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The Ukranian community in North  
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THE UKRAINIAN COMMUNITY

IN

NORTH CENTRAL ALBERTA

A Thesis

by

T.C.Byrne

Presented in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of M.A. University of Alberta in addition to four courses with the departments of History and Economics.

April 10, 1937.



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## INTRODUCTION

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I recall clearly childhood memories of Ukrainians who were known to me then as "Russians" or "Galicians". My home was in the community of Waskatenau. From my father's farm on the north bank of the Saskatchewan, I could see the farm houses of Ukrainian settlers south of the river. I could see also a church with a gray granite dome that stood out clearly against the sky line. Occasionally the "Galicians" crossed the river to visit the stores in our settlement. The men wore sheepskin coats and the women brightly coloured head shawls. They talked an unfamiliar guttural language and ate long, evil-smelling sausages.

Geographically, the two settlements were separated by the river; socially they were separated by language, by customs, and by race. Our settlement knew little about the people across the river. The general attitude was that the "Russians" or "Galicians" were undoubtedly good workers, but that they were not "White" and were certainly very inferior to English speaking people. One might condescendingly speak to "John" or "Mike" in bastard English which the Canadian fancied was "Russian". But any other form of social intercourse was unthinkable. The Galician was presumably dirty; he smelled powerfully of garlic and treated his women in a way which did not meet the approval of our people. Stories were circulated about his under-ventilated house, which,

quite often, sheltered pigs and chickens as well as human beings. The prevailing opinion, right or wrong, was that the Galician was an untrustworthy and vindictive person.

Much of this opinion arose from racial prejudice. Much of it was justified by the exceedingly low standard of living which the Ukrainian endured during his early years in Alberta. Our settlers knew nothing of standards of living among Ukrainian peasants in Austria. They had no conception of the stolid endurance and the single-mindedness of immigrants who had chosen Canada as an escape from these intolerable standards. They had not yet realized the kindly hospitality and good cheer of their Ukrainian neighbors. Nor was there any way for them to understand for the language barrier was insurmountable.

My first knowledge of Ukrainians as individuals came in 1925 with a teaching appointment in Madway. I taught Ukrainian children for four years. I found them easy to manage and intent on learning English, though they were more likely to excel in rapid calculation than in English composition. The parents were flatteringly respectful to "Mr. Professor".

In spite of this four-year contact I learned very little about Ukrainian society. It may be that I was unobservant and indifferent. If so, my indifference was shared by most English speaking Canadians, even by those in closest contact with Ukrainians. I knew that clash of

opinion and strife existed within the fabric of Ukrainian society, but I was unaware of its origin. I had heard of Ukrainian nationalism but like other English speaking Canadians I considered it only an unholy desire of Ukrainians to be un-Canadian.

In 1932, I submitted the project of this essay to the University of Alberta as part of a programme of studies for the degree of Master of Arts. I spent the summer of 1936 in the Ukrainian settlements. To overcome the difficulties of language, I had the assistance of Steve Kaspar, an amiable young Ukrainian teacher. With a 1928 Ford roadster, we set out to cover the Ukrainian community from Redwater in the west to Myrnam in the east. I had prepared a list of thirty questions about religion, nationalism, history political affiliations and financial status, about Ukrainian views on education, on marriage, and assimilation. With monotonous regularity we submitted these questions to every one we interviewed and tabulated their answers. We visited over a hundred and fifty Ukrainians of all classes, from farm labourers to professional men. In some cases the interviews lasted several hours; in others only fifteen minutes. Nearly every one was cordial and sincerely anxious to help. It is true that some were suspicious and accused us of being government agents. But generally absolute strangers talked quite confidentially after a preliminary explanation. It was an agreeable and entertaining summer.



It was not long before I realized that I had held uninformed opinions about Ukrainian society in Alberta. It is difficult to have even a cursory knowledge of the origins of a people whose history lies buried in the story of at least three nations and who have never, except for brief periods, had a government that they might call their own. The history of the Ukrainians has been submerged for centuries in that of Russia, of Austria and of Poland. Yet in spite of their subjection, or perhaps because of it, Ukrainians have cherished their identity and have always offered sturdy resistance to the European nations which have tried to assimilate them. The Ukrainians have been truthfully called the "Irish" of Central Europe. Lacking a comprehensive knowledge of their historical background, Canadians are handicapped in forming fair judgments on the matters which agitate Ukrainian society. We are likely to judge harshly movements which we do not fully comprehend.

This is most unfortunate. The Ukrainians have come to live with us and they are here to stay. They are the fourth largest racial group in Alberta, the third in Canada. With the passage of time their blood will fuse with ours; the genes of this Slavic race crossed with those of the English, of the Irish and of the Scotch will produce the Canadian of the next century. The Ukrainians now constitute a major problem in assimilation. If we do not want repeated here the story of the Polish and the Russian failures, we

shall have to approach that problem with tact and forbearance. We must deal with these highly sensitive, and emotional people in the most enlightened manner. If my study contributes even a little towards this enlightenment, it may be justified.

The first chapter sketches the story of the Ukrainians from its early beginnings to its dénouement following the world war. I have taken this material from such sources as are available here in English and French. In the second chapter, I have fixed the geographical limits of the Ukrainian community in Alberta and have told the story of Ukrainian settlement in this province. The core of the essay is in the third and fourth chapters which deal with the religious and secular divisions within Ukrainian society. Nowhere is opinion so divided or recriminations so bitter as among Ukrainians. The reason for this internal dissension lies in the national movement, dealt with in chapter four. The chapter indicates the ferment of ideas in a remote colony caused by the major dissensions among Ukrainians in Europe. The essay closes with a chapter on assimilation which is discussed in the light of material already presented.

My study lays stress on the social organization of the Ukrainian community and hence offers by no means a complete picture. The economic side of the picture is inadequate. I found it difficult to get accurate information about the



liabilities and assets of farmers. The figures which I did secure were not taken from areas widely enough distributed in the block to be of any statistical value. Such conclusions as I have made on the position of the Ukrainian during the depression are drawn from observation and from conversation with those intimate with Ukrainian agronomy.

I am indebted to the following who have been most helpful in giving information--to Dr. Holubitsky, to Messrs. Goresky, Essow, Lazor<sup>W</sup>Wich, Luchkovich, Kupchenko and Klupsky and to numerous other Ukrainians whom I am proud to number among my friends. Mr. C.H. Young's book "The Ukrainian Canadians" has been frequently consulted. Professor Simpson of the University of Saskatchewan offered many useful suggestions at the outset of my investigation. These I gratefully acknowledge.

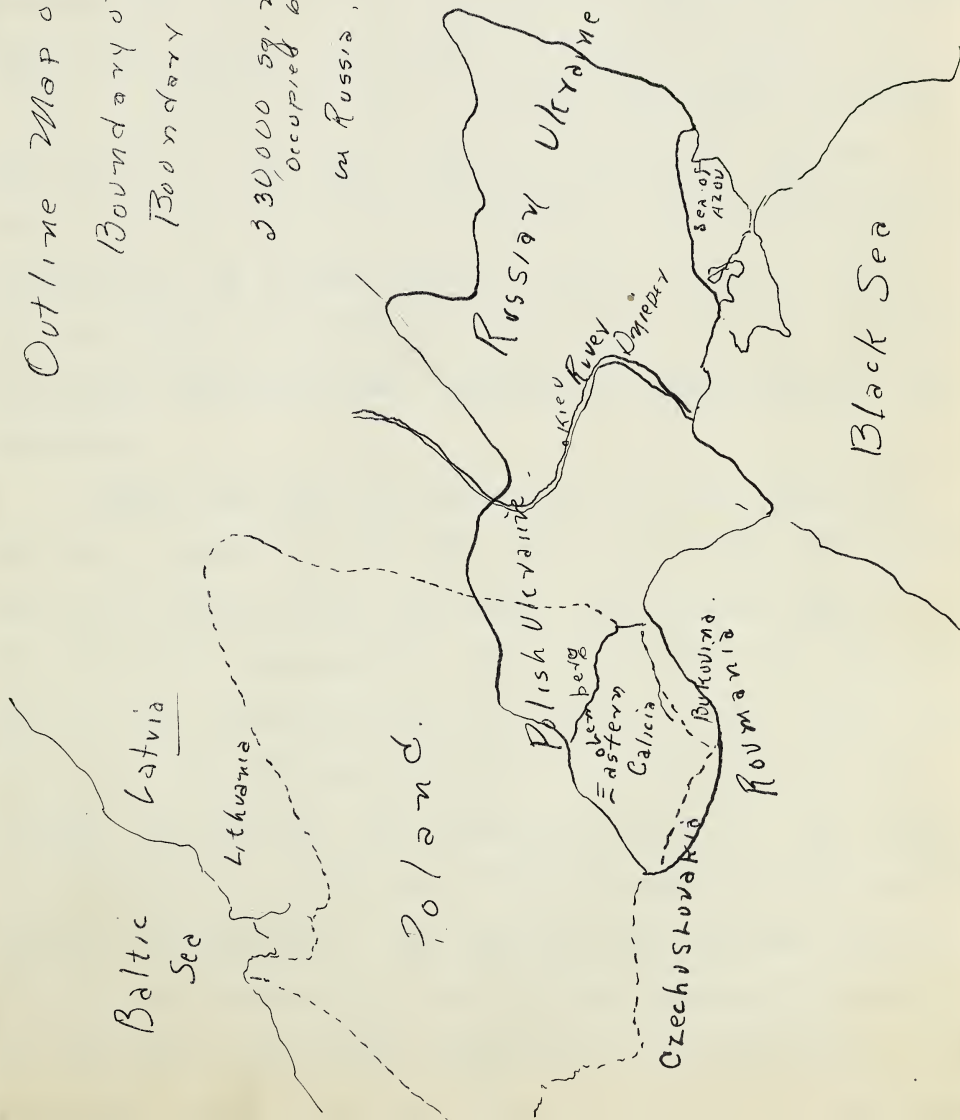
# Outline Map of Ukraine

Boundary of Ukraine —

Boundary of Poland - - - -

330,000 sq. miles  
occupied by 30-40,000,000 Ukrainians

in Russia, Poland, Rumania  
Czechoslovakia.



HISTORICAL ORIGINS  
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The word Ukraine means border land and it is applied to the land bordering on the Black sea. Ethnographically the Ukraine covers an area of 332,031 square miles and stretches from the Carpathians to the Caucasus. At the present time the territory occupied by Ukrainians is divided among four states; two-thirds of it lies in Russia, one-sixth in Poland, the rest in Roumania and Czecho-Slovakia. Agriculture is the basic industry but mineral deposits also make the region especially desirable. Thirty-eight million Ukrainians, the largest minority group in Europe, inhabit the territory--31 millions in the Soviet Ukraine, 5 millions in Polish Ukraine and the remainder in Czecho-Slovakia and Roumania.

Before the war the Ukraine was divided between two nations. Russia held 302,734 square miles while the remaining 29,297 square miles lay within the Austrian Empire. Of the 35,000,000 (approximate) European Ukrainians, only three and one half millions were under Austrian rule. These lived mainly in the provinces of Eastern Galicia, now part of Poland, and Bukovina, now Roumanian territory. The Ukrainian immigrant to Canada came from the Austrian Ukraine, from Galicia and Bukovina. This explains the confused ideas as to his true nationality, since he was designated sometimes by the land of his birth, sometimes by his province.

The Ukrainians are of Slavic origin. In the sixth century their Slavic ancestors moved from the Carpathian Mountains into the territory which for centuries had been a highway for invading tribes passing from Southern Asia into Europe. Here the Slavs led a precarious, war-like existence in defending themselves against aggressive hords of Cvars and Bulgars. The Southern Slavic tribes, known as the Antes, came in contact with the Byzantine civilization of Constantinople. During the VII and VIII centuries they developed a thriving trade with the Greek cities south of the Black Sea. They exchanged the grain from the rich fields of the borderland for the manufactured commodities of the Greek artisans. By the IX century the southern colonies due to invasions were in ruins and the centre of activity had shifted to the northern and more primitive tribes.

The first Slavic Kingdom about which we have more than legendary information was established about 860 at Kiev. From the first it was known as the Russian Kingdom. It is a debated point whether this was the name of the territory surrounding Kiev or the name of the Scandinavian invaders who established the Kievan State. But regardless of whether these Norse adventurers, cousins of the Danish invaders of England, gave the name to this Eastern Slavic State, they gave to it a dynasty and a commercial and military aristocracy whose interest that dynasty represented. Their coming



aroused a Slavic revival. It was not long before the conquerors had been assimilated with their subjects, and the Kings had assumed Slavic names. The first King to do so was Syvoslav, born in 940.

A descendant of Syvoslav, Vladimir 984-1015 made a decision which determined the future history of the Russian people. Vladimir wished to strengthen his position as ruler of neighboring Slav tribes by raising the prestige of his family. To accomplish this he arranged a marriage between himself and the sister of the Greek Emperor at Constantinople. In return for the honour conferred on him by the Byzantine ruler, Vladimir agreed to become a Christian and to make Christianity the state religion of Kiev. This act of Vladimir's brought Ukrainians and Russians within the fold of Greek Christianity. Latin missionaries reached Kiev shortly after Vladimir had given his religious allegiance to Constantinople but achieved no success.

The Kievan Kingdom secured hegemony over its Slavic neighbors and remained their political, cultural and religious centre during the tenth and eleventh centuries. Strong government, Byzantine culture and Orthodox Christianity provided the basis for a civilization that spread throughout surrounding cities. A favourable position with respect to trade, good corn lands and Byzantine commerce contributed to the prosperity of Kiev and produced a wealthy and cultured middle class which in time augmented the landed

and military aristocracy. Long after Kiev had lost its political hegemony and the centre of power had shifted northward, ~~she~~<sup>it</sup> continued to be the cultural and religious centre of the Slavs. ~~she~~<sup>Kiev</sup> may be justifiably called the "Rome of Russia".

Towards the end of the eleventh century, dynastic feuds threatened Kievan hegemony. During the twelfth century the decline of commerce and the growth of provincial dynasties further weakened Russian unity and relegated Kiev to a subordinate position. The advent of the Tartar hordes of Gengis Khan in 1238 completely destroyed the unity of Slavic peoples from Novgorod to Kiev. Hereafter there were two centres of Slavic development, Muscovy in the north east and Ukraine and White Russia in the south west. This bloody invasion resulted in the Slavs migrating to one or the other of these centres. Galicia and Volynia in the south west became the new home of Ukrainian migrants and the centre of Ukrainian territory.

