THE UKRAINIANS IN MANITOBA

A Social History

PAUL YUZYK

Scholarly Reprint Series

The Scholarly Reprint Series has been established to bring back into print valuable titles from the University of Toronto Press backlist for which a small but continuing demand is known to exist. Special techniques (including some developed by the University of Toronto Press Printing Department) have made it possible to reissue these works in uniform case bindings in runs as short as 50 copies. The cost is not low, but prices are far below what would have to be charged for such short-run reprints by normal methods.

The Scholarly Reprint Series has proved a valuable help to scholars and librarians, particularly those building new collections. We invite nominations of titles for reissue in this form, and look forward to the day when, with this series and other technological developments, the label 'out of print' will virtually disappear from our backlist.

The Ukrainians in Manitoba

A SOCIAL HISTORY • BY PAUL YUZYK

ISSUED UNDER THE AUSPICES OF THE HISTORICAL AND SCIENTIFIC SOCIETY OF MANITOBA AND PUBLISHED BY THE UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO PRESS • 1953

SCHOLARLY REPRINT SERIES
ISBN 0-8020-7075-2
LC 54-238


DEDICATED TO THE PIONEER UKRAINIAN SETTLERS'
ON THE OCCASION OF THEIR SIXTIETH ANNIVERSARY
IN RECOGNITION OF THEIR CONTRIBUTION TO THE
DEVELOPMENT OF CANADA
SEPTEMBER, 1951

THE UKRAINIANS IN MANITOBA

Foreword

THE HISTORICAL AND SCIENTIFIC SOCIETY OF MANItoba, founded in 1879, nine years after the Province of Manitoba was carved out of the immense territory which had been Rupert's Land, has rendered no small service to the history and literature of its community. During the greater part of the Second World War its work was suspended, but in 1944 it was resumed.

One of the projects of the revived Society was a study of the contributions made by the various ethnic groups to the life of Manitoba. The undertaking was inspired by the late Mrs. R. F. McWilliams who, as Dr. Margaret McWilliams, had written of Manitoba's history and people in *Manitoba Milestones*, and who had aided in the writing of *Women of the Red River*. The Honourable Ivan Schultz, then Minister of Education, warmly approved of the project. He arranged for the Government of Manitoba to provide the funds for fellowships and grants, and has since continued his support and encouragement. The Society gladly acknowledges its indebtedness to Mr. Schultz and the Government of Manitoba for this generous and imaginative aid to scholarship.

The members of the first Committee of Selection were Dr. McWilliams, President of the Society from 1945 to 1948, Mr. Schultz, the late Honourable S. S. Marcoux, Dr. R. O. Macfarlane, Deputy Minister of Education, Dr. A. R. M. Lower, then Professor of History, United College, Mr. W. L. Morton, Professor of History, University of Manitoba, and Mr. W. J. Waines, Dean of Arts and Science, University of Manitoba. Fellowships were offered for one year of study, and also grants-in-aid of part-time study, of any ethnic group in the province. Those groups actually elected were the Mennonite, Icelandic, Ukrainian, French, Polish, and Jewish. Research into the history and cultural contributions of these groups has either been completed, or is in process, by the following scholars, respectively: Dr. E. K. Francis, Mr. W. K. Kristjanson, Mr. Paul Yuzyk, Rev. Dr. A. A. d'Eschambault, Mr. Régis Lessard, Dr. Victor Turek, and Rabbi A. A. Chiel.

A word of appreciation must be added for the work of the Committee of Selection which has been so faithfully performed. Only those

of the Council of the Manitoba Historical Society fully know the time and effort expended by the members of that Committee.

The Committee of Selection is very much pleased to present now, for the Society, the first study to be completed for publication. The author, Mr. Paul Yuzyk, is a professor in the Departments of History and Slavic Studies in the University of Manitoba. He was born in Saskatchewan of Ukrainian parents in 1913. After service in the Canadian Army in the Second World War, Mr. Yuzyk graduated from the University of Saskatchewan in 1947. In his senior years he became interested in the history of the Ukrainian Canadians, and under the direction of Professor G. W. Simpson of the Department of History in the University of Saskatchewan, he completed for his Master's degree a study of the Greek Catholic Church in Canada. He then wrote the present book. He is now preparing, for submission for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy at the University of Minnesota, a history of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church in Canada. The Society takes great pleasure in helping Mr. Yuzyk bring out this, his first book.

It is hoped that other studies of ethnic groups will follow *The Ukrainians in Manitoba* in series. The Society is grateful to the Dominion executive of the Ukrainian Canadian Committee, Winnipeg, and to the University of Toronto Press for their generous aid in the publication of this volume, without which aid it would not have been possible to bring out this valuable study in its present form. That similar good fortune will attend other studies is the hope and expectation of the Society.

It is the belief of the Society that this volume and its successors tell much of the story by which the small and primitive community of 1870 became the great province of today. In 1870 the two main ethnic groups of European stock were the Scots and the French; to them in the next half century were added members of all the peoples of northern Europe, and of most of those of central and eastern Europe, until now Manitoba and its great capital city of Winnipeg are among the most heterogeneous and cosmopolitan of the world's communities. And in such studies are revealed the finest part of that story, the action and reaction of the various groups upon one another, how each gave of its gifts of mind and spirit to the making of one community in this province lying at the heart of Canada.

ROSS MITCHELL, M.D.

President, The Historical and Scientific Society of Manitoba

Preface

THE HISTORY OF THE UKRAINIANS IN CANADA IS essentially the history of the Ukrainian Canadians in Manitoba. Not only does a considerable proportion of these people live in this province but the pulsating centre of the life of the group is located in Manitoba's capital, Winnipeg, which has a Ukrainian population of 41,500. Ukrainian Canadians are scattered throughout the province in continuous large settlements, forming over one-eighth of the provincial population. They actively participate in all economic enterprises, in all aspects of political life, in a variety of cultural and social activities, and are found in important positions in public and private institutions. The leaders of the Ukrainian organizations and of the churches, their chief institutions, and their chief newspapers are to be found in Winnipeg. The policies of the ethnic group are formulated, developed, and put into practice in this centre, which has ties of some kind with every Ukrainian community in Canada. The progress made by the Ukrainians in Manitoba, as well as their general attitudes and sentiments, may therefore be considered typical of the 400,000 Canadian citizens of Ukrainian extraction.

Basically, the manuscript was completed in the summer of 1949, when it was deposited with the Manitoba Historical Society. The late Mrs. Margaret S. McWilliams arranged for its publication in the fall of 1951. The revision of the manuscript for publication in order to bring it up to date and to include at least some data of the 1951 census was carried out mostly in the last quarter of 1952 during the spare time of the author. The account deals with events up to the end of 1952.

During this interval of over three years, many significant developments and events took place within the group in Manitoba. The increased influx of immigrants including a large proportion of highly educated persons and many distinguished scholars has already had a profound influence on the life of the people. Scholarly and literary works in the Ukrainian language have been published more frequently; performances by choirs and dramatic groups and radio programmes occur more often; business enterprises have increased substantially in Winnipeg. The intense national fervour of the newcomers has caused

a political ferment which is affecting the older organizations and is having important general repercussions. Simultaneously, the Canadian-born element has been making its influence felt to a greater degree than ever before in all walks of life through high positions in Canadian institutions, through participation in Canadian politics, through new business enterprises and new organizations, and through intensified cultural activities within the older organizations. All these changes have given a new complexion to Ukrainian Canadian society. An effort has been made to record, at least in skeletal form, the new trends and happenings that have become evident since 1949.

The most important single event in this period was the celebration in 1951 of the sixtieth anniversary of Ukrainian settlements in Canada, under the patronage of Their Excellencies the Governor-General and the Viscountess Alexander of Tunis. The Prime Minister of Canada, the Right Honourable Louis St. Laurent, made a tour of several important pioneer localities. The lieutenant-governors and premiers of several provinces and many other Canadian leaders participated in the celebrations. Newspapers, magazines, and radio reported the celebrations and recounted some of the chief achievements of the largest Slavic group in Canada.

The main events of this celebration took place in Winnipeg on September 7, 8, and 9, 1951, under the auspices of the Ukrainian Canadian Committee. The three-day programme included a large exhibit displaying Ukrainian Canadian culture, which was officially opened by President A. H. S. Gillson of the University of Manitoba. A large parade marched to the Legislative Building, where in a ceremony the Lieutenant-Governor of Manitoba, the Honourable R. F. McWilliams, unveiled a memorial plaque with the inscription: "Dedicated to the pioneer Ukrainian settlers on the occasion of their sixtieth anniversary in recognition of their contribution to the development of Canada." An impressive commemorative concert honouring the earliest living pioneers in the province was given at the Playhouse Theatre. At a banquet, Professor W. L. Morton, Chairman of the Department of History at the University, gave an address entitled "The Common Heritage." The Diamond Jubilee celebration in Winnipeg ended with the closing of the Ukrainian exhibit, at which Professor L. Bilecky delivered a paper on the future of Ukrainian culture in Canada.[1]

In deeply pondered words of his address, Professor W. L. Morton

[1]A fuller account of the event can be found in the paper "The First Ukrainians in Manitoba" by the author of this book, in *Papers Read before the Historical and Scientific Society of Manitoba*, Series III, No. 8, 1953.

stated: "In entering into the common heritage, the Ukrainian pioneers brought much: love of the soil, a static and conservative factor in our dynamic society; folk culture, a vital source for the arts in music, painting, letters and the dance; passion for freedom, by which the democratic faith of this country has been revived and renewed; devotion to culture, by which the cultivation of learning and the arts has been refreshed and strengthened. It is a great accession to the common store, of which Ukrainian Canadians may be proud, and for which all Canadians are grateful. It lies with us all, then, to develop this common heritage."

In this social history, an attempt has been made to give a faithful account of the contributions of the Ukrainian Canadians to the development of Manitoba and Canada, and of the forces that have been and are at work in moulding the destiny of the Ukrainian element in Canadian life. It is a story of achievement and progress made possible by adherence to the democratic way of life, Canada's most precious heritage. If the memories recorded in this history make some heart beat faster, encourage some noble action, or help someone to grow in understanding, the author will consider his efforts abundantly rewarded.

P. Y.

Winnipeg, Manitoba
January 1953

Acknowledgments

MY SINCERE THANKS ARE EXTENDED TO ALL WHO HAVE so willingly provided information or have given advice and criticism in the preparation of the manuscript. I am grateful for information secured in interviews with the following gentlemen: Daniel Lobay, assistant editor of *Ukrainian Voice*; C. S. Prodan, Manitoba Department of Agriculture; Dr. Isidore Hlynka, Board of Grain Commissioners for Canada; Dr. M. I. Mandryka, poet and author; Wasyl Swystun, pioneer leader; and Rabbi Arthur Chiel, Research Fellow of the Manitoba Historical Society. For courteous and repeated help in my search for source materials a debt of gratitude is owing to J. L. Johnston, the Provincial Librarian of Manitoba, and Dr. P. Macenko, secretary of the Ukrainian Cultural and Educational Centre. I had useful conversations with Monsignor W. Kushnir, Metropolitan Ilarion Ohienko, W. Kossar, Judge J. W. Arsenych, Honore Ewach, Mrs. Mary Dyma, Dr. L. Bilecky, and Professor J. B. Rudnyckyj.

I wish to acknowledge permission given me to print quotations from Robert England, *The Colonization of Western Canada* (1936), by the author and by the Staples Press Limited, London, England, the successors to P. S. King and Son Limited; from Ronald R. Taft, *Human Migration* (1936), by the Ronald Press Company, New York; from the preface to Watson Kirkconnell, *Canadian Overtones* (1935), by the author; and from Watson Kirkconnell, *Seven Pillars of Freedom* (1944), by the author and the Oxford University Press, Toronto.

To my wife, for her persevering sympathy and help, and to my sister-in-law, Helen Bahniuk, for typing and checking of the manuscript, I convey my heartfelt thanks.

Above all, I am deeply indebted to the late Margaret Stovel McWilliams for encouragement, sympathetic criticism, and her reading of the original draft; to Professor W. L. Morton, Chairman of the Department of History in the University of Manitoba, and the other members of the Committee of Selection for the reading of the original draft and their constructive criticism; and to Professor G. W. Simpson, Head of the Department of History in the University of Saskatchewan, and Dr. Watson Kirkconnell, President of Acadia University, for valuable comments made after their reading of the final draft of the manu-

script. My acknowledgments would not be complete without making mention of the invaluable contribution of the Editorial Office of the University of Toronto Press.

Finally, I am grateful to the Council of the Manitoba Historical Society for its fellowship, which was increased in amount upon my arrival in Winnipeg, and for sustained interest in my work; and to the Dominion executive of the Ukrainian Canadian Committee, which generously assisted publication of the book, thus removing from author and the Society some of the hazards of publication.

Contents

THE UKRAINIANS IN MANITOBA

CHAPTER ONE . The Historical Background of the Ukrainians

KNOWLEDGE OF CERTAIN PARADOXES IS ESSENTIAL TO the understanding of Ukrainian history.[1] For much longer than a thousand years the Ukrainians have inhabited one of the world's rich territories, which should have worked to their advantage. In reality, the abundant resources have been the cause of Ukraine's misfortune, for her covetous enemies have profited to the detriment of the Ukrainians, millions of whom in our own times have perished from starvation. Because of her position on the cross-roads between Europe and Asia, Ukraine has twice been the defender of European civilization of which she has always been an integral part. But having stemmed the irresistible tides of barbarous oriental invaders, she became so weakened that she lost her own freedom. Submerged and oppressed for centuries at a time, the Ukrainian people might have been expected to lose their identity. Even their original name was usurped by the enemy. Yet in the twentieth century the Ukrainians emerged still clinging steadfastly to their indigenous culture, although with an apparently new name. Subjugation invariably impresses upon a people the marks of inferiority, but the Ukrainians have proved their intellectual superiority by becoming the educators of their conquerors. Their kindly, hospitable, and peace-loving disposition has often turned into a lion-like fury. The very fact that the Ukrainians are a large European nation would seem to contradict the reality of their subjection.

Situated in the southeastern corner of Europe, the Ukrainian ethnographic territory lies immediately north of the land-locked Black Sea, extending roughly from the Caucasus Mountains and the Don River in the east to the southern Dniester River and the western slopes

[1]The following sources on the history of Ukraine are standard works in the English language: W. E. D. Allen, *The Ukraine*; D. Doroshenko, *History of the Ukraine*; M. Hrushevsky, *A History of Ukraine*; C. A. Manning, *The Story of the Ukraine*; I. Mirchuk, *Ukraine and Its People*; J. S. Roucek, *Slavonic Encyclopedia*; G. W. Simpson, *Ukraine: An Atlas of Its History and Geography.* The following are works with emphasis on recent history: W. H. Chamberlin, *The Ukraine, a Submerged Nation*; L. Lawton, *Ukraina: Europe's Greatest Problem*; L. Lawton, *The Ukrainian Question and Its Importance to Great Britain*; C. A. Manning, *Twentieth Century Ukraine*; J. S. Reshetar, *The Ukrainian Revolution*; S. Shumeyko, *Ukrainian National Movement.*

of the Carpathian Mountains in the west, and to the Pripet, Desna, and Seym Rivers in the north. This includes the regions known as Great Ukraine, Kuban, Galicia, Bukovina, Volynia (Pol. *Wolyn*), Kholm (Pol. *Chelm*), and Carpatho-Ukraine (Carpathian Ruthenia).

Measuring over 1,000 miles across and approximately 500 miles in a north-south direction, Ukraine encompasses over 385,000 square miles,[2] which are populated by 55,164,100 people, 38,824,000 of whom are Ukrainians.[3] Although its area is exceeded in Europe only by Russia proper, Ukraine is just one-tenth the area of Canada and one and one-half times the area of Manitoba. The greater part of Ukraine is located between 44° and 53° north lattitude, within the same latitude as the populated part of Manitoba. The population of Ukraine, exceeded in Europe only by that of Russia and of Germany, is three times that of Canada and about fifty times that of Manitoba.

Nature has endowed Ukraine with abundant and rich resources[4] which, if it were not for exploitation by Russia, would easily make her self-sufficient and able to provide large exports of foodstuffs, raw materials, and manufactured goods to countries in dire need of them. Without doubt Russia would be severely handicapped and greatly weakened as an aggressive power if cut off from these natural resources. The importance of Ukraine's economy in the world can be gathered from Tables I-III (for the year 1934).

It is little wonder that Hitler coveted the rich mineral, agricultural, and industrial products, taken from the black earth steppes, the dense forests, and in the waters of Ukraine, and launched the full weight of his infernal war-machine in a *Drang nach Osten*. The master of this strategic position on the land and air route between Europe and Asia (particularly India) could hope to become master of Europe and perhaps of three continents. But just as in the past the Ukrainians had

[2]Dr. Karlo Kobersky in his study *Ukrayina v Svitovomu Hospodarstvi* (Ukraine in World Economy) puts the figure at 1,002,642 kms.

[3]M. Sciborsky, *Ukrayina v Tsyfrakh* (Ukraine in Figures), p. 12.

[4]The following is an extract from a document attracting Polish landlords to Ukraine (1590) over 350 years ago: "Ukraine is the most precious possession of the Polish Crown. Her meadows are as beautiful as the Elysian Fields. They either stretch along plains or are intersected by hills, forests and woods. The prospect is pleasant and suggests abundant harvests. In Ukraine domestic and wild birds and animals are so plentiful that it makes one think that this is the place of Ceres and Diana. Her beehives are so full of honey that one forgets about the Silician Gela and Attic Hymethus. The vine also grows there and wine might easily be made. Italian nuts are so plentiful there that it makes one think that Ukraine was once upon a time Italian soil. It is impossible to make a list of all her lakes overflowing with fish. Oh, why waste words when one phrase expresses all! This is the Promised Land about which God spake to Israel! Rivers of milk and honey flow there! He who once has been to Ukraine can never leave her because she attracts men as the magnet attracts iron." Quoted by Allen, *op. cit.*, p. 75.

TABLE I

WORLD INDUSTRIAL PRODUCTION, 1934[5]

Product	*Ukraine's ranking*	*Percentage of U.S.S.R. production*
Manganese ore	1st	75
Iron ore	3rd	70
Potassium salt	3rd	50
Pig iron	3rd	69.9
Sugar	4th	69.5
Coal	4th	69.8
Steel	5th	63.3
Rolled metal	5th	64
Table salt	5th	
Oil	7th	40.8

TABLE II

WORLD AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTION, 1934

Product	*Ukraine's ranking*	*Percentage of U.S.S.R. production*
Rye	2nd	35
Millet	2nd	
Sugar beets	2nd	66.8
Flax	2nd	
Wheat	3rd	45
Barley	3rd	65
Potatoes	3rd	25
Corn	4th	80
Oats	6th	25

TABLE III

WORLD LIVESTOCK PRODUCTION, 1934

Product	*Ukraine's ranking*	*Percentage of U.S.S.R. production*
Swine	5th	32
Horses	5th	32.5
Horned cattle	7th	26.2
Sheep	11th	26.2

[5]Based on data found in Sciborsky, *op. cit.*, pp. 23, 24, 28, 29, 34.

halted the huge invasion forces from the east and from the south, so in the Second World War they helped to drive back and vanquish the enemy from the west.

Penetration into the dim past reveals that many people have inhabited the Ukrainian territory. From Persian, Arabian, Greek, and Roman historians and from archaeological evidence we learn that the following peoples have occupied large sections of this rich land: Tripillians, of Iranian origin (3000–100 B.C.); Cimmerians, probably of Thracian origin (1000–600 B.C.); Scythians, probably of Iranian origin (600 B.C.–A.D. 300); Greek colonists (700 B.C.–A.D. 300); Goths, a German tribe (A.D. 200–375); Sarmatians and Alans, of Iranian origin (A.D. 300–400); Huns, of Turco-Finnish Mongolian origin (A.D. 370–453); Bulgarians and Avars, of Turco-Finnish origin (A.D. 400–650); Khazars, of Turkish origin (A.D. 650–850); and Pechenegs and Polovtsians (A.D. 850–1200).

The ancestors of the Ukrainians were the Slavs who for centuries occupied the region between the Upper Dniester, the Pripet, and the Dnieper Rivers. In the centuries after Christ these peaceful agricultural people, who were divided into tribes known under various names, began to disperse before the attacking nomads and to expand in all directions. In time, because of segregation, there emerged the three great branches of the Slavs: Western Slavs—Czechs, Slovaks, and Poles; Southern Slavs—Serbs, Croats, Slovenes, and Bulgarians; and Eastern Slavs—Ukrainians, White Ruthenians (Byelorussians), and Russians.

The Ukrainians descend from the Slavic tribes known by the Greeks as Antae and Ros, and by the Roman writers as Ruthenes.[6] Originally, their country was known in their Slavic tongue as Rus (not to be confused with the name Russia).[7] The Northmen, or Vikings, who came from Scandinavia in 862, imposed their rule upon these tribes. The Scandinavians consolidated the tribes around Kiev,

[6]A memorial plaque from a catacomb of Salzburg contains the following inscription (translated from the Latin): "A.D. 477 Odoacer, King of the Ruthenians, Gepids, Goths, Hungarians, and Heruls, raging against the Church of God, pius Maxim with his fifty friends. . . ." See M. E. Mandryka, *The Ukranian Question*, p. 11.

[7]Mandryka, *op. cit.*, pp. 9–16, gives evidence that "Rus" designated ancient Ukraine long before the Scandinavians appeared in the land.

On the other hand, Mrs. Chadwick maintains "Rus" was originated by the Scandinavians, but neglects to use the sources of Ukrainian historians. Although very frequently quoting sources referring to "Rus" and "the Rus," she insists on using "Russia" and "Russians." See N. K. Chadwick, *The Beginnings of Russian History*.

Explanations of these terms are found in Manning, *op. cit.*, chap. XI; Doroshenko, *op. cit.*, pp. 5–11; and Lawton, *The Ukrainian Question*, pp. 18–32.

the capital, and adopted the manners, customs, and language of the people as well as the name "Rus" for the Kievan state.

During the reigns of Volodimir (Vladimir) the Great (980–1015) and his son Yaroslav the Wise (1019–54), Kievan Rus reached its zenith, becoming one of the foremost states in Europe. This mighty empire extended from the Black Sea to the Baltic, and from the Danube and the Carpathians to the Volga River and the Urals. Upon Volodimir's adoption of Christianity from Constantinople in 988, Greek influence quickly and indelibly left its mark on all aspects of religious, social, and political life. In one generation the transformation of the country was so great that Kievan Rus could pride herself on having reached equality with the resplendent and powerful Byzantine Empire. The German bishop Thietmar of Merseburg, who visited Kiev in 1017, wrote that the city possessed "four hundred churches, eight market-places, and countless masses of people."[8]

Owing to her power, prosperity, and high level of civilization and culture, Kievan Rus developed wide dynastic and diplomatic relations. Emperor Yaroslav was married to the daughter of the Swedish king, Olaf, and later to the daughter of the Byzantine emperor. One of his daughters was married to the Norwegian king, Harald Haardraade, claimant to the English throne. Another daughter, Anna, married King Henry I of France and ruled as queen during her son Philip's minority. Other marriages took place with German, Hungarian, Greek, and Polish rulers. Before ascending the English throne King Edward the Confessor had sought refuge in Kiev, as did many others. Later, Volodimir Monomachus (1113–25), another powerful ruler of the Kievan state, married Gytha, the daughter of King Harold of England.

The golden age of ancient Ukraine was not fated to last long, particularly after Yaroslav's decision to divide his empire among his sons. Continual warfare among the princes for supremacy at Kiev, intervention by Polish, Hungarian, and German rulers, as well as by the newly formed Muscovite principality, and the struggle with the barbarous hordes from Asia, soon weakened the great state.

Beginning in 1223, the successive ferocious attacks of Jenghis Khan's Mongolian Tatar armies under the leadership of Batu brought a tragic end to Kievan Rus. In 1240, the proud capital of Kiev, despite a heroic defence, was captured and almost completely destroyed. The Ukrainian princes fought savagely, but their scattered forces proved to be too weak. The barbarous invader ruthlessly plundered the country and destroyed or carried off into slavery tremendous numbers. Three

[8]V. Sichinsky, *Chuzhyntsi pro Ukrayinu* (Foreigners on Ukraine), p. 18.

EASTERN EUROPE

UKRAINIAN PEOPLE

● Capital ● Other cities

International Boundary

Ukraine, SSR Boundary

Soviet Republic Boundary

Ukrainian People

0 100 200 300 MILES

LITHUANIA S.S.R.

Danzig

POLAND

Vilna

MOSCOW

UNION OF SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLICS

Minsk

BYELORUSSIA, SSR

Vistula R.

Bug R.

WARSAW

Brest

Oder R.

Pripet R.

Lublin

Cracow

Dnepr R.

Sozh R.

Kiev

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

Lviv

UKRAINE SSR

Kharkov

Poltava

BUDAPEST

Nebilivi

Khust

Dnieper R.

Dniester R.

Stalingrad

HUNGARY

Dneprapetrovsk

MOLDAVIA SSR

Zaporozhya

Don R.

Volga R.

ROMANIA

Rostov

BELGRADE

Odessa

Sea of Azov

YUGOSLAVIA

BUCHAREST

Yalta

Krasnodar

Caspian Sea

BULGARIA

SOFIA

Black Sea

Caucasus Mountains

ALBANIA

GREECE

Istanbul

GEORGIA, S.S.R.

L. J. Anders, '63

centuries were to pass by before the Ukrainians could recover from this disastrous and almost catastrophic blow.

Nevertheless, the plans of the uncivilized pagan Tatar war lords of Asia to conquer Europe and destroy its civilization were foiled. Ukraine fell before the savage enemy, but her desperate defence weakened the ranks and the spirit of the marauders. The Tatars met with a set-back at Liegnitz, and western Europe was saved.

The Mongolian invasion caused a greater divergence between the Ukrainians of the Kievan territories and the northern semi-Slavs who were known at this time as the Muscovites. Although the Muscovite regions were also under the Tatar yoke, they were comparatively free from plunder, and their princes turned their efforts towards uniting the semi-barbaric northern principalities under the rule of Moscow (founded in 1147). When the greater part of Ukraine lay in devastation and was not allowed to recover, the Muscovite princes took advantage of this impotency and proclaimed themselves successors to and rulers of Kievan Rus. Ivan Kalita, even though he ruled over not a single inch of Rus lands, nevertheless assumed the title "Grand Prince of all Rus." Claiming Rus as their own, these northern rulers appropriated the land, the people, the culture, and the history of ancient Ukraine.[9] (It should be borne in mind that the names "Russia" and "Russians" were not in use at this time, and did not come into vogue until much later.)

At the time of the fall of Kiev, the Kievan throne was in the possession of Daniel, Prince (later King) of Galicia and Volynia (1237–64). These western provinces of the Kievan empire thereafter perpetuated the political, social, and cultural tradition of Kievan Rus.

Galicia (the name is derived from the original capital of the province, Halich) had been incorporated into the Kievan state by Volodimir the Great in 981, while Volynia was united a little later. Because of its flourishing trade and commerce, Galicia had risen steadily in power and in prestige. The fearless Prince Roman (1199–1205) had united the two principalities under his rule in 1200, and shortly afterwards seized the throne of Kiev. His son, Daniel, who received the crown from the Pope in 1253, did so much for the welfare of his people and his state that he ranks with Volodimir

[9]Aleksey K. Tolstoy, a Russian, wrote the following: "One Rus' has its roots in the universal, or at least in European culture. In this Rus' the ideas of goodness, honor, and freedom are understood as in the West. But there is another Rus'; the Rus' of the dark forest, the Rus' of the Taiga, the animal Russia, the fanatic Russia, the Mongol, Tatar Russia. This last Russia made despotism and fanaticism its ideal. . . . Kiev Rus' was a part of Europe, Moscow long remained the negation of Europe." *Slavonic and East European Review*, XIX, 1939–40, 71–2.

and Yaroslav in Ukrainian history. He founded Lviv (Pol. *Lwów*, Germ. Lemberg), naming it after his son, Lev, and established it as capital. Lev (1264–1301) continued his father's work and extended his domains to include Sub-Carpathian Rus (Ruthenia), wrenching it from the Hungarians. Under King Lev, Galicia-Volynia reached the peak of its power and development. This western Ukrainian state lasted until 1349 when it was conquered by Poland.

At the time the Ukrainian lands were being ravaged by the Tatars, Lithuania, being further removed from the dreadful enemy, gradually rose to power. Step by step the Lithuanian rulers drove back the Tatars from the Ukrainian lands. By 1350 Kiev came under Lithuanian rule, which continued to expand to the south and east. Because of their benevolent policy of leaving undisturbed the Ukrainian institutions, laws, customs, and language, the Lithuanian princes were gladly welcomed by Ukrainians.

The Ukrainians did not enjoy these privileges for long. In 1386, Poland achieved a dynastic union with Lithuania, and in 1569, a political union. In this way Poland came to dominate the Polish-Lithuanian state and gradually imposed her laws on the whole population. The Ukrainians lost their former privileges and the masses were forced into serfdom. In order to escape the heavily oppressive rule of the Polish landlords (szlachta) large numbers of Ukrainian peasants and squires fled eastward, beyond the limits of Polish rule.

Threatened with extinction by the Tatars, the Turks, and now by the Poles, the Ukrainians developed a remarkable means of defence and self-preservation. In the fifteenth century the Cossacks, who later revived the Ukrainian state, emerged from the hardy and fearless Ukrainian frontiersmen. From the Ukrainian peasants, hunters, fishermen, artisans, and trusted gentry there was formed on the islands below the raging cataracts of the Dnieper River a unique military organization known as the Zaporozhian Sich ("the fortress below the rapids"). The rank-and-file Cossacks, adhering to a democratic individualism, elected their officers and officials, including their leader, the Hetman. The Hetman was given the powers of life and death over the Cossacks; at the end of his term he was, none the less, held accountable for his actions. Although at first nominally acknowledging the Polish king, the Cossacks set down their own law and would permit no interference in their own affairs; they maintained a state within a state.

In the face of constant peril from the Tatars and the Turks, the Cossacks developed masterful skill in swordsmanship and musketry, in horsemanship and boatmanship, and in the art of attack and defence. Their daring raids won them admiration throughout the world

and many foreign states sought their services. Supporting the cause of the freedom of the Ukrainian people and the defence of the Christian faith, the Cossacks kept up a continuous barrage of lightning attacks on the Tatar and the Turkish strongholds on the coast of the Black Sea, including Asia Minor and Constantinople. By this means thousands of Ukrainians were liberated from Turkish captivity and servitude as Turkish towns and cities lay smouldering in ruins. In 1621 the Turkish forces invading Europe were routed by the Cossacks under Sahaydachny at Khotyn. All these blows served to weaken the powerful Turkish Empire in its advance on trembling Europe.

After several abortive uprisings against the tyranny of the Polish landlords, the Ukrainian Cossacks achieved complete freedom and independence under Hetman Bohdan Khmelnitsky.[10] In 1648, at the head of a well-disciplined army backed by the Ukrainian population, this military genius swiftly struck at the Polish armies, crushing one after the other at Zhovti Vody, Korsun, Pilyavtsi, and Zboriw. Mighty Poland lay shattered at his feet and the Polish king was compelled to recognize the independence of the Cossack state. Khmelnitsky refrained from invading Polish ethnographic territory, and this gave Poland an opportunity to recover and force her rule on Ukrainian territory again.

Khmelnitsky founded a Ukrainian state in the full meaning of the term. A government was set up and order was established. Diplomatic relations with European powers were opened and treaties were drawn up. The "great Hetman" has often been compared to his famous contemporary in England, Oliver Cromwell, with whom he corresponded.[11]

As Ukraine was surrounded by aggressive enemies, Bohdan Khmel-

[10]There is a good biography of Khmelnitsky; see George Vernadsky, *Bohdan Hetman of Ukraine.*

[11]The Polish historian, L. Kubala, has made the following interesting comparison of the two great leaders: "Foreigners have compared Khmelnitsky to Cromwell. This was indeed very natural, especially at that time when they both held almost exclusively the attention of western and eastern Europe. Both were representatives of the country gentry, springing, so to speak, from the soil, found themselves at the head of an uprising, won victories, and making mock of the theories and experiences of the cleverist strategists and politicians, created strong armies. Almost contemporaneously, with the help of these armies, they won supreme political powers, holding it until death, and handing it on to their sons. We must acknowledge that Khmelnitsky's task was by far the more difficult; his country had no natural borders, being open on all sides. In contradistinction to Cromwell, Khmelnitsky had at his disposal neither experienced statesmen nor an old and powerful national organization. Army, finance, administration, national economy, relations with foreign powers all were brought into being by him, provided for and looked after. He had to find men, train them, and look after the smallest details. If his army was not starving, if he had arms, munitions, and spies, and clever agents, the merit was his alone. From every point of view he was a man of quite exceptional stature, and gifted far beyond the ordinary. We can say of him that he was a born ruler." Quoted by Doroshenko, *op. cit.*, p. 272.

nitsky sought to protect her independence by entering into an offensive-defensive alliance with Muscovy in 1654, known as the Treaty of Pereyaslav. Although the treaty marked the downfall of Poland, it proved fatal to Ukraine, as it paved the way for Russian domination. The perfidious Muscovite rulers began to interfere in Ukrainian affairs even during the lifetime of Khmelnitsky. In order to counteract Muscovite aspirations in Ukraine, the Hetman made a seven-power alliance against Russia. Before action could be taken, however, Khmelnitsky passed away, at a time when Ukraine sorely needed his strong hand.

Ukraine was a thorn in the side of Russia and Poland. The insistence of the Ukrainian Cossacks on democratic rights and individual freedom was a menace to the feudalistic system of both these countries. Taking advantage of the internal strife among the Cossack leaders after Khmelnitsky's death, the two enemies of Ukraine came to terms and drew up the Treaty of Andrusiv (Andrusovo) in 1667. With the Dnieper River as a boundary, Russia and Poland divided Ukraine between them.

Russia's and Poland's re-establishment in Ukraine of the feudalistic aristocratic order, with the accompanying serfdom and severe restriction of liberties, resulted in constant revolts against these oppressive powers for over a century. Hetman Peter Doroshenko, allying himself with the Turks, in the years 1672–76 almost succeeded in driving away the enemies and in uniting both sections of Ukraine. Hetman Ivan Mazeppa, in alliance with the great Swedish king, Charles XII, made a valiant effort to free Ukraine from the Muscovite yoke, and it was only by a narrow margin that he and his ally were defeated by Tsar Peter I at the decisive battle of Poltava in 1709. Over half a century later, in 1768, peasants led by the Cossack officers Maxim Zalizniak and Ivan Gonta raised the banners of revolt against the Polish szlachta throughout Polish Ukraine, and the Polish king had to call upon Russia to help crush this Haydamaki uprising. (Haydamak is probably the Turkish word for brigand.) The last Cossack resistance was quelled with great severity in 1775, when the Zaporozhian Sich, the last stronghold of Ukrainian liberties, was destroyed by a large Russian army.

Khmelnitsky's unfortunate alliance with Russia in 1654 gave the Muscovite tsars the pretensions to Ukraine that they desired, and thereafter they pursued a consistent policy of absorption of the country into the Russian empire and Russification of the Ukrainian people. In 1654 Alexis assumed the title "Tsar of all the Great, Little and White Rus," thus claiming to be the successor of the rulers of the Kievan

state. The Ukrainians were referred to as "Little Russians." After the fateful battle of Poltava in 1709, Tsar Peter, wishing to obliterate all differences between the Ukrainians and his people, designated himself as "Emperor and Tsar of all the Rus." He officially adopted for his country the name "Rossia,"[12] or as we know it in English, "Russia," a corrupted form of the ancient Ukrainian name, "Rus." Previously, the northern country had been known as Muscovy, Muscovia, or Muscovitia. The Russian tsars of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries attempted to eradicate all differences between the two peoples, and in this they nearly succeeded as far as the outside world was concerned.

A sense of self-preservation led the Ukrainians to keep their identity distinct from that of their encroaching neighbours to the north. An old designation that was synonymous with their original name of "Rus" came into use. This name "Ukrayina" (Ukraine), meaning country, region, or borderland, first mentioned in the Kievan chronicles in 1187, was already common among the Cossacks. Hetman Khmelnitsky used both "Rus" and "Ukrayina" for his state and often the compound terms, "Rus-Ukrayina" and "Ukrayina-Rus." After Mazeppa's defeat, the Russian tsars forbade the use of "Ukraine" and "Ukrainian" as well as the Ukrainian language, and officially designated the territory as "Little Russia" (Malo-Rossia), a term which lasted up to the First World War.

Prior to the seventeenth century Russia proper was a semi-civilized country. The small degree of western civilization that she possessed had come to her by way of the Ukrainian Kievan state. However, after Khmelnitsky's alliance with Moscow (1654), cultural advancement received a new impetus. Beginning with Peter I, the Russian tsars embarked on a new policy—the Europeanization of Russia. In all these far-reaching Russian plans, the Ukrainians played a very prominent role. This is not to be wondered at, for Ukraine possessed high-ranking schools when Russia had none; for example the university at Kiev had its beginnings in 1631, while the university at Moscow was established in 1755 by Kievan scholars. When the despotic tsars severely restricted educational advancement in Ukraine, large numbers of Ukrainians declared themselves Russian and migrated north.

Just as the conquered Greeks had become the teachers of the Romans, similarly the subdued Ukrainians became the teachers of the Russians.[13] With the substantial aid of the greatest Ukrainian scholars,

[12]Refer to note 7, above.

[13]Professor A. Bruckner, a Polish scholar, wrote: "Ukraine was equivalent of a school for Russia." Quoted by Shumeyko, *op. cit.*, p. 17.

Peter the Great and Catherine the Great were able to carry out their reforms. These scholars were instrumental in establishing Russian schools and printing presses. Most of the prelates of the Russian Orthodox Church were Ukrainians at this time. Many composers, writers, artists, and law-makers were of Ukrainian origin. In fact the evolution of the Russian literary language was influenced by Ukrainian-born men of letters.

An imposing list of famous Russians of Ukrainian descent could be drawn up, but it will suffice to mention a few of the more important men. Archbishop Smotritsky, a great Orthodox polemicist, was the author of one of the first grammars to be used in Ukraine and Russia in the seventeenth century. The historian Gizel's *Synopsis* was used as a text in Russian schools in the seventeenth, eighteenth, and nineteenth centuries. The closest advisers of Peter I were Ukrainians: Metropolitan Dmitri Tuptalenko (Russ. Tuptalo), Metropolitan Yavorsky, and Archbishop Prokopovich. Gogol (Ukr. Hohol), the creator of Russian prose, was of Ukrainian origin, and the great Russian novelist Dostoyevsky had Ukrainian blood in his veins. The Russian masters of music Tschaikowsky, Bortniansky, and Vedel are definitely Ukrainians. The great Russian painters were Ukrainians: Losenko, Levitsky, Borovikovsky, and Repin.

The rule of the Polish landlords in the Ukrainian lands west of the Dnieper in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries was even more tyrannical than that of Russian overlords. Only in the 1680's did the Cossacks experience some relief. King John Sobieski was forced to muster the Cossacks to fight the Turks and it was with their aid that he routed them at Vienna in 1683, thereby stemming further Turkish advances in Europe. Shortly afterwards, however, the Ukrainians were forced to submit to a ruthless policy of Polonization, servitude, and Polish colonization. Ukrainian Orthodoxy was uprooted and in its place the Uniate (Greek Catholic) Church was imposed on the masses. By the middle of the eighteenth century the Ukrainian identity had been almost obliterated.

Nevertheless Poland herself was shortly to encounter dire trouble. The selfish interests of her aristocracy brought about great dissension and strife in the eighteenth century. The aristocratic parliament (Sejm) not only forbade the elective king any effective power, but rendered itself powerless by the sanctioning of the "liberum veto," by which any one member of parliament could veto any measure. Poland's anarchy made her an easy prey to her aggressive neighbours, and in 1772, 1793, and 1795, Russia, Prussia, and Austria partitioned the country, thus blotting Poland from the map of Europe. She fell victim to the

same treatment that she had meted out to Ukraine in the previous century.

By this partition Russia seized the greater section of Ukrainian lands, and Austria annexed Galicia, Kholm, and Bukovina, which as a unit constitute the Western Ukrainian lands. The Ukrainians under Russian rule were immediately subjected to persecution, but those under Austrian rule were allowed enough freedom to develop their national culture. In carrying out their consistent policy of *divide et impera*, the Habsburgs at first played off the Ukrainians against the Poles in order to keep the latter in check. A national Ukrainian revival had its beginnings in the first half of the nineteenth century and Lviv again became the centre of Ukrainian culture and national ferment. Later, after the humiliating Austro-Prussian War of 1866, the Habsburgs yielded to the more powerful Polish pressure and concluded a secret agreement giving the Poles supremacy in Galicia in return for their promise of loyalty to the dynasty. The Ukrainians fought back against the subsequent Polish oppression and were able not only to hold their own ground but to make definite progress. The support received from Ukrainian leaders under Russian rule, many of whom took sanctuary in Lviv, served to strengthen the Ukrainian national movement. Austria's tolerance of Ukrainian activities in Western Ukraine caused great resentment and fear in Russian government circles, and was one of the main causes of the First World War.

The Ukrainian national revival was a long if steady progress. The harsh repressions of the Russian government after the destruction of the Cossack Sich in 1775, aimed, as we have seen, at extinguishing the independent Ukrainian spirit, had resulted in the almost complete Russification of the upper classes. Only the downtrodden and mute peasantry clung to the Ukrainian language and Ukrainian traditions. The embers were there, however, and all that was needed was the addition of fuel to kindle the flame of nationalism.

The first sign of revival came in 1798, when a petty Ukrainian nobleman of Poltava, Ivan Kotlyarevsky, published his "travesty" on the *Aeneid* in the living Ukrainian language. It was a romantic poem glorifying the Cossacks and made a deep impression on the Russified gentry. Other works in Ukrainian followed, such as the opera *Natalka Poltavka*, all of which served to revive the Ukrainian language as well as the Ukrainian spirit. Ivan Kotlyarevsky is regarded by all Ukrainians as the father of Ukrainian literature and the Ukrainian theatre.

Kotlyarevsky was followed in the nineteenth century by a large number of Ukrainian writers in various fields.[14] Mykola Kostomariv,

[14] See C. A. Manning, *Ukrainian Literature: Studies of the Leading Authors.*

historian, was the first ideologist of the Ukrainian national revival. Taras Shevchenko, born a serf, became the greatest Ukrainian poet, prophet, and martyr—the incarnation of the spirit of his people and a recognized universal genius. Markian Shaskevich, a lyric poet, scholar, and writer, championed Ukrainian literature and the Ukrainian revival in Galicia. The famous woman prose writer Marko Vovchok took up the cause of the oppressed peasantry before the liberation of the serfs in Russia in 1861. Michael Kotsiubinsky, an outstanding Ukrainian novelist and a stylist of world renown, deliberately brought out beauty and harmony in the unpleasant and sordid scenes of common life. Lesya Ukrainka, inspirational poetess of Ukrainian liberty, began a new style of writing, known as neo-romanticism. The Western Ukrainian genius Ivan Franko ranks next to Shevchenko in poetry and has a place of honour in world literature; he was also a novelist and journalist and a political leader of his people. The most popular Ukrainian short-story writer is Vasyl Stefanyk, a miniaturist in words, whose works realistically portrayed the despair of the downtrodden peasants. O. Oles, a poet's poet, created a new Ukrainian literature emphasizing pure art, deep thinking, and profound feeling. The father of modern Ukrainian historiography is Michael Hrushevsky whose greatest works are the ten-volume history of Ukraine to 1658 and the five-volume *History of Ukrainian Literature*; he was president of the Ukrainian National Republic. These men and women, and others, are the makers of the modern Ukrainian movement.

In time, this literary and educational movement took on a political, nationalist aspect which proved to be so irresistible that no measure of the enemy could stem it. The Russian government nevertheless attempted to suppress it outright. In 1863, the Minister of the Interior, Valuyev, issued a decree stating that "there never existed, does not exist, and never can exist a Little Russian language." Its use was banned. The prohibition of the printing and the importation of Ukrainian books from abroad continued until the Russian revolution of 1905. Some of the writers went to Galicia where there was comparative freedom for the spoken and printed word, while many others wrote secretly and sent their manuscripts to Lviv for publication. Ukrainian books were smuggled across the border into Russian Ukraine where they were circulated secretly. In such a way, Galicia became the piedmont for Ukrainian independence, just as Sardinia had been for Italy.

Ukrainian leaders anticipated the First World War, and knowing that Russia and Austria would be involved on opposite sides, they awaited the opportunity to strike out for their freedom. No such

opportunity presented itself, however, during the first years of the momentous struggle. On the contrary, both combatants quickly suppressed all Ukrainian institutions and all signs of Ukrainian life. The Russian invasion of Galicia made that region a battle ground for the duration of the war. Tremendous havoc was wrought. Worst of all, the Ukrainians were forced to participate in a fratricidal war, not for their own cause, but for that of their oppressors.

The anxiously awaited moment came in 1917 when the Russian tsarist structure, "the prison of nations," came crumbling down during the March revolution. The Ukrainians immediately established at Kiev their own government, the Ukrainian Central Rada (Council), which represented the various political parties in Ukraine, with Professor Hrushevsky at the head. Their demands for autonomy were flatly rejected by the Russian Provisional Government. When the Bolsheviks under Lenin and Trotsky seized power in Russia in November, the Ukrainian Central Rada proclaimed a Ukrainian National Republic in federation with Russia. The new government was immediately recognized by France, England, and the Russian Bolshevik government.[15] However, when the Central Rada refused to recognize the supremacy of the Russian Soviet, the latter retaliated by invading Ukraine. In opposition to the Ukrainian National Republic with its capital at Kiev, the Bolsheviks in December 1917 proclaimed the Ukrainian Soviet Republic with its capital at Kharkiv; it received the recognition of no country except Soviet Russia. On January 22, 1918, the Ukrainian National Republic issued a Declaration of Independence. Shortly afterwards, the Central Powers gave recognition to the Ukrainian state.

The Bolshevik invasion of Ukraine and the capture of Kiev found the Ukrainian republican government without a regular army. Aid was sought from the Central Powers and an ally was found in Germany whose troops helped to drive the Bolsheviks out of Ukraine. But when the German army began forcibly to requisition grain and other supplies for its own needs, the Ukrainian government protested. The German High Command then dismissed the republican government and gave support to General Paul Skoropadsky, a Russianized Ukrainian, who proclaimed himself Hetman of Ukraine. Six months later, in November 1918, the monarchical-aristocratic régime of Skoropadsky was overthrown and the German armies were driven out by Ukrainian republican forces. The Ukrainian National Republic was re-established with a Directorate at its head supported by a coalition of Ukrainian parties.

[15]For the texts see Arnold D. Margolin, *From a Political Diary*, pp. 182–5.

In the meantime, the Ukrainians of Galicia and Bukovina took advantage of Austria-Hungary's disintegration and, in accordance with the Wilsonian principle of self-determination, on November 1, 1918, established a Western Ukrainian Republic with its capital first at Lviv and then at Stanislaviv. The Polish army under General Haller, which had been equipped by the Allies to fight the advancing Bolsheviks, was instead despatched by the Polish government to crush the Western Ukrainian Republic. The Ukrainian Galician army, lacking equipment and supplies, was forced to retreat before the Polish invasion to Great Ukraine. On January 22, 1919, the Western Ukrainian Republic united with the Ukrainian National Republic to form one independent Ukrainian state as in the days of Volodimir the Great. This creation of a unified and independent Ukrainian state is considered by the Ukrainian nationalists as the manifestation of the supreme will of the Ukrainian nation.

In the face of overwhelming odds, the Ukrainian republic could not hope to last long without outside aid. A ring of enemies immediately closed in on the struggling state from all sides. From the northwest came the Polish army backed by Allied aid. From the southwest the Rumanians overran Bukovina. From the south and east advanced the tsarist forces of Denikin and Wrangel, which received Allied support. From the north pressed the plundering Bolsheviks. The united Ukrainian armies under Simon Petlura, ill equipped, half starved, and disease ridden, heroically defended their country for two years, and then capitulated.

Once again Ukraine was partitioned. By the Minorities Treaty of December 9, 1919, the Allies conceded Rumania's occupation of the Ukrainian provinces of Bukovina and Bessarabia, inhabited by approximately 1,250,000 Ukrainians. The Treaty of St. Germain, September 10, 1919, allo[illegible] to Czechoslovakia the Ukrainian territory of Podkarpatska Rus (Carpatho-Ukraine) with its 655,000 Ukrainians. The Conference of Ambassadors at Paris, March 15, 1923, recognized Poland's occupation of Galicia and approved the Treaty of Riga of March 18, 1921, between Poland and the Soviets, which had divided the other parts of Western Ukraine between them. Poland thus absorbed a large Ukrainian territory inhabited by 7,000,000 Ukrainians, while Soviet Russia took over the largest section of Ukraine with a Ukrainian population of about 32,000,000.

All these occupants of Ukraine were bound by treaties to guarantee civil, political, and cultural rights as well as self-government to the Ukrainians. Each of these powers broke its solemn pledge. The only body that could have enforced the treaties was the League of Nations,

but it never took any effective step to make the nations concerned live up to their promises.

From the very outset Rumania suppressed all manifestations of Ukrainianism in Bukovina and Bessarabia. In fear of opposition to Rumanian nationalism the Ukrainians were deprived of their schools, halls, co-operative societies, and participation in the civil service and political affairs.

Czechoslovakia treated her Ukrainian subjects somewhat better. However, persecution of many things Ukrainian, sometimes merely for the use of the name, puts a black spot on the otherwise glorious Czech history. Under pressure from Germany, in November 1938 Prague granted autonomy to Podkarpatska Rus (Sub-Carpathian Ruthenia). An election brought in, by an overwhelming majority, a Ukrainian government, which immediately changed the name of the region to Carpatho-Ukraine. It was looked upon by Ukrainian nationalists as a rallying point for the liberation of the whole of Ukraine. On March 14, 1939, the day after Slovakia, at Hitler's urging, had proclaimed her independence, Carpatho-Ukraine, seeing her chance, declared hers also.[16] When on the following day Hitler occupied Prague, his satellite Hungary invaded Carpatho-Ukraine, crushed the resistance of the Carpathian Sich, and incorporated the little country.

Poland had made little effort to institute self-government for the Ukrainians,[17] but instead suppressed Ukrainian institutions, such as co-operatives, and the Ukrainian Orthodox Church, as well as any manifestations of Ukrainian nationalism. To quell the Ukrainian separatist spirit, Poland carried out a "pacification" of the Ukrainians in 1930–1, which was a reign of terror. In 1934 she repudiated the Minorities Treaty at the League of Nations. For all these flagrant violations of human rights, Poland received only a verbal reprimand. They drove the Ukrainian nationalists underground and committed them to retaliation and revolutionary activity with freedom as their goal.

After the Treaty of Riga (1921) the independent Ukrainian Soviet Republic formed the sole Ukrainian government on Ukrainian territory. In 1924, however, Ukraine became a component part of the the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.[18] This act deprived her of all political, economic, and military power, which was now centralized in

[16]An eye-witness account of the Carpatho-Ukraine incident is given in Michael Winch, *Republic for a Day*.

[17]Raymond Leslie Buell, *Poland, Key to Europe*, chap. x, an impartial account. See in addition sources already mentioned.

[18]The best reference is Chamberlin, *op. cit.*, chap. v. The author travelled through the country. See also Manning, *Twentieth Century Ukraine*, pp. 317–39.

Moscow. True, there was a Ukrainian army, but it was an integral part of the Red Army of the Soviet Union. The only field in which the Soviets at first gave Ukraine a wide scope was in the management of her own cultural affairs. Some Ukrainians, including Professor M. Hrushevsky, the former president of the Ukrainian National Republic, availed themselves of the opportunity to promote Ukrainian culture, and for a while brought about a national revival.

This state of affairs did not last long. With the commencement of the first Five Year Plan in 1928, Moscow demanded that the Ukrainian leaders openly advocate communist ideology and that the Russian language be taught in Ukraine on a par with the Ukrainian. Opposition to this policy of Russification began. The Communist party then charged Ukrainian leaders with nationalist inclinations and counter-revolutionary activities while the secret police (G.P.U.) followed up with numerous arrests.

Large-scale purges became the order of the day. In 1929 an extensive revolutionary organization, the Union for the Liberation of Ukraine, was uncovered with the result that forty-five leaders were convicted, receiving death sentences or long prison terms. In 1930, Hrushevsky was exiled to Russia, where he died in 1934. In 1931, the year of the enforcement of collectivization upon the peasantry, the revolutionary Ukrainian Nationalist Centre was discovered. Again, a large number of Ukrainian political leaders were "liquidated." There is little doubt that the famine of 1932–3 was used as a political weapon against the Ukrainians; the large-scale requisitioning of food and livestock from the peasants by the Red Army brought about the deaths from starvation of from three to five million people in Ukraine.[19] In 1932 and 1933 the Ukrainian Military Organization involving Red Army officers was disclosed and more thousands of Ukrainians were condemned to death or exile. In 1933, Skrypnyk, a veteran communist, a friend of Lenin, and the holder of many high posts in Soviet Ukraine, was charged with nationalist conspiracy; he committed suicide. The same accusation was directed at Mykola Khvilovy, a veteran communist writer; he took his own life.

The purge of the Ukrainian communist ranks reached men holding the highest positions, and it continued up to the Second World War.

[19]Lawton puts the figure at 5,000,000. Chamberlin, who visited Ukraine during the famine, states that the "death rate was not less than ten percent," which comes to about 5,000,000. Sciborsky calculates the figure to be 5,000,000 on the basis of Soviet Ukraine statistics. The population in 1929 was 30,363,547 and in 1939 is was 30,960,000. The average annual natural increase from 1924 to 1929 was 2.32 per cent. At that rate the population in 1939 should have been over 36,000,000. See Sciborsky, *op. cit.*, pp. 7–9.

