, to say nothing of the mining and single-industry frontier towns, were increasingly under the sway of the procommunist labour temples.

An interesting epilogue to the loan fiasco was played out in the summer of 1923 after Ivan Petrushevich, a member of the exile government's London bureau after the Paris Peace Conference, returned to Canada. Critical of the government's diplomatic efforts, he submitted no report of his work in Paris to the Ukrainian Canadian Citizens' Committee, which had dispatched him to Europe, and after taking up residence in Calgary, under the assumed name of E.

Pedro Savidge, he avoided the local national home and visited only the Ukrainian Labour Temple, where, in the words of *Ukrainskyi holos*, he “slung mud at our intelligentsia.”⁸⁵ Then, in December, *Ukrainski robotnychi visty* published Nazaruk’s private letter of resignation, addressed to Evhen Petrushevych. A stinging rebuke, which indicted the exile government’s ministers, particularly Kost Levytsky, for incompetence and a philistine attitude to statecraft, the letter revealed that only 172 of 2,054 Canadian communities populated by Ukrainians had participated in the loan campaign and implored the president to furnish a full public accounting of the Canadian donations if further appeals for financial assistance were anticipated. The portion still in Nazaruk’s possession—about one-third of the total—would, he indicated, be remitted to Ukrainian organizations conducting the struggle at the grass-roots level in eastern Galicia.⁸⁶

Notes

1. See “Note on Transliteration and Terminology.”
2. For an overview of the revolution in Ukraine, see Orest Subtelny, *Ukraine: A History* (Toronto, 1988), 339-79. Standard accounts include Jurij Borys, *The Sovietization of Ukraine, 1917-1923* (Edmonton, 1980); Taras Hunczak, ed., *The Ukraine, 1917-1921: A Study in Revolution* (Cambridge, Mass., 1977); John S. Reshetar, *The Ukrainian Revolution, 1917-1920: A Study in Nationalism* (Princeton, 1952); Richard Pipes, *The Formation of the Soviet Union: Communism and Nationalism* (Cambridge, Mass., 1954).
3. James E. Mace, *Communism and the Dilemmas of National Liberation: National Communism in Soviet Ukraine, 1918-1933* (Cambridge, Mass., 1983), 27.
4. Coal, raw materials, manufactured goods, transportation equipment and even factory machines were also requisitioned and shipped off to Russia. Volodymyr Vynnychenko, *Vidrodzhennia natsii*, III (Kiev-Vienna, 1920), 301-49.
5. Partisan bands led by *otamany* (not under Petliura’s command) and anarchist freebooters and some Bolshevik forces also murdered Jews. However, because the Bolsheviks were also usually the first to punish pogromshchiks, they won the support of the Jewish population. On Ukrainian-Jewish relations at the highest government levels, see Solomon I. Goldelman, *Jewish National Autonomy in Ukraine, 1917-1920* (Chicago, 1968). On the pogroms, see Reshetar, 253-7; Vynnychenko, III, 362-75; Elias Heifetz, *The Slaughter of the Jews in the Ukraine in 1919* (New York, 1921); N. Gergel, “The Pogroms in the Ukraine in 1918-21,” *YIVO Annual of Jewish Social Sciences* VI (1951), 237-52. William H. Chamberlin has observed that “as soon as the Soviet regime was established in Ukraine a considerable number of Jewish minor officials made their appearance. It is a matter of common testimony that the prominence of Jews, especially of the younger generation, in the Soviet administration, often had the most fatal consequences for their co-racialists.” *The Russian Revolution*, II (New

- York, 1935), 228; see also Zvi Gitelman, *Jewish Nationality and Soviet Politics: The Jewish Sections of the CPSU, 1917-1930* (Princeton, 1972). The exact number of Jewish pogrom victims and the proportion who fell to Petliura's regulars, Ukrainian partisan bands and Denikin's army is uncertain. The estimate of some Jewish scholars is well over 100,000 fatalities, while some Ukrainian scholars place the number at 35,000, with up to three-quarters perishing at the hands of Denikin's army. Subtelny, 581, n 3. Petliura's role has been the subject of much debate. See, for example, Taras Hunczak, "A Reappraisal of Simon Petliura and Jewish-Ukrainian Relations, 1917-1921," and Zosa Szajkowski, "A Rebuttal," in *Jewish Social Studies* XXXI (1969), 163-213, XXXII (1970), 246-63.
6. Peter Kenez, *Civil War in South Russia, 1919-1920: The Defeat of the Whites* (Berkeley, 1977), 166-77.
 7. Basil Dmytryshyn, *Moscow and the Ukraine, 1918-1953: A Study of Russian Bolshevik Nationality Policy* (New York, 1956), 237-41. In December 1924, Communist party membership in Ukraine (in per cent) was Russian (48), Ukrainian (33.4), Jewish (14) and "other" (4.6).
 8. On Vynnychenko, see Melanie Czajkowskyj, "Volodymyr Vynnychenko and His Mission to Moscow and Kharkiv," *Journal of Ukrainian Graduate Studies* III (2) (1978), 3-24, and Ivan L. Rudnytsky, "Volodymyr Vynnychenko's Ideas in the Light of His Political Writings," in *Essays in Modern Ukrainian History* (Edmonton, 1987), 417-36.
 9. Thomas Prymak, *Mykhailo Hrushevsky: The Politics of National Culture* (Toronto, 1987), 197 ff.; Alexander J. Motyl, *The Turn to the Right: The Ideological Origins and Development of Ukrainian Nationalism, 1919-1929* (Boulder, 1980), 57-61; Mace, 304-5.
 10. The only published attempt to gauge the impact of the revolution on Ukrainian Canadians is Nestor Makuch, "The Influence of the Ukrainian Revolution on Ukrainians in Canada, 1917-1922," *Journal of Ukrainian Graduate Studies* IV (1) (1979), 42-61.
 11. *Robochyi narod* 21 November 1917.
 12. *Ranok* 3 October 1917; *Kanadyiskyi rusyn* 6 June, 11 July, 29 August, 28 November, 26 December 1917; *Ukrainskyi holos* 22 August, 12 September, 10, 17, 24, 31 October, 7, 21 November, 12, 26 December 1917, 6 February 1918.
 13. *Ukrainskyi holos* 1, 15 May 1918.
 14. *Ibid.*, 3 July, 21 August 1918; *Kanadyiskyi rusyn* 26 June 1918. "Bolshevism," a letter in the nationalist weekly asserted, "should more appropriately be called Jewism [zhydovyzm]." *Ukrainskyi holos* 21 August 1918. The Bolsheviks—Russian centralists and utopians, who had suppressed all political opposition, including rival socialist parties, and who had dismissed civil liberties as "petty bourgeois superstitions"—were led by "our Hebrew brothers," according to another editorial. *Ibid.*, 12 June 1918.
 15. *Robochyi narod* 22 December 1917, 2, 16, 26, 30 January, 9, 13, 27 February, 10, 13 April, 11 May 1918.
 16. *Kanadyiskyi rusyn* 22 May, 5, 26 June, 7, 14 August 1918; *Robochyi narod* 19, 22 June, 6 July 1918; *Ranok* 28 August 1918; *Ukrainskyi holos* 15 May, 17, 24 July, 14, 21, 28 August, 4 September, 25 December 1918.
 17. *Ukrainskyi holos* 20 August 1919.

18. For example, see the article "Zhydy i Ukraina" reprinted from the Viennese *Ukrainskyi prapor* in *ibid.*, 29 October 1919.
19. *Ranok* 15, 28 January, 2, 30 April 1919; NAC, John Robert Kovalevitch Papers, "Autobiography of Rev. Paul Crath," Book II, 130-4, 141-2, 153-7.
20. *Kanadyiskyi ukrainets* 23 August, 24 September, 13 December 1919. The editors of the Catholic weekly were even more incensed than the editors of *Ukrainskyi holos* (17 December 1919) when a Jewish antipogrom protest in Winnipeg on 9 December 1919 condemned the fact that "tens of thousands of innocent Jews...are being slaughtered in Ukraina" *without* indicating that it was Denikin's army that was responsible for much of the devastation. *Kanadyiskyi ukrainets*, in dismissing Jewish assurances that they were fully in sympathy with the aspirations of those Ukrainians who opposed the pogroms, declared that it was "the servility and fear of the high and the mighty of this world, so characteristic of the [Jewish] race," that was responsible for this effort to soil the reputation of the Ukrainian people. The Ukrainian community was represented at the protest by J.W. Arsenych, "who presented the resolution dealing with the situation [in Ukraine] passed by the Ukrainian convention recently held in this city." *Manitoba Free Press* 10 December 1919. In Montreal, Fr. Redkevych and the Ukrainian Catholic parish sent a note of sympathy to the local Jewish congress. *Ukrainskyi holos* 17 December 1919.
21. *Ranok* 8 October 1919, 25 February 1920, 25 January 1921; *Ukrainskyi holos* 20 August 1919. The nationalist weekly also noted (3 December 1919) that on 24 November 1919 Jewish demonstrators in New York City had acknowledged that Petliura had tried to stop the pogroms in July.
22. *Ukrainski robotnychi visty* 13, 27 August, 3, 17 September, 27 October, 24 December 1919, 28 January, 4, 11, 18 February, 31 March, 10, 14 April, 5, 8, 12, 15, 19, 22, 26, 29 May, 3 July, 4, 18, 21 August, 25, 29 September, 6, 20, 27 October 1920.
23. *Ranok* 31 March, 19 May 1920; *Kanadyiskyi ukrainets* 17 March 1920.
24. *Kanadyiskyi ukrainets* 10 March, 8, 15, 26 May, 5, 16, 26 June, 7, 14 July, 13 October 1920; *Kanadyiskyi ranok* 26 October 1920.
25. *Ranok* 19 May 1920; the Protestant weekly also explained (7 December 1920) why Vynnychenko rejected the Bolshevik regime in Ukraine.
26. *Ukrainskyi holos* 20 August, 10 September 1919, 22 October, 17 December 1919, 4 February, 10, 31 March, 21, 28 April, 12, 19, 26 May, 16 June, 1 September, 13 October 1920.
27. *Ibid.*, 14 July, 25 August, 1, 8 September 1920. While L.B. Kamenev, one of Lenin's closest associates was Jewish, S.S. Kamenev, the Soviet military commander-in-chief, was Russian and G.V. Chicherin, the foreign affairs minister, was a descendent of the Russian aristocracy. Timothy E. O'Connor, *Diplomacy and Revolution: G.V. Chicherin and Soviet Foreign Affairs, 1918-1930* (Ames, Iowa, 1988).
28. *Ukrainskyi holos* 11 August, 22 September, 27 October, 10 November, 1 December 1920, 30 March, 24 August 1921.
29. *Ibid.*, 4 December 1918. "Ukrainskyi Horozhanskyi Komitet" has occasionally been rendered as the Ukrainian Canadian Citizens' League. The only published study of this episode is Nadia O.M. Kazymyra, "The Ukrainian Canadian Response to the Paris Peace Conference, 1919," in

- Frances Swyripa and John H. Thompson, eds., *Loyalties in Conflict: Ukrainians in Canada During the Great War* (Edmonton, 1983), 125-42.
30. The committee's executive consisted of Jaroslaw W. Arsenych, Ivan (John) Sliuzar, Theodore Stefanik, Ivan Petrushevich, Peter H. Woycenko, Dmytro Yakimischak and Petro Ruta.
 31. AUCA, Budka to Sheptytsky, 22 November 1918, NB 20-22, Budka file.
 32. *Ukrainskyi holos* 11 December 1918, 1 January 1919.
 33. *Kanadyiskyi rusyn* 5 February 1919; "Ukrainska Narodna Rada" has also been rendered as Ukrainian National Council by some historians, though contemporaries referred to it as the Ukrainian People's Council.
 34. The three men who left the committee executive for the council were Stefanik, Sliuzar and Ruta; other members of the council executive were Roman Kremar, Harry Bodnar, Joseph Dyk, Paul Gegeychuk and George Skwarok.
 35. *Ibid.*, 26 February, 5 March 1919.
 36. *Ibid.*, 19 March 1919.
 37. In an editorial entitled "Ukraine the Natural Ally of the British Empire," Kremar argued that Russia's interests in Asia were at odds with those of Britain, whereas an independent Ukraine would always support British claims in Asia "if only...to avoid the possibility of repetition of Mongolians under Genghiskhan....Cooperation of Ukrainian army in Turkestan with the British fleet in the Indian Ocean is the only logical and effective remedy to safeguard Europe before yellow menace [*sic*]." *Ibid.*, 15 January 1919. In Ottawa, Kremar worked with Dr. R.M. Blake (Conservative—Winnipeg North), H.A. Mackie (Conservative—Edmonton East) and Sir Sam Hughes (Conservative—Victoria-Haliburton). *Kanadyiskyi ukrainets* 15 July 1919.
 38. *Kanadyiskyi rusyn* 2 April 1919.
 39. See *Kanadyiskyi ukrainets* and *Ukrainskyi holos* July-December 1919. For the text of telegrams and memorials sent by the committee and council to Canadian and British parliamentarians and American congressmen, see *Ukrainskyi holos* 16, 23 July 1919, 28 January 1920. For a memorandum from the Ukrainian Catholic clergy to Borden, see *Kanadyiskyi ukrainets* 19 August 1919, and a memorial handed to the Prince of Wales in Winnipeg, *ibid.*, 26 September 1919. The *Manitoba Free Press* 22 November 1919 has a description of the mass rally in Winnipeg.
 40. Kazymyra, 128; Arnold Margolin, *From a Political Diary: Russia, the Ukraine, and America, 1905-1945* (New York, 1946), 37-51; Leonid C. Sonevtsky, "The Ukrainian Question in R.H. Lord's Writings on the Paris Peace Conference of 1919," *Annals of the Ukrainian Academy of Arts and Sciences in the United States* X (1-2) (1962-3), 65-84.
 41. Taras Hunczak, "Sir Lewis Namier and the Struggle for Eastern Galicia, 1918-1920," *Harvard Ukrainian Studies* I (2) (1977), 198-210; Laurence Orzell, "A 'Hotly Disputed' Issue: Eastern Galicia at the Paris Peace Conference," *The Polish Review* XXV (1) (1980), 49-68.
 42. Mykhailo Lozynsky, *Halychyna v rr. 1918-1920* (New York, 1970), 113-9, 218-28; L. Vasylykivsky, "Prychynky do istorii ukrainskoi dyplomatii v 1917-21 rokakh," *Suchasnist* 114 (6) (1970), 109-24, and 115-16 (7-8) (1970), 140-52.

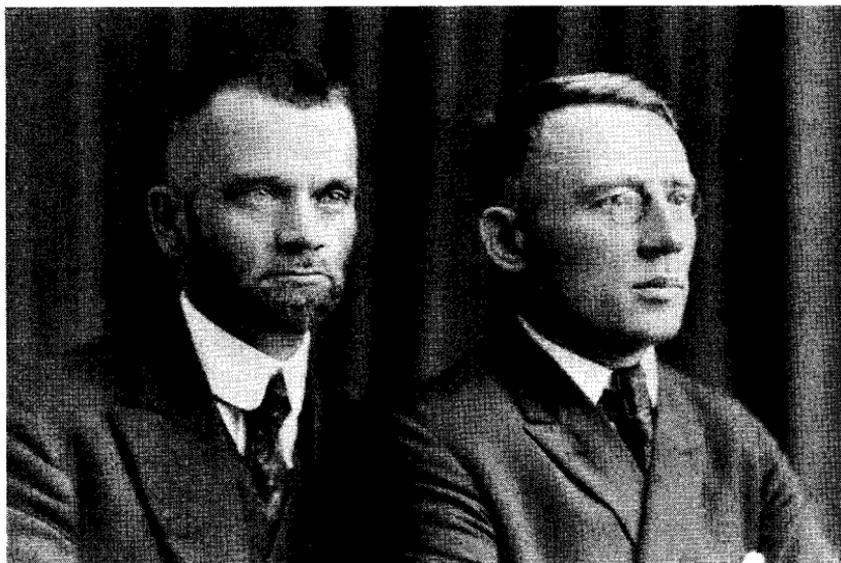
43. Kazymyra, 134; *Ukrainski robotnychi visty* 6 August 1919; *Ukrainskyi holos* 10 December 1919.
44. *Ukrainski robotnychi visty* 13, 27 August, 10 September 1919.
45. Kazymyra, 136; *Ukrainskyi holos* 17 September 1919; *Kanadyiskyi ukrainets* 3 March 1920.
46. *Ukrainski robotnychi visty* 17 March 1920, 17 July, 21 September 1921; *Ukrainskyi holos* 24 March, 8 September, 10 November 1920.
47. *Entsyklopediia ukraïnoznavstva*, I, (Munich, 1949), 557.
48. From a Ukrainian Red Cross publicity pamphlet, cited in Mykhailo Marunchak, "Ukrainskyi Chervonyi Khrest," *Studii do istorii ukraïntsv Kanady*, V (Winnipeg, 1973-80), 29.
49. *Entsyklopediia ukraïnoznavstva*, I, 556.
50. Kazymyra, 133; *Ukrainskyi holos* 5 November 1919, 7 January 1920; Marunchak, 25.
51. For Red Cross receipts and expenditures, see *Ukrainskyi holos* 16 March, 30 November 1921, 29 March, 5, 12, 19, 26 April, 13 September 1922, 2, 9, 16 May 1923.
52. *Ukrainski robotnychi visty* 5 January, 2 February, 23 April, 6 August, 17 September, 1 October 1921. On 18 September 1921, Bishop Budka announced that the two thousand dollars collected for the "Postwar" fund had been donated to Sheptytsky's Orphan Defence Fund. *Kanadyiskyi ukrainets* 21 September 1921. In an undated private letter to Archbishop Arthur Sinnott of Winnipeg in 1924, Budka stated: "Collection made by our paper for suffering people in Galicia before the war—about \$1,500—was used by the paper [*Kanadyiskyi ukrainets*]. Donated publicly to the orphans of Archbishop Sheptytsky's Archdiocese—\$2,000—plus my private debt to the Archbishop has to be paid when called after." The writer is indebted to Dr. Bohdan Kazymyra, Regina, for a photocopy of this document.
53. On Bobersky, see Marunchak, "Prof. I. Bobersky v derzhavnii misii do Kanady," *Studii*, V, 11-22.
54. Kazuo Nakai, "Soviet Agricultural Policies in the Ukraine and the 1921-22 Famine," *Harvard Ukrainian Studies* VI (1) (1982), 43-61; Wasyl Veryha, "Famine in Ukraine in 1921-1923 and the Soviet Government's Countermeasures," *Nationalities Papers* XII (2) (1984), 265-86; Roman Serbyn, "The Famine of 1921-1923: A Model for 1932-1933?," in Roman Serbyn and Bohdan Krawchenko, eds., *Famine in Ukraine, 1932-1933* (Edmonton, 1986), 147-78.
55. See *Ukrainski robotnychi visty* 1-22 October 1921 for reports on the fund-raising campaign and 4 February 1922 for the amount collected and the percentage donated by Ukrainians. The organizations represented on the committee were the Ukrainian Labour Temple (Winnipeg), the Ukrainian Labour Temple (East Kildonan), the Ivan Kotliarevsky Drama Society (a Labour Temple affiliate), the Association for Technical Aid to Soviet Russia, the Socialist Labour Federation, the League of Working Youth, the Hebrew Workers' Alliance, the One Big Union, and the Socialist Party of Canada. *Ibid.*, 10 August 1921.
56. *Ibid.*, I, 25 March, 14 October 1922.
57. *Ukrainskyi holos* 15, 29 February, 24 May 1922; *Kanadyiskyi ukrainets* 15 February, 5 April, 24 May 1922.