The independence of Western Ukraine was threatened by two powerful and imperialistic neighbors, Poland and Lithuania. For a century the state maintained a precarious and uneasy existence. Finally, in 1347, Galicia was incorporated in Poland. About the same time most of the other Ukrainian lands including Volynia became fiefs of Lithuania. The one bright spot in Ukrainian history for the next two cen-



turies is Moldavia which was a Roumanian principality. This territory was the centre of Ukrainian culture for the second half of the fourteenth and entire fifteenth century.

In Galicia, the Poles began their process of assimilation which was to continue for centuries and to build up a wall of hatred between Ukrainian and Pole. The Ukrainian boyars (nobles) were polonized rapidly and accepted Latin Christianity, but the Ukrainian peasants and urban dwellers clung to their Orthodox Christianity and their Russian way of living. The Lithuanians on the contrary, having no culture of their own, and being closely related to the Ukrainian in racial origin accepted the civilization and religion of the people they had conquered.

It was inevitable that Pole and Lithuanian, each expanding <sup>a</sup>gressively, should prove a check to each others ambitions. Polish leaders, however, soon saw how much these two rising powers had in common. As a result Polish nobles, who gave to Poland dominant and intelligent leadership, united their dynasty by marriage with that of Lithuania. The two Kingdoms remained separate however, until towards the end of the 15th century. At this time the vigorous Poles began to incorporate Lithuanian within their Kingdom. The process was fully consummated by the Union of Lublin in 1569, though Lithuania retained the status of a separate Duchy with the Lithuanian nobility guaranteed certain privileges.

Polish influence now extended over the entire Western Ukraine. Volynia, Kiev, and Brotslow were annexed directly to Poland while Ruthenia# became an integral part of the Lithuanian Duchy.

One of the most significant results of the Union was in the field of religion. That Orthodox Lithuania had consented to union was due to the fact that Poland at the time had accepted the Reformation. By the end of the century Jesuit activity in the counter-reformation secured Poland once more for Rome. These indefatigable missionaries then turned their attentions to the Orthodox subjects of Poland. The Orthodox prelates of Galicia in 1596 consented to union with Rome. They agreed to recognize the headship of Rome, but they retained for their church their Greek ceremonies and their married clergy. They retained their own liturgical language, Old Slavonic, and their own local ecclesiastical organization. The members of this church became known as Catholics of the Greek Rite or more properly Ruthenian Rite, which is a variant of the Byzantine or Greek Rite. The organization was called the Greek Catholic or the Uniate Church.

This step did not meet with unanimous approval. The lower clergy, the common people, and even the non-polonized nobles protested. There was a vaguely felt, but perceptible

#Ruthenia was the term applied to Ukrainian territory within Poland to distinguish it from Russian Ukraine.

feeling of nationalism rising among the Ukrainians. The Orthodox Church was a symbol of that nationalism. They were forced to accept the change in the headship of the church, but thereafter the Ukrainians of Galicia and Volynia clung to their Greek Rite and rejected any further attempts to Latinize the Uniate Church.

The 16th century saw migratory movements of Ukrainians eastward into the lands they had vacated three centuries before. Along the Lower Dnieper, free lance pioneer Ukrainians calling themselves Cossacks<sup>c</sup> established military camps for plundering Turk and Tartar. Soon the numbers of the fighting men were augmented by fugitives from serfdom and feudal extortion. A distinctly democratic society developed recognizing the overlordship of Poland but ruled over by a hetman or camp commander elected by a Cossack assembly. By the beginning of the 17th century both sides of the Dnieper had been settled up to the southern limits of the parkland. What had begun as adventures of Ukrainian freebooters ended in a great agricultural movement under the protection of armed vigilantes. The movement did not secure the approval of Poland as the activity of the Cossacks led to international complications with the Tartars. In an effort to strengthen Polish control over these former subjects, and to guard the frontiers of Polish territory the King in 1576 organized a Cossack brigade or militia under a Polish hetman. He

tried also to impose serfdom on the non-military classes. These measures led to further migrations of malcontents below the falls of the Dnieper. Hence the Zaporah (Trans-rapid Cossacks).

It was this Zaporah community of Cossacks which during the 17th century all but dismembered Poland and won undying fame in Ukrainian history. The Polish nobles tried, as part of their assimilation policy to make these Orthodox Ukrainians members of the Roman Catholic Church. The result was a great Cossack uprising led by hetman Boydan Chelmnitsky. By 1649 Chelmnitsky had forced the Poles to recognize his demands and for a year and a half he ruled an independent and autonomous Ukraine. Though Chelmnitsky's territories did not cover the entire Ukraine the Cossack period gave the Ukrainians the consciousness of a nation. From it the modern national movement has drawn inspiration.

Chelmnitsky's dream was an autonomous Cossack State of substantial yeomen ruled over by a military aristocracy of the Orthodox faith. His policy of compromise and intrigue however led to his defeat by the Poles so that he was forced to beg the protection of Moscow. It was granted and accepted by the Cossack chiefs in 1654. The Muscovite armies entered the Ukraine and for years Muscovite and Polish forces struggled for supremacy. The treaty of Andrusovia ended the war and settled the fate of the Ukraine. Russian



frontiers extended to the Dnieper including ancient Kiev. Poland was left with the provinces of Volynia, Podolia, Galicia and Kholm. The remnants of the Cossack state continued as a supposedly autonomous state within Russia.

Ukraine protested this division and later opposed it with arms. Mazeppa, hetman of Eastern Ukraine secured the aid of Charles XII against the imperialistic advances of Peter the Great. The combined forces of Ukrainians and Swedes were defeated at Poltava in 1708 and the leaders, Charles XII, Mazeppa, and John Orlick were forced to flee for their lives.

From this time on the gradual curtailment of Ukrainian autonomy became a policy of the Russian Tsar. A similar policy was followed in the Polish Ukraine. By the time of Polish partitions 1793-5 only the peasants and rural clergy called themselves Ruthenian. As the result of the partitions Galicia and Bukovina became part of Austria. The rest of the Ukraine was merged in the Russian Empire. The existence of the Ukrainian was denied by the Russians and the term "Little Russian" invented to still any national aspirations that people of the Ukraine might have. The people of the Ukraine were declared to be a part of the Russian race.

A century and a half later the Ukrainian national consciousness took life from European nationalism aroused by Napoleon. The impulse of the Ukrainian movement was intellectual. The spark that had been dead since the days

of the Hetman Chelmnitsky glowed again through the efforts of historians and poets. Kostomarov, a Ukrainian historian, after extended research proclaimed that the term "Little Russia" was an invention of Peter the Great, that it symbolized the imperialism of the Tsars and that it was not applicable to the people of the border land. He denounced orthodoxy and autocracy as part of this imperialism. Kulish, a philologist declared that the language of the Ukraine was separate and distinct from the language of Muscovy or Great Russia. The researches of these men gave the Ukrainian national movement a reputable, scientific foundation. The poet Shevchenko awakened in the hearts of the people enthusiasm and devotion to the national ideal.

The career of Shevchenko is a sad commentary on Russian persecution; "Twenty-four years a serf, nine years a freeman, ten years a prisoner in Siberia, three and one half years under police supervision". Born on Feb. 25, 1814 in the province of Kiev he died on Feb. 1861, a few days before the famous proclamation freeing Russian serfs. Trained as a painter in the Academy of Arts at St. Petersburg, he turned to poetry to express his love for the Ukrainian landscape and his reverence for Ukrainian history. He infused his later poems with hatred of a Tsardom that had imposed despotism and slavery on freedom loving Ukraine. Russian imperialism remained for him, until his death the bitter



symbol of Ukrainian degradation.

Shevchenko's influence has been great. His first volume of poems the "Kozbar of the Ukraine" is the most widely read book in the Ukrainian language. Meetings, lectures and concerts are held in his memory. Schools, libraries, reading rooms and theatres have been named after him. His grave is the mecca of his countrymen. Such adulation has served to focus Ukrainian opinion on the national ideal he set forth in his poetry. Nationalism found its way into Ukrainian aspirations and was carried there by the passionate appeal of Shevchenko's poetry.

Amongst the masses, the impulse towards nationalism was economic. The Ukrainian peasant hated his Russian landlord in Kiev or his Polish landlord in Lemberg. The nationalist propaganda of the intelligentsia fell on the fertile soil of economic discontent among Ukrainian peasants.

In the Russian Ukraine the first organized attempt to foster the growing national spirit came in 1846 with the formation of the Guild of Cyril and Methodius. The society aimed to gain for the Ukraine, religious liberty and abolition of serfdom. Its members, drawn from the intelligentsia, hoped to achieve some sort of autonomy within the Russian Empire. They were federalists. But the whole movement was looked upon with disfavour by the Tsar. Fully aware of the existence of this secret society, the Russian

police arrested its members, Shevchenko among the rest. For the rest of the century the movement in Russia was dead, stamped out by a suspicious autocracy. The Ukrainian language was prohibited, its existence denied. Russian historians denied the scientific foundations claimed for Ukrainian nationalism.

The course of the movement ran more smoothly in Galicia. There the Uniate Church was its rallying point. There the intellectuals enjoyed freedom of opinion granted by the Austrian government in the face of strong Polish opposition <sup>from the Polish landlords.</sup> The explanation lies in the troubled international politics of pre-war Europe.

The acute eye of Bismarck saw in the Ukrainian movement a source of irritation to Russia. An article in the "Gegenwart" probably inspired by him, pointed out that the peace of Europe could only be secured by a partition of Russia. One of the states formed through the partition was to be the Grand Principality of Kiev, a Ukrainian state under Austrian control. The Austrian government, perhaps with this in mind, set out definitely to gain the loyalty and friendship of its Ukrainian citizens. Austria gave to them the right to use their own language in the schools of Eastern Galicia. Ukrainian professors were appointed to the staff of the Lemberg University. Ukrainian newspapers were free and Ukrainian societies unhampered by government restriction.

All this of course was a bitter pill for the Poles. To make matters worse Ukrainian deputies began in 1891 to appear in the Reichsrat and in the Galician diet. By 1900, two Ukrainian political parties had been formed; one the National Democrats pledged to equal rights for Galician Ukrainians and to an autonomous Russian Ukraine; and the other, a Ukrainian Revolutionary Party. By 1907 Ukrainian representation was 6.2% of the total representation <sup>in the Reichsrat</sup>. This was a real advance though not yet in proportion to their numbers; Ukrainians forming 13.2% of the total population in Austria. The Poles saw the whole movement as a threat to their supremacy in Galicia. In spite of their ancient enmity towards Russia they began to feel that Russian control in the Ukraine was preferable to an independent Ukrainian State. A Polish-Russian rapprochement was founded upon their common dislike for the Ukrainian movement.

The Ukrainian movement achieved some progress in Russia during the opening years of the twentieth century. Following the revolution of 1905 the Tsarist Government was forced to allow certain changes in a liberal direction. Ukrainian publications were started; Ukrainian propaganda spread. Intellectuals from the Austrian Ukraine restored the vigor of the movement in Russia. In 1906 there was a Ukrainian federalist section in the Imperial Duma. At the University of Leopold a chair in Ukrainian History was established. Hopes burned high for success. Although the

reaction following the liberal period of 1905 swept away Ukrainian gains, nevertheless the movement held its ground and advanced with renewed energy when the opportunity presented itself in 1917.

Austrian support of the <sup>Ukrainian nationalism</sup> Ukrainophil in the 20th century warmed with the rise of Austrian-Russian antagonism and cooled with Austrian-Russian understanding. In 1908 the duel in the Balkans was renewed with full vigor. From that time Austrian support for the Ukrainian movement became pronounced. The Uniate Church supported by Austria worked among the Orthodox of Bukovina and carried the torch of Ukrainian nationalism into Russia. The Russian Orthodox Church on the other hand propagated Russian ideas among the Bukovinians and Galicians.

By 1912, the Poles had definitely decided against the Central Powers. They were driven into the Russian camp not through love but fear; fear of the Ukrainian movement. The Ukrainians by 1914 had declared in favour of the German powers. It was an unhappy choice! Had they been on the side of the victors perhaps the story of their ill-fated republic might have been different.

At the beginning of the war the Russians immediately invaded Galicia. Here they closed Ukrainian schools, stamped out Ukrainian societies and took as prisoner Msgr. Sheptytsky, head of the Uniate Church. In March 1917 came the



Russian revolution and the abdication of the Czar. The setting up of the Provisional Government was the signal for Ukrainian nationalism. In April an all Ukrainian Congress met and appointed a government called the Ukrainian Central Rada. The first demand of this Rada to the Provisional Government at Petrograd was for Ukrainian autonomy. On the refusal of this demand the Rada published on June 24, a manifesto called the "First Universal" declaring that "henceforth we shall regulate our own life". A new government called the General Secretariat replaced the Rada. With the fall of Kerensky's government and the rise of the Bolsheviks to power in Petrograd the General Secretariat proclaimed a Ukrainian People's Republic.

The task of the new government was not easy. The personnel of the Government was mainly of the intelligentsia many of whom were intellectual socialists. Their chief problem was to deal with internal strife stirred up by the Bolshevik government in Russia. Their first step was to make peace with the Central Powers. The first peace treaty of the war was negotiated at Brest Litovsk between the Central Powers and the Ukrainian People's Republic, February 9, 1918. With the treaty went Germany's assistance against the Bolsheviks. This assistance proved fatal to the Ukrainian Republic. The Germans and Austrians occupied the country and secured large stores of grain. With the con-

currence of wealthy Ukrainian peasants, who were suspicious of the Socialistic intelligentsia, the German army of occupation set up a military dictatorship under the pro-German hetman Skorapatsky. After the German withdrawal Skorapatsky's government was overthrown, in Jan. 1919 by Petlura, a member of the deposed General Secretariat. For a short breathing space the Eastern Ukrainian Republic was again a reality.

Following the break up of the Austrian Empire in 1918 the Ukrainians of Eastern Galicia who constitute 70% of the population set up a "Western Ukrainian Republic". The new republic defied Polish ambitions and the Poles immediately expelled the government from Lemberg. In January 1919 Eastern and Western Ukraine united to form the "Republic of the Ukrainian People". Their combined armies under Petlura set about the impossible task of freeing their country from its several enemies.