Even Stalin's trusted lieutenants, Postishev and Kossior, who helped most vigorously to stamp out all traces of opposition to Stalin's dictatorship, were in turn liquidated. Petrovsky, President of the Ukrainian Soviet Republic from its inception, was arrested, and vanished. Two prime ministers, the old Bolshevik Chubar and Bodnarenko, mysteriously disappeared never to be heard of again; Prime Minister Lubchenko, prosecutor of the first purge in 1929, committed suicide when suspected of nationalism. The accusation in all these cases was not merely anti-Sovietism, but conspiracy to break Ukraine away from the Soviet Union.

The Second World War was one of frustrated hopes for the Ukrainians. Any reliance on Nazi aid for the liberation of Ukraine came to an end in 1939 after Hitler's connivance at the incorporation of Carpatho-Ukraine by Hungary, the Nazi-Soviet non-aggression pact of August, and the Ribbentrop-Molotov pact of September 23 for the division of Poland. On September 28, 1939, the Red Army accupied Lviv, and Western Ukraine was annexed to Soviet Ukraine. On June 27, 1940, at Stalin's demand, Rumania handed over to Soviet Ukraine the territories of Bukovina and Bessarabia. When the Red Army in its final drive on Nazi Germany overran Carpatho-Ukraine in 1945, that region was also united with Soviet Ukraine. This brought most of the Ukrainian ethnographic territories within the boundaries of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, except Kholm and the Lemko district, which are part of Poland, and certain areas on the northern and eastern fringe, notably Kuban.

Since the Second World War, Soviet Ukraine has had representation in the United Nations. This is based partly on the claim that Ukraine was a republic which had provided the largest section of the advancing Soviet Red Army during the last phases of the war. These Ukrainian armies (and also the Byelorussian), however, were territorial armies composed of Soviet subjects from all over the Union and commanded by Russian generals and officers. It is noteworthy that Russia, the largest of the Soviet republics, had no representative army at the end of the war. The first Ukrainian representative at UN was the same Dimitri Manuilsky who was sent down by Moscow in 1918 to form the Ukrainian Soviet Republic: he never deviated from Stalin's policies. Khruschov, the post-war prime minister of Ukraine, a Russian, has belonged to Stalin's inner circle. The policies of Soviet Ukraine have thus been kept closely integrated with the policies of the Russian Politbureau.

The attitude of Ukrainian nationalists is conveyed by the following

extract taken from the memorandum of the Ukrainian Americans which was circulated at the San Francisco Conference in 1946, at a time when Ukraine was represented by a communist Soviet delegation.

> The Ukrainian national aspirations have always gravitated toward the ideal of a free and independent Ukraine. For centuries that has been the supreme ideal of the Ukrainian people, and for centuries they have fought, bled and sacrificed in its cause. . . . The only proper and just solution of the Ukrainian problem would be to allow the Ukrainian people to re-assert their centuries-old freedom-loving traditions and re-establish their Ukrainian National Republic of over a quarter of a century ago, founded on the traditionally Ukrainian democratic principles, and living in peace, security and close economic collaboration with neighboring states. . . . Otherwise, Ukraine will continue to be "the sore spot" in Eastern Europe, constantly seething with unrest and discontent, and ever a magnet to would-be conquerors who would exploit the unrest for their ends, and thereby plunge the continent and the world into another great and bloody war.[20]

Time and again Ukrainians who live in countries where democracy is practised have brought these facts to the attention of their respective governments and the world powers. So far, the world has turned a deaf ear to their plea.

The loss of liberties and the persecution of Ukrainian patriots which followed the collapse of the Ukrainian National Republic in 1921 drove the leaders and advocates of Ukrainian independence into an underground revolutionary struggle against the four occupying powers. As Ukrainians had no effective recourse to international justice, secret military organizations arose among them and performed acts of violence against tyrannical government officials, particularly in the Polish and Russian dominated territories. These revolutionaries, mostly young people, led by veterans of former Ukrainian armies, pledged themselves to an uncompromising struggle. This is conveyed in their motto, "Liberty or death."

During the Second World War the Ukrainian patriots and nationalists found themselves crushed both by the swastika and by the hammer and sickle. In 1942, there sprang up the Ukrainian revolutionary army which fought desperately against both the Nazi war-machine and the Red Army over the entire Ukrainian territory. A large number of these partisans were former Red Army soldiers and officers. The war ceased and the Iron Curtain was drawn across Europe, but the Ukrainian revolutionary army, estimated in numbers

[20]Ukrainian Congress Committee of America, *Text of the Memorandum on the Ukrainian Situation to the American Delegation at the United Nations Conference on International Organization.*

up to 300,000 men and women,[21] did not lay down its arms. A constant guerilla warfare has been maintained against the Red forces. The desperate Soviet efforts to crush this resistance in the Carpathian mountains have been ineffective. These heroic exploits of the Ukrainian "fighters for freedom" have evoked the sympathy of their kinsmen and other nations the world over.

Since the termination of hostilities, a world-wide Ukrainian movement directed towards winning the sympathy and support of the western democracies for the cause of Ukrainian liberty has become manifest. The first step in this direction was made in Canada in 1940, when the Ukrainian Canadian Committee was established to help further Canada's war effort. The committee, composed of all Ukrainian Canadian organizations, exclusive of the communists, also took upon itself the task of disseminating information on the Ukrainian problem. Very shortly afterwards, the Ukrainian Congress Committee, uniting the nationally minded Ukrainian Americans, made its appearance in the United States. Similar committees of Ukrainians were established in Brazil, in Argentina, and in Paraguay and Uruguay. The Ukrainians of western Europe quickly followed suit and established the Coordinating Ukrainian Committee.

Then came the consolidation of these scattered committees. On November 21, 1947, the representatives of the united Ukrainians of Canada, the United States, Brazil, Argentina, Paraguay, and Uruguay established at a joint conference at New York the Pan-American Ukrainian Conference, with the Very Reverend Dr. W. Kushnir of Winnipeg as president. On June 10, 1948, the representatives of exiled Ukrainian political parties as well as the leading Ukrainian organizations in Europe set up the Ukrainian National Council as the mouthpiece of the Ukrainian liberation movement. The Council received immediate recognition by the united Ukrainian committees throughout the world as well as by the Pan-American Ukrainian Conference. The Ukrainian non-communist political parties then sank their differences and elected an exile Ukrainian government for an independent Ukraine.

It is evident that the forces of Ukrainian liberty and democracy are gathering greater momentum. The solution of the Ukrainian problem is bound up with the collapse of the communist dictatorship in Russia and the ultimate triumph of liberty and democracy on the other side of the Iron Curtain.

[21]Many reports of correspondents have appeared in English-language papers and magazines. Among recent ones are: Albert Brandt and James Payne, "Ghost Armies against Russia," *Pageant,* Oct., 1948, and Karl V. Weigand, *Journal American,* Nov. 15, 1948.

CHAPTER TWO . From the Old to the New World

THE PHENOMENAL MIGRATION[1] OF THE 111 YEARS following the end of the Napoleonic Wars (1820–1931) resulted in the transplantation of 63,000,000 people from Europe to the New World.[2] Three general factors were the cause of this unprecedented movement of peoples. The foremost was the tremendous pressure of population on the comparatively poor resources of various regions in Europe; the population of that continent increased from 187,000,000 in 1800, to 266,000,000 in 1850, to 401,000,000 in 1900, and to 478,000,000 in 1929.[3] Another factor was the Industrial Revolution with all its implications, especially for transportation facilities. The third great factor was the irresistible attraction of North America, which offered opportunities that were lacking in Europe. This modern migration was not the result of government policy at home, but of the spontaneous decision of individuals.

The year 1882 marks a significant turning-point. It was the year of the arrival of the largest number of immigrants in North America in the nineteenth century, but more important still, it was the peak of the movement from western and northern Europe and the beginning of a different movement from southern and eastern Europe. It marks the advent of the Slav in North America. The magnitude of the exodus of Slavs from Europe can be judged from the following statistics:[4] in the period 1881 to 1915 emigrants from Austria-Hungary numbered 4,232,786, from Russia 2,099,998, and from Russian Poland 471,739, a total of 6,804,523. Thus, for thirty-four years the annual flow of

[1]Main sources for this chapter are: Emily Greene Balch, *Our Slavic Fellow Citizens*; W. A. Chumer, *Spomyny* (Memoirs); Robert England, *The Central European Immigrant in Canada*; Robert England, *The Colonization of Western Canada*; Wasyl Halich, *Ukrainians in the United States*; James B. Hedges, *Building the Canadian West*; Vera Lysenko, *Men in Sheepskin Coats*; Margaret McWilliams, *Manitoba Milestones*; Dr. Luke Myshuha, "Yak Formuvavsya Svitohlyad Ukrainskoho Immigranta v Amerytsi" (Development of the Outlook of the Ukrainian Immigrant in America) in *Propamyatna Knyha* (Jubilee Book of the Ukrainian National Association); Ronald R. Taft, *Human Migration*; J. S. Woodsworth, *Strangers within Our Gates*; Charles H. Young, *The Ukrainian Canadians*.

[2]Taft, *op. cit.*, p. 55.

[3]*Ibid.*, p. 86.

[4]*Ibid.*, p. 62.

Slavs from Europe was approximately 200,000. Most of these Slavs settled on the North American continent. They differed from earlier immigrants mainly in racial and cultural characteristics; their economic status at the time of arrival was not much lower. Less than 5 per cent of these Slavs came to Canada.

The largest Slavic national group to come to Canada were the Ukrainians who totalled more than the rest of the Slavic nationalities combined. There is evidence that Ukrainians have been in North America since colonial times.[5] They did not, however, commence settlement in the United States in any appreciable numbers until the early 1870's, when immigrants first appeared from Sub-Carpathian Ruthenia, then under the rule of Hungary. A movement of Ukrainians from the Lemko region followed,[6] and subsequently from eastern Galicia and Bukovina. A very conservative estimate of the numbers of Ukrainians in the United States in 1887 is 33,886. *Svoboda* of December 5, 1895, gave a figure of approximately 300,000 Ukrainians at that time.[7] It is quite probable that some of them had made their way to Canada before 1891.

Up to 1914 the Ukrainians came from territories occupied and ruled by Austria-Hungary and Russia. The vast majority of them came from the two Ukrainian provinces, Galicia and Bukovina, which had been annexed by the Habsburg Crown in 1772 and 1775 respectively. Although Galicia and Bukovina formed integral parts of the Austrian Empire, this region and its people were only slightly known in western Europe. The reason can easily be found by glancing at the map and noting that a mountainous barrier, the Carpathians, cuts off the region from the rest of the empire. It explains why the inhabitants of Galicia and Bukovina have played a relatively unimportant part in the history of western and southern Europe, but a very important role in eastern European history. Originally considered to be the "cradle of the Slavs," Galicia, after the Tatar depopulation of Ukraine, helped to colonize the vast Ukrainian steppes in the fifteenth, sixteenth, and seventeenth centuries, thereby giving rise to the Ukrainian Cossack state. Because of the mountains, the Galician Ukrainians penetrated only the western and southern slopes of the

[5]Halich, *op. cit.*, pp. 19–21.

[6]The Lemkoes are Ukrainian highlanders (400,000 in 1935) with a dialect of their own. They inhabit a region of 2,200 square miles in the low western Carpathians, and are the immediate neighbours of the Carpatho-Ukrainians. Their territory has been a part of Galicia. In 1945, it was one of the few Ukrainian territories not joined with Soviet Ukraine; it was allotted to Poland. The region is over-populated and the land is subdivided into very small plots. There is a history of the region in Ukrainian: Julian Tarnovich, *Ilyustrovana Istoriya Lemkivschyny* (An Illustrated History of the Lemko Region).

[7]Myshuha, *op. cit.*, p. 42.

Carpathians. With the improvement of facilities, it is significant that these same people ventured to a new continent, to colonize the western Canadian prairies.

In Galicia, political, social, and economic circumstances were anything but favourable for the Ukrainian population. After Austria's humiliating defeat by Prussia at Sadowa in 1866, the Habsburg monarchy gave the Poles in Galicia supremacy over the Ukrainians in return for their promise of loyalty. The Poles, the centuries-old enemies of the Ukrainians, took advantage of every opportunity to further their own interests, and grossly discriminated against them. They packed the provincial, municipal, and local administrative and judicial bodies with Poles, denied the existence of a separate Ukrainian nationality, blocked efforts to establish Ukrainian vernacular schools, used repressive measures against the Ukrainians in elections, and attempted to suppress Ukrainian organizations.[8] The protests of the Ukrainian deputies in the Austrian Parliament and the Galician Diet were of no avail. During this time, many of the Ukrainian leaders and people turned Russophil[9] in order to secure the aid of Russia in redressing the wrongs perpetrated by the Poles, especially by the Polish landlords (szlachta). In the 1890's, a strong Ukrainian national movement began which quickly checked Russophil and Polonophil tendencies, and prior to the First World War won the confidence of the great majority of the Ukrainians.[10]

The situation among the Ukrainians in Bukovina and Ukraine was analogous to that in Galicia. In Bukovina the Rumanians controlled the administration and suppressed the Ukrainians. Some Ukrainians fought back by turning Russophil, and some who disliked to resist turned Rumanophil.[11] There was, however, a national Ukrainian movement, which after the turn of the century gained increasingly in

[8]See Nicholas Andrusiak, "The Ukrainian Movement in Galicia," *Slavonic Review* (London), XIV, 1936, nos. 40 and 41, and K. Levitsky, *Istoriya Politychnoyi Dumky Halytskykh Ukrayintsiv, 1848–1914* (History of the Political Thought of Galician Ukrainians, 1848–1914).

[9]Russophilism was the movement of those Ukrainians who claimed that there was no separate Ukrainian people. Russophils advocated the idea of "one Russian nation, one Russian language and one Russian Orthodox Church." Polonophilism, on the other hand, proclaimed unity with Poland and adherence to the Polish language and the Roman Catholic Church. Russophilism was reinforced by Russian assistance and Polonophilism by Polish leaders. By the Ukrainians, the Russophils and Polonophils were looked upon as traitors.

[10]Both movements declined very rapidly with the rise of Ukrainian nationalism at the turn of the twentieth century. In 1913 thirty-one Ukrainian deputies and one Russophil were elected to the Galician Diet. The single Russophil deputy soon after reverted to his native Ukrainian people.

[11]Rumanophils, similar to Russophils and Polonophils, rejected their Ukrainian nationality, and turned Rumanian to avoid discrimination. All three movements were evident among Ukrainian immigrants settling in Canada prior to 1914, but since then they have almost disappeared, except for Russophilism which has changed to Sovietophilism.

momentum. In Ukraine, the suppression of all forms of Ukrainianism by Russia was even greater than in Galicia or Bukovina, but the growth of national sentiment was clearly evident.

The Ukrainian masses were very conscious of their political subjection. Because of it Ukrainians were deprived of equal educational opportunities, and it was not surprising therefore that illiteracy among the Ukrainians stood at 49 per cent in 1900.[12] The Poles often referred to the Ukrainian peasant as "kaban," which meant "pig." The relations between the Poles and the Ukrainians were at times so bitter that local feuds were frequently precipitated. This animosity was later carried over to Canada and is to a degree still evident. The most sensitive to this discrimination were the Ukrainian intelligentsia and the rising generation. A constant reminder also of the conquered status of the Ukrainian people was the long compulsory military service, during which period the young man was forbidden to marry. These factors made life so intolerable for many Ukrainians that large numbers of them were driven to seek their fortunes in new lands.

The movement of Ukrainian peasants from Galicia and Bukovina to Canada was the result of the conditions of life in their native land. It is true that the final decision of each emigrant was made on personal grounds: sickness in the family, family quarrels, misdemeanours, unemployment. And yet to leave forever the land of birth required more fundamental reasons. The real causes of the decision are to be found in the economic, political, and social conditions in these regions.

The most important single factor responsible for the emigration prior to 1914 was the land problem. Under the former Polish rule over Galicia and Moldavian rule over Bukovina, almost all the land had been appropriated by Polish or Rumanian aristocrats, who subjected the Ukrainian peasants to serfdom. When serfdom was abolished by the Austrian government in 1848, a large part of the land was divided up among the former serfs, but the nobles still retained huge estates. The church and the monasteries also possessed large tracts of land. Much of this landlord and church property was left idle as pasture land or as forest land, to which the peasant had no access on any terms. The land that had been received by the peasants after the abolition of serfdom had been barely sufficient to give them a living. As the years rolled by and the population increased, the farmers were forced to subdivide their land until the plots became too small to support a family. For the rising generation the prospects were indeed very dreary, and its members were forced to look elsewhere for a living.

An American investigator who visited Galicia in 1908 reported that

[12]Balch, *op. cit.*, p. 139.

80 per cent of the agricultural properties in that country were less than 12½ acres in size, and almost 50 per cent less than 5 acres.[13] "In the 50 parishes in the political district of Skalat, 32% of the 'rustical' holdings were, in 1882, less than 1½ acres, nearly 60% were under 4½ acres. It is estimated that a man must have 14½ (10 yokes) to get his living by working his own land and to fully occupy his time. Over 70% have not more than half this, and only 1/10 is above this minimum of independent farming."[14]

The burdensome taxes and fees imposed by the state, the landlords, and the church made the situation more miserable still. Since the prices of farm products were exceedingly low, in order to meet all his cash obligations the peasant was forced to go into debt constantly and to mortgage his property. Money in a great many cases was borrowed from moneylenders who charged interest rates of from 6 to 10 per cent and as high as 20 per cent.

Once in debt, a peasant was in peril of losing his land. The loss of land and the resultant lowering of one's status to that of a labourer carried with it a social stigma for the peasant and his descendants. To avoid this humiliation, he would make great sacrifices. He would go in search of work, offering to do heavy labour for cheap wages. Since Galicia and Bukovina lacked general industries, capital, and markets,[15] it was very difficult for the peasant to find work in his own country. He was forced to migrate to Prussia and other countries, where he could find seasonal employment, mostly on the farms during the summer. Some decided to go farther in search of higher wages, and so began the migration to America.

Coinciding with the increasing impoverishment of the Ukrainian peasants and the working class in the cities was a series of events in Canada about the year 1896 which marked the beginning of an era of phenomenal expansion in the West. The long rule of a Conservative government gave way to that of a Liberal government, which immediately embarked on an ambitious programme of settling the West. Several circumstances favoured such a policy.[16] Canada had just emerged from a depression, and a period of prosperity had set in. The Canadian Pacific Railway had recently conquered the uninhabited prairies and the company was clamouring for traffic and

[13] *Ibid.*, p. 138.
[14] *Ibid.*
[15] Except for the oil and salt fields at Drohobych and Borislav, and the lumbering industry in the Carpathian mountains, Galicia and Bukovina were left undeveloped by Austro-German capitalists. The region was used as a market for their manufactured products.
[16] See W. A. Mackintosh, *Prairie Settlement: The Geographical Setting*, pp. xi–xv.

freight. The prices of western staple products were steadily rising while transportation costs to Europe were falling. Inventions of farm machinery in the United States, such as the chilled steel plow, roller milling for hard wheat, an improved twine binder, together with the appearance of mechanical grain elevators, made it possible to cultivate, seed, and harvest large stretches of land with comparative speed and economy, and to dispose easily of the grain for which there was a world demand. Dry farming techniques, the flat furrow, the sod house, the tar-paper shack, and the "dug-out" for storing water made it possible to open up dry regions. An early maturing wheat, Red Fife (crossed with a Ukrainian variety), had just been introduced. By this time also free lands had been mostly taken up in the United States, but there was still an abundance of them in Canada.

To carry out the threefold concurrent policy of railway expansion, immigration, and settlement, Canada's new premier, Wilfrid Laurier, took into his cabinet Clifford Sifton,[17] whom he made Minister of the Interior. Sifton, himself a resident of Manitoba, confident that he knew the needs of the West, immediately embarked on a vigorous, large-scale, hitherto unprecedented policy of immigration. The Canadian West was "advertised" in Great Britain, in the United States, and in Europe. Arrangements were made with steamship companies whose agents were promised $5 for the head of an immigrant family and $2 for every other member. A net of five to six thousand agents,[18] who were lavish in their promises, was soon spread over the whole of Galicia and Bukovina. The agents made it easy for every man, woman, and child who had the price, the need, or the desire, to reach Canada or the United States.

For the land-hungry Ukrainian peasants, Canada's paramount attraction was the offer of free lands, but there was also the prospect of securing employment for shorter hours and much higher wages than were the custom in Europe. No doubt many of the rumours and reports of agents were greatly exaggerated, but confirming letters from settlers already in the country substantiated them in large part. Coupled with the wonderful economic opportunities was the existence in Canada of full freedom—religious, cultural, and political—and equality in society and education. The young men were impressed also by the fact that Canada required no compulsory military service. All this was at first hard to believe and caused great excitement among young and old alike. Compared with conditions at home, the attraction

[17]There is a biography on "the builder of Western Canada," John W. Dafoe, *Clifford Sifton in Relation to His Times.*

[18]Philip Davis, *Immigration and Americanization,* p. 76.

proved irresistible to many, and soon they began selling their land or stock, or borrowing the money to pay their passage to the "land of promise."

Greater in influence than Sifton's machinery and the glowing reports of one of the first Ukrainians, Ivan Pillipiw, who came to Canada and for a brief spell returned to Galicia, was the visit to Canada of Dr. Osyp Oleskiw[19] and the publication of his two widely read pamphlets *O Emigratsiyi* (On Emigration) and *Pro Vilni Zemli* (On Free Lands). Under the auspices of the Prosvita (Enlightenment) Society of Lviv, this noted Ukrainian chemist, soils expert, and educationalist toured Canada in 1895 with a view to investigating conditions and the feasibility of mass settlement. Dr. Oleskiw was impressed with the productivity of the prairie lands and the opportunities of the new country, and recommended Canada not only to the impoverished Ukrainian peasants but to the intellectuals as well. Through his efforts, the Canadian government immediately set up an immigration bureau in Winnipeg. Oleskiw's friend, Cyril Genik, a schoolteacher from Kolomeya, was put in charge of the office. It became the distributing-point for Ukrainian immigrants in western Canada.

Sifton's propaganda in the United States was responsible for a considerable movement of Ukrainians from that country to Canada.[20] Printed folders appeared in Russian (75,000), in Ukrainian (10,000), and in Polish (10,000). Another important factor in disseminating information about Canada and about the life of the Ukrainians in Canada was the Ukrainian weekly, *Svoboda* (Liberty) founded in 1893, the organ of the Ukrainian National Association, a benevolent society. In 1897, a correspondent of *Svoboda*, Father Nestor Dmytriv,[21] visited the Ukrainian settlements in Canada. He wrote his observations in a series of articles in *Svoboda*, which were later published in pamphlet form under the title *Kanadiyska Rus* (Canadian Ruthenia). Other articles on Canada appeared regularly in this popular paper. Without doubt these writings persuaded many to make their home in Canada.

With all these factors playing a prominent role, Sifton's efforts in securing Ukrainian settlers for Canada were rewarded immediately. Each year saw a tremendous increase in their numbers until they

[19]In honour of Dr. Oleskiw, the Ukrainians in the Stuartburn district named a post office after him, but in 1905 it was transferred to Tolstoi.

[20]Hedges, *op. cit.*, p. 288.

[21]Father Nestor Dmytriv was the first Greek Catholic priest to visit Canada. He conducted the first Ukrainian church service at Terebowla on the Drifting River in the Dauphin area. He was not impressed by the conditions of most of the Ukrainian settlers or by the lands that they settled in Manitoba. His advice to future settlers was that only those who possessed "money and brains" should venture to come. See Myshuha, *op. cit.*, pp. 57–60.

reached the peak in 1914, when over 22,000 were admitted.[22] In the period 1896 to 1914 inclusive, it is estimated that about 200,000 Ukrainians entered the Dominion.[23]

The Austrian government looked on the increasing loss of its citizenry with considerable alarm. Emigration drained off men at their most productive age. It spelled loss of man-power for the military forces. Furthermore, it deprived industry of an abundant supply of cheap labour, thereby increasing competition, which in turn tended to raise prices and make the export problem more difficult. There was also the psychological effect of creating a general impression that the empire was disintegrating.

Consequently, the government decided to put a stop to this outgoing movement. A proclamation was issued, denouncing emigration and warning the people not to go to America or Canada.[24] The clergy were requested to preach against it in churches and to emphasize the hardships and the prospects of dying of hunger in an unknown land. The Ukrainian priests, sympathizing with the people, held a conference and decided to ignore these instructions. The government stationed guards along the border who arrested those who tried to cross, but the people discovered ways of getting through. The steamship agents found that officials could easily be bribed, and no devices could check the outward flow. Eventually the Austrian government realized that the restrictions had proved ineffective and had caused many scandals, and it ceased to enforce them just prior to the First World War.

With the removal of government barriers, a larger stream than ever before flowed out of Galicia and Bukovina. As a result, Canada received its all-time peak of multi-national immigrants in 1913, a total of 400,870.[25] Despite the outbreak of the war in June 1914, Ukrainian immigration to Canada achieved its record in that year (approximately 30,000). There is no doubt that, had the war not broken out, these numbers would have soared much higher.

THE FIRST SETTLEMENTS IN MANITOBA

The attention of western Ukrainians was first attracted to Canada by reports of the success of German and Hungarian settlers in Mani-

[22] *Canada Year Book*, 1917.

[23] It is difficult to arrive at the exact figure, as the Ukrainians were registered under at least eight nationalities (see pp. 33, 36). The Department of Immigration puts the figure at over 170,000 (Young, *op. cit.*, p. 41). J. T. M. Anderson in the *Education of the New-Canadian*, and W. G. Smith in *A Study of Canadian Immigration*, estimate their numbers at about 250,000.

[24] Balch, *op. cit.*, p. 137.

[25] *Canada Year Book*, 1942.

toba.[26] The man who led the large Ukrainian immigration to Canada was Ivan Pillipiw, a peasant from the village of Nebiliv in the district of Kalush, located in the lower foothills of the eastern Carpathian slopes in the heart of eastern Galicia. Pillipiw first heard of the opportunities in Canada from his German neighbours, who had relatives in Manitoba, and from a reply to a letter which he had written to a German family in Manitoba in 1890.

Having suffered a crop failure on his small farm, and allured by prospects of free land and prosperity in Canada, Pillipiw persuaded his neighbour, Wasyl Eleniak, to visit with him the new land. In August 1891, both departed for Canada by way of Hamburg, Germany. At the land office in Winnipeg the two men received free railroad transportation to enable them to inspect and choose unsettled lands on the prairies. They first visited the German settlement at Langenburg, some forty miles east of Yorkton, Saskatchewan, where they registered for homesteads. Then they proceeded to Calgary and viewed the lands to the north of the town. They were not much impressed with the open country, as they preferred bushland.

Upon their return to Winnipeg, the two Ukrainians decided to see the land around the German Mennonite settlement at Gretna, in the southern part of Manitoba. Their amazement at the progress made by the Mennonites in the last fifteen years was overwhelming. Here they decided to settle. The two men agreed that Pillipiw should return to his native village to bring back his family, and to announce the wonderful opportunities to his poverty-striken kinsmen. Eleniak remained at Gretna.

Ivan Pillipiw's reports of the "fabulous" prosperity of the Mennonites in Canada, the offer by the Canadian government of 160 acres of free, fertile land (thirty times the size of the average peasant holding in Galicia), and the unrestricted freedom, had an electrifying effect upon the peasants of Nebiliv and the surrounding villages. In the spring of 1892 twelve families of the village left for Canada and thus initiated the movement of Ukrainians from Galicia to Canada. Soon others followed. The Austrian government tried to stop the emigration by arresting Pillipiw, and after a three-month trial[27] sentenced him to one month's imprisonment. Instead of serving as a deterrent, the action spread the news about Canada to all parts of the country. Released from prison, Pillipiw sold his property and with his family

[26]In 1874 the first party of Mennonites settled on the west side of the Red River, close to the International Boundary. The first Hungarians came in 1885 from the United States and settled between Minnedosa and Neepawa.

[27]A full report of the trial is given by Professor Ivan Bobersky. See Chumer, *op. cit.*, pp. 25–7.

came to Canada, settling on a homestead at Bruderheim, forty miles west of Edmonton and near Beaver Creek (Star), the first Ukrainian settlement in Canada. The mass movement of the Ukrainians to Canada, however, did not commence until 1896, after the appearance of Dr. Osyp Oleskiw's two booklets, which confirmed the truth of the previous reports.

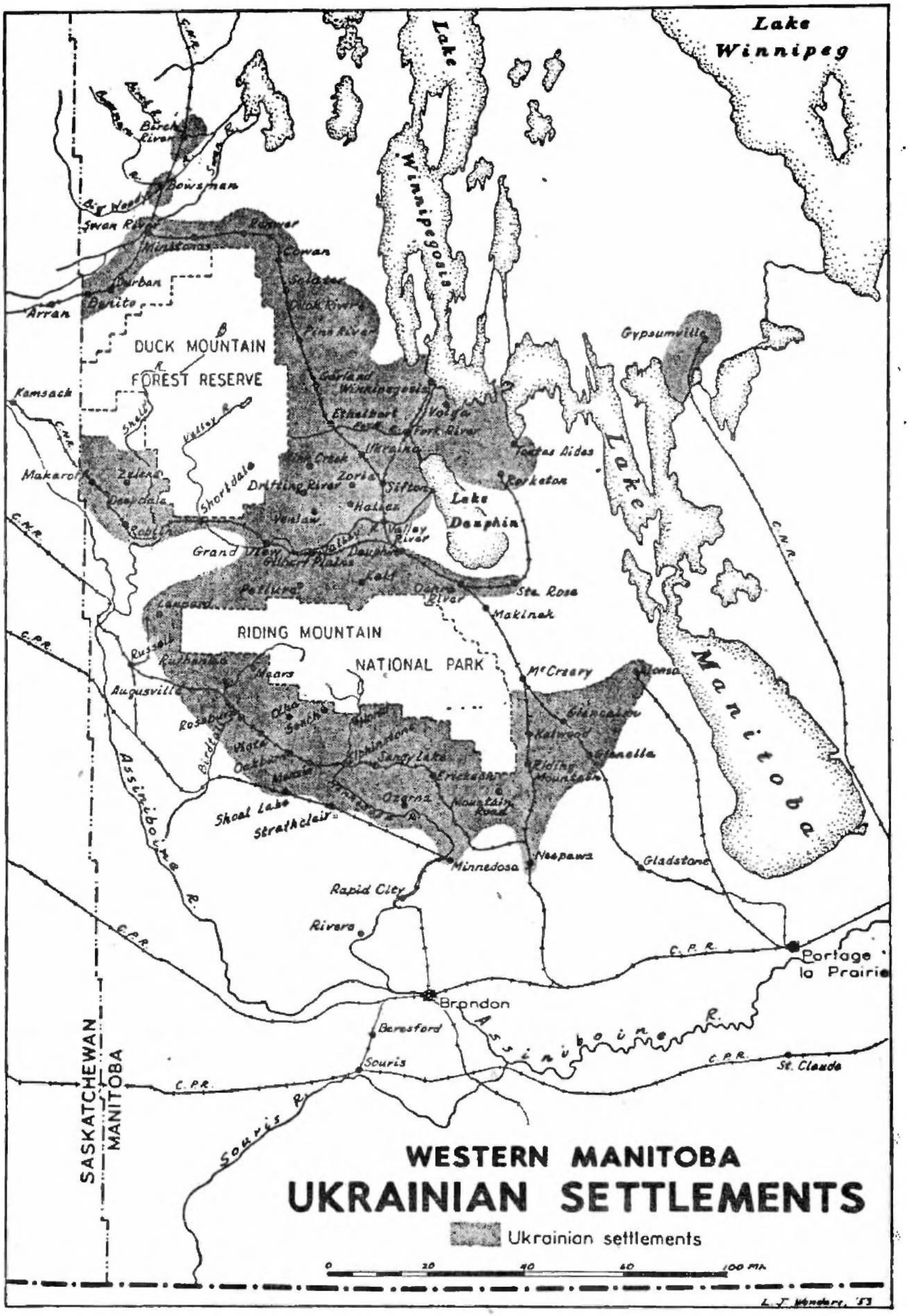
Some of the first settlers from Nebiliv remained in Winnipeg, but most of them went to the Beaver Creek district not far from Bruderheim. Of the first group, Wasyl Yaciw was one of the few to remain in Manitoba; he later secured a farm at Ladywood, some forty miles northeast of Winnipeg. His son, Franko, born in Winnipeg in 1893, claims the honour of being the first Canadian-born Ukrainian.

The first Ukrainian rural settlements in Manitoba appeared in 1896. The earliest was established south of Winnipeg at Stuartburn (called "Shtombur" in Ukrainian). It included Galician Ukrainians as well as the first Bukovinian Ukrainians to settle in Canada. Almost simultaneously, Ukrainians founded communities also at Gonor, Brokenhead, and in the Dauphin area near Venlaw.

The years 1897 and 1898 witnessed the establishment of a larger number of Ukrainian settlements. In the Dauphin area new communities arose at Sifton, Ethelbert, Pine River, Gilbert Plains, and Duck Mountain; in the Riding Mountain region at Riding Mountain, Sandy Lake, Menzie, Rossburn, Strathclair, and Shoal Lake; in the Mid-Lake region at Teulon, Pleasant Home, and Gimli; and in the Stuartburn area at Vita and Oleskiw. As wave upon wave of new settlers flowed into Manitoba, settlement in these areas expanded in all directions. The only new areas that came under Ukrainian settlement prior to the First World War were Hadashville, Janow, and Medika (in the Whitemouth district), and Shell River (in the Roblin district).

The official statistics in regard to the Ukrainian population in Canada are most confusing. Because of the classification employed by the Dominion Bureau of Statistics, it will never be possible to determine the exact number of Ukrainians who arrived or were born in Canada prior to the First World War.

Until the First World War, the Ukrainians were much more at fault than the Bureau. Because of the widespread illiteracy, they did not know how to designate themselves except under the ancient name of "Rusin." As subjects of Austria, they were officially known as Ruthenians, but this name was not officially used in Canada until 1905. The Dominion Bureau of Statistics preferred to designate these people according to the territory from which they came. Thus the


Lake Winnipeg
Lake Winnipegosis
Lake Manitoba
Lake Dauphin
DUCK MOUNTAIN FOREST RESERVE
RIDING MOUNTAIN NATIONAL PARK
Bowsman
Swan River
Minitonas
Durban
Benito
Arran
Ramsack
Makaroff
Zelena
Deepdale
Shortdale
Valley R.
Shell R.
Birch River
Birch R.
Pelican R.
Pine River
Oak River
Solsgirth
Cowan
Gypsumville
Ethelbert
Fork River
Ukraina
Pine Creek
Drifting River
Zoria
Sifton
Hallboro
Venlaw
Grand View
Gilbert Plains
Dauphin
Valley River
Dauphin River
Ste. Rose
Makinak
Petlura
Leopard
Russell
Ruthenia
Meare
Augusville
Rossburn
Oak South
Birdtail R.
Wood Mountain
Oakburn
Kinshindone
Sandy Lake
Erickson
Mountain Road
Riding Mountain
Elphinella
McCreary
Alonsa
Kelwood
Gladstone
Neepawa
Minnedosa
Shoal Lake
Strathclair
Ozgrna
Assiniboine R.
Rapid City
Rivers
Brandon
Beresford
Souris
Souris R.
Portage la Prairie
St. Claude
C.P.R.
C.N.R.
SASKATCHEWAN
MANITOBA
WESTERN MANITOBA
UKRAINIAN SETTLEMENTS
Ukrainian settlements
0 20 40 60 100 mls
L. T. Wonders, '53

EASTERN MANITOBA
UKRAINIAN SETTLEMENTS

Ukrainian settlements

0 20 40 60 80 miles

ONTARIO / MANITOBA

Lake Manitoba

Lake Winnipeg

WHITESHELL PROVINCIAL PARK

SANDILANDS FOREST RESERVE

WINNIPEG

Gypsumville
Fisher
Fisher Br
Broad Valle
Poplarfi
Chatfield
Riverton
Vanstone
Bissett
Alonsa
Camp Morton
Gimli
Pine Falls
Winnipeg Beach
Stead
Great Falls
Lac du Bonnet
Whiteshell R.
Selkirk
Lockport
Beausejour
Whitemouth
Portage la Prairie
Assiniboine R.
Brookland
Headingley
Transcona
St Claude
Roland
Chorfitz
La Broquerie
Ste
Dufrost
Sandilands
Arnaud
Tolstoi
Gretna
Emerson
Noche
C.P.R.
C.N.R.
C.N.
Red River

L. J. Winders '63

Ukrainians are found registered as Galicians, Bukovinians, Austrians, Rumanians, Hungarians, and Russians; some were registered as Poles and Russniaks. Many of these people were classified as Russians because of the interpretation attached to the word "Rusin" and "Rusky."[28]

The term "Ukrainian" did not come into general use until after the First World War. Up to that time only the intellectuals and one newspaper[29] persistently used the designation. The Greek Catholic Church preferred "Ruthenian," under which name the church was incorporated in 1913 and which remained in the statutes until 1951. Yielding to popular pressure the official organ of this church, *Kanadiyski Rusin* (Canadian Ruthenian), changed its title to *Kanadiysky Ukrainets* (Canadian Ukrainian) in 1919. This was after the rise of the Ukrainian Republic and the unification of the Ukrainian people and the Ukrainian territories. The word "Ruthenian" is obsolete today. It is regrettable, however, that the Dominion Bureau of Statistics still insists on designating the Ukrainian immigrants as Ruthenians,[30] in spite of their protests. The people themselves, after all, have the right to choose their own name.

In the period between the First World War and the Second World War, Ukrainian immigrants were classified as "non-preferred," because of the Dominion government's policy of encouraging immigration from the British Isles and from northern Europe. The Immigration Act of 1910 and its subsequent amendments as well as the Orders-in-Council P.C. 183 and P.C. 185, issued January 31, 1923, were restrictive in general. They were designed to admit into Canada agricultural settlers and agricultural workers who were physically fit, mentally sound, literate, and with some cash or assurance of employment. These qualifications prevented large numbers of European Ukrainians, who could not raise the money for transportation or were illiterate, from coming to this country. Notwithstanding these restrictions, approximately 70,000 "Ruthenians"[31] were admitted to Canada in this period and of this number almost 45,000 came during the brief period 1925–30.

[28]The ancient name of a Ukrainian was "Rusin." Ukrainians sometimes referred to the Russians as "Rusky" and "Rosian." Because of the similarity, the names were confusing to the enumerators. It is significant that, while the Russians have declined in numbers in Canada, Ukrainians have increased. There are still some Ukrainians who have come from the Russian-occupied areas and some Russophils who call themselves Russians.

[29]*Ukrayinsky Holos* (Ukrainian Voice), established in Winnipeg, 1910.

[30]*Canada Year Book*, 1947. [31]*Ibid.*, 1922–42.

Manitoba did not absorb a large number of these new Ukrainian immigrants since most of the available land had been settled earlier. Many of them went to work in the existing Ukrainian settlements, and some in time established themselves on farms. A few went into the Swan River valley and opened up new settlements there.

The general character of the second Ukrainian immigration to Canada showed that a transformation had taken place among the Ukrainians in Europe. The people had witnessed the rise and overthrow of the Ukrainian state (1917–20), and as a result were intensely nationalistic. A large number of these new immigrants had fought in the Ukrainian armies, and could not reconcile themselves to foreign domination of their country. They were therefore preponderantly political refugees. Unlike their kinsmen who came to Canada before them, the newcomers resented being designated by any other national name except Ukrainian. In contrast with the high percentage of illiteracy among the pioneer Ukrainians was the very high percentage of literacy among the newcomers. The bulk of them came from Galicia, or Western Ukraine, as they preferred to call their country, which had been conquered by Poland.

The impact of the new immigrants on Ukrainian life in Canada was immediate. An intense Ukrainian spirit was instilled into the activities of organizations. The majority of Ukrainian Canadians came to feel it their duty to support the cause of Ukrainian independence in Europe and to combat the spread of communism. The new immigrants inaugurated a movement for unity, which culminated in the establishment of the Ukrainian Canadian Committee in 1940.[32] In the 1930's a small-scale national revival took place in Ukrainian literature, drama, music, folk-dancing, and in organizational and religious as well as economic activities among the Ukrainians in Canada.

The third movement of Ukrainians from Europe to Canada commenced after the Second World War and is now in full progress. It can be ascribed in a large measure to the humanitarian efforts of the Ukrainian organizations united in the Ukrainian Canadian Committee and the Ukrainian Relief Fund with headquarters in Winnipeg. The newcomers are reaching Canada from the displaced persons' camps in Europe. The government regulations concerning these people are stringent; humanitarian motives have not been sufficiently taken into consideration. Only physically and mentally fit, literate immigrants in possession of affidavits from farmers or under labour contract are

[32]See chap. VI.

admitted. In the first six months of 1948, 5,636 Ukrainian immigrants entered Canada.[33] At the end of 1952, it was estimated that over 2,000 of them had taken up occupation and residence in Winnipeg.

Whereas the second group of Ukrainian immigrants differed in their general character from the first immigrants, the difference between the third and second immigrations is only one of degree. The newest immigrants, having lived through the horrors of a modern war, in which they saw their native land ravaged and their national ideals crushed by the huge military forces of totalitarian Nazi Germany and totalitarian Soviet Russia, are fervently nationalistic and irreconcilably anti-communist. Most of them come from Galicia, but a considerable percentage are from Soviet Ukraine. Among them are found a comparatively large number of highly educated persons, such as university professors, educationalists, doctors, lawyers, engineers, and chemists, and highly accomplished artists, musicians, choir directors, journalists, writers, poets, and ballerinas.

In 1946 there were 85,506 Ukrainians in the province of Manitoba,[34] constituting 11 per cent of the total population of 726,923. Compared with the 1941 Ukrainian population of 89,762 this meant a decline of 4,256. Of the 85,506 inhabitants 53,523 were distributed throughout rural communities, comprising 62 per cent of the Ukrainians. This was well above the provincial rural average of 53.7 per cent for all nationality groups. It is significant, however, that during the five years the Ukrainian rural population declined by over 8,000, while the urban population increased by over 1,000. This decline was caused by Ukrainians leaving the poor lands on which they had settled,[35] and the fact that many of the younger generation who served in Canada's military forces did not return to farms. That this decrease was temporary is shown by the census of 1951, which reported 98,753 Ukrainians in the province, an increase of 13,247 in a period of five years.

Although a decrease can be noted in the Ukrainian rural population, the Ukrainians are still principally farmers, just as they were in the old country. They have settled in blocs which are almost homogeneous, except for a sprinkling of other Slavs with whom the Ukrainians have much in common. The colonies consist of from two to a dozen or more communities.

There are ten large rural colonies of Ukrainians in Manitoba. From east to west they appear in the following order: (1) the Stuartburn

[33] *Ukrainian Weekly* (Jersey City), Dec. 13, 1948.
[34] Dominion Bureau of Statistics, *Census of Prairie Provinces*, 1946.
[35] See chap. III.

colony, comprising the communities of Stuartburn, Gardenton, Tolstoi, Emerson, Vita, Sundown, and Sandilands, with a Ukrainian population of approximately 6,500; (2) the Whitemouth–Birch River colony: Elma, Medika, Hadashville, and McMunn, with 1,500 Ukrainians; (3) the Brokenhead colony: Hazelridge, Tyndall, Ladywood, Beauséjour, Lac du Bonnet, and Stead, with about 5,000 Ukrainians; (4) the Lower Red River settlements: Lockport, Gonor, Selkirk, and Libau, with over 5,000 Ukrainians; (5) the Mid-Lake settlements: Teulon, Fraserwood, Gimli, Meleb, Silver, Arborg, Chatfield, Poplarfield, and Fisher Branch, with over 8,000 Ukrainians; (6) the Glenella colony: Glenella, Riding Mountain, Kelwood, and McCreary with about 1,100 Ukrainians; (7) the Riding Mountain colony: Sandy Lake, Elphinstone, Menzie, Oakburn, Vista, Rossburn, Angusville, Russell, and Shoal Lake, with approximately 8,000 Ukrainians; (8) the Dauphin colony: Dauphin, Gilbert Plains, Grandview, Valley River, Sifton, Fork River, Winnipegosis, Ethelbert, Pine River, Sclater, Cowan, and Duck River, with approximately 13,000 Ukrainians; (9) the Shell River colony: Shortdale, Roblin, Deepdale, and Makaroff, with 1,500 Ukrainians; (10) the Swan River colony: Minitonas, Renwer, Birch River, Benito, and Bowsman, with approximately 1,000 Ukrainians.

Following the general trend in the province, and in Canada as a whole, the Ukrainians are slowly drifting to urban centres. In 1936, only 32 per cent of the Ukrainian population lived in cities and towns; in 1946 the percentage rose to 38 representing a provincial total of 32,000 people. The largest urban community is found in metropolitan Winnipeg, 33,466 Ukrainians in 1951. Other urban centres, not hitherto mentioned, in which a substantial number of Ukrainians reside are (in descending order) Transcona, Brandon, Portage la Prairie, The Pas, and Rivers.

The numerical importance of Manitoba's Ukrainian population can be judged from two significant facts.[36] Of all the Canadian provinces, Manitoba has the largest number of Ukrainians, 29 per cent of the total Ukrainian population in Canada in 1941, 25 per cent in 1951. The Ukrainians constitute (1941 census) the third largest ethnic group (12.3 per cent)[37] in the province, exceeded only by the English (23.2 per cent) and the Scottish (15.1 per cent).

[36]See study by N. J. Hunchak, *Canadians of Ukrainian Origin: Population.*
[37]In 1951 the percentage increased to 12.7.

CHAPTER THREE . Progress in Agriculture

IF THE WESTERN PRAIRIES WERE TO BE OF USE TO Canada, and remain Canadian, it was necessary to settle them on a large scale.[1] Clifford Sifton, in an address to the Westerners Club of Montreal in 1923, spoke as follows of the people who could best fill this need:

In northern Ontario, Manitoba, and Saskatchewan, we have enormous quantities of land perfectly fit for settlement. These are not lands on which the ordinary Englishman or American will go, but they are fit for peasant settlement. Twenty years ago I settled a number of European peasants on these lands, and those are the only parts where the people are not in debt. They have never left the land, and bankers agree that these European peasants have made the most successful settlers. If you are to settle the rough lands, you have to settle them with these people, because the average Canadian or American farmer will not do it. There are tens of thousands of these peasant settlers in Galicia, Hungary, and Bohemia who can be obtained, and if settled they will stay there. They don't know any other business in the world but that of extracting a living out of the soil. These people have not got as high standards of living as we have, and there is a great deal of nonsense talked about lowering the standard of living if these men are brought in. Well, you have to put these men who will be satisfied with the standard of living associated with that class of country there, or leave the land untilled. It will have to be the standard of living of the pioneer.[2]

A tremendous expansion of railways was undertaken in the latter part of the nineteenth and the early part of the twentieth centuries to facilitate the rapid movement of large numbers of people and vast quantities of goods and commodities. In the wake of the railways came the colonization of the prairie wilderness. The determined efforts of this great Canadian "visionary" cabinet minister made a new civilization blossom on the Canadian prairies. In search of "stout backs and willing hands to break up age-old prairie sod," he appealed to the

[1]Sources for this chapter are: W. A. Chumer, *Spomyny* (Memoirs); Robert England, *The Colonization of Western Canada*; P. J. Lazarovich, "Economic Achievements of the Ukrainians in Canada" in *Second Ukrainian Canadian Congress*; Vera Lysenko, *Men in Sheepskin Coats*; R. W. Murchie and H. C. Grant, *Unused Lands of Manitoba*; C. S. Prodan of the Manitoba Department of Agriculture, interviews; Senate of Canada, *Proceedings on Immigration and Labour, Wednesday 29th May, 1946*; Charles H. Young, *The Ukrainian Canadians*.

[2]*Manitoba Free Press*, Feb. 27, 1923.

hardy peasantry of Europe. The response was almost immediate and soon peasants of all European nationalities came pouring into the empty West.

From the very beginning Sifton focussed a considerable part of his attention on the Ukrainians of Galicia, convinced that these people would make desirable citizens of Canada. They were the first Slavs to come in large numbers, and maintained the lead throughout the immigration period. Sifton's opponents called these people "Sifton's pets," "the scum of Europe," and sometimes "Sifton's Sheepskins," and denounced his policy of settling the West with people of an alien culture and a low standard of living. Sifton could not be moved, however, and always defended the Ukrainian settlers. His statement re-echoed throughout Canada: "I think a stalwart peasant in a sheep-skin coat, born on the soil, whose forefathers have been farmers for ten generations, with a stout wife and a half dozen children, is good quality."[3]

It is significant that a native of Galician soil had preceded Ukrainian immigration to the West by twenty years. This was Red Fife wheat, the monarch of Canadian grains, introduced by David Fife of Ontario, who in 1843 received seeds of this Galician wheat from George Essen, who had taken them off a cargo in Glasgow, Scotland; maturing ten days earlier than any other Canadian variety of wheat, and with superb milling qualities, this Galician wheat made a welcome appearance in the Red River Valley in 1876. Because of its early maturing qualities, it made possible the opening up of the West for wheat farming. From this wheat were developed over eighty other North American varieties, of which the most famous are Marquis, Ceres, Reliance, Reward, Thatcher, and Apex.[4]

Nine of the ten Ukrainian rural colonies (Swan River excluded) were established within five years after the beginning of the mass immigration of Ukrainians in 1896. By this time most of the good lands in Manitoba had already been taken up, but a comparatively small number of Ukrainians acquired secondary lands alongside the newly constructed local railway lines. The great majority, however, took up homesteads or company lands in the hinterland. Without aid and without guidance, they "were dumped into the West ignorant of the conditions, laws, and methods of farming."[5] Nevertheless, with a

[3]John W. Dafoe, *Clifford Sifton in Relation to His Times*, p. 142.

[4]For a fuller account see Lysenko, *op. cit.*, pp. 264–7, and Egon Stark, *Contributions of Russian Plant-Introductions to the Development of Canadian Cereal Crops* (Winnipeg, 1948).

[5]Hon. T. A. Calder in a speech introducing in the Dominion Parliament the Immigration Act of 1919, as quoted in W. G. Smith, *A Study of Canadian Immigration*, p. 211.

thankful heart they took whatever was available in the vicinity, and set about making a living out of the soil.

The Ukrainian peasants settled in fairly compact colonies of their own, just as the French, English, Scots, Germans, and others had done before them. The first settlers were followed by relatives and friends from the same village or district in Galicia, Bukovina, or Ukraine. Often almost an entire village was transplanted in Manitoba from the old country, with its name, language, manners, customs, institutions, and activities, and it became "a little spot in Canada that is almost Ukraine!"[6] Many of these communities are still solidly Ukrainian, except for a sprinkling of other Slavs, such as Poles, Russians, and Rumanians, with whom they had lived in their native land. It should not be overlooked that the animosities between the Ukrainians and these so-called enemies, which were carried over from Europe, served to aggravate the group consciousness of the Ukrainians in Canada. The extent of the homogeneity of some Ukrainian settlements in Manitoba may be judged from the percentages of Ukrainian population in the following municipalities: Ethelbert (91), Stuartburn (85), Rossburn (73), Kreuzberg (70), Chatfield (67), and Mossey River (64).[7] It is a fairly common phenomenon today that where Ukrainians are expanding their settlements they are replacing Anglo-Saxons and others, as for example in the Shoal Lake area.

Several communities which had been established exclusively by the Ukrainian settlers in Manitoba bear Ukrainian place-names.[8] Among the more important are (from south to north): Zhoda, Senkiw, Sirko; Medika, Janow; Komarno, Zbaraz; Seech, Horod, Olha, Ruthenia; Halicz, Zoria, and Ukraina. These names testify to the hard work, courage, and perseverance of Ukrainian settlers in conquering the hinterland.

The bloc settlement of Ukrainians has often come under severe criticism. While previously there were grounds for the fear that the homogeneous settlements had to some extent retarded Canadianization and a change in the standard of living, that fear has since been greatly dispelled with the rise of the new generation, which has adopted the most advanced elements of the Canadian way of life. The Ukrainians can be blamed no more than other ethnic groups for settling in a compact mass in a strange country in the early stages. Also one thing can be said in favour of the bloc settlement of the Ukrainians in

[6]Young, *op. cit.*, p. 75.
[7]Based on the Canadian census of 1941.
[8]Explanation of the names is found in J. B. Rudnyckyj, *Kanadiyski Mistsevi Nazvy Ukrayinskoho Pokhodzhenya* (Canadian Place Names of Ukrainian Origin).

Manitoba, that it made possible the settlement of the hinterland and the sub-marginal districts.[9] The Anglo-Saxons and others had passed by such lands because of the necessity of living there under almost primitive pioneer conditions. The Ukrainians, on the other hand, have clung to the hinterlands, mainly because of their attachment to the culture of their own group which inhabits the area. Wherever the soil has been at all productive, they have made progress and they have brought civilization to what otherwise would probably have remained a wilderness.

The agricultural development of the Ukrainians in Manitoba can be divided into two stages. The first is the pioneer period, which coincides with the first Ukrainian immigration, 1896–1914. The subsequent period, 1914 to the present day, is marked by the adoption of modern Canadian farming techniques, although there is still some pioneering work being done in our day. In a short time, humble and seemingly backward Ukrainian peasants have displayed a remarkable adaptability, many areas advancing from destitution and primitive, almost medieval, methods of tilling the soil to prosperity and highly mechanized farming.