58. *Kanadyiskyi ranok* 9 May, 8 June 1922; *Ukrainskyi holos* 14 June 1922; *Kanadyiskyi ukrainets* 21 June 1922.
59. *Ukrainskyi holos* 21 June 1922.
60. *Ukrainski robotnychi visty* 13, 27 May, 2 August 1922.
61. *Ukrainskyi holos* 13 September 1922, 2 May 1923.
62. *Ukrainski robotnychi visty* 17, 24 June, 5 July, 2, 23 August 1922.
63. Even though the Polish government assumed that eastern Galicia was an integral part of Poland after June 1919, the imposition of Polish rule on six million Ukrainians violated the principle of national self-determination that strategic differences between France and Britain had clouded. The Petrushevykh government's position was that a neutral and independent eastern-Galician state, conveniently located on the Soviet frontier, with a considerable population and large petroleum reserves, would be of advantage to the Entente powers. Besides gaining the oil fields, the new state would serve as a bridge for Western trade with Soviet Russia, and it would stabilize eastern Europe by defusing Russo-Polish tensions. Motyl, 33-5.
64. Marunchak, *Studii*, V, 11-22; Oleh W. Gerus, "The Ukrainian Diplomatic Representation in Canada, 1920-23," in Swyrypa and Thompson, 143-57.
65. *Ukrainskyi holos* 3 August 1921.
66. *Ibid.*, 3, 17 August 1921; *Kanadyiskyi ukrainets* 3 August 1921; *Kanadyiskyi ranok* 16 August 1921.
67. *Ukrainski robotnychi visty* 30 July 1921. Immediately after Bobersky's arrival, from December 1920 through March 1921, Labour Temple activists organized numerous meetings in western Canada and Ontario, whose resolutions called for the unification of eastern Galicia with Soviet Ukraine and attacked and maligned Bobersky. *Ibid.*, 5 January through 8 April 1921.
68. *Ibid.*, 10, 13, 17, 27, 31 August, 7, 10, 14, 21, 24 September, 1, 15 October 1921.
69. *Ibid.*, 7 September 1921; *Manitoba Free Press* 30 November 1921. An almost identical interpretation of Boyer's activities was presented by Bobersky and Nazaruk in their confidential "Zvit predstavnytstva ZUNR v Kanadi za rr. 1922-23," in UCECA, Iwan Boberskyj Papers, Box 2, file "Zvity predstavnytstva do Ukrainskoho Mizhpartiinoho Komitetu v Halychyni, 1922-24," 9/164.
70. See the excerpts from the diary of Onufrii Hykawy, published as "Ukrainskyi Tsentralnyi Komitet v zapyskakh Onufriia Hykavoho," in Marunchak, *Studii*, V, 144-63, for insights into this episode.
71. *Ibid.*, 146. At the meeting Meighen declined to appear at a rally on behalf of eastern-Galician independence, but he promised that in the future Ukrainians born in eastern Galicia would not be described as natives of Poland on their Canadian naturalization papers, and he assured the committee that naturalized Ukrainian women would be allowed to vote in the December federal election.
72. *Ukrainskyi holos* 28 September, 5, 12 October 1921; *Kanadyiskyi ukrainets* 26 October 1921.
73. *Ukrainskyi holos* 21 September 1921; *Kanadyiskyi ukrainets* 12, 26 October, 16 November 1921; *Manitoba Free Press* 28, 29, 30 November 1921.
74. Hykawy diary, cited in Marunchak, *Studii*, V, 146-50. For copies of questionnaires distributed by the exile government during the investigation that

- followed, see UCECA, Iwan Boberskyj Papers, Box 2, file "Tsehelsky, dr. Lonhyn: sudova sprava u Vidni, 1921-22." In December 1928 and January 1929 the American procommunist *Ukrainski shchodenni visty* published the report of the investigation by the exile government into the Cehelsky affair, held in the spring of 1922. M. Nastasivsky, *Ukrainska emigratsiia v Spoluchenykh Derzhavakh* (New York, 1934), 206-10.
75. *Manitoba Free Press* 28, 29, 30 November 1921; *Ukrainskyi holos* 7 December 1921; *Kanadyiskyi ukrainets* 23, 30 November, 7 December 1921.
 76. For a description of the demonstration in Winnipeg, see *Manitoba Free Press* 24 April 1922; for Polish reactions to the demonstrations, see *Ukrainskyi holos* 10 May 1922 and Marunchak, *Studii*, V, 45-8.
 77. On 11 April, King spoke with an eastern delegation led by Dr. A.T. Kibzey and Fr. Wasyl Gegeychuk; two months later, on 23 June, he spoke with a delegation composed of Myroslaw Stechishin, Peter Svarich, Kibzey and Frs. Gegeychuk and Sarmatiuk, who claimed to represent all Ukrainian Canadians. *Ukrainskyi holos* 19, 26 April, 5 July 1922.
 78. *Ibid.*, 20 September 1922; the loan, bearing 6 per cent interest for ten years commencing six months after the government regained power, was announced on 16 August in Vienna.
 79. Hykawy diary, cited in Marunchak, *Studii*, V, 153.
 80. *Ukrainski robitnychi visty* 26 August, 6, 16, 27 September, 9, 23 December 1922, 7, 17 February, 10, 17 March 1923.
 81. *Ibid.*, 1 November, 9, 13, 16 December 1923; see also Janusz Radziejowski, *The Communist Party of Western Ukraine, 1919-1929* (Edmonton, 1983), 14-17, 32, 51 n.13.
 82. *Ukrainski robitnychi visty* 3 February 1923.
 83. *Zvit z Pozychky Natsionalnoi Oborony v Kanadi* (Winnipeg, 1924), prepared by Bobersky and Nazaruk, contains a detailed break down of donations.
 84. The biggest contributors were Winnipeg (\$1,743.50), Edmonton (1,482.84), Hafford (1,204.30), Toronto (1,077), Ethelbert (971.28), Krydor (840.45), Saskatoon (777.63), Norquay (607.10), Fort William (606), Meacham (602.20) and Hamilton (590). *Ibid.*, 23.
 85. *Ukrainskyi holos* 24 October 1923; *Kanadyiskyi ukrainets* 5 December 1923.
 86. *Ukrainski robitnychi visty* 15, 19, 22, 26 December 1923. For Bobersky's views on the loan campaign and Nazaruk's letter, see UCECA, Iwan Boberskyj Papers, Bobersky to Mizhpartiinyi Komitet, 20 May 1924, Box 2, file "Zvity predstavnytstva do Ukrainskoho Mizhpartiinoho Komitetu v Halychyni, 1922-24," 4/63; also Oleh W. Gerus, "The Canadian-Galician Connection: Osyp Nazaruk in Canada, 1922-23," in Jaroslav Rozumnyj, ed., *New Soil—Old Roots: The Ukrainian Experience in Canada* (Winnipeg, 1983), 225-42.



73. Demonstration on behalf of the Western Ukrainian National Republic, Winnipeg, April 1922 (UCECA, Bobersky Coll.)



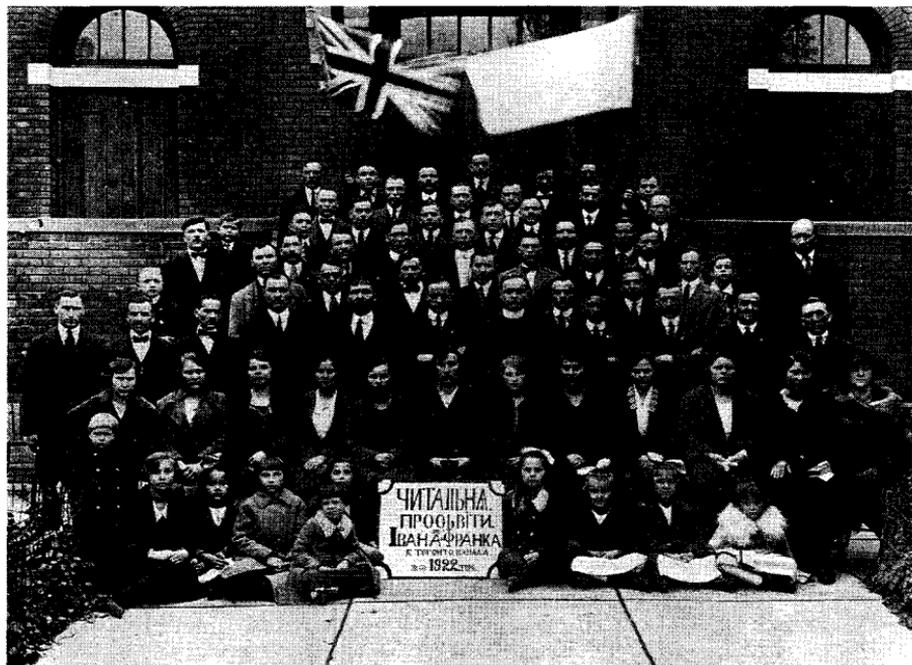
74. Ivan Bobersky (left) and Osyp Nazaruk, Winnipeg, 1923 (UCECA, Bobersky Coll.)



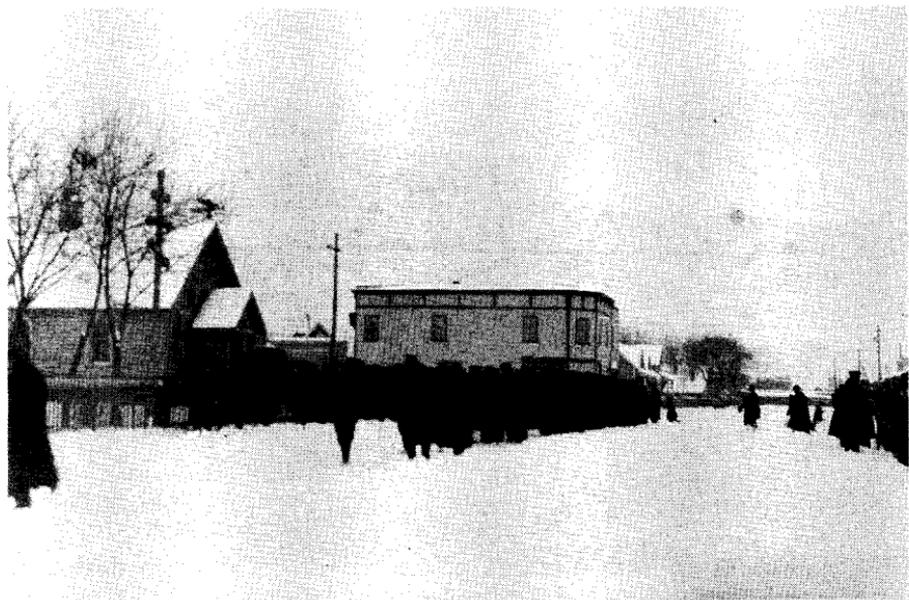
75. Leading members of the Ukrainian Central Committee in Victoria Park, Winnipeg, June 1922. Left to right: Jaroslaw Arsenych, Ivan Rudachek, Taras Ferley, Zygmund Bychynsky, Myroslaw Stechishin, Onufrii Hykawy (UCECA, Bobersky Coll.)



76. Metropolitan Sheptytsky and Ukrainian Catholic clergy, Winnipeg, 1921. Left to right: Lev Van', Mykola Olenchuk, Atanasii Fylypow, unidentified, Lev Sembratovych, Metropolitan Sheptytsky, Bishop Budka, Joseph Zhuk, Sozont Dydyk, Evhen Andrukhovych (UCECA)



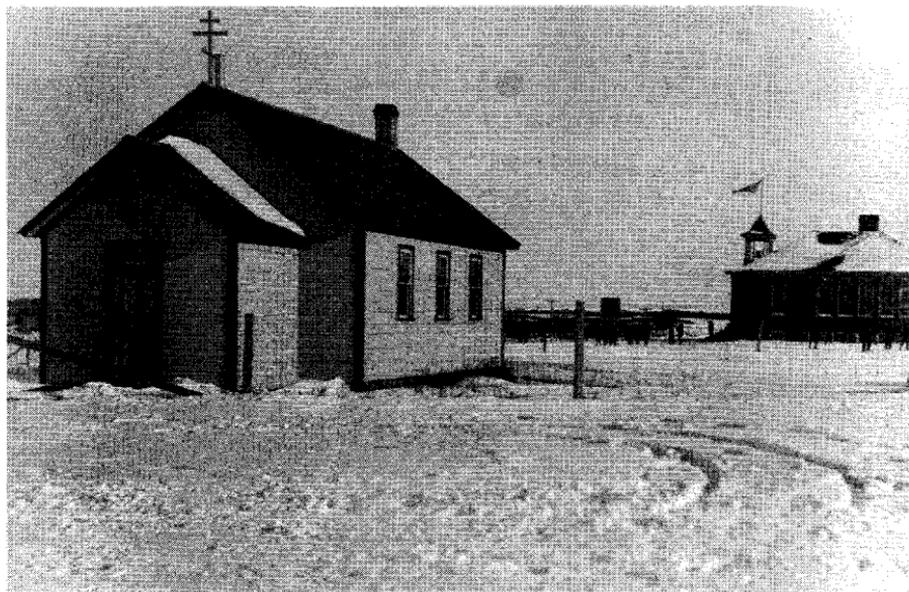
77. Fr. Andrii Sarmatiuk and members of the Ukrainian Catholic Ivan Franko Prosvita Reading Club, Toronto, 1922 (UCECA, Bobersky Coll.)



78. Church procession in Winnipeg's North End. To the left is SS. Vladimir and Olga Ukrainian Catholic church; in the background is (Tom) Jastremsky's hall (UCECA, Bobersky Coll.)



79. St. Mary's Ukrainian Catholic church, Mountain Road, Manitoba, 1924, Fr. Philip Ruh, architect (UCECA)



80. Ukrainian Greek Orthodox church, next to rural school, Goodeve, Saskatchewan, 1921 (UCECA, Bobersky Coll.)



81. Metropolitan Germanos Shegedi (AUGOC)



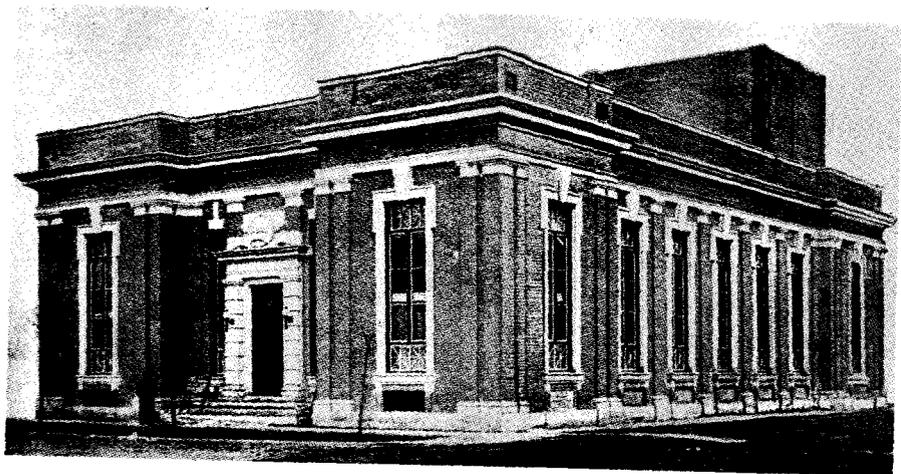
82. Bishop Ivan Theodorovich (AUGOC)



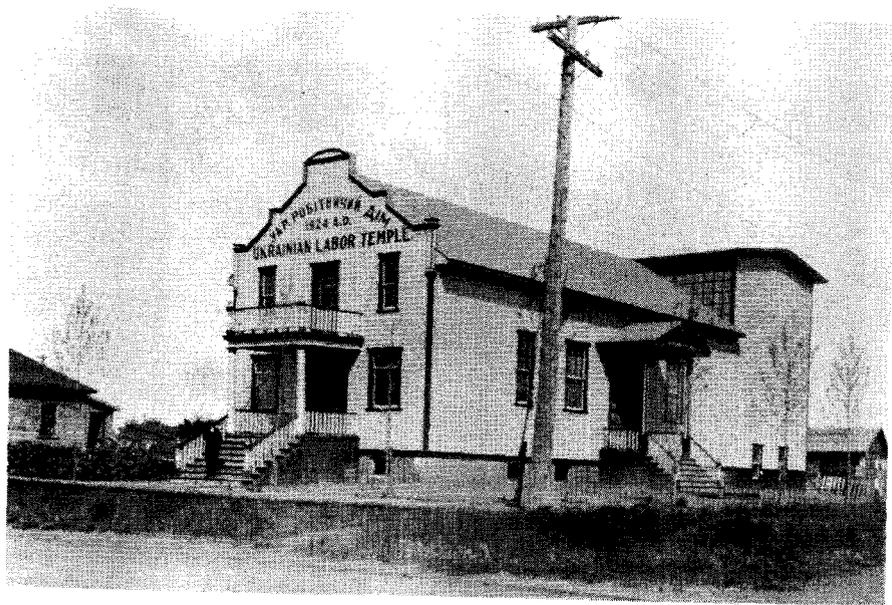
83. Wasyl Kudryk (PAA, A 10057)



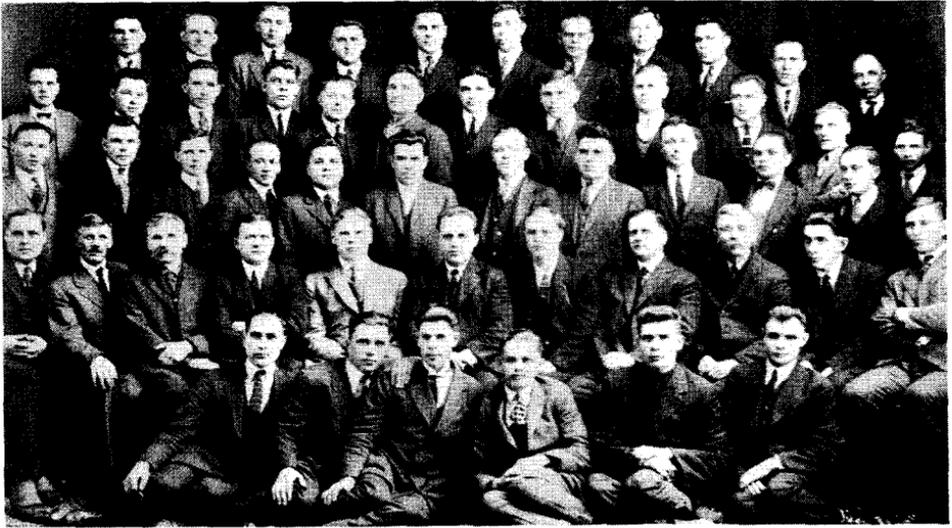
84. Bishop Theodorovich and clergy of the Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church of Canada, 1925. *First row* (left to right) P. Bilon, S.W. Sawchuk, Bishop Theodorovich, W. Kudryk, S. Hrebeniuk; *second row* M. Kucher, W. Sluzar, V. Novosad, D.F. Stratyckuk, P. Sametz, P. Melnychuk, D. Kyrstiuk, D. Seneta, I. Kusy (M. Marunchak, *Ukrainian Canadians: A History* (1982), 506)



85. Ukrainian Labour Temple, built in Winnipeg, 1918-19 (PAM, N9794)



86. Ukrainian Labour Temple Association hall, West Fort William, 1924 (UCECA, Bobersky Coll.)



87. Delegates at the Fifth Convention of the Ukrainian Labour (-Farmer) Temple Association, Winnipeg, 6-9 February 1924. *Second row* (fourth through eighth from left) Ivan Nawizowski, Danylo Lobay, Matthew Popovich, Myroslav Irchan, William (Wasy) Kolisnyk; *fourth row* (fourth from left) Toma Kobzey (UCECA, Bobersky Coll.)



88. Poster on the Ukrainian Labour Temple endorsing Workers' Alliance candidate Jacob Penner, Winnipeg, December 1921 (UCECA, Bobersky Coll.)

A Divided Community

When not polemicizing about politics in Ukraine and in Ukrainian emigré circles, the nationalists and their leftist adversaries were busy developing two new institutions—the Ukrainian Greek Orthodox church and the Ukrainian Labour (-Farmer) Temple Association. Both reflected well the social differentiation and polarization that Ukrainian Canadians were experiencing. If the majority of older rural settlers continued to look no further than the Ukrainian Catholic or Russian Orthodox churches, many younger, nationally and socially conscious immigrants—whether farmers, small businessmen, professionals or labourers—found the traditional churches and organizations insufficiently responsive to their needs and interests. Thus most affluent and upwardly mobile businessmen, professionals and farmers tended to favour the Ukrainian Greek Orthodox church because it encouraged lay participation in church government and promoted Ukrainian solidarity and economic self-reliance. Similarly, most Ukrainian miners and labourers, conscious of their class interests and frustrated by the indifference of the churches and most secular societies to their problems, tended to gravitate toward the Ukrainian Labour (-Farmer) Temple Association with its network of cultural-educational and benevolent societies and its contacts with the Canadian labour movement.

Churches in Crisis

By the early 1920s the Ukrainian Catholic and Russian Orthodox churches, often the first and only institutions established by the earliest immigrants, faced serious crises. Before the First World War, they had managed to withstand the challenge of the Independent Greek church and Protestant proselytizing, and to hold the nationalist and socialist intelligentsia at bay. The war, however, seriously weakened both institutions and they were in a poor position to resist the new challenges to their authority.

With up to 85 per cent of the Ukrainians who settled in Canada born into the Ukrainian Catholic church, it is not surprising that it remained the largest and most influential institution. Despite the combined efforts of the Russian Orthodox, Independent Greek, Presbyterian, Methodist and Ukrainian Greek Orthodox movements, the Catholic church, in 1924, could still count upon some 200,000 faithful in 256 parishes and congregations, served by forty-five priests, all but six Ukrainian.¹ Admittedly, east of Manitoba, where it had but eight priests and thirteen parishes, no new congregations and only one new church had been established between 1919 and 1924. On the prairies, however, where religious controversies were always the keenest, twenty new congregations and twenty-eight new churches appeared during the same years.² And, besides the orphanages and schools run by eighty Sisters Servants of Mary Immaculate, the church could also boast St. Joseph's College, a high school built in Yorkton by the Catholic Church Extension Society and run by the Irish-Canadian Christian Brothers. In the high school, and in the novitiate and juvenate established by the Basilians and Redemptorists in Mundare and Yorkton, the foundations were being laid for a Canadian-born clergy that would take to the field in the 1930s.³

Nevertheless, for the immediate period The Ukrainian Catholic church was seriously handicapped by a number of problems, including a financial crisis that threatened its very existence. In 1922 the diocesan liabilities were more than thirty thousand dollars while the paper value of its assets was less than fifteen thousand.⁴ The Sheptytsky *bursa* in St. Boniface owed the Archbishop of St. Boniface fifteen thousand dollars, the missionary school in Sifton had closed its doors, *Kanadyiskyi ukrainets* was losing at least two thousand dollars annually and the lots for a future cathedral in Winnipeg were mortgaged.⁵ Indeed, in the fall of 1922 the bishop had to borrow money for his first quinquennial visit to Rome, and the following year he used fifteen hundred dollars from the Metropolitan Sheptytsky Orphan Defence Fund to pay off debts incurred by his paper.⁶ Although pastoral letters reminded the faithful that without greater support they might lose their bishop,⁷ the appeals yielded only seven thousand dollars in 1923 and less than half came from the laity.⁸ As Ukrainian Catholics in the United States had been without a bishop since Ortynsky's premature death in 1916, there was reason to fear the fate of the Canadian diocese should a Ukrainian successor to Budka not be appointed.⁹

The situation was all the more precarious because the bishop's authority among his clergy was not great. Many were reluctant to enforce the *cathedraticum* or to forward an obligatory 5 per cent from their total income to him. It was rumoured that Budka did not enjoy the confidence of most secular clergy and that several priests and prominent Catholic laymen were ready to defect to the Ukrainian Greek Orthodox church.¹⁰ Not surprisingly, morale was low. The adversities of missionary life in remote rural colonies and in urban ghettos caused some priests to leave Canada and drove others to drink. Needless to say,

where breaches of conduct emerged, the church's prestige suffered and even devout settlers refused to contribute financially.¹¹

Among the irregularities, some secular priests did not honour their vows of celibacy. In 1923, Osyp Nazaruk observed that "to a large extent Ukrainian Greek Catholic priests are involved in common-law relationships (*zhyyvut na viru*) because they believe that they have a right to this—their colleagues in the old country are all married.... The people look at all this through their fingers—'as long as they don't chase married women.'"¹² Even if exaggerated, it is a fact that at least four of the twenty-eight secular priests—Fylyma, Shumsky, Sarmatiuk and Turula—contracted marriages during these years *after* ordination. Only Turula, an accomplished musician and choir master with a wife in Galicia, was dismissed immediately after being married by a Presbyterian minister in Winnipeg.¹³ The other three, who married secretly and behaved more discreetly, were not dismissed until 1935 when they came to the attention of the Latin hierarchy and the Vatican.¹⁴

The financial crisis and lapses in clerical discipline naturally impugned Bishop Budka's leadership. Friends and foes agreed that he was "ardent, pious, zealous, profoundly loyal to the Holy See," and a good, modest, personally unpretentious and self-denying man.¹⁵ As he himself confided to Archbishop Sinnott of Winnipeg in 1924, "I do not own one cent...my poor family [in Galicia] has not yet received \$500 during eleven years."¹⁶ Nevertheless, even his supporters conceded his flaws. According to the sympathetic Nazaruk and Bober-sky, Budka was a man "lacking the tact required in a bishop, without any organizational or economic acumen, with the outlook of an Austrian cleric." He was impractical and incapable of resolute action, he did not know how to comport himself with either Ukrainians or foreigners, he did not organize and deploy his priests well, he was unable to provide the community with a sense of direction and his sermons put the faithful to sleep. "The Bishop could be put to good use as a lecturer at the Collegium Ruthenum in Rome," Nazaruk observed, "but here one needs a practical and tactful organizer."¹⁷ Although the victim of much unfounded criticism and vindictiveness, it would be difficult to deny that the bishop's personality and manner contributed much to the crisis within the Ukrainian Catholic church.

