

**UKRAINIANS  
IN THE  
MAKING**

**Their  
Kingston Story**

**By LUBOMYR Y. LUCIUK**



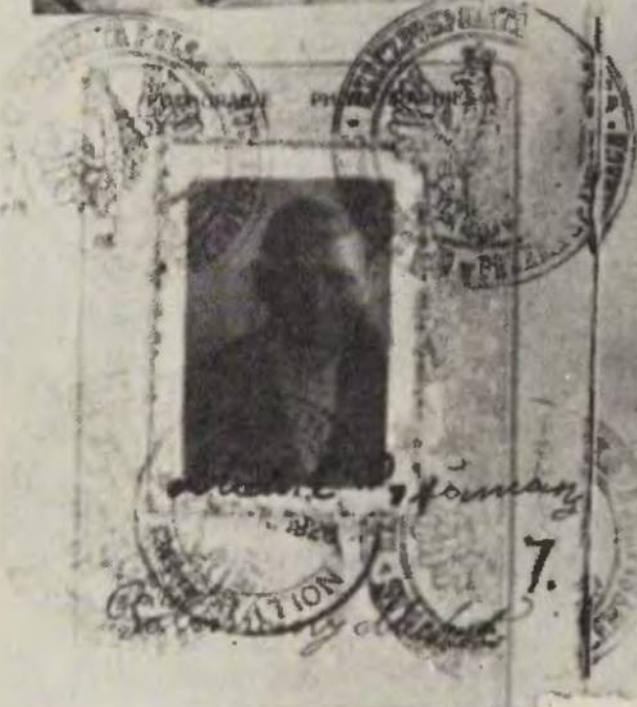
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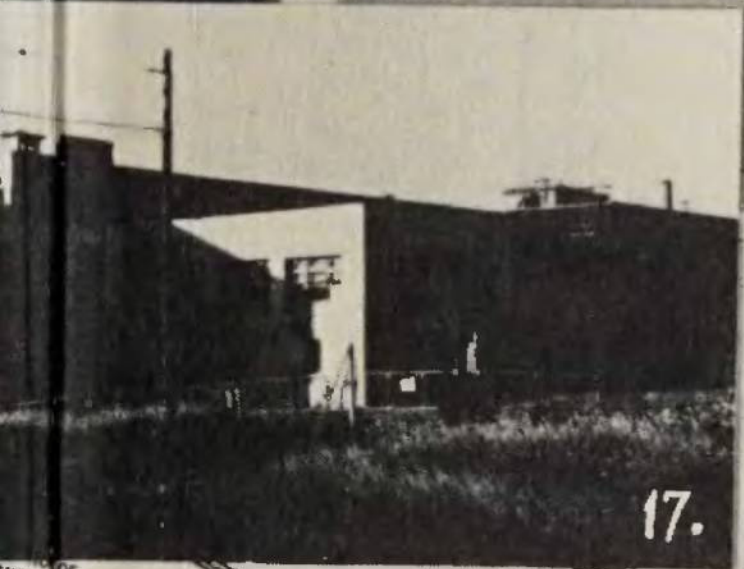
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Builders of Canada: No. 1

**UKRAINIANS  
IN THE  
MAKING:**

**Their  
Kingston Story**

By Lubomyr Y. Luciuk

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## Introduction

Everyone has a feeling of belonging to some community. However, this consciousness of ethnic affiliation--ethnicity--becomes prominent only when people stress their distinctiveness. The separateness of a group can be shown by attachment to a common language, place of origin, history, religion, life style or race.(1)

The ethnic consciousness of an immigrant group results from its collective experience in the new environment being interpreted in the light of the original culture. But when such a group asserts itself the ethnic identity so chosen may differ from previous definitions. As environments change so do group allegiances. Self-description thus comes to involve slightly different groups of people, even though over a period of time these successive groups often use the same name (e.g., the Ukrainians) and seem to have similar ethnic characteristics. Thus an ethnic group like the Ukrainians in Canada eventually becomes differentiated internally. Today a number of separate, even mutually antagonistic, subgroups exist within that population which other Canadians regard naively as "the Ukrainian-Canadian community". This simplification is in need of revision. Any historical geography of Ukrainians in Canada must recognize the diversity within this ethnic group. Failure to do so involves ignorance not only of the sentiments of the migrants and of their descendants, but also slights the uniqueness and complexities of their historical backgrounds. Seen in these terms, ethnicity reflects changing social surroundings.(2)

This is the record of migrants who left Ukraine and eventually settled in Kingston, Ontario, Canada. The years dealt with extend from 1911 to 1960. This is by no means a complete account, but it will indicate the dominant trends in the history of Ukrainians

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(1) Immanuel Wallerstein (1973), "The Two Modes of Ethnic Consciousness: Soviet Central Asia in Transition?" in Edward Allworth (ed.), The Nationality Question in Soviet Central Asia (New York, Praeger).

(2) William L. Yancey, Eugene P. Ericksen and Richard N. Juliani, "Emergent Ethnicity: A Review and Reformulation", American Sociological Review, 41, 3 (June, 1973), pp. 391-403.

in Kingston while perhaps underscoring some neglected aspects of the Ukrainian experience throughout Canada.

Preparation of this description posed a number of challenges. Documentary materials (e.g., organizational records, diaries, correspondance) were missing or incomplete. This was especially true for the earlier periods dealt with. To fill this gap, oral testimonies were gathered and extensively used. Despite the inherent limitations of such data, once collated with the available documentation it did allow for a reconstruction of the record. Hopefully the story presented here does justice to those Ukrainian men and women who settled in Kingston.

The conviction of this study is that ethnicity is a dynamic social force. As time passes new ethnic cultures arise while others fade away. Despite this tenet, no attempt was made to prove the superiority of any one form of Ukrainian culture in Canada. Instead, the narratives of a number of people who came to Kingston are here plainly recorded. Inherent in these accounts is the tenacity of those who long ago left their homeland to travel to a distant country which most now call their own.

Ukrainians in Kingston are not necessarily typical of Ukrainians elsewhere in Canada. Undoubtedly, there is much that is different between Ukrainian factory workers in Toronto or farmers on the Prairies, and Ukrainians in similar occupations in the Kingston area. The local population has always been small in size and somewhat insular in outlook. Nevertheless, its historical development appears to have paralleled that of other Ukrainian urban settlements, at least in eastern Canada. However, until additional research has been carried out, it cannot be determined just how typical or atypical these Ukrainians are. Precisely what is different about the Ukrainian settlement in Brandon, Manitoba? Is the Kingston example significantly unlike that of Ukrainians in Oshawa, Ontario? What causes differentiation within an ethnic group? The history of immigration and differences between generations are clearly important. Could there possibly be regional differences among Ukrainians in Canada? If so, the nature of these remains to be delineated. Research into Canadian ethnic history is comparatively new. Much work needs to be done before Canadians of various backgrounds realize fully the contribution of each of the ethnic groups in our shared society.

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

"No man is an island", and this book is the result of the interest, cooperation and good will of many people. With utmost gratitude I acknowledge the counsel of Dr. Peter Goheen of the Department of Geography, Queen's University, Kingston. Many of his insights are reflected in these pages. Dr. Alastair M. Taylor taught me the value of listening to others. Special thanks are due to Reverend J. C. E. Riotte M.A., for his original concern with me. Dr. Leszek Kosinski kindly read the manuscript and provided constructive criticisms. Dr. Richard Pierce gave me support and encouragement.

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Copies of many of the documents and formal interview tape recordings have been deposited with the Multicultural History Society of Ontario, Toronto, Ontario. These will eventually be deposited in the Public Archives of Ontario.

I am deeply indebted to some who cannot be identified and to all the following: Mr. and Mrs. Mitch Andrievsky, Mr. and Mrs. M. Andriovitch, Mr. J. Anonychuk, Mr. P. Babych, Dr. Rene Barendvegt, Mr. and Mrs. B. Bartkiw, Mrs. M. Beyba, Mr. and Mrs. Olenka and Radomir Bilash, Mr. A. Bilecki, Mrs. I. Bilinska, Mr. and Mrs. M. Biss, Mr. J. Bobson, Ms. R. Bogusis, Mr. and Mrs. M. Borencko, Mr. and Mrs. Milton Borencko, Mr. and Mrs. Boris, Ms. F. A. Boswick, Mr. and Mrs. A. Broznicky, Mrs. R. Charitoniuk, Dr. and Mrs. Martin Chepesiuk, Mr. and Mrs. M. Chepizak, Mr. and Mrs. O. Chesiuk, Mr. Bohdan Chomiak, Dr. R. Cybriwsky, Mr. Bill Daly, Mr. and Mrs. I. Dejneha, Mr. and Mrs. M. Dejneha, Mr. and Mrs.

W. Didiuk, Mrs. L. Duetta, Mr. and Mrs. I. Gadowsky, Mr. and Mrs. Lorne Greene, Mr. A. Gregorovich, Ms. Paula Groenberg, Ms. S. Guillaume, Mr. and Mrs. N. Gulka, Mr. W. Harasyn, Dr. R. Harney, Mr. and Mrs. P. Hluschuk, Mrs. N. Hoba, Mr. and Mrs. S. Howden, Dr. W. Isajiw, Mr. R. Jackson, Mr. John Kolasky, Mr. and Mrs. S. Komarnisky, Mr. P. Kotowich, Mr. and Mrs. S. Kotowich, Mr. and Mrs. F. Kotowych, Mr. and Mrs. W. Kulik, Mr. and Mrs. M. Kunanec, Mrs. A. Kurman, Dr. S. Kuchnir, Mr. S. Kyzmyn, Mr. and Mrs. Lawrence, Captain Martin LaVoie, Ms. Eve Lewis, Mr. and Mrs. Jacques Litalien, Mr. and Mrs. Danylo Luciuk, Ms. Nadia Luciuk, Mr. Y. Luhovy, Dr. M. Lupul, Dr. Hugh and Anne Macdonald, Mr. Nestor Makuch, Mr. G. Marshall, Ms. A. Maschi, Ms. Aurelia Mauro, Ms. Janet Mills, Mr. M. Momryk, Mr. W. Neutal, the O'Brien family, Mr. J. Opyriuk, Mr. and Mrs. G. R. B. Panchuk, Mr. and Mrs. S. Pawluk, Mr. and Mrs. Charlie Pearson, Mr. and Mrs. P. Petiach, the late K. Petrash and Mrs. Petrash, Dr. R. Petryshyn, Mrs. Helen Phelan, the late Mr. W. Pluard, Mr. and Mrs. M. Polomany, Mr. and Mrs. J. Polywkan, Mr. and Mrs. M. Poroniuk, Mr. W. Prokopenko, Mr. M. Richard, Mr. Steven Rivers, Dr. Chris Rogerson, Dr. B. Rollason, Dr. G. Rowles, Dr. R. I. Ruggles, Mr. L. T. Sabourin, Mr. M. Sago, Mr. and Mrs. N. Sakaliuk, Mr. and Mrs. Frank Spicoluk, Mr. M. Spolsky, Dr. Rob Starling, Mr. and Mrs. F. Stephenson, Mr. and Mrs. Frank Stephenson, Mr. and Mrs. J. Stephenson, Mr. N. Storoschuk, Mr. and Mrs. I. Szkrumelak, Mr. A. Tanovitch, Mr. and Mrs. Y. Tarnowecky, Mr. and Mrs. M. Tureski, Ms. Natalia Turetsky, Mr. Michael Walsh, Mr. and Mrs. Ivan Wityk, Mr. and Mrs. N. Wowk, Mr. and Mrs. R. Wowk, Mr. and Mrs. J. Yakimechko, Mr. and Mrs. M. Yankovic, Ms. V. Yuzyk, Mr. Ivan Zaplotinsky, Mr. and Mrs. E. P. Zarichny, Mr. and Mrs. J. Zelizniak, Mr. and Mrs. Ivan Zubyck, Mr. and Mrs. John Zubyck, and Dr. E. Zureik.

Finally, to Ann, a teacher perhaps unexcelled.

## DEDICATION

*For My Parents*

## EMIGRATION FROM UKRAINE: A CONTEXT

Emigration to Canada from within the ethnographic boundaries of Ukraine began officially in 1891,<sup>(1)</sup> although it was not until around 1896 that organized groups of settlers began arriving.<sup>(2)</sup> By 1885 Canada had completed a transcontinental railway and thereby ensured some measure of legal sovereignty over vast areas of previously inaccessible territory. Even earlier, The Dominion Act (1872) had held out the promise of development in these western expanses through its offer of free homesteads for settlers. The vital missing factor was the desired number

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(1) On July 11, 1933 the Canadian Department of Immigration stated officially that the passenger lists of the Steamship "Oregon" included the names of two individuals from Ukraine, namely "W. Illilik" and "I. Pylypiwski", who, on September 7th, 1891, left Port Quebec for Montreal. Their steamship had left Europe at the harbour of Hamburg, leaving Liverpool on August 28, 1891. The names are actually misspellings of Wasyl Elyniak and Ivan Pylypiw (see Michael M. Marunchak, The Ukrainian Canadians: A History, Winnipeg, 1970, p. 23). For Pylypiw's own thoughts on his early years in Canada, and about his "old country" experiences, see Harry Piniuta's (1978) Land of Pain, Land of Promise. First Person Accounts by Ukrainian Pioneers 1891-1914. Western Producer Prairie Books, Saskatoon, pp. 27-35.

Other authors have argued that Ukrainians had reached Canada well before 1891 (see below).

(2) See Vladimir J. Kaye, Early Ukrainian Settlements in Canada, 1895-1900: Dr. Josef Oleskow's Role in the Settlement of the Canadian Northwest (Toronto, 1964).

It is quite likely that individuals from Ukrainian ethnographic territories had arrived in Canada well before this official date. Some settled on the west coast as early as the eighteenth century. Others served in Upper Canada during 1813, as soldiers in the de Watteville and de Meuron regiments. These men later settled around Perth, Ontario. Other soldiers were sent to the Red River settlement area--around 1817--later being granted land titles in present-day Winnipeg by Lord Selkirk. Z. S. Pohorecky and A. Royick, "Anglicization of Ukrainians in Canada between 1895 and 1970: A Case Study of Linguistic Crystallization", Canadian Ethnic Studies 1, 2 (December, 1969).

of immigrants. Acutely aware of the need to secure the West against American expansionism, the Canadian government of the day began a vigorous campaign aimed at attracting settlers from less conventional sources, such as the regions of Central and Eastern Europe. In company with agents of various shipping and railway concerns--who stood to make a considerable profit should the natural resources of the West be developed--the Laurier Government's Minister of the Interior, Clifford Sifton, encouraged immigration of the "men in sheepskin coats".<sup>(3)</sup> Aware of the plight of these people in their own lands, Sifton and his many agents took advantage of that situation to induce emigration to Canada. To overcome Canadian resentment toward the immigrants, the Government also initiated a campaign extolling the virtues and utility of these newcomers for Canada's development. Their "racial" qualities made them an ideal group for the opening up of the Prairies:

Galicians have been inured to cold in their native land and brought up in the hard school of adversity. They are accustomed to the practice of rigid economy, and thus are able to start farming upon such small means as would be inadequate for the average English settlers and they willingly settle on land of inferior quality, if somewhat wooded, which would be rejected by the ordinary American and Canadian settler.<sup>(4)</sup>

Not everyone was satisfied with such explanations or with the prospect of thousands of immigrants moving into the country. One editorialist wrote that

[i]f our foreign immigration agents cannot send us a better class of immigrants than these it is almost time to consider whether we might not dispense with immigration agents altogether. The southern Slavs are probably the least promising of all material that could be selected for nation-building.<sup>(5)</sup>

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(3) See Vera Lysenko's Men in Sheepskin Coats: A Study in Assimilation (Toronto, 1947). Frances Swyripa provides some useful information about Clifford Sifton and his predecessors in her book, Ukrainian Canadians: A Survey of Their Portrayal in English-Language Works (Edmonton, 1978), pp. 90-91.

(4) Commissioner of Immigration, Winnipeg, to Clifford Sifton. Sessional papers, Annual Report of the Department of Interior for the year 1897, p. 172.

(5) Daily Nor'wester, Winnipeg, December 23, 1896.

Another contemporary critic endorsed this feeling by quoting with approval in The Alberta Tribune the comments of a French-Canadian priest, Father Morin, who had allegedly said that

[a]s for the Galicians I have not met one single person in the whole of the Northwest who is sympathetic towards them. They are from the point of civilization, ten times lower than the Indians.(6)

On occasion, the Government made further attempts to quiet such ill-will amongst Canadians and check the outcry being raised against the newcomers. Sifton, speaking in the House of Commons, stated:

Our experience of these people teaches us that they are industrious, careful and law abiding and their strongest desire is to assimilate with Canadians.... So far as their general habits are concerned, I may say they are people who lived in poverty. That is no crime on their part. I venture to say that the ancestors of many prominent citizens of Canada were poor in the country whence they came, and nobody thinks less of them on that account. They are people of good intellectual capacity and they are moral and well-living people.(7)

Prejudice was to remain an integral part of the experience of many immigrants who came to Canada from Ukraine. They encountered discrimination in a variety of forms and degrees of virulence. Polemical statements appeared in a national newsmagazine suggesting,

[i]t would be easier to make a silk purse out of a sow's ear than to make a good Canadian out of a Ukrainian immigrant.(8)

A Canadian government official is quoted as follows:

It should never be forgotten, that physical characteristics are permanent. Despite

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(6) The Alberta Tribune, February 4, 1889.

(7) Hansard, July 7, 1889, p. 6859, Honourable Clifford Sifton, Minister of the Interior.

(8) A quotation from Maclean's magazine, cited by Pohorecky and Royick (1969), p. 170, Canadian Ethnic Studies, supp., pp. 141-219.



universal miscegenation, the primitive types may still be recognized - they cannot be obliterated. Modified groups are being formed as mosaics in the individual. Let no one suppose that a Galician, or a Pole, or a Ruthenian can be made into an Englishman by transplanting him to Canada and teaching him the English language. He may talk English, but he will have the mind and the character of an Alpine. It is an irrefutable scientific fact that where a higher race breeds with an inferior, the characteristics of the inferior in the long run prevail....

We are chiefly concerned with the racial problem as it affects Canada's future. The control of foreign immigration should be conducted on scientific methods, if the future inhabitants of Canada are to take their place among the progressive nations of the world. Quality, not quantity, should be the guide.... Sufficient evidence of the folly of admitting anyone who can pay the fee is seen throughout the United States .... If the present rate of increase of the Alpine immigration is to continue, in half a century the Nordics will be dispossessed. For instance, it is the aim of Jews to control the entire trade of North America, and they are succeeding well. In the United States, for economic reasons, they are assuming Anglo-Saxon names. For years they have virtually owned the theatres, hotels and much of the jewelry and clothing trades, and of course the greater part of banking. They are trying to do the same thing in Canada....

Owing to the privilege of universal suffrage the Alpines now control a large part of the electoral system in the United States. The quality of the representatives elected has visibly declined in the last two decades. The same result may await Canada.

An infiltration of immigrants of low cast may gradually occupy the country and literally breed out their masters. At one time Germany was wholly Nordic-Teutonic. Today, although the dominant half is Teutonic, the remainder is composed of Teutonized Wends and Alpine Poles. Immigrants from northern Germany are welcome to Canada, but none of south Germany should be admitted. The lowest stratum from the Mediterranean Basin, the Mongolized Balkans,

the hordes of submerged people from the Polish Ghettos - none of these should enter Canada....(9)

Oscar Handlin has noted that sociologists looking upon the faults of a social order have a choice of explanations: either these faults are manifestations of some blemish in the nature of the newcomers; or they reflect the nature of the whole society. It was tempting to accept an explanation which put the blame for poverty, crime, congestion and all of the other "evils" of the foreign immigrant working-quarters upon the heads of the immigrants themselves. They were labelled as

beaten men from beaten races, biologically incapable of rising, either now or through their descendents above the mentality of a twelve year old child....(10)

Whatever the reasons behind the rise and reinforcement of prejudicial sentiments on the part of a substantial number of the host society's population, thousands of Slavic peasants were to make the journey to Canada, an unknown land of which most had only the slightest knowledge, yet a place which seemed to offer great promise for the future. Almost all of these emigrants were young and single men from Galicia (Halychyna), Bukovina, Transcarpathia and Volhynia.(11) By the outbreak of World War I (1914)

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(9) Quoted by V. J. Kaye, "Participation of Ukrainians in the Political Life of Canada" in Golden Jubilee Almanac, 1905-1953 (Winnipeg, 1957), pp. 115-116.

(10) Oscar Handlin, The Uprooted: The Epic Story of the Great Migration that made the American People (Boston, 1952, p. 227.

(11) Halychyna is a name which closely approaches the Ukrainian pronunciation of the word normally rendered as Galicia in English. As a political entity this region no longer exists, having been largely incorporated into the regions of Lviv, Ternopil and Ivano-Frankivsk. I have used the term Galicia throughout this thesis so as to keep to the common usage and thus minimize confusion. It should be noted that not all of those coming from Galicia were Ukrainians.

Kaye (1966) cites an interesting example of the confusion existing among government officials with regard to this term. When the Austro-Hungarian Consul General, Edward Schultze, inquired as to the Canadian Government's definition of the term "Galician" the Minister of the Interior replied,

I have your letter of the 9th instant (1899), and in reply beg to say that by the term "Galician immigrant" is meant all persons who in Canada

immigrants from Bukovina and Galicia ranked first, numerically, among the European peoples admitted to Canada. (12)

The decision to emigrate could not have been an easy one, given the deep attachment of a peasant people to its ancestral lands and way of life.

He who turned his back upon the village at the crossroads began a long journey that his mind would forever mark as its most momentous experience. The crossing immediately subjected the emigrant to a succession of shattering shocks and decisively conditioned the life of every man that survived it. This was the initial contact with life as it was to be. For many peasants it was the first time away from home, away from the safety of the circumscribed little village in which they had passed all their years. Now they would learn to have dealings with people essentially different from themselves. Now they would collide with unaccustomed problems, learn to understand alien ways and alien languages, manage to survive in a grossly foreign environment. (13)

Unlike many later immigrants, those who left Ukraine during this first phase of immigration to Canada were not political refugees. Theirs was a more voluntary move, the decision to emigrate having come as the culmination of a social process which had, in all likelihood, extended over

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are recognized as Galicians, and I presume I would include those from Bukovina as well as from Galicia. I do not know what further explanation to give with regards to the people referred to.

See P. A. Interior, File 2614, June 13, 1899. Jas. A. Smith, D.M. to Edward Schultze, Imperial Austro-Hungarian Consulate, Montreal, P.Q.

(12) V. J. Kaye, "Three Phases of Ukrainian Immigration" in Slavs in Canada, vol. I (Edmonton, 1966), p. 37. The precise number of Ukrainians in Canada is probably indeterminable. Darcovich (1967) estimated that about 170,000 Ukrainians came to Canada between 1891 and 1914. Krawchuk (1958) states that 302,330 Ukrainians from Halychyna came to Canada and the U.S.A. between 1890 and 1910, most of whom settled in western Canada. The 1921 Canada Census lists only 106,721 Ukrainians in Canada.

(13) Handlin, op. cit., p. 38.

a long period of time. As one author has written:

It begins with conditions operating on the individual long before his actual change of residence and does not end until he is a completely adjusted member of the new community. (14)

The economic impoverishment of Galicia and Bukovina seems to have been the most important incentive behind emigration. (15) As one early student of Slavic immigration observed:

Of all agricultural properties in the country, nearly 80 per cent are "small" (that is, under twelve and a half acres) and nearly half consist of less than five acres. That this excessive subdivision is the main cause of emigration from Galicia is undisputed. When a man has so little that it can no longer support him, much less provide for his children, he probably gets into debt, and, at any rate, is in imperative need for money. (16)

Rural poverty was not the only factor militating in favour of a move. The option of becoming an industrial labourer in Ukraine was restricted, for most of Ukraine was not overly industrialized. Furthermore, the oppressive and feudalistic social system under which they lived was also hardly conducive to those seeking to improve their lot. (17)

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(14) L. G. Reynolds, The British Immigrant: His Social and Economic Adjustment in Canada (Oxford, 1935), p. 3.

(15) Joshua A. Fishman and Vladimir C. Nahirny, "Organization and Leadership Interest in Language Maintenance" in J. A. Fishman (ed.), Language Loyalty in the United States: The Maintenance and Perpetuation of Non-English Mother Tongues by American Ethnic and Religious Groups (The Hague, 1966), pp. 318-357.

(16) E. Balch, Our Slavic Fellow Citizens (New York, 1910), p. 138. It should be noted that while the traditional agricultural life was the focus of work, many peasants did become migratory industrial workers temporarily each year. Considerable geographical mobility ensued with thousands of Slavs travelling from Austro-Hungary into Germany (e.g., to Junker farms). Eventually this interaction with the world outside the village became transatlantic as well as continental.

(17) Nahirny and Fishman (1970), op. cit., p. 321, note that "The basic character of Galician society at the end of the 19th century may be described as follows: an ethnically-confounded, stratified society based on the axis of dominant city and subordinate countryside."

All but lacking an indigenous leadership capable of organizing them for the achievement of a better standard of living, these people were left with only one ready alternative to the hardships of existence on their own lands--emigration en masse.(18) Thus "a surprisingly homogeneous group, consisting almost entirely of agriculturalists", (19) left the land of their forefathers. Many were to settle in the western lands of Canada.(20)

Although it is possible that "love of the land drew Ukrainian settlers to the Canadian West, to the promised land", (21) immigrants actually had little, if any, choice in determining where to locate. Canada's need to develop the West overruled personal aspirations. Some Canadian officials were quite candid in admitting to this exploitation of the immigrants.

These people were brought to Canada to do the rough manual labour needed in road-building and harvesting, partly with the idea that they would bring our rough bush lands under cultivation and so provide freight for the railways. We do not need to pretend that they were brought in for philanthropic reasons. They were brought here so that some people might make a nice profit, or to put it more nicely, that Canada might become wealthy and prosperous.(22)

As with other immigrants of peasant origins, those from Ukraine found in Canada a life which was different from that which they had known in the "old country". In Ukraine they had lived in intimate familiarity with two

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(18) This emigration did meet, however, with some debate among certain circles in the Ukraine. See Marunchak (1970).

(19) V. J. Kaye (1966), op. cit., p. 38. After 1907, however, there began to be an inflow of individuals, many of whom were funnelled to northern Canada's lumber and mining camps to be employed as labourers. See, O. T. Martynowych, "The Ukrainian Socialist Movement in Canada: 1900-1918" in Journal of Ukrainian Graduate Studies, 1, 1 (Fall, 1976), pp. 27-45.

(20) Marunchak (1970), op. cit., p. 67, states that 94 percent of the emigrants who came to Canada in this period from Ukraine settled in the three western provinces.

(21) Ibid.

(22) A. J. Hunter, as quoted by V. Lysenko (1947), op. cit., p. 93.

ancient social structures, the family and the village. Interrelated family units had combined to form the bases of most villages, whose functional or administrative role was largely derivative. The basic context of most peasants' lives was the village-embedded kinship group.

It encompassed the individual's whole life, from birth to death; it transmitted ancient customs and folkways from generation to generation; and, finally, it provided its young members with all the skills and knowledge required for perpetuating the traditional mode of life. Although politically and socially subordinate it was culturally a self-sustained entity.(23)

This community, most of whose members were related to one another by family or personal ties, provided very little incentive for the development of voluntary associations or special interest organizations. Nor did it facilitate the development of specifically defined and segmented loyalties among its members. The village was a unit, unlike more modern differentiated societies in which "ties of friendship originate in such specialized institutions as schools or youth movements."(24)

In Ukraine's villages life was circumscribed, for not only was there a "significant dearth of enduring inter-village contacts but there was also a dominant pattern of village endogamy." The village neighbourhood, as it were, constituted the primary pool from which personal contact and friendship choices were available. The peasant's world was limited.

Secular organizations were largely unknown. Schooling was generally limited or unavailable during this period. Prosvita (Enlightenment) societies were few and often inaccessible to those who might have wanted to take advantage of their services (e.g., reading rooms and library). Formal religious organizations, such as the Greek Catholic (Uniate) and Greek Orthodox churches, were available but their occasionally blatant support of the upper classes in Ukraine (who were largely non-Ukrainian) tended to anger the populace and generate some anti-clerical sentiments. Even in those locales where parishioners were fortunate enough to be served by a responsive priest the exigencies of life often prevented much more than the most basic involvement in Church-sponsored services and social activities.

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(23) Nahirny and Fishman (1970), op. cit., p. 326.

(24) Ibid.

Contacts with officials of the Austro-Hungarian or Imperial Russian governments were few and of limited value. A variety of middlemen generally handled legal or administrative affairs. These middlemen were often Jews, who attained a monopoly over certain occupations and commercial enterprises (e.g., taverns). Consequently, anti-Semitism developed among broad strata of the populace.

The peasant lived in a simple world.<sup>(25)</sup> Life was oriented around day-to-day concerns, the here-and-now issues of farming life. Few had the time, if even the inclination, to speculate about generalized and abstract principles or to engage in discussions about the concepts of a "Ukrainian nationality" or "Ukraina". Aware of local and traditional pasts the peasant of the village would usually have little, if any, knowledge of national historical traditions. No single "corporate" history of Ukraine was available to most, only "particular historical continuities."<sup>(26)</sup> The people generally lacked any conception of belonging to a state, and so they kept to the Russyn (Ruthenian) identification, a religious affiliation, or even to local and regional affiliations (e.g., Lemko). Some even preferred to retain their identification at the most local level (e.g., as a member of some particular village).

The peasant's identity expressed itself through particular, concrete and immanent symbols, and their consciousness grew out of communal and ancestral values. Few conceived of a Ukrainian nation. Indeed, many early immigrants to Canada were unaware of the very existence of the term "Ukraina" until some time after they had arrived in the "New World". For them

[e]thnicity of a traditional, particularistic and non-ideological character--rather than nationalism in its strident and symbolically elaborated manifestations--was the general rule. The languages spoken were related to the countless acts of everyday life rather than to "causes" or ideologies. Most usually it was only after immigration that group maintenance became a conscious goal. In some instances, indeed, it was only after... (arrival)...that many immigrants became aware

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(25) Ibid.

(26) Joshua A. Fishman, "The Historical and Social Contexts of an Inquiry into Language Maintenance Efforts" in J. A. Fishman (ed.), Language Loyalty in the United States: The Maintenance and Perpetuation of Non-English Mother Tongues by American Ethnic and Religious Groups (London, 1966), p. 27.

of their "groupness", i.e. of their common origin and their common past, as well as of their common current problems.(27)

No immigrant came to the "New World" entirely unaware of the general type of hardships which might be encountered there, for letters from Canada and America did make their way back to Ukraine, there to be avidly read and sometimes passed from family to family. Clearly some immigrants had an idea of what to expect before emigrating, even if their information was incomplete. And, of course, every emigrant carried with himself to the "New World" acquired skills, as passed down from generation to generation, along with a culture, namely the collected wisdom of his people. Experience at farming under difficult material and social conditions and a cultural inheritance were the basic components of the material and intellectual baggage which many of these early immigrants brought with them to Canada. In many ways these "old country" ways were to prove themselves adaptable to the "New World", although not often before specialized alterations were made. For example, tools for working the chernozem (black earth soils) of the Ukrainian steppes would similarly be useful for tilling the black earth of the Canadian Prairies. But the customs of the people were not always likewise amenable to the new conditions of life. Village life was all but impossible in Canada, and even though bloc settlements preserved something akin to the homogeneity of Ukraine's agricultural landscape in Canada, the day-to-day intercourse and kinship patterns of "old country" village-life were decidedly disturbed. Novel forms of ethnic culture arose in the environment of the "New World", while older forms of ethnic culture disappeared. Life had to be met and adjusted to. The immigrants did this primarily through the medium of what they had known in the "old country". Naturally this process was not without its complexities and confusions. The subsequent rise of new forms of Ukrainian ethnic identity and culture was to have important repercussions within the Ukrainian population of Canada.

As has been indicated, the connection between the concept of nationality and that of citizenship was at best indistinct in the minds of most immigrants. Their life-style simply made no provision for debate on such questions; such considerations were scarcely even held to be important. Identification would often be made on the basis of tangible village geography and local dialects.(28)

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(27) Ibid.

(28) See Pohorecky and Royick, op. cit. Many of these dialects later reappeared in Canada, as Pohorecky and Royick's Ukrainian Language Dialect Districts in Alberta map reveals.



As a result of this situation, the Canada Census presented a confusing picture of the national origins of immigrants who came from Ukraine. Such was especially the case for the first phase (circa 1891 to 1914) of immigration from Ukraine. The people were identified as Ruthenians (Russyns) or by regional appellations, such as Galician. As both Galicia and Bukovina were then ruled by Austria-Hungary, peasants of those ethnically mixed regions were often simply designated by Canadian authorities as Austro-Hungarians. Similarly, people from territories controlled by Russia were often referred to as Russians. Undoubtedly the similarity of the word "Russian" to the older term for Ukrainians, "Russyn" (Ruthenians), further contributed to the confusion. The onset of massive territorial changes during World War I increased the difficulties of identification. These factors have made it very difficult to ascertain the number of Ukrainians in Canada. Censuses of the period from 1901 to 1931 show disproportionately large numbers of Austrians, Russians, Poles and Romanians coming to Canada, largely through the inclusion of many Ukrainians in the respective figures of each of these groups.(29) Only recently has an attempt been made to rectify these discrepancies.(30)

This confusion contributed substantially to the hardships faced by those immigrants who were residing in Canada during the period of World War I and immediately after. An Order-in-Council (P.C. 2721) dated October 28, 1914 provided for registration and internment in certain cases of aliens of enemy nationality. As a consequence, some 8,759 male prisoners, accompanied by 81 women and 156 children, eventually found themselves incarcerated in camps throughout the Dominion. Of these it was readily admitted that not more than 3,138 could be correctly classified as prisoners'-of-war, that is captured 'in arms' or belonging to enemy 'reserves'. The remainder were civilians who under the Hague Regulations became liable to internment if considered to be 'agents' attached to the army or persons whose "activity is of service in the war."(31) The official report also admitted that

[i]t is also suspected that the tendency of municipalities to "unload" their indigent was the cause of the confinement of not a few.(32)

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(29) Kaye (1966), op. cit., p. 37.

(30) W. Darcovich and P. Yuzyk, A Statistical Compendium of the Ukrainians in Canada, 1891-1975, 4 vols. (Ottawa, 1978) (mimeo, unpublished).

(31) Sir William Otter, Internment Operations, 1914-1920 (Ottawa, 1920), p. 6.

(32) Ibid.

In other words, the unemployed were often incarcerated. Unskilled, particularly "foreign" workers, were not uncommonly the victims of xenophobia. The available records indicate that Ukrainian immigrants suffered particularly during this period, being considered "enemy aliens" of Austro-Hungarian citizenship or nationality. Not even the slightest attempt seems to have been made to sort them out from genuine Austrian or Hungarian nationals or from other ethnic groups also caught up in the incarceration program. All were lumped into one general classification, despite the availability of information which would have allowed for the separation of these various groups. Altogether, several thousand individuals from Ukrainian ethnographic lands may have been sent to these concentration camps, for even the official report mentions that some 6,954 of the male prisoners were "Austro-Hungarians, covering Croats, Ruthenians, Slovaks and Czechs."(33)

Repression continued with the proclamation of The War Times Election Act (1917) which effectively disenfranchised most of the individuals who had emigrated from Ukraine to Canada. Taking away the vote from all of those who were not naturalized before March 31, 1902, this Act destroyed any sentiment of belonging which many immigrants had begun to develop for Canada. Subsequently, two Orders-in-Council, passed by the Borden government in 1918, suppressed the foreign language press (e.g., Ukrainian, Russian, Finnish, German, Livonian, Croatian, Turkish, Hungarian, Estonian and Bulgarian) because of its "socialistic doctrines". For many, these actions of the Canadian government dispelled any opinion that they may have had about the benevolent nature of Canadian society. For example, the Canadian Ruthenian (1918) decried this treatment as follows.

The Ukrainians were invited to Canada and promised liberty and a kind of paradise. Instead of the latter they found woods and rocks, which had to be cut down to make the land fit to work on. They were given farms far from the railroads, which they so much helped in building - but still they worked hard...and came to love Canada. But...liberty did not last long. First they were called 'Galicians' in mockery. Secondly, preachers were sent amongst them, as if they were savages, to preach Protestantism. And thirdly, they were deprived of the right to elect their representatives in Parliament. They are now uncertain about their future

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(33) Ibid.

in Canada. Probably, their [property] so bitterly earned in the sweat of their brow will be confiscated. (34)

During this period many became disillusioned with life in Canada and began a drift toward 'radical' politics as a solution to their problems. That this disillusionment was not shared by all, however, is evident in the fact that around 10,000 men of Ukrainian origin took part in World War I as soldiers of His Majesty's Armed Forces. (3 Forces. (35))

The outbreak of World War I brought to a close the first phase of immigration from Ukraine to Canada. Despite the disruption of their lives caused by migration, oppressive elements in Canadian society and the exigencies of life in the "New World", most of the early pioneers somehow managed to persevere. Although largely illiterate, they went on to enjoy a great deal more vertical mobility and a better life than most had known or could have expected in the staray krai. The important role they played in Canadian history is only now beginning to be recognized.

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(34) Quoted in Donald Avery (1979), 'Dangerous Foreigners': European Immigrant Workers and Labour Radicalism in Canada, 1896-1932 (McClelland and Stewart, Toronto), p. 77. See also, H. Potrebenko, No Streets of Gold: A Social History of Ukrainians in Alberta (Vancouver, 1977), pp. 120-122. For a more scholarly approach to the internment operations, see J. A. Boudreau, The Enemy Alien Problem in Canada, 1914-1921, Ph.D. thesis, University of California (Los Angeles, 1965).

(35) Senator Paul Yuzyk, Ukrainian Canadians: Their Role and Place in Canadian Life (Ottawa, 1967), p. 34.

One of these volunteers was Private Nikita Nadolsky, a Ukrainian from Kingston who served in the 59th Battalion of the Canadian Expeditionary Force. This formation was commanded by Lt. Colonel Dawson who had earlier been responsible for the control of other Ukrainians interned in Fort Henry. Private Nadolsky saw service between 1915 and 1919 in Canada, England and France. Incapacitated in a gas attack in 1917, he was discharged for medical reasons on February 17, 1919. Soon thereafter he died in Kingston.

## II

### UKRAINIANS ARRIVE IN KINGSTON

The identity of the first Ukrainian to settle in Kingston is uncertain. Ivan Budzyck apparently asserted a claim to this distinction,(1) but no conclusive evidence was uncovered to support his contention. A family tree, indicating that Budzyck had begun a household in Kingston by March 1, 1914, the date of birth of his first child, Richard, provides no indication as to the date of his arrival in Canada or in Kingston--vital intelligence which none of his many descendants was able to provide.(2) Nor does the family tree indicate the nationality of Budzyck himself, although his wife, Mary Tutak, was clearly of Polish descent. Budzyck's remaining papers give his citizenship as Polish although later in his life he seems to have associated with a few Ukrainians. All the while, however, he retained command of the Ukrainian language and familiarity with Ukrainian cultural forms.(3)

Budzyck himself did not fit the model prescribed by some of the later immigrants arriving in Kingston of what a Ukrainian should be: he did not publicly act as a Ukrainian; he seldom attended Ukrainian organizational functions or religious services. Many have therefore contested his claim of being the first "Ukrainian" to have arrived and settled in Kingston.(4) He has been

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(1) Interview conducted in Kingston, December 1, 1977.

(2) The family tree was provided by F. A. Boswick, one of the children of Ivan Budzyck. The name Boswick was adopted by Mr. Budzyck shortly after his arrival in Canada. His Certificate of Canadian Citizenship gives his name as John Boswick (Certificate of Canadian Citizenship CC54 06270).

(3) See St. Michael's Ukrainian Catholic Parish Committee records, 1952.

(4) This point further illustrates the hypothesis presented here. As different immigrant groups arrived in Canada they were faced by distinctive situations and so developed their own definitions on what it meant to be Ukrainian in Canada. Later immigrants arriving from Ukraine tended to attempt a subversion of the passive

labelled a Pole,<sup>(5)</sup> particularly as he attended Roman Catholic religious services, or has been completely ignored in oral histories of the Ukrainians in Kingston. Some individuals, claiming to be knowledgeable about the settlement patterns and history of the Ukrainians in Kingston, express surprise when Budzyck's name is recalled in relation to the earliest Ukrainian settlers in Kingston. The fact that he took no "particularly Ukrainian role" within the City of Kingston is given as "proof" of his non-Ukrainian identity.<sup>(6)</sup> His marriage to a Polish woman is also cited as "proof" of his non-Ukrainianness--especially when it is pointed out that none of his children ever returned to the "Ukrainian way of life". The fact that he was born near Horodenko, in Ukraine, is disregarded. Those who hold a different conception of what it means to be a Ukrainian in Kingston find Budzyck wanting in all of those qualities which were to attain such pre-eminence among later immigrants. In any case it is perhaps more likely that the first Ukrainian to settle in Kingston was Ivan Zubyck from Bukovina. Apparently Zubyck was already settled in Kingston by May, 1912, securing work in the local Locomotive Works and later in the Davis Tannery.

Whoever was first is probably less important than the fact that the documentation at hand makes it clear that immigrants from Ukraine had beyond any doubt arrived and settled in Kingston before World War I. The presence of Ivan Andriosky,<sup>(7)</sup> his comrade Sam Mikhalovsky,<sup>(8)</sup> and Ivan

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ethnicity of their predecessors by substituting a more exclusive Ukrainian identification. The seeming apathy of the first immigrants was inexplicable to those who came after World War I and stressed a nationalistic self-identification. Failing to take cognizance of the conditions which their predecessors had to deal with, these latter individuals often formed deep prejudices against the first immigrants.