For a time this ragged Ukrainian army fought the armies of White and of Red Russia on one side and of the Poles on the other. They regained Lemberg and ejected the Polish army. The Poles who had the ear of the Peace Conference and the support of France were authorized by the Conference to occupy Galicia, and were given military support to do so. This palpable contradiction of the then popular Wilsonian doctrine of self-determination is perhaps explained by the fact that the Poles represented Petlura's army to be



Bolshevik. The action of the conference brought protests from Ukrainians all over the world, including Canada. Nevertheless by August, 1919, Petlura was forced to cede Eastern Galicia to Poland in return for Polish support in driving their common enemy, the Bolsheviks, out of Eastern Ukraine. The effort against Soviet Russia failed. By the treaty of Riga, 1920, the Ukrainian Soviet Republic was recognized by Russia and Poland.

Thus ended seventy five years of intellectual effort and three years of physical suffering to establish a Ukrainian Nation. Eastern Galicia was granted to Poland by the Ambassadors' conference in 1923. Bukovina became part of Roumania while Russian Ukraine, though bearing the title of the Ukrainian Soviet Republic is not in any sense independent. Forty three million Ukrainians divided among four nations found their position more hopeless than before the war. It can be readily understood why Ukrainians do not regard the Versailles settlement with any veneration.

But the Ukrainian nationalist movement continues in post-war Europe. The intellectual centre of the movement is now Prague, where the Ukrainians are allowed the utmost freedom, as there are not enough Ukrainians in Czechoslovakia to constitute a problem to the government. In Galicia, the Polish-Ukrainian feud continues with unparalleled ferocity.

The growth of Ukrainian nationalism has led to discussions bearing on the right of Ukrainians to consider themselves as a distinct people. The nationalists base their contentions on the differences between Ukrainian and Russian. Even in the time of Russian unity, before the Mongol invasions, marked differences existed between the people of Novgorod and of Kiev. The great-Russian is apparently more closely related to his Rino-Ugrian neighbors; whereas the Ukrainian historians claim their people to be the true descendants of the Kievan Slavs. There is much to indicate however that the Ukrainian has derived foreign blood from the Tartar races with which he struggled.

The rural commune developed in Russia but did not become part of Ukrainian social organization. In consequence the Ukrainian is more individualistic, more democratic and less easily regimented than the great-Russian. The political tradition of the Ukrainian was demonstrated in the Cossack democracy. It is distinctly different to the tradition of centralized autocracy which has been an integral feature of great-Russian society. Even the church of the Ukraine was more popular and less authoritative than the Russian Church. The Ukrainian is more "Slavonic" and "European" than the Russian. Through Poland western civilization made its impact on Ukrainian society.



The fundamental difference claimed by Ukrainian

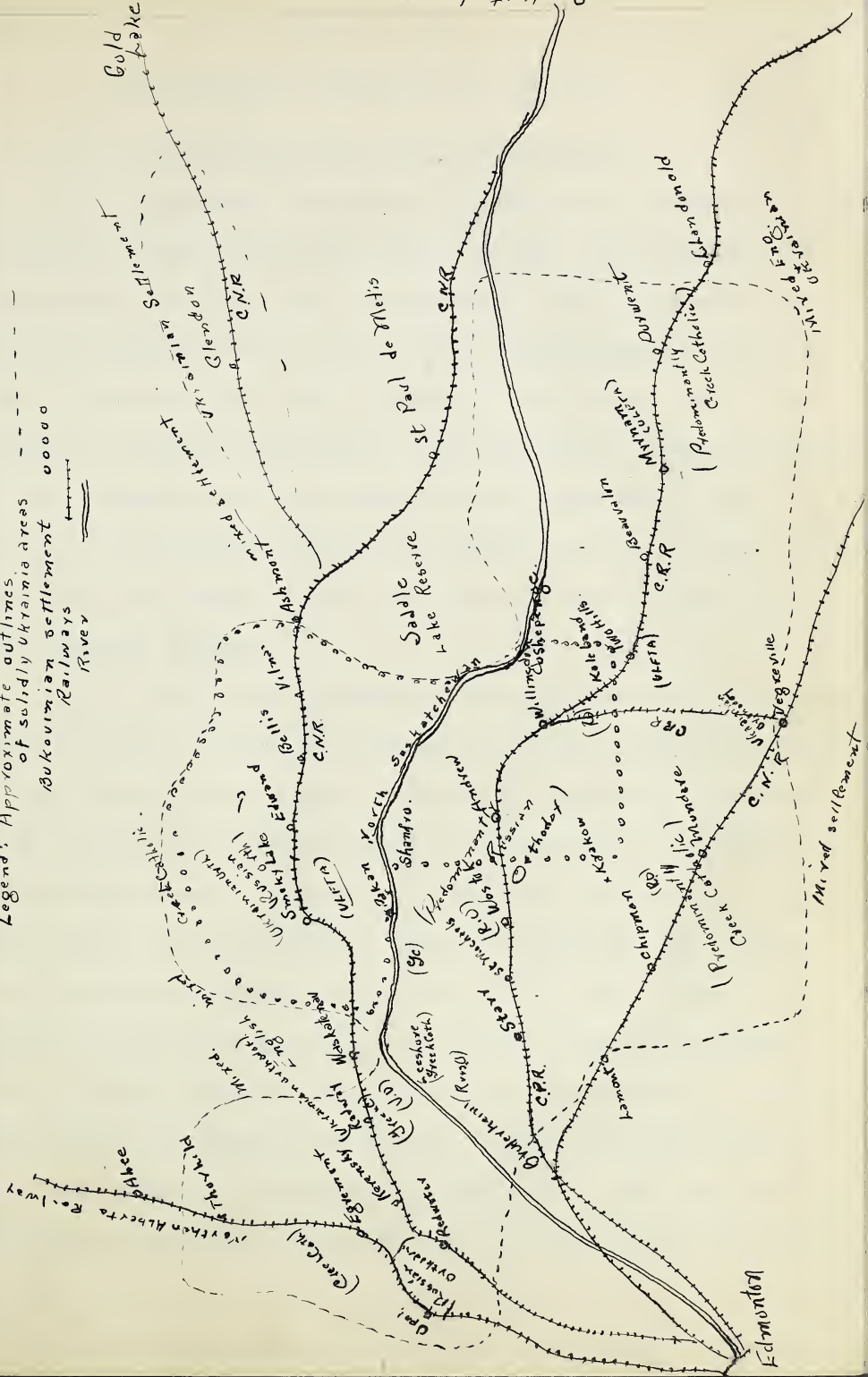
historians is in language and literature. The Polish influence is reflected here. Many words related to arts and crafts are Polish borrowings originating perhaps from the Germans. Turkey also has left her influence on the Ukrainian language, particularly in the steppe regions. In spite of these influences the Ukrainian language has more Slavonic elements than the Russian. Names of the month, for instance are Slavonic in Ukrainian while the Russians have adopted the Roman names. The phonetic system of the Ukrainian language is original and developed after the Kievan period. There is as much difference between the speech of the Ukrainian and Russian as between broad Scottish and the speech of southern England. Ukrainian may be, as was claimed by the Russians, a dialect of the Russian language but the difference is so great as to make it almost impossible for one to understand the other without special study.

All this constitutes evidence to support the case of the Ukrainian nationalist. The divergent experiences of the two peoples following the Tartar invasions have led to differences in political tradition, psychology, language and culture. Surely this is sufficient basis to make, if not racial, at least national distinctions. If a Canadian differs from an American, an Austrian from a German, then it is equally correct to distinguish between Ukrainian and Russian.

# Ukrainian Community in Alberta

Scale 16 miles - 1 inch

Legend: Approximate outlines of solidly Ukrainian areas  
 Bukovinian settlement 0000  
 Railways   
 River 





THE UKRAINIAN COMMUNITY IN ALBERTA  
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(1) Geography-Immigration-Settlement

The Ukrainian community in Alberta at present occupies an area of over a thousand square miles. It commences at Bruderheim, 40 miles east of Edmonton, and continues to Durwent within thirty miles of the Saskatchewan border, a total distance from east to west of 100 miles. With its southern limits at Vegreville the settlement extends seventy miles northward to cross the North Saskatchewan river. The block lies entirely within the Alberta parkland area. Three railroads and twenty towns provide services for the Ukrainian Canadian farmer.

It is difficult to determine the number of Ukrainians now in Canada. These immigrants have been listed variously as Galicians, Bukovinians, Ruthenians, Austrians and Russians. They have been regarded as Ukrainians only since the war and many remain registered under the nationality they gave when entering Canada. Census figures of 1931 report the Ukrainian Canadian population as 225,113. Ukrainian leaders claim over 500,000. Probable somewhere between these figures lies the true number of Ukrainians in Canada. The figure for Alberta is 55,872. There are over 50,000 Ukrainians in the block east of Edmonton. The remainder are scattered throughout the province, in Peace River, in Edmon-

ton, and at Leduc, twenty miles south of Edmonton.

Even a cursory examination of the soil in the block indicates that the Ukrainians were not always wise in their choice of land. There is much good land and there are prosperous farms but there is also much poor land capable of supporting only a meagre standard of living. Towards the southern boundary, the soil is good and the land is level. Here are the prosperous districts of Chipman, Mundare and Vegreville. The districts of Starr, Andrew, Willingdon and Myrnam in the centre of the block have, on the whole, good soil and level fields. Farther north within six miles of the Saskatchewan lies a strip of sandy, unproductive land. This sandy strip varies from two to five miles in width and stretches a distance from east to west of fifty miles. The farms in this area are necessarily less productive and prosperous. North of the river midway, Smoky Lake and Vilna are excellent agricultural districts. In fact it is difficult to distinguish the fertile and non-fertile areas. Marginal and submarginal lands adjoin farms of great productivity within the same district.

Typical of Ukrainian settlement in Canada was the way in which Ukrainians chose to settle in parkland and wooded areas rather than on the prairies. A reason for this is that wood in Galicia was costly and limited in supply. The Ukrainian thought that land which produced trees must be

fertile. Unfortunately this is not always so because the sandy soil of the Alberta block, though wooded, is of limited agricultural value. This mistaken idea, together with a predilection for block settlement, may explain why the Ukrainian immigrant often chose poor land when much better land was available.

The Alberta Ukrainians came, almost without exception, from Galicia and Bukovina, provinces of the old Austria. The immigration to Canada was part of a larger movement beginning about 1890, which touched not only Canada but also the United States, Brazil, and even Manchuria. Ukrainians migrated because of the unhappy economic conditions prevailing in the provinces of Galicia and Bukovina. Forced to live on two or three-acre holdings, and to eke out a miserable existence by working for his Polish landlord, the Ukrainian peasant was attracted by the promise of broad acres and fabulous wealth in the New World. The most destitute classes were first to leave. Later, fear of service in the Austrian army led wealthier and better-educated Ukrainians to follow the trail of their poorer countrymen to a new home.

Alberta can boast the first Ukrainian settlement in Canada. Three Ruthenians from Galicia reached Winnipeg in the early nineties after a journey reminiscent of the early explorers. They had heard of Canada from Germans or from

Poles, and they had come to corroborate for themselves the stories which they had heard about the Dominion. The sole survivor of this trio returned to his native village and persuaded nine families to migrate. In 1894 these families, precursors of a great migration, settled fifty miles east of Edmonton at Starr. Four years later the settlement was to become the nucleus of a vast Ukrainian community.

In 1895, Oleskew, an Ukrainian Professor visited Canada. It was only after he had reported favourably on the opportunities for Ukrainians in Canada that migration, hitherto directed to Brazil, was diverted to this country. Soon the Ukrainian immigrant in sheepskin coat, accompanied by a barefooted wife, became a familiar sight in the waiting room of Western-Canadian stations. Sir Clifford Sifton, minister of immigration in the Laurier Cabinet, regarded the Ukrainian as a most suitable settler for Western Canada. Aided by the Canadian railroads, he carried out an aggressive immigration policy in Europe. Energetic agents of the government and of the railways "sold" Canada to thousands of Galicians and Bukovinians in Austria. With this "high-pressure" campaign the flood of migration from Austria began. A total of 5000 entered Canada in 1900. The number rose to 21,000 in 1907 at which figure it stood until 1912. The recorded number of immigrants entering Canada as Galicians or Bukovinians between 1896 and 1914 stands at one hundred



and seventy thousand. This does not include these Ukrainians who gave their birthplace as Austria and were therefore enumerated as "Austrian".

The first <sup>considerable body of</sup> immigrants in 1896 settled in Manitoba. It was not until 1897-8 that Ukrainians began to take up <sup>more</sup> land in Alberta. With the original group at Starr forming a nucleus, Ukrainian settlement rapidly extended north and east. All the area south of the Saskatchewan river was settled by 1905. The Ukrainian districts north of the Saskatchewan were settled between 1907 and 1912. While the greater part of the settlers north of the river came directly from Europe, in some cases sons of the early settlers in Starr, Chipman and Bruderheim districts sought free land across the Saskatchewan.

The Ukrainians are notorious for their block settlements. They have settled in blocks of varying sizes across Western Canada. The central-Alberta block is the largest solidly Ukrainian area in the Dominion. An examination of the area reveals further divisions of settlement according to provincial origins. Ukrainians from Bukovina have settled in the region between Krakow and Kaleland and north to the river, including the districts of Andrew, Willingdon, Shepenge and Shandro. The Smoky Lake district is the core of a Bukovinian settlement which extends eastward to include Vilna, Bellis and Spedden. The remainder of the block is almost entirely Galician.

Ukrainians in Canada have kept in contact with the neighbors of their youth. Whole districts are made up of immigrants from the same village in Europe. The local post office or school is probably named after their ancestral village. Farmers south of Radway are from villages close to Lemberg. Villagers from the environs of Peremysh have settled in the Leeshore district. Such names as Krakow, Zahwin, Wasel, and Zawale indicate <sup>to those familiar with the Ukraine</sup> the geographical origins of the immigrant settlers.

This racial, provincial and village segregation has resulted in the closely-knit fabric of Ukrainian Canadian society. Communities are inter-related and bound together by the customs and dialect of their home village. The Ukrainian settler in Alberta may travel for miles and meet only those of his own race. He may live here the whole of his natural life without feeling the need for a language other than his own. An English Canadian travelling through the Ukrainian community cannot fail to feel like an alien.