While the Russian Orthodox church had never enjoyed the same influence as the Ukrainian Catholic church, its authority before 1918 was seldom challenged in the Bukovynian settlements and it had successfully implanted itself among Russophile Galicians. The fall of the tsarist regime, however, administered a crushing blow, as financial aid from the Holy Synod dried up and factionalism took over. By the early 1920s Russian Orthodoxy was split into three warring camps. In the centre stood Patriarch Tikhon Beliavin of Moscow, the primate in North America between 1898 and 1907. In 1917-18 he spoke out boldly against the Bolsheviks, but by 1920, with the church's very survival at stake, he prac-

tised calculated co-existence. To the right of the patriarch was a group of Russian churchmen who, having retreated to Yugoslavia with the Whites, totally rejected the Soviet regime. In 1921 at a conference in the Yugoslavian town of Karlovtsy, they called for the restoration of the Orthodox Romanov dynasty and founded the Russian Orthodox Church Outside Russia. To the left of the patriarch was the ephemeral Living Church, founded in Petrograd in 1922 by radical secular priests sympathetic to the Soviet regime, who hoped to replace the recently restored patriarchate with a synod.¹⁸

In North America the church under Archbishop Alexander Nemylovsky, and, after his departure in 1922, under Metropolitan Platon Rozhdestvenskii (who had returned to North America in 1919), remained loyal to the patriarch of Moscow. However, with the Russian hierarchy at the mercy of the Bolsheviks, some non-Russian groups in the United States—Albanians, Greeks, Serbians and a small minority of Ukrainians—established their own dioceses under the jurisdiction of mother churches abroad. To complicate matters, within the Russian Orthodox church (which retained the loyalty of most Russians, Carpatho-Rusyns and Ukrainians), Nemylovsky and Rozhdestvenskii were challenged by several dissatisfied pretenders to the episcopacy. Besides Archimandrite Adam Phillipowsky of Winnipeg and his Galician Russophile followers, who thought Nemylovsky was not firm enough with “Ukrainian separatists,” Nemylovsky was also opposed by Bishop Stefan Dzubay of the Carpatho-Rusyn subdiocese of Pittsburgh, a recent convert from Catholicism. Eager to become head of an independent Carpatho-Rusyn diocese within the Russian Orthodox church, Dzubay joined forces with Phillipowsky, consecrated the latter bishop of a Carpatho-Rusyn exarchy and in 1922, after Nemylovsky’s departure, proclaimed himself acting head of the Russian Orthodox church in North America.¹⁹ The last to lock horns with Nemylovsky and Rozhdestvenskii was Bishop Ivan Kedrovsky, a poorly educated diocesan priest who had been suspended by Nemylovsky, only to be appointed bishop by the Living Church. By 1924 the Russian Orthodox church in North America was embroiled in a bewildering web of litigation as Rozhdestvenskii, Phillipowsky and Kedrovsky pressed their claims.

In Canada the Russian Orthodox church was divided between the followers of Nemylovsky/Rozhdestvenskii and Phillipowsky. While Rozhdestvenskii refused to recognize Phillipowsky’s episcopal consecration, the latter insisted that the former had not been authorized by the patriarch of Moscow to assume control in North America. By 1926, Rozhdestvenskii was spiritual head of twenty-seven priests and most of the congregations east of Saskatchewan, while thirteen priests and some thirty-five congregations in Alberta and Saskatchewan acknowledged Phillipowsky. The latter was strongest among Galician Russophiles who had converted to Russian Orthodoxy, while Rozhdestvenskii retained the allegiance of most of the Bukovynians who had not joined the Ukrainian Greek Orthodox church.²⁰ Needless to say, the episcopal conflict, the

church's poorly educated clergy and the lack of a secular intelligentsia did much to undermine its prestige. Its most loyal adherents were aging and uneducated homesteaders, who clung to it largely because their friends and relatives were buried in Russian Orthodox cemeteries.²¹

Ukrainian Protestants, the leading antagonists of Ukrainian Catholics and the Russian Orthodox only a decade earlier, were all but eliminated from the competition for Ukrainian souls by war's end. The dredging up of Catholic and Orthodox scandals having failed to win converts, home mission efforts were largely confined to providing hospitals, medical dispensaries and school homes. Such work, however, was much compromised by the outbursts of Anglo-Canadian nativism during and immediately after the war, and by the 1920s, therefore, with fewer than a dozen semi-employed Ukrainian Presbyterian and Methodist clergy, Ukrainian Protestants were learning to accept their marginal role within the Ukrainian-Canadian community. The first All-Ukrainian Evangelical Congress in Buffalo in 1922, attended by all Ukrainian Presbyterian, Methodist and Baptist missionaries in North America, formed the Ukrainian Evangelical Alliance to preserve the national identity of the few surviving Ukrainian evangelical congregations. But a resolution "to carry the light of the Holy Gospel to our people in Ukraine" not only marked a new departure but conceded that efforts to win Ukrainian-Canadian immigrants to the Protestant faith had failed. With Crath and others spending much time in eastern Galicia and Volhynia after 1924, active proselytizing among Ukrainians in Canada practically ceased.²²

Thus during the critical years immediately after the war, the mainstay of the Ukrainian Catholic and Russian Orthodox churches was the older generation, in the main illiterate, unfamiliar with modern secular ideologies and unwavering in adherence to tradition. The young and the literate, however, without regard to occupation, were a more elusive element for both churches. Resisting clerical tutelage and alienated by the failure of traditional churches to meet their needs, many had begun to look elsewhere for guidance and inspiration. The Ukrainian Greek Orthodox church, with its nationalist and democratic orientation and its emphasis on lay participation and secular concerns, and the Ukrainian Labour (-Farmer) Temple Association, with its avowed commitment to the creation of a more just and egalitarian social order, increasingly struck many as viable alternatives. During the 1920s both institutions expanded at the expense of the two traditional churches.

The Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church

The decision in July 1918 to establish the Ukrainian Greek Orthodox church was made by individuals who resented clerical control of secular institutions and believed Catholicism, Russian Orthodoxy and Protestantism to be inimical to Ukrainian national interests. From the outset, it was assumed that the new

church would affiliate with an autocephalous Ukrainian Orthodox church—a church independent of Moscow—when one was established in Ukraine. In the meantime, the Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Brotherhood, led by Wasyl Swystun and Michael Stechishin, approached Archbishop Alexander Nemylovsky of the Russian Orthodox church, whom they erroneously believed to be a covert supporter of the Ukrainian cause in Russia and North America.²³ Through negotiations with Nemylovsky and Rozhdestvenskii, Swystun inadvertently agreed to subordinate the Ukrainian Greek Orthodox church to the patriarch of Moscow, to the primate of the Russian-dominated Orthodox church in Ukraine, and to the Russian Orthodox primate in North America, in exchange for their recognition of the new church's autonomy. Had the agreement of July 1919 been approved, it would have reduced the Ukrainian Orthodox church in Canada to a dependence on foreigners that was infinitely more onerous than that of the Ukrainian Catholic church.²⁴ The new church was saved by what one devout adherent called an "act of Providence."²⁵ Under pressure from Ukrainophobic extremists within his church, Nemylovsky, in a pastoral letter, defended his recognition of Ukrainian Orthodox autonomy by declaring that "Ukrainians are not a separate people or a nation but only one of the Russian political parties."²⁶ That statement and Catholic cries of "treason" and insinuations that the new church was just another "Muscovite trick" to continue dominating the Ukrainians²⁷ quickly brought negotiations with the Russian Orthodox church to an end.

At this critical juncture, fortune again smiled on the new church. An embarrassed brotherhood was able to contact Metropolitan Germanos Shegedi (1870-1934), one of only two Orthodox primates in North America not affiliated with the Russian Orthodox church.²⁸ In November, Shegedi, a native of Beirut, who was in good canonical relations with Gregorius IV, patriarch of Antioch, attended the second Ukrainian Greek Orthodox *sobor* in Winnipeg and agreed to take the new church under his spiritual wing. His jurisdiction, confined to matters of doctrine, ecclesiastical discipline and rite, would end when a Ukrainian bishop, ordained according to the canonical rites of the Orthodox church, could be found. The day-to-day administration of the church was placed in the hands of a consistory consisting of three priests and four laymen. For the record, the *sobor* also proclaimed that the church "considers itself part of the Ukrainian Greek Orthodox church in Ukraine, but will unite with it only when it will be autocephalous and when the administrative authority will be in the hands of Ukrainians."²⁹

Shegedi's recognition finally enabled the consistory and brotherhood to lay solid foundations for the new religious institution. Initially, in 1918-19, the brotherhood had relied on five Ukrainian priests from the Russian Orthodox mission to minister to a handful of Ukrainian Greek Orthodox congregations.³⁰ In October 1918, at St. Julien, Saskatchewan, two of them celebrated what is believed to be the first Ukrainian Greek Orthodox liturgy in Canada.³¹ In the end, only one, Dmytro Kyrstiuk, joined the Ukrainian church. From the summer

of 1919 to the spring of 1920, four Galician Ukrainians, ordained by Bishop Stefan Dzubyay of the Russian Orthodox church and subsequently supporters of an independent Ukrainian Orthodox church in the United States, looked after Ukrainian Greek Orthodox congregations in Canada.³²

In the fall of 1919 the task of providing a permanent clerical cadre was undertaken in earnest. On 15 November, two weeks before the second *sobor*, a temporary seminary was established at the Mohyla Institute in Saskatoon, with the first instructor Fr. Lazar German, a Romanian who had ministered to Orthodox Ukrainians in Bukovyna and Bessarabia and taught theology at the University of Chernivtsi.³³ In March 1920 the first three graduates—Semen W. Sawchuk, Dmytro Stratyckuk and Petro Samets—were ordained by Shegedi, and before year's end there was a fourth, Stefan Hrebeniuk, tutored privately by German. All were married, in their mid to late twenties, residents of Canada for at least ten to twenty years and former school teachers, long under the influence of *Ukrainskyi holos*.³⁴ Finally, in June 1920, Fr. Mykola Kopachuk, a former lecturer at the teachers' college in Chernivtsi and a provincial official in the short-lived Western Ukrainian National Republic, arrived in Canada at the brotherhood's urging to become the church's administrator.³⁵

Although German and Kopachuk soon left for the United States, by the end of 1924 the Ukrainian Greek Orthodox church had thirteen priests. To the credit of its administrators, and especially to Kopachuk's successor, Fr. Sawchuk, and contrary to the wishes of prominent lay leaders like Michael and Julian Stechishin, the church opted for slow and cautious expansion.³⁶ Determined not to repeat the mistakes of the Independent Greek church, Sawchuk and the consistory set fairly high admission standards for seminarians, carefully scrutinized the moral character of clerical candidates and did not rush to accept Ukrainian priests from the Russian Orthodox mission. European applicants also were not encouraged, as Sawchuk, in particular, preferred candidates familiar with Ukrainian-Canadian conditions, who would endure material hardships and act as community leaders outside the church.³⁷

While it was not easy to find men who satisfied all the criteria, most of the thirteen recruited by 1924 met the above standards. All were between twenty-nine and forty-five years of age, twelve were married and all had been very active in their communities. Three had lived in Canada for almost twenty-five years, four had done so for ten to fifteen years and the rest had arrived after 1919. Nine were born in eastern Galicia and raised as Ukrainian Catholics, three were Orthodox natives of Bukovyna and one was an Orthodox from Kiev gubernia. Seven had been trained in Canada by the Ukrainian Greek Orthodox church and ordained by Shegedi. Besides the four already noted, the others were Petro Melnychuk, a public school teacher and one-time Independent Greek church deacon; Wasyl Kudryk, another former teacher and the long-time editor of *Ukrainskyi holos*; and Volodymyr Sliuzar, a native of Bukovyna and a veteran of the Galician army

who had studied theology and law at the University of Chernivtsi before coming to Canada in 1923. The six remaining came from a variety of churches. Dmytro Kyrstiuk had been an Independent Greek and Russian Orthodox priest; Ivan Kusy, the anonymous "national priest" of 1917-18, had been ordained by Bishop Paul Markiewicz of the National Apostolic Catholic church and by Bishop Alexander Nemylovsky of the Russian Orthodox church; Wasyl Nowosad's ordination was by Bishop Dzubay; Kornlyo Kirstiuk was a veteran Orthodox priest from Bukovyna; Dmytro Seneta had defected from the Ukrainian Catholic church in eastern Galicia; and Petro Bilon had served in the army of the Ukrainian National Republic and ministered to Ukrainian internees in Poland after ordination in 1921 by the Russian Orthodox primate of Grodno.³⁸

Although the new clergy instructed the faithful to be courteous toward all religious denominations, most Ukrainian Greek Orthodox priests also regarded the inculcation of Ukrainian nationalism and patriotism as part of their pastoral work. They spoke about the need to study Ukrainian language, literature and culture, organized Prosvita societies and helped to build *narodni domy*. Church services usually concluded with prayers for a Ukrainian state and for Ukrainian heroes who had fallen in the struggle for Ukrainian independence. Several priests even delivered sermons about Polish atrocities in eastern Galicia and insinuated that the Vatican by its silence had endorsed the acts; others invited visitors and recent immigrants from Galicia to speak about conditions under Polish rule.³⁹ The church's lay leaders attached much weight to the secular nation-building role of the clergy. Julian Stechishin, for example, was even eager to have Fr. Kudryk, who lacked formal theological training, appointed an instructor at the seminary. "He will teach singing, he will teach how to persuade others and he will inculcate the theology students with our ideology. And this work is probably important above all else," he wrote to Sawchuk, who was, however, unable to persuade the conscientious, self-taught Kudryk to accept the position.⁴⁰

In July 1924 the church replaced Shegedi with Bishop Ivan Theodorovich, dispatched to North America by Metropolitan Vasyl Lypkivsky, primate of the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox church, formally established in Kiev in the fall of 1921.⁴¹ At the third *sobor* in November 1920, the Ukrainian-Canadian church had reiterated its desire to unite with an autocephalous Ukrainian Orthodox church and, over the next two years, the consistory had contacted Professor Ivan Ohienko, minister of religious cults in the exile government of the Ukrainian National Republic. In November 1922, Sawchuk was even sent to Europe, but his efforts to meet leaders of the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox church in Kiev were frustrated by Soviet authorities. In the autumn of 1923 the Ukrainian Orthodox church in the United States, faced with the same problem as its Canadian counterpart, had managed to contact and persuade Lypkivsky and the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox church to send a bishop to North America. Ivan Theodorovich (1887-1971), a native of Volhynia and a chaplain in the army

of the Ukrainian National Republic, arrived in New York City in February 1924. He was elected primate of the Ukrainian Orthodox church in the United States in June and of the Canadian church in July.⁴² With his coming, the six-year quest for an independent Ukrainian bishop—absolutely essential because of the criticism levelled at the Ukrainian Catholic church by the Orthodox founders—finally ended.

Although Theodorovich was a democrat and a Ukrainian patriot, his appointment provoked much controversy because the canonicity of his episcopal consecration, as that of all bishops of the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox church, was uncertain. As none of the Russian Orthodox bishops in Ukraine and Russia had joined the Ukrainian Autocephalous church in 1921, and all had refused to consecrate its bishops, the new church was deprived of apostolic succession. It resorted therefore to a unique and non-canonical form of conciliar consecration, bringing into question all subsequent consecrations and ordinations. To the Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Brotherhood, however, the issue was academic: "I personally and most of us here in Canada," Swystun informed Theodorovich, "do not attach a great deal of weight to this matter. We believe that this [conciliar] method of consecration is not contrary to the spirit of the Orthodox church, although we would like to know which arguments to use in order to refute accusations made by our enemies."⁴³ What most church leaders wanted was a consciously patriotic Ukrainian bishop, affiliated with a Ukrainian Orthodox church free of foreign control.

At Theodorovich's election, the Canadian church claimed some one hundred congregations,⁴⁴ most of them established after dissatisfied parishioners had seceded from the Russian Orthodox or Ukrainian Catholic churches. Galician Russophiles in Russian Orthodox parishes were the least susceptible to change; Bukovynian parishes, especially where the young, nationally conscious element predominated, were the most vulnerable. In Saskatchewan an entire parish near Wakaw left the Russian church when Bishop Nemylovsky failed to provide a priest who spoke Ukrainian fluently, while near Calder a Bukovynian parish seceded after a local activist indicated that in twenty years not a single local boy had reached high school because of indifference by the Russian Orthodox clergy. Sometimes, a period of instability and strife accompanied the formation of congregations. Near Suchawa, Alberta, for example, after the young had convinced the older generation to replace the Russian Orthodox priest with a Ukrainian one in 1920, the conservative parishioners rebelled four years later when Ukrainian replaced Old Church Slavonic in the liturgy. After much costly litigation, they regained control of the church building and returned to Russian Orthodoxy, forcing the Ukrainian supporters to build their own modest church across the road.⁴⁵ Among Ukrainian Catholics, frustration with priests who boycotted unincorporated parishes and harangued the laity often had the same effect. In 1920 in Vita, Manitoba, supporters of a new Orthodox congregation wished it

known that they were not “reformers” but old Catholic settlers who simply desired courtesy from their church and clergy. Most vulnerable were parishes with French-speaking priests. A minority in Radway Centre, Alberta, agitating since 1915 for a Ukrainian priest to replace Fr. Ruh, broke away in December 1920 and established a Ukrainian Orthodox parish.⁴⁶ In Goodeve and Canora, Saskatchewan, and in the Manitoba Interlake, dissatisfaction with the Belgian Redemptorists had similar results.⁴⁷

In July 1924 all Ukrainian Orthodox congregations were in the three prairie provinces, with the majority in rural Saskatchewan, especially in the large Yorkton bloc and in Fish Creek-Rosthern north of Saskatoon. While Saskatoon’s Russian Orthodox congregation appears to have gone over to the Ukrainian church by the fall of 1919, Edmonton and Winnipeg did not have Ukrainian Orthodox congregations until November 1923, and the first small and very fragile eastern congregations—in Fort William, Hamilton, Toronto and Montreal—were not organized until 1924-6. By 1926 eight of the church’s eighteen priests were located in Saskatchewan, four in Manitoba, three in Alberta and three in Ontario and Quebec.⁴⁸

In social composition, members of the new church were generally more prosperous, better educated and upwardly mobile. Not only were most Ukrainian farmers in Saskatchewan fairly comfortable, but in Alberta the church was strongest in the fertile and prosperous townships northwest of Vegreville and in the railway towns north of the North Saskatchewan River, where businessmen and merchants had established congregations. The church’s middle-class character was even more apparent in the larger centres. Businessmen, real estate agents, university students, school teachers, lawyers and other professionals were among its most ardent promoters in Saskatoon and Winnipeg;⁴⁹ in Fort William the first Ukrainian Greek Orthodox priest was brought in at the behest of “leading members of the intelligentsia, merchants and entrepreneurs”; and in Edmonton the congregation consisted almost exclusively of the city’s Ukrainian professionals, merchants, university students, hotel owners and government employees. Indeed, one of the priests in the mid-1920s was surprised to find only two labourers in his congregation.⁵⁰ The middle class was precisely the constituency that *Ukrainskyi holos* and the church’s nationalist leaders had been cultivating assiduously for years.

The church’s expansion was not without difficulties. Orthodox Bukovynians and Galician converts from Catholicism did not always see eye to eye, and even priests who were not natives of Bukovyna encountered difficulties in Bukovynian settlements. The parsimony of Bukovynians was proverbial. Not only were they reluctant to donate to Ukrainian national causes, but Bukovynian church elders haggled incessantly over clerical salaries, and several congregations returned to Russian Orthodoxy when priests could be engaged for less money.⁵¹ Congregations in which Galicians predominated, however, could be as tight-

fisted when remunerating clergy. Referring to Edmonton, Fr. Bilon lamented that “the church elders and most parishioners...looked upon their priest as they would upon a servant-slave who, in their opinion, must perform an infinite number of duties...but who is not entitled to a standard of living equivalent to that of the average parishioner.” As a result, several priests taught public school to feed their families, and to fill certain vacancies the consistory looked for priests with “minimal demands and small families.”⁵² In fact, most clerical families experienced great hardships and by 1926-7 even Bishop Theodorovich, a widower, despaired that he was barely able to feed himself and his thirteen-year-old daughter.⁵³

The parameters of lay control could also provoke controversy. In Toronto a church elder instructed the priest to include discourses on technology, women’s issues and the ballet in his sermons, “just like the Protestant ministers deliver.” In Fort William, Galician parishioners petitioned the consistory against a priest who had established a separate Ukrainian school for Bukovynian children whose parents felt ill at ease in the Galician-dominated Prosvita. Within a year of election, Theodorovich was in a heated controversy with Wasyl Swystun, who accused him of “episcopal absolutism.” Swystun, who often spoke as if he alone represented the will of Canada’s Ukrainian people, thought an ideal bishop should not only refrain from voting at councils and conferences but should remain “perfectly silent until everyone has had his say and the topic has been exhausted, whereupon he should rise and utter a few spare phrases.” Apparently Swystun had already warned Theodorovich that otherwise his association would be brief.⁵⁴

If the Ukrainian Greek Orthodox church appealed to the middle class, the Ukrainian Catholic clergy and devout laymen regarded the “schismatic” church, with its emphasis on Ukrainian nationalism, solidarity and self-reliance, as much too secular, too concerned with mundane ideologies and politics and too out of touch with the sacred and everlasting. The procommunist left, on the other hand, regarded the same church as just another ploy to deceive Ukrainian immigrants and its founders were accused of betraying the working people and ignoring their vital interests.