(5) The people of western Ukraine, Halychyna, were often compelled by Polish authorities to abandon their Orthodox and Greek Catholic faiths and accept the tenets of Roman Catholicism. Ukrainian nationalists often berated those who had accepted the "Polish faith" implying that such people had abandoned not just their religion but also their own nationality in favour of that of the occupant. To be labelled a Pole was a grievous insult. In Canada, "Pole" or "bohunk" was a pejorative label attached indiscriminately to many Slavic immigrants.

(6) Interview conducted in Kingston, December 5, 1977.

(7) Interview conducted in Kingston, February 12, 1978.

(8) Interview conducted in Kingston, February 12, 1978. Ivan Andriosky (the name was later changed) and Sam Mikhalovsky emigrated to Canada together, lived in

Zubyck(9) in Kingston well before 1914 is proved by the recollections of some of these people,(10) and of their descendants,(11) and by some official documents.(12) Undoubtedly, there were other early arrivals whose names and stories have long since been forgotten. Reputedly, transient Ukrainian labourers passed through Kingston during this period. About such individuals nothing conclusive can be established for no records exist to document their lives in the city.(13)

The Canadian Census supplies some intriguing but superficial and confusing clues as to the possibility of early settlement in Kingston by Ukrainians [see Appendix A]. Not only was there a plethora of different labels used to classify immigrants from Ukraine, but no clear differentiation was made between the concepts of nationality (or ethnic identity) and citizenship. For example, a Ukrainian from Galicia, by virtue of the fact that he emigrated from an Austro-Hungarian controlled region, might be recorded as an Austro-Hungarian, while another might be recorded as a Galician.(14) According to the Fourth Census of Canada (1901), one person born in Austria-Hungary and five born in Russia resided within

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the same household for a number of years, died within days of each other and are buried side-by-side in St. Mary's Cemetery.

- (9) Interview conducted in Kingston, December 7, 1977. The family name has been changed.
- (10) Ivan Zubyck is still alive. He is the oldest individual of this immigration known to be still residing in the City of Kingston.
- (11) Ivan Andriosky and Sam Mikhalovsky are both deceased. In the former case there is a family member who was able to provide a number of salient recollections about Andriosky's life in the "old country" and Canada.
- (12) There is unusually complete documentation relating to Andriosky and his wife's travels to Canada. Andriosky was one of the few literate immigrants coming to Kingston in this first immigration. The remains of his library of Russian, Ukrainian and Polish language books are impressive.
- (13) Conversation held with members of a Ukrainian Senior Citizens' Club in Toronto, December, 1977. Recorded in Author's diary. It is unlikely that there were more than a dozen Ukrainian settlers in Kingston before World War I.
- (14) See discussion in Chapter One of this work.

the Frontenac Census District.<sup>(15)</sup> Who they were and upon what basis they were assigned to either the Austro-Hungarian or Russian classifications remains unclear. In the Fifth Census of Canada (1911) the existence of one Galician male in the Kingston Census District, along with three people born in Russia and eleven born in Austria is recorded.<sup>(16)</sup> During this same period, eight inhabitants in the Kingston District were noted as belonging to the Greek Church.<sup>(17)</sup> Such statistics indicate the possibility that individuals from Ukraine might have been living in the City of Kingston, or the immediately adjacent district, as early as 1901, but they do not conclusively establish this fact. Even the 1911 data leaves doubts, for all that can be said, given the knowledge available of the immigration history of the Ukrainian people, is that some of those indicated were probably of Ukrainian background.

Of the lives of these people very little can be said, for they made no attempt to record their own stories, and the official documentation of their immigration is either fragmentary<sup>(18)</sup> or legally unobtainable.<sup>(19)</sup> Furthermore, most of them have long since passed away.<sup>(20)</sup> Those very

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(15) See Birthplace of People by Districts, Frontenac District #61, Table XIV in the Fourth Census of Canada, Vol. I - Population (Ottawa, 1901), p. 426.

(16) See Origin of the People by Sub-Districts, Kingston #86, Table VII, in the Fifth Census of Canada (Ottawa, 1911), p. 214. Eleven Poles were listed in the City of Kingston for this year.

(17) See Religion of the People by Principal Cities, Kingston, Table VI, in the Fifth Census of Canada (Ottawa, 1911), p. 150. There were 4,824 Roman Catholics in the city at this time.

(18) No individual interviewed nor any of their descendants were able to provide a complete set of personal documents relating to the immigration process. Most were able to provide only their original passports or immigration cards.

(19) Recent alterations to Canada's laws, particularly as set forth in the new Human Rights Act, make it exceedingly difficult to obtain information about the immigration history of any particular individual. An attempt to trace the migration of certain men was initiated but the records housed in Ottawa were unobtainable.

(20) Only two of those who emigrated from Ukraine to Kingston before World War I are known to be living in the city.

few who are alive are either unable<sup>(21)</sup> or unwilling to recall their pasts.<sup>(22)</sup> Of the latter, most do not value having their experiences recorded.<sup>(23)</sup> Therefore, any reconstruction of the Canadian experiences of these first immigrants must remain incomplete.

As has already been noted, emigration from the Ukrainian ethnographic territories to Canada originated primarily in Galicia and Bukovina.<sup>(24)</sup> Predictably, therefore, most of those arriving in Kingston during this period came from these two regions. Of those questioned, some forty percent indicated that they came from Galicia and forty percent from Bukovina.<sup>(25)</sup> For example, Ivan Budzyck was born in Galicia<sup>(26)</sup> as was the elder Biss.<sup>(27)</sup> Ivan Zubyck<sup>(28)</sup> and Nikola Sakaliuk<sup>(29)</sup> on the other hand, were born in Bukovina. It seems likely that one of the earliest immigrants to Kingston, Ivan Andriosky, was from that part of Ukraine then dominated by Tsarist Russia. Unlike most of the other immigrants to Kingston, Andriosky managed to return to the staray krai ("old country") in

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(21) Regrettably, old age has rendered many of these pre-World War I immigrants incapable of responding to questioning.

(22) Ivan Zubyck could not be interviewed. Most of the information related to his experiences in Canada and Kingston comes from two meetings and one interview (conducted in Kingston on December 7, 1977) with his son. A small amount of information was gleaned from talks with acquaintances.

(23) Some of the older immigrants (not only of the first immigration) intrinsically distrust those who would try to record their history. Either there is a basic mistrust of written history or a concern with regard to how the materials released will be used. The factionalism which spread through the Ukrainians in Kingston has created unwillingness to discuss many issues.

(24) Vladimir J. Kaye, "Three Phases of Ukrainian Immigration" in Slavs in Canada, Vol. I (Edmonton, 1966), p. 38.

(25) Statistics compiled on the basis of all interviews conducted with individuals who settled in Kingston before World War I.

(26) Interview conducted in Kingston, December 1, 1977.

(27) Interview conducted in Bath, December 7, 1977.

(28) Interview conducted in Kingston, December 7, 1977.

(29) Interview conducted in Toronto, February 14, 1978.



1914, to be married.(30) His wife's "Affidavit of Support" (a document which the husband had to complete in order to bring his wife into Canada) shows her full address as "Pokolsky Hub. P.O. Lanskorum D. Draganowka, Russia".(31) Both she and her husband were probably from the area around Kamianets-Pokilskyi (Podillia) in what was then referred to as "Greater Ukraine". If this assumption is correct then Ivan Andriosky, his wife, and their friend Sam Mikhalovsky were probably among the very first settlers in Kingston to arrive from that region of Ukrainian ethnic territory.(32)

The first immigrants to arrive in the city came to Canada voluntarily, having reached their own decisions to emigrate.(33) Leaving in order to "better themselves" or "to find bread", (34) these early emigrants consider they left for "economic reasons".(35) Although most were illiterate--some 80 percent of those coming to Kingston at this time were unable to read(36)--these "sons of the steppes" all felt that they had come to a new land where they could better their lot, even at a human cost of long hours of sometimes monotonous and menial labour. Their drive to improve themselves and to remove the burden of poverty and persecution from the lives of their children is remembered vividly by their descendants.

You would see it in the early immigrants,  
in their eyes, in their hands. Hard work.  
All they had known was work, but they  
never regretted coming here to Canada.(37)

While it is true that many of the people who came to Kingston left the "old country" because of its economic

(30) Conversation in Kingston, November 27, 1977. Recorded in author's diary.

(31) See Kathleen Andriosky's White Star Dominion Line "Affidavit of Support" and Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic Passport. She arrived in Kingston in the inter-war period. (Copies have been placed in the archives of The Multicultural History Society of Ontario.)

(32) Interview conducted in Kingston, February 12, 1978.

(33) Interview conducted in Toronto, February 16, 1978.

(34) Ibid.

(35) Ibid.

(36) Statistics compiled on the basis of all interviews conducted with individuals who settled in Kingston before World War I.

(37) Interview conducted in Kingston, February 12, 1978.

impoverishment, others left for more novel reasons. One individual "escaped what he had known: the living in mud huts, suffering persecutions periodically at the hands of the Cossacks...." The son of Ivan Andriosky told his father's story this way.

He used to recall why he had left the homeland thus.... One day he found out that the lady of the estate on which he worked as a serf used to sit on her chamber pot while giving out the day's orders to her labouring peasants. She wore one of those large skirts, popular in those days, and underneath it all she would be sitting on was her own little pot, doing her own business. Well in those days a peasant had to kneel down and kiss the hand of the lady of the house when he came to get instructions. You had to be sufficiently humble and grovelling. After all, she was the wife of a great pan! One day my father realized just what was going on there, daily. The degradation was just too much for him, a proud and hard working man, to take. So he and his friend, Mikhalovsky, escaped from that estate. They made their way out through Rumanian territory, to the Port of Hamburg in Germany. From there they went on even further. They had to run to escape. Father landed up in Kingston in 1912. (38)

We do not have many specific answers indicating why these immigrants settled in Kingston. Unskilled jobs were available locally, and this undoubtedly played a role. (39) At least one of them was attracted by the physical setting of the city. (40) Possibly the efforts of A. C. Hanley, an immigration agent and local Canadian Pacific Railway (C.P.R.) representative, were influential. (41) No distinguishable chain of migration seems to have operated during this period, although information about this is scanty. Ivan Zubycck, one of the first immigrants, seems to have chosen Kingston as a home because of the possi-

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(38) Ibid.

(39) Conversation in Kingston conducted on November 27, 1977.

(40) Interview conducted in Bath, December 7, 1977.

(41) A. C. Hanley is deceased. An attempt to locate his widow, who reputedly still lives in Kingston, was unsuccessful. His role was described in an interview conducted in Kingston on February 12, 1978.

bilities for maintaining a life-style similar to that he had known in the "old country", and because of employment opportunities. As his son recalls

Father lived there (on Concession Street) because he liked to keep a large garden, have a good lot of his own land, just like that which he had back in the Ukraine. He could have his large garden and also keep cows, chickens and other farm animals ...yet be just about within the city at the same time for other needs and his jobs... the city was smaller then and its outer limits much closer in than today...he was a son of the soil and that is something he never forgot....(42)

All those interviewed indicated that they had maintained large garden plots or acreages of farm land just outside the then existing city limits.(43) Most sought thereby to supplement their family's diets while also owning land as a form of investment for a man "who has his own land is a true man, is dependent on no other for his daily bread and can hold himself up as a good provider for his family".(44) Further, owning land for use as large garden plots or for herding a few cattle provided many with a form of pastoral relaxation and recreation, with a much-needed escape from the tedium of their "hard work" jobs.(45) These daytime jobs were acknowledged to have been amongst the dirtiest, hardest or most dangerous then available.(46) Generally, work was to be found in the Locomotive Works, in the Drydocks and at a variety of other labouring positions in Kingston. Many of the immigrants purchased land, as much as they could afford, throughout their lives. Some, like M. Biss or I. Zubyck, were eventually to own properties both within and outside the city. The first immigrants from Ukraine seem to have felt the need to maintain, if only haltingly, a life-style akin to that which they had known in the "old country". They recognized that life for them would never again be the same as it once had been in Ukraine, but by cultivating land they seem to have felt that they might be able to preserve something of their former existences. At the very least they would try to pass on this intimacy with the land to their descendants.(47)

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(42) Interview conducted in Kingston, December 7, 1977.

(43) Statement based on all interviews conducted with individuals who settled in Kingston before World War I and with selected descendants.

(44) Interview conducted in Kingston, December 12, 1977.

(45) Ibid.

(46) Ibid.

(47) Interview conducted in Bath, December 1, 1977.

No distinct "Ukrainian quarter" can be identified in Kingston around 1914. There were at most a dozen individuals from Ukraine dispersed throughout the city by that time. Cultivable land seems to have been a major requirement when buying a home.<sup>(48)</sup> No conscious attempt seems to have been made to locate near other Ukrainian immigrants. No move was made to formally band together as immigrants from Ukraine.<sup>(49)</sup> A heterogeneous immigrant and working class area already existed in the "north end" of the city by this time, but the Ukrainian immigrants were not overly concentrated there.

These first immigrants, in common with others in Canada, had no distinct consciousness of belonging to any "corporate" or "national" grouping. Their illiteracy, lack of experience with any form of Ukrainian nationalism or state expression, and the fundamental characteristics of life as peasants all militated against a distinctive awareness of "nationality" or identification with "Ukraina".

I came to Canada as a Russian. I spoke to the Ukrainians here as a Russian, but they spoke back to me in Ukrainian, in the language that we are using right now. They told me that this was how it had to be! It took me a few years to get used to using this Ukrainian language.<sup>(50)</sup>

Most felt "at ease" within the City of Kingston, while also knowing that theirs was a low social status relative to the members of the host population. Apparently most were not overly concerned about this.<sup>(51)</sup> Many had attained in Canada what they had not even begun to hope for in Ukraine, and with this and with this they were content.<sup>(52)</sup> They looked with some measure of pride on their accomplishments in the "New World" and expected that their children and grandchildren would progressively carry on from where they had left off.<sup>(53)</sup> Continued prosperity seems to have been the vision of those who had once known the life of a peasant in Eastern Europe.<sup>(54)</sup>

(48) Interview conducted in Kingston, December 7, 1977.

(49) Statement based on all interviews conducted with immigrants who settled in Kingston before World War I and with selected descendants.

(50) Interview conducted in Toronto, February 14, 1977.

(51) Interview conducted in Kingston, December 7, 1977.

(52) Interview conducted in Bath, December 1, 1977.

(53) Ibid.

(54) Statement based on all interviews conducted with immigrants who settled in Kingston before World War I.

Kingston's immigrants from Ukraine sensed no ethnic distinctiveness vis-à-vis other Slavic immigrants. They were not specifically singled out by the host society as Ukrainians. Even those non-Slavs who were discriminatory in their handling of immigrants failed to distinguish between a Pole or a Russian and a Galician. One of the immigrants who lived in the city before 1914 recalls:

The English (Canadians), not to mention we ourselves, did not call us Ukrainians then. Some called themselves Poles (the Roman Catholics in particular), others Russyns, some by their regional affiliations, like Galician. Some from Bukovina even called themselves Romanians! In Canada I heard this kind of chatter all of the time in those days.(55)

The local press also failed to differentiate among ethnic groups and subgroups. For example, The Daily British Whig, in its February 14, 1914 issue, quoted Parliamentarian E. N. Lewis as saying that he "Would Bar Asiatics from the Country". By "Asiatics", Lewis meant those who formerly resided in lands south of 44° north latitude and east of 20° east longitude in Europe.(56) In other words, immigrants from much of Poland, Ukraine, Russia and other Eastern European countries were lumped together with Italians from southern Italy, Chinese and Turks. All were "Asiatics", all were undesirable.

Even among the immigrants themselves the strong local and regional traditions and affiliations which they had known in the staray krai militated against their coming together under one rubric in Canada.

My parents had a thing about Galicians. They themselves discriminated against them...hated them in fact. It was a stupid prejudice when I think about it, as they were just as much Ukrainians as my parents were. That's what I think.(57)

Abstract concepts like "Ukraina" exerted little influence on the imaginations of these people, who were content not to worry about such seeming abstractions. Indeed, worrying about Ukraine was to be engaged in "playing politics", as more than one immigrants of this period would say. Most of them wanted nothing to do with that.(58)

(55) Interview conducted in Toronto, February 14, 1978.

(56) The Daily British Whig, February 14, 1914, p. 1.

(57) Interview conducted in Kingston, February 13, 1978.

(58) Interviews conducted in Kingston, December 1, 1977 and on February 12, 1978.

The immigrants desired to disregard or mask their own backgrounds as "foreigners", "immigrants" or "Slavic peasants". A particularly strong wish to adopt some imagined quality of Canadian identification caused many of them to change their names to "English" ones. Approximately 75 percent of those who came to reside in Kingston changed their surnames.(59) Meanwhile, they were sacrificing much, if not all, of what they had known in the staray krai.

I remember mom saying that she had come to Canada to become a Canadian. So she wouldn't join their Ukrainian organization when it finally got going, or even participate. She said that they had all come over here to get away from the old ways and yet the first thing they wanted was to start them up over here again. She thought that was wrong. Our mother wouldn't want us to speak either Polish or Ukrainian in the house. She only wanted us to speak English and act like the English.(60)

Despite some antagonisms, the Ukrainian immigrants shared much in common with other Slavic immigrants in the city. Most Slavs in Kingston tended to have large families, live in dwellings they had bought from other immigrants or built themselves, and work at a variety of unskilled labouring jobs. Nevertheless, most of these Slavic immigrants tended to maintain rather "solitary" existences.(61) They rarely came together and when they did it was only on an informal basis. No ethnic organizations ever developed among them and no non-Slavic organizations--with the possible exception of the Roman Catholic church and various Protestant denominations--seem to have ever taken much interest in them. That some interest did exist is demonstrable. For example, The Daily British Whig of November 21, 1911 carried a report on a meeting of the Presbyterian Woman's Home Missionary Society. This local grouping has listened to a lecture presented on the Independent Greek Catholic Church of Canada and its work among the Ruthenians. According to the newspaper's report the aim of this church was to "make of the Ruthenians not only intelligent members of the Independent Greek Catholic Church but loyal Canadians". No mention was made of any local adherents of this church or of the presence of any Ruthenians in Kingston.

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(59) Interview conducted in Kingston, December 1, 1977.

(60) Ibid.

(61) Interview conducted in Kingston, October 26, 1977.

In Ukraine, the influence of religious organizations had been widespread.(62) Yet many parishioners were disenchanted with the policies of the churches, and once in Canada few continued to attend religious services.(63) Most were either suspicious of the Roman Catholics and the Protestant denominations which they encountered, or were completely disinterested in organized religious life.(64) No attempt was made in pre-World War I Kingston to reconstitute a Ukrainian religious life as it had once been known in the staray krai.

When consciousness of a group solidarity did arise it was both informal and rather non-specific. Anyone could be involved in the loosely structured grouping which arose among the Slavic immigrant and working class people of Kingston. For example, even English, Italian, Jewish and Irish immigrants took their place among them.(65) There grew an unrefined sense of "kinship" among some of the people of the "north end" of the city. Certainly not Ukrainian in any national or specific sense of that word, this consciousness-of-kind was particularly strong among the Slavs. Consequently, something of a "Slavtown" developed in the "north end". Russians, Poles, Ukrainians, Slovaks, Byelorussians and even a few Eastern European Jews shared in a milieu where cooperation was stressed and "old country" prejudices were momentarily submerged.(66) The need for developing and maintaining a collective and rather conservative "front" in the face of some of the difficulties of the "New World" was apparent. Such sentiments were put into practice among the immigrants.

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(62) Religious affiliations of those who settled in Kingston before World War I are difficult to determine. Of those about whom data could be gathered with some accuracy it was found that two were Greek Orthodox, two were Roman Catholic, and one was Greek Catholic.

(63) Several of these pre-World War I settlers never attended religious services of any kind in Kingston. One family joined the Anglican church. A few sporadically visited various Roman Catholic churches.

(64) Interview conducted in Kingston, December 1, 1977.

(65) Ibid.

(66) Apparently a few Eastern European Jews who arrived in Kingston prior to World War I felt more akin to the local Slavic immigrants than to other Jews in the city. In a sense they were "renegades" as far as the local Jewish community was then concerned. From an interview conducted in Kingston, October 26, 1977.

Our home was a sort of landing place for immigrants. Mom and dad looked after them for awhile until they could get themselves established.(67)

The absence during this period of a specifically Ukrainian ethnic organization may be attributed to the growth of a Slavic immigrant and working class consciousness, perceived as being adequate for coping with the variety of demands and pressures upon the immigrants in Kingston. There was no call for a Ukrainian organization, for not only did the few immigrants from Ukraine have no experience of any distinctly Ukrainian organization but their knowledge of secular groups was generally minimal. Of these interviewed, none had belonged to a Prosvita society in Ukraine.(68) Replying to the interview question regarding membership in secular organizations, the few who had had some such experience had gained it in a military formation, and most of these had not been involved with a distinctly Ukrainian military unit.(69) Perhaps surprisingly Ukrainian organizations seemed strange and even "a waste of time" for many of the first immigrants. As one man put it, "We were all of us alike, all of us in the old country were Ukrainians. So why should we organize anything?"(70)

Instead of participating in distinctly national or ethnic groupings on a formal basis, many of the Slavic people residing in Kingston tended to hold in common a Slavic immigrant and working class consciousness. This consciousness, particularly when related to the experiences of these people in Canada, was to have salient repercussions on later immigrants and their descendants. To the present time "the good old days" are still remembered, and a touch of bitterness can be found in the voices of speakers recalling the cooperative Slavic past in Kingston and the reasons for its seemingly untimely and unnatural demise. Just how and why this pan-Slavic feeling among the first immigrants developed is a matter for some speculation. Was it a selective replication of "old country" ways and an adaptation to the exigencies of life in a "New World?"

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(67) Interview conducted in Kingston, December 1, 1977.

(68) Statement based on all interviews conducted with individuals who had settled in Kingston before World War I.

(69) A few were reserve troops in the Austro-Hungarian army. One individual from Kingston apparently returned to Halychyna and served in the armed forces of the Central Powers during World War I. He never returned to North America. From an interview conducted in Kingston, December 1, 1977.

(70) From an interview conducted in Kingston, December 5, 1977



This explanation, though a tempting one, is inadequate for it neglects the possible role of deliberate agents in the creation of ethnicity, group solidarity and, later, of organization.

Most of these Slavic immigrants were both illiterate and essentially unaware of the nature of the Canadian political system, even of conditions in the land of their own birth. As such, they were readily exploited by the more clever and unscrupulous amongst them and by Kingston politicians ready to utilize immigrants as a form of bloc vote. Although there does not seem to have been a great deal of notice taken of these Slavic immigrants by the general populace of Kingston, local politicians were clearly aware of the potentialities of persuading them to vote as a unit. On such occasions

they'd come, the politicians, and they'd have a keg of beer and get all of our men together. My dad had a lot of power among the Ukrainians and other immigrants then, so the politicians loved and wooed him at election time. He knew them all, all of the Ukrainians who were around then, and he could get them all together on occasion. With the usual keg of beer of course! They'd come in, sit and have a supper and drink beer. The politicians would be introduced and they'd say something like 'Vote for me I'm the best!' and that would be about it. It would all happen in private homes.(71)

Their efforts may well have been responsible for the original development of Slavic solidarity among these people. No evidence exists to suggest that they ever voluntarily gathered before being so brought together. Other informal points of contact amongst them seem to have been rare. It might be suggested that the rise of a Slavic immigrant and working class consciousness was not an inevitable development within the City of Kingston. Rather, it may well have been the creation of some local politician interested in soliciting the services of someone in order to gain a bloc of votes from within the Slavic milieu. One or more of the immigrants might then have continued to encourage such informal grouping. It could offer such persons prestige among their fellow immigrants and at least a small measure of authority in the city. Cooperation meant being aware of each other and might help when it came to getting somewhere in the "New World".(72) Banding together and voting at election time

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(71) Interview conducted in Kingston, November 7, 1977.

(72) Interview conducted in Kingston, December 1, 1977

also had the benefit of allowing the immigrants to meet Canadian political figures who might, at some future date, recall their support and act as patrons. Last, but not least, the immigrants no doubt felt that participating as a group in Canadian elections gave them some small measure of power and respectability within Canada. A desire to conform was coupled with a "drive" for getting ahead in Canada at whatever cost. There was a strong urge to succeed. Many were less anxious to be considered Ukrainians and more concerned about their place and role in Canadian society. This leads us not only to question the meaning of this informal Slavic grouping but also to query the truth of criticisms of these people voiced by succeeding immigrations.

Those first immigrants weren't Ukrainians, no matter where they came from or where they were born. They weren't Ukrainians like you or me at all. They were just stupid, used. Dumb-dumbs! Can't blame them entirely, but I don't like them!(73)

The lack of any formal organization among these first working-class immigrants and their lack of a Ukrainian ethnic identity may well have been due to the influence of yet another factor. World War I generated prejudicial outbursts among the Anglo-Celtic and French populations of Canada. Many members of the Canadian government shared the general public's concern about spies in the country, "enemy aliens" and subversives. There were fears of an invasion of Canada, particularly in those cities close to the border where large numbers of "enemy aliens" were interned. In Kingston the local newspaper carried the following story:

#### An Invasion of Canada

[T]heir ("enemy aliens") confinement is a causum belli so far as certain German-Americans are concerned. They have been talking and plotting. They may be tempted to make a rescue. At least that is what some people fear, and our soldiers have a duty to prepare at home. The duty is to protect the property of the Crown in Kingston and see that an invasion is not possible.(74)

Although the concerns of the general populace and of members of the Canadian government were not completely

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(73) Interview conducted in Kingston, November 7, 1977.

(74) The Daily British Whig, October 19, 1914.

unwarranted,(75) the extreme paranoia which ensued was the cause of considerable injustice. Many naturalized immigrants, some of whom had been in Canada for more than a decade were discriminated against with serious consequence in at least some instances. A relative recalled,

My wife's brother went nuts in one of their camps. He was taken away and when he finally got back he was never the same man again. They had broken his spirit up there in northern Ontario. He could never get over the injustice of his treatment, the falseness of his hope in this new world.(76)

The passing of an Order-in-Council which provided for the incarceration of "enemy aliens" resulted in the arrest of thousands of recent immigrants, many of whom were guilty of nothing more than being out of work. Hundreds who had emigrated to Canada from Galicia and Bukovina were branded "Austro-Hungarian" and thus became automatically subject to investigation and surveillance, if not imprisonment. Those who were imprisoned found themselves sequestered in one of twenty-four camps and receiving stations set up across the Dominion.(77) One of these was established at Fort Henry, Kingston, on August 18, 1914.(78) Occupied by prisoners-of-war (POW's) and "enemy aliens" until it was closed on May 3, 1917, the Fort Henry camp eventually became a prison for scores

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(75) On August 3, 1914 Bishop Nicolas Budka, the Ruthenian ecclesiastic of western Canada issued a pro-Austrian Pastoral Letter in which he declared that "All the Austrian subjects ought to be at home in a position to defend our native country, our dear brothers and sisters, our nation. Whoever will get a call to join the colours ought to immediately go to defend the endangered Fatherland." Budka's remarks aroused great debate within the "Austrian" and "Ruthenian" populace of Canada. Even though he substantially altered his remarks two days after the outbreak of the war, suggesting that "...Ruthenians, Canadians! It is our first duty to defend Canada..." the damage had been done. For overviews of this question see J. Castell Hopkins (ed.), The Canadian Annual Review of Public Affairs, 1914 (Toronto, 1914), pp. 275-286 ("Treatment of Enemy Aliens During the War"). Desmond Morton discusses the internment operations of 1913 to 1918 in a chapter of The Canadian General, Sir William Otter (Toronto, 1974), pp. 315-403.

(76) From an interview conducted in Toronto, February 14, 1978.

(77) Morton, op. cit., p. 5.

(78) Ibid.

of Germans, Turks, Austrians and Jews.(79) Of the numbers imprisoned in Fort Henry it is impossible to say just how many were of Ukrainian origin. One Ukrainian ex-prisoner (Figure 2) maintains that some eighty percent of the "Austrians" he knew while in the Fort were in fact Ukrainians.(80) According to The Daily British Whig, the men who were locked up in Fort Henry were

all foreigners of the class that work on the railroads in the summer and in the factories and nowhere in the winter.(81)

The number of Ukrainians incarcerated in the Fort will likely never be known. Yet it is probably accurate to say that this concentration of men formed the largest population of Ukrainians to have assembled in Kingston, even if they did so under duress and for only a relatively short period. One of the internees of Fort Henry recalled that

there were a few Ukrainians who lived in Kingston while I was in Fort Henry. They worked in the factories down there, I think. In town. But I didn't know any of them. We were separated from the city and we never got to go there. No one ever showed up to visit us. People weren't allowed to come and see us...and our people down there were probably too afraid to admit that they were Ukrainians lest they too might be arrested.(82)

It is now impossible to determine whether fear of recrimination suppressed any aspirations the local inhabitants may have had to express themselves as Ukrainians. Possibly they were not as "ignorant" as some have suggested, but were rather worldly-wise enough to

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(79) The Daily British Whig, November 13, 1914, and The Daily British Whig, September 12, 1914. Apparently the Jews were not treated as harshly as other "Austrians" in Fort Henry. It was reported that three Austrian Jews were given parole from Fort Henry so that they could attend Jewish New Year Services in Kingston. Isaac Cohen of the city had interceded in their behalf. The newspaper headline noted that "Jews in Kingston help their people up in Fort". There is no evidence to suggest that the Ukrainians in the Fort ever received any such aid from local fellow countrymen.

(80) Interview conducted in Toronto, February 14, 1978.

(81) The Daily British Whig, December 10, 1914.

(82) Interview conducted in Toronto, February 14, 1978.

avoid being identified as Ukrainian thereby escaping maltreatment. Retreat from an ethnic identification can express knowledge of the possibly unpleasant repercussions such identification might engender.

The public of Kingston was generally disinterested both in the prisoners kept in Fort Henry and in the sentiments of the immigrants residing in Kingston. This does not necessarily reflect an ignorance of developments in Eastern Europe, throughout Canada or in the Fort itself. The Daily British Whig carried numerous articles about the "Austrians" being imprisoned in Fort Henry. For example, the following story was recorded in the September 21, 1914 issue of the paper:

200 War Prisoners/Are Now Confined in  
Old Fort Henry/Twenty More Arrived Today/  
Those Who Do Not Behave are Placed in  
the Dungeon

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Fort Henry has a population of about 200 prisoners of war who have been rounded up by the militia in all parts of the province.

On Saturday the population at the Fort was increased by about twenty men as a result of the arrival of the military escort from near Sault Ste. Marie. The prisoners of war who are about the roughest lot of men pulled in so far, were in charge of ten militia men. They were brought to the city and then into the Fort from the west and were kept in a special room.

While at the Fort the prisoners are compelled to behave themselves. Two Austrians who have been giving the police some trouble have been placed in close confinement and will be kept there until they learn to behave...(83)

Other stories about "Austrians" followed. From 1914 to 1917 well over a dozen stories were filed about the Fort and its inmates (e.g., October 5, 1914; September 22, 1914; May 4, 1917). Yet no correspondence was printed from Kingstonians relating to stories in The Daily British Whig about the nature of the internment camp or its purposes. No one ever visited the Fort to interview any of those interned there. The most concerted interest expressed by many Kingstonians occurred on May 4, 1917, when "hundreds of people" watched the prisoners entrain

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(83) The Daily British Whig, September 21, 1914.

for transport to other camps such as Kapuskasing and Petawawa.<sup>(84)</sup> Many residents of Kingston paused to watch this procession of guarded men move into the waiting trains. At this time some empathy was shown for these men. A female bystander, watching the Prisoners-of-War board their transport, commented sympathetically on the "bunch of poor fellows". A local newspaper reporter, catching her remark, was less understanding. He published a short note in The Daily British Whig scolding the unnamed lady and suggesting that her remark, "got me, all right. They should be glad that all their enemies are being interned."<sup>(85)</sup> Clearly, there was little feeling for these POW's among the general public. The Daily British Whig carried not one editorial or article suggesting that their incarceration was in any way unjust or unreasonable. The shock registered by a few of the onlookers at seeing these men being transferred suggests that there may have been no idea of what was happening in the Fort.

Critical reporting on Canadian government policy came only late in the war years when The Daily British Whig editorialized on The War Times Election Act (1917). For example, the September 7, 1917 issue of The Daily British Whig carried an article in which it was said that "It is quite probable that if this proposal becomes law the alleged 'foreigners' and hitherto 'naturalized Canadians' will bear their reproach meekly, but they will have sown in their hearts the seeds of a bitterness that can never be extinguished. The man whose honour has been mistrusted, and who has been singled out for national humiliation, will remember it and sooner or later it will have to be atoned for". Yet the paper was also not above reprinting less sympathetic views with regards to immigrants and the POW's. For example, on November 21, 1918 the following headline appeared on page 1:

Canada for the Canadians - Out with the Huns!

An article followed, condemning those in power who had allowed "much of the choicest land in the west" to be acquired by "enemy aliens". These people, the article suggested, should be "rooted out" for they were "beaten and discredited in Europe" and thus must not be allowed to "flourish and prosper here!" "A British Canada for British Canadians!", it concluded, was desirable. "Out with the Huns!" This was the sentiment.

On occasion The Daily British Whig reported on the settlement of the Canadian west by Ruthenians and Galicians.<sup>(86)</sup>

(84) The Daily British Whig, May 4, 1917.

(85) Ibid.

(86) The Daily British Whig, November 21, 1911.

The battle on the Eastern Front and the Ukrainian Revolution (1917-1921) were accurately detailed. For example, The Daily British Whig of December 20, 1917 carried as a front page headline:

A State of Siege is Now Proclaimed/  
There is Trouble in Petrograd/The  
Ukraine Rada Will Not Agree to an  
Ultimatum Issued by the Bolsheviki

On December 25, 1917 the same newspaper related how the Bolsheviki troops were "declining to attack Ukrainians and permitting the Cossacks to disarm them without resistance". Coverage was also later accorded to the activities of the nationalist, General Symon Petliura, the "Ukrainian Leader", and the ongoing fighting in Ukraine.<sup>(87)</sup> Maps of Ukraine, encompassing much of the Eastern Front, were regularly carried in the paper.<sup>(88)</sup> Place names were not always correctly spelled, nor were the differences between such diverse groups as the Russians, Bolsheviki, Cossacks and Ukrainians made clear. Regardless of this confusion, however, the fact remains that Kingstonians did have a remarkably accurate coverage of Ukrainian affairs both nationally and internationally. An astute reader of the press probably could have related these diverse pieces of information and come to an understanding of the ethnic identity of the "Austrians" in the Fort, the Ruthenians in western Canada, and the Ukrainians in Eastern Europe.<sup>(89)</sup> Yet no one seems to have done so, for The Daily British Whig failed to carry a single story linking these seemingly separate peoples. Instead, these groups were viewed as distinct ethnic entities. The local immigrants,

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(87) The Daily British Whig, August 22, 1917.

(88) Ibid., March 9, 1918.

(89) Even though the inmates of the Fort were denied access to sources of topical information (e.g., The Daily British Whig carried a story on October 29, 1914 suggesting that the prisoners in the Fort were "Hungry for War News") some managed sporadically to smuggle in a paper. The information gleaned from these newspapers was so complete that one internee recalls, "In Canada I knew more about conditions in Ukraine than many people over there did. Even when I was in Fort Henry I knew about the rise and fall of the Central Rada, about the course of the war, everything.... We were well informed over here. Regrettably the West didn't believe its own press, or in us. They are guilty for this and will yet learn the mistake they made then, and pay for it!" Interview conducted in Toronto, February 14, 1978. For another individual's account of internment see Philip Yasnowskyj's remarks in Harry Piniuta's work (op. cit.), pp. 179-195.

if they were even aware of the confusion rampant in the local newspaper, made no recorded public effort to correct the situation. They preferred the quiet existence they led in the city.(90)

No stimulus in Kingston compelled either a public manifestation or private acceptance of a distinctively Ukrainian ethnic identification. Something was missing from the environment in which the earliest immigrants lived and worked--some factor which could develop among them a consciousness of group solidarity based on the articulation of a distinctly Ukrainian ethnicity.

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(90) See also L. Y. Luciuk, Internment Operations. The Role of Old Fort Henry in World War I, Delta Minibooks, Kingston, 1980.



### III

#### UKRAINIAN EMIGRATION IN THE INTERWAR YEARS

Canadian commitments in World War I so taxed available manpower that internment policy was reviewed.<sup>(1)</sup> A parole system providing many of the imprisoned "Austrians" with employment in the mining and timber camps of northern Ontario or in the munitions factories of larger eastern centres such as Toronto was instituted.<sup>(2)</sup> For those who remained behind in the camps, such as at Petawawa, work on a day-to-day basis became compulsory. Whereas compulsory labour did meet with resistance, there is evidence to suggest that for many of the POW's work was a welcome relief from the otherwise unrelieved monotony of confinement.<sup>(3)</sup> A few escapes occurred.<sup>(4)</sup> Life for those men who had been granted parole improved, for not only were they now able to leave the tedium of life in the camps but those who did their daily quota of work were even able to earn pocket money. Restrictions were relaxed; often the only thing limiting the internee's freedom was an oath he was expected to make to his new employer. One such parolee said,

All I had to do was promise to work hard and not try to escape. I didn't mind swearing to that. Besides I was up in the bush. Where I could have escaped to wasn't worth breaking out for. Besides the guy I worked for was a nice man. He trusted us.<sup>(5)</sup>

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(1) Desmond Morton, The Canadian General, Sir William Otter (Toronto, 1974), pp. 340-341.

(2) Interview conducted in Toronto, February 14, 1978.

(3) Ibid.

(4) See Major-General Sir William Otter, Internment Operations 1914-1920, pp. 7, 12. In this report it is noted that an "incipient insurrection" had been easily quelled and that at least six prisoners were "killed by gunshot" while attempting to escape. Three of these were "Austrians" by the names of John Bauzek, Iwan Gregeraszczuk [Hryhoryshchuk] (See fig. 3) and Andrew Grapko.

(5) Interview conducted in Toronto, February 14, 1978.

The freedom to work in the bush of northern Ontario was preferable to the guarded confinement of a cell in Fort Henry.

The mutual advantages accruing from the parole system were noted in Major-General Sir William Otter's report on the internment operations. He wrote of the release system that:

[p]ower is given by the Hague Rules for the paroling or releasing of interned prisoners upon certain conditions and during the years 1916 and 1917 when the most strenuous call for reinforcements was made by the Allies, the depletion of men in many of the large corporations of the country was so keenly felt that application made for the services of our prisoners to supply the want, and as many of these were suitable for the purpose some 6,000 of Austrian nationality were released from confinement on signing a "parole" which demanded loyalty and obedience to the laws and a periodical report to the nearest police authority. The system proved a great advantage to the organizations short of labour, and save with a very few exceptions, all those given freedom complied with the terms of their undertaking. (6)

Although far from normal, the new conditions were acceptable for some of those who had been interned.

With the termination of World War I many internees who had been employed in war-related industries were released. Later, many of those who had been paroled for work in the lumber and mining camps, or for use as railroad navvies, lost their jobs as a result of agitation by some of the returned Canadian servicemen. The sentiments of these veterans and a not inconsiderable number of Canadian chauvinists supported a form of "British" and "white man's" Canada: a country where the "foreigners" would not be welcome whether they had previously settled or were possible future immigrants. (7) But Canada, once again finding

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(6) Otter, op. cit., p. 13.

(7) So vehement was this Red Scare and anti-alien sentiment that, in 1919, the Borden government was deluged with petitions demanding the mass deportation of enemy aliens. This policy was rejected because of the numbers involved (88,000 registered enemy aliens, not including some 63,784 Russian subjects resident in Canada) and the potentially serious international repercussions.

herself in need of manpower to develop her natural resources and assist her expanding industries, realized that traditional internal sources of labour were badly depleted and that immigrants from "preferred"(8) sources such as Great Britain were unavailable in sufficient numbers. The nation once again looked to the "non-preferred" areas of Central and Eastern Europe for immigrants. Ignoring the xenophobia of certain segments of the public, the Canadian government proceeded to encourage emigration from those lands.

The new work force had inherent advantages. No maintenance costs were involved before immigration, and the immigrants would be both docile and cheap. Linguistic and cultural differences would keep the newcomers and the "native white" Canadian workers apart and competition for jobs would facilitate keeping both in check.(9) Canada thus embarked on a course of action aimed at

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(8) Europe was divided into two categories - "preferred" and "non-preferred" nations. Immigrants coming from the first category were handled by the Department of Immigration and treated according to a specific set of rules. Those from "non-preferred" sources were handled by the railway companies and their agents. The Railway Agreement (1925) ensured that Canada's labour needs would be dealt with. See Lysenko (op. cit.).

(9) It has even been suggested that discrimination was sometimes deliberately fostered in order to prevent any development of group solidarity among particular classes. However, the cultural differences between the dominant Anglo-Celtic population of Canada and the incoming Ukrainian and other immigrants were sufficient to ensure friction. "White Anglo-Saxon workers" were all too ready to discriminate against "bohunks" who "undercut the white man's wages". While it is true that the immigrant labour force was susceptible to pressures which ensure acceptance of the status quo, compliance with the dictates of the employers, and low wages, this susceptibility was not by choice but was rather from a need to make ends meet. The heterogeneity of the labour force in Canada ensured a long delay in development of any solidarity between immigrant workers and the "native" labour force.

See Bernard Bernier, Michael Elbaz and Gilles Lavigne, Ethnicite et lutte de classes, unpublished paper, May 1975-November 1976. Presented at Canadian Ethnic Studies Conference, Quebec City, 1977.

creating within her boundaries a new and large industrial reserve labour army,(10) for use where needed. The first newcomers had been funnelled to western Canada where needs for labour were then most pressing. Later immigrants were sent to the northern camps or into the expanding industries of Canada's eastern cities. The second immigration was composed of those who were both malleable and geographically mobile, and they proved to be especially useful within those sectors of the Canadian economy that could only have survived where workers' wages were maintained at artificially low levels. As the political awareness of many members of this second immigration was not very developed they were ideally suited for the creation of a bulwark against the spread of "radical" ideas among the immigrant working class. Clifford Sifton, again active on behalf of those promoting immigration, remarked on just this point, saying that

what this country requires is not quantity but quality in its immigration...the peasant of Central Europe, in his sheepskin coat, and his large and ever growing family, is the sort of immigrant Canada needs...the very last sort of immigrant who should be induced to come to Canada is the man who wants to work at a trade or occupation which is under the direct control of...radical trade-unionism....(11)

In other words, the greater the number of manipulable workers, untouched by "radicals" of whatever ilk, so much the better. Quality, for Sifton at least, seems to have meant immigrant complacency.