Racial segregation has been condemned for retarding the process of assimilation into Canadian life but it helps to preserve any culture which immigrant settlers may have to contribute. Ukrainian handicrafts are colourful and show rare artistic sense. Ukrainian songs and folk dances are suggestive of the Cossack tradition. Though knowledge of this culture is limited, <sup>among the farming class</sup> Ukrainians may make it their con-

tribution to the local colour of Western Canada. Block settlement results also in the cultivation of land which might otherwise lie idle. Land which would have been scorned by English settlers has been developed by Ukrainians anxious to be among their own people. An example of this is the sandy area south of Redwater. Although abandoned by English settlers, it was occupied by Ukrainian immigrants. While block settlement may result in much that is undesirable, there is also something to be said in its favour.

The Ukrainian community has expanded, since 1920, from its original settlements in to adjoining areas occupied by older Canadians. Ukrainians place a high estimate on land ownership. Ukrainian fathers consider it their duty to provide their sons with land. In consequence they have bought land eagerly at fabulous prices. At Mundare and Vegreville they were heavy purchasers of C.P.R. land. Ukrainian settlement originally several miles north of Vegreville has crept down to the town limits. The Ukrainians have supplanted the French in this district. They have bought out the German settlers of the Chipman community. All land sales in the English community of Waskatenau between 1920-30 were transacted between old and new Canadians. The community is rapidly becoming Ukrainian. There was along the north banks of the Saskatchewan east and west of Pagan a half-breed settlement dating back to 1875. This settle-

ment is gone. Ukrainians now cultivate the fields of the men who knew Riel.

The Ukrainian expansion has been stopped short by the depression. Ukrainians, in common with other farmers, have learned the bitter results of over-expansion. However, the extension of Ukrainian settlement will probably continue with the return of higher agricultural prices. The tendency is for the English Canadian to leave a mixed settlement, partly because of racial prejudice and partly because he can sell his land so easily. The standard of living of the Ukrainian farmer is lower than that of the English farmer. His operating costs are less, for every member of his family labours in the fields. All of which gives the Ukrainian an advantage in the competition for land ownership; these people are so numerous, their families so large that it is possible they may expand over a much larger area, may even in time take possession of the entire central part of the province. The probability is, however that the younger generation who have been quick to adopt more expensive ways of living will not be as aggressive in land buying as their parents.

## II Agricultural development.

Up Until 1912 land was acquired mainly by homestead grants. For a payment of ten dollars to the Dominion Government the Ukrainian immigrant could locate on any 160 acre



division still open for settlement. The homesteader was not granted a full title until he had made certain improvements on his holding.

Homestead life, even for those who have capital to clear land and build farm buildings is not easy. Distance from railroads, lack of social services, extreme pioneer conditions make the life a grim one. The early Ukrainian immigrant had no capital. He had been forced to borrow money to migrate to Canada. Quite often the ten dollar land office fee represented the last of his funds. If he were married his first task was to build a hovel of logs and mud to house his family. For the first few years after his arrival he spent part of his time working for other farmers, on the railroads, or in construction camps. Assisted by his wife he cleared the brush from his land then turned the sod with a breaking plow pulled by oxen. Only small five or ten acre plots could be cleared and broken each year. In spite of difficulties which would have tried the spirit of a less stolid person, the Ukrainian settler cleared enough land and acquired enough capital to be able to devote all his time to his farm.

These experiences are typical of the struggles of early immigrants. Later immigrants brought with them money enough to become established less painfully. The average amount brought in was between \$500 and \$1000 though there are

cases of Ukrainians entering Canada with bank accounts of \$7000. Immigrants since the war have often been wealthy. They have become established rapidly.

The war period gave the Ukrainians a real opportunity to advance in material prosperity. Their sons, considered aliens were not conscripted. Having the full benefits of family labour and high prices for farm products the Ukrainian farmer in the older districts did well financially. Well authenticated stories were circulated at that time of Ukrainians who, suspicious of banking institutions were known to keep thousands of dollars hidden in their farm buildings. This period of prosperity provided the funds for the extensive land-buying after the war.

The size of Ukrainian farms varies in different parts of the block. North of the river the average farm is 160 acres in area. There are a few holdings of 320 acres or more in the Radway district, but these are the exception. This is true also of the area from Smoky Lake eastward. Larger farms are more numerous south of the river particularly at Starr, Bruderheim, Chipman and Vegreville. But even here the majority of farms are 160 acres only. This is particularly true in the sandy marginal areas. Probably 75% of the holdings in the entire block are 160 acre farms.

It is difficult to determine present valuations of machinery, stock or farm land. Before 1930, land west of

Smoky Lake sold at \$100 an acre. Since 1930 there have been no sales and land values are in a chaotic condition. Machinery has not been added to or replaced for seven years. Stock values are indeterminate. Any attempt at adjudging the general financial position of Ukrainian farmers by estimating assets is hopeless. Something of their position may be revealed by a glance at their liabilities. Alberta farmers who are relatively clear of debt and who have sufficient machinery to operate are, at present, in a very sound position.

In the Radway district, though farmers have accumulated small debts, they have, with few exceptions, kept their farms free from mortgage. Radway is a mixed farming community with stock and dairy products providing a large part of the income. The position of farmers at Mundare and Vegreville is not so sound. According to a bank official at Mundare at least half the farmers in the district have mortgages on their farms far in excess of the true valuation of the land. Ukrainian business men in Vegreville state that the farmers in their district are in a similar plight. In these communities grain is the chief source of revenue. Lack of a balanced farm economy accounts somewhat for the differences between these southern and northern portions of the block. A more important reason is that the Ukrainians in the older districts have been less cautious in their

borrowing. They could get money on farm property readily before 1930, for they had achieved a reputation as honest debtors. This money was invested in land with the expectancy of continued high wheat prices. The general decline in farm prices has left these farmers with great obligations and limited income. Speaking generally the position of the farmer who balances grain raising with stock and dairy products is sounder than the position of the farmer who has depended principally on grain.

Ukrainian houses have improved considerably over the early, earthen floored, one roomed, thatched hovels. In the older districts many farmers have built large, handsome, modern farm houses. Expenditures of five thousand dollars on houses are not unknown. The typical house however is, as yet, the one that replaced the original pioneer dwelling. It is whitewashed on the outside and finished on the inside with a hard thick plaster. The Ukrainian house has usually two, often four rooms furnished with unpretentious beds, chairs and tables. The white walls are decorated with religious pictures and brightly-coloured calendars. The majority of houses are clean and comfortable. Dwellings of the poorer farmers however, are wretched, one room, log buildings. Considering the full program of the Ukrainian housewife it is not surprising that her house shows little knowledge of the art of home making. This more than any-



thing else distinguishes the house of the Ukrainian Canadian from that of his English neighbor.

The Ukrainians by training and heritage are skilled gardeners. Their houses are surrounded by plots of brilliantly coloured poppies. Their vegetable gardens overflow with potatoes, cabbages and onions. Gardens provide food for summer and winter. The Ukrainian menu is simple. Cabbage and potatoes are the staples of their diet. A typically Ukrainian soup called "Borstu" is made from vegetables and sour cream. Rice rolled in cabbage leaves, soaked in brine then fried is another national dish. This diet can be and is provided by garden culture.

One of the most pressing needs of the Ukrainian farmer is for technical advice on agricultural matters. He has made good progress in his farming methods since his settlement here. This has been done without much aid or instruction. The many agricultural bulletins published in the English language by the Dominion and Provincial governments have been of little help to the Ukrainian farmer. There is still much room for improvement in Ukrainian farming methods. Better grades of stock, better methods of feeding stock, better methods of land cultivation are highly desirable. At present there is only one district agriculturist in the entire block who speaks Ukrainian. The Ukrainian farmer is ready and willing to accept advice from those in whom he has confidence. The government would be well advised to appoint

agriculturists who have a knowledge of the Ukrainian language and <sup>s</sup>psychology.

### III Urban Centres

Typical of Western Canada, the towns and villages of the block are <sup>all</sup> important in the life of the rural Ukrainian. They are his centres of social and cultural life. These small urban centres provide the farmer with markets for his products, groceries for his table, and with whatever legal and medical services he requires. Like other towns and villages in the Province they are an integral part of rural Alberta. The centres grow out of the needs of the farmers; they thrive when he thrives. Economically, if not socially the villages form a solid unit with agriculture. Small-town Albertans think and speak the language of the Alberta farmer.

The oldest towns in the block are along the main line of the C.N.R. east from Edmonton. They are La~~Mont~~, Chipman, Mundare and Vegreville. The villages were busy centres in the early days as their hinterland stretched fifty miles northward. The construction of the Edmonton St. Paul branch of the C.N.R. north of the river in 1918-19 cut off their northern territory. The building of the Willingdon line of the C.P.R. in 1928 further restricted the area upon which the older towns depended as a source of business. The newer villages of Radway and Smoky Lake on the C.<sup>N</sup>.R. and of

Willingdon, Andrew, Two Hills and Myrnam on the C.P.R. are now providing the necessary services for their respective districts.

Originally the business and professional men in village and town were non-Ukrainian. This was true of Chipman and Vegreville in the early years of Ukrainian settlement. Not content to remain "drawers of water and hewers of wood" the Ukrainians have entered business and professional life in increasing numbers during the past 18 years and have catered to the needs of their own people. Many of the younger generation Ukrainians educated in Canadian schools, have followed the recent trend from rural to urban life and have left the farm to make an easier living in the towns and villages. This has led to villages becoming predominantly, in fact almost entirely Ukrainian. All the villages along the C.P.R. are solidly Ukrainian. Chipman is fast becoming so, Mundare is solidly Ukrainian, though Vegreville remains predominantly non-Ukrainian. The villages north of the river have mixed Ukrainian and English populations when the surrounding districts are of that nature. Radway is predominantly Ukrainian, Waskatenau partially so and Smoky Lake solidly Ukrainian.

An illustration of displacement of English by Ukrainians can be seen by consideration of the grain-buying trade. Fifteen years ago<sup>a</sup> a Ukrainian grain-buyer in a Ukrainian

Canadian village was exceptional. A certain grain company to gain business, began to staff its elevators with Ukrainian buyers. Other companies followed suit. Now the English grain buyer is the exception. There are at least 12 Ukrainian doctors in the entire block, as many Ukrainian lawyers and scores of small business men. Schools of the block are staffed almost entirely by Ukrainian teachers. A knowledge of Ukrainian is as indispensable within the boundaries of the block as French in Quebec or English in Ontario. ~~It is a completely bilingual community.~~



## Ukrainian Religions

A distinctive feature of any Ukrainian village or community is the church. The churches, regardless of faith, are almost identical from without and within. Each church is built in the form of a cross. The churches are sometimes triple-domed. Sometimes there is one large central dome surmounted by a cross. The domes are symbolic of the Trinity or of the Unity of God. The interiors are bare of pews or chairs and are lighted by high stained-glass windows. The Altar is at the east end. It is separated from the congregation by a high screen. There are doors on each side of the screen with a folding door in the middle. When open, this folding door reveals the sanctuary. Almost in the centre of the church is a small table with burning candles. At this table all baptism<sup>d</sup> and marriage ceremonies are performed. There is no organ. There are no statues<sup>but</sup> brilliant banners bear the pictures of the Vir<sup>g</sup>in and of the Saints.

Ukrainians, almost without exception are followers of Greek Christianity. The Ukrainians of Galicia are Greek Catholics recognizing the Pope as their spiritual leader. The Ukrainians of Bukovina are Greek Orthodox enjoying whatever leadership remains to that church since the downfall of the Czar. Russia provided the spiritual leadership for the great majority of Ukrainians until the revolution.

Since that time the Russian Greek Orthodox Church has suffered the fate of disestablishment and annihilation within Russia and disintegration outside Russia.

The earliest settlers in Alberta were from Galicia and were members of the Greek Catholic Church. They brought to Canada from Galicia their religious pictures and the memories of their church. No priests came with them however to minister to their spiritual needs. The Uniate Church was either negligent or so poor as to be unable to provide clergy for the immigrants. Five priests came to Canada in 1902 but the number was hopelessly inadequate. This situation existed throughout Canada wherever Ukrainians had settled.

For a time the Roman Catholic Church attempted to minister to the Ukrainians. The Greek Catholic Metropolitan of Lemberg, Msgr. Sheptisky advised his people to accept the aid of Canadian Roman Catholic priests. Belgian and French priests entered the Greek Catholic, or, as it is known to the church, the Ruthenian rite. Some of them spent a short time in Lemberg learning the ceremonies of the rite, and the Ukrainian language. These priests however were of little help. Their limited knowledge of the Ukrainian language and of Ukrainian psychology antagonized the people whom they tried to aid. The evident attempt on the part of these priests to latinize the ceremonies and church customs of the Ruthenian rite met with the disapproval of the more national-

istic of the Ukrainians. Anything Roman or Latin suggested the Pole. Another matter which antagonized the Galician immigrants was a decree by the Pope forbidding any of the married clergy of the Uniate Church to migrate to Canada. The Ukrainian people wanted their married priests, as in the old country. Celibacy of clergy was a Polish custom. All of these factors contributed to making the work of Roman Catholic priests ineffectual. It hindered even the work of the Greek Catholic priesthood in Canada.

After a few years the Roman Catholic Church admitted that they could not handle the problem of the Ukrainian Catholics. Msgr. Sheptisky came to Canada in 1910. After a survey, His Grace reported that a Ruthenian Bishopric should be erected in Canada. His advice was taken and in 1912 Rev. N. Budka was appointed as bishop. In 1913 the Ruthenian Greek Catholic Episcopal Corporation of Canada was incorporated by the Dominion Government. Twenty years after the first Greek Catholic had landed in Canada, the Canadian church was organized.

The disorganization of the Greek Catholic Church, together with the antipathy to the Latin rite created a religious vacuum among the Ukrainian people of Canada. Into this vacuum stepped two organizations eager to win these people away from the Catholic Church. Of the two, the Russian Greek Orthodox and the Protestant Churches, the Orthodox was the more successful.