The Ukrainian Labour (-Farmer) Temple Association

During the 1920s the men who had led the Ukrainian socialist movement, and who now openly sympathized with the communist regime in the Soviet Union, laid the foundations for what became the largest and best organized network of cultural-educational, benevolent and homeland-aid associations among Ukrainian Canadians. Although the vast majority of Ukrainians would remain anticommunists, not until the early thirties would their associations begin to rival the

procommunist Ukrainian Labour (-Farmer) Temple Association in membership, dedicated leadership, discipline and range of activities.

The Ukrainian Labour Temple Association was born in Winnipeg shortly before the First World War ended. At a meeting in the Royal Theatre on 1 March 1918, the Volodymyr Vynnychenko Drama Circle, the editors of *Robochyi narod* and the local Ukrainian Social Democratic branch approved the construction of a Ukrainian labour temple (*robotnychi dim*). Because a political organization like the Social Democratic party could not hold legal title, and because the party leaders were eager to develop a mass cultural-educational organization to embrace workers who did not belong, the Ukrainian Labour Temple Association was created.⁵⁵ Before the Social Democrats were suppressed in September 1918, no thought had been given to establishing Labour Temple branches outside Winnipeg. After the ban, the Labour Temple Association, which had received donations from Ukrainians across Canada, emerged as a convenient base from which to reconstruct the socialist movement. In 1919, Labour Temple circles appeared in many centres where the Social Democrats had been active. In January 1920 the first general meeting of the association resolved to promote branches across Canada, urging each to organize adult literacy and children's schools and take out subscriptions to *Ukrainski robotnychi visty*. While former Social Democratic party members initiated most of the branches, a few cultural-educational societies with no ties to the socialist movement also affiliated. In 1924, when the association obtained a national charter and was ready to expand into rural areas, its name was changed to the Ukrainian Labour-Farmer Temple Association (ULFTA) (*Tovarystvo Ukrainskyi Robotnycho-Farmerskyi Dim* (TURF Dim)).

Because the Labour Temple Association, like the Social Democratic party, was almost exclusively the preserve of adult males before 1922, the third convention established women's sections and "workers' children's schools" (*robotnychi ditochi shkoly*) in all centres. While the first women's branches helped with Soviet famine relief, the purpose of the schools was to counter public-school influence by teaching children in a "proletarian spirit" that "they are the children of working people, the children of an enslaved and exploited class."⁵⁶ To train teachers and to standardize the curriculum, a Central School Council was established in 1923, and by 1924 fourteen teachers had taken the four-month course in Winnipeg. Finally, in 1924, the Association of Ukrainian Labour Youth was established, and the following year the first Higher Educational Course provided promising local activists "with a knowledge of Marxism and Leninist teachings for the struggle against the enemies of the working class."⁵⁷

By the winter of 1924-5 the Ukrainian Labour-Farmer Temple Association, as the only nation-wide Ukrainian secular organization, was indisputably the largest and most influential in Canada. At its base were some twenty-five

hundred adult males in sixty-eight branches, forty-one with their own buildings. Over 60 per cent of the branches were in Ontario and Alberta, the movement's traditional strongholds; the rest were in Manitoba (three in greater Winnipeg), Saskatchewan, British Columbia and Quebec. About 90 per cent were in large urban centres and in small one-industry frontier towns. In addition, thirty-five women's branches had 807 members, twelve youth branches had 445 members and thirty-eight children's schools enrolled 1,719 pupils. The association also had some forty drama circles, forty orchestras (and bands) and twenty choirs.⁵⁸

Through its press and the Workers' Benevolent Association the influence of the Labour Temple Association ran deep. Established in 1922 to provide Ukrainian workers with accident and sickness insurance and death benefits, the Benevolent Association boasted twenty branches and over one thousand members by 1924. Besides *Ukrainski robotnychi visty*, a semiweekly in 1920 and a triweekly by 1924, the Labour Temple Association and its Proletcult Publishing Association also published a women's monthly, *Robotnytsia* (The Working Woman), and plans were on foot to launch another monthly, *Svit molodi* (The World of Youth) and a rural weekly *Farmerske zhyttia* (The Farmer's Life). By 1927 the four periodicals had a combined circulation of over twenty-five thousand.⁵⁹

Unlike the Social Democratic party, the Labour Temple Association was not a political party; it was, as its leaders repeatedly declared, a cultural-educational association. Of course, this did not prevent the same leaders—Matthew Popovich, John Nawizowski (Navis), Danylo Lobay, Matthew Shatulsky, John Boychuk—from being active members of the Communist Party of Canada from its inception. In February 1919, Boychuk and several non-Ukrainians were arrested in Toronto for trying to organize an International Workers' Association, a precursor of the Communist party.⁶⁰ Although no representatives of the Ukrainian Labour Temple Association, or any other ethnic federation, were present at the clandestine founding convention of the Communist party on the outskirts of Guelph in May 1921, several of the party's non-Ukrainian founders had met regularly on the rented premises of Toronto's Labour Temple for several months before the convention. When the Communist party decided to go public as the Workers' Party of Canada, the Labour Temple Association sent ten delegates, led by Popovich, Nawizowski and Boychuk, to the December 1921 Toronto conference, which announced the party's formation. Although the party's leadership was largely Anglo Canadian, the Ukrainian Labour Temple Association was recognized as one of the party's "language federations" and *Ukrainski robotnychi visty* became an official organ of the Workers' Party of Canada. Two weeks earlier, at the third annual convention of the Labour Temple Association, Popovich and others had openly endorsed the Workers' Party of Canada, "a revolutionary party that stands for the creation of a workers' republic in Canada," which the association's members were then urged to join. By

January 1923 the party's Ukrainian section had twenty-seven branches and 782 members,⁶¹ second only to the Finnish section which contributed over 2,200 of the party's 4,800 members.⁶² Virtually all Ukrainian members were Labour Temple activists, though Sydney had only a Ukrainian branch of the party with no Labour Temple presence.⁶³

Several factors facilitated the growth of the Labour Temple Association. First, relatively stable Ukrainian working-class communities began to emerge, not only in the large urban centres and the coal-mining towns of the Crow's Nest Pass but also in many of the new one-industry frontier towns in Ontario. During the war many of the single, migrant labourers, who earlier had criss-crossed the continent in search of work, were drawn to large centres like Hamilton, St. Catharines and Toronto, or, in the case of wartime internees, forcibly relocated to smaller industrial centres like Sydney and Oshawa.⁶⁴ After the war, as the pulp and paper and auto-making industries expanded, many found work in towns like Trois Rivières in Quebec and Kapuskasing, Iroquois Falls, Thorold and Ford City in Ontario. With prospects of returning to their war-devastated, foreign-occupied homeland fading, many either married or brought over their wives and children, established Canadian households and for the first time tried to sink roots in a particular community. The short-term quest to maximize earnings was replaced by long-term objectives, including the creation of cultural and self-help institutions and, for some, active involvement in the labour movement.

The Labour Temple Association also expanded because the Ukrainian churches and local societies generally ignored the needs of workers. For Canadian labour, the first postwar decade was very difficult, as employers cut wages, introduced technological innovations and tried to smash unions. Union membership declined by 33 per cent between 1919 and 1924, and by 1929 the average annual wage was \$1,200, about \$250 less than a family of four needed to maintain "a minimum standard of health and decency." Coal miners were hardest hit. With oil and electricity replacing coal, coal companies and the CPR reduced wages by 35 to 50 per cent in 1921, when government-imposed wartime regulations lapsed. By August 1922 more than twenty-two thousand coal miners were on strike against wage reductions and union-busting. Although coal miners were the most militant by far, they were joined by lumber, sawmill and pulp and paper workers in major strikes between 1919 and 1921.⁶⁵

Ukrainian workers were actively involved on all fronts of the labour struggle. In 1919-20, led by men like Popovich, Ukrainian coal miners and lumber workers supported the One Big Union and its affiliate, the Lumber Workers' Industrial Union of Canada. After the federal government, the coal operators and the American leadership within the United Mine Workers of America decimated the One Big Union, Ukrainian miners rejoined the United Mine Workers and participated in numerous strikes, including some, like that in Drumheller in 1923, not sanctioned by the union's leadership.⁶⁶ In Sydney,

Ukrainian workers were first galvanized by the coal miners' and steel workers' struggle with the newly formed British Empire Steel and Coal Corporation. Although a Russian-Ukrainian Progressive Circle had been established in November 1920 and a Ukrainian branch of the Workers' Party of Canada in the spring of 1923, it was the turbulent strike in June 1923, when Ukrainians were first trampled by club-wielding mounted policemen, that left a lasting impression. When the strike was finally broken, some Ukrainians were jailed, dismissed and blacklisted and their families left hungry and homeless when they could not pay the rent.⁶⁷

In such localities it is not surprising that many Ukrainian workers preferred the Labour Temple Association to nationalist or Catholic organizations. Disenchanted with the record of the two national republics overseas and disgusted by debates about church incorporation and Belgian priests, workers came to distrust the nationalist intelligentsia in Canada. In West Fort William, for example, the Zaporizka Sich Society, modelled in 1910 after Galician Sich societies, broke with the "Petliurites" in 1919 and after two years of wrangling transformed itself into a branch of the Labour Temple Association. Nearby, in Fort William, the Catholic Prosvita Society, established in 1913, assumed a nationalist orientation in 1917-18 and veered to the left in 1919. For two years, members debated the revolution in Ukraine and argued about supporting Petliura or the Bolsheviks. Finally, in 1922, a majority sided with the Soviet regime and incorporated the society's property with the Labour Temple Association. The pattern in Bienfait, Saskatchewan, and in the Beverly suburb of Edmonton was similar. In Saskatoon members of a local Ukrainian workers' benefit society, established in 1917 and subsequently affiliated with the local *narodnyi dim*, were expelled in 1921 by nationalists for sending a representative to the Labour Temple convention in Winnipeg and establishing a workers' children's school. The society then joined the association, with its secretary, Toma Kobzey, fulminating against the nationalists for betraying workers and farmers by transforming the Mohyla Institute—dedicated originally to secular learning and enlightenment—into a "boarding house" for young lawyers and a "nursery" for Ukrainian Greek Orthodox priests.⁶⁸

In the end, the Labour Temple Association provided Ukrainian workers with a sense of purpose and offered them an inspiring vision of a brave new world. It condemned social injustice, urged its members to defend their rights, exhorted them to solidarity with other workers and poor farmers and encouraged them to struggle for a more just and egalitarian society. By pointing to Soviet Ukraine and Russia, where workers and peasants had supposedly taken power, ended exploitation, abolished unemployment and were building a society to meet the needs of common people, the association's leaders intimated that workers were in charge of their own destiny. After 1923 the Soviet policy of "Ukrainization" created the impression that Ukrainians were not only "equals among equals" in

the Soviet Union but were a nation in the very vanguard of humanity's march toward a better future. Labour Temple members swelled with pride, their self-esteem rose appreciably and the movement flourished. Ukrainian Catholic leaders and the nationalist proponents of Ukrainian Orthodoxy, though themselves engaged in acrimonious and increasingly bitter sectarian strife, were soon obliged to turn their attention to the "bacillus" of communism.

Fear and Loathing

The formation of the new Orthodox church and the emergence of the Labour Temple Association plunged the Ukrainian-Canadian intelligentsia into unprecedented turmoil and agitation, as inflammatory and occasionally libelous editorials and articles filled the Ukrainian press. Initially, the most heated involved religion; as the Labour Temple Association gained ground, however, the polemics also enveloped the procommunist movement.

Religious calumny, a feature of Ukrainian-Canadian life from the earliest years, sank to new depths in the early 1920s, with Fr. Wasyl Kudryk and Bishop Budka holding centre stage. Kudryk, editor of *Ukrainskyi holos* until 1921, entered the Ukrainian Greek Orthodox priesthood in 1923 and assumed responsibility for the church's official organ, *Pravoslavnyi vistnyk* (The Orthodox Herald) in 1924. In his attacks he focused on the Ukrainian Catholic clergy and on two alleged weaknesses within the Ukrainian Catholic church—its Latinization and Polonization. In November 1919, Kudryk began dredging up fresh evidence of Latinization and foreign domination—evidence which went beyond the well-known exclusion of married priests and Ukrainian attendance at Latin services. Over the next few years *Ukrainskyi holos* drummed on the various ways in which Ukrainian Catholicism was becoming indistinguishable from Roman Catholicism: churches without domes (or with an inappropriate number) were being built in parishes under the care of Belgian Redemptorists; the three-arm cross atop churches was being replaced by a one-arm cross; few new churches were being built with an iconostasis; in a Ukrainian Catholic church with an organ a Latin priest had celebrated a Latin mass; Ukrainian priests were making the sign of the cross only once (rather than three times) at certain points in the liturgy; the cult of St. Josaphat Kuntsevych was being promoted with unbecoming vigour; and Ukrainian Catholics were being encouraged to observe feast days according to the Gregorian calendar.⁶⁹ Even more alarming was Yorkton's St. Joseph's College, which opened in 1920 with Irish-Canadian Roman Catholic instructors. Although the fully-equipped, provincially accredited institution employed a Ukrainian to teach Ukrainian subjects and boasted a fine Ukrainian library and a remarkable collection of Ukrainian historical portraits, Kudryk and Julian Stechishin, director of the Mohyla Institute, condemned it as

yet another scheme to promote Roman Catholicism among young Ukrainians and to foster "Catholic separatism" in Canada.⁷⁰

Kudryk's sustained efforts to represent the Catholic clergy—from the pope in Rome and Metropolitan Sheptytsky in Lviv to Bishop Budka and his secular priests in Canada—as allies and collaborators of the Polish "barbarians" ravaging eastern Galicia were quite unfair. His incessant attacks on Sheptytsky, permitted by the Polish government to travel abroad between 1920 and 1923, were particularly misplaced. Not only had Sheptytsky lobbied to extend self-determination to eastern Galicia, he had protested Polish efforts to crush the Ukrainian national movement and had criticized the settlement of Polish colonists in eastern Galicia. In Europe and in North and South America, he had met with the Western Ukrainian Republic's government-in-exile and visited its foreign envoys, while avoiding all contacts with Polish diplomats. Although he "studiously refrained from making any public statements of a political nature and stressed instead the purely humanitarian and pastoral character of his mission," the metropolitan's relations with the Polish government and clergy were very strained and he was villified by Polish journals and public opinion.⁷¹

None of this made any impression on Kudryk, whose perception of the metropolitan had not changed since the turn of the century. To him, Sheptytsky was just an "ordinary Polish count," "one of the generals in an army hostile to Ukrainians." Attacks on the metropolitan in the Polish press were "diplomatic manoeuvres" fabricated to deceive Ukrainians. Sheptytsky had gone abroad "to strengthen Roman policy in Ukrainian lands...which amounts to more...servitude under the Polish yoke"; he remained abroad "so as not to be in Galicia at a time when the Poles are relentlessly persecuting and plundering the Ukrainian people." Only by condemning Polish atrocities in eastern Galicia and mobilizing international opinion against Poland at every opportunity could the metropolitan redeem himself. He and all Ukrainian Catholic clergy were advised to emulate the Rabbi of Lviv, who had anathemized (*prokliav*) the Poles responsible for the murder of Jews in 1918. Ukrainian Catholics in Canada, in turn, were admonished to shun the local Polish population, while their clergy, who occasionally helped Polish priests with confessions during Lent or tried to encourage interparochial understanding, were condemned for their lack of patriotism.⁷²

If Kudryk tried to identify the Ukrainian Catholics with the policies of the Polish state, Bishop Budka and *Kanadyyskyi ukrainets* not only insisted that *Ukrainskyi holos* was responsible for the spread of Bolshevism within the Ukrainian-Canadian community, but that Bishop Theodorovich and the Autocephalous Orthodox church in Ukraine were close to the Soviet regime. Order and social well-being, Budka declared, were only possible where obedience to a recognized authority prevailed. *Ukrainskyi holos* and the nationalist intelligentsia, "blinded by the empty phrases 'progress' and 'enlightenment,'"

had failed to understand this fundamental principle and thus given birth to Bolshevism—"that undefined protestant-revolutionary spirit of dissatisfaction." By rejecting the laws of the Ukrainian Catholic church, by incessantly attacking well-meaning French-speaking missionaries, by harping on the alleged Polish sympathies of the hierarchy, by questioning the patriotism of the Ukrainian Catholic clergy and by raising fears about Latinization and the Catholic church's alleged hostility to Ukrainian national interests, the nationalists had undermined respect for the Ukrainian Catholic church—the only embodiment of authority that the stateless Ukrainian people had recognized. They were thus responsible for the demoralization of Ukrainian youth, who abandoned the church, refused to recognize any authority—human or divine—and, when no adequate substitute for the church's teachings could be found, embraced the "new Russian teachings of Bolshevism." As "evil" books and newspapers were at the root of demoralization, the faithful were forbidden to read any which consistently attacked the Catholic church, and the clergy were to refuse absolution to those who were "stubbornly disobedient."⁷³

With the arrival of Bishop Theodorovich and the questions surrounding the legitimacy of his consecration, *Kanadyiskyi ukrainets* judged the Ukrainian Autocephalous church unworthy of recognition because its hierarchy had been established "from the bottom" and not "in accordance with the teachings of the Gospel." The church, in fact, resembled "a soviet institution," the sole difference being that "the leaders are called bishops instead of commissars, and that their purpose is not politics and the administration of taxes, etc., but the enforcement of morality." Several months later, after describing the Canadian church as a new variant of "Seraphimism," one that was essentially Presbyterian and more radical than most Protestant forms because it "discards and negates almost everything but a single dogma of faith—nationalism," the Catholic weekly reprinted allegations made in *Kanadyiskyi ranok* and openly accused Theodorovich of being a Bolshevik.⁷⁴ In an editorial on 1 October 1924 it added that the new church was established by money-hungry businessmen and that its priests were "uneducated ignoramuses, without the least knowledge of theology and rites...parasites on the organism of our people, 'quacks' who want to live by deceiving the people." Fr. Sawchuk promptly took the matter to court and several months later the Catholic weekly was found guilty of libel and fined ten thousand dollars.⁷⁵ Although the fine was never paid, the Ukrainian Orthodox won another important moral victory while the Catholics suffered still another humiliating defeat.

But even as the breach between the Catholics and Orthodox widened, on one important level there were signs of ideological convergence. The prominent role which the nationalists around *Ukrainskyi holos* had played in the formation of the Ukrainian Greek Orthodox church led them to reconsider their attitude toward religion. Not only did Europe's battlefields and its postwar malaise challenge their faith in reason, science and progress, but the inability of Ukrainians to

establish an independent state forced a re-evaluation of the radically secular ideology that had informed the Ukrainian national movement since the 1890s. Nationalists like Kudryk and Orest Zerebko, following the emigré conservative political thinker Viacheslav Lypynsky,⁷⁶ concluded that the tragedy of contemporary Ukraine was in large part the result of an “absence of moral education, moral principles and character.” For several decades, the elite in Ukraine had been reared on “atheism, Darwinism, internationalism and indifferentism,” which bred selfishness and moral anarchy. A derisive attitude toward religion and moral values had become the badge of every progressive Ukrainian. “Our young people were raised to be eternal conspirators, who declared war on moral principles and ideals at every step, who trampled upon our people’s culture and who annihilated the foundations of healthy human existence.” As a result, many among the elite were moral cripples, with an aptitude for adventurism and brigandage, and little else. If the Ukrainian people were to escape moral decadence, if they were to become a creative cultural and political force, the trend had to be reversed. The Ukrainian intelligentsia had to realize that religion, especially Christianity, for all its flaws, was not incompatible with the pursuit of social and national ideals. Religion, after all, provided mankind with its basic moral precepts, the rules which made civilized life possible. By the fall of 1923, *Ukrainskyi holos* even proclaimed that “he who destroys religion...paves the way for his nation’s suicide.”⁷⁷ It was no longer possible to scrutinize religion in the cold light of science or to declare that it was a private matter. Instead of warring on religion or promoting atheism, which bred selfishness and egotism and was the source of all evil, the Ukrainian intelligentsia was called upon to refine the neglected religious and moral sensibilities of the Ukrainian people.⁷⁸

Hostilities between the Ukrainian Catholic and Orthodox camps spilled over into electoral politics. In one federal and fifteen provincial elections in the prairie provinces between 1920 and 1922, Ukrainians carried nine contests and returned six members to provincial legislatures—two in Alberta and four in Manitoba. The Catholics, however, had little cause to celebrate. Of the seventeen Ukrainian candidates, eight were Ukrainian Orthodox, two were agnostics, the denominational affiliation of three others was unknown, and the Russian Orthodox, Presbyterian, Roman Catholic and Ukrainian Catholic groups fielded one candidate each. Of the provincial members elected, three were Ukrainian Orthodox, one was Presbyterian, one Roman Catholic and only one a Ukrainian Catholic.⁷⁹ Although religious differences rarely had a decisive influence on the outcome, in at least five contests the Ukrainian candidate’s religious affiliation was important and contributed to defeat.