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(10) It has been suggested that reserve labour served two important functions in Canada during this period. First of all it helped to curb the wages of all workers, even if not uniformly. The mere presence of reserve labour tended to inhibit any organizational activities on the part of disgruntled workers. Who would contemplate action against "the factory owners if you knew damn well they could replace you with any of a dozen guys waiting outside the plant?" The "anti-Bolshevik" attitudes of many of the Ukrainian immigrants was also favourably regarded as they were ideally suited for the creation of a bulwark against the spread of "radical" ideas within the immigrant and working class districts of many Canadian cities. While it is probably true that there were a few foreign subversives at work in Canada during this period the basic branding of all critics as "bolsheviks" was certainly unfounded. See Bernard Bernier, Michael Elbaz and Gilles Lavigne, op. cit.

(11) Observer, Vegreville, Alberta, March 29, 1922.

The aspirations of the migrants themselves do not appear to have been taken into consideration. These immigrants were human material to be used whenever and wherever their labour might be required. They were often allowed to take only menial jobs within Canada, jobs which the Anglo-Celts refused. Forced by circumstances beyond their control, the immigrants often accepted this fate, although not without a certain resentment. They most certainly knew that their labour was being exploited, and they did not address the situation with equanimity.

Wherever there was hard work, they paid well. Simple enough, eh? The English, those lazy hotel-goers, those bums, they wouldn't do it. Not them! They wouldn't give us a good word. Even the more intelligent ones of the Canadians looked down on us and told each other that we couldn't help being what we were - asses! But these fellows didn't do any hard work themselves. Our people would work anywhere. They didn't care where as long as they got the money. We had to live like that.(12)

Whereas it was not true that all these immigrants who came to Canada were accorded a low status,(13) the

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(12) Interview conducted in Kingston, November 10, 1977.

It should be noted that immigrant labour radicalism has discernable roots as early as the pre-World War I period. For example, in 1907 a Ukrainian Socialist Labour Committee was formed in Winnipeg, an organization responsible for printing Chervony Prapor ("Red Flag"). In February of 1910 an even more militant grouping, the Ukrainian Social Democratic Federation was established whose newspaper was Robotchny Narod ("Working People"). The Ukrainian Labour and Farmer Temple Association, formed in Winnipeg in 1917, was the predecessor of those organizations which were to later rally Ukrainian socialists in Kingston. Its newspaper, Ukrainian Labour News, succeeded Robotchny Narod.

(13) There is systematic evidence suggesting that immigrant cohorts are differentially located in the occupational structure of Canada. The generally held view is that each immigrant cohort moves into the stratification system at its lowest point. This view is increasingly being challenged. A noted student of ethnicity, Stanley Lieberman, has pointed out that to understand the occupational concentrations of immigrants it is necessary to consider both the variety of skills, experience and training which the immigrants brought as well as the specific working opportunities which were available at the time of their arrival.

See Stanley Lieberman, Ethnic Patterns in American Cities (New York, 1963). For a view of the position of Ukrainians in Canada see W. Roman Petryshyn's "The Ukrainian Canadians in Social Transition", in Manoly R.

majority of them did spend time at occupations which were amongst the most monotonous, uncomfortable or dangerous then available. As one of them recalls:

When I came to Canada, that was in 1927, no one cared for us. If you died like some dog in the street, or got killed like a dog, believe me nobody cared. All they wanted in them days were strong backs and weak minds. They wanted muscles, cheap labour. Boy, I'll tell you, that's why immigration to Canada was allowed.(14)

According to another,

Canada was a rich country even then, but they just didn't care if you died.... You were just an immigrant, a "foreigner" for them, very easily replaced and so expendable.(15)

Whatever different experiences individual immigrants might have had, the overwhelming majority found life in Canada to be a great deal less like paradise than they had been led to expect.

I'll tell you the truth. It was a hard life then. I was only twenty-three. Younger than you are right now.... We'd all get together, young Ukrainians, boys and girls. We'd go to the park and try to speak to each other for comfort. That was it. Then we'd go back to our rooms, to our beds and sit and wonder. And many times we'd cry. We'd ask questions like why did we come to this country? Why? You know you'll always be drawn to the land of your birth, to what you once knew. Yet you were cut away from it all, perhaps forever. I suppose our suffering is all best forgotten now. But you, you remember it.(16)

Disillusionment was prompted by degrading and exploitive conditions at work, and by the settlement plans of the Canadian government both of which fell short of

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Lupul (ed.) (1978), Ukrainian Canadians, Multiculturalism and Separatism: An Assessment, University of Alberta Press, Edmonton.

(14) Interview conducted in Kingston, November 17, 1977.

(15) Ibid., February 26, 1978.

(16) Ibid.

many immigrants' expectations. Many of those arriving in this second phase of immigration were located wherever it was felt they would be of the most use to Canada. When the railroad needed extra workers, the required numbers of immigrants were forwarded to the appropriate locations. That this was a deliberate and far from clandestine policy of the authorities seems clear. For example, The Daily British Whig carried several articles such as the following:

Immigration Only Hope for the CPR

The CPR was Built Up by Carefully Selected Settlers

Montreal - March 22: E. W. Beatty, K.C. President of the CPR said that without immigration the prospects of CN lines were, in his opinion, hopeless and any legislation which would stem the tide of desirable immigrants must inevitably pile up further deficits.

It was, he said, an aggressive immigration propaganda that built up the CP railroad.... (17)

In the process of routing immigrants to western Canada, families were often temporarily separated and friends parted. Personal preferences were rarely heeded. The tales of bitterness and despair are numerous. One immigrant, who eventually got to Kingston, recalls:

I didn't have any family here in Canada. Still don't. Only Mike, my closest friend. He got here before me and lived in Kingston. He's my closest and so I wanted to get to him. But they wouldn't let me. The very same day that I arrived in Canada they put me straight on a train direct to Winnipeg. We went by way of a northern route, passing Kapuskasing as I recall. They sent us that way to make sure that we didn't get off the train in southern Canada. There were lots of people milling about Winnipeg, near the train station. Who wanted to go and work on a farm for \$10 a month? You've got to remember that most of us had paid around \$200 just to get to Canada. So working for that much was a bit ridiculous, especially as it was hard work and sometimes the farmer wouldn't pay up. When I got to Canada it was therefore very hard for me. No friends. I hung around with a few buddies I'd met on the boat ride over. We just sat around

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(17) The Daily British Whig, March 22, 1921.

Winnipeg, not knowing what to do. Didn't know the language, and so we were used by all sorts of people. I'll always remember my first Christmas in Canada. I was very hungry, so I went walking just to take my mind off the pain in my guts. Christmas-time it was. I stopped near a church and stood outside, by their big iron fence. Just watching. There were lots of children about, dressed warmly, playing and laughing. It reminded me of the old country. And I stood there and remembered all I had left. And I cried. Yes, tears streamed down my face. A man's tears. But I went on. I had to. I looked and I left. There was nothing else for me to do there. I was alone and unwanted. Why, I don't know. The story of our lives here.(18)

The financial strain of these settlement policies added to the burden. Set down in an inhospitable land, the immigrant oftentimes had barely enough to survive. Finding no "streets paved with gold", many immigrants were hardly able to manage, much less send money back to those left behind.(19) Many immigrants were never heard of again after they had settled in Canada, having been killed in some mining or lumber camp accident. For some, indeed, the only record of their passing in Canada was a notice some friend placed in a Ukrainian-language newspaper. One such reads:

Stefan Chahow,  
c/o Shevlin Clarke Company  
Camp #11, Flanders, Ontario.

In Flanders there today occurred a horrible incident. In Shevlin Clarke Company there worked one Ostafetch Kolodiuk. On the 14th day of March the aforementioned worker was killed by a tree. The deceased came from the village of Dzvinnyaku, Zastivynya in Bukovina. The deceased worked in Shevlin Clarke Company Camp #11. Anyone wishing to know more about the death of deceased should write to the address above.(20)

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(18) Interview conducted in Kingston, November 8, 1977.

(19) Interview conducted in Kingston, October 26, 1977.  
See H. Potrebenko's No Streets of Gold: A Social History of Ukrainians in Alberta (Vancouver, 1977).

(20) Ukrainian Labour News, March 24, 1922.



The movement of immigrants into Canada was generally strictly controlled. From the point of view of the authorities all immigrants had to be kept within proper channels of flow from the moment of their departure in Europe to their port of arrival in Canada, and subsequently. After travel in conditions which one man described as "having been fit for cattle only"<sup>(21)</sup> the immigrants were quickly moved onto waiting railway cars and shipped west. The tickets they had purchased in Europe already bore inscriptions specifying their destinations within Canada. Provision was rarely made for the desires of the immigrants themselves. Many ended up in Winnipeg, at that time a major railway centre for western Canada.<sup>(22)</sup> There, most of the immigrants were divided into smaller groups prior to being taken further west or north. Winnipeg became a capital of the Ukrainians during this period, retaining this status until the post-World War II period when Toronto became a focal point for a new immigration.<sup>(23)</sup> Detraining anywhere other than at one's specified destination point in Canada was specifically forbidden and railway company guards were detailed to ensure that immigrants remained in their cars. The immigrants were just so many economic units to be used as inputs into the Canadian system and to be placed when and where Canada needed them.

Fortunately for some, the intricate bureaucratic and logistic organization required to supervise and regulate the flow of thousands of immigrants into Canada often contained loopholes and weak points. Guards could be bribed, mistakes were made and relatives might arrange one's transport to a specific locale. Many an immigrant, travelling to Winnipeg managed to detrain at Montreal or Toronto. Others found their movements in Winnipeg less strictly controlled than they had been while en route. Many walked away from the receiving station in Winnipeg and made their way into a Ukrainian enclave in the north end of that city, there finding shelter. Such ethnic neighbourhoods, like the North End of Winnipeg, may have appeared unsanitary and overcrowded to Canadian observers. Nevertheless, for many immigrants they provided social, economic and psychological sustenance. Furthermore, during this period a network of contacts developed among the Ukrainian immigrants, with news of the arrival of individuals from a particular village being spread to those who might be

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(21) Interview conducted in Kingston, February 26, 1978.

(22) See David J. Bercuson, Confrontation at Winnipeg: Labour, Industrial Relations, and the General Strike (Montreal, 1974).

(23) P. Krawchuk, The Ukrainians in Winnipeg's First Century (Toronto, 1974).

interested. In such a way, more than one family was reunited in Canada.

Detraining was forbidden and also costly. Jumping train meant forfeiting the remaining portion of one's ticket. Nevertheless, many took the chance and managed to break out of the constraints of the system. Those who did recall the event with a pride and amusement, downplaying the fears which they may have had at the time:

I had to buy a ticket all the way out to Winnipeg. But I ran away, ha, ha! I didn't want to work on some farm! And besides my brother and some friends had already made their way back to Montreal. I decided it was better to be amongst them than it was to try and make a fortune in the west. So I ran. It wasn't as easy as it sounds, getting away, but I was one of the lucky ones. I'll tell you how it happened. When the train got to Montreal we all got off to stretch our legs. That was allowed. I saw a few boys and girls around me. They were Ukrainians. They were talking amongst themselves, that's how I knew. I went up to them, saying "Are you Montrealers?" They said they were. So I told them that I had a brother in Montreal and asked them how I could work it so that I'd be able to stay. They wanted to know whether or not I had an address. I did. So they told me that if I could make it out to the street they'd be waiting for me there and would drive me to my brother's house. But they couldn't get me off the train itself. There were police guarding us...a high wire fence surrounded us and all that sort of thing. Well, the conductor was already telling us to get back on board. I went out and started to look around. How to escape? To make matters worse for me there were two policemen, both of them giving me the eye! But at that very moment, the train let off a burst of steam. The steam separated us, as a fog. I took my chance. Ducked out right under the train and out a gate in the fence where those people had told me to go. And there they were! Waiting as promised. And that damned train left and I was free! Ha, ha! (24)

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(24) Interview conducted in Kingston, February 26, 1978.

Many, finding life uncomfortable in Canada, voluntarily returned to Ukraine. Some had managed to save enough with which to re-establish themselves in the "old country". Others returned impoverished even after years spent in Canada. A number were forcibly deported either on the grounds of supposed "radicalism" or because of their destitute and unemployed status. Xenophobic outbursts were particularly strong in periods when "foreigners" were blamed for "bolshevik" and "subversive" activities, such as the time of the Winnipeg General Strike (May 15 to June 28, 1919). For example, the Daily News Chronicle of Port Arthur carried the following remarks on June 13, 1919:

Alien enemies have taken an active part in every disturbance that has occurred in Winnipeg. It is time the authorities rounded up every man of alien blood who cannot show himself worthy of citizenship, and send him back to the hovel from which he sprang. (25)

The Free Press, writing of the 27,000 registered "alien enemies" residing in the Winnipeg District, referred to them as "Reds" and offered the following vignette:

Choose between the  
Soldiers who protected you  
and the  
Aliens who threaten you! (26)

Within a period of some two years (1930 to 1932) some 15,368 individuals were deported from Canada. (27) What percentage of these were Ukrainian is not known but again the needs of the Canadian system prevailed. When labourers were needed they had been allowed in. When their services were no longer required, or when they were suspected of harbouring "radical" opinions they were unceremoniously deported.

Advertisements in Ukrainian-language newspapers printed in Canada give some idea of the sentiments of those choosing re-emigration. The following announcement is typical:

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(25) Daily News Chronicle, June 13, 1919, Port Arthur.

(26) Free Press, June 4, 5, 1919, Winnipeg.

(27) See M. Marunchak, The Ukrainian Canadians: A History (Winnipeg, 1970), p. 372.

Have for sale a restaurant in a good location near a factory. I am selling it for the reason that I want to return to the old country. Whoever would like to buy it should contact me at the address below. Shall sell cheaply.

John Sawchuk,  
271 Seventh Avenue,  
New Toronto, Ontario. (28)

By 1922 immigration from Ukrainian lands had been resumed. Approximately 70,000 Ukrainians emigrated to Canada between 1922 and 1929. (29) Significantly close to one-half of these immigrants eventually located within the industrializing cities of eastern Canada. (30)

While it is clear that forces within Canada seeking to induce emigration were of importance to the timing and nature of the flow, it is likewise certain that conditions within Ukrainian territories were of such a nature as to prove conducive for emigration. Egress to sanctuaries could have been nothing less than welcome to those engaged in the Sisyphean struggles of the Ukrainian Revolution (1917-1921) and whose lands, by 1921, were subject to four occupying powers (e.g., Soviet Russia, republican Poland, monarchist Rumania and the democratic "succession state" of Czechoslovakia). Not only had a great deal of damage been wrought across the face of the Ukrainian lands, but some one million inhabitants were left starving, there was a child mortality rate of fifty percent and approximately one out of every five peasants was left homeless. In a land where some 86 percent of the populace was still rural, these statistics reveal not just temporary hardships but rather a shattering impoverishment. (31) And certainly enough of an inducement to emigrate for even the most stoic agrarian.

When the Canadian government expressed a desire to renew immigration, particularly through the services of a Canadian citizen of Ukrainian origin, Joseph Dyck, great interest was aroused in Ukraine. Emigration increased quickly thereafter. A "Ukrainian Emigrants Aid Committee"

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(28) Ukrainian Labour News, January 14, 1922.

(29) Marunchak, op. cit., p. 372.

(30) Ibid., p. 350.

(31) Figures taken from Nestor Makuch (1979), "The Influence of the Ukrainian Revolution on Ukrainians in Canada, 1917-1922" in Journal of Ukrainian Graduate Studies, Vol. 4, No. 1, Toronto.

was formed in Lviv in 1924 and in that same year "The St. Raphael's Ukrainian Immigrant Welfare Association" was formed in Winnipeg.<sup>(32)</sup> The mutually supportive work of these organizations was of great importance in easing the barriers to a flow of immigrants. Of course, the encouragement of the Canadian government strongly influenced the success of their efforts.

Reflecting the rise of a number of competing definitions of what it means to be a Ukrainian in Canada, the development of a variety of Dominion-wide Ukrainian and Ukrainian-Slavic ethnic organizations between 1918 and 1939 was probably the most fundamental process to occur within what has been called an "Era of Developmental Processes".<sup>33</sup> A number of novel forms of ethnic culture crystallized during this period, in response to the immigrants' desire to adapt to the "New World" and their predecessors. New forms were required to represent the newcomers to the Canadian public,<sup>(34)</sup> while at the same time an effort was made to come and some modus vivendi with the members of an antecedent immigration which had lost touch with the conditions of the "old country".<sup>(35)</sup> While possessed of a

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(32) Marunchak, op. cit., pp. 365-369.

(33) Ibid., p. 788.

(34) For a review of the various Ukrainian and Ukrainian-Slavic ethnic organizations which were established during this period see Marunchak, op. cit., pp. 393-423. Among the most important of the groups established were the following--Ukrainian Labour and Farmer Temple Association (Winnipeg, 1917); the Workers' Benevolent Association (Winnipeg, 1922); the United Hetman Association (Toronto, 1924); the Ukrainian Self-Reliance League (Edmonton/Saskatoon, 1927); the Ukrainian National Organization (Winnipeg/Edmonton/Saskatoon, 1928); and the Ukrainian Catholic Brotherhood (Saskatoon, 1931). The U.L.F.T.A. later became the Association of United Ukrainian Canadians with whom the Ukrainian Committee to Aid the Fatherland (Toronto, 1941) was closely affiliated. The Ukrainian Canadian Committee, which is composed of a number of politically "centre to right wing" from amongst the aforementioned groups was formed in Winnipeg in 1940.

(35) The sentiment is often expressed by members of the different immigrations that those who came before them "had not seen what happened in Ukraine after they left" and that consequently their predecessors in Canada "often didn't even believe what we told them about life in the old country". The result of this immigrational and partially generational difference was that the members of the most recent immigrations would often refer to the others as "old timers" ("they were old idiots!"). Of course, those who had been in Canada for some time tended to look upon

rudimentary consciousness of a "corporate and national" Ukrainian identity (of an ethnos) these immigrants nevertheless had no precisely defined or universally accepted definition of just what being a Ukrainian in Canada might entail. For some it meant being a member of the "Slavic race"--of that group of people which had brought to the world the first seemingly successful socialist revolution and so ushered in a process of liberation for all mankind. For other immigrants, being a Ukrainian meant being a young activist, fighting the tyranny of a Polish or Bolshevik regime. A few regarded their Ukrainian identity with indifference, while for others it literally became a life-or-death proposition.

Whether inclusive or exclusive, an awareness of being Ukrainian nevertheless failed to bring with it a full understanding of just what the implications of such a state-of-mind might be. And there were no ready answers to this puzzle, no facile solutions. Those few partial solutions which existed were themselves intensely debated. Furthering the difficulties which this immigration encountered was the general disinterest with which many members of the antecedent immigration greeted all of this soul-searching. Even when the Canadian government formally recognized Ukrainian as a distinct category within the Canada Census,<sup>(36)</sup> the general public remained indifferent, even hostile. Defining the relevance of being a Ukrainian within Canada was left as a task for the Ukrainian immigrants. As this immigration, like all others, encountered a distinctive situation in Canada, a particular range of responses was elicited from within the immigrants' ranks, these outcomes often being at variance with earlier ethnic forms. And so cleavages developed between the immigrants of the first and second immigrations. Even though a few individuals did "slip" between the two immigrations, the over-all boundaries were relatively set. Despite the best of intentions,<sup>(37)</sup> rancorous conflict set in.

As an environment which is conducive to the generation and/or reinforcement of an ethnic community need not necessarily produce any specific type of ethnic behaviour, particularly since all social surroundings change through time, a variety of definitions of Ukrainian arose during this period. These so exacerbated factionalism within the

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the newcomers as "parasites" who "had no idea of what life in Canada was like twenty years ago and so came in being very stupid". Different concepts of the meaning of Ukrainian identity in Canada limited ties between members of the different immigrations.

(36) Census of Canada, 1921, Ottawa.

(37) Interview conducted in Kingston, October 26, 1977.

Ukrainian populace of Canada that any possibility for future rapprochement was eliminated. Each organization was forced to take positions on the role of Ukrainians within Canadian society, on the state of affairs prevailing in Ukraine and in relation to which methods and ideologies (secular and religious) the immigrants and their descendants should adopt in Canada. Ethnicity, which for the first immigrants from Ukraine to arrive in Canada had been a non-specific, rather informal attempt to replicate "old country" conditions in the "New World" (and thus adapt to the "New" through the "old") became, for those of succeeding immigrations a cause, an ideological stance embellished with the 'sanctity' of a modern nationality and identification. To be a Ukrainian meant to have taken an activist position in Ukraine. The "revolutionary" nature of identification as a Ukrainian is revealed in the following story.

Let me recall one incident for you. This happened aboard a train travelling from Cracow to Lviv during a Christmas holiday. The train car was a bit crowded. On board was a young woman with her small son. Being a handsome and energetic child, this young boy (4 or 5 years old I'd say) ran all through the car, endearing himself to the passengers. Well an elderly Polish woman, an aristocratic lady, was delighted by the boy's cheerfulness and vitality. She began playing a bit with him, even sitting him down on her knees. Then she asked him, "Child, who are you?" And he looked at her with his youthful smile and said, "Well madam I am a Ukrainian!" She couldn't believe what she had heard. She was shocked, exclaiming "What? So young and already a Ukrainian! I can't believe it!" For you see for the Poles whoever called himself a Ukrainian was a revolutionary, a haidamak, a bandit of sorts. On the other hand, if you called yourself a Russyn that was fine, for to call yourself that meant that you were just a khlop (peasant), peaceful, placid and behaved. For this elderly Polish lady to hear this young boy declare himself to be a Ukrainian was a horror for it meant to her that the child had already turned insurrectionist, radical, nationalist.(38)

To be a Ukrainian in Canada meant to be a particular sort of Ukrainian--socialist, monarchist, republican, integral nationalist, whatever--but it meant above all to take a stand as a politicized Ukrainian. Those only interested in maintaining overt cultural forms of ethnic identity (e.g., the Ukrainian folk arts tradition) were somewhat denigrated if this was the sole or even predominant focus of their identification as Ukrainians. As one activist remarked,

Sure, all that dancing and stuff is nice and all that. But of what use is it for

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(38) Interview conducted in Kingston, April 3, 1978.

us if we cannot do much more in Canada than sing and dance for the English? Are we clowns, entertainers and labourers and is that all there is to it?(39)

To be a Ukrainian in Canada one had to take a position as a Ukrainian within the host society, both publicly and privately. Of course, if one was able to employ the medium of Ukrainian cultural forms so much the better, for such representation could generate greater interest in Ukrainian affairs than blatantly political activities. Being a Ukrainian in Canada meant, above all, being something different from being a Ukrainian national--it was to be an "ethnic" attempting to convince the broader spectrum of the Canadian public both of the legitimacy of the Ukrainians as a national group (residing elsewhere) and of whatever particular sort of Ukrainian ethnicity one might be representing as being the one and only (or at least the most) legitimate form of Ukrainian identification.

The difference between the two immigrations so far dealt with is readily apparent. Members of the first immigration displayed few elements of any identification as Ukrainians, until some of them were concentrated in the mining and timber camps of northern Ontario, or moved into the cities of western Canada.(40) Those of the second immigration came into a Canada where they were much more quickly forced into enclaves. Therein their rudimentary awareness of the fact of being Ukrainians (a consciousness which arose as a result of a very particular confluence of historical factors in Ukraine) was coupled with the conditions of life in Canada to generate novel forms of Ukrainian ethnic identification.(41) The members of this second wave of immigration encountered a Canadian environ-

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(39) Interview conducted in Kingston, November 10, 1977.

(40) See O. T. Martynowych, "Early Ukrainian Canadian Socialists", Part I and II, in Journal of Ukrainian Graduate Studies, I, 1, 1976 and Vol. II, 1, 1977.

(41) Enclavic conditions were created because of the limited and costly nature of the public transportation system. This factor also prevented people leaving the enclave for recreational purposes. Four stimuli acted upon the clustered immigrants in such a way as to generate and/or reinforce consciousness of an intergroup solidarity.

1) Immigrants concentrated in a single factory or industry will likely have a relatively high degree of interpersonal association stemming from their work relationships.

2) The similarity of occupational status likely resulted in a similar economic status. To the degree that behaviour is associated with economic status we should



ment within which industrial development had concentrated both human and material resources in specific areas of cities, particularly in eastern Canada. Therein, immigrants who formed the basis of the labour force were compelled to share jobs, quarters and to depend on common institutions and services. All these factors, when combined, led to the formation of an intergroup solidarity. Common life styles, class interests, work relationships and a common residential area--all forced the immigrants to band together and eventually to institutionalize in order to gain recognition and to pursue common goals within an increasingly complex society. Ethnic consciousness is dependent upon the conditions in which individuals who come together find themselves. Any treatment of the historical geography of Ukrainians in Canada which fails to give credence to the processual character of ethnic identification--preferring a monolithic or statistical approach--ignores the testimony of individuals who can still be spoken to and downplays the influence of Canadian space upon these people. Just as in the "old country" so too in the "New", the surroundings in which people found themselves brought out particular ethnic Ukrainian identifications. As society changed, so too did the responses and allegiances of many people. Although affiliation with any one particular ethnicity is not always voluntary--it relates both to the perceived needs and aspirations of individuals and to the conditions within which they find themselves--it is not simply determined by these conditions. For while individuals and groups may very much be the product of the times in which they live and of the environments which spawned them, all human beings can evaluate information and react. What eventually emerges as a Ukrainian ethnicity reflects both the determinants of the environment and the preferences of individuals of varying character and intellect. And, as a consequence, being a Ukrainian within Canada is never the same from year to year, or generation to generation. Factionalism has become, if not inevitable, then at least one of the commonest aspects of life.

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therefore expect some similarity of life style. As one of the participants exclaimed, "Don't you understand? We were all of the same level down there in the swamp wards, all of the same basic type of people!"

3) When transportation was not readily available then industrial workers were forced to live near their places of employment and close to each other.

4) Similarity in occupation provided common social and economic interests. To the degree that occupational position is related to class consciousness one expects some degree of group solidarity among immigrant cohorts.

See William Yancey, Eugene Ericksen and Richard Juliani, "Emergent Ethnicity: A Review and Reformulation," in American Sociological Review, 41, 3, June 1976.

## IV

### UKRAINIAN IMMIGRANTS TO KINGSTON IN THE INTERWAR YEARS

Ukrainian immigrants had started arriving in Canada again by 1922, (1) although it was not until March of 1925 that the first member of this immigration, Sylvester Kotowich, settled in Kingston (2). Transient labourers may have settled in the city temporarily in the years 1914 to 1925, but there are no records to document this. As far as can be determined, none of the "Austrians" interned in Fort Henry were ever paroled to work in Kingston and none of this group appears to have settled in the city. (3)

In 1925 Kingston was a small eastern Ontario urban centre. With a population of 21,373 in 1921, (4) and few

(1) Of those interviewed for this study, ninety-nine percent claimed that they considered themselves to be Ukrainians before their emigration to Canada. Only one considered himself to be a Russyn. Interestingly enough that individual was born in Canada.

This high percentage claiming to have been conscious of their Ukrainian identity before emigration does not coincide with the available Canada Census data. Ten claimed to have been aware of their Ukrainian identities before emigration, yet the Canada Census material lists only three Ukrainians residing in the city by 1931. Yet all of the aforementioned were in Kingston between 1921 and 1931. Were they simply missed by Canada Census enumerators? Possibly those concerned had no fully articulated consciousness of their Ukrainian identity and so tended to reply to enumerators in terms of citizenship. In other words, being aware of one's Ukrainian origin did not necessarily mean that this identification would be made public. Perhaps these individuals were awaiting the right conditions within which to declare their allegiance to such an identification--in the meantime, many of them preferred to take the "safer" course of calling themselves by some better-known and therefore more acceptable label.

(2) Interview conducted in Kingston, November 10, 1977.

(3) Interview conducted in Toronto, February 14, 1978.

(4) Canada Census, Table 60, "Immigrants in Cities of 15,000 and over and their per cent proportion of total population", p. 373 (Ottawa, 1921).

industries requiring large numbers of unskilled labourers, the city had little to attract migrants moving in search of employment. Unskilled labourers were not overly needed in Kingston in the early interwar period. When a job did become available it would usually be filled by some permanent resident of the city<sup>(5)</sup> or by a relation of a plant worker. Kotowich, for example, came to Kingston from Montreal to fill a position made available to him by the owners of the Davis Tannery at the intervention of family members who had worked there even before World War I.<sup>(6)</sup> Other Ukrainians were similarly recruited for employment in this plant throughout this period.<sup>(7)</sup> The owners apparently trusted their Ukrainian employees, allowing them relative freedom in selecting potential employees. Those so sponsored tended to work especially hard, not only to ensure their own jobs but also to avoid jeopardizing the positions occupied by their sponsors. The owners seem to have been satisfied with this system, for the new employees tended to be relatively docile. Furthermore, they avoided labour activities which might threaten the "place of the boss".

...[N]o one got anything organized. No one tried to. People were too afraid to get something going which might get them fired. At that time there were only about three major industries in the city, so you didn't want to rock the boat and risk losing your employment. You had a family or at least yourself to support. And there was nothing like the welfare your generation lives off. So you couldn't afford to organize any movements. No union movement or anything like a labour organization ever emanated from the Davis Tannery when I was there. Despite the horrendous conditions in there, no one acted. No attacks against the social system which allowed that sort of plant to go on using its employees like it did ever got started nor were they even attempting to do such a thing...but I'd damned well tell you one thing. There was always a feeling, quite rampant, that the jobs were scarce and that the capitalists were to blame. Fellows like Davis would drive to work in their big Cadillacs, past all sorts

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(5) Interview conducted in Kingston, October 26, 1977.

(6) Ibid., November 10, 1977.

(7) Ibid., November 8, 1977.

of our slums, while the factory itself was doing a booming business. Our people naturally felt that there must be a better system, a better order in life than this ...why should they suffer so, while Davis and the other plutocrats on the south side of the city lived high on the hog? After all, we were making a few cents an hour then, while Davis was rich beyond all of the Ukrainians' dreams....(8)

As far as most Ukrainian migrants to the city of Kingston were concerned, the job market was relatively "closed" to transient and foreign labourers, unless they were lucky or had an "in" with the foremen of a plant and could arrange a job.(9) Such jobs were not always offered out of generosity--there was "gift giving" involved if one wanted to be assured of one's position in the plant. Two individuals recall that a bottle of whiskey every week was one means used to ensure a permanent job in the plant.

Kingston was thought to be a very "British and conservative" city by many of these East Europeans.(10) The city was small, hardly a conducive environment in which to organize any form of immigrant or working class group. In such a setting any activities which might antagonize "the City Fathers" would have been quickly detected and unpleasant recriminations might follow.(11) Having experienced the brunt of prejudice before, many of these Ukrainians were unwilling to "step out and face the boss in such an English city".(12) Seemingly, it was better to forget that one was involved in a job which few "English" would accept, that one lived in some of the least appealing neighbourhoods of the city, and that it was unlikely that one would ever be regarded as an equal by the "English". Realizing that the "English" thought of them as "strong backs and weak minds" many

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(8) Ibid., October 26, 1977.

(9) Ibid., November 9, 1977.

(10) The following figures, taken from Canada Census enumerations, substantiate these immigrants' intuitive remarks. In 1921 there were 891 Foreign Born as compared to 3,531 British immigrants in Kingston. In 1931 there were 1,093 Foreign Born as compared to 22,346 British Born. In 1941 there were 1,861 Foreign Born as compared to 51,862 British Born.

(11) Interview conducted in Kingston, October 26, 1977.

(12) Ibid., February 26, 1978.

immigrants nonetheless did not complain openly, at least in the early years of their residence in Canada, remembering the conditions they had left behind them in a war-torn Ukraine and what it would mean to be forced to return. As long as those who employed them remained paternalistic, the immigrants generally accepted the subtle insults and demeaning conditions. Bread for the table and some savings each month were the goals of many of these Ukrainian immigrants in their first years in Canada.(13)

Those who came to Kingston in the interwar period did so for a number of reasons. Many had been invited by relatives and friends. If someone agreed to undertake their support the authorities were often prepared to allow Ukrainians some freedom of movement within Canada. Many of those who came to Kingston had been guaranteed labour in a local plant.(14) Others had detrained while being moved from Montreal to Winnipeg. For some it was a matter of chance that they disembarked in Kingston, for others it was a matter of choice.(15) A few drifted into Kingston, following construction crews or coming in on "lake boats" which stopped at the Kingston Grain Elevator or at a local dry dock.(16) Some made friends in Kingston while spending the winter there, later found springtime labour (for instance, on local farms) and eventually settled down in the area permanently.

Although it was within this interwar period that the greatest number of Ukrainian immigrants voluntarily settled in Kingston,(17) the limited employment opportunities

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(13) Ibid., November 8, 1977.

(14) Ibid., November 10, 1977.

(15) Ibid., February 26, 1978.

(16) Ibid., November 17, 1977.

(17) The Canada Census figures for this period are as follows:

1921	2 Galicians in Kingston.	No Ukrainians.
1931	3 Ukrainians in Kingston.	
1941	76 Ukrainians in Kingston.	17 in Portsmouth Village.

Ukrainian immigration to Kingston seems to have peaked around 1927, according to this author's data. People of Slavic extraction formed a majority of the Foreign born within the city in 1921 (146 Slavs out of a total of 270 Foreign born), retaining their position as the largest "single" grouping in 1931 (199 out of 419 born in Europe). This numerical strength likely played an important role in the generation and maintenance of the Slavic immigrant working class consciousness which developed in the "north end".

available militated against most of these new arrivals staying. Many were forced to move on for lack of suitable employment.(18)

While some of the Ukrainians who had come earlier were generous in their assistance to newcomers, those able to help were few in number and limited in their capacity to give succour.(19) No central meeting place existed for immigrants,(20) and those social activities which did occur brought together a heterogeneous group of Slavic immigrants. These were social meetings of working people staged in private homes. Such functions were not specifically oriented toward newcomers or even distinctly Ukrainian.(21) When money was scarce, transients who might drift into town were often enough urged to move on. Those in Kingston were even forced to "close ranks" against newcomers on some occasions. This was particularly true during the Great Depression. Many Ukrainians could not establish themselves in Kingston because of the then prevailing economic conditions. Only those who had work in a local plant could hope to stay and even then only at reduced wages. Even among this group there was more than one family which barely managed. Quite probably some of the early settlers would themselves have moved on if it had not been for the cooperative sentiment which existed among many of the Slavic immigrants at that time. Amongst themselves these immigrants just managed to take care of the needy, offer aid to the sick and even help in the building or repair of homes for Slavic immigrants.(22) Despite even these mutual aid functions, several of those who had lived in Kingston for years (and even one who came to Kingston before World War I) had to admit their poverty and spend time in the Barriefield Relief Camp, surviving on the government dole.(23) During the Great Depression

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The figures given for Poles, Russians and other Slavs likely include a number of Ukrainians. Fluctuations in the numbers of Poles, Austrians and Russians relate to the changing conceptions of nationality and citizenship as well as the fluctuating territorial boundaries of Eastern Europe.

The Seventh Canada Census (1931) shows 57 members of the Greek Orthodox Church in Kingston. There were 79 members of this Church indicated as residing in Kingston during the 1941 Census.

(18) Interview conducted in Bath, December 7, 1977.

(19) Interview conducted in Kingston, November 24, 1977.

(20) Ibid., October 26, 1977.

(21) Ibid., November 14, 1977.

(22) Ibid., December 1, 1977.

(23) Interview conducted in Bath, December 7, 1977.

the line between the transient Ukrainian labourer and a settled Ukrainian immigrant worker in the city became a very fine one indeed.

Those whose appeals for aid from Ukrainians residing in Kingston went unheeded recall these days with bitterness.

I jumped train in Montreal, as I didn't want to go West at all! From Montreal I grabbed a freight ride on a train, sitting right upon the top of the train all the way into Kingston. You know, riding aboard trains for nothing was about the only nice thing about Canada in those days? Anyways, when the train stopped in Kingston to take on water I thought maybe I should get off. From back home I had known that there were several people from my own village living right there in Kingston. So I figured that they would help me out and get me a job. Not only did they fail to do that but they didn't even admit to knowing me, although I knew them! They didn't help me at all, didn't even try to get me a job, the bastards!(24)

Such sentiments later became salient as factionalism developed among the Ukrainian populace of the city. Personality conflicts often exacerbated emerging cleavages.

When economic conditions in Canada improved, and the city of Kingston again began a slow growth, a number of additional industries were established. Plants already in operation expanded existing facilities and the job market improved, both on a short-term (e.g., construction of the Kingston Grain Elevator or work on Highway #2) and a long-term (e.g., working in the Aluminum Works of Kingston) basis.(25)

When I first got to Kingston, that was in 1930, there were a lot of Ukrainians milling around town. They were either just transients or workers on the construction of the Kingston Grain Elevators. But they were almost all men on the move, one knew a few of them but never really all that well. Once work was over they'd leave, either because they had promises of jobs elsewhere once a local project was done, or because they were restless to try their luck elsewhere. Some kept going for adventure.

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(24) Interview conducted in Kingston, February 26, 1977.

(25) Interview conducted in Kingston, November 22, 1977.

And so the numbers of Ukrainians we once had in Kingston dwindled, disappeared, like dust in the wind. Our people just blew away. They had no roots in Kingston, possibly not even in Canada.(26)

Unskilled and semi-skilled workers, among whom there were a number of Ukrainians, again began coming to Kingston.(27) Ukrainian members of Canada's Army often received specialized training in Kingston. Among these men were Ukrainians whose influence was to become particularly important.(28) Both workers and soldiers moving into Kingston during these years were to have a marked, if not exactly complimentary, effect on the local Ukrainian and immigrant populaces--providing as they did both a formative impetus for the establishment of rival Ukrainian ethnic organizations and contacts with larger groupings of Ukrainians elsewhere (e.g., Winnipeg).

Improving socio-economic conditions in Canada allowed many Ukrainian residents of Kingston to begin completing plans for the reunion of their families. They were now even able to help friends emigrate(29) and assist transients. Sound practical advice and financial aid could be given to newcomers.(30) The households of Makar Stephenson (of the first immigration) and of Harry Wityk (of the second immigration) became particularly renowned.(31) These households, and a few others like them, became "receiving stations" for new arrivals. There, room and board as well as sympathetic counsel, could be found.(32) Other indi-

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(26) Interview conducted in Bath, December 7, 1977.

(27) Ibid., October 26, 1977.

(28) Two people remarked on this point. Interviews conducted in Toronto on January 23 and on February 15, 1978. One was a member of His Majesty's Forces during this period.

(29) Interviews conducted in Kingston, November 24 and December 10, 1977. Some were destined to remain separated from members of their families for years. One immigrant who arrived in Canada in 1927 was not able to see his wife again until the early 1970's. Interview conducted in Kingston, October 8, 1977.

(30) Interview conducted in Kingston, November 24, 1977.

(31) Ibid., December 10, 1977.

(32) Information from a conversation with one of M. Stephenson's sons in Kingston, April 1978. Recorded in the author's diary.



viduals who had done well financially, such as Konstantyn Petrash (of the second immigration), were to be helpful to some of those who came during the latter years of the period.(33)

For the Ukrainian immigrants arriving in Kingston between 1925 and the late 1930's there was no organized reception. The informal Slavic get-togethers which did occur in the city did not meet the needs of the second immigration. Furthermore, the seeming lack of awareness of being Ukrainian by the "old timers" was taken as a sign of their backwardness by the more recent immigrants. Consequently, many Ukrainians of the second immigration began to discuss the possibility of organizing a group which could act both as a force representing them to the public and as a social and cultural "club" to which they could belong. The exigencies of life during the Great Depression curbed the implementation of any such plan for a number of years.(34) Yet many individuals were determined to form a group which could maintain the esprit of Ukrainianism that they had known during the fateful days of the Ukrainian Revolution (1917-1921)(35) or as members of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists.(36)

Conscious of being Ukrainian, yet no longer living in the native environment where their identity had been nurtured, these Ukrainian emigrants had to cope with the idea of being Ukrainians in a "New World" where they were

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(33) Interview conducted in Oshawa, January 29, 1978.

(34) Despite this the newcomers did manage to cultivate a sense of Ukrainian identity. Families tended to take Ukrainian boarders if these were available (Interview conducted in Oshawa, December 14, 1977). A number of previously transient labourers found life so congenial in such homes that they remained in the city, gradually becoming "members of the family" and, occasionally, prominent within certain groups of Ukrainians in Kingston (Interview conducted in Kingston, October 26, 1977).

(35) Approximately forty percent of those who settled in Kingston had been active in the armies of the Ukrainian National Republic. Many served in the Republic of Poland's armies after 1921. A few were active in the Austro-Hungarian army during World War I, and one was a soldier in the armed forces of Czechoslovakia, after World War I.

(36) The Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists, formed in 1929, was to carry on a concerted and militant campaign aimed at achieving Ukrainian independence. It eventually helped develop the Ukrainska Povstanska Armiya (U.P.A.) the Ukrainian Insurgent Army. This latter group engaged both Soviet and German forces during World War II.

little known or understood. Formal means, whereby the Ukrainian cause might be presented, were needed. These immigrants were faced with a generally indifferent Canadian public to whom they must prove that they represented a genuine and particular nation. They hoped to lead respectable lives as Canadian citizens while demonstrating to the Canadian public that their own representation of the Ukrainian cause was complementary to the interests of the Canadian nation. If this could be accomplished they would be accepted and could live out their lives with a modicum of dignity and respect. Some felt that they might be able to offer the new country a view of history which would protect it from external enemies while concurrently giving succour to those who had remained behind in Ukraine. Many of the Ukrainian immigrants of this period attempted to tailor their Ukrainian origins to what they perceived were the needs and goals of the Canadian system and its ruling elites.