The Bukovinian immigrants were without priests as well. When they applied for help to the Metropolate of Bukovina, they were told to accept the religious ministrations of the priests of the Russian Greek Orthodox Church and were referred to the metropolate of that church established in New York. The priests of the Russian Church had migrated to the United States via Alaska and had been ministering to the Russian immigrants in the United States for some years. There was no objection to Russian priests on the part of the Bukovinians as there was no deep seated racial antagonism between the Bukovinian Ukrainian and the Russian. In fact there had been strong Muscophil tendencies in the Greek Orthodox Church in Bukovina, since the Tsar considered himself the protector of all Orthodox Christians.

These priests moved north to the Bukovinian areas in Canada in 1900. Starting with the Bukovinian settlers, they proceeded to extend the influence of the Orthodox Church among the Galicians. The Greek Orthodox were more successful in the Alberta block than in any other area in Canada. At Wostok, in 1902, they built their first church among the Galicians. Wostok was the base for the advance of the Orthodox Church in Galician territory. All of the area south of the Saskatchewan felt the influence of these Russian missionaries.

Their success was due to the fact that the Ukrainians had more in common with these priests than with French



Canadian priests of the Latin rite. It was also due to the sums of money at the disposal of the Russian missionaries. The Russian Greek Orthodox Church was a state church subsidized by the Russian Government. The priests in Alberta offered free churches to the people. They collected no tithes for the support of the clergy. This was a real inducement to a people accustomed to burdensome church taxes. Since there was no apparent difference between Greek Catholic and Russian Orthodox, the Galician felt at home in the Orthodox churches. Some of them were convinced by the priests that they should have always been Orthodox. For the first time they heard the story of the formation of the the Uniate Church. Others were ignorant of the essential difference between the two churches, and so accepted Orthodoxy readily. That many remembered the faith of Galicia, however, is evident by the large numbers who returned to the Greek Catholic Church when their own priests came among them.

The Russian Revolution adversely affected the fortunes of the Russian Orthodox Church in Canada. It lost the source of its subsidies. Division within the church resulted in a small group under the leadership of a priest, Filipowsky breaking away from the New York Metropolis. The Orthodox Church lost ground in Canada generally. But so far as Alberta is concerned, in spite of the gains made by the Catholics, in spite of the growth of the new Ukrainian Orthodox Church formed in 1918, the Russian Greek Orthodox

Church retains its position. The older generation Ukrainians cling to the church of their pioneer days.

Another Ukrainian Church organization, the Greek Independent Church is of historical interest only. The organization began in 1903. This church was subsidized from the first by the Presbyterian Church of Canada. The Presbyterians hoped by this method to protestantize the great mass of Catholic and of Orthodox immigrants. By 1913 this policy of subsidizing an alien rite had been discarded. The Presbyterians offered to take the clergy of the church into their own ministry. This they did, and the Greek ritual was discarded for the simple Protestant ceremony without any Greek disguise.

The Ukrainian laity of the Greek Church did not follow their pastors into the Protestant Church. Nor has the Presbyterian or the United Church, after Church union in 1925, made any headway among Ukrainians. In fact they have lost ground steadily, particularly to the recently formed Ukrainian Orthodox Church. The United Church is no longer active among the Ukrainians. There are a few charges, none of which are self supporting. The church has left the work partly for <sup>financial</sup> ~~monetary~~ reasons, and partly because it felt the spiritual needs of the Ukrainians were being met sufficiently well by their own churches. Other Protestant groups are active however; such groups as the Baptists, Adventists and

Pentecostal. The number of Ukrainian adherents to these groups is very small.

A Ukrainian United Church Minister made this criticism of the work of his church among the Ukrainians. He felt that the United Church has been too eager to assimilate; that their religious program has been more social than spiritual. They have offered more Canadianism than Christ. The church mission schools in which Ukrainian children were educated tried to assimilate their students completely. Such a policy has, in his opinion, turned the Ukrainians against Protestantism as being unpatriotic to their own race. The Ukrainian who became a Protestant lost caste with his own countrymen.

It is doubtful if the simplicity of the Protestant service would have much appeal to the Ukrainians. They have been used to ritual and formalism in their worship. Reformation from within, though highly improbable might be successful. Certainly reformation from without, directed by an alien church could not hope to succeed.

Hardly had the Greek Independent Church passed off the stage when another Ukrainian church organization made its entrance-the Ukrainian Greek Orthodox. Its origin was European. After the birth of the Ukrainian Republic in 1917 a congress of priests and laity declared the Orthodox Church independent of Russian Orthodox authority. They elected their own Metropolitan and repudiated the Russian Hierarchy.

The Ukrainian Orthodox declared their church to be the spiritual successor of the ancient church of Kiev and the national church of all Ukrainians. This new church appealed to all Ukrainians to rally to its support.

The erection of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church in Canada resulted from a schism within the Greek Catholic church. From 1910, educated Ukrainians from Galicia began to migrate to Canada. These men were eager to gain a foothold in Canada and to direct Ukrainian affairs. They strove to foster a national consciousness among Ukrainians in Canada. In close touch with Ukrainian affairs in Europe, they were naturally influenced by events there. The Ukrainian Voice, a newspaper published in Saskatoon was the mouthpiece of the Canadian Ukrainian nationalists. Sytun, a Winnipeg lawyer, was one of the most vehement leaders of the nationalist group.

From the time that Budka was appointed bishop there existed between him and the nationalists a state of constant friction. The nationalists deplored the use of Roman Catholic priests among the Ukrainians. Budka issued an indiscreet letter in 1914 calling on all Ukrainians to return to fight for their fatherland (Austria). This aroused the fury of the nationalist group as it deepened Canadian prejudice against the Ukrainian. The antagonism came to a head over the control of the Ukrainian Institute in Saskatoon. The Institute was organized by the nationalists



on a non-denominational basis. Budka insisted that its ownership be vested in the Greek Catholic Church. When the nationalist group refused the bishop abandoned the Institute. Swystun and his followers promptly appealed to the people for support and the Ukrainian Orthodox Church of Canada was formed at a church conference July, 1918.

The birth of this new church ushered in a period of religious dissension which <sup>became very bitter</sup> ~~reached a high point of bitterness~~ between 1920-30. <sup>and 1930</sup> The Russian Orthodox and Greek Catholic Churches had shown towards each other the tolerance of old and established rivals. The feeling between the Ukrainian Orthodox and the Greek Catholic Church however developed all the bitterness of a civil war. Members of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church criticized the Greek Catholic Church vehemently for its Roman (hence Polish) affiliation. They denounced the Church for having introduced celibacy of clergy in Canada, a practice which was contrary to the Greek Catholic rite and privileges. The nationalists accused the clergy of the Catholic Church of trying to control the national institutions and reading rooms built by the people. Their whole attack centred on the indifference of the Greek Catholic Church to nationalism. The Greek Catholics, on the other hand, protested that the schism was engineered by a group of irreligious socialists concerned only with furthering their own ambitious schemes. They accused the new church

of being more anxious to extend nationalism than to save souls. The Catholics referred contemptuously to the entire Ukrainian Orthodox group as "Swystuns".

While the influence of Swystun was paramount the revolt met with a success not to be explained by the personality of the leader. It is clear that there was wide spread dissatisfaction throughout the Ukrainians of Canada with the Greek Catholic Church. A good deal of this dissatisfaction resulted from the intensification of national feeling in the post-war years.

The attack of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church on other church organizations among Ukrainians, though less bitter, was as firm in its nationalism. The priests of the Russian Orthodox Church spread the idea of one undivided Russia. They stressed one tongue, one nation and ridiculed everything Ukrainian. Hence the Russian Church stood indicted in the eyes of the Ukrainian Orthodox as an enemy of Ukrainian nationalism. The nationalists denounced the Russian clergy as being ill educated and detrimental to Ukrainian progress in Canada. The Protestant Church was criticized for hiring preacher agents to work among Ukrainians. These agents ridiculed the rites and customs, the cross, vestments and holy pictures of the Ukrainian churches. This ridicule, according to the Ukrainian Orthodox, resulted in irreligion and probably Bolshevism. The nationalists decried the Protestant program of assimilation and condem-

ned Protestants for undermining the love and respect of the Ukrainians for their mother tongue and culture.

In spite of their feuds, the three Greek churches have much in common. They have the same sacraments; all practise confession. They regard marriage as a sacrament. These churches have the same form of communion service. Extreme Unction and Confirmation are parts of their religious practices. The forms of service are similar. Both Greek Catholic and Russian Orthodox use Old Slavonic in their services while Ukrainian Orthodox uses Ukrainian. Their churches are built of the same architectural design. All Greek Churches use the same religious calendar, observe the same holy days and pay homage to the same saints. The three churches claim apostolic succession, though the Russian Orthodox and the Greek Catholic protest the validity of orders in the Ukrainian Orthodox Church. They are all episcopalian. In brief, they are all Greek Churches.

The ecclesiastical differences lie in their headship. Here the difference between Greek Catholic and the two Orthodox churches is fundamental. ~~The Uniate Church is essentially Catholic emphasizing the Catholic way of living.~~ Moreover, the Russian Orthodox Church has not been free from Russian imperialism, <sup>while</sup> the Ukrainian Orthodox Church is fiercely nationalist. There is also a greater amount of lay control in the Ukrainian Orthodox Church. In fact, some laymen have recently revolted against the American Metropole or Arch-





[Bishop John Theodorovich. The leader of this revolt is none other than Mr. Swystun.

Another organization called the United Farmer Labour Temple Association has a Ukrainian following. This organization might protest against being listed with Ukrainian Churches. It earns that right by being anti-religious. None of its members support any of the Ukrainian Church organizations. The church groups label the members of this society as communists.

In the Canadian Census 1931 under "Religious Denominations by national groups", Greek Catholic are listed as having 156,315 followers. To be exact, the Greek Catholics are listed under Roman Catholics. There is no Greek Catholic division, but since there are few Roman Catholic Ukrainians (those who are call themselves Poles) the figures 155,000 is approximated. The Greek Orthodox Church is listed as having 55,386. The census makes no distinction between Ukrainian Greek Orthodox and Russian Greek Orthodox, so there is no way of telling the weakness or strength of either group. The Ukrainian Orthodox Church claims from seventy-five to a hundred thousand followers. This certainly doesnot check with the last religious census taken in Canada. The Uniate Church have 3,992, while the next largest group is the Baptist with 1,262.] Only 1215 Ukrainians are listed as having no religion. In Alberta, 33,512 are listed as Roman i.e. Greek Catholic. Approximately 19,300 belong to the Greek

Orthodox Churches. The United Church has 810 and the Adventists 363.

A religious survey of the block reveals the location of each church group in Alberta. The district of Radway is mixed Ukrainian Orthodox and Greek Catholic. The settlers in this district were originally all Greek Catholics. The work of Father Rue, a Belgian Redemptrist, in the church two miles south of Radway until 1917, while commendable for its energy, antagonized many. When the new Church was formed those who were anti-Catholic and strongly nationalist left the Greek Catholic Church to become Ukra<sup>7</sup>ian Orthodox. A church was built in Radway in 1923 and the district split into two religious factions. Leadership in the new Church came from the business men in town. They organized the church and gave it financial support. For the next few years there was open hostility between the two groups. They built separate halls and attended separate social functions. The friction has diminished recently. The depression seems to have dwarfed the importance of differences in religious opinion.

The religious division in Smoky Lake is between Russian Orthodox and Ukrainian Orthodox. The Ukrainian Orthodox Church was built here about the same time as the one in Radway. Here again the leaders in organizing the new church were the business men. The church drew its converts from the Russian Orthodox <sup>Y</sup> <sup>Communion</sup> <sup>A</sup> certain families who became inter-

ested in Ukrainian nationalism left the church of their Bukovinian forefathers. Since few farmers however were greatly concerned about the plea of the nationalists the majority of the families remained with the Russian Orthodox Church. Many were bound to the Russian Church for graveyard reasons. They preferred to remain with the church in whose graveyard their relatives had been buried. There are few Greek Catholics in Smoky Lake, though the Roman Catholic Church has built there a magnificent church in the Greek style. The mission has achieved slight success. The U.L.F.T.A. is active in Smoky Lake and draws wide support from the Bukovinian settlements north and south of the village.

East of Smoky Lake, the districts of Edward, Bellis and Vilna are Russian Orthodox. The Ukrainian Orthodox have gained some followers but the number is not great. The strongest Russian Orthodox district in the entire block is Shandro, south of the river. At Andrew there are two churches, one Russian Orthodox and the other Ukrainian Orthodox. The Russian Church is still the greater in numbers. There is also a United Church with a Ukrainian pastor. It has few adherents. Willingdon is Russian Orthodox with a few Ukrainian Orthodox within the village. Kaleland on the fringes of the Bukovinian settlements is a strong Russian Orthodox centre. At Mostok among the Galicians, the Russian Orthodox maintains its influence. The four townships west

and north in which are the post offices of Limestone, Skaro, Peno and Rodef are still Russian Orthodox with some Greek Catholics interspersed. From Leeshore north to the river and east to the Delph district the farmers are Greek Catholic. A small Ukrainian Orthodox parish has been established west of Leeshore. At Delph there are some Ukrainian Orthodox who were originally Catholic.

*For the region*

East of Kaleland from Two Hills to Clandonald, the following figures indicate the proportions <sup>of</sup> in the different groups. Greek Catholics make up fifty percent of the Ukrainian population; the Ukrainian Orthodox fifteen percent the Seventh Day Adventists approximately ten percent. The largest community of Seven Day Adventists in the Alberta block is between Beauvalon and Myrnam. The church was established there in 1916 by the influence of an Adventist preacher. The original converts cling to their Adventist program but no further conversions are being made. The remaining twenty-five percent are U.L.F.T.A. Myrnam and Two Hills are both centres of this organization.

Chipman on the C.N.R. line is divided between Russian Orthodox and Greek Catholic. Two large churches, indetical in their Byzantine architecture, serve the religious needs of the Ukrainian community. The members of the Orthodox Church are Galicians and were originally Greek Catholics. The Ukrainian Orthodox has no church building and no follow-



ers in Chipman. Mundare is a Greek Catholic centre. A monastery and Seminary of the Basilian Fathers, (Ruthenian Rite) has been established here. There is a small Russian Orthodox Church in Mundare, supported by a congregation living north of the village.