The religious factor was especially evident in Manitoba and Saskatchewan in 1920-1. In Manitoba’s provincial election in 1920, four Ukrainians—Taras

Ferley, Jaroslaw Arsenych, Nicholas Hryhorczuk and Dmytro Yakimischak—secured nominations. The first three were among the most active promoters of the Ukrainian Greek Orthodox church and the fourth, though a Ukrainian Catholic, was a close associate of the *Ukrainskyi holos* group and a member of the Ukrainian Canadian Citizens' Committee. To no one's surprise, *Kanadyiskyi ukrainets* displayed little enthusiasm for the campaign and came out squarely against Ferley and Arsenych, who ran as Liberals in the Gimli and Fisher constituencies in the Interlake region. Ferley was portrayed as a man without political principles, a former anarchist, socialist and independent who now ran as a Liberal on behalf of a government that had abolished bilingual schools. Moreover, he spent all his time in Saskatchewan, organizing the Ruthenian Farmers' Elevator Company. Ferley and Arsenych were also criticized as Liberals, from whom Ukrainian farmers and labourers could expect nothing.⁸⁰ Hryhorczuk and Yakimischak, Independent Farmer candidates in Emerson and Ethelbert because the United Farmers of Manitoba refused to nominate Ukrainians, received only passive Catholic support, even though Yakimischak was a Catholic and Hryhorczuk took the precaution of vowing he would do nothing to hurt the reputation of the Ukrainian Catholic church, if elected.⁸¹

Although Ferley and Arsenych lost and Yakimischak and Hryhorczuk won, the impact of the Catholic press and clergy should not be overestimated.⁸² Ferley and Arsenych were defeated by Farmers' candidates, whose sudden rise after 1919 expressed rural frustration with the traditional parties.⁸³ Both were also affluent Winnipegers with no roots in their constituencies, who ran lacklustre campaigns without election promises or clear platforms. Many constituents were also away seeking seasonal employment, while some Ukrainians in Fisher, interrogated by officials until the polls closed, did not vote.⁸⁴ Yakimischak and Hryhorczuk, on the other hand, had grown up in their constituencies and, though the first was a university graduate, teacher and law student and the second a successful merchant, they and their families continued to farm in their ridings. Both ran on attractive Farmers' platforms that called for better roads, higher taxes on unused lands, the construction of government experimental farms and the abolition of all monopolies. In the end, neither was entirely dependent on Ukrainian votes.⁸⁵

Catholic intervention was more marked in the 1921 Saskatchewan provincial campaign when Havrylo Slipchenko ran as an Independent Farmer in Pelley, while Mykhailo Sawiak, another Independent Farmer, and Ivan Shebets (John Shabits), a member of the Non-Partisan League, contested Canora. Sawiak, a teacher and municipal councillor who had been expelled from a gymnasium in Galicia for his Radical politics, and Slipchenko, a socialist-turned-real estate agent and a founder of *Ukrainskyi holos*, were both strong supporters of the Ukrainian Greek Orthodox church. Slipchenko, in particular, had earned Budka's enmity as the suspected mastermind behind the bishop's arrest in Hafford in 1918. *Kanadyiskyi ukrainets* repudiated both candidates and accused Slipchenko

of ridiculing the Ukrainian Catholic church, attacking St. Joseph's College and helping to form a new "Seraphimite" church. Because the Catholic weekly endorsed the Liberal incumbent in Pelley, while some clergy spoke out against Sawiak and Slipchenko, an indignant *Ukrainskyi holos* declared that Catholics were using religion the way party agents were using alcohol to destroy Ukrainian candidates.⁸⁶

The Catholic camp was overjoyed when Sawiak and Slipchenko lost, with even the inarticulate and virtually unknown Shebets (who also lost) outpolling both by a large margin.⁸⁷ *Kanadyiskyi ukrainets* thought Slipchenko's defeat proved that Ukrainians had rejected the "national Orthodox church," that Orthodoxy had failed its first "test." "Perhaps the results...will finally bring these individuals to their senses, and divert them from their errant ways, so that they may dedicate their energies to something of greater benefit to the people." The effect of the Catholic intervention on the outcome is, however, problematic. Unlike Manitoba and Alberta, where farmers' candidates provided an alternative to the government, Saskatchewan's Liberal administration had done much for the farmers and Slipchenko and Sawiak, by running as Independent Farmers, were going against the political grain as well as against the well-oiled Liberal machine, whose experienced Ukrainian operatives were a much greater political obstacle than the editorials in *Kanadyiskyi ukrainets* or the Catholic sermons. The opposition of Labour Temple activists, who labelled both men "Petliurites" and threw their support behind the Non-Partisan League, also hurt Sawiak and Slipchenko.⁸⁸

As might be expected, few Catholics welcomed Wasyl Swystun's bid to win a seat in Parliament during the December 1921 federal election. The head of the Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Brotherhood, Swystun ran as an Independent Farmer in Saskatchewan's MacKenzie riding after the local Liberals had failed to nominate Wasyl Baleshta, a Ukrainian Catholic lawyer. Catholic opposition to Swystun, however, was muted. While Fr. Decamps, a Belgian Redemptorist at Yorkton, and several Polish Roman Catholic priests agitated against the "godless" Swystun,⁸⁹ a secret agreement between prominent nationalists and Budka's representatives ensured *Kanadyiskyi ukrainets*'s neutrality.⁹⁰ Ukrainian Catholic priests also did not oppose Swystun, and several, especially Fr. Petro Kamenetsky of Canora, worked openly on his behalf,⁹¹ believing that Ukrainians needed a voice in Parliament to help influence the fate of eastern Galicia at Geneva.

Although Swystun's campaign focused on farmers' issues and was also supported by Ukrainian Orthodox priests and a Ukrainian Presbyterian pastor, Swystun did poorly, finishing third in a field of four with only 1,896 votes in a riding with some fifty-five hundred Ukrainian voters. At fault probably were the Ukrainian party agents, one of whom actually declared that the "short and unattractive" candidate with his "Galician countenance" would make a poor

impression in Ottawa. Another factor was disenchantment among Ukrainians in the aftermath of the recent provincial election.⁹² Also relevant were the many local farmers, Ukrainians included, who, while supporting farmers' candidates at the federal level, suspected Swystun of being planted by an old-line party to split the farmers' vote and thus hurt the Progressives.⁹³

The Catholic-Orthodox split did not affect the 1921 Alberta provincial election (which the United Farmers of Alberta won) because the two ridings contested by Ukrainians—Whitford and Victoria—were settled largely by Orthodox Bukovynians. In Victoria, Wasyl Fedun, a prosperous, Presbyterian farmer and storekeeper, who had served as a school trustee, municipal councillor and United Farmers' director, defeated F.W. Walker, the Liberal incumbent. In Whitford, Andrew Shandro, who had retained his seat in 1917 by enlisting in the 218th Forestry Battalion as a recruiting officer, won again when the returning officer, a close relative, rejected the nomination papers of Mike Chornohus, the United Farmers' candidate, claiming they were filled out improperly. Court action quickly followed, the seat was declared vacant in December 1921 and in the ensuing by-election Shandro, who had assumed a Ukrainian identity before the 1917 election and then resumed his Russophile leanings, was soundly defeated by Chornohus, a Ukrainian Orthodox farmer.⁹⁴

Religion also was not a factor in the 1922 Manitoba election, though one potential Ukrainian candidate did withdraw after a Ukrainian Catholic priest dubbed him a "false leader...without any religious principles."⁹⁵ Yakimischak and Hryhorczuk retained their seats in Emerson and Ethelbert and two Ukrainians, Nicholas V. Bachynsky, a school teacher and interpreter, and Michael Rojeski, a farmer and municipal reeve, carried the Fisher and Gimli ridings that Arsenych and Ferley had failed to win in 1920. While Yakimischak, rejected again by the United Farmers, ran as an Independent Farmer, and Rojeski campaigned as an Independent Liberal, Hryhorczuk and Bachynsky were members of the victorious United Farmers of Manitoba.⁹⁶

The Manitoba provincial election of 1922 also saw the first formal participation of the Workers' Party of Canada. As with the Communists' informal federal debut in December 1921, when several Workers' League, Workers' Alliance and Workers' Council candidates entered the race, the provincial initiative was inauspicious. Both Ukrainians, Matthew Popovich, who ran for one of the ten seats in Winnipeg, and William (Wasyl) Kolisnyk, who contested rural St. Clements, lost their deposits. Popovich finished sixteenth in a field of forty-three; Kolisnyk a distant third in a field of four.⁹⁷ Neither was disheartened. As *Ukrainski robotnychi visty* admitted, such campaigns were designed to raise the workers' class consciousness and to show that parliamentary assemblies served the interests of capitalists.⁹⁸ Thus during the 1921 federal election the procommunist paper repeatedly declared that by supporting Conservatives, Ukrainians

would only help to re-elect men like Dr. R.M. Blake of North Winnipeg, who had called for the internment and deportation of strike leaders during the Winnipeg General Strike. In 1922 it characterized *Ukrainskyi holos* as an enemy of workers because it published paid advertisements that endorsed "bourgeois" candidates, and during the 1923 Winnipeg municipal election it revealed that fourteen of twenty-six signatures on the nomination papers of Robert Jacobs, the mayoralty candidate of Winnipeg's business elite, were prominent Ukrainian Catholics and nationalists like Taras Ferley, Myroslaw Stechishin and Paul Gegeychuk. Jacobs conducted a vicious campaign that represented the incumbent mayor, S.J. Farmer, a member of the moderate Independent Labour party, as a "dangerous Red."⁹⁹

Nationalist Ukrainians argued, of course, that men like Popovich and Kolisnyk were not "Ukrainian" candidates, and *Ukrainskyi holos* pointedly referred to Popovich as "a man of Ukrainian origin" (implying he was no longer a 'Ukrainian'). Nationalists and Catholics gloated when Ukrainian Communists were defeated at the polls.¹⁰⁰ Nevertheless, both were alarmed by the growth of the Labour Temple Association in urban centres and frontier towns, because fund raising for the Ukrainian Red Cross and the Western Ukrainian Republic's National Defence Loan floundered before Labour Temple campaigns on behalf of Soviet famine victims and leftist political prisoners in eastern Galicia. By 1922-3 the association's opponents, annoyed that it was misleading Ukrainians about the nature of the one-party Soviet system and impugning the reputation of 'respectable' Ukrainians, decided to retaliate by appealing to popular prejudices. Labour Temple leaders were portrayed as inveterate enemies of all things Ukrainian—as shameless "adherents" (*pryklonnyky*), "hirelings" (*naimyty*) and "agents" (*agency*) of the "Jewish-Muscovite clique" in the Soviet Union. Letters in *Ukrainskyi holos* condemned Labour Temple activists for vilifying Ukrainian heroes like Petliura and championing the likes of Lenin, "Leiba" (Lev) Trotsky, and "Khaim" (Khrystiian) Rakovsky. Anti-Semitic correspondents described Labour Temple members as "servants of Leiba and Shliomo," "Moisheviks," "Leibophiles," "the self-circumcised" (*samoobrizantsi*), "parishioners of the church of St. Leiba" and "leeches" who were expert at "sucking blood like the Jews." One Edmontonian even insisted that the real leader of the Labour Temple Association was a "Jewish pharmacist" in Winnipeg, from whom its Ukrainian figureheads took orders.¹⁰¹

Law enforcement agencies were also warned about the allegedly subversive activities of the association. In Coleman, Alberta, and in Montreal, police learned from nationalist Ukrainians that the labour temples were organizing "Bolshevik meetings," which called for the destruction of the capitalist order. In Moose Jaw, Saskatoon, West Toronto, Coniston and Thorold, delegations to city councils requested that licences to build halls be withheld or taken away from Labour Temple branches. In Toronto and Saskatoon prominent Ukrainian

community leaders lamented that the federal police did not act on their complaints against the Labour Temple Association. Some opponents even made sensational "revelations" in the English press. After interviewing Paul Crath in July 1922, the *Toronto Globe* reported that "the Bolsheviks have practically gained control among Canada's half million [*sic*] Ukrainians." Capitalizing on the immigrants' desire to preserve Ukrainian through evening schools, they "destroy all sense of religion in the child" and teach that children "do not need to obey their parents." To several anonymous Ukrainians who endorsed Crath in the rival *Telegram*, the schools were "a danger to the peace and prosperity of this Dominion." The association was accused of "adopting exactly the same methods as in Russia, even...the terrorism," and one informant stated flatly that "there is no doubt in my mind but that the finances come largely from Russia." Although admitting he had no proof, Julian Stechishin, in Saskatoon, declared almost simultaneously that he was "morally certain that there are men here, who are paid by the Soviet government to spread Bolshevism"; the local Labour Temple branch was led by "three Russians whom we believe to be in the pay of the Soviet government of Russia." Juveniles in Labour Temple classes, he added, were not only "taught to hate society" but told "there is no God" and inculcated with "contempt for the law and church," being "taught to prefer free love to marriage." They "will make the worst of citizens, morally deficient [and] a menace to the community."¹⁰²

The campaign climaxed in December 1923. After interviewing six prominent (and anonymous) Ukrainians in Winnipeg and having its reporter spend several hours in the Labour Temple Association's Winnipeg headquarters, the *Manitoba Free Press* published a ten-part exposé. The labour temples were presented as camouflaged Ukrainian branches of the Workers' Party of Canada, whose schools taught the principles of communism "under the same system" and from "almost precisely the same textbooks...as in the schools of Soviet Russia." Their "secret" conventions, it was alleged, taught members to join conservative Ukrainian organizations and, by "boring from within," turn them into "societies of violent radicals." The exposé was prompted by a widely publicized civil suit in Fort William, where a disgruntled nationalist minority had abandoned the Prosvita Society after a majority had voted to join the Labour Temple Association. The majority was accused of "boring" into the organization, seizing control of its property and transforming it into a "radical anti-religious group of communists." Representing themselves as a "pro-Canadian" and "pro-British element," the nationalist plaintiffs, led by Wasyl Brylynsky, a frequent contributor to *Ukrainskyi holos*, charged that Labour Temple organizers had gained control of the society's trustees, invited radical speakers from Winnipeg (who spoke of armed revolution) and convinced a narrow majority to change the society's name to the Taras Shevchenko Ukrainian Labour Temple and to affiliate it with the procommunist association. *Ukrainski robotnychi visty*

and the association's national executive, maintaining it was not illegal to promote communist ideas in Canada, rejected all the allegations. They pointed out that nationalists had gained control of the Catholic Prosvita in a similar manner in 1917 and that the vote to join the association was fifty to nine with twenty abstentions. The nationalist minority, however, recovered its property on a technicality, as the Prosvita constitution, adopted in 1918, not only prohibited changing the society's name or deviating from its stated aims, but stipulated that such changes would "invalidate any attempt to transfer the property of the society." Several years later, similar provisions obliged Labour Temple branches to forfeit properties in Bienfait and Kamsack, Saskatchewan.¹⁰³

The interval between the war and the Railways Agreement of 1925, which inaugurated the second wave of Ukrainian mass immigration to Canada, marked the end of an era in the history of the Ukrainian-Canadian community. During these years the process of community-building culminated in the consolidation of two new institutions—the Ukrainian Greek Orthodox church and the Ukrainian Labour (–Farmer) Temple Association—whose genesis could be traced to the radical and secular impulses of the Ukrainian national movement, and whose objectives embodied the concerns, aspirations, anxieties and phobias of the intelligentsia. The emergence of both institutions, however, proved to be a mixed blessing. While responding to the needs and ambitions of the burgeoning middle and working classes within the Ukrainian-Canadian community, they also plunged the same community into a protracted period of internecine strife that bred intolerance and cynicism and threatened to alienate a new generation of Canadian-born Ukrainians.

Notes

1. Calculated from data in *Kaliendar Kanadyiskoho ukrainsia* 1925 (Winnipeg).
2. Calculated from data in *Propamiatna knyha z nahody zolotoho iuvileiu poselennia ukrainskoho narodu v Kanadi, 1891-1941* (Yorkton, 1941).
3. For a contemporary Ukrainian Catholic view of St. Joseph's College, see Volodymyr Bosy (Bossy), *Ukrainska dietsezalna koliegiia sv. Iosyfa v Iorktoni, Sask. Korotka khronika* (Yorkton, 1926); on the Basilian novitiate in Mundare, see N.N. Svirsky, *Tudy lynut nashi sertsia. Istoriia monderskoho monastyria* (Mundare, 1963), 52ff.; on the Redemptorist juvenate in Yorkton, see "Iuvenat-misiynyi hai-skul ottsiv ChNI v Kanadi," in *Iuvilleina knyha oo. Redemptorystiv skhidnoho obriadu, 1906-1956* (Yorkton, 1956), 268-71.

4. AUCA, "Minutes of the Joint Meeting, attended by members of His Lordship Bishop Budka's Council and the members of his advisory Committee," 22 February 1922, NB 55-60, Budka file.
5. Budka to Archbishop A.A. Sinnott, undated letter 1924, copy in possession of Dr. Bohdan Kazymyra, Regina; *Ukrainskyi holos* 14 March 1923.
6. AUCA, circular letter to parish priests, 20 September 1922, NB 113, Budka file; also Budka to Sinnott, undated letter 1924.
7. *Pastyrskiy lyst Preosviashchenoho Kyr Nykyty Budky, Epyskopa kanadyiskyyh ukrainsiv* (Winnipeg, 1922); "Dorohym v Khrysti moim spivrobotnykam dukhovym i svitskym," *Kanadyiskiy ukrainets* 8 November 1922.
8. Budka to Sinnott, undated letter 1924.
9. Not until 1924, shortly after Bishop Ivan Theodorovich of the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox church arrived in the United States, did the Vatican fill the American vacancy with two new bishops: Constantine Bohachevsky for the Ukrainian Catholics from Galicia and Basil Takach for the Carpatho-Rusyns from Transcarpathia.
10. AUGOC, Petro Samets to Semen W. Sawchuk, 2 August, 9 September 1924, Michael Stechishin to Sawchuk, 11 May 1925, Sawchuk to Michael Stechishin, 12 May 1925.
11. Frs. Nykola Shumsky and Amvrozii Redkevych, in particular, had serious drinking problems: *Ukrainskyi holos* 25 May 1921, 18 April, 25 October 1922; AUCA, Fort William parish to Budka, 8 February, 14 March 1922, NS 71 and 77, Nicholas Shumsky file, Petro Oleksiw to Bishop's Chancellery, 27 November, 16 December 1922, 1 February 1923.
12. Nazaruk to Viacheslav Lypynsky, 28 August 1923, in Ivan L. Rudnytsky, ed., *Lysty Osypa Nazaruka do Viacheslava Lypynskoho* (Philadelphia, 1976), 19.
13. *Ukrainskyi holos* 4, 25 February 1925.
14. According to Bishop Vasyl (Basil) Ladyka, Budka's successor in 1929, "During the Great War, induced by some priests (Rev. Dr. A. Redkevich) and convinced that the marriage of a Ruthenian priest is valid, even if it is contracted after Holy Orders," Shumsky, Fylyma and Sarmatiuk contracted marriages and children followed. AUCA, Ladyka to Cardinal Sincero, 21 July, 6 October 1933, 22 September, 3 October 1934, NS 105, 111, 146-8, Shumsky file; also *Novyi shliakh* (The New Pathway) 22 September 1934. Fylyma was suspected by Budka as early as 1918 (AUCA, Fylyma to Budka, 9 August 1918, Fylyma file) and he was formally charged with procuring a feigned or pretended marriage by a woman claiming to be his wife in 1928. *Hamilton Spectator* 26, 27 April 1928; *Toronto Daily Star* 27 April 1928; *Pravoslavnyi vistnyk* V (5) (May 1928). Shumsky was accused of demoralizing the faithful in 1923 by telling them that he was married. AUCA, Petro Oleksiw to Bishop's Chancellery, 16 May 1923, PO 79, Oleksiw file. Although Fr. Wasyl Gegeychuk never married, he was apparently suspended and forced to leave the priesthood in the 1930s because of his "mania for money and sex." *Ibid.*, "Personal affidavit of Paul Gegeychuk," 31 January 1944, BG 70-73, Gegeychuk file.
15. "Memorandum" of Archbishop Arthur Sinnott, 23 March 1920, copy in the possession of Dr. Bohdan Kazymyra, Regina; Nazaruk to Lypynsky, 28 August 1923, in Rudnytsky, 17-20.