The support of the Canadian government and people was continuously appealed with petitions being made for justice, fair-play, humanitarianism and other qualitative values. Ukrainian cultural traits were selected for use in the "New World" by Ukrainian organizers in their efforts to integrate themselves within Canada's social structure. Various organizations chose similar sets of elements, and to that degree they were mutually supportive. There were, also, subtle differences among the groups, some of which the Canadian public failed to grasp. The inability to distinguish among such groups was a common Canadian response.<sup>(37)</sup> Groups usually tried to avoid blurring boundaries between their organizations, often taking public measures of a very demonstrative sort in order to separate themselves,<sup>(38)</sup> such

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(37) This tendency to confuse the various Ukrainian and Ukrainian-Slavic ethnic organizations is particularly evident after World War II. Competing organizations were able to solicit funds from a number of local non-Slavic businessmen. On occasion, such individuals would be supporting, probably unwittingly, organizations whose basic ideological positions would in fact be anathema to their own interests. For example, see page 19 of the Ukrainian Canadian, February 22, 1951.

Factionalism between the various Ukrainian ethnic organizations went generally unnoticed by the Canadian public. Even long-term residents of the city rarely noted the presence of the Ukrainians (Interview conducted in Oshawa, December 14, 1977), so it is perhaps understandable that their internal affairs would be poorly understood.

(38) This was particularly evident in the exchange made public in the pages of the Kingston Whig Standard, as reprinted in Appendix C. It is worthwhile noting that this polemical exchange was commented upon by the Ukrainian press in Canada. For example, the newspaper Ukrainian Life, published in Toronto, carried a short report about the exchange in its May 7, 1942 issue (p. 8). Headlined "A Ukrainian Student Gives a Reply to the Enemies of the

rancorous behaviour undoubtedly causing confusion among the Canadian public. However, the cumulative effect on a Canadian, bombarded with Ukrainian folk arts, was probably beneficial in the long-term for all of the Ukrainian groups concerned. Many Canadians saw Ukrainians as little more than cultural groups and dancing ensembles. For these people the real factionalism rife among the Ukrainians in Canada was unknown. Unaware of the attitude of many immigrants toward the social system of Canada and its form of government, (39) Canadian officials were often surprised when confronted with evidence of the passionate disagreements within what appeared to be a homogeneous and generally rather placid ethnic group. Just as the dominant groups in Canada sought to use immigrants to meet their needs, so too the immigrants were attempting to manipulate the public's view of them. By conforming as much as possible to prevailing Canadian mores, while simultaneously acting in that environment in order to alter it for their purposes, the Ukrainians sought to fulfill their own needs and interests in a "New World".

Before the Ukrainians of the second immigration could begin to influence the Canadian public they had first to develop some form of understanding with their predecessors. Organizing their own life could only be accomplished after some level of communion had been reached with the "first immigrants", as those who had arrived in Canada before World War I were often called. Failure to accomplish this could lead to the open disclosure of the differences existing between the two immigrations, a situation which could be damaging if the Canadian public became aware of it.

The lack of interest which most of the "first immigrants" showed toward the later immigrants was at first

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Ukrainian People", this piece forcefully drew the line between the ideological positions of the two organizations.

(39) The Ukrainian- and English-language newspapers of the "progressive" movement (within the Ukrainian-Slavic populace of Canada) often printed articles in praise of the Soviet system. See, for example, Ukrainian Labour News, April 30, 1921. Other articles were critical of the nature of the Canadian system. For example, the Ukrainian Labour News of July 26, 1922 carried an article titled, "The Onslaught of Capital on the Workers of Canada". Later reports grew indignant about other Ukrainian ethnic organizations. Ukrainian Life, on October 23, 1941, carried an article headlined, "About the Feast-Day of the Ukrainian Fascists in Toronto". Occasionally reports were highly critical of the Canadian government. Ukrainian Life carried an editorial on the 29th of July, 1943 entitled "Gobelesque Destruction of Books of the ULFTA - To Our Everlasting Shame". There was manifestly no unity within the Ukrainian population of Canada, nor any homogeneous Ukrainian bloc of people, despite the wishes of certain Ukrainian-Canadian and Canadian politicians.

a source of puzzlement. The recent arrivals could not understand why their predecessors would not trade informal, Slavic sentiments for the modern identification of being a Ukrainian.

I don't understand it even now. The older people just didn't want to associate themselves with us in any organizations, they told us to leave them alone. Why should they get involved, they'd say. They'd come to Canada to earn a piece of bread. They didn't want to get involved. They didn't seem to care, or understand. (40)

Later puzzlement moved from mere annoyance to outright hostility toward the viewpoints of the "first immigrants".

I knew that I was a Ukrainian in the Ukraine, so I knew it when I got here. But in Kingston there were no organizations of Ukrainians then (in 1926) to represent me and my kind of man.... Sure, there were Ukrainians here of some sort, but they were a strange people. Not like me! They didn't want to speak Ukrainian much and would say that they were not going to return to the old country ever again, so why organize? Before us, they had come to Canada and settled in Kingston but even though they had been around for a long time they didn't get together much at all. There were at least several of them, but they didn't associate or even talk like Ukrainians...ah! They were idiots! God-damned right! You can still see a few of them if you want to...they'll even gab at you in English even though they can't speak that either.... Dark people, uneducated, undisciplined. (41)

Inevitably such differences developed into pronounced cleavages between members of the first and second immigrations. Those who had come before World War I were relegated to the status of a "lost immigration". They had not organized as Ukrainians nor had they "shown themselves to the world as Ukrainians". (42) In the logic of their critics these were irrefutable proofs of the fact that

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(40) Interview conducted in Kingston, November 8, 1977.

(41) Ibid., November 9, 1977.

(42) Ibid., January 12, 1978.

many of the "first immigrants" were best not considered Ukrainians at all. Their lack of involvement in specifically Ukrainian organizations bespoke a lack of patriotism, education and, most importantly, of vision. And when those of the first immigration went so far as to express no interest in being "enlightened"(43) they were all but completely cut off from intercourse with an organized Ukrainian life in Kingston.(44) As a result, even their offspring grew up with little contact with organized Ukrainians. Those few children who did later come across organized Ukrainians were disinterested or repelled by the thought of organizing their social activities around an ethnic identity. Unlike their parents they generally thought of themselves as Canadians and rarely found it necessary to organize as "ethnics". Furthermore, they saw no apparent use in recalling an ethnicity for which even their parents had limited use. Here was a "lost generation" which if not deliberately shunned was rarely made to feel welcome within Ukrainian circles. Many of the later immigrants apparently accepted this situation, ignoring those who apparently lacked interest. Perhaps the ignorance of the "first immigrants" was an advantage to those of the second immigration for they had a free hand to establish their own ideas of Ukrainian ethnic identity. This hegemony was only challenged with more recent Ukrainian immigration after World War II.

During the early years of the interwar period the two groups of immigrants met and judged each other, measuring worth by standards uniquely their own, largely alien to each other and certainly completely so in relation to Canadian society as a whole. In the 1920's and early 1930's were sown the seeds for the future factionalism to be witnessed in the Ukrainian and Slavic immigrant populations of Kingston. The second immigration's members considered their brethren, who had earlier arrived, guilty of not living as Ukrainians. As this Ukrainian identification was not one which most earlier immigrants applied to themselves in any case, some among the second immigration adopted the style of calling themselves the "first" Ukrainians. Earlier immigrants were considered the "dark" ones and not Ukrainians in any true, that is, national sense of the word. Ukrainian identification became not a birth right for all those born within a specific geographic area but rather a "cause" or "faith" which had to be constantly and systematically expounded. To be a Ukrainian meant to be an individual with a very particular view of the world. Gone was some non-specific pan-Slavic ethnicity. Or so many of the second immigration hoped. Ukrainian ethnicity as an exclusive and specific course of

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(43) Ibid., November 8, 1977.

(44) Ibid., November 9, 1977.

action, defined within an organizational framework, had come into being. In short, to be a Ukrainian was ideally to be a living embodiment of the cause. That there had been no cause for those of the first immigration to be Ukrainians was beyond the understanding of many of those comprising the second immigration.

Having assured themselves of the "guilt" of their predecessors, members of this second immigration developed a range of Ukrainian and Ukrainian-Slavic ethnic organizations within the "north end" or "swamp wards" of Kingston. (45)

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(45) Most of those who arrived during the interwar period settled near their places of employment. The main clusters of Ukrainians all developed within the "north end" of Kingston (see map) where these immigrants lived with other migrants (e.g., Slovaks) and working class citizens.

Within the city of Kingston several distinct concentrations of Ukrainians emerged. Most were in the "north end" of the city. Nevertheless, there were a few smaller clusters elsewhere. A notable one was found in Portsmouth Village where between seventeen and twenty Ukrainian labourers lived communally while working on the construction of the Kingston Grain Elevator (Interview conducted in Bath, December 7, 1977). Another concentration was located in the northwestern end of the city, near the developing Aluminum Works (Interview conducted in Kingston, November 22, 1977). A few Ukrainians lived relatively close to the centre of the city (corner of King Street and Johnson Street). This locale was a residual of a pre-World War I concentration (Interview conducted in Bath, December 7, 1977). A few individuals lived scattered throughout the city. These men were usually self-employed (e.g., truck drivers).

Living in the "north end" was both relatively inexpensive, as far as housing costs went (Interview conducted in Kingston, November 8, 1977) and close to work. Few Anglo-Celts wanted to live near the factories, or in an area of the city which was definitely "for the lower classes". One resident of that district recalls, "...it was cheap to live there, since most of the English wouldn't want to live near factories...you know that anywhere within one-quarter of a mile of the Tannery it could get very smelly when the winds blew in the direction of our homes... and don't forget the other plants in the area with all that noise and the open-air garbage dump down there...."

Crowding was uncomfortable and limited privacy--the sharing of a single dwelling by a family of six along with seven boarders was more the rule than the exception (Interview conducted in Kingston, November 14, 1977)--but a spirit of "togetherness" and fraternity countered much of the unpleasantness of the district.

Owning one's own home became a status symbol and a display of one's "rootedness" in the city. Even if the ambition of the Ukrainian immigrants to own their own home provoked the ire of some Anglo-Celtic tenement dwellers,

This proved to be a difficult undertaking as there were choices between alternate courses of action.(46) They could sublimate their distinctiveness as Ukrainians and continue the Slavic immigrant and working class "clannishness". This was the easiest course of action, for many of the "first immigrants" and their Ukrainian successors would then be able to work together cooperatively. "No one was differentiated then"(47) so keeping to this form might be a good basis around which eventually to erect the foundations of a formal Slavic organization.(48) But to accept this course would have been to blur the distinctions between "nashi khlopy" (our boys) and "those others" such as the Poles and Russians residing in the city. For many members of this immigration such a step was unthinkable, for many were veterans of the struggle against "Polonization" or "Russification". Merging with people who had suppressed "Ukraina" was anathema. As well, regression to a pan-Slavic category was considered

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the immigrants nevertheless worked toward this goal (Interview conducted in Oshawa, January 29, 1978).

(46) Interview conducted in Kingston, December 1, 1977.

(47) Interview conducted in Bath, December 7, 1977. The participant also remarked, "I don't know why it all fell apart. There had been no politics in the old days. Then the war came and the politics of the war, and trying to fit in this country so that we didn't get locked up again like in World War I. My dad got locked up then, you know? All that politics did it. Suddenly it seemed that people I'd known for years were not just Poles, they were Polish devils and enemies of us Ukrainians and you had to want to beat them all up. People would say, 'He's a Pole, or he's a Ukrainian, so watch out for him!' I don't play any politics any more, had it with that nonsense long ago. No, I just farm now and mind my own business, my life. But it was all that jockeying for a place in Canada and selling ourselves to the Canadians and their ways of life by forgetting that we were all brothers in the Ukraine, that did it. We're finished now, even if someone wanted to help us get together, it's too late. Ukrainians became, in Canada, their own worst enemies. Being a Ukrainian no longer means what it once did!"

(48) Ethnic organizations are referred to either as Ukrainian or Ukrainian-Slavic. In the former case it is intended to imply that the organization in question was exclusively Ukrainian-oriented (i.e., Ukrainian Canadian Committee). Ukrainian-Slavic ethnic organizations tend to feature a mix of Ukrainian and non-Ukrainian (even if Slavic) elements (i.e., Workers' Benevolent Association).

antiquated in a century of burgeoning nationalist aspirations. The only obvious alternative was to "go it alone as Ukrainians". Conscious of "being a Ukrainian people" they wanted to retain this identification and utilize it for advancing their interests in Canada.

For these immigrants, choosing between alternatives posed other problems as well. There was scattered opposition from the "first immigrants", and the recent arrivals themselves had no clear idea of what action they should take. Most individuals had only limited experience of secular organizations<sup>(49)</sup> and only a few had any profound organizational experience.<sup>(50)</sup> Many immigrants were quite young when they arrived in Kingston<sup>(51)</sup> and were not yet adjusted to the Canadian conditions. Contact with Ukrainians and their organizations in other centres was limited. Kingston remained an isolated outpost, as far as its Ukrainians were concerned, until well into the 1930's. More important, those Ukrainians who did want to organize had no idea of what they might accomplish in a Canadian milieu or what risks there could be in forming an ethnic organization. The outcome of these hesitations was that the city's Ukrainian and immigrant populations remained quiescent through most of the interwar period, awaiting

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(49) Of those interviewed, only three had belonged to a Prosvita (Enlightenment) Society in Ukraine. Of those who came to settle in Kingston, approximately one-third were of a professional (e.g., military) or trades (e.g., shoemaker) background. The rest had been farmers. No members of a Ukrainian intelligentsia ever settled in Kingston, although Kaye (1966) reports that after members of the "agriculturalist class" the "intellectuals were next in number".

There is no apparent correlation between an immigrant's occupational background and the year of arrival in Canada.

(50) From an interview conducted in Kingston, October 26, 1977. "It was only late in this period, when a number of young families got established, and so had both a reason and enough members to be viable, that a group of like-minded individuals got together and formed their organization".

(51) For example, Ivan Wityk, who played a significant role in the Ukrainian Canadian Committee's Kingston Branch, was only fifteen when he arrived in Canada and twenty years old when he helped organize this group.

On the other hand, Ivan Budzyk was forty-nine by 1937, and sixty-four by the time the Kingston Branch of the Ukrainian Canadian Committee was formed. A "generation gap", if nothing else, would certainly have militated against understanding between the Ukrainians in Kingston.



some stimulus to activate their potentialities.(52) Even though many were aware of their Ukrainian identities before emigration to Canada, it is debatable whether they would have developed Ukrainian and Ukrainian-Slavic ethnic organizations had they not been concentrated together in enclaves and then further acted upon by external forces. No single individual or organization ever managed to capture the allegiance of even a simple majority of the Ukrainian or Slavic immigrants. Instead, several Ukrainians in Kingston repeatedly changed their allegiances and a few even left ethnic organizations altogether. As time passed the immigrants solidified boundaries between themselves yet remained acutely sensitive to currents of opinion within Canada. As "strangers in a strange land" the members of both immigrations remembered that they were not natives of their new abode(53) but always foreign immigrants, sometimes wanted, often unwelcome. And so they developed and reinforced those particular delineations of a Ukrainian or Ukrainian-Slavic ethnicity which seemed most appropriate. Previously malleable within-group boundaries eventually became more permanent. Members of specific organizations were determined to defend organizational principles, on occasion utilizing individual physical

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(52) The influence of incoming students and workers played a significant role in the development of Ukrainian and Ukrainian-Slavic ethnic organizations in Kingston. The medical student, M. Chepesiuk, helped form the Ukrainian Canadian Committee in Kingston. Nick Gulka, a worker, played a significant role in the establishment of the Ukrainian Canadian Association in the city. Important, also, were the prevailing conditions in the national ("English") environment and in the international domain (e.g., re-occupation of Carpatho-Ukraine in 1938 by the Hungarians).

(53) From an interview conducted in Kingston, March 23, 1978. "You might like to think otherwise, but for us immigrants there was never any real naturalization or the like. They'd accept you only so-so. You could do whatever you liked, of course, but if you did certain things you would be controlled.... So don't be fooled. They always use people against you. Just like they used the DP's against our people later in the 1940's. You are a foreigner in this country if you emigrated here, until the day you die. Then you're nothing. I'm not really sure what I can say to you, or what I'd say about you. You were born here, but of Ukrainian blood. Probably you won't get it too bad, if Canada stays economically sound. But if it gets tough then watch out, you'll see who's boss. First the foreign immigrants will go, then the children of those immigrants who came a while ago. The land belongs to the English and you'll always strike out in the long run. This is not your home".

violence against their "opponents". One activist recalls,

At one meeting the members of the Ukrainian National Federation tried to stop me from giving my lecture. They began shouting insults and then trying to break up our meeting with their fists. Well I had my men posted around the hall and they were prepared. We refused to budge. So they began to throw the chairs and beat people. At that point I gave the command and my uniformed troops began to move out into the Hall and began demolishing the enemy. I had lots of secret sympathizers in the audience. They too took action against the invaders. I had a spring-knife weapon, a German invention, with which I attacked and badly wounded over a dozen of their people. All was screaming and confusion, with women and men fighting and bleeding all over the place. Finally we cleaned them out into the streets and hospitalized a few.(54)

Gone was the informality of earlier days. Rancorous conflict destroyed any unity of purpose which once might have joined people together. Even the tardy efforts of the Canadian government failed to impose unity.(55)

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(54) From an interview conducted in Toronto, January 25, 1978. Not an altercation between pro-Soviets and nationalists but rather a fight between members of two rival nationalist Ukrainian organizations is described in this account. It reveals not only something of the extent to which passions flared but also the means by which differences were sometimes settled. After World War II factional strife often descended to physical violence.

(55) The Ukrainian Canadian Committee was established in Winnipeg on November 7, 1940. It was formed through a merger of two rival committees, namely the Representative Committee of Ukrainians in Canada and the Ukrainian Canadian Central Committee. The creation of a "united front" was not accomplished until Professor George Simpson and Mr. Tracey Phillips, two Canadian government mediators, forced a compromise. The newly formed Committee was composed of five founding Ukrainian ethnic organizations, as follows: Ukrainian Catholic Brotherhood, Ukrainian National Federation; Ukrainian Self-Reliance League, United Hetman Organization; Ukrainian Workers' League.

The Ukrainian Canadian Committee's first task was "Consolidation of Ukrainian opinion and the coordination of the work of Ukrainians in Canada as to provide help for Canada and Great Britain for the successful ending of war". The Committee was also expected to work toward the

Kingston's Ukrainian population was partially aware of developments occurring in larger Ukrainian enclaves throughout Canada. It also evidenced unique properties of its own. To suggest that the Kingston story is typical of the experience of Ukrainians throughout Canada would be a mistake, yet the city's Ukrainian populace did develop like many other Ukrainian settlements in eastern Canada. In Kingston at least six different secular Ukrainian and Ukrainian-Slavic ethnic organizations arose between 1934 and 1945. Religious life, in the form of Ukrainian Catholic services, was formalized in 1944 and became particularly noticeable by Easter of 1945.(56) Even a

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"presentation of the consolidated opinion and the carrying on of the coordinated work in general". Essentially the Ukrainian Canadian Committee, which Yuzyk has characterized as being "the authoritative spokesman for the ethnic group" was formed to propagate an impression in the minds of the Canadian public that Ukrainians were loyally united in their support of the Allied war effort. The truth of the matter is different.

The Ukrainian Canadian Committee was neither entirely a government creation nor some natural outgrowth of the sentiments of all of the Ukrainian organizations which came together to form it. The Canadian government exerted a fundamental influence on the Ukrainian Canadian Committee. But the various Ukrainian ethnic organizations all saw some need for representing themselves as loyal, united and patriotic groups of Canadian citizens, ready to channel their strength into the war effort. Again an adaptive process was at work, necessitating the development of an organization among the Ukrainians capable of representing them as the "genuine" Ukrainians of all those residing in Canada.

(56) The first Ukrainian Catholic Church service to be held in Kingston was a funeral mass for Harry Wityk in 1944. After that, religious services were sporadically organized. The first publicly announced Ukrainian Catholic service was held in Kingston in March 1945. Captain Reverend M. T. Pelech, Ukrainian Padre of Military District No. 10, celebrated the Divine Liturgy, in Ukrainian, at St. John the Apostle Church on Patrick Street. This event, attended by members of "His Majesty's Forces" and sponsored by the Kingston Branch of the Ukrainian Canadian Committee, was followed by a banquet in the auditorium of that church. A number of local dignitaries (e.g., Mayor C. L. Boyd, Msgr. L. J. Byrne, Chief of Police J. Robinson and Dr. H. A. Stewart, M.L.A.) attended and presented congratulatory speeches on the contribution of Ukrainians to Canada's war effort.

After 1945 religious services in St. Mary's Cathedral were organized on a regular basis. The St. James Chapel became the site for Ukrainian Catholic services. The St. Michael's Ukrainian Catholic Parish Committee was organized

brief examination of the organizational histories of these groups reveals that all provided similar social and cultural activities for their members [See Appendix B ]. Each was created by a few determined individuals who either had experience of organizational operations or were convinced that they alone possessed the "best" definition of Ukrainian identity for Canada. Such individuals hoped that their experience, contacts and organizational program could organize the local people.(57) and thereby achieve a much sought-after legitimacy before the Canadian public. This was to be done to the detriment of competing definitions and their organizational structures.(58)

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in 1952 and a hall by the same name was eventually constructed at 472 Bagot Street. This Ukrainian Catholic Parish Hall eventually became the meeting place for most of the "nationalist" Ukrainians residing in Kingston.

The Reverend Stephan Chaborsky served as parish priest from 1951. The Reverend J. C. E. Riotte occupied this position from 1959 until 1975. The Reverend Krupp is currently the parish priest. The parish has had a long and active existence, and on several occasions has been visited by the Very Reverend Bishop Boretsky.

No Ukrainian Orthodox parish has ever been established in Kingston. The few Ukrainian Orthodox have sporadically attended Ukrainian Catholic services. Although few in number, the Ukrainian Orthodox have often taken leading roles in the Ukrainian "nationalist" group in the city.

(57) Conversation with Ivan Wityk, conducted in Kingston, August 1978. Recorded in the author's diary.

(58) All of the ethnic organizations in Kingston tended to brand their opponents with the most scurrilous labels of the day. For example, members of the Ukrainian Canadian Association, the Ukrainian Association to Aid the Fatherland, and the Workers' Benevolent Association tended to refer to members of the Ukrainian Canadian Committee and "The League" as "fascists" and "Hitlerites". (Interview conducted in Kingston, November 14, 1977.) The Ukrainian Canadian Committee's members took to calling anyone who ventured into the Ukrainian Labour Hall a "communist" or "Bolshevik". The technical definitions of these terms would fit very few, if any, Ukrainians in Kingston. As one immigrant's son put it, "I don't really think they knew what any of those words really meant. But they wanted to have something with which to label their opponents and make them look bad in the eyes of the rest of Kingston. So they used words like fascist and communist and got involved in a polemic which left everyone bitter and everyone apart". (Interview conducted in Kingston, February 12, 1978.)

The choice was often pragmatic, based less on personal conviction than on perceived benefits.

I couldn't, I'll tell you, stay a Catholic, like I was born and raised to be. Not in Canada or in the Kingston of those days! I had to make contacts within the city. It was just one thing I felt you had to do if you wanted to survive in the English world. Just like changing your name so that the English could say it without choking. I had to make contacts with those who would bring me business. So I looked around. What better place than a church? So I went to the United Church in Kingston, cap in hand. Their place was near my home, down in our area. I worked for them a bit, tended their flower beds, swept the floors, that sort of thing. And I eventually ate their bread. But I took them, I'll tell you, and I took their business. I didn't want to very much but they made me become a Protestant just like them...a price had to be paid if you wanted to make it here. You had to become like them. And so I did. And I came to have a very great deal of influence with those English. I lived better than others (although I was not the only one who did this--you know of some of the others) and I could use their facilities and hall when we Ukrainians wanted to get together and have some sort of event. Everyone did something like this, you know, changing themselves to suit this city and its English pans. You'd change and it would get better for you, and you could slowly begin to use them. Worked both ways you see, ha, ha!(62)

Clearly, at least a few Ukrainian immigrants were not above conforming to what they perceived to be "English norms" if they could thereby gain influence within Kingston.

An interesting pattern emerges if a chronological list of Ukrainian and Ukrainian-Slavic ethnic organizations is made and organizational histories are compared. The first

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Not all religious groups were unaware or unsympathetic to the Ukrainian's situation in Canada. For example, see W. L. Scott's (1931), The Ukrainians: Our Most Pressing Problem, for a reasonably astute discussion from the Roman Catholic viewpoint.

(62) Interview conducted in Oshawa, January 29, 1978.

organization to develop was a Ukrainian choir, organized by the Queen's University medical students, W. Yaremy and D. Wenger. This small grouping of men apparently involved itself in nothing more than a public display of a distinctly Ukrainian cultural form.<sup>(63)</sup> Even though not formally an organization, the choir's modus vivendi seems to have been to organize a few local Ukrainians and demonstrate their capabilities to the rest of the city's inhabitants. The idea took hold and these singers, organized around 1934, entertained many local audiences for several years.<sup>(64)</sup> The two students<sup>(65)</sup> had managed to instill in the local Ukrainians an ability to interact with the "English" and to move out of their "north end mentality" into the areas controlled by the "plutocrats and City Fathers, on the south side of Princess Street".<sup>(66)</sup> Acceptability before audiences gave the immigrants a sense of belonging and a new feeling of security. Impetus was given to the idea of forming a Ukrainian organization. They found it possible to cope in an "English" milieu. Expanded activities could now be contemplated. Even if most atlases of the day did not contain a map showing Ukraine, the immigrants had at least the hope that their own efforts could convince the "English" of their cultural integrity and potentialities.<sup>(67)</sup>

The succeeding organizational effort came to naught. Plans were laid for the establishment of an International Cooperative, to be administered by a group of Ukrainians,<sup>(68)</sup> and other Slavs. Unfortunately, no records were ever kept about the plans of this group. The idea was to band together and establish a profitable organization capable of helping Slavic citizens of Kingston meet their

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(63) Interview conducted in Kingston, November 24, 1977.

(64) Ibid., November 10, 1977.

(65) D. Wenger was from Fort William and W. Yaremy was from Toronto. Yaremy later became a prominent supporter of the pro-Soviet Ukrainian-Slavic movement in Canada.

(66) Interview conducted in Kingston, December 1, 1977.

(67) The lack of maps showing Ukraine proved embarrassing. For many non-Slavs it seems that if it was not on the map, the country did not exist. And, of course, there was obvious disagreement even here between those who accepted the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic's territory and those nationalists who rejected this state's existence.

(68) Interview conducted in Kingston, November 24, 1977.  
Interview conducted in Oshawa, January 29, 1978.

material needs.<sup>(69)</sup> Concurrently, the formation of this business would create a centre around which to further organize and hold socio-cultural activities. Why this venture failed is unknown. Possibly the antipathy of some of the Ukrainians in Kingston to any organization which might blur divisions between Slavs was responsible. Or it may simply have been that there was not enough financial capital. It could be that many of those who might have welcomed such a development shied away from it for fear of being overly identified publicly. There was a tendency among many immigrants to keep a relatively low profile. Creating such a novel business in the city would hardly have gone unnoticed.

One of the most active Kingston-based organizations formed around the Ukrainian Labour Hall. The group establishing it was known as the Ukrainian Canadian Association. There was the first Ukrainian-Slavic meeting place in the city.<sup>(70)</sup> From among the members of this group came most of those who would also form both the Ukrainian Association to Aid the Fatherland and the Kingston Branch of the Workers' Benevolent Association.<sup>(71)</sup> Arising

(69) Approximately two hundred Slavs lived in Kingston by 1931 so there were a sufficient number of patrons for the establishment of an International Cooperative.

(70) The local branch of the Ukrainian Canadian Association was formed in November of 1941. It purchased land on the corner of James and Bagot Streets (55 James Street) in 1944 and shortly thereafter erected on that plot of land a small barracks building acquired from the Aluminum Works. The building was dragged down to the site and then erected by the members. It never bore any outward indication of its purpose but was known as the Ukrainian Labour Hall among members. Used extensively from 1944 until the mid-1960's its functions were nevertheless kept rather secret. An informal survey of neighbours revealed that most were totally ignorant of who had owned the Hall. A few did know that Ukrainians had once owned the building. Only one respondent had ever been inside. This occurred during a Red Cross sponsored rummage sale during World War II. The general sentiment of the neighbours was that "...the people in there were up to no good, but what that was I don't really know.... I think they were Communists, at least that's what I heard from other people...." The author was unfortunately unable clearly to identify the sources of these persistent rumours.

(71) The local branch of the Workers' Benevolent Association was organized on December 3, 1943. The Branch grew to some twenty members by 1945. It is still considered to be an "active" branch, as far as the Workers' Benevolent Association Headquarters in Winnipeg are concerned.

The local membership was heterogeneous, as was that of the local branch of the Ukrainian Canadian Association.

as a self-styled "progressive" Ukrainian-Slavic ethnic organization, the Ukrainian Canadian Association's Kingston Branch seldom assumed an overtly public stance. The membership was drawn mostly from those living in the immigrant and working class district of the "north end".<sup>(72)</sup> In its outlook, the Ukrainian Canadian Association was socialist, pro-Soviet and supportive of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, which it regarded as being the sole legitimate voice of the Ukrainian people in Eastern Europe.<sup>(73)</sup> The organization was started through the efforts of Nick Gulka, N. Chornomytz, M. Polomany, Antony Smyck, Harry Wowk and Ivan Zplotinsky (Figure 6). Disillusioned by the Great Depression, angry at the discriminatory treatment they had received in Canada and generally anti-clerical, these individuals were fiercely antagonistic to the nationalist Ukrainians in Kingston. They tried to establish themselves as part of the only legitimate Ukrainian ethnic organization in Canada, playing on the fact that the Soviet Union eventually became an ally of Canada. They considered nationalist Ukrainians to be "fascists" who camouflaged the right-wing ideology of their movement behind Ukrainian folk arts.<sup>(74)</sup> The Ukrainian Canadian Association, the Ukrainian Association to Aid the Fatherland and the Workers' Benevolent Association emerged in Kingston within particular surroundings. Likely none of these organizations would have been tolerated within a "conservative and English" city like Kingston if it had not been for the fact that the Soviet Union was an Allied Power after 1941.<sup>(75)</sup> There had been ample reasons for the

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The Workers' Benevolent Association was the more cosmopolitan, with Slovak, Yugoslav, Czech, Russian, Polish, Italian and English members. The Ukrainian Canadian Association had Slovak, Polish, East European Jewish and a few Anglo-Celtic members and sympathizers.

(72) The enclavic hold was strengthened by the establishment of their Hall within an area which held a large proportion of Ukrainians (along Rideau Street, near the Davis Tannery). Even the nationalist Ukrainians situated their Hall in the "north end"--in this case at the corner of Bagot and North Streets.

(73) From an interview conducted in Kingston, November 8, 1977, "We were socialists down in the Hall on James Street, definitely pro-Soviet!"

(74) Ukrainian art forms and culture have often been used to instill in non-Slavs a particular image of a given group.

(75) It is obvious that both the Ukrainian Canadian Association and the Ukrainian Association to Aid the Fatherland were products of their time. Earlier, the Ukrainian Labour and Farmer Temple Association had arisen when labour unrest had spread among the immigrant working class.



formation of an immigrant and working class organization in Kingston before this time. Yet these Ukrainian immigrants had made no attempt to do so for fear of possible reprisals. In the mid-1930's Kingston was still considered to be a "hostile" environment in which to form ethnic organizations. It was only after World War II began that the Ukrainian and Slavic immigrants in Kingston began to feel that they could organize and conduct limited public demonstrations of their existence. Even then, and despite the fact that their "Fatherland" was an ally of Canada they were very careful about showing themselves publicly lest they in some way upset "the City Fathers".<sup>(76)</sup>

Although the local branch of the Ukrainian Association to aid the Fatherland disappeared shortly after World War II, local branches of the Ukrainian Canadian Association and the Workers' Benevolent Association continued to function despite Cold War tensions. They were, however, much more muted in their activities.

The Kingston Branch of the Workers' Benevolent Association, organized on December 3, 1943<sup>(77)</sup> sought to promote fraternal and mutual aid among Slavic immigrants, particularly through the provision of cheap insurance policies for its members. Although the parent organization had been formed in Winnipeg in 1922 by a group composed largely of Ukrainians, the organization soon included many non-Ukrainian members. The Kingston Branch, organized almost exclusively by Ukrainians, came to include a number of Slovak, Polish, Byelorussian and East European Jews as members. It tended to align itself with the local branch of the Ukrainian Canadian Association. A number of its members, including individuals in executive positions, simultaneously belonged to both groups. The Ukrainian Labour Hall, erected at 55 James Street, became a focal point for shared cultural, social and, occasionally, political activities. While co-operation strengthened both groups for a number of years, giving them a bolstered

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(76) Even after they had organized, both of these groups tended to take a rather "low profile" within the city. They deliberately downplayed their ideological commitments and posed as groups interested in socio-cultural activities or in the aid of the Red Cross (see Ukrainian Life, February 19, 1942, p. 6). Meetings were held privately on a regular basis but were apparently closed to outsiders. Non-Ukrainian members of the Workers' Benevolent Association tended to be kept out of the more political meetings of the Ukrainian Canadian Association. This secrecy may have protected the members of this latter organization but it definitely repelled many non-Ukrainians. It is also the root cause for much contemporary criticism about the "duping of the people" by the Ukrainian Canadian Association's local leadership.

(77) Personal communication with A. Bilecki, President of the Workers' Benevolent Association, August 14, 1978.

roll-call<sup>(78)</sup> and allowing them a freedom of action which was denied to smaller groupings, the partnership eventually soured. Ukrainians tended to dominate both organizations, provoking the ire of other Slavs (e.g., the Slovaks).<sup>(79)</sup> More importantly, the political content of the Ukrainian Canadian Association appealed less and less to many supporters of the Workers' Benevolent Association branch. As time passed, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics went from the status of an ally to that of an opponent in the Cold War, a decline in the membership of both the Ukrainian Canadian Association and the Workers' Benevolent Association occurred. Few in those days wanted to be suspected of being "communist" and many could see "the writing on the wall",<sup>(80)</sup> which heralded the beginning of

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(78) There were possibly over seventy-five members in the three "socialist" organizations. Of course, a great many of these were not Ukrainians which led supporters of the Ukrainian Canadian Committee to charge that these organizations were not genuinely Ukrainian but rather "front organizations" which "used the sacred name of our people to fool immigrants and other people for the use of the Communists" (Interview conducted in Kingston, June 1, 1978).

One individual made the following remarks, "I got into lots of trouble for going to the James Street Hall. I only went twice, on both occasions to see a Ukrainian-language film which I had been told was being shown in the Hall. It was the only place to go in those days if you wanted to see such films. I didn't sign anything in the Hall, or join their group. All I did was watch those films and leave. That was just after the war. Well when I went to get my citizenship papers, in 1953, I was shown my file and told that I couldn't get a Canadian passport or papers because I was a communist! They told me exactly on which dates I was in the Hall and claimed that I was some sort of fellow traveller or sympathizer! The RCMP, you know the Mounties, paid me a visit. I ended up having a very difficult time convincing them of my complete innocence. I had to prove myself!"

(79) Interview conducted in Kingston, November 8, 1977.

(80) From an interview conducted in Kingston on October 26, 1977, "I remember a priest at St. John's Catholic School, giving us a religion lesson. Around 1944 or 1945 it was. He talked about the Commies and the Reds as evil beings, of the Devil. He then asked around whether any of us kids knew of any Communist dens in the city. That priest literally pried out of the children in my class the information which he wanted them to remember, namely that the James Street Hall was such a place. I was disgusted, sitting in that room as a pupil. It wasn't that sort of a place for me. And I remember being surprised, shocked in fact, to find that there was that sort of feeling about the Hall in the rest of the community." Being kept under sur-

surveillance of the Ukrainian Labour Hall by Canadian internal security officers.<sup>(81)</sup> Former members of these organizations began to claim that they had been unwittingly "used by the radicals who ran the Labour Hall down on James Street".<sup>(82)</sup> To this day many former supporters steadfastly refuse to admit that they had participated in any political activities within the Ukrainian Labour Hall, claiming that theirs was merely a harmless and innocent desire to join in for social activities or in order to take advantage of cheap insurance policies.<sup>(83)</sup> For some members of the Workers' Benevolent Association this was true but for others involvement was a great deal less naive. A few members of the Ukrainian Canadian Association and the Workers' Benevolent Association were probably card-carrying communists.<sup>(84)</sup> What it is important to note, however, is not so much the ideological leanings of the various members as the dynamic nature of their ethnicity. When it was

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veillance by officers of the Royal Canadian Mounted Police, or spied upon by informers was one thing. But to have their children accosted by virulent anti-Communists and to be threatened with the possibility of having their Canadian citizenship papers withheld was another. Many parents left the Association of United Ukrainian Canadians (as the Ukrainian Canadian Association had come to be called) and/or the Workers' Benevolent Association.

(81) There is some evidence which indicates that officers of the Royal Canadian Mounted Police kept certain individuals under surveillance, possibly as early as 1943 and certainly in the years immediately following World War II. The Ukrainian Labour Hall was kept under "close surveillance" and may even have been broken into by the R.C.M.P. or their agents. Certainly members of the Kingston Branch of the Ukrainian Canadian Committee were interrogated about their "opponents" and the citizenship authorities were apparently kept well informed as to the membership of the Workers' Benevolent Association and the Ukrainian Canadian Association. It is quite likely that there was a "contact" within the ranks of one of these two organizations who kept Canadian internal security forces informed.

No public disclosure was ever made about these activities, although the Kingston Whig Standard did carry an article entitled, "Two Policemen to Investigate Fifth Column" in its June 13, 1943 issue.

(82) Interview conducted in Kingston, November 10, 1977.  
Interview conducted in Kingston, November 14, 1977.

(83) Interview conducted in Kingston, November 9, 1977.

(84) Conversation with W. Harasym, National Secretary of the Association of United Ukrainian Canadians, Toronto, February 1978. Recorded in the author's diary.

untroublesome to belong to these organizations, many members were active and enjoyed the full benefits of group activities. When it became less advisable to be known for such a commitment, many joined more acceptable Ukrainian ethnic organizations(85) or abandoned all organizational affiliations. One individual, who at first denied having been involved in any Ukrainian ethnic organizations, eventually had this to say about that period:

I don't belong to any organizations now. Why? Because I saw what they do to people. Because I don't want to be connected with them. I saw enough young men like myself get involved with groups and get into politics. Saw a lot of my Ukrainian friends, fellow immigrants, go off to Spain. They came back broken or are no longer of this world. People like me, who came to Canada to improve their lot. Then they got mixed up, like me, got involved in politics, all mixed up...what did it do for them?

People aren't stupid you know. They learn. If you join an organization like that James Street Hall then you get all tangled. Word gets around. People know you belong there. And meanwhile you're all tangled up, like a fly in a spider's web. To leave it you have to struggle, hard. Or they'll drain you. I speak only for myself, as a man. But I can say that getting involved in that way is very dangerous. People label you and they remember for a long time who and what you were. And they act against you. Please remember that we were the immigrants. The people of Kingston, the English, would not tolerate much nonsense from us. They used us when we came in, and then it looked like they'd let us do our own activities ...but they didn't. They watched us all of the time, played with us, used us when they had to, then cleaned out those who were most active amongst us and warned by this method the rest. We tried to work

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(85) One family belonged to the Ukrainian Canadian Association but later left to join the Ukrainian Canadian Committee. The family also enrolled in the insurance policies of the Workers' Benevolent Association. Presently the family participates in nationalist activities among the Ukrainians in Kingston, while nevertheless still retaining the aforementioned insurance policies.

out our destinies in this land, but you can never forget that you are an immigrant, the foreigner. Even when you think you've got them all convinced that you're OK, you're wrong. They just tolerate you, that's it. Remember that. And then just find yourself a small piece of land, a quiet place and leave the organizations alone. And if they come to you, drive them off. Don't worry they'll choke themselves to death, don't worry. And if they don't then the powers of those who run this country will take care of them, just like they took care of those in Kingston and in other places in Canada.(86)

The formation of the local branches of the Ukrainian Canadian Association and the Ukrainian Association to Aid the Fatherland produced an immediate reaction within the ranks of local Ukrainian nationalists.(87) And soldiers in the Canadian Armed Forces stationed in Kingston, the Headquarters area of the Third Military District, came to realize that a need existed for organizing the local Ukrainian nationalists. As some of these soldiers had belonged to branches of the Ukrainian Canadian Committee in western Canada (e.g., Winnipeg), they suggested that this organization might serve the interests of those Ukrainians in Kingston who wanted to distinguish themselves from the local Ukrainian pro-communists. As the Ukrainian Canadian Committee was an "umbrella organization" composed of several distinct Ukrainian "nationalist organizations representing the political spectrum from centre to right"(88)

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(86) Interview conducted in Kingston, February 26, 1978.

(87) The Kingston Branch of the Ukrainian Canadian Committee was formed in February 1942. Among its earliest members were Ivan Wityk, members of the Chepesiuk family, and a number of Ukrainian soldiers stationed around Kingston. One of the prominent early members of this Kingston Branch recalls, "...we were generally acceptable to all of the nationalistic Ukrainians, for the group did not represent any particular Ukrainian nationalist faction. There were, you see, already differences of opinion among the nationalist Ukrainians in Kingston as to which group we should form. The Ukrainian Canadian Committee represented a formal expression of a variety of interests and leanings with regards to the Ukrainian questions. But it contained underneath its umbrella people who were ready to stand united in the face of events going on within our city, in Canada and in the Ukraine."