North-west of Vegreville, between Royal Park and Spring Creek lie two townships that are solidly Ukrainian Orthodox. This district was one of the strongest in support of the organization of a new church in 1918. Many farmers gave large contributions to its funds. The district was influenced by a Ukrainian business man in Vegreville, Peter Svarich. As Svarich thought, so thought these people. When he left the Protestant Church to support the Ukrainian Orthodox movement in 1918 they followed him. Approximately 600 of Vegreville's 1800 people are Ukrainian. Those six hundred are divided among the Ukrainian Orthodox, Greek Catholic and Russian Orthodox Churches. East of Vegreville, the Plain Lake district is solidly Greek Catholic. So also are the Ukrainians in the mixed English and Ukrainian districts of Lavoy, Manfurly and Innisfree.

In general the south, the east and northwest of the block are predominantly Greek Catholic. The centre and north and north east portions are predominantly Russian Orthodox. The Ukrainian Orthodox Church is stronger north than south of the river. It has made very little progress in the Russian Orthodox centre, and apart from Vegreville has not

gained greatly in the Catholic south. The Protestant Churches with small parishes at Myrnam, Andrew, Krakow and Smoky Lake are insignificant in numbers of adherents. The anti-religious organization, the United Labor Farmer Temple Association, has three centres, Myrnam, Two Hills and Smoky Lake but a very small part of the total Ukrainian population is included in its membership.

The large membership of the Russian Orthodox Church is not in any way indicative of strength. This organization seems doomed to the same fate in Alberta which it has met with in other parts of Canada. Its policy and tactics are criticized by its more intelligent clergymen. The priests, with few exceptions, continue to maintain that the Ukrainian is Russian and not a separate nationality. The propaganda carried on by the Ukrainian Orthodox Church through newspapers and through speakers has done much to convince the people of their separate nationality. Nationalism has a strong appeal to the younger Ukrainians. The priests of the Russian Church are badly educated and the temper of the church is lethargic. The church is lacking in lay leadership. The membership is almost entirely from the farming class. The Ukrainian Orthodox Church is strong in leaders if not in followers. The majority of business and professional men in villages and cities of Alberta are members of this church. It is the hope of the Ukrainian Orthodox that within ten years the Russian Orthodox will become Ukrainian.

This is possible, since there are no doctrinal differences. The Ukrainian Orthodox will gain at the expense of the Russian Church not of the Greek Catholic. The Catholic Church is consolidating its position. It is counteracting the nationalism of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church by a Catholic nationalism. The church is carefully removing the stigma of the Latin connection of the earlier days.

One of the chief difficulties of all the churches is the lack of priests. Many churches are visited only once a month and sometimes once every two months. The priest of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church stationed at Smoky Lake has under his charge the following places-Smoky Lake, Bonnyville, Fremula, Radway, Bellis, Downing Strg, Hamlin, Spedden, Glendon, Lessard, and Wastoo. His parish from east to west measures a hundred miles. Priests of all churches in all parts of the block carry a similar load.

In Galicia, the church played an all important part in the Ukrainian peasant's life. This is evident by visiting homes in Alberta. Religious pictures line the walls of the house. All Ukrainian holidays are religious in origin. The landlord and the priest were the two most important characters in the European village. The church exercised wide control over the lives of the people. Any life they had apart from labour was lived through the church. The church provided colour in its ceremonies. The music and the

dramatic movements in the mass, the emotional catharsis of confession, the bowing and kneeling of the congregation, the burning of incense and the monotonous reiteration of prayers, these were experiences close to the Ukrainian heart. When the Russian priests came among the Galician Catholics in the early days of Alberta settlement the Greek Catholics accepted them readily. A priest was indispensable. Only a priest could provide the magic which lit up an otherwise drab existence.

During the thirty years of the Ukrainians in Canada many influences have tended to lessen the importance of the church in their lives. The older men and women retain their simple ~~superstitious~~ faith. In many cases they cannot read or speak English and so have not encountered subversive influences. Not so with the younger Ukrainians. North American civilization is secular. Every Canadian idea which Ukrainians adopt seems to sap the influence of the church. The public-school system is entirely secular. There has been no attempt on the part of the churches to introduce religious education into the schools. The curriculum is set by the Provincial Department of Education; the language is English and the teachers are trained in the Provincial Normal Schools. In recent years, the teachers have been young Ukrainians, but this has not altered the character of the training in the Ukrainian Canadian schools. Dance halls



too are a secular influence. To the younger Ukrainian they constitute an important part of his social life. There is no restriction imposed by the churches against dancing. The Canadian ideas of freedom ~~and liberty~~ have had their effects on the attitude of many to the church. The Ukrainians in Canada feel that the priest no longer has the upper hand as formerly in Europe. They become suspicious of their priest and openly disregard his admonitions.

The church is less important to the younger generation. Priests of every church complain of the difficulty in holding the youth to the traditional conception of religion. They ascribe it to the lack of priests. It may be traced also to the impact of a civilization entirely alien to the Ukrainian churches. In areas entirely Ukrainian and far from communities of other races the church is still somewhat a factor in the young peoples' lives. In areas of mixed nationalities, its influence on the youth is slight. There are stories told of young people who go to church with their parents but remain outside the church during the service.

As assimilation proceeds, what will be the fate of the Ukrainian Churches? The language of the service is Slavonic or Ukrainian. The priests speak in Ukrainian. The clergy follow rather than lead in the process of assimilation. Will the churches make adjustments to retain their existence? The Greek Catholics might eventually become Roman Catholics,

that is Canadian Catholics. There is no tendency for that to happen now. Quite the opposite is true. But with advancing assimilation the Ukrainian-Polish antagonism might be forgotten. The transfer for these people from the Greek to the Latin rite might be effected. The future of the Russian Orthodox Church is dubious. The members of this church may some day transfer their support to the Ukrainian Orthodox Church. This would not be difficult as there are no doctrinal differences. With the Ukrainian Orthodox Church lies the religious future of those Ukrainians who are not Catholics. Since the lay members of the church have a great influence in church policy they may direct the church along the road to assimilation. The church may in time modify its ritual and become more Protestant in form. The Ukrainian however does not take kindly to worship devoid of ceremony. The Ukrainian Orthodox Church might conceivably merge with the Anglican Church. This step would not mean drastic change. The sacraments are similar, e.g. confession, communion and ordination of the priesthood. Both churches have the episcopal system. For the present, however, the Ukrainian Church is <sup>s</sup>averse to <sup>A</sup>assimilation, and fosters Ukrainian nationalism. It is not ready yet to make any adjustment. If it continues to be an instrument of the nationalists this adjustment may never come.

## The Conflicting Ideals of Ukrainian Leaders

Standing then about my grave  
Make ye haste, your fetters tear!  
Sprinkled with the foemans blood  
Then shall rise your freedom fair

Then shall spring a kinship great,  
This a family new and free,  
Sometimes in your glorious state,  
Gently, kindly, speak of me.

Shevchenko.

Reverberations of the Ukrainian struggles in pre-war Europe echoed in the distant Ukrainian settlements of Canada. The Ukrainian settlers here, though anti-Polish, had not yet been touched by nationalist propaganda. The majority were illiterate and understood very vaguely, if at all, the connotation of the word Ukrainian. Their immediate loyalty went to their church. But though no strong feelings of national identity existed among Ukrainian Canadians, the soil was rich for the seeds of nationalism. The Ukrainian intellectuals imbued with the aspirations of their Galician homeland dedicated themselves to the task of planting the seeds. Throughout Canada they established institutes-educational centres for the dissemination of national propaganda. These were established in 1916 at Edmonton, Saskatoon and Winnipeg.

The rise and fall of the Ukrainian Republic focussed Ukrainian attention on nationalism. It aroused a national

consciousness which was further intensified by the tragic stories of post-war immigrants who had served under Petlura. The word Ukrainian became more widely used. Those who had hitherto acknowledged their nationality to be Austrian or Russian now claimed with some pride to be Ukrainian. From 1918 on, English Canadians became increasingly aware of national feeling among Ukrainian Canadians.

This growing national awareness in the post-war period has led to organized propaganda through the medium of societies. Three nationalist groups compete for leadership in the cause. They are the Ukrainian Self Reliance League, The National Union, the United Hetman Organization. A fourth group the United Labour Farmer Temple Association stresses internationalism.

The Ukrainain Self Reliance League, known in the Ukrainian as "Samostyniki", (the abbreviated form is S.U.S.) has its origin in the original nationalist movement that led to the birth of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church. Though Samostyniki was not incorporated until 1927 the spirit of the organization had existed among the Ukrainian Canadian nationalists since 1911. The organization gave purpose and direction to the efforts of these self-appointed leaders.

The aim of S.U.S. is to give cultural leadership to Ukrainian Canadians. The society endeavors to foster and develop a love for Ukrainian culture. It emphasizes Ukrain-



ian history, Ukrainian literature and Ukrainian customs. Members of S.U.S. fear that knowledge of Ukrainian affairs will pass entirely from the minds of Ukrainian people unless their organization makes a definite and energetic attempt to keep this knowledge alive. S.U.S. considers the national question in Europe sufficient justification for establishing and maintaining Ukrainian culture in Canadian society. Ukrainians in Canada should be ready to support the cause of an independent Ukraine. Ukrainian immigrant societies should function as similar organizations among Polish-American and Irish-American immigrants prior to the Great War. The Ukrainian's failure to achieve their national aspirations in the last war was partly due, according to Samostyniki, to the disorganization and the resultant inability of Ukrainian immigrants to be of service to their mother Ukraine. Future service to the cause can only be accomplished if the rank and file of Ukrainian Canadians are emotionally conscious of the meaning of Ukrainian nationalism.

Members of Samostyniki are as ardent in their Canadianism as in their Ukrainianism. They decry the low cultural standards of their own people. These men protest their loyalty to Canada and affirm that they are contributing to the future well being of Canada by raising those standards before assimilation takes place. The society has declared open warfare on communism among Ukrainians, and for this

reason considers that it deserves well of Canada.

The society is Canadian in its origin and has no European connections. Rival organizations accuse Samostyniki of affiliation with the Ukrainian Democratic Society in Galicia which follows a policy of fraternization with the Poles. This is tantamount to a charge of treason to the cause. S.U.S. indignantly deny this and declare they are more concerned with life in Canada than in the Ukraine. Their desire for an independent Ukraine is genuine but they hope to achieve it by publicizing the Ukrainian question and arousing sympathy of the world generally for the Ukrainian people. The S.U.S. condemn extremists and terrorists in Poland and hope the whole Ukrainian question will achieve a peaceful solution.

Samostyniki claims to have the majority of Ukrainian Canadian professional and business men in its membership, a claim which is granted by other organizations. The organization, if weak in followers, boasts strong leadership. S.U.S. is not concerned with extending its membership but it is concerned with consolidating its influence and leadership over Ukrainian activity. Members of S.U.S. are confident of their own ability to direct Ukrainian affairs, and are jealous of any non-Ukrainian attempt to interfere in that sphere. There is unquestionably a conscious feeling of superiority in the attitude of the typical Samostyniki to

wards other Ukrainian organizations.

The organization appeals to the Ukrainian intellectual on grounds other than pure devotion to the national cause. It appeals to the economic interests of this class in Ukrainian society. The lot of the professional man of Ukrainian birth in Canadian life is not entirely happy. Forced to bear the brunt of the accumulated prejudice against the Ukrainian, he finds it impossible to practice his profession among Canadians other than his own race. Doctors and Lawyers almost without exception draw their clientèle from the Ukrainian population. Teachers with Ukrainian names find it impossible to secure positions in English speaking districts. To survive, the Ukrainian business and professional man must assure himself of the support of his own race. This support is not easy to obtain. For centuries Ukrainian peasants have been doing business with Jewish traders. They are accustomed to buy and to seek legal and medical advice from people who are not Ukrainian. This adds to the difficulty of the Ukrainian middle class in Canada. Although it is unfair to censure the entire group for a spurious nationalism a good deal of their nationalism is self-seeking and dictated more by economic interests than a deep devotion to the aspirations of the Ukrainian race. Some members of S.U.S. are not above fanning nationalist flames for business reasons.

The organization denies that it is affiliated with any Ukrainian Church. Members of any church are free to join the organization. The only restrictions are that members must be Ukrainians and must not be communists. The men who organized the Ukrainian Orthodox Church however also organized Samostyniki. The members of the organization, if they attend any church, attend it. Few Greek Catholics have joined Samostyniki.

Samostyniki has an affiliated organization for younger Ukrainians, familiarly known as S.U.M.K. the initials of the full Ukrainian title. The aims and methods of "Sumk" do not vary appreciably from the parent organization. The junior group confines itself exclusively to extending knowledge of Ukrainian language and culture leaving the political question to the senior organization. This youth movement organized only in 1934 seems to have an appeal to Ukrainian youth, perhaps because of the social opportunities it affords. It may be through youth organizations that Ukrainian nationalists will leave a permanent stamp on Ukrainian Canadian society.

National Union, known to Ukrainians as U.N.O., a second Ukrainian national society is of recent origin. It was organized in 1932 by an insurgent group from the ranks of Samostyniki. The break resulted from a clash of opinion between the old and the new, the pre-war and post-war im-



migrant. The latter is usually a veteran of the Ukrainian struggle in Europe. He has been baptized in the national cause in Petlura's army and is quite sure that he is destined to lead the national movement in Canada. Filled with strong feeling for the Ukrainian homeland he was impatient with, as it seemed to him, the lukewarm nationalism of the Ukrainian with a Canadian viewpoint. The result has been the addition of another organization by these ultra-patriots to the already over<sup>d</sup>crowded Ukrainian picture.

The motto of this society decorates the front page of their official organ "The New Pathway" and sums up their political philosophy-"The State over All". Members of National Union call themselves Ukrainian fascists. Their desire is to set up an independent Ukraine with a fascist government. They are anti-soviet and pro-nazi. Members of this society affect militarism and openly support the actions of Ukrainian terrorists ~~(the organization of Ukrainian nationalists)~~ in Poland. Like the S.U.S. the National Union protests the loyalty of its members to Canada and offers to prove it in true fascist fashion.

Members are drawn mainly from the post-war immigrants and from those whose nationalism is more ardent than that of the opportunistic S.U.S. Most of the members belong to the Ukrainian Orthodox Church, although some Greek Catholics join U.N.O. They have a youth organization known as M.U.N.

initials of the Ukrainian title (pronounced "Moon") whose aims and methods are similar to the parent organization. The National Union has not a large following. The spirit of this organization is so foreign to Canada that it is not likely to achieve much success among Ukrainian Canadians. The organization will probable merge with Samostyniki after patriotic fervor has cooled.