16. Budka to Sinnott, undated letter 1924.
17. Nazaruk to Lypynsky, 28 August 1923, in Rudnytsky, 17-20; Bobersky and Nazaruk, in their confidential "Zvit predstavnytstva ZUNR v Kanadi za rr. 1922-23," informed Ukrainian leaders in Galicia that Budka was incompetent and unreliable. UCECA, Iwan Boberskyj Papers, Box 2, file "Zvity predstavnytstva do Ukrainskoho Mizhpartiinoho Komitetu v Halychyni, 1922-24," 9/164.
18. Wassilij Alexeev and Theofanis G. Stavrou, *The Great Revival: The Russian Church Under German Occupation* (Minneapolis, 1976), 7-19; William C. Emhardt, *Religion in Soviet Russia: Anarchy* (Milwaukee, 1929), 12-16, 194-220.
19. Thomas E. Bird, "Eastern Orthodox," in Stephen Thernstrom, Ann Orlov and Oscar Handlin, eds., *Harvard Encyclopedia of American Ethnic Groups* (Cambridge, Mass., 1980), 302; Paul R. Magocsi, *Our People: Carpatho-Rusyns and Their Descendants in North America* (Toronto, 1984), 32-4.
20. Panteleimon Bozhyk, *Tserkov ukrainsiv v Kanadi* (Winnipeg, 1927), 212.
21. Timothy C. Byrne, "The Ukrainian Community in North Central Alberta" (MA thesis, University of Alberta, 1937), 53-60.
22. *Kanadyiskyi ranok* 20 December 1921. On Protestant mission hospitals, dispensaries and school homes, see Vivian Olender, "The Reaction of the Canadian Methodist Church Towards Ukrainian Immigrants: Rural Missions as Agencies of Assimilation" (MA thesis, University of Toronto, 1976), 83-128, and "The Reaction of the Canadian Presbyterian Church Towards Ukrainian Immigrants (1900-1925): Rural Home Missions as Agencies of Assimilation" (PhD dissertation, University of Toronto, 1984), 112-206. On the Ukrainian evangelical movement in North America, see Oleksander Dombrovsky, *Narys istorii ukrainskoho ievanhelsko-reformovanoho rukhu* (New York, 1979), 217 ff.; Lev Bykovsky, *Vasyl Kuziv, 1887-1958. Ioho zhyttia i diialnist* (Winnipeg, 1966), 27-35.
23. The misapprehension was the result of the fleeting contacts of Swystun and Stechishin with Nemylovsky, an ethnic Ukrainian native of Volhynia, and of information derived from Frs. Panteleimon Bozhyk and Alexander Kiziun, two Ukrainian priests who served in the Russian Orthodox mission. Iurii Mulyk-Lutsyk, *Istoriia Ukrainskoi Hreko-Pravoslavnoi Tserkvy v Kanadi*, III (Winnipeg, 1987), 335-8, 436-53. See also Bozhyk, 151 ff., for his views on Nemylovsky's allegedly pro-Ukrainian sympathies.
24. The discussion of the negotiations in Paul Yuzyk, *The Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church of Canada, 1918-1951* (Ottawa, 1981), 90-6, is uncritical and draws heavily on the interpretation advanced by Wasyl Swystun in his *Kryza v Ukrainskii Pravoslavnii (Avtokefalnii) Tserkvi* (Winnipeg, 1947), 81 ff. For a more perceptive interpretation, see Mulyk-Lutsyk, III, 491-537. Swystun and Stechishin may have assumed that Rozhdestvenskii, who had returned to the United States in 1919, was the ranking Orthodox hierarch in Ukraine because he had represented the patriarch of Moscow at the All-Ukrainian Orthodox church *sobor* of 1918, endorsed by Hetman Skoropadsky's regime. They may also have misjudged his attitude toward the Ukrainian church because the All-Ukrainian *sobor* had recognized the autonomy of the Orthodox church in Ukraine, though this autonomy only benefited the church's Russian and Russified episcopate. Yuzyk's reference to Rozhdestvenskii as a metropolitan of the Ukrainian Autocephalous

Orthodox church ("Religious Life," in Manoly R. Lupul, ed., *A Heritage in Transition: Essays in the History of Ukrainians in Canada* (Toronto, 1982), 154) is incorrect. The Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox church was established in October 1921; in 1919, while en route from Ukraine, where he had been the Russian Orthodox metropolitan of Odessa, Rozhdestvenskii had foiled the efforts of the Ukrainian National Republic's envoy in Constantinople to obtain approval from the patriarch there for the creation of an autocephalous Ukrainian Orthodox church. See John S. Reshetar, "Ukrainian Nationalism and the Orthodox Church," *American Slavic and East European Review* X (1) (1951), 42; Bohdan R. Bociurkiw, "The Church and the Ukrainian Revolution: The Central Rada Period," in Taras Hunczak, ed., *The Ukraine, 1917-1921: A Study in Revolution* (Cambridge, Mass., 1977), 220-46.

25. *Ukrainskyi holos* 7 January 1920.
26. The pastoral letter was published (in a Ukrainian translation) in the Catholic *Kanadyiskyi ukrainets* 25 October 1919. As he travelled across Canada in the fall of 1919, Nemylovsky censured the founders of the new church for establishing Ukrainian Greek Orthodox congregations among Bukovynians who already belonged to the Russian Orthodox church, reaffirmed his commitment to "Russian unity," expressed the hope that "Russia, one, indivisible and all-powerful" would be restored, and offered prayers on behalf of Generals Denikin, Kolchak and Yudenich. "We are all Russians...whether we were born in Russia, in Galicia, in Bukovyna or in Hungary [i.e., in Transcarpathia]," he stated in Winnipeg's Holy Trinity church on 19 October 1919. *Ibid.*, 22 October 1919. Yuzyk, *Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church*, 95, completely misses the severity of the blow administered to the Ukrainian Greek Orthodox church in Canada by Nemylovsky's statements. It mattered little "that the pastoral letter virtually confirmed the autonomous character of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church in Ukraine and did not formally invalidate the initial agreement negotiated with Swystun," if Nemylovsky and Rozhdestvenskii opposed an autocephalous Ukrainian Orthodox church and refused to recognize a distinct Ukrainian nationality. After all, the founders of the Ukrainian Greek Orthodox church had broken with the Ukrainian Catholic church largely because they suspected it of being inimical to Ukrainian national identity and interests.
27. *Kanadyiskyi ukrainets* 27 July, 15, 22 October, 5 November 1919.
28. Germanos had been sent to the United States from Seleucia, Syria, in 1913 to solicit donations for Syrian schools. After the death of Bishop Raphael Hawaweemy, the leader of the Syrian-Arabic mission of the Russian Orthodox church in America in 1915, Germanos clashed with the Russian Orthodox hierarchy. By 1918 he was ordaining priests, organizing parishes and laying the groundwork for a separate Syrian (Antiochian) Orthodox archdiocese in the United States. Not surprisingly, he had been censured by the Russian Orthodox hierarchy. Mulyk-Lutsyk, III, 639-81.
29. *Ukrainskyi holos* 3, 31 December 1919, cited in Yuzyk, *Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church*, 104.
30. Frs. Dmytro Kyrstiuk, Alexander Kiziun, Ivakhniuk, Alexander Shovhaniuk and Dmytro Kolodniuk. Yuzyk, *Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church*, 91.

31. The liturgy was celebrated by Frs. Kyrstiuk and Kiziun (or Ivakhniuk) and those in attendance were disgruntled Ukrainian Catholics. Mulyk-Lutsyk, III, 412-19.
32. Frs. Volodymyr Kaskiv, Lev Kushnir, Petro Dmytryk and Ivan Palij. *Ukrainskyi holos* 31 December 1919. On the origins of the Ukrainian Orthodox church in the United States, see Stephen W. Mamchur, "Nationalism, Religion and the Problem of Assimilation Among Ukrainians in the United States" (PhD dissertation, Yale University, 1942), 84-132.
33. *Ukrainskyi holos* 24 September, 19 November 1919; Yuzyk, *Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church*, 98; Mulyk-Lutsyk, III, 682-94.
34. Sawchuk (1895-1983), one of the first two fully qualified Ukrainian public school teachers in Saskatchewan, had studied at the University of Saskatchewan; Stratyckuk (1892-1973), the son of a Ukrainian Catholic cantor, had spent two years at the Regina Training School after graduating from Yorkton Collegiate; Samets (1893-1985) had studied at Wesley College in Winnipeg and Hrebeniuk (1895-1969) at the Brandon Training School and at St. Boniface College.
35. *Ukrainskyi holos* 7 July, 11 August 1920.
36. AUGOC, Sawchuk to Michael Stechishin, 30 May 1927.
37. Formal qualifications for entry into the seminary included the following: a grade eleven education for Canadian candidates or graduation from a gymnasium for European candidates, good moral character, willingness to do missionary work, and musical ability. Mulyk-Lutsyk, III, 343. Dozens of semiliterate cantors and a number of unemployed Galician teachers, Orthodox priests from Volhynia and Ukrainians who had served in the Russian Orthodox mission in North America were turned down. See the correspondence with various candidates in AUGOC.
38. Yuzyk, *Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church*, 117, lists the eleven priests who were active in June 1924; see also Petro Bilon, *Spohady. Chastyna druha* (Pittsburgh, 1956), and the correspondence with Ukrainian Greek Orthodox priests in AUGOC, which often contains biographical data. The correspondence files also reveal that, of the eleven priests recruited between 1925 and 1930, ten were natives of eastern Galicia who had been raised as Ukrainian Catholics.
39. *Ukrainskyi holos* 30 June, 14 July, 4 August 1920, 19 January, 25 May, 27 July 1921, 4 January, 15 February, 31 May 1922, 18 July 1923.
40. AUGOC, Julian Stechishin to Sawchuk, 24 November 1925, Sawchuk to Stechishin 26 November 1925.
41. See Bohdan R. Bociurkiw, "The Autocephalous Church Movement in Ukraine: The Formative Stage (1917-1921)," *The Ukrainian Quarterly* XVI (3) (1960), 211-23, and Reshetar, "Ukrainian Nationalism and the Orthodox Church."
42. Semen Savchuk (Sawchuk), "Iak povstala tserkva," *Pravoslavnyi vistnyk* II (9) (September 1925).
43. AUGOC, 24 March 1924.
44. *Pravoslavnyi vistnyk* II (10) (October 1925); there is no indication how many members the church had at this time, but by the late 1920s there were twenty-six thousand and another twelve thousand adherents or sympathizers, according to Odarka S. Trosky, *The Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church in Canada* (Winnipeg, 1968), 29.

45. Nicholas A. Bochanesky, "The Ukrainian Orthodox Church in Alberta," in *Ukrainians in Alberta* (Edmonton, 1975), 127-9.
46. *Ukrainskyi holos*, 7 April 1920, 19 January, 20 April 1921, 22 February, 17 May 1922.
47. *Ibid.*, 14 April, 30 June 1920, 25 May, 1 June 1921, 24 May 1922. In Okno, Manitoba, Galician and Bukovynian settlers who had built a church together and left it empty for years because of disagreement about affiliation with either the Ukrainian Catholic or Russian Orthodox churches resolved their problem by joining the Ukrainian Greek Orthodox church. *Ibid.*, 4 August 1920.
48. *Pravoslavnyi vistnyk* III (8) (August 1926).
49. Byrne, 53-60; on the formation of the Saskatoon parish, see Hryhorii Udod, *Ukrainska hreko-pravoslavna katedra Presviatoi Troitsi v Saskatuni, 1918-71* (Winnipeg and Saskatoon, 1973), 25 ff.
50. Bilon, 16, 79; *Pamiatka z posviachennia uholnoho kamenia ukrainskoi pravoslavnoi katedry* (Edmonton, 1952), 13 ff.
51. AUGOC, Goodeve congregation to Consistory, 24 March 1920, Bilon to Sawchuk, 2 March, 6 July 1925, Sawchuk to Bilon, 11 March, 8 July 1925, Kusy to Sawchuk, 2 February 1925, E. Hrytsyna to Sawchuk, 4 January 1927.
52. Bilon, 79; AUGOC, Consistory to Fenwood/Goodeve congregation, 22 February 1920, 28 September 1921, Sametz to Sawchuk, 30 January 1924, Sawchuk to Theodorovich, 7 November 1924.
53. In Canora the bishop was taken aback when, after having been introduced to six local parishioners, each of whom had harvested over sixty thousand bushels of wheat that summer, the congregation presented him with a donation of twenty-five dollars. AUGOC, Theodorovich to Sawchuk, 25 March 1926, 8 April 1927.
54. Bilon, 59, 66; AUGOC, Theodorovich to Sawchuk, 25 March 1926.
55. *Almanakh TURFDim, 1918-1929* (Winnipeg, 1930), 6.
56. *Ukrainski robotnychi visty* 1 March 1922.
57. ULFTA report, cited in Donald Avery, "Ethnic Loyalties and the Proletarian Revolution: A Case Study of Communist Political Activity in Winnipeg, 1923-1936," in Jorgen Dahlie, ed., *Ethnicity, Power and Politics in Canada* (Toronto, 1981), 70.
58. *Almanakh TURFDim*, 15, 18. By the fall and winter of 1924-5, ULFTA branches were located in the following centres: QUEBEC: Montreal, Lachine. ONTARIO: Toronto, West Toronto, Hamilton, Oshawa, Thorold, Kitchener-Waterloo, Welland, London, Ottawa, Ansonville, Sault Ste. Marie (Bayview), Ford City, Windsor, Sudbury, Coniston, Timmins, South Porcupine, Port Arthur, Fort William, West Fort William, Fort Frances, Kenora-Keewatin. MANITOBA: Winnipeg, East Kildonan, Transcona, The Pas, Red Deer (near Brightstone), Winnipeg Beach, Portage la Prairie, Narol, Medyka. SASKATCHEWAN: Saskatoon, Regina, Melville, Moose Jaw, Bienfait, Swift Current, Kamsack, Dana, Purdue. ALBERTA: Edmonton, Calgary, Drumheller, Coleman, Lethbridge, Coalhurst, Bellevue, Canmore, Vegreville, Radway Centre, Lanuke, Medicine Hat, Beverly, Lake Eliza, Diamond City, Hillcrest, Luscar, Cardiff. BRITISH COLUMBIA: Vancouver, Corbin, Trail, Revelstoke.
59. *Ibid.*, 28 ff., 62.

60. William Rodney, *Soldiers of the International: A History of the Communist Party of Canada, 1919-1929* (Toronto, 1968), 29, 33; Norman Penner, *Canadian Communism: The Stalin Years and Beyond* (Toronto, 1988), 44-69; Peter Krawchuk, *Mathew Popovich: His Place in the History of Ukrainian Canadians* (Toronto, 1987), 37.
61. *Ukrainski robotnychi visty* 20 January 1923. Eighteen of the twenty-seven branches (1922-4) were located in Vancouver, Moose Jaw, Edmonton, Coalhurst, Drumheller, Saskatoon, Winnipeg, Hamilton, Toronto, West Toronto, Ottawa, Longlac, Timmins, South Porcupine, Sudbury, St. Catharines, Oshawa, Thorold, Montreal and Sydney.
62. Penner, 61; Bryan D. Palmer, *Working-Class Experience: The Rise and Reconstitution of Canadian Labour, 1800-1980* (Toronto, 1983), 204. In 1924 the Workers' Party of Canada was renamed the Communist Party of Canada. Ivan Avakumovic, *The Communist Party of Canada: A History* (Toronto, 1975), 31.
63. Although the Russian-Ukrainian Progressive Circle in Sydney was prepared to join the Labour Temple Association in 1921, it apparently did not. *Ukrainski robotnychi visty* 20 July 1921. A Ukrainian Labour-Farmer Temple Association branch existed in Sydney during the 1930s.
64. On the relocation of internees in Sydney, see *Propamiatna knyha z nahody zolotoho iuvileiu*, 103; on relocation in Oshawa, see *Almanakh TURFDim*, 108-9.
65. Palmer, 189-90, 198-203; John H. Thompson and Allen Seager, *Canada, 1922-1939: Decades of Discord* (Toronto, 1985), 138-44; Stuart Jamieson, *Times of Trouble: Labour Unrest and Industrial Conflict in Canada, 1900-1966* (Ottawa, 1968), 197-207.
66. *Ukrainski robotnychi visty* 31 March, 7, 28 April, 5 May, 30 June, 14, 28 July 1920, 8, 19, 22 September 1923.
67. *Ibid.*, 20 July 1921, 2 September, 20, 27 December 1922, 30 May, 11, 21, 25 July, 3, 21 November 1923; John Huk, *Strangers in the Land: The Ukrainian Presence in Cape Breton* (n.p., n.d.), 20-2.
68. *Almanakh TURFDim*, 149-59, 168-70, 177-8, 214-15; *Ukrainski robotnychi visty* 4 January 1922.
69. See the series of articles entitled "A iak se nazvaty?" (And What Would You Call This?), which appeared irregularly in *Ukrainskyi holos* between 12 November 1919 and 18 May 1921, and "Se treba znaty liudiam..." (The People Must Know About This...), in *ibid.*, between 20 September and 22 November 1922; also *ibid.*, 21 March, 25 May 1921, 11, 18 October 1922, 29 August 1923.
70. *Ibid.*, 9, 16, 23 February 1921; Iuliiian Stechyshyn (Julian Stechishin), *Lovtsi dush abo Koliegiia sv. Iosyfa v Iorktoni v svitli faktiv* (Saskatoon, 1927). Orthodox concern with Latinization was partly justified, as Latin ritual practices, architectural motifs and ecclesiastical decor were creeping into the church and undermining the purity of the Eastern rite. The process, however, was not as sinister as Kudryk indicated. Even though the Ukrainian Catholic clergy in eastern Galicia (and most recently in Canada) had been imbibing Western culture (including the spirit and spirituality of the Latin rite) for some two hundred years, they were not part of any *conspiracy* to destroy the Ukrainian Catholic church or to submit it to foreign domination. See Casimir Kucharek, "The Roots of 'Latinization' and its

- Context in the Experience of Ukrainian Catholics in Canada," in David J. Goa, ed., *The Ukrainian Religious Experience: Tradition and the Canadian Cultural Context* (Edmonton, 1989), 69-74.
71. Bohdan Budurowycz, "Sheptyts'kyi and the Ukrainian National Movement after 1914" and Ryszard Torzecki, "Sheptyts'kyi and Polish Society," in Paul R. Magocsi, ed., *Morality and Reality: The Life and Times of Andrei Sheptyts'kyi* (Edmonton, 1989), 47-98.
 72. Kudryk's lengthiest attack on Sheptytsky, entitled "Ne mozhna dovshe movchaty" (It is Impossible to Remain Silent Any Longer), appeared in *Ukrainskyi holos* from 1 March to 5 April 1922; see also *ibid.*, 29 September, 15 December 1920, 5, 19 January, 26 October 1921, 11 October 1922, 5 September, 24 October 1923.
 73. "Vid baiduzhnosti do bolshevyzmu" (From Indifference to Bolshevism), *Kanadyiskyi ukrainets* 31 May 1922. The bishop wrote under a number of pseudonyms including "Vsevolod" and "Mstyslav"; see also "Khto shyryt demoralizatsiiu?" (Who is Spreading Demoralization?), *ibid.*, 13, 27 September, 25 October, 1, 29 November, 6 December 1922; *Pastyrskiy lyst Preosviashchenoho Epyskopa Kyr Nykyty Budky* (Winnipeg, 1924), 3, 5; *Kanadyiskyi ukrainets* 13 May 1922.
 74. *Kanadyiskyi ukrainets* 12 March, 6 August, 3 September 1924; Yuzyk, *Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church*, 131, 133.
 75. *Ukrainskyi holos* 1 July 1925; Yuzyk, *Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church*, 137.
 76. Zerebko, one of the most prominent members of the *Ukrainskyi holos* circle before 1918, did not join the Ukrainian Greek Orthodox church; by the early 1920s he was helping to finance the publication of Lypynsky's *Lysty do brativ khliborobiv*. Rudnytsky, *Lysty Osypa Nazaruka*, xxxvi-xxxvii. For evidence that Kudryk and Sawchuk were influenced by Lypynsky's ideas, see AUGOC, Kudryk to Sawchuk, 28 May 1924; *Ukrainskyi holos* 13 June 1923; see also Kudryk's "Ukrainskyi futurizm v Evropi" (Ukrainian Futurism in Europe), *ibid.*, 6 June to 1 August 1923, which is really an indictment of the ideology and culture of the Ukrainian intelligentsia in Europe at the time.
 77. *Ukrainskyi holos*, 6, 13 June, 17 October 1923; as early as 2 March 1921, an editorial in *ibid.* denied that the Ukrainian Greek Orthodox church had been established by "persons influenced by the spirit of radicalism."
 78. For evidence of this reorientation within the nationalist camp, see the editorials in *ibid.*, 22 February, 8, 15, 22, 29 March, 14 June 1922, 5, 19 September, 3, 17, 31 October, 7, 17 November 1923.
 79. The following were the candidates and their religious denominations: *Ukrainian Greek Orthodox*: N.A. Hryhorczuk (MLA), J.W. Arsenych, T.D. Ferley (MLA), M. Chornohus (MLA), B.M. Sawiak, H.W. Slipchenko, W. Swystun, N.P. Bachynsky (MLA); *Agnostics*: M. Popovich, W.N. Kolisnyk; *Unknown*: E. Grabosky, J. Shebets, J. Gnizdowski; *Ukrainian Catholic*: D. Yakimischak (MLA); *Presbyterian*: W. Fedun (MLA); *Roman Catholic*: M. Rojeski (MLA); *Russian Orthodox*: A. Shandro (MLA).
 80. *Kanadyiskyi ukrainets* 29 May, 12, 23 June 1920.
 81. *Ukrainskyi holos* 2, 23 June 1920; *Kanadyiskyi ukrainets* 23 June 1920; Nelson Wiseman, "The Politics of Manitoba's Ukrainians Between the Wars," *Prairie Forum* XII (1) (1987), 99-102.