In choosing land, the Ukrainian pioneer settlers showed a decided preference for bush country and wooded lands in the vicinity of lakes, rivers, or creeks. This gave them a sense of self-sufficiency, since in the old country they had sorely lacked wood which was the guarded monopoly of the landlords. Here, they could have their own wood to build their homes and to provide an abundant supply of fuel. To their dismay, however, many of these hard-working settlers found that, after the trees had been cleared, the land was either too rocky or too poor to provide a decent living.

Having acquired the land, the Ukrainian peasant immediately erected a hut or a cottage similar to the one he had left in the old country. The house was strongly constructed of logs, hewn with an axe, and was quickly plastered with clay mixed with hay. At first the roof was covered with sod but, if long hay or straw was available, invariably a thatch would appear. The first stoves were also built of logs and branches plastered over with thick clay. Containing two or three fire-places with ovens over them, these old-fashioned stoves occupied a considerable part of the room. In addition to their role in baking or cooking, the tops were also used as beds, especially by the children. The table, benches, chairs, beds, chests, and other necessary articles were generally hand-made. Both the interior and the exterior

[9]Note the conclusions of Dr. John MacKay as given in England, *The Colonization of Western Canada,* pp. 197–8.

of the cottage were white-washed regularly, thus presenting a contrast to the surrounding landscape.

Most of the pioneer settlers brought with them many useful articles and family treasures. The tools included sickles, scythes, spades, flails, plowshares, anvils, and querns (zhorna) for grinding wheat into flour. The women brought carved wooded or wickerwork chests, containing embroidered linens, feather quilts and pillows, hand-woven rugs, earthenware pots, cast utensils, and samples of various seeds. Some women also brought spinning-wheels and looms. Although these tools and articles were considered outmoded in Canada, they made it possible for the Ukrainians to become established in the most remote sections of Manitoba.

In their struggle for survival in the wilderness, the Ukrainians employed various methods. The wits of both men and women were engaged to combat a formidable physical environment. Both sexes felled the trees, rooted out the stumps, cleared the stones, dug the garden, plowed the land with the help of oxen, planted the seeds, cut the grain with the scythe or sickle, and bound, stooked, and flailed the sheaves. At first the men had to go away for the summer to work on railroads or at construction work in order to make a few dollars to purchase some indispensable goods or articles and to pay their mortgage in the old country. In the fall and winter, the men would grind the wheat with a quern, cut and haul cordwood, and trap or shoot wild animals whose pelts they would sell to traders.

The women were perhaps more ingenious than the men. Besides helping her husband in regular farm work and tending the cow, pigs, and poultry, the woman fed and clothed the family. She produced a variety of vegetables in her carefully cultivated garden, and with the children picked berries and nuts. Many of the vegetables and berries were dehydrated or pickled. She made delicious bread in clay bake-ovens. A variety of inexpensive but nutritious foods such as pyrohy (potato and cheese dumplings), holubtsi (rice or buckwheat cabbage rolls), creamed borsch, jellied pigs' feet, sauerkraut, blood buckwheat and meat sausage, cottage cheese, pickled fish, poppy-seed buns, rabbit stews, mushroom soups, and noodles were served regularly. Thread was spun and woven into linen which was sewn to make clothes or embroidered for decoration. The woman also made warm feather quilts and feather pillows. She collected seneca root, dried it, and sold it to obtain ready cash. Indeed the woman's share of the work on the farm was often greater than the man's and, in addition, she would give birth to a half dozen or more children.

The hardships of the early Ukrainian settlers were perhaps greater

than those of other contemporary ethnic groups. They arrived in Canada almost penniless and received no government or any other form of assistance. Notwithstanding, they made noteworthy progress. Conditions improved for them with the advancement of railways and other transportation and communication facilities. The great opportunity came during the First World War, when, because of their origin in Austrian lands, they were forbidden to enlist. The demand for wheat and other farm products, the abundant yields, and the corresponding high prices brought about prosperity to all Canadian farmers, including the Ukrainians. The war years consequently brought a considerable percentage of the Ukrainian farmers to the general economic level of Canadian farmers.

The rise in the standard of living of these Ukrainian farmers and their adoption of modern farm methods and power machinery were directly proportional to their cash income. The transition was therefore more rapid in the fertile districts. When conditions were conducive to improvement, the Ukrainian farmer was just as eager as other Canadian farmers to keep abreast of modern trends.

The transition followed a general pattern. After a few years of seasonal employment elsewhere, which provided the money to acquire livestock and some equipment, the Ukrainian farmer was able to devote his whole attention to his farm. Land was cleared on a larger scale with oxen and put into crop. At first the harvest was threshed with a flail. He added to his livestock and poultry. As more land was cultivated and grain producing became the predominant concern, he gradually discarded the oxen and the flail and purchased horses, seed-drills, binders, threshing-machines, tractors, and the whole line of power machinery. Modern conveyances, such as wagons, democrats, cars and trucks were also acquired. Hired men were employed to do work that formerly had been done by women.

A similar evolution has taken place in living conditions. In most districts, the quaint thatched cottage has given way to modern wooden or brick houses. The old-fashioned well with a crane has frequently been replaced by cement cylinders and a hand- or motor-driven pump. Men and women in time began to wear modern clothes, although some Ukrainian women still cling to certain aspects of old-country fashions. The Canadian-born Ukrainian youth from the very outset adopted Canadian ways and therefore can hardly be distinguished from Canadians as a whole. In the home, the primitive hand-constructed furniture was gradually discarded and modern manufactured furniture soon came into vogue. A change has also occurred in the menu. Ukrainian farmers have by no means abandoned their favourite

national dishes, but they have adopted the general eating habits of Canadians and are making increasing use of luxuries. The Ukrainian women have been proud of their cooking abilities, but the art of national dishes is rapidly disappearing with the rising generation. Modern labour-saving devices for the home are becoming more and more common. All these changes, it should be noted, are dependent on the degree of prosperity in the particular district and on its proximity to advanced centres.

The agricultural conditions of the Ukrainian settlements[10] in Manitoba are quite different. Indeed, they are not even uniform within a settlement. A large proportion of the lands settled by these people are secondary—sub-marginal, and in many places sandy and rocky. There are, however, a few fertile districts. Consequently, the type of farming and the degree of modernization and prosperity differ throughout the province and even within the various localities.

The Stuartburn colony, dating from 1896, in the south of the province was the first Ukrainian settlement to be established in Manitoba.[11] The soil here is generally light with patches of black earth and clay. Located on the western edge of the Laurentian Shield, a large part of the area is stony, underlaid with lime, and low-lying, with areas of peat especially in the eastern sections. Towards the west lies the Red River Valley with fertile, heavy clay loam. The land is covered with bush and forests of pine, spruce, tamarac, and poplar. In order to avoid the subdivision of their quarter-sections because of overpopulation, the Ukrainians tend to take up better lands in the adjacent districts. The area has always suffered from floods.

Mixed farming is the mainstay of the Ukrainians of this region. The cereal crops (wheat, barley, and oats) are grown, but forage crops, such as timothy and sweet clover, are more popular. This is now predominantly a dairying and livestock area. Potatoes, onions, and other vegetables are grown throughout it. Small fruit orchards are becoming increasingly popular and in some places bee-keeping has become an industry in itself. Nick Pankiw of Dufrost has for many years led the province in the production of honey. Some cordwood is still cut and the collection of seneca root has been popular with the women and children. Diversified farming has made it possible for the people to survive on the poorer lands and some have done exceptionally well.

Located fifty miles straight east of Winnipeg is the small White-

[10]See chap. II, pp. 38–9, for the names of places and the number of inhabitants.

[11]A historical account of this colony has been written by C. S. Prodan, "Okolytsya Stuartburn" (The Stuartburn District) in *Providnyk* (The Leader), Winnipeg, 1931.

mouth–Birch River colony. Beginning with the village of Whitemouth, it extends twenty-five miles south along the Whitemouth River and then along the Birch River beyond East Braintree. The good agricultural land, in a belt from two to four miles wide, lies between the valleys of the two rivers. Beyond this strip lie wooded shallow peats overlying alternating patches of stony soils and excellent river soils. Some of the Ukrainians here have already conquered the peats and the dense forest.

Diversified farming is practised in this area, with dairying and livestock raising predominating. Oats is the major crop, but excellent growths of hay are also maintained. Cordwood is the staple product of the settlers in the hinterland. There are a few agricultural clubs. In this locality of contrasts well-to-do farmers live side by side with more primitive farmers.

The Brokenhead colony extends from Transcona in a northeasterly direction for about fifty miles to Lac du Bonnet, Brightstone, and Stead. The Ukrainian communities are scattered throughout this area. For the most part the area is fertile bush land, with soil similar to that of the Red River. There are patches of limestone, rock, and, farther north, muskeg.

Grain farming predominates in the region, but mixed farming is becoming more and more popular. Wheat, oats, and barley are the chief crops and Manitoba's wheat king, John J. Dudich of Hazelridge, comes from this area. Dairy farming has proved to be profitable, and consequently more attention is being given to livestock and forage crops. In some localities hay is grown as a cash crop. Truck farming of garden vegetables is also carried on closer to Winnipeg. Farther north, however, the farmers are not quite as progressive, being content with small-scale farming. In winter many of them work in the power plants and in the lumber camps. Some subdivision of farms has occurred in the truck farming districts where river-bank land is worth $50 or more per acre.

The Ukrainian settlements along the lower Red River have some of the most fertile land in the province.[12] The soil is heavy black earth, which becomes very sluggish under rainy conditions. The earlier Scottish settlers have given up this land to the Ukrainians, as they did not care to struggle with the swampiness. Most of the land is now valuable, selling at over $100 an acre.

The Ukrainians have thus done exceptionally well here. They have

[12]The Ukrainian settlements in this area have been very popular with observers and sight-seers. An interesting account has been written by Peter Bryce in *Continental Europeans in Western Canada.*

undertaken intensive cultivation of the land, engaging in gardening, potato growing, and dairying. Some have taken up poultry-raising and a few are operating nurseries. Truck farming has proved very profitable to the Ukrainians. The produce is sold in Winnipeg to wholesalers and retailers, as well as directly to the consumers in the stalls of the three market-places.[13] The Manitoba Vegetable and Potato Growers' Co-operative Association of Winnipeg, a distributing agency organized in the middle 1930's, is largely composed of Ukrainian producers.

A fairly compact bloc of Ukrainians is settled in the triangular area between Teulon, Riverton, and Fisherton in the Mid-Lake region. At one time the bed of Lake Agassiz, this area, although heavily wooded, is characterized by eroded boulder with many gravel deposits and pockets of peat and muck. Because of poor drainage, the heavy precipitation leaves the land swampy. This has caused abandonment of the farms in some sections. Better lands are found closer to Lake Winnipeg, where there is also an Icelandic settlement.

The Ukrainian settlers in most of this region undergo great hardships in order to derive even a meagre living.[14] The selling of cordwood, hay, cream, and in some cases honey provides the only means of obtaining cash. As grain growing has proved for the most part a failure, the mainstay of the people is stock-raising. Small-scale gardening provides vegetables for home use. The future is not very promising for these settlers, unless something is done to improve the drainage of the land.

The 1100 Ukrainians in the Glenella area are settled to the east of Riding Mountain National Park, in the vicinity of Riding Mountain village. The district is composed of the sandy and stony beaches of old Lake Agassiz covered with a thin layer of loam. In places there are peaty sections of land. The upper soils are in the main excellent, but the sand immediately underneath causes subsoil dryness. A sufficient annual precipitation—which is not frequent—would make for good crop yields. Drought prevents the farmers from making a decent living. Wheat and oats are produced, but the tendency is to go into livestock raising and dairying in order to become self-sufficient. The men often fish in Lake Manitoba, or do small game hunting in winter to secure some cash. It can be seen that the standard of living of these people is not very high, and some land has been abandoned.

[13]A co-operative study conducted by the Manitoba and Dominion Departments of Agriculture is available: R. S. Elliot, *et al., The Marketing of Fresh Fruits and Vegetables in Greater Winnipeg.*

[14]See A. J. Hunter, *A Friendly Adventure*, chap. IX. The author was a pioneer doctor in this area.

A large Ukrainian colony extends along almost the entire southern boundary of the Riding Mountain National Park for a distance of approximately ninety miles.[15] It is about twenty miles in width, cutting through nine municipalities. The area is partially bushy and contains soil ranging from poor to fertile black. As most of the land is suitable for crop growing, this is a comparatively prosperous region. The Ukrainians originally settled along the southern slopes of the Riding Mountains, which had been avoided by earlier Anglo-Saxon settlers. Unexpectedly, the land proved to be quite productive. From about 1917, the Ukrainians gradually began to expand toward the south, a process which is still in evidence.

Some of the most advanced farming in the province is carried on by the Ukrainians of this region. Oats, wheat, and barley are the chief cereal crops. Because of several poor yields, however, mixed farming has been gaining greater support. Large-scale farming is prevalent, the average holdings being over two quarter-sections. The prosperity of the Ukrainian farmers is reflected in the amount of machinery and equipment they possess, the good homes and automobiles, the orderly administration of the municipalities, and the maintenance of good schools. It is significant to note that in the 1930 Canadian National Community Progress Competition, Rossburn won first prize, while Ethelbert, in the Dauphin area, won second prize.

The Dauphin region, bounded by the Riding Mountain National Park on the south, by Lake Dauphin and Lake Winnipegosis on the east and north, and the Duck Mountain Forest Reserve on the west, contains the largest Ukrainian rural community in Manitoba. It is characterized by rolling lands, considerable bush, and numerous streams. The soils are very patchy, with good lands lying side by side with poor lands. On the whole, the southern and western parts of this area provide excellent farming lands, while many sections on the east and the north are sub-marginal and swampy. Some of the Ukrainian communities in the southwest and the north are steadily expanding.

This is principally a crop-growing region and crop failures are rare. Wheat, oats, barley, flax, and rye are grown extensively and account for the general prosperity of the people. The area is noted especially for forage crops and the raising of livestock, which has greatly stimulated mixed farming. Some farmers are engaged in the breeding of Guernsey cows and horses. Orchards and apiaries can be found scattered through the area. Community agricultural efforts have

[15]A general historical account of this colony has been written in Ukrainian by Michael Glushka, "Rossburn" in *Providnyk*, 1934.

improved production. In its degree of progressiveness, the Dauphin colony vies with the Riding Mountain Park colony to the south. The area has been represented by one Ukrainian member in the provincial legislature, and one in the House of Commons.

The Shell River colony is situated in the southwest corner of the Duck Mountain Forest Reserve and extends into the large Ukrainian colony of Wroxton in Saskatchewan. The area is in a grey-wooded and black-earth soil zone. The clearing of the forest uncovers excellent farming land. Mixed farming prevails in the district, whose chief centre is Roblin.

The Swan River valley is the most recent area to be settled by the Ukrainians, a few new communities having developed there after the First World War. The soil in the beautiful valleys of the Swan and Big Woody Rivers and their numerous tributaries is a rich silty loam, free from stone, and is excellent for farming after the land is cleared of the heavy forest. The Ukrainians, who came late on the scene, settled in the hinterland which is heavily wooded but contains good soil. They are doing pioneering work in the swampy areas. The clearing expenses are met by the sale of logs and cordwood. Gardens are cultivated in the valleys, while the luxuriant grasses of the forest reserves maintain fat cattle. The heavy crop yields spell a good future for the persevering Ukrainian settlers of the region.

In adapting themselves to the conditions of the new country and of their particular localities, the Ukrainians have striven continually to improve their methods of farming. Great progress has already been made. There is no doubt that if they had received some government guidance and leadership in the early stages, these semi-illiterate peasants would have achieved even greater success. As it was, they were left at the most critical time to work out their own destiny by trial and error.

The Ukrainians began experimenting with co-operation during the First World War and this respect they were the forerunners of the pool organizations in western Canada. Many co-operative stores and some flour mills were established. The largest co-operative enterprise in Manitoba was the Ruthenian Farmers' Elevator Company, which came into being in 1917. At its peak it operated eleven elevators in Manitoba and four in Saskatchewan. Owing to lack of funds, bad management, bitter competition with the private companies and the Pool, and the coming of the depression, the company went bankrupt in 1930 and was liquidated.

After many failures in co-operative ventures the Ukrainian farmers at first looked with reserve upon the pools. These approached them

through vernacular literature. In time the leading districts in the Rossburn and Dauphin areas gave the Manitoba Wheat Pool considerable support, but not to the same extent that Ukrainians of Saskatchewan and Alberta did. The Manitoba Co-operative Dairies, the Manitoba Egg and Poultry Pool, and the Manitoba Live-stock Pool have made more headway among the Ukrainians. The Manitoba Vegetable and Potato Growers' Co-operative Association has a largely Ukrainian membership. The Canadian-born generation, it should be noted, displays a keener interest in co-operation than do their fathers.

A factor which has done much to elevate the standards of farming and of living generally, and which is often overlooked, is the Ukrainian press. The weeklies, *Kanadiysky Farmer* (Canadian Farmer) since 1903, *Ukrayinsky Holos* (Ukrainian Voice) since 1910, and *Novy Shlyakh* (New Pathway) since 1930, all of Winnipeg, have devoted a page or more in each issue to the interests of the farmers. Articles written by experts, editorials, and agricultural news items have helped to guide thousands of Ukrainian farmers who could read no English. These newspapers and their almanacs are exerting a beneficial influence and are, therefore, performing a commendable service.

Most effective work among the Ukrainian farmers of Manitoba has been done by the agricultural experts in the employ of the provincial government. The field representatives have kept a first-hand contact with the people who till the soil and raise livestock and poultry. They address meetings and conventions, organize various kinds of agricultural clubs, promote co-operation, distribute superior seeds, make surveys and investigations, and give personal advice. In addition, they deliver broadcasts, write articles for Ukrainian newspapers, publish pamphlets, and distribute agricultural literature. Theirs is a busy life, but their efforts are appreciated by those who benefit from them.

There are several agricultural experts of Ukrainian descent in Manitoba.[16] One of the first in the field was Cornelius S. Prodan, B.S.A., a graduate of the Manitoba Agricultural College. From 1921 to 1935 he was employed as dairy instructor by the Department of Agriculture, and since that time has been an agricultural representative. His colleague, Theodore Bodnar, who graduated from the same college in 1918, joined the Dominion Department of Agriculture in 1920, and ever since has been livestock fieldman in the districts west of the lakes. The most recent agricultural representative of Ukrainian descent is John A. Negrich, B.S.A., also a graduate of the Manitoba Agricultural College, who has been serving the Stuartburn area since 1940. Others

[16]Biographical accounts of most of these agronomists are found in *Who's Who in the Agricultural Institute of Canada.*

contributing to agricultural advancement are P. Kondra, Professor of Poultry Husbandry at the University of Manitoba, Dr. W. Cherewik, on the staff of the Dominion Plant Pathology Laboratories, and Dr. Isidore Hlynka, cereal chemist with the federal Board of Grain Commissioners.

The Ukrainian farmers have contributed to the development of Manitoba in several definite ways. First, because of their love of the soil, their tremendous capacity for work, and their courageous perseverance, they have opened up for cultivation and civilization thousands of square miles of virgin soil, the bulk of which was submarginal or of inferior quality and had been avoided by earlier settlers. Secondly, by the cultivation of this soil in the production of grains, vegetables, and fruits, and the raising of livestock and bees, the Ukrainian farmers have added millions of dollars to the wealth of the province. Thirdly, a large percentage of these families have made great sacrifices to provide their children with an education that they themselves have lacked,[17] and thus have contributed a fair share of teachers, nurses, engineers, scientists, lawyers, doctors, business men, tradesmen, and legislators to Manitoba. Fourthly, the sons and daughters of these people have served in Canada's armed forces, fighting with devotion for the cause of the country of their birth, and supported on the home front by their parents for whom Canada, their home by adoption, was no less dear.

[17]Peter Ogryzlo of Sifton is one of the examples. His three sons and three daughters all obtained university degrees.

CHAPTER FOUR . Business, Industry, and the Professions

THE VAST MAJORITY OF UKRAINIANS WHO ARRIVED in Canada were of peasant stock; comparatively few were skilled tradesmen and a still smaller number belonged to the intellectual class.[1] Herein lies the reason why these people have made remarkable progress in agriculture but relatively much slower progress in other fields of industry, in business, and in the higher professions. In addition, it should be remembered that most of these newcomers possessed little formal education and certainly little, if any, capital. Furthermore, those who had the intelligence, confidence, and initiative to venture into manufacturing and business had to overcome the serious handicap of a lack of knowledge of the English language. It therefore took over a generation before adequate adjustment could be made; then the Canadian-born moved into the picture and entered the higher spheres of industry, business, and the professions. Nevertheless, when all these factors are taken into consideration, remarkable progress has been made.

Very few of the Ukrainian immigrants who arrived in Canada before the First World War were skilled workers. Those who did not settle on the land took whatever manual work was available until something better could be secured. Some went to work in mines and in factories, and large numbers were hired by construction companies in the towns and cities. Many took up seasonal employment on the farms. Perhaps the largest proportion went to work on the construction and maintenance of railways in western Canada.

An interested observer, J. S. Woodsworth, a Methodist minister at the time, and later founder and leader of the Co-operative Common-

[1]Sources for this chapter are: W. A. Chumer, *Spomyny* (Memoirs); N. J. Iunchak, *Canadians of Ukrainian Origin: Population*; Vera Lysenko, *Men in Sheepskin Coats*; F. A. Macrouch, *Ukrainians in Canada, Business Year Book,* for the years 1945, 1946–47, 1948–49, 1949–50; William Scraba, "Ukrainians in Industry and Commerce," in *Ukrainian Canadian Review,* April, 1942; W. Topolnycky, "Ko-operatsia v Manitobi i Ukraintsi" (Co-operation in Manitoba and the Ukrainians), in *Kalendar-Almanakh Novoho Shlyakhu na 1947 rik* (Calendar-Almanac of the New Pathway for the year 1947); Charles H. Young, *The Ukrainian Canadians.*

wealth Federation (CCF) party, noted in 1908 the following contribution of the Ukrainians:

> Much of the rough work of nation building in Western Canada is being done by the despised Galician. The unskilled labor for which contractors and railway builders have been loudly calling is supplied principally by the Galician. In the cities and towns, where new works are being pushed to rapid completion, or out on the farthest stretches of the prairie where the steel is being laid for the coming settler, can be found the grimy, stolid Galician, puffing his ever-present cigarette and working with a physical endurance bred of centuries of peasant life and an indifference to hardships that seems characteristic of the Slav.[2]

At first the retail business in Ukrainian localities was dominated by Jewish merchants, many of whom came from Galicia, Bukovina, or from Russia, where they had previously conducted some form of business. Being conversant with the language and the mentality of the people, it was fairly easy for the Jewish merchant to cater to the Ukrainians. Furthermore, his contact with fellow-Jews who were engaged in the wholesale business in Canada facilitated the opening of a store. As time passed, however, adventurous spirits were also found among the Ukrainians. They appealed to their countrymen on nationalist grounds and slowly made headway. Beginning in the 1920's the number of Ukrainians entering the retail business increased much more rapidly. The Jewish storekeepers gradually withdrew from most of the Ukrainian localities, and today, there are very few operating stores in Ukrainian-populated districts.

The first business establishments of the Ukrainian immigrants were those involving the knowledge of a trade or a skill. Because of the nature of the work, such businesses were small, requiring the investment of a small capital, and were therefore easier to establish. Among the first businesses to make their appearance were shoe-repairing shops, barber shops, tailor shops, blacksmith shops, and small restaurants. They catered for the most part to the immigrants of their own nationality and to the Slavs in general.

The establishment of retail stores by Ukrainians in Manitoba had very slow and uncertain beginnings. The first general store was opened in 1904 by Fedor Farion in Sifton. As his business expanded, he procured a larger building, and later set up a flour mill. In 1905, Zerebko and Turcheniuk formed a company and also established a general store in Sifton, but the company did not last long. In 1910, the Brokenhead Trading Company established a general store at Ladywood. Under the managership of V. Karpetz, the enterprise has been success-

[2]J. S. Woodsworth, *Strangers within Our Gates*, p. 135.

ful. Subsequently, grocery stores and other retail stores began to appear in Winnipeg and in other towns in the province. The success of some inspired others to turn to business, especially those who had some money to invest. It was not long before Ukrainians began to expand into more specialized fields.

The early Ukrainian immigrants, born and raised on the soil and desirous above all of securing a farm in Canada, in addition lacking a proper education, could not have been expected to take any great part in business enterprises, in white-collar jobs, or in the professions. The opposite, however, was true of their children who were born and educated in the best schools that Canada could offer, and many of whom looked askance at the inconveniences and hardships of farming. The parents generally impressed upon their children that they did not want to see them undergo the hardships and the laborious physical work that they themselves had endured. Consequently, the sons and daughters of these immigrants were encouraged and given opportunities to secure the best available education, even though the parents in very many cases underwent self-imposed privation.

The second generation of Ukrainian Canadians, upon reaching adulthood, was quick to see the advantages in the economic sphere or in personal service. The year 1930 is approximately the turning-point which marks the beginning of the entry of a large number of the Canadian-born into other than agricultural pursuits. The year 1930 also marks the end of the mass inter-war immigration of Ukrainians, a large number of whom possessed sufficient technical education and business experience to adjust themselves to the economic life of the country. Thus, in spite of the great depression of the 1930's, the Ukrainians in general surged ahead in new fields. Today there scarcely exists a branch of economic activity in which members of this ethnic group are not found.

The occupational trends of the Ukrainians of Manitoba become quite evident when statistics are consulted. In 1941 only 49.6 per cent of the gainfully employed were engaged in agriculture and already 50.4 per cent were engaged in other fields. In 1946 the number employed in agriculture dropped to 42.6 per cent, while those in all other occupations totalled 57.4 per cent. Whereas prior to the First World War Manitoba's Ukrainians were mostly agriculturists, today the balance has tipped in favour of other economic pursuits.

The progress made by the Ukrainian Canadians of Manitoba in the industrial field has been much greater than is generally supposed. It is particularly remarkable that most of these industries were founded during the depression of the early 1930's. Emerging during these

critical years of "hard times," the new industries absorbed many jobless and thus helped to relieve the unemployment situation. They are concentrated in two centres, predominantly in Winnipeg,[3] and to a small extent at Sifton in the Dauphin district, about 200 miles to the northwest of Manitoba's capital city.

The two largest Winnipeg firms established by men of Ukrainian descent are both engaged in the production of heavy transportation vehicles. Motor Coach Industries Limited of which Frederick D. Sicinski has been president, holds the distinction of manufacturing Canada's first electric trolley bus. The company has supplied Winnipeg and other cities of western Canada with trolley buses, air-conditioned super-coaches, and heavy duty trucks for various needs. In 1932 Mr. Sicinski also established the Fort Garry Motor Body and Paint Works Limited, which is the largest tire retreading plant in western Canada. His versatility in the industrial field is demonstrated by the fact that he has also been president of the Equipment Distributors Limited and the Central Dairies Limited. A competitor which was earlier (1930) in the field is in the Western Auto and Truck Body Limited, of which John Coval has been president and manager.[4] John Markiw, who had been vice-president of this firm, later established a similar business known as Markwill Industries Limited. Starting as truck builders, these two firms have expanded into the building of buses for various uses, and are responsible for a large share of such production in western Canada.

The Ukrainians of Winnipeg have entered various fields of industrial enterprise. The *Ukrainians in Canada, Business Year Book,* 1948–49, contains an extensive list of the establishments owned and operated at that time by individuals or companies. According to this compilation, in addition to the above-mentioned industries, Ukrainians of Winnipeg were engaged in the following fields of manufacturing: building contractors (13), furniture manufacturers (9), bakeries (6), soft drink manufacturers (5), medicine preparers (4), sash and door manufacturers (3), boat builder (1), men's wear manufacturer (1), artificial limb manufacturer (1), and monument maker (1). There was also one creamery, Central Dairies Limited, managed by D. Uhryniuk, who has been a consistent prize winner for quality butter in the Dominion. Every year gives evidence that individuals of

[3]Various photos of the leading business establishments in Winnipeg which are mentioned in this chapter are found in the *Ukrainian Canadian Review,* April, 1942.

[4]A general account of J. Coval and his firm is found in F. A. Macrouch, *Ukrainians in Canada, Business Year Book,* 1946–47, under the title "Ukrainian Winnipegger Founds Million Dollar Bus Works on Limited Shoe String," pp. 30–2.

Ukrainian stock are launching new industrial establishments and expanding the existing ones.

A rural village that quickly turned into an industrial centre is Sifton,[5] with a population of 350, mostly Ukrainians. When the depression struck this community, necessity became the mother of invention. To meet the demand of the women for old-country spinning-wheels, John Weselowski, the blacksmith of the village, in 1932 designed and constructed an improved old-country spinning-wheel. It became very popular at once. Soon he was producing five hundred a year and sending them to all parts of the North American continent. The spinning-wheel industry quickly gave rise to other industries in the village. Diesel machines were used since electricity was lacking. Weselowski set up a woollen mill which in time employed twenty-five people in the manufacture of socks, mitts, sweaters, and blankets. Metro Lozinski invented a wool-carding machine and set up a factory which produced a thousand carders annually. Weselowski's brother, Michael, established a furniture factory. The development in the town has continued. Mrs. Olga Farion, a university graduate, operates the Sifton flour mills, which also produce vitaminized pancake flour. The attached bakery supplies bread and pastry to twelve neighbouring districts. The Ksionzyk brothers own a shop in which they construct metal grain-loaders and Michael Caruk makes monuments. Many of these enterprises were made possible by the funds of the local credit union. The industries of Sifton bear testimony to the initiative, aggressiveness, and adaptability of the people.

Outside of Winnipeg and Sifton there has been very little industrial development. Creameries are being operated by Ukrainians in Tolstoi, Vita, Chatfield, Rossburn, and Gilbert Plains. Spectacular success has been achieved in diamond drilling for gold in the Bissett area and Northern Ontario by Mark G. Smerchanski, geologist, manager of the Eco Exploration Company Limited, with head office in Winnipeg. The Ukrainian Canadians of the province are engaged also in the fishing, logging, and fur industries.

Next to agriculture, the greatest advances of the Ukrainian Canadians have been made in small business enterprises. This may be attributed to the fact that many teachers of the rural districts soon realized the business opportunities in the Ukrainian communities and entered this field in large numbers. Today it would be difficult to find a Ukrainian-populated district in Manitoba without stores and shops owned or operated by people of similar origin.

[5]See Cory Kilvert, "Spinning-Wheel Sings a Song of Enterprise" in *Winnipeg Free Press*, Aug. 2, 1946.

The most popular form of business is the grocery store in the cities and towns; and the general store, which handles groceries and dry goods, in the villages and rural points. A thorough survey of the field has been made by F. A. Macrouch of Winnipeg. It is gratifying to learn that the statistics found in his annual publication, *Ukrainians in Canada, Business Year Book,* cover a very high percentage of the businesses in the province. According to this reliable source, there were in 1950 over 400 retail stores owned by Ukrainians in Manitoba. Of these at least 125 were in Greater Winnipeg. In 1936, these Winnipeg grocers organized the Community Food Stores Limited, which not only has been providing its members with their own brand of meat products but has also extended the service throughout Manitoba. In Winnipeg was formed too the Wholesale and Confectionery Company Limited. The International Wholesale Grocers Limited has been successfully operated by Ukrainians. The small grocer, it should be noted, is hard pressed by the competition of the chain stores. A steadily expanding wholesale firm dealing in hardware and furniture is the Keystone Supply Company; its president, Stephen Juba, in 1952 ran a fairly close second in the mayoralty contest in Winnipeg.

The Ukrainians of Winnipeg have surpassed all other Ukrainian communities in Canada in the establishment of small businesses. Beside grocery stores the following types have been the most popular and successful (these figures for 1948 have been verified by F. A. Macrouch; in reality they would be higher if a more thorough investigation were conducted): shoe repair shops (100), barber shops (40), restaurants or cafés (33), real estate offices (23), beauty shops (23), and tailor shops (22). In addition the Ukrainians have established a variety of other businesses: drug stores (13), hardware stores (10), hotels (10), service stations (10), taxi and transfer companies (10), watch repair shops (10), photo studios (9), ladies' wear shops (8), radio service shops (8), fuel companies (8), printing establishments (6), dry goods stores (6), electrical contracting (6), billiard parlours (6), meat markets (5), dry-cleaning establishments (5), confectioneries (5), tire service shops (5), lumber yards (4), furniture stores (3), bookstores (3), travel bureaus (3), shoe stores (2), bowling alleys (2), and wholesale luggage shop (1). These do not include co-operatives which are dealt with on pages 59–61.

The great majority of these businesses follow the general Canadian pattern but there are some that are typically Ukrainian. For example, the restaurants, in addition to regular courses, provide Ukrainian dishes, such as borsch, sauerkraut soup, pyrohy, holubtsi, and other foods which appeal to the Slavs in particular. The largest company in this

field at the present time is the National Restaurant Company Limited (established in 1951; John Nowosad, president) which operates four restaurants and two groceterias in Winnipeg. The bookstores have found that the sale of Ukrainian books alone has been unprofitable and have therefore added musical instruments, music supplies, certain lines of jewellery, theatrical supplies, as well as handicraft and art works. They have occasionally published books and plays. Their success is dependent on advertising in the Ukrainian press and through the mail. The printing establishments engaged in the publication of Ukrainian language newspapers, periodicals, and books have a difficult time to keep from bankruptcy, and consequently have been compelled to wage Canadian-wide campaigns for donations from time to time.

In 1950, there were two bus lines operated by men of Ukrainian descent. The Red River Motor Coach Lines Limited (P. Homenick, president), has been serving the points northeast of Winnipeg such as Narol, Lockport, East Walkleyburgh, Libau, Tyndal, Beauséjour, Lac du Bonnet, Great Falls, and Pine Falls. The Northern Coach Lines operates the route including Teulon, Inwood, Chatfield, Poplarfield, Fisher Branch, and Hodgson. The first of these also provides chartered bus service. Both have had a fair measure of success.

Trade and commerce in the Ukrainian-Canadian rural localities of Manitoba is concentrated in the hands of the Ukrainians. The most common forms of business in the villages are general stores, restaurants, drug stores, implement agencies, garages and service stations, smithies, hotels, lumber yards, barber shops, beauty shops, transfer companies, and watch repairing and jewellery concerns. Most of these have been steadily expanding, bringing good profits to the owners or partners. An idea of the number of persons involved in these businesses can be gathered if it is remembered that there are no less than 150 towns, villages, and country points in Manitoba which have a Ukrainian complexion.

Until the coming of the second wave of Ukrainians from Galicia into Canada in the latter half of the 1920's, the co-operative movement was almost non-existent among Ukrainian Canadians. Several ventures in the field, of which a glaring example was the Ruthenian Farmers' Elevator Company, had ended in failure and bankruptcy.[6] It was a different story with immigrants who arrived from Galicia after the First World War. Handicapped and discriminated against by Poles in industrial and commercial enterprises, the Ukrainians in Galicia had turned to co-operation as their salvation, and in a short while established one of the most efficient co-operative systems (4,700 units)

[6]See chap. III.

in the world.[7] Many of those who came to Canada from that region possessed experience in various types of co-operative organization and applied it in Canada. In a few years several co-operatives appeared throughout the country, with Manitoba taking the lead among the Ukrainians in Canada.

Winnipeg, in addition to being the cultural centre of Ukrainian life in Canada, is also a commercial and co-operative centre for the people. In 1948 there were six Ukrainian co-operatives in the city, which was more than the combined total in the rest of the province. The pioneer in the field was "Kalyna" Ukrainian Co-operative Limited, a book and music store. It was organized in 1930 and had over 300 members in 1948. The organizer and for many years a manager, W. Topolnycky, was a trained old-country co-operator; he has been instrumental in the establishment of several co-operatives in Manitoba. In the depths of the depression in 1932, there came into existence the North Winnipeg Co-operative Limited. Engaged in the fuel business, this co-operative comprised over 700 members in 1950, and with a large annual turnover has enjoyed success and stability. The members also established a bakery under the same name in 1945. The Ukrainian National Co-operative Limited, established in 1937, and with a membership of over 250, has been conducting a successful business in the grocery line. In the same year the citizens of St. Boniface launched the Ukrainian Co-operative Federation, which grew to 125 members in 1950. It deals in fuel, fodder, and gasolene. Encouraged by the success of the co-operatives in Winnipeg, the Ukrainians then went into the manufacturing industry and in 1938 established the Western Co-operative Limited, which produced about $60,000 worth of quality gloves and mitts annually. It had a membership of over 400 and employed 20 persons when it went bankrupt in 1951. All these co-operatives had an exclusively Ukrainian membership.

The Ukrainian Canadians form the great majority of members in two other large co-operative establishments. One is the Manitoba Vegetable and Potato Growers' Co-operative Association, on Derby Street in Winnipeg, which is a large-scale marketing agency for garden products. The other is the People's Co-operative Creamery Limited and its branch the People's Co-operative Fuel Limited. With over 2,000 members and over 100 employees, the latter co-operative has had an annual turnover of more than a $1,000,000. Among the officers are W. A. Kardash, Labour Progressive M.L.A., and Andrew Bilecki, prominent communist leaders.

The co-operative movement in general has made fairly good head-

[7]See Stanislaw Skrzypek, *The Problem of Eastern Galicia,* pp. 53–4.

way among the Ukrainians in the rural districts of Manitoba. Considerable numbers are members of the various Manitoba pools (grain, dairy, poultry) and the Canadian Co-operative Implements Limited. The Ukrainians have also established several consumers' co-operatives. The co-operative at Vita, organized in 1939, owns a dairy and a store, which also handles machinery, lumber, livestock, and poultry, and serves the needs of 800 members in the surrounding localities. Similar co-operatives exist at Fisher Branch, Chatfield, Broad Valley, Sandy Lake, and Elphinstone.

The most recent co-operative development among the Ukrainians is the rise of credit unions, which offer their members banking services in the way of savings deposits and loans. Sometimes these institutions also make loans to other co-operative societies, especially when money is needed to start or to expand a business. The largest is the Carpathia Credit Union Society which is located in the building of the "Kalyna" Co-operative on Main Street, Winnipeg. Commencing with 34 members and a capital of $92 in 1940, it has expanded by leaps and bounds to reach a total of 1192 members at the end of 1951 with transactions totalling $452,000 during the year. Winnipeg also has the North Winnipeg Credit Union Society, associated with the North Winnipeg Co-operative, and the St. Vladimir Parish Credit Union Society. Among the Ukrainians in the province, credit unions existed in 1949 at Ethelbert, Fisher Branch, Poplarfield, and Sifton, where no other banking facilities were available. Such societies, besides aiding co-operative enterprise, have assisted individuals in furthering industry and business, as has been evident in Sifton.

The professional class among the Ukrainian Canadians has shown a rapid increase both numerically and proportionally. The pioneer immigrants preceding the First World War were largely farmers and labourers, with only a sprinkling of intelligentsia. The immigrants between the two wars included a large number of educated persons but the proportions were still relatively small. Contemporary immigration contains a higher percentage of university men than the previous immigrations, although this number is not very large. The steadily increasing professional class has emerged, however, not from immigrant arrivals, but mostly from the Canadian-born and the Canadian-raised element, and must be attributed to the opportunities which exist in the political and social system of Canada.

The pioneer intellectuals consisted of the clergy, newspapermen, vernacular teachers, and precentors (dyaks) who conducted church choirs. Since 1921 a larger number of university graduates, technical experts, writers, and musicians have entered the country. Intellectuals

such as university professors, scientists, doctors, lawyers, famous poets and writers, and professional musicians, actors, ballerinas, and artists have arrived only recently.[8] Most of these have for the most part adjusted themselves to the Canadian society. Some have been absorbed by Ukrainian institutions, such as the churches, the press, and various organizations; some have continued their education in Canada and have entered the Canadian professions. The individuals in this group at first tended to devote a great deal of attention to "old-country problems," but with the passing of time, they have gradually become more absorbed in Canadian affairs and are now developing a Canadian outlook.

Today the bulk of the professional men and women of Ukrainian stock are Canadian-born and Canadian-educated. The sons and daughters of the semi-illiterate immigrants have entered every branch of technical and university education and as a result are found in all sections of professional service. Census figures for 1946 show public school and high school teachers as the largest group in Manitoba, numbering 388 and constituting approximately 57 per cent of the professional class. Next come clergymen and prelates (50), followed by musicians and music teachers (45). Almost all the Ukrainian lawyers, medical doctors, dentists, chiropractors, nurses, newspapermen, and welfare workers in Manitoba are found in Winnipeg. There are a few architects, artists, chemists, metallurgists, draughtsmen, and engineers in the province; several other professions have only a single representative. In 1951 there was only one judge, J. W. Arsenych, and there were three university professors: Peter Kondra, in poultry husbandry, Jaroslaw B. Rudnyckyj, in Slavic languages, and Paul Yuzyk, in history and Slavic studies.[9]

By way of summary, according to the 1946 census there were 35,256 (29,633 males and 5,593 females) gainfully employed Ukrainians fourteen years of age and over in Manitoba. Their distribution throughout the various occupations is given in the following table.[10]

[8]Among the distinguished newcomers who resided in Winnipeg in 1950 were the following: the prelates Metropolitan Ilarion (Ohienko) and Archbishop Mstyslaw Skrypnyk; the university professors and scholars Leonid Biletsky (Ukrainian and Slavic literature), D. Doroshenko (history), J. Rudnyckyj (Slavic philology); the artists W. Balas and J. Kubarsky; the ballerinas Roma Pryma and Olenka Zaklynska; and the publishers Iwan Tyktor and W. Martynec.

[9]For biographical sketches, see, respectively, Macrouch, *op. cit.*, 1948–9, p. 135, and *Ukrainian Year Book and Ukrainians of Distinction, 1952–3*; *Who's Who in the Agricultural Institute of Canada*; *Opinion*, Nov., 1949.

[10]The totals given for each general occupational heading in the three columns do not necessarily tally with the totals of the component items given below, for in many cases lesser figures have been omitted.

Occupation	*Males*	*Females*	*Total*
PROPIETARY AND MANAGERIAL (Owners, managers, officials)	976	403	1379
Forestry, logging	7		7
Manufacturing	71		71
Construction	30		30
Transportation, communication	33	3	36
Wholesale trade	42		42
Retail trade	573	39	612
Community service	7		7
Government service	16		16
Recreational service	26		26
Personal service	163	360	523
PROFESSIONAL	365	337	702
Accountants, auditors	11		11
Agricultural professionals	3	1	4
Artists	7	3	10
Authors, editors, journalists	11	2	13
Chemists, metallurgists	15	1	16
Clergymen, priests	44		44
Draughtsmen	13	1	14
Engineers	5		5
Laboratory technicians	3	12	15
Musicians, music teachers	26	4	30
Photographers	13	3	16
Lawyers, notaries	14		14
Nurses		72	72
School teachers	170	218	388
Veterinarians	9		9
CLERICAL	436	803	1,266
Bookkeepers, cashiers	35	92	127
Office clerks, operators	247	285	532
Shipping, receiving clerks	171	26	197
Stenographers, typists	9	400	409
AGRICULTURAL	14,631	405	15,036
Farmers, stock-raisers	9,308	361	9,669
Farm labourers	5,295	44	5,339
Flower growers	22		22
FISHING, HUNTING, TRAPPING	100		100
Fishermen	80		80
Hunters, trappers	20		20
LOGGING	183		183
MINING, QUARRYING	209	1	210
Prospectors	5		5
MANUFACTURING, MECHANICAL	3,599	1,211	4,810
Foremen	72	10	82
Food products	595	197	792
Furriers	57	60	117
Leather, leather products	232	51	283

Occupation	*Males*	*Females*	*Total*
Shoe repairers	146		146
Textile goods, wearing apparel	166	702	868
Tailors, dressmakers	108	241	349
Wood products	229	23	252
Printing, bookbinding	71	31	102
Metal products	2,046	34	2,080
Blacksmiths	116		116
Mechanics, machinists	63		63
Chemicals	17	2	19
ELECTRIC LIGHT, POWER PRODUCTION	187		187
CONSTRUCTION	1,414	4	1,418
Foremen	11		11
Carpenters	758		758
Electricians	42		42
Painters, decorators	219	4	223
Plumbers	69		69
Plasterers	35		35
TRANSPORTATION	2,060	16	2,076
Foremen	26		26
Air pilots	11		11
Chauffeurs	64		64
Locomotive engineers	15		15
Locomotive firemen	66		66
Teamsters, draymen	125		125
Truck drivers	595		595
Sectionmen	1,032		1,032
COMMUNICATION	41	22	63
COMMERCIAL	418	526	944
Inspectors	13	14	27
Packers	104	175	279
Sales clerks	182	328	510
FINANCIAL	54	1	55
Insurance agents	28		28
Real estate dealers	26	1	27
SERVICE	2,369	1,723	4,092
Personal	757	1,692	2,449
Barbers, hairdressers	99	92	191
Cooks	150	87	237
Janitors	125	7	132
Laundry, dry cleaning	112	185	292
Nurses	13	14	27
Waiters, waitresses	140	511	651
Protective	1,579	22	1,601
Firemen	26		26
Armed forces, officers	1,476	22	1,498
Policemen, detectives	17		17
Movie projectionists, ushers	9	10	19
LABOURERS	2,329	111	2,440

Manitoba's Ukrainians have brought considerable wealth to the province by their contributions in various occupations. In 1946 the proportion of gainfully employed (41.2 per cent) within their own group was higher than the provincial average (38.5 per cent). Constituting 11.8 per cent of the population, they were contributing a higher percentage in the following general classes of occupation: manual labour (20.9), agriculture (18.6), logging (16), manufacturing and mechanical trades (15.8), and transportation (12.7). They were employed in considerable proportion in the following individual occupations (figures are given in percentages within the various occupations in the province): ushers (47.6), shoe repairers (30.6), sectionmen and switchmen (30), skilled labourers in leather industry (27.7), skilled labourers in wearing apparel industry (22.9), skilled labourers in food industry (21.7), launders and dry-cleaners (21.4), waiters and waitresses (21.1), flower growers (20.4), tailors and dressmakers (19.8), furiers (17.3), skilled labourers in wood products (17.2), cooks (16.4), blacksmiths (15), barbers and hairdressers (13.7), skilled labourers in metal products (13.3), carpenters (12.8), miners (12.8), and plasterers (12.5). The Ukrainians lag behind in the following general classes of employment: proprietary and managerial, professional, clerical, commercial, financial, and communication. Nevertheless, as has been noted before, their participation in these fields is gradually increasing as more of the youth are completing higher or more specialized education or training.

In many respects, the Ukrainians of Manitoba have made more rapid progress in the economic sphere than their compatriots in the other Canadian provinces. They lead in the number of owners and managers of the logging, manufacturing, transportation, and communication industries, as well as of commercial firms. The same is true of the number engaged in fishing, hunting, trapping, manufacturing, construction, and in the trades. Manitoba also has more authors, editors, journalists, musicians and music teachers, lawyers, notaries, social workers, accountants, auditors, firemen, policemen, detectives, and postmen of Ukrainian origin than any other province. The reasons for this prominence are found in the fact that Manitoba has the largest Ukrainian population in Canada and that Winnipeg, with the largest Ukrainian community and thus forming its centre, has provided abundant opportunities.

Since the great majority of Ukrainian immigrants were of the farmer-labour class and very few of the professional class, the semi-illiterate and the illiterate people at first became an easy prey to unscrupulous sharks, many of whom were of their own blood. Conse-

quently, for a long time a state of disorder, almost verging on anarchy, existed in the settlements, both rural and urban.

Order, stability, and purposefulness gradually developed with the rise of a middle class, following the normal Canadian class structure. Before the First World War, a few priests, writers, old-country elementary school-teachers, men with an uncompleted high school education, and the odd business man comprised a flimsy framework of leadership. In time, as more Ukrainians availed themselves of educational training and experiential opportunities, the numbers of professional men, business men, and tradesmen increased. The emergence of the better type of clergy, a large number of better-trained teachers, and a fairly numerous merchant class, as well as a prosperous farm group and Canadian-trained lawyers, doctors, and writers meant the rise of a middle class which exerted its influence toward general conservatism, evolutionary development, and Canadianism. This, therefore, is an index of the general progress of the people.

CHAPTER FIVE . The Religious Life

THE DOMINANT ROLE OF THE CHURCH IN THE LIFE of the Ukrainian people in their native land was transmitted to the Ukrainian settlements in Canada.[1] The most popular religious movements among the pioneers were quite naturally the counterparts of those which had been strongest in the land of their birth. New churches, strange at first to the British and French, made their appearance and throve in Canada. These were the different branches of Greek Orthodoxy and Greek Catholicism, all of the Eastern rite. For a while the Canadian Roman Catholic Church and some of the Protestant denominations also took an active part in the life of the newcomers. This tended to make the religious scene very confusing in the days prior to the First World War. Out of the intense religious struggle, there emerged by the end of the 1920's two churches, the Greek Catholic and the Greek Orthodox, which won the adherence of approximately 90 per cent of the Ukrainian Canadians. To gain an understanding of these faiths we must delve into history and trace their backgrounds briefly.

The Christian religion came to Ukraine from Constantinople, the Greek capital of the Byzantine (formerly eastern Roman) Empire, when the Greek version of Christianity was officially adopted by the Kievan state in 988 at the behest of Volodimir the Great. This first Ukrainian church was organized by the Patriarch of Constantinople, who established the metropolitan see at Kiev. The rite, practices, and theological beliefs of the majestic Byzantine church and the advanced culture of the Greeks were incorporated, but modified to suit the conditions. Kiev subsequently became a second Constantinople in splendour, power, and cultural leadership.

At the time of Ukraine's conversion to Christianity, the Christian church was still united, but when the rift between the east and the

[1]Sources for this chapter are: the Rev. P. Bozyk, *Tserkov Ukrayintsiv v Kanadi* (Ukrainian Churches in Canada); A. J. Hunter, *A Friendly Adventure*; Rev. W. Kudryk, *Chuzha Ruka* (The Foreign Hand); Vera Lysenko, *Men in Sheepskin Coats; Propamyatna Knyha Poselennya Ukrayinskoho Narodu v Kanadi, 1891–1941* (Commemorative Book of the Settlement of the Ukrainian People in Canada); W. Swystun, *Kryza v Ukrayinskiy Pravoslavniy (Avtokefalniy) Tserkvi* (The Crisis in the Ukrainian Orthodox (Autocephalous) Church); Charles H. Young, *The Ukrainian Canadians*; Paul Yuzyk, "A History of the Ukrainian Greek Catholic (Uniate) Church in Canada" (Master's thesis).

west occurred in 1054 its state church was compelled to take sides. The Kievan metropolitans did not formally break with the Roman Pope until 1104.[2] Thereafter they recognized the Patriarch of Constantinople and the Ukrainian church assumed "Greek Orthodox" as part of its title. Ties were also maintained with the patriarchs of Antioch and Jerusalem, who opposed the primacy of the Roman Pope.

The religious situation changed drastically after Poland conquered Galicia in 1349 and achieved dynastic union with Lithuania in 1386. Poland thus gained supremacy over the Ukrainian lands and instituted a policy of forcibly Polonizing and Catholicizing the Ukrainians. The situation was more in her favour after 1453, when the Turks captured Constantinople and tremendously undermined the position and dignity of the Patriarch. The Roman popes tried to take advantage of this and strove to bring under their jurisdiction the schismatic Orthodox Church. These general efforts failed, however. For a while, it even looked as if Poland herself would be lost to Rome, for in the latter half of the fifteenth century and the first half of the sixteenth, Protestantism made tremendous advances among the Poles as it did to some extent among the Ukrainians.

By employing the energetic and skilful Jesuits, the Polish Catholic Church not only won back full supremacy in Polish lands but also made great advances among the Ukrainian subjects. The aggressive Polish Jesuit priest, Peter Skarga, and the Pope's emissary, Antonio Possevino, influenced four Ukrainian Greek Orthodox bishops to support the union of the Catholic and Orthodox churches and recognize the jurisdiction of the Pope.[3] The Act of Union was officially proclaimed at Brest (-Litovsk) in 1596, despite the fierce opposition of a large section of Ukrainian laymen, gentry, and lower clergy.

In such a manner the Greek Catholic (then known as the Uniate) Church came into existence with the full support of official Polish circles. It recognized the authority of the Pope in matters of dogma and accepted the Gregorian calendar (later it was renounced). The Orthodox rite, using the Old Slavonic in liturgy and ceremonies, was left unchanged, except that the form of communion was to be decided by the Pope. The priests were not required to take the vow of celibacy and could marry before ordination. The bishops were promised a seat in the Polish Senate and were to be equal with Roman Catholic prelates, hence exempt from all taxation. Greek Catholics were to receive equal rights in the holding of state offices with the Roman Catholics.

[2]A list of metropolitans claimed to have given allegiance to the Roman Pope is found in *Katolytska Tserkva v Zakhidniy Ukrayini* (The Catholic Church in Western Ukraine), p. 6.

[3]See N. Brian-Chaninov, *The Russian Church*, chap. IV.

The new church in reality was to serve as a bridge by which the Orthodox Church could ultimately be brought into the Catholic fold.

The Polish government's designs in supporting Greek Catholicism in order to convert the Ukrainians to Roman Catholicism and to assimilate them did not produce the desired results. For one reason, neither the Greek Catholic clergy nor its prelates were in practice given equality with the Roman Catholics, and the Ukrainian bishops were never allowed to sit in the Senate. Moreover, the Ukrainian secular clergy, the majority of whom were married, and the celibate Basilian monks held fast to the Eastern rite and the Ukrainian language. In the nineteenth century the Greek Catholic Church emerged as the national church of the Ukrainians in Galicia and a defender of the rights of the people.