(88) Some of the members of the local branch of the Ukrainian Canadian Committee belonged to the Ukrainian National Federation, a few to the Ukrainian Self-Reliance

the establishment of a local branch would act as a counter to the efforts of the Ukrainian Canadian Association and unite divergent individuals of the nationalist persuasion into one force capable of effective action. One of those responsible for this effort recalled,

When I got there, in 1941, there was nothing going on within the local nationalist Ukrainian group. They had been ignored by the large centres of Ukrainians in Canada, who never made any special attempt to get these people organized unless they needed their money, in which case they would always look up every small bunch of Ukrainians that existed. The people in Kingston had been left so long in their outpost that they were very happy to have someone come in and do anything for them. They were very grateful to see new faces...and when I started teaching Ridna Shkola to their kids (even though I was barely qualified to do so!) they were ecstatic. They wanted to be involved in the national Ukrainian scene and not left out of things. In Kingston they didn't really know what to do about being Ukrainian. I didn't really feel that they had much awareness of what was happening to them in Canada. Anything that resembled their beloved Ukraine they would greet with great enthusiasm, often without suitable reflection on who was involving them and why. So many were used, and other more wary individuals were left with a great need. Outsiders filled that need in Kingston. (89)

In February of 1942 a local branch was established, counting among its first members a number of soldiers and local Ukrainians (Figure 6). One former soldier recalls,

When we got there we found not much, the Ukrainians weren't organized. There was no feeling to organize until we brought it with us.... Kingston was just sitting

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League. One or two of the local Ukrainians favoured the United Hetman Organization. One or two of the Ukrainian servicemen belonged to the Ukrainian Canadian Servicemens' Association which later became the Ukrainian Canadian Veterans' Association.

(89) From an interview conducted in Toronto, January 23, 1978.

there and waiting for someone to come in. There was a feeling of expectancy...when we got there it changed. We felt that we had nothing to hide. We were Ukrainians and proud of it. We gave this feeling to many of those who already lived there and we got the Ukrainian soldiers to give us their support. That really helped establish us in the eyes of the local Kingstonians. The army was something they understood and respected. This all got started in February of 1942.(90)

Shortly after its inception the local branch of the Ukrainian Canadian Committee was involved in replying to an indirect public slur. The Kingston Whig Standard printed a "Letter to the Editor" submitted by a student sympathizer of the local Ukrainian Canadian Association. Its author insinuated that the Ukrainian Canadian Committee was generally disloyal and not genuinely representative of the interests of the Ukrainians in Canada (see Appendix C). The exchange which followed revolved around competing attempts to instill within the Canadian public some idea as to the validity, loyalty and representativeness of one Ukrainian or Ukrainian-Slavic ethnic organization over another. Whatever the success of these repeated efforts was is tangential to this discussion. It is certain, however, that both the Ukrainian Canadian Committee and the Ukrainian Canadian Association sought to foster deliberate images of their own merits and of their protagonists' faults.

As this brief account of some of the incidents in the development of Ukrainian and Ukrainian-Slavic ethnic organizations has made clear, most of the Ukrainians in Kingston knew very well that they were "ethnics" in Canada, that by force of circumstance they would be compelled continuously to articulate their conceptualizations of Ukrainian identity within a setting sometimes indifferent, at other times hostile. They would have to do so in a manner at least superficially acceptable to the Canadian public. Their status as citizens was malleable and often tenuous. Thus the forms of ethnic organization which arose from amongst these individuals reflected not so much "old country" experiences as novel adaptations to the "New World". This was accomplished through the medium of selected elements from "Old World" culture. Selectively choosing from all they had known in Ukraine, each individual and group of Ukrainian immigrants was forced to take a position on Ukrainian identity in Canada. As more groups arose to meet this challenge, antagonism developed

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(90) From an interview conducted in Toronto, February 14, 1978.

and mutual accusations of "betrayal of one's country and people" spread. Previously flexible within-group boundaries became increasingly fixed and allegiances became vocal and militant.

In Kingston co-existence nevertheless developed by the end of World War II. Hostilities between the two major groupings were muted, if nonetheless very much a part of daily existence. A Ukrainian recalls this period of slumbering hostility.

When we'd meet then on the street it would be like a meeting of cats and dogs. They'd speak to you in their own way and we would answer right back in ours. But you didn't spit in their eyes, like you felt you wanted to, because you didn't want to create a public spectacle.(91)

A second Ukrainian recalls,

One day I did have an argument with one of them. We began arguing but he started it. I got quite mad and said that if he kept talking like that I'd take my beer bottle and break his head open! He got really agitated then and began shouting how he would some day bury me. Even though we were both Ukrainians he talked like that. I wasn't going to put up with what he was saying. He ended up paying for his views, for what he said to me that day, by the way he died...good!(92)

Since neither group had overcome its opponent, nor been able to discredit the other sufficiently to ensure its own supremacy (Figure 7), both had to settle into a rather uneasy state of "peace". What had been accomplished by the end of this period was largely negative for not only had the Slavic "clannishness" which had once provided much needed mutual aid been irrevocably shattered but the possibility (if there had ever been one) of any united community of Ukrainians taking shape in Kingston was completely lost.

To a superficial observer, the Ukrainian and Slavic immigrant populations of Kingston in 1945 might have appeared as a relatively peaceful group of people. In

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(91) Interview conducted in Kingston, November 17, 1977.

(92) Interview conducted in Kingston, January 29, 1978.



actuality the situation was quite different. Much of the tension which had split the Ukrainian and Slavic immigrant populations of Kingston into factions was deliberately hidden from public view, lest the displeasure of the Canadian authorities and public be provoked. The passions of these people were balanced delicately, both by the constraints of the Canadian environment and through their own self-restraint. An eruption of these tensions into open hostility awaited favourable conditions.

## UKRAINIAN EMIGRATION TO CANADA AFTER 1945

The history of post-World War II emigration from Ukraine to Canada is inextricably bound up with the movement of Displaced Persons. Even though not all of the immigrants coming into Canada after 1945 were refugees, it was this non-voluntary group which gave the period its unique character. Many refugees embodied both the uncertainties and yet the self-discipline and determination of people caught up in a maelstrom of competing ideologies.

Regrettably little has been published about these Ukrainian Displaced Persons. Only fragmentary or platitudinous accounts exist of their lives in the camps organized by the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration (UNRRA), or about their subsequent impact in the "West". Given the importance often attached to these immigrants, such an oversight is puzzling. If the "DP's" did indeed initiate an "Era of Consummation"<sup>(1)</sup> of the "Ukrainian community in Canada", then a justification must be provided for this belief. It is not clear how any group of individuals can terminate or complete a processual phenomenon. Ethnic identification adapts to the dynamic nature of society. Conceivably, an immigrant cohort might be able to fulfil the aspirations of a particular interest group within the Ukrainian Canadian population, but it is unlikely that any one group could meet the needs of all the disparate and even antagonistic interests which existed among the Ukrainian populace of Canada. The migrants themselves remark on the fact that the formation of distinct groups within the body of the Ukrainian and immigrant populations of Canada cannot be forestalled. The development of novel forms of ethnic consciousness, along with organizational forms representative of these varieties, will presumably continue as long as the society within which these individuals are nestled continues to change. Consummation, in anything but the most immediate sense of the word, is impossible. Only by speaking to the surviving immigrants and their descendants can we grasp something of the realities they knew, or even hope to successfully write the Canadian chapters of their political and historical geographies.

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(1) See Michael M. Marunchak, The Ukrainian Canadians: A History (Winnipeg, 1970), p. 557.

The Displaced Person, as a category, came into being because of the exigencies of life in a war-torn Europe. Hundreds of thousands of individuals were eventually assigned a "DP" status. Some of them had been taken forcibly from Eastern Europe and assigned labour in Germany's ever-expanding war production industries. Designated as "Ost Arbeiter" (East Workers) many were little more than slave labourers. Others escaped the devastation war wrought throughout Eastern Europe by moving west. A few were sympathetic to the German war effort, although many more were members of anti-Soviet (but not pro-Nazi) formations, such as the 14th Waffen Panzer Grenadier Division Galicia.<sup>(2)</sup> Among the refugees there were also intellectuals, workers and professionals who had experienced Soviet rule after the 1939 invasion of Galicia. Many were understandably unwilling to live under Soviet hegemony. Many of those who experienced Soviet rule in 1939 were Ukrainian nationalists taken by the Soviets directly from Polish prisons. One of these men recalls his prison experience.

Prison was a school for us. We learned more about the Ukrainian cause there than on the outside. We taught each other how to propagate the cause, our ideas among

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(2) This formation was incorporated into the Waffen (Armed) SS. Its officers and men were not allowed to wear the distinctive German SS collar runes which were reserved for Aryans. Furthermore, this Division was allowed to include military chaplains amongst its ranks. This was not permitted in German Waffen SS units. Never trusted by the German High Command--which was aware of the fact that most of the Ukrainians in this Division were concerned with establishing an armed force capable of liberating Ukraine--these soldiers finally engaged Soviet forces near Brody, in Ukraine. Subsequently, under the command of General Pavlo Shandruk, it was rechristened as the 1st Division of the Ukrainian National Army and made its way toward British lines and surrender. The post-World War II history of this Division has never been completely recorded but its members retained some group cohesion. They are often found in the ranks of "the League". To call these soldiers "Nazis" is deliberately to distort history. For a more detailed account of the Waffen Panzer Grenadier Division der SS (Ukrainische Nr. 1) see Roger James Bender and Hugh Page Taylor's Uniforms, Organization and History of the Waffen-SS (1975), Volume 4, R. James Bender Publishing, San Jose, California. One of the Division's German officers, Wolf-Dietrich Meike has also written about it in a book entitled The Ukrainian Division "Galicia". The History of its Formation and Military Operations (1943-1945) (1970), Kiev Printers Ltd., Toronto.

the masses of the people and so on. It was in no way a demeaning experience, even though the Poles tried to break us. We were, in the main, strengthened by the time spent in their jails. Not weakened. That was one of the biggest mistakes the Poles ever made. And we made sure they found that out a bit later!(3)

A particularly significant group were members of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (U.P.A.) and the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (O.U.N.) who were ordered into western Europe during 1943-48. Unable successfully to stem the Soviet armies moving into Ukraine, these insurrectionary and militant organizations nevertheless continued underground partisan operations against the advancing Soviet armies and elements of the retreating German forces. To ensure that the ideals of the movement for Ukrainian national liberation would be carried on, whatever the immediate outcome of hostilities might be in Ukraine, these organizations sent a disciplined cadre to the "West", there to establish centres of Ukrainian nationalist resistance. Some of these activists carried on the struggle for Ukrainian independence in Ukraine until the early 1950's. Others continue the struggle politically in the diaspora.(4)

The United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration (U.N.R.R.A.) camps, as they were originally envisioned, were to provide temporary shelter and sustenance for homeless persons left in the wake of World War II. Somewhere around forty million people had been uprooted by the war, of whom five million were considered Soviet nationals. Of these, about 1 million were Ukrainians. Many were housed in "DP-camps" particularly in Germany and Austria (Figure 8A). About 2,034,000 people

(3) From an interview conducted in Kingston, April 3, 1978. Despite the hopes of many Ukrainians that Germany's armed forces would destroy Soviet power and allow the establishment of a Ukrainian state, the Nazis eventually proved to be as repressive as the Soviets. Insurgent warfare flared up against both the Soviet and Nazi armies. Despite the proclamation of an independent Ukrainian state on the 30th June 1941, Ukrainian forces were incapable of maintaining the field. Guerilla warfare was carried on until the early 1950's.

Notably, in the death camps of Auschwitz, Mauthausen, Flossenbug, Gross-Rossen and Majdanek, somewhere between ten and twenty percent of the inmates were Ukrainians and Ukrainian-Jews. See Marunchak, op. cit., p. 561.

(4) Interview conducted in Kingston, April 3, 1978.

were repatriated to the Soviet Union. Approximately 500,000 displaced persons refused to return.<sup>(5)</sup> Forcible repatriation was a tragic blow to those who had relied on the benevolence of the "Western Powers".<sup>(6)</sup> Many committed suicide rather than go back to the Soviet Union.

For those not repatriated, life in the "DP-camps" was far from quiet. Leaders of the émigré Ukrainian nationalist movements had to guard against assassins. Several were eventually murdered by agents of the Soviet Union.<sup>(7)</sup> In fact, everyone within the "DP-camps" had to remain vigilant. Soviet provocateurs and agents, having failed to persuade individuals to repatriate peacefully, turned to more forceful means. Agitators were filtered into the camps. There they preyed upon the inmates' sense of uncertainty. Within the often uncomfortable camps, false reports were spread about the standard of living in Ukraine. Attempts were made to arouse discontent against Western authorities. Paranoia, insecurity and a despondent melancholy were often regular features of camp life. Within such a milieu it was possible to convince some individuals of the superiority of the Soviet Union. Furthermore, anti-Soviet reports were discredited. Leaders of Ukrainian nationalist organizations were branded as "fascists", "American stooges" or "bandits". Homesickness was exploited, pan-Slavic patriotism invoked and character weaknesses were played upon in order to convince the Displaced Persons to voluntarily leave their camps. Clemency was held out to any who willingly returned. Many of those who did were liquidated, even more transported into Soviet Siberian territories.

Failing to convince many of the inmates of the camps to voluntarily return to the "Soviet paradise" the agents of the U.S.S.R. attempted to kidnap prominent Ukrainian

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(5) John Kolasky (1979), The Shattered Illusion: The History of Ukrainian Pro-Communist Organizations in Canada, PMA Books, Toronto, pp. 91-92.

(6) The most recent work on the subject is Nikolai Tolstoy's Victims of Yalta (London, 1977). Regrettably, Tolstoy fails clearly to differentiate between Russians and other Slavs. Nevertheless, the book is one of the most lucid on the whole question of forcible repatriations.

(7) Stephan Bandera, the leader of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists - Bandera faction (O.U.N.-B.) was assassinated by a Soviet agent in 1959. Other prominent Ukrainian nationalist leaders such as Lev Rebet and Eugene Konovalets were also murdered by Soviet agents. See "Ukraine During World War II", in Volodymyr Kubijovyc (ed.), Ukraine: A Concise Encyclopaedia, Vol. I (Toronto, 1963), pp. 871-893.

activists within the camps, along with any other individuals unfortunate enough to be ambushed. Roving squads of "toughs" moved into areas surrounding the "DP-camps" and began systematically abducting individuals into Soviet zones. It is impossible to estimate just how many were taken against their own wills. Many "DP's" remember incidents of friends being kidnapped.<sup>(8)</sup> What the Allies did to prevent these illegal actions is not known. Eventually the "DP's" were allowed to organize self-policing squads to patrol camp perimeters and guard against the encroachments of Soviet infiltrators. These units of "DP militia" were occasionally involved in physical altercations with Soviet agents. They also encouraged protest marches intended to convince the western European public of their plight and Soviet machinations (Figure 9).

Day-to-day existence in the camps, some of which were nearly homogeneously populated with a particular ethnic group (e.g., Ukrainian), was often monotonous and difficult. The camps had been hastily erected or converted from existing, often dilapidated military and civilian facilities. Privacy was limited and life was full of uncertainties. Often the Allied guards who patrolled the camps were ill-disposed toward their charges. Depression was common, given the shock which the inmates received upon learning that some of their supposed protectors were not above forcibly repatriating them to the U.S.S.R. Furthermore, conditions throughout Eastern Europe began to look increasingly unstable. The possibility of another European conflict between the former Allies loomed large. Many DP's were unwilling to leave the camps and migrate to North America, hoping that they might still have a chance to participate in the Ukrainian national liberation struggle.<sup>(9)</sup> When hope finally started to die, it passed away slowly. Many spent several years in the camps. Their hope never entirely disappeared, for the "DP's" carried out of their camps a consciousness of Ukrainian identification so intense and distinct that it appeared almost alien to their predecessors in the "New World". One Ukrainian, who lived in Canada before World War II, recalls the DP's time,

We were hoping that we'd get new people  
for our groups. New blood to pick up our  
spirits, get new ideas into our movement

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(8) Interview conducted in Toronto, June 24, 1978.  
Interview conducted in Kingston, April 3, 1978 and  
June 1, 1978.

(9) Interview conducted in Toronto, November 29, 1977.  
Interview conducted in Kingston, April 3, 1978 and  
June 1, 1978.

and keep our organizations alive. But it didn't happen that way. The newcomers came to us at first but soon after troubles started. The old-timers swore that the newcomers were too inexperienced in Canada to be allowed access to executive positions. They, on the other hand, felt that theirs was the only right idea of what a Ukrainian was. And so it all went to nothing. Resentments set in, disillusionment. They, we called them the DP's because it was a bit insulting, forgot us and started to try and show us how superior they were. I wouldn't say that they proved it, they were not superior to me. Rather I think they were just a very different sort of beast from what we had become over time in Canada. They came from a Ukraine I had never known and one which most of us had no experience of. That's why they were like they were. On the other hand, they didn't have any idea about what things had been like here for those of us who emigrated well before World War II. So they weren't entirely correct in their comments about us. Just different ideas, two different worlds coming together I guess.(10)

For many of this latter group the "DP's" were a novel form of political Ukrainian. The emotional fervour generated by life in a "DP-camp" and by the events of World War II, coupled to the discipline needed to maintain morale and remain unflinchingly loyal to the Ukrainian nationalist cause, brought a new form of Ukrainian ethnicity. With it came a tightly knit organizational structure unrelenting in its aims. This new Ukrainian ethnicity was eventually to constitute a challenge unlike any experienced before by existing Ukrainian and Ukrainian-Slavic ethnic organizations in Canada. While adapting to "New World" realities, the "DP" Ukrainians partially regenerated Ukrainian organizational life in Canada, thereby transforming the environment in which they found themselves. The basis of the "DP's" organizational strength lay in their experience of World War II and the Displaced Person-Camps.(11)

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(10) Interview conducted in Toronto, February 14, 1978.

(11) For a review of the efforts of the various Ukrainian nationalist organizations during World War II see John A. Armstrong's, Ukrainian Nationalism, 1939-1945 (New York, 1955). Critical remarks about Armstrong's work are presented in Alexander Motyl's "The Ukrainian Nationalist Movement and the Galician Reality", in META (A Quarterly Journal of Ukrainian Studies), Vol. I, no. 1, 1975, pp. 40-80. For a polemical view see Michael Hanusiak's Lest We Forget (Toronto, 1976).

Organizational existence in the "DP-camps" developed quickly for the "DP's" had set up self-defense groups and taken into hand a considerable amount of the infrastructure required to physically maintain their camps on a daily basis. For example, "DP's" manned the post office, the kitchens and the physical plant. They also did some guard duty, organized camp newspapers, schools and training in various crafts and trades. Determined to achieve the ultimate goal of the Ukrainian cause, an independent Ukrainian state, they banded together to ensure the continuation of their struggle, even if by other means. Concurrently they began to establish a rapport with their new U.N.R.R.A. "hosts". One example of the way in which these Ukrainians tended selectively to adapt themselves to the conditions of life (or what were perceived to be the conditions of life) in the "New World" is found in this anecdote,

In our camp, as in many others, we got schools and classes organized. You could take many different courses, some of them at the university-level. Many people opted out for a course in a trade or some particularly technical field. Topics such as watch-making and repair or forestry were popular. But the interesting thing was the enrollment. This tended to vary from month to month, depending on what we felt the needs of the country we wanted to emigrate to were. I, for example, spent about seven months doing a forestry course. I enjoyed it. I also thought that Canada, with her enormous reserves of timber, would likely look for forestry people in the camps. Well, one day we got news of the fact that foresters weren't being sought. So I switched to watch-making and repair. A trade like that was welcome and required just about anywhere. And eventually that specialization got me and a number of fellows who I taught, and helped, to Canada. It should be mentioned that English-language courses were favoured with high attendance rates.(12)

Coming from all of the regions of Ukraine (although the majority were from eastern Galicia), the "DP" group was far less homogeneous in its composition than previous Ukrainian immigrant groups. A large percentage were labourers and farmers, but there were also

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(12) From an interview conducted in Kingston, June 1, 1978.



teachers, lawyers, priests, doctors, soldiers and skilled craftsmen.(13) Within the camps, these people learned from each other, and correspondingly strengthened the idea of a Ukrainian independence movement. Contacts were re-established with O.U.N. and U.P.A. cells in Eastern Europe. Efforts were begun to convince the "West" of the legitimacy of the Displaced Persons' claims to political refugee status and sanctuary, and to discredit Soviet propaganda. These efforts achieved only a limited success. In Canada the Ukrainian Canadian Relief Fund, which had been established as early as 1944 by the Ukrainian Canadian Committee(14) was given new impetus. Thousands of dollars were eventually sent to aid the "DP's". Anthony Hlynka, M.P., made a tour of the camps, there contacting committees and members of the Ukrainian nationalist organizations. His support was particularly helpful in aiding the migration of Ukrainian Displaced Persons to Canada.(15)

In company with the United Ukrainian American Relief Committee Incorporated, the Ukrainian Canadian Relief Fund and the Ukrainian Canadian Servicemens' Association organized a Central Ukrainian Relief Bureau (C.U.R.B.) in June of 1945. At first this organization was located in the offices of the Ukrainian Canadian Servicemens' Association in Great Britain, but it later transferred its main operations to the British-controlled zone of Germany.(16) Co-operating with the Red Cross and the Co-operative for American Relief Everywhere Incorporated (C.A.R.E.) the group also supported the activities of the International Refugee Organization (I.R.O.) until the dissolution of

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(13) There are no detailed statistical analyses of the social structure of this immigration. Marunchak (p. 569) states that: 50% were farmers, 6% were engineers, mechanics and technicians, 2% were artists of various types, and 25% were craftsmen. The remainder were doctors and dentists, university professors and some were clergymen, among whom there were a small number of bishops.

(14) Marunchak, op. cit., p. 564.

(15) A. Hlynka presented a lengthy report to the Standing Committee on Immigration and Labour. He sought particularly to demonstrate that immigrants were needed to fulfil Canada's labour needs and emphasized the utility of the "DP's" as workers.

(16) G. R. B. Panchuk, a Canadian-born Ukrainian, was instrumental in establishing and carrying out U.C.S.A., C.U.R.B. and later U.C.V.A. activities both in Europe and back in Canada. The liaisons between Canadian and British Ukrainian groupings and their post-World War II relief programmes have yet to be studied.

that organization in 1951. The same year marked the end of this phase of the immigration of Ukrainians to Canada. By 1950 some ninety percent of those who had been in the "DP-camps" in Europe had been resettled in countries willing to accept them, including Canada(17). The latter had come in the following numbers:(18)

Ukrainian Immigrants to Canada in the  
Post-World War II Period

<u>Year</u>	<u>No. of Immigrants</u>
1946-47	103
1947-48	3,386
1948-49	10,486
1949-50	5,865
1950-51	3,559
1951-52	7,435
<i>5455</i>	<i>3,000</i>

Source: Slavs in Canada, vol. I, p. 42.

After 1952 the number of Ukrainians emigrating to Canada declined appreciably, totalling only about 3,000 persons between 1952 and 1955.

Of course, the movement into the country of thousands of "DP's" with a new and rigid concept of their Ukrainian identity was not greeted with equanimity by many of those already residing there. Whereas many sincerely believed that these highly motivated people would provide much needed support for the nationalist groupings of Ukrainians in Canada, and that the migrants would enter already existing ethnic organizations with little difficulty, this expectation was not fulfilled. The Displaced Persons had their own ideas as to what needed to be done in Canada. Although the balance which existed between the "left" and the nationalist Ukrainian groupings in Canada was finally tipped in favour of the nationalists this did not occur as many members of the existing nationalist persuasions hoped it would. On both sides of the Atlantic forces of self interest were at work blurring the differences between nationalist Ukrainian Canadians and the nationalist Ukrainian DP's. When these differences

(17) Marunchak, op. cit., p. 565.

(18) Vladimir J. Kaye, "Three Phases of Ukrainian Immigration" in Slavs in Canada (Edmonton, 1966), Vol. I, p. 42.

finally became apparent in Canada, the eager anticipation with which many nationalist Ukrainian Canadians had awaited the arrival of the new wave of immigrants turned to bitter disappointment.(19)

In contrast to the optimism of the nationalists, those "of the left" had felt concern over the arrival of the Displaced Persons in Canada. Even before 1946 the Ukrainian Labour and Farmer Temple Association (the U.L.F.T.A.) and its successor, the Association of Ukrainian Canadians (A.U.C.) as well as the Workers' Benevolent Association (W.B.A.) began protesting their entry to the government.(20)

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(19) Interview conducted in Toronto, February 14, 1978.

(20) See Proceedings of the Standing Committee on Immigration and Labour, On the Operation and Administration of the Immigration Act, etc., No. 2, Wednesday, May 29, 1946. The Honourable James Murdock, P.C., Chairman, The Senate of Canada, Ottawa.

The Association of Ukrainian Canadians, the Ukrainian Labour and Farmer Temple Association, the Workers' Benevolent Association, and Ukrainian Life (Toronto) all joined together to present a brief to the Committee. It is interesting to note the presence of the U.L.F.T.A., an organization which had been banned and supposedly ceased functioning in the early years of World War II.

A number of articles appeared in Ukrainian Life (Toronto), Ukrainian Word (Winnipeg), and in the Ukrainian Canadian (Toronto) opposing the admission of Ukrainian Displaced Persons. For example, on March 15, 1948 the Ukrainian Canadian carried an article entitled "What of the DP's?" In this article it noted that "some of them are outright Nazis, others nationalist collaborators of the German fascists, and also some who, in search of adventure or an easy way of getting into "golden" Canada find their way into the camps...the majority constitute a dangerous element in Canada". The Ukrainian Canadian reported that the "primary reason for which the DP's are being brought into Canada is not only to provide cheap and willing labour but also to be used to beat down the gains made by the organized working class of our country, the DP's are being groomed to attack members of the Association of United Ukrainian Canadians". This report was printed on January 15, 1949. Later the Ukrainian Canadian became even more vociferous--"Deport the Animals!", cried the headlines of January 1, 1950.

Physical violence did erupt between the various Ukrainian groupings. The most prominent altercation took place on October 8, 1950 when unknown individuals bombed the Association of United Ukrainian Canadians' hall at 300 Bathurst St., Toronto. The Ukrainian Canadian carried the headline "Nazis Bomb AUUC Hall" on October 15, 1950.

Strongly condemning any changes to the immigration laws which might allow these immigrants into Canada, their spokesmen characterized the Displaced Persons in the following manner:

This group of Ukrainian so-called "displaced persons" in Europe is constituted of roughly three categories: (1) war criminals; (2) former collaborators with German occupation authorities in the Ukraine; and (3) a small group of people who have been beguiled into believing that they can escape the hardships of post-war restoration in their war-shattered native land by emigrating to Canada. (21)

Their position was that the Displaced Persons would constitute a "burden to the state" because there were few farmers and labourers amongst the group. It went on to label the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (U.P.A.) as a "band of terrorists still operating and burning villages, looting and massacring peaceful inhabitants" and as "fascists". Condemning the "propaganda which has been permitted in the 'displaced persons' camps in Europe which influences them against repatriation to their homeland either by intimidation or false promises" these Ukrainian organizations spoke of the unacceptability of the Displaced Persons as suitable immigrants for Canada. Although recognizing the need for immigrants in general their representative, Stephan Macievich, challenged the Ukrainian Canadian Committee's memoranda supporting the immigration of Ukrainian Displaced Persons. (22)

On the same day that the Senate Standing Committee on Labour and Immigration was holding its hearings (23) the Minister of Mines and Resources, the Honourable J. A. Glen, announced in Parliament that the following categories of immigrants would be allowed to immigrate:

Father or mother, unmarried son or daughter age 18 or over, unmarried brother or sister, orphaned male or female cousin under the age of 16 years, of a resident of Canada who was legally admitted and who is financially able to accept and take care of such a relative. (24)

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(21) See Proceedings of the Standing Committee on Immigration and Labour, op. cit., p. 43.

(22) Macievich himself noted that "Canada needs immigrants for its development". Standing Committee, op. cit., p. 53.

(23) Marunchak, op. cit., p. 563.

(24) Order-in-Council No. 2071, May 28, 1946, Ottawa.

The Order-in-Council (No. 2071) which legally re-established the flow of Ukrainian immigrants to Canada was held to be the "first breakthrough in Canadian immigration policy after World War II."<sup>(25)</sup> Possibly, however, this "breakthrough" was predicated more on the national interest than on any altruistic feelings. J. A. Glen was both the Minister of Mines and Resources and in charge of Immigration. His willingness to admit Ukrainians into Canada was clearly not influenced by the Standing Committee's deliberations<sup>(26)</sup> but may have been based upon Canada's need to acquire new immigrants drawn from the labouring classes. Previous immigrants had often been brought in to fulfil Canada's labour needs, and so too were many of these most recent Ukrainian immigrants. Not only did Canada still need immigrants, as A. Hlynka remarked upon in his comments to the aforementioned Standing Committee [see Appendix D] but their stringently anti-Communist stance may have been regarded as a useful means of keeping in check labour militancy among other Slavic workers.<sup>(27)</sup> The organizational hierarchy of the Displaced Persons' organizations was such that most of the "DP's" were "the organization's men", ready, able and willing to carry out any task set before them by their leaders. After months or years of enforced association in the Displaced Persons camps these men and women had developed a distinct point of view, which made them intolerant of any deviation from their line and inclined to set themselves apart as a separate group within the Ukrainian Canadian population.

As happened more than once during the course of ✓ Ukrainian settlement in Canada, so too in the late 1940's, mutually supportive interests came together to facilitate immigration. Canada needed labourers, and the Displaced Persons needed a safe haven from which they could again begin to work for the liberation of Ukraine. One of the

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(25) Marunchak, op. cit., p. 563.

(26) The Standing Committee was meeting on the very same day that Minister Glen made his announcement.

(27) The tensions which sporadically degenerated into physical altercations between members of the Association of United Ukrainian Canadians and the "DP's" need not have been deliberately instigated. However, the subsequent decline in membership in the A.U.U.C. did significantly damage the group's viability in Canada. One of the executive members of this organization recalls, "It was not just a decline brought about by improved economic conditions in Canada. The nature of the time--the Cold War Period--and the presence of the DP element did create in our young people quite a fear...we have never been able to completely overcome the damage we sustained in those years, nor overcome that fear which still lingers in many of our members and sympathizers." From an interview conducted in Toronto, January 26 and February 15, 1978.

DP's recalls,

We had to regroup in North America--ready ourselves for what we thought was going to soon enough develop into a war between the Communists and the democracies of the west. We couldn't understand it when nothing happened, for we thought that if they'd attack the Nazi dictator, who was at least anti-Soviet, the Americans and British would at least challenge the Soviet Russian bear. All they had to do was see that animal in its true form. In Europe they did. Before that we'd all waited in our camps in Germany. But nothing came of our plans. The West didn't do anything, just sat back. Maybe the West will learn yet. It is later than they realize, you know.(28)

Another individual remembers,

Canada is not our native land, but we came here and were given her protection and her citizenship. That was enough. We owe her something for that. And I believe what we can best give her is an understanding of what we know best--namely the way in which the atheistic and communistic forces of Bolshevik Russia work to subvert democratic countries. We can give Canada this knowledge, and a few other insights into some different types of groups of people, so that she can struggle and set herself free. So that she does not suffer as we suffered in our own land. And we can struggle on for the rights of all men and our nation at the same time. But first we must fight for the rights of the nation. There can be no abstract, human rights without nations to safeguard them. Nations submerged can protect no one. Fighting for individuals may be moral but it is really futile, when whole nations are enslaved. What can an individual matter, when he is compared to the nation? What can guarantee freedom for all men, if it is not the nation?(29)

Unlike many of their predecessors those coming during the last major "wave" of Ukrainian immigration to Canada were less naive about why they were allowed into the country

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(28) From an interview conducted in Kingston, June 5, 1978.

(29) From an interview conducted in Toronto, November 29, 1977.

and what sort of life they would find in this "New World". Not only had channels of communication been established between the Displaced Persons and various Ukrainian ethnic organizations throughout North America but the migrants often received letters from relatives already settled in the "West". There was also a well-developed and surprisingly well-informed series of camp newspapers.

Coming to Canada as political refugees many Displaced Persons soon realized that theirs was to be the lot of the immigrant. Henceforth, they did not feel unduly slighted by the fact that they were not accorded special privileges but were expected to prove themselves, often through hard work of the lowliest type then available. They seem to have realized that immigrants are rarely allowed more than even the basic rights of citizenship before they have contributed to a nation's growth. Many of the Displaced Persons came prepared to work as hard as need be. Arriving with few mistaken impressions about life in Canada--many of them had to spend a year or two doing contract work such as working the mines of northern Ontario or on the beet fields of western Canada<sup>(30)</sup>--these immigrants located predominantly in the cities of eastern Canada.<sup>(31)</sup> Therein they quickly established their own housing enclaves or hierarchical, and rigidly structured organizations which worked equally well at keeping their group together. The solidarity of the Displaced Persons, which they eventually used to form the Canadian League for the Liberation of Ukraine,<sup>(32)</sup> surpassed that which other Ukrainian and Ukrainian-Slavic ethnic groupings in Canada had been able to maintain. "The League" eventually became the most prominent champion of the ideal of an independent and sovereign Ukraine in Canada. The "DP mentality", a mentality of the dispossessed but far from beaten, emerged as a militant and independent social force within the Ukrainian Canadian milieu--a power which interacted with other groups only within strictly controlled settings. For vigour and dedication the Canadian League for the Liberation of Ukraine was rarely to be overshadowed. It

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-(30) To repay the costs involved in moving them to Canada, many Displaced Persons were obligated to spend one year working off their debts. Many laboured in the lumber and mining camps of northern Ontario, while others were employed on western Canadian farms.

(31) About eighty percent of this immigration settled in or near Toronto. This city rapidly became the focal point for this immigration and consequently usurped Winnipeg's previous dominance as a center for Ukrainians in Canada. However, in recent years the city of Edmonton appears to have succeeded Toronto in this regard.

(32) Formed in Toronto in May 1949, the Canadian League for Ukraine's Liberation now has 52 active branches throughout Canada, not including some twenty women's groups. Since 1959, this organization has been a prominent member of the Ukrainian Canadian Committee's national executive.

became and has remained an enigma for some of the other nationalist groupings, and something of a terror for not a few of those "on the left". A prominent member of the Canadian League for Ukraine's Liberation summarizes his experience.

The League was organized not because there was some physical need for the formation of yet another Ukrainian organization in Canada but because there was a spiritual need for such a development. We newcomers had come out of the cauldron of Ukraine in World War II and we brought with us a new idea of what it meant to be a Ukrainian in modern Ukraine. Our minds hadn't stopped in 1921 like some of those belonging to the immigrants in Canada who got here shortly after that year. The struggle did not die with Petliura, you know. We went underground and fought the Poles and the Bolshevik Muscovites. History didn't stop and neither did we. For me the struggle went on until 1945 in the Ukraine. Now I struggle here for the same thing. Others were left there to fight and they did so as long as they could. Others fight now, only not often with guns.

Unfortunately for everyone concerned, when we got to Canada those here often didn't even believe what we told them about conditions in Ukraine...they even sometimes thought we lied. They wouldn't believe stories we told them about the artificial famine, or about the U.P.A. and O.U.N. They thought they knew it all, sitting here in Canada dreaming World War I fantasies! We tried to teach them, and some did learn. But many were too set in their ways. It was a different world they had known from ours and there seemed to be no way to bridge that gap that had grown up between us and them. Blood may have joined us, but experiences and environments had changed us so much that I doubt we'll ever get going as Ukrainians again. We spoke a common language then, and we still do, but each group has a different tongue.(33)

Whether persecutor or ally, "the League" went on to establish itself in Canada as possibly the most authoritative spokesman for many Ukrainians, even if more recent developments within the national environment have tended to constrain its effectiveness.

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(33) From an interview conducted in Toronto, August 28, 1978.



## VI

### POST-WAR UKRAINIAN IMMIGRANTS IN KINGSTON

Irreconcilable differences had segmented the Ukrainians of Kingston into distinct and mutually antagonistic factions even before the end of World War II. Post-war immigration exacerbated these differences, resulting in even more marked polarizations and threatening the complete collapse of most of the previously existing Ukrainian and Ukrainian-Slavic ethnic organizations in Kingston. Following World War II, four distinctly Ukrainian nationalist ethnic organizations developed within the city. A Ukrainian Catholic Parish was also formed.<sup>(1)</sup> The story of the rise of these organizations can be used further to develop the idea that specific environments have generated and/or reinforced distinctive types of ethnicity, thereby inevitably increasing factionalism within immigrant populations.

The first Ukrainians to arrive in Kingston after 1945 were soldiers. Many Ukrainians serving in His Majesty's Forces had travelled through Kingston on their way to European postings. Now, again the city was a centre for many soldiers returning home. Some of these men temporarily barracked in Kingston during the course of the war years while others merely passed by. Frank Spicoluk, whose correspondence with local members of the Ukrainian Canadian Committee has been preserved, wrote with regard to life in Kingston then:

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(1) The Ukrainian Canadian Veterans' Association was formed in 1945-46; the Ukrainian Sporting 'SITCH' Association (later the United Hetman Organization) on September 9, 1946; the Canadian League for Ukraine's Liberation on August 9, 1953 and the Ukrainian Sports Club of Kingston on June 3, 1956.

St. Michaels' Ukrainian Catholic Parish Committee held its first meeting on September 1, 1952.

No Ukrainian Orthodox organizations were organized in Kingston.

The Ukrainian Canadian Association, Kingston Branch, began referring to itself as the Kingston Branch of the Association of United Ukrainian Canadians around 1943. Officers from this last named organization travelled from Toronto to Kingston in 1967 to dispose of the Ukrainian Labour Hall. The building and its contents were signed over to the Association of United Ukrainian Canadians in 1947.

It wasn't before 1943 or so that I really met the group there in Kingston. It was an organized group, the local Branch of the Ukrainian Canadian Committee, K.Y.K. They got together in private Ukrainian homes around the city. Petrash, he was Petros then, was one of the great benefactors of the Ukrainians in Kingston... he was a shoemaker by trade. On Princess and Alfred Streets he had a house where we had a Christmas gathering. My wife had met him once when taking my shoes in to be fixed. So we were invited and we both went. There were about forty people gathered together, in a very small house. Men, women and children. The Stephensons were there, the Kotowitch clan, the Wityks, Petrash and his wife, the Kuliks, the Storochuks, Yankovitches and the Biss family. The Kunaneces too. Then there were several whose names I forget as well. We all gathered together and celebrated Christmas as one big family. There was a real spirit of togetherness. This was the way in which the Ukrainian Canadian Committee operated.(2)

Kingston was an arrival point not only for a number of Ukrainians who had served in Canada's military formations but also for some who had been soldiers of other Allied powers. Members of a so-called "Polish Legion" (probably members of the Second Polish Corps, organized by the British and commanded by General Anders) arrived in Kingston in 1946. Approximately three hundred of these soldiers were quartered in Barriefield. Among these troops there were a number of Ukrainians. Local Ukrainians encouraged these men to attend meetings of the Ukrainian Canadian Committee and to acquaint themselves with the Ukrainian way-of-life in the city.

About three hundred soldiers from a so-called Polish Division arrived at Barriefield in 1946. Among them were a number of Ukrainian soldiers. Even though some of these were at first afraid to admit that they were Ukrainian, a few eventually did so. They were aware of who they were but very unsure of whether or not they could admit to it in Canada without possibly getting into trouble, being put

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(2) See F. Spicoluk to Members of K.Y.K., Kingston, March 3, 1944. From an interview conducted in Toronto, February 18, 1978.

down, as they said. At any rate we got them to come down into the city and visit a few of our Ukrainian homes. I believe we gave them the real encouragement it took to begin speaking out as Ukrainians and not as Poles, which they were not. They needed to be taught about what it was like in Canada.(3)

Attempting to instill in these soldiers some awareness of the norms and rules of behaviour of nationalist Ukrainians in Canada was an important motive behind inviting them into local Ukrainian homes. There is evidence to suggest that these troops appreciated the effort of the local Ukrainian populace. One former soldier recalls that

...they would invite us into their homes and speak to us of their organization in Canada, of how they lived, of what they had gone through in Canada and of how they still worked for the Ukraine and Ukrainians here. I was impressed. I knew that I was a Ukrainian, in fact I had known that particular fact for a long time. But now I was something different than before. For I knew that I could still do something in Canada as a Ukrainian, do good work in the new land. I was told that I could do things like that by the people in Kingston, who were really the first grouping of Ukrainians I'd encountered away from the homeland. Well there had been a few in England, but not as organized. I could see that those people in Kingston spoke the truth, for they had an organization, it wasn't secretive about its activities and it seemed to have earned the respect, or at least the tolerance, of the English people in Kingston.

Beginning again was difficult you know, but now I saw that there was an opening for me as a Ukrainian in Canada...not just similar to what I was (like being a Pole) but something which was real and a part of my being. Not foreign! Even though I only saw a few Ukrainians in Kingston itself I could see that we were acceptable and could act for the motherland here too. I will always remember how well those people in Kingston treated

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(3) Interview conducted in Kingston, December 10, 1977.

me. Kingston is one place I won't ever forget. Tell them that! And tell them that they were the ones who gave many of us the hope that we needed to have in order to go on. And the example.(4)

None of these soldiers settled in Kingston yet their time there seems to have been formative. Many went on to join Ukrainian nationalist organizations. A few even became prominent members of such organizations.

A number of young Ukrainian students attending Queen's University, in company with Ukrainian-Canadian soldiers stationed at Barriefield, had come together with local residents to form the Kingston Branch of the Ukrainian Canadian Committee in 1942. Although the Kingston scene was thereby transformed, many of the Ukrainians in Kingston realized that if their organization was to survive a measure of self-sufficiency would have to be attained.

