

A SOCIAL HISTORY OF UKRAINIAN  
COTTAGE WEAVING IN ALBERTA, 1900 TO 1940

by

Linda Marie Lazarowich

A thesis  
presented in partial fulfillment of the  
requirement of the degree of  
Master of Science  
from  
Faculty of Human Ecology  
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University of Manitoba

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## ABSTRACT

Documenting the weaving traditions of Ukrainians in Alberta, between the years 1900 and 1940, was the subject of this thesis research. As a result of this project, a methodology for the systematic evaluation, and in turn authentication, of the hand woven textiles produced by this pioneer group was developed.

Initial research confirmed the activity to have been practised in the three prairie provinces; however, the most active group was found to have been located in north-eastern Alberta. Through a combination of information sources, the necessary historical data was secured that helped to confirm the existence and extent of this early home activity in Alberta. The sources explored included first-person accounts of home weaving through the forty-year period, museum and private artifact collections, as well as photographic, manuscript and serial archival collections.

The research undertaken revealed that this domestic folk art tradition was practiced in rural Alberta centres for at least four decades, and experienced two highpoints in its evolution in Canada. The first intense period of home weaving came about immediately following immigration and settlement. At that time textiles of both a utilitarian and decorative nature were woven, generally for personal consumption. The second of these two periods of activity coincided with the Depression of the 1930's. The women again took to making folk weavings of a traditional style and these were generally decorative in nature, made for sale and financial gain. Objects woven during both these periods reflected a strong preference for traditional 19th century Western Ukrainian patterns, colors, shapes, fibers and weave structures. The craft was undertaken by rural immigrant women who, in turn, taught their eldest daughters, not only to weave but also to produce and prepare the necessary fibers in the traditional manner. As well, they maintained the characteristic designs, colors and patterns common to their particular region in the old home land.

The items produced by this group included many textiles which were made from locally produced hemp, linen and wool. Objects such as skortzy (decorative wall hangings), nalavnyks (decorative bench covers), verety (utilitarian bed and bench covers), taystry (shoulder bags), lizhnyky (blankets), poyasy (sashes) and skateerts (table runners) were manufactured with pride and enthusiasm by these pioneer weavers in Alberta.



DEDICATED TO

Nicholas and Anne, my loving father and mother who, like their own immigrant parents, uprooted family and home for their children's educational, economic and cultural betterment.

Without my family's support, this project could never have been accomplished.

L.M.L.

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I wish, as well, to acknowledge the assistance of the many people who willingly shared their knowledge and expertise which has served to intensify my own interest on the subject of Canadian textiles. In addition to those individuals to whom direct reference is made, I cannot overlook the important role played by Hanka Romanchych, Mary Tkachuk and Rose Dragan in supporting and furthering my interest in Ukrainian material culture. They invested time and energy in this development and to them I am grateful. Also to be recognized here is Dorothy Burnham, the distinguished textiles curator, who suggested I undertake this study, in the first place in 1979, and has actively supported its evolution. Her dedication to studying the history, and solving the puzzles, of Canadian textiles has been both inspiration and an ideal to be followed.

The field research program was made possible through special funding from the Ukrainian Women's Association of Canada and the Ukrainian Museum of Canada. Their initiative and support were essential to this project. Funding from the Canadian Plans Research Institute of the University of Regina, and the Ewart Foundation of the University of Manitoba also assisted with the collecting of data.

My deepest appreciation of all must go to George MacBeath who inspired my return to academic studies and supported my professional growth through constant encouragement, advice, and challenge.

L.M.L.

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"Behold the work of the Old....  
Let your Heritage not be lost,  
But bequeath it as a Memory,  
Treasure and Blessing....  
Gather the lost and the hidden  
And preserve it for thy Children."

Christian Metz



## Chapter I

### INTRODUCTION

The study of Ukrainian folk weaving in Canada is an exciting story! Even to those who know the subject well, its further exploration reveals new vistas of extreme beauty and creativity. The objects remain fresh and ever-new to the eye of the admirer and scholar alike.

This old homeland art form draws its strength from a rich and venerable heritage that is steeped in Middle Eastern history. From prehistoric times, these flat woven textiles have protected and comforted their users and adorned their humble homes and provided color, warmth and a sense of artistic accomplishment to their maker. The countless yet rhythmic variations of compositions and colors that combine together to produce a distinctive regional art, gives this folk art medium its incredibly vivacious, sometimes boisterous, sometimes peaceful character.

In 1895, the arrival in Alberta of many Ukrainians from rural Eastern Europe brought the first permanent settlements to many remote areas in the north and east of that province. Fields were cleared, dwellings erected and agriculture developed. The whitewashed log house with characteristic thatched roof, along with the solitary onion domed church standing on a summit, became familiar sights as trade grew and settlement spread.

The villages, towns and farms were indeed a busy scene, with a remarkable variety of people, languages and cultural dress dominating

the landscape. These features would go on to dominate the countryside for over three decades. Many are still with us today.

As time passed and settlements became established, homemakers once again took to the old country craft of domestic weaving. Gradually equipment was fashioned of local woods by the husband or local craftsman, fibers raised, and a 19th century Eastern European folk art form was on its way to becoming established and adapted in Western Canada. This craft flourished during the early days of settlement and continued to thrive to the late 1930's. The weaver's appreciation of the land's physical appearance and changing face and life, found on the Prairies, is celebrated in the textiles produced by these women.

But how, for example, does one depict a folk art such as the magnificent *kylym*? This problem has been a difficult one because no documentation of the industry had been undertaken prior to this investigation. The challenge has been to portray both the very essence of this fiber medium and the events surrounding its production.

This study is an account of the pioneer weaving traditions of a particularly productive group of Ukrainian women in Alberta during those first years of settlement until 1940. The appeal of their work is not in its innovation but rather in its convention. Their decorative and utilitarian pieces were at times subtly refined and at other times gay and full of color, all the while incorporating traditional structural techniques, colors and patterns to create a joyful, even fanciful vision of pioneer life on the Prairies.

As textile historian Dorothy Burnham has written,

It is important that memory of the rich peasant culture from which the Ukrainian people came should be kept but, in the keeping of it, the record of its trans-

planting to a new land should not be ignored, for that also should be a great story. 1.

#### RELEVANCE OF THE STUDY

The study of Canada's early, domestic, flat textile production has tended to focus on Eastern Canada. Its history has been explored and considerable scholarly research on the subject is now available. However, in order to reflect the broad nature of this subject geographically, more emphasis is needed on research related to the ethnic textile traditions of Western Canada.

Dorothy Burnham, the internationally respected Canadian textiles historian, was among the first scholars to bring to a larger public's attention the merits of Western Canada's multicultural textile traditions. She did this through her recent exhibition and catalogue, The Comfortable Arts: Traditional Spinning and Weaving in Canada, that toured Canada during 1981 and 1982. One chapter in that publication was devoted to these ethnic traditions and, although modest in the number of objects examined, it provides a valuable basis for future research on the topic.

Unfortunately, the continual loss of indigenous artifacts makes it difficult to record this decorative folk art expression. The problem is further compounded by the attitude that a fully developed craft tradition could not have evolved nor have been actively pursued by the early immigrants to the West.

Many of the Europeans who settled the Prairies at the turn of this century brought with them a tradition of domestic hand weaving. Although prairie settlements were relatively late in development in comparison to those of Eastern Canada, their inhabitants retained

some of the customs visible in the fiber traditions of the earlier pioneering groups. In many cases, these textiles are still available for research and documentation.

To date, no authoritative study has been published on the regional or traditional textiles made in Canada by the Ukrainians. With the exception of some passing observations in exhibition brochures, a few magazine articles, no one other than Burnham has documented this folk art form or publicized its merits as a part of Canadiana textiles.

Burnham writes in The Comfortable Arts, "Of these newcomers, the Ukrainians were by far the largest group of textile makers in Western Canada but finding the weaving that they did in the early days of settlement is not easy."<sup>2</sup> She, as a result of her cross-Canada study tour to assemble articles for the exhibition, accurately identified the difficulty in securing data relating to this early Ukrainian home activity. She goes on to say,

With the modern obsession for a search for identity, the emphasis in gathering for the collections that specialize in Ukrainian culture has been to record what was done and made and worn in the various areas from which these people came. Beautiful costumes display the traditions of different parts of the Ukraine, but in most cases these costumes also come from the Old Country. Connection was maintained with those who stayed behind and Ukrainian culture in Canada has been frequently renewed by imports and by newer comers. If by any chance a piece of textile made here has been preserved, usually the area of the maker's origin in the Ukraine is recorded, rather than the time and place of making in Canada. <sup>3</sup>.

Also, part of the problem in locating the original objects lies in the fact that by the time of western settlement, store bought goods were fairly readily available therefore textile making was not considered an essential activity for many immigrants. As well, museum

collections generally portrayed the textiles and festive attire of the more affluent, rather than the utilitarian textiles and everyday clothing of the average person.

However, the problem is not insurmountable. While there is little written information about these early Ukrainian weaving practices in Canada, information on Prairie textiles of this period is still available as this region's pioneer experiences are relatively recent. A number of persons who were involved with these activities are still available for interviews, and weavings from the era can be located, although with some difficulty. To date, no similar study has been undertaken and, considering the age of the informants and importance of the activity to Western Canadian history, it is imperative that this investigative review be made at the present time.

The study will include background material on the history of Ukraine and its influence on the development of material culture with a particular focus on the development of home weaving. As well, the movement of Ukrainians to Canada during the first wave of immigration at the turn of the century, will be included to reflect the conditions facing the settlers, and in turn, affecting their textile activities.

The practice of hand weaving in Alberta will reveal details of the fibers raised for the enterprise, their preparation, the supplies and equipment of the trade, together with details of popular pieces made during this era. In analyzing these objects, specifics of individual motifs, the sequencing of patterns and popular colors used will be addressed.

A compelling motive for doing this research topic is the hope that it will draw attention to the distinctive quality of Canadian

folk art in a national and ethnic context. A great deal of literature has focussed on the art and culture of Ukrainians in Soviet Ukraine. However it is only recently that serious thought has been given to the idea that Ukrainians in Canada might have developed a decorative tradition worthy of similar attention by historians and cultural scientists.

In addition to its historical relevance, such a study is of particular value, because people in ever increasing numbers, are turning to hand arts as an expressive outlet for their creative abilities. This, and similar studies dealing with the work of other cultures, provides a rich source of design inspiration within a historical framework to potential artisans, and weavers.

The practice of weaving and other folk art forms by Ukrainians, have contributed to self-sufficiency and aided in the establishment of an old world culture in the new Canadian homeland. As historian Louis Gottschalk writes, "A historical object or artifact may reveal the artistic ability, the degree of literacy, perhaps even the hopes and aspirations of the one who made or designed it."<sup>4</sup>. Taking his view one step further, the study of indigenous Ukrainian textiles reveals that many colorful and artistic detours were made for even the most utilitarian of items, not to mention those of a decorative nature. The embellishment of everyday items was commonplace and could well reveal an optimism and a sense of purpose in both the new homeland and old world traditions.

The craftsmanship and artistry of the pieces from this group of weavers reflects the optimism of their makers and, in so doing, provides us with an intimate and personal contact with our Canadian past. And, being true artists, they have captured a timeless quality

in their textiles, and through that have created an art that flows through history.

For the writer, the undertaking of this research will be just the beginning of a long-standing need to look into our multi-cultural past. The development of this research has been a rich and rewarding experience, and a pleasure to be shared.

#### DEFINITION OF TERMS

For the purpose of this study, the following definitions have been used throughout the text:

- Cartoon:** a full scale paper pattern rendered in color; it is used as a backdrop to the vertical frame loom and guides the weaver in the placement of weft yarns.
- Design:** a plan, or scheme for the adaptation of individual design components which form the general artistic composition.<sup>5</sup>
- Ethnic:** any group which is defined or set off by race, religion, or national origin, or some combination of these categories.<sup>6</sup>
- Fabric:** general term for any manufactured clothlike material made for use in clothing, hangings and covering.<sup>7</sup>
- Kylym:** a vividly colored flat-woven, weft faced textile; hand loomed using a wool weft and a wool, linen or hemp warp; made using one or a combination of tapestry techniques; rectangular in shape, of varying size usually with fringe ends; used for decorative purposes generally on festive occasions; generally hung vertically on the wall

Kylym: (cont'd) but may be used as a furniture cover; rarely used as a floor cover; distinctive features include one or combinations of interlocking designs, large medallion motifs and repeated horizontal bands; colors and patterns vary by region, but it is a common textile type made throughout Ukraine; size varies but is approximately 135-150 cm wide by 180-210 cm long.

Lizhnyk/Kotz: bed blanket; of wool warp and weft, made using traditional twill or tabby techniques; often use plaid designs in two or more colors; loomed as one large piece; sizes vary but is approximately 135-150 cm wide by 180-210 cm long. A kotz is a blanket type common to the Hutzul region; characteristic long, napped face with white or grey background and three diamond medallion pattern using green, red and orange tints.

Motif: constitutes the individual element(s) which form the dominant idea in an artistic composition. It may also be ornamentation applied separately to embellish an object.<sup>8</sup>.

Nalavnyk: a vividly colored flat woven textile; hand loomed of wool weft and wool, linen, hemp or cotton warp; made using a combination of tabby and twill variations and pick-up techniques; a long, narrow decorative piece hung horizontally generally covering bench backs and/or seats; used on festive occasions; distinctive features



- Nalavnyk:  
(cont'd) include narrow, repeated horizontal band patterns often incorporating the 'beans' motif in one or two colors; generally without fringe ends; patterns vary by region; size varies from 40-60 cm wide by 150-180 cm long.
- Pattern: the series of designs executed on a finished composition. That is, individual motifs combine to form designs which, in turn, combine to form the overall pattern.
- Poyas: a vividly colored, flat, weft faced sash; used by men, women and children throughout Ukraine; made of wool warp and weft; widths and lengths vary according to use; always have fringed ends; colors and patterns are according to regional preferences; size varies from 3-15 cm wide by 200-300 cm long.
- Skortz: similar to the kylym in use of colors, designs, structure, and fibers; is a long, narrow, weft-faced tapestry hung horizontally at the ceiling-wall edge; use appears common to Western Ukraine, particularly the province of Bukovyna; size varies but is approximately 70-80 cm wide by 200-300 cm long.
- Tapestry: a weave with regular warp and a weft composed of threads of different colors which do not pass from selvage to selvage but are carried back and forth, interweaving only with the part of the warp that is required for a particular pattern area. The binding is usually tabby and the weft-faced, but a balanced tabby or twill binding

- Tapestry:  
(cont'd) may also be used. As most tapestry weaving is produced on looms without a beater, the wefts do not have to lie strictly at right angles to the warp but may follow the contours of the design more freely.<sup>9</sup>.
- Traditional: customs or artistic principles based on accumulated experience or continuous usage, handed down from ancestors for posterity.<sup>10</sup>.
- Textile: specifically a textile is a woven flat fabric.<sup>11</sup>.
- Taystra: tote bag which may be decorative or utilitarian; decorative bags; incorporate a kylym/skortz or nalavnyk fragment for the body and a poyas for a shoulder strap or handle; utilitarian bags use wool plaid fabric for the body; made in the twill technique and self fabric handles or poyas shoulder strap; size varies from 35 cm.wide x 35 cm.long to 45cm.wide x 60cm.long.
- Vereta: flat woven textile; hand loomed; generally of hemp warp and weft; uses a combination of tabby and twill variation techniques; a long, narrow utilitarian piece which may be used as a single width or two or three widths stitched together to form a larger piece; used as bed and bench covers for daily use; width varies from 60-80 cm but lengths vary according to use;

Vereta:

(cont'd)

distinctive design features include narrow, horizontal bands which use simple designs that may follow throughout piece or at both ends; generally has clean edges; size varies but single lengths are approximately 60-80 cm wide by 180-240 cm long.

Note: Native Ukrainian terms have been translated and/or transliterated and placed in brackets unless their use is frequent throughout the text of this work.

## Chapter II

### HISTORICAL AND CULTURAL REVIEW

It has been said that people are the product of their experience. For the Ukrainian people, that experience has been as distinctive as it has been exciting. Historical accounts record the experience of the Ukrainians, and still earlier knowledge of pre-historic times is being revealed through archaeological searches. The sum product of that experience for the Ukrainians, manifests itself in a culture and an artistic expression which is a cumulation of what had been and what had exerted influences on their material history.

To set the stage for the discussion of Ukrainian folk weaving in pioneer Western Canada, a historical and cultural review of the Ukrainian people's homeland and origins is given. This review will include a brief history of the cross-cultural influences on both the people and their nation. It will also identify the factors which contributed to the distinctive Ukrainian material history and expression of culture. Sections of the history of Ukrainian folk weaving, the emigration of Ukrainians to Canada and their resulting early settlements will follow as background information on the establishment of weaving in pioneer Western Canada, particularly as found in Alberta.

## A BRIEF HISTORY OF UKRAINE

Situated at the key crossroads of cultural and trade routes which connected East and West, Ukraine was subjected to many influences.<sup>1.</sup> Cultural traits of the Middle East are evident from the history of pre-contact Ukraine. The physical characteristics of the various Ukrainian tribes and people today attest to those strong Eastern influences. Archaeological excavations in Ukraine have uncovered rich holdings of objects adorned with motifs, designs and colors strongly reminiscent of the Persian, Turkish and Greek cultures of the Middle East. These motifs have been incorporated into a wide range of material cultural objects unique to Ukraine but reminiscent of these early contact cultures.<sup>2.</sup> The design systems used in the folk arts are the physical evidence of those early influences on 19th century Ukrainian culture (see Plate I).

### The Physical Setting

Contemporary Ukraine is located in the south-west corner of the Soviet Socialist Republics. Its territory encompasses an area of some 250 million acres with a population of 38 million, making it the second largest country in Europe, second only to Russia.<sup>3.</sup> Neighbouring states from west to east include: Romania, Hungary, Czechoslovakia, Poland and Belorussia. Ukraine's capital city, Kiev, is centrally located on the Dnieper River, the natural dividing line between the Left Bank (Eastern) and the Right Bank (Western) Ukraine.

Various regions of Ukraine are served by an elaborate waterway system which includes the Dneiper, Boh and Dniestro Rivers. Collectively, it is a coastal land located on the Black Sea and the Sea of Azov.

Its central location, and free access to the sea, made Ukraine a major feature in the trade route from ancient times.

The land formations in Ukraine are rich and varied, providing a range of natural resources which made possible the development of such secondary industries as mining, lumbering, farming and related industries. The topography includes a major coastal area with sea-related enterprises such as shipping and fishing, and the central steppe, or plains region, with some of the most fertile land in all of Europe. This latter area is especially well suited to mixed farming and the production of grains and fruits. The Carpathian Mountains to the west are the country's most distinctive land formation. The rich resources include timber, metal and minerals, and it is also well suited to cattle and sheep production. Other minor mountain ranges include the Crimean and Caucasus, which are to the east.

Ukraine's climate is temperate, cool and continental. Because it is in the temperate belt of the northern hemisphere, temperatures lower from south to north and west to east. Broadly speaking, the climate is not unlike that of Western Canada, but with milder winter temperatures.

#### Early Ukrainian History to the 16th Century

The historical development of present-day Ukraine is distinguished by two main periods. The first was the pre-Slav era, extending from between the 8th and 7th centuries B.C. to the 4th century A.D. In the 4th century A.D., the ancient population of Ukraine--the Ukrainian branch of the Slavs-- first appeared in that country.<sup>4</sup>

Early Greek sources make reference to the population of Ukraine dating from the early part of the first millenium B.C.<sup>5</sup>. Some populations inhabiting the northern Black Sea steppe initially included the Cimmerians of Indo-European origin, and the Trypillians from Asia Minor, Armenia and Persia. By the 7th century B.C. the Scythians, apparently Iranians from Asia, settled the steppes between the Don and Danube and later the Dniester Rivers. By the 6th century B.C. the Greeks had settlements along the north shore of the Black Sea and the Sea of Azov. The early 5th century B.C. witnessed major Persian attacks on the Scythians who were gradually replaced by another Iranian based tribe, the Sarmatians, in the 4th century B.C. They dominated the steppes from the Ural River to the Danube until the 2nd century B.C.<sup>6</sup>. During this period, various western tribes including the Germans and the Celts, invaded the Ukrainian territory. By the 1st century B.C., the Roman Empire had extended its territory into southern Ukraine.

Movement of the eastern tribes there began in the 2nd or 3rd centuries A.D. By 200 A.D. the Goths dominated the Black Sea and great areas to the north. The first appearance of Christianity, and of the Christian culture, in Ukraine, occurred in the 4th century and is connected with the Goths.<sup>7</sup> They were to be destroyed by the Huns who dominated the area until 451 A.D. The Huns, in turn, were followed by Bulgars, Avars, Khazars, Magyars and Pechenegs, all of strong eastern influences.

Modern scholars consider the ancestral home of the Slavs to be the area southeast of the Vistula, stretching in a broad band from the Carpathians to the headwaters of the Don.<sup>8</sup> The Slavic epoch of Ukraine began when the Huns moved westwards in the 4th century.

This permitted the Slavs, then known as the Antes<sup>9</sup>, to create the first slavic state which included the remaining Goths, Greeks and Iranians. The Ukrainians of today are descendants of these early people, and heirs of their many and strong cultural influences. (see Plate II).

Due to Ukraine's central location and superior waterway systems, joining Western Europe with Asia, it is likely that the early tribes were involved from ancient times in trade with many parts of the world. Research reveals that an active network of international trade routes linked Ukraine with Scandinavia and Byzantium. Those involved included Arab merchants, Finnic tribes, Baltic Scandinavians and Greeks. The range of trade goods included a wealth of material goods such as weavings, gold, silver, spices, fur, wine and armaments.<sup>10</sup> (see Plate III).

It is generally believed that the tribal groups of the Antes combined to form the first historical state in Eastern Europe called 'Kievan Rus'. Its leader, the Antes Prince Kii, founded Kiev in 560 A.D.<sup>11</sup>. During the various periods following the formation of 'Kievan Rus', the Ukrainian state underwent major growth and expansion of both its territory and culture. The Princely Period, which spanned over 500 years, saw Ukraine unite the various tribes and create a powerful empire, welding it into one nation. Because of its strategic geographical and commercial position, Ukraine was subjected to many external influences. However, it succeeded in creating its own distinctive national culture during this medieval period. By the 13th century Ukraine was maintaining a constant struggle against the Mongol-Tartar invaders from Asia. Ukraine served as a fortress for Europe against these invaders. In so doing, Europe was saved from invasion but, weakened and exhausted, Ukraine



finally fell to the armies of Genghis Khan in 1240 and remained overpowered until the early 16th century <sup>12</sup>. (see Plate IV).

#### 16th Century Ukraine and the Polish Sphere of Influence

During the 14th century the Ukrainian dynasty became involved with those of Poland and Lithuania, and by 1500 Ukraine could no longer be considered a separate entity. The principalities not overrun by the Mongols had been annexed to the Galician dynasty further to the west. Finally, in 1569, Western Ukraine came under complete Polish control.<sup>13</sup> That brought about many changes to both the state and its people.

This union provided the opportunity to assimilate the Ukrainian people and extend the Polish influence eastward. Ukraine suffered a major setback with the loss of both economic and political freedom. Its aristocracy and gentry were absorbed into the Polish mainstream through intermarriages, appointment to preferred government posts and special training schemes in the military. As well, they adopted the Polish language and education. Further, Ukraine's Eastern Greek Orthodox religion came under the Polish Catholic influence and its eventual dominance. As a result, the Ukrainian Catholic Church was founded in Western Ukraine. In this manner, the Poles quickly absorbed the aristocracy and virtually eradicated a major portion of the Ukrainian social system, thereby removing the potential leaders of Ukraine.

Ukraine's thriving economy required inexpensive labor and serfs provided the manpower needed by the Polish lords. By the 1580's, severe restrictions on peasant freedoms were imposed with the introduction of servitude. Serfs had no rights. The burden of serfdom was especially heavy in Western Ukraine.<sup>14</sup> The cruelty of the landlords

led to the Kozak organized uprisings and attacks of the late 16th century.<sup>15</sup> Although unsuccessful, these uprisings caused discontent and unrest among the overcrowded peasant classes, especially in Western Ukraine. (see Plate V).

After a "golden peace" of ten years<sup>16</sup>, a new movement to free Ukraine of Poland, and revive the old Rus' state was begun in 1648. It was begun under the leadership of Hetman Bohdan Khmelnytsky,<sup>17</sup> a leading general in the outlawed Kozak army. The resulting union, referred to as the Kozak-Hetman state, was active during the 17th and 18th centuries, and proved to be one of the most important and fruitful times in Ukrainian history. However, all of its plans to revive the former Rus' state and gain freedom from Poland did not succeed and the constant struggles with Poland, Muscovy and the Crimea continued.

#### Eastern Ukraine and the Russian Sphere of Influence

From the mid 18th to mid 19th centuries, a Ukrainian national state existed within a large part of the eastern Ukrainian ethnographic territory. It was, however, under the constant and careful watch of Moscow. In 1765, the Russian government achieved an objective, it had pursued since 1654 of depriving Ukraine of national self-government, virtually turning it into a Russian colony.<sup>18</sup> The Russian government consistently followed a policy of centralization and destruction of Ukrainian military authority.<sup>19</sup> Russian regiments replaced the military and although the territory retained its own name, it was regarded as an ordinary province of Russia.

Russification of both the people and their land was extensively and actively pursued, until well into the late 19th century. The policy included a major influx of new settlers to the territory. Land was distributed according to rank to Russian and Ukrainian officers, officials and civil servants, and others including Greeks, Germans, Bulgarians, Serbs, Rumanians, Italians, Armenians and Jews.<sup>20</sup> These people were encouraged to settle the steppe region and maintain their culture and language.

The Ukrainian nobility and gentry were granted the same rights as their Russian counterparts. Many joined the Russian government as civil servants in St. Petersburg (now Leningrad). A vast number of Ukrainians came to hold high posts in the Russian empire. That move then led to the russification of the Ukrainian nobility. Further movements to denationalize the Ukrainian upper classes, similar to those introduced by Poland to Western Ukraine, were initiated. With this process, the Ukrainian aristocracy was virtually removed.<sup>21</sup>

Russification left the greatest part of the Ukraine to the landless, uneducated peasants. Russia introduced bondage to eastern Ukraine in 1791.<sup>22</sup> Serfs were used in much the same way as they were in Western Ukraine by the Poles. The landowners in the east treated the serfs as transferrable property and, as a result, a class of landless serfs emerged. Because of this practice, peasants were relocated en masse, causing dramatic population shifts which often lead to overpopulation in some areas of Ukraine.<sup>23</sup> Even so, serfdom in Eastern Ukraine was not as widespread as it was in the western provinces, neither numerically nor in the severity of its exploitation of individuals. It was for this reason, and because of the serious overcrowding in the

western most regions, that many western serfs decided to move eastward with the hope and anticipation of a better life.

#### The Russian-Polish conflict over Western Ukraine

In November of 1830, the kingdom of Poland broke its union with the Romanov dynasty of Russia. Thus began a war of liberation against the Russian state in an effort to renew the former Polish-Lithuanian alliance of 1772.<sup>24</sup> The Russians promised the Ukrainian peasants certain freedoms if they joined in the fight against the Poles. The peasants responded by taking up arms, and the Poles lost the war.<sup>25</sup> However, in due course the Polish state was partitioned out of existence by the Russian, Prussian and Austrian empires.

The Western Ukrainian territories of Halychyna and Bukovyna fell under Austrian-Habsburg rule. However, under its governance the people retained considerable freedoms, including use of language, religion and traditional folk culture.

Yet the largest part of Ukraine was now under the despotic rule of the Russian tsars. By 1831, the russification of the of the western provinces was underway, imposing and enforcing Russian policies where Polish rule had existed previously. Pressures on the peasants had never been as great as at that time. Their situation continued to decline into one of desperation.

When the abolition of bondage came in 1861 there were changes in the economic position of the peasants, and of the remaining nobility. It is this particular point in Ukrainian history which most strongly reflects those conditions which prompted the mass Ukrainian emigration of the late 19th and early 20th centuries. The freedom granted by the

reform of 1861 had little meaning to the peasants. They still had to pay annual taxes to the government which, in turn, reimbursed the landlords for their traditional rights. This taxation was to continue for another forty-nine years.<sup>26</sup> The liberated serfs were not given rights equal to those of other classes in the population. They were placed under strict supervision of the local administration, were not permitted to send children to secondary schools, were not permitted to leave the village without authorized consent and did not have free use of land or forest resources.<sup>27</sup> The landless peasants were obviously dissatisfied with the situation, yet of necessity many became hired workers for landowners and rich peasants. Due to overcrowding, large numbers moved to remote areas of Ukraine and Russia.<sup>28</sup> This bleak situation continued well into the late 19th century, with no apparent relief in sight.

On the other hand, the Russian government granted great landowners the right of ownership to all of the land they held. Those with holdings greater than 202.2 acres were required to cede to the peasants, for perpetual use, twelve acres for each family member. The peasants, in turn, were bound to pay the landowners, in work or money, for the land according to its value (often doubled in value by the owner) for a period of forty-eight years. Smaller landowners were not obligated to provide land to the peasants, and peasant laborers received no land whatsoever. By the late 19th century, living conditions were deplorable with little or no opportunity for advancement.

As the 19th century wore on, conditions worsened. For generations, plots of land had been divided and subdivided by families until they had become too small to support even a small family. This

type of fragmentation was particularly serious in the Austrian province of Halychyna which had the largest peasant population in Europe. There, many Ukrainians had to survive on half a hectare or less. There simply was not enough land for everybody.<sup>29</sup> (see Plate VI)

By the mid 19th century other developments complicated and worsened the situation of the peasants. The railway network had helped destroy the carting business, and factories were able to produce inexpensive goods by machine. This meant the end of many cottage craft industries. Why spend long hours weaving when factory made cloths were so much cheaper? Escalating taxes and the modernization of agriculture also added to the disruption of village life.<sup>30</sup> Even as the peasants clung to the old ways, the world was slowly but surely changing around them. The traditional life required a stable balance between populations and resources, and Ukraine could no longer offer this permanence to the peasants. And it must be noted that these conditions affected some fifty percent of the entire Ukrainian population.<sup>31</sup>

These problems were especially acute in the western provinces of Halychyna, Bukovyna and Hutzulshchyna. In fact, the vast majority of emigrants who eventually settled Western Canada to 1914, came from these provinces. By 1890 a few Ukrainians had made successful arrangements to relocate to Canada. They saw emigration as their only salvation from the conditions in the homeland. A new life was sought in many new lands including France, Britain, Brazil and the United States. The largest percentage would, however, eventually immigrate to Canada.