The Soviet occupation of Galicia during the Second World War,[4] however, ended in catastrophe for the Greek Catholic Church which was forced to unite with the Russian Orthodox Church.[5] Out of a previous total of 2,700 clergy, only 216, or 8 per cent,[6] were present to declare themselves for the imposed union. Hundreds of clergy and the bishops were thrown into prison where many died or disappeared, and hundreds were shot; only a small proportion escaped to other lands.

The Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church was upheld after the union of Brest (-Litovsk) by the Cossacks in the Ukraine of the Dnieper. Following Hetman Khmelnitsky's fateful treaty of Pereyaslav with the Russian Tsar in 1654, it was forced to break with the Patriarch of Constantinople, and in 1686 came under the jurisdiction of the Patriarch of Moscow. Russian interference in the selection of bishops and the clergy made this Ukrainian church a medium of Russian domination.

During the brief existence of the Ukrainian state from 1917 to 1921 the Ukrainians established the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church which was an independent national church free from formal ties with any patriarch. Under the atheistic Soviet régime, however, it was suppressed, meeting the fate of all Christian churches.

Protestantism did not take firm root in Ukraine until the nineteenth century. The Baptists, known as Stundists,[7] made the greatest headway, and in spite of persecution by the Tsarist government were believed to

[4]A documented account of the Soviet treatment of the church is given in Michael Derrick, *Eastern Catholics under Soviet Rule.*

[5]The formal steps leading to the amalgamation, as well as the details of the act itself, were published by the Presidium of the Synod in a book entitled *Diyanya Soboru Hreko-Katolytskoyi Tserkvy v Lvovi, 8–10 Bereznya, 1946* (Acts and Proceedings of the Synod of the Greek Catholic Church in Lviv, March 8–10, 1946).

[6]*Ibid.*, p. 53.

[7]Stundist is derived from the German word "stund," meaning hour, which referred to the practice of holding meetings for one hour. The German colonists in Ukraine introduced the Baptist movement among the Ukrainians.

have won about two million converts by 1914. Under the terroristic Soviet régime, the Baptists are thought to have further increased in number, for their faith was based on evangelical teachings and did not require a church building and formal mass, as did the Orthodox. They carried on by meeting secretly and studying the Bible.

THE PERIOD OF RELIGIOUS CONFUSION IN MANITOBA

Closely attached to the church in their native land, the Ukrainian pioneers found religious circumstances in Canada most perplexing, and many despaired. The vast majority, having come from Galicia and Bukovina which were under Austrian rule, were accustomed to the Greek Catholic or the Greek Orthodox churches, both of which were extremely hostile to the Roman Catholic Church on the grounds that it was a Polish, and hence an enemy, church. Consequently, they looked with suspicion on the Canadian Roman Catholic Church. They were also antagonistic to the Protestant sects, which they did not understand because of the language barrier. At first they built no churches of their own; such a responsibility had been in the hands of the state in the old country. Also, for a time no Ukrainian priests appeared among them to give guidance and conduct services. For several years, therefore, the settlers often gathered in private homes and chanted mass as best they could. For the christening of children, for burial services, marriages, and confession some felt compelled to go to the Roman Catholic and Protestant clergy.

The Ukrainian settlers soon began to clamour for their own priests but the appeal went almost unheeded for many years. Observing that the religious needs of these pioneers were neglected, several denominations began missionary activities to win them to their folds. The contest for souls which took place profoundly confused the simple farmers and workers. Bitter rivalry with a great deal of bickering marked the period up to the First World War. In some ways it was reminiscent of the struggle during the Reformation in Europe.

In response to the many appeals to the editor of *Svoboda* (Liberty), a Ukrainian weekly published in New York,[8] several Greek Catholic priests did come to tour the settlements. Father Nestor Dmytriv, a secular priest, was the first to visit the Ukrainian settlements in Manitoba; in 1897 he conducted services at Stuartburn and at Drifting River in the Dauphin area.[9] In 1899 Father Damaskian Polyvka

[8]*Svoboda* was established by Greek Catholic priests in 1893, as the organ of the Ukrainian National Association, a mutual benefit society. Since 1921 it has been a daily.

[9]See L. Myshuha, "Yak Formuvavsya Svitohlyad Ukrainskoho Immigranta v Amerytsi" (Development of the Outlook of the Ukrainian Immigrant in America) in *Propamyatna Knyha* (Jubilee Book of the Ukrainian National Association), p. 58.

arrived in Winnipeg, where he established the parish of St. Nicholas, the first Greek Catholic church in Manitoba, which later assumed the name of Sts. Vladimir and Olga. Archbishop Adelard Langevin of St. Boniface, of the Canadian Roman Catholic hierarchy, did not approve of a separate Ukrainian parish and urged the Ukrainians to join the Polish Holy Ghost Church in Winnipeg. Father Polyvka and his followers refused. After receiving a reprimand from the Archbishop, he left for the United States, but a church building was nevertheless erected in 1901. Father John Zaklinsky then arrived from the south to assume clerical duties. Archbishop Langevin demanded that the church become incorporated under the Roman Catholic charter, but although the parishioners rejected the idea, this priest also felt he must leave.

Father Vasyl Zholdak arrived in 1901 as an emissary of the Metropolitan, Count Andrew Sheptitsky of Galicia, to investigate the situation among the Ukrainians, and found that they had no desire to come under the jurisdiction of the Roman Catholic bishop. In 1903 the first permanent priests to come from Galicia and carry on missionary work in Manitoba, Fathers Matthew Hura and Navkraty Kryzanowski, Basilian monks, arrived in Winnipeg. Both worked in harmony with Archbishop Langevin, but experienced a great deal of trouble with the movement for independence among the Greek Catholics. With a tremendous increase in the number of settlers, these missionaries were unable to cope with the situation. The parish of St. Nicholas in Winnipeg split in two, one section supporting ties with the Roman Catholic bishops in Canada, and the other advocating independence. To remedy this unfavourable state of affairs, in 1910 Metropolitan Sheptitsky visited the Manitoba settlements as well as those in other parts of Canada. The dignitary was able to satisfy partially the demands of the "independents" by sending a bishop of their own rite to Canada. Bishop Nicetas Budka arrived in Winnipeg on December 19, 1912. The existing Greek Catholic parishes in Manitoba, as elsewhere, then came under his jurisdiction, and the work of the church surged ahead.

When in 1899 Archbishop Langevin realized that most of the Ukrainian settlers had been adherents of the Greek Catholic Church in Galicia and that they lacked spiritual leadership in Canada, he visited the Redemptorist monastery in Rotterdam, the Netherlands, and asked for missionaries. Only Father Achille Delaere heeded the request to work among the Ukrainian Canadians. The youthful Roman Catholic priest learned Ukrainian at the Redemptorist monastery in Brandon, and in 1899 set to work in the Riding Mountain Park area, where he visited every community settled by Ukrainians. His was a difficult task, for he was often accused of trying to Latinize the people.[10] In 1906

[10]Latinization meant to the Ukrainians the forcing of Roman Catholic practices into Greek Catholic services and amounted to acknowledging Polish supremacy.

the priest changed to the Greek rite, with the sanction of the Pope, and made Yorkton, Saskatchewan, his centre. Four Belgian Redemptorist priests, Fathers Ludwig Boske, Henryk Boels, K. Tacher, and N. M. De Camp, as well as the French priest Father Joseph A. Sabourin (Oblate), changed to the Greek rite and worked for the Catholic cause. Father Delaere was largely instrumental in securing the first Greek Catholic bishop for Canada and also in founding the Redemptorist Order of the Eastern Rite in Galicia in 1913.

A large number of Greek Catholics resented the work of these missionaries, claiming that their ultimate aim was to convert Ukrainians to Roman Catholicism. So great was the antagonism of many "independent" Greek Catholics that they protested and denounced the Pope. Large numbers joined the Independent Greek Church or the Russian Orthodox Church. The presence of the celibate Catholic missionaries later also gave one of the pretexts for the establishment of the Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church.

Since Greek Catholic priests were almost unavailable when the settlements were first established, many Ukrainian pioneers welcomed the Russian Orthodox clergy. These itinerant Russian priests proved popular for several reasons. They advocated the independence of each parish, thus appealing to the settlers' pride in their new-found freedom. The Orthodox rite was similar to the rite of the Greek Catholics. The priests did not stay long in the parish. Their fees were exceedingly low, and this attracted large numbers of people who, because of pioneer circumstances, still lacked money. The Russian priests could keep their demands modest as they were financed by the Russian Tsarist government until the Bolshevik Revolution of 1917.

The All-Russian Orthodox Church of Bishop (Metropolitan) Seraphim was a movement that made spectacular gains and for a while drew under its wing a considerable number of Ukrainians. Consecrated Bishop by the Patriarch of Constantinople, Seraphim came to Winnipeg in 1902. Because of the great demand for priests, he indiscriminantly "sprinkled" into priesthood almost anyone who could read and pay the fee. In 1904, there were under his jurisdiction about fifty priests who claimed a following of between 55,000 and 60,000 in the West.[11] His priests appealed to the spirit of independence, and thus achieved an astounding initial success. At times, however, Bishop Seraphim displayed fits of insanity. When he built in Winnipeg a crude, scrap-iron cathedral which provoked ridicule, the more intelligent

[11]See J. A. Carmichael, "Report of the Board of Home Missions" in *The Acts and Proceedings of the Thirty-Second General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in Canada* (1906), p. 30; Bozyk, *op. cit.*, p. 30, puts the figure at 60,000.

priests and the mass of the laymen left him. Having lost his followers, Bishop Seraphim returned in 1908 to Russia where he vanished.

A sensational movement which shocked many a devout Protestant was the short-lived Independent Greek Church. It came into existence in 1904, when eighteen of Bishop Seraphim's priests met at a convention in Winnipeg during his absence in Russia. Having decided to tolerate his eccentricity no longer, these priests broke away from his church and secretly became a subsidiary body of the Presbyterian Synod in Canada. John Bodrug, a former student of Manitoba College, who had previously taken a Presbyterian theological training, became moderator with power to ordain clergy. The new church maintained the Greek rite and Orthodox ceremonies, as well as the ecclesiastical robes; it claimed to be completely independent of any patriarch. Its priests, known as colporteurs to the Presbyterian Synod, preached, however, in the spirit of Protestantism. A weekly newspaper, *Ranok* (Dawn), established in 1905, was financed by the Presbyterians.

The Independent Greek Church made rapid headway in spite of Bishop Seraphim's suspension of the dissidents, and quickly took control of the Seraphimite movement. By 1907 it comprised thirty "Orthodox priests," who claimed a following of about 30,000 to 40,000.[12] Opponents soon discovered its connection with the Presbyterians, when the Independent clergy recommended the attendance of Ukrainians at boys' homes and schools in Winnipeg and Teulon under the direct supervision of the Presbyterian Church. There was an outcry that the Independent Church was advocating "assimilation" and "Anglicization." When the Presbyterian Synod abolished the moderatorship in 1907 and demanded that the subsidized clergy begin discarding the Orthodox forms and practices and preach outright Protestantism, some of these resigned in protest. Their Ukrainian followers had not been prepared for such a move, and began to withdraw to other churches where their rituals were practised. Thus, in 1913, when the Presbyterian Church formally absorbed the Independent Greek Church with twenty-seven priests, Ukrainians refused to follow them and the clergy were often left without congregations. In the words of Dr. A. J. Hunter, who worked for the Presbyterian Church at Teulon, "the experiment was rather too complex for a great democratic body like the Presbyterian church to handle."[13]

For a few years after the disappearance of the Independent Greek Church the Ukrainians were for the most part divided into two rival religious groups, the Greek Catholic and the Russian Orthodox. The

[12]J. A. Carmichael, "Report of the Board of Home Missions" in *The Acts and Proceedings of the Thirty-Third General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in Canada* (1907), p. 7.

[13]Hunter, *op. cit.*, p. 34.

fact that Bishop Budka incorporated the Greek Catholic Church in 1913, and thus removed it from the jurisdiction of the Roman Catholic bishops in Canada, greatly strengthened its hold. The appeal of the priests to nationalist sentiment gradually weakened the Russian Orthodox movement. After the Russian Orthodox priests were cut off from the financial support of the Russian Tsarist state in 1917, they soon disappeared from the scene and their church disintegrated.

The Greek Catholic Church, however, was not given a monopoly in religion, for a new contending force, which quickly gained in momentum, made its appearance. The Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church was founded in 1918, when, owing to the establishment of the Ukrainian state in Europe, Ukrainian nationalism had risen to unprecedented heights in Canada. The initiative was taken by Wasyl Swystun[14] and Michael Stechishin,[15] law students at the time, who attacked the Greek Catholic Church for its alien ties and lack of nationalistic response. Receiving the support of a majority of Ukrainian teachers and professional men, the new church drew into its ranks considerable numbers of former Greek Catholics and adherents of the Russian Orthodox Church. The weekly newspaper, *Ukrayinsky Holos* (Ukrainian Voice), came to its defence.

A bitter struggle between the two factions, from which emanated more heat than light, took place throughout the Ukrainian settlements. Inflammatory articles regularly filled the pages of the press. The hostility which developed at times broke out into fighting. Some cases reached the courts, for example, the quarrel over the church property at Tolstoi which ended in a lawsuit. When the Greek Catholics won the decision, the church went up in flames a few days afterwards. Later, the leaders of the new movement sued the *Kanadiysky Ukrayinets* (Canadian Ukrainian), the organ of Bishop Budka, for libel, and the paper was ordered to pay a fine of $7,000. The polemics continued until Bishop Budka left Canada in 1927. Out of the struggle, the Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church emerged as the second largest religious group among the people.

PRESENT-DAY RELIGIOUS GROUPS

A large percentage of the Ukrainians in Canada adhere to the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church (the percentage has decreased in a decade from 60.7 in 1941 to 48.4 in 1951). It was incorporated in 1913

[14]Wasyl Swystun broke away from the church which he founded, and since 1945 has advocated recognition of the Russian Patriarch (see Swystun, *op. cit.*, p. 115). He has withdrawn from the "nationalist" camp and associates himself with the Ukrainian pro-Soviet organizations.

[15]Michael Stechishin was appointed a district judge in Saskatchewan in 1949.

under the designation "Ruthenian"[16] and the statute was not revised until 1951.[17] Although it works in harmony with the Canadian Roman Catholic Church, it does not come under its jurisdiction, but is directly responsible to the Pope, who nominates the bishops. The hierarchy in 1951 consisted of an archbishop (Basil Ladyka), with his seat at Winnipeg, and four bishops: one for eastern Canada (Isidore Boresky), with his seat at Toronto; one for central Canada (Maxim Hermaniuk), at Winnipeg; one for Saskatchewan (Andrew Roborecky), at Saskatoon; one for western Canada (Neil Savaryn), at Edmonton.[18] The secular priests form the majority of the clergy and adhere most closely to the Eastern rite. Because of the early protests of the Canadian Roman Catholic bishops against married clergy, only celibate priests have been allowed to officiate, although recently the restrictions have been eased with respect to married priests coming to Canada from the displaced persons' camps in Europe. The Order of the Basilian Fathers with its centre at Mundare, Alberta, the Order of Redemptorist Fathers with its centre at Yorkton, Saskatchewan, and the Congregation of the Sister Servants of Mary Immaculate have tended to be more favourable to certain Roman Catholic practices.

The Greek Catholic Church is most strongly entrenched in Manitoba. In 1946 over one-third of its total number of churches (130 out of 350) were located in the province. At that time almost 75 per cent of the Ukrainian population in Manitoba adhered to the church, whereas the general Canadian average stood at 60.7 per cent.[19] In Winnipeg reside the archbishop and a bishop; there are nine Greek Catholic churches, and a large cathedral. The most beautiful Byzantine-style, bulbous-domed churches in Canada are located at Mountain Road, Cook's Creek, and Portage la Prairie. In 1951 the proportion of the Ukrainians in Manitoba belonging to this church had decreased to 64.4.

The sole rival of the Greek Catholic Church among Ukrainians is the Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church. It has been steadily expanding, partially at the expense of the former. During the decade of the 1930's, it gained about 30,000 believers to reach a total of approximately 75,000 in 1941, about one-quarter of the Ukrainian population. Despite this expansion in the other provinces, the Greek Orthodox Church

[16]"An Act to Incorporate the Ruthenian Greek Catholic Parishes and Missions in the Province of Saskatchewan" in *Statues of the Province of Saskatchewan*, 1913 (Regina, 1914). There were similar acts in other provinces.

[17]With the revision of the name the church will be legally known in Canada as the "Ukrainian Catholic Church." See: Statutes of Canada, 1950–1951, c. 79.

[18]An account of the establishment of the new exarchates is given in the article by John J. Novosad, "Three Exarchates in Canada" in *Opinion*, July, 1948.

[19]Based on the 1946 census.

has not made great progress in Manitoba, where it serves approximately 15 per cent of the Ukrainian population. In 1948, it claimed to have 220 parishes in Canada, served by 41 priests. Its official organ is *Vistnyk* (Herald), a monthly published in Winnipeg. Archbishop Mstyslaw Skrypnyk, the former prelate, who was compelled to resign in 1950, was succeeded by a newcomer, Metropolitan Ilarion Ohienko, in 1951. The Consistory has launched the construction of a magnificent cathedral in North Winnipeg.

The Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church has justified its existence and explained its rapid progress to a large extent by claiming to have avoided the alleged shortcomings of the Greek Catholic Church, from which it won large numbers of converts who condemn the "swing to Roman Catholicism." Its democratic character is demonstrated by the fact that the laity meet regularly at assemblies (sobors) where they decide on the policies of the church and elect the prelates. It is independent, recognizing the primacy of no patriarch, and is therefore essentially a Ukrainian national church. The Eastern Greek rite is jealously maintained. Ukrainian has been substituted for the Old Church Slavonic language of the mass, on the ground that the worshipper should understand the ceremonies. Celibacy is condemned and the priests are advised to marry before ordination. The church buildings are patterned according to Byzantine architecture. They do not differ greatly from the style of Greek Catholic churches but can easily be distinguished by the peculiar cross of three bars, fashioned thus ✝ which is located on the summit of each dome and which has been discarded by the Greek Catholics. With all its denunciation of Roman Catholicism, the church is not Protestant as is sometimes suggested; yet in some ways it resembles the Anglican Church.

There also exists at the present time the Ukrainian Orthodox Church presided over by Metropolitan Ilarion Ohienko, former prelate of the Ukrainian Autocephalous Church in Poland. In 1950, Metropolitan Ilarion united under his jurisdiction two small Ukrainian Orthodox churches and in 1951 was also elected head of the Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church in Canada. His see is at Winnipeg. The Ukrainian Orthodox Church is similar to the Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church, except that in some of the services Slavonic is still used as the language of the liturgy. There are a number of parishes scattered throughout Canada. The church has a larger following in the United States, especially under Archbishop Bohdan Shpylka, a former Greek Catholic priest. In 1951 it would appear that all the wings of Ukrainian Orthodoxy have been united under Metropolitan Ilarion Ohienko.

Since the Ukrainians have been brought up to adhere to ritual and

since their unfortunate circumstances have tended to make them nationalistic, Protestantism as a system of ritual and theology for its own sake has had little attraction for them. The experiment of the Independent Greek Church supplied ample evidence of their reaction. Protestantism has had some success among the people only where they had previously belonged to such denominations in Ukraine, and it has made a certain amount of progress among the Canadian-born element. It is significant that membership in Protestant denominations is steadily increasing with the passing of the years.[20]

The United Church of Canada, which eventually took over what was left of the Independent Greek movement, as well as the former hospitals and missions of the Methodist and Presbyterian churches, has the largest number of Ukrainian Protestant adherents. Numbering 9,241 in Canada in 1941, its Ukrainian members almost equal the combined total of those of the rest of the Protestant denominations; they constitute 3 per cent of the total Ukrainian population. The official organ for Ukrainian members of the United Church is *Kanadiysky Ranok* (Canadian Dawn) published in Winnipeg. In Manitoba the church has over 2,000 adherents, with missions at Winnipeg, Ethelbert, Garland, Pine River, Lennard, Fisher Branch, Rossburn, and Teulon, as well as a hospital and community hall at Vita.

There are also active Ukrainian groups in Manitoba of Presbyterians and Baptists. The former maintain missions at Teulon, Sifton, and Senkiw, a boys' and a girls' home at Teulon, and community halls at Gonor and East Selkirk, all of which are subsidized by the Presbyterian Church in Canada. Their monthly paper, *Evanhelska Pravda* (Evangelical Truth), is published in Toronto. The Baptists form an independent Ukrainian movement which has its following among the Stundists from Ukraine, formerly under Tsarist Russia. They have three churches in Manitoba, at Winnipeg, Dauphin, and Overstone, and publish a monthly paper in Winnipeg, entitled *Khrystiansky Vistnyk* (Christian Herald). The Anglican, Lutheran, and Roman Catholic churches, and the International Bible Students Association, claim between 200 and 500 adherents each.

THE INFLUENCE OF THE CHURCH

Religion has been a most important factor in the life of the Ukrainian settlers and their descendants. The church was the first public building erected in the community, and in most cases made its appearance before there was a priest available to conduct the services. In the

[20]At the time when this book was going to press, the 1951 census showing the "religions of the people classified by racial origin" was still not available.

early days the people attended whether or not a priest was present. In addition to serving spiritual needs, the church has been a social and cultural centre. The parish halls provide social entertainment, maintain small libraries, often conduct vernacular schools for the children, and sponsor concerts, lectures, and amateur plays. Without doubt, the church has greatly contributed to the general advancement of the people.

There has always been, nevertheless, a vociferous atheist element among the Ukrainian immigrants. In the days before the First World War thousands of young men drifted from place to place in search of work, and having lost contact with the church picked up evil habits and ridiculed all forms of religion. The confusing religious situation provided these so-called socialists with the pretext for an attack on religion and the domination of the priests. In 1906 these socialists established a weekly newspaper *Chervony Prapor* (Red Flag), in Winnipeg, which presented all religious squabbles in a ridiculous light. Changing its name in 1910 to *Robochy Narod* (Toiling People), and in 1918 to *Ukrayinski Robitnychi Visty* (Ukrainian Labour News), the paper became an exponent of Russian bolshevism with an avowed anti-religious policy.[21] The Ukrainian communists have continually attacked religion as the opium of the people, not only in their press and publications, but also through their vernacular schools, at meetings, through illustrated posters, by means of amateur plays, and by encouraging unchristian behaviour.

The Canadian-born generation of Ukrainians, unlike their fathers, are not as closely attached to the Ukrainian churches and many do not attend at all. In rural churches, where services are held once a month on the average, the attendance is much better than in the urban churches. Those who do go to church in general display only slight enthusiasm for their faith.

The unresponsiveness and in many cases the antipathy of the young people towards Ukrainian religious groups can best be explained in terms of the second-generation problem. Educated and brought up under a democratic system which fosters critical thinking, the youth find that the work of the churches and the leaders often does not measure up to general Canadian standards. The long ritualistic services chanted in the Old Slavonic language or even in Ukrainian are not understood. The sermons of priests tend to be authoritarian, while too little emphasis is placed on the philosophical and practical basis of

[21]From 1937 to 1940 the name of the paper was *Narodna Gazeta* (People's Gazette). It was suppressed by the government during the war. Since 1943 it has appeared as *Ukrayinske Slovo* (Ukrainian Word). See chap. VII.

religion. The intolerance practised by the priests of the two major churches is repulsive to youth, who consider tolerance the very basis of Canadian democracy. Many find it difficult to harmonize the nationalist character of the Orthodox and Greek Catholic churches with Canadianism.

Three general tendencies of the Ukrainian Canadians are in evidence with respect to religious affiliation. Those who do not desire to break with the culture of their fathers—and they are perhaps in the majority—still adhere to the Ukrainian churches. Those who have become assimilated and have lost a knowledge of the Ukrainian language, particularly in the cities, join the Anglo-Saxon churches which resemble the Ukrainian, such as the Roman Catholic and the Anglican; many have caught the Protestant spirit and are increasingly joining the United Church of Canada and the Presbyterian Church, as is evident in statistics. The third group, which cannot find a solution to the cultural and religious conflicts, does not attend any church whatever, and often falls under unfortunate influences. Sympathetic guidance on the part of Canadian church and social leaders, working in co-operation with the leaders of Ukrainian Canadian society, can do much to help Ukrainian youth adjust themselves properly and thus prevent the evils which accompany maladjustment.

CH. SIX . Ukrainian Canadian Organizations

THE UKRAINIAN IMMIGRANTS WHO SETTLED IN Canada brought with them an indigenous cultural heritage which was vastly different from that of the British or French settler.[1] Upon first contact they differed in appearance, deportment, and language from the older settlers. Interwoven in their background were an unknown tragic history, a strange eastern European religion, peculiar yet striking customs, and a tradition of melancholy folklore. But if, to the British, the Ukrainians were a strange people, it was also conversely true that the British peoples and their ways were just as strange to the Ukrainians. Moreover, it was inevitable that, having been suppressed and poverty-stricken for centuries, the people should give expression to a fervid nationalism in a country where freedom and tolerance were the fundamental law of society. The situation produced very serious and complex problems of adaptation.

Unable to communicate because of the language barrier, perplexed by strange circumstances in a new land, distressed by loneliness and by a yearning for their native land, the pioneer Ukrainian settlers, whether on the farms or in the cities, were driven to social activities in which they could find sympathy and help in solving their problems. The institutions and societies that made their appearance were those to which the people had been attached in the land of their birth. Since religion was deeply ingrained in the life of the peasant, the first organized group was invariably the parish, and the first community building was the church. The precentors (church choir leaders) and the priests were the first active organizers, later followed by teachers and business men. The church not only attended to the spiritual welfare of its followers, but often to cultural, social, economic, and political needs as well.

Subsequently, secular societies were formed on the basis of association with the church or old-country groups. With the establishment of literary societies, whose purpose was to carry education to fellow-

[1]Sources for chapter VI include: Constitutions and pamphlets issued by the organizations; Raymond A. Davies, *This is Our Land*, a communist version; Watson Kirkconnell, *Our Ukrainian Loyalists*; A. Krysky, *Pidsumky Nashoyi Pratsi* (Review of Our Work); Vera Lysenko, *Men in Sheepskin Coats*; Charles H. Young, *The Ukrainian Canadians*; Paul Yuzyk, "A History of the Ukrainian Greek Catholic (Uniate) Church in Canada" (Master's thesis).

Ukrainians, community halls began to be erected. The Society of Taras Shevchenko began its activities in Winnipeg in 1900, later procured a hall, and in 1904 staged two operatic dramas, directed by Ivan Antoniuk, a former gymnasium student and a teacher. The Ukrainian Reading Association (Chytalnya Prosvita) came into being in 1903 in Winnipeg. Similar literary societies, which established small libraries, arranged lectures, and sponsored concerts and plays, slowly spread throughout Manitoba. Even the anti-clerical Social Democrats, led by Paul Crath, Myroslaw Stechishin, and others, with their radical paper *Chervony Prapor* (Red Flag), were concerned with raising the low educational standard and promoting the national consciousness of the Ukrainians in Canada. Ukrainian-language schools for children and mutual aid societies had their beginnings in the first decade of this century. The first newspapers, sponsored by Ukrainian secular societies, by the church, or by Canadian political parties, made their appearance at this time.[2]

These scattered literary societies and drama clubs developed, under the influence of the press, the priests, and the teachers, into Dominion-wide Ukrainian organizations, which later came to dominate the life of the people. There evolved "what might be termed a Ukrainian Canadian society; neither Ukrainian nor Canadian, but with features of both—a marginal society with institutions peculiar to itself—its roots in the soil of Ukraine but its structure and content increasingly modified in their adaptation to the new situations, arising out of the transition from the old world to the new."[3]

The large Ukrainian organizations did not appear until after the First World War. In general they reflect the political alignments which emerged during the short existence of the Ukrainian state, or the powerful religious movements. European leaders of the Ukrainian political movements have from time to time visited Canada to help reinforce allegiance to their causes and win new moral and financial support. Events of political significance in Ukraine have been closely followed by the Ukrainian Canadian press and have often been exploited in the interests of organizations in Canada. The dominant trends are Catholicism, Orthodoxy, Republicanism, Nationalism, Communism, and Monarchism. Except for the communists, the Ukrainian organizations have no alien political objectives in Canada; their members individually support the Canadian political party which appeals most to them. For that reason, the Ukrainian organizations cannot be called purely political or purely religious. Since each jealously guards

[2]See chap. VII for accounts of the papers.
[3]Young, *op. cit.*, pp. 131–2.

the preservation of Ukrainian culture, they can perhaps best be described as cherishing politico-cultural or religious-cultural points of view.

THE CATHOLIC GROUP

With the coming of Bishop Budka in 1912, the Greek Catholic Church attempted to regulate the entire life of the Ukrainians in Canada. Despite failure to achieve this goal, the attitude is still maintained at the present time. An outstanding leader of the church expresses it thus: "The key for the solution for everybody and for everything is carried by the Ukrainian Catholic Church. It possessed this key for the solution of the important problems in the first fifty years, this then gives it the guarantee that it will possess it also in the future."[4]

Ukrainian Catholic Brotherhood.[5] For over thirty years the Greek Catholic Church was content to direct the secular activities of its faithful through priests and nuns. When many Greek Catholics began to take an active part in organizations outside the jurisdiction of the church, a lay association was established. At a convention of the Ukrainian Catholics of Saskatchewan held at Saskatoon on December 28 and 29, 1932, largely through the efforts of Father Stephen Semczuk, a secular priest, and Fred Mamchur, a teacher, the Ukrainian Catholic Brotherhood (Ukrayinske Katolytske Bratstvo) was brought into existence. Supported by its organ, *Bulletin*, a monthly magazine, and employing the slogan "The Catholic religion, Ukrainian culture, and the Canadian state," the Brotherhood rapidly established branches throughout the Ukrainian settlements in Canada. In 1934 it claimed 20 of these, in 1941, 77, and in 1948 a total of 345. Its executive is located in Winnipeg. Dominated by the priests, the Brotherhood is part and parcel of the Ukrainian Catholic Church. It operates a students' hostel in Saskatoon, conducts vernacular schools, sponsors amateur concerts and dramatics in the parish halls, and published the bimonthly paper, *Buduchnist Natsiyi* (Future of the Nation), which became bankrupt in 1950.

League of Ukrainian Catholic Women. This organization is affiliated with the Ukrainian Catholic Brotherhood. It assists the Brotherhood in the preparation of banquets and lunches and in the decoration of the parish halls and churches. The branches of this league often stage their own concerts and plays, and conduct drives for funds to assist orphans,

[4]See *Propamyatna Knyha Poselennya Ukrayinskoho Narodu v Kanadi, 1891-1941* (Commemorative Book of the Settlement of the Ukrainian People in Canada), p. 30.

[5]*Ibid.*, pp. 79–80.

displaced persons, and Catholic institutions. Their central office is in Winnipeg.

Ukrainian Catholic Youth.[6] Also an affiliate of the Ukrainian Catholic Brotherhood, the Ukrainian Catholic Youth (Yunatstvo) came into being in Saskatoon on October 10, 1938, as a result of the efforts of Father Michael Horoshko, an energetic secular priest who had arrived from Western Ukraine in 1937 and later acted as chaplain in the Canadian army. The branches organize sports activities, debates, socials, concerts, and plays to aid the local church or the Catholic cause. The driving force is given by the priests and Catholic teachers. The Dominion executive, which is located at Winnipeg, conducted a monthly youth page, written in the English language, in the organ of the Brotherhood, *Buduchnist Natsiyi.*

Ukrainian Mutual Benefit Association of St. Nicholas.[7] Modelled after the Ukrainian National Association in the United States,[8] this self-help organization was founded in 1905 by Nicholas Hladky, V. Karpetz, and Father Matthew Hura in the old St. Nicholas parish in Winnipeg. Its two sections—the Canadian Ruthenian Association, which provided for the funeral expenses of the deceased members, and the Mutual Aid Brotherhood, which gave benefits in case of illness or accident—were amalgamated into one body in 1908 under the present name. Upon receiving its charter in 1930 the society also went into the life insurance business. Its membership is restricted to Ukrainian Catholics. With headquarters in Winnipeg, in 1948 the Association had 29 branches in Canada with a capital of over $300,000.

THE ORTHODOX GROUP[9]

Although the Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church was not established until 1918, this group traces its beginnings at least to 1909 when the newspaper *Ukrayinsky Holos* (Ukrainian Voice) began to be published. The Ukrainian teachers who supported the undertaking were idealists who promoted enlightenment and national consciousness among their people. During the First World War they set up Ukrainian students' hostels in Saskatoon, Winnipeg, and Edmonton. More than

[6]See *Pyatylitya Ukrayinskoho Katolytskoho Yunatstva* (Fifth Anniversary of Ukrainian Catholic Youth).

[7]A brief history is given in Krysky, *op. cit.*, pp. 55–61, and in *Propamyatna Knyha* (Commemorative Book), pp. 83–5.

[8]For a fuller account see p. 87 and *Propamyatna Knyha* (Jubilee Book of the Ukrainian National Association), pp. 193–207.

[9]Two sources supply the information on this group: J. W. Stechishin, "Istoriya Ukrayinskoho Institutu im. Petra Mohyly v Saskatuni" (History of the P. Mohyla Ukrainian Institute in Saskatoon) in *Yuvileyna Knyha 25 Litya* (Twenty-fifth Anniversary Book); and W. Batycky, *Scho Ye Soyuz Ukrayintsiv Samostiynykiv* (What the Ukrainian Self-Reliance League is).

any other group, they popularized the term "Ukrainian," which eventually displaced Ruthenian, Galician, Bukovinian, Russian, and Russniak. Their critical attitude to Bishop Budka's policy of bringing all aspects of life under the wing of the Greek Catholic Church led to their break with that institution and to the founding of their new, nationalistic church.

Ukrainian Self-Reliance League. The secular leaders of the Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church formed the Ukrainian Self-Reliance League (Soyuz Ukrayintsiv Samostiynykiv) at a convention held at the P. Mohyla Institute in Saskatoon in 1927. The ideology of the organization revolves about the word "samostiynist," which means self-reliance and independence. Its three goals are: (1) independence of the individual, the organization, and the nation; (2) independence of thought and action; and (3) independence in political, economic, and religious affairs. The national executive is located in Winnipeg and the official organ is *Ukrayinsky Holos*. In 1948 this organization claimed 25 branches, controlled the two student hostels at Saskatoon and Edmonton, and operated 67 community halls, mostly small, old buildings. It works hand in hand with the Orthodox Church and supports the cause of a republican Ukraine in Europe, but maintains no formal ties with any Ukrainian political party.

Ukrainian Women's Association.[9a] Working in close harmony with the Orthodox Church and the Self-Reliance League, the Ukrainian Women's Association (Soyuz Ukrayinok Kanady) has branches in about 140 parishes in Canada. Its noteworthy contribution has been the preservation of Ukrainian handicrafts, particularly embroidery and decorated eggs, and Ukrainian domestic arts, such as cooking and home decorations. During the Second World War members of the organization participated prominently in Red Cross activities. The Association also collected funds and donated an equipped ambulance to the Red Cross for use in the battle zones.

Canadian-Ukrainian Youth Association.[10] The youth section of the Self-Reliance League, Soyuz Ukrayinskoyi Molodi Kanady (SUMK), came into being in 1930 almost wholly through the efforts of Harry Tyzuk, an energetic young immigrant who had just arrived from Ukraine. Organized on a general basis, the Youth Association at first attracted Greek Catholic youth also, and reached a total of over 200 branches. When its Orthodox tendency became evident, the Catholics withdrew. Up to the Second World War, the association was very

[9a]A detailed illustrated history of the Association was published in 1952. See Natalka L. Kohuska, *Chvert Stolittya na Hromadski Nyvi* (A Quarter of a Century in the Field of Community Activities).

[10]The Association has published a useful handbook which was prepared by Peter Krepiakevich, *Organizator* (Organizer).

active in sponsoring district conventions with sports days and various contests (for instance in oratory, choral and individual singing, folk-dancing, and in talent and popularity). Each branch in addition to the executive has a Supervisory Council (Nadzirna Rada) of older men and women who keep a watchful eye on the activities of the youth. The leaders are predominantly public school teachers. The general executive has its headquarters in Winnipeg.

Ukrainian Fraternal Society. The leaders of the Orthodox group launched this society (Vzayimna Pomich) in 1921, in the Ukrainian National Home at Winnipeg. At first it was a mutual benefit association providing for funeral expenses of deceased members as well as for benefits during illness or in case of accident. In 1938 certain categories of insurance were added. The Society has steadily expanded. In 1948 it comprised 60 branches, with a total membership of 5,000 and a reserve capital of over $200,000. It has its headquarters in Winnipeg, and publicizes its work in the two newspapers, *Ukrayinsky Holos* (Ukrainian Voice) and *Novy Shlyakh* (New Pathway).

THE NATIONALIST GROUP[11]

While both of the preceding groups display a basic ecclesiastical interest as well as nationalist sentiment, this group is wholly secular with primarily nationalist motives. It came into being with the tide of Ukrainian immigration in the late 1920's and early 1930's. At that time the Greek Catholic Church and the Greek Orthodox Church were still waging a bitter struggle against each other, which to a degree served to strengthen the ranks of the communist group. The newcomers, mainly veterans of the Ukrainian armies who had fought for the independence of Ukraine in 1917-21, along with many Ukrainians who were older citizens of Canada, denounced the prevailing religious controversy and intolerance. Appealing for unity to combat the Russian-inspired communist movement among the Ukrainian Canadians and to work for the common goal of winning liberty and statehood for Ukraine, they brought into being a new organization.

Ukrainian National Federation. Preceded by the establishment in Edmonton in 1930 of *Novy Shlyakh* (New Pathway), which paved its way, the Ukrainian National Federation (Ukrayinske Natsionalne Obyednanya) was founded in 1932. It won immediate popularity, and in five years a network of 70 branches sprang up throughout the Ukrainian communities in Canada, in addition to a larger number of branches of its affiliated organizations. In ten years the Federation acquired 44 of the most modern Ukrainian community halls which

[11]A good account with illustrations of the history and work of this group is given in their pamphlet, *A Program and a Record.*

were equipped with local libraries and schoolrooms. Its members also established 14 consumers' co-operatives and a national library and museum, and introduced summer school courses which train choir leaders, folk-dancing instructors, and cultural workers. New arrivals from the displaced persons' camps of Europe have been attracted to it in considerable numbers. Its success has been primarily in the urban centres. The Dominion executive is located in Winnipeg.

The Federation and its three affiliated organizations, which were incorporated by an act of the Dominion Parliament on March 29, 1950, uphold the following creed: (1) Belief in individual and collective duties and responsibilities, (2) Belief in Canada, (3) Belief in social progress through reform, (4) Belief in the moral principles of Christianity, (5) Belief in cultural traditions, (6) Belief in the freedom of all peoples, (7) Belief in a free Ukraine.

Ukrainian War Veterans' Association. The predecessor and the nucleus of the Ukrainian National Federation is the Ukrainian War Veterans' Association (Ukrayinska Striletska Hromada) which was established in 1928. Closely associated with the Canadian Legion, it has insisted on loyalty to the British tradition. In the Second World War most of the able-bodied members of the 23 branches joined the active or the reserve units of the Canadian army. During the last few years the Association has not been very active, as most of the members have been devoting their energies to the work of the Federation.

Ukrainian Women's Organization. The women's auxiliaries of the branches of the Federation were formally organized in 1935 as the Ukrainian Women's Organization (Orhanizatsiya Ukrayinok Kanady). Its 40 branches perpetuate the memory of Olga Basarab, a Ukrainian heroine who was tortured to death by Polish police in 1924 for her participation in revolutionary activities supporting the cause of Ukrainian independence. The Organization carries on handicraft work and prepares displays, and from time to time publishes books of interest to women. Its humanitarian activities include active support of the Canadian Red Cross, and the Ukrainian Gold Cross, which has been sending aid to the Ukrainian displaced persons in Europe and to the wounded soldiers of the Ukrainian revolutionary army. Its monthly *Zinochy Svit* (Woman's World), which began publication in January 1950, is the only Ukrainian women's magazine in Canada.

Ukrainian National Youth Federation. This organization, known in Ukrainian as Molodi Ukrayinski Natsionalisty, was established in 1934 by Canadian-born Ukrainian youth who wished to co-operate with the Ukrainian National Federation in creating unity among their kinsmen and in giving support to the cause of Ukrainian liberation in so far as

Canadian circumstances would permit. Prior to the Second World War, it possessed a radio-telegraphy school in Toronto and a flying school at Oshawa; most of the trainees and all the instructors joined the Royal Canadian Air Force or the Royal Canadian Navy during the war, and the aeroplane of the club was granted to the Canadian government.[12] The members of the Youth Federation are active in sports, dramatics, music, folk-dancing, and handicrafts and the Winnipeg branch has had one of the best Ukrainian choirs in Canada. The Dominion executive at Winnipeg has jurisdiction over forty branches, and publishes the sole Ukrainian bilingual monthly magazine, *Youth Speaks* (Holos Molodi).

Ukrainian National Association.[13] Since 1940 the members and some of the leaders of the Ukrainian National Federation and its affiliated organizations have given support to the oldest Ukrainian fraternal and insurance society in North America, the Ukrainian National Association (Narodny Soyuz). This society, which was founded in 1894, with headquarters in Jersey City, U.S.A., publishes the Ukrainian daily, *Svoboda* (Liberty). It has 478 branches with over 60,000 members in the United States and Canada, and a capital of over $14,000,000. In 1950, there were 40 branches in Canada containing approximately 5,000 members and recent plans include the establishment of a separate office and headquarters in this country. The Winnipeg branch had a membership exceeding 350 in 1950.

THE COMMUNIST GROUP

The subversive character of the activities of this group warrants special treatment. The history of the development of the communist movement among the Ukrainians is therefore related in the next chapter.

SMALLER ORGANIZATIONS

Monarchists. The adherents of the quasi-monarchical hetmanite régime of Paul Skoropadsky, which existed in Ukraine in 1918,[14] set up the "Sitch" organization in Canada in 1924,[15] with the support of the first Ukrainian Greek Catholic bishop, Nicetas Budka. The organ-

[12]The pamphlet, *Seven Presidents in Uniform*, gives the story of seven presidents of the Toronto branch who enlisted in the Canadian forces.

[13]See note 8.

[14]See chap. I or any standard Ukrainian history. The opponents of the hetmanite movement of Skoropadsky issued a well-documented booklet which condemns the Russophil tendencies of the former ruler of Ukraine. M. Rostovetz, *Skoropadsky i Skoropadchuky* (Skoropadsky and the Skoropadskyites).

[15]See the Rev. P. Bozyk, *Tserkov Ukrayintsiv v Kanadi* (Ukrainian Churches in Canada), pp. 223–4.

ization took on a semi-military form, comprising 21 companies with 500 members in uniform in 1927, under the leadership of the General Commander (Holovny Obozny), Vladimir Bossy, the editor of the Greek Catholic organ, *Kanadiysky Ukrayinets* (Canadian Ukrainian). In 1934 the group reorganized, assuming the name United Hetman Organization (Soyuz Hetmantsiv Derzhavnykiv) and establishing a small weekly, *Ukrayinsky Robitnyk* (Ukrainian Toiler), published in Toronto. It no longer, however, received the support of the Greek Catholic Church. In 1948 it claimed 22 branches, 21 women's auxiliaries, and 6 youth sections. The organization supports the claims of Danylo Skoropadsky, the son of the former Hetman, now in England, to the throne of an independent Ukraine.

Ukrainian Canadian Veterans' Association. The participation of the Canadian armed forces in the Second World War in Europe gave birth to this new organization among Canada's Ukrainians. Thousands of Ukrainian Canadian men and women in uniform, waiting in the United Kingdom to be despatched to the battle fronts in Europe, were far away from home where there were no Greek Catholic or Greek Orthodox churches, nor any of the Ukrainian customs or traditions. These Ukrainians drew together in fellowship in the Ukrainian Canadian Servicemen's Association which was established in Manchester, England, on Ukrainian Christmas Day, January 7, 1943.[16] Their kinsmen in Canada gave their support to the Association through the united Ukrainian Canadian Committee, which acquired and maintained a hostel and canteen in London until the active forces returned home.[17]

Upon cessation of hostilities, in June 1945, the Association was renamed the Ukrainian Canadian Veterans' Association, and early in 1946 transferred its headquarters from London to Winnipeg. In a short while 27 branches were organized throughout Canada. The Association has been publishing *Opinion*, a monthly magazine in the English language. Co-operation is maintained with the Canadian Legion, particularly the Ukrainian Canadian Legion branches in Winnipeg, Toronto, Montreal, Hamilton, Windsor, and Edmonton. A chief task of the Association is the gathering of data about Ukrainian Canadians who have served in the Canadian forces, with the objective of publishing a book showing the contribution of their ethnic group to Canada's war effort.

[16]The Ukrainian Canadian Servicemen's Association issued a booklet in England in October 1943 entitled *U.C.S.A.*, which gives an account of the beginnings and the work of the Association.

[17]See *U.C.V.A. Newsletter*, May 1946, now *Opinion*; J. G. Karasivich, "Activities of the Ukrainian Canadian Veterans" in *Second Ukrainian Canadian Congress*, pp. 40–3; also pp. 15–16; and F. A. Macrouch, *Ukrainians in Canada, Business Year Book*, 1946, pp. 41–3.

Socialists. There exists a small group of Ukrainian socialists under the name of Ukrainian Workers' League, formerly known as the League of Ukrainian Organizations. These are former communists who, when they discerned the false and seditious character of Russian-inspired communism,[18] broke away from the Ukrainian Labour Farmer Temple Association in 1935. Since that time, the 400 members have vehemently denounced communism, while supporting democratic socialism. Their leader, Daniel Lobay, is an associate editor of *Ukrayinsky Holos* (Ukrainian Voice) and co-operates closely with the Ukrainian Self-Reliance League.

Local Societies. Many independent local societies and clubs throughout Manitoba carry on cultural work. A considerable number use the title "Prosvita" (Education or Enlightenment) and attempt to model themselves after the famous society of the same name which existed in Galicia (Western Ukraine). The largest is the Institute Prosvita in Winnipeg, which has over 400 members and a youth social club claiming over 1,000 members. The Ukrainian Reading Association (Chytalnya Prosvity) in Winnipeg claims over 200 members and a youth club of 75 young men and women. Other local societies with their own community halls have chosen such famous poets as Shevchenko, Franko, Shashkevich, and others as patron names.

A few benevolent societies of a local character which provide help in case of sickness, accident, and death have stood the test of time. The Greek Orthodox church of St. John Suchavsky maintains a mutual benefit society of some 300 members with a capital of $15,000. The Ukrainian Reading Association has its own mutual benefit society, comprised of approximately 175 members, and a capital of over $13,000. The Shashkevich Society with more than 100 members has a capital of over $4,000.

CO-ORDINATED ACTION

Unity of the non-communist organizations was achieved by the establishment of the Ukrainian Canadian Committee in 1940.[19] Before the religious, political, and organizational antagonisms could be subdued, however, the government, which desired a united support of the Canadian war effort, had to exert some pressure. The process involved three stages. First, in February 1940, the Ukrainian National Federa-

[18] A fuller account of this rift in the Ukrainian communist movement is given in the following chapter.

[19] The two books *First Ukrainian Canadian Congress* (1943) and *Second Ukrainian Canadian Congress* (1946) give a full account of the achievements and the work of the Committee. A full report of the third congress (1950) was published in Ukrainian only.

tion and the Ukrainian Catholic Brotherhood came together, with Professor Watson Kirkconnell as intermediary, and formed the Representative Committee of Ukrainian Canadians. Then, in May, three groups—the Ukrainian Self-Reliance League, the United Hetman Organization, and the League of Ukrainian Organizations, now Ukrainian Workers' League—united in the Central Representative Ukrainian Committee of Canada, with Professor G. W. Simpson as adviser. When the two committees failed to unite, the Canadian government sent its European adviser, Tracy Philipps, to Winnipeg and, with the aid of the other advisers, he finally negotiated co-ordination of the five organizations in October 1940. The Ukrainian Canadian Veterans' Association became the sixth member in 1946.

At the time of its inception, the Ukrainian Canadian Committee could claim to represent well over 90 per cent of the Ukrainians in Canada. The support of the two churches, the Greek Catholic and the Greek Orthodox, alone meant the backing of 656 parishes, 149 priests, and 279,358 Ukrainians—91.3 per cent of the Ukrainian population.[20] The five component organizations together with the two major churches comprised 1,429 organized units possessing 960 buildings. They published 6 weekly newspapers and 6 monthly papers.

The Ukrainian Canadian Committee has performed an admirable service to Canada and to its own people. Because of this Committee's leadership and efforts the Ukrainians made a significant contribution in men, money, materials, and moral support to Canada's magnificent performance in helping to achieve victory over Nazi totalitarianism. Aid has been given in the rehabilitation of returned veterans and newcomers from the displaced persons' camps of western Europe. Through the work of the Ukrainian Canadian Relief Fund, by 1948 over $150,000 had already been expended for humanitarian aid to Ukrainian refugees. Considerable sums of money have been spent in the publication of Ukrainian texts for use at universities and high schools and other informative books.[21]

The Committee's espousal of the cause of Ukrainian liberty and of

[20]Based on the 1941 census.

[21]Among the more important books or booklets published by the Ukrainian Canadian Committee are the following: C. H. Andrusyshen, *Readings in Ukrainian Authors*, 1949; Ivan Bahryany, *Chomu Ne Khochu Vertatysh do S.S.S.R.* (Why I Do Not Want to Return to the U.S.S.R.), 1946; *First Ukrainian Canadian Congress*, 1943; N. J. Hunchak, *Canadians of Ukrainian Origin: Population*, 1945; Watson Kirkconnell, *National Minorities in the U.S.S.R.*, 1946, *Our Ukrainian Loyalists*, 1943, and *The Ukrainian Agony*, 1945; D. Lobay, *Neperemozhna Ukrayina* (Invincible Ukraine), 1950; C. A. Manning, *Outline of Ukrainian History*, 1949; H. Mazuryk, *100-litya Zapovitu Shevchenka* (One Hundredth Anniversary of Shevchenko's Testament), 1945; J. B. Rudnyckyj, *Ukrayinsky Pravopys* (Ukrainian Orthography), 1949; *Second Ukrainian Canadian Congress*, 1946; J. W. Stechishin, *Ukrainian Grammar*, 1949; *Ukrainian Authors*, 1946.

the unity of the Ukrainian nation has brought these ideals closer to realization. By its example and through its influence similar united committees were established in the United States, Brazil, Argentina, Paraguay, Uruguay, and in western Europe. In 1947 it took the leadership in co-ordinating the work of the committees of North and South America in the Pan-American Ukrainian Conference, which in turn exerted pressure in Europe to bring about the Ukrainian National Council in 1948 (see chapter I). The three All-Canadian Congresses of the Ukrainian committee—one in Winnipeg in 1943 attended by 715 delegates, one in Toronto in 1946 attended by 817 delegates, and the third in Winnipeg in 1950 attended by 647 delegates—demonstrated the solidarity of the Ukrainian Canadians. The Committee has sent two delegations with memoranda to the United Nations and several delegations to Ottawa to plead the Ukrainian cause. Anti-communist in sentiment, it upholds a democratic form of government for Ukraine.

To do justice to the work of the Committee would require a much longer account.[22]

THE NEWCOMERS

Largely through the combined efforts of the Ukrainian organizations supporting the Ukrainian Canadian Committee, the Canadian doors of immigration have been partially opened to the Ukrainian displaced persons of western Europe. Many of the newcomers have joined the existing organizations, where they are gradually fitting into Canadian life. The larger proportion of them, however, segregate and form their own societies, which tend to show animosity to the older organizations, including the Committee. Deploring the lack of intense nationalism on the part of the Ukrainian citizens of Canada, some of the younger "hot-blooded" newcomers hope to carry on old country political feuds in the new world. As a result the once warm sympathy of Ukrainian Canadians for their newly arrived kinsmen has cooled considerably.

Two youth societies composed entirely of newcomers have made their appearance. A troop of Ukrainian Boy Scouts and Girl Scouts (combined) was organized in 1948 in the Ukrainian Reading Association hall. It has contact with the Canadian Boy Scouts and Girl Guides. For some time it has edited two columns of scouting news in *Novy Shlyakh* (New Pathway). In April 1949, newcomers organized a branch of Soyuz Ukrayinskoyi Molodi (Ukrainian Youth Associa-

[22]Harry Piniuta, B.A., of Sandy Lake, Manitoba, in 1951 was engaged in writing a lengthy thesis on the Ukrainian Canadian Committee as part of his course in Canadian history at the University of Manitoba. It was completed in 1952, and was accepted for the Master's degree by the University of Ottawa.

tion) in Winnipeg. Along with branches in Toronto, Oshawa, Montreal, and Edmonton, it has given support to the new paper published in Toronto, *Homin Ukrayiny* (Echo of Ukraine), which has continually denounced the Ukrainian Canadian Committee, the Ukrainian National Federation, and some of the other organizations for their support of the Ukrainian National Council in Europe.

In 1952, however, relations between the newcomers and the Ukrainian Canadian Committee improved considerably. The Committee took the initiative in an attempt to bring about the integration of the newcomers' organizations into Ukrainian Canadian life. A conference of the leaders of the various organizations was called in November. The two-day discussions resulted in the adoption of a resolution to open the door for the entrance of the Dominion-wide organizations of the newcomers into the Committee.

CHARACTERISTICS OF THE ORGANIZATIONS

A great deal of quarrelling has marked the life of the Ukrainian Canadian society. In the 1920's the Ukrainian communities were divided into three factions: the Greek Catholic, which supported the hetmanite-monarchical ideology; the Greek Orthodox, which defended republicanism; and the communist, which advocated Russian bolshevism and sovietism. The antagonism between these groups was so bitter that tolerance for a while seemed out of the question. Not infrequently principles were lost sight of in campaigns aimed at marring the reputations of opposing leaders.