We started to realize that the soldiers weren't going to stay with us forever. They were being moved about as the war developed and so couldn't always help. As we had a few local people who were good organization-men we had to sit up and begin strengthening our own group internally. It was up to us local residents to carry on what had been started and do so without outside aid. So we got to it. The foundations of much of that which you see today in Kingston were laid by us, the locals.(5)

Possibly because of the dominantly military influence of the period, the first Ukrainian ethnic organization to get established in the immediate post-World War II years was a small branch of the Ukrainian Canadian Veterans' Association. During the war itself, local Ukrainians had actively participated in soliciting funds for the Red Cross(6)

(4) Interview conducted in Toronto, January 24, 1978.

(5) Interview conducted in Kingston, November 10, 1977.

(6) The local Branch of the Ukrainian Canadian Committee, the Ukrainian Canadian Association, and the Workers' Benevolent Association, Kingston Branch No. 140 all held activities on behalf of the Red Cross. The Ukrainian Canadian Committee, for example, held a lottery drawing for Ukrainian embroidery at Ontario Hall, Queen's University on April 27, 1942. This event was reported in the Kingston Whig Standard on the following day. "The Kingston Branch of the Canadian Ukrainian Society sponsored a drawing for embroidery in the Red Cross work room of Ontario Hall.... The Society expects to turn over to the Red Cross \$250

and a correspondence had been initiated between local Ukrainian nationalists and the Ukrainian Canadian Servicemen's Association (Active Service - Overseas).<sup>(7)</sup> Later, correspondence was carried on with the Ukrainian Canadian Veterans' Association. This organization's official publication, "Opinion" began listing a Kingston Branch whose officer was Peter Kurman.<sup>(8)</sup> Although the members of the Ukrainian Canadian Veterans' Association in Kingston never played a particularly distinct role within the city --by and large they tended to be subsumed within the Ukrainian Canadian Committee's local activities--the group did carry on activities which could only have helped to legitimize the Ukrainian nationalist element.<sup>(9)</sup>

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for this event.... During the evening a number of Ukrainian girls dressed in their native costumes sang several songs."

The pro-communist Ukrainian-Slavic ethnic organizations in Kingston were also concerned about their public image. They actively worked for the Red Cross. This was acknowledged in a letter sent from C. P. Dalton, Local President of the Red Cross, to members of the Ukrainian Association to Aid the Fatherland in February of 1942. Dalton's letter and a note about "The Red Cross in Kingston Thanks the Ukrainian Association to Aid the Fatherland for Active Work in the Campaign", were inserted in the February 19, 1942 issue of Ukrainian Life (p. 6).

Monies collected by the Ukrainian Canadian Committee went to the aid of Allied soldiers and to Ukrainian Canadian servicemen overseas. Ukrainian Association to Aid the Fatherland funds were generally sent to Soviet soldiers. P. Kotowitch, Secretary of the Ukrainian Association to Aid the Fatherland in Kingston during 1942, reported that Kingston's Branch had raised \$531.18 in its campaign locally (Ukrainian Life, February 19, 1942).

(7) For example, see A. Charniawsky (for the Ukrainian Canadian Servicemen's Association, Active Service-Overseas, London, England) to Mr. Stephenson, Rideau Street, Kingston, Ont., March 11, 1945. (Copy deposited in the archives of the Multicultural History Society of Ontario, Toronto).

(8) For example, see I. Karasevich (for the Ukrainian Canadian Veterans' Association, Winnipeg, Manitoba) to Mr. J. Wityk, Kingston, Ontario, March 1, 1945. (Copy deposited in the archives of the Multicultural History Society of Ontario, Toronto).

(9) Members of the Kingston Branch maintained contact with the central headquarters of this organization. Most supported the local Branch of the Ukrainian Canadian Committee, and the nationalist position in general. Veterans of the war, indisputably loyal as far as the general Canadian public was concerned, they were able to convince many Canadians of the perfidious nature of the "Ukrainian

On September 9, 1946 the Kingston Branch of the Ukrainian Sporting 'SITCH' Association was formed.<sup>(10)</sup> Information about this group's raison d'etre is sketchy. All that remains to indicate that such a group even existed is an official Charter and a few pieces of correspondence.<sup>(11)</sup> There is little information about the membership of the group or its goals in Kingston. Clearly, the military-oriented milieu of the time gave some impetus for the formation of this martial organization. Ivan Wityk, who became the group's first secretary,<sup>(12)</sup> joined a number of local Ukrainian war veterans<sup>(13)</sup> to form this group. They were all attracted to the organization's effective propaganda. This attraction was reinforced by

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communists". Ukrainian-Canadian veterans did more than is generally acknowledged to foster a deliberate image of the "good Ukrainian" in the public's mind. "The League" was to perform a similar function when it instilled the "organization-man" idea.

(10) Some of the correspondence between the Headquarters of the Ukrainian Sporting 'SITCH' Association and the Kingston group survives. Letters for the period from September 1946 to January 1947 were located.

The Charter which was presented to the group noted "To Whom It May Concern" that the local Branch of the Ukrainian Sporting 'SITCH' Association "at the City of Kingston, Ontario is regularly and duly constituted one and has the right to carry on the work of the Organization in accordance with the Dominion Charter issued the 3rd day of (sic) December, 1924/and 11-th day of March, 1925/and Statutes."

(11) The five letters which have been found are dated as follows: September 14, September 26, November 8, November 25, 1946 and January 20, 1947. The Charter is dated September 9, 1947. A personal information membership form for I. Wityk was also located. It is dated September 8, 1946. (Copies deposited in the archives of the Multicultural History Society of Ontario, Toronto).

(12) Interview conducted in Kingston, December 10, 1978. Apparently the secretary of this group, and a number of the local Ukrainians, felt that the organization provided a logical rallying point for "nationalists" from all of the immigrations. It was a martial organization, which would appeal to veterans and members of the U.P.A./O.U.N. and would, because of its pronounced monarchist ideology, be appealing for a Canadian public. The Ukrainian Sporting 'SITCH' Association was also thought to be an energetic Dominion-wide organization.

(13) Two local members of the Ukrainian Sporting 'SITCH' Association were Peter Kurman and Mr. S. Charitoniuk.

the able polemicist, M. Hethman, who carried on a rousing, if limited, correspondence with the local members and even visited the city on one occasion.(14) Local members hoped that the monarchist ideology of the Ukrainian Sporting 'SITCH' Association would provide other Ukrainian nationalists in the city with a specific Ukrainian nationalist ethic around which to align themselves. As it turned out the founders of the United Hetman Association (Kingston Branch) seem to have been overly impressed with the parent organization's potential. The United Hetman Association, although Dominion-wide and headquartered in Toronto, was actually quite constrained in its ability to give succour to local branches. The local group eventually disintegrated without ever having gained much recognition from Ukrainians in Kingston(15) or the general public of the city.(16) This was one form of Ukrainian ethnic organization which could neither raise the enthusiasm of many local Ukrainians, nor serve as a forum which they could use to present themselves to the "English" public. Most local Ukrainians were looking for a more modern and acceptable Ukrainian nationalist organization.

A novel form was not long in coming. By the late 1940's and throughout the early 1950's, Ukrainian Displaced

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(14) M. Hethman recalls visiting the group that later formed the 'SITCH' as early as the 1930's, although he could not specifically recall the exact year. His impressions were that "There were about 8 or 10 people in our organization there...they had a branch for a while. I felt that it was a good thing for us to have a branch in Kingston but I realized that there was no leader there. So, without someone keeping them going they would eventually disappear. No one looked after them. We didn't have enough intelligent organizers to allow us to return to small towns, or retain our lead throughout Canada. Couldn't spend the effort required to keep a place like Kingston going. So we are now only a small group of people. We are not a mass organization. But I'll tell you this, I am a Ukrainian. And if I alone call myself a Ukrainian, then there exists a Ukraine."

From an interview conducted in Toronto, January 25, 1978.

(15) Very few of those interviewed were able to identify members of the Ukrainian Sporting 'SITCH' Association in Kingston. Quite a few were completely unaware of the existence of such a group in Kingston.

(16) No public announcement was ever made about the formation of this group. There are no references to it in the pages of the Kingston Whig Standard. Possibly the local branch was mentioned in the parent organization's newspaper, the Ukrainian Toiler. Back issues of this newspaper were not examined.

Persons began moving into Kingston. Referred to by some as "the new Ukrainians" these men and women were soon seen to be "a breed apart from us, a difficult group of people to understand."<sup>(17)</sup> Nevertheless, the newcomers were at first welcomed by most of the Ukrainians in Kingston.

The Ukrainians in Kingston welcomed the DP's. We all did that, all across Canada. Except for the Communists of course. We in Kingston felt that the DP's were our brothers and sisters and that we should help them.<sup>(18)</sup>

Antagonisms developed later, much as they had between members of the second immigration and their predecessors. The earliest (pre-World War I) immigrants tended to ignore the arguments which developed between the second immigration and the "DP's". Most of them had long disliked the idea of ethnic organizations and they continued doing so. Members of the second immigration accused the newcomers of downplaying their predecessors' achievements in Canada, of not being aware of Canadian conditions in the present and as they had evolved in the past,<sup>(19)</sup> and of being unwilling to submit to the Ukrainian organizations which already existed in Canada. The "DP's", in turn, implied that many of the second immigration were "stuck in the past" and thus incapable of representing a Ukrainian cause which they no longer understood. Looking with some alarm upon the large numbers of "communists" among the Ukrainian population in Canada the "DP's" regarded this as a sure sign of the second immigration's inability to cope with its opponents. Existing Ukrainian nationalist organizations in Canada were found to be insufficiently militant towards "communism" and therefore incapable of serving as vehicles for the continuation of the Ukrainian national liberation struggle. A new organization would have to be formed.<sup>(20)</sup>

The inability of many of the Displaced Persons to recognize that there may have been substantial reasons

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(17) Interview conducted in Oshawa, June 19, 1978.

(18) Interview conducted in Toronto, February 15, 1978.

(19) Interview conducted in Toronto, December 13, 1978.

(20) The Canadian League for the Liberation of Ukraine was formed on May 1, 1949. The first Dominion-wide meeting was held in Toronto on the 25th of December 1949. As the Statutes of "the League" [see Appendix E] make clear, the organization was formed for some very specific reasons.



behind the strength of such organizations as the Association of United Ukrainian Canadians--reasons which might once have attracted the support of many Ukrainian immigrants, even if they were no longer operative--was a source of considerable friction. The Ukrainian "DP's" refused to take cognizance of the fact that historically the existence of the average Ukrainian immigrant had been far from comfortable, his day-to-day working conditions poor, the future providing no sure hope of a change for the better. In such an environment an organization like the Ukrainian Labour and Farmer Temple Association (later renamed the Association of United Ukrainian Canadians) flourished. Even though times had changed, many of the immigrants had remained within particular ethnic organizations out of loyalty and habit. Some had vested interests in the maintenance of such groups.

The "DP's" failed to make themselves aware of the past of many of these Ukrainian immigrants. They felt themselves part of a movement of the present whose goal lay in the future. They concentrated their efforts on laying plans for the discrediting or subjugation of organizations like the A.U.U.C. and for the forging of a vigorously new Ukrainian nationalist ethnic organization in Canada. It was as an outcome of these forces that the Canadian League for the Liberation of Ukraine was formed. One "League" member notes,

Why did we form "the League"? Well you see, K.Y.K. (Ukrainian Canadian Committee) was formed, primarily, from the older immigrants. Of those who came in just after World War I, or during the dirty-thirties. We soon found ourselves having problems with them. Especially when a few people left K.Y.K. and joined "the League". Problems tended to be about ideology, although everyone will admit that personality problems also played a very considerable role. Don't forget that these older immigrants couldn't bring themselves to accept the fact that a new organization was being formed right in amongst them. Their hegemony was being destroyed and they resented that tremendously. They were no longer going to be able to claim that they were the representatives of the Ukrainian ideal in Canada. They were supplanted.(21)

As more Ukrainian Displaced Persons arrived in Kingston they began to agitate for their own organization and to

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(21) From an interview conducted in Kingston, April 3, 1978.

leave the Ukrainian Canadian Committee's local branch.(22)  
 On August 9, 1953 the Kingston Branch of the Canadian League for the Liberation of Ukraine was formed.(23)

The effects of this new organization upon the Ukrainian population of Kingston were both immediate and pronounced. A few supporters of the Ukrainian Canadian Committee in Kingston quickly switched their allegiances to the new grouping. One of those who changed organizations recalls,

We had come into Kingston and joined K.Y.K. because there was little recourse at the time. But there was very little of use in K.Y.K. other than a first place to meet. Some of the people we met didn't even believe in the struggle we told them we'd have with the Russians! We naturally moved out of that organization as soon as we could. There was a bitterness which arose out of that, as you can still see for yourself. But I suppose I don't have to tell you that.(24)

Others re-dedicated themselves to the former organization with a new vigour. A vociferous bitterness developed toward the newcomers. Even though perceptive individuals from both groupings tried to organize with equanimity and unity in mind, particularly through their formation of the St. Michael's Ukrainian Catholic Parish Committee

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(22) Interview conducted in Kingston, April 3, 1978.

(23) The Protocols of the first meeting of the Canadian League for the Liberation of Ukraine indicate that seventeen persons attended the first meeting, convened at 68 Nelson Street. The aim of the organization was stated as being "to work together with the Church and the Ukrainian Canadian Committee to carry out social and cultural functions." K. Petrash was elected President, M. Dejneha was Vice-President, W. Didiuk was Secretary and D. Luciuk was Treasurer. The group also had Public Relations Officer, Mrs. J. Bilinska. Mrs. J. Petiach held the post of Woman's Representative. The Control Commission was composed of P. Petiach, I. Dejneha and M. Kluchokowsky, with W. Didiuk taking up the position of A.B.N. (Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations) representative. A Community Court was also established to judge members guilty of a breach of "League" discipline. John Syrko was made the Chairman of this Court and he was assisted by Yaroslav Opyriuk and M. Andriovitch.

(24) From an interview conducted in Kingston, April 3, 1978.

(organized on September 1, 1952), (25) these efforts met with failure. The Parish Committee, whose stated role was to try and "provide a neutral forum within which all of the members of the various Ukrainian nationalist persuasions in Kingston could get together and discuss common problems". On the function of the Church as a "neutral", one of the participants had this to say,

I always felt that the Church Parish Committee, with its Hall, should be a better organization under which all could gather. A finer group than any other. After all, both those very old immigrants who had come before World War I even, and the newer immigrants like me, or your parents, had contributed to the Ukrainian nationalist community and its development here. You couldn't just forget about a whole group of people, nor forget what they had once done after you found it was no longer convenient to be worried about them. So I looked upon the Parish Committee as a neutral kind of organization and upon the Hall we had as a place where we of the nationalist and religious groups could come together and talk, deciding on matters of interest for all of us. (26)

Yet even the Church Committee was plagued with troubles, as dissenting cliques or individuals engaged in emotional withdrawals from meetings and spurred on vitriolic debates. Longstanding personality conflicts came to the

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(25) The St. Michael's Ukrainian Catholic Parish Committee held its first meeting on September 1, 1952 at 472 Bagot Street. This house had been acquired through the joint efforts of members of the Kingston Branch of the Ukrainian Canadian Committee and "the League" in 1949. The aim of the meeting was to organize a Ukrainian Catholic Parish in Kingston. It was also noted in the minutes that "the Ukrainian Catholic Parish will try to get all of the Ukrainian strengths in Kingston together." Twenty persons joined the Parish Committee upon its inception. W. Didiuk became Head of the Committee, Ivan Wityk was the Secretary, Danylo Luciuk was the Financial Secretary, Fred Kotowitch the Cashier, Wasyl Prokopenko the Chairman of the Control Commission. V. Pick and P. Kurman were also members of the Commission. After the first meeting a letter was sent to Bishop Borecky in Toronto informing him of developments. Eventually a priest was assigned to Kingston, Father S. Chaborsky.

(26) From an interview conducted in Kingston, November 24, 1977.

fore and further disrupted the Committee's plans. Although the combined forces of the Ukrainian nationalist persuasion now had a central meeting place in the city (Figure 9), this building rarely became a space within which differences could be amicably settled for the common weal. A small house was acquired at 472 Bagot Street in 1949. The funds required for purchasing the building came from monies gathered at a number of "tea parties" and "picnics" sponsored by the Ukrainian Canadian Committee and individuals who later formed the local Branch of the Canadian League for Ukraine's Liberation. The former group also sold some property it held. This land fronted along Cataragui Street, between Bagot and Rideau Streets. It was situated to the northeast of the location of the Ukrainian Labour Hall on James Street. This locale was regarded with great displeasure by members of the Ukrainian Canadian Committee.

The James Street Hall was already there. We would have put our own Hall in that area but people from the army, like Spicoluk, said that the communists would always give us trouble if we did. They'd get drinking and then start throwing their bottles at our Hall and we'd be sitting there throwing our empty bottles back. So we couldn't put up a Hall on our land there. Besides the English in Kingston probably wouldn't be able to learn how to tell us apart from them. Even if we were enemies we'd be the same for the English of Kingston. And that would only make a great deal of trouble. So we had to find a place within the city in our area which offered all of the conveniences we could have had over on Cataragui Street, but yet was far enough away from those others. We got a pretty good spot on Bagot Street.(27)

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(27) Although relations between the Ukrainian Canadian Committee's local branch and "the League" were cool, there was enough of a co-operative spirit to ensure the formation of a Parish Committee and the acquisition of a house on Bagot Street. The premises were substantially renovated in 1959-1960 and the Ukrainian Catholic Parish Hall was built. Members of "the League" did wish for their own hall and consequently there were plans for the erection of a separate building. At an executive meeting of the organization, held on September 26, 1953, in the home of K. Petrash (525 Princess Street) there was talk of the necessary financial requirements for such an undertaking. That this immigration was less dependent on enclavic forces (than organizational ones) for the maintenance of solidarity, is indicated by the fact that one of the sites seriously considered as a "League Hall" was "south of Princess Street", specifically near the corner of Albert and Princess Streets. From an interview conducted in Kingston, November 10, 1977.

Instead, it ended up being a different sort of forum, one in which members of various factions often refused to sit together and where the contending nationalist factions concurrently staged concerts on different floors of the same building. Rancorous discussions erupted at more than one general meeting. One of the DP's who came to Kingston recalls,

The League formed around us newcomers. At first we didn't have our own organization so we fit into K.Y.K. Even when they didn't have thier own experience of modern Ukraine they thought that they knew it all. So there was tension between us and them. Later, after we got the League going in Kingston there were incidents. Like once when we had two separate Shevchenko concerts in the house on Bagot Street, one upstairs, the other downstairs. Naturally enough troubles deepened.(28)

Even when the factions finally reached something akin to an agreement around 1960 (the year in which the St. Michael's Ukrainian Catholic Parish Hall was officially opened)(29) (Figure 10), the various organizations, nevertheless, continued to co-operate largely on a formal level. Slumbering doubts and antagonisms of the earlier years disappeared only as the Kingston Branch of the Ukrainian Canadian Committee, the Ukrainian Canadian Servicemens' Association and later formations like the Ukrainian Canadian Veterans' Association and the United Hetman Organization disbanded. Only the local Branch of the Canadian League for the Liberation of the Ukraine and the St. Michael's Ukrainian Catholic Parish Committee remained viable enough to represent an organized Ukrainian nationalist life in Kingston.

One other Ukrainian organization arose in Kingston during this period, namely the Ukrainian Sports Club of Kingston (sometimes referred to as the Ukrainian Athletic Association of Kingston), formed on June 3, 1956, ostensibly

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(28) From an interview conducted in Kingston, November 10, 1977.

(29) The St. Michael's Ukrainian Catholic Parish Hall was formally opened on May 24, 1960. Dr. Ivan Kucherepa was the master of ceremonies for the occasion. Stephan Kuzmyn became head of the Parish Committee, with Ivan Wityk as Secretary, Danylo Luciuk as Treasurer, and Ivan Dejneha and Stan Komarnitsky as Controllers. The Rev. J. C. E. Riotte was the Parish priest at this time. The latter took it upon himself to attempt an amelioration of the personal and ideological quarrels evident in Kingston. His efforts were largely successful.

for the purpose of cultivating physical fitness among its members and a spirit of cooperation. The first President of this group, Ihor Szkrumelak, recalls,

We decided to form the Ukrainian Sports Association because we wanted to organize something socially which anyone could join and get going together with other Ukrainians. Not so much politics as a Ukrainian Club. You see we tried to say that whatever the internal differences were between us we could, by playing as a team, present to the larger community a good name for all of our type of Ukrainians. We represented ourselves to the larger Kingston community as Ukrainians--good sportsmen who were involved in volleyball, basketball, soccer and the like, and also smart, as we had a chess team. We represented Kingston in other towns where we went but we were most interested in representing ourselves as a group of Ukrainians. We put an emphasis on that, above all else. We thought we'd finally found a means by which we could unite everyone. We tried to be neutral, we tried to show ourselves to the Kingston community as Ukrainians.(30)

The formation of the Ukrainian Sports Club of Kingston was regarded with antagonism by both the "radical" members of "the League" and some of those belonging to the local Branch of the Ukrainian Canadian Committee. "The Sports Club? That was nothing more than a gentleman's club, not fighters. I'd say they didn't do anything of lasting value as far as the Ukrainian cause was concerned".(31)

The Ukrainian Sports Club did attract a number of Ukrainian professionals (e.g., engineers) who had moved into the city and were looking for an organized Ukrainian "nationalist" community. The formation of a group, composed largely of the "professional classes" and not of "DP's" had a mixed reception locally. Possibly this organization did "improve life among the Ukrainians in Kingston for the people were more relaxed afterwards, as we had tried to smooth over differences, dislikes, political disagreements . . . . Don't forget that some people were getting very tired of nothing but meetings, argumentation, politicizing. And the English couldn't make sense of it all, which was also not good for us."

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(30) From an interview conducted in Kingston, March 29, 1978.

(31) From an interview conducted in Kingston, April 3, 1978.

The Ukrainian Sports Club of Kingston did bring a number of Ukrainian professionals into the local Ukrainian nationalist community. Some of them later accepted executive positions in the Parish Committee and brought many Kingstonians to a view of the Ukrainian immigrants more favourable to their continued acceptability in Kingston. The Ukrainian Sports Club did not manage to continue its activities for more than ten years.

Antagonisms amongst the various nationalist factions were pronounced and occasionally engendered personal feuds which were to carry on for years,<sup>(32)</sup> yet the malaise which hampered co-operation between such organizations as "the League" and the Kingston Branch of the Ukrainian Canadian Committee never attained the level of animosity which characterized relations between the so-called "communists" and their opponents, the "revolutionary integral nationalists" of "the League". Shortly after 1946, Displaced Persons began moving into Kingston. Their arrival in Kingston after World War II is recalled by one of their opponents as follows,

The arrival of the DP's sort of over-balanced things. After the war we were flooded with all sorts of newcomers in Kingston. They were quick to align themselves with the other group, K.Y.K. While many of them were undoubtedly genuine immigrants there were also a few among them who were troublemakers. German sympathizers. These types reacted badly whenever they saw anything which to them looked like a Red community. So there was violence! I recall our Hall being stoned by a group of them in 1948. Windows being broken and the door being stormed by a few of them. And threats being made by these people against us. The police never did anything about it, despite our reports. No one was ever arrested. I don't think that the police even tried. I shall always remember a time when those provocateurs tried to muscle their way into our Hall; back room boys, musclemen is all they were. Perhaps they felt that they could carry on here as they had in the old country. They also tried to embarrass us with their religious fervour.<sup>(33)</sup>

The "unease of the time, the locking of doors, the anticipation of serious trouble" may have "only lasted a

(32) Interview conducted in Kingston, December 10, 1977.

(33) From an interview conducted in Kingston, October 26, 1977.

few years" but this was enough to have dealt an irreversible blow to the Association of United Ukrainian Canadians. Coupled with general Cold War fears, this violence debilitated the attempts of executive members of the Kingston branch to recruit new members from among their youth. The group formally ceased functioning in 1967, when the Ukrainian Labour Hall was sold. To all intents and purposes, however, the demise of this group had occurred in the late 1950's. The local Branch of the Ukrainian Canadian Committee ceased its own activities at approximately the same time.

It's odd when I look back on it all now. The cultural activities which we held in our hall, the Ukrainian dancing, the Ridna Shkola, feast day celebrations and the like, all that sort of thing is now being carried on in the new hall on Bagot Street. As if these things drifted over to the new place. Why then was there so much trouble, so much that many people won't even talk to me about what went on in the old days? Their vision may well have triumphed in Kingston, but why? In many ways they are the same as we are, or were--just people trying to make it in Canada. Their times were different from ours so they're not the same as us. But why should that have come between people of the same blood?(34)

By 1949 there were already a small number of dedicated Ukrainian nationalists of the O.U.N./U.P.A. movement residing in the city. They began taking covert measures against the Association of Ukrainian Canadians and the Workers' Benevolent Association in Kingston. Later they joined with members of the local Ukrainian Canadian Committee branch to denounce publicly the Soviet Union and her "lackeys" throughout the world. They began to insinuate that there were a few Ukrainians residing in Canada, and in Kingston, whose interests were not those of the nation. They claimed that these individuals were secretly supportive of the Cold War enemy, Soviet Russia. Privately, some of these Ukrainian nationalists, possibly aided by their Polish counterparts,(35) engaged in "actions" against the

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(34) From an interview conducted in Toronto, January 27, 1977.

(35) The thought of former enemies, that is Ukrainian "nationalists" and Polish "chauvinists" co-operating to raid a Ukrainian Labour Hall seems incredible. If it really did occur--and there is only one individual who claims this to have been the case--then this can be regarded as just one more way in which the Canadian milieu has changed immigrants' perceptions of some elements of their "ethnic" identities.



members of the Association of Ukrainian Canadians and the Workers' Benevolent Association in the city. The Ukrainian Labour Hall on James Street was repeatedly attacked by unknown persons<sup>(36)</sup> and members of the socialist organizations were often "urged" by the "DP's" to abandon their commitment to "communist organizations". One Ukrainian nationalist put it this way,

We often urged them to quit their wrong-views and organization. We told them it was for the detriment of the Ukraine.... When I got to the city I was taken on a tour during the course of which I had their hall, on James Street, pointed out to me. I never went in there, having been forewarned of the possible consequences.<sup>(37)</sup>

This was hardly a choice, for it often meant abandoning friends of long acquaintance. Nevertheless, a few did change their allegiances. Possibly the activities of the Royal Canadian Mounted Police aided the newcomers in their attempts to discredit the pro-Soviet individuals. The goal was to eliminate them from the scene altogether.

In keeping with their intense commitment to eradicating any "leftist" opposition in Kingston some members of "the League" even utilized the symbol of the Ukrainian Catholic Church against members of the local branches of the Association of Ukrainian Canadians and the Workers' Benevolent Association.<sup>(38)</sup> In short, it can be said that their commitment to eliminating the "left" in Kingston was total. Judging by the fact that the Association of Ukrainian Canadians and, to a lesser degree, the Workers' Benevolent Association did go into a marked and irreversible decline shortly after the end of the Korean War, it would seem clear that the efforts of "the League" were largely successful. Superior organization and leadership had enabled them to dampen any nationalist opposition they had

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(36) Interview conducted in Kingston, October 26, December 10, 1977 and March 23, 1978.

(37) Interview conducted in Kingston, April 3, 1978.

(38) There is no detectable correlation between religious affiliation and membership in a specific Ukrainian or Ukrainian-Slavic organization. It is true that non-religious individuals tended to join the Association of United Ukrainian Canadians. Yet, members of the Workers' Benevolent Association did remain Catholics, even if they did not attend services in the Ukrainian Catholic style. Members of "the League" on at least one occasion went Christmas carolling to the homes of members of the "left" Ukrainian groups in Kingston, hoping to shame them by so doing.

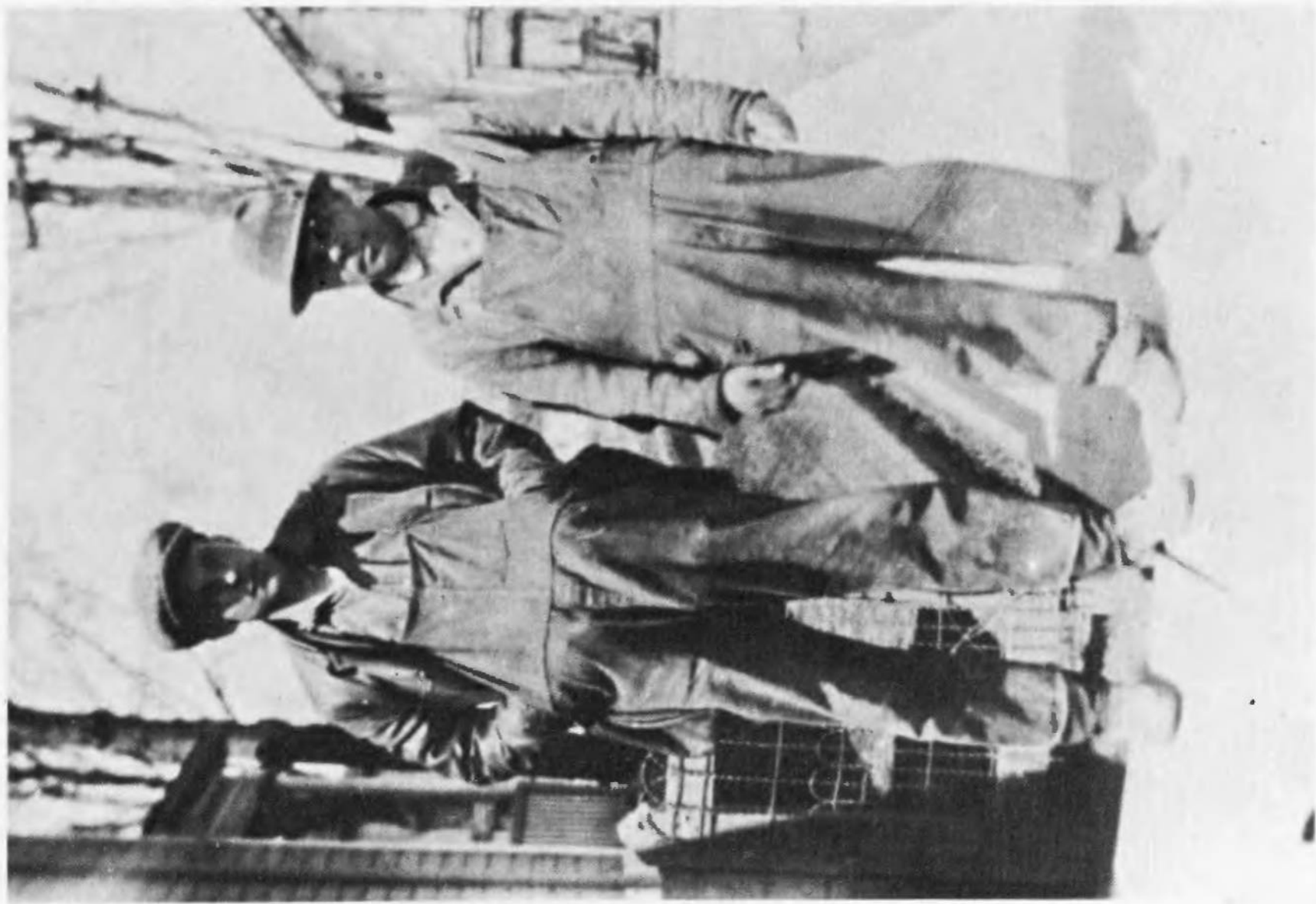
encountered within the city. While a variety of circumstances seriously weakened the "left" at precisely the same time as "the League" was gaining strength(39) it was the organizational structure and vigorous leadership of this group, combined with a loyal membership capable of personal sacrifice, which disrupted the Association of Ukrainian Canadians in Kingston. Lacking a cadre capable of handling the onslaught of "the League" and plagued by self-doubts, the Association of Ukrainian Canadians succumbed to "the League's" constant pressure. By the late 1950's the local branch of the Association of United Ukrainian Canadians (as it had come to be called) was dispirited and dispersed. Remnants of the Workers' Benevolent Association were muted. "The League" had become paramount.

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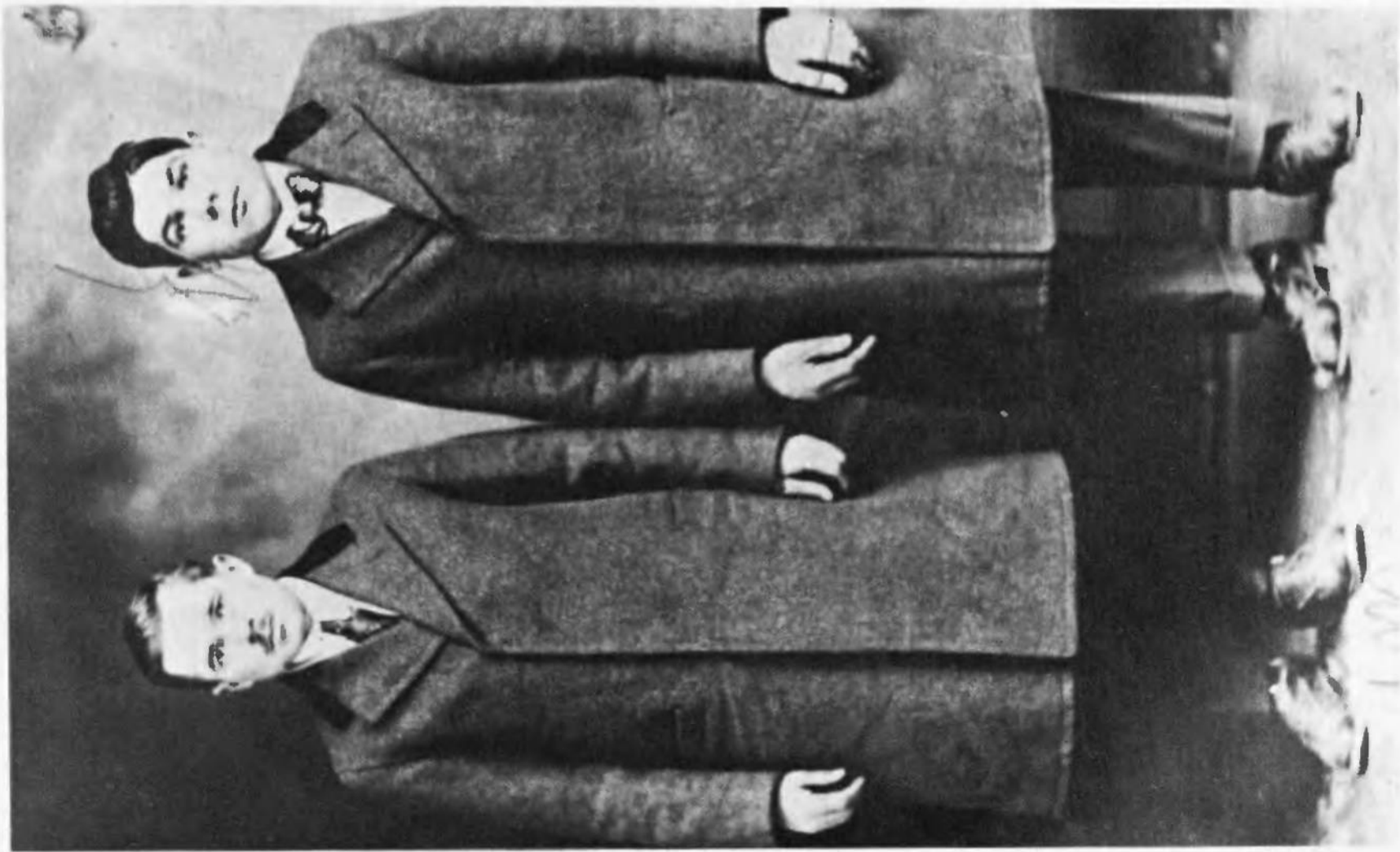
(39) For example, Harry Wowk, a prominent member of both the Association of United Ukrainian Canadians and the local Branch of the Workers' Benevolent Association, died tragically in a trucking accident in 1951. Other members of this group left Kingston, some under pressure because of the agitations of members of the Ukrainian Canadian Committee (i.e., Nick Gulka). One individual, N. Chornomytz, re-emigrated to the Soviet Union.

There is some evidence to suggest that after 1945 a degree of vigilance was maintained against the two Ukrainian-Slavic ethnic organizations centered in the Ukrainian Labour Hall. This seems to have resulted in a pressure being applied to the general membership, forcing some to desist from going to the Hall or maintaining their ideological commitments. "The James Street Hall maintained no contact whatsoever with the larger Kingstonian community. None whatsoever. Whether this was deliberate or whether they were tainted or because they never went out deliberately to cultivate outside contacts (I think that probably was it) because they were happy amongst themselves I can't be sure of. They didn't look to anyone else for assistance. They didn't feel that they had to fawn before the outside public ...while the other groups, like K.Y.K. and later "the League" tended to be more closely associated with the City Fathers. Like the Ukrainian Church and the Bishop there.

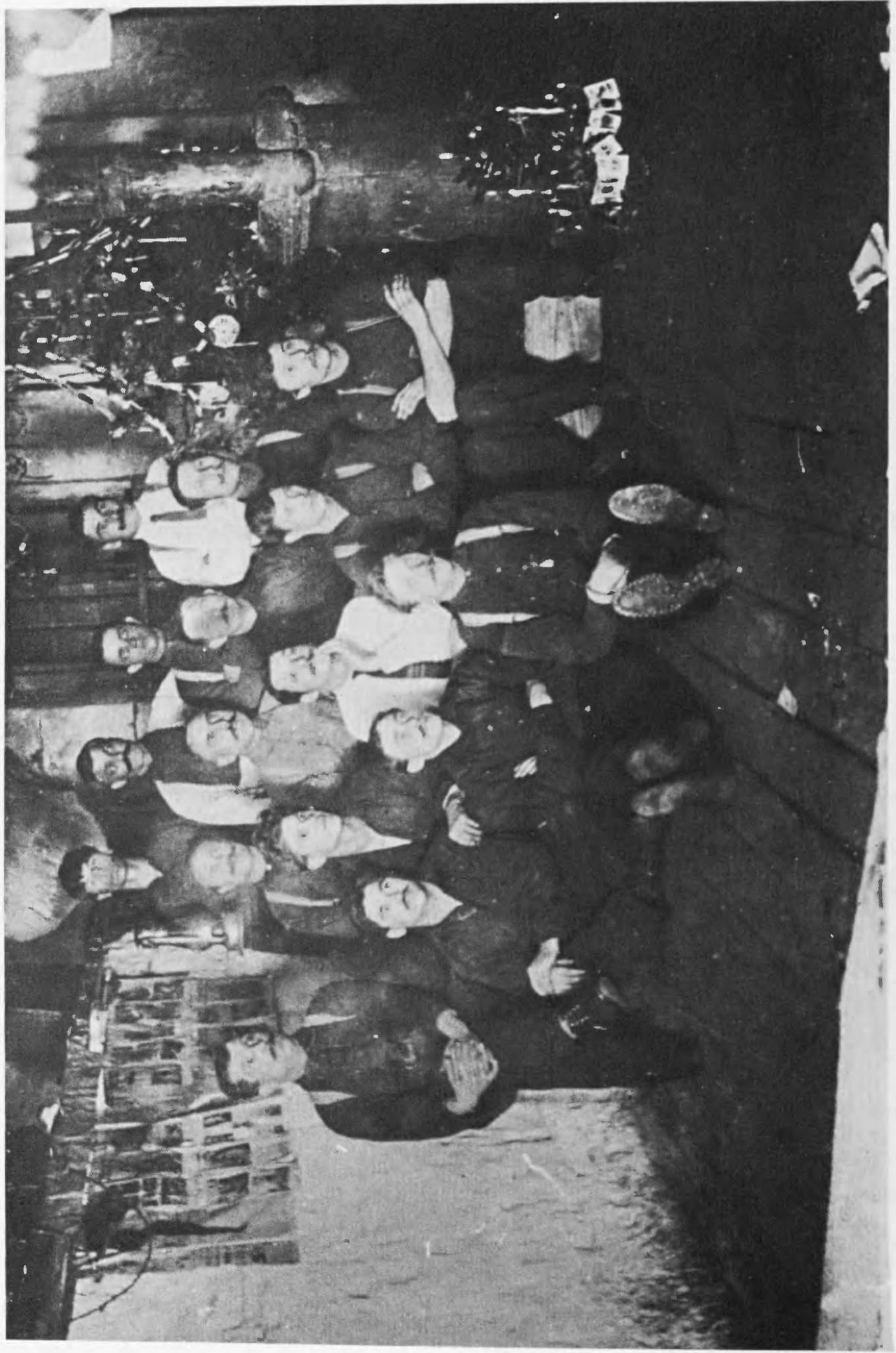
Possibly as a result of this insularity a certain amount of prejudice was directed towards some of the members of our Hall. When, after 1945, there was a house-cleaning in Canada, a lot of our people suddenly got laid off, even though there was work and they were good labourers. I see it as having been unfair. I know that my father was one of those tied in with that kind of action." From an interview conducted in Kingston, October 26, 1977.