82. Ferley was defeated 1,359-1,242 in a two-man race; Arsenych, who finished second in a three-man race, trailed the winner by eighty-one votes (443-362-214); Yakimischak won by a narrow margin in a three-man race (989-925-756); and Hryhorczuk was a runaway winner in a three-man race (1,271-684-110). *Canadian Parliamentary Guide* 1922 (Ottawa, 1922), 456-7.
83. See William L. Morton, *Manitoba: A History* (Toronto, 1967), 356-79; John Kendle, *John Bracken: A Political Biography* (Toronto, 1982), 26-7.
84. *Ukrainskyi holos* 23 June, 7 July 1920; Peter Melnycky, "A Political History of the Ukrainian Community in Manitoba, 1899-1922" (MA thesis, University of Manitoba, 1979), 237-8.
85. *Kanadyiskyi ukrainets* 23 June 1920; *Ukrainskyi holos* 23 June, 14 July 1920.
86. *Ukrainskyi ukrainets* 1, 8 June 1921; *Ukrainskyi holos* 8 June 1921.
87. Slipchenko finished third in a field of four (1,457-1,008-925-911), while Sawiak was the last of three, some 730 votes behind Shebets (1,597-1,400-670). *Canadian Parliamentary Guide* 1922, 547-9.
88. *Kanadyiskyi ukrainets* 22 June 1921; John H. Archer, *Saskatchewan: A History* (Saskatoon, 1980), 190; for the campaign, see *Ukrainskyi holos* 9, 16 March, 6, 13, 20 April, 11, 18 May, 29 June, 27 July, 10 August 1921.
89. *Ukrainskyi holos* 19 October, 2, 16 November 1921, 4, 25 January 1922; several members of the local Russian Orthodox clergy also opposed Swystun.
90. The Catholic weekly neither attacked Swystun nor mentioned that he was a candidate. Mykhailo Marunchak, "Ukrainskyi Tsentralnyi Komitet v zapyskakh Onufriia Hykavoho," *Studii do istorii ukrainsiv Kanady*, V (Winnipeg, 1973-80), 147.
91. *Ukrainskyi holos* 4, 25 January, 1 March 1922; Kamenetsky's gesture was not appreciated by Budka, who transferred him to Arran several months later, precipitating much dissatisfaction in Canora. *Ibid.*, 18 October, 15 November, 13, 20 December 1922, 21 February, 7 March, 18 April, 2 May, 15 August 1923.
92. Swystun received about 15 per cent of the popular vote (5,381-3,025-1,896-1,338). *Canadian Parliamentary Guide* 1922, 245; he won only 19 of 117 polls. *Ukrainskyi holos* 4 January 1922.
93. Swystun described the Progressives as the party of the grain elevator companies rather than farmers. *Ukrainskyi holos* 23 November, 14 December 1921.
94. Fedun won the two-man race by a narrow margin, 1,401-1,288, but Chornohus's margin was 1,846-525. *Canadian Parliamentary Guide* 1923, 523-4; on Shandro's renewed Russophilism, see *Ukrainskyi holos* 2 February, 18 May 1921; on Ukrainian politics in Alberta, see Andriy Makuch, "In the Populist Tradition: Organizing the Ukrainian Farmer in Alberta, 1905-1935" (MA thesis, University of Alberta, 1983).
95. *Kanadyiskyi ukrainets* 19, 26 July 1922.
96. Vladimir J. Kaye, "Participation of Ukrainians in the Political Life of Canada," *Ukrainske Zapomohove Bratstvo sv. Nykolaia v Kanadi. Almanakh zolotoho iuvileiu, 1905-1955* (Winnipeg, 1957), 129. *Ukrainskyi holos* 5 April, 31 May, 7, 14 June 1922. Yakimischak (998-567-566-435) and Bachynsky (581-354-262) won by comfortable margins, though

- neither won a clear majority; Hryhorczuk was returned by acclamation; Rojeski won a majority in his riding (1,570-1,310-103). *Canadian Parliamentary Guide* 1923, 457-9.
97. Popovich received 788 votes, Kolisnyk with 387 trailed the winner by almost 900. *Canadian Parliamentary Guide* 1923, 459.
98. *Ukrainski robotnychi visty* 3 December 1921.
99. *Ibid.*, 30 November 1921, 28 June, 15 July 1922, 28 November 1923; *Winnipeg Tribune* 9 November 1923.
100. *Ukrainskyi holos* 14 June, 19, 26 July 1922.
101. *Ibid.*, 1 December 1920, 13 April, 11 May, 15 June 1921, 29 March, 21 September 1921, 5, 12 April, 23 August, 25 October, 13 December 1922, 24 February, 11 April, 18 July 1923.
102. *Ukrainski robotnychi visty* 11 February, 5 July 1922; Marko Terlytsia (Peter Krawchuk), *Pravnyky pohani. Ukrainski natsionalisty v Kanadi* (Kiev, 1960), 86; *Almanakh TURFDim*, 169; *Saskatoon Phoenix* 15 September 1922; *Toronto Telegram* 16 September 1922; *Toronto Globe* 29 July 1922.
103. *Manitoba Free Press* 13, 14, 18-29 December 1923; *Ukrainski robotnychi visty* 19, 22, 26, 29 December 1923, 2, 5, 9 January 1924; *Almanakh TURFDim*, 152, 177-9.

Epilogue

When Ivan Pylypow and Wasył Eleniak left the village of Nebyliv in 1891 to examine the “free lands” in Canada, efforts to transform the Ukrainian peasants of eastern Galicia and northern Bukovyna into a disciplined, politically self-conscious people were well underway. Urban intellectuals, professionals and young secular parish priests, bent on reversing the baneful consequences of an all too-recent serfdom, had begun to politicize the rural masses through a network of village institutions, a popular press and mass peasant assemblies. At first, they challenged the social and political pre-eminence of a conservative church hierarchy, which they accused of “Latinization” and collaboration with the ruling Polish aristocracy, and called for electoral reforms, universal manhood suffrage, Ukrainian-language schools and student residences. Then they sought to channel the peasants’ age-old hostility to Polish estate owners and to Jewish tavern-keepers and moneylenders into strikes and boycotts, as well as into electoral politics. During the 1890s, when immigration to Canada had become a mass phenomenon, they gave birth to three political parties—the Radicals, National Democrats and Social Democrats—which, despite differences on social and economic issues, unanimously affirmed the existence of a single Ukrainian nation, demanded equality with the Poles in Galicia and declared independent Ukrainian statehood as *their ultimate objective*. Before the First World War, they saw to it that through these parties and a network of local institutions, the ideas of the Ukrainian national movement would penetrate the towns and villages in eastern Galicia and northern Bukovyna.

It was this old-world background that the Ukrainian *inteligentny* or “intelligentsia” brought with them to Canada. Even if few of them had actually belonged to the old-country political parties, many, especially among those immigrants who had arrived during the decade before the war, had experienced the national movement through the mass assemblies, agrarian strikes, and membership in a host of village institutions. In Canada they continued to follow overseas developments closely, and the virtual absence of traditional leaders encouraged them to fill the breach. Concerned to ease the adjustment of peasant immigrants to life in the new world, they adapted old-world institutions to Canadian conditions and established reading clubs, drama groups, national

homes, co-operatives, socialist circles and student residences, providing, in time, the basis for the emergence of such nation-wide institutions as the Independent Greek church, the Federation of Ukrainian Social Democrats, the Ukrainian Greek Orthodox church and the Ukrainian Labour (-Farmer) Temple Association. Each expressed one of the three main orientations for organizing Ukrainian immigrants that had tantalized the intelligentsia from the earliest years: Protestantism, nationalism, and socialism.

The intelligentsia's Protestant sympathies were first aroused by Archbishop Langevin's dream of a "Catholic Empire"—by his desire to Latinize Ukrainian immigrants and to enlist them in the struggle for Catholic rights (especially in education), and by his stubborn opposition to a Ukrainian clergy and bishop. At the turn of the century, most secular immigrant leaders, under the strong influence of Drahomanov's anticlerical views on religion, were fully convinced that both Catholicism and Russian Orthodoxy, with their emphasis on ritual and custom, had failed to provide Ukrainian peasant immigrants with moral and ethical standards. By 1913, however, conflicting objectives had gradually driven a wedge between the intelligentsia and their Anglo-Protestant sponsors. While both groups were anxious to integrate or "assimilate" the Ukrainian immigrants into Canadian life, most Ukrainian Protestants did not want the immigrants to discard their language and culture. When they spoke of assimilation, they meant the casting-off of obsolete peasant perceptions, habits and behaviour patterns and the adoption of a new lifestyle based on reason and Christian ethics. Most Anglo Protestants, on the other hand, were just as eager to extirpate the immigrants' language and collective memory as to combat "superstition" and "paganism," and they inculcated values and attitudes that reinforced a socioeconomic order that tended to relegate East European immigrants to the most menial and unremunerative occupations.

By the time it was clear that Protestantism did not provide an adequate alternative, most members of the intelligentsia were already advocating nationalism or socialism. Strident Anglo-Canadian appeals for rapid "Canadianization," the machinations of Conservative and Liberal party agents, the social differentiation among Ukrainians and especially the changing character of Ukrainian immigration—the arrival of tens of thousands of migrant labourers and domestics whose needs, aspirations and experiences differed from those of rural settlers—had made nationalism and socialism increasingly attractive. It can be said that the new orientations expressed the class interests respectively of a nascent Ukrainian-Canadian middle class consisting of teachers, professionals, petty entrepreneurs and well-to-do farmers, and of a Ukrainian-Canadian working class composed of miners, migrant labourers and urban workers.

Socioeconomic differentiation among Ukrainian immigrants was rooted in the social structure of Galicia and Bukovyna, modulated by specifically Canadian circumstances. Village society in western Ukraine had always been stratified.

Wealthier peasant families whose land was worked exclusively by hired labour lived side by side with middle peasants (those who worked the land themselves with or without hired labour) and with the poorest peasants, who had to take on outside work either because their landholdings were too small to support them or because they had no land at all. Clearly, the more affluent peasant immigrants, especially if they were literate, possessed a few hundred dollars and were accompanied by family members old enough to help with the work, had a better chance of succeeding in Canada than did landless and penniless agrarian labourers, as the families dispatched to Canada by Dr. Oleskow quickly showed. Equally decisive was the quality of the homestead land selected in Canada and its proximity to railways and marketing centres. By 1911 it was apparent that a widening gulf was beginning to separate Ukrainians who had settled on inferior, heavily forested, poorly drained land in southeastern and Interlake Manitoba and the region north of the North Saskatchewan River in Alberta, from those Ukrainians (the majority) who had settled on good land. Not only were standards of living appreciably lower in poorer districts, but there were also more signs of personal despair and social malaise.

At the same time, another, even wider gulf was also becoming apparent—that between the Ukrainian homesteaders (whether on good or inferior lands) and many Ukrainian urban and frontier labourers. Although a majority of Ukrainian immigrants took out homesteads and farmed with their families, the prewar boom in railway construction and in the primary extractive industries also attracted thousands of young, often unmarried, male and female workers to Canada's urban centres and frontier regions. Perhaps as many as one half of the Ukrainians who arrived between 1906 and 1914 did not settle on the land. Some of them, primarily artisans and urban labourers who could afford to send for their families, managed to cope and occasionally to prosper. Most migrant labourers, however, led homeless and peripatetic lives. Unlike the poorest homesteaders, who could always feed themselves and their families, migrant labourers led a hand-to-mouth existence as they drifted across the country from one back-breaking, low-paying seasonal job to another, confronting brutal working and living conditions and the threat of disability and death at every turn. The socioeconomic differentials which set migrants and most urban labourers apart from homesteaders and the thin stratum of immigrant entrepreneurs and professionals were visible by 1914. The war only exacerbated the differences. For many Ukrainian homesteaders, businessmen and professionals, the war years were a period of unprecedented economic prosperity. For Ukrainian labourers, the same years were a period of underemployment, dismissal from their jobs and occasionally, for the unnaturalized, internment as "enemy aliens." When the labour market finally improved in 1917, it brought harassment in the workplace by war veterans and rapidly rising living costs that always seemed to outdistance wages.

By war's end, socioeconomic differentiation and political polarization had left the Ukrainian intelligentsia deeply divided. With Protestant and Russian Orthodox missionaries relegated to the sidelines, Ukrainian Catholic priests, nationalist proponents of Ukrainian Greek Orthodoxy and leaders of the pro-communist Ukrainian Labour (-Farmer) Temple Association struggled for the support of the immigrant masses.

In 1924 the Ukrainian Catholic church still held the allegiance of most Ukrainians who had emigrated from eastern Galicia. It had, however, few educated leaders among the laity, and its staunchest adherents were pious, aging, often illiterate or semiliterate rural settlers and urban labourers, tied to it by habit and centuries of tradition. Although such immigrants were largely impervious to the political abstractions and ideological appeals with which socialists and nationalists bombarded them, they were neither resigned to their fate nor entirely lacking in national consciousness. Like many other East European immigrants, they first fed, clothed and sheltered their families; ethnicity or national identity, as they understood it, was pursued through the concrete and the immediate: through family and friends, the parish and local institutions, and through the values, beliefs and customs that gave meaning to everyday life.

The Ukrainian Greek Orthodox church and the Ukrainian Labour (-Farmer) Temple Association, on the other hand, attracted young and literate immigrants, especially those who believed that progress was possible, that men and women could shape their own destiny and create a better life for themselves. The emergence of the new institutions reflected the socioeconomic differentiation and political polarization taking place among Ukrainian immigrants, while their dynamism was fuelled by differences of class and culture and divergent work experiences, living conditions and social expectations. Ambitious, self-confident members of the immigrant middle class, who objected to clerical domination and pressed their own claims for leadership, had established the Ukrainian Greek Orthodox church. It attracted relatively affluent, upwardly mobile professionals, businessmen and farmers—primarily propertied and self-employed individuals who lived and worked in the Ukrainian rural enclaves of the three prairie provinces and depended much on other Ukrainians for their livelihood and prosperity. The new church appealed to them because it encouraged lay participation in church government and promoted Ukrainian nationalism, solidarity and economic self-reliance, all of which redounded to their advantage.

Although advocates of rapid "Canadianization" had accused the Orthodox church's nationalist founders of trying to subvert Canadian nationhood during the war, by the mid-1920s these same nationalists had become the most influential champions of Ukrainian integration into the mainstream of Canadian life. Convinced that most Ukrainian settlers would become successful farmers and businessmen, they expressed few qualms about capitalism and production for profit and were largely indifferent to the needs of urban and frontier labourers. In

their view the major obstacles to progress and prosperity in Canada were the "ignorance and indifference" (*temnota, baiduzhnist*) of the Ukrainian immigrants, the activity among them of "foreign" missionaries and party agents, and the immigrants' dependence on non-Ukrainian merchants. Thus, in addition to promoting literacy, sobriety, self-reliance and self-esteem, some nationalists diffused anti-Semitic stereotypes and prejudices and fanned sectarian strife by exaggerating the abuses of the Catholic church and clergy. Disappointment with the triumph of Communist one-party rule in Ukraine and disenchantment with the apparent ineptitude and provincialism of western-Ukrainian emigré leaders also encouraged the nationalists to advocate integration into the Canadian mainstream. Although they continued to call for the creation of an independent Ukrainian state in Europe, they now opposed any formal ties with old-country political parties, referred to Canada as their adopted homeland and tried to ingratiate themselves with the most influential Canadians.

The Ukrainian Labour (-Farmer) Temple Association, established by members of the outlawed Ukrainian Social Democratic party, became one of the Communist party's most effective mass organizations during the 1920s. It attracted labourers in large urban centres and in the mining towns and new one-industry frontier communities of British Columbia, southern Alberta and northern Ontario. Many members had felt the brunt of the government's repressive measures during the war and were trapped in dangerous and debilitating jobs, harried by wage-cutting, union-busting employers and, in the case of coal miners, involved in a series of bitter, prolonged and violent strikes during the 1920s. Personal experience had taught them that capitalism was an exploitative system of production. Having worked with, lived among and gone on strike alongside men and women of various backgrounds, they understood that it had to be challenged by a united labour force that transcended ethnic differences.

The association was able to expand because its cultural-educational and benevolent activities grew out of the day-to-day experiences and concerns of Ukrainian labourers. Equally important, however, was its ability to capitalize on divisions within the nationalist camp, both overseas and in Canada, and to benefit from its identification with a Soviet Ukraine in which, in 1924, cultural autonomy prevailed, impressive achievements were being made in scholarship, literature and the arts, industrial production was recovering, and the as-yet uncollectivized peasantry was enjoying a degree of prosperity. Not unexpectedly, Soviet Ukraine appealed to the national pride of many Ukrainian-Canadian labourers because it seemed to provide such a striking contrast with Canada, where they experienced exploitation and humiliation. Indeed, so powerful was this vision of a workers' and peasants' Soviet Ukraine that the association's leaders ultimately came to champion Soviet achievements, real and imaginary, much more enthusiastically and effectively than they challenged the injustices of Canadian capitalism.

To anticipate slightly, during the interwar years the fissures within the Ukrainian-Canadian community became even more pronounced. Sectarian strife raged unabated as a resurgent Ukrainian Catholic church, fortified by recruits from overseas and by Canadian-born clergy, responded to the challenge posed by the Ukrainian Greek Orthodox church. A second wave of mass immigration brought almost 70,000 Ukrainian immigrants to Canada and injected monarchist and integral nationalist ideologies into an already confused political spectrum. The triumph of fascism in central Europe and of Stalinism in the Soviet Union, coupled with economic depression in Canada, undermined liberal and democratic values, elevated the prestige of right- and left-wing extremists, raised passions to a fever pitch and intensified polarization within an already deeply divided community. Perhaps, then, it is little wonder that the first three decades of Ukrainian life in Canada have come to be regarded as a period of relative harmony and stability by subsequent generations of Ukrainian Canadians, a view which this book has hopefully shown to be inadequate.

Bibliographical Note

A wide range of primary and secondary sources, most of them already cited in the endnotes, were consulted in the preparation of this work. What follows is a selective survey of the most important printed sources, manuscript collections and secondary works used in this study.

Primary sources

Of the two types of primary sources, printed materials and manuscript collections, the most important printed source was the periodical press produced by Ukrainian immigrants in Canada (and the United States). The immigrant press provided a wealth of information on the political, religious and economic issues that agitated the community and offered fascinating glimpses of the everyday concerns, triumphs and tragedies of immigrant life. The following newspapers were examined (those marked with an asterisk received the greatest attention): the American weekly *Svoboda** (1893-1910); the Liberal *Kanadyiskyi farmer** (1905-10, 1917-18) and *Novyi krai* (1910-11); the Protestant *Ranok** (1905-20), *Kanadyiets* (1913-20) and *Kanadyiskyi ranok** (1920-23); the socialist *Chervonyi prapor** (1907-8), *Robochyi narod** (1912-18), *Nova hromada* (1911-12), *Kadylo* (1913-18), *Svidoma syla/Robitnyche slovo* (1915-17) and the procommunist *Ukrainski robitnychi visty** (1919-24); the nationalist/Ukrainian Greek Orthodox *Ukrainskyi holos** (1910-24); the Ukrainian Greek Orthodox *Pravoslavnyi visnyk* (1924-27); the Conservative, pro-Catholic *Kanada* (1913-15) and *Novyny* (1913-18); the Catholic *Kanadyiskyi rusyn/ukrainets** (1911-24); and the Russophile *Russkii golos* (1913-16) and *Russkii narod** (1914-19). Obituaries and reminiscences published in *Ukrainskyi holos* (1945-57), the Catholic *Ukrainski visti* (1945-57) and the procommunist *Ukrainske zhyttia* (1945-57) and *Ukrainske slovo* (1951) were also mined for valuable information about the immigrants, as were innumerable calendars, almanacs, and jubilee and commemorative books published by Ukrainian newspapers, parishes, reading clubs and self-help institutions. All of these periodicals, with the exception of *Ukrainski*

robitychi visty, which can be found at the Provincial Library of Manitoba, are available on microfilm at the Rutherford Library (South), University of Alberta.

English- and French-language periodicals were also utilized. The unofficial *Canadian Annual Review* (1901-24) provided a very useful survey of national and provincial issues. Major English-language dailies published in Winnipeg, Edmonton, Toronto and Saskatoon were consulted to verify and add to the information found in the Ukrainian-language weeklies. Only the *Manitoba Free Press* (1910-18) was examined in detail while studying the bilingual schools' issue, as was *The Western School Journal* (1906-24), a professional journal for teachers. While the French-language *Les Cloches de Saint-Boniface* (1902-22) contained some information on French-Canadian missionary activity among Ukrainian immigrants, English-language Presbyterian and Methodist periodicals were, on the whole, much more useful, providing a wealth of information about living conditions, problems of adjustment and Anglo-Protestant attitudes toward the newcomers. In addition to the *Acts and Proceedings of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in Canada* (1900-22), the following were particularly useful: *The Presbyterian Record* (1896-1921), *The Presbyterian: A Weekly Review of Canadian Church Life and Work* (1902-16), *The Westminster: A Magazine for the Home* (1902-16), *The Home Mission Pioneer* (1903-14), *The Missionary Messenger* (1914-20), *The Christian Guardian* (1903, 1907-13), (The Methodist) *Missionary Bulletin* (1903-18) and *The Missionary Outlook* (1912-14). *The Canadian Magazine* (1898-1922), an illustrated monthly, also reflected popular attitudes to Ukrainian immigrants.

The most useful official government publications included the annual reports of the Department of the Interior, the Department of Immigration and Colonization and the Royal North-West Mounted Police, published in the *Sessional Papers*; data on national origins, religious affiliation, and agriculture published in the *Census of Canada* and the *Census of the Prairie Provinces*; information on strikes, industrial accidents, wages and the cost-of-living published in the *Labour Gazette*; and data on the teaching profession, curriculum, second-language instruction and school attendance published in the annual reports of the departments of education of the three prairie provinces.

Henderson's City Directories, copies of the *Mercantile Agency Reference Book (and Key) for the Dominion of Canada* published by R.G. Dun & Company, and several housing surveys published by municipal governments and the Protestant churches proved to be invaluable in determining the residential patterns, living conditions, occupational structure and business activity of Ukrainian immigrants in major urban centres and rural railway towns.

Unprinted manuscript collections supplemented these sources. At the National Archives of Canada in Ottawa, the Chief Press Censor's Papers (1915-20), the Frontier College Papers, the Ivan Petrushevich Papers and the John Robert Kovalevitch Papers were especially useful. The United Church Archives in

Toronto provided access to the Presbyterian church's Board of Home Missions Papers (1909-12, 1917-18), to the Minute Book of the Presbyterian Board of Moral and Social Reform (1907-10) and to the Minutes of the Executive of the Presbyterian Home Mission Committee of the Synod of Manitoba and the North-West Territories (1905-8). The W.J. Sisler Papers, the Robert Fletcher Letter Book (1905-11) and the inspection reports on bilingual schools (compiled in November 1915) at the Provincial Archives of Manitoba in Winnipeg revealed the connection between bilingual schools and provincial partisan politics, as did the James Calder Papers and the T. Walter Scott Papers at the Archives of Saskatchewan. At the Provincial Archives of Alberta in Edmonton, the Criminal Case Files (1915-28) and the unpublished annual reports of the Alberta Provincial Police (1917-30) provided valuable insights into the darker side of life in rural, urban and frontier immigrant colonies. Of particular significance were the manuscript collections at the Archives of the Ukrainian Catholic Archdiocese of Winnipeg and the Archives of the Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Consistory, also in Winnipeg. Although manuscripts from the pre-1924 period are sparse in both church archives, those that survive—fragments of Bishop Budka's correspondence with Ukrainian secular priests and with Metropolitan Sheptytsky, the Orthodox consistory's correspondence with its priests, lay leaders, parishes and Bishop Theodorovich—are invaluable. Finally, the Ivan Bobersky Papers at the Ukrainian Cultural and Educational Centre in Winnipeg provided important insights into the activity of the Western Ukrainian National Republic's representatives in Canada.