In the 1930's a four-sided struggle commenced when a new element, the "nationalists," came into the picture. This group, which was composed of some of the "old" Canadians but largely of newcomers, brought into being the Ukrainian National Federation which called for unity, religious tolerance, the combating of communism, the defence of Canadian democracy, and support of the struggle for Ukraine's independence. The other three groups then turned their attacks towards this new, rapidly expanding movement and denounced primarily its support of revolutionary means of gaining Ukraine's freedom. In this contention the hetmanite-monarchist movement became greatly weakened, for official Greek Catholic circles declined further support, and the Ukrainian communist movement likewise lost considerable ground. Smear campaigns, both verbal and in the press, were at times employed.

With the establishment of the Ukrainian Canadian Committee to aid Canada's war effort, the outward hostility between the component

organizations ceased and a sense of solidarity was achieved. Personal enmity between the older leaders, however, decreased only to a minor degree. Since the end of the Second World War, the relations between the groups have become a little more tense again. Nevertheless, sharp conflicts are avoided because the existence of the Committee acts as a deterrent, and tolerance has therefore made notable strides. The outward hostility is directed towards the pro-communist Association of United Ukrainian Canadians.

All of the organizations display a willingness to co-operate with non-Ukrainian patriotic associations. However, most of the overtures have had to come from these associations as the immigrant Ukrainians have always felt that they were held in disdain by Anglo-Saxon co-citizens. The Canadian-born generation of Ukrainians, on the other hand, has grown out of the inferiority complex to a greater degree and often takes the initiative in co-operating with non-Ukrainian groups. The Ukrainian societies enthusiastically participate in many community enterprises, celebrations of public holidays, Red Cross work, handicraft displays, etc. The Ukrainian communists alone refuse to demonstrate loyalty to the Crown, but work hand in hand with subversive communist and pro-communist associations.

The organizational alignments among Ukrainian Canadians are patterned after old-country groupings. For the most part the leaders are earlier or more recent immigrants, but the Canadian-born element is beginning to play a more effective part, especially since the beginning of the Second World War. The leadership is concentrated at Winnipeg. The leaders do not always reflect the opinions of the most capable, the most versatile, or the most efficient persons in the organizations or in the Ukrainian society as a whole. Concentration of power in the hands of cliques and adherence to their policies, and sometimes expediency, decide the choice of persons for national executive positions. Despite many shortcomings, however, the leaders have contributed to progress in many fields.

The basic unit of all Ukrainian Canadian organizations is the branch. Seven or more members who sign applications and pay membership fees may form a branch, with the approval of the national executive. The officers are elected according to democratic procedure. Since membership dues are insufficient to maintain large-scale activities, most of the organizations impose a budget on the branches.

The supreme power in each organization is vested in the Dominion convention, which alone makes and amends the constitution. Such conventions are generally held annually in Winnipeg. Because of tremen-

dous distances, which mean heavy travelling expenses, the more remote smaller branches send delegates only occasionally. The delegates hear reports of the officers of the Dominion executive, decide the policies of the organization, and elect the new Dominion officers. Occasionally the larger organizations hold provincial conventions, which elect provincial executives, as well as district conventions.

A large proportion of the Ukrainian youth born in Canada have become estranged from Ukrainian institutions and organizations. The older leaders and members rarely understand the youth and, by their actions and over-emphasis on Ukrainian nationalism, only help to drive the young people away from the very institutions and organizations which they want them to support. Where more tact has been employed and conformity with Canadian ways allowed, the youth have joined the organizations and have played a constructive role. Some of the Canadian-born men and women who have become leaders in the adult organizations are exerting an influence in the direction of tolerance and more concern for Canadian problems. In an effort to preserve Ukrainian culture, some support has been given to the publication of papers and magazines in the English language. The youth organizations and their magazines or columns in the Ukrainian papers are valuable instruments in the gradual adjustment of young people to the Canadian pattern of life, and they are a force for positive citizenship.

APPENDIX

The following Winnipeggers stood at the helm of their respective organizational groups in 1951 (the date in brackets in each case indicates the year of arrival in Canada):

Greek Catholic lay societies: Father Dr. B. Kushnir (1934), Father S. Semczuk (1930), W. M. Wall (teacher), J. S. Novosad (former teacher), J. Kozoriz (teacher), and Father S. Izyk (1948).

Orthodox group: Father S. W. Sawchuk (head of Consistory, arrived before First World War), Judge J. W. Arsenych (former lawyer; 1904), J. R. Solomon (lawyer, M.L.A.), W. Batycky (arrived before First World War), W. J. Sarchuk (civil servant), P. Krepiakevich (realtor), and J. Syrnick (editor of *Ukrayinsky Holos*).

Nationalist group: W. Kossar (former agricultural researchman; 1928), O. Tarnow (business man; 1924), E. Wasylyshen (business man; 1928), M. Pohorecky (editor of *Novy Shlyakh*; 1929), W. Hladun (manager of *Novy Shlyakh*; 1939), Dr. Z. Knysh (a former lawyer; 1948), and Dr. P. Macenko (choir conductor; 1936).

Communist group: M. Shatulski (editor of *Ukrayinske Slovo*; arrived

before First World War), A Bilecki (business manager), W. A. Kardash (M.L.A.), G. Krenz (arrived after First World War).

Monarchists: Dr. T. Datzkiw (former editor, now farmer; 1924), A. Malofie (business man; 1905), and Dr. R. Mychayliwsky (former judge; 1948).

Canadian veterans: J. G. Karasivich (lawyer), Dr. W. Grenkow (dentist), A. J. Yaremovich (lawyer), and John Yuzyk (business man).

Socialists: D. Lobay (editor; 1912), S. Chwaliboga (1909), T. Kobzey (railroad man; 1911), and G. Elendiuk (barber; 1914).

CHAPTER SEVEN . The Ukrainian-Communist Delusion

POPULAR OPINION IN CANADA HAS CLOSELY ASSOCIated the Ukrainians with the communist movement.[1] It is widely known that the Ukrainian element has comprised a large section of the Canadian Communist party, and that this element has repeatedly formed the spearhead of communist-instigated strikes and public denominations of protest. It is still remembered that, along with the Canadian Communist party, a communist front organization, the Ukrainian Labour Farmer Temple Association, was banned in 1940 and a large number of halls were confiscated for seditious activities at the beginning of the Second World War. To many people it also appears natural that a considerable portion of the Ukrainians in Canada should gravitate towards communist Soviet Ukraine, a supposedly autonomous state within the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. Some even believe that most of the Ukrainian organizations as well as the churches are secretly sympathetic towards Soviet Ukraine and Soviet Russia, and consequently towards Soviet communism.

Scrutiny of the record of the pro-communist Ukrainian organizations and their dominant leaders, however, dispels the prevailing idea that the Ukrainian Canadians are or ever have been predominantly inclined towards communism. A small but active and vociferous minority, directed by Moscow-trained leaders, has created a mirage, which has been increased to such proportions that the public has been led to be-

[1]Sources for chapter VII: Raymond A. Davies, *This is Our Land*; John Hladun, *They Taught Me Treason* (reprint from *Maclean's*); W. Kirkconnell, *Our Ukrainian Loyalists*; W. Kirkconnell, *Seven Pillars of Freedom*; D. Lobay, "Komunistychny Rukh Sered Ukrayinstsiv Kanady" (The Communist Movement among the Ukrainians in Canada) in *Propamyatna Knyha Ukrayinskoho Narodnoho Domu v Winnipegu* (Jubilee Book of the Ukrainian People's Home in Winnipeg); D. Lobay, *Neperemozhna Ukrayina* (Invincible Ukraine); D. Lobay, *Za Diysne Vyyasnennya Polozhnnya na Radyanskiy Ukrayini* (For a True Explanation of the Situation in Soviet Ukraine); *Narady Ukrayinskykh Robitnycho-Farmerskykh Masovykh Orhanizatsiy 11–14 bereznya, 1935 roku* (Conference of the Ukrainian Labour Farmer Mass Organizations, March 11–14, 1935); M. Pohorecky, *Demokratyzm Stalina ta yoho Kominternu* (The Democracy of Stalin and His Comintern); Myroslaw Stechishin, *Radyanska Ukrayina* (Soviet Ukraine); Charles H. Young, *The Ukrainian Canadians; Zvit w Rezolyutsiyi Dvanatsyatoho Zvizdu TURF Domu v Kanadi 15–20 lypnya, 1931 roku* (Report and Resolutions of the Twelfth Convention of the ULFTA in Canada, July 15–20, 1931).

lieve in a Ukrainian-communist bogy. The history of the movement among the Ukrainians and the Slavs in this country brings to light the machinations of a ruling clique, whose headquarters until 1942 were located in Winnipeg.

The precursor of the communist movement among the Ukrainian Canadians was the Ukrainian Social Democratic party, which under the influence of social democracy in the Austro-Hungarian empire was established in Lviv, Galicia, in 1896. For a while the group formed a wing of the Ukrainian Radical party whose programme had been formulated by Mikhaylo Drahomaniv (Dragomanov), an exiled constitutional socialist, who had been expelled from the University of Kiev by the Russia overlords. In 1899 the more pronounced Marxists broke away from the Radical party and formed a separate Ukrainian Social Democratic party which won a following among the urban industrial workers and sent two representatives to the Vienna parliament.[2] With the rise of the Soviets, some of the Social Democratic leaders, notably Semen Vityk, migrated to Soviet-occupied Ukraine and joined the Bolshevik cause.

Among the immigrants who came to Canada from Galicia shortly after the turn of the century were a small number of ardent Social Democrats. In 1907 the Ukrainian Social Democratic party, a counterpart of the one in Galicia, was formed in Winnipeg and became a section of the Social Democratic party of Canada supporting the Second International. Its first organ, the weekly *Chervony Prapor* (Red Flag), went bankrupt after eighteen issues. The editors, Paul Crath (who became a Presbyterian minister in 1915) and W. Holowatsky (who became a Russelite minister in 1912), and leaders such as Myroslaw Stechishin (later editor of the nationalist *Ukrainian Voice*) and H. Slipchenko, ridiculed clericalism, especially the Catholic variety, and advocated Marxian socialism, free thought (atheism), and the general enlightenment of the exploited masses. They were among the first to popularize the term "Ukrainian" in Canada. This group found enough support to establish a new weekly, *Robochy Narod* (Toiling People) in Winnipeg in 1909, which became a semi-weekly in 1917. When Stechishin and Crath left the Social Democratic party, the editorship of the paper and the leadership of the party were taken over by more radical men, such as Matthew Popovich, Daniel Lobay, and John Navizivsky (Navis).

The successes of the Russian revolutionary efforts at Petrograd in

[2]An account of Drahomaniv's work and the development of socialism in this region is given in Volodymyr Levynsky, *Pochatky Ukrayinskoho Sotsiyalizmu v Halychyni* (The Beginnings of Ukrainian Socialism in Galicia).

March 1917 and the October Bolshevik Revolution had profound repercussions on the Ukrainian Social Democratic party, both in Galicia and in Canada. Its leaders hailed the establishment of the Soviet government as the victory of the proletariat in Russia and the harbinger of the world communist revolution. The Central Rada of Ukraine and the Directorate of the Ukrainian National Republic, although composed predominantly of socialist elements, were denounced as bourgeois and tools of international capitalism. The Ukrainian Soviet administration, which was set up when the might of Russian Bolshevik armies defeated Ukrainian republican forces, was pronounced as the ideal government, representative of the will of the working class. Hopes were also entertained and plans were made for a communist revolution in Canada.

The Ukrainian Social Democratic party in Canada swung towards bolshevism in November 1917, soon after the Soviet coup d'état in Moscow. The less radical element was gradually forced out of the leadership. The party organ, *Robochy Narod*, was converted into a semi-weekly in 1917 and made a mouthpiece of Russian communism. At the same time the members of the party commenced building the Ukrainian Labour Temple on McGregor and Pritchard Streets in Winnipeg. This largest Ukrainian hall in Canada was to accommodate the Dominion executive officers of the movement as well as the press. The Ukrainian Labour Temple Association was established ostensibly as a cultural and educational society. In September 1918, the Canadian government suppressed the party under a penalty of five years' imprisonment and a fine of $5,000 for anyone taking part in the activities of the banned party. *Robochy Narod* was suppressed at the same time. However, subsequent police raids resulted in no arrests. The Ukrainian Labour Temple Association, although it included some of the leaders of the suppressed party, did not fall under the ban. Many of the members of the Association took part in the communist-inspired Winnipeg General Strike of 1919.[3]

Since the Ukrainian Social Democratic party could not very well be

[3]The files of *Robochy Narod*, and of *Ukrayinski Robitynchi Visty* which began publication in March 1919 (see below), are not found in any of the libraries that I have searched in Winnipeg. I have been given to understand by some who read these papers in 1918 and 1919 that abundant evidence of the communistic character of the Winnipeg General Strike is found in them. In his recent book, *The Winnipeg General Strike*, D. C. Masters prefers to interpret the strike as "no seditious conspiracy" and only "an effort to secure the principle of collective bargaining." He fails to take into account the revolutionary communist literature that was distributed by strike leaders and their seditious statements uttered at the Walker Theatre meeting advocating the "dictatorship of the proletariat," the overthrow of the existing government in Canada even by bloodshed, and the establishment of soviet rule in its place. See *Rex* v. *Russell* (Court of Appeal case) in *Western Weekly Reports*, 1920, vol. I, pp. 624–57.

revived without rousing public indignation, the leaders rallied around the Ukrainian Labour Temple Association. From Winnipeg the organization spread to other Canadian cities where the pro-Soviet Ukrainian element had a sufficient following to undertake the erection of labour temples, following the example of the one in Manitoba's capital. The first conference of the Labour Temple Association, held in Winnipeg in 1920, decided to form a national organization; by 1923 it had 24 branches. This body was incorporated by the Secretary of State of Canada under the Companies Act, by Letters Patent dated October 21, 1924, as the Ukrainian Labour Farmer Temple Association (ULFTA).

According to its charter, the ULFTA was created with cultural, educational, and humanitarian motives, specifically in relation to "the Ukrainian working people and to the cause of labour in general." Its true aim, however, was stated in *The Worker* (a Canadian communist paper) on January 10, 1931, by John Weir (Wevursky), a prominent leader and Moscow-trained communist now the editor of *Ukrainian Canadian* in Toronto: "The Ukrainian Labour-Farmer Temple Association began its existence as the legal cover for the then underground Socialist groups, and the first hall was built to enable publication of the revolutionary paper."[4]

The comparatively rapid expansion of the organization was made possible by an efficient propaganda machine, and by editors and organizers who knew how to play on the sentiments of the Ukrainian workers and farmers. Some of the leaders of the dissolved Ukrainian Social Democratic party appealed to the Trades and Labor Council of Winnipeg, which took up the case with the Canadian government and pleaded for a separate labour newspaper in the Ukrainian language, on the grounds that the majority of the Ukrainian immigrants could read very little English. The government lifted the ban on exclusively foreign language newspapers, and on March 22, 1919, *Ukrayinski Robitnychi Visty* (Ukrainian Labour News) made its appearance. This weekly was published and printed in the Ukrainian Labour Temple in Winnipeg. Its first editor, Daniel Lobay, and his assistant, Matthew Popovich, had edited the banned *Robochy Narod*; John Navizivsky (Navis) was the manager. A year later the newspaper became a semi-weekly and Matthew Shatulski was added to the editorial staff. In 1924 it began to publish three times a week, and in 1935 became a daily. Its name was changed to *Narodna Gazeta* (People's Gazette) in 1937, and under that name it was suppressed by the government in 1940 for disloyalty. A magazine, *Holos Pratsi* (Voice of Labour) was published for two years (1922–4)

[4]Quoted in Kirkconnell, *Seven Pillars*, p. 97.

under the editorship of Matthew Popovich. *Holos Robitnytsi* (Working Woman's Voice) was established in 1923, and this magazine's name was changed to *Robitnytsya* (Working Woman) in 1924. It was edited by Myroslaw Irchan (1924–9), by M. Lenartowich (1929–33), and by Peter Prokopchak (1933–5). Another magazine, *Svit Molodi* (Youth's World), appeared in 1927, became *Boyova Molod* (Militant Youth) in 1931, and ceased publication in 1932. It was edited by John Weir. The weekly newspaper, *Farmerske Zhyttya* (Farmer's Life) was also published in the Winnipeg Ukrainian Labour Temple from 1925 until 1940, when it too was banned. When *Ukrayinski Robitnychi Visty* became a daily in 1935, it absorbed some of the editors of the defunct magazines, Philip Lysets and John Weir, and others, such as John Stefanicky and Peter Krawchuk, still prominent in communist circles in 1951.

Members and followers were drawn to the ULFTA by its active leadership, its well-knit programme of extensive activities, its intensive propaganda, its Workers' Benevolent Association, its idealization of Soviet Ukraine, and by the attraction of international communism and the relative inactivity of the democratic and Christian groups among the Ukrainian Canadians. In December 1929 it was reported that the organization comprised 88 general branches, 52 branches of the women's section, 40 branches of the youth section, and 7 branches of the affiliated farmers' association, all centralized in Winnipeg.[5] Of these, there were 24 general branches in Manitoba, the bulk of them in the poor farming districts of the Interlake region.[6]

The ULFTA directed its own affairs for only a brief spell after its inception. The Workers' Party of Canada, which was organized in May 1921 by three well-financed Soviet agents—Louis Fraina, Charles E. Scott (born Jensen), and Sen Katayama—as a façade for the underground "Communist Party of Canada," exerted only an indirect influence on the organization which outwardly expressed Soviet sympathies. It was a different story after the Workers' party was abandoned in 1924 and the Communist Party of Canada came into the open as a section of the Communist International (Comintern) with headquarters in Moscow. Matthew Shatulski, a leader of the ULFTA and an editor of *Ukrayinski Robitnychi Visty*, who had secretly visited Kiev and Moscow in 1923, returned with instructions to subordinate

[5]Young, *op. cit.*, p. 146.

[6]The ULFTA branches were located in the following places in Manitoba (see *Providnyk*, 1931, pp. 55–8): Angusville, Arborg, Brightstone, Brandon, Brokenhead, Brooklands, Gimli, Libau, Mears, Norweena, Okno, Pleasant Home, Portage la Prairie, Rembrandt, St. Boniface, Shorncliffe, Teulon, The Pas, Transcona, Vidor, Volga, Winnipeg (2), and Winnipeg Beach.

the organization to the Canadian Communist party under the leadership of Jack MacDonald. This was done by a process of infiltration. The leaders and top-ranking members of the ULFTA were gradually drawn into and became sworn members of the Communist Party of Canada.[7] Before the annual conventions of the ULFTA, the meetings of the individual branches were skilfully manipulated to ensure that to them would be sent delegates who were members of the party. Thus in a short time almost every delegate was an accredited Communist party member, as were the most active and trusted of the ULFTA members. The Ukrainians formed the largest wing of the Communist party; in 1930 they numbered approximately 800 in all.[8]

Any important meeting or convention of the ULFTA or its sections, the Workers' Benevolent Association, the Association for the Aid of the Liberation Movement in Western Ukraine (abbreviated in Ukrainian TODOVYRNAZU), and the Labour-Farmer Publishing Company, was invariably preceded by a caucus or a fraction meeting of the communist members of these bodies with the leaders of the Communist party and its junior section, the Young Communist League. These caucuses prepared the agenda of the important meetings, conventions, and mass organizations, as well as the resolutions. They decided which members would take part in the discussions, which would make and second motions, and which would be elected to the executive and other committees.[9] The final decisions at these caucuses were made by the representatives from Toronto and Winnipeg: the Political Committee (the Politbureau) of the Communist party. This Politbureau always included Ukrainian members, such as John Boychuk, Matthew Popovich, and John Navis. Members of the Central Executive Committee of the Communist party who have directed pre-convention caucuses and have attended the conventions of the ULFTA in Winnipeg include Jack MacDonald, founder and leader of the Communist party; Stewart Smith, trainee of the Lenin Institute at Moscow, former Toronto alderman and controller; Mike Buhay, Montreal alderman; Sam Carr (Cohen), also a product of the Lenin Institute, former deputy to the Russian Supreme Soviet, and member of the Soviet espionage ring for which he was sentenced to a jail term; Tim Buck, leader and secretary of the Communist party, and now of the Labour-Progressive party; Leslie Morris, district organizer for Winnipeg, and

[7]The oath of the Communist party reads as follows: "I pledge myself to rally the masses to defend the Soviet Union, the land of victorious Socialism. I pledge myself to remain at all times the vigilant and firm defender of the Leninist side of the Party, the only line that ensures the triumph of Soviet power in Canada." See Kirkconnell, *Seven Pillars*, p. 43.

[8]Young, *op. cit.*, p. 146.

[9]Lobay, "Communist Movement," pp. 751–3.

editor of the pro-communist *Tribune*; and Norman Freed (Friedenthal), leader of the Young Communist League, and Toronto alderman.[10]

One of these participants was to cause significant developments in the ULFTA. In 1929, upon completing the course in revolutionary tactics at the communist Lenin Institute, Stewart Smith returned to Canada with instructions to introduce into the radical programme more revolutionary activities. Consequently, at the caucus of Ukrainian communist delegates held prior to the convention of the ULFTA at Winnipeg in January 1930, he accused the Ukrainian members of the party of rightist inclinations and demanded an immediate swing to the extreme left. The delegates resented Smith's charges, and rejected the letter brought by him from the Political Committee, thus causing a crisis in the communist ranks. When the matter went to the Comintern in Moscow, a sort of compromise was imposed but it required the Ukrainian members to submit to the party leadership.

In the meantime, the leaders of the ULFTA became "converted" to the new party line. The Twelfth Convention, which was held at Winnipeg, July 15–20, 1931, declared as its slogans "We are making a shift to the course of a general revolutionary class struggle!" and "Away with rightist and leftist opportunism! Long live a firm amalgamation of our organized militant ranks!"[11] Resounding applause greeted the nomination to the honorary presidium of Comrades Stalin, Petrovsky, Chubar, Skrypnyk(the latter three were leaders of the government of Soviet Ukraine, who were soon after liquidated as enemies of the people), Thaelmann (German communist leader), and Buck. The convention presidium included Sam Carr, representative of the Politbureau of the Communist party and of the Jewish communists, and F. Numan, representative of the communist Finnish Association.

The six days of the Twelfth Convention of the ULFTA were devoted to speeches and discussions on the intensification of the economic and political class struggle, with the ultimate aim of creating a revolution to destroy the capitalist system and to establish a soviet government in Canada. At that time, the country was in the throes of the worst economic depression in its history. The communist leaders were convinced that the widespread unemployment and destitution would play into their hands and that the suffering lower classes would follow revolutionary leaders and thus make it possible to bring about a Bolshevik revolution in Canada.

The statements of the communist leaders are worthy of attention.

[10]*Ibid.*
[11]*Report and Resolutions of the Twelfth Convention*, p. 5.

Sam Carr declared: "The day is already not too distant, when under the leadership of the CPC (Communist Party of Canada) and WUL (Workers' Unity League) we shall take the government into our own hands. . . . All our labor organizations accept the call to world revolution and stand under the leadership of the Communist party to destroy this capitalist system."[12] Leslie Morris urged the delegates thus: "The farmers together with the workers must organize into a revolutionary organization and fight for the overthrow of the capitalist system and the establishment of a soviet government."[13]

In the resolutions of the convention, Matthew Shatulski, secretary of the Central Executive Committee of the ULFTA, outlined the following as "Our most immediate objectives":

1. The most important objective—unity with the general labor revolutionary movement in the field of economic and political struggle under the ideological leadership of the Communist Party of Canada.
6. To organize opposition groups of the Workers' Unity League in the reformist trade unions.
8. To become members of the Communist Party of Canada.
10. To transform the ULFTA and its sections into a powerful means of class enlightenment for the Ukrainian workers and destitute farmers and a medium for the mobilization of the working masses of this country for the revolutionary struggle of liberation.[14]

In embarking on this new course, cultural and educational activities were to be made purposeful, a means to an end. The following stand was taken:

> The cultural-educational work should at last be put on the right class track. . . . All the bourgeois-urban trash, in drama as well as in song, should be thrown out from our labour farmer stage. . . . Dramatic works, as well as song and music, should be selected for class content, and the attitude should be less, but better; better content and better performance, art not for entertainment, not only for funds, but art in the service of workers, as a paramount class-educating and organizational means. . . . The directors—stage directors, conductors, and dramatic committees, should not only be "art experts," but also real activist shock-troopers in the introduction of proletarian art on our stage."[15]

The cultural-educational work of the past, which had been an end in itself, was to be regarded as a wrong approach. A resolution was therefore passed stating: "Under the leadership of the Communist International and the Communist Party, our organization has already begun to correct this mistake and to make the shift to the course of a general revolutionary struggle of the working class of Canada."[16]

[12] *Ibid.*, p. 7.
[13] *Ibid.*, p. 15.
[14] *Ibid.*, pp. 36–7.
[15] *Ibid.*, pp. 32–3.
[16] *Ibid.*, p. 42.

The women were no less revolutionary. A resolution passed at their separate convention declares that "the Women's Section of the ULFTA will strengthen the defence of Soviet Ukraine and the Soviet Union and will fight under the leadership of the Communist Party for the establishment of a soviet government in Canada."[17]

A resolution entitled, "The economic and political class struggle and participation of the mass language organizations in it," passed by the Twelfth Convention of the ULFTA and ratified by the Seventh Convention of the Workers' Benevolent Association, enunciated the methods to be employed to achieve the new end:

> Participation might and must take the following forms—strikes, organization of revolutionary trade unions, revolutionary opposition groups, building up the WUL [Workers' Unity League] and the FUL [Farmers' Unity League]; struggle against reactionary reformist trade union leaders, against social-fascists; demonstrations, campaigns; action against exploitation, persecutions, speed-ups, rationalizations, dismissals from work; activity among the unemployed, etc. In the political struggle, participation might take the following forms: struggle for the freedom of speech and meeting; struggle for the streets and assembly grounds; struggle for social security; struggle for the repeal of anti-labour laws concerning sedition, deportation, etc.; struggle for the minimum living security of ruined, destitute farmers; struggle against militarism; struggle against war and for the protection of the Soviet Union from intervention of imperialists; struggle against the prohibition of delivery of Soviet goods etc. . . . all other activities must be relegated to an auxiliary role in the fulfilment of these tasks.[18]

The ULFTA convention attached great importance to the problem of educating the children. A special resolution captioned "Ukrainian Labour Children's School in the Present Movement of the Class Struggle," sponsored by Philip Lysets and passed, read:

> It is imperative to connect the training in the U[krainian] L[abour] T[emple] Schools with those current problems of the day which are raised by the Canadian liberation movement and the international proletariat, to acquaint the pupils of the ULT Schools with this movement, to explain it, and to assist them to make themselves active in the class struggle. The training in the ULT Schools must be conducted according to the demands of the working class in the liberation struggle so as to impregnate labour social habits in the pupils and to assist them to train themselves for a real militant transformation . . . to establish close co-laborization [*sic*!] with other children's associations, with the Youth Section and the Pioneers [Canadian communist youth organization].[19]

Subsequently the pupils of these ULFTA schools were subjected to a thorough indoctrination of the Lenin type of communism and atheism under the strict guidance of specially trained teachers. Coloured

[17] *Ibid.*, p. 95. [18] *Ibid.*, p. 44. [19] *Ibid.*, p. 78.

anti-religious wall-posters, ridiculing churches, God, Christ, and Christian traditions decorated the class-rooms. The intensive training in music and drama and the preparations for concerts were always associated with the proletariat, the revolutionary struggle, and the Soviet Union. The following citations are from *Kalendar Pratsi Uchniw URD Shkoly* (Calendar of the Work of the Pupils of the ULT School), a handbook published in 1932 outlining the course of studies:

> In the case of unemployed demonstrations or mass meetings, it is necessary to have the pupils take part sometimes, so that they will be participators in that battle. . . . If at that locality they get some relief, it is necessary to explain to the pupils that they get this relief by fighting for it, and that this relief costs them many lives and much struggle. . . . By no means permit the acquaintance of the pupils with the workers' movement to be of an academic character, informative only. . . .
>
> It is necessary to develop in the pupils a critical stand towards the bourgeois press, their articles, and statistics. Teach them to search for the workers' movement in the information that is contained in the workers' press for the class battle, which is not waged only in this country but also in the whole world. . . .
>
> Teach the pupils different verses about their part on the battlefields of the working class, starting with stories of the lives of the pioneers of the October Revolution. Acquaint them with the heroic battle of the workers' children in the capitalistic countries and Canada.[20]

To accelerate the revolutionary process for the liberation of the Canadian working class from the capitalist yoke, the leaders of the Communist Party of Canada brought about the co-ordination of the activities of the pro-communist Ukrainian organization. The first conference of the Ukrainian Labour Farmer Mass Organizations (ULFMO) was held in the Winnipeg Labour Temple, March 11–14, 1935. It brought together the Fifteenth Convention of the ULFTA and the affiliated Women's Section and Youth Section, the Tenth Convention of the Workers' Benevolent Association, and the Fourth Convention of the Association for the Aid of the Liberation Movement in Western Ukraine (TODOVYRNAZU). The singing of the "Internationale" opened and closed the proceedings.

The conference stressed the solidarity of these organizations with the communist movement in Canada. The keynote of the deliberations was sounded in the opening speech by John Boychuk, who had recently been released from the Kingston penitentiary after serving a two and one-half year prison term for revolutionary activities. He stated:

> The CPC fought, is fighting, and will continue fighting against the capitalist class until ultimate victory. It organized and will organize the working masses for its just rights. And we, every male and female mem-

[20]Quoted in Kirkconnell, *Seven Pillars*, pp. 100–2.

ber, are soldiers of our proletarian army, and we are proud of this (Resounding applause). . . . From our conventions we shall depart with the sole thought . . . to fight jointly for a Soviet Canada. . . . And our duty is to become a united front of the working class of Canada for the defence of the sole fatherland of the proletariat—the Soviet Union (Continuing Applause).[21]

The Canadian communist leader, Tim Buck, also a former inmate of Kingston penitentiary, was greeted "with thundering applause" throughout his speech, which contained the following assertions: "On behalf of the Central Executive of the Communist Party of Canada, I convey to you, delegates, the Bolshevik salutation. . . . I am sure that the Ukrainian workers and labour organizations will support the communist party in its fight for the everyday interests of the workers and for a Soviet Canada."[22] Other speakers at the conference such as A. E. Smith, Harvey Murphy, Norman Penner, Matthew Popovich, Matthew Shatulski, and the delegates themselves spoke in similar vein. In general the resolutions were essentially the same as those passed at the 1931 convention of the ULFTA, which had inaugurated the shift to the revolutionary course.

Paradoxically, communism secured a foothold among the Ukrainian Canadians because of its tremendous appeal to Ukrainian nationalist sentiment. Tsarist Russia had suppressed every movement for Ukrainian autonomy and independence whereas Soviet Russia had recognized the autonomy of Soviet Ukraine. At first, Ukrainian communists formed the government of the republic, which embarked on an extensive Ukrainianization programme. Conditions allowing Ukrainians to manage their own affairs had such a magnetic appeal that Michael Hrushevsky (famous historian and president of the suppressed Ukrainian National Republic), Michael Lozinsky (also a well-known historian), and other leading nationalist leaders returned from exile to the Ukrainian state.

These events made a profound impression on many Ukrainians who had migrated to Canada because they could no longer tolerate the repressive régime of a foreign power in their native land. *Ukrayinski Robitnychi Visty* constantly depicted Soviet Ukraine as a land of freedom and prosperity, virtually "a paradise," having the most amicable relations with Soviet Russia. To some the attraction proved to be irresistible and from 1922 to 1930 there took place a small-scale exodus, a voluntary repatriation. One of the first groups to go, composed of thirty-five families from Winnipeg and the West, left Canada with farm equipment in 1923 and settled in the Myhayiv district of Ukraine,

[21] *Conference of the ULFMO, 1935,* pp. 5–6.
[22] *Ibid.*, pp. 6–7.

where a Canadian commune was established. Several more communes of Ukrainians from Canada sprang up in other parts of Soviet Ukraine.[23] Delegations of communists visited Ukraine and the Soviets in that interval. There were also many cases where individuals sold their property and left Canada never intending to return. Notable examples of these were such leaders as Peter Boshuck, who did return, and Myroslaw Irchan, who did not return, both of whom had resided at one time in Winnipeg.

Alarmed by the increasing trend towards nationalism and separatism in Ukraine, the Russian Soviet government, under the dictatorship of Joseph Stalin, launched a policy of bloody suppression. The forcible requisitioning of grain and livestock from the peasantry in Ukraine by the Red Army in 1932-3 brought about the most horrible famine in Russian history, causing the deaths of millions of innocent Ukrainians.[24] Stalin's lieutenants, Kossior and Postishev, invested with dictatorial powers, purged the administration and the Communist party of Ukraine, liquidating hundreds of leading Ukrainians who had been eulogized by the pro-communist Ukrainian press in Canada. Even such highly esteemed Ukrainian Canadian communist leaders as Myroslaw Irchan and John Sembay, who had migrated to Soviet Ukraine, vanished without trace.

This frightful state of affairs was enough to shake the convictions of the conscientious element in the ULFTA and affiliated associations. Voices of criticism and protest began to be raised. Peter Boshuck, a leader who had left Canada in 1922 and had served as a commissar in a commune in Ukraine, returned disillusioned, left the communist movement, and joined the Ukrainian National Federation. John Hladun, a graduate of the Lenin Institute in 1931, returned in disappointment after a visit to Ukraine. Daniel Lobay, the first editor of *Ukrayinski Robitnychi Visty*, began to denounce Russian tyranny in Soviet Ukraine in 1934 and received the support of a considerable section of the ULFTA membership. The discord in the ranks of ULFTA and the loss of members grew to such dimensions that the leaders of the Communist Party of Canada felt drastic measures were needed. They arranged a secret caucus preceding the Conference of the ULFMO in March 1935, during which the dissenting members, headed by Lobay, were first censured and later expelled. These "deviationists" were barred from offering a defence of their position before the delegates of the Conference and the central executive.

[23]In *They Taught Me Treason*, John Hladun briefly describes the disintegration of the Canadian-established commune, Khliborob, in Kryvorizha, Ukraine, which he visited after completion of a communist course at Moscow.

[24]See chap. 1 for account and evidence.

Lobay and his group of "counter-revolutionary nationalists" (as they were called by communist members of the ULFTA) formed a separate organization in 1936 under the name of League of Ukrainian Organizations, which in 1950 was changed to Ukrainian Workers' League. They continued criticizing and exposing the intrigues and subversive activities of the Moscow-oriented communists in Canada in their short-lived newspaper *Pravda* and in the Ukrainian national press, and helped weaken the ranks of the ULFTA. At the beginning of the Second World War, the League joined the Ukrainian Canadian Committee to support Canada's war effort and the aspirations of the Ukrainians for liberty and independence.

Although considerably weakened by the loss of "Lobay-ites," the leaders of the ULFTA, the Workers' Benevolent Association, and TODOVYRNAZU, and the majority of the members, clung steadfastly to the course laid down by the Comintern in Russia and the Communist Party of Canada. To present the appearance that the communist movement among the Ukrainians had received no set-back, but rather was gaining ground, *Ukrayinski Robitnychi Visty*, which hitherto had been published thrice weekly, was converted into a daily so as to intensify the class struggle and fight counter-revolution. Under the protection of Tim Buck, the Conference of the ULFMO in 1935 approved Matthew Shatulski's pronouncement denouncing Lobay and his stand with regard to Irchan, Sembay, the famine, and the purges in Soviet Ukraine: "When the Soviet government punishes anyone and does not give full or any reports about this—it knows why it does so and we shall not question it about this. We, as communists, as members of the working class, have expressed, do express, and will express in it [Soviet government] our full and unreserved confidence."[25]

Subsequently the Communist party began an extensive campaign for a "united front," the new course that was being advocated by the Comintern. Its object was to bring various political parties, trade unions, schools, universities, and churches under communist influence for the purpose of "preparing grounds for new big victories of the socialist Soviet Revolution."[26] The ULFTA then clamoured for a "People's Front" and in 1937 even changed the name of their official newspaper, *Ukrayinski Robitnychi Visty*, to *Narodna Gazeta* (People's Gazette). When Canada entered the war to fight Hitler's Germany, which at that time was allied with Stalin and the U.S.S.R., the ULFTA and *Narodna Gazeta*, following the example of the Canadian

[25] *Conference of the ULFMO*, 1935, p. 33.

[26] *Towards a Canadian People's Front* (reports and speeches of the Ninth Plenum of the Central Committee, Communist Party of Canada, Nov. 1935), issued for members only, p. 75.

Communist party, denounced Canada's participation and supported the idea of a revolutionary overthrow of the Canadian government in the time of crisis. Thereupon the Canadian government in June 1940 suppressed the Communist party, the ULFTA, and its press organs for calculated sedition, and interned all the leading members who had not escaped into hiding.

Hitler's attack on the Soviet Union on June 22, 1941, brought about a change in the tactics of the Canadian communists, who now advocated an all-out war effort, in reality to defend the U.S.S.R. The Labour-Progressive party (LPP), under the leadership of Tim Buck and composed predominantly of former members of the suppressed Communist party, emerged in 1942, but it did not renounce Leninism and conspiracy in Canada. The former ULFTA was resurrected in 1941 as the "Association to Aid the Fatherland" with a new organ *Ukrayinske Zhyttya* (Ukrainian Life), published in Toronto. The "Fatherland" was not Canada but Soviet Russia. In 1943, the organization adopted another name, the Ukrainian Canadian Association, which in 1945 was rephrased to the Association of Ukrainian Canadians; since 1946 it has been known as the Association of United Ukrainian Canadians. In 1943 the Ukrainian communist group established in Winnipeg the weekly *Ukrayinske Slovo* (Ukrainian Word), edited by Matthew Shatulski. Their youth organ, the *Ukrainian Canadian*, a monthly newspaper in English, has been appearing since 1947 under the editorship of the veteran communist, John Weir.

The work and communist propaganda of the Association of United Ukrainian Canadians, and of the Workers' Benevolent Association (which had not been suppressed during the war), have been carried on under the cloak of cultural activities. They operate in the restored Ukrainian labour temples and publicly proclaim themselves to be staunch Canadians. Since 1945 their great "achievement" has been the Ukrainian Folk Festivals, held in Toronto, Edmonton, Saskatoon, and Winnipeg.[27] The Edmonton and Saskatoon festivals were held shortly after the exposure of the communist espionage ring in 1946 and were attended by a delegation from Soviet Ukraine comprised of Luke Palamarchuk, editor of the Kiev daily *Soviet Ukraine* (an official government organ), S. W. Stefanyk, deputy to the Supreme Soviet, and guest artists. A member of the Soviet Embassy at Ottawa, M. Digtiar, and an unknown and unintroduced figure, probably a NKVD agent, accompanied the guest delegates. Throughout, praises were sung

[27]The Ukrainian Canadian Committee issued a public statement denouncing the Ukrainian Folk Festival of the AUUC, held in Winnipeg on July 30, 1949, as a cloak for the communist propaganda of John Boychuk and others. See *Winnipeg Free Press*, July 27, 29, and 30, 1949.

and voiced for the war ally, the Soviet Union, and the superior progress achieved in that wonderful land by the working class. In the programme of the Saskatoon festival, held under the patronage of distinguished public leaders and societies, such as the Lieutenant-Governor of Saskatchewan, the Chief Justice, the Attorney-General, and the Minister of Education of the province, the President of the University of Saskatchewan, as well as the Canadian Legion branch and the Imperial Order of the Daughters of the Empire, there appeared the following statement revealing the identity of the organization sponsoring the festival: "This great work of the ULFTA has been carried forward by the Association of Ukrainian Canadians. Under the joint auspices of the Association of Ukrainian Canadians and the Society for Canadian Soviet Friendship, an Eastern-Canadian Festival of Ukrainian song, music and dance was held in July 1945, in Toronto."[28]

In recent years, this Ukrainian pro-communist group has been active in many ways. Vera Lysenko, formerly of Winnipeg, in *Men in Sheepskin Coats* (1947), a study of Ukrainian Canadian life, elevated the ULFTA, its successor the AUUC, and the pro-Soviet point of view to the leading and most constructive role in Ukrainian Canadian society, without any mention of their seditious record.[29] Their recent convert, Wasyl Swystun, a founder of the Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church and the Ukrainian Self-Reliance League and a former leader of the Ukrainian National Federation, has been active in denouncing the incoming Ukrainian displaced persons and in lauding Soviet Ukraine.[30] He has worked for the folk festivals, and heads a small circle of friends of the Soviet Union, called the Association for Cultural Relations with Ukraine. The Congress of Canadian Slavs which was held at Toronto on June 29, 30, and July 1, 1950, was in reality a communist manifestation. (Delegates to it from the Soviet satellite Slav countries were forbidden entry to Canada.) Ukrainian communists of long standing, William Kardash, LPP provincial member for Winnipeg, John Weir,[31] Matthew Shatulski, and John Boychuk, president of the Congress,

[28] *Ukrainian-Canadian Festival, Saskatoon, July 31st, 1946*, p. 22.

[29] Professor Watson Kirkconnell in his lengthy book review of *Men in Sheepskin Coats* in *Opinion* (July, 1948) exposed the subtle communist propaganda of Vera Lysenko, which was never denied by her.

[30] The following pro-Soviet speeches of Wasyl Swystun have been published: *Ukrayinske Pytannya v Svitli Voyennykh Podiy* (The Ukrainian Question in the Light of the Events of the War), 1945; *Ukrayinska Derzhava i Ukrayintsi Poza Mezhamy Ukrayiny* (The Ukrainian State and the Ukrainians outside the Borders of Ukraine), 1945; *Ukrayinska Derzhava v Svitli Istoriyi i Tradytsiyi* (The Ukrainian State in the Light of History and Traditions), 1945; *Ukrayina i Skytaltsi* (Ukraine and the Refugees), 1946.

[31] John Weir's booklet, *Slavs*, is written from the pro-Soviet point of view.

played the leading roles in the proceedings. In 1951, the group campaigned for the Stockholm peace resolution urged by the U.S.S.R., upheld the "Peoples' China" against Chiang Kai-shek, condemned the United States, the United Nations, and Canada for intervention in Korea, and fought for better living conditions in Canada under the leadership of the Labour-Progressive party.

To the uninformed person, the misleading name "Association of United Ukrainian Canadians" and its well-publicized activities may convey the idea that this Ukrainian communist group has a large following among Ukrainian Canadians. The Association itself has professed to speak for the majority of its compatriots.

The facts reveal that this group does not represent the Ukrainian Canadians and that it unites only a relatively small number of communists and their sympathizers. Raymond Arthur Davies' figure of 20,000 members is exaggerated.[32] In 1931, when it was reaching its peak, the ULFTA claimed to speak on behalf of 6,750 members[33] but the costs of the Twelfth Convention were divided among 4,400 members who were actually dependable.[34] At that time the Workers' Benevolent Association, which was composed predominantly of ULFTA members, recorded 5,753 members in 110 branches.[35] Daniel Lobay, editor for sixteen years of *Ukrayinski Robitnychi Visty*, claims that the peak was reached in 1935, and that the ULFTA commanded about 6,000 members of both sexes.[36] The group owned 108 halls when the organization was suppressed in 1940. Compared with the six organizations (comprised of over 1,450 units in over 1,000 buildings) united in the Ukrainian Canadian Committee, the Association of United Ukrainian Canadians is seen to have a membership which is a small fraction of the total membership of organized units; its membership is a still smaller minority (not over two per cent) of the Ukrainian Canadian population of 400,000, which is preponderantly loyal to Canada and her institutions.[37]

Yet the strength of this communist element should not be underestimated. Its activities are supported by a larger number of sympathizers and fellow-travellers than are recorded in the membership.[38] The members form a large wing of the communist movement in

[32]Davies, *op. cit.*, p. 19.
[33]*Report and Resolutions of the Twelfth Convention*, p. 67.
[34]*Ibid.*, p. 83.
[35]*Zvit i Rezolyutsiyi Vosmoyi Konventsiyi R.Z.T.* (Report and Resolutions of the Eighth Convention of the W.B.A., July 13–14, 1932), p. 7. It is a thorough communist record.
[36]Statement by Lobay at an interview in Winnipeg, July 22, 1950.
[37]See chap. VI, p. 90.
[38]For strength of the Labour Progressive Party in the province, see chap. XII, pp. 184–5.

Canada, which is led by men well trained in revolutionary methods and in propaganda. It is wise to remember that the Bolsheviks in Russia formed no greater a proportion when they seized the government in 1917. Fortunately, the large majority of patriotic Ukrainian Canadians are highly conscious of the possible threat of the fifth column in their midst and will not allow the situation to run out of control. But the co-operation of all Canadians is essential. Vigilance is the price of the preservation of our democratic institutions.

CHAPTER EIGHT • The Press

THE NEW WORLD, VASTLY DIFFERENT IN LANGUAGE, agricultural and economic practices, social habits, institutions, attitudes, and political customs from Ukraine, required interpretation for the bewildered settler in Canada. The Ukrainian immigrant struggled hard to adapt himself to the new conditions, but being very conservative in character wished to retain as much as possible of his native culture. The churches and the Ukrainian organizations, themselves in the process of being established, could meet this need only to a limited extent. Consequently, it was inevitable that Ukrainian-language newspapers should make their appearance.

The Ukrainian press in Canada has had a chequered career.[1] Many newspapers lasted for only a short while. Some of these were written in a mixed Ukrainian-Russian jargon, which could hardly be understood by the Ukrainians or the Russians, and were immediately doomed to extinction. Others were too factional and did not meet the general needs of the people. Those newspapers survived which had the support of a strong church or an active organization.

For the first few years, during which time the influx of Ukrainians was steadily increasing, no attempts were made to establish a Ukrainian paper. In this early period it could not be expected that new settlers, a large percentage of whom were illiterate and almost all of whom were poor and unconversant with the laws and business methods of this country, would undertake such a venture. Furthermore, there were few educated leaders among them and no experienced journalists or editors. For some time, many availed themselves of the newspapers which were published in the United States, notably *Svoboda* (Liberty) and also *Amerikansky Russky Viestnik* (American Russian Herald), a pro-Russian (Russophil) organ.

Most of the popular and influential Ukrainian newspapers which made their appearance before 1918 were established and subsidized by Canadian political parties or religious denominations interested in se-

[1]Sources: the Rev. P. Bozyk, *Tserkov Ukrayintsiv v Kanadi* (Ukrainian Churches in Canada); Watson Kirkconnell, *Seven Pillars of Freedom*; Vera Lysenko, *Men in Sheepskin Coats; Propamyatna Knyha Poselennya Ukrayinskoho Narodu v Kanadi, 1891-1941* (Commemorative Book of the Settlement of the Ukrainian People in Canada); Charles H. Young, *The Ukrainian Canadians.*

curing the support of large sections of the new settlers—the citizens or prospective citizens of this country. Thus the first paper, *Kanadiysky Farmer* (Canadian Farmer) was founded in 1903 by Frank Oliver, later Minister of the Interior in a Liberal Government. *Ranok* (Dawn), the organ of the Bodrugite Independent Greek Church, established in 1905, was subsidized by the Presbyterian Synod. *Kanadiysky Rusin* (Canadian Ruthenian) began publication in 1911, and for some time was financed for the Greek Catholic Church by the Roman Catholic Archbishop Adelard Langevin, of St. Boniface. In 1919 it became *Kanadiysky Ukrayinets* (Canadian Ukrainian); publication was suspended in 1929 after Bishop Nicetas Budka left Canada. All of these papers were published in Winnipeg.

During this period several papers were founded in Winnipeg by groups working among the Ukrainians. A pro-Russian paper, *Kanadiyskaya Nyva* (Canadian Field), which was written in a curious Russian-Ukrainian jargon, was established in Edmonton in 1905 by Archimandrite Arseny Chekhovtsev of the Russian Orthodox Church, but ceased publication in 1911 when the priest left Canada. The organ of the radical Social Democrats, *Chervony Prapor* (Red Flag), made a brief appearance in 1907. It was taken over by a new and more radical group within the party and renamed *Robochy Narod* (Toiling People), but was banned in 1918. In 1919 it was revived as *Ukrayinski Robitnychi Visty* (Ukrainian Labour News). In 1910 the Ukrainian nationalists established *Ukrayinsky Holos* (Ukrainian Voice) which was supported by the Ukrainian teachers in particular and it is still being published. The latter two papers sustained themselves principally because they advocated a Ukrainian policy.

The appearance of the Ukrainian state in Europe towards the end of the First World War and its subsequent partition among covetous neighbours brought into sharp focus certain trends in the Ukrainian Canadian society. Nationalism became the dominant force, and the name "Ukrainian" replaced the former designation of "Ruthenian." In this development all the Ukrainian papers, except the pro-Russian publications, played their part.

The rapidly growing national consciousness of the people quickly spelled the end of the moribund Russian Orthodox mission among the Ukrainian Canadians. Canon Panteleymon Bozyk, a Ukrainian, tried to bolster up the Russian mission among the Bukovinian Ukrainians by publishing a Ukrainian weekly, *Bukovina*, in 1920-1, but finding the task hopeless he left his former church and joined the Greek Catholic Church. The Russian mission in New York then sent Archimandrite Benjamin Basalyga to Winnipeg, and he established a mixed Russian-Ukrainian weekly, *Kanadiyskaya Zhyzn* (Canadian Life), in 1921.

It could not meet the competition of the new Ukrainian Orthodox Church and the Greek Catholic Church with their powerful organs, and went bankrupt in 1924. Soon afterwards the Russian Orthodox Church and the old Russophil element which denounced Ukrainian aspirations quickly lost ground among the Ukrainians in Canada.

The radical Social Democrats and many of the old Russophils gave their support to the cause of communism and to Soviet Ukraine as an integral section of the Soviet Union. The mouth-piece of this new pro-Russian movement was *Ukrayinski Robitnychi Visty* (Ukrainian Labour News), with its successors, which were mentioned in the preceding chapter.

The dominant trend of the Ukrainian Canadians, however, was decidedly towards nationalism. The church of the great majority of the people, the Greek Catholic, with its organ, *Kanadiysky Ukrayinets* (Canadian Ukrainian), openly supported the hetmanite-monarchical form of government for an independent Ukraine. The second largest denomination, the Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church, with its organ, *Vistnyk* (Herald), advocated support for an independent republican Ukraine. *Ukrayinsky Holos* (Ukrainian Voice), which also supported this new church, was likewise republican-minded. *Kanadiysky Farmer* upheld the cause of Ukraine's independence, but vacillated between monarchism and republicanism. *Novy Shlyakh* (New Pathway), the organ of the Ukrainian National Federation, which was first published in Edmonton in 1930, then in Saskatoon, and from 1942 in Winnipeg, designated itself as "nationalist." Many other papers and magazines in Winnipeg which became defunct supported some form of nationalism.[2] All strongly denounced communism, the Russian occupation of Ukraine in 1920, and Polish, Czech, and Rumanian rule of other parts of Ukraine.

The depression of the 1930's meant gloomy prospects for the Ukrainian Canadian press. Nearly all of the papers lost subscribers and income, and some were on the point of bankruptcy. The rapid advance of Canadianization, which meant the breaking away of young people from Ukrainian institutions, promised a grim future for the press in general.

[2]The following papers, formerly published in Winnipeg, are defunct: *Slovo* (1904), *Kanadyskaya Nyva, Pravoslavye, Chervony Prapor, Robochy Narod, Khata, Kanadysky Ukrayinets (Rusin), Slovo Pravdy, Nasha Syla, Kadylo, Kropylo, Ukrayina, Ukrayinsky Robitnychi Visty, Narodna Gazeta, Holos Pratsi, Holos Robitnytsi, Robitnytsya, Farmerske Zhytya, Svit Molodi, Boyova Molod, Pravda i Volya, Robitnyche Slovo, Robitnycha Gazeta, Kanadyskaya Zhyzn, Kanadysky Pravoslavny Missionar, Bukovyna, Kanadyski Visty, Kanada, Rilnyk, Pasika, Ditochy Svit, Promin, Striletski Visty, Prosvita, Kanadyska Sich, Vuyko, Dzvinochok, Nyva, Ridna Tserkva, Nedilya, Vira, Tochylo,* and *Ukrainian Canadian Review*. The papers are listed in *Propamyatna Knyha*, pp. 39–44.

By means of intensive campaigns for subscriptions, donations, and advertising, in which the organizations played the leading part, the Ukrainian newspapers gradually regained their buoyancy. Since the end of the Second World War all of them have expanded in circulation. A notable increase in the amount and the type of advertising is also evident. As matters now stand, the Ukrainian-language papers which have weathered the depression and the war appear to be in sound financial condition. The steady arrival of Ukrainian immigrants from western Europe offers prospects for further expansion.

The presence of a large Canadian-born element (65 per cent of the Ukrainian Canadian population in 1941) has meant a new tendency in the Ukrainian press: the appearance of periodicals in the English language. At first this innovation was condemned by the leaders of organizations as well as by immigrant parents. Since the war years, however, the step has been grudgingly approved by the organizations, on the ground that they will thus have a means of access to the large numbers of young people who no longer read Ukrainian. The popularity of the magazines *Opinion* and *Youth Speaks* indicates that these periodicals may expand, and that new ones may enter the field in the near future.