These then, are some historical highlights which prompted a change in the traditional lifestyle of the Ukrainians and provides the context for an understanding of the development of domestic weaving in

Ukraine. The section which follows will focus on the development of the domestic weaving traditions practised in 19th century Ukraine. It was this early history that provided the home-weaver with the requisites of fiber processing, structural techniques and ornamentation. Thus, the Ukrainian immigrants were able to utilize valuable earlier experiences in the re-establishment of an old home art form within a pioneer Canadian milieu.

#### HISTORY OF FOLK WEAVING IN UKRAINE

Ukrainian weaving has experienced periods of great growth, as well as periods of decline both domestically and industrially. Throughout the centuries weavings, along with other objects of material culture, have been influenced by foreign cultures through trade and settlement. The artisan's imagination, skill and artistry successfully combined various elements, domestic as well as foreign, in developing a unique style of weaving that has charm, beauty and distinctiveness that distinguishes it from other multi-cultural fiber forms.

Archaeological excavations have revealed that a sophisticated level of domestic arts was being produced in Western Ukraine some 7,000 years ago.<sup>32</sup> The Trypillian culture was active from the Neolithic (5000 B.C.) to the Bronze Periods (2000-800 B.C.). Archaeological discoveries from this period include a variety of implements for spinning and weaving, along with colored threads from plant and animal sources, and cloth fragments using tabby, ribbed and weft-faced weaves.<sup>33</sup> These findings reveal advanced weaving techniques, suggesting that the craft was initiated even before the Trypillian Period.

Support for this theory was provided by the major archaeological discoveries at Pazyryk, in Siberia, in 1949. Primitive weaving implements were recovered as well as the earliest known woven textile, a rug in nearly perfect condition. Made of wool, and using a knotted pile technique, it measures six feet square and less than one tenth of an inch thick, with 230 knots to the square inch. The rug has been dated to the 4th and 5th centuries B.C. and is believed to have been created by Scythian nomads who also inhabited present day Ukraine.<sup>34</sup>

The Princely Period in Ukrainian history, the 9th to the 13th centuries, saw weaving expand and flourish as never before. Important contributions to the art from this period include the development of complex multiple harness and horizontal looms. Weaving techniques included twill (sosanku), multiple harness weaves (chynovate polotno), and the introduction of weaving with silk, gold and silver yarns. Embroidery and block printing on fabric was also initiated.<sup>35</sup>

Cloths made of linen, hemp and wool - both plain (siriachyna) and felted (armiachyn) - were crafted into a variety of domestic and ritual objects. The domestic objects included: garments (odyah), bed covers (kotzy), quilts(kovdry), drapes (opony), table covers (obrusy), bench covers (nalavnyky), saddle blankets (popony) and shoulder bags (taystry).

Spinning and weaving were activities integral to every household, be it that of the noble, the monk or the peasant. The items made may have differed slightly with each household's need, and with the intended use of the objects. No doubt other influencing factors included the availability of yarns and various other resources with which to fashion unique and speciality weavings.



In order to undertake the range of weaving techniques necessary for the varied population, guilds were established throughout Ukraine as early as the 14th century.<sup>36</sup> The guilds were fashioned after the European model. Very high standards were set for guild membership and apprenticeships lasted from three to nine years, depending on the artisan's abilities. For example, by the 17th century forty percent of the active industrial weavers in L'viv, Western Ukraine, were craftsmen who did not belong to the weaving guilds, reflecting the high standards established for membership.

By the 16th century there was the introduction of more complicated techniques brought about by the invention of horse drawn fulling mills. Also, a major impact on the industry was the cultivation of mulberry trees and, in turn, the production of silk, which was introduced in Podillia, Western Ukraine, in the 17th century. That activity then prompted the weaving of silk fabrics which could be interwoven with precious gold and silver yarns acquired through trade with the East.<sup>37</sup>

The textile industry was at the height of its greatest development from near the end of the 17th and through the 18th centuries. The fact is that, through industrial and technical advancement, factory made textiles began to replace the handwovens. It affected the artistic quality of traditional designs and techniques, and in some cases prompted the disbandment of many weaving guilds.<sup>38</sup> In addition to cloth for garments, many factories specialized in making a variety of decorative materials and using a range of fine wools, silks and precious metal yarns. However, home weaving continued, as did various other applied hand arts in the isolated villages and towns throughout the

country. In fact, it is the writer's belief that industrialization, combined with the freeing of the serfs in 1861, actually had the effect of releasing considerable weaving talents to undertake hand looming on a domestic basis as private enterprises. While this theory needs further exploration through the analysis of textiles produced from the mid-19th to the early 20th centuries, it gives a plausible explanation as to the possible origins of the sophisticated techniques and generally high artistic quality of domestic weavings brought to Canada by the rural peasants of the first wave of immigration.

The author's theory is in part substantiated by statistics on cottage weaving workshops located in Western Ukraine at the beginning of the 20th century. For example, in the Western provinces of Bukovyna and Pokuttya, there were weaving workshops in 264 villages, involving over 55,000 weavers.<sup>39</sup> The tradition of cottage weaving had long been an integral part of village and farm folk life, and appears to have even expanded and flourished during that period.

#### Kylym Development

Textile scholars believe the kylym technique to be the oldest type of tapestry weaving, and that it developed independently in countries such as France, North and South America, Eastern Europe and Asia.

Certainly, Ukraine's pre-historic contact with Asia, the East, Scandinavia and Byzantium would have provided the opportunity for the exchange of both weaving techniques and patterns, as well as other art forms. Of special importance to the development of the weaving skills was the international trade, and subsequent contacts, that

brought imports of yarns, rugs and most probably the word 'kylym'.

Of eastern origin, kylym is used to describe a weft-faced tapestry type textile made with the slit technique. However, the word itself did not come into general use in Ukraine until the 18th century.<sup>40</sup>

Initially, the Ukrainians used the term in reference to a weft-faced reversible rug to be hung on the wall. Then it began to include other weaving techniques and various other items applied the same technique. Until that time, woven articles were generally named according to their function, technique and design: 'kover' for coverlet and wall rug, 'nalizhnyk' for bed blanket, and so on.

From the 15th to the mid-19th centuries, weaving factories used inexpensive serf labor for both domestic and trade textiles. However, because kylym weaving required only the very simple vertical or warp weighted looms, it is reasonable to assume that kylym manufacture was an integral part of the homemaker's domestic activities, along with the other textiles items produced for the home.

By the 18th century kylym production, both domestic and industrial, reached its zenith. Master weavers from Greece, Holland and Germany were invited as instructors to the major teaching centres in Ukraine. New textile items added to the Ukrainian weaving repertoire included pile rugs, similar to those of Persia,<sup>41</sup> and Gobelin-type knotted kylyms, found in the Middle East.<sup>42</sup>

The quality of craftsmanship, and the intrinsic beauty of the factory made kylyms, declined dramatically toward the end of the 19th century. This was due, in large part, to two events: the abolition of serfdom and therefore, cheap labor which prompted the disbanding of

many feudal weaving workshops, and the decline in the use of natural organic dyes in favor of the chemically based aniline dyes.<sup>43.</sup>

At the same time though, there was a concerted effort among the village people to revive the distinctive traditional kylym designs, colors and techniques. Even though this move was short lived, county organizations and co-operatives were established for that purpose by patrons of the arts.<sup>44.</sup> The Russian Revolution and the Soviet regime which then resulted, brought a decline in the artistic quality of many domestic folk arts. The Soviet policy stated that factory made clothing was the approved fashion and national costumes were to be worn only on festive occasions. Too, artisan folk weaving among other hand crafts, were readapted in their designs and were permitted to be made for the purpose of promoting Soviet ideals and tourist trade.

#### Regional Characteristics of Kylyms from Western Ukraine

Ancient archaeological excavations have shown that geometric designs, unlike floral designs, were common to all regions of Ukraine in prehistoric times.<sup>45.</sup> As weaving progressed through the centuries, each of the regions, and in fact even areas within regions, evolved their own distinctive weaving patterns, colors and combinations, together with preferences for both equipment and structural techniques. This evolution lead to the predominant use of geometric motifs in the Western-most regions and floral motifs in the Eastern regions of Ukraine.<sup>46.</sup> This part of the study, and that which follows, will focus on the weaving traditions of the province of Bukovyna in Western Ukraine. It has been selected because a vast number of the first wave immigrants to Western Canada, and especially those who settled in the

northern and eastern areas of Alberta, were from that part of Ukraine

The majority of Bukovynian kylyms employ powerful, geometric patterns. However, a small number of floral motifs were used in late 19th century weavings. The long, narrow 'skortzy', and the large, rectangular 'kylymy' were weft-faced and used an elaborate system of interlocking and colorful motifs on a predominately dark background. The central field is traditionally divided into three, five or seven prominent, decorative fields that are repeated throughout the length of the fabric. The kylym border may be on either two or four sides and is optional, depending on the overall pattern selected and the artist's preference.<sup>47</sup> Generally, these weavings are without borders and the entire field is divided into horizontal bands of various widths, arranged parallel to the narrow edge. These edges, or the warp ends, are fashioned into simple fringes which range from 3 to 6 inches in length, depending on the finished textile size, and it may range from 34 inches to 52 inches in width and 5 feet to 15 feet in length. Kylyms and skortzy were usually woven as complete textiles and not pieced either vertically or horizontally. The only folk textile to be pieced was the 'vereta', a bed covering made of a hemp warp and weft.

Kylym motifs vary in size and, although geometric designs are most common, stylized plant motifs based on a grid are used with similar artistic success. Popular motifs used include: rhomb-gul, triangles (klynchyky), rosettes (rozhy), ram's horns (barani rohy) and spiders (pavuky). The decorative fields employ one dominant figure, usually placed on centre, in the larger band, which are then surrounded by narrower bands. The alternating narrow bands use repeats

of the secondary motifs which have been scaled in proportion to the band width.<sup>48.</sup>

It is the triangle which forms the basic unit for an infinite number of motifs used in much of Ukrainian folk weaving. The equal triangles joined at the base form the ever-popular rhomb-gul motif, a diamond shaped figure. This motif may be arranged in a variety of ways: joined in rows, meeting at angles, or with sides having straight line or hook and claw projections or extensions.<sup>49.</sup>

Eight diamond shaped figures joined at their points to form a star or rosette. Four diamond shaped figures, similarly joined, form a cross-like figure. Four triangles meeting at their point, with or without indentations at their bases, form an up-right cross.<sup>50.</sup>

Geometric motifs can be divided into three basic groups:<sup>51.</sup>

1. The first includes the serrated line, broken line, spiral, quadrangle, triangle and the rhomb, all of which can be contoured using two types of saw-like indentations or projections. They commonly are repeated in straight line horizontal bands.
2. The second groups constitute motifs that appear as individual figures, rosettes, star-like forms, variations of the rhomb and triangle, all spaced in a predetermined manner.
3. To the third group belong motifs formed from a combination of geometric representations including plants, insects, crosses and rakes (see Plate VII and VIII).

#### Motif Combinations for Geometric Kylyms

In simpler kylyms, pattern variations are composed of alternate colored bands with saw-like motifs and/or plain bands of a similar width.<sup>52.</sup> To this group of kylyms belong many of the long, narrow weavings

which have a variety of straight-line or contoured motifs repeated in bands of varying widths, across the full width of the textile. Borders and definite background colors are optional in these works.

A second method of tapestry composition is one in which the central field is divided horizontally into dominant pattern areas, which may incorporate a border on two or four sides.<sup>53</sup> The background color of the pattern areas highlights the central motifs, though the color may change with the pattern area (see Plate IX).

To the third scheme belong those kylims which rhythmically repeat one or two pattern areas throughout the entire central area in either horizontal or diagonal lines.<sup>54</sup> Motifs are also repeated in the same manner, the rhomb or star line form being the most popular among the weavers. Kylims of this style almost always have borders, which may vary in width and location, along with a definite background color. The color of the border may contrast with that of the background.

The fourth and final type of kylim arrangement from Western Ukraine used large medallion-like motifs which were centered prominently in the background.<sup>55</sup> The rhomb or rosette form the central motif around which are grouped various smaller elements (see Plate X).

Kylim borders are traditionally composed of one or two rhythmically repeated motifs. These may differ in form and/or size from the central motif, but the coloring is always common to both areas. There are some tapestries where the border is divided into multi-colored sections. In that case, the design is repeated in each section using colors which contrast with the background of the border. Yet many kylims have no borders per se. Instead, a narrow colored strip

is woven around the main decorative field, or at either warp end. The narrow, wedge-like, triangular motif is popular in this case.<sup>56.</sup>

#### Kylym Color Selection

Colors used in Bukovynian tapestries are divided according to use - as background and as motif. In both instances, hues are polychromatic in nature, utilizing predominately warm primary and secondary colors with the occasional tertiary shade. On the whole, the colors are clear, sharp and bright.<sup>57.</sup>

Color combinations blend with the overall textile to achieve a single unit. The background yarns are generally of a solid hue, selected from shades of white, grey or deep wine, and more commonly, black. It is within the various motifs, both large and small, that the bright, vivid colors appear, often in unusual, unexpected and contrasting combinations. Here the weaver attains artistic success in maintaining the distinctive quality that characterizes Bukovynian kylyms. A range of primary and secondary polychromatic colors is used on the major body of the individual motif: reds, wines, yellows, ochres, oranges, rusts, browns, greens and blues. In order to highlight a particular element of the motif, a contrasting color may be employed. These are generally tertiary colors such as violet, purple and pink.

The final result in the overall kylym coloration is a subtle contrast of hues, together with the capricious combinations of colors: black with yellow, orange with purple, pink with white, green with rust, blue with red. The black background with a variety of color combinations is perhaps one of the most distinguishing features of the Bukovynian kylym's color palette.



It should be noted that those beautifully blended colors were used in pre-20th century weavings. Indeed, it was until the turn of this century that the weavers developed their own organic dyes, using secret recipes and guarded techniques. Regrettably, the vast majority of those recipes which predate the present century were lost with their makers and few written records of that art remain for study. With the introduction of aniline dyes in kylym weaving at the turn of this century, the motif colors were altered dramatically. The same combinations were used, but the dyes themselves were not as sympathetic to the combination of hues, resulting in loud and generally gaudy colored tapestries.

#### Organic Dye Sources

Traditionally, the dyeing of yarns was done in the home using a variety of local plants and small animals as color sources. Leaves, flowers, bark, and berries were gathered at the appropriate times. The ingredients for the colors would then be dried and prepared according to old family recipes handed down verbally from one generation to the next.

The organic dyes were extremely durable and particularly mellow in tone, making possible subtle blending of hues. Even today, students of textiles marvel at the freshness of color in these old weavings. A description of some of the organic dye materials and the methods for their extraction, as used in 19th century Bukovyna, are outlined in Appendix A.

#### Kylym Yarns

The domestic weavers most often raised and grew the materials

that yielded the fibers necessary for their textile production. Flax and hemp were locally cultivated, while cotton and silk were imported through local merchants. Merino and other breeds of sheep were raised for wool.<sup>58.</sup>

Using these fibers, the skilled craftsman prepared the yarns according to age old traditions. The drop spindle and distaff were the most common spinning implements used by the farm women in Ukraine. These simple tools appear to have been far more popular than any type of spinning wheel. Flax breaks and a variety of combs and carders were naturally used in the production of yarns.

In kylyms, the warp was generally made of a very high twist linen or hemp yarn, while the more costly textiles used a high twist wool for the warp. In both cases these yarns remained in their natural colors.<sup>59.</sup> The kylym weft was, without exception, always of wool, the amount of twist dependent on the quality of wool and the capabilities of the spinner.

#### Kylym Equipment

The oldest form of kylym weaving in Ukraine was intertwining (ovyvania), which was executed completely by hand without the assistance of harnesses, reeds or shuttles. The tapestry technique was the easiest to produce on primitive warp-weighted looms.<sup>60.</sup> Craftsmen first used a large vertical frame with yarns being fastened to the upper bar. The yarns were then carefully stretched to the bottom of the frame, and gathered in units to which were attached stone or clay weights.<sup>61.</sup> This vertical type of loom,

used in Central and Western Ukraine, was called the 'krosna' and in the North West regions known as the 'rozboii'.<sup>62.</sup>

For centuries, the vertical loom was used throughout Ukraine. However, with the passing of time it was replaced with the counterbalanced loom equipped with four shafts. The advantage to this loom was that it speeded up the weaving process considerably. The technique of the counterbalanced type was known as counting (raxhonkova), and it was used in geometric design kylyms, as well as those with highly stylized floral patterns.<sup>63.</sup>

A wooden comb-like tool was used for beating the weft. In some regions this technique acquired the name 'hrebintsava', derived from 'hrebin', meaning comb. In other areas it was known as rounded (kruhlannia), apparently because the background did not run straight across but was woven in curved or rounded lines. This particular technique was popular in Central and Eastern Ukraine.<sup>64.</sup>

### Kylym Techniques

There are three basic types of Ukrainian kylyms: the weft-faced reversible, the knotted pile and the tabby 'lizhnyky'. It was the weft-faced variety that was the most popular of these techniques used there, but fine examples of other processes, made both for domestic use and for trade, are to be found.

Prior to weaving, a full size pattern of the one to be executed was drawn on paper. This sketch, termed the cartoon, was placed behind the warp beam at the rear of the vertical loom. It was a technique used by some weavers, providing guidelines while producing the textile. Many peasant weavers could remember the patterns, and wove from memory.<sup>65.</sup>

The weft-faced technique is characterized by the use of one warp and a weft composed of threads of different colors which do not pass from selvage to selvage but are carried back and forth, interweaving only with the part of the warp that is required for a particular pattern area. The binding is usually tabby and weft-faced, but a balanced tabby or twill binding may also be used. As most tapestry weaving is produced on looms without a beater, the wefts do not have to lie strictly at right angles to the warp but may follow the contours of the design more freely.<sup>66.</sup>

Where the weft threads of two adjacent areas met in the warp direction, they were handled in various ways. The most popular technique was the slit tapestry, especially while the vertical loom was in prominent use. With the introduction of the counterbalance loom, this technique was replaced somewhat by the interlock, dovetail or toothed tapestry techniques.

The vertical loom was used in making the knotted pile carpet as well as the soft throw blankets. The Ghiordes or Turkish as well as the Persian Sehna knots were used in the Kylym-type weavings. Loops or tufts were cut or left intact, depending on the type and functional use of the textile. Kylyms with cut loops were called clipped (stryzheni) or loomed (vorsovi). The soft throw blankets were called 'kotzy' and they had a pile length of one to two and a half inches.<sup>67.</sup>

Another popular kylym technique was used in the making of bed covers (lizhnyky). These were woven of coarse, loosely spun, long haired wool obtained from black, gray or white sheep. They were weft-faced with a small overall geometric design or large rhomb-gul on centre. When completed, the coverlet was sprayed by pressured water and the nap brushed to create a long napped, wool-faced blanket.<sup>68.</sup>

### Kylym Uses

Domestically, kylyms were used as functional, decorative pieces: throws and covers of all descriptions were to be found. Rarely were these weavings used as floor coverings, more often they were used on the white-washed interior walls of the peasant's home. The long narrow kylymy, some 86 cm (34 inches) wide by 450 cm (15 feet) in length were hung horizontally along the back of kitchen benches, and were known as a 'zalavnyk'.<sup>69</sup> The functional use of this particular form of kylym was to keep the person's back warm when seated next to the cool, clay exterior wall. When similar kylyms were used as decorative bands at the edge of the ceiling and wall, they were called 'skorty', meaning skirting.<sup>70</sup> Kylym fragments were fashioned into shoulder bags, cushion covers, mats and other appropriate objects used in the household. They were also made to decorate the aisle and altar areas of many churches, and to serve as church bench covers.<sup>71</sup>

### IMMIGRATION TO CANADA

No doubt the decision to leave the old homeland was a hard one to make. In leaving home, a person was breaking away from the place where he or she had roots and an identity, to move to a new land of which next to nothing was known. The movement of Ukrainians to Canada prior to 1895 was sporadic, consisting only of single persons and small numbers of immediate family groups. Almost all of those first immigrants came from the district of Kalush, with the village of Nebyliw contributing the bulk of settlers.<sup>72</sup> These were the people who established between 1892 and 1894 the oldest Ukrainian settlement in Canada at Edna or, as it was later called, Star, in the district of Alberta, then the North West Territories.<sup>73</sup> (see Plate XI)

The organized and sizeable flow of Ukrainian settlers to Canada began in the spring of 1896. The Austrian government which then controlled Western Ukraine, did not suppress this activity because the severe overcrowding which existed had created extreme problems.

This migration of Ukrainians was independently initiated and directed by Dr. Joseph Oleskow and supported by the Popular Education

Association of Galicia (Prosvita) and the Emigrants' Aid Committee, of which Oleskow was the 'machina movens'.<sup>74</sup> Oleskow, a native of Halychyna, at that time was Professor of Agriculture at the Teachers' Seminary in L'viv, Halychyna. He belonged to the younger generation who had been brought up on Western, progressive ideas, with a focus on democratic principles.<sup>75</sup> Together with others who shared these beliefs, Oleskow set about working for the betterment of the condition of the Ukrainian peasantry.<sup>76</sup> Much of his effort in organizing mass migration continued until 1900 and was contributed free of charge. This tribute by an Alberta farmer, in 1906, is a poignant reflection of the esteem for the man:

May God grant health and a hundred years of life to that good man whose name is Oleskow, who guided us here, as Moses guided the Jews from Egyptian bondage, thus did he lead us here from Galacia. Once more -- may God grant him health. <sup>77</sup>.

Oleskow believed that the emigration movement had to be planned and properly organized to be successful. The Canadian government welcomed his involvement with the immigration process. Oleskow's first tour of Canada, for the purpose of seeking land for his settlers, was begun on July 25th, 1895 and concluded on October 15th that year.

He had hopes of developing a system for the movement of selected farmers with adequate means so as to give Canada a type of settler who would be sturdy, frugal and devoted to the land. In August of 1895 he visited the settlement in Star, Alberta for the purpose of being able to relate to the people at home the conditions of their countrymen living in Canada. He was well pleased with what he saw and the settlers gave him glowing stories of their new life here.

An account of his visit to the Star settlement was printed in his booklets O Emigratsii (About Emigration) and Pro Vilni Zemli (About Free Lands).<sup>78</sup> And so it was that the machinery to move Ukrainians to

Canada was set in motion by the fall of that year. Immigration was further stimulated by letters from the settlers themselves to friends and relations in Europe. Canada at the turn of the century was, in the eyes of a Ukrainian, a land of rare opportunity and freedom -- the chance for a brighter tomorrow.

Oleskow's immigration plans paralleled those of the Canadian government, which promoted a vigorous program to persuade people from Central Europe, Britain and the United States to settle the Canadian West. Hundreds of thousands of prospective settlers from diverse and distinctive ethnic backgrounds arrived to claim the free homesteads advertised by the Canadian government.<sup>79</sup> This extraordinary mass migration was to change the very face of Canada.

Any number of immigrants was possible, it seemed, in the years from 1896 to 1914, when over three million newcomers arrived as new Canadians. By 1911, more than 1,100 immigrants a day entered Canada, and in 1913 - the high point - 412,955 immigrants were admitted to the country!<sup>80</sup> The outbreak of the First World War, however, effectively cut off the flood of settlers and the same volume of immigration was never again seen.

Ukrainian immigration statistics relating to Canada during the period are staggering. Considering the mere handful of settlers that went to Edna in 1892, it is striking that by the year 1900 the number had passed the 24,000 mark - four short years after the first movement of Oleskow settlers in the spring of 1896! By 1914 the settlers who had arrived in Canada from Ukraine numbered over 170,000. Of that number, the vast majority settled in communities which formed a belt extending from south-eastern Manitoba through central and western Saskatchewan to

north-eastern Alberta. Many of those settlements have retained their pioneer Ukrainian roots to this day. Because the first wave immigrants concentrated in locating in rural areas, isolated from contemporary experiences and urban influences, it is suggested that the cultural expressions found in their domestic arts and the production of items were similar to those found in the homeland in that time period.

The second wave of Ukrainian immigration to Canada occurred during the inter-war period between 1922 and 1939. In these years, some 68,000 immigrants came, with the first major influx occurring in 1923 after the fall of the Ukrainian Republic. Nearly one-half of that overall total number arrived between 1927 and 1929.<sup>81</sup> This particular immigration wave fell off sharply with the onset of the 'great' depression and the looming danger of a second world war.

During this second wave, settlers from the provinces of Bukovyna and Halychyna continued to immigrate, together with a small number from the province of Volynia which had fallen under Polish control.<sup>82</sup> The majority of these were farmers but their number also included many unskilled and semi-skilled laborers, along with some skilled and professionally trained persons. They relocated to Canada for much the same reasons as did their earlier countrymen - an unstable political and economic situation in the old homeland.

Although many sought farmland in Canada, the good homesteads were either gone, too far from existing settlements or too expensive to purchase. Therefore, of necessity many of these newcomers located in larger towns and cities. Many of them worked with construction and railroad crews. Still others saw the demand for labor in the factories of Ontario and Quebec and moved to those industrial centres. Many of



these immigrants then, selected an urban orientation rather than the rural choice of the first wave of immigrants.<sup>83</sup>

Although the cultural composition of many of these second wave immigrants was similar to that of the first immigration, it is suggested that their newer, contemporary experiences and urban influences in Canada would have somewhat altered the cultural expression found in their domestic arts. One would imagine that the older women of this group were trained in the domestic arts and may have continued to produce a variety of folk items including some weavings. However, the extent to which this was practised and details of the products they made has yet to be determined.

The third and final major influx of Ukrainians to Canada occurred between 1946 and 1961 when some 37,000 new arrivals were added to the population. After World War II, Canada's immigration policy was changed to admit displaced persons. By 1952 the majority of the post Second World War Ukrainian immigrants had entered Canada, but smaller numbers continued to come until 1960. For the first time the immigrants came from all regions of Ukraine, and they were political refugees from behind the Iron Curtain. Their group profile included professionals with university education, artisans, laborers and farmers. The majority of them elected to live in urban centres in eastern Canada. However, some did move west and live in both rural and urban communities on the Prairies.

These newcomers made noteworthy contributions in the professional, academic, literary and artistic fields. Some retained a strong old world sense of nationalism and could not accept the general Canadian orientation of the earlier immigrants. They therefore founded new organizations with philosophies more in line with their nationalistic

thinking. Over the years this polarization of the immigrant groups has decreased somewhat, to the benefit of all.<sup>84</sup>

The arrival of the third wave immigrants coincided with a drop in both the necessity and popularity of weaving as a home industry in both Ukraine and Canada. At this time, it is not feasible to develop a comparative study between the weaving traditions of the three waves of immigrants for a number of reasons. The cultural background of the third group was different than that of their countrymen who immigrated earlier. This group included more urban people. However, little information is available on the practice of domestic arts by this body of Ukrainians. One would assume the third group, while in Ukraine, had different contemporary and urban influences exerted on their folk arts and the practice of these traditions.

Further study of the fiber art practices of the second and third wave immigrants would provide valuable data for a comprehensive overview of the weaving traditions of the Ukrainians as a cultural group. Such research would enable cross-cultural analysis of similar traditions among other groups which, in turn, would contribute to a broader study of Canada's material history.

#### The Ukrainians in Canada

In order to more fully appreciate items made by members of a culture, students must first place the objects in their historical setting. This section of the study provides some of the environmental, economic, social and political influences exerted on the Ukrainians during their early years in Canada. The descriptive data which is derived from direct examination of surviving objects can still

provide only limited information of the time periods to which they belong. A more complete and accurate identification of the object time period, and the influences associated with their creation, can only be made if they can be placed in their respective social setting. This may be done through an examination of the historical accounts of those time periods. Such a review places an item's purpose and meaning in its proper context and perspective. This section of the thesis, therefore, centres on the social setting in which the woven objects being studied were created. It attempts to reveal something of the conditions of the time, influences which were present and the environment which encouraged the practice of home weaving.

#### Facilitators for Settlement

The construction of the Canadian Pacific Railway westward during the 1880's was perhaps the single most important event that facilitated settlement on the Prairies. Through its establishment, settlers were able to take homesteading to many remote areas. With more farm land thus available, the government actively encouraged settlement in the west. The Ukrainians responded, initially choosing to take up areas in northern and eastern Alberta (see Plate XII).

Federal colonization schemes accounted for settlements along the rail lines. Many new towns were thereby created, some as a consequence of the presence of the new Ukrainian Canadians. Their hamlets and villages, in turn, often bore names of communities in their native Ukraine.

In the long immigration process, cluster settlements created a pattern of distinctive ethnic and religious communities, interspersed with areas of mixed population. The statistical information which follows reflects something of the rural nature of the population in the early

years of settlement.

The 1911 Census reported the Canadian population at 7,206,643 with an estimated 3,933,696 of that population living on farms.<sup>85</sup> Alberta was no exception and much of the population of 374,295 was designated as rural. By 1931, a conservative projection suggested that, of Canada's population of 10,376,786, some 4,802,988 were rural in orientation. In Alberta, the total population was 731,605, with 453,097 persons designated as being rural in background.

The cultural mix is also noteworthy. The 1911 Census recorded that those of British descent, 3,999,081, remained the largest single element and of that total 215,174 were living in Alberta. For the same year, the national total of Ukrainians was 75,432, with 17,584 of them living in Alberta.

These figures appear to be underestimated. Scholars generally consider the National Census of 1911 and 1921 to be inaccurate regarding the Ukrainian population, for they were recorded under many cultural groups including Ruthenians, Galicians, Little Russians and Austrians. (The 1931 National Census is considered the first representative count of Ukrainians in Canada because they were entered as the one cultural group, namely Ukrainians.) Other ethnic groups living in Alberta in 1911 included Germans, at 41,656, Scandinavians, at 31, 135, French, at 20,600, Orientals, at 2,048 and Native-Inuit at 11,402. These statistics reflect the prominent character of the Ukrainian population in Alberta, a prominence that is still evident today.

### The Formative Years of Settlement

The immigrants thought of Canada as a great land, one that held much promise for success. They arrived here prepared to work hard and thereby establish a better life for their families. The men were qualified farmers, and the women sufficiently strong to raise large families and help work the land. But nothing could have prepared most of them for so much land, stretched out flat and treeless. Yet, in the beginning, merely to survive was the prime consideration. This excerpt from a report of that time reflects some of the despair and tribulations which were theirs.

.... There are five families who had the misfortune to lose their boxes with all their clothes. The only clothes they have now is what they stand in. The last they saw of their boxes was in Galacia. 86.

The loss of goods, severely limited funds, and life in a foreign country, made for a difficult relocation. For the majority of immigrants, Canada was not an easy country to settle in. The soil was demanding and many pioneers experienced almost unbearable hardships during their initial years in Alberta. Winter was very long and extremely cold, while the spring was often little more than a prolongation of winter, and summer in turn, although limited to three months, was hot and dry, while autumn, with its risk of unseasonable frost, could destroy the work of an entire growing year in a single night. To have held on to such a land, and to have conquered, is a tribute to the perseverance and the indomitable spirit of these pioneers.