The third nationalist group, the United Hetmen( or in Ukrainian "Hetmanschi") was incorporated in 1926. It has a Greek Catholic membership. Walter Bossey, a veteran officer of the Austrian and Ukrainian armies was organizer of the first group in Toronto. Official newspapers are the "The Canadian Farmer" (Winnipeg ) and "The Ukrainian Toiler" (Toronto). The Ukrainian News, Edmonton, though in reality a church paper, devotes some space to proselytizing for the "Hetmen".

The aim of Hetmanschi as with other nationalist groups is to achieve an independent Ukraine. They disagree with other groups about the form of government in the future Ukrainian state. Their political views are those expressed by the Classocracy league of Canada, an organization established through the influence of Walter Bossey about the time of Hetmanschi's birth. The Classocrats, though appealing to all Christians, were concerned with arousing Catholic opinion in support of the league's political philosophy.

this philosophy is derived from that of Lepinsky, a Ukrainian and member of Skorapatsky's ill-fated cabinet.

Classocrats criticize modern political philosophies for their poverty in Christian idealism. They consider the underlying philosophy of democracy, which they call rationalism to be negative towards belief in God. Modern democracies though ostensibly christian are indifferent to its teachings. They stand half way between christian idealism and a socialistic materialism. Democratic states are controlled by an unchristianlike plutocracy of wealth. This plutocracy governs the masses by offering them a spurious liberty in the form of the franchise. The socialists carry the religious indifferentism of democracy to its logical end, the complete negation of God. The inspirational philosophy of the socialist state is materialism which means atheism. Classocrats consider that because of its virile atheism socialism(or communism) is a menace to Christian civilization.

That this danger has been recognized in Europe is evident in the fascist movement. Classocrats approve of fascism in so far as that system remedies the errors of capitalism and develops government by an aristocracy. They oppose however the one party rule in the fascist state. Hetmen insist that their state will draw its aristocracy from all classes rather than from one party. Classocrats would substitute for the fascist motto "The State above All"

their own "God and the State above all".

The Classocratic state draws its inspiration from the philosophy of universalism. Universalism is creative and positive for it is the essence of christian idealism. It derives its name from the fact that unlike fascist nationalism it provides inspiration for all nations. Universalism recognizes that man has an immortal soul. It maintains that man's intelligence can establish the existence of a supreme and infinite Spiritual Being. The worship of this Supreme Being becomes the centre of all activity and is productive of the highest dignity in mankind. Family, community and state affairs are part of this all important activity. The Classocratic state serves as a means for collective uplifting not only of itself but, through example, of all other states. The state is valued according to its ethical ideals. States of the world are to be unified, not in a political but a spiritual unity derived from the universal observance of the natural laws emanating from a Supreme Being.

The Classocrats emphasize the need for unity within the state also and aim to achieve that unity through division. The broad divisions in the state are classes or occupational groups-agricultural, industrial, commercial and intellectual. The divisions within each class are trade unions or guilds and corporations. These guilds and corporations achieve class unity by organizing different sections



of the occupational group. The different occupational groups merge with one another to achieve a unified state. For the machinery of government, each class forms a council with limited jurisdiction from the different guilds and corporations. The different class councils merge to form a united local or municipal class council. Councils exist in provincial geographical divisions. A United Class National State Council forms the central legislative and executive body for the entire state. The members of this central council are drawn from the superior men in the provincial councils. They are the aristocracy or "New elite", a christian brotherhood supporting a christian monarch or "hetman" who symbolizes in his person the unity of the state. He symbolizes the unity of all classes bound together by love and toil in the name of God.

The United Hetmen have an affiliated junior organization reflecting Hetmanschi ideals, known as "Sich". The Hetmen claim the sympathy of at least 50% of all Greek Catholic<sup>c</sup>s. The actual membership, drawn mainly from the cities is not great in Alberta. Leaders in the Hetmen organization are post-war immigrants of Greek Catholic faith. Hetmen protest their love for Canada, and at the same time affirm that they are the true Ukrainian nationalists. To prove this, they point with some pride to their school for war pilots, established in the United States to train pilots

who will serve the Ukraine in the next war. The success of the Hetmanschi among Greek Catholics is dubious for, although they have the tacit approval of the Greek Catholic clergy their ideology is foreign to the Canadian atmosphere.

Though all three organizations wish to establish the Ukrainian state, they differ about how this is to be achieved. Samostyniki insists that it should be achieved through publicizing the Ukrainian question. National Union favours terrorism while the Hetmanschi, though not approving of terror look forward to a European war and its assumed result. a new deal for the Ukraine. Samostyniki is not concerned with the type of government in the new Ukraine, though some members are republicans. National Union favours a fascist state while the Hetmen wish to establish a Christian Monarchy. The Hetman or Monarch whom they support is Skorapatsky, resident of Berlin since his brief rule in Ukraine during the German occupation. All organizations protest their loyalty to Canada. Samostyniki is however more truly Canadian for its roots are here and the fundamental interests of the society are in Canada not in Europe.

All societies send money to Poland to support the Ukrainian movement there. This financial aid goes to support hospitals, schools, community centres and revolutionary organizations. Samostyniki which has, since 1931, refused further help to revolutionary organizations, contributes

only to the upkeep of Ukrainian schools and hospitals in Galicia. National Union sends funds to revolutionary military organizations. The netmen also make contributions to their society in Europe. The money is raised by concerts and plays in the nationalist halls throughout Canada. The actual amount sent each year is difficult to determine. S.U.S., for a three month period in 1931 raised \$4000 for the cause. The past six years has seen however a decided dropping off in financial aid from Canada.

The history of a fourth society, the United Labour Farmer Temple Association is the story of Ukrainian radicalism in Canada. After 1907, the Ukrainian proletariat began migrating to Canada. Instead of settling immediately on land as their peasant predecessors had done, these Ukrainian workmen sought employment in mine, factory and forest. Later, when Ukrainain intellectuals, many of whom were members of the Social Democratic Party migrated, they gave leadership to a proletariat already conscious of the class struggle. Many of these intellectuals became nationalists. Others formed a Ukrainian Social Democratic Party in Canada. In 1909 a newspaper known as the "Working People" was established as the <sup>avodn</sup> voice of the socialist movement among the Ukrainians. As a result of rising anti-soviet feeling, the government in 1918 disbanded the Social Democratic Party and destroyed the press of "The Working People". Ukrainian

labour leaders were forced to find other means of furthering the class struggle.

They found the means in dramatic and cultural clubs already established among Ukrainian workmen, some affiliated with the defunct U.S.O., others independent of any organization. The first Labour Temple or club received its charter in 1918. Hereafter radical leaders worked through the various Labour Temples. The period between 1918 and 1924 was spent in extending Labour Temple organizations among Ukrainian workers. In 1924-5 the Labour organization was extended to include farmers and the new society, the United Labour Farmer Temple Association, received its Dominion charter.

Although the U.L.F.T.A. is ostensibly a cultural and not a political organization, its ideology is communistic. In its cultural program it stresses the perfidy of capitalism and the inevitability of the class struggle. In the 1930 convention the society declared itself a revolutionary organization and expressed the need of focussing its attention on mass revolutionary work. The organization declares however that it has no connection with the Communist Party. This may be true but leaders in the Farmer Labour Movement gave valuable assistance in forming the Communist Party in 1924. Members of U.L.F.T.A. organized the Farmers' Unity League, a radical organization which was responsible for the



Alberta grain strike of 1934. The U.L.F.T.A. has supported all demonstrations and hunger marches of the depression period. The organization is something more than a society for adult education!

The U.L.F.T.A. draws its support from both Galician and Bukovinian elements. The strong Russophil leaning of the Bukovinians has helped the movement among these people. All churches denounce the U.L.F.T.A. as an enemy of organized religion. The society has had, however a strong appeal during the depression years.

The U.L.F.T.A. denounces the nationalists as capitalists, enemies of the workers, and as propagandists of fascism. They point to the Soviet Ukraine as the logical answer to the nationalists demands for an Ukrainian state. Nationalists protest that the U.L.F.T.A. is bringing discredit to all Ukrainians. The Farmer Labour group reply that nationalism has hindered assimilation and made the lot of the Ukrainians more difficult in Canada.

These are the societies which are campaigning for Ukrainian membership and support. It is they who are attempting to form Ukrainian opinion in Alberta, who are directing Ukrainian activity and aspiring to Ukrainain leadership. Through speakers, through the press, through branches of the organizations every Ukrainian, young and old, has been made aware of conflicting demands for Ukrainian leadership.

In the Ukrainian community in Alberta, the Samostyniki organization flourishes wherever the Ukrainian Orthodox church has taken root. A branch exists at Radway, supported mainly by the business and professional men in the town. Greek Catholics in Radway show little interest in the national question. They are apparently indifferent to the exhortations of the Hetmanschi organization. At Eldorena, south of Radway, the National Union has a branch, established through the influence of one of the original organizers of the society. (V.Kupchenko)

The village of Smoky Lake is divided between nationalist and communist. The nationalists, are members of Samostyniki. The U.L.F.P.L. which has strong support in the village and surrounding district forms a stout opposition to the nationalists. Control of the village council, the school board and the various civic offices is divided almost equally between the two groups. Feelings run high and recriminations are bitter. This dissension creates an unpleasant atmosphere which is hardly conducive to community co-operation.

Among the Bukovinians, only those who have joined the Ukrainian Orthodox Church are concerned with nationalism. The large Russian-Orthodox population south of Paken to Andrew and Wostok are indifferent to nationalism and untouched by its appeal. Generally these people recognize

that they are Ukrainian, but they do not go beyond that. In the villages of Willingdon, Andrew and St. Michaels certain business and professional men sympathize with S.U.S. and are members but take no active part in furthering the program of the society among the farmers of their district. Between Two Hills and Myrnam the influence of the U.L.F.T.A. organization predominates. Among the Greek Catholics at Myrnam there is a Hetmanschi organization which has a limited support. The United Hetmen have also organized in the Greek Catholic community of Durwent.

At Chipman there are no nationalist organizations and no one participates actively in any nationalist program. There is some sympathy for Hetmen aims at Mundare, but the influence of the organization has not penetrated to any extent among the farmers. The predominant influence in the lives of these people is the Greek Catholic Church which, though tolerant of nationalism, is more concerned with church than state. At Vegreville among the Ukrainain Orthodox there is a Samostyniki organization supported by professional and business men of the town.

The rural Ukrainian in Alberta has not to any extent joined any nationalist society. North of the river, Samostyniki is active and has some influence. In the Catholic south, the Hetmen have achieved a slight success. The followers of the National Union are insignificant and are

limited to one or two localities. Sympathy for the object of the nationalist organization may exist, but has not led to active participation by more than a few. The Russian Orthodox are indifferent and the Greek Catholics are passive.

In spite of the energy with which the organizations are pursuing their programs, the ultimate success of Ukrainian nationalism among the rank and file of the people may be doubted. The nationalist ideal is distant, not related to the daily lives of the people and is almost impossible to achieve. The nationalism of Hetmanschi or the National Union offers nothing tangible for accomplishment. Samostyniki concerns itself more than the others with the Canadian life but its appeal is to a small educated group. The success of this organization depends on the success of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church which is its instrument for extending nationalist propaganda. The Greek Catholic Church though it has climbed on the nationalist band-wagon for the present is primarily concerned with extending Catholicism not Ukrainianism. As to the internationalism of U.L.F.T.A. its appeal varies with the price of wheat though the appeal remains constant to farmers on sub-marginal lands.

Nationalism has done very little to remove the mountain of prejudice against the Ukrainians in Canada. In fact the term has become ~~an~~ anathema to English Canadians. English business men in Ukrainian towns suspect the nationalists of



undermining their business. The Protestant and Roman Catholic clergy decry the activities of the nationalists as defeating their efforts among Ukrainians. The nationalist is accused of self-seeking opportunism. He is accused of disloyalty to Canada, of hindering assimilation, of increasing the whole racial problem. These accusations are partly true and partly misconceptions. Nevertheless the nationalist stands indicted on one serious charge that he is doing very little to assist his people to merge into the Canadian nation.

## Chapter VI

### Some Thoughts On Assimilation

The word assimilation is <sup>often</sup> loosely applied. Two groups of people living in contiguous association exert an influence on each other. The group greater in numbers, in culture and in prestige will eventually absorb the lesser group. The process is necessarily slow regulated by the strength of the national or racial consciousness of the lesser group. The individual is completely assimilated when his fundamental behavior is that of the assimilators. He may be completely at home with his own racial stock. He may understand their customs and viewpoints but his own psychology is that of the larger group. He will choose his mate, marry and live as the people whose emotional life he has adopted.

Canadian ideas are steadily impinging on those of Ukrainians, altering and modifying the Ukrainian way of living. Assimilation or fusion has been in progress since their early settlement in Alberta. The first step towards assimilation was taken when the Ukrainian immigrant broke the ties of his old home to find a new life in Canada. It is a process that cannot be completed however in one or even two generations. Considering the handicaps of block settlement some progress has been achieved.

That the Ukrainians should achieve a Canadian viewpoint is highly desirable. There is too much sectionalism

in Canadian political and social life without continuing that of immigrant groups. Canada needs more than anything else a national unity and a national viewpoint. Canadians have a real problem in <sup>reconciling</sup> ~~blending~~ the divergent views of French and English citizens. Add to these views, those of every immigrant group who have settled in blocks sufficiently large to maintain a degree of national unity, and the problem becomes one of colossal proportions. There is nothing more dangerous, nothing more detrimental to national progress than the spirit of "Little Ukrainianism". The eventual and complete fusion of Ukrainian people with the other stocks that ~~have~~ settled in Western Canada is a social and political necessity.

There are divergent views on the speed with which this fusion should take place. Ultra-Canadian organizations insist on immediate and rapid <sup>5</sup>/<sub>A</sub> assimilation of the central European. Ukrainian nationalists would, if possible, prevent assimilation or impede its progress for some time. Too rapid assimilation would destroy the culture which Ukrainians might contribute to Western Canada. It would have and has had in many cases, and unsettling effect on the stability of Ukrainian society. The aims of the nationalists however, if achieved, would be disastrous to the Canadian nation.