IDEOLOGICAL PRESS

Ideologically the Ukrainian press arrays itself in two uncompromising camps, nationalist and communist. The great majority of newspapers espouse the cause of the liberation of Ukraine from under the Soviet Russian yoke. A small but vociferous minority gives its support to Soviet Ukraine, the Soviet Union, the cause of Russian communism, and the establishment of a Soviet government in Canada.[3]

Kanadiysky Farmer (Canadian Farmer). This pioneer Ukrainian Canadian newspaper, founded in Winnipeg in 1903, was established by Frank Oliver as a Liberal organ. Its first editor was John Negrich, a student of Manitoba College, who later became a minister in the Independent Greek Church. In 1914 the paper was purchased by Frank Dojachek, of Czech origin, who incorporated it into the National Press Limited. The paper is still pro-Liberal. In Ukrainian affairs it never had a fixed policy and varied with each editor, but it has always supported the cause of Ukrainian liberation. Its claim to be independent in policy and its attempt to steer a middle path have added to the popularity of *Kanadiysky Farmer*. This twelve-page weekly claims to have 15,000 subscribers and is a member of the Audit Bureau of Cir-

[3]See chap. VII.

culation and the Canadian Newspaper Association. Since 1945 the editor has been M. Hykawy, a Canadian-born Ukrainian.[4]

Ukrayinsky Holos (Ukrainian Voice). Another pioneer newspaper, *Ukrayinsky Holos*, was founded in Winnipeg in 1910 by a group of Ukrainian public school teachers led by Taras Ferley, then a socialist, who was later elected to the Manitoba legislature. The first editor was Wasyl Kudryk, later a priest of the Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church. The paper popularized the use of the word "Ukrainian" to replace "Ruthenian." Nationalist-republican in outlook, it supported secular bursas (students' hostels),[5] and from 1918 the independent (autocephalous) Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church in Canada. In 1927 it became the organ of the Ukrainian Self-Reliance League and its affiliates. Its guiding light for a quarter of a century was Myroslaw Stechishin, a former radical socialist and anti-clerical. Since his death in 1948 *Ukrayinsky Holos* has been edited by John Syrnick, a former school-teacher, born near Dauphin.[6] The circulation stands at about 10,000. This twelve-page weekly is published by the Trident Press Limited (formerly the Ukrainian Publishing Company), which also publishes Ukrainian books.

Novy Shlyakh (New Pathway). One of the latest Ukrainian Canadian newspapers and one that has made most rapid strides is *Novy Shlyakh*, which was established in 1930 in Edmonton by its editor, Michael Pohorecky. In 1933, it was transferred to Saskatoon where it expanded from an eight-page to a twelve-page weekly and in 1938 it became an eight-page semi-weekly. Finally the paper migrated to Winnipeg in 1942. *Novy Shlyakh* has been a supporter of the revolutionary nationalist movement struggling to expel enemies from the Ukrainian lands and to establish an independent and sovereign Ukrainian republican state. As an organ of the Ukrainian National Federation, it denounces religious intolerance, urges unity, and aggressively attacks the communist movement. The editor-in-chief is still Michael Pohorecky, a former officer of the Ukrainian Galician army of 1918-21, and the assistant edior is Wolodymyr Martynec, a journalist who ar-

[4]Other editors of *Kanadiysky Farmer* were Joseph Megas, Sigmund Bychinsky, Apolinar Nowak, Onufrey Hykawy, Dr. T. Datskiw, Dr. C. H. Andrysyshen (now a professor).

[5]Bursas are student residences for those coming from outside points to the city. The students, who attend high school, technical school, normal school, or university, also receive regular courses in Ukrainian language, history, literature, folk-dances, music, etc. In the early 1920's the Ukrainian Orthodox group owned bursas at Winnipeg, Saskatoon, and Edmonton.

[6]The following have been editors or assistant editors of *Ukrayinsky Holos*: the Rev. Wasyl Kudryk; Orest Zerebko, B.A., later M.L.A.; Honore Ewach, B.A.; Apolinar Nowak; Daniel Lobay.

rived in 1950 from a displaced persons' camp in Germany.[7] W. Kossar, M.Sc., agronomist, edits the page for farmers. With a circulation of over 10,000, the paper is a member of the Audit Bureau of Circulation and the Canadian Newspaper Association. It is published by the Ukrainian National Publishing Company, which owns a fine five-storey building.

Samostiyna Ukrayina (Independent Ukraine). Established early in 1948 in Winnipeg, *Samostiyna Ukrayina* is the only Ukrainian-language magazine of political thought published in Canada. Large in format (32 pages) this monthly magazine is devoted predominantly to support of the revolutionary struggle for an independent Ukraine against the Soviet Union. The first editor was Bohdan Bociurkiw, a newcomer, who in 1952 received the B.A. degree, majoring in Political Science, from the University of Manitoba. The magazine is now edited in the United States. The list of subscribers is not very large.

Zhinochy Svit (Woman's World). This monthly magazine commenced publication in January 1950. It is the organ of the Ukrainian Women's Organization which is affiliated with the Ukrainian National Federation. As the title suggests, this excellently edited magazine is primarily concerned with women's affairs. A section for children and regular articles of interest in the English language are added features. The first editor, Dr. Nina Syniawska, a recent immigrant, was succeeded in 1951 by Mrs. Stephania Bubniuk, formerly of Saskatoon.

Ukrayinske Slovo (Ukrainian Word). After the Ukrainian Labour Farmer Temple Association was banned in 1940 and its halls and its organ, *Narodna Gazeta*, confiscated for subversive activities against Canada, the same communist group founded the Ukrainian Canadian Association (now known as the Association of United Ukrainian Canadians) and in 1943 established *Ukrayinske Slovo* in Winnipeg. Matthew Shatulski, the avowed communist leader who formerly edited *Ukrayinski Robitnychi Visty* and *Narodna Gazeta*, edited this weekly until his death in 1952. *Slovo* glorifies the "phenomenal" socialistic progress in Soviet Ukraine and the Soviet Union, denounces capitalists in Canada and throughout the world, supports communist-led strikes and the Labour-Progressive party, brands all anti-communists as fascists and nazis, and eulogizes the Society for Canadian Soviet Friendship and the new "peace" movements. Simultaneously it unceasingly condemns the Marshall Plan, the North Atlantic Pact, intervention in Korea, and all movements opposed to Soviet Russia. The twenty-page

[7]Among the assistant editors of *Novy Shlyakh* were Roman Kramar, Alexander Gregorovich, Wladimir Kossar, M.Sc., Wasyl Topolnycky, Dr. Ivan Gulay, and Honore Ewach.

tabloid-size paper claimed a circulation of 11,000 in 1951, but the figure was undoubtedly exaggerated.

RELIGIOUS PAPERS

Kanadiysky Ranok (Canadian Dawn). The second oldest paper, introduced with the name *Ranok*, was founded in Winnipeg in 1905 by Rev. John Bodrug and the clergymen of the Independent Greek Church, a subsidiary organization of the Presbyterian Church of Canada. The eight-page weekly was popular in the beginning, but rapidly lost support when it revealed its Presbyterian connection. When the United Church of Canada was projected, *Ranok* of the Presbyterian Church and *Kanadiyets* (Canadian) of the Methodist Church were amalgamated in 1920 into *Kanadiysky Ranok*, which was to be an organ of the United Church. An English section has been maintained for the youth. Edited by Rev. J. Robert-Kovalevich, the paper has a small circulation.

Vistnyk (Herald). This semi-monthly was founded in 1924 under the name *Pravoslavny Vistnyk* (Orthodox Herald), as an organ of the new Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church. From its inception it has been edited by the Rev. Wasyl Kudryk, formerly editor of *Ukrayinsky Holos*. Over 4,500 names were on its subscription lists in 1951.

Buduchnist Natsiyi (Future of the Nation). Originally published in 1933 as a monthly magazine entitled *Bulletin*, in 1938 *Buduchnist Natsiyi* was converted into a twelve-page tabloid-size paper appearing twice monthly. Throughout the years it has been edited by Father Stephen Semczuk. The editorial office is located in Winnipeg but the paper is printed by the Redemptorist Press at Yorkton, Saskatchewan. This organ of the Ukrainian Catholic Brotherhood has often displayed an intolerant attitude towards all non-Catholic groups. Most of the youth page is written in the English language and is concerned mainly with religious problems. The paper claimed over 4,000 subscribers in 1951, when it temporarily suspended publication.

Khrystiyansky Vistnyk (Christian Herald). This monthly paper is published in Winnipeg by the Ukrainian Baptists, previously known as Stundists.[8] For the most part the subscribers consist of Ukrainians coming from Ukrainian lands formerly under tsarist Russian domination. The publication is strictly evangelical, and rarely is space devoted to Ukrainian affairs. A considerable portion of its supporters, although Ukrainians, still call themselves Russians. The editor in 1951 was the Rev. P. Kindrat.

[8]See chap. v for explanation of "Stundists."

MISCELLANEOUS PUBLICATIONS

Komar (Mosquito). Before the appearance of *Komar* in 1949, the only Ukrainian Canadian magazine devoted to humour had been *Tochylo* (Grindstone), which lost popularity because it ridiculed for the most part the Catholic clergy and prominent leaders of organizations. *Komar* was an illustrated semi-monthly magazine of satire and humour, published in Winnipeg by Iwan Tyktor, who had been the leading publisher in Western Ukraine before Soviet occupation in 1939. An extensive variety of humour is found in its pages, some always ridiculing communism. The publication became bankrupt in 1951.

Miy Pryyatel (My Friend). This well-illustrated and well-edited children's magazine, which appeared in 1949, is published monthly by the Ukrainian Catholic Council in Winnipeg. Fulfilling an important need in vernacular education and containing interesting material in Ukrainian as well as English, the magazine's success has lived up to expectations, and it has been steadily increasing in popularity.

PUBLICATIONS IN ENGLISH

Opinion. The *UCSA Newsletter*, which was first issued by the Ukrainian Canadian Servicemen's Association in London, England, in October 1943, became the *UCVA Newsletter* of the Ukrainian Canadian Veterans' Association in Winnipeg in May 1946, and *Opinion* in January 1947.[9] It is the sole Ukrainian Canadian magazine published entirely in the English language. This monthly features articles on various aspects of Ukrainian culture, Ukrainian affairs, Ukrainian Canadian problems and activities, as well as short stories and poems. Frequent contributors of articles are Professor Watson Kirkconnell, Professor G. W. Simpson, Professor Paul Yuzyk, and Dr. Isidore Hlynka. There have been a number of short stories from the pen of William Paluk and poems by Myra Lazechko-Haas.[10] The position of editor has been held by Dr. W. Grenkow, William Paluk, and Anthony J. Yaremovich. *Opinion* reached over 3,000 subscribers in 1950, when it temporarily suspended publication.

Youth Speaks (Holos Molodi). From its inception in 1934 the Ukrainian National Youth Federation (UNYF) maintained a page in *Novy Shlyakh* which contained some English material. After the semi-weekly was moved from Saskatoon to Winnipeg in 1942, the youth page adopted the title "Holos Molodi." To meet the increasing de-

[9]See chap. vi, p. 88.
[10]See chap. ix for their literary contributions.

mand of the branches for a separate paper with more English-language content, the Dominion executive of the UNYF began publishing in 1947 the bilingual eight-page monthly paper, *Youth Speaks*. In 1949, the paper was converted into a bilingual magazine. The English section of the magazine carries news of significance to Ukrainian Canadian youth, biographical articles, editorials, reports of organizational activities, articles on various aspects of Ukrainian culture, book reviews, humour, poems, short stories, and reprints from other publications. The Ukrainian section contains articles on Ukrainian national affairs, history, literature, traditions, customs, national anniversaries, as well as cross-word puzzles. The editorial staff consists mainly of university students. Close to 2,000 young people subscribed to the periodical in 1951. With Leon Kossar, B.A., *Winnipeg Tribune* journalist, and Bohdan Bociurkiw, B.A., student, as voluntary editors, *Youth Speaks* was published as a quarterly in 1951 and 1952, and with the January issue of 1953 will revert to a monthly, published alternately in English and Ukrainian. The English issues carry the name *Ukrainian Digest*.

Ukrainian Commentary. This eight-page monthly English-language publication, in small print, which made its appearance in March 1952, is published by the Ukrainian Canadian Committee. It contains editorials, short articles, critical commentaries, news briefs, and short reviews of books on current affairs and topics of particular interest to the Ukrainian Canadian community. This periodical is significant because it expresses the viewpoint of the ethnic group on important matters. Over 5,000 copies are sent regularly to Canadian leaders in politics, education, and community affairs, to editors of newspapers and magazines, and to various libraries, institutions, and organizations.

OTHER UKRAINIAN PAPERS

The Manitoba Ukrainians subscribe to and read several Ukrainian papers published outside the province. The popular Catholic papers are: *Ukrayinski Visti* (Ukrainian News), a weekly published in Edmonton: *Svitlo* (Light), a semi-monthly published at Mundare, Alberta; and *Holos Spasytelya* (Redeemer's Voice), a monthly magazine published at Yorkton, Saskatchewan. The pro-communist organ, *Ukrayinske Zhyttya* (Ukrainian Life), and the hetmanite-monarchist paper, *Ukrayinsky Robitnyk* (Ukrainian Toiler), both weeklies published in Toronto, are read by small sections of the Ukrainian population of Manitoba. Many of the Ukrainian newcomers subscribe to *Homin Ukrayiny* (Echo of Ukraine), published irregularly in Toronto

by former displaced persons who censure the existing Ukrainian Canadian organizations and their policies. The most popular Ukrainian American papers are the nationalist daily, *Svoboda* (Liberty) of Jersey City, New Jersey, and *America*, a Greek Catholic newspaper, now published daily in Philadelphia.

As can be seen from this outline the Ukrainian Canadian newspapers are all organs of secular organizations or churches. Hence their contents, including the news, are coloured by propaganda, notoriously so in the communist press. Since the establishment of the Ukrainian Canadian Committee, it is true, the polemic nature of editorials and articles in the nationalist press has greatly decreased. Controversy, however, is still waged between the nationalist and the communist papers, and occasionally between organs advocating particular religious points of view. Smearing of individuals, which had been common in the 1920's and 1930's, has almost disappeared in all papers except the pro-communist.

Despite its partisan nature, the press has performed a meritorious service in imparting useful information which otherwise would have been unavailable to the people. Besides the general news, which is obtained from the English press, the Ukrainian newspapers contain news of Ukraine and Ukrainian activities in various parts of the world and in Canada. Such news is derived from the Ukrainian papers published in Ukraine or elsewhere, as well as through press services, such as the Ukrainian Press Service and the Ukrainian Bureau of Information in Europe. A wealth of Ukrainian literature including serial novels, short stories, satires, poems, history, and essays, is found in the pages of the press. Sections devoted to the improvement of agriculture, gardening, home cooking, handicrafts, education of children, etc., are popular features. All this information has promoted enormously the self-education of a large proportion of the people. A sample of the contents of these papers can be found in the appendix to this chapter.

There are other features worthy of note in the Ukrainian Canadian press. Regular sections are devoted to women's affairs, with emphasis on a particular women's organization, as well as to youth activities and the support of a definite youth association. Recently, youth pages have been partially prepared in the English language, in order to appeal to young people who have little or no ability to read or understand Ukrainian. Other sections are sometimes given over to fraternal societies, business and professional affairs, and to a children's corner. Editorials discuss Ukrainian problems, Canadian and international affairs, and organizational points of view. A readers' forum, which fills

a full page, is found in all the papers and magazines. In recent years, illustrations are being used more often and advertising has been increasing. Since the Second World War some of the leading papers have been publishing long lists of persons searching for relatives or friends in the displaced persons' camps in Europe, or of displaced persons searching for their kin in Canada. Many letters of thanks from persons who have found their relatives appear in the press.

The editors of the various Ukrainian papers and magazines published in this country have been and still are self-made men in their profession. Trained journalists are an exception. Those chosen for the task have come from various walks of life. Clergymen, teachers, students not yet finished their courses, and writers predominate. Most of them are immigrants with old country training, but many have received some education in Canada. In recent years, more and more Canadian-trained and Canadian-born men have entered the field. Editors are selected for their ability to write in Ukrainian and for their enthusiasm in supporting the policy of the group publishing the paper. For this reason the contents of each paper have a definite bias, while the standard of editing and writing has seldom risen above mediocrity.

Notwithstanding their comparatively low salaries, editors are expected to carry a tremendous load. The editorial work alone frequently requires hours of overtime. In addition, the editor is often responsible for the publication of calendar-almanacs,[11] pamphlets, leaflets, posters, etc. Considered an influential man, an ideologist, and a leader, he invariably takes a leading part in organizational work, particularly in propaganda activities such as public meetings and the framing of resolutions. Most papers have one heavily burdened editor; the semi-weekly *Novy Shlyakh* (New Pathway) has had two assistants besides the editor-in-chief.

Despite the poor working conditions and lack of proper reward, many men, chiefly because of their attachment to the cause advocated by the paper, have served in an editorial capacity for a long time. The longest service has been given by the late Myroslaw Stechishin (forty-one years), the late Onufrey Hykawy, the Rev. Wasyl Kudryk, and the late Matthew Shatulski. Others who have been in the profession fifteen

[11]Calendar-almanacs, each from 150 to 200 pages, are published annually by the large newspapers. The first section consists of a month-by-month calendar indicating church holidays, national anniversaries, and chronology of Ukrainian historical events. The remainder of the book (80 per cent) contains articles on Ukrainian history, political affairs, religion, and literature, on Canadian life and institutions, and on some aspects of agriculture; short stories, biographies, memoirs, poems, and humour; illustrations; addresses of organizations; and advertising. The almanac is partially a propaganda medium for the organization sponsoring the publication. See chap. IX.

years or more are Sigmund Bychinsky, Dr. Alexander Sushko, Michael Pohorecky, Dr. T. Datzkiw, Father Stephen Semczuk, and Honore Ewach.

The foreign-language press has at times been criticized as an obstacle hindering assimilation. The persons who came forward with the condemnations were those who have never had to learn to speak another vastly different language. The fact is that the great majority of the adult Slav immigrants have never acquired a sufficient knowledge of the English language to be able to read English papers with comprehension. The Woodsworth survey of 1917 showed that 96 per cent of the Ukrainians questioned did not read English papers.[12] Canadianization would have been greatly retarded had there not been a Ukrainian-language medium accessible to the immigrants.

The fact that the Ukrainian press has been responsible to a great extent for the decrease of illiteracy among the people is a contribution that is seldom recognized. A considerable percentage of the immigrants at first knew neither how to read nor how to write, yet all were anxious and eager to learn the news and information in their own papers. It was common in the pioneer days to witness a group of listeners gathered around a person who read aloud from the paper which had just arrived. In time many of the illiterates learned to read for themselves, thanks to the interest that had been aroused by the papers.

The foremost function of the Ukrainian Canadian press has been education. The extensive information it has presented about Canada—the laws, the institutions, the customs, and the political views—has been a powerful, if not the most important, factor in helping the immigrant to adjust himself to the conditions of his newly adopted country. The Canadian political parties, religious denominations, large business establishments (the Wheat Pools, etc.) did not hesitate to use the Ukrainian press to propagate their particular views. Within the Ukrainian Canadian society itself, it was the press that crystallized the views of the compatriots and directed the course of national consciousness, of cultural activities, and of national aspirations. Without exaggeration, it can be recorded that the Ukrainian press has been the most powerful instrument in moulding the opinions of the immigrant settlers.

At the present time the influence of the press is still quite substantial. The older settlers and the new immigrants depend on it for news and information, particularly on Ukrainian matters and Ukrainian Canadian problems. Only a small percentage of Canadian-born youth, however, read the Ukrainian-language press and young people are therefore only slightly influenced by it. Since they read the English Canadian

[12]See Young, *op. cit.*, p. 166.

newspapers and magazines, and listen to the radio, they do not feel the need of reading Ukrainian-language papers. Those born in this country who still have an interest in Ukrainian culture and national aspirations are giving support to Ukrainian periodicals and publications in the English language.

APPENDIX

The following inventory of items found in the Winnipeg semi-weekly *Novy Shlyakh* (New Pathway) of May 18, 1949, is generally representative of Ukrainian Canadian newspapers.

Page 1. Headline: "United Nations Rejects Polish Accusations Regarding D.P.'s"; a double column review of world events; separate news items on communist advances on Shanghai, Britain's ratification of Atlantic Pact, recognition of new West German state, spy trial at Washington, Moscow and the coming Paris Conference, etc.; brief news items; photo of King George VI after twenty years on the throne and a photo of the large $10,000,000 apartment block in Montreal for 1,000 families.

Page 2. A short story about a Soviet Siberian slave camp; an article on air mail stamps of the Ukrainian National Republic of 1917-21; double columns entitled "Chronicle of cultural life" and "News from Ukraine"; an advertisement of a philatelist.

Page 3. Farmers' page with articles on "Seeding in the prairie provinces" and "New chemical weed killers"; also on the grasshopper threat; news items on a barley competition and rust experiment over the North Pole; a cartoon on grasshoppers; a one-third page advertisement of weed-killers by the United Grain Growers Ltd.

Page 4. Editorial page: a long editorial on the communist fifth column in North America; article on Latvian views on the Russians; open reply of W. Kossar, Dominion president of the Ukrainian National Federation, to accusation of the Catholic paper, *Buduchnist Natsiyi*, regarding his denunciation of religious intolerance; column on Canadian news; appeal for funds for the building of the largest Ukrainian Canadian community hall at Toronto; announcement of the Federation of Ukrainian Foresters; and photo of stamp-printing in the United Kingdom.

Page 5. Review of *Slavonic Encyclopaedia* by Professor J. Rudnyckyj; essay by Professor L. Bilecky entitled "The believing Shevchenko"; a double column headed "Let us preserve our culture" dealing with the coming Ukrainian summer school held by the Ukrainian Cultural and Educational Centre; photo of baby Prince Charles with parents, Duke of Edinburgh and Princess Elizabeth; large advertisement by Royal Bank of Canada and two smaller ones.

Page 6. Readers' page: accounts of organizational activities at Sarto, Man., Rouyn-Noranda, Que., Toronto, Sudbury, and Winnipeg; announcement of handicraft display; article on participation of the Ukrainian mass choir in Winnipeg's 75th birthday celebrations; statement of gratitude of a newly arrived priest, Father L. Kussy; a half-page of advertising.

Page 7. Ukrainian Scouts Corner; news of sports events in which Ukrainians have participated; large announcements of concerts at Winnipeg and Montreal, in which outstanding artists perform; half-page of advertising from Sudbury, Ont.

Page 8. Long statement of thanks and photo of Mrs. I. Pavlikovsky, president of the European Organization of Ukrainian Women, who had recently toured Canada; section devoted to education and science; organizational announcements; half-page of advertisements among which the outstanding are for a large history of Ukraine, the election of a Liberal candidate, annual spring concert of Ukrainian National Youth Federation, "Help" parcels for needy D.P.'s, Ukrainian National Association (insurance), subscriptions to the *Christian Science Monitor* (Boston, U.S.A.).

CHAPTER NINE . Ukrainian Literature

FOR AN APPRECIATION OF THE SENTIMENTS, THE attitudes, and certain of the intellectual attainments of the Ukrainians in Canada one must turn to their literature.[1] The transplantation of the Ukrainians from their native land to a new and entirely different country and the slow and difficult process of adjustment involved a great deal of emotional strain. From the conflict between the culture of the old world and the developing Canadian culture there emerged of necessity new values of life. This emotional and intellectual side of the life of the immigrants and their offspring found expression in two languages in Ukrainian Canadian literature, which developed alongside the extensive English Canadian literature and other lesser literatures.

Canadians in general, including the Ukrainians themselves, are but slightly, if at all, aware of the large amount of literature that has appeared in Ukrainian-language publications in Canada since the opening of the century. Arriving in the new world with a traditional love for song, music, and poetry, the Ukrainian settlers were not slow to put their thoughts into written and vocal expression. Every Ukrainian Canadian paper, magazine, and annual almanac has been devoting considerable space to literary works.

According to the leading authority on European Canadian literature, Professor Watson Kirkconnell, "At least ten thousand Ukrainian poems lie mouldering in the back files of the Ukrainian Canadian press. . . . Of the hundred or so Canadians publishing poetry to-day in Ukrainian, the majority turn out the simplest kind of ballad measure, with thought and expression ranging all the way from flabby doggerel up to genuine human power."[2] To this poetry should be added also thousands of anecdotes, short stories, novels, plays, and works of scholarship. In comparison with the general Canadian average, the literary output of the Ukrainian Canadians must be considered as prodigious.

[1]Sources: *Antologiya Ukrayinskoho Pysmenstva v Kanadi* (Anthology of Ukrainian Literature in Canada); Watson Kirkconnell, *Canadian Overtones* and "Ukrainian Canadian Literature," *Opinion*, Sept.-Oct. 1947; works of individual authors mentioned in the text of the chapter, and interviews with Honore Ewach, Dr. Mykyta Mandryka, and Dr. Pawlo Macenko.

[2]Kirkconnell, "Ukrainian Canadian Literature," p. 3.

Yet half a century of enormous production in Ukrainian Canadian literature has left only negligible traces on Canadian literature as a whole. This is owing not to its lack of merit—for there is much that is of high literary value—but chiefly to the fact that its works have been written in the Ukrainian language, which has been unknown to Canadian critics. That the bulk of these writings and poems appeared exclusively in the press has also been a drawback, for many of the back issues of papers are no longer accessible. Only a small number of literary works made their appearance in books or brochures because the demand for these has seldom been great enough to pay for their cost. The few books published were undertaken for the most part at the expense of the author. Furthermore, to date, no compiler of Ukrainian Canadian literature has appeared, and no critic to give his appraisal of it.

The greater part of Ukrainian Canadian literature has been produced and published in Manitoba. Poets and authors have been attracted to Winnipeg because it has been the heart of the organized religious and secular life of this ethnic group in Canada and, more telling still, because the most important printing plants have been located here. Many of the "workers of the pen" found employment with Ukrainian papers or magazines. From time to time Ukrainian bookstores as well as the larger organizations also assisted writers by publishing their plays, theatrical pieces, novels, and informative works on the Ukrainians. Many of the Ukrainian community halls employed writers as "cultural workers," that is, as teachers in vernacular schools, and as producers and directors of theatrical presentations, such as plays and concerts. These opportunities for making a livelihood, coupled with the opportunities for having their works published, have brought about a concentration of the literary-minded Ukrainians in Winnipeg.

A literary medium which is typically Slavic and which has been utilized with great effect by the Ukrainians in Canada is the calendar-almanac. This soft-covered book, ranging generally from 160 to 260 pages, is published annually by every large Ukrainian Canadian newspaper and by some of the church organizations. Three almanacs make their appearance regularly in Manitoba, published separately by *Novy Shlyakh, Ukrayinsky Holos*, and *Kanadiysky Farmer*.

The calendar-almanac comprises two general sections. The first part contains the current church calendar, according to Julian as well as Gregorian reckoning, and indicates the daily patron saints, the church holidays, the days of fasting, etc. and also the days marking important Ukrainian historical events. Of importance for literature is the second section, which occupies approximately four-fifths of the book. Besides a small number of illustrations, some advertising, tables of weights,

measures, etc., and some organizational or religious propaganda, it contains valuable works by Ukrainian Canadian authors. The whole range of literature from poetry to treatises on various subjects finds scope in the periodical. A student of the literature of this ethnic group, or anyone who may have an interest in it, will find the almanacs a profitable source.

The authors of Ukrainian Canadian poetry, fiction, plays, and works of scholarship may conveniently be divided into five general classifications. The first group is composed of the untutored and mostly self-educated pioneer authors who arrived in Canada before the First World War. Among the more important men of this group are Theodore Fedyk, Michael Kumka, Semen Kowbel, Dmytro Hunkiewich, Ivan Novosad, Wasyl Kudryk, Apolinar Nowak, and Ivan Pawchuk. The second group, the European-trained *émigrés* who came to Canada after the First World War, all of whom possess an extensive education, include Dr. Mykyta Mandryka, Andrew Gospodyn, Katherine Novosad, Metropolitan Ilarion (Dr. Ivan Ohienko), Dr. P. Macenko, and Dr. Alexander Koshetz.

The Canadian-born or Canadian-educated *literati* of Ukrainian extraction are of two types, those who have written in Ukrainian and those who have written in English. To the former (the third group) belong Honore Ewach, Stephen Doroschuk, Michael Krepiakevich, Semen W. Sawchuk, Sigmund Bychinsky, and John Bodrug. Those who have produced works in English, such as Myra Lazechko-Haas, William Paluk, Dr. C. H. Andrusyshen, Honore Ewach, Nicholas Hunchak, and Vera Lysenko, belong to the fourth group.

The fifth group of authors of Ukrainian Canadian literature is made up of Anglo-Saxons whose profound interest in this literature has led them to translate Ukrainian works into the English language and to comment on them. The three distinguished men who have left their imprint in this field are Dr. Alexander J. Hunter, the Rev. Percival Cundy, and Dr. Watson Kirkconnell.

UKRAINIAN POETRY

One of the earliest forms of expression used by the Ukrainian settlers, and certainly the most productive, was poetry. Numerous untutored poets sprang up and composed songs of simple "kolomeyka" metre, in which they portrayed their feelings and their new experiences.[3] These poems found their way into print in the newspapers and almanacs, and consequently many of them today lie buried. A large number are ama-

[3]"Kolomeyka" is a simple folk-dance measure common in the western section of Ukraine. Many of the "natural" Ukrainian poets composed verses to the tune of the kolomeyka.

teurish and do not merit preservation. There is, however, a remnant whose content of human expression is outstanding, and which deserves to be perpetuated as a legacy for future Canadian generations. Fortunately, some of the better class of poetry has been printed in book form, and a tiny part of it has been translated into English.

It is noteworthy that in recent years the quality of Ukrainian poetry has greatly improved, owing no doubt to the influence of both contemporary Ukrainian literature in Europe and English literature. Some of it is finding increasing recognition. Moreover, the better poetry is now published in books rather than impermanent newspapers. This is indeed encouraging, for its particular contribution to literature can much better be assessed by critics.

Pioneer Poets

Theodore Fedyk (1873-1949). The first poet to win phenomenal popularity among his countrymen was Theodore Fedyk, born of peasant parentage in Austrian Galicia. In 1908, three years after arriving in Canada and settling down as a labourer in Winnipeg, this man with only an elementary education published a book of poetry with the title *Pisni pro Kanadu i Avstriyu* (Songs of Canada and Austria), which later was changed to *Pisni pro Stary Kray ta Novy* (Songs of the Old Country and the New). This booklet of nineteen simple songs, portraying the hardships of the immigrants, the opportunities in Canada, and their yearning for the old country, went through six editions by 1927 and sold over 50,000 copies. Fedyk's career as a poet, however, began and ended with the book.

Wasyl Kudryk (1875-). In 1911, Wasyl Kudryk, who possessed a partial high school education, published his book of poetry, *Vesna* (Spring), in Winnipeg. His poetry was of higher quality than Fedyk's in every respect—in depth and variety of subject-matter, in choice of words, and in variety of metre and form. Kudryk continued to write poetry and to publish it in *Ukrayinsky Holos* and *Vistnyk*. He has served as editor of both papers. When the Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church was established after the First World War, he entered the priesthood. Since that time his writings have been of a highly polemic character and anti-Catholic, as is seen in *Chuzha Ruka* (Foreign Hand), published in 1935, and *Josaphat Kuntsevich*, published in 1948.

Semen Kowbel (1877-). More famous as a playwright, Semen Kowbel, who came to Winnipeg in 1909 as a labourer with an elementary education, has nevertheless displayed considerable talent as a poet. His poems have appeared in the Ukrainian press on both sides

of the Atlantic Ocean. His fame as a poet depends on his two cycles of verse, *Tsvitky i Kolyuchky* (Flowers and Prickles) and *Ptycha Revolyutsiya* (Feather Revolution), which have won favourable comment from critics in Ukraine.

Michael Kumka (1893-). A poet who is noted for his humour and verse for children of the Ukrainian vernacular schools is Michael Kumka, who arrived in Canada in 1908 as a young lad. Possessing only an elementary education, Kumka extended his knowledge by self-education, became a teacher of Ukrainian, and later an assistant editor of *Ukrayinsky Holos*. The following are his published works: *Shkilny Spivannyk* (School Song-book), 1926; *Naykrashchi Zahadky i Zabavky* (Best Puzzles and Games), 1931; *Monolohy i Diyalohy* (Monologues and Dialogues), 1934; and *Snip* (Sheaf), two undated volumes of recitations. Numerous poems by Kumka have appeared in the Ukrainian Canadian newspapers and almanacs, and also in *Svit Dytyny* (Child's World), a children's magazine published in Lviv, Western Ukraine, up to 1939.

Ivan Novosad (1886-) and *Katherine Novosad* (1900-). Husband and wife are both popular poets with the common folk. They hail from Galicia and arrived in Canada in 1910 and 1921 respectively. Married in 1922, they lived for many years in Oakburn, Manitoba. Their poetry consists wholly of lyrics which were published chiefly in *Ukrayinsky Holos*.

Canadian-reared Poets

Honore Ewach (1900-). Undoubtedly the greatest of the Ukrainian poets reared in Canada is Honore Ewach, who settled with his parents as a boy of nine in the village of Ukraina, near Dauphin. When he graduated in Arts at the University of Saskatchewan in 1929, he already had had a considerable number of his works published in the Ukrainian press. In 1932, Ewach became associate editor of *Ukrayinsky Holos* and from 1943 to 1949 he was associate editor of *Novy Shlyakh*. For several years he was employed part time by the Ukrainian Cultural and Educational Centre. His first poems were published in *Ukrayinsky Holos* in 1917, and later poems appeared in other Ukrainian newspaper publications in Canada, the United States, and Western Ukraine. Poetry by him has appeared also in separate volumes: *Boyova Surma Ukrayiny* (War Trumpet of Ukraine), 1931; *Toy koho svit lovyv ta ne spiymav* (He Whom the World Pursued Yet Did Not Catch), 1933, a long poem on the Ukrainian philosopher Skovoroda; *Ukrainian Songs and Lyrics*, translated and edited in 1933; and *Ukrayinsky Mudrets* (The Philosopher of Ukraine)—Skovoroda—in

1945. In addition he edited an annotated *Kobzar of Taras Shevchenko* in Ukrainian, which was published by the Ukrainian Cultural and Educational Centre in 1944. Ewach is also a noted prose-writer.

Panteleymon Bozyk (1883-1944). A most widely read Catholic poet of his day was Canon Panteleymon Bozyk, a Ukrainian priest originally a member of the Russian Orthodox Church who joined the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church of Canada in 1924. His simple lyrics were a regular feature in the Ukrainian Catholic newspapers, magazines, and almanacs. In 1935, Bozyk published a fairly large volume of 130 poems under the title, *Kanadiyska Musa* (Canadian Muse), on a wide variety of themes and with some experimentation in metre. The poems are classified under five headings: patriotic, experiential, religious, educational, and miscellaneous. Bozyk has also written considerable non-fiction.

At least four other poets are worthy of mention. *Stephen Doroschuk* (1894-), a former Canadian public school teacher in Manitoba, has written over a thousand lyrics, which have appeared in the Ukrainian press in Canada, the United States, and Europe. He has published over two hundred booklets, and has edited a children's magazine, *Promin* (Sunbeam), in Winnipeg, and a monthly magazine of humour and satire, *Tochylo* (Grindstone). Doroschuk has also composed many English songs. *Semen W. Sawchuk* (1899-), an early immigrant, with a partial university training at Saskatchewan and now a Greek Orthodox clergyman and church administrator, has produced considerable poetry, which has been published mainly in *Ukrayinsky Holos*. *Peter Basil Chaykiwsky* (1888-), a former public school teacher, has published a large number of poems in the Ukrainian press and also a small volume, *Hornya Kavy* (A Cup of Coffee), 1932. Another school teacher, *Michael Krepiakevich*, now owner of a printing establishment in Winnipeg, has composed hundreds of poems for use in Ukrainian vernacular schools. Most of them were published in booklets. He has also displayed talent as a playwright.

Emigre Poets

Peter Karmansky (1878-). This poet of outstanding ability entertained but little love for Canada, to which he could not adjust himself. A former journalist and professor at Lviv, he taught at the Ruthenian Training (Normal) School at Brandon for two years prior to the First World War, departed for Galicia, and again returned to Brandon after the war. Disgusted with life in Canada, he then migrated to Brazil, where he was editor of a Ukrainian paper, and finally he went to Soviet Ukraine. Some of his poetry appeared in the Ukrainian Canadian press. The last of his six volumes of poetry, *Za Chest i Volyu*

(For Honour and Liberty), published in 1923, deals partly with his feelings when he had lived in Canada.

Mykyta I. Mandryka (1886-). A first-class poet, Dr. Mandryka came to Canada in 1928 and settled in Winnipeg, where he has conducted a travel bureau. This graduate of Kiev, Sophia, and Praha, and a professor of international law, had been a deputy of the Ukrainian Central Rada and the All Russian Constituent Assembly, and a member of the diplomatic staff in Kuban, Turkey, Georgia, and Japan. He has to his credit many poetic and scholarly works published in Europe and in Canada. *Miy Sad* (My Orchard), which appeared in Winnipeg in 1941, is a collection of fine poetry, including a translation of Longfellow's *Hiawatha*. Mandryka's scope of thought, expression, and form places him in the top rank of Ukrainian Canadian poets.

Andrew Gospodyn (1900-) is an example of a Ukrainian Canadian poet who has published his poetry exclusively in the Ukrainian Canadian press. Possessing a partial university education obtained in Czechoslovakia, this veteran of the Ukrainian Galician army of 1918-20 came to Winnipeg in 1923. Later he was manager of a co-operative glove factory. Besides poetry, Gospodyn has written numerous articles on contemporary Ukrainian history and economic problems in Canada.

Ilarion (1882-). The most recent addition to the group of Ukrainian Canadian poets is Metropolitan Ilarion (Dr. Ivan Ohienko), a Greek Orthodox prelate. Before his entry into the church, Ilarion had been a professor of Slavic philology at Warsaw and the outstanding authority on the Ukrainian language. During the existence of the Ukrainian National Republic, he had been a Minister of Education. Upon arrival in Canada in 1947, this distinguished scholar and ecclesiastic immediately burst out into poetry and prose. Ilarion has already published ten volumes in the series "Nasha Kultura" (Our Culture). Six of these are long poems: *Maria Ehyptyanska* (Mary of Egypt); *Na Holhoti* (On Golgotha), portraying the struggle of the Ukrainian nation; *Tumy*, about Ukrainian turncoats who resembled janissaries; *Nedospivana Pisnya* (An Unsung Song), an historical poem on Hetman Khmelnitsky; *Promytey* (Prometheus); and *Narodzhenya Lyudyny* (The Birth of Man), a philosophical mystery drama of five acts, written in verse form.

UKRAINIAN FICTION AND NON-FICTION

Because of the poor demand for Ukrainian books of any kind, very few Ukrainians in Canada have ventured into the field of stories, novels, or treatises. The older generation, lacking an adequate education, has

not made sufficient progress to appreciate good novels, while the second and third generations rarely read Ukrainian books at all. The scant few who have written works of prose of any kind have been interested in providing enlightenment and information. As in the case of poetry, considerable prose material lies buried in back files of Ukrainian Canadian newspapers and almanacs.

Two Manitoba writers of fiction have published their stories in the Ukrainian press solely. *Apolinar Nowak* (1886-), who came to Canada in 1901 with a high school education, began his career as a story writer when he became editor of *Kanadiysky Farmer* in 1909. Since 1922 he has been associate editor of *Ukrayinsky Holos*. His stories have appeared in many Ukrainian papers and magazines in North America and Europe. *Ivan Pawchuk* (1884-), who settled in the Oakburn district in 1900, has published his stories and poems almost entirely in *Ukrayinsky Holos*.

Many later writers have published their works exclusively in the newspaper press. *Andrew Gospodyn*, a poet, wrote several short stories and many articles on Ukrainian authors of Soviet Ukraine, on the Ukrainian struggle for liberation, and on economic problems. *Pawlo Macenko* (1897-), a doctor of musicology of Praha University, who arrived in Canada in 1936, has contributed many scholarly articles on Ukrainian music and musicians, and also on political topics. The contributions of both men have appeared mostly in *Novy Shlyakh*.

Significant single-volume contributions have been made by three Ukrainian clergymen of pioneer stock. *John Bodrug* (1874-1951), the leader of the defunct Independent Greek Church movement, a Protestant preacher, and the former editor of *Ranok*, translated John Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress* (Put Palomnyka) and published it in 1910. He also wrote many religious pamphlets. *Sigmund Bychinsky* (?-1947), a Presbyterian clergyman, published in 1928 his *Istoriya Kanady* (History of Canada), a useful book for Ukrainians who read only Ukrainian. *Panteleymon Bozyk*, the Greek Catholic ecclesiastic poet, published in 1928 a valuable historical account of the religious movements among the Ukrainians, entitled *Tserkov Ukrayintsiv v Kanadi* (Ukrainian Churches in Canada).

Honore Ewach. This popular poet is also a most prolific Ukrainian Canadian writer of fiction and non-fiction. His short stories and articles have appeared in the Ukrainian press for thirty years. His more extensive works, published in *Ukrayinsky Holos*, are "Istoriya Lyudstva" (History of Mankind), 1933-6; "Narys Istoriyi Velykoyi Brytaniyi" (Outline of the History of Great Britain), 1939-40; and "Korotka

Istoriya Kanady" (Short History of Canada), 1940. Ewach's novel of Ukrainian Canadian life in Manitoba, *Holos Zemli* (Voice of the Soil) appeared in 1937. Other shorter Ukrainian works of this author, published in the series "Kultura i Osvita" (Culture and Education) in 1944, are: *Klyuch do Movy* (Key to the Ukrainian Language); *Schob Vas Lyudy Lyubyly* (How to Win Friends); and *Tsikavi Opovidanya z Istoriyi Kanady* (Interesting Stories from Canadian History). He has also written English-language works.

Mykyta Mandryka. Another reputable poet who has published nonfiction is Dr. Mykyta Mandryka. His *Teoriya Hospodarskoyi Demokratiyi* (Theory of Economic Democracy), which appeared in Winnipeg in 1934, is a work of scholarship. In 1941 came an interesting travelogue *Cherez Morya i Okeyany* (Across Seas and Oceans), depicting his impressions of Asia Minor and Asia.

Alexander Koshetz (1875-1944). Regarded as the greatest Ukrainian choir-master and an outstanding composer of choral selections, Dr. Koshetz, who took up residence in Winnipeg in 1941 and passed away in that city in 1944, has also displayed a rare capacity for writing.[4] Two large, well-written, and informative volumes of his *Spohady* (Memoirs) were published posthumously by the Ukrainian Cultural and Educational Centre in 1947 and 1948. The same institution also published his *Pro Ukrayinsku Pisnyu i Muzyku* (On Ukrainian Songs and Music) in 1942, and *Pro Genetychny Zvyazok ta Grupuvanya Ukrayinskykh Obryadovykh Pisen* (Genetic Relationship and Classification of Ukrainian Ritual Songs) in 1945. The most recent of Koshetz's works to be published posthumously is *Z Pisneyu Cherez Svit* (With Song around the World), a diary of the tour of the Ukrainian Republican Capella; the first volume (1952) describes the concerts in Europe and the impressions of the author.

Ilarion. Besides poetry, this ecclesiastical dignitary and distinguished scholar has published many works of prose. Included in Ilarion's (Dr. Ivan Ohienko's) series "Nasha Kultura" (Our Culture) are the following: *Lehendy Svitu* (Legends of the World); *Politychna Pratsya Bohdana Khmelnytskoho* (The Political Assiduity of Bohdan Khmelnitsky), a historical treatise; *Berezhimo Vse Svoye Ridne* (Let us Preserve Our Native Things), on culture; *Preyednanya Tserkvy Ukrayinskoyi do Tserkvy Moskovskoyi, 1686* (The Union of the Ukrainian Church with the Moscovite Church, 1686); *Slovo pro Ihoriv Pokhid* (Tale of Ihor's Raid); and *Istoriya Ukrayinskoyi Literaturnoyi Movy* (History of the Ukrainian Literary Language). After his election to

[4]For an account of the work of the great musician see G. W. Simpson, *Alexander Koshetz in Ukrainian Music.*

the primateship of the Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church of Canada in 1951, Ilarion began a new series, "Publications of the Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Metropolitanate of Canada"; the first number published was his *Tryramenny Khrest* (The Three-barred Cross), a work of research with illustrations.

Dmytro Doroshenko (1882-1951), the distinguished Ukrainian historian, rated next to Michael Hrushevsky, came as a visiting lecturer from Europe during the summers of 1937 and 1938 to the Ukrainian Institutes in Saskatoon and Edmonton, where he gave lecture courses in Ukrainian history. For over three years he lived in Winnipeg, from 1947 to 1950, where he taught Ukrainian history and the history of religion at St. Andrew's College. Dr. Doroshenko was the first president of the Ukrainian Free Academy of Sciences and remained in that position until his death in Munich, Germany. In Canada, he won immediate recognition with the *History of Ukraine*, published in Edmonton in 1939, which was translated from the Ukrainian and abridged by Hanna Chikalenko-Keller of Edinburgh and edited with an introduction by Professor G. W. Simpson of Saskatoon. His last stay in Winnipeg yielded two important published works: *Moyi Spomyny pro Nedavne Mynule, 1901-1914* (My Memoirs about the Recent Past) and *Korotky Narys Istoriyi Khrystiyanskoyi Tserkvy* (Short Sketch of the History of the Christian Church), and a booklet entitled *Rozvytok Ukrayinskoyi Nauky pid Praporom Shevchenka* (The Development of Ukrainian Education under the Banner of Shevchenko). His inspiring article on Shevchenko was translated into English and published in Winnipeg in 1936 under the title *Taras Shevchenko, the National Poet of Ukraine.*

Leonid Bilecky (1882-), former professor of literature in Ukraine and Prague, settled in Winnipeg in 1949. He was connected first with the Ukrainian Cultural and Educational Centre and later with the Trident Press. This author of several scholarly works on literature, such as *Istoriya Ukrayinskoyi Literatury* (History of Ukrainian Literature), *Osnovy Literaturnoyi Naukovoyi Krytyky* (Fundamentals of Literary Scientific Criticism), and *Perspektyvy Literaturnoyi Naukovoyi Krytyky* (Perspectives of Literary Scientific Criticism), has continued producing in his field. Vice-President, and, since the death of Doroshenko, Acting President of the Ukrainian Free Academy of Sciences, Dr. Bilecky heads the section of the Academy named the Institute of Shevchenko Studies. In 1952 this section began publication of a monumental four-volume work *Taras Shevchenko, Kobzar*. This is a complete edition of the poetry and prose of the poet, edited and fully annotated by Bilecky from original sources; it pro-

vides a true version of Shevchenko's works, which were falsified in numerous places in the recent Soviet edition. Dr. Bilecky's shorter works published in Winnipeg include two biographies, one of Dmytro Doroshenko and one of Omelyan Ohonovsky, *Viruyuchy Shevchenko* (Shevchenko, a Devout Christian), and *Try Sylvetky* (Three Silhouettes), a popular study of the three prominent Ukrainian women writers, Vovchok, Kobylyanska, and Lesya Ukrainka. He is also the author of *Ukrayinski Pionery v Kanadi, 1891-1951* (Ukrainian Pioneers in Canada), written on the occasion of the celebration of the diamond jubilee of Ukrainian settlement in Canada.

Jaroslaw B. Rudnyckyj (1910-), former professor of Slavic philology at the Ukrainian Free University at Prague and Munich and the co-compiler of a large Ukrainian-German dictionary, came to Winnipeg in 1949. In that year he became a member of the staff of the University of Manitoba and established the Department of Slavic Studies, which he now heads. For several years he has been the secretary of the Ukrainian Free Academy of Sciences and the editor of the series "Slavistica" and "Onomastica," which are published in Winnipeg. To the former he has contributed three numbers: *Slavic and Baltic Universities in Exile, Slavistica Canadiana, 1950,* a survey of Slavic studies at Canadian universities, and *Slavica Canadiana, 1951,* a bibliography. His best works based on research in Canada are in the "Onomastica" series: *Kanadiyski Mistsevi Nazvy Ukrayinskoho Pokhodzhennya* (Canadian Place Names of Ukrainian Origin), *Slovo i Nazva "Ukrayina"* (The Term and Name "Ukraine"), *Nazva "Halychyna" i "Volyn"* (The Names "Galicia" and "Volynia"). Professor Rudnyckyj is also the author of *Ukrayinsky Pravopys* (Ukrainian Orthography) and the co-author with G. Luckyj of *A Modern Ukrainian Grammar,* published by the University of Minnesota Press.

UKRAINIAN DRAMA

The Ukrainians are lovers of drama and in their numerous community halls in Canada they frequently stage a variety of plays. To meet the demand, several playwrights have arisen. Many plays portray some aspect of Ukrainian history and the struggle for freedom, but many also have their setting in Canada. Although the majority of the plays may not be of a high literary standard, they are exceedingly practical and appeal to the public fancy. In recent years, a decline in performance has been evident, owing in no small degree to the lack of interest of the rising generation. It is noteworthy that the new immigrants are stimulating an interest in the revival of dramatics.

Dmytro Hunkiewich (1893-), the most prolific Ukrainian playwright outside the borders of Ukraine, began his career shortly after the First World War. He resided in Winnipeg until 1934, when he moved to Toronto. Most of the long five-act plays of this self-made dramatist were published in Lviv, Western Ukraine, and the shorter ones in Winnipeg. A list of Hunkiewich's dramas runs to fifteen items: *V Halytskiy Nevoli* (In the Galician Bondage), *Zhertvy Temnoty* (Victims of Ignorance), *Klyub Sufrazhystok* (Suffragette Club), *Krovavi Perly* (Bloody Pearls), *Rozhdestvenska Nich* (Christmas Night), *Panski Prymkhy* (A Lord's Eccentricities), *Manivtsyamy* (Devious Paths), *Na Khvylyakh Lyubovy* (On the Waves of Love), *Liga Natsiy* (League of Nations), *Ray i Peklo na Zemli* (Paradise and Hell on Earth); shorter plays for the children's theatre are: *Potomky Heroyiv* (Descendants of Heroes), *Slavko v Tarapatakh* (Slavko in Mischief), *Vytay Vesno!* (Welcome, Spring!), *Ne Zabuly* (Not Forgotten), and *Navchyt Bida Vorozhyty* (Adversity Teaches Fortune Telling). In addition he has written numerous articles, stories, and poems for the Ukrainian newspaper press.

Semen Kowbel, the poet, ranks next to Hunkiewich in the production of plays. His first drama, *Divochi Mrivi* (A Girl's Fancies) was published in 1920. Subsequent plays have appeared mostly in mimeograph form. His five-act dramas are entitled: *Konfidenty* (Confidants), *Skarb u Zhebrachiy Torbi* (Gems in a Beggar's Bag), *Nedospivana Pisnya* (The Unfinished Song), *Na Tsarskomu Sudi* (In the Tsarist Court-House), *Baturyn* (The Cossack Stronghold), *Na Ruyinakh* (On the Ruins). Shorter plays have also been printed: *Virna Sestra* (A True Sister), *Delegatsiya do Rayu* (A Delegation to Paradise), *Ukrayinizatsiya* (Ukrainization), *Sv. Nykolay v Kanadi* (St. Nicholas in Canada), and *Povisyvsya* (He Hung Himself).

Myroslaw Irchan (1896-). Ukrainian drama exploited solely in the interests of the communist movement has been virtually monopolized by Myroslaw Irchan, the pseudonym of Andrew Babiuk.[5] He arrived in Winnipeg in 1923 from Galicia as a fully accredited member of the Communist Party and immediately joined the editorial staff of *Ukrayinski Robitnychi Visty* (Ukrainian Labour News) and *Holos Robitnytsi* (Working Woman's Voice). For a while he was a teacher in the ULFTA school in Winnipeg. In spite of his busy career he found time to write some poetry, *Filmy Revolutsiyi* (Films of the Revolution),

[5]A fairly detailed but not wholly reliable account of Irchan's plays and their significance in Canada is given by Charles Roslin in an article entitled "Canada's Bolshevist Drama" in *Saturday Night*, Feb. 16, 1929. Checking with Daniel Lobay and his associates, the writer has found that Roslin attributes too many works to Irchan, but that the interpretation is essentially sound.

and the prose works, *V Buryanakh* (In the Weeds) and *Karpatska Nich* (Carpathian Night). But he won his greatest popularity with his communist dramas which were greeted with tremendous applause in the Ukrainian labour temples throughout Canada. All of Irchan's plays are revolutionary and propagandist. His first drama *Dvanadtsyat* (The Twelve), appearing in 1923, depicted the glorification of a filibustering expedition against the Polish landlords. *Bezrobitni* (The Unemployed) was a translation from the German. Irchan's most popular drama was *Rodyna Shchitkariv* (The Family of Brushmakers), which portrayed the destruction of a bourgeois republic and the establishment of the "dictatorship of the proletariat." Three other plays followed the Bolshevik revolutionary pattern: *Buntar* (Mutineer), *Pidzemelna Halychyna* (Underground Galicia), and *Tragediya Pershoho Travnya* (The Tragedy of the First of May). Because of their outright subversive character, Irchan's plays are today rarely acted. Irchan's faith in the communist cause led him to emigrate to Soviet Ukraine in 1929 where he was engaged as editor of a Soviet magazine. In the purges of 1933-4 he was arrested and sent to the slave labour camps of Solovky in the bleak Arctic—an ironic fate for one who served the communist cause so devotedly.

The first Ukrainian play published in Canada was by *John Bodrug*, entitled *Ubiynyky* (Killers); it appeared in Winnipeg in 1909 and went through three editions. *Honore Ewach's* versatility is demonstrated by his two dramas published in *Kanadiysky Farmer*, entitled *Vidlet Zhyravlya* (The Crane's Departure) and *Holhofa Ukrayiny* (Ukraine's Golgotha). *Michael Krepiakevich*, mentioned previously as a poet, wrote several short plays most of which were intended for children: *Na Vakatsiyakh* (On Vacation), *Charodiyna Sopilka* (The Enchanting Flute), *Troye Zaruchyn* (Three Betrothals), *Heroy v Mishku* (A Hero in a Sack), and *Yak Kum Kuma Lichyv* (A Godfather's Remedy).