### TEMPORARY SHELTERS AND THE EARLY HOMES

Many of those who immigrated to Canada arrived in mid-summer and their first concern was constructing adequate shelter for the winter months.

Accounts of sleeping beneath an overturned wagon box and under tree boughs before the first rudimentary and temporary dwelling were constructed, are common. The first shelter was built in but a few days. Termed a 'zemlyanka' by the Halychany, and a 'boorday' by the Bukovynians, they were dugouts, pits sunk a few feet below ground and roofed over with aspen boughs and sods. Equipped with a stove they provided a warm, secure dwelling for that first winter.<sup>87</sup>.

During the year following their arrival, and as soon as some forest land was cleared, a much more spacious house was built, often near that first shelter. The design of this second home strongly reflected the characteristics of the 19th century Western Ukrainian farm home. Basically a log house with a thatched roof, it was constructed of broad axed timber and of willow, with a binding mixture of clay, sand, dung and straw, and finished with generous coats of whitewash paint. Rectangular in shape, it consisted of two or three living areas plus an attic space for storage. It was built with an easterly orientation to capture the sun's warmth and also for religious observations. With regular maintenance, such houses were known to last for over half a century. In fact, many of them remain today, evidence of that first wave of settlers to the Prairies. This type of log structure continued to be the dominant family home style well into the 1920's. At that time a transitional architectural style evolved, one which incorporated elements of traditional Ukrainian vernacular architecture with that of English Western Canada (see Plate XIII).

It was that first permanent home which offered security to the immigrant family. The women quickly set about making their new abodes' interior similar to what they had in Ukraine. Since only fifty pounds

of baggage per person was allowed on the voyage, few furniture pieces were brought, aside from the trunks containing the modest family belongings. Of necessity, therefore, the men constructed simple pieces of furniture under the homemaker's direction. The major items made included trestle-type tables, kitchen hutches, benches, settle-beds, armoires, the occasional chair, and a host of containers and equipment necessary for the operation of a household.

The interior was the responsibility of the female head of the family. When organizing the effects to be shipped, the women had realized what were the various items that would be necessary as start-up supplies. These included pots, dishes, hand tools, panes of glass, locks, books, photographs, bibles, icons, candles, seeds for the garden and field, loom reeds, yarn dyes, yarns, spindles, everyday and festive clothing, as well as the variety of household linens which vied for the limited space with the decorative textiles.<sup>88</sup>

Textiles were a valuable asset in decorating that first interior. Fabrics, along with other folk art objects, both utilitarian and decorative, were a quick and cheerful way to adorn the spaces. Through their use, the homemaker was able to retain some of the cultural lifestyle left behind in Europe. The visual presence of the old homeland objects made the uprooting and resettlement process less trying and more bearable. These objects helped to serve the family as anchors to the former way of life. Because many of the items transported here would be irreplaceable, they were cherished and the decorative pieces especially were used only on special occasions.

## EARLY UKRAINIAN TEXTILE TRADITIONS IN CANADA

In Alberta the majority of Ukrainians, living in isolated villages to the north and east, continued the use of traditional dress and home textiles until the 1920's. It was a challenge to provide household goods and clothing in a pioneer society and many women relied on the old country items they possessed for the first few years. Although most had brought little in the way of worldly goods, these people came with an artistic sense and created objects of beauty. As we have seen, the immigrants were from areas of Ukraine where textile making was an accepted part of farm work. Homemakers brought the old country skills and traditions with them such as weaving, when they took up life in Alberta.

As Dorothy Burnham writes, "As was the case in many a pioneer family, Anna [Hudyma], the homemaker, was the family centre. She managed to create out of nothing an atmosphere of joy and music and laughter with her weaving giving colour and warmth."<sup>89</sup> It was as if, through the use of color and pattern, the homeweaver could retain some of the old world culture and perhaps unconsciously reflect an optimism in the new land. Even with the simplest objects, the artistic impulse was expressed and, collectively, the woven pieces created an atmosphere of enjoyment. So the object became a type of aesthetic and cultural fulfillment, satisfying the sense of both sight and touch.

But the textiles which were woven had to combine utility with beauty. In fact they first and foremost had to be useful. When a textile was in use, it may take on the quality of invisibility and, regrettably, all too often it is taken for granted that the item would always be there. Dorothy Burnham wrote in The Comfortable Arts:



Traditional Spinning and Weaving in Canada that,

Things that are always with us and always dependable have a quality of invisibility. From cradle to grave we are surrounded by textiles, yet how many of us ever stop to consider that a complete miracle has been performed by the making of a piece of cloth.<sup>90</sup>

It is that constant use of textile objects, and this factor of their invisibility, which makes it difficult to locate materials produced by these early Alberta weavers. This is especially true of everyday textiles which were plain, utilitarian and used until worn out. The decorative pieces, by contrast, were used only occasionally, and as treasured items remain as evidence of that early pioneer activity. In fact, it is their relatively frequent survival that makes for an unbalanced view of what was actually produced and used during those formative years in pioneer Canada.

Despite the loss due to wear, carelessness, accident and indifference, representative samples of both kinds of the early woven textiles have survived, in spite of their age. But locating the pieces is not an easy task. Happily, some of them have been preserved in museums and private collections where they still arouse admiration from amateurs and scholars alike. Although limited in number, these rare items provide a meaningful sampling for students of early Canadian textiles.

### Chapter III

#### RESEARCH METHODS

The research purpose, objectives, hypothesis, methodology for the collection of field data and visual analysis of study artifacts form the text of this chapter. The qualifications of the researcher are also discussed.

#### RESEARCH PURPOSE

The purpose of this research was to provide a social history on the domestic weaving activities of one group of Ukrainian women active in the eastern areas of Alberta during the early part of this century. The work is limited to textiles made in Canada from the turn of the century to 1940, when weaving ceased to exist as a popular home industry. Preliminary investigations indicate that the motivating factors and the weavers' situational and cultural characteristics were important elements for a comprehensive understanding of the social issues surrounding the weaving activities of this era.

#### RESEARCH OBJECTIVES

In order to identify the characteristics of the weavers and their products, the following objectives were developed:

1. to locate primary and secondary sources of information on the weavers and their weaving activities.

2. to develop a methodology for the systematic evaluation and authentication of hand woven textiles produced by this rural and pioneer group of women.

#### HYPOTHESES

The following hypotheses were established and used as a guide in the development of the research methodology.

1. It is hypothesized that the weavers had common situational and cultural characteristics. The characteristics common to the weavers include:
  - immigrating from farming areas and from specific regions of Western Ukraine;
  - resettling in clusters in rural areas of eastern Alberta;
  - a strong tradition of domestic weaving; and
  - a desire to impart their weaving traditions to other generations.
2. It is hypothesized that there were personal motivating factors for undertaking home weaving. They include:
  - enhancing the home;
  - satisfying psychological needs; and
  - increasing financial resources.
3. It is hypothesized that textiles made in Alberta from 1900 to 1940 reflected:
  - a strong traditional style in the choice of weave structure, shape, patterns, colors and fibers; and
  - a limited introduction of new Canadian design features into the final textile composition.

## RESEARCH METHOD

In order to test the hypothesis the following research procedure was developed.

1. A search was initially conducted of museum and archival collections for documented and non-documented Ukrainian textiles and equipment used in their production, as well as written and photographic evidence of the activity.
2. Interviews with weavers, their families and others connected with this enterprise were conducted.
3. Actual woven products were examined and their designs, construction and uses were recorded.
4. The data collected were analyzed for consistency.

### Museum and Archival Search Method

Agencies as well as archives believed to have holdings in Ukrainian textile arts were contacted in an effort to locate primary and secondary source information. Searches were made of photographic, manuscript, newspaper and periodical collections.

Museum reference libraries are a valuable source of background information on the history and material culture of Ukraine. Many volumes on homeland textile arts are available but in the Ukrainian language. A limited selection of topical information has been published in Canada and the United States in the English language. They highlight information on the homeland traditions of textile styles and provide some information on ornamentation. Little documentation has been written on

the structural techniques and Canadian or American pioneer traditions. Some museums had collections of Canadian made textiles and these were closely examined.

### Oral Histories and Interviews

Since the researcher found little written documentation on the fiber traditions of the Canadian Ukrainians, it was necessary to rely on personal accounts from those who knew or participated in home-weaving by immigrant Ukrainians. These individuals provided rare and enlightening accounts of this tradition. Without their involvement, this study could not have explored the social and technical aspects of the work with authority. This vivid pioneer memory of the activity helped to reconstruct the type of textiles made and the circumstances surrounding their production.<sup>1</sup> Their assistance helped greatly in the researcher's goal of documenting some of Western Canada's pioneer material history.

### Locating a Source

Preliminary research isolated specific communities active in home weaving. The researcher attempted to contact informants using local newspapers, however, only two responses were received. She then drew on her affiliation with the Ukrainian Women's Association of Canada (U.W.A.C.) to establish local contacts. This Association, which operates in many rural areas, was able to provide her with names of individuals who in turn assisted her in locating a core group of pioneer weavers from within their community.<sup>2</sup> Thus, a network of contacts and weavers was established prior to her travel to the area.

Institutions consulted in the course of this investigation were:

Museums:

1. Alberta Provincial Museum, Edmonton
2. British Columbia Provincial Museum, Victoria
3. Vancouver Centennial Museum, Vancouver
4. Glenbow Museum, Calgary
5. Manitoba Museum of Man and Nature, Winnipeg
6. National Museum of Man, Canadian Centre for Folk Studies, Ottawa
7. Pioneer Village and Museum, Mundare (Alberta)
8. Royal Ontario Museum, Toronto
9. Ukrainian Canadian Museum and Archives, Edmonton
10. Ukrainian Cultural and Educational Centre, Winnipeg
11. Ukrainian Heritage Village, Elk Island (Alberta)
12. Ukrainian Museum of Canada, Saskatoon and branches in Toronto, Winnipeg, Edmonton and Vancouver

Archives:

1. Canadian Handcrafts Guild, Montreal
2. Canadian National Exhibition, Toronto
3. Canadian Pacific Railway, Montreal
4. Glenbow Alberta Institute, Calgary
5. National Library of Canada, Ottawa
6. Provincial Archives, Edmonton
7. Provincial Archives, Regina
8. Public Archives of Canada, Ottawa
9. University of Alberta Archives, Edmonton
10. Ukrainian Museum of Canada, Saskatoon

Prior to any rural travel, the researcher also met with Hanka Romanchych and Mary Tkachuk, both active U.W.A.C. members from 1930 onward. They provided special insights into the activity and suggested field contacts to pursue. Both women supplied the researcher with valuable preliminary information on communities actively involved with home weaving as well as an overview of the textiles made during the period.

A total of fifteen persons were interviewed in the course of this investigation. All had direct experience in home weaving in Alberta prior to 1940. The centres visited for this portion of the research were: Vegreville, Hairy Hill, Willingdon, Andrew, Smoky Lake, Edmonton in Alberta. A list of informants is provided in Appendix B.

#### Interview Method

The unstructured interview technique was used in the collection of field data. The flexibility of this method enabled the researcher to explore, in depth, any given topic the informants were able to discuss. The interviews took place on location in the informant's home.

A list of questions was developed to guide the study, and a sample of that guide is found in Appendix C. The interview began once written permission to tape the discussion was received from the informant. All sessions were recorded and the tapes have been deposited at the Ukrainian Museum of Canada as part of their archival collections. The majority of informants used Ukrainian as a working language and the interviews were carried out in that language.

To assist in the identification of equipment and textile types, a book of line drawings and photographs containing weaving techniques, equipment, designs and colors was assembled by the researcher.

This research tool aided in the identification of regional textiles and weaving techniques associated with this group. Since informants knew the terms only in Ukrainian, this volume was a valuable asset in the translation of weaving terminology.

A follow-up plan to contact the informants was initiated. A Ukrainian letter of thanks together with copies of appropriate photographs were mailed to them. Since few informants read English, it was inappropriate to mail them sections relating to this study. However, the author will leave a file copy of the thesis at the U.W.A.C. library in Edmonton which may be lent to interested parties. As well, the author plans to publish articles from this investigation.

Examples of the first period of weaving in Canada were obtained from selected museums in Canada and from private collections. The museums also provided valuable help in this study by making their collections and curatorial records available to the researcher. The Ukrainian Museum of Canada has given particularly valuable assistance. Its material history holdings are rich in the area of clothing and textiles so many textiles pieces were found in their collections. As well, many Canadiana pieces remain in private collections but their owners willingly permitted them to be examined and photographed for this project. The writer is therefore greatly in their debt.



### Method of Visual Analysis of Weavings

Color photographs and a textile analysis schedule were used to record the characteristics of each object. A classification sheet was developed by the investigator to aid in the analysis of the Ukrainian folk textiles. A sample of that document is found in Appendix D. This classification sheet documents twenty-one specifications such as maker, owner, structural technique(s), fibers, designs, colors, thread count and use. This information was recorded for textiles known to have been made in Ukraine prior to 1920 and those made in Canada to 1940.

Since many of the weavings used in this study did not have complete provenance, representative samples had to be identified. It was assumed that, by finding as many authenticated weavings as possible, one could identify their characteristics and use these to verify the origin of poorly documented weavings.

In order to attribute the origin of undocumented weavings, they were analyzed and grouped with weavings of known origin that shared similar significant structural and/or design characteristics. Frequencies of the characteristics that appeared useful in making distinctions among weavings were tabulated for the three time periods.

This analysis technique was developed from a combination of sources. The most relevant publication on this regard was The Work of Many Hands: Card Tables in Federal America 1790-1820 by Hewitt, Kane and Ward. It provided a rationale for the development of this classification sheet. Secondary sources of information were "Analysis Sheets for the Kwakiutl Version of the Chilkat Blanket" by Mona Horn and "Crow Plateau Beadwork: An Effort Toward A Uniform Terminology" by Bill Holm. The final textile analysis schedule developed for this study proved to be a successful research tool for the consistent, systematic collection of data.

### Researcher Qualifications

A knowledge of the Ukrainian language and history were prerequisites to undertaking this study. The author possesses a working knowledge of both subject areas. She was employed at the Ukrainian Museum of Canada, Saskatoon, Saskatchewan from 1972 to 1980. It has extensive holdings in material history particularly the area of clothing and textiles. As Director and Chief Curator, she undertook curatorial research and supervised the management of those collections. As well, her professional involvement took her to many museums and rural communities. This proved an asset in developing contacts for this study. Due to the Museum's association with the Ukrainian Women's Association of Canada network, the researcher had quick access to the rural communities and, in turn, to the weavers of that era. Many informants knew of the researcher's work in the Museum and this was a major factor in establishing a positive rapport with the informants whose contributions to the study proved so valuable.

### DATA COLLECTION

Data was collected during 1982 and 1983 within rural communities in Alberta and museums known to have Ukrainian textile collections. Interviews were conducted in Vegreville, Hairy Hill, Willingdon, Andrew and Smoky Lake. Originally the communities of Ispas Kahwin, Mundare and Star were to have formed part of that circuit; however, the researcher found that many people had either relocated to larger centres such as Vegreville, Smoky Lake and Edmonton, or had died so there was little purpose in visiting there. The author was able to meet with a number of the early weavers in these villages, most often in their homes.

### Interviews

A total of fifteen persons having personal weaving experience during the dates of this investigation were interviewed for the purpose of this investigation. As was expected, there were no surviving immigrant weavers but there were eleven immigrant daughters and four daughters born in Canada, who wove alongside their pioneer mothers. These women were informants for this study. Many of these second generation women continued to weave into the 1930's and a small number into the 1940's. A list of informants is attached in Appendix B.

Once the rapport between informant and interviewer was established and use of the recorder authorized, the interview was begun. The device did not appear to intimidate any of the informants. The advantages of this method of recording history includes: a permanent, complete record of the response available for future analysis, as well as the interviewer's undivided attention to the discussion and immediate response to new information requiring further clarification. Its disadvantages are that a full transcript of the discussion is necessary for direct, quick access to the information. Alternatively, the taped information can be summarized with both the question and highlights of the answer. Tapes alone are not a permanent record of the event unless they receive special care such as: being run through a machine yearly; kept in climate controlled environment and protected from the sound waves of a vacuum cleaner which destroys the magnetic field and recording power of the tape.

Although the researcher undertook a pilot test of the interview and object analysis prior to the investigation, both tasks took considerably longer to complete in the field. One interview per day is more beneficial than the two attempted by the researcher. This provides more time to establish rapport, set up the interview and photographic information and discuss

the results with the informant. An important aspect of such research is a day by day written record of the events experienced and points to remember for the future.

All those who participated in the study immigrated prior to the Bolshevik Revolution of 1919 or were born in Canada in the early part of this century. In spite of their advanced age, they appeared to recall details of the events surrounding the home weaving activity. Their sharp minds were a major asset to the documentation of their history. They were enthusiastic about the project, willing and able to share in the events surrounding the manufacture of home weaving in Alberta, sometimes in incredible detail. Never once was the researcher refused a meeting, but was offered valuable information and access to private collections, as well as supper and a night's sleep if necessary. The informants and their families provided wonderfully warm, western hospitality which made this study a pleasure.

#### Museum Searches

Museums with Ukrainian textile collections were visited. Those with documented Canadiana were the Ukrainian Museum of Canada, which has the most extensive holdings and the Alberta Provincial Museum. Regrettably, the Pioneer Village and Museum in Mundare was closed during the researcher's visit. No doubt its collections contained Canadiana pieces indigenous to that area. Institutions contacted for similar collections, but which proved to contain nothing appropriate were: The Ukrainian Cultural Heritage Village, the Glenbow Museum and the Ukrainian Canadian Archives and Museum, all in Alberta; The Manitoba Museum of Man and Nature and the Ukrainian Cultural and Educational Centre in Winnipeg; The National Museum of Man-Canadian Centre for Folk Cultural Studies, Ottawa and The Royal Ontario Museum in Toronto.

## Chapter IV

### UKRAINIAN WEAVING IN ALBERTA

The home weaving practised by these early pioneers continued for nearly a half-century. Research has revealed domestic weaving among the Ukrainians of Alberta to have been in effect from 1900 to 1940, with two peak periods in evidence.<sup>1.</sup>

The first intense period of this activity occurred with the initial settlement phase of the immigrants, thought to be between 1900 and 1920, whereas the second period took place roughly between the years 1928 and 1940.

This chapter documents some of the dominant characteristics of the weavings made by this pioneer group during these two periods. Characteristics such as the situational, cultural and personal-psychological aspects are addressed in this portion of the study. The investigation goes on to outline details respecting the fibers raised and prepared for weaving, the tools and equipment used, the patterns and motifs employed, and their sequencing, and finally, the structural techniques used by these rural artisans. The final section to this chapter analyses the styles of finished products.

# OBJECTS WOVEN

A wide variety of textile items were made during the period of initial settlement in the West. Although many of the pieces woven were, of necessity, utilitarian in nature, the farm wife made time to dye the yarns a rainbow of hues and create decorative pieces filled with a riot of color and design. No doubt the textiles were a cheerful addition to an otherwise stark and humble interior.

Some of the domestic items known to have been produced during the first period, both utilitarian and decorative in nature, include:

- 'kylmys' and skortzy' for wall hangings and furniture coverings and as church aisle carpets (they were not generally used as domestic floor coverings)
- 'nalavnyky' - bench and furniture covers,
- 'verety' used - daily bed covers,
- 'lizhnyky' and 'kotzy' - blankets,
- 'polotno' - garment yardage,
- 'rushnyky' and linens for ceremonial and daily purposes,
- 'taystry' - shoulder bags,
- 'poyasy' - sashes and shoulder bag handles,
- 'skateerts' and 'obruchy' used as table covers,
- sacks for farm produce, and
- animal blankets.

Items made during the second period of weaving were more decorative in nature and include:

- |                           |                          |
|---------------------------|--------------------------|
| - 'kylmys' and 'skortzy', | - 'lizhnyky' and 'kotzy' |
| - 'nalavnyky',            | - 'taystry', and         |
| - 'verety',               | - 'poyasy'.              |

The single most significant feature about this latter weaving activity was that the items produced were often made for sale to local and out-of-province buyers, whereas the earlier wovens were generally made for personal consumption.

Weaving during the first period had continued in the tradition practised in the old homeland during the 19th century. The mother needed help with the various weaving tasks and soon set about to teach the craft, most often to her eldest daughter. Many a young girl, from the age of seven onward, spun and wove alongside her mother until she had mastered the art. Many girls wove on their own, by the age of thirteen. Teaching other family members to weave was generally not practised. They were given other responsibilities including the care of infants, cooking and cleaning of the home. However, this created a gap in the transmission of the craft from one generation to another. If only one child wove, it would be her responsibility to teach the art in turn to her family.

#### WEAVING DURING THE PERIOD BETWEEN 1900-1920

In the formative years, almost all the handwoven materials used by Ukrainian families in Alberta were produced domestically by the home-maker and her family. Even under the almost impossible conditions equipment was improvised, fibers cultivated and sturdy weavings of beauty and quality were created. One may more fully appreciate the value of these weavings by understanding that a great deal of time consuming effort was required of the family in their production. Generally, weaving was done in the winter but was sometimes continued into April. The cool weather helped separate the warp yarns during the weaving process and the nights were long, and outside activities limited. The spring, summer and fall brought with them a variety of outdoor chores in the fields and gardens, leaving precious little time to weave. Some fiber preparation

was begun at this time. Wool was washed, sorted, pulled, combed and carded; flax and hemp were retted, fibers separated, scutched and hackled. Their further processing into yarns was done once the fall harvests were completed.

Few immigrants arrived without at least the most basic pieces of weaving equipment among their possessions. These often included a selection of reeds, carders, combs and drop spindles. Occasionally, a selection of dyes, as well as yarns, linen and hemp seeds, were included in the cache of supplies. Equipment, not brought from Ukraine, was locally manufactured by the husband or a neighbour. Alternatively, it could be obtained by barter. Initially none of the equipment or supplies was purchased through the mail order catalogue, aside from some dyes and warp yarns. During the 1930's a small drum carding unit and the occasional spinning wheel were purchased from a supplier in Manitoba. In spite of the shortage and primitive quality of textile tools and equipment, there evolved a bustling cottage industry of folk weaving in those remote Alberta towns, villages and farmsteads. The surviving objects provide a legacy of beautiful, carefully woven items from that pioneering past, possibly unrivalled by other pieces from the same era and location.

During the settlement period the textile needs of the home and family was produced through self reliance. Due to lack of funds, few commercial yarns could be purchased, therefore, they were made by the homemaker and the family.

The findings for this early period of Ukrainian Canadiana indicate that domestic, utilitarian objects were the priority pieces made, rather than those of a purely decorative nature. This is



understandable in view of the economic and environmental hardships experienced. The weaving yarns commonly used in the utilitarian pieces of this era were hemp, a utility fiber, wool and linen. The choice depended upon the object's eventual use. Motifs, pattern sequences and colors reflected a strong preference to traditional 19th century Ukrainian compositions. There was negligible external influence on these isolated, cluster settlements; therefore, little in the way of new innovations was introduced during this period. Conversations with weavers who recalled their mothers weaving at that time, revealed that a wide range of generally utilitarian items with a number of decorative pieces to beautify their interiors, were produced in the traditional style. Noting the quality of surviving pieces, and realizing that the later weavings were an outgrowth of this earlier tradition, one can only imagine the quality, diversity and the quantity of fabrics that have been lost and forgotten.

By the 1920's families were more financially independent and had begun to adopt a more Canadian life-style. This included the appreciation and use of commercial textiles for their decor. Store bought fabrics came to be preferred, especially by younger family members, who had not been taught to weave as children. So, gradually, the tradition of using old country textiles for decoration and cultural retention declined. These textiles were replaced by lace doilies and a variety of fabrics from local stores, Edmonton merchants and the Eaton's catalogue. As well, those who wove developed new interests and simply were not willing to devote the time consuming effort required to weave these textiles. Instead, embroidery and egg painting (pysanky) started to make their presence felt as replacement folk arts.

THE RENEWAL OF WEAVING AS A COTTAGE  
INDUSTRY, DURING THE PERIOD 1928 TO 1940

The late 1920's brought the great depression and severe droughts caused rural families many hardships. With the depression came the need for alternate cash sources. As a result of that need, the earlier practice of home weaving was reintroduced as a means of broadening the family's financial base. In Alberta, a project in the form of a cottage industry was launched during this period and continued to the early 1940's.

During this period Ukrainians in Canada experienced a lack of finances similar to what was found in the initial settlement period at the turn of the century. It was largely for this reason that women took to their looms and once again began weaving. This time, however, the items made were largely for public and private sales rather than personal consumption. During both periods, decorative weavings formed an integral part of the typical home interior. The way they were used was modified to suit the changing time, the house design and the furnishings.

The urge to create textiles in the traditional manner, ones that would reflect a distinct Ukrainian heritage, continued to be a vital element in the choice of color, pattern, technique, type and size of the finished piece.

A more complete understanding of the second phase of textile production emerges because of the availability of actual samples and clearer pioneer memories of the activities. The urgent need for homewoven yardgoods and utilitarian textiles had diminished

with the availability of suitable and inexpensive commercially available products. The homemaker's efforts were, therefore, directed toward producing a variety of decorative textiles. Specific items common to this period include:

- 'kylymy'
- 'skortzy'
- 'nalavnyky'
- 'taystry'
- 'lizhnyky' and 'kotzy'
- 'poyasy' and
- small blankets

The warp yarns of these pieces were often of locally available commercial cotton yarns. However, for some special, decorative pieces and wool blankets, a handspun wool warp was used. The weft was almost exclusively of handspun wool, with occasional use of commercial cotton for the necessary white weft yarns. Only rarely was commercial white wool used for the warp. Motifs, pattern sequences, colors, structural techniques and dimensions remained largely traditional in character, and similar in nature to those of the first group. A significant feature about this later weaving activity, not common to that of the first phase of weaving, was that the items were made for sale to local, provincial and out-of-province buyers.

Other less significant characteristics of the second period weavings include the introduction of transitional designs into the textile repertoire. These are pieces that incorporate design influences from old and new world sources. Although limited in popularity, these textiles are marked by the use of realistic designs, especially those

of plant and animal origins. These designs appear to have been executed in vivid colors including shades of pink, purple, green and blue. These realistic patterns were often combined with traditional geometric designs forming borders in the finished piece or, alternatively, working in conjunction with realistic patterns.

The availability of a greater selection of tints is evident in the textiles from this later period. While the majority of weavers retained traditional colors in their pieces, those preferring to incorporate new Canadian design features tended to use new colors more freely as accent colors in their compositions. It should be noted that throughout both periods, weavers used unusual and innovative color schemes with success in the overall design, color and rhythm of the finished textile.

The activity itself was exclusively a family operated industry, in both periods. The homemakers, having been taught the craft in the old homeland, in turn taught it to their eldest daughters. Unfortunately, that teaching tradition was not always passed on to subsequent generations. Thus, home weaving in the traditional style was prematurely halted with the onset of World War II and the need to produce other items for the war effort.

It was not until the late 1970's that a renewed interest in this hand art form was again explored with any vigor. Weaving as art-revival over art survival is again becoming established. Contemporary artisans draw extensively, but not exclusively, on these traditional 19th century Eastern European design sources for their inspiration.

## DEVELOPMENT OF A FIBER COTTAGE INDUSTRY IN ALBERTA

Although precise details of the project's organization and management have been lost with time, pioneer memory is vivid and is able to document the existence of this cottage industry among the Ukrainians of Alberta. Its history spanned roughly a twelve-year period, beginning in 1928, and was the vision of a first-generation Canadian born Ukrainian, Hanka Romanchych.<sup>2</sup> At the time of its organization, she was employed as a farm extension worker with the Government of Alberta. Her major responsibility was to help immigrant women in the northern communities adapt to the Canadian lifestyle. Travels took her to many remote villages and farmsteads, a large number of which were predominately Ukrainian speaking. They included Vegreville, Hairy Hill, Willingdon, Ispas, Kahwin and Andrew.

The development of this cottage activity resulted quite by accident. A series of interviews with Miss Romanchych<sup>3</sup> revealed that she had met with a young boy during the course of one of her community meetings held at Hairy Hill. During their conversation, the boy told her, wistfully, how very much he wished to have some toys to play with, but that his family could not afford such luxuries. Romanchych asked what he could contribute toward the making of additional cash for the cause, something that could be done with little or no expense. Hanka, herself, a folk art enthusiast and particularly of weaving, went on to ask if he could card wool or spin - and indeed he could! She inquired if his mother wove, and she did. So, she made the suggestion that the boy help prepare the

yarns and encourage his mother to weave and sell the textiles for extra cash for both the boy and his mother. She offered to locate markets for the wovens if needed. Hanka reasoned that both mother and son would thus be able to purchase a few extra items for themselves, and gain some financial independence. Hanka recalls the boy dashing off to share the idea with his mother. Before long she and the mother discussed the possibility of launching a cottage weaving industry among the rural Ukrainian women in Alberta.

Many other families were under similar financial constraints and soon a small group of independent weavers was established. They saw the potential of weaving to supplement the meager family income and, with Romanchych's assistance, were able to find markets. Hanka had reasoned that the supplies and equipment would be largely self-generated, that the work could be undertaken at home, at a time convenient to the weaver, and that a market for the decorative domestic weavings could readily be developed through her contacts in the larger Ukrainian community.

The events surrounding the development and expansion of this enterprise are rich and appealing. They provide an insight into the foresight of these women who saw potential in hand crafting items as a means to greater financial independence. In turn, that activity created greater cultural awareness among the Ukrainian pioneers who were then beginning to enter the broader Canadian milieu.

Initially, only a few women joined the loose network of weavers. In 1930, some ten women were active, but by 1936 over thirty women were busy weaving for public sale, working out of their farm homes. Each wove as an independent craftsman, and Romanchych served as the contact person between the producers and their initial customers. It should be noted

that Miss Romanchych never accepted a fee for this service but rather combined this work as part of her regular job with the provincial government.

The weavers were responsible for organizing their equipment, supplies and patterns. In some cases, however, Hanka would supply hard-to-get items, such as white cotton warp and white wool weft.<sup>4</sup> The patterns and colors were largely the artist's choice, but since traditional compositions were familiar to the artisans and popular among clients, they were preferred by the weavers. The most popular items from this period were: Shopping bags (taystry), small blankets, bench covers (nalavnyks), kilyms and skortzy.

Hanka's outside contacts with the larger community were extensive, due to her position and her organizational affiliation nationally. This was to gain for the weavers access to markets that otherwise would have been prohibitive. She organized major exhibitions and sales of their works in places such as: The Hudson Bay Company in Edmonton, through the Junior League; the C.P.R. Palliser Hotel in Calgary; the ethnic crafts section of the Canadian National Exhibition in Toronto; the Banff Springs Hotel and the Woodward's Department Stores.<sup>5</sup> She recalled the commissioning of a special wedding kilym for a T. Eaton family member who married in Winnipeg during this period.<sup>6</sup> Apparently, the piece was to have been used at their cottage on Muskoka Lake in Ontario.