*Ivan Budzyck [right].*



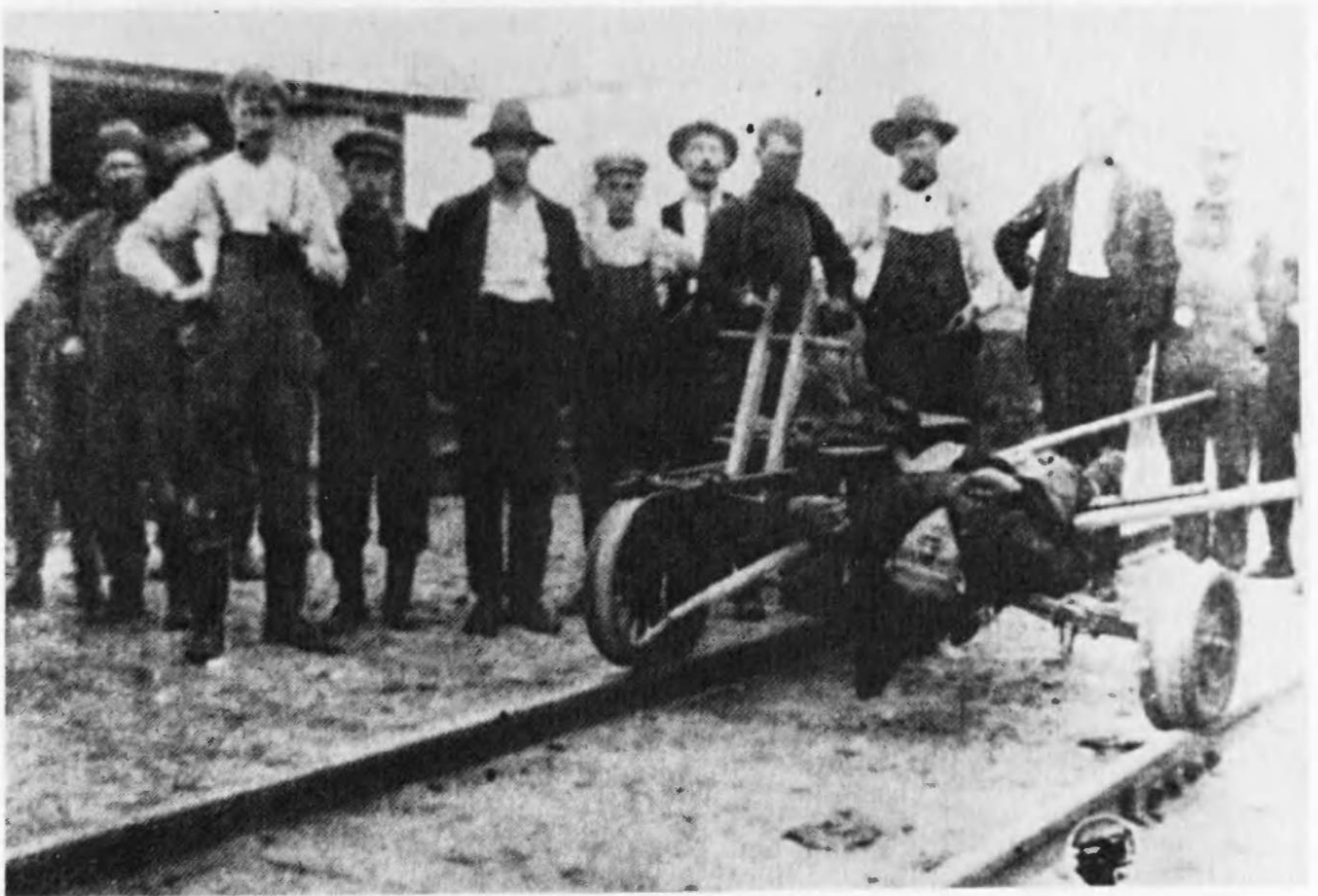
*Ivan Andriosky and Sam Michalovsky.*



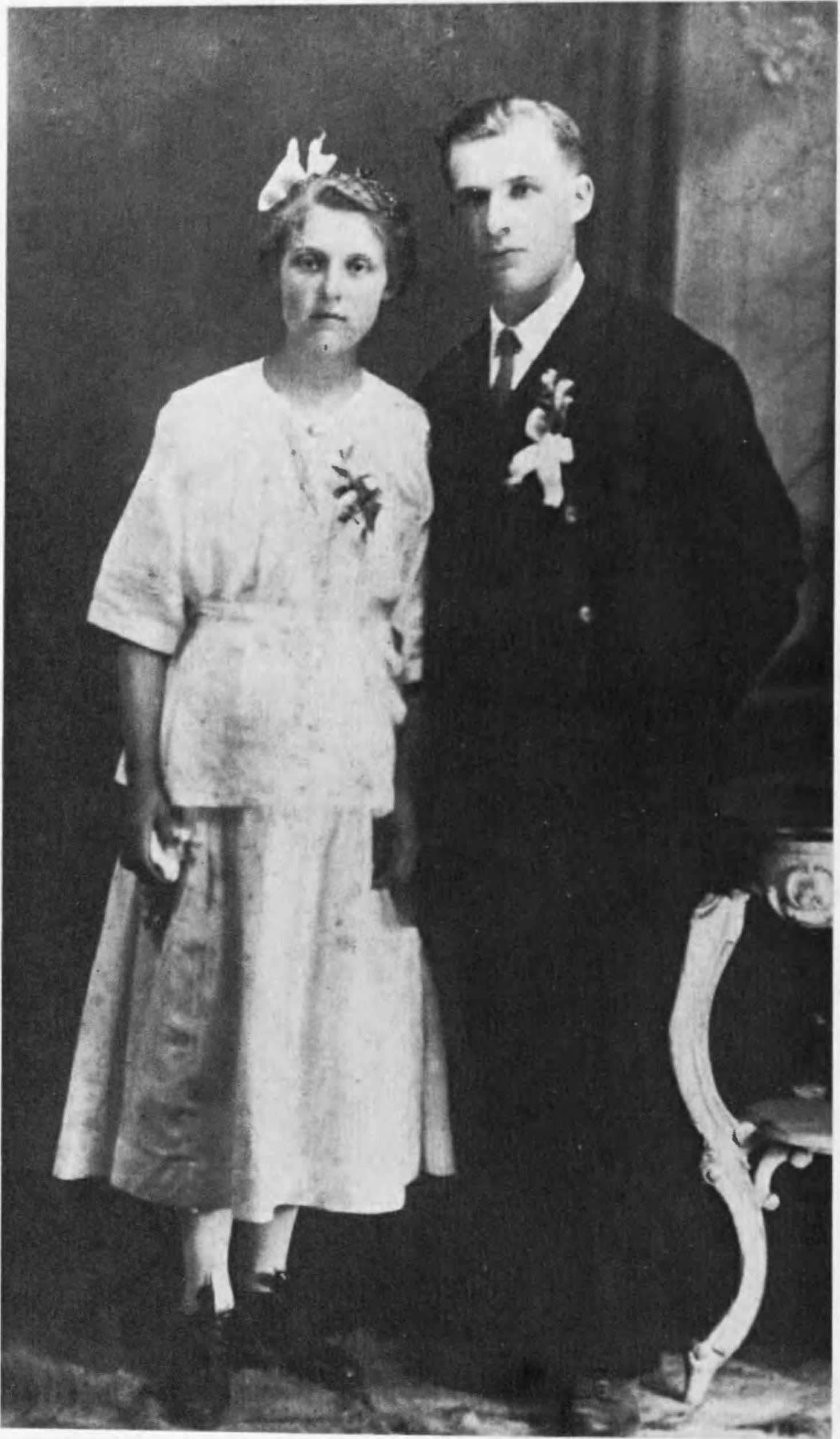
*"Austrian" internees, Fort Henry, Christmas, 1916.*



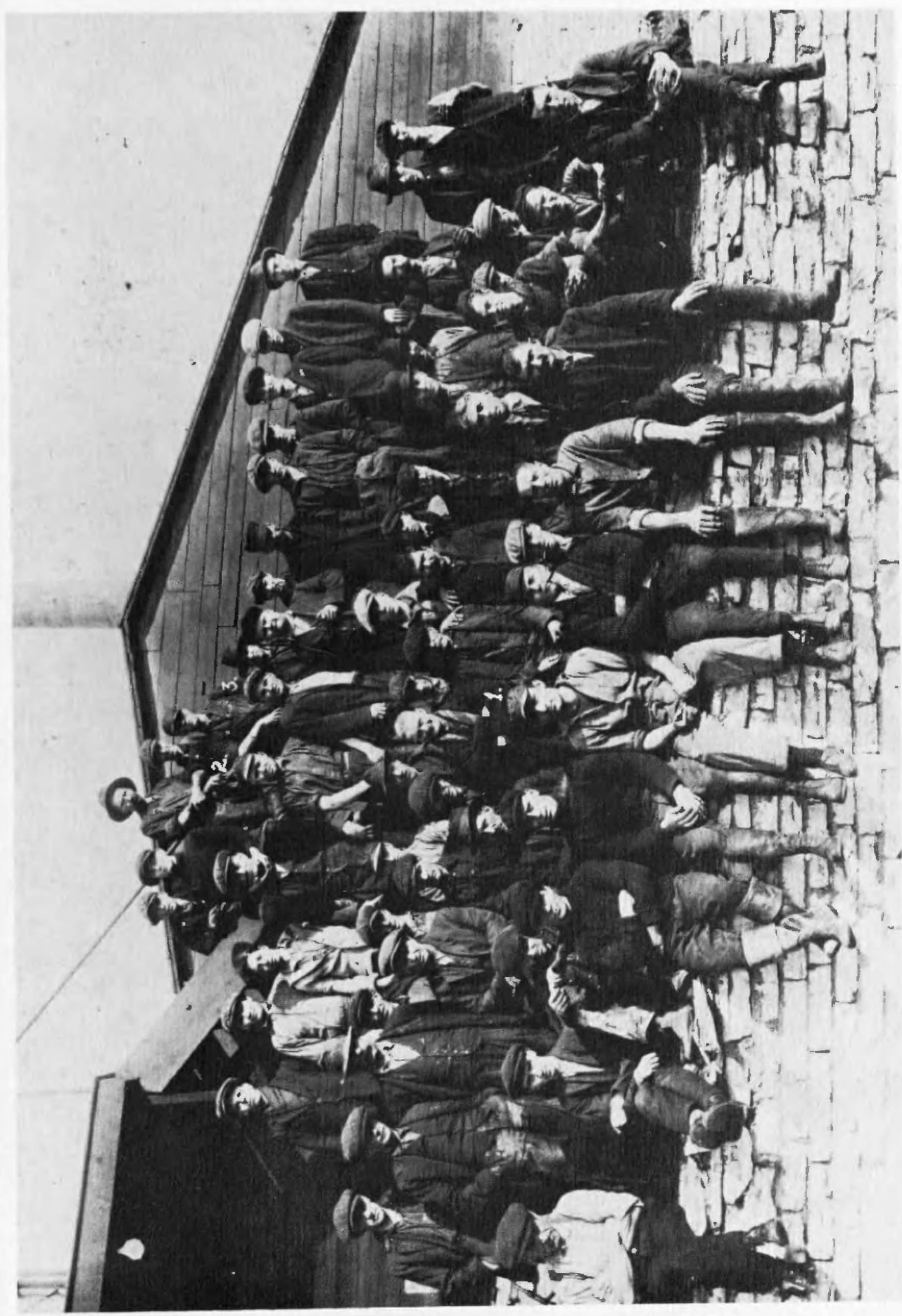
*Work gang, Spirit Lake Camp, World War I.*



*Body of internee, Spirit Lake Camp, shot while trying to escape.*



*Sylvester and Julia Kotowich.*



*Davis Tannery workers, interwar period.*



*Members of the Kingston branches of the Association of United Ukrainian Canadians, the Workers Benevolent Association and the Ukrainian Association to Aid the Fatherland, about 1942-1943.*





*Members of the Kingston Branch of the Ukrainian Canadian Committee, about 1945.*



*DP Center, Munich-Freimann, 1946.*



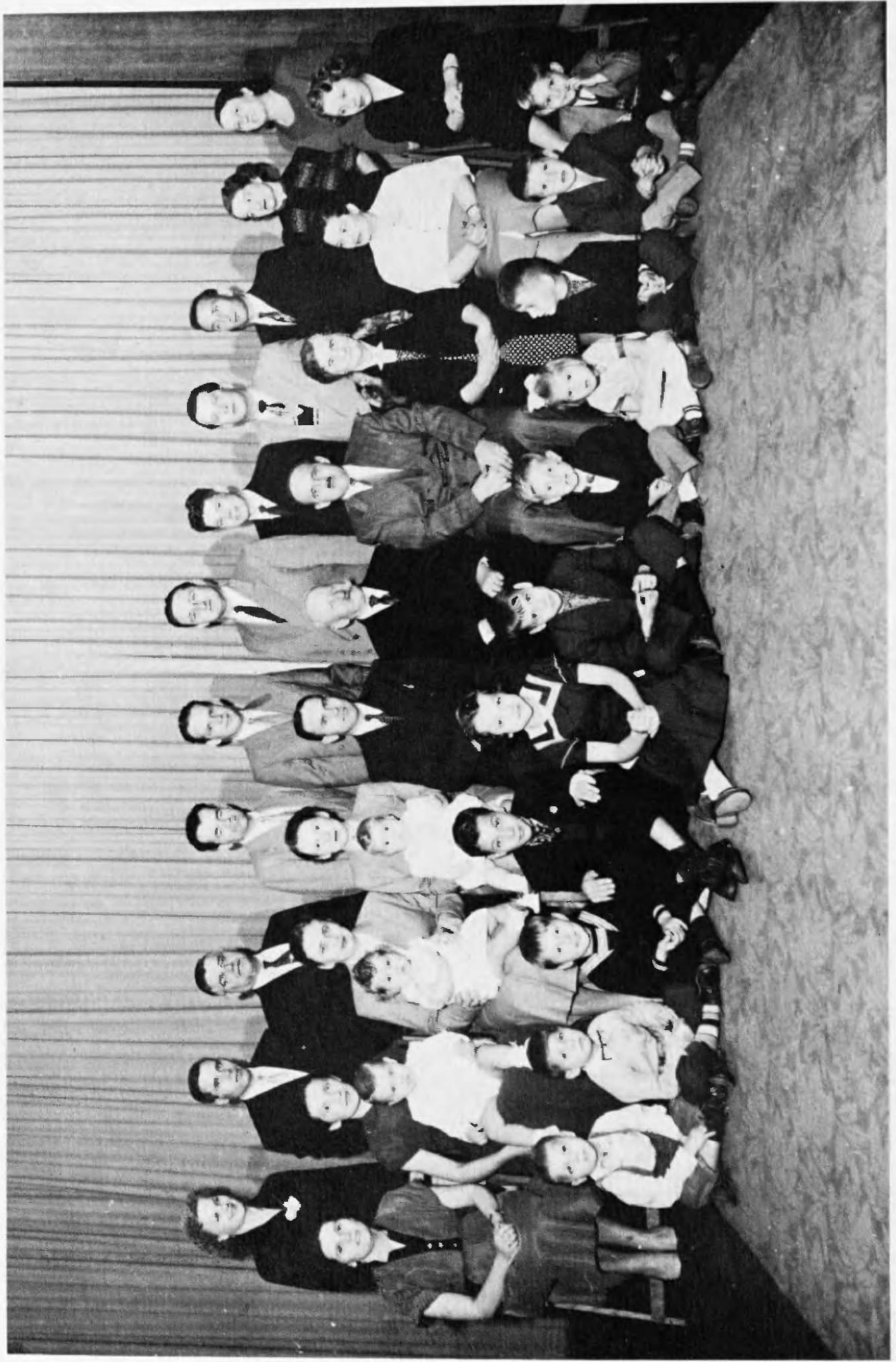
*Ukrainian DP's in anti-communist march, Munich, 1949.*



*Ukrainian nationalist community and sympathizers, outside the Ukrainian Catholic Parish Hall, Kingston, about 1950-1951.*



*Workers Benevolent Association, Kingston Branch, 1952.*



*Canadian League for Ukraine's Liberation, Kingston Branch, about 1954.*

## VII

### CONCLUSION

That everyone is in one or another ethnic group is self-evident. That such groups may emerge within a relatively short time is less well appreciated.

This study has supported the hypothesis that the divergent "New World" experiences of members of different immigrant groups influenced their ideas and behaviour. The value placed on membership in a supposedly homogenous group varied accordingly. The "first immigrants" to arrive in Kingston from Ukraine, being relatively free to locate where they chose, scattered themselves around the town. They developed no informal or formal interest groups,<sup>(1)</sup> maintained no distinct friendship and/or kinship networks,<sup>(2)</sup> shared in no frequent patterns of association with each other, and perhaps most importantly failed to identify themselves with common origins.<sup>(3)</sup>

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(1) Interest groups, of either a formal or informal type, are established when social activity, exchange, economic production and distribution are organized. The phenomena of ethnicity are often dramatically evident in cities for there the division of labour is usually highly developed and the rivalry between interest groups for scarce or valued resources within the political system is especially intense.

(2) Ethnicity has been defined as "frequent patterns of association and identification with common origins." If this is the case then it might be hypothesized that ethnicity is crystallized under those sorts of conditions in which the maintenance of kinship and friendship networks is reinforced. See William L. Yancey, Eugene P. Erickson and R. N. Juliani, "Emergent Ethnicity: A review and reformulation", in American Sociological Review, June 1976, Vol. 41, No. 3, p. 392.

(3) As ethnicity is often used for articulating the organizational functions of interest groups which cannot organize themselves formally (and hence in the most efficient manner) it is crucial that effective ties be established for organizing the group. If there is no recognition of common origins then the ability of an ethnic group to maintain itself is questionable.

A second problem arises in connection with this lack of identification with common origins. It relates to

What sense of group consciousness they did possess was at best simple: it was certainly incapable effectively of representing them to the dominant Anglo-Celtic populace of the city. Their goal in Canada was to become Canadian, as quickly as possible, whatever the cost. While some attempted selectively to recreate elements of their "old country" peasant style of life--and the Kingston of the early 1900's was certainly admirably suited for such a duplication--their ethnicity, if it may be called that, (4) was non-specific, informal and passive. As a result, their impact on Kingston was minimal.

Those arriving in Canada during the interwar years encountered another situation. Immigrants were increasingly being clustered by forces outside of their control. The developing urban-industrial cities of eastern Canada soon supported large, sometimes heterogeneous enclaves of immigrants. Within such enclaves, immigrants from Ukraine found their rudimentary awareness of a corporate national identity as Ukrainians reinforced. Ukrainians in Kingston found themselves nestled within an immigrant and working class district known as the "north end" or "swamp wards". Sharing common life styles, class interests, work relationship, and a common residential area these immigrants developed friendship and kinship networks and patterns of frequent association amongst themselves. A sense of group consciousness and intergroup solidarity slowly emerged. Eventually this sentiment facilitated the rise of a number of distinct ethnic organizations. Whereas some of these informal and formal interest groups reflected rather exclusive Ukrainian membership concerns, other groupings among the Slavic peoples of Kingston were more broadly based. All of the ethnic organizations, whether of a basically Ukrainian or a Ukrainian-Slavic character, tended to obscure any residual traces of the "ethnic community" which had once tenuously existed among the Slavic populace of the city of Kingston. During this period the first steps were taken to replace "ethnic community" by "ethnic organization"--the "primeval collectivity" of peasant societies based on ethnicity,

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estimates of the total numbers of Ukrainians in Canada. If individuals have not identified themselves as Ukrainians, preferring to label themselves Galicians, Poles or Austrians, then it is facetious to call them "Ukrainian" on the basis of the geographic locale from which they emigrated.

(4) It is debatable whether the simple get-togethers of the "first immigrants" can be regarded as an expression of ethnicity. If ethnicity is a form of interaction between culture groups operating with common social environments then the ethnicity of these earliest immigrants was meagre when compared to the public demonstrativeness of later immigrants.

manifested through formal organization.(5) Adapting within the milieu of a "New World" the members of these groups tended selectively to use whatever cultural mechanisms were available to them in order better to articulate the goals and structure of their ethnic organizations. As more ethnic organizations emerged in Canada, each reflecting not so much a transplanted cultural heritage as an awareness of needs in Canada and evaluation of the means required for attaining these, factionalism set in. The root cause of this was that as different immigrant cohorts made their way into Canada the distinctive situations which each encountered elicited novel responses. Thus, forms of ethnic culture(6) which had been generated by some preceding immigration were found to be insufficient for coping with the requirements of succeeding waves. Old forms of ethnic culture dissipated and were replaced by new forms. As this process went on, cleavages developed between supporters of the "old" and advocates of the "new". Immigrants began sectioning themselves off, not only by generation but by immigrational period and ideology. Factionalism was thereby intensified and unity among the Ukrainians in Canada became impossible.

The third phase of Ukrainian immigration to Canada, in the post-World War II period, saw the influx of the displaced persons ("DP's"), whose "old country" experiences were so different from those of preceding immigrants that serious consequences for the Ukrainian population of Canada were unavoidable. Caught up in the turmoil of World War II, then hardened by their experiences in the Displaced Persons camps, these individuals brought with them a discipline and organization which did not require the stimulus of territorial segregation to preserve group solidarity and consciousness. Settling wherever they could in Kingston they rapidly built their own institutions which supplanted other Ukrainian ethnic organizations.

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(5) Joshua A. Fishman and Vladimir C. Nahirny, "Organization and Leadership Interest in Language Maintenance" in J. A. Fishman (ed.), Language Loyalty in the United States: The Maintenance and Perpetuation of Non-English Mother Tongues by American Ethnic and Religious Groups (London, 1966).

(6) The culture of such groups has been defined as "those universes of formally non-political formations and activities from which elements are selectively drawn and then politicized in the course of social action."

For useful discussions of the concepts of ethnic group and ethnicity see Abner Cohen, "The Lesson of Ethnicity" in Abner Cohen (ed.), Urban Ethnicity, (London, 1974), pp. ix-xxiv, and Daniel Bell, "Ethnicity and Social Change" in Nathan Glazer and Daniel P. Moynihan (eds.), Ethnicity: Theory and Experience (New York, 1975).



Canada you can achieve things from having a group of your own people. It is a family of sorts, and a family-like feeling, an association and also a vehicle for action, political and otherwise. You preserve yourself in this manner and you, perhaps, also have a vehicle for aiding your brothers in the homeland. This all gives you satisfaction. (10)

Above all else the Ukrainian ethnic organizations which were formed in Kingston were created in order to further the interests of particular groups of immigrants within a dominantly non-Ukrainian milieu. Recognition of this fact only intensified factional rivalries, as the various groupings attempted to supplant and outmanoeuvre each other. In this competition each group attempted to present its members and "sympathizers" as the most acceptable form of Ukrainian for the interests of the ruling groups of Canada. Whether they insinuated that they were loyal royalists or peace-loving workers joined in fraternal comradeship with other labourers in Canada, all of these Ukrainian immigrants sought to establish and enhance their standing within Canada through the medium of their organizations. Accommodating to the present became more important than referring back to the staray krai, the old country. Attempting to ensure that one's own interests, and those of one's group, remained paramount meant having to be vigilant and ready to adapt to the changing conditions of the Canadian environment. Some obstinately refused to change with the times. These individuals remain as residual Ukrainian "ethnics" of an earlier era. Others were too dynamic in their identification and so lost touch with the broader currents within the Ukrainian Canadian populace. They became suspect. Choosing an interest group was, and is, a serious business. Too much vacillation between interest groups destroys credibility.

It is clear that an ideological gap separated Ukrainian and Ukrainian-Slavic organizations, and that pre-emigration experiences played an important (if often over-emphasized) role. The fact remains, however, that the ethnicity chosen by immigrants arriving in Canada was more closely related to changing perceptions of what could be achieved through identification as Ukrainians in the "New World" than with "old country" conditions. Whereas the transplanted cultural and political heritage of these people was relevant, particularly for those as ideologically-motivated as members of "the League", most immigrants realized soon enough that it was Canada in which the remainder of their lives would be spent. If their interests

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(10) Interview conducted in Kingston, November 24, 1977.

were to be met, then novel organizational forms would have to evolve in response to Canadian conditions. For some, labelling themselves as Ukrainians might only have meant "acknowledging birthplace", but for many ethnicity became a deviation from nationality. Ethnicity became dependent less on the place where one was born than on something

...inherent in you, it indicates what you were born out of. It is a self-identification, a matter of feeling and consciousness of the place in which you are situated. It all depends on how one feels. How one reacts to being born a Ukrainian in a non-Ukrainian nation. How one thinks of being a Ukrainian. There are many different types of Ukrainian, for although we all speak the same language, we speak with different tongues. You have to decide where you belong amongst these and then act accordingly. You have to take your identity as you make it or you can always leave it. It all depends on how you relate to the world where you were born in and to the world you have to grow up through.(11)

Reflection and then action on the basis of self-interest is inherent in the nature of ethnicity. The individual must decide on his own interests, on their relation to those of other actors within the political system, and upon the nature of the environment in which he resides. If bases for organizing an interest group exist, then membership in such a formation may offer the most effective means at hand for competing for valued resources in society.(12)

(11) Interview conducted in Kingston, April 3, 1978.

Deciding on just who is and who is not a "Ukrainian" may be a less facetious question than is readily apparent. In the literature, see, for example, Elizabeth D. Wangenheim, "Problems of Research on Ukrainians in Eastern Canada" in Slavs in Canada, vol. I (Edmonton, 1966).

(12) It must be recalled, however, that "the tendency to posit ethnicity as a strategy manipulated by individuals to advance their personal interests and maximize their powers...is one sided and cannot account for the potency of normative symbols which the individual manipulates in his struggle for power. An ethnic group is not simply the sum total of its individual members and its culture is not the sum total of the strategies adopted by independent individuals. Norms, beliefs, and values are effective and have their own constraining power only because they are the collective representations of a group and are backed by the

Deciding on this question was, and is, not an easy matter, as the fluctuating numbers of those willing to identify themselves as Ukrainians for Canada Census enumerators testifies. Environments change and so do allegiances. The "ethnics" of today may well be the non-ethnic Canadians of tomorrow. What those Canadians will be like is indeterminable.

To decide to affiliate oneself with a given ethnic identification is to choose a particular grouping which one hopes will serve to further one's own interests within a given milieu. Making this choice is difficult:

You must use your own mind to decide on this. You must use your heart as well to decide which Ukrainianism is best for you. You must even decide whether you want to be a Ukrainian at all. There is some choice in this latter matter, even if some tell you that being a Ukrainian has to do with where you were born. Not at all! Remember the saying of our people --if a duckling is born in a donkey's manger it will still never be a donkey. You have to sit and listen to yourself and look around and see the world that you live in. It could be that you are happy with it, that things are good. If it is the world you want, so be it. But could there not be a better world for you and yours if only the soil from which your ancestors sprang could be your land and the land of your offspring? Is it not in your interest to battle against those who challenged your parents' rights to being Ukrainian and masters of their own fates? Is it not in your interests as a person born in Canada to act as a Ukrainian to enhance your power here? You have to decide such matters, just as once a long time ago I had to make my stand. I couldn't tell you to do this or that, even if I wanted to. Times have changed. I don't regret my decision but maybe it is not the one you should make. You may want to be a Canadian. Good luck if you try.

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pressure of that group. An individual can manipulate customs if he becomes part of such a group, adopting its current major symbols. He cannot manipulate others without being ready to be manipulated by them. He must pay the price of membership by participating in the group's symbolic activities and by a measure of adherence to the group's aims." Abner Cohen (op. cit.).

It's been my experience that Canada is for the English, somewhat for the French. All others need not bother maintaining the fiction. Anyways whether or not you are a Ukrainian depends on you and you alone. You have to feel the world about you and then decide. The reason you go to school, especially like you do, is so that you can understand this matter. But never forget that life must also educate you. You won't get it all from books. And on those bases you'll have to make a decision. And you won't be able to know the outcome of your actions when you act, for life is always moving beyond you and what a mere man can know. But you have to make a judgement and then work on it. And accept the outcome. You have to!(13)

Listening to immigrants can be instructive. Many of those interviewed for this study seem to have known that being Ukrainian in Canada had little to do with what they had once been in Ukraine. They realized that ethnic affiliation is both variable and dynamic in relation to the changing circumstances in any given environment. They almost instinctively banded together to form interest groups whose ties might eventually give them a higher status in society than would be provided by class.(14) Even if they could not articulate these ideas well, many Ukrainian immigrants knew that life in a "New World" could never be the same as it might have been, or was, in the "old country". As for being a Ukrainian in Canada, their collective message rings clear: It is not an easy task!

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(13) Ibid.

(14) Daniel Bell, "Ethnicity and Social Change" in Nathan Glazer and Daniel P. Moynihan, Ethnicity: Theory and Experience (New York, 1975), p. 174.

Bell suggests that "The breakup of the traditional authority structures and the previous affective social units --historically, nation and class--make ethnic attachment more salient...to replace the politics of ideology with the politics of ethnicity might only be a continuation of war by other means.... Yet if one looks down the dark ravines of history, one sees that men in social groups need some other group to hate...."

## APPENDIX A

## An Internee Remembers

"I left my village in Bukovina on the 19th January, 1912...I had to leave at night because I was avoiding conscription into the Austrian army. I left around midnight. After making my way through Austria and Germany I eventually got to Antwerp in Belgium. By the 7th February, 1912 I was in St. John, New Brunswick.

When World War I broke out I was in Montreal. I had originally headed west in Canada, to Saskatchewan, where I had relations. But in 1914 I was in Montreal, working at the Canadian Car Foundry. When war came they started letting us go. I went for over a month without a job.

Well word got out that jobs were available in the United States. We jobless fellows talked it over. It was hard to get across the border, you know. I thought that I could make it if I bought a train ticket to a place near the border, thought I could just walk across. I got as far as St. Jean, in Quebec. But I went on the wrong train. A conductor found this out and called an inspector. That man spoke German and so he could tell who I was. He told me that I would have to return to Montreal. It was Saturday night. I could sleep overnight in Montreal in the immigration office there. On Monday I would be able to leave. So I went back. On Monday though they took me upstairs in the building and filled out a report. I ended up spending 14 days there. Then they took me and a lot of others--all Austrians as they called us--and sent us to Fort Henry, in Kingston, Ontario. Germans were sent along too. There were already some of those in the Fort, mainly men who were working on German ships captured by the British.

I lived in Cell no. 19 of Fort Henry. Right inside the compound. There were two rows of rooms, on two floors. I was upstairs. There was a canteen, a bathroom, a kitchen and an eating room. When I was there about 500 men were with me. I'd say about 130-150 of these were Ukrainians. The rest were Germans from Germany and real Austrians. I got to Kingston on the 17th October.

The following autumn I was moved to Petawawa. Montreal was overcrowded with prisoners...there were about 300 Ukrainians there. So one night they took the Ukrainians from Fort Henry and those from Montreal and moved us by train north to Petawawa, to a large Army training base. It was almost all Ukrainian there, although

a few Poles were mixed in with us and some Rumanians. All were called Austrians.

After a month or so we were offered work, cutting the bush, uprooting trees, building training grounds for the Army. We even cut out a 12 miles long artillery range for them.

At first you could work or not. As you chose. You had that freedom. But such conditions only lasted about 1 or 2 months. After that everyone had to work. And if you refused you were put on bread and water. If you wouldn't work then they just cut your food off. I felt that they didn't have that right. So did about 30 others. So we got together as a group and tried to organize against this move on the authorities' part. Well they soon found out and broke up the group by moving some of us, me included, back to Kingston. Among the Germans. The rest were worked hard after that and pacified.

Back in Kingston you could work too, for 25 cents a day. It was all recorded in a little book you kept. You could then go to a small canteen and buy what you wanted extra - food, candies, tobacco, whatever.

We were well guarded. There was the fort's wall, then a deep ditch. Very deep and wide! Inside the fort there were fully armed soldiers marching around at all times. And they were careful. There were 12 cannons on the walls, on tops of the buildings.

I must say that the fort wasn't in good shape. There were holes all over. You could even see through the walls at some points. We had to fix those. There was even a danger of some of the walls collapsing.

By the second year they removed the cannons and placed a second row of guards about us. Wherever you looked, guards. They were strict. They'd yell at you if you didn't look where you walked. And you had to move if they yelled, or they might shoot.

When they moved us to Kingston it was a period of trouble with the Germans there. They were organized. They felt that we so-called Austrians were getting better treatment than they were, being kept in cold and damp quarters. They wanted to be moved out of the fort. Eventually many of them were sent to Kapuskasing. I hear about 1600 people ended up there.

People were later let out to work on various jobs, in the mines, in lumber camps, on the railroads. They only kept in those who ganged up and tried to organize. I was sent to Kapuskasing. It was a pleasant enough place, the woods were nice, and there was a river. We got there in the spring. Kingston was left almost empty.

We worked pretty poorly, goofing off most of the time. We'd pretend to be working while really we were relaxing in shifts.

I should tell you one more story about Kingston. While I was still there a few Germans, who were supposed to be fixing a sewer, instead started tunneling out of Fort Henry. It took them a long time, two summers I believe. But just before I was sent to Kapuskasing they were caught. They hadn't taken a careful enough measurement of the distance they had to go. Dug out too close to the fort. A watch guard fell into their escape hole and his gun went off. He raised an alarm and we were all up all night.

I was paroled in Kapuskasing when a contractor came to the camp, looking for workers. I put down my name and he came and took me and some others to work. I spent 6 months in the bush before I went to better work, making railway ties. Got \$20.00 a day. I later worked near Timmins and back up at Kapuskasing. All in all I spent 31 months in internment camps before I managed to get back down to Toronto.

They told me that I had been arrested because I was trying to illegally escape Canada and because there was a war on and I was an Austrian. I told them that I was not an Austrian. They then asked me where I came from and I told them; as well I let them know that I was a Ukrainian. They just repeated that as an Austrian citizen I was their enemy. I lost all of my rights. They didn't doubt where I said I came from but they found it useful to look upon us all as enemies.

When I was in Toronto I took many jobs, in a laundry, in a leather factory, finally in a plant making munitions. When the war ended I was let go. There was no work. So I went back north again, near White River, to a lumber camp.

When the veterans came back they took many jobs. Foreigners, like me, were fired. We were enemies. I managed to keep my job but, after two years I moved on, to Moose Jaw. We worked there on the farms in the spring through fall, then went back north to lumbering in the winter. Discrimination wasn't always there but sometimes they would call us bohunks and they did fire us when work was short.

I knew before I left Ukraine that I was a Ukrainian. Not everyone did...I will now die in Canada. And I thank God for that. I am sorry that I couldn't have found a life like the one I found here in my own land. I had to adopt Canada, and I've worked hard here. But I feel ready to continue doing so to the end of my days, as best as I can. I don't fault Canada for my troubles here. They were the fault of people who didn't know better, or who

were bad. I accept Canada as first. I wouldn't leave for anything.

The English Canadians know us better now. They have started to see the errors of their earlier policies...some day the world will remember us as well. Ignorance created the problems...we felt them on the back of our necks. Before you can understand this you will have to go through hardships of the body and of the soul. It will be difficult. I am old now but I know this."

For another reminiscence about internment experiences, see Harry Piniuta, Land of Pain, Land of Promise, Western Producer Prairie Books, Saskatoon, 1978.



## APPENDIX B

## Comparison of Organizational Programs

Both the Ukrainian Canadian Association and the Ukrainian Canadian Committee in Kingston involved their members in some of the following types of activities-- formation of a Ridna Shkola (National School); formation of a Ukrainian folk dancing ensemble; staging of Ukrainian folk arts concerts; development of Ukrainian gymnastic teams; screening of Soviet-made Ukrainian films, campaigning for the Red Cross; campaigning for the support of various Ukrainian and Ukrainian-Slavic causes; staging of "tea parties" and "picnics" for raising funds; holding of regular meetings.

The differences between the groups were often subtle and detectable only to those acutely aware of developments among the Ukrainians. For example, in May of 1942 (see the Kingston Whig Standard issue of May 4, 1942, p. 3) the following item appeared,

## Ukrainian Musicians Prove Versatile

A large Kingston audience expressed through enthusiastic applause its appreciation of a concert arranged and presented by the Toronto Ukrainian String Orchestra on Saturday evening in the KCVI auditorium. The orchestra is composed of talented young Ukrainian students now studying at the Toronto Conservatory of Music and is under the able baton of C. Daeff, a professor at the Conservatory.

The stage presented a colourful scene with the lovely native costumes, gay headdresses and jewelry of the men and girls of the orchestra.

The program was varied and allowed ample scope to reveal the sympathetic understanding of the music of their fatherland held by these young new Canadians. It included selections of Tchaekowsky, Alexandrova and several Russian and Ukrainian folksongs, some of which were arranged by the conductor himself. The spontaneity and perfect timing of these Ukrainian folk dancers made an enjoyable variation in the instrumental and vocal program.

Particular mention should be made of the two young artists, Boris Rahzak and Anne Balay, whose violin solos were the highlights of an unusually pleasant evening of music.

Michael Mutzak, national president of the Ukrainian Association to Aid the Fatherland, made an earnest appeal to his countrymen for active participation in the war. D. Woodburn acted as chairman.

In and of itself the announcement was seemingly innocuous. But a closer examination reveals several interesting elements. There is a curious admixture of Russian and Ukrainian folk arts, as if the organizers were attempting to stress the unity of Slavic peoples, and downplay any nationalist comments about the treatment the Soviet Russians meted out to Ukrainians. This impression of goodwill among Slavs is precisely what members of the Ukrainian Canadian Association and the Ukrainian Association to Aid the Fatherland wished to instill within the minds of the Canadian public. The concert was in fact not only a cultural event but a political one. The following article, also printed in the Kingston Whig Standard makes this point clear.

#### MP's Plan Draws Rebuke of Ukrainian

The establishment of the Ukrainian government in exile would be nothing less than an abrogation of the sacred principles which the Allies plan to achieve in the war against Nazism.

In these words Mr. Michael Mutzak, national president of the Ukrainian Association to Aid the Fatherland, repudiated what he termed the "humiliating proposals of Antony Hlynka made three months ago in the House of Commons at Ottawa." Mr. Hlynka had called for the separation of the Soviet Ukraine from the other republics of the Soviet Union and the organization of a Ukrainian Government in exile. Such a speech, said Mr. Mutzak, "constitutes a well-planned project for the creation of a Quisling government."

#### Assistance Urged

Mr. Mutzak, speaking especially to his countrymen who were gathering with many other Kingstonians to hear Ukrainian music Saturday evening in the KCVI auditorium, called upon them

to assist the people of their native land who had been fighting for the past ten months so valiantly to drive the invader from their soil and also to assist by an intelligent spirit of cooperation the Canadian government in its war effort.

Mutzak apparently hoped to force the nationalist Ukrainians to unite in defence of their Slavic fatherland. It is unlikely that he believed that this could be fully accomplished but perhaps he felt local members might be swayed and nationalists subverted if expensive concerts (who paid for this event is unclear) were staged. In the meantime, they hoped to picture nationalist Ukrainians as disloyal to the Allied cause, as dissenters and likely "Quislings". It is no wonder that the Canadian public was left confused as to events in Eastern Europe and the nature of the Ukrainians in Canada.

## APPENDIX C

## The Rapchan-Wityk Exchange

## "Ukrainian Viewpoint"

To the Editor of  
the Whig Standard

Sir: A short time ago Dr. Watson Kirkconnel, professor of English at McMaster University, spoke at Queen's University. A few days later a pamphlet written by him for the Department of National War Services was distributed to the students. Since this pamphlet has been widely read in Kingston I feel that I must, as a Ukrainian Canadian, point out certain misleading statements in regard to the Ukrainians in Canada.

According to the forward, the purpose of the pamphlet is to prepare Canadians to recognize and resist Nazi propaganda which would undermine our moral and physical resistance. Yet the author writes of the Ukrainian Canadians: a certain distinct minority among them is Communist in sympathies but the great majority have been proof against a superlatively organized propaganda from Moscow. It is a matter of great importance that all of these non-Communist Ukrainians in Canada sunk all of their ancient and bitter feuds in November of 1940 in order to form a single national Committee of Ukrainians in Canada in support of Canada's war effort.

Presumably by Communist sympathizers is meant the Ukrainian Labour and Farmer Temple Association, a cultural organization which was declared to be "illegal" in the spring of 1940. Suffice to say that this group was neither a minority nor Communist, although its members did believe in leaving the Ukrainians of the Soviet Ukraine to decide their own future.

As for the "single national Committee of Ukrainians" it is made up principally of the leaders of two organizations--the United Hetman Organization and the Ukrainian National Federation, both of which were, up to August 1939, openly pro-Hitler, displaying the swastika, encouraging anti-Semitism, sending greetings to the Axis powers, collaborating with the Nazi Bund and attending conferences in Germany. Prince Paul Skoropadsky, the Hetman candidate for King of a fascist Ukraine has been living in Berlin for years. A. Melnyk, the Ukrainian National Federation leader, is closely associated with the O.D.W.V. the main Ukrainian fascist group in the United States, a group which has its international headquarters in Germany. It has recently been banned by the American Government and its newspaper has been suppressed.

In giving evidence before a U.S. Senate Committee (the Dies Committee) the editor of the O.D.W.V. paper admitted that his group and the Ukrainian National Federation held joint consultations and recognized the same leadership, that the O.D.W.V. was organized in 1930 with the aim of converting the Ukrainians in the United States to fascism, that money, supposedly raised to aid the people of Carpatho-Ukraine, was actually sent to the Headquarters in Germany, that some of the money was used to support fascist propaganda on this continent, and that the Ukrainian-Nazi press bureaus in Germany and the occupied countries supplied special materials to the fascist Ukrainian press in the United States and Canada.

Since the entry of the Soviet Union into the war their paper in Canada has continued to sow dissension by trying to excuse the German invaders of the Soviet Ukraine and by accusing the Russians of carrying out a "scorched earth" policy at the expense of the Ukrainians. Only last month, A. Hlynka, M.P. for Vegreville, Alberta, in the federal house lauded the so-called independent Ukrainian government which had been established under German influence in 1919, and suggested recognition of a Ukrainian government-in-exile "now, and of an independent Ukraine after the war". Considering that at least four-fifths of the Ukrainians in Europe are already organized as a constituent republic of the U.S.S.R. (with which they appear to be satisfied, judging by Hitler's complete inability to find Quislings among them) such proposals can only be considered rank presumption, designed to drive a wedge between the powerful striking forces of the United Nations.

In view of these facts the laudatory reference to the Ukrainian National Committee in Professor Kirkconnel's pamphlet does not seem to me to be a contribution to national unity, to extension of the war effort or to protection against Nazi propoganda.

Yours very truly,

George Rapchan,  
Arts '44,  
Queen's University.

A reply from the Kingston Branch of the Ukrainian Canadian Committee was submitted to the Kingston Whig Standard. It appeared on June 6, 1942 (pp. 4 and 5).