ENGLISH-LANGUAGE AUTHORS

Being educated in Canadian schools, the children of the first Ukrainian settlers spoke, comprehended, read, and wrote English much more skilfully than Ukrainian. The bulk of the present rising generation has even less familiarity with the language of their fathers or forefathers. Yet Ukrainian sentiment has been retained to such an extent that some of the highly educated Ukrainian Canadians have produced poetry, stories, and treatises on Ukrainian subjects in the English language. Whereas their predecessors have directed their works to Ukrainians exclusively, the English-language authors of Ukrainian stock, ever

conscious of their Canadian environment, seek a much wider audience in the English-speaking world.

Two transitional figures stand out prominently—*Honore Ewach* and *Mykyta Mandryka*. Both have been using Ukrainian extensively, but both have also written in English. Ewach has shown the greater productivity, to which the following published works bear testimony: *Ukrainian Songs and Lyrics* (1933), a translation of selected Ukrainian poems; *Ukrainian Self-Educator* (1946), easy lessons for learning Ukrainian; and *Ukraine's Call to America* (1947), an advocacy of the cause of Ukraine's independence. Dr. Mandryka has published two sizable pamphlets: *The Ukrainian Question* (1941), a refutation of Professor Watson Kirkconnell's early allegations that the cause of Ukrainian independence and statehood was unrealistic; and *Ukrainian Refugees* (1946), which discusses the background of Ukrainian displaced persons in Europe and offers a solution to the problem.

Two Winnipeg-born Ukrainian Canadians have made their *début* in the field of *belles-lettres*. The greatest recognition has been won by *Myra Lazechko-Haas*, a graduate of the University of California, who in 1947 won first prize in the nation-wide poetry contest sponsored by the Poetry Society of Canada with her poem "Prodigal."[6] Many of her poems have been published in Canadian newspapers and magazines. *Opinion* regularly featured her stories. *William Paluk*, a graduate of United College in Winnipeg, is steadily enhancing his reputation as a short-story writer. His work, all of which has a Canadian setting, frequently appeared in *Opinion*, of which he was an editor, and in the American *Ukrainian Weekly*. His *Canadian Cossacks*, published in 1943, is a volume of interesting and illuminating essays and short stories. In 1951 Paluk was engaged in writing a novel for publication in the near future.

Scholarship has made its beginnings among the Ukrainian Canadians of Manitoba. Dr. *Constantine H. Andrusyshen*, Winnipeg-born and raised, a graduate of Manitoba, Paris, and Harvard universities, and now professor of Slavic Languages at the University of Saskatchewan, has written many scholarly articles and has also translated notable examples of Ukrainian literature for the *Ukrainian Quarterly* (New York), the *Slavoniv Review* (London, England), and other Ukrainian magazines and papers published in the English language. His most recent work, *Ukrainian Literature and Its Light Shevchenko* (1949), was published by the Ukrainian National Youth Federation in Winnipeg. *Nicholas J. Hunchak*, a graduate of the University of Saskat-

[6]A selection of the poetry of Myra Lazechko-Haas and a general account of her work is given by William Paluk, "Rising Poetess," in *Opinion*, July-Aug. 1947.

chewan, now an accountant practising in Winnipeg, has published a significant study on population statistics, *Canadians of Ukrainian Origin: Population* (1945). *Vera Lysenko*, Winnipeg-born graduate of the University of Manitoba, has given the first sociological and historical account of the Ukrainians in Canada, entitled *Men in Sheepskin Coats* (1947). It contains much valuable historical material, but omits much that is of importance, and displays a definite Ukrainian communist bias.[7]

ANGLO-SAXON INTERPRETERS

During the time when the general low level of literacy among the Ukrainian pioneers rendered them inarticulate in the English language, several prominent Anglo-Saxons became genuinely interested in this hitherto unknown stateless people. Some have made a close study of the cultural traditions and aspirations of the Ukrainians, and have published authoritative accounts of them. The Manitoba Ukrainians are indebted in particular to the late Dr. A. J. Hunter, the late Rev. Percival Cundy, and Professor Watson Kirkconnell for their sympathetic interpretation of the people to the general Canadian citizenry.

Alexander Jardine Hunter (1868-1940) had devoted the greater part of his life to missionary, medical, and educational work among the Ukrainian settlers of the Teulon district, first for the Presbyterian Church and later for the United Church.[8] He established his mission at Teulon in 1902, and in a short while had built a hospital, a boys' residence school, and a girls' residence school. Desiring to acquaint Anglo-Saxons with Ukrainian literature, in 1922 Dr. Hunter published a profusely illustrated book, *The Kobzar of the Ukraine*, which is a skilful verse translation, with very appropriate comments, of select poems of the immortal poet, Taras Shevchenko. In 1929, he published *A Friendly Adventure*, relating the story of the mission at Teulon and giving an account of the chief religious movements among the Ukrainians. He also contributed many articles on the Ukrainian people to Canadian newspapers and magazines, and for many years edited the English section in *Kanadiysky Ranok*.

Percival Cundy (?-1949), a Presbyterian missionary superintendent among New Canadians in western Canada, became profoundly interested in the literature of the submerged Ukrainian nation. After years of study, in 1932 he published at Roland, Manitoba, a book of poetry

[7]A disclosure of the pro-communist propaganda in the book is given by Professor Watson Kirkconnell in a book review printed in *Opinion*, July 1948. See p. 110, above, note 29.

[8]The biographical particulars about Dr. Hunter appeared in *Manitoba School Journal*, Jan. 1941.

entitled *A Voice from Ukrainia*. It is a scholarly English translation retaining the rhythm and form of the poetry of Ivan Franko, the literary genius of Western Ukraine, and includes a good account of the life and work of the poet. When Cundy later moved to the United States, he continued his translations of Franko, and also of Lesya Ukrainka. He submitted many scholarly articles on Ukrainian literature to the *Ukrainian Quarterly* and other journals. His large collections of translations of Franko's and Ukrainka's poetry were published posthumously under the titles, *Ivan Franko, the Poet of Western Ukraine* (New York, 1949), and *Spirit of Flame* (New York, 1950).

Watson Kirkconnell (1895-). Professor of English at the United College in Winnipeg for many years and now President of Acadia University at Wolfville, Nova Scotia, Dr. Watson Kirkconnell is regarded as one of the leading Anglo-Saxon authorities on the Ukrainian Canadians. His close association with the Ukrainians led him to take an active part in the formation of the Ukrainian Canadian Committee and in its three congresses. The large majority of the Ukrainian Canadians, with the exception of the small group of communists, heartily endorse the professor's condemnation of the subversive activities of the Canadian communists, as well as the totalitarian régime and aggression of Soviet Russia in Europe.

Dr. Kirkconnell is not only a translator and critic of Ukrainian Canadian literature but also a keen interpreter of the life and aspirations of the largest Slav group in Canada. His articles on Ukrainian literature have been published in *Canadian Overtones* (Winnipeg, 1935)—with English verse translations of some of the poets; in *Twilight of Liberty* (Toronto, 1941); in the *Slavonic Review* (London, July, 1934); in the *University of Toronto Quarterly* (annually since 1937); and in *Opinion* (Winnipeg, Sept., 1947). Other contributions deal directly with the Ukrainian people: *The Ukrainian Canadians and the War* (Toronto, 1940), *Our Ukrainian Loyalists* (Winnipeg, 1943), *The Ukrainian Agony* (Winnipeg, 1943), and *National Minorities in the U.S.S.R.* (Winnipeg, 1946). Considerable space is devoted to Ukrainian Canadian organizational life in his two books, *Canada, Europe, and Hitler* (Toronto, 1939) and *Seven Pillars of Freedom* (Toronto, 1944); the former exposes fascist activities, while the latter discusses the communists. His most recent work, *Common English Loan Words in the East European Languages*, appeared in the "Slavistica" series of the Ukrainian Free Academy of Sciences.

Two trends are evident in Ukrainian Canadian literature. Ukrainian-language poetry and prose will continue to be written for many years

to come. The presence among the newest immigrants to Canada of such a distinguished literary critic as Dr. Leonid Bilecky, of the eminent historian, Dr. Dmytro Doroshenko, and of other poets and writers of repute has already increased the quantity and likewise the quality of writing in Ukrainian. It is significant however, that since the beginning of the First World War the Canadian-born generation in Manitoba has not produced a single poet or writer who uses the Ukrainian language. On the other hand, education in Canadian schools has equipped some of them to contribute to Ukrainian Canadian literature in the English language. This trend will certainly gain in momentum.

CHAPTER TEN . Education and Recreation ◎

PROMISE OF ECONOMIC BETTERMENT WAS A DECISIVE factor in the determination of large numbers of Ukrainians to settle in Canada, but equally as powerful an incentive was the promise of freedom of expression and activity. The Ukrainians came to the new world with a mission to freely develop their culture, which for centuries had been suppressed by enemies in their native land. Thus, not long after their arrival, Ukrainian institutions similar to those in the old country made their appearance and many activities which in their native land were restricted or forbidden thrived unmolested on Canadian soil.

The Ukrainians who migrated to or were born in Manitoba have achieved marked progress in what they call "the cultural field," just as they have in agriculture, business, industry, the professions, organizational life, religion, and literature. In the wake of the churches, and often preceding them, the typical community hall, called "deem" (home) by the people, quickly appeared throughout the numerous Ukrainian communities. It was the pulsating heart of their culture. Subsequently, more advanced institutions such as the "bursas," cultural institutes, and colleges were established. Compared with that of other Slavic ethnic groups, the progress made in this field by the Ukrainians is significant, particularly when it is remembered that the bulk of the immigrants were at best of semi-literate peasant stock, poor, inexperienced in such matters, and sorely lacking leadership.

BILINGUAL AND VERNACULAR SCHOOLS[1]

The Conservative government of Rodmond Palen Roblin, which was in power in Manitoba from 1900 to 1915, was faced with the gigantic problem of providing schools and teachers for the ever increasing Ukrainian settlements and the settlements of other ethnic groups.[1] In 1903 the Department of Education engaged Theodore Stefanik,

[1]Sources on bilingual schools in Manitoba include: Manitoba Department of Education, *Special Report on Bilingual Schools in Manitoba*; C. B. Sissons, *Bilingual Schools in Ontario*; O. D. Skelton, *The Language Issue in Canada*; Hon. R. S. Thornton, *Address on Bilingual Schools in the Legislature on January 12, 1916*; George M. Weir, *The Separate School Question in Canada*; W. A. Chumer, *Spomyny* (Memoirs), pp. 69–80; J. W. Stechishin in *Yuvileyna Knyha Instytutu P. Mohyly* (Jubilee Book of the P. Mohyla Institute), pp. 23–5, 29–42; Charles H. Young, *The Ukrainian Canadians*, chap. VIII.

who had a knowledge of English, to organize schools among the Ukrainians, and in 1910 Paul Gigeychuk. However, after several schools had been established, it was found that qualified Anglo-Saxon teachers refused to teach in the "foreign" districts, which were considered "backward."[2]

In the early period the Ukrainians themselves were in many instances opposed to English schools and English teachers, on the ground that these were instruments of assimilation employed to wipe out their nationality and culture. Mistakenly, they considered the situation analogous to the one in Galicia, where the ascendant Poles forced Polish schools on the Ukrainians and denied the Ukrainian people a separate existence.

The more aggressive leaders demanded the application of the Laurier-Greenway agreement of 1897, known as section 258 of the Public Schools Act, with respect to the Ukrainians. A specific clause read that "where ten of the pupils speak the French language, or any other language other than English, as their native language, the teaching for such pupils shall be conducted in French, or such other language, and English upon the bilingual system." This meant that in school districts which were predominantly settled by Ukrainians the Ukrainian language could be taught on a par with English and that English could be taught through the medium of the Ukrainian language. Attendance, however, was not compulsory.

The Ukrainians were within their legal rights and the government was therefore obliged to meet their demands. To supply the districts demanding Ukrainian teachers, a special normal school, known as the Ruthenian Training School, was established in 1905 on Minto Street in Winnipeg. The Principal was J. T. Cressy and the teachers of Ukrainian were Jacob Makohin and D. D. Pyrch. In 1907 the school was transferred to Brandon, where Taras D. Ferley, Professor Petro Karmansky, and Ivan Basarab in turn taught the language. Approximately 150 teachers (many of the permit category) were trained by the School. One of these teachers, Michael Stechishin (now a judge), prepared the first and second readers, known as the *Manitoba Ruthenian-English Readers*, which were authorized by the Advisory Board and published in 1913 and 1914 respectively. The Ruthenian Training School was closed in 1916.

The dual task of the pioneer Ukrainian-English teacher was an onerous one. A problem which presented greater difficulties than that

[2]According to inspectors' reports the first schools opened up among Ukrainians were Purple Bank (1898), in the Stuartburn area; Galicia (1899), north of Teulon; Sifton (1900); Elma (1901); Oukraina (1901), in the Dauphin area; Trembowla (1902), near Dauphin.

of teaching the children was the illiteracy of the adults, which required the teacher to spend time and effort in educational and cultural work among the parents and youth. He was the respected leader of the community, the friend, adviser, and guide of the inarticulate peasant-settler, the sole interpreter of Canadian laws and ways to the people, and the revered educator. It is only fair to say that it is largely to the pioneer teacher that the early settlers owe their higher standards of literacy and their gradual adjustment to Canadian life. It was he who awakened the Galicians, Russniaks, Ruthenians, and many so-called Austrians, Poles, and Russians to the fact that they were Ukrainians and Canadians. Many of these teachers later advanced to higher professions and positions, and assumed the national leadership of the ethnic group or a prominent place in Canadian life.[3]

The bilingual system had its merits, but it also had its serious drawbacks. In some districts composed of a polyglot population of from two to six nationalities, each of which could qualify for its own teacher and a separate school, bitter quarrels took place. This presented a baffling and continual problem to the Department of Education. Furthermore, when an investigation of the conditions in bilingual schools was undertaken in 1915 it was found that the knowledge of English was generally slight, whereas non-English pupils in strictly English-language schools had a definitely higher standard of English.[4] The average attendance in the 111 schools taught by Ukrainian or Polish teachers in 1915 was approximately 58 per cent.[5] There was a very sharp fall in the registration of pupils beyond the third and fourth grades, an alarming situation. Comparison with the unilingual English schools clearly brought out the inferiority of the bilingual system.

Bilingual schools consequently became a controversial public issue, debated in the press, at meetings, and in parliament. The Liberal party which took over the government in 1915 with Tobias Crawford Norris as Premier (1915-22) was committed to the abolition of bilingual schools. For this it received a mandate from the people. The majority of the Ukrainians, who had hitherto been Liberal supporters, voted Conservative at this time, but to no effect. In spite of strong protests from the Ukrainians,[6] the French, the Icelanders, and others, on the ground that the action was an infringement of minority rights, the

[3]Among the former bilingual teachers are Judge J. W. Arsenych, Judge Michael Stechishin, T. D. Ferley (later M.L.A. and alderman in Winnipeg), Orest Zerebko (first Ukrainian in Canada to receive B.A. degree and later M.L.A. in Saskatchewan), O. Hykawy (editor of *Kanadiysky Farmer*), W. Kudryk (leading Greek Orthodox priest and editor).

[4]See *Special Report on Bilingual Schools in Manitoba.*

[5]Based on figures, *ibid.*, p. 1.

[6]See Stechishin, *op. cit.*, pp. 40–2.

bilingual system was officially abolished in 1916. Attendance at school was made compulsory, Grade X standing was required for teachers, and the official trustee system was adopted in foreign districts. For many years after, the Ukrainians harboured bitter feelings that they had been discriminated against, but in time they have become reconciled to the new situation.

Whatever the merits or demerits of the bilingual method, education in the Ukrainian settlements has greatly improved under the new system. With the employment of high-class teachers from among young people born and educated in Canada, the standard of English has been raised greatly. Also, with the passing of years a much larger percentage of pupils have entered the higher grades, the high schools, and the universities. Today the attendance of Ukrainian Canadians in all types of schools is not, proportionately, much below, and in some cases is higher than, the general average for the province.

A modified form of bilingualism existed in most Ukrainian districts after 1916. Whenever teachers of Ukrainian descent were hired in these districts, they were required to teach Ukrainian after school hours in addition to their regular duties. Instruction was given chiefly to pupils of the senior grades. Since the late 1930's the practice has been steadily falling off. Most of the Canadian-born teachers lack a sufficient knowlege of Ukrainian to teach in the language, and do not care to take on extra work for little or no recompense.

It is a generally recognized fact that the ideal teacher is one who shares the ethnic origin and the religion of the district. Knowing his people, the Ukrainian teacher can better deal with the problems of the community than an Anglo-Saxon, who very often is looked upon with suspicion. Seldom is a Ukrainian teacher engaged in an English district. Yet the same person is wanted by his own people to provide leadership in cultural activities, such as concerts, dramas, folk-dances, sports, festivals, literary circles, and the like. It will work to the benefit of the Ukrainian people and of Canada as a whole if the necessary leadership for Ukrainian districts is provided by teachers of Ukrainian descent trained to be able to conduct valuable phases of "cultural" activities. Recognition of the worth-while aspects of Ukrainian culture (and this is true for the cultures of other component ethnic groups) would be given if study of it were included in the school curriculum.

A good example of a Ukrainian separate school is the St. Nicholas School in Winnipeg. This two-storey, five-classroom structure was built in 1911 for the Ukrainian Greek Catholics by Archbishop Adelard Langevin. All grades up to Grade XII are taught by Ukrainian nuns. Instruction in Ukrainian and religion is given after school hours and on Saturday. Over 150 pupils are in regular attendance.

The Ukrainians who cherish their culture and language have also been maintaining vernacular schools (*Ridna Shkola*). Organizations and churches employ Ukrainian teachers to give instruction in Ukrainian language, history, music, folk-dances, and in some cases religion. These courses are given for the most part in Ukrainian community or parish halls after school hours for one or two days a week, on Saturdays, and daily for several weeks during the summer holidays.[7] The cost is borne by the parents, who pay a small fee for each child, and by the organization operating the vernacular school. There has been no serious attempt, however, to co-ordinate these schools and provide a common curriculum and common text-books. For that reason the standards of the vernacular schools are low and the pupils seldom learn to read the language with permanent fluency and comprehension.

Yet another, and more successful way of maintaining the language has been attempted. When it became evident to the Ukrainians in 1915 that the bilingual system was doomed, in order to retain their language and culture they decided to establish the "bursa," which was growing in popularity in their native land. This institution was akin to the residence school. Students who came from outlying districts to study at the high schools, normal schools, and universities received lodging here at reasonable cost. After regular school work, in the late afternoons, in the evenings, and on Saturdays, the resident students received courses of instruction in Ukrainian language, history, literature, music, drama, and folk-dancing. They thus secured a double education, and many upon returning to their local districts have been in a position to carry on cultural activities. The "bursas" have indeed provided many of the outstanding Ukrainian leaders in Canada.

The two pioneer "bursas" which made their appearance in Winnipeg were fated to be short-lived. The Adam Kotsko Bursa (named in honour of a Ukrainian student who in 1910 was killed in the struggle for the establishment of a Ukrainian university at Lviv, Galicia) was brought into being in July, 1915, on a non-sectarian basis.[8] Accommodating sixteen students, it was forced to close down in two years because of lack of funds. The Greek Catholics fared better. The Metropolitan Andrew Sheptitsky Bursa, which was established in 1917 in St. Boniface with the assistance of the French archbishop, lasted until 1924.[9] It averaged approximately forty students annually. Pioneer bursas have been operated more successfully in other provinces, notably the Peter Mohyla Institute in Saskatoon (established in 1916) and the

[7]In 1937 the Greek Catholic nuns taught Ukrainian vacation schools in 24 Ukrainian communities in Manitoba. A total of 1,112 children attended. See *Propamyatna Knyha Poselennya Ukrayinskoho Narodu v Kanadi*, p. 34.

[8]See Stechishin, *op. cit.*, pp. 37–40.

[9]See *Propamyatna Knyha*, pp. 35–6.

Michael Hrushevsky Institute in Edmonton (established in 1917), both under the supervision of Greek Orthodox leaders.

A modified and advanced version of the bursa is the Greek Orthodox St. Andrew's College in North Winnipeg.[10] It was established in 1946 with the purchase of St. John's College from the Anglican Church. The name of the institution honours the memory of St. Andrew, the apostle who is claimed to have first established the cross on the site of Kiev, thus becoming the founder of the famous Ukrainian capital, "the mother of Rus' [Ukrainian] cities."

This residential college, which accommodates both young men and young women, provides tuition in high-school and university subjects. Instruction in Grades XI and XII is given. The university course offered leads to a combined degree of Bachelor of Arts and Bachelor of Divinity. In this respect the college is a Greek Orthodox theological seminary. Along with curricular studies, courses are given in Ukrainian language, history, literature, music, and handicrafts.

The College has been staffed by capable instructors. The first principal was F. T. Hawryliuk, B.Ed., a former superintendent of schools in Saskatchewan, who was followed by G. Woloshinowsky, B.A., in 1950, and by the Rev. S. W. Sawchuk in 1952. The Dean of Theology has been Dmitri Martinowski, M.O.T., B.Litt. (Oxford). Dr. Dmytro Doroshenko, the leading Ukrainian historian, gave lectures in Ukrainian history until 1950. Others on the staff include local teachers and priests who teach high-school subjects or religion.

Each summer since 1948 the College has sponsored a six-week Ukrainian summer school. The subjects of instruction include the regular classes in Ukrainian language, literature, and history, with more emphasis on concert presentations and community work. An average of 75 students from various points in Canada and some from the United States have attended the school each year. The closing of each summer school is marked by a public concert.

COMMUNITY AND PARISH HALLS

The Ukrainian hall ("deem") made a rapid appearance as a result of the desire for self-preservation among the people after the bilingual system was discarded. The halls were common in Ukraine. A large number of the "national homes" (narodni domy) in Canada came under the control of the Orthodox group, which centralized the administration and incorporated them under a charter. Parish halls (parokhiyalni domy) are a feature of the Greek Catholic society and they are incorporated under the new Ukrainian Catholic charter. The

[10]See "The Birth and Beginnings of a College," *Opinion*, May-June 1947.

"reading halls" (chytalni prosvity) are independent, non-centralized institutions. The "labour temples" (robitnychi domy) are operated under a charter by the Ukrainian communist element. Over 150 Ukrainian halls are scattered throughout the rural and urban districts of Manitoba.

Among the Ukrainian halls there is a variety of structures. The most common is the simple, box-shaped, wooden building usually constructed by the voluntary labour of members. Easy to erect and inexpensive, this type of building is found in the rural districts and small towns. It accommodates from 100 to 400 people. The urban communities, on the other hand, have brick buildings with a minimum of fire hazards. The largest halls are located in Winnipeg. The Institute Prosvita hall, valued at $50,000, has a seating capacity of over 640; the Ukrainian Labour Temple, valued at over $100,000, seats about 500 persons; the newly erected Ukrainian National Federation hall, which cost $250,000, contains 900 seats. Some parish halls are found in the basements of churches, for example Sts. Vladimir and Olga (Greek Catholic) and the Greek Orthodox Sobor. All halls have stages, kitchen facilities, and small libraries; a few large ones contain separate school rooms, offices, gymnastic facilities, and bowling alleys.

As has been stated previously, the Ukrainian hall is the heart of the cultural and social activities of the people. First of all, it is the scene of society meetings. From time to time, adult education and home-making courses in the Ukrainian language are sponsored. In the cities and towns vernacular schools are conducted in these halls throughout the year, while in the rural districts they are occasionally held during the months of July and August. Social activities, such as dances, banquets, and teas, are a regular occurrence in them. When grounds and adequate facilities are provided, such sports as softball, baseball, and gymnastics are carried on, particularly in the summer. The most popular features of community activities held in the halls are the concerts and plays. These are, in many cases, given almost every Sunday evening. The preparation of these performances requires regular rehearsals throughout the week for choirs, musicians, folk-dancers, and the actors in the various kinds of plays. Trained cultural instructors are therefore often hired in the urban centres. Rural groups, however, depend upon the voluntary efforts of public school teachers or other individuals.

Since the outbreak of the Second World War, the many-sided activities of these halls have greatly diminished. Owing partly to the lack of proper leadership, the youth in general has lost interest in Ukrainian cultural work. As a result, a large number of halls, except for the occasional celebration of an anniversary, now offer only public dances. The

recent arrival of Ukrainians from the displaced persons' camps has, however, to some extent revived cultural activities in nearly all of the urban halls and in some of the rural halls.

UKRAINIAN CULTURAL AND EDUCATIONAL CENTRE

The Ukrainian Cultural and Educational Centre of Winnipeg is in a class by itself. Established in 1944 and maintained largely by members, supporters, and branches of the Ukrainian National Federation, this non-sectarian institution is devoted to the preservation and advancement of Ukrainian culture and the encouragement of education. Its activities extend into six distinct fields: it has a library, archives, a museum; it gives advanced educational courses; it has engaged in publication; it grants scholarships.

The library, numbering over 6,000 books, has been steadily increasing with the accumulation of books printed in North America and in Europe. The bulk of the books are in the Ukrainian language and many of these are no longer available elsewhere. English books pertaining to Ukrainian affairs are also found in the collection. Lack of funds has unfortunately prevented the importation of valuable collections of books in Ukrainian belonging to Ukrainian displaced persons in Europe.

The archives have also been steadily expanding. In them are found documents relating to the Ukrainian state, the struggle for liberation in 1917-21, and the recent fight for independence during the Second World War. Mimeographed works of Ukrainian scholars, manuscripts of authors and poets, and files of defunct Ukrainian papers and periodicals as well as of the contemporary press form part of the collection. To the valuable Ivan Bobersky collection of Ukrainian Canadian publications, manuscripts, photos, and printing accessories[11] has been added much more material. For a student delving into the achievements of the Ukrainian Canadians, the library and archives are a most valuable source of information.

The museum is still comparatively small but contains valuable items. Some articles date back to the fifteenth century. Typical Ukrainian costumes, embroidery, and handicrafts can be viewed. In one case are found the personal belongings and the death-mask of the late Alexander Koshetz, the great Ukrainian composer and choir-master, and a founder of the Centre. In another are the personal belongings and death-mask of the late Colonel Evhen Konovalets, the leader of the

[11]Watson Kirkconnell's article "Ukrainian Canadiana" in *Canadian Forum* Jan. 1934, gives an account of the collection.

revolutionary movement for the independence of Ukraine, who was assassinated by a Soviet agent in Rotterdam in 1938.

The most popular feature of the Centre is the annual summer school which has attracted the attention of Ukrainians in Canada as well as in the United States since 1942. By 1951, over 800 young men and young women from both countries had taken advantage of the courses in the Ukrainian language. The summer schools have produced many choir conductors, community workers, and leaders, thanks to the outstanding instructors. In recent years the school has been held in United College and the University of Manitoba, where students receive accommodation and meals. The fine concerts of choral singing, music, and folk-dancing have won favourable reviews from critics in the Winnipeg dailies.

The Centre also encourages the education of Ukrainian Canadians by assisting needy but capable students. In 1945 a $500 scholarship was awarded to Paul Yuzyk of Saskatoon, to continue studies in the Slavic field at the University of Saskatchewan.

Another important aspect of the work of the institution is the publishing of books. Up to 1952, thirty-six books and booklets have made their appearance, among which are scholarly works, plays, novels, texts, and choral music.[12] They form part of the series "Culture and Education." Further publications will appear.

[12]The following is a list of the published works of the Centre (in chronological order): H. Ewach, *Klyuch do Movy* (Key to the Ukrainian Language); H. Ewach, *Schob Vas Lyudy Lyubyly* (How to Win Friends); W. Topolnycky, *De Pomich Dlya Nas* (Where to Find Help); C. S. Prodan, *Yak Likuvaty Domashnykh Zviryat* (Remedies for Domestic Animals); H. Ewach, *Tsikavi Opovidanya z istoriyi Kanady* (Interesting Stories from Canadian History); *Kobzar T. Shevchenka* (The Kobzar of T. Shevchenko), annotated; A. Koshetz, *Pro Genetychny Zvyazok ta Hrupuvanya Ukrayinskykh Obryadovykh Pisen* (Genetic Relationship and Classification of Ukrainian Ritual Songs); A. Lototsky, *Kyrylo Kozhymyaka* (Story of a Ukrainian Hero); Petro Chomiak, *Na Rozdorizhi* (At the Crossroads), three-act comedy; R. Antonovych, *Burlatskym Shlyakhom* (A Wanderer's Course); M. Matwiychuk, *Tretya Chytanka* (Third Reader, Ukrainian); A. Koshetz, *Pro Ukrayinsku Pisnu w Muzyku* (On Ukrainian Songs and Music); T. Koshetz, *Hulyanka*, scene from life in Ukrainian village; John Melnyk, *Boh Predvichny* (God Eternal), carols with music; A. Koshetz, *Shkilni Khory* (School Choirs), music 2 vols.; *Kolyadky i Schedrivky* (Ukrainian Carols), choir music; J. Melnyk, *Ukrainian Dances for the Piano*; Prof. G. W. Simpson, *Alexander Koshetz in Ukrainian Music*; H. Ewach, *Ukrainian Self-Educator*; A. Koshetz, *Spohady* (Reminiscences), 2 vols.; B. Bociurkiw, *Narodzhenya Ukrayinskoho Narodu* (The Birth of the Ukrainian People); A. Koshetz, *Muzychni Tvory* (Musical Works), 6 vols.; *Rizdvyany Vechir* (Christmas Eve), one-act play; P. Macenko, *Zasady Tvorchosty O. Koshytsya* (The Fundamentals of A. Koshetz's Creativeness); *Ukrayinsky Litopys* (Ukrainian Chronicle, or Historical Calendar); M. Miller, *Mohyla Knyazya Svyatoslava* (The Burial Place of Prince Svyatoslav); T. Pravoberezhny, *8,000,000: Holod 1933 roku v Ukrayini* (8,000,000: The 1933 Famine in Ukraine); Pawlo Macenko, *D. S. Bortnyansky and M. S. Berezovsky*, in Ukrainian, about two composers; A. Koshetz, *Z Pisneyu Cherez Svit* (Around the World with Song).

The Ukrainian Cultural and Educational Centre has progressed under the leadership of some of the most distinguished Ukrainian Canadian scholars and leaders. The late Dr. Alexander Koshetz was among the founders. At its convention held on July 1, 1952, the following officers were elected: President, Dr. T. K. Pavlychenko, agricultural scientist and former professor at the University of Saskatchewan; First Vice-President, W. Kossar, M.A., agricultural editor; Second Vice-President, W. Hultay, M.A., druggist and business man of Toronto; Secretary, Dr. Pawlo Macenko, choirmaster, composer, and writer; Treasurer, Dr. J. B. Rudnyckyj, philologist, Professor of Slavic Languages at the University of Manitoba. Directors were also elected: Dr. L. Bilecky, former Professor of Slavic Literature at Prague; Tatiana Koshetz, ethnographer, librarian, and choir-leader; B. Bociurkiw, B.A., writer and artist; P. Zvarych, former teacher, business man, and leader; and Professor Paul Yuzyk, historian. The institution is financed solely by donations of individuals and societies. Its progress is hampered primarily by the fact that these are rarely sufficient.

ALPHA OMEGA SOCIETY

Canadian university students of Ukrainian origin first organized a club at the University of Saskatchewan in 1930, adopting the unusual name, Alpha Omega Society.[13] Several years later a similar body was established in Winnipeg under the name "Prometey," or the Prometheus Club, but it ceased to function during the Second World War. In 1945, it was decided to follow the example of the Ukrainian Canadian students at Saskatoon, with the result that the Alpha Omega Society was organized at the University of Manitoba.

The constitution of the Society outlines the following objectives: (1) to form a nucleus of all students at the University of Manitoba who are interested in the studying and fostering of Ukrainian culture; (2) to discuss problems of adjustments of Ukrainian culture to the Canadian way of life; and (3) to promote education among Ukrainian Canadian youth and to assist needy but promising students of Ukrainian origin. Activities have included meetings, addresses, debates, socials, concerts, graduate banquets, and the publication of the *Alpha Omegan*, a 32-page magazine containing also several Ukrainian language articles. The 1951-2 membership totalled 65 or 20 per cent of the Ukrainian Canadian students enrolled at the university. Some of the members have received valuable scholarships.

[13]For an account of the establishment of the society in Saskatoon, read the article by Mrs. M. Stechishin, entitled "How Alpha-Omega Came about in Saskatchewan," *Opinion*, April 1948.

The success of the Society has been due to the energetic leadership of several individuals. Beginning with the academic year 1945-6, the following students have filled the post of president: Nestor Ortynsky of Canora, Saskatchewan, Taras Storey of Winnipeg, Bohdan Lesack of Roblin, Manitoba, John Chalaturnyk of Sundown, Manitoba, Leon Kossar of Winnipeg, Bohdan Lesack (second time), Bohdan Cirka of Winnipeg, and Gregory Ratuski of Kenora, Ontario. The Society has received the sympathetic support of some of the leading university officials. For three years Dean R. F. Argue was Honorary President. From 1948 to 1952 the President of the University, Dr. A. H. S. Gillson, held the position and he was succeeded by Dean W. J. Waines. All have addressed several meetings and the graduate banquets.

In 1949 the Alpha Omega Society of the University of Manitoba took the initiative in bringing about the centralization of the societies at the universities of Saskatchewan, British Columbia, Alberta, and Manitoba. The Central Committee of Ukrainian Canadian University Students, headed by Dr. Isidore Hlynka of Winnipeg, endeavours to co-ordinate activities of similar clubs at several universities by circular letters, a correspondence, personal contacts, conferences, and reports and articles in the Ukrainian papers. This Committee has been instrumental in the establishment of a credit union for university graduates in connection with the Alpha Omega Society of Manitoba. The union will assist new and old graduates, support the Society's activities, and establish undergraduate scholarships.

GAMMA RHO KAPPA

The Ukrainian Catholic University Students' Society, established in 1945 at the request of Archbishop B. Ladyka, head of the Ukrainian Catholic Church in Canada, adopted the Greek-letter name, Gamma Rho Kappa, to signify Greek Rite Catholics. The founders felt that, because the Greek rite greatly differed from the Latin rite, the students would benefit more from an organization of their own than from the Newman Club. Father V. Bozyk has been the chaplain since the inception of the Society. Commencing with the academic year 1945-6, the following students have acted as president: Eva Kochayda, Lorne Reznowski, Walter Boyd, Joseph Hnidan, Geral Genick, Max Symanyk, and Murray Harris (1952-3). The Society publishes a mimeographed periodical using two languages. In 1952, Gamma Rho Kappa was admitted to the Pax Romana, a world organization of university students and of Catholic intellectual and cultural leaders. Being interested paramountly in Catholic activities, Gamma Rho Kappa so far has not been favourably disposed to co-operation with the broader

secular body of Ukrainian students at the University of Manitoba, the Alpha Omega Society.

UKRAINIAN FREE ACADEMY OF SCIENCES

In January, 1949, two "cultural workers" of the Ukrainian National Federation, Dr. Leonid Bilecky, a former Prague professor and an authority on Slavic literature, and Dr. Jaroslaw B. Rudnyckyj, a former Prague professor also and an authority on Slavic philology, arrived in Winnipeg. Both were employed by the Ukrainian Cultural and Educational Centre and with their arrival the Praesidium of the Ukrainian Free Academy of Sciences (Ukrayinska Vilna Akademiya Nauk) was transferred to Canada.[14] The late Dr. Dmytro Doroshenko (1882-1951), the authority on Ukrainian history and Slavic history and also a member of the Academy, had arrived in 1948 and was employed by St. Andrew's College as lecturer. The Praesidium was composed of each of these men in the following capacities: President, Dr. D. Doroshenko; Vice-President, Dr. L. Bilecky; and Secretary-Treasurer, Dr. J. Rudnyckyj. It has already elected several Ukrainian Canadian scholars to its membership.[15]

The activities of the Academy consist of membership sessions, where papers are read and discussed; public sessions on famous Ukrainian men such as Shevchenko, Franko, and others; and publishing. Already, several booklets have been published in Canada as well as in Europe; some of these are in the English language.[16]

[14]Leonid Bilecky's article, "Chomu UVAN?" (Why UVAN?) in *Samostiyna Ukrayina* (Independent Ukraine), May 1949, explains the background of the Academy.

[15]These include Dr. T. K. Pavlychenko, Professor Paul Yuzyk, Dr. P. Macenko, Dr. Isidore Hlynka, and W. Kostiuk, M.A.

[16]The following is a list of the Canadian publications of the Academy (in chronological order): D. Doroshenko, *Rozvytok Ukrayinskoyi Nauky Pid Praporom Shevchenka* (The Development of Ukrainian Education under the Banner of Shevchenko), 1949; L. Bilecky, *Viruyuchy Shevchenko* (Shevchenko—a Devout Christian), 1949; J. B. Rudnyckyj, *Slavic and Baltic Universities in Exile*, 1949; R. Smal-Stocky, *The Origin of the Word 'Rus'*, 1949; L. Bilecky, *Dmytro Doroshenko* (in Ukrainian), 1950; L. Bilecky, *Omelyan Ohonovsky* (in Ukrainian), 1950; V. Chaplenko, *Mova 'Slova o Polku Ihorevi'* (The Language of 'The Lay of Ihor's Legion'), 1950; J. B. Rudnyckyj, *Slavistica Canadiana, 1950*; G. W. Simpson, *The Names 'Rus,' 'Russia,' 'Ukraine' and their Historical Background*, 1951; Metropolitan Ilarion Ohienko, *Ukrayinsko-Rosiysky Slovnyk Pochatku 17-ho Viku* (A Ukrainian-Russian Dictionary at the Beginning of the 17th Century), 1951; J. B. Rudnyckyj, *Slovo i Nazva 'Ukrayina'* (The Word and Name 'Ukraine'), 1951; V. J. Kaye, *Slavic Groups in Canada*, 1951; J. B. Rudnyckyj, *Kanadiyski Mistsevi Nazvy Ukrayinskoho Pokhodzhennya* (Canadian Place Names of Ukrainian Origin), 1951; P. Fylypovych, *Ukrayinska Stykhiya v Tvorchosti Hoholya* (The Ukrainian Element in Gogol's works), 1952; W. Kirkconnell, *Common English Loan Words in East European Languages*, 1952; J. B. Rudnyckyj, *Nazva 'Halychyna' i 'Volyn'* (The Names 'Galicia' and 'Volynia'), 1952; L. Bilecky, *Taras Shevchenko's 'Kobzar'*, 1952-3, three of four volumes, in Ukrainian, annotated; B. Barvinsky, *Nazva "Ukrayina" na Zakarpatti* (The Name "Ukraine" in South-Carpathia), 1952; J. B. Rudnyckyj, *Slavica Canadiana, 1951*, 1952; J. Sherekh, *Kost Mykhalchuk* (in Ukrainian), 1952.

The Ukrainian Free Academy of Sciences came into existence in 1945 in the British-occupied zone of Germany, as a protest of several former professors of the Soviet Academy at Kiev against the incorporation of the Kiev university into the communist-controlled Academy of Sciences of the Soviet Union. The Free Academy advocates the freedom of learning. It is recognized by the Ukrainian National Council, the legal representative of the conquered Ukrainian state. In the event Ukraine should gain independence, the Free Academy is expected to be formally reinstated as a university at Kiev. Its members continue intensive research work, and many of the results of it are published. The Academy carries on its work by means of contributions from individuals and organizations.

CANADIAN UKRAINIAN ATHLETIC CLUB

Of the several athletic clubs among the Ukrainians the most famous is the Canadian Ukrainian Athletic Club (C.U.A.C.).[17] Organized at the Institute Prosvita in 1926, the Club has steadily expanded and has won considerable distinction in a variety of sports. It has entered senior and junior teams in men's and women's softball and basketball; senior and junior men's baseball and hockey; soccer, lacrosse, bowling, and curling. From this point of view it is the leading Canadian amateur sports organization in Manitoba, and perhaps in western Canada.

The record of the C.U.A.C. is an impressive one. It has won the Manitoba girls' senior softball championship four times, in 1938, 1941, 1942, and 1947, but was unable to capture the western Canada championship. In men's senior baseball, the Club captured the Manitoba championship four years in a row, commencing in 1941, and the Greater Winnipeg championship in 1947 and in 1950. Its bowling teams captured in 1936 the Marlborough Trophy which is symbolic of city championship, and in 1947 the T. Eaton Trophy. The C.U.A.C. team won the Manitoba senior women's basketball championship in 1949 and 1950, but lost the western finals. Some of the players later won distinction in American professional leagues.

The C.U.A.C. was incorporated as a community club in 1947. On the corner of Church Avenue and Sinclair Street in northwest Winnipeg it possesses a club-house, a skating rink, and playgrounds with bleachers. The project to build a large grandstand and gymnasium and to establish a children's playground with a swimming pool, tennis courts, horseshoe pitches, and more facilities for a variety of sports is gradually

[17]A brief history of the C.U.A.C., is given in the article, 'A Notable Sports Organization," *Opinion*, Jan.-Feb. 1948, and in *C.U.A.C. 25th Anniversary Year Book.*

being carried out. In this, the club has the support of North Winnipeg. To secure funds, the members solicit contributions, hold salvage campaigns, and sell a *Year Book*. Not all of the athletes or members of the executive are of Ukrainian origin, as the Club encourages promising young men and women athletes regardless of nationality.

The success of the C.U.A.C. is due to the energetic leadership provided by its presidents. At its Silver Jubilee celebration in February 1952, the Club honoured the nine men who guided its destiny during twenty-five years: Nick Shaley, John Moroz, V. H. Koman, W. Lewicki, Slaw Rebchuk, S. Mykytyn, John Shaley, John Mirus, and Fred James (1948-51). The leaders and members of the Club are proud of its record, and are making every effort to win new laurels in the years ahead.

UKRAINIAN PROFESSIONAL AND BUSINESS MEN'S CLUB

The spirit of kinship and good fellowship and an active interest in promoting cultural, educational, and athletic activities among the Ukrainian Canadians motivate the members of the Ukrainian Professional and Business Men's Club, which was established in 1943, during the Second World War. Approximately 100 men attend the regular monthly evening dinners at one of Winnipeg's large hotels, hear an invited speaker, and take part in discussions. The first speaker to address the Club was the Reverend Dr. W. Kushnir, president of the Ukrainian Canadian Committee, which receives the support of the Club. Since the inception of the U.P.B.M.C., the post of president has been filled by the following persons: Dr. B. Dyma, physician and surgeon; John Coval, industrialist; Dr. V. F. Bachinsky, physician and surgeon; A. Malofie, business man; John Shanski, business man; John R. Solomon, barrister and member of the provincial legislature; and Mark J. Smerchanski (1952-3), geologist and owner of the Riverton Airways Ltd., and now a member of the Board of Governors of the University of Manitoba.

The Club has given financial support to many worthy causes. Assistance was given to Donna Grescoe, the prodigy violinist, to continue her studies, to the Ukrainian Canadian Legion branch in Winnipeg to purchase a building, to the Canadian Ukrainian Athletic Club, and to the Ukrainian Male Chorus. The greatest undertaking of the U.P.B.M.C. was the decision in 1951 to provide the University of Manitoba with $25,000 to build up Ukrainian studies within the Department of Slavic Studies. Since 1949 the Club has also provided an annual scholarship of $100 to the student most proficient in the Ukrainian language at the University.

MARY DYMA CHAPTER, I.O.D.E.

Of the twenty-two chapters of the Imperial Order of the Daughters of the Empire in Greater Winnipeg the Mary Dyma Chapter has a Ukrainian Canadian character, and is perhaps the only one of its kind in the country. It was established in 1950 by a group of young married women who sought wider contacts in Canadian society by giving support to the ideal of service in the interests of Canada, the Commonwealth, and humanity in general. The Chapter participates in the general activities of the I.O.D.E. such as providing comforts for soldiers and veterans of the Korean War, and sending food and clothing parcels to Britain, to poverty-stricken, war-ravaged, or flood-damaged areas in various parts of the world, and to victims of persecution. The members are especially interested in helping displaced persons of Ukrainian origin, and in particular in supporting education in Ukrainian communities in Manitoba by providing scholarships and donating books to schools. Assistance is given to Ukrainian studies at the University of Manitoba; it has, for instance, given a donation to the Ukrainian Studies Fund sponsored by the Ukrainian Professional and Business Men's Club.

The Chapter was named in honour of Mary Dyma, the first woman of Ukrainian origin in Canada to gain a university degree, the first Ukrainian woman school trustee in Winnipeg, the first Ukrainian woman to contest a provincial election, and the first president of the Ukrainian Canadian Women's Committee. Mrs. Dyma was elected the first Regent of the Chapter. She was succeeded in 1952 by Mrs. M. G. (Patricia) Smerchanski. The twenty-five members in this group are leading women in the Ukrainian Canadian community in Greater Winnipeg.

To ardent Ukrainians, the response of the youth to the opportunities for participation in organizations and in education is depressing. Only a small proportion of the children attend the vernacular schools. This, however, can be attributed to the apathy of the older generation, which makes little effort to establish and maintain proper schools. In many districts there has been no vernacular school for over a decade. The teen-ager feels no need for a knowledge of Ukrainian, as it is not essential to everyday life. The chief attractions in Ukrainian cultural institutions are the folk-dances, and choral and instrumental music, which appeal to the aesthetic sense. Athletics have been found to be most effective in drawing youth to Ukrainian organizations, but most of the older generation consider these activities a waste of time and

money. The clash of attitudes towards the use of the Ukrainian language and towards sports is widening the gap between the immigrant parents and their Canadian-born children. The advanced educational courses given by the Ukrainian Cultural and Educational Centre, St. Andrew's College, and the Catholic Church, which produce intelligent leaders from among the youth, can help remedy to some extent the rapid process of disorganization in many Ukrainian communities.

CHAPTER ELEVEN . The Ukrainian Canadian Culture Pattern

THE ARRIVAL OF THE UKRAINIAN SETTLERS MEANT the transplanting in Canada of various aspects of their culture besides a separate language.[1] There arose churches with an entirely different architectural and ornamental style in which was sung and chanted a hitherto unknown and unseen, yet majestic, liturgy. Religious and national customs, strange to the Canadian population at that time, made their appearance. Music, songs, folk-dances in picturesque costumes, and drama, peculiar to the new people, were heard and seen increasingly in various parts of the broad new country. Handicrafts, including the making of multi-coloured and variously designed Easter-eggs, a great variety of colourful embroidery, and intricate forms of wood carving, drew the attention and the admiration of non-Slavic elements. New items and flavours of food, such as borsch, pyrohy, holubtsi, and others, began to be served on Canadian tables. Although these inarticulate peasant people at first designated themselves under a variety of names, it was evident that they possessed the distinctive features of one nationality. The process of crystallization of Ukrainian culture and Ukrainian nationality was comparatively rapid in democratic Canada.

This picturesque and many-sided Ukrainian culture is essentially a folk culture. Its roots are embedded in the prehistoric, pre-Christian era, in the ancient period of the Kievan grand princes, and in Cossack times. Its traditional forms have been preserved through long centuries by common peasant folk and not by the upper classes who under enemy pressure often too readily dissociated themselves from their own cul-

[1]Sources for this chapter include: W. Burianyk, Ukrainian Contributions to Russian Culture (manuscript); W. M. Horodynskyj, *Ukrainian Folk-Arts*; A. Koshetz, *Pro Ukrayinsku Pisnyu i Muzyku* (On Ukrainian Songs and Music); Vera Lysenko, *Men in Sheepskin Coats*; Professor Ivan Ohienko, *Ukrayinska Kultura* (Ukrainian Culture); Professor A. Rudnytsky, *The Role of Music in Ukrainian Culture*; Stephen Shumeyko, "The Ukrainians," in *Propamyatna Knyha*, U.N.S. (Jubilee Book of the Ukrainian National Association); D. Snowyd, *Spirit of Ukraine: Ukrainian Contributions to World's Culture*. A highly commendable work in English is Olya Dmytriw and Anne Mitz, *Ukrainian Arts*, a collection of authoritative articles on Ukrainian folk and fine arts with numerous illustrations, many in colour.

ture and adopted that of the enemy. Despite the efforts of Russians, Poles, Hungarians, and Rumanians to suppress it, the Ukrainian peasants not only maintained the individual spirit and forms of their culture, but even developed new expressions of it. Indeed, the Russians quickly realized the superiority of many aspects of Ukrainian culture and adopted many features as their own.[2]

Ukrainian folk culture is characterized by its outward beauty, its unflagging vigour, and its expression of profound human sentiment. Beauty is achieved in several ways: (1) by the use of gorgeous but harmonizing colours, as in embroidery, Easter eggs, the interior and exterior decoration of churches and halls, and costumes; (2) by means of exquisite geometric design, as in embroidery, Easter eggs, tapestries, the architecture of churches, wicker-work, and wood-carving; (3) through expressive movements in folk-dances, ballets, and operettas; (4) through sonorous vocal expression, as in the melodies of songs, choral singing, and recitations; (5) through representative instrumental music; and (6) by the fine quality of the written word in poetry and prose. The lavish use of symbolism is evident in all aspects of the culture and in such customs as religious celebrations, weddings, and funerals. The close attachment of the people to the church, to the home and the family, to nature, and to the ideals of love and liberty is interwoven in the warp and woof of their culture.

The evolution of Ukrainian culture on Canadian soil is often, and quite appropriately, compared to the fate of the branch which is cut off from a selected tree and transplanted in a different land under different climatic conditions. It is known that in an entirely new environment the branch may develop into a form slightly different from that of the parent tree, and may also produce somewhat different blossoms and fruit. Furthermore, when the seed of the branch is crossed with the seed of local trees, a different type of tree with a different type of fruit may evolve.

In a similar manner, the original folk culture of the Ukrainians has thrived in Canada, but with different circumstances has undergone a change, just as have the Ukrainian people themselves. The swiftest changes have taken place in material and economic aspects. In general, dwellings, furnishings, clothing, food, and tools of old-country style have been rapidly replaced by those in use in Canada. Many methods of earning a livelihood in the old world (millstone milling, hand-spinning, hand-weaving, etc.) proved unprofitable in this country and have been discarded. Certain folk ways (such as bowing and the kissing of the hand of a respected person, wailing at funerals, the elaborate wed-

[2]See chap. 1; Snowyd, *op. cit.*; Ohienko, *op. cit.*

ding ceremony, superstitions, etc.), because of their ridiculousness or impracticability, are quickly disappearing. Change is slower in the rural districts, but very rapid in the towns and cities.

Most resistant to change have been those mores which are an integral part of the primary group relations, found in the family, the church, and in the organized community. Some examples are language; family practices and ceremonies connected with birth, marriage, death, and religion; the folk-arts; Ukrainian song, music, dances; national celebrations. Many of these hold fast because they are part of the national group existence which is based on a common historical experience, particularly in the struggle for survival and national liberty. Under the stimulus of public applause and favourable comment, such features of Ukrainian culture as choral singing, folk-dances, folk-arts, and music have flourished and are reaching higher levels. Because of their unique aesthetic value and their universal appeal, these have been supported even by young people who speak Ukrainian with the greatest difficulty. All these changes in the culture of the original Ukrainian settlers have brought into being a greatly modified Ukrainian society, which in character is not truly Ukrainian. It is in reality a Ukrainian Canadian society.

The great cultural treasures of the Canadian Slavs, of which the Ukrainians form the dominant and most dynamic group, were revealed and acknowledged by the Community Progress Competitions of 1931, sponsored by the Canadian National Railways throughout the chief districts in Manitoba and the other two prairie provinces.[3] The chairman of the group of judges, Dr. John MacKay, commented in his report that "the judges were deeply impressed with the wealth and variety of this inheritance that Canada so badly needs."[4] It was even more evident at the celebration of Winnipeg's seventy-fifth anniversary in June 1949; the Ukrainian Canadians won outstanding recognition for their colourful choral and dancing performances before some 40,000 spectators, for their representative float, and for their display of folk-art.[5]

The value of the folk-lore of such an ethnic group as the Ukrainians and the need for its perpetuation have been clearly enunciated by a keen scholar, who has had long and intimate relations with the various peoples of the prairie provinces:

> Particularly in the case of the Slav, an interest in the folklore of various branches of the Slav peoples is indispensable to an understanding of their mental processes. There is no better way of learning the traditions of a

[3]An analytic account of the competitions is found in Robert England, *The Colonization of Western Canada*, pp. 175–225.

[4]*Ibid.*, p. 197.

[5]See *Opinion*, June 1949.

people's past, securing a feeling for a people's soul, cultivating standards of taste, than by appreciation of their artistic skills, gifts, and forms of expression. . . . His [the Slav's] deeply religious nature, his willingness to suffer hardship, his genius for self-expression in all forms of art, his love of colour and his hospitality, are qualities that balance admirably the more Puritan and sombre characteristics of the nonconformist and more phlegmatic attitude of some of the racial and religious groups. . . . This diversity of talent and temperament with its contrasts and yet surprising intrinsic similarities of human behaviour may be the mainspring of variety of endeavuor and of an unconventionl future society, and gives point to the necessity for wide sympathies and a broader culture.[6]

A detailed description of the many features of the Ukrainian Canadian culture would produce a separate, and most interesting, book. The scope of this chapter, however, will allow only a general account of the more important components.