A number of these weaver had standing orders for kilyms and painted eggs (pysanky) with Macy's Department store of New York. This contact was made possible through a personal acquaintance of Hanka's, then

an employee of Macy's. Her name was Mrs. Maria (Vasyl) Avramenko, who was originally from Winnipeg. Orders for klyms were placed by merchants from Boston as well but, because Bostonian women preferred predominating blue tones in their weavings, and the weavers would not alter the traditional designs to that extent, that market was short-lived. The Macy's contact, however, lasted over a number of years. Sales to other regions in the United States were also made during this period but on a limited basis, for the women were having difficulty in filling the standing orders they had in Canada.<sup>7</sup>

Informants felt their role was to produce a saleable commodity that was functional, attractive, and one that would bring in the much needed cash. The income generated made possible the payment of farm mortgages, children's education, as well as the purchase of farm machinery and other essential goods.<sup>8</sup> The weavers, largely self-taught and rural in orientation, never considered themselves artisans. This humble attitude toward their craft is in large part the reason why little or no written record of the activity was kept. This very fact has made research on the subject difficult but rewarding, once contact was established. One can only reflect on those weavers whose names have been forgotten and cannot be recorded, along with the countless textiles lost through use, carelessness, accident and indifference.

It appears that Ukrainian weavers of Alberta were one of the largest groups of Ukrainian weavers in Western Canada at that time, and the most prolific in terms of the quantity of items created. Due to the limited number of informants, it is difficult to determine, with any accuracy, what percentage of the total Ukrainian population was weaving for their own use and/or for retail sale. However, we do know that weaving



to a significant degree was practiced by one other group of settlers in the West, the Doukhobors. The English had dropped that activity before coming West, although they had a rich tradition of weaving in Eastern Canada and the Maritimes. Burnham writes, "... [prior to 1936] plain utilitarian weaving was done in a scattered way but weaving of a high order occurred among two groups, the Ukrainians and the Doukhobors."<sup>9</sup>.

#### FIBERS, DYES AND EQUIPMENT USED IN CANADA BEFORE 1940

In the following sections a review is made of the fibers raised and their preparation, and equipment used in these period textiles.

##### Fibers

Generally, in the making of the textiles for both periods, three fibers were used: wool, linen and hemp. Many pioneer families raised small herds of ten to twenty sheep exclusively for their wool, the flock's size depending on the amount of weaving and knitting done by the homemaker. Three shades of wool were produced for this purpose, namely natural white, together with lesser amounts of black-brown and grey. The particular breed(s) of sheep raised is not remembered.

After the spring shearing of sheep, the wool was carefully washed using only cool, soft rain water to remove loose dirt and debris. After several washings, the wool was placed on a blanket or on the grass to dry by the sun. An informant spoke of her family washing the wool by using the nearby stream. In this way, the gentle flow of water through the fibers cleared away any foreign particles. The children kept watch over the wool so it would not float away.

Using the sheared, washed and dried wool, the initial sorting of fibers by color and quality was done. Initial carding was done by simply pulling the raw wool apart with the debris falling into the person's apron. Then hand cards were used to pull the fibers apart to release any foreign matter. In later years, a rotary drum carder from a Sifton, Manitoba supplier was used by these weavers.

Linen and hemp were also popular fibers used in these early pieces. Structurally similar, they were processed using the same methods. Both were cultivated extensively, however, linen was used for finer, special fabrics and the first choice as a warp yarn, while hemp was used for coarser, utilitarian pieces. Hemp was cultivated on many farmsteads well into the early 1930's but its growth was outlawed in 1938 as it was found to contain a drug from the family Urticaceae, genus Cannabis.

Linen continued to be produced until the early 1930's when its use diminished, because of the time involved in its processing. It is wool which was the favored weft fiber in the weavings of the later years. By then, other yard goods for the home were purchased from local merchants or alternatively ordered from the Eaton's catalogue.

Informants recalled processing both linen and hemp. In the retting stage, stalks were immersed in pools of water made in the field for the purpose but naturally occurring ditches were also used. Retting separated the bast fibers from its woody parts in preparation for further processing, including breaking, scutching and hackling. Informants recall the various phases in the preparation of fibers and the equipment used, however few pieces of equipment are available for study.

The first period appears to have used all three fibers in both the warp and weft. The fibers used depended on the product being made. For example, decorative pieces such as kilyms generally used fine, linen warp, however, in order to achieve a softer hand, a wool warp was used in items such as blankets.

In later years, as commercial cotton yarns became available, two adaptations in the choice of fiber may be seen in the Alberta pieces when compared to those of the homeland. These are the use of the commercial white cotton as warp for the majority of decorative pieces such as kilyms, skortzy and taystry and its limited use as a decorative weft yarn. Further details on the yarns common to various period pieces are outlined in Appendix D.

#### Carders, Combs and Hackles

Locally produced yarns were popular for economic reasons. However, the preparation of linen and hemp was tedious and time consuming so wool, which could be relatively quickly prepared, was the most popular of the domestically raised fibers.

After initial processing, wool was carded using home made cards of wood covered with leather in which fine metal teeth were set. Occasionally these cards were purchased. A few sets were brought from Ukraine but few have survived. According to informants, the majority of the carding sets were locally manufactured. Carding was done by women and children, although the occasional male was known to have assisted in this task. The carded wool was commonly used in quilts, batt liners in winter coats<sup>10</sup>. or for knitting a host of items such as caps, mitts, scarfs, socks and sweaters. (see Plate XIV).

Wool combs of wood were fashioned to be used after the carding process was completed. They combined the fibers and laid them parallel in order to spin a smooth, even thread. Combs were often set into the end of a bench, and women and children alike took part in this activity.

The Alberta weavers were using drum carders by the 1930's because of the volume of wool they were processing. Many units were purchased from the Ukrainian merchant in Sifton, Manitoba. This man was an acquaintance of Miss Romanchych's. Conversations with her revealed that he was himself a new immigrant, and had established business to serve the Prairies. He worked with wool and provided clients with carding, spinning and batt making service. He also marketed the drum carding unit which he had designed and, later, a spinning wheel which he crafted.<sup>11.</sup>

One piece to be found in museums and in the occasional farm home is the spiked comb or hackle used in the processing of flax and hemp. It had a round wood base that could be affixed to a bench in much the same manner as the wool comb. Steel spikes, 10-12 cm long (4-5"), were driven into the base forming the comb necessary to separate the tough fibers and set them parallel for the smooth spinning of yarns. The combs were also fashioned with handles and operated in a manner very similar to that of the wool cards. Examples of this equipment have survived and are to be found in museum collections.

### Spinning

Spinning was undertaken largely as an activity during the fall and winter months, and was the responsibility of the skilled spinners. Generally, it took place in the kitchen where the warmth from the stove softened the grease left on the wool fiber, making it more pliable for the spinning process.

When items required a loosely twisted yarn, such as soft blankets and hats, the wool fibers were manually twisted. The ends of a few fibers were rolled between the fingers or, alternately, on the thigh, drawing the hands apart at the same time. This process was slow but produced a loosely spun yarn preferred for knitted wear and soft blankets.

During the early period, spinning was largely done by the homemaker who, in turn, taught the skill to her eldest daughter. There is documentation of men assisting in the task, but this appears to be a rarity. Families with no daughters taught sons to spin, and occasionally to weave, but the job was largely for women. Those who did not spin or weave would commission other local women to make them the necessary items. Most women prepared the yarns for the contract weaver or, as a substitute, herself knitted the items required. Contracting for weavings was a popular practice during the 1930's, and a number of the weavers were interviewed for this project.

The most popular spinning method from the earliest days of settlement through to the 1930's was the use of the drop spindle. Using this simple device, strong yet delicate, fine yarns were made by the trained hands of the spinner. These spindles, easily turned from local woods by the home handyman, ranged from 25 to 30 cm in length (10-12") and were weighted at one end with a small wood whorl of 3 to 5 cm in diameter (1-2") giving it the necessary momentum for the spinning motion. It was twirled with the fingers of one hand while the draw was controlled by the other. In spinning hemp and flax, the spindle was dropped to the floor as it twirled, both drawing the fibers out and inserting a twist at the same time. The finest quality of wool, linen and hemp fibers were fashioned using this primitive device.

The spindle was used in conjunction with a distaff, a tapered shaft of wood about 80 cm long (30"), square in section, with notches along the upper part to help hold the fibers in place. The distaff was held in the left arm with the end often tucked into the belt, or in a thin wooden platform that was placed on a bench, and the spinner, sitting on the platform, could work in the seated position. Otherwise, spinning was done in the upright position in the fields, or in any free moments. Another type had a small cage at the top over which fibers could be tied, but this distaff style was not generally used by the Alberta weavers.

The wheel, a more efficient piece of spinning equipment was used, along with the spindle, in the homeland. However, informants recall very few taking these as part of their baggage, likely because of their bulk. Some informants remembered a limited number of home crafted wheels being used in the early days, their use being more popular by the 1930's. A significant number of weavers said they used the drop spindle and continued that practice in preference to the wheel, well into the 1930's.

In later years, a Ukrainian manufacturer of spinning wheels and drum carders of Sifton, Mantioba, whose name is presently unknown, supplied some Alberta weavers with these pieces of equipment.<sup>12</sup> This company made a variation of the "castle" wheel, it being popular because of its small, compact shape. Wool, linen and hemp appear to have been spun on the Sifton wheels. There is no evidence to suggest the use of the flax or wool wheel, also known as the "great" or "walking wheel", among the Alberta weavers.

### Plying Yarns for Weaving

To give individual yarns, known as 'singles', greater body and strength, they were often plied. This was done by twisting two or more spun yarns together. The plied yarn used in woven fabrics of this period did not appear to have any consistency in direction and number of plies but rather varied according to the spinner's preference. Both the 'Z' and '2S' plies were common on the items made during this period.

Large utilitarian and decorative textiles of wool or hemp weft used yarns that were generally loosely spun and of a single ply. This feature is common to the kylym, skortz, taystra, nalavnyk, kotz and lizhnyk, all of which use a wool weft, and to the vereta which used a hemp weft. Finer wovens such as the poyas and skateert, generally used fine, two ply wool, whereas, polotno used either one or two ply linen or hemp as a weft, depending on its eventual use.

### Dyes

Traditionally, warp yarns were left in their natural color, whereas weft yarns were dyed according to the overall pattern. Dyes from natural (organic) sources were used almost exclusively in Ukraine and some informants recall their use during the early years of settlement, although on a limited basis. The difficulty in locating appropriate plant and animal sources on the Prairies, known to produce the range of hues necessary for the wovens, as well as the time consuming effort in their development, prompted the weavers to quickly abandon this practice. The exceptions are dyes from onion skins and beets which appear to have been common during this period. Unfortunately, informants could not recall recipes used in the homeland or in pioneer Canada. Some informants told of ordering dye stuffs from suppliers in their villages in Ukraine. This mail-order-

abroad practice does not appear to have been widespread and fell off with the introduction of chemical (aniline) dyes which were derived from a coal-tar base.

Some local stores and mail-order outlets carried only a modest selection of weaving supplies during this period. However, by the late teens, chemical dyes began to appear on the market. They appealed to the busy homemaker because they were inexpensive, easy to prepare and were available in many colors.

Merchants and mail order agencies, some located in Winnipeg, supplied the women with both powdered and liquid yarn dyes. There is no indication that the women located or corresponded with suppliers further west than Winnipeg. The most popular brand used by these Alberta women was the powdered "Diamond Dye " which came in small envelopes and cost 25¢. They were colorfast and were available in near-traditional colors. A second brand of dye used, but not as successfully as the "Diamond Dye", was the liquid (tube) "Emolina Dye "<sup>13</sup>. These were not popular because certain tints were not colorfast and they did not offer the range of the Diamond dyes.

Many informants said that the most difficult colors to authenticate were those in the red spectrum. It is one dye that was sent from the homeland to weavers in Alberta.

With the availability of aniline dyes, weavers began to tint cotton warp yarns in colors complementary to the weft. The technique was not widely practised but apparently some weavers felt that additional tints would enhance the piece and colored fringes reflect this practice.

While aniline dyes were permanent and convenient, the tints yielded vivid, sometimes harsh and gaudy colors. This adaptation of dye



stuff caused a change in the color palette of the homeland wovens, which was one of their greatest strengths. The earlier organic dyes produced colors whose overall effect was muted, softer and, therefore, blended in a more effective composition, and ones that aged gracefully with time. The use of organic dyes, therefore, quickly gave way to aniline and a major change in the palette of Canadian made weavings began to appear, such as the introduction of turquoise, pink and blue yarns.

### Looms

Given the relatively small room size in the pioneer home, looms were kept in a variety of locations because of their massive size and seasonal use. When in operation, it could be found in the large, east room (velekha khata) but was occasionally located in the central hall (kymorka). When not being operated, usually during the summer months, they were stored in a nearby granary or summer kitchen.

Looms were of two types, the massive four poster design and the smaller frame loom. Both kinds were made in two shaft design, but occasionally the four shaft variety was made and used. The looms were constructed using simple basic tools such as a chisel, saw and hammer following the weaver's instructions. They were made of hewn planks, with slots and wooden pegs, or mortise and tenon joints.<sup>14</sup> Widths varied, the most common being 102 cm (40") used for narrow kylyms, skortzy, nalavnyks, polotno, verety, taystry, poyasy and skateertky. The wider 152 cm (60") type was occasionally made, its use being intended for blankets such as lizhnyky and kotzy as well as large kylyms.<sup>15</sup>

Literature and artifact searches, together with interviews, confirm the upright frame loom common to tapestry weaving, the multiple harness Jacquard loom and the flying shuttle were used in Ukraine.<sup>16</sup>

There is no evidence to suggest their use by pioneer Ukrainian weavers on the Prairies.

Written documentation on weaving in Alberta is rare. The following excerpt from an immigration agent's report dated February 21, 1898 confirms that such equipment was in use in pioneer Alberta.

The report of Inspector Primrose is on many points true but his ideas of the requirements of the people are not in accordance with their habits even when they are well off - as for instance he speaks of the women and children having no clothing except a linen shirt. I may say that in the whole colony it would be impossible to find a woolen undergarment and I have never seen any of them yet wear stockings.... In one case where I was called the man being one of the best off in the colony was building a hand loom .... His name was Iwan Lakusta and he lives on S.W. 1/4 off 22.56.18. 17.

The reeds and heddles are precision pieces of equipment. The reed is a long, narrow and rigid device through which warp ends are passed to keep them evenly spaced and aligned. It is fastened to the beater bar or batten and also serves to beat in the weft yarns. The reed is interchangeable and is made in many sizes, from very coarse to very fine, depending on the warp fibers used and intended end use of the product. Because reeds were difficult and time consuming to make, they were often included in the overseas baggage. Some were crafted in Canada, using bamboo or rigid leather as found in horse whips, and by following detailed instructions from the weaver. Reeds were valuable possessions and fortunately a small number may still be seen in museum collections such as the Ukrainian Museum of Canada. One reed knotting technique used by the Alberta group is shown in Plate XV.

#### Heddles

The heddles are loops of thread tied to two, four, six or more rigid wooden frames, which are raised and lowered by simple foot pedles,

creating a shed or opening in the warp, through which the weft is passed. Individual warp ends are strung through the heddle eye so that they may be raised or lowered to open the shed. Traditionally, heddles were made of hand spun linen yarns for their fineness, strength and durability. In Canada the inexpensive and commercially available cotton yarns later replaced linen as the heddle fiber. One of two knotting techniques was used to form the eye of the heddle: they were either clasped or netted, but no single technique emerged as favored by the Ukrainian weavers.<sup>18</sup> Collections from the Ukrainian Museum of Canada have a heddle from an Alberta period loom, which used the clasped method in their formation.

### Shuttles

The shuttle is the tool by which the weft is passed through the shed opening in the warp. It can be fashioned in many shapes, but the most popular among the Ukrainian weavers were the boat and stick shuttles. Both types were hand carved from local woods. The stick shuttle, used in pick up weaving, is the simpler of the two. It is a narrow, straight piece of thin wood with indentations at either end for holding the yarns to the stick.<sup>19</sup>

The boat shuttle, so named for its shape, was made to slip easily through the shed. It has a cavity in the centre which contains a rod or bobbin, made of wood or steel, on which the weft is wound. The yarn feeds off the bobbin through a hole in the side of the shuttle.

### Bobbins and Butterflies

Bobbins were made of hollowed out cattail stalks; collecting and filling them was the task of the children. Other more permanent materials were likely used but specifics on this point were not found. Literature

on weaving in Ontario indicates that bobbins were made from elder wood which was hollowed by burning out the soft centre with a red hot wire.<sup>20</sup> Unfortunately, bobbins of this period were not located during the course of investigation, but it is reasonable to speculate that similar types of bobbin material were used by the Alberta weavers.

The butterfly is a type of bobbin common to kylym and other tapestry weaving. Wool is wrapped firmly around its centre, forming a small skein of yarn. From its centre, short lengths of yarn are drawn out and woven into the fabric.<sup>21</sup> It can also be used to carry extra weft threads for patterning which is common to the kylym technique.

#### Line Drawings of Weaving Patterns

A pattern in this section of the study means the paper or graphic sketch of a woven object. Because structural or rigid loom weaving is based on the grid system, line drawings of the proposed piece may be developed prior to its weaving. When drawn to full-scale, the patterns, termed cartoons, are used as a backdrop to the loom, guiding the artist in the placement of the weft yarns. Cartoons are commonly used in the crafting of large kylym and other tapestries. Small designs, individual motifs and pattern sequences may also be recorded on notebook size paper, drawn to scale. Both systems were in use by weavers of the 19th and early 20th century, and they provide valuable archival information on the type of weaving common to an era.

Unfortunately, Alberta weavers do not appear to have had any tradition of recording patterns of paper. Rather, they wove from memory, recalling pieces made in Ukraine, or samples made by their mothers or friends and, much later, from journals and magazines of the era. They

used these remembered patterns as rough guidelines for their work, modifying the choice and placement of patterns and colors to individual preference. The result of this practice of using existing designs is that there is a strong similarity among the textile pieces made by this group. Upon closer examination, however, one can note color, design and placement preferences, which effects the final result of the overall piece. This method of design inspiration appears to have been a common practice in the Ukraine and Alberta weavers have obviously learned this technique from the immigrant weavers.

The similarity in the choice and sequencing of patterns, and colors produce a distinctive regional style, characteristic to this group of weavers. The common use of similar design compositions is found among many other ethnic groups including the Norwegians, Poles, Persians and Native Indians. However, this practice helps in the identity of the origins of textiles and, in turn, permits further study of their evolution.

The researcher was able to locate only two paper patterns used by Alberta weavers, both dating from the second phase. The first was a graph paper sketch of the maltese cross motif drawn by Hanka Romanchych in the early 1930's. It shows a tie-up or tredling sequence.<sup>22</sup>

The second paper pattern was from a series of colored post cards Miss Romanchych purchased during her 1936 trip to Europe. The cards depicted the geometric style Ukrainian kylvms and were drawn on a grid. Limited in supply, they were shared by the weavers.<sup>23</sup> A selection of these cards form part of the collections of the Ukrainian Museum of Canada. Also, by the 1930's, a variety of home journals and newspapers in both the Ukrainian and English languages, began to appear in rural communities.

Some women were able to extract appropriate designs and adapt these to their textiles. The extent to which this was practised is unknown. However, studying the textiles produced by the group illustrates that few new design ideas were added to their traditional repertoire.

Few photographs were taken of the women and their weavings. This was due largely to the scarcity of necessary equipment and the considerable photographic skills which would have been required at the time. With little written and visual record available on the pieces crafted, it is almost impossible to document the extent of the activity using archival sources. However, the weavings made available to the researcher for this study were photographed and these photographs have been deposited at the Ukrainian Museum of Canada, Saskatoon (see Plate XVI).

#### PERIOD STYLES: POPULAR COLORS, DESIGNS, PATTERN SEQUENCES AND STRUCTURAL TECHNIQUES

The majority of Canadian made textiles examined over the course of this study have elements which appear to have been virtually transposed without alteration from Western Ukraine to Western Canada. Few changes seem to have been made in these Canadian pieces, not only in the fibers and structural techniques used but also in the weaver's choice of colors, designs and pattern sequences.

#### Color

Color is one useful tool in the identification of textiles particular to a cultural entity. Among other attributes it can reflect something of the physical and social environment in which the producers of these objects lived. Both private and public artifact collections reveal the preference for specific colors by the Alberta weavers. The

variety of objects made until 1940 are characterized by their use of a single, solid dark background, generally neutral, and individual designs in an array of primary and secondary accent colors. The choice of colors was only slightly altered with the type of weaving made.

The practice of using a neutral background had the effect of setting individual design elements apart from each other and therefore focusing on that particular element(s) in the composition. The placement of the accent colors played a major role in the rhythm and balance in the finished composition. Individual motifs do not appear to have been executed in standard colors. The choice of palette was the weaver's prerogative. However, certain colors were more popular than others in these folk weavings. For the purpose of this study, popular colors have been divided into three categories: background, primary accent and secondary accent colors. The color choices are further divided according to object type. Due to the limited number of examples made during the first period, the color preferences outlined in the Frequency Analysis sheet have been developed from a small sample of artifacts.

To systematically specify popular colors, a standard color chart was used for comparison purposes. The most representative one which reflected the traditional colors used in Ukrainian folk textiles was that found in the Colbert DMC Tapestry Wool Chart #486-487, dated October, 1981. A synopsis of the colors characteristic to object type and period of manufacture is included in the Frequency Analysis Tables on pages 92-94. The Munsell Color Chart is a recommended alternative to the DMC Charts.

#### Designs and Pattern Sequences

The way color and design are combined and, in turn are, repeated in a predetermined sequence, produce overall patterns which may be

regionally attributed to a particular ethnic group. Designs particular to homeland folk weavings are commonly found in the Alberta textiles. They are described in Chapter II, Regional Characteristics of Kylyms and illustrated in Plates VII and VIII. During both periods, the most popular designs were geometric as opposed to realistic plant and animal representations. The infinite variations of the rhomb-gul was popular in the majority of decorative textiles. This diamond shaped figure used the stepped format over the hooked version which is more common to textiles made by the Hutzuls of Western Ukraine. Other popular designs included the star-rose, triangles and variations of lines or bands, used individually or in combinations.

The geometric motifs used and their combinations to form a design, were based on a regular grid system which used an infinite variety of interlocking motifs. Because of their geometric nature, the motifs were based on endless variations of the triangle and the square, used alone or in combination with one another. These were sometimes included in one of the many horizontal band design systems. The ornamentation of these Canadian made textiles was similar to those of the homeland. They are described in Chapter II, History of Weaving in Ukraine and illustrated in Plates IX and X. Further details of the designs and patterns characteristic to object type and period of manufacture have been outlined in the Frequency Analysis Tables on pages 92-94 and illustrated in Plates XVII to XXIII.



### Analysis of Structure of Alberta Textiles

The study of authenticated Alberta textiles has revealed four basic techniques common to the weavings of both periods. These are:

- |          |                     |
|----------|---------------------|
| 1) tabby | 3) pick-up          |
| 2) twill | 4) toothed tapestry |

The kylmys, skortzy and taystry used the weft-faced, toothed tapestry technique on a tabby ground. The slit-tapestry and other warp face methods were occasionally used in the manufacture of these textiles.

The nalavnyky and poyasy were generally made by using a combination of techniques. Poyasy, the long, narrow sashes, used a combination of horizontal band and geometric patterns. Twill and pick-up techniques were used in these warp faced textiles. Nalavnyky, long, narrow benchcovers used narrow, horizontal band patterns and used tabby and twill variations in their construction. Nalavnyky used a distinctive, and realistic representation, of a design entitled 'beans' (fasol'ky), in many of their compositions. In executing this motif, heavy weft yarns are placed loosely over the warp as floats. These floats may be of three or four threads in thickness, and in one or two colors. The float yarns were in some cases threaded through by hand, although some informants spoke of using a pattern board to produce that effect on the product. When worked with the loom, the pattern board was placed behind the shaft, a technique similar to the method common in Quebec folk weaving known as 'à la planche'.<sup>24</sup> This design is illustrated in Plate XXIV.

The remaining wovens: lizhnyky, verety, polotno and car blankets used one or more of the tabby and twill variation techniques in their manufacture. The lizhnyky, blankets made of soft, low spun wool, were

brushed to develop a nap on the weft yarns, producing a soft, warm hand. Certainly these pieces must have been a welcome and warm addition to the chilly prairie winter nights in the home or in the wagon and caboose. Details of the structural techniques used in these period pieces are outlined in the Frequency Analysis Tables at the end of this chapter.

#### FREQUENCY ANALYSIS OF UKRAINIAN FOLK TEXTILES

In order to authenticate the handwovens produced by the Alberta group, it was necessary to develop a methodology for the systematic analysis and evaluation of period folk textiles. The author developed a research tool to assist in the identification and authentication of these Canadiana textiles. The Textile Analysis Schedule was developed for use as a standardized system of recording attributes and details of the woven products. A sample of this analysis scheme is attached in Appendix D. A condensed version of the data derived from this analysis was compiled according to time period and object type.

#### MEDIA DOCUMENTATION OF COTTAGE INDUSTRY

Media searches were extensive but few references to this cottage industry were found. The activity does not appear to have been promoted in the press. Only one source was located and it was from a women's journal published in Western Ukraine. The article appeared in the Ukrainian periodical Zhenocha Dol'ya (Women's Destiny), the March 15, 1934 edition. It was written by O. Kysilewsky and entitled "News From Across The Sea". The short article wrote of an exhibition of traditional textiles made by Ukrainian immigrant women in Alberta and Hanka Romanchych's

involvement with the activity. The front cover bore a photograph of a display of their weaving at the Hudson's Bay Company Store in Edmonton. A copy of the article and cover plate are included in Plate 3. Fortunately, documents were located in the archival collections of the Canadian National Exhibition, Canadian Pacific Railway and the Glenbow Museum. Selected findings from these sources have been included in Plates XXV and XXVI. Although the number of printed sources was few, they did confirm the existence of this industry and aided in the further verification of the information provided by project informants.

# FREQUENCY ANALYSIS TABLE OF UKRAINIAN FOLK TEXTILES

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LOCATION OF MANUFACTURE	TIME OF MANUFACTURE	NO. SPECIMENS STUDIED										NO. FULL PIECES										NO. FRAGMENT PIECES										NO. TRADITIONAL PIECES										NO. TRANSITIONAL PIECES										NO. CONTEMPORARY PIECES										POPULAR INDIVIDUAL DESIGNS										POPULAR PATTERN SEQUENCES										BACKGROUND COLOR										PRIMARY ACCENT COLOR										SECONDARY ACCENT COLOR										WARP FIBER										WARP MANUFACTURE METHOD										WARP TWIST										WARP PLY										WARP DYE SOURCE										WIFT FIBER										WIFT MANUFACTURE METHOD										WIFT TWIST										WIFT PLY										WIFT DYE SOURCE										THREAD COUNT										WEAVING TECHNIQUE										OTHER																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																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FREQUENCY ANALYSIS TABLE OF UKRAINIAN FOLK TEXTILES

LOCATION OF MANUFACTURE Alberta		TIME OF MANUFACTURE 1900-1920		OBJECT TYPE		A) KYLYM		B) SKORTZ		C) NALAVNYK		D) VERETA		E) LIZHNYK (BED BLANKET)		F) CAR BLANKET		G) TAYSTRA (SHOPPING BAG)		H) SKATEERT (TABLE RUNNER)		I) POLOTNO (YARDAGE)		J) POYAS (SASH)		K) OTHER (peremetka)	
NO. SPECIMENS STUDIED	NO. FULL PIECES	NO. FRAGMENT PIECES	NO. TRADITIONAL PIECES	NO. TRANSITIONAL PIECES	NO. CONTEMPORARY PIECES	POPULAR INDIVIDUAL DESIGNS	POPULAR PATTERN SEQUENCES	BACKGROUND COLOR	PRIMARY ACCENT COLOR	SECONDARY ACCENT COLOR	WARP FIBER	WARP MANUFACTURE METHOD	WARP TWIST	WARP PLY	WARP DYE SOURCE	WARP FIBER	WEFT MANUFACTURE METHOD	WEFT TWIST	WEFT PLY	WEFT DYE SOURCE	THREAD COUNT	WEAVING TECHNIQUE	OTHER				
	3	3				geometric; gul, diamond triangle, zig-zag, star/rose.	traditional regional, similar to Styles I & IV (p. 161-62)	black, tan.	red, maroon orange, tan, white.	green, purple, blue, pink.	hemp	hand spun	Z	2	none	wool	hand spun	Z	1	aniline, some organic	5x10 twill.	tooth tapestry, twill.					
	2	2				geometric; fasol'ky; narrow horizontal bands.	traditional regional	not applicable	white, black, green, white, orange.	blue, purple.	comm- ercial cotton	N/A	Z	4	none	wool	hand spun	Z	1	aniline, some organic	5x12 tabby.	twill.					
	3	3				geometric, medallion, stepped gul	narrow horizontal bands	black, brown, ecru.	red, maroon, yellow.	purple, blue, orange.	linen	hand spun	Z	1	none	wool	hand spun	Z	1	aniline organic	5x10 tapestry, twill.	tooth tapestry, twill.					
	1					geometric; fasol'ky, bands	design at ends with fringe	white/ cream	red, maroon.	black	linen	hand spun	Z	1	none	linen	hand spun	Z	1	some	16x 16	16x twill.					
	4					geometric gul, diamond twill; birds eye	overall with fringes	red, maroon	black, gold, green	purple	wool	hand spun	S	2	none	wool	hand spun	S	1		18x 6	18x twill					
	1						N/A	natural white	none	none	linen	hand spun	S	2	none	linen	hand spun	S	2		24x 24	24x twill					

TOTAL 14

# FREQUENCY ANALYSIS TABLE OF UKRAINIAN FOLK TEXTILES

LOCATION OF MANUFACTURE	NO. SPECIMENS STUDIED	NO. FULL PIECES	NO. TRADITIONAL PIECES	NO. TRANSITIONAL PIECES	NO. CONTEMPORARY PIECES	POPULAR INDIVIDUAL DESIGNS	POPULAR PATTERN SEQUENCES	BACKGROUND COLOR	PRIMARY ACCENT COLOR	SECONDARY ACCENT COLOR	WARP FIBER	WARP MANUFACTURE METHOD	WARP TWIST	WARP PLY	WARP DYE SOURCE	WEFT FIBER	WEFT MANUFACTURE METHOD	WEFT TWIST	WEFT PLY	WEFT DYE SOURCE	THREAD COUNT	WEAVING TECHNIQUE	OTHER	
TIME OF MANUFACTURE 1928-1940																								
OBJECT TYPE																								
A) KYLYM																								
B) SKORTZ	8	8	8			geometric; gul, diamond, triangle, zig-zag, rose, star.	traditional and regional. See Plates I and IV.	black, brown, tan.	red, maroon, orange, white, yellow, rust-tan.	purple, blue, pink, green	cotton	commercial	S	2-4	none	wool	hand spun	S & Z	1		aniline, little organic	7x12	tooth tapestry twill.	
C) NALAVNYK	4	4	4			geometric; fasol'ky; narrow, horizontal bands	horizontal bands no fringe	not applicable	black, white, maroon, red, yellow, brown.	green, purple, blue, pink.	cotton	commercial	S	2-4	none	wool	hand spun	S & Z	1		little organic	4x10	twill, tabby.	
D) VERETA	1	1	1			medium horizontal bands	bands	grey, beige	red, yellow, green, rust.	orange	hemp	hand spun	S & Z	2	none	hemp	hand spun	S & Z	1			5x8	twill, tabby.	
E) LIZHNYK (BED BLANKET)	7	7	5	5		geometric, plaids, gul, diamond, rose designs	medallion, regional designs	grey, black, white	red, yellow, orange.	green, rose.	wool	hand spun	S & Z	1		wool	hand spun	S & Z	1			7x7	twill, tabby.	
F) CAR BLANKET																								
G) TAYSTRA (SHOPPING BAG)	1	1	1			plaid	plaid	black, white.	red, yellow.	not applicable	cotton	commercial	S	2-4	none	wool	hand spun	Z	1			8x8	tooth tapestry twill.	
H) SKATEERT (TABLE RUNNER)																								
I) POLOTNO (YARDAGE)																								
J) POYAS (SASH)	1	1	1			vertical stripes	not applicable	orange, yellow.	maroon, red.	green.	wool	hand spun	Z	2	none	wool	hand spun	Z	2			20x8	twill	
K) OTHER (overshot Coverlet)	1	1	1	1		Maltese cross	not applicable	white	red	--	wool	hand spun	S	L	none	hand wool	hand spun	S				5x7	overshot	

TOTAL 23

## Chapter V

### HYPOTHESIS DISCUSSION

This chapter establishes whether the three hypotheses developed prior to the study were confirmed or rejected, based on the results of the data collected for this investigation.