#### "Professor Defended"

To the Editor of the  
Kingston Whig Standard

In your issue of April 16, 1942, there appeared an article under the heading "Ukrainian Viewpoint" by Mr. George Rapchan, Arts '44, Queen's University. In this article Mr. Rapchan maintained that Professor Watson

Kirkconnell is mistaken in regard to Ukrainian organizational life in Canada. It is very regrettable that George Rapchan should have found it expedient to contradict Professor Watson Kirkconnell without ascertaining the facts. By doing so he has been unjust to Professor Kirkconnell who has always tried to be fair in all his writings and at the same time has been unfair to the Ukrainian Canadian Committee which represents the far greater majority of Canadians of Ukrainian descent.

"The single National Committee of Ukrainians in Canada" is the Ukrainian Canadian Committee, with Headquarters in Winnipeg, Manitoba. This Committee was formed in November 1940. The Ukrainian Canadians realized that the war efforts carried on by each individual organization to a great extent was a depletion of executive officers. Consequently it was decided to form a Ukrainian Canadian Committee which would be the spokesman for nationally-minded Ukrainian Canadians. There is a certain minority of Ukrainian Canadians who are definitely pro-Communist, but those are not represented on the Committee. The Ukrainian Canadian Committee is composed of the following five, Dominion-wide Ukrainian Canadian organizations: Ukrainian Catholic Brotherhood (Ukrainian Catholic lay organization - Ukrainian Catholics number over 186,000); Ukrainian Self-Reliance League (Ukrainian Greek Orthodox lay association - Ukrainian Greek Orthodox has a following of over 70,000); Union of Ukrainian Labour Organizations; and the two organizations mentioned by Mr. Rapchan, Ukrainian National Federation and United Hetman Organization. It would be very interesting to know how Mr. Rapchan arrived at the conclusion that the Committee was principally made up of the two last named organizations, which do not even carry 25% of the Ukrainian Canadian populace. On the other hand, according to the Canada Census, the Ukrainian Canadian population is around 300,000. The aforementioned organizations most certainly represent the majority of Ukrainian Canadians. Consequently, Professor Kirkconnell is right beyond any shadow of a doubt.

With the outbreak of the War the executive officers of the organizations realized that this was our war. They urged their members to share their responsibility as citizens of Canada in the defense of Freedom. As a result, Canadians of Ukrainian origin were duly represented in Canada's First Division - Ukrainian enlistments got great recognition within a very short period. Yes, numbers of the organizations called by Mr. George Rapchan "pro-Hitler", suffered casualties on land, on the sea and in the air in defense of Britain. Some of them took part in the evacuation at Dunkirk. When France fell they did not desert Britain. Their fate was to be the fate of the British Empire. They did not seek their own salvation.

On the other hand it will be very interesting to know what the members of the Ukrainian Labour and Farmer

Temple Association were doing until the outbreak of the Russo-German War. We did not hear them advocating aid to the Allies. To their version this was a capitalistic and imperialistic war. The best they could hope for was the defeat of both sides. With the aid of Soviet Russia, they could establish a proletarian regime even in Canada.

But Hitler attacked Russia on June 22, 1941. The capitalistic and imperialistic war became the peoples' war. We can understand this attitude if maintained by citizens of the Soviet Union but not when Canadians adhere to this policy. With Soviet Russia we can be allies only. Today that Soviet Russia is our ally the members of the Ukrainian Labour and Farmer Temple Association are with us. But will they do if Soviet Russia should drop out of the conflict? Will they again revert to the old ploy - the Kilkenny cats theory?

It is high time that we Canadians realized that this is not the time for accusations and justifications but a period of sacrifices. It is regrettable that we had to bring this matter up. Therefore let us each do his share of honour in defense of Canada and the Empire. Let our deeds and not idle boast win recognition of loyal citizens.

John Wityk,  
Secretary,  
Ukrainian Canadian Committee,  
Kingston Branch.

Both letters asserted the "correctness" of their own viewpoints while simultaneously casting implications of disloyalty on the opposition. While neither group seems to have been overly concerned with the work of Professor Kirkconnell--the main thrust of both letters tends to be towards subverting the local position of the protagonist--neither side was eager to involve itself in an out and out public campaign against the other. Both could be seriously weakened by certain revelations and both organizations probably realized that this was not the time for any intensive exchange.

A final entry was made into the debate, by George Rapchan, in the July 11, 1942 edition of the Kingston Whig Standard. It is reprinted below. There was no reply to this letter, as the Kingston Branch of the Ukrainian Canadian Committee felt "that there was no point in continuing this debate in public".

#### "Ukrainians Discussed"

Sir: Mr. Wityk's reply to my previous letter has just come to my attention. Personally I would be very happy to see all Ukrainians in Canada, and elsewhere, doing their utmost in the total war effort of the United Nations and in laying the basis for a better understanding between those nations.

I do not propose to enter into a prolonged controversy over the relative merits of the various Ukrainian groups in Canada, and I shall not be writing again, but, in the interest of that war effort and of that better understanding, I believe it is essential to inform the people of Canada of the facts about their fellow Ukrainian Canadians.

At the first annual convention of the Ukrainian Canadian Association, held in Winnipeg early in June 1940, delegates from all parts of Canada pledged themselves to "rally all Ukrainian Canadians in support of the Canadian Government for a total war effort, and their help by the United Nations to bring about military destruction of our common national enemies". Formed less than a year ago, under the temporary name of the Ukrainian Association to Aid the Fatherland, by Ukrainian Canadians who were inspired by the heroic resistance of liberty-loving kinsfolk in the Ukraine who were suffering under the Nazi blitz attack on the U.S.S.R., this organization has been the rallying centre for Ukrainian Canadians apart from a small nationalist group. The change in names reflects its emergence as an existing nation-wide organization with a vital part to play in Canada's war effort. The convention adopted a 13-point program, pledging cooperation in recruiting for Canada's Armed Forces, in explaining the need for increasing production, in establishing joint labour-management councils and assistance for workers, in aiding the work of the Red Cross and in exposing fifth column activities, in combatting racial discrimination and hatred and in working for the better understanding and unity among the Ukrainian Canadians themselves and between them and their fellow Canadians of other national backgrounds. In reaffirming their confidence in Lt. Gen. McNaughton and the Canadian Army, and other faith in the courage and indomitable spirit of their kinsfolk in the Soviet Army, the delegates provided a living example of the unity between the United Nations so essential for victory.

Mr. Wityk on the other hand has not made any attempt to refute my charges in my previous letter that the Ukrainian nationalist groups in Canada, who have stood aloof from this vital movement and attempted to label it a Communist-influenced movement, are themselves dominated by leaders who have had Fascist conventions. He has not answered my charge that, within the past few months one of their spokesmen, Anthony Hlynka, has made an appeal in the Canadian House of Commons for the establishment of an independent Ukrainian state at the expense of our ally and friend, the U.S.S.R., I might also note that Mr. Hlynka's constituency voted "no" in the plebiscite. At a meeting of nationalist groups in Toronto last month Mr. Hlynka and Professor Watson Kirkconnell were the featured speakers. I regret that Professor Kirkconnell has allowed his anti-Soviet bias to lead him into such doubtful company and is permitting his knowledge of Ukrainian language and early history to be exploited in this way.



As a Canadian of Ukrainian origin I take great pride in the knowledge that Hitler has found no Quislings in the Soviet Ukraine and that none of the renegade Ukrainian Fascist leaders from Berlin have dared set foot on Ukrainian soil. I am proud that the Russian armies are bearing the brunt of the defence of world liberty in this Nazi drive on the Caucasus under the leadership of the great Ukrainian, Marshal Timoshenko.

I am more than willing to leave the challenge in Mr. Wityk's own words - "Let our deeds not idle boast win respect of loyal citizens".

Respectfully,

George Rapchan,  
R.C.A.F.

## APPENDIX D

A. Hlynka's Remarks Before the Senate Standing  
Committee on Immigration and Labour

A. Hlynka made the following six points in favour of allowing the Ukrainian Displaced Persons into Canada:

1. In the first place, it must be obvious to all Canadians and especially to those charged with the responsibility of steering the course of Canada's destiny, that Canada must increase her population if she is to play an important role in world affairs, if she is to hold her important position in the councils of nations and if she is to be of much assistance to the British Commonwealth of Nations. No one will argue, I am sure, that it is easy for Canada to play an important part in all these matters with only 12 million people. Our limited population inevitably consigns us to the group of third rate powers, in spite of our assertions that we are a foremost world power.
2. Not only are we conscious of our shortcomings in International Affairs but with our sparsely populated country we cannot hope to be a prosperous nation and build a stable economy. Let me explain what I have in mind: Canada needs markets in which to sell her goods. The surest and most stable market is always the home market. But, as we know, our Canadian market is so limited that the cost of production must of necessity be higher than it should be. Then, too, the heavy burden of taxation, freight rates and other costs fall on a small proportion of our population. It is a known fact that certain settlements in western Canada have been refused rail branch facilities because the population is too small to pay the costs of building and maintaining the branch lines. The result is that Canadians in these settlements must either abandon productive areas or carry on by transporting their products by trucks and teams. The answer is, of course, more settlers.
3. Then I might mention the cultural loss which Canada suffers because of her small population. It is a well known fact that Canadian creative works in music and literature are lost to Canada because of the more attractive market in the United States. Moreover, Canada has become a very heavy loser of intellectual peoples, because of the more lucrative positions and opportunities available in the U.S. Our small population makes it necessary for us to

operate everything on a small scale, consequently there are fewer opportunities in this country. Salaries too, in the U.S., are much higher.

During the 80 years, from 1851 to 1931, Canada lost 6,110,000 people to the U.S. At the present time, Canada has a golden opportunity to remedy this situation by accepting a goodly number of new immigrants who would forever be grateful to her for adopting them as her citizens.

4. There may be those who would argue that the best policy for Canada is to depend on her own natural increase of population. But the projected calculations indicate that, if immigration were not allowed, the increase in our population would be only 3 million in the next 45 years. That means that by 1990, if unaided by immigration, Canada's total population would amount to 15,000,000. And from 1990 on, according to the calculations of the Dominion Bureau of Statistics, our population would decline in numbers. In studying these figures one cannot help but feel disturbed about the future of this country.
5. I now come to the study of projected population in Europe. In my opinion, Canada would be well advised to consider these figures when deciding upon her immigration policy....

Commenting on this chart, the author of the book ("The Future Population of Europe and the Soviet Union") states that "By 1970 the U.S.S.R., in its 1937 boundaries, will have as large a source of primary military manpower as Germany, the U.K., France, Italy, Poland, Spain and Rumania combined, these being seven European countries mentioned in the chart.

In addition to this tremendously large population of the present Russian Empire, we took a hand in assisting the Soviets in forcing a few more millions to leave Central and Western Europe. The people pleaded with us to allow them to remain until they could find permanent homes elsewhere but in spite of their pleadings we shipped them back because we were afraid that we would have too many people on our hands. Russia, on the other hand, was not afraid to take them, even by force, having in mind the plan of populating and developing her northern regions, particularly Siberia, which is not far from Alaska.

6. One other reason why it is in Canada's interest to accept a good number of European immigrants has to do with the existing trends and projected calculations of population trends in the U.K. Only recently an exhaustive research was undertaken by three outstanding authorities on population in the U.K.

It was found that the present birth rate in the U.K. was 20% below replacement level. It was found too that the gravity of population was tending to old age groups, which was another disturbing factor. It appeared from the figures that if the present trend continued, the burden of maintaining social services would fall on the shoulders of a shrinking producing class, resulting in burdensome taxation and a general decrease in the standard of living. In view of these facts, Canada would be wise if she decided on a generous immigration policy, and while admitting immigrants from the U.K. she should also admit a considerable number of peoples from Central and Eastern Europe.

## APPENDIX E

Statutes of the  
CANADIAN LEAGUE FOR THE LIBERATION  
OF UKRAINE

The organization has been founded in 1959.

Purposes:

1. To enlist Canadians of Ukrainian ethnic origin, as well as Canadians of other origins, to the idea of liberation of Ukraine.
2. To defend the right of Ukrainian nation, as well as every other nation to a full free sovereign state within its ethnic territory.
3. To oppose the Communist ideology, propaganda and activities, as foreign and harmful to Ukrainian as well as Canadian spiritual and material interests.
4. To foster the spirit of loyalty to Canada, and to defend its freedom and democratic institutions from any attempts of destruction by its enemies from within or without.
5. To raise the level of moral standards of its members by educational efforts, in the spirit of Christian ethics.
6. To raise the educational standard of its members and to foster Ukrainian culture.
7. To raise the economic standards of its members by mutual co-operation and assistance.

Headquarters: 140 Bathurst Street,  
Toronto 2 B, Ontario.

Branches: throughout Canada.

## APPENDIX F

## The Interview Format

The subjects that follow form a core group of interests around which all formal interviews were conducted. As some areas were of less importance to certain individuals than others no attempt was made to elicit responses about each point. Specific questions about Kingston were also asked, although the nature and variety of these varied between individuals.

Most interviews were conducted in Ukrainian and subsequently translated and transcribed by the author. The list was modified from one used by the Multicultural History Society of Ontario.

I. The Old Country

1. place and nationality
2. size of family and nature of dwelling
3. land ownership or other property
4. occupations within family
5. occupations in general
6. daily life (routine and folklore)
7. landowners, officials, storekeepers, clergy
8. social and religious activities
9. relationship to state--taxation, conscription, etc.
10. other ethnic groups in town or city of origin.

\*\*\*\*\*

1. local patterns of migration--seasonal, traditional work elsewhere, fairs, tinkers, etc.
2. reason for leaving--familial, personal, economic, political
3. age and position in family (marital status as well) at time of emigration
4. number of migrations back and forth
5. steps taken in hometown preparatory to leaving, e.g., property arrangements, legal papers, money questions
6. role of agents and go-betweens, town officials, clergy, if any.

\*\*\*\*\*

1. awareness of Canada or of destination generally before leaving
2. intention at that time to be immigrant or migrant
3. intended destination
4. intended length of stay
5. relatives already at intended destination.

## II. Emigration

1. knowledge of how to reach ship and port
2. method of transport to coast (stops and inns)
3. travelling alone, in group, with kinsmen
4. amount of money, goods, papers with them on trip
5. legal or clandestine exit from home country, if latter, why?
6. name of port, ship, and steamship companies involved
7. experiences of other fellow-townsmen similar or not, i.e., same go-betweens, steamship lines, ports?
8. life on board (room, board, ethnic relations, etc.)
9. cost of trip
10. port of entry and officials.

\*\*\*\*\*

1. sense of destination and location at the time
2. getting to a Canadian destination--prepaid? form of transport, companions, time
3. general sense of transience or permanence
4. finding fellow countrymen in Canada

## III. First Housing and First Neighbourhood

1. location in city
2. how chosen? (relate to seasonal work and work out of city)
3. boarding house, one, or multi-family dwelling
4. kinsmen or countrymen in building or in surrounding neighbourhood
5. cost of rent as percentage of pay at time
6. who was owner or runner of house or building
7. distance between housing and work
8. changes of housing in first year of migration and why
9. neighbourhood--institutions nearby, church, stores or restaurants run by countrymen, banker or travel agent, etc.
10. other nationalities in neighbourhood
11. reason for living there--respondent and others

IV. First Jobs

1. how obtained--open hiring, fellow countryman, boss (padrone), sub-contract
2. how heard about
3. relation if any to skills or old world training
4. hours, pay, and regularity
5. language problems and go-betweens at that time
6. changing jobs and sideline occupations
7. outdoor seasonal work, factory or sweatshop, peddling or store--discuss in relation to respondent and others he knew.

\*\*\*\*\*

1. stereotypes and images of occupations of his and other nationalities as the respondent remembers
2. prejudice, if any, at work site or with licensing officials, etc.
3. terms of work contract--relationship to wholesaler if peddler or licensing officials, etc.--bosses and sub-bosses, etc. in street, street railway, or factory work
4. fellow workers
5. the why and wherefore of changing jobs and occupations

V. Businesses and Institutions of the Immigrant Community

1. discuss boarding houses, saloons, and restaurants (hotels)
2. transmission of money to old country--bankers, agents, etc. details on how it was done (language problems)
3. food supply and food stores--general

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1. successful businessmen and leaders
2. who were leaders? how did they get that way?
3. churches and clergy
4. consuls, vice-consuls (local political representatives)

\*\*\*\*\*



1. politics--old country or Canadian (transition from one to the other)
2. World War I or 1920's--national feeling
3. interwar political activity
4. social institutions and clubs--national homes, local clubs, benevolent and mutual aid societies, church organizations
5. relationship to Canadian institutions--settlement houses, police, doctors, schools, sports clubs, etc.
6. when was English language of communication, when dialect or mother tongue, etc.
7. trade unionism.

## VI. Family and Community

1. questions about when immigration was complete, i.e., when respondent no longer felt transient, when he no longer expected to return to home country, when he stopped sending money to home country, what kinsmen did he bring out and pay for, etc.
2. details of marriage--when contracted, how arranged, mate from same local area or country of origin
3. where married, who attended, how housing changed after marriage
4. children and their education
5. prejudice encountered directly or through children
6. expectation of education for children and hopes for their occupation
7. maintenance of language and religion--language schools and church schools, etc. --respondent actively involved or not.

## APPENDIX G

## Tables

Table 1: Population of the City of Kingston, 1891-1971

<u>Year</u>	<u>Population</u>	<u>Year</u>	<u>Population</u>
1891	19,263	1941	30,126 <sup>5</sup>
1901	17,961 <sup>1</sup>	1951	33,459 <sup>6</sup>
1911	18,874 <sup>2</sup>	1961	53,526 <sup>7</sup>
1921	21,753 <sup>3</sup>	1971	59,047 <sup>8</sup>
1931	23,439 <sup>4</sup>		

References:

1. 4th Census of Canada, Vol. I, 1901, Ottawa; Printed by I. E. Dawson, Printer to the King's Most Excellent Majesty, 1902, Table V, p. 22.
2. 5th Census of Canada, Vol. I, 1911, Ottawa; Printed by C. H. Parmalee, Printer to the King's Most Excellent Majesty, 1913, Table XIV, p. 554.
3. 6th Census of Canada, Vol. I, 1921, Ottawa; F. A. Acland, Printer to the King's Most Excellent Majesty, 1924, Table 10, p. 220.
4. 7th Census of Canada, Vol. II, 1931, Ottawa; J. O. Patenaude, Printer to the King's Most Excellent Majesty, 1933, Table 8, p. 8.
5. 8th Census of Canada, Vol. III, 1941, Ottawa; Edmond Cloutier, Printer to the King's Most Excellent Majesty, 1946, Table 6, pp. 9-11.
6. 9th Census of Canada, Vol. I, 1951, Ottawa; Edmond Cloutier, Printer to the King's Most Excellent Majesty, 1953, Table 9, pp. 9-11.
7. Census of Canada, Vol. 1.1, 1961, Ottawa, Bureau of Statistics, Table 5, pp. 5-28.
8. Census of Canada, Vol. I.1, 1971, Ottawa, Stats Canada, 1973, Table 7, pp. 7-14.

Table 2: Religion

	1891 <sup>1</sup>	1901 <sup>2</sup>	1911 <sup>3</sup>	1921 <sup>4</sup>	1931 <sup>5</sup>	1941 <sup>6</sup>	1951 <sup>7</sup>	1961 <sup>8</sup>	1971 <sup>9</sup>
Anglican	503126.12	438724.42	548329.05	660430.36	758132.34	943731.32		1290524.11	1304522.09
Baptist	3111.61	4252.37	4122.18	4211.94	4251.81	5231.74	4811.44	10421.95	8851.50
Greek Orthodox			12.06	18.08	57.24	68.23	132.39	302.56	445.75
Jewish	39.20	128.71	2411.28	3031.39	2351.00	290.96	302.90	366.68	500.85
Lutherans	2.01	12.07	39.21	11.05	46.20	103.34	198.59	8031.50	6801.15
Methodists	432122.43	413323.01	480925.48	472721.73	Free 128.55 Wesleyan 2.008				
Presbyterian	330217.14	315617.57	317316.81	319814.70	22789.72	24438.11	24037.18	30555.71	30705.20
Roman Catholic	518526.92	478226.62	535928.39	547825.18	531522.68	701623.29	822224.57	1496527.96	1729429.29
Ukr. (Gk.) Catholic							41.12	133.21	75.13
United Church of Canada								1086532.47	1583526.82
					635927.13	886429.42		1665331.11	

References:

1. 4th Census of Canada, 1901, Vol. I, Table IX, pp. 148-9.
2. Ibid.
3. 5th Census of Canada, 1911, Vol. II, Table IV, pp. 150-1.
4. 6th Census of Canada, 1921, Table 39, p. 758.
5. 7th Census of Canada, 1931, Vol. II, Table 43, p. 700.
6. 8th Census of Canada, 1941, Vol. III, Table 17, p. 242.
7. 9th Census of Canada, 1951, Vol. I, Table 42, p. 42-34.
8. Census of Canada, 1961, Vol. I, Part 3, Bulletin 1.3-8, Dominion Bureau of Statistics, Table 112, pp. 112-9.
9. Census of Canada, 1971, Vol. I, Part 3, Bulletin 1.3-3, 1973, Statistics Canada, Table 13, pp. 1.3-7-1.3-8.

Table 3: Ethnic Origin

	1891*	1901 <sup>1</sup>	1911 <sup>2</sup>	1921 <sup>3</sup>	1931 <sup>4</sup>	1941 <sup>5</sup>	1951 <sup>6</sup>	1961 <sup>7</sup>	1971 <sup>8</sup>
English		564231.42	853145.20	1006646.27	1098946.88	1428247.41	2841184.91	3945073.70	4437075.14
Irish		807544.96	730638.71	665130.58	630626.90	736624.45			
Scotch		266214.82	256413.58	294813.55	333414.22	449514.92			
French		6583.66	7814.14	8794.04	10814.61	6.02	18065.40	38067.11	36756.22
German		4792.67	3451.83	15.07	2501.07	280.93	4091.22	17493.27	18653.12
Austro- Hungarian		5.03	11.06	185.85	11.05	.04		130.24	
Austrian				2.009	.17	.06	.21	198.37	
Hungarian				59.27	.48	.27	25.07	7221.35	11601.96
Italian		24.13	49.26	3031.39	232.99	.65	113.34	186.35	585.99
Jewish		128.71	2411.28	23.11	195.99	.62	206.62	6151.15	565.96
Polish			11.06		121.52	.64	3491.04		
Romanian/ Bulgarian			1.005	6.03					
Romanian					4.02	.04			
Bulgarian					1.004	.003			
Russian		1.006	3.02	20.09	26.11	.13	79.23	129.24	30.05
Ukrainian				1.005	8.03	.25	167.50	317.59	325.55
Total									
Population**	19263	17961	18874	21753	23439	30126	33459	53526	59047

## References:

- 1 4th Census of Canada, Vol. II, 1901, Table XI, pp. 326-7.
- 2 5th Census of Canada, 1911, Table VIII, pp 334-335.
- 3 6th Census of Canada, 1921, Table 28, p. 544.
- 4 7th Census of Canada, Vol. II, 1931, Table 34, p. 495.
- 5 8th Census of Canada, Vol. III, 1941, Table 13, p. 182.
- 6 9th Census of Canada, Vol. I, 1951, Table 35, p. 35-4.
- 7 Census of Canada, 1961, Bulletin 1.2-5, Dominion Bureau of Statistics, (Vol. I, Part II), Table 38, p. 38-7-38-8.
- 8 Census of Canada, Part 3, 1971, Bulletin 1.3-2, 1973, Statistics Canada, Table 8, p. 8-3.

Note: These references refer to those figures found in the first column of each pair. Only the changes from those references (in Table 1) listed previously are included. The second column in each pair in Tables 2-4 are the % of the population of the City of Kingston that fit in a particular category.



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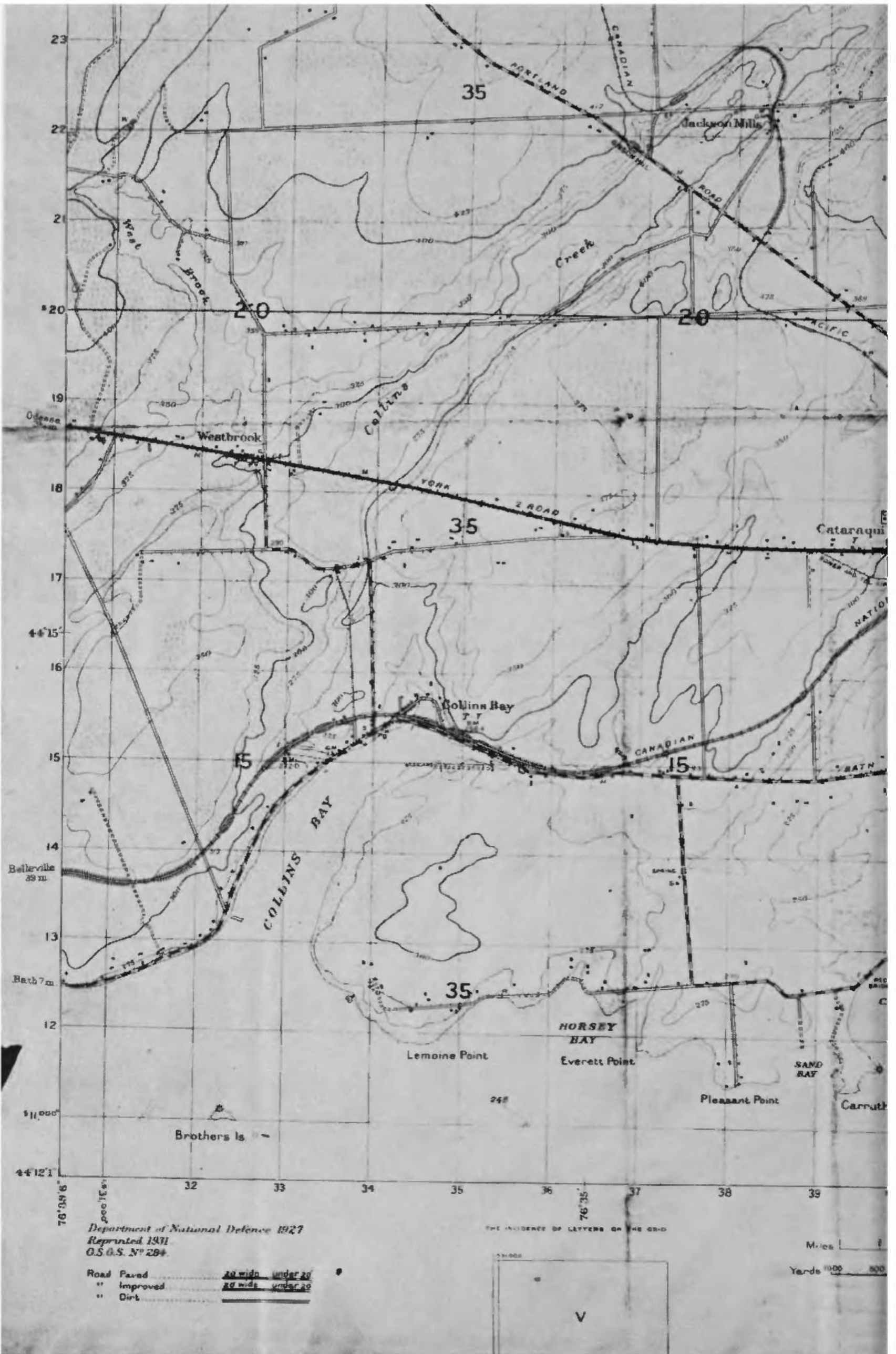
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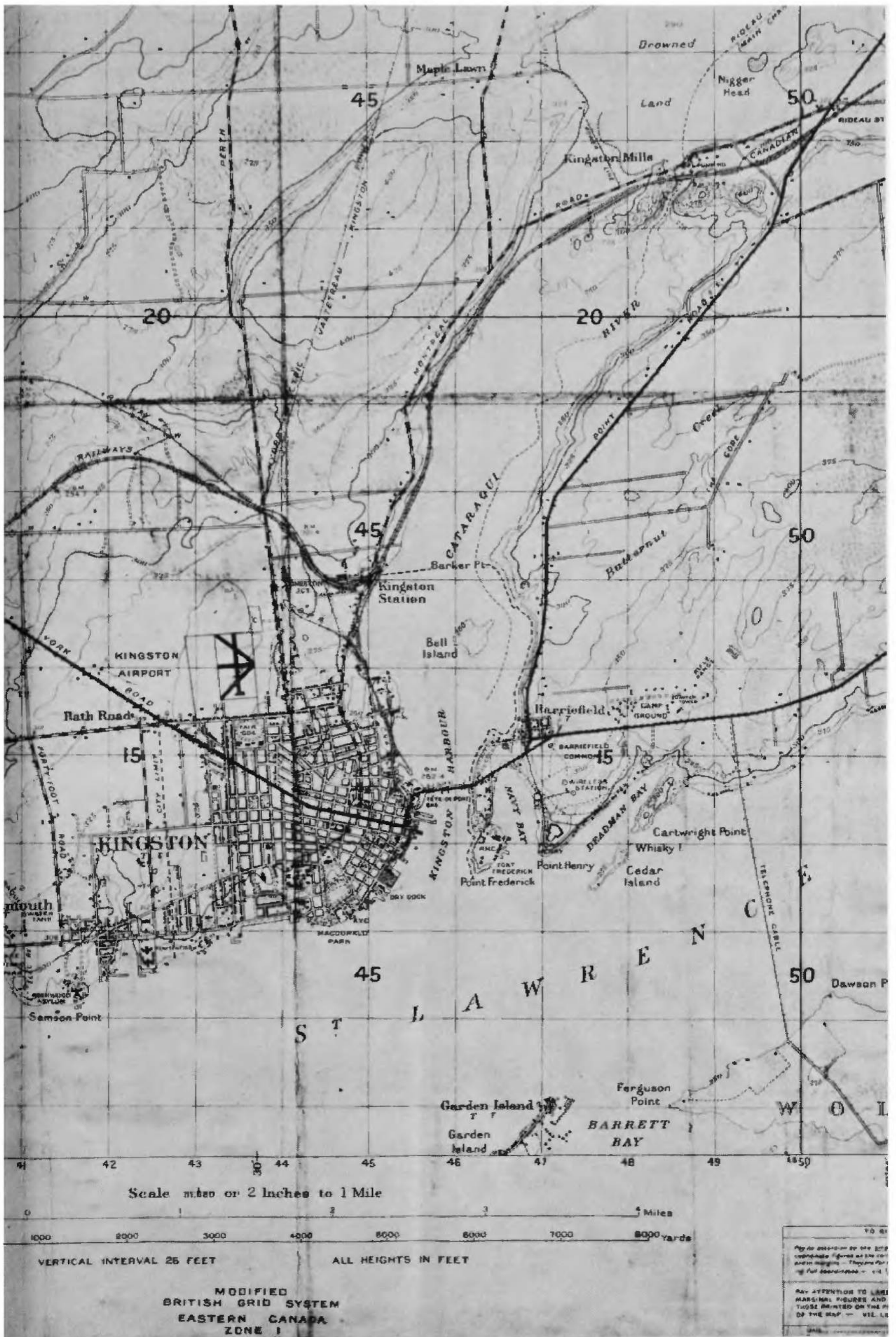


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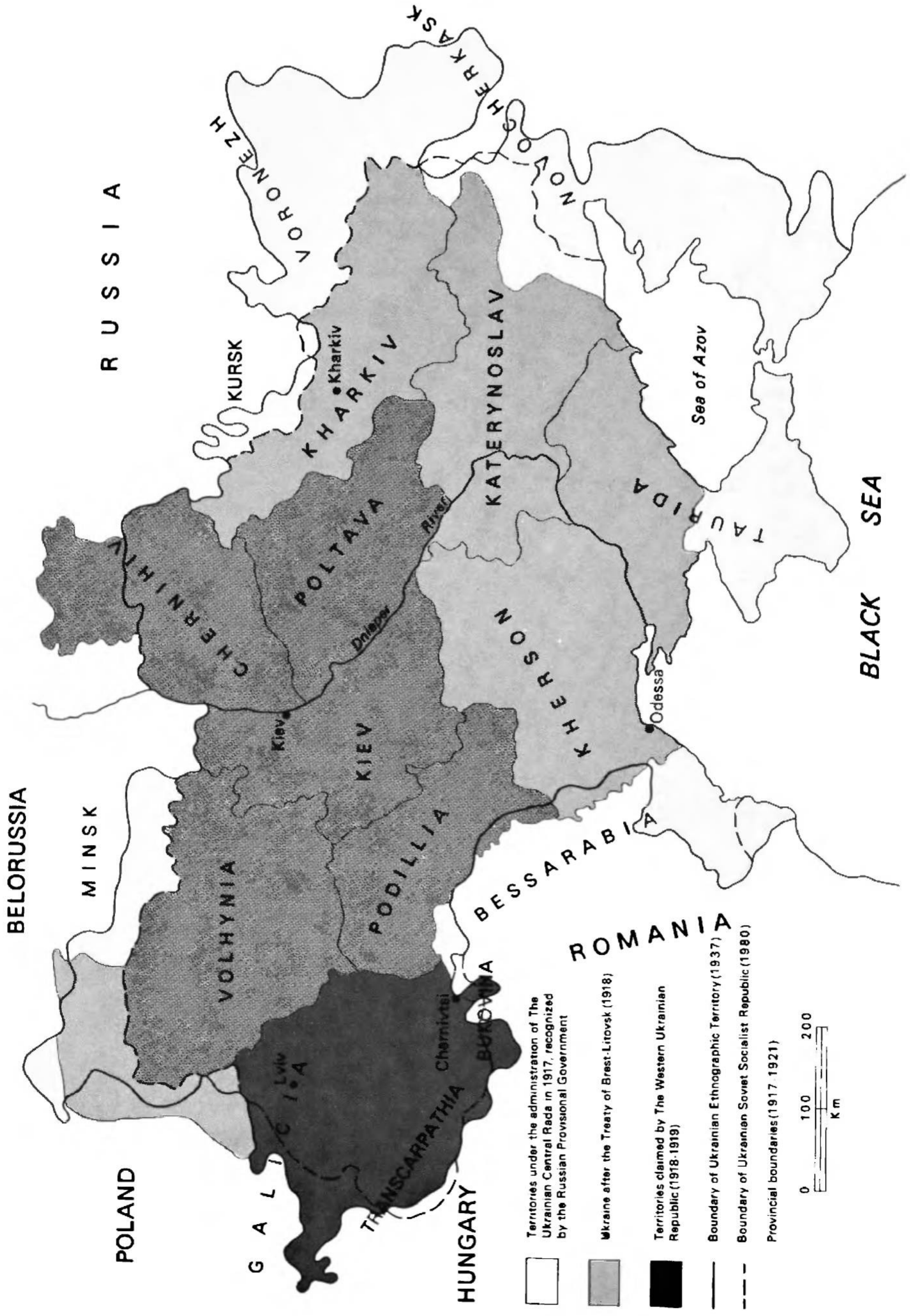
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Territories under the administration of The Ukrainian Central Rada in 1917, recognized by the Russian Provisional Government

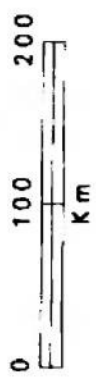
Ukraine after the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk (1918)

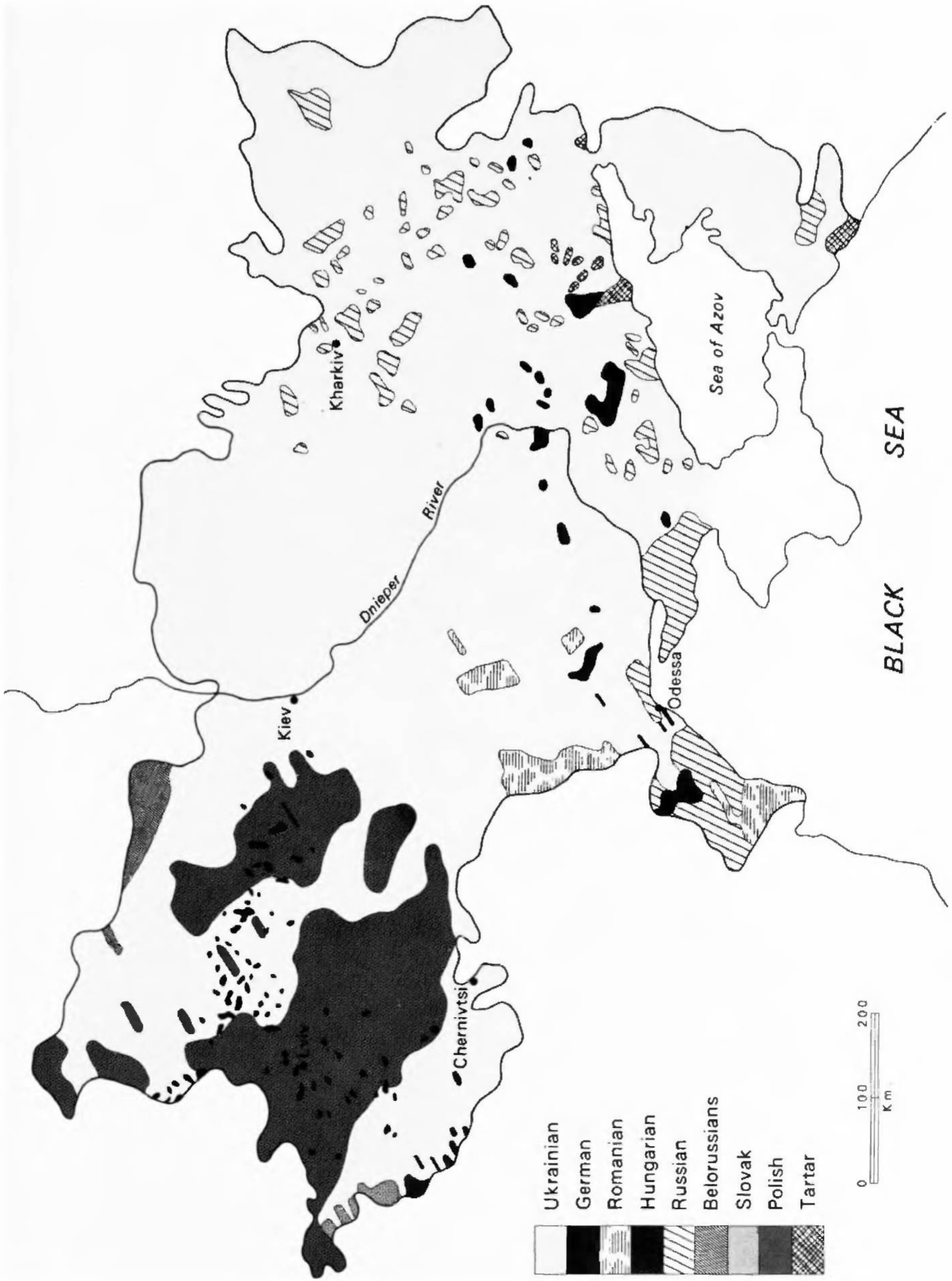
Territories claimed by The Western Ukrainian Republic (1918-1919)

Boundary of Ukrainian Ethnographic Territory (1937)

Boundary of Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic (1980)

Provincial boundaries (1917-1921)





- Ukrainian
- German
- Romanian
- Hungarian
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- Belorussians
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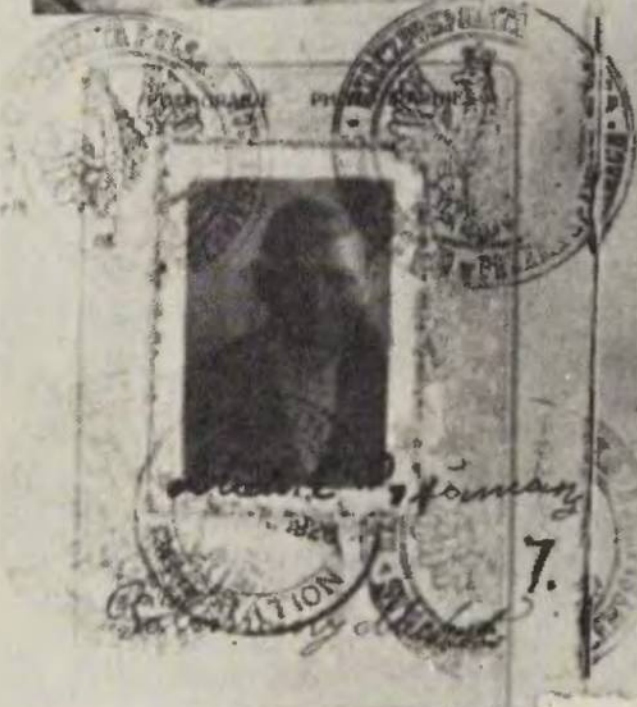
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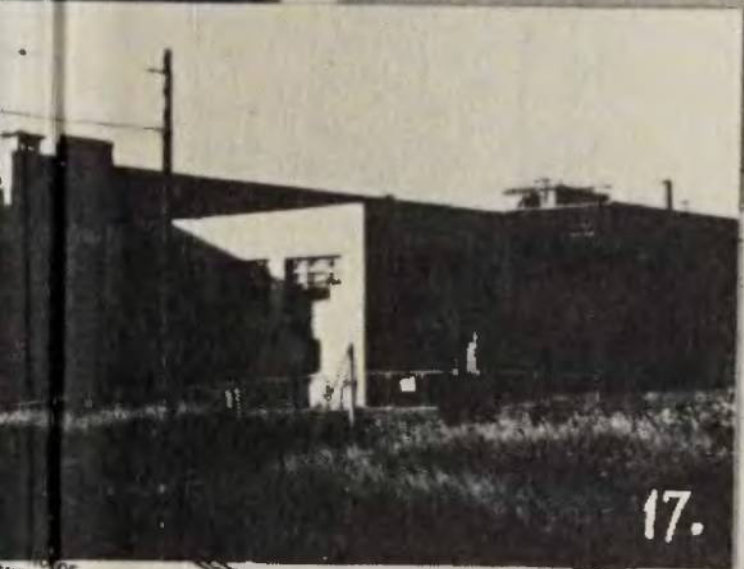
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