There is no reliable measure of assimilation. There is no way of striking an average to indicate how far Ukrainians have become assimilated to Canadian life. Certain Ukrainian

Canadians are entirely assimilated; others, in spite of a Canadian education, cultivate Ukrainianism. By considering phases of their social and political life some light is thrown on their progress in assimilation.

The Ukrainian wedding ceremony is elaborate with ritual and custom. The Bukovinian ceremony is more involved than the modified Galician practices. The groom calls for the bride on the morning of the wedding and receives the blessing of her parents. After a long ceremony at the church he takes his bride back to her parent's home and returns for her late in the afternoon. Dancing, eating, and drinking goes on sometimes at the home of both bride and groom, all afternoon and far into the night. Sometimes these celebrations last for three days. The whole community gathers to celebrate the union. It is a gala occasion and provides a pleasant break in the summer's work. The celebration is not without its practical side. Every man has an opportunity to kiss the bride by contributing perhaps a dollar for her future welfare. The custom is justified by its financial success.

There has been recently a decrease in typical Ukrainian weddings. This is principally due to excessive costs, but there has been a tendency for Ukrainian young people to adopt the quiet weddings of the English Canadians. A groom pointed out that he celebrated his wedding Ukrainian style,



to please the parents of the bride.

Ukrainian young people like other Canadians, chose their mates freely. In the early days of Ukrainian settlement there were instances of fathers arranging the marriages of their children. This was discouraged by the church however. There are no instances of this now unless in the very remote districts.

"Intermarriage is at once an index and a method of assimilation"<sup>#</sup> The following tables are based on information from the Department of Public Health in Alberta as recorded in 1927 and 1935.

#### Marriages of Ukrainian Men

Grooms belonging to Greek Churches year	Brides belonging to Greek Churches	Brides of other denominations	% of intermar- riage
1927	364	236	28 7%
1935	451	402	49 10%

#### Marriages of Ukrainian Women

Brides belonging to Greek Churches year	Grooms belonging to Greek Churches	Grooms of other denominations	% of intermar- riage
1927	376	236	40 10%
1935	491	402	89 18%

The percentages are based on the assumption that men

<sup>#</sup> Canada and the new Canadians--John A. Cormie D.D.

or women belonging to denominations other than the Greek Churches are non-Ukrainian. This is not necessarily the case. Nor do the conclusions take into consideration marriages contracted between Ukrainians and Poles, who though Roman Catholic are nearer to Ukrainian than Canadian standards. For this reason the percentages do not give an accurate picture of intermarriage. The figures do indicate however some increase in intermarriage, particularly between Ukrainian women and non-Ukrainian men. The higher percentages in this case is probably explained by the fact that there are obviously fewer obstacles to such a union.

The percentage of intermarriages is still low. A factor working against intermarriage is block settlement. When a district is completely Ukrainian there is very little opportunity for racial intermarriage. Even in mixed English and Ukrainian districts there is relatively little intermarriage. Differences in home environment act as a deterrent. English Canadians of the middle class frown on such an alliance. Intermarriage takes place usually among the highly educated or among the most ignorant of each race. Racial prejudice is strongest among middle class English Canadians.

The status of the Ukrainian woman has changed since her settlement in Alberta. The wife of the immigrant settler worked in the fields with her husband. She wore no shoes and dressed in simple clothing. There are many such

women in the block yet. The Ukrainian Canadian girl has different ideas however on her wifely duties. She no longer works in the fields. She has discarded the typical Ukrainian head shawl and she wears the latest styles that the mail-order houses can provide.

Though lacking practice in self-government the Ukrainians have taken to our political institutions with some aptitude. They excel in local politics. Unfortunately their interest proceeds, not so much from public spirit as from the rivalry existing between opposing groups. When the clash is between nationalists and communists, the local struggle for power is especially bitter. The type of teacher hired is often determined by the political colour of the school board. Municipal politics in the villages is the testing ground for the strength of the factions. Although such struggles do not add to the dignity of public office they at least provide interest which is often lacking in local politics.

The Ukrainians are just beginning to feel their way into the field of Provincial and Dominion politics. Before the war political parties had Ukrainian agents working to secure the votes of these new citizens for English candidates. Since the war however, Ukrainians have, more often than not, been represented by men of their own nationality. There are at present two Ukrainian members in the Provincial House

representing constituencies that lie in the block. Until 1935 the representative for the Dominion Parliament, Mr. Luchkovich was also Ukrainian. The demand for national representation is partly due to the fact that there are young Ukrainian Canadians capable of representing their people. It is partly due to the growing national consciousness since 1918.

Ukrainians consistently voted Liberal in the early years after their naturalization. They came to Canada under a Liberal administration and so regarded the Liberals as their especial benefactors. The election act of 1917, passed by a Conservative government disfranchised these people as aliens. The memory of this still rankles in Ukrainian minds. The U.F.A. movement in 1921 gained a good many Ukrainian followers. In the 1930 Provincial and Dominion elections the Ukrainians elected two U.F.A. candidates (Messrs. Goresky and Miskew) to the Provincial house and re-elected Mr. Luchkovich (U.F.A.) to the Dominion house. Ukrainian constituencies in the 1935 elections, however, elected a complete social credit representation. The political metamorphoses of most Ukrainians have been Liberal, U.F.A. and Social Credit.

The franchise was a new experience to Ukrainian immigrants and one might expect unusual results. There is little to indicate however that apart from local politics,



Ukrainian political behavior is any different to that of older Canadians. At one time the Ukrainians voted according to the leadership of some influential citizen. This period of "Tammany politics" seems over. Their choice of candidate is dictated now by the economic interests of the farming class. They supported the U.F.A. when that movement seemed to offer so much to Western farmers. Ukrainians were no more invulnerable to the attractive promises of Social Credit than other Albertans. Even nationalism failed to stem the rush to Social Credit support. Mr. Luchkovich was defeated in Vegreville by Mr. Hayhurst, an English Canadian.

The public school system has proved a most efficient agent in the assimilation of immigrant peoples in North America. Alberta has been singularly fortunate in her educational policy among Ukrainians. School districts were organized between the years 1907 and 1915. The Provincial Department of Education appointed a supervisor of schools, Mr. R. R. Fletcher with headquarters at Wostok to take complete charge of organization work. Mr. Fletcher was successful in overcoming any antagonism which the Ukrainians held towards a public school system. In the early years schools operated in the summer months only. Gradually the Ukrainians accepted the Department's policy of yearly schools. At present practically all schools operate on a yearly basis.

A distinctive educational feature in the Ukrainian

area has been the development of the two-room rural school. This development resulted from the large and increasing school population in Ukrainian districts. Two-room schools are more frequent in the Ukrainian block than in any other part of Alberta. Though lacking in facilities they have done much towards giving students training beyond public school grades. Usually instruction is given in the first two years of the high school course. Many students begin their high school training in these schools and complete it in neighboring villages or towns.

The villages of the block provide excellent high school facilities. Radway, Smoky Lake, Willingdon, Hairy Hill, Chipman and Mundare have two teacher high schools. Other villages have single teacher high schools providing training to grade XI. The school buildings in the newer villages along the C.P.R. are handsome structures and are quite modern.

The educational development is partly due to governmental pressure. It is partly due, as well, to the fact that Ukrainians have been quick to appreciate the advantages of education. Most parents are anxious to give their children as much training<sup>in</sup> as they can afford. Ukrainians still remember their first years in Canada when their ignorance made them fair game for numbers of unscrupulous agents.

The schools are staffed almost entirely by Ukrainian

teachers. This has occurred only within the last seven years. More Ukrainian teachers have graduated recently from the provincial normal schools and the tendency has been for the Ukrainian school boards to employ these teachers exclusively. There has been a demand recently for lessons in Ukrainian after school hours which necessitates a teacher of Ukrainian descent. A reaction against employing English teachers has resulted from the knowledge that Ukrainian teachers are not employed in English districts. Quite often the teacher is the son or daughter of some influential ratepayer in the district.

The teachers are qualified according to provincial regulations. Unfortunately many speak English with a marked accent. Such teachers are unable to teach English properly. The language on the playgrounds of a Ukrainian Canadian school is quite often nothing more than jargon. A Ukrainian teacher however is able to play a greater part in community life. The tendency of the English teacher was to hold apart entirely from the life of the community. Frequently the Ukrainian teacher becomes involved in the district warfare between the factions in Ukrainian society. In this way his position is sometimes less secure than an English teacher independent of Ukrainian politics.

The community hall is often used as an educational centre. Ukrainian youth organizations, where they flourish

are active in the study of Ukrainian culture and the discussions of questions related to farm life in Canada. The U.L.F.T.A. carries on an educational program in the localities in which it has strength. Summer schools are often held in halls to train children in the Ukrainian language.

The school is the spearhead of the advance of Canadian ideas into solidly Ukrainian areas. It cannot be expected however to assimilate the children of our immigrant settlers in one generation. Home environment exerts too strong an influence on the individual's life to be overcome by a relatively short period of school training. The school however opens the community to the Canadian influences of press and radio.

As yet the English language newspaper is rarely read in rural Ukrainian homes. Some families subscribe to weekly or monthly farm journals. The majority of Ukrainians however read only the publications of the different Ukrainian societies. The press is not yet taking much part in the assimilative process. Neither is the radio. The rural Ukrainian Canadian rarely owns a radio. He regards it as an English luxury.

Block settlement as a drawback to assimilation has been stressed. The national movement in all its ramifications is also a stumbling block to the fusion of Ukrainians into Canadian society. The avowed purpose of all societies



is to check the assimilative process. The steady bombardment of propaganda from platform, press and pulpit is not without its effect. The influence of the junior branches has fastened the minds of youth on nationalist issues. If Ukrainian youth, through an appeal to national pride can be aroused over a matter remote from Canadian interests, they are far from being completely assimilated.

Many young educated Ukrainian Canadians show no interest in Ukrainain affairs and are anxious to participate fully in Canadian life. If they enter business or professional life however they are soon aware of the strong prejudices held towards Ukrainians. Frustrated in their attempts to earn a living among English people they are forced to turn to their own people. They become, more often than not, bitter nationalists. Thus a good deal of nationalism results from the discrimination against Ukrainians on the part of the older Canadian. Ukrainian Canadians are quick to resent the fact that, although their numbers are great, few are employed in the civil service. They resent the discrimination against Ukrainian teachers. It is a sore point with the nationalists that there is no Ukrainian representative in the Executive Council. No Ukrainian Canadian has ever been appointed to the judiciary. It may be argued that Ukrainians have not yet proved their ability to hold such positions. The fact remains that the appointment of even a

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capable man would meet with the disapproval of the majority of older Canadians.

The efforts of nationalist societies are not to be condemned entirely. They have given leadership to Ukrainian society where leadership was lacking. All societies, especially Samostyniki, emphasize the need for education among Ukrainians. The favourable attitude of Ukrainians towards education has been fostered by nationalists. Nationalist societies are working with commendable zeal to raise the cultural standards of their people. They are working to develop and maintain Ukrainian culture. Furthermore they have attacked the problem of the Ukrainian youth, who, since losing interest in their churches have no real guiding force in their lives.

Nationalists contend that love for the homeland is a pre-requisite for good Canadian citizenship. They contend that only those who have no national culture, the truly ignorant, assimilate readily. There is a modicum of truth in the statement. The Russian Orthodox assimilate more readily than the Ukrainian Orthodox, since they have no loyalties apart from their church. Whether this results in poorer Canadian citizenship is a moot question. In spite of the contributions of the nationalists, it would have been better for both Canada and the Ukrainians if nationalism had not stirred Ukrainian society and if Ukrainian immigrants

had quietly accepted Canadian ideas in the natural course of assimilation.

## Conclusion:

### The Ukrainian as a Citizen -----

The idea is often expressed that Canada erred in admitting Ukrainian immigrants. While these people have raised problems for both sociologists and jurists the conclusion is neither just nor accurate. Ukrainians in Alberta produce a large share of the agricultural wealth of the province. They have developed unfavourable lands which might otherwise have lain idle. Without previous experience and with little government aid Ukrainians have proved themselves better than average farmers. Sifton's opinions of the Central European as a farmer have been justified.

It is true that Ukrainians in general do not enjoy good reputations as law-abiding citizens. Lawyers and magistrates who have experience with these people comment on the relatively high number of convictions among them. Mr. Stanley Rands in a survey# of the inmates of Fort Saskatchewan gaol for 1932 came to the conclusion, that no other group, with the possible exception of the Poles, had as large a proportion in the gaol population relative to its proportion of the general population in Alberta. Ukrainians constituted 2.6 percent of the 1,188 prisoners whereas they formed only 0.4 percent (Mr. Rands' figures) of Alberta's total population. His conclusion corroborates general impressions and constitutes somewhat damning evidence against

# Thesis 1932 ---- Mr. S. Rands.



the Ukrainian as a citizen. However there are extenuating circumstances which must be considered and which alter the picture considerably. The Ukrainians are passing through a period of conflict between two completely different social and cultural environments. The Ukrainian immigrants soon found that proper behavior according to their standards might not be considered proper by Canadians. This was evidenced by their frequent infringement of the liquor laws during prohibition. Ukrainians failed to understand why making or selling <sup>and</sup> much less drinking home-brewed liquor should constitute an indictable offence. A distinct clash of viewpoints existed on this matter.

The conflict has been accentuated in the lives of second generation Ukrainians. The young Ukrainian Canadian finds himself suspended between two cultures. The standards of the home are at variance with those of the state. Frequently the Ukrainian youth rejects home standards without replacing them with Canadian ideas. He loses respect for all authority. Lacking a definite, assured basis of behavior the young Ukrainian Canadian is more likely to commit offences against the law.

These conditions are unfortunate but are of only passing significance. They are phases of the assimilative process and have no bearing on the ultimate desirability of Ukrainians as citizens. There is every reason to believe

that as assimilation proceeds Ukrainians will achieve generally the reputation of law-abiding citizens. certainly the behavior of the <sup>great</sup> majority of these people justifies such an opinion.

Ukrainians have proved themselves on the farm and in the classroom, they have passed through a trying period of initiation and have achieved the status of citizenship. they should be treated as fellow citizens. It is true that there are aberrations within Ukrainian society that are unhealthy to Canadian interests. But these aberrations are not so serious that they cannot be corrected by a helping hand and a square deal. Tolerance is a crying need in the treatment of our Ukrainian Canadians.

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