#### HYPOTHESIS ONE

Hypothesis One stated that the weavers had common situational and cultural characteristics. Those common to the weavers include:

- immigrating from farming areas and from specific regions of Western Ukraine;
- resettling in clusters in rural areas of northern and eastern Alberta;
- a strong tradition of domestic weaving; and
- a desire to impart their weaving traditions to other generations.

The literature reviewed and interviews conducted for this study confirmed the fact that the pioneer Alberta weavers came from farming areas in Western Ukraine, specifically the provinces of Bukovyna and Halychyna. Upon arrival, many homesteaded near other Ukrainian settlements located east of Edmonton. However, some settled in communities to the north west, such as Peace River and Rycroft.

Field research confirmed the hypothesis that the immigrants' European lifestyle possessed a strong tradition of domestic weaving among women. Further, that this skill was imparted to other generations from mother to daughter. In Alberta, the teaching of fiber arts continued and the immigrant weavers taught their eldest daughters to weave both utilitarian and decorative folk textiles and process fibers in the traditional manner. However, the transmission of home weaving as a traditional folk art form began to decline in the 1920's. This change was in large part due to the financial independence which brought about a change to their living situation and cultural identity. A direct result of these changes was a lack of urgency in transmitting the practice of this folk art medium to subsequent generations. So weaving as a home craft began to disappear with second generation Canadian Ukrainians.

#### HYPOTHESIS TWO

Hypothesis Two stated that there were personal motivating factors for undertaking home weaving in Canada. They include:

- enhancing the home;
- satisfying psychological needs; and
- increasing financial resources.

Informants confirmed the hypothesis that traditional utilitarian and decorative textiles were used to enhance the home from the time of initial settlement to the late 1930's. Initially, the vernacular architecture and interiors of the immigrant weaver's first home closely resembled that style common to Western Ukraine and the traditional textiles were used in the traditional manner. Later, as house designs and



interiors changed, the use of these textiles was modified to reflect the newer Western Canadian home style.

The hypothesis that women wove to satisfy psychological needs was confirmed through interviews with daughters of these immigrant weavers. They were weavers from the second period. Not all women wove but those who did undertook it willingly, although with some hardship. All informants concurred that weaving provided them and their mothers with a strong dimension of personal satisfaction and enjoyment. They spoke of the family's initial feelings of homesickness, isolation and nostalgia. To counteract these emotions, the women tried to emulate an old world character in their interiors and weavings were one way to achieve that end. Through weaving they were able to create objects that were not only useful and beautiful but also ones that fulfilled their strong artistic and aesthetic needs. It must also be noted that it was not mandatory that these pioneers weave in order to survive the elements. By the time of their arrival to Alberta, retail outlets could provide for their basic clothing needs. However, the women took up home weaving and continued that practice on a significant scale to 1940. Although its popularity declined in later years, it was never completely abandoned in Alberta. Today's resurgence of interest in folk weaving is being realized by third and fourth generation Ukrainian Canadians. These facts confirm the hypothesis that folk weaving provided, and continues to satisfy, the weaver's psychological needs.

The final point raised in this hypothesis stated that the women wove to increase financial resources. This was not found to be a motivating factor during the period of initial settlement. The raising and preparation of fibers and the weaving of textiles was a difficult

and time consuming process. In light of the women's household and farm related tasks, many wove only for personal consumption or for barter. But this situation changed by the mid-1920's when women began to weave for financial gain. The difficulties associated with settlement were behind them - the fields were cleared, new homes erected and a modest level of financial independence realized. They had more leisure time to weave and did so on a limited basis for local clients. However, the decline in agricultural markets and the onset of the depression prompted some women to resume home weaving at an increased level for direct financial gain. This rationale for weaving continued through the late 1930's when its popularity declined in favor of other folk arts such as embroidery and egg decorating (pysanky).

#### HYPOTHESIS THREE

Hypothesis Three stated that the textiles made in Alberta from 1900 to 1940 reflected:

- a strong traditional style in the choice of weave structure, shape, patterns, colors and fibers, and
- a limited introduction of new Canadian design features into the final textile composition.

This hypothesis was confirmed through an examination of period artifacts. The textiles reflected the preference of traditional weaving techniques and ornamentation in both utilitarian and decorative pieces made in Alberta prior to 1940. In reference to particular elements of these Canadian pieces, no observable changes were made to the weave structures common to both periods. The shape of the pieces was consistent with those of 19th century Western Ukraine. Due to public demand, small

blankets for use in cars were introduced during the later period. During both periods the weavers were conventional in their choice of patterns, colors and the variety of textile produced. Some isolated examples illustrate the use of new design features such as realistic plant and animal designs together with traditional geometric motifs. The use of vivid colors such as lime green, bright blue and turquoise were some of the new colors introduced to the textiles from the second period. However, the majority of pieces studied for this investigation reflected the use of traditional compositions. Transitional pieces incorporating elements from the traditional and contemporary were rare and no contemporary designed textiles were located in the course of this study. During the early period, warp and weft fibers included hand processed hemp, linen and wool. Occasionally a fine white wool yarn was ordered from a commercial outlet in Ukraine for use as a warp or weft. That practice continued into the second period of home weaving. For a number of reasons, textiles made during the second period favored a wool weft and a commercial cotton warp. These findings confirm the fact that weavings from both periods strongly reflected the use of traditional 19th century Ukrainian textile characteristics in their execution.

## Chapter VI

### CONCLUSION

#### SUMMARY

The purpose of this study has been to document folk weaving traditions as practised by a particular group of Ukrainians in Alberta between 1900 to 1940. Through interviews, examination of historical and ethnographical material, together with original field research, it has been possible to trace the establishment and development of this activity over four decades.

Although Ukrainian textiles and other folk art forms have been recognized as playing an important role in the culture of Ukraine, Canadian scholars have generally not considered them to be more than regional Ukrainian art. Because of this attitude, little attention has been paid to the impact of these early fiber art traditions on later weaving styles. This study, then, attempts to fill part of that void by concentrating on the history of the industry, and the textiles, both utilitarian and decorative made in Alberta during the formative years of settlement by the Ukrainians.

Preliminary investigations confirmed that a similar crafting activity was present in Saskatchewan and Manitoba during the same period. However, the Alberta group appeared to have been the most extensive in the number of weavers and the quantity and types of pieces made. For that reason, Alberta was selected for this particular investigation.

An overview of Ukraine's early history together with a sketch of the development of homeweaving has been provided as a necessary background to the study. These chapters serve to identify the major cultural groups which influenced the growth and establishment of the Ukrainian state, and in turn, the development of a distinctive material culture incorporating elements from these visiting groups. Objects made in Ukraine during that early period reflect a strong Middle Eastern influence and items of a later period show the Scandinavian presence. While these characteristics may be found in a number of folk art items, they are especially evident in those of the fiber arts, that is clothing and textiles. The craftsmen's choice of motifs, designs, pattern sequences, color combinations and techniques, reflect this strong foreign presence.

Folk weaving in Ukraine reached its zenith during the 19th century. Village and home weavers trained during this period understood traditional compositions which were based on centuries of evolution. Many women who had trained at this time, came to Canada during the first wave of immigration and brought with them a wealth of knowledge and skills in weaving. Since this activity was an accepted part of domestic life in the old homeland, the women quickly established themselves with the appropriate equipment and supplies in order to continue that pursuit. These first weavers in Alberta continued to live a traditional culture which was shaped by vivid memories of their former homes and lifestyles.

It is understandable therefore, that although their art was individualistic it was also conventional in that they continued to emulate things already familiar to them, rather than consciously using

the technique as a mode of self-expression. By creating these traditional pieces an inherent need was fulfilled. Indeed, the objects created during this period symbolized the spirit and idealism of these newcomers.

A background of hardship and poverty made existence a struggle for those early settlers. But in the face of the arduous, often dreary pioneer lifestyle, the flowering of "useful folk art" occurred even as they strove for self-sufficiency. Factors which are instrumental in determining whether or not a group develops an illustrious textile heritage are reflected in the role and influence of tradition in everyday life, the group's artistic abilities and their need or desire for self-sufficiency. These characteristics were strong motivating factors for the growth of cottage craft textiles among Canada's earliest Ukrainians, a tradition not to be repeated by subsequent immigration waves.

A heritage of sturdy and beautiful weavings has been inherited from the creative hands of these rural women. Despite the losses due to use, carelessness and indifference, there is much that remains for anyone interested in the study of early handwovens in the Ukrainian tradition. As can be anticipated, little remains of the plain and utilitarian pieces. It is the patterned and festive, ceremonial and decorative objects that were treasures, and their frequent survival gives an unbalanced picture of what was actually made during the period. However, pioneer memory was vivid and the interviews confirmed the homeweaving of a variety of everyday pieces including flour and grain sacks, animal coverings, twine, floor mats, hand and dish towels, together with the show pieces such as kylims, bench covers and table runners.

Although the number of textile pieces originating from this period is small, their quality in terms of technique and composition

is impressive. Research has confirmed it to be a large and important production which satisfied both personal and financial needs not only of the weaver but also of her family. The legacy of their efforts remains visual evidence of the courage and indomitable spirits of pioneers in the face of serious hardships.

#### TWO PHASES OF UKRAINIAN WEAVING IN ALBERTA

Field research has confirmed the existence of two phases of traditional style weaving in Canada. The first occurred with the influx of the first immigrants, and it dates roughly from 1895 to 1920. After a temporary lull, the emergence of the second phase of home weaving came with the onset of the depression, and it lasted from about 1928 to 1940.

Although separated by nearly a decade, a number of characteristics common to both periods can be noted regarding those involved with the practice and the items made. This movement was largely centered in the agricultural population and involved immigrant women and their families. Each person or family worked as an independent, with the local exchange of patterns being the few group-related activities practised. The full range of equipment and supplies were the weaver's responsibility to secure and nothing, save the warp and a few dyes, were purchased. It was virtually a self-contained, homemade activity. No structured classes or workshops appear to have been established for the larger population; rather, the teaching responsibilities were left to the mother, at least during that first phase. Unfortunately, the tradition of mother instructing daughter in technique and tradition was discontinued due to the lack of interest and the need for traditional textiles. Finally, weavers in both periods wove in an effort to attain greater self-sufficiency.

However, weavers of the first phase wove for personal consumption while those of the second phase did so for monetary gain. During both phases of the activity the women had adopted a "make do and no waste" attitude and since weaving provided a means of self-sufficiency together with effective use of leisure time, it was naturally a popular activity during the pioneer years.

Characteristics particular to the equipment, supplies and objects developed are noteworthy. In both phases all the necessary tools of the trade were manufactured locally by the husband or a local carpenter. These included simple two and four shaft floor looms and some smaller tools such as shuttles, combs, drop spindles and occasionally a spinning wheel. There is no indication of purchased equipment, such as the Leclerc looms, being used by this group. However, a few women were known to have owned a small drum carder available from a small manufacturer in Manitoba. The yarns were always hand made and, in later years, commercial cotton was used only for the warp. The second period used homespun wool weft as did the earlier group, but utilized cotton warp. Yarns in the very early years were naturally dyed, although with some difficulty. This technique was soon abandoned in favor of the packaged powdered dyes which were readily available in the near-traditional colors from local merchants, and they were inexpensive, easy to use, colorfast and quick to prepare.

Lastly, the design characteristics of the pieces from both periods are amazingly similar. Popular motifs included the gul/diamond, rhomb and bands.

Documented differences between the two periods are few, and that fact makes dating of the pieces especially difficult. It is important to note that the first group made a diverse variety of items for both



utilitarian and decorative purposes, while the later group wove decorative pieces almost exclusively. Too, the first group undertook the activity for personal consumption whereas the group which was active in the 1930's produced for sale to an outside community which included non-Ukrainian clients.<sup>1</sup> An important feature found as a result of this investigation, which aids in separating the wool items made in Canada from those made in Ukraine, is that the Canadian pieces use a four-ply commercial cotton warp whereas the pieces from Ukraine have only linen, hemp and occasionally wool for the warp, usually two-ply handspun yarns. There was little difference in the weft other than the twist of the yarns in the old country pieces appeared to be tighter than those generally made in Canada.

In view of these findings it may be said that both phases of the production of Ukrainian-Canadian textiles were to a large extent a continuation of a movement that had evolved over a number of centuries and were still in effect in Ukraine at the time of the first immigration to Canada. (see Plate XXVII)

#### REASONS FOR THE DECLINE OF HOMEWEAVING IN ALBERTA

Over a number of years, the homeweaving activities of the Ukrainians gradually declined. Certainly a few women continued to practise the art, but for most, the era of pioneer weaving in the Ukrainian tradition in Alberta had reached its end by 1940.

While no single reason can be attributed to the lessening of interest in the activity, a combination of circumstances led to its demise. Following the depression, farm families began to enjoy at least limited economic expansion and prosperity. Clearly the people no longer

felt the need to produce as much as possible at home but became more consumer oriented. Indeed, the gradual shift in attitude from one of "make do, no waste" and self-sufficiency was certainly one key factor in the eventual decline of interest in producing textiles.

By the early 1940's, the once isolated communities came into closer contact with the larger centres through advances in transportation and communications. The newest fashions of the day were not only fashionable and desirable but they also were more readily available to these rural women, for they too wanted to keep abreast of the current trends in clothing and interiors. Just as the vernacular architecture changed with the times, so interior fashions were subject to a corresponding change. Because of that fact, there was a gradual loss of interest in the earlier weaving and their use as decorative pieces in the home. Adornment in the 1940's saw the decline of Eastern European influences in exchange for those of English Canada. This was felt in the rural communities as well, although at a somewhat later date, and particularly among the more affluent and younger generations. The old world settle-type beds, trunks and kilyms were exchanged for sofas, closets and printed pictures. By then new and commercially available fabrics, such as dotted swiss, lace and chintz, made their appearance in the farm home and gently replaced the homespuns and handwovens of the early periods. A new era of material culture had begun with the influx of new wealth among these people. So, the old country textiles handed down from grandmother and mother were either stored as keepsakes, or used until worn out from everyday use. One informant spoke of using the kilyms and bench covers as floor mats and animal blankets or, alternatively, sending them to Ukraine in care

packages, or disposing of them during the farm sale. The time had arrived when the homemakers elected to purchase the necessary yardages from local shopkeepers or by ordering them from the Eaton's catalogue.

By the 1940's, isolation was no longer perceived to be a problem to the farm wife. With major advances they now had access, perhaps somewhat limited, to better roads, vehicles, radios and a host of publications. Associated with these advances is the fact that designs previously unique to a particular group were borrowed by others and combined with designs obtained from books and craft publications.

Those who continued to weave using traditional techniques modified the objects made in terms of size, shape, color and pattern selection. The once obvious symbols became stylized and underwent a gradual loss of the old country style. This, in turn, led to a rapid and natural eroding of the traditional weaving forms, thus further disrupting the link with past tradition. These transitional pieces which appeared were limited in number, and many contained elements of the old world patterns as well as newer and contemporary design features. Examples of this later type of weaving, in the kylv style, include a realistic rose as the central motif with diamonds, gul and line motifs forming a border at either end of the piece.

Another important factor to consider in this decline was the dramatic shift of population from the country to the city during the 1940's. This was certainly a major factor in the abandonment of the home weaving activity. In 1921 Alberta's population was 588,454, but no rural and urban division is available. In 1931, the rural total was 453,097, and the urban 278,508. By 1941 the rural figure had increased to 489,583, and the urban to 306,586. But by 1961 the respective

numbers were 488,733 and 843,211.<sup>2</sup> This relocating of large numbers of people from rural to urban centres played an important role in reducing the number of potential participants in hand weaving activities. In addition to the population shift, the predominant character of the remaining farms changed. They became specialized, larger, and more mechanized. By that time self-sufficiency was not being stressed to the degree it was earlier, and the interest in hand weaving as a means of making extra cash had gradually declined.

For those few women who either wanted to learn or to continue weaving, circumstance became difficult, for by the 1940's the domestic production of equipment and raw fibers for weaving had virtually ceased to exist. Since Alberta didn't produce either the yarns or the tools needed in the cottage industry, these had to be imported from other parts of Canada or from abroad. For those who wanted to continue with an alternate hand art form, many undertook embroidery, petitpoint, crochet and knitting. Also, by that time Ukrainian community life was well established and that fact along with membership in other community service associations offered these women viable alternatives in spending their leisure time, alternatives that had not been present in earlier years.

This leads to the final point to be made. It is that after the "old country" weavers disbanded, due to relocation or death, the level of interest and activity in homeweaving was not sustained in Alberta. Apart from the attitudinal changes outlined previously, new forms of leisure time activity were pursued. These considerations, taken together, acted to weed out the disciplined and dedicated weavers and reduce the general level of weaving activity.

## THE RESURGENCE OF INTEREST IN UKRAINIAN FOLK WEAVING

Tradition is like a web which binds people together through space and time. It is that sense of a historic past that has, in recent years, caused third and fourth generation Ukrainian-Canadians to search for elements of their early heritage. For some, that quest has focused on hand wovens.

Since the late 1970's there has been a renewed interest in home weaving in the traditional manner. That activity had largely been initiated by the daughters and granddaughters of immigrant weavers, but others, too, have joined in this learning adventure.

To date, the hand preparation of yarns has not been pursued by many students, the majority elect to purchase the readily available commercial supplies. In order to become familiar with traditional elements of composition such as design, patterns, colors and structural techniques, new students initially chose to reflect the 19th century Ukrainian pieces. Many students continue weaving traditional pieces. However, it is encouraging to see some artisans, working from that historic base of information, beginning to evolve handsome transitional and contemporary wovens, executed with taste and flare, yet retaining a distinctive Ukrainian flavor.

Public classes based on the traditional elements of the art are available through museums and other agencies.<sup>3</sup> Interest to date has been encouraging and they will no doubt be expanded in subsequent years in order to accommodate the growing fiber arts clientele.

For the home weavers of eighty years ago, theirs was an "art survival" situation, whereas today's products have evolved because of

an "art revival" program. But this is only a natural evolution and growth to be expected in any aspect of material culture. The important fact is that the art continues to grow, flourish and readapt itself to suit the changing times. In doing this, contemporary weavers have based their new fiber art representations on variations of the old country themes.

#### AREAS FOR FURTHER STUDY

The preliminary investigations herein detailed have revealed similar weaving practices to have been in effect among the pioneer Ukrainians of Saskatchewan and Manitoba. Documenting these activities would add a valuable chapter to the study of Western Canada's material history. Along with that investigation, immigrants from the second and third waves to Eastern Canada need to be identified with the project to determine if they, too, had similar traditions, for many of them were of a rural orientation and could have had similar weaving traditions.

As stated in the introduction to this study, the multi-cultural fiber traditions of Western Canada have yet to be established. Dorothy Burnham has begun to make meaningful contributions in that regard, but considerable grass-roots research is required. The traditions of other known weavers and knitters, such as the Doukhobors, French, Germans and Scandinavians, have to be recorded before pioneer memory dies out completely.

In her 1982 Master's thesis, Weaving Education in Manitoba in the 1940's, Janet A. Hoskins (University of Manitoba) has carefully documented two important province-wide weaving programs. They were independently organized and administered by the Searle Grain Company and by the French Roman Catholic Church through la Societe d'Enseignement Postsecondaire du Manitoba. Included in her research is a valuable historical sketch of some early Red River textile traditions. Hoskins points out that the

Searle Grain Company undertook similar projects in Saskatchewan and Alberta and this author, during the course of her investigations, did manage to locate some sources which document the activity in those provinces. Further research in this topic would help to record what must have also been a popular and innovative program on art revival.

Lastly, investigation into the establishment and subsequent activity of the carding and spinning industry carried out by the Ukrainian, at Sifton in Manitoba should also be researched. The history of his business would provide a fascinating study on its own, and might reveal the breadth of its service and the association it had, if any, with Manitoba's current wool processing plants.

The method of analyzing flat textiles used in this study could effectively be used in other research of a similar nature. It may be used not only for the identification of Ukrainian period pieces but also for the analysis of textiles from other groups, with appropriate modifications. Standardized information of this type would be a step toward the cross-cultural identification of fiber traditions common among cultural groups.

So it is that the histories of the fiber traditions of other provinces must soon be documented. Such research would serve to record what must have been a large and important pioneer production and in so doing establish a more comprehensive view of Western Canada's material culture and history.

## FOOT NOTES

Chapter I

1. Dorothy K. Burnham, The Comfortable Arts: Traditional Spinning and Weaving in Canada, (Ottawa: National Gallery of Canada, National Museums of Canada, 1981), 209.
2. Burnham, op.cit., (1981), 209.
3. Burnham, op.cit., (1981), 216.
4. Louis Gottschalk, Understanding History: A Primer of the Historical Method, (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1963), 87.
5. H.W. Fowler and F.G. Fowler, eds. The Concise Oxford Dictionary, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 4th ed., 1960), 325.
6. M. Gordon, Assimilation in American Life, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1964), 24.
7. D. Burnham, Warp and Weft: A Textile Terminology, (Toronto: Royal Ontario Museum, 1980), 54.
8. Fowler and Fowler, op.cit., (1960), 772.
9. Burnham, op.cit., (1980), 144.
10. Fowler and Fowler, op.cit., (1960), 1353.
11. Burnham, op.cit., (1980), 151.

Chapter II

1. N. Polonska-Vasylenko, "Significance of the Princely Era in the History of Ukraine", Ukraine: A Concise Encyclopaedia, Vol. 1, ed. Volodymyr Kubijovyc (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1963), 616b.
2. Exceptionally rich artifacts from the Trypillian and Scythian eras have been recently excavated in Central Ukraine. Both groups were known to have inhabited that area as early as the 5th century B.C. Their work was of a high order of technical and design sophistication and they were known for their excellence in the mediums of precious metals, especially gold, as well as stone and fiber. The earliest known tapestry was a product of the Scythian tribes and that rug was excavated at Pazyryk, Siberia in 1949. The gold objects made by the same group, drawn from collections in Ukraine and Russia, formed the international exhibition "Scythian Gold" which was shown at the Metropolitan Museum in New York City. Valuable resource materials on these pre-contact cultures may be found in books such as Richard G. Klein's Ice-Age Hunters of the Ukraine (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1973), and Treasures from the Ukrainian Barrows by Aleksandr Leskov (Leningrad : Aurora Art Publishers, 1972).



3. The land mass of present-day Ukraine S.S.R. is larger than that of either Germany or France, it being nearer the size of Ontario. The current definitive study on Ukrainian population statistics in Canada edited by William Darcovich and Paul Yuzik is A Statistical Compendium of the Ukrainians in Canada, 1891-1976, (Ottawa: University of Ottawa Press, 1980).
4. A. Ohloblyn, "The Early History of Ukraine: The Pre-Slav Period", Kubijovyc, op.cit., (1963), 575b.
5. ibid., 575b.
6. ibid., 575a-b.
7. ibid., 576a-b.
8. ibid., 577a-b.
9. ibid., 578a. The author writes that the name Antes is probably of Iranian origin.
10. ibid., 580a-b. The author writes that the 7th c. Ukrainian tribes were involved in trade with other parts of the world from ancient times. They traded with Byzantium, for example, for rugs, velvet, gold weavings, silver, ornaments and silk.
11. G. Sevelov, "The Name Rus'" 3b-5b and J.B. Rudnyckyj, "The Name Ukraina", 5b-7a, Kubijovyc, op. cit., (1963). The writer states that the name Rus' was used in the Chronicle to denote the triangle of land around the Kiev region formed by the Dnieper, Irpen and Ros Rivers and it was later applied to the entire territory of the Kievan State. The original term Rus' was gradually replaced by another ancient term, Ukraine. This second name was been used regularly since the end of the 19th century to denote the Ukrainian territory and people alike. Originally Ukraina meant borderland and its origin has been traced to the middle of the 11th century.
12. N. Chubaty, "Sectional Struggles in the Context of International Politics", 603a and "Galicia and Volhynia: The Tartar Invasion", 606b. Kubijovyc, op. cit., (1963).
13. N. Polonsak-Vasylenko, "Ukraine Under Lithuanian and Polish Domination", Kubijovyc, op. cit., (1963), 622b-634a.
14. The Ukrainian population greatly resented the imposition of corvee (panshchyna) or serfdom. First introduced by the Poles to the western provinces of Ukraine and similarly by the Russians to the eastern provinces, the serfs were viewed as property and exploited for their labor. The serf population was greater in the western provinces. With the abolition of serfdom, the resulting peasant class caused severe overcrowding and this was a major factor which prompted their emigration to Europe, North and South America during the 19th century.

15. In the lands to the south east, bands of free men settled and by the 15th century formed what became known in the steppes as the Kozak Social State. These men learned methods of fighting which were natural to the Tartars and eventually they became the Tartars most dangerous foe. The Kozaks, an independent military and political force became permanent defenders of Ukraine against the Tartars. The Polish government could not suppress nor control the powerful Kozaks and by the late 16th century, the Kozak and peasant uprisings against the Polish lords had begun. The successive revolts lead by the Kozaks were unsuccessful and by 1638 the Polish government declared the Kozaks outlaws and imposed a large Polish army in Ukraine to prevent new uprisings.
16. B. Krupnytsky, "The Rebirth of the State: Ukraine Under the Rule of the Hetmans.", Kubijovyc, op. cit., (1963), 634a.
17. Krupnytsky, op. cit. 635a-665b.  
note: the term Hetman designates a military general.
18. Krupnytsky, op. cit., 667a-b.
19. Members of the Kozak army were drawn largely from the upper middle class members of 17th century Ukrainian society. For further information see Krupnytsky, in Kubijovyc, op. cit., (1963), 664a-665b.
20. Krupnytsky, op. cit., 667a-b.
21. E. Borschak, "Ukraine in the Russian Empire". Kubijovyc, op.cit. (1963), 668a.
22. Borschak, op. cit., 667a-b.
23. Ukrainian statistics indicate that landowners from northern Ukraine transferred their serfs to south eastern Ukraine for rural colonization purposes. This resulted in the resettlement of 145,000 serfs to the province of Poltava, which had a population of 1M, in 1843. By 1856 that area's population grew to 3M with the influx of new serfs.
24. Borschak, op. cit., 672a.
25. The poles were also divided internally, there being a struggle for power between the King and nobility for governing supremacy.
26. Sonia Riddoch, Our Cultural Heritage, (Toronto: Clark, Irwin and Co. Ltd., 1979), 259.
27. Borschak, op. cit., 677a-b.
28. The remote areas they moved to in Russia included Siberia, Kuban, Stravropil, Don and Kurkestan. For further information see Kubijovyc, op. cit., (1963), 678a-b.

29. Riddoch, op.cit., 258.
30. Riddoch, op. cit., 259.
31. Borschak, op. cit., 676b-677a.  
 Note: On the eve of liberation, the total Ukrainian population made up of serfs included:
 

Kiev:	57.66%	Poltava:	37.47%	Tawria:	5.97%
Volhynia:	56.54	Kharkiv:	29.77		
Podilia:	59.54	Kherson:	31.27		
Chernihiv:	37.61	Katerynoslav:	31.51		
32. Z. Kuzela, "Material Folk Culture", Kubijovyc, op. cit., (1963), 300 a-b.
33. Shirley E. Held, Weaving: A Handbook of the Fiber Arts, (New York: Holt, Reinhold, Winston, 2nd. ed., 1978), 28.
34. The Pazyruk rug is part of the collections of the Hermitage Museum, Leningrad and is known to be made by Scythians. Scholars contend that since they were not agricultural by nature but rather nomadic, they had no significant influence on the local population. They were known to have occupied parts of central and southern Ukraine for a short period during the late 7th century.
35. D. Horniatkevych, "Folk Art and Handicraft: Applied Art", Kubijovyc, op. cit., (1963), 383a-390a.
36. V. Sichnysky, "Folk Art and Handicraft: Weaving", Kubijovyc, op. cit., (1963), 389a-390a.
37. Rose Dragan, "Kylym Weaving", (paper presented during the workshop of Ukrainian folk weaving at the Banff Centre, Banff, Alberta (1976).  
 Note: Mrs. Dragan's notes have been compiled from a number of sources on Ukrainian kylym weaving. These include: A.K. Zuk, Ukrainski Narodni Kylymy, (Kiev: Naukova Dumka, 1966), and Ukrainski Radyanski Kylymy, (Kiev: Naukova Dumka, 1973); Ukrainian Arts, ed. Anne Mitz, (New York: Ukrainian Youth League of North America, 1955) and Ukraine: A Concise Encyclopaedia, Vol. 1, ed. Volodymyr Kubijovyc (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1963), 9.
38. Dragan, op. cit., 10.
39. Dragan, op. cit., 12.
40. Dragan, op. cit., 16.
41. Dragan, op. cit., 18  
 Note: These rugs were located in the provinces of Volynia, Podilia and Halychnya, Western Ukraine.