UKRAINIAN SONG

A rich repertoire of Ukrainian folk-songs has been sung and resung from one end of Canada to the other ever since the arrival of the first Ukrainian settlers. Song seems to come naturally to the Ukrainians. All their passions, hopes, and aspirations are expressed in song, which thus reflects the moods and the spirit of the people. There are songs for every occasion and for every aspect of life. Included in the wide variety are religious songs—the Christmas carols (kolyada), New Year's songs (schedrivka), and chants; seasonal songs and songs of nature, many dating back to pre-Christian times and to pagan practices; wedding songs; personal songs on themes of love, misfortune, virtues, etc., including lullabies; and historical songs, such as the "duma," relating Cossack exploits and laments, "chumak" songs of the caravan traders, "haydamaki" songs of the peasant uprisings against the landlords and serfdom, and "striletsky" songs of the Ukrainian soldiers who fought for the liberation of the Ukrainian state in 1917-20. Since the nineteenth century, operatic songs and other songs of a classical nature, such as compositions to the words of the great poets, have become increasingly popular. The incorporation of historical events—the heroic deeds of the Cossacks, the Haydamaki, and the "Sichovi Strilsti"—in folk-songs has tended to preserve the spirit of resistance against the enemy occupants of their lands, to keep alive the ideal of national freedom, and to enhance the unity of the Ukrainian people.

Many of these songs have won general popularity among the Ukrainian Canadians. Some have even been translated into English and are being sung in that language. The following songs may be heard at

[6]England, *op. cit.*, pp. 224–5.

gatherings of Ukrainian people in all parts of Canada: "Verkhovyna" (Hutzul Highland Song); "Zhuravli" (The Cranes), a song of exile; "Yikhav Strilets na Vinoynku" (The Soldier Goes to War); "My Haydamaky" (We are Haydamaky); "Oy Khodyv Chumak" (The Wandering Chumak); "Vzyav By Ya Banduru" (I'll Take My Lyre), a love song; "Reve ta Stohne Dnipr" (Frothing Dnieper), poem of Shevchenko; "Oy u Luzi Chervona Kalyna" (The Red Cranberry in the Meadow), a patriotic song; "Zasvystaly Kozachenky" (The Cossacks March Whistling); "Oy Pye Bayda" (Bayda Drinks), song of a Cossack chieftain hero; "Maty Syna Kolykhala" (Mother Rocked Her Son), a lullaby; "Oy Ne Khody Hrytsyu" (Hrytz, Don't Go to the Evening Frolics). A version of the words and tune of the last song, under the title, "O, My Darling Daughter," was a popular North American jazz tune a few years ago. It is also significant that the national anthems "O Canada!" and "God Save the King," are sung at Ukrainian public gatherings in Ukrainian.

CHORAL MUSIC IN MANITOBA

Being great lovers of harmony, the Ukrainians of Manitoba have developed the art of choral singing to a high standard. Choirs are sponsored by local Ukrainian organizations, halls, or parishes, and frequently give performances at concerts and national anniversaries. The choir is an integral part of the Ukrainian church service. Choir directors are either professionals, precentors (dyak), or amateurs (usually local public school teachers). Choral selections, ranging from simple folk-songs to complex classics, are rendered by from four to eight voices. The mixed choir of male and female voices is the most common, but occasionally separate male or female choruses appear. Performances are made to appeal not only to the ear, but also to the eye, for choir members are generally garbed in gorgeous national costumes.

Of the several prominent choirs in Winnipeg three have won public acclaim and the favourable comment of critics. The Ukrainian National Youth Federation mixed choir, in existence since 1941, has performed several times over the radio and has given regular annual concerts at the Playhouse Theatre. Composed of 75 to 125 singers, it forms the nucleus of the choir of the annual summer school of the Ukrainian Cultural and Educational Centre, which also presents a popular annual concert generally at the Playhouse. Its choir-leaders have been the late Dr. Alexander Koshetz; Dr. Pawlo Macenko; Helen Cham and Walter Klymkiw, pupils of Koshetz; and Mrs. Tatiana Koshetz, his widow. The Ukrainian Male Chorus of the Ukrainian National Home, composed mainly of Canadian veterans and conducted

by Walter Bohonos, has had a brilliant career ever since its inception in 1944. At the Manitoba Musical Festival of 1946 it won high honours for its rendition of two Ukrainian folk-songs. This chorus of twenty men has sung over the radio several times, and has appeared many times in the city, as well as at other places in the province. Records of some of its songs are available at music shops. Since 1951 a new choir of recent immigrants, with a separate male chorus, known as the Ukrainian Youth Association (S.U.M.) Choir, has been winning popularity by its performances. Its conductor is Wasyl Kardash.

The late Dr. Alexander Koshetz, choral genius and an outstanding composer in the field, is worthy of special mention.[7] During the existence of the Ukrainian Republic (1917-21), as director of the musical division in the Ministry of Culture and Fine Arts, he greatly raised the general level of Ukrainian music. In the precarious days of the Republic, in 1919, this great musician organized the famous Ukrainian Republican Capella and toured the musical centres of the world to demonstrate the individuality of the Ukrainian nation and the living beauty of its music. In 1922, the Capella was reorganized into the Ukrainian National Choir which performed in the large cities of North and South America, winning the admiration of even the severest critics. "Here was perfection," wrote Ludwig Lewisohn, New York critic. "The chorus is a human organ. The praise that preceded the chorus from all the musical centres of Europe seemed excessive until one heard it, until one saw Alexander Koshetz with his extraordinarily living hands mould the sounds as a sculptor moulds the pliant clay."[8]

The Choir's performances in Winnipeg in 1924 and in 1926 seemed to cast a spell over the large audiences. Since that time it has become a model for Ukrainian choir conductors in Canada and the United States and Koshetz's many compositions have been popular with both conductors and audiences. From 1941 until 1944 the distinguished choral genius, at the invitation of the Ukrainian National Federation, conducted choral classes for the training of choir conductors at the Ukrainian summer school in Winnipeg, now under the Ukrainian Cultural and Educational Centre. Over three hundred Canadian-born youth, choir conductors, priests, and nuns received training from the master. Koshetz passed away in 1944 and was buried in Winnipeg. His wife, Tatiana, continued his tradition to 1951.

[7]For his place in Ukrainian music see the booklet by Professor G. W. Simpson, *Alexander Koshetz in Ukrainian Music*, and W. Halich, *Ukrainians in the United States*, pp. 138–40. A vivid account of the performances of the Ukrainian Republican Capella in various cities in Europe is given in the recently published book, A. Koshetz, *Z Pisneyu Cherez Svit* (Around the World with Song).

[8]In the *Nation* (New York), Nov. 1, 1922, p. 477.

INSTRUMENTAL MUSIC

String orchestras, composed of violins, mandolins, guitars and sometimes a cello, a piano accordian, or a piano are almost as popular as choirs, but, owing to the lack of qualified teachers and conductors, they have not reached the high standard of the latter. Vernacular schools in the community halls almost invariably give instruction in violin and mandolin and maintain a children's orchestra for concert purposes. From a children's orchestra there often emerges an adult string or symphony orchestra, which performs independently or frequently provides the music for folk-dances. Many musicians of Ukrainian origin owe their start to these orchestras. Better-class orchestras in Winnipeg have been trained by the late Eugene Turula, the Ukrainian National Youth Federation, and the pro-communist Association of United Ukrainian Canadians (formerly Ukrainian Labour-Farmer Temple Association). The latter body, through its Workers' Benevolent Association, has maintained the uniformed North Star Band, which has presented performances of standard quality.

Several Ukrainian Canadian musicians in Winnipeg have won recognition in music circles. Professor Turula (died 1951) not only regularly conducted string orchestras and choirs, but composed and arranged a considerable quantity of music for one or the other. A prominent piano teacher, John Melnyk, has also won fame as a pianist, an accompanist for famous vocal and instrumental artists, and an original composer and arranger of piano music. The Novak sisters, professional musicians, began their career in Manitoba's capital; Nadia is a violinist, and Luba a cellist, who has played with the New York Philharmonic Orchestra and a concert group travelling in Europe and the Far East. Worthy of special mention are two pianists, John Kuchmy, who has been performing for several years with the London Symphony Orchestra and the Royal Philharmonic, and Cornelia Gayowsky, who appears in New York.

The Ukrainian Canadians as a whole, and the Canadians of the city of Winnipeg in particular, are extremely proud of their former child prodigy and violin virtuoso, Donna Grescoe.[9] Her brilliant performance in 1936 at the age of eight won her the epithets "child prodigy," "wonder," and "musical genius." In 1938 she won a $5,000 scholarship to the American Conservatory of Music and for a year studied in Chicago and New York. From 1939 to 1945 she studied with George Bornoff of Winnipeg. On May 2, 1942, at the Manitoba Music Festival, Donna won in the violin class, receiving exceptionally high

[9]See "Winnipeg Produces a Genius," *Opinion*, Nov., 1946; "Hats Off, Gentlemen, a Genius," *Youth Speaks*, Feb., 1949, and L. Cook, *The Little Magic Fiddler*.

marks, and the following comment from the adjudicator, Arthur Benjamin: "In all my years of experience at musical festivals, I have never heard such a performance as Donna Grescoe gave tonight. Nothing remains to be said. I award her four marks higher than I have ever given at any festival. Hats off, gentlemen, a genius!"[10] The proceeds of her concert on May 18, 1942, which was sponsored by the *Winnipeg Tribune* and supported by the music-loving citizens of Winnipeg, purchased for the young girl a Michele Deconet violin, dated 1754. Soon after, she went for further studies to New York and in her recitals at Town Hall in 1947 and Carnegie Hall in 1948 she gave impressive performances. With a brilliant career before her, this celebrity can attribute her start to the musical enterprises of the Ukrainian community halls, and to the Manitoba Music Festival.

UKRAINIAN FOLK-DANCES

The popularity of Ukrainian folk-dances among Ukrainian youth is the work of an energetic immigrant ballet-master, Vasile Avramenko. Commencing in Winnipeg in 1926, his schools of folk-dancing were established throughout the chief centres of Ukrainian population in Canada. Courses in ten dances lasted two months, at the end of which time, performances were given with local choirs in the largest available halls or theatres. The rapidly moving and colourful scenes were greeted with great ovations by the general public, and received most encouraging press comments. Avramenko set the standard for Ukrainian folk-dances in Canada and the United States. The types of dances that have since appeared are mostly new combinations or versions of the complex steps and figures introduced by Avramenko himself. Since 1936 the ballet-master has interested himself in Ukrainian talking pictures, and with considerable financial assistance from his compatriots in Canada he has produced two popular films, "Natalka Poltavka" and "The Cossacks in Exile."

The Ukrainian folk-dances express a great variety of emotions and moods, some reaching back to the ancient pagan times. The Hayivky, or Easter spring games, represent rhythmic movements to stir the Sun God to greater activity. Zhentsi, or Dance of the Harvesters, depicts an age-old harvest scene. The Metelytsya, or Dance of the Snowstorm, portrays the wild motions of the snow flurries. The Zaporozhsky Hertz, or the Cossack Sword Dance, is a war dance of the wild steppes, expressing the excitement of a warrior in battle. The Chumak is a dance of the wandering caravan traders, depicting the solitude of the bound-

[10] *Opinion*, Nov., 1946, p. 3.

less steppes, the cracking of the whip over the slow-moving oxen, the presence of strange birds and unseen beings all around, the joy of a completed journey. The Arkan is a dance of the Hutzul mountaineers, who perform graceful movements around an evening fire. The Kateryna, Kolomeyka, Podolian Kozachok, and Zalytsyanya (Wooing) are dances of love, courtship, and marriage, centring around the suitor, who performs a variety of steps and figures to overcome his rivals and win the favour of the loved one. These and other dances represent important moments in the life of the people. Few other nationalities possess such a large number and variety of folk-dances.

OPERA AND BALLET PERFORMANCES

So closely are the Ukrainian Canadians attached to the theatre that each of their several hundred halls possesses a stage, a wardrobe room, and a theatrical library. Besides a variety of ordinary folk-plays, which are acted for the most part on Sunday evenings, light operas are staged from time to time on special occasions, such as religious holidays. They are much more popular in the urban centres, where it is easier to select the actors and performers. The most frequently staged operas are: *Svatanya na Honcharivtsi* (Match-Making in a Village); *Chornomortsi* (The Black Sea Mariners); *Zaporozhets za Dunayem* (The Cossacks beyond the Danube); *Taras Bulba*, which sings of a Cossack hero; *Poshylysya v Durni* (Making Fools of Themselves); *Natalka Poltavka* (Natalia from Poltava); and *Viy*, a fantasy.

More advanced than the opera among the Ukrainian Canadians is the ballet, with its combination of five arts: drama, pantomime, music, acrobatics, and design. The large costs involved in the production of a ballet—payment of a ballet expert, expensive *décor* and costumes, the long period of training the performers, and the musical accompaniment—mean high admission prices for the performance, and this fact greatly limits the size of the audience. For these reasons, Ukrainian ballet did not make its appearance in Winnipeg until the fall and winter of 1947-8. With the co-operation of local Ukrainian organizations and using local talent, the distinguished ballet-master, Dmitri Chutro, of the United States, staged four performances of his *Ballet Ukraine, In the Well*, and also *Madame Butterfly* in the Playhouse Theatre. The last performance, in May, 1948, suffered a considerable deficit. Chutro left with his small group for South America, where he toured the large cities, and then returned to the United States.

Among the post-war Ukrainian arrivals from Europe are two popular ballerinas. Olenka Zaklynska, a prize-winner in 1939 at the Inter-

national Competitions at Brussels, Belgium, came to Winnipeg in 1947. She has given several performances of interpretative ballet-dancing at large Ukrainian concerts in the Playhouse, and has conducted folk-dancing courses at the Ukrainian summer school of the Ukrainian Cultural and Educational Centre, as well as her own school of ballet-dancing. More widely acclaimed has been the highly original, interpretative ballet-dancing of Roma Pryma, who presented several solo programmes which were enthusiastically received by varied audiences. Both ballerinas, after two years' residence in Winnipeg, went east, where their future in this art appeared to be better assured.

UKRAINIAN HANDICRAFTS

Although many of the handicrafts which were brought to Canada by the Ukrainian immigrants (rug-making, bead work, wood-carving, decorative pottery, etc.) have almost vanished, their products displaced by cheaper machine-made goods, some of the most beautiful have survived. Various types of embroidery and the painting of Easter eggs are still popular with the Canadian-born women and girls. In recent years the folk-arts have been receiving some encouragement from the general Canadian public. Many of the newly arrived Ukrainians are skilled at handicrafts and have brought with them many beautiful articles. Their willingness to instruct interested persons seems to be bringing about a revival in the folk-arts. There is a ready market for articles among the Ukrainian Canadians and also among Anglo-Saxon Canadians.

Ukrainian Canadian embroidery has departed but little from the traditional patterns, designs, and combination of colours. This intricate art, which employs cross-stitching, petit-point, crocheting, and other types of needlecraft, produces distinctive table-cloths, cushions, ties, blouses, decorative towels, scarves, kerchiefs (babushkas), bedspreads, draperies, pillow-cases, banners, and runners for dressers and church altars. The wealth of striking designs and unique colour harmonies bears witness to the sensuous love of colour and the innate sense of grace of the artist and craftsman, combined in one. The essence of all such work is the intangible quality of beauty, which ever haunts the mind of the handicraftsman. Ukrainian embroidery has given a great impulse to the aesthetic awakening in Canada, and particularly to the Dominion-wide activities of the Canadian Handicrafts Guild, and to needlecraft circles.

The most ancient of the Ukrainian folk-arts, dating back to the dim antiquity of pagan times and still proudly perpetuated by the people in Canada, is the "writing" and colouring of Easter eggs (pysanka).

Part of the ancient spring festivals, which symbolized the renewal of life and the rebirth of hope, this art was incorporated in modified form into the Easter tradition of the Christian church in Ukraine. The wide variety of patterns and designs are painstakingly written on the white egg with a hand-made "kistka," or stylus, using hot beeswax, which is later removed.[11] Geometric designs prevail, but symbols such as wheat, sun rays, stars, flowers, fish, crosses, tridents, birds, animals, etc., are still common. Dyes are mixed to produce an infinite number of shades. In Ukraine, each region boasted of its characteristic designs and colours. The intricately designed and coloured eggs require six to ten hours' work by experts. One or two coats of transparent varnish are applied over the completed egg to give it a shine and to preserve it for many years. Easter eggs are given at Easter-time to selected persons as tokens of close friendship, endearment, or high respect.

Although wood-carving had suffered a decline because of the stimulus given by newcomers it is being revived among the men in the form of incrustrations on wood. Beautifully coloured and balanced designs characteristic of Ukrainian art are inlaid in fine wood, using coloured wood, straw, bone, beads, mother-of-pearl, coloured glass, and various metals. These unique decorations are used to ornament tabletops, chests, album covers, writing sets, small boxes, mirrors, crosses, plates, goblets, picture frames, book-ends, stocks of guns and rifles, and other articles that lend themselves to this purpose.

RELIGIOUS AND FAMILY CUSTOMS

The individuality of the Ukrainian Canadians is evident above all in their distinctive customs. True it is that many of the customs have undergone changes, but basically they remain as they were when brought to these shores by the pioneer immigrants. The Ukrainian church, with its schedule of rituals, ceremonials, and time-honoured traditions, is still the dominant influence on the family, the primary group, in which changes take place relatively slowly. Brought up during the formative period of their lives in strict observance of customs sanctioned by the church, the Canadian-born element for the most part still adheres to them. Nevertheless, a steadily increasing percentage, much more so in the urban communities than in the rural districts, are discarding the "old-fashioned ways" and adopting the simpler "English" customs.

The retention of the Julian calendar for the observance of the religious holidays, particularly Christmas and Easter, which fall on other

[11]See article by Irene T. Granovsky, "Ukrainian Easter Eggs," *ibid.*, April 1949.

days than those generally celebrated in Canada, has met with a great deal of disapproval on the part of the rising generation. For this reason, many city-dwellers have renounced the Ukrainian customs. The Ukrainians in general, however, have clung to the Julian calendar along with the Eastern churches. The attempts made by the Greek Catholic Church in Canada to adopt the Gregorian calendar have been opposed by the older generation, and so far have proved unsuccessful. Most Ukrainian Canadians therefore continue to observe Christmas on January 7, and Easter is observed on various dates, sometimes five weeks later than the date for Easter which is officially recognized in Canada.[12]

The celebration of Ukrainian Christmas has four general features: Holy Supper, carolling, attendance at mass, and festivities.[13] On Christmas Eve, in a gaily decorated, candle-lit room with an ornately dressed Christmas tree (yalynka) in a corner, the family sits down to Holy Supper (Svyata Vechera). If any member of the family has died since last Christmas, an empty place with a dish on the table is reserved for him so that his soul may come to be present with the family. Twelve lenten courses, symbolic of the twelve disciples of Christ, are served. The chief dish is kutya, of pagan origin, made of thoroughly boiled wheat mixed with honey, ground poppy-seeds, and chopped nuts. After the solemn supper, carolling and merry-making take place. Groups of carollers, representing a parish or an organization, sometimes with a vertep (an imitation of the Christ-child in the manger with the star overhead), visit the houses, singing ancient and new carols (kolyada), bringing traditional Yuletide greetings, and soliciting funds for some worthy cause, such as the church, orphans, suffering people (recently, the displaced persons), the building of a hall, or assistance for the liberation of Ukraine. Subsequently, the people go to their churches to attend special mass, which is held after twelve o'clock on Christmas Eve, or early on Christmas morning. The end of mass indicates the end of fast. On Christmas Day and for two days following, festivities in which are featured elaborate meat dishes, tantalizing dainties, and a flow of spirits take place. Special Christmas concerts, outstanding plays, or operettas are given at the halls. Christmas is a very happy occasion for the people, who greet each other with "Khrystos Razhdayetsya!" (Christ is born!), and the response "Slavite Yoho!" (Praise His Name!)

[12]For the calculation of Easter Day see article entitled "When is Easter?" *Ibid.*, April 1949.

[13]Detailed accounts of the customs are given in *Opinion*, Dec., 1948, under the titles "Ukrainian Christmas Customs," "Ukrainian Christmas Carols," and "Christmas Eve Recipes"; also in the article by Halia C. Lapica, "Ukrainian Christmas," *Trident* (New York), Dec., 1939.

Preceded by the observance of the mournful forty-day Lent, Easter also becomes the occasion of unrestrained rejoicing.[14] Maundy Thursday (Strast) and Good Friday are marked by fasting, mourning, remorse, and confession at the church, in preparation for the glorious event of the Resurrection. With the break of dawn on Easter Sunday, people attend special mass at church. The women, dressed in their most beautiful clothes, bring gaily decorated baskets containing select food. The specially baked Easter bread called Paska, and eggs, among which there must be a beautifully coloured Easter egg (pysanka), are the central items. The food is blessed by the priest, who in a special ceremony sprinkles it with holy water. Immediately after the service, the people return home for their Easter breakfast, which cannot commence without the consecrated food. Easter Sunday, Monday, and even Tuesday are given over to great feasting. The young people often play Easter games, called the Hayivky, in the churchyard, or in the hall. The joyful greetings "Khrystos Voskres!" (Christ is risen!), with the reply "Voyistyno Voskres!" (He is risen indeed!), and Easter eggs are exchanged by friends. The women visit the hospitals to cheer the convalescents and give them Easter eggs and Easter dainties. Special concerts, plays, and dances are also attended during these days.

There are other religious holidays which are marked by ritual, ceremonies, and festivity. Ukrainian New Year's Eve (January 13 in the Canadian calendar) is celebrated in the Malanka, consisting of dancing and special games, but this has lost its popularity with the Canadian-born, as such a New Year has no significance for them. On New Year's Day (January 14) the children sometimes visit homes, reciting verses of good wishes and sprinkling wheat seeds on the floor to indicate a good crop; but this custom too is passing away. The Jordan festival of January 19, celebrating the baptism of Christ, is marked by the blessing of water by the priests. The use of this holy water is supposed to bring God's blessing, good luck, and happiness; this custom is seldom perpetuated by youth. On the eve before Jordan and on Jordan day, groups of women carollers sing the "schedrivka," a type of carol, recite verses of good wishes, and solicit donations for some worthy cause. Still popular with the children is St. Nicholas Day, on December 19, when Christmas gifts are given to children in the vernacular schools at a special St. Nicholas concert. The following are some of the religious holidays still maintained: Descension of the Holy Spirit (Zeleni Svyata), seven weeks after Easter; St. John the Baptist (Kupala), on July 7; Festival of Sts. Peter and Paul, on July 12.

A custom still prevalent in the rural localities but rapidly being for-

[14]Easter customs are also explained in the April 1949 issue of *Opinion* and in the article by Halia C. Lapica "Ukrainian Easter," in *Trident*, April 1940.

saken in the cities is the old-country style Ukrainian ceremonial wedding. It is a very elaborate affair, and like other customs also dates back to pre-Christian times. When a young man (parubok) wishes to marry a girl, he sends, with the approval of his parents, matchmakers (starosta) to the parents of the girl. After lengthy negotiations, the girl's parents, in consultation with their daugher, give their consent and the daughter offers two embroidered scarves to the suitor. She may refuse by giving the suitor a pumpkin (harbuz). On the wedding day, ceremonies are carried on separately at the homes of the bride and the groom. When the groom (called knyazh, or prince, after the ancient Kievan princes) has received ceremonial blessing, he proceeds, accompanied by his attendants (druzhba), to the bride's home, where the bride (known as knyahynya, or princess) is going through a ceremony of wreath-plaiting, carried out by her attendants (drushka). The adorned bride bids farewell to her parents, who bless the wedding parade, which then proceeds to the church. After the priest solemnizes the marriage, the parade generally goes to the bridegroom's home, where the parents receive the married couple with the traditional bread and salt. The invited guests sit at tables loaded with a variety of prepared foods. There is music and dancing and, later, the giving of donations according to a definite ceremony, which includes traditional songs and music. An "operetta" follows during the unveiling of the bride. A similar celebration is conducted on another day at the home of the bride's parents.

NATIONAL CUSTOMS

Ever conscious of the subjugation of the Ukrainian lands to foreign oppressors, the Ukrainian Canadians have kept alive the spirit of liberty. They have evolved an annual schedule of commemorations of significant events and national heroes. These celebrations generally do not take place on the given day, but are held on any Sunday of the month in which the anniversary falls. Observance of the event is usually announced by the priest during the church service. On the Sunday afternoon or evening a special dedicatory concert is held at the hall. The programme consists of appropriate choir selections, vocal and instrumental music, recitations, the main address, and perhaps a dramatization. In many cases, several organizations unite under the leadership of the Ukrainian Canadian Committee to put on an impressive programme. The concerts are well attended; non-attendance of Ukrainians sometime carries with it the stigma of disloyalty.

Ukrainian national events or figures are celebrated in the following sequence: Independence and Unification of Ukraine in 1918-19, on

January 22; Battle of Kruty, in which 300 students lost their lives in the defence of Kiev in 1918 against the Red army, on January 29; Olga Basarab, the heroine who was tortured to death by Polish police in 1924, on February 12; Taras Shevchenko, the immortal poet and leader of Ukrainian independence, on March 9 and 10; Independence of Carpatho-Ukraine in 1939, on March 15; Mother's Day, second Sunday in May, celebrated by a concert with Ukrainian patriotic or religious content; Evhen Konovalets, the revolutionary leader, who was assassinated by a Red agent in Rotterdam, on May 23; Simon Petlura, commander-in-chief of Ukrainian Republican armies, who was assassinated by a Russian agent in Paris in 1926, on May 25; Ivan Franko, the great poet of Western Ukraine and advocate of Ukrainian independence, on May 28; Lesya Ukrainka, the greatest woman poet and advocate of a revolutionary struggle for Ukrainian independence, on August 1; and Independence of Western Ukraine in 1918, on November 1. (Konovalets, Petlura, and Franko are sometimes commemorated at one concert.) The communist element commemorates Shevchenko and Franko, according to the Soviet version, and celebrates May Day and the Bolshevik October revolution of 1917.

The value of weaving into the fabric of Canadian culture many of the beautiful aspects of the folk-culture that was brought to Canada by the Ukrainian settlers has been expressed by several prominent Anglo-Saxon Canadians. The former Governor-General of Canada, Lord Tweedsmuir, Professor G. W. Simpson, Professor Watson Kirkconnell, Robert England, Charles H. Young, President A. H. S. Gillson, and others have encouraged the preservation of this heritage, which appears to be disintegrating.[15]

The rich diversity of the folk-cultures of ethnic groups in Canada can perhaps best be brought closer to realization by the establishment of a Canadian Institute of Folk Cultures. The most appropriate site for this institution would be the University of Manitoba in Winnipeg. Winnipeg is a central city and contains one of the most cosmopolitan populations in Canada. At the same time it is the centre of a large number of the ethnic groups. The maintenance of a national museum of the folk-arts of all the groups, the teaching of the various languages, literatures, histories, and cultures at the University, the promotion of handicrafts and music, and the pursuit of research in the various fields

[15]See address delivered by Lord Tweedsmuir at Fraserwood, Man., on Sept. 21, 1936, in John Murray Gibbon, *Canadian Mosaic*, pp. 306–7; Address by Professor Simpson entitled "The Importance of National Tradition" delivered to the Alpha Omega Society at the University of Saskatchewan, 1942; Watson Kirkconnell, *Canadian Overtones*, preface; England, *The Colonization of Western Canada*, pp. 224–5, 308; Charles H. Young, *The Ukrainian Canadians*, pp. 168–70.

would give recognition to the contributions of the component groups and emphasize their co-operative existence. This in turn would give colour to Canadian life. By stimulating the interest of young people who have been brought up in British traditions in the noble past of Canada's various ethnic groups, such an institute would help to give depth and beauty to life, a consciousness of high ideals to be upheld, and a deeper understanding of the worth and dignity of the individual in Canadian society and in the world society of nations.

CH. TWELVE . Participation in Public Affairs

DEMOCRACY AMONG THE UKRAINIANS[1] HAS A TRADITION that dates back to ancient times before the establishment of Kievan Ukraine. While still in the tribal state, the people decided the important affairs of war, peace, justice, and leadership at the "viche" (meeting or council), akin to the ancient Anglo-Saxon moot, which was attended by the freemen. The grand princes of Kiev and the other princes had to yield to the authority of the viche, which often imposed its policies on the ruler, approved governors of towns, and always decided the succession to the throne. Later, with the spread of feudalism, the viche was monopolized by the boyars (lords) and bishops (as was the English Witenagemot), who gradually curtailed the rights of the freemen and merchants and imposed serfdom.

When Poland gained dominance over Ukrainian lands, there were many peasant uprisings against the harsh rule of the Polish aristocracy. Out of this difficult situation rose the famous Cossack organization and its subsequent state, which was a practical democracy, the precursor of our modern democracy. Every officer and official up to the hetman was elected by the Cossacks. They perpetuated the ancient viche under the name "Rada," or council, the supreme governing body. In the eighteenth century, however, all democratic ways were suppressed by autocratic Russia and the aristocratic republic of Poland who had subdued the Ukrainians. Nevertheless, whenever the Ukrainians were given the opportunity, they invariably revived democratic forms, as is evident in the General Ruthenian Rada (of Galicia) in 1848, the Central Rada of the Ukrainian Republic of 1917-21, and the present Ukrainian National Rada, which unites the great majority of the Ukrainian political groups.[2]

The great majority of the 170,000 or more Ukrainians who settled in Canada prior to the First World War came from the territories which were ruled by the Habsburg Emperor (Tsisar in Ukrainian) Franz Joseph, a believer in an absolute monarchy. Pursuing the policy of *divide et impera* within his polyglot empire, Franz Joseph granted the Polish landlords a free hand in Galicia and Bukovina and su-

[1]Sources for this chapter include: *Canadian Parliamentary Guide*, 1911-51; W. A. Chumer, *Spomyny* (Memoirs); A. J. Hunter, *A Friendly Adventure*; Charles H. Young, *The Ukrainian Canadians*.

[2]See chap. 1.

premacy over the larger Ukrainian population. The unrestrained and malevolent administration of this szlachta[3] impoverished the peasants, and suppressed by force Ukrainian schools, cultural activities, and political meetings. It also employed every form of corrupt practice to prevent the Ukrainians from being elected to the local administrative bodies, to the Galician Diet in Lviv, and the Imperial Parliament in Vienna, and from graduating from the secondary schools and the university at Lviv. When the protests and demonstrations of the people to the Imperial government and to Franz Joseph were answered by further repression, the Ukrainians retaliated by means of large-scale peasant strikes, and assassinations of officials, including the Polish governor of Galicia, Count Potocki, in 1908. Even then, only small concessions were granted. This bitter struggle for political and national rights scarred the minds of many Ukrainians and developed in them a negative attitude towards governments, especially those in the control of "foreign" nationalities.

CANADIAN CITIZENSHIP

The Ukrainian pioneers in Canada, having no knowledge of English, nor of the Canadian system of government, and being suspicious of the "strange" British ways, for some time after their arrival displayed very slight interest in the government of the country. Furthermore, for a decade and a half, very few men appeared among them who could explain their new circumstances and provide reasonable leadership. Yet a large proportion of the people "took out" papers, and through naturalization secured the rights of Canadian citizenship. The chief motive for becoming naturalized was that "papers" were necessary before a homesteader could obtain a patent of ownership for his land from the government. Since politicians were always anxious to secure votes, they made all the arrangements for securing naturalization papers very easy, especially prior to elections. Thus, at the outbreak of the First World War, over 60 per cent of the Ukrainians had secured the status of citizen.[4] This figure compares favourably with that for other ethnic groups.

The history of the Naturalization Act suggests the attitude of the Canadian government towards the Ukrainian immigrants at the time, and in some measure it tells the fortunes of the people themselves. The Act of 1902, which transferred the administration of naturalization to

[3]See factual article by Simon O. Pollock, "The Misrule of the Polish Aristocracy" in *Ukraine's Claim to Freedom*, pp. 65–85; and article by Nicholas Andrusiak, "The Ukrainian Movement in Galicia," *Slavonic Review* (London), XIV, 1935-6, nos. 40, 41.

[4]According to Professor B. Hurd, as given in Young, *op. cit.*, p. 248.

the Department of State, admitted the immigrant to Canadian citizenship after three years of residence, and thus was very favourable to the Ukrainians. In 1914, just prior to the war, a new Act was passed, which required five years' residence in Canada and granted, not Canadian, but British citizenship. When the war came, naturalization was suspended for all aliens, including the allied Russian Ukrainians and the enemy Austrian Ukrainians. Believed to have been sympathetic to Austria,[5] the Ukrainians in Canada were not only interned by thousands, abused, and dismissed from employment, but by the War Times Election Act were also disfranchised. As if this were not enough, on the grounds that they were aliens of former enemy countries, which included former Austria-Hungary and Bolshevik Russia, the Ukrainians by the Act of 1919 were deprived of the right of naturalization for ten years after the war. This, in spite of the good record of voluntary enlistments in the Canadian Expeditionary Force![6] It is no wonder that the Ukrainians were bitter toward Prime Minister Borden and the Conservative government of the time. Fortunately, discrimination ended when the clause respecting enemy aliens was rescinded in 1923. Once more the Ukrainians were admitted to naturalization on equality with other aliens.

Having come to Canada to make a home, the Ukrainian settlers continued to be interested in acquiring citizenship. By 1931, the great majority of the settlers who had arrived in Canada before the First World War had become accredited Canadians. New immigrants who arrived after the First World War also sought Canadian citizenship with all its rights and privileges. This process of naturalization indicates in some respects the degree of Canadianization taking place among Ukrainian Canadians.

The Canadian Citizenship Act, which came into effect on January 1, 1947, recognized the equality of all new Canadians, including those of Ukrainian stock, with the old Canadians of British and French stock. Canada by law became a nation composed of various ethnic groups. The new ceremony involved in the granting of citizenship certificates impressed on the individual a solemn feeling of membership in the great Canadian family. On January 3, 1947, the government made a courteous gesture by inviting to the Ottawa ceremony outstanding representatives of Canadian ethnic groups. There, in the

[5]On July 27, 1914, just after Austria's declaration of war on Serbia, Bishop Budka issued an indiscreet pastoral letter in Canada, urging the Ukrainians in Canada to join the Austrian armies. However, when Canada entered the war, Bishop Budka issued another pastoral letter on August 6, in which he retracted his statements and urged his people to support Canada's war effort. See chap. XIII.

[6]Young (*op. cit.*, p. 244) believes that more than 10,000 Ukrainians voluntarily enlisted from western Canada and served in France.

Supreme Court building, before the body of judges in their colourful robes, the first certificates were granted. Prime Minister W. L. Mackenzie King received the first certificate, followed by Guiseppe Agostini and Kjeld Deichmann. The fourth in this select procession was Wasyl Eleniak, aged 87, the first Ukrainian settler in Canada.[7] The Ukrainian Canadian press hailed this event as an honour and a tribute not only to this hardy pioneer, but to the whole Ukrainian Canadian ethnic group.

CANADIAN DEMOCRACY

Ignorance of the language and the political issues involved in the elections up to the First World War made the Ukrainians for some time a lucrative field for exploitation by unscrupulous politicians and their henchmen. The semi-illiterate people were exposed to all the corrupt practices of the day. Many of the election campaigns were characterized by open bribery, distribution of liquor, sausage, and tobacco, the making out of naturalization papers, and promises of all sorts of things—even on election day. As an observer wrote in 1908, "A colossal election fraud, openly perpetrated and discovered, was not even brought to the attention of the courts. Thus a wholesale trade in 'Galician votes' flourished throughout the country."[8]

Election results quickly revealed that Ukrainian settlements voted consistently in blocks, mainly for the Liberal party, which was believed to have brought the people into Canada. This is attributed to the influence of local bosses. These were men possessing some education, a knowledge of the English language, and perhaps an influential occupation or position in the locality. The local bosses, often employing flattery and intimidation, thoroughly canvassed their districts, directed the people how to vote, and then reaped the rewards. Later this block voting was used to advantage when Ukrainians ventured to run as candidates for election. On such occasions emphasis was placed on the slogan "sviy do svoho" (each to his own), and every anti-foreign and anti-Ukrainian expression figured prominently in campaign speeches.

The degrading type of politics that was permitted among the unenlightened Ukrainian immigrants and the other foreign elements during the pioneering period was not worthy of the ideals of Canadian democracy and patriotism. In all fairness, the immigrants cannot be entirely blamed. Many influential Anglo-Saxons despised the "for-

[7]A description of the ceremony is given by the pioneer's grandson, W. V. Eleniak, "Ottawa Honors Wasyl Eleniak," *Opinion*, Jan.-Feb., 1947.

[8]J. S. Woodsworth, *Strangers within Our Gates*, p. 139.

eigners" for their ignorance and also for their "lawlessness," but instead of giving positive assistance they let matters take their own course. Much could have been done to improve the standards of the new citizens had these Anglo-Saxon Canadians solicited the co-operation of the incoming peoples who were allowed the privileges of citizenship, as has been done in recent years. The vitality of democracy lies in its ability to rectify former mistakes and to inculcate in all citizens the high ideals of the dignity of the individual, tolerance, co-operation, and consciousness of common welfare.

In spite of the handicap of language, the Ukrainian pioneer settlers did not remain for long a passive factor in the public life of Manitoba. The scornful remarks of some Anglo-Saxon leaders, the denunciations in the press of the Ukrainians as an inferior and undesirable element in Canada, the many evidences of discrimination, and the advocacy of rapid assimilation bred fear in the minds of this humble people. With the persecutions they had suffered at the hands of Polish administrators of Galicia still fresh in their memories, the Ukrainians drew together. In self-defence, they began to take an increasingly active part in the public affairs of the country.

As with several other ethnic groups, the political education of the Ukrainians began by participation in local affairs. After gaining some experience on local school boards, the bolder and more progressive men advanced into municipal affairs, serving first as councillors and later as reeves. Some of the reeves subsequently ventured into provincial or federal politics. As could be expected, it was the teachers, with the advantage of a Canadian education, who played and still play a dominant role in higher politics. At the present time provincial and federal affairs among the Ukrainians of Manitoba have been taken over by the Canadian-born element. It is most interesting to note, however, that the pioneer group, with its low level of education, has produced a large number of men holding public office, while the second inter-war group, which has already been in Canada over twenty years and whose members meet higher educational standards and have had much more European political experience, has up to 1951 produced not a single legislator and, in all probability, not a single reeve.

MUNICIPAL AFFAIRS

Wherever the Ukrainians constituted a majority of the population in a Manitoba municipality, sooner or later their own representatives took control of most, if not all, of the public offices. On the whole, they have managed municipal affairs as competently as circumstances would permit. Examples of well-governed and progressive municipalities are Ethelbert, Mossey River, Dauphin rural, Rossburn, Gimli, and Broken-

head. Because of poor soil conditions and inadequate economic opportunities, several municipalities, such as Stuartburn, Birch River, Kreuzberg, and Chatfield, have had to revert to local government districts under appointed administrators.

No less than sixteen rural municipalities in Manitoba have been under the administration of elected Ukrainian Canadians with their own reeves at the helm.[9] Records show that the first reeve of Ukrainian origin was Ivan Storosczuk, who was elected in 1908 for the Stuartburn municipality. He was followed the next year by Michael Rojecki, who secured election as reeve of Gimli municipality in 1909, and as provincial member in 1922. Before the First World War, two other municipalities, Ethelbert and Kreuzberg, came under the administration of Ukrainians. The reeve of longest service (fourteen years) has been George Hryhorczuk of Ethelbert; indeed three Hryhorczuks dominated the Ethelbert municipal office from 1917 to 1945. Another popular reeve, and municipal secretary, has been A. E. Ogryzlo of Mossey River municipality.

The following list of Ukrainian Canadian reeves and mayors of municipalities in Manitoba (1909-52) indicates the place of the Ukrainians in the local scene.

Stuartburn: I. Storosczuk, 1909-10; N. Hawryluk, 1911-12; N. Zushulak, 1913-14; Nykola Eluk, 1915-16, 1919; W. Mihaychuk, 1917-18; Sam Smook, 1920-1; N. Bodnarchuk, 1922; Joe Kulachkowsky, 1923-4, 1926; Anton Malymuk, 1925; Thomas Wachna, 1927. (Discontinued)

Gimli Rural: Michael Rojecki, 1910-13, 1920-1; J. Onofreyczuk, 1930-7; M. Dankochuk, 1938-41; J. E. Cherniak, 1944-5, 1948-52.

Ethelbert Rural: M. Pacholok, 1912-15, 1922; D. Wolochatiuk, 1916, 1920; N. A. Hryhorczuk, 1917-19; Prokop Shumka, 1921; George Hryhorczuk, 1923-6, 1928-35, 1938-9; S. Wyshnycky, 1927; William Paziuk, 1936-7, 1940-1; M. N. Hryhorczuk, 1942-5; P. Pasternak, 1946-7; Paul Dolinsky, 1948-9; Charles Yunik, 1950-1; Nick Kozar, 1952.

Kreuzberg: Mike Szpakowski, 1914-16; A. Smerechanski, 1917-19, 1922; Wasyl Humenny, 1923-4. (Discontinued)

Chatfield: Daniel Torbiak, 1921-2; John Gulka, 1923; M. Werbeniuk, 1924; William Hryciuk, 1925-32. (Discontinued)

Birch River: P. Ivanyshyn, 1922.

St. Clements: Steve Karanko, 1922.

Mossey River: Peter Melnyk, 1926-7; A. E. Ogryzlo, 1928-36; John Pokotylo, 1941-2; J. L. Solomon, 1946-52.

Brokenhead: T. G. Wawryshyn, 1930-1.

Springfield: A. Wołoszynski, 1938-9; M. Winzinowich, 1946-7.

Teulon Village: M. Slobodianek, 1938-41.

The Pas (town): I. B. Dembinsky, 1938-47, 1952.

Dauphin Rural: Michael Szewczyk, 1940-3; John Potoski, 1944-5, 1948-52.

[9]See *Municipal Guide, City of Winnipeg*, for each of the years 1908-52. The list of rural municipalities includes (in chronological order): Stuartburn, Gimli, Ethelbert, Kreuzberg, Birch River, St. Clements, Chatfield, Mossey River, Brokenhead, Springfield, Dauphin, Rossburn, Harrison, St. Andrews, Hillsburg, and Hanover; and Winnipeg.

Rossburn Rural: John Ryszytylo, 1942-5; S. P. Ukrainetz, 1950-2.
Garson Village: Louis Juravsky, 1942-50; Walter Wozny, 1951; Pete Stepaniuk, 1952.
Harrison: M. S. Sawicky, 1946-7.
St. Andrews: Thomas Praznik, 1946-7.
Hillsburg: Mike Shomorowski, 1947-50; Joseph Perchaluk, 1951-2.
Hanover: Theodore Chornoboy, 1948-51.
Brooklands Village: N. Solilak, 1951.
Ethelbert Village: Frank Halinsky, 1951-2.
Lac du Bonnet Village: Mike Danylchuk, 1952.
Shoal Lake Rural: M. S. Antonation, 1952.
Winnipegosis Village: T. I. Tawlicki, 1952.

PROVINCIAL AND FEDERAL POLITICS

Manitoba's Ukrainians have been much more active in provincial politics than their compatriots in Alberta and Saskatchewan. Commencing with one elected member in 1915, they have steadily increased the number of their representatives. In 1949, there were seven sitting members in the provincial legislature at Winnipeg. Candidates of Ukrainian background have contested thirteen out of the fifty-five provincial constituencies. They have been successful in the following ridings: Emerson (Stuartburn), Gimli, Ethelbert, Fisher, St. Clements, Winnipeg North (two members), and Springfield.

The following table conveys the extent of participation of Ukrainians in the provincial elections.[10]

Date	*No. of candidates*	*Elected members, party, constituency*
1915	1	T. D. Ferley, Ind. Lib., Gimli
1920	2 (2 const.)	Dmytro Yakimischak, Ind., Emerson
		Nicholas A. Hryhorczuk, Ind., Ethelbert
1922	4 (4 const.)	Dmytro Yakimischak, Ind., Emerson
		Nicholas A. Hryhorczuk, Ind., Ethelbert
		Nicholas V. Bachynsky, U.F.M., Fisher
		Michael Rojecki, Lib., Gimli
1927	14 (8 const.)	N. A. Hryhorczuk, Prog., Ethelbert
		N. V. Bachynsky, Prog., Fisher
1932	8 (5 const.)	N. A. Hryhorczuk, Prog., Ethelbert
		N. V. Bachynsky, Prog., Fisher
1936	9 (6 const.)	N. V. Bachynsky, Prog., Fisher
		William Lisowsky, Soc. Credit, Ethelbert
		Joseph Wawrykow, Ind. Lib. Prog., Gimli
1941	10 (8 const.)	John R. Solomon, Lib. Prog., Emerson
		N. A. Hryhorczuk, Lib. Prog., Ethelbert
		N. V. Bachynsky, Lib. Prog., Fisher
		J. Wawrykow, C.C.F., Gimli
		Nicholas J. Stryk, Lib. Prog., St. Clements
		William A. Kardash, Prog. Labour, Winnipeg North
		Stephen N. Krawchyk, Ind., Winnipeg
1945	15 (8 const.)	John R. Solomon, Lib. Prog., Emerson
		Michael M. Sawchuk, C.C.F., Ethelbert
		N. V. Bachynsky, Lib. Prog., Fisher
		Wilbur G. Doneleyko, C.C.F., St. Clements

[10]Based on data found in *Canadian Parliamentary Guide* for the years 1915-52.

Date	*No. of candidates*	*Elected members, party, constituency*
		William A. Kardash, L.P.P., Winnipeg North
		William Scraba, Lib. Prog., Winnipeg North
1949	16 (8 const.)	John R. Solomon, Lib. Prog., Emerson
		M. N. Hryhorczuk, Lib. Prog., Ethelbert
		N. V. Bachynsky, Lib. Prog., Fisher
		William Lucko, Lib. Prog., Springfield
		Nicholas J. Stryk, Lib. Prog., St. Clements
		John M. Hawryluk, C.C.F., Winnipeg North
		William A. Kardash, L.P.P., Winnipeg North

Up to 1952, seventeen Ukrainian Canadians have served as members of the Legislative Assembly of Manitoba. Although several have been sitting on the government benches, none has so far secured a ministerial portfolio. The longest record in parliament is held by Nicholas Volodymir Bachynsky of Fisher Branch. Arriving in Canada in 1906, he quickly learned the English language, became a public school teacher, and since 1922 has represented Fisher constituency, never having been defeated in an election. He has acted on several occasions as deputy speaker of the Assembly, and in 1950 was sworn in as Speaker. Nicholas Apoluner Hryhorczuk of Ethelbert, who came to Canada as an eleven-year-old boy in 1899 and is now an implement and lumber dealer and former reeve, has sat in the Assembly for twenty-five years, from 1920 to 1945. All of the sitting members, except N. V. Bachynsky, are Canadian-born and Canadian-reared. William Arthur Kardash of Winnipeg, a mechanic and a former lieutenant in the People's Republican Army in Spain, 1937-8, has been the sole Labour-Progressive party member of parliament in Canada since 1949. As provincial leader of the one-member party in the Assembly, he has continually voiced pro-communist views. The most recent political elevation has been that of John R. Solomon, who in January 1953 will become deputy speaker of the Assembly. A prominent Winnipeg barrister and a leader in the Ukrainian Orthodox and professional circles, Mr. Solomon has represented the Emerson constituency since 1941; he was elected by acclamation in 1949.

The Ukrainians have attained only slight success in Dominion politics. The first attempt was made by Wasyl Holowacky, a socialist, who ran as an independent in Selkirk constituency in 1911, but was decisively defeated. Ever since, most of the elections have been contested in four or five constituencies. The sole federal member from Manitoba has been Frederick Samuel Zaplitny, a Canadian-born teacher. He represented Dauphin at Ottawa as a C.C.F. member from 1945 to 1949, but was defeated in the 1949 election by a small margin.[11] The

[11]The only other federal seat that has been represented by Ukrainians is Vegreville, Alta. Three members have been elected in that constituency: Michael Luchkovich (U.F.A.), 1925-35; Anthony Hlynka (Soc. Credit), 1940-9; and John Decore (Lib.), 1949.

weakness of the Ukrainians in these elections apparently lies in the fact that they have failed to produce candidates of high enough calibre to overcome their opponents; again, in the election in Dauphin in 1949, two Ukrainian candidates ran for election thereby splitting the Ukrainian vote.

THE UKRAINIAN PRESS AND POLITICS

All of the Ukrainian press is keenly interested in Canadian politics. However, except for the anti-communist *Kanadiysky Farmer* (Canadian Farmer), which was founded by the Liberals and still supports the Liberal party, and *Ukrayinske Slovo* (Ukrainian Word), which supports the pro-communist candidates in the C.C.F. and all candidates of the Labour-Progressive party, the Ukrainian papers maintain the policy of supporting Ukrainian candidates who are anti-communist. Of course, if the candidate happens to be a member or supporter of the organization sponsoring a newspaper, that newspaper throws its full weight behind the candidate. The smear election campaigns which used to be a feature of the papers in the 1920's and even the 1930's are almost a thing of the past, except in the pro-communist press. Nevertheless, papers carry more intensive propaganda for the candidates of their preference. All Canadian parties advertise heavily in the Ukrainian press during election campaigns.

With the passing of the years, Ukrainian affairs are figuring less and less prominently in the elections which are conducted in the Ukrainian-populated districts. Until the 1930's, there had been a decided trend toward the Liberal party, which apparently is still the party supported by the older generation. The generation that has been brought up in Canada, however, views politics as does the general Canadian public. Examining more carefully the issues involved, prominent Ukrainian Canadians are now found in all the parties. However, this still does not exclude the tendency to give more support to candidates of Ukrainian origin, which is urged by some prominent individuals in the Ukrainian press and organizations.

The bitter struggle which loyal Ukrainians have waged against the communist fifth column has been steadily producing positive results. The communist following in Manitoba is on the decline in federal, provincial, and municipal politics, the largest losses being among the Ukrainians. In the 1945 federal election, the Labour-Progressive party contested six constituencies and won the following votes: Brandon 497, Selkirk 1,972, Springfield 2,400, St. Boniface 710, Winnipeg North 9,116, and Winnipeg South 1,283, a total of 15,978. No seat

was won and five deposits were lost. In the federal election of 1949, the Labour-Progressive party put up candidates only in Springfield and Winnipeg North; they secured 959 and 5,387 votes respectively, a total of 6,346. Both candidates lost their deposits. The provincial elections were no less decisive. The Labour-Progressive party tried its fortunes in nine ridings in 1945 and won such a small number of votes that all candidates lost their deposits except William Kardash, who was elected in Winnipeg North on the fifteenth count, having secured 4,014 votes on the first ballot.[12] In the provincial election of 1949 only two constituencies were attempted, Winnipeg Centre and Winnipeg North. In the latter, Kardash again won with 3,988 votes on the first ballot and was declared elected on the eighth count with less than the quota. The only district where the communists have substantial support is in Winnipeg North where they had been successful also in electing J. Penner (defeated in 1952) and M. J. Forkin (defeated in 1951) as aldermen for several years, on a vote averaging approximately 4,500. This figure, however, represents not only the Ukrainian vote, but an equally large Jewish vote as well as the votes of other ethnic groups. The centre of communist activity among the Ukrainians is the Ukrainian Labour Temple, supported by the People's Co-operative Creamery.[13]

It is evident that in fifty years the Ukrainians of Manitoba have made noteworthy progress in Canadian political affairs. With six members in the provincial legislature in 1952, and taking into consideration their efforts to elect at least two members to the Dominion parliament, their political influence cannot be minimized. Their dynamic energy seems to augur a promising future and a greater contribution in the political field.

[12]The L.P.P. secured the following votes in the provincial election of 1945: Assiniboia 372, Gimli 193, St. Boniface 467, St. George 54, Springfield 456, Portage la Prairie 100, St. Clements 825, Kildonan–St. Andrews 421, and Winnipeg: W. Kardash 4,014 and Joseph Zuken 2,939.

[13]Kardash, L.P.P. member of the Assembly and provincial leader, is an officer of the People's Co-operative, as are other prominent Ukrainian pro-communists.

CHAPTER THIRTEEN . Attitudes during the Two World Wars

WITHIN THE LIFETIME OF THE MAJORITY OF THE Ukrainian settlers and many of their descendants, Canada has been caught in the throes of two world wars.[1] The Dominion's participation in the First World War took the newcomers by surprise, and found them divided in loyalties and disunited in action, with the Canadian government not only suspicious of the people but definitely hostile to them. Twenty-five years later, in the Second World War, the Ukrainian Canadians played their part, fully conscious of the principles at stake. With an undivided loyalty and united in action, this time they enjoyed the confidence of the Canadian government. While their significant contributions towards Canada's war effort in 1914-18 had never been justly recognized by the government of the time, their support of the war effort of 1939-45 has received considerable commendation.

Canada's entry into the First World War against Austria put the Ukrainians in a very precarious position, for they had come from lands that had been ruled by the Habsburgs. The unwise pastoral letter of Bishop Budka, issued on July 27, 1914, condemned them even more in the eyes of the Canadian government. Having been trained in Greek Catholic seminaries, which were subsidized by the Austrian government, the Bishop, who had been in Canada less than three years, felt obligated to come to the support of Austria when she declared war on Serbia a month after the assassination in Sarajevo of Franz Ferdinand, the heir to the Austrian throne. The following passages from Bishop Budka's pastoral letter carried the import that the Ukrainians sympathized with Canada's enemy.

The loss of a qualified heir to the throne shook most painfully the elderly monarch Franz Joseph I and all the nations in Austria, but in particular us, Ruthenians, who had great and justified hopes of him. . . .

[1]Sources for this chapter include: Raymond Arthur Davies, *This is Our Land*; F. Heap, "Ukrainians in Canada," *Canadian Magazine* (Toronto), May-Oct., 1919, 39–44; A. J. Hunter, *A Friendly Adventure*; Watson Kirkconnell, *Our Ukrainian Loyalists