Secondary sources

Hundreds of books, theses, dissertations and scholarly articles provided crucial background material and ideas for research. While it would be impossible to list all of them, some of the most useful, representative and accessible works on Ukrainian, Canadian, Ukrainian-Canadian and immigration history will be mentioned.

The number of works on Ukrainian history in the English-language has grown appreciably in recent years. Orest Subtelny's *Ukraine: A History* (Toronto, 1988) will be the standard reference work on the subject for years to come; it should be supplemented with Ivan L. Rudnytsky's *Essays in Modern Ukrainian History* (Edmonton, 1987), most of which focus on the individuals, ideas, movements and institutions that have shaped the Ukrainian people in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Paul Robert Magocsi's *Galicja: A Historical Survey and Bibliographic Guide* (Toronto, 1983) provides a concise introduction to the history and historiography of the region from which most Ukrainians emigrated to Canada. On the central role of the Ukrainian (Greek) Catholic

church in nineteenth- and twentieth-century Galician Ukrainian society, see John-Paul Himka's article "The Greek Catholic Church and Nation-Building in Galicia, 1772-1918" in *Harvard Ukrainian Studies* VIII (1984) and the essays in *Morality and Reality: The Life and Times of Andrei Sheptyts'kyi* edited by Paul Robert Magocsi (Edmonton, 1989). The efforts of journalists, priests, teachers and village notables to draw the peasant masses into national and class politics are examined by John-Paul Himka in *Galician Villagers and the Ukrainian National Movement in the Nineteenth Century* (Edmonton, 1988) and *Socialism in Galicia: The Emergence of Polish Social Democracy and Ukrainian Radicalism (1860-1890)* (Cambridge, Mass., 1983). The first tentative attempts by priests' wives and daughters to organize Ukrainian women in Galicia are described in the second part of Martha Bohachevsky-Chomiak's *Feminists Despite Themselves: Women in Ukrainian Community Life, 1884-1939* (Edmonton, 1988), while Ann Sirka's *The Nationality Question in Austrian Education: The Case of Ukrainians in Galicia, 1867-1914* (Frankfurt-am-Main, 1980) surveys conditions in elementary and secondary state schools, Ukrainian efforts to establish private schools and the thorny issue of a Ukrainian university.

Johann Chmelar's "The Austrian Emigration, 1900-1914" in *Perspectives in American History* VII (Cambridge, Mass., 1973) is one of the few accessible secondary works in English to consider the social and ethnic composition of the emigrants, their reasons for emigrating and the steps they took to reach the new world. There is also a dearth of English-language works on Ukraine during the First World War, though Jerry Hans Hoffman's "The Ukrainian Adventure of the Central Powers, 1914-1918" (PhD dissertation, University of Pittsburgh, 1967) contains some interesting material on the Austrophilism and Germanophilism of the Galician Ukrainian elite. The Ukrainian revolution, on the other hand, has been studied by many historians. John S. Reshetar's *The Ukrainian Revolution, 1917-1920: A Study in Nationalism* (Princeton, 1952), Jurij Borys's *The Sovietization of Ukraine, 1917-1923*, 2nd ed. (Edmonton, 1980) and Richard Pipes's *The Formation of the Soviet Union: Communism and Nationalism* (Cambridge, Mass., 1954) are three of the classics on the subject. Postwar and postrevolutionary developments are ably surveyed in James E. Mace's *Communism and the Dilemmas of National Liberation: National Communism in Soviet Ukraine, 1918-1933* (Cambridge, Mass., 1983); Alexander J. Motyl's *The Turn to the Right: The Ideological Origins and Development of Ukrainian Nationalism, 1919-1929* (Boulder, 1980), which focuses on Galician emigrés; and Janusz Radziejowski's *The Communist Party of Western Ukraine, 1919-1929* (Edmonton, 1983).

The best introduction to Canadian history during the period covered by this volume is Robert Craig Brown and Ramsay Cook, *Canada, 1896-1921: A Nation Transformed* (Toronto, 1974). Two more recent surveys, Robert Bothwell, Ian Drummond and John English, *Canada, 1900-1945* (Toronto, 1987) and

Jack L. Granatstein, Irving M. Abella, David J. Bercuson, R. Craig Brown and H. Blair Neatby, *Twentieth Century Canada*, 3rd ed. (Toronto, 1989) may also be consulted with profit. Gerald Friesen's *The Canadian Prairies: A History* (Toronto, 1984) is the standard work on the region favoured by a majority of the earliest Ukrainian settlers. Doug Owram's *Promise of Eden: The Canadian Expansionist Movement and the Idea of the West, 1856-1900* (Toronto, 1984) examines changing perceptions of the prairies and the emergence of a regional consciousness. William L. Morton's classic *Manitoba: A History*, 2nd ed. (Toronto, 1967), John H. Archer's *Saskatchewan: A History* (Saskatoon, 1980) and Howard and Tamara Palmer's *Alberta: A New History* (Edmonton, 1990) are useful provincial histories. On Canadian immigration policy at the turn of the century, see David J. Hall, *Clifford Sifton*, 2 vols. (Vancouver, 1981-85) and Donald H. Avery, "Canadian Immigration Policy and the Alien Question, 1896-1919: The Anglo-Canadian Perspective" (PhD dissertation, University of Western Ontario, 1973).

Social thought in English Canada is analyzed brilliantly in Carl Berger's *The Sense of Power: Studies in the Ideas of Canadian Imperialism, 1867-1914* (Toronto, 1970), which demonstrates how Canadian imperialists reconciled Canadian nationalism and a yearning for closer relations with Great Britain; Richard Allen's *The Social Passion: Religion and Social Reform in Canada, 1914-1928* (Toronto, 1971), which traces the impact of the social gospel on Canadian society and politics; Neil Sutherland's *Children in English-Canadian Society: Framing the Twentieth-Century Consensus* (Toronto, 1976), which deals with the "progressive" education and public health movements and their attitudes toward juvenile delinquents and immigrant children; Alexander B. McKillop's *A Disciplined Intelligence: Critical Inquiry and Canadian Thought in the Victorian Era* (Montreal, 1979), which focuses on a number of prominent academic philosophers; and Ramsay Cook's *The Regenerators: Social Criticism in Late Victorian English Canada* (Toronto, 1985), which examines the response of several prominent individuals to the waning of religious faith. George Emery's "Methodism on the Canadian Prairies, 1896-1914: The Dynamics of an Institution in a New Environment" (PhD dissertation, University of British Columbia, 1970) and Brian John Fraser's *The Social Uplifters: Presbyterian Progressives and the Social Gospel in Canada, 1875-1915* (Waterloo, 1988) provide much useful background material on the two Protestant denominations most actively engaged in proselytizing Ukrainian immigrants. Kenneth McNaught's *A Prophet in Politics: A Biography of J.S. Woodsworth* (Toronto, 1959) and Ramsay Cook's *The Politics of John W. Dajoe and the Free Press* (Toronto, 1963) examine the lives and opinions of two very prominent Winnipeggers whose response to Ukrainian immigrants was only one of many issues that divided them. Finally, Marilyn Barber's "The Assimilation of Immigrants in the Canadian Prairie Provinces, 1896-1918: Canadian Perceptions and Canadian

Policies" (PhD dissertation, University of London, 1975) and Howard Palmer's *Patterns of Prejudice: A History of Nativism in Alberta* (Toronto, 1982) analyze the response of English-speaking, Protestant educators, missionaries, labour leaders and legislators to the large influx of continental European and Asian immigrants.

The issues which agitated French-Canadian Catholics at the turn of the century are probed in Arthur I. Silver's *The French-Canadian Idea of Confederation, 1864-1900* (Toronto, 1982), which demonstrates that French-Canadian opinion-makers became increasingly concerned with the survival of their group beyond the borders of Quebec. Roberto Perin's *Rome in Canada: The Vatican and Canadian Affairs in the Late Victorian Age* (Toronto, 1990) shows that the Vatican and the French-Canadian Catholic hierarchy were often at odds and devotes a chapter to the Ukrainian issue. Robert Painchaud's "The Catholic Church and the Movement of Francophones to the Canadian Prairies, 1870-1915" (PhD dissertation, University of Ottawa, 1976) analyzes the church's efforts to promote francophone immigration and the response of prominent clerics to the influx of immigrants from continental Europe, while Gilbert-Louis Comeault's "The Politics of the Manitoba School Question and Its Impact on L.-P.-A. Langevin's Relations with Manitoba's Catholic Minority Groups, 1895-1915" (MA thesis, University of Manitoba, 1977) argues that Langevin's support for bilingual schools fuelled Anglo-Protestant opposition to French Catholic schools and contributed to their abolition. Aspects of the school question are also examined in Paul Crunican's *Priests and Politicians: Manitoba Schools and the Election of 1896* (Toronto, 1974) and Manoly R. Lupul's *The Roman Catholic Church and the North-West School Question: A Study in Church-State Relations in Western Canada, 1875-1905* (Toronto, 1974).

Although a number of interesting articles on rural life and work have appeared in scholarly journals like *Prairie Forum* and *Canadian Papers in Rural History*, there are few good book-length local studies. One of the best is Paul Voisey's *Vulcan: The Making of a Prairie Community* (Toronto, 1988), which examines trends in settlement, agriculture, social life and social structure. Charles F. Wilson's *A Century of Canadian Grain: Government Policy to 1951* (Saskatoon, 1978) provides a great deal of information about the grain trade, while William L. Morton's classic study of *The Progressive Party in Canada* (Toronto, 1950) examines the social and intellectual origins of the farmers' protest movement.

By contrast, there is a rich and rapidly expanding literature on the industrial working class in Canada. Bryan D. Palmer's *Working-Class Experience: The Rise and Reconstitution of Canadian Labour, 1800-1980* (Toronto, 1983) and Desmond Morton's *Working People: An Illustrated History of the Canadian Labour Market* (Ottawa, 1984) represent two complementary approaches to Canadian labour and working-class history, the first concerned primarily with

class, culture and consciousness, the second with unions and party politics. The issue of western-Canadian labour radicalism is addressed by A. Ross McCormack in *Reformers, Rebels and Revolutionaries: The Western Canadian Radical Movement, 1899-1919* (Toronto, 1977) and by David J. Bercuson in *Confrontation at Winnipeg: Industrial Relations and the General Strike* (Montreal, 1974) and *Fools and Wisemen: The Rise and Fall of the One Big Union* (Toronto, 1978). Although both discuss the role of immigrants in western labour radicalism, only Donald Avery's '*Dangerous Foreigners: European Immigrant Workers and Labour Radicalism in Canada, 1896-1932*' (Toronto, 1979), which is essentially a study of government policy, tries to focus on immigrant radicals. The best overview of crises in Canadian industrial relations is Stuart M. Jamieson's *Time of Troubles: Labour Unrest and Industrial Conflict in Canada, 1900-1966* (Ottawa, 1968). Edmund Bradwin's *The Bunkhouse Man: A Study of Work and Pay in the Camps of Canada, 1903-1914*, first pub. 1928 (Toronto, 1972), is an unsurpassed description of frontier working conditions by one of Rev. Alfred Fitzpatrick's closest associates. Three recent studies which also deserve attention are Allen Seager, "A Proletariat in Wild Rose Country: The Alberta Coal Miners, 1905-1945" (PhD dissertation, York University, 1982); Ian Radforth, *Bushworkers and Bosses: Logging in Northern Ontario, 1900-1980* (Toronto, 1987); and Craig Heron, *Working in Steel: The Early Years in Canada, 1883-1935* (Toronto, 1988).

Information on living and working conditions, social relations and politics in cities with large Ukrainian colonies may be found in Alan F.J. Artibise, *Winnipeg: A Social History of Urban Growth, 1874-1914* (Montreal, 1975); Terry Copp, *The Anatomy of Poverty: The Conditions of the Working Class in Montreal, 1897-1929* (Toronto, 1974); Michael J. Piva, *The Conditions of the Working Class in Toronto, 1900-1921* (Ottawa, 1979); Jean Morrison, "Community and Conflict: A Study of the Working Class and Its Relationships at the Canadian Lakehead, 1903-1913" (MA thesis, Lakehead University, 1973); and Carl F. Betke, "The Development of Urban Community in Prairie Canada: Edmonton, 1898-1921" (PhD dissertation, University of Alberta, 1981).

On the war years, see John Herd Thompson, *The Harvests of War: The Prairie West, 1914-1918* (Toronto, 1978), which considers the impact of war on agriculture, the reform movement and ethnic relations; Joseph A. Boudreau, "The Enemy Alien Problem in Canada, 1914-1921" (PhD dissertation, University of California at Los Angeles, 1965) and Desmond Morton, "Sir William Otter and Internment Operations in Canada During the First World War" in *Canadian Historical Review* LV (1974), both of which examine the issue of internment; and Desmond Morton and Glen Wright, *Winning the Second Battle: Canadian Veterans and the Return to Civilian Life, 1915-1930* (Toronto, 1987), which provides information on the Great War Veterans' Association and urban demobilization riots. William Rodney's *Soldiers of the International: A History of the*

Communist Party of Canada, 1919-1929 (Toronto, 1968) and Barbara A. Roberts, *Whence They Came: Deportation from Canada, 1900-1935* (Ottawa, 1988) were also useful.

Although the literature on the history of Ukrainians in Canada is fairly extensive, much of it is poorly researched and generally unreliable. *A Heritage in Transition: Essays in the History of Ukrainians in Canada* edited by Manoly R. Lupul (Toronto, 1982) provides a better introduction to the subject than Michael H. Marunchak's ponderous *The Ukrainian Canadians: A History*, 2nd ed. (Winnipeg, 1982), though there are some excellent and very important essays in Marunchak's *Studii do istorii ukraintsv Kanady*, 5 vols. (Winnipeg, 1964-80). Charles H. Young's *The Ukrainian Canadians: A Study in Assimilation* (Toronto, 1931), a pioneer work of sociology which points to evidence of social disorganization among Ukrainian immigrants, is still very valuable.

The most important works on Ukrainian rural settlements are Vladimir J. Kaye, *Early Ukrainian Settlements in Canada, 1895-1900: Dr. Josef Oleskow's Role in the Settlement of the Canadian Northwest* (Toronto, 1964); John C. Lehr, "The Process and Pattern of Ukrainian Rural Settlement in Western Canada, 1891-1914" (PhD dissertation, University of Manitoba, 1978); and "Ukrainian Rural Communities: Report of an Investigation by the Bureau of Social Research, Government of Manitoba, Saskatchewan and Alberta," compiled by J.S. Woodsworth (Winnipeg, 1917). The essays in *Continuity and Change: The Cultural Life of Alberta's First Ukrainians*, edited by Manoly R. Lupul (Edmonton, 1988) focus on the largest Ukrainian bloc settlement in Canada; many of the essays are based on research reports prepared for the Ukrainian Cultural Heritage Village and published as *Occasional Papers* by the Historic Sites Service, Alberta Culture. Less reliable are James G. McGregor's popular and well-written *Vilni Zemli (Free Lands): The Ukrainian Settlement of Alberta* (Toronto, 1969), which relies too heavily on the memoirs of Theodore Nemirsky, and Jaroslav Petryshyn's *Peasants in the Promised Land: Canada and the Ukrainians, 1891-1914* (Toronto, 1985), which is an attempt at a general history of Ukrainians in Canada rather than a history of settlement.

Ukrainian frontier and urban labourers have failed to attract the attention of historians. Only Peter Krawchuk (Petro Kravchuk), a veteran Communist activist, has written about them at any length, and most of his works, including *Na novii zemli* (Toronto, 1958) and *Ukrainskyi sotsialistychnyi rukh v Kanadi (1907-1918)* (Toronto, 1976), have a narrow focus on socialist and procommunist parties and institutions. Fortunately, Pylyp Yasnowsky's (Iasnovsky) memoirs, *Pid ridnym i pid chuzhym nebom. Spohady pionera* (Buenos Aires, 1961), contain a fascinating account of a migrant frontier labourer's experiences in Canada between 1912 and 1917. The best studies of Ukrainians in an urban environment were written over fifty years ago: Stephen W. Mamchur, "The Economic and Social Adjustment of Slavic Immigrants in Canada: With Special

Reference to the Ukrainians in Montreal" (MA thesis, McGill University, 1934) and Charles M. Bayley, "The Social Structure of the Italian and Ukrainian Immigrant Communities in Montreal, 1935-37" (MA thesis, McGill University, 1939). Remarkably, there is no book, dissertation, thesis or serious article on the social history of Ukrainians in Winnipeg.

While religious controversies among Ukrainian immigrants have preoccupied historians for years, there is still no reliable history of the Ukrainian Catholic church in Canada. Panteleimon Bozhyk's *Tserkov ukrainsiv v Kanadi* (Winnipeg, 1927) is an apologia by a priest who converted from Russian Orthodoxy to Ukrainian Catholicism; it is valuable primarily as a source of information on Russian Orthodox missionary activity in Canada. Émilien Tremblay's *Le Père Delaere et l'Église ukrainienne du Canada* (Berthierville, 1960) is based on archival research and provides a great deal of useful information about the Belgian Redemptorist missionaries who transferred to the Eastern rite and worked among Ukrainian settlers in Saskatchewan and Manitoba. Claudia H. Popowich's *To Serve Is To Love: The Canadian Story of the Sisters Servants of Mary Immaculate* (Toronto, 1971) tells the story of the first Ukrainian nuns in Canada. On the Independent Greek church and the Ukrainian Evangelical Alliance, see John Bodrug, *Independent Orthodox Church: Memoirs Pertaining to the History of a Ukrainian Canadian Church in the Years 1903 to 1913*, translated by Edward Bodrug and Lydia Biddle (Toronto, 1980) and Oleksander Dombrovsky, *Narys istorii ukrainskoho ievanhelsko-reformovanoho rukhu* (New York-Toronto, 1979). Vivian Olender's studies, "The Reaction of the Canadian Methodist Church Towards Ukrainian Immigrants: Rural Missions as Agencies of Assimilation" (MA thesis, University of Toronto, 1976) and "The Reaction of the Canadian Presbyterian Church Towards Ukrainian Immigrants (1900-1925): Rural Home Missions as Agencies of Assimilation" (PhD dissertation, University of Toronto, 1984), assemble much factual information on Protestant missions and analyze Protestant objectives. Unfortunately, the author has failed to consult the Ukrainian-language Protestant press and seems to be unaware of the old-world religious and political controversies that predisposed some Ukrainian community leaders to approach the Protestant churches in Canada. Paul Yuzyk's *The Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church of Canada, 1918-1951* (Ottawa, 1981) relies rather uncritically on the editorials in *Ukrainskyi holos* and *Kanadyiskyi farmer* and on the polemical literature produced by the church's founders. The first three volumes of *Istoriia Ukrainskoi Hreko-Pravoslavnoi Tserkvy v Kanadi* by Semen V. Savchuk (Sawchuk) and Iurii Mulyk-Lutsyk (Winnipeg, 1987) are very much an official history, though they present many new and interesting details. *The Ukrainian Religious Experience: Tradition and the Canadian Cultural Context*, edited by David J. Goa (Edmonton, 1989), is representative of the most recent work.

The best study of Ukrainian immigrants, the public school system and efforts to provide Ukrainian-language instruction is Elaine Holowach-Amiot's "Assimilation or Preservation: Ukrainian Teachers in Saskatchewan, 1905-1920" (MA thesis, McGill University, 1983), which makes excellent use of the rich archival sources in Saskatchewan. Also very useful for the broader perspective is Keith A. McLeod, "Education and Assimilation of the New Canadians in the North-West Territories and Saskatchewan, 1885-1934" (PhD dissertation, University of Toronto, 1975). Peter Melnycky's "A Political History of the Ukrainian Community in Manitoba, 1899-1922" (MA thesis, University of Manitoba, 1979) and Andrij Makuch's "In the Populist Tradition: Organizing the Ukrainian Farmer in Alberta, 1905-1935" (MA thesis, University of Alberta, 1983) are very useful studies of Ukrainian participation in provincial politics. The essays in *Loyalties in Conflict: Ukrainians in Canada During the Great War*, edited by Frances Swyripa and John H. Thompson (Edmonton, 1983) cover the period 1914-23. Swyripa's "From Princess Olha to Baba: Images, Roles and Myths in the History of Ukrainian Women in Canada" (PhD dissertation, University of Alberta, 1988), one of the few scholarly studies of Ukrainian women, focuses on male perceptions of women and their role in society rather than on women's work, life and leisure.

The history of immigrants and immigration has made great strides since the appearance of William I. Thomas and Florian Znaniecki's monumental *The Polish Peasant in Europe and America*, first pub. 1918-20 (New York, 1958) and Oscar Handlin's *The Uprooted: The Epic Story of the Great Migrations that Made the American People* (Boston, 1951). Several recent works which may serve as models for research, especially now that archives in Ukraine may be more accessible, are Josef J. Barton, *Peasants and Strangers: Italians, Rumanians and Slovaks in an American City, 1890-1950* (Cambridge, Mass., 1975); Kathleen N. Conzen, *Immigrant Milwaukee, 1836-1860: Accommodation and Community in a Frontier City* (Cambridge, Mass., 1976); Lynn H. Lees, *Exiles of Erin: Irish Migrants in Victorian London* (Manchester, 1979); Jon Gjerde, *From Peasants to Farmers: The Migration from Balestrand, Norway to the Upper Middle West* (Cambridge, 1985); John Bodnar, *The Transplanted: A History of Immigrants in Urban America* (Bloomington, 1985); and Ewa Morawska, *For Bread with Butter: The Life-Worlds of East Central Europeans in Johnstown, Pennsylvania, 1890-1940* (Cambridge, 1987). In Canada, the finest examples of this genre have been produced by students of Italian and Finnish immigration. Of particular interest are Robert F. Harney's articles, especially "Boarding and Belonging" in *Urban History Review* VII (1978) and "Men Without Women: Italian Migrants in Canada, 1885-1930" in *Canadian Ethnic Studies* XI (1979); John E. Zucchi, *Italians in Toronto: Development of a National Identity, 1875-1935* (Montreal, 1988); and Varpu Lindstrom-Best, *Defiant Sisters* (Toronto, 1988), a study of some very atypical Finnish women.

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