42. Dragan, op. cit., 18.  
Note: It was located in the town of Horokhiv, Volynia.
43. Dragan, op. cit., 21.
44. Dragan, op. cit., 21.
45. The author's review of pictorial evidence from archeological excavations of the pre-contact cultures reveals a preference for geometric motifs over those of a floral nature. The meander symbol was especially popular with that culture.
46. An important consideration for the preference of designs, colors and the compositions thereof, lies in the physical environment of the folk artisans. They seek to reflect the elements most familiar to them through the use of various media. However, the environment is but one factor which affects the development of regional folk art styles. Included in that design preference is a combination of forces including foreign trade, past history, rural and urban orientation and cultural characteristics of the masses.
47. Dragan, op. cit., 25.
48. The term 'gul' has been used to designate the diamond shaped motif common to Persian and other Middle Eastern weavings. That same motif, also common to many Western Ukrainian weavings, is most often referred to as a rhomb. However, within the Ukrainian language the word 'gulya' which means a bump or swelling, could well have its linguistic roots from a Middle Eastern source. The gul motif could likely be the more appropriate term for the Ukrainian diamond design element. Further research into the origins of the term from both the Middle Eastern and Ukrainian viewpoints would, no doubt, provide some insight into this theory.  
  
The definitive work on Middle Eastern kilyms which gives a graphic and historical analysis of the tradition is entitled, Kilim: Flat Woven Tapestry Rugs by Yanni Petsopoulos, (New York: Rizzoli, 1979), pp.394.
49. Dragan, op. cit., p.34.
50. Dragan, op. cit., p.36.
51. Dragan, op. cit., p.36.
52. Dragan, op. cit., p.37.
53. Dragan, op. cit., p.38.
54. Dragan, op. cit., p.38.
55. Dragan, op. cit., p.38.
56. Dragan, op. cit., p.38.

57. This is the author's curatorial opinion after the study of numerous kylym collections during her professional career.
58. A variety of sources confirm the raising of Merino sheep in Western Ukraine for the production of high quality wool used in decorative weavings.
59. Curatorial files located at the Ukrainian Museum of Canada, Saskatoon, Saskatchewan.
60. D. Horniatkevych, Kubijovyc, op.cit., (1963), 392b.
61. ibid.
62. Dragan, op. cit., p.54
63. Dragan, op. cit., p.55.
64. Dragan, op. cit., p.55.
65. Dragan, op. cit.
66. Burnham, op.cit., (1980), 150.
67. Dragan, op. cit., p.55.
68. Dragan, op. cit., p.56.
69. Dragan, op. cit., p.57. It is more commonly called 'nalavnyk'.
70. Dragan, op. cit., p.57.
71. These are the author's personal notes from her experience in the field.
72. Vladimir J. Kaye, Early Ukrainian Settlements in Canada 1895-1900, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1964), 362.
73. Kaye, op. cit., 318.
74. Kaye, op. cit., 362.
75. Dr. Oleskow (1860-1903) was only a young man of 35 when he organized the mass immigration of Ukrainians to Canada.
76. Kaye, op. cit., 385.
77. Kaye, op. cit., 55.
78. Kaye, op. cit., 318.

79. The federal government offered 160 acres of land to each new settler and his family to Western Canada. However, in order to avoid land speculation, the owner had to live on the land within one year of securing the Homestead Patent and to erect permanent dwellings on that location within five years of taking possession of the land.
80. Jean Bruce, Last Best West, (Toronto: Fitzhenry and Whiteside, 1976), 1.
81. William Darcovich, Ukrainians in Canada: The Struggle to Retain Their Identity, (Ottawa: Ukrainian Self-Reliance Association, 1967), 2.  
 It is important to note that the second wave of immigrants settled in urban centres unlike those of the first wave who were rural in orientation. The second wave of Ukrainians were generally better educated and had a higher level of political consciousness than did their predecessors. The third wave of immigrants were mostly refugees from Displaced Persons Camps in Western Europe.
82. Darcovich, op. cit., (1967), 5.
83. Darcovich, op. cit., (1967), 6.
84. Darcovich, op. cit., (1967), 7.
85. W. Darcovich and P. Yuzik, eds. A Statistical Compendium of the Ukrainians in Canada, 1891-1976, (Ottawa: Ottawa University Press, 1980), 26-29, 37-38. (all statistics quoted in this passage are from this source).
86. Kaye, op. cit., 325.
87. John Lehr, Ukrainian Vernacular Architecture in Alberta, (Edmonton: Alberta Culture, Historical Resources Division, 1976), 35.
88. A list of items common to the rural Ukrainian pioneer home of early Western Canada was compiled by Peter Zvarich of Edmonton, Alta. for the Ukrainian Museum of Canada, Saskatoon, Saskatchewan in 1945.
89. Burnham, op. cit., (1981), 216.
90. Burnham, op. cit., (1981), xii.

### Chapter III

1. Articles from gerontological journals supported the viewpoint that ability to recall events of the distant past are not lessened with age but rather become more vivid with advancing years. These articles have been listed in the bibliography.
2. The author received special assistance in locating local contacts from Mrs. Anne Zwozdesky, National President of the Ukrainian Women's Association of Canada, Edmonton, 1981-83).

### Chapter IV

1. The tape recordings of field interviews undertaken for this study have been deposited in the Ukrainian Museum of Canada, Saskatoon.
2. Hanka Romanchych was born in 1907 in the village of Dauphin, Manitoba. Her parents were immigrants from the Hutzul region of Western Ukraine known as Bereshiw. After her university education, she assumed the farm extension position with the Alberta government before she was twenty. She was, and continues to be, actively involved in the women's movement on both a national and international level through her association with the Ukrainian Women's Association of Canada and the National Council of Women. Among her many organizational and cultural achievements is her association with the Ukrainian Museum of Canada as founding member in 1936. She presently resides in St. Catharines, Ontario.
3. Personal conversation between Hanka Romanchych and the author in Toronto, Ontario, October 12, 1982.
4. Romanchych told the author that she wrote directly to Ukraine on the weavers behalf, for white wool as weft. She could not recall details on the source for those materials but that she undertook this responsibility during the 1930's for the Alberta weavers only. She also spoke of meeting with Marius Barbeau, a counterpart from Quebec. Apparently, they exchanged details of the weaving activities undertaken by rural women in Alberta and Quebec. No doubt Barbeau had suppliers for both wool and related equipment but this level of exchange apparently was not pursued by Romanchych.
5. A limited number of photographs from these sources were located and samples have been included in Figures 6, 7 and 8.
6. Personal conversation between Hanka Romanchych and the author in Toronto, Ontario, October 15, 1982. This information was confirmed by the Eaton Company Archivist in a letter to the author dated February 21, 1983.
7. Personal conversation between Hanka Romanchych and the author in Toronto, Ontario, October 13, 1982.

8. Personal conversation between Hanka Romanchych and the author in Toronto, Ontario, October, 13, 1982.
9. Burnham, op. cit., (1981), 202.
10. Personal conversation between Lily Tokaryk and the author in Edmonton, Alberta, November 19, 1982.
11. Personal conversation between Hanka Romanchych and the author in Toronto, Ontario, October 13, 1982.
12. Personal conversation between Hanka Romanchych and the author in Toronto, Ontario, October 13, 1982.
13. Personal conversation with Katherine Farrus and Mary Ewanchuk and the author in Vegreville, Alberta, November 12, 1982.
14. Burnham, op. cit., (1981), 216.
15. Personal inspection by the author of looms in Smokey Lake, Alberta on November 16, 1982 and the Ukrainian Museum of Canada, Saskatoon on November 28, 1982.
16. A personal conversation between kylym weaver Mrs. Mary Lazarowich of Saskatoon, Saskatchewan and the author on November 28, 1982.
17. Kaye, op. cit., 342.
18. Burnham, op. cit., (1980), 122.
19. Burnham, op. cit., (1980), 21.
20. Mary Burnett, "Handwoven and Homespun", Canadian Antique Collector, Vol. VIII, No. 2, (February, 1971), 21.
21. Burnham, op. cit., (1980), 21.
22. Personal conversation with Mary Ewanchuk and the author in Vegreville, Alberta, November 13, 1982.
23. Personal conversation between Hanka Romanchych and the author in Toronto, Ontario, October 15, 1982. This information was confirmed during the interview with Mary Ewanchuk of Vegreville, Alberta.
24. Burnham, op. cit., (1981), 216.



## Chapter V

1. These mothers were the young daughters of the first wave immigrant weavers.
2. Personal conversation between Hanka Romanchych and the author in Toronto, Ontario, October 15, 1982.
3. Burnham, op. cit., (1981), 216.
4. Lehr, op. cit., 36.

## Chapter VI

1. Personal conversation between Hanka Romanchych and the author in Toronto, October 17, 1982. She stated that persons such as Dr. Allison Proctor of Edmonton bought a very large collection of these weavings. She had accompanied her on that buying trip. This collection is now at the Alberta Provincial Museum, Edmonton. Other buyers included Ms. M. Storr of Duncan, B.C.
2. Darcovich and Yuzik, op. cit., (1980), 37-38, 108-110.
3. In 1976 the Banff Centre, Fiber Arts Division in co-operation with the Ukrainian Museum of Canada, Saskatoon, initiated the first annual workshop of Ukrainian folk weaving. The courses are thematic in nature and are designed for intermediate and senior level students. The classes combine history, ethnology and structural elements of specific weaving styles found in 19th century folk weavings of Ukraine.

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## APPENDIX A

ORGANIC DYE SOURCES  
FROM EARLY 20th CENTURY WESTERN UKRAINE



Source: Eric Kolbenhier, Ukrainian Bukovinian Cross-Stitch Embroidery. (reprint) Windsor: Eastern Executive of the Ukrainian Women's Association of Canada, 1974.

### DYEING

Long ago (sometimes even today) the dyeing of the wool, yarn, and other home-made cloth was done at home. For this they used leaves, flowers and bark from various plants, which they picked at an appropriate time in the woods and fields; then they were dried and prepared appropriately and certain hepocmu were used in the preparation of some dyes.

These dyes were extremely durable and particularly beautiful, so that even today one marvels at the freshness of the colours in old embroideries. It would be too tedious and time-consuming to give in detail each individual recipe for these extremely complicated methods of making the dyes as they were once made, or which are partially prepared even to this day; because, besides the work itself of importance here are also the mysterious witcheries and other superstitions. So, we shall mention here only the most important elements of these methods.

**Lemon Colour** — Made of zanobamc. Towards the end of June, when the plant is in full bloom, the flowers are gathered on a dry, sunny, day, dried in a well-protected, shaded spot and later the blemished flowers are cast away because they spoil the dye. One must pick and select the flowers with clean hands and in clean dishes which must not have a single tinge of acidity. The dried leaves are boiled in clear water, then cooled slightly; later add 2 knife ends of alum, set in the yarn and boil it again. The yarn will become completely bright yellow; when a darker colour is desired, then, instead of water, the yarn is always boiled in strained borsch (beet soup).

**ORANGE** — The small thin leaves and white flowers of the willow are collected and dried, as previously stated; boiled in clean water, having added a little alum; and the yarn is boiled in this. To get a darker colour it is boiled twice.

**RED** — is made from leaves and bark of the wild apple or wild pear trees, and also from the flowers of nampunka in the following manner:

The sun dried bark of the wild apple and pear is boiled well in water, cooled and strained; then mixed well and rubbed together with both hands in the following proportions — two parts of the shade-dried leaves of the wild apple and pear to one part of the dried leaves and flowers of the nampunka. This mixture is placed into a barrel or wooden pail, the boiled bark water is poured over this mixture and left to stand for three to four days; then this mixture is beaten to a foam throughout nine days for one hour a day. At the end of nine days add some alum, boil, and when cool, the dye is ready. Washed wool or yarn is placed into this liquid and boiled in a clean pot once, twice or even several times depending on whether lighter or a darker colour is required. In olden times the red dye was made almost exclusively from the bus rhus cotinus, which was imported en mass from nearby Moldavia into Bukovina and Halychyna as produce.

**BLUE** — Dilute copperas in potassium nitrate. Later boil a suitable amount in hot water in a copper pot and add a little alum. Into this blue water place the white yarn and boil again for a bright blue dye. To get a darker colour, it is necessary to boil twice or several times. At the end, the yarn is rinsed in clear river water and dried.

Another, better method of dying into blue is as follows: Human urine is left several days in a container, then the light section is strained off and a piece of bluestone wrapped in cloth is put into it and left for several days until it becomes completely crumbly, making it easier to crush. Into this liquid, to which is also added some alum, the yarn is placed for two to three days, then taken out, rinsed well in water and dried in the wind. When the wool is a light blue, then it is replaced into the liquid until it becomes the desired colour.

**BLACK** — is gotten from fresh young elder trees. It is boiled and in the straining a little copperas and kitchen salt is added. Then add the yarn, boil, rinse in the river and dry outside. Black dye is also made from the leaves of the walnut.

Other dyes like green, violet, brown, etc., is achieved by double dyeing. For example — for green, the yellow-dyed article is placed into the blue; for violet — the red-dyed article is placed into blue, etc.

So much for dyeing with plant materials, which method was once the general rule, but today is quite rare. In those times, when in Bukovina, industry was non-existent and when the villagers, due to the lack of all other means of livelihood, occupied themselves solely with agriculture, they had, or rather the women had, plenty of time for other household duties and that is why they could indulge in dyeing of this type which demanded a lot of time and energy. Today, due to the numerous constantly changing technological devices, the time and energy of the villagers is required and is more valued. On the other hand, with the advent of the railroads, the products of the new handiwork, the accessibility to good artificial dyes, and even to the ready-dyed yarns, these products are now available to all people even those in the remotest villages. All these factors have contributed to the demise of the old methods of dyeing. They now dye with bought dyes, or they buy the pre-dyed yarn. I must admit that for this reason the quality of the home handiwork is deteriorating because their past originality and beauty lay also in these beautifully blended home dyes.

APPENDIX B

LIST OF INFORMANTS

Farrus, Kathyryna. Vegreville, Alberta  
Farrus-Ewanchuk, Helen Vegreville, Alberta  
Feniuk, Mary. Smoky Lake, Alberta  
Gelech, Efrozina. Smoky Lake, Alberta  
Huk, Dmytro. Smoky Lake, Alberta  
Kokotilo, Mary. Smoky Lake, Alberta  
Kowalchuk, Vasylyna. Willingdon, Alberta  
Lazarowich, Mary. Saskatoon, Saskatchewan  
Mitansky, Anne. Andrew, Alberta  
Radomska, Paraska. Smoky Lake, Alberta  
Romanchych-Kowalchuk, Hanka. St. Catharines, Ontario  
Socholotsky, Katyryna. Smoky Lake, Alberta  
Starchuk, Elana. Smoky Lake, Alberta  
Tkachuk, Mary. Saskatoon, Saskatchewan  
Tokaryk, Lily. Edmonton, Alberta  
Warawa, Paraska. Smoky Lake, Alberta  
Zukiwsky, Medoria. Willingdon, Alberta

APPENDIX C

INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

PERSONAL DATAWeaver

1. Full name (married, maiden).
2. Present Address.
3. Date and Place of Birth.
4. Educational Background.
5. Languages Spoken, Written.
6. Country of Origin (village, region, county).
7. Year of immigration to Canada (if applicable).
8. Why you chose Canada and Alberta for settlement.
9. Occupation in Ukraine.
10. Location of first home in Canada
11. Explain subsequent moves and reasons, if known.
12. Explain size and location of farm where weaving was undertaken.
13. Detail the raising of textile-related crops in Canada.
14. Outline the home size and style of dwelling where weaving was undertaken.
15. Outline the weaving-related equipment and items brought in the voyage from Ukraine.
16. Detail as much as possible the financial situation during the weaving activities.
17. Outline the cultural influences in maintaining traditional folk arts of weaving, embroidery and dress.

INFORMANT'S WEAVING PRACTICES IN UKRAINE\*

1. When did you start to weave?
2. Where did you weave (village, district, region)?
3. Were you involved with guilds, craftsmen, etc., with explanation?
4. Who taught you to weave:
5. What weaving skills were you taught?
6. What did you weave?
7. What woven items did you purchase?
8. What supplies and equipment did you make at home?
9. What supplies and equipment did you purchase?
10. Why did you weave?
11. When did you weave (by season, time of day)? Explain.
12. Describe the family members who assisted in the activity.
13. Explain origins of design sources used in these items.
14. Explain if you undertook commercial cottage weaving practices. (Items made, sizes, prices, sales outlets, etc.)
15. Do you consider your experiences typical of other Ukrainian weavers?

\* (To obtain both the individual's experience and/or her knowledge of the experience of others.)

INFORMANT'S WEAVING PRACTICES IN CANADA FOR HOME USE

1. What were the sources for your textile needs in Canada?
  2. During what years did you weave in Canada?
  3. Where did you weave (town, province, etc.)?
  4. Why did you weave?
  5. What objects were woven?
  6. How were these objects used (home, church, sales, commission)?
  7. Explain which items were most popular.
  8. Why were they popular?
- \* Explain that next section will deal with weaving activities.
9. Detail the origins of raw materials for the weavings (linen, hemp, wool, others).
  10. Explain methods of fiber preparation for spinning.
  11. Explain equipment used in spinning.
  12. Detail the colour sources and process used in dyeing the yarns (linen, hemp, wool, others).
  13. Explain the types of equipment used in weaving.
  14. Explain the weaving technique(s) used in these pieces.
  15. Explain the use of cartoons or other patterns used while weaving.
  16. Explain any exchange of patterns among weavers.
  17. Explain the design sources used in this work.
  18. Explain the weaving-related activities that were undertaken according to the season.

19. Explain any special prayers or songs used during the weaving activity.
20. Elaborate on times when weaving could not be undertaken (holidays, other events).
21. Explain the teaching of the art to other family members or friends (aspects taught, when, where).
22. What were the most rewarding experience(s) and benefits of these weaving practices in Canada.
23. Explain the events surrounding the decline of the weaving activities.
24. Has there been an attempt to revive these practices? Explain.

#### INFORMANT'S WEAVING PRACTICES IN CANADA FOR MARKETING

1. What events prompted the cottage weaving organization?
2. Who was involved with this organization? Explain.
3. When and where was it begun?
4. Explain how meetings were held to develop the network of weavers.
5. Detail how follow-up contact was maintained among weavers (newsletters, meetings, letters).
6. Outline special displays and/or sales set up to exhibit works of the cottage weavers.
7. Describe the equipment and their sources, used in the activity.
8. Describe the materials used (warp, weft, dyes).
9. Outline additional assistance received from outside sources (equipment, supplies, finances).
10. What items were made for sale?
11. Describe their shape and size and cost
12. Why were these items (selected for sale?



13. How were the prices established?
14. Explain special orders and commissions made at the time.
15. What other members assisted in the venture? Explain.
16. What patterns and colours were used in these weavings?
17. What quality guidelines were established for sale items? Explain.
18. How was quality assurance maintained. Explain.
19. Explain how sales were handled (orders, shipping, payment).
20. Explain how sales profits were handled.
21. Explain if this activity permitted activities/events to occur that would otherwise have been impossible, or difficult under the circumstances.

END OF INTERVIEW.

Project Organizer

1. During what years were you involved with the Alberta weaving activity? Explain.
2. How old were you when the activity was initiated?
3. Explain something of your regular, full-time work during this period.
4. What was your role in this cottage industry? Elaborate.
5. What was your title for the project? Explain.
6. What did you think about when you saw the immigrant Ukrainian women on the farm?
7. Explain why you chose to promote weaving as an activity among these women.
8. How did your regular responsibilities permit involvement with this activity?
9. What other persons assisted you in this venture? Explain.
10. Explain how your expenses related to the venture were met.
11. Explain the records and documentation kept as a result of the enterprise, by yourself and others.
12. What previous experience and tradition did you draw upon in order to develop this cottage industry. Explain.
13. Explain any weaving-related courses taken by you, which assisted with your work in Alberta.
14. Explain your organizational and cultural affiliation during this venture and its role in your work.
15. What parts of the venture would you say stood out most in your mind, as you think back on this activity?
16. Did you attempt to establish similar activities in other centres/communities? Explain.

17. In your travel through Western Canada, were you aware of other groups which were weaving under similar circumstances during the early part of this century? Explain.
18. Thinking back over the program, what benefits did you personally derive? Explain.
19. In summary, explain any additional points about your role which should be included in the review.

INDUSTRY: DEVELOPMENT, ORGANIZATION AND MANAGEMENT

1. Explain where and when the industry was started.
2. During what years was the venture active? Explain.
3. What was the working name of the weaving group? Explain.
4. What were the ethnic origins of those involved with the activity and how many weavers were there?
5. Were the weavers primarily from rural or urban centres? Explain.
6. What were the names of the communities in which the weavers lived?
7. How was the project first started? Explain.

\*The following questions pertain to the weaving practices.

8. What weaving equipment and supplies were used by this group?
9. Explain how they were acquired.
10. What items were woven by this group?
11. Which items were most popular?
12. Did some weavers specialize in any way with the items made? Explain.
13. What was the warp fibre(s) and its source?

14. What was the weft fibre(s) and its source?
15. Detail the home preparation of the warp and weft fibres.
16. In your opinion, how did the quality of the fibres spun, dyed, and woven in Canada compare to similar ones fashioned in Ukraine? Elaborate.
17. What colours predominated in the Canadian weavings and why?
18. What patterns predominated in these Canadian weavings and why?
19. Detail the pattern sources, and colour-pattern combinations, used by these weavers.
20. Explain any special orders undertaken by these weavers.
21. Explain training programs established to upgrade weaving skills of the workers in technique, colour and pattern combination.
22. Are you aware of similar courses held for a larger public? Explain.
23. How did the weavers keep in contact with one another, and yourself?
24. What tradition, history or tradition did this industry draw upon?
25. Were photographs or printed materials developed as a result of this activity? Explain.
26. What was the role of other family members in this home industry? Elaborate.
27. What benefits did the weaver derive from this activity? Explain.
28. What benefits did the family derive from this activity? Explain.
29. What benefits did the community, local and Ukrainian, derive from this activity? Explain.

30. Thinking back over the project, who were the leaders in the group? Explain.
31. Explain factors surrounding the decline of this home industry.
32. Are you aware of similar ventures in Western Canada undertaken before 1945? Explain.
33. Are there further comments which are outstanding and meritorious you wish to share with respect to this event?

\*The following questions pertain to the management practices.

34. Explain who oversaw the marketing of the weavings and how it was handled.
35. What method was used to market the weavings?
36. Explain the mechanism for maintenance of quality control?
37. Explain the procedures for making orders and completing them.
38. Who established item prices and how were these derived?
39. What prices were assigned the various weavings?
40. Approximately how many of each type of item would be woven, in a season, by an individual?
41. In your opinion, what range of income was derived annually from this home weaving industry. Explain.
42. Did those involved with the organization and management of the industry receive reimbursements for the work? Explain.
43. Were the weavings sold under a trade name or label? Explain.
44. Elaborate on exhibitions, displays and competitions entered to promote the products woven by this group.
45. In your opinion, were there any negative effects of this industry? Explain.

- 46. If weavers required advances, how was this handled?
- 47. Explain cases where the venture had to be abandoned.
- 48. Are there further comments you wish to bring to light in terms of the management procedures used? Explain.

END OF INTERVIEW.

APPENDIX D

TEXTILE ANALYSIS SCHEDULE

TEXTILE ANALYSIS SCHEDULE FOR CANADIAN  
WEAVINGS MADE IN THE UKRAINIAN TRADITION, 1900-1940

---

Study Date: \_\_\_\_\_, \_\_\_\_\_, 19\_\_\_\_.  
(day) (month)

Place of Study \_\_\_\_\_, \_\_\_\_\_.  
(city) (province)

Researcher's Name:

Linda Lazarowich  
155 Machray Avenue  
Winnipeg, Manitoba  
R2W 0Z5

1. Name of Object: \_\_\_\_\_

2. Native Name of Object: \_\_\_\_\_

3. Provenance:

a) Weaver

i) present name \_\_\_\_\_  
(last) (first)

ii) maiden name \_\_\_\_\_  
(last) (first)

iii) present address \_\_\_\_\_ Tel: \_\_\_\_\_

iv) date of birth \_\_\_\_\_ 19

v) place of birth \_\_\_\_\_

b) Owner of Textile

i) name \_\_\_\_\_

ii) address \_\_\_\_\_ Tel: \_\_\_\_\_

iii) Object catalogue number (if applicable) \_\_\_\_\_



c) Present Possessor of Textile

- i) name \_\_\_\_\_
- ii) address \_\_\_\_\_ Tel: \_\_\_\_\_
- iii) object catalogue number (if applicable) \_\_\_\_\_

d) Textile Line of Descendency (Ownership)

	name	address
i)	_____	_____
ii)	_____	_____
iii)	_____	_____
iv)	_____	_____

- e) Distinctive Attributes about the Weaver (personal history, weaving history, etc.)

4. Dimensions

- a) ☐ full piece ☐ fragment of original
- b) current size: \_\_\_\_ cm wide x \_\_\_\_ cm long PLUS \_\_\_\_ cm fringe on \_\_\_\_ sides
- c) original size: \_\_\_\_ cm wide x \_\_\_\_ cm long PLUS \_\_\_\_ cm fringe on \_\_\_\_ sides

5. Nature of Yarns:

	warp	weft
a) wool	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
b) hemp	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
c) linen	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
d) cotton	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
e) other (explain)	_____	_____
f) 'S' twist	<input type="checkbox"/> #_____	<input type="checkbox"/> #_____
g) 'Z' twist	<input type="checkbox"/> #_____	<input type="checkbox"/> #_____
h) hand spun	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
i) commercial	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

6. Ply of Yarns:

	warp	weft
a) 1 ply	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
b) 2 ply	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
c) 3 ply	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
d) 4 ply	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
e) other (list)	_____	_____

7. Thread Count

- a) warp: \_\_\_\_\_ threads per cm.
- b) weft: \_\_\_\_\_ threads per cm.

8. Weave Structure(s):

- a) tabby ☐
- b) twill ☐ name variation (if possible) \_\_\_\_\_
- c) tapestry
- i) slit ☐
- ii) toothed ☐
- iii) single interlock ☐
- iv) double interlock ☐
- v) dovetail ☐
- vi) curved weft ☐
- vii) weft float ☐
- viii) weft wrapping ☐
- ix) twining ☐
- d) pick-up (fasol'ky) ☐
- e) other (list) \_\_\_\_\_

9. Presence of selvages:

- a) yes ☐ no ☐
- b) 1-side ☐ 2-sides ☐
- c) thick cable ☐ thin cable ☐ other ☐ \_\_\_\_\_  
(specify)

10. Presence of Ends:

- a) yes ☐ no ☐
- b) 1-side ☐ 2-sides ☐
- c) i) long fringe ☐ vi) warp loop fringe ☐
- ii) short fringe ☐ vii) loose warp fringe ☐
- iii) plaited fringe ☐ viii) twisted fringe ☐
- iv) flat braid fringe ☐ ix) other (explain or  
v) knotted fringe ☐ illustrate) \_\_\_\_\_

11. Individual Designs:

a) geometric

i) floral ☐ii) combination ☐

b) reciprocal designs

i) ramshorn ☐ii) zigzag ☐

iii) other (explain) \_\_\_\_\_

c) repeat border designs ☐ (illustrate)

d) rhomb/gul

i) hooked ☐ii) stepped ☐iii) medallion ☐e) interlocking designs ☐ (illustrate)

f) other designs (explain or illustrate) \_\_\_\_\_

12. Colors:

The standard color chart used is 1982 DMC Colbert Tapestry Yarn Chart 486-487.

It may be necessary to quote more than one number for certain colors, for example; red, yellow and orange.

	warp	weft background	weft primary accent	weft secondary accent
a) red # _____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
b) yellow # _____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
c) orange # _____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
d) green # _____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
e) beige # _____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
f) white # _____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
g) blue # _____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
h) purple # _____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
i) pink # _____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
j) brown # _____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
k) black # _____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
l) other # _____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
m) other # _____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
n) other # _____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
o) other # _____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

13. Design Composition:

## a) shape:

- i) ☐ long and narrow
- ii) ☐ rectangular
- iii) ☐ square

## b) pattern sequences:

- i) ☐ 4-sided border
- ii) ☐ 2-sided warp end border
- iii) ☐ 2-sided selvage end border
- iv) ☐ large size central motifs
- v) ☐ medium size central motifs
- vi) ☐ small size central motifs
- vii) ☐ narrow horizontal bands
- viii) ☐ wide horizontal bands
- ix) ☐ alternating narrow bands with large designs
- x) ☐ alternating narrow bands with medium designs
- xi) ☐ other (explain) \_\_\_\_\_

## c) style:

- i) ☐ a traditional style textile in patterns, colors and techniques
- ii) ☐ a transitional style textile in patterns, colors and techniques
- iii) ☐ a contemporary style textile in patterns, colors and techniques

## d) overall characteristic style

	traditional	transitional	contemporary
i) pattern	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
ii) color	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
iii) technique	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
iv) size	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

14. Other Distinctive Features about Textile:

(pattern diagrams, dye sources, pattern origin, weaver's signature/date of manufacture, equipment used, yarn preparation).

15. Photography

Was a photograph taken of the textile and weaver?

- a) weaver      ☐ yes      ☐ no
- b) textile      ☐ yes      ☐ no
- c) if yes:    ☐ color      ☐ slide      ☐ negative (print)
- ☐ black/white    ☐ slide      ☐ negative (print)

Where may a copy of the photograph be obtained?

\_\_\_\_\_ (name)      \_\_\_\_\_ (address)      \_\_\_\_\_ (tel.)

16. Interview:

Was the weaver interviewed?      ☐ yes      ☐ no

If yes, was the interview:    ☐ recorded      ☐ yes      ☐ no

☐ transcribed    ☐ yes      ☐ no

Give details of where interview information may be secured.

\_\_\_\_\_ (name)      \_\_\_\_\_ (address)      \_\_\_\_\_ (tel.)

P L A T E S



## PLATE I

MAP: UKRAINE IN RELATION TO THE WORLD, 1917

Source: Dmytro Doroshenko, A Survey of Ukrainian History. Winnipeg: Humeniuk Publication Foundation, 1975.

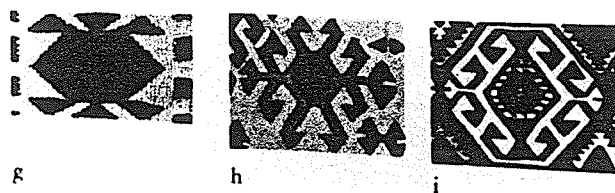
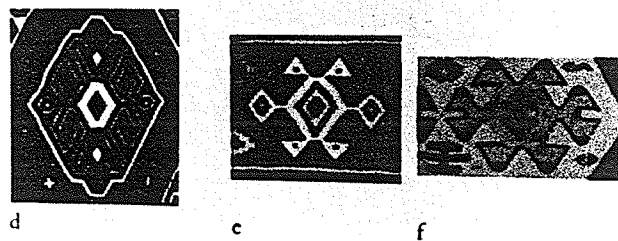
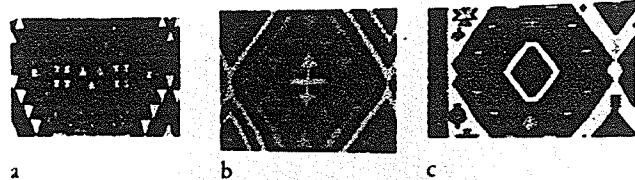


## PLATE II

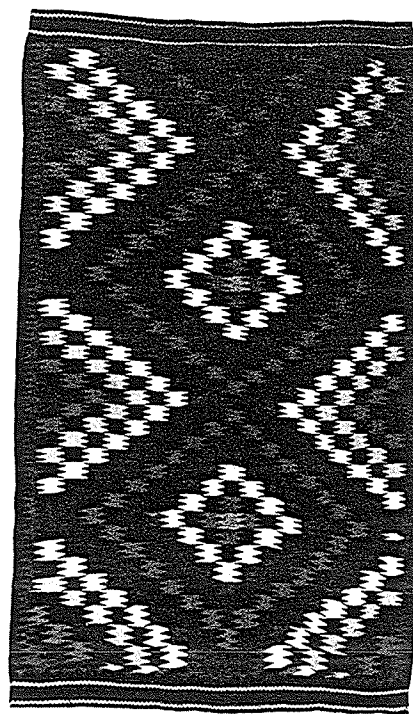
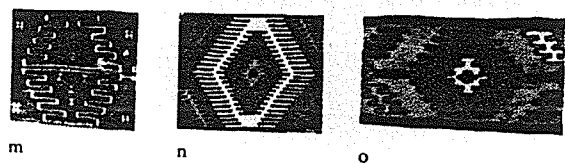
## POPULAR MIDDLE EASTERN KYLYM STYLES AND DESIGNS

Source: Yanni Petsopoulos, *Kilims: Flat-Woven Tapestry Rugs*. New York: Rizzoli, 1979.

## HOOKED GÜLS



## STEPPED GÜLS



## PLATE III

MAP: PRINCIPAL MEDIEVAL TRADE ROUTES:  
MAJOR UKRAINIAN EXPORTS

Source: Dmytro Doroshenko, A Survey of Ukrainian History. Winnipeg: Humeniuk Publication Foundation, 1975.

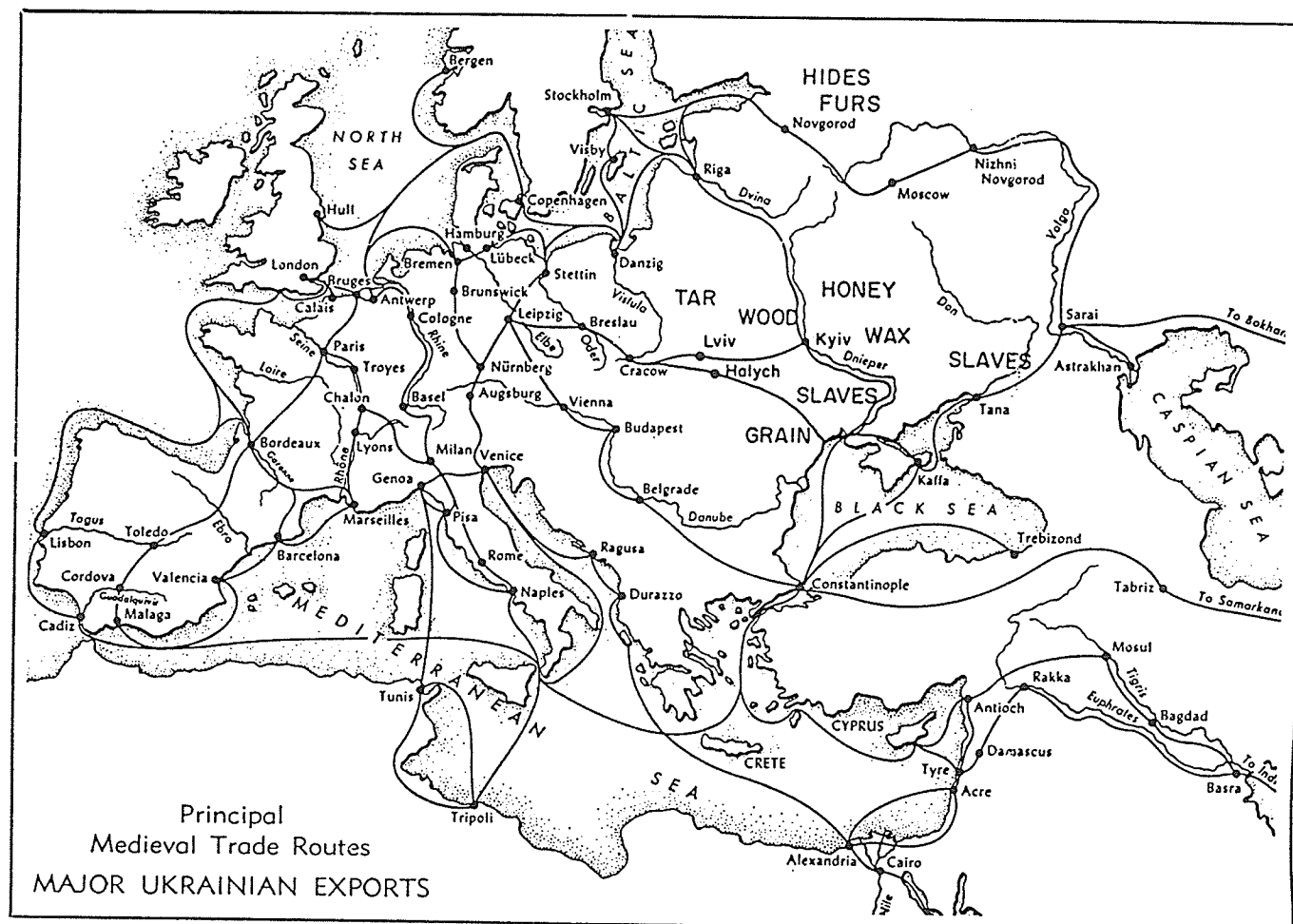
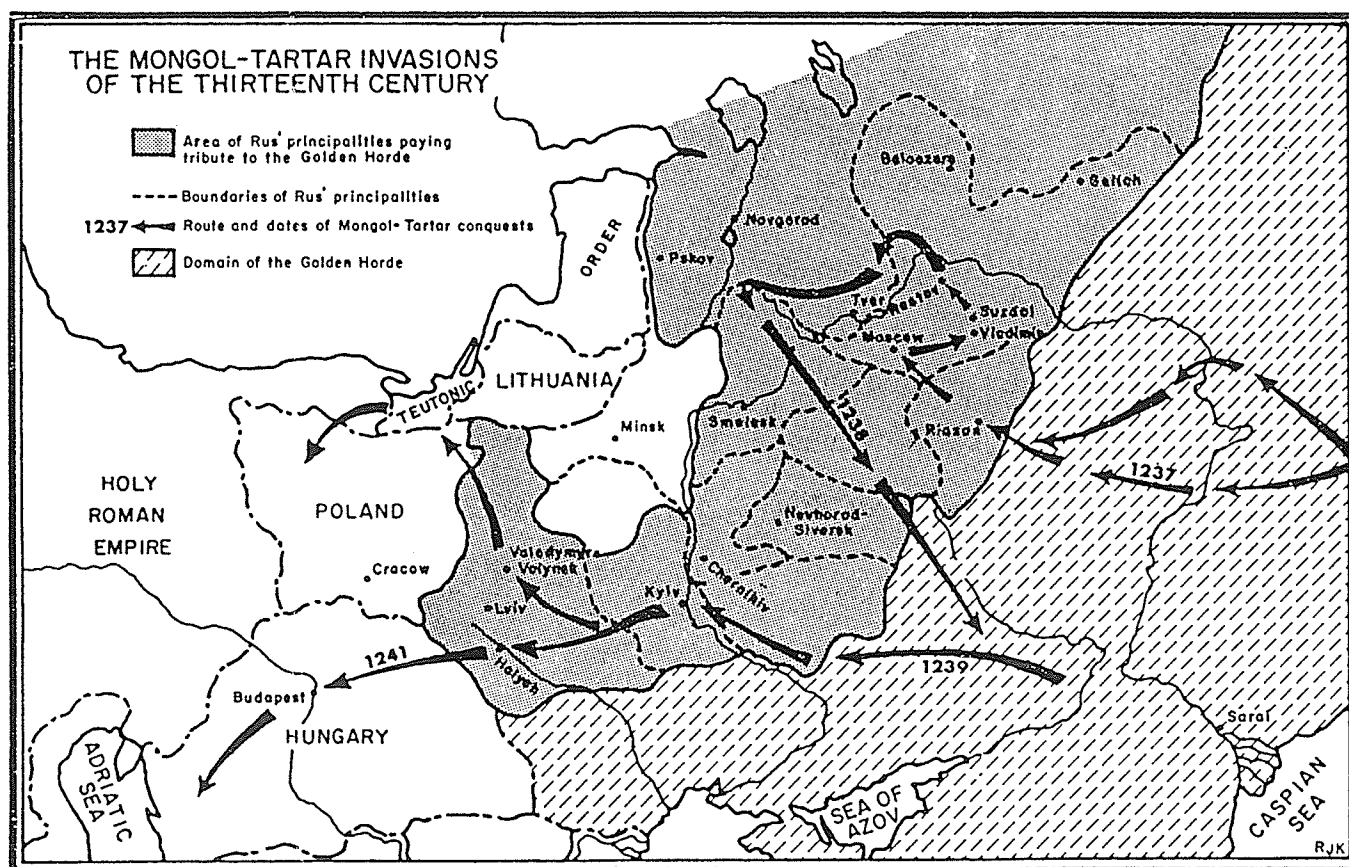


PLATE IV

## MAP: THE MONGOL-TARTAR INVASIONS OF THE 13th CENTURY

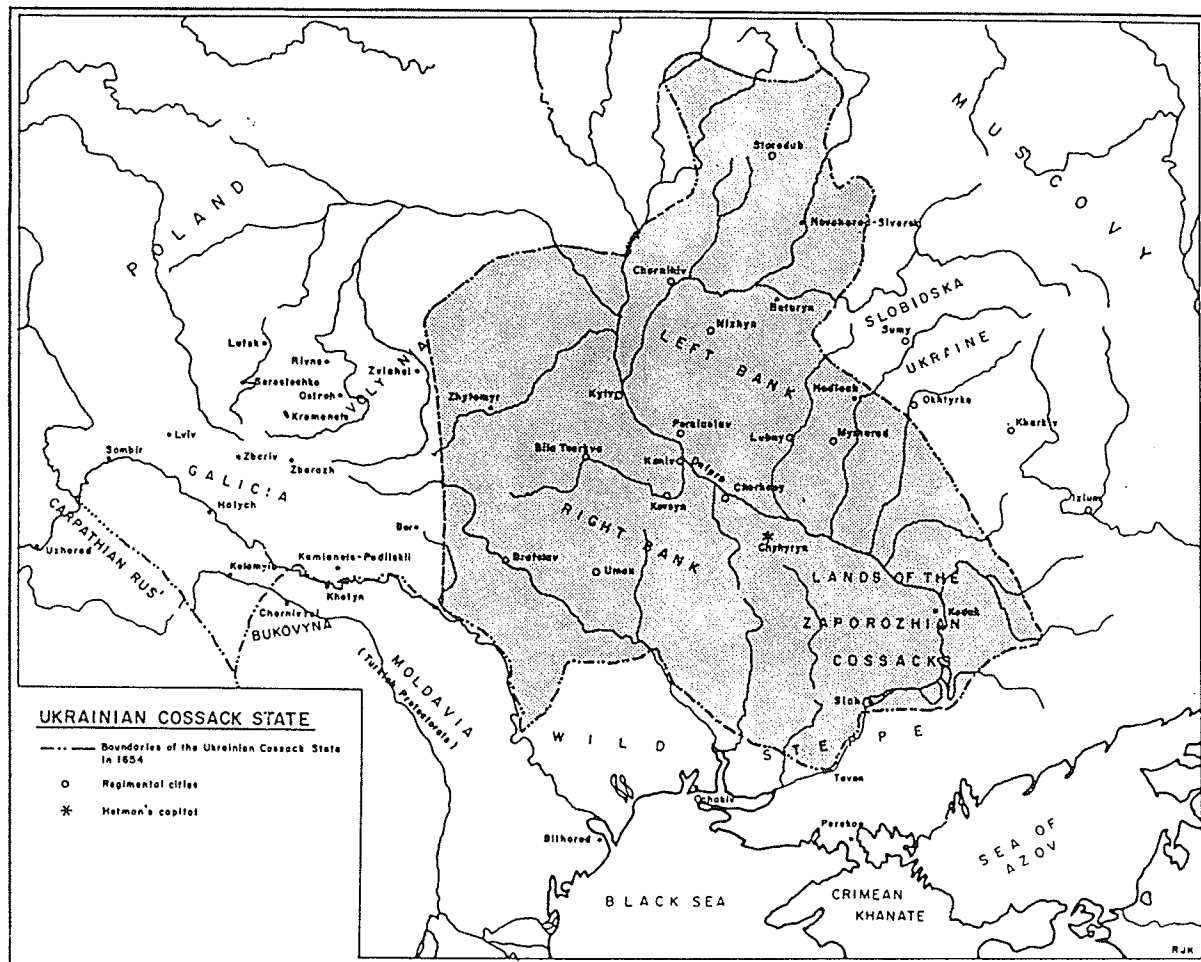
Source: Dmytro Doroshenko, A Survey of Ukrainian History. Winnipeg: Humeniuk Publication Foundation, 1975.



## PLATE V

## MAP: UKRAINIAN COSSACK(KOZAK) STATE

Source: Dmytro Doroshenko, A Survey of Ukrainian History. Winnipeg: Humeniuk Publication Foundation, 1975.



## PLATE VI

## MAP: UKRAINE CIRCA 1918

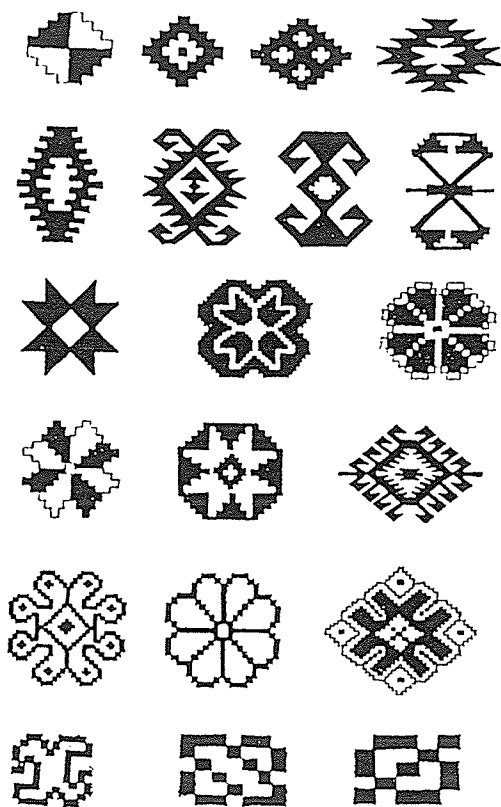
Source: Dmytro Doroshenko, A Survey of Ukrainian History. Winnipeg: Humeniuk Publication Foundation, 1975.



## PLATE VII

## POPULAR UKRAINIAN KYLYM MOTIFS I

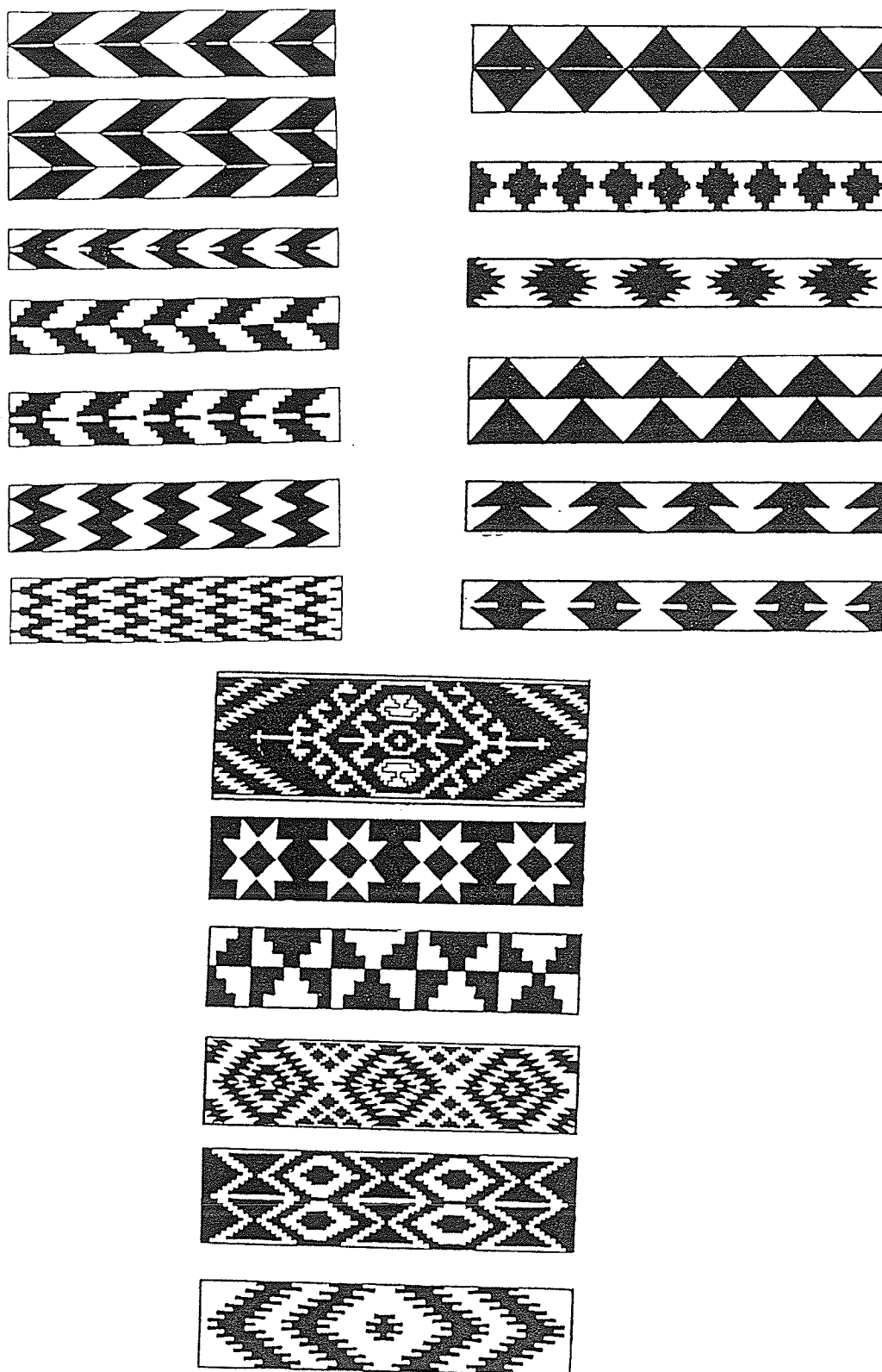
Source: A.K. Zuk, Ukrainski Narodni Kylymi, XVII - poch. XX st. Kyiv:  
Naukova Dumka, 1966.



## PLATE VIII

## POPULAR UKRAINIAN KYLYM MOTIFS II

Source: A.K. Zuk, Ukrainski Narodni Kylymi, XVII - poch. XX st. Kyiv:  
Naukova Dumka, 1966.



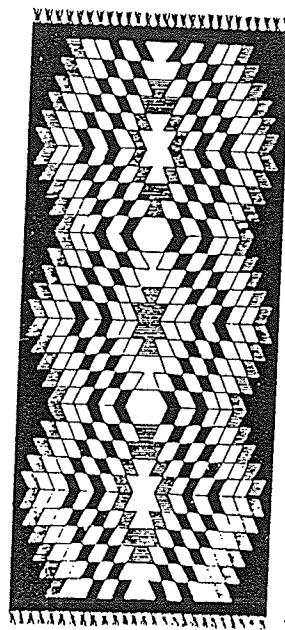
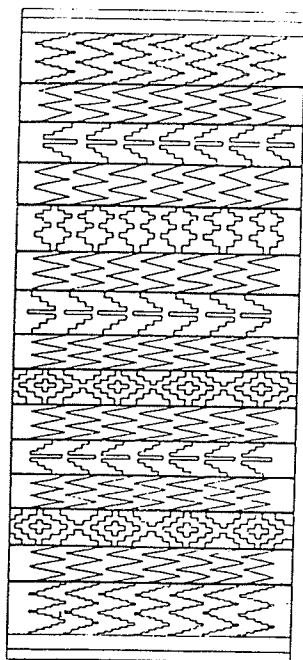


## PLATE IX

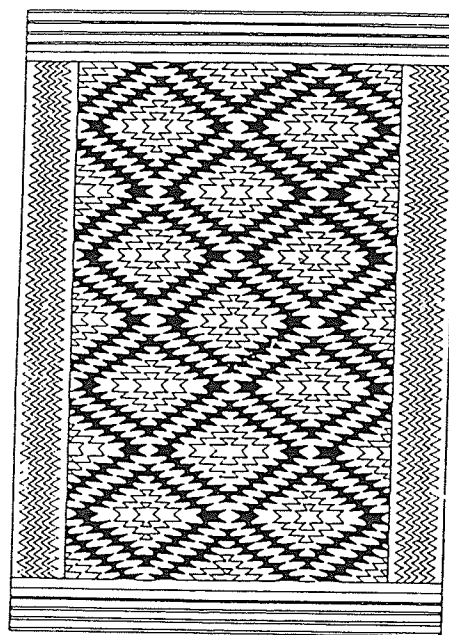
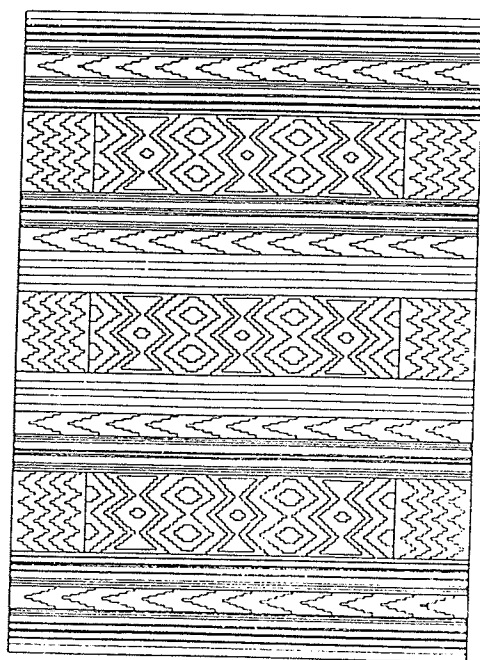
## UKRAINIAN KYLYM STYLES I AND II

Source: A.K. Zuk, Ukrainski Narodni Kylymi, XVII - poch. XX st. Kyiv:  
Naukova Dumka, 1966.

Style I →



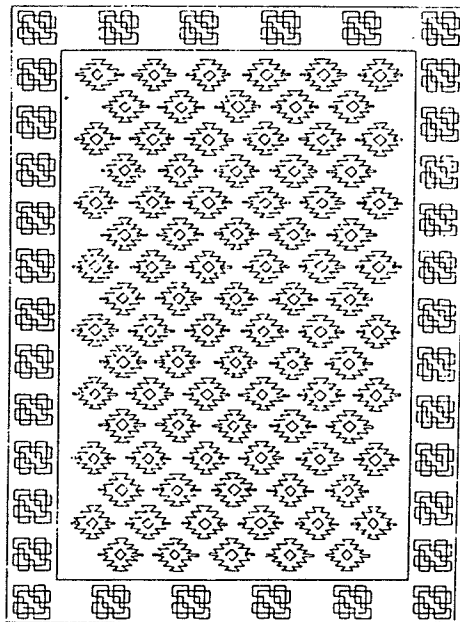
Style II →



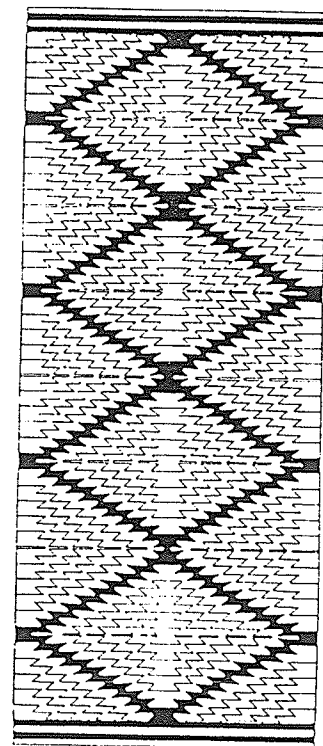
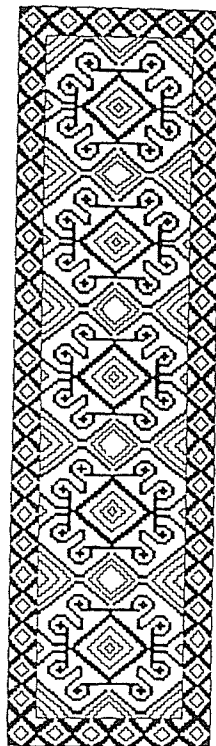
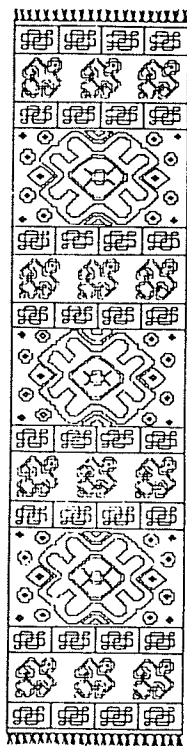
## PLATE X

## UKRAINIAN KYLYM STYLES III AND IV

Source: A.K. Zuk, Ukrainski Narodni Kylymi, XVII - poch. XX st. Kyiv:  
 Naukova Dumka, 1966.



← Style III



Style IV

## PLATE XI

MAP: GALICIA-HALYCHYNA WITH ADJOINING PART  
OF BUKOVINA CIRCA 1900

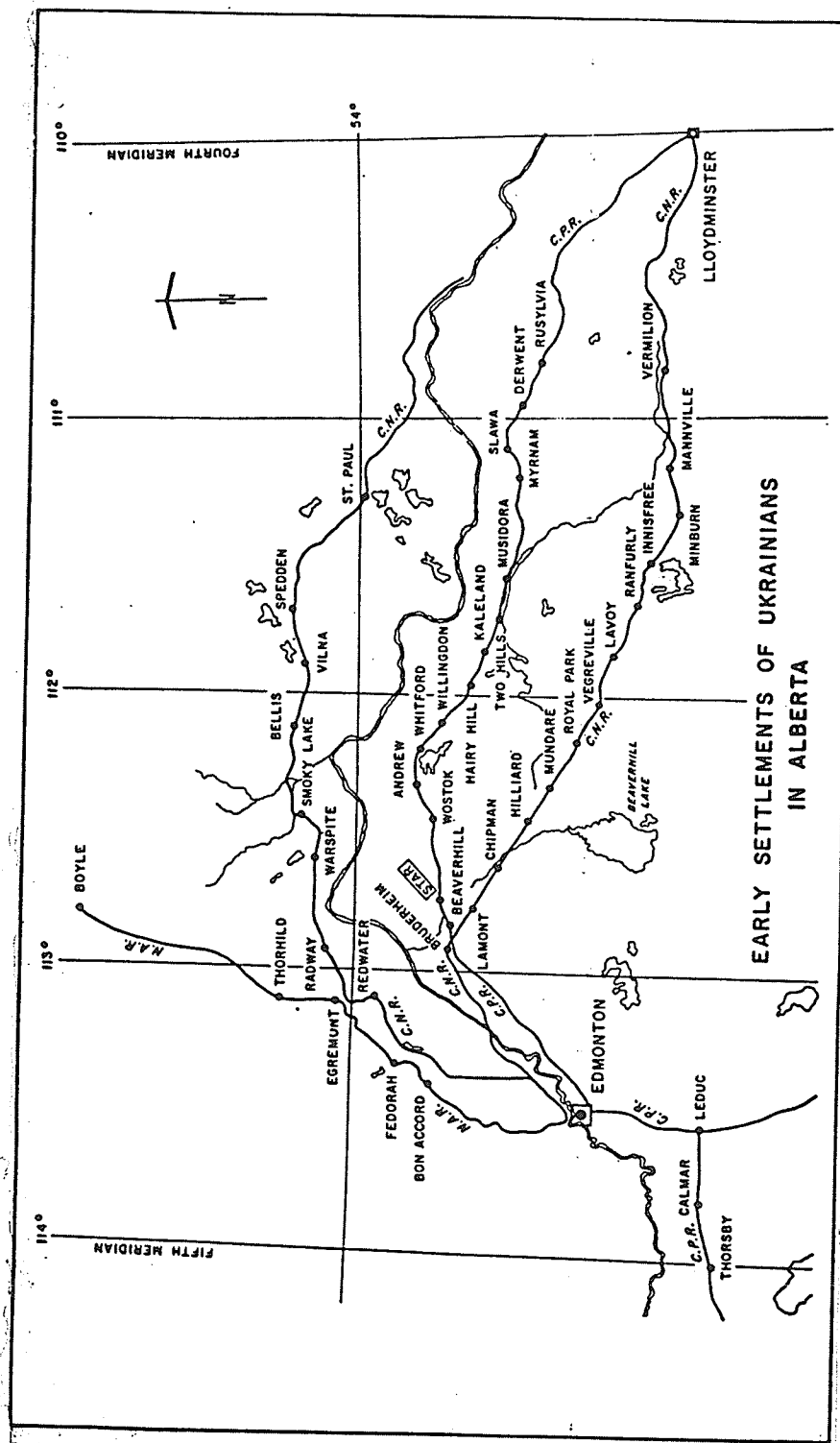
Source: Vladimir J. Kaye, Dictionary of Ukrainian Canadian Biography: Pioneer Settlers of Manitoba 1891 - 1900. Toronto: Ukrainian Canadian Research Foundation, 1975.



## PLATE XII

## MAP: PIONEER UKRAINIAN SETTLEMENTS IN ALBERTA

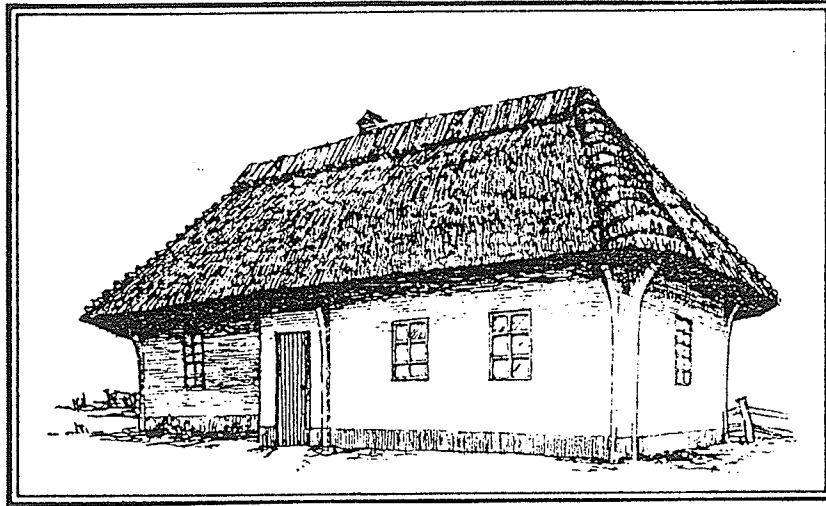
Source: Iuliian Stetchyshyn, *Istoriia poselennia Ukraintsiv u Kanadi*.  
 Edmonton: Ukrainian Self-Reliance League of Canada, 1975.



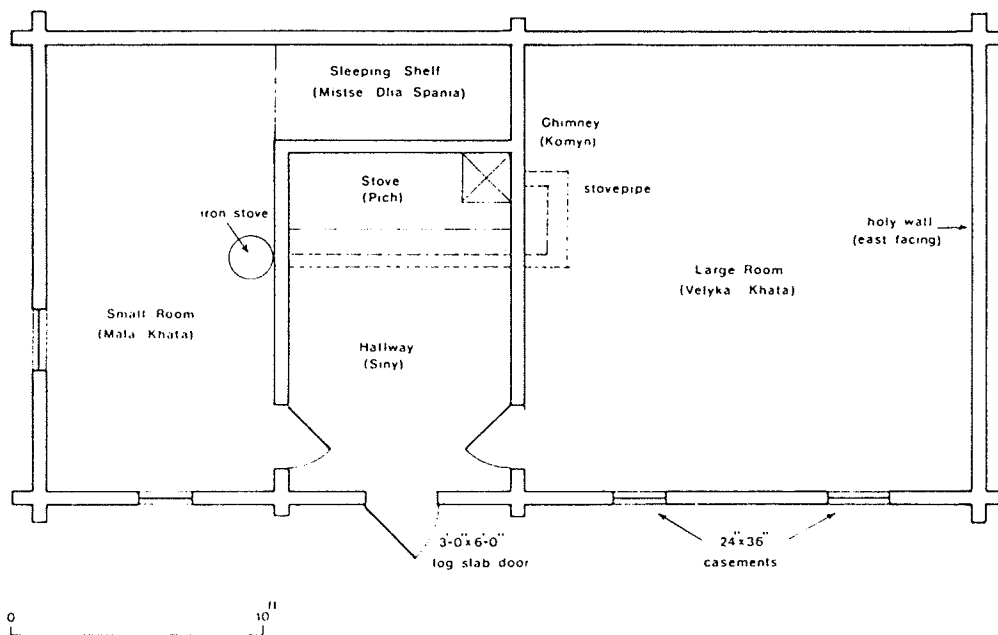
## PLATE XIII

## UKRAINIAN PIONEER HOME AND FLOOR PLAN

Source: John Lehr, Ukrainian Vernacular Architecture in Alberta. Historic Sites Service Occasional Paper No. 1, Edmonton: Alberta Culture, 1976.



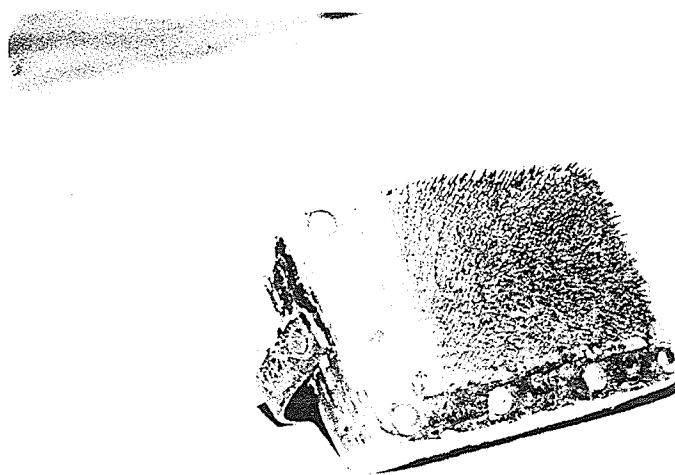
Floor Plan of Ukrainian Folk House



## PLATE XIV

## PIONEER WOOL CARDER

Source: Private Collection, Alberta.



## PLATE XV

## REED WINDING AND HEDDLE CLASPING TECHNIQUES OF FIRST PERIOD LOOM

Source: Dorothy Burnham, Toronto, Ontario, from her sketches made of original Alberta looms parts from collections of the Ukrainian Museum of Canada, Saskatoon in 1979 and 1983.

REED WINDING:

Up in front into the first dent - down the back into the same dent - up the front - linking with itself - down the front - through the second dent - up the back - through the second dent - down the front - linking with itself - up the front through the third dent. At the back there is no looping.

by D. Burnham

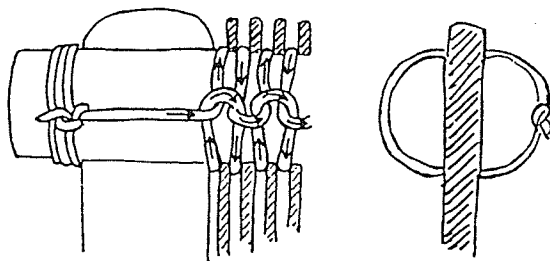
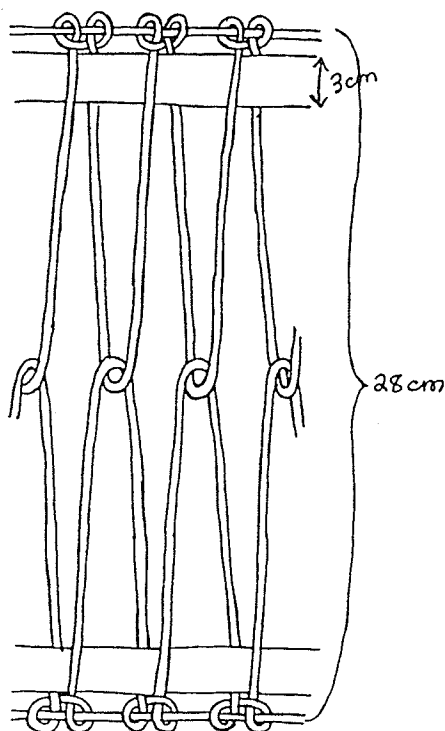
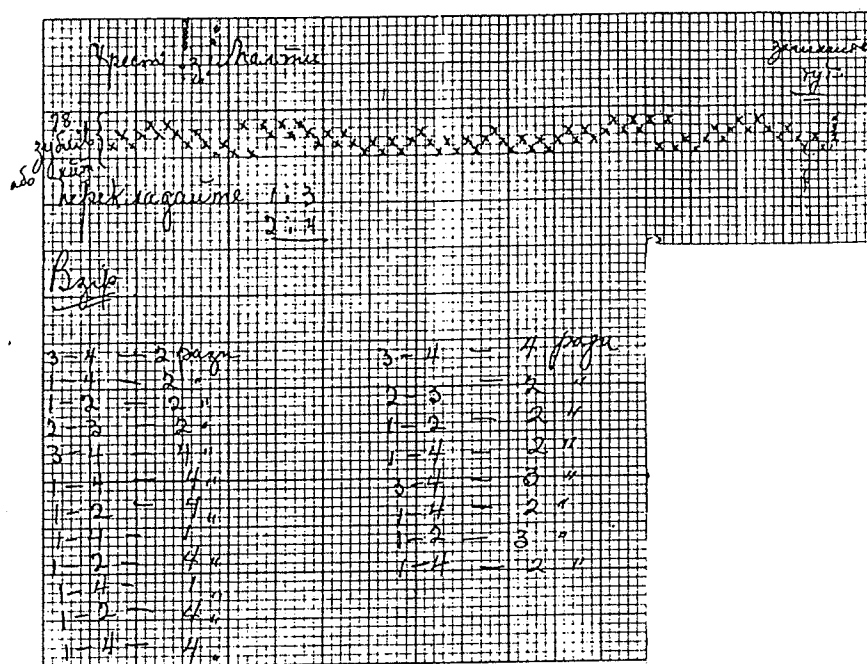
HEDDLE CLASPING TECHNIQUE:

PLATE XVI

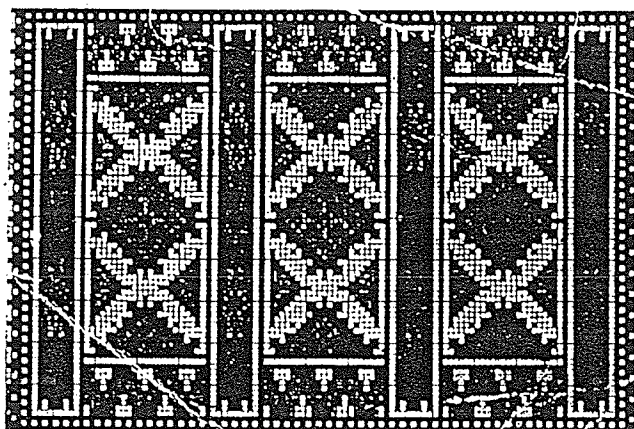
## PAPER PATTERNS FROM SECOND PHASE OF ALBERTA WEAVING

Source: Ukrainian Museum of Canada, Permanent Collection.

Graph paper drawing of Maltese Cross pattern as drawn by Hanka Romanchych for Kate Farrus in the early 1930's.



Sample of Kylym Pattern Post Cards brought from Ukraine by Hanka Romanchych and used by the Alberta Weavers. The originals are in full color.



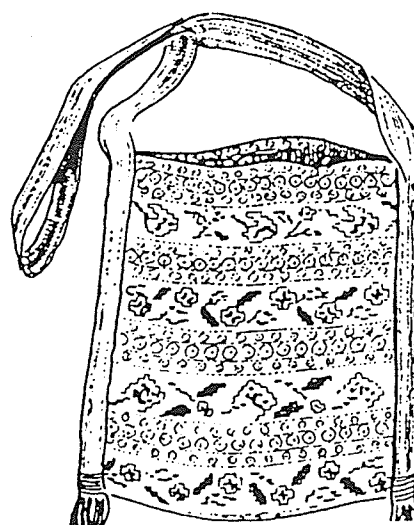


## PLATE XVII

## ALBERTA TEXTILES: TAYSTRY

Source: Large tystra, private collection, Alberta  
Small tystry, K.I. Matejko, Ukrainski Narodnij Odjah. Kiev:  
Nayokova Dumka , 1977.

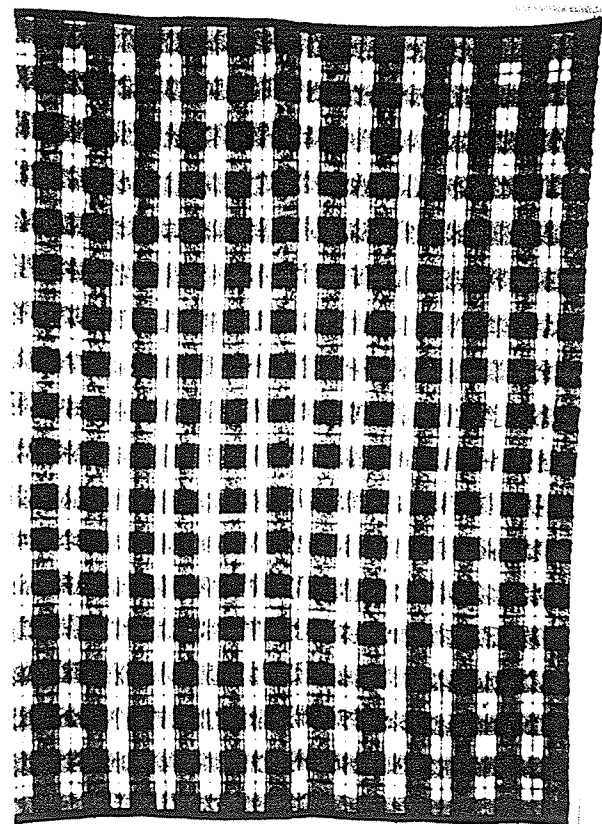
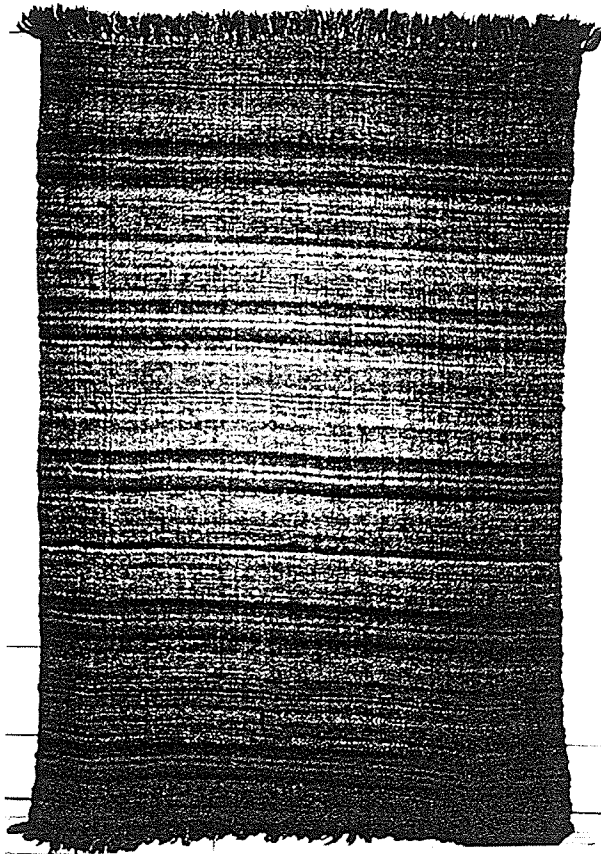
All three styles of tystry were woven in Alberta prior to 1940.



## PLATE XVIII

## ALBERTA TEXTILES: LIZHNYKY I

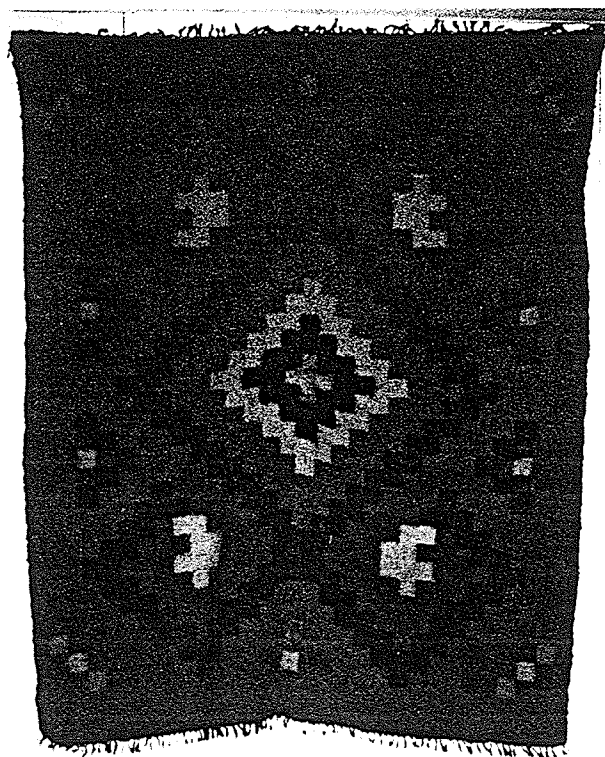
Source: Private collection, Alberta.



## PLATE XIX

## ALBERTA TEXTILES: LIZHNYKY II

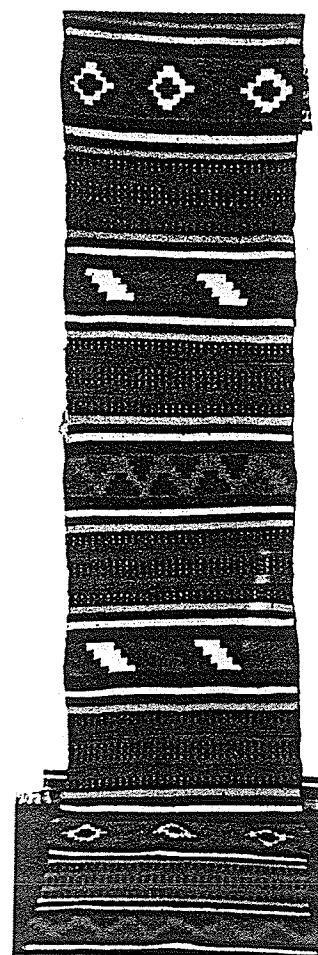
Source: Private collection, Alberta.



## PLATE XX

## ALBERTA TEXTILES: SKORTZY

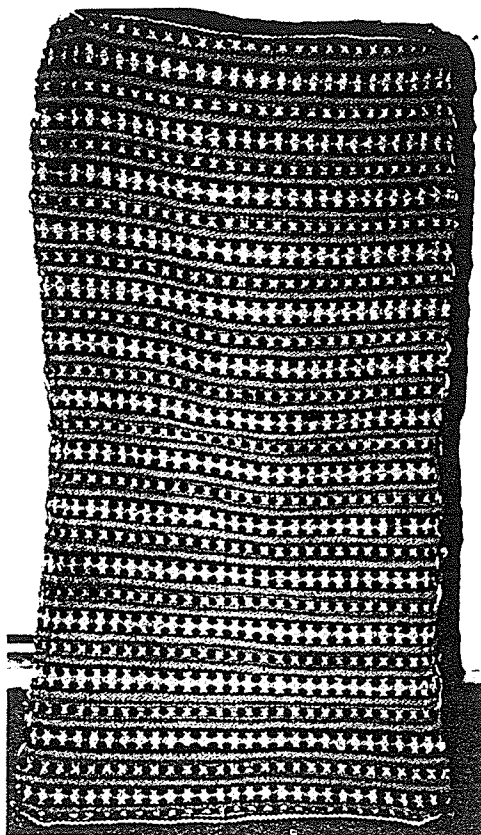
Source: Private collection, Alberta.



## PLATE XXI

## ALBERTA TEXTILES: NALAVNYKY I

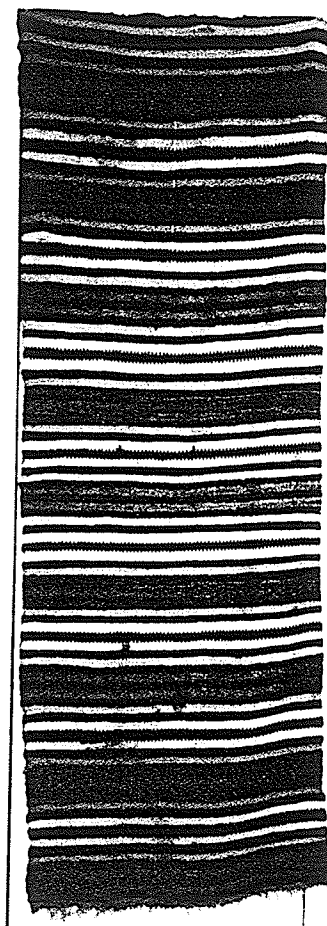
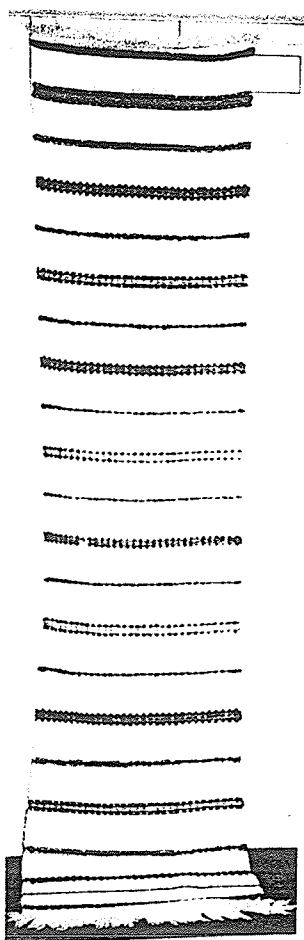
Source: Private collection, Alberta.



## PLATE XXII

## ALBERTA TEXTILES: NALAVNYKY II

Source: Private collection, Alberta.

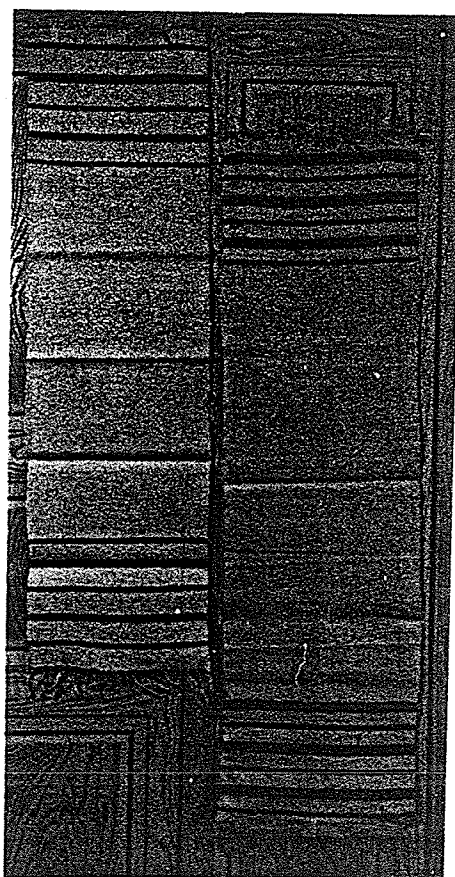
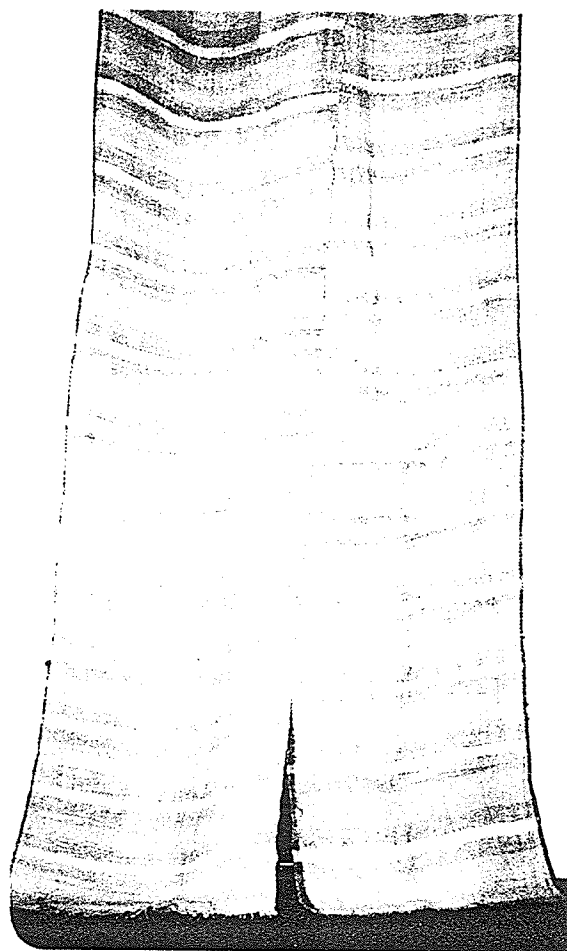


## PLATE XXIII

## ALBERTA TEXTILES: VERETA AND SKATEERTKY

Source: Private collection, Alberta.

Vereta →

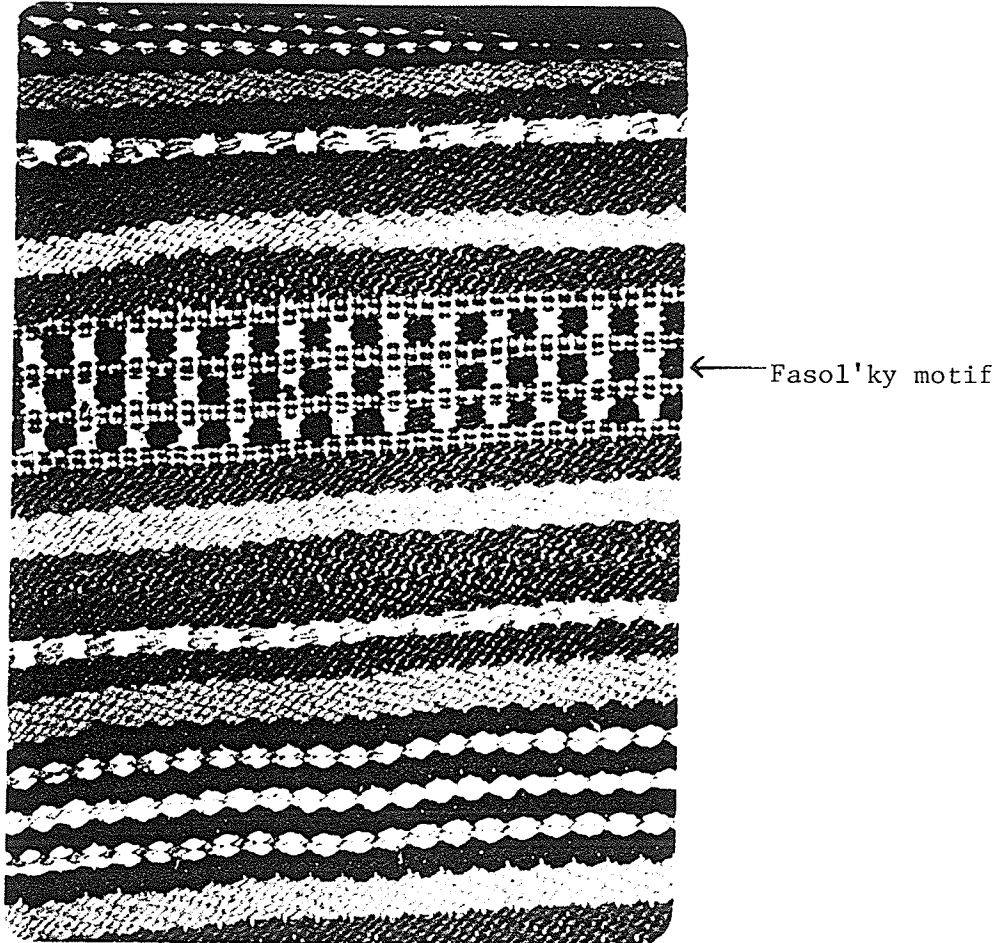


← Skateert

## PLATE XXIV

ALBERTA TEXTILES: NALAVNYK DETAIL OF 'BEANS' (FASOL'KY) MOTIF

Source: Private collection, Alberta.



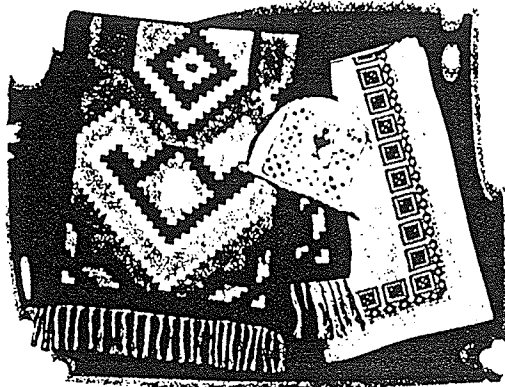
"The à la planche method is where a flat stick, or planche, is threaded through the warp behind the shafts, thus opening an extra patterning shed when the planche is turned on edge." From: Dorothy Burnham, "The Background of Canadian Furnishing Fabrics" Irene Emery Round Table on Museum Textiles, 1975 Proceedings. Washington: Textile Museum, 1975.



## PLATE XXV

CANADIAN NATIONAL EXHIBITION: 1928 WOMEN'S  
PRIZE LIST-COMPETITION FOR FOREIGN WOMEN AND CHILDREN

Source: Canadian National Exhibition Archives, Toronto, Ontario.



CLASS 340

*Competition  
for Foreign  
Women and  
Children*

This work must be done in Canada and be distinctively National in color and design.

Four classes may compete in this list, as follows:

(A) Ukrainian, (B) Bulgarian and Macedonian,  
(C) Danish and Swedish, (D) Finnish.

State nationality when entering exhibits.

Score Card: Originality, 40; Fitness and Color, 30; Workmanship, 30.

**All work must be in Native Design**

Sec.	1st.	2nd.
1. Hand-woven belt.....	\$3.00	\$2.00
2. Bead Work.....	2.50	1.50
3. Embroidery on one pair of towels.....	2.00	1.00
4. Embroidery on bureau scarf.....	2.00	1.00
5. Embroidery on table cover with 6 serviettes.....	5.00	3.00
6. Embroidery on bedspread.....	3.50	2.00
7. Embroidery on man's blouse.....	2.50	1.50
8. Embroidery on pin cushion.....	1.50	1.00
9. Embroidery on woman's blouse.....	2.50	1.50
10. Embroidery on a dress.....	2.50	1.50
11. Embroidery on centrepiece.....	1.50	1.00
12. Hand-made necktie.....	1.50	1.00
13. Apron, embroidered.....	2.00	1.50
14. Embroidery on one pair pillow cases.....	2.00	1.50
15. Embroidery collar and cuff set.....	2.00	1.50
16. Embroidered hand bag.....	1.50	1.00

**Competition for Children under 14.**

17. Embroidered apron.....	2.00	1.50
18. Embroidery on one pair of towels.....	2.00	1.50
19. Embroidery on handkerchief.....	1.50	1.00
20. Small example of Wood Carving.....	1.50	1.00

ENTRIES CLOSE AUGUST 1st

## PLATE XXVI

## IMMIGRANT MOTHER WITH DAUGHTERS AND THEIR ALBERTA TEXTILES

Source: Ukrainian Museum of Canada, Saskatoon, permanent collection.



Early spring about 1931 on farm near Hairy Hill, Alberta.  
Completion of winter weaving project of rose patterned lizhnyk by  
(left to right) Evdokiya Kritory (mother) and daughter Kate Farrus,  
granddaughter Mary Farrus and second daughter, Efrosina Eliak.



Mrs. Kate Farrus with samples of textiles she made during the 1930's  
in Alberta. Photograph taken on 7 October 1982 in Vegreville, Alberta.

## PLATE XXVII

EXHIBITION OF ALBERTA TEXTILES IN HUDSON'S BAY STORE, EDMONTON, 1934.

Source: Olena Kysilewsky, "Visti za Mory" Zhenocha Dol'ya. Kolomeya: Western Ukraine, No. 18, 15 October 1934.



Вистава ручних робіт в вовни в Едмонтоні, Альта. (Гляди допис на 9 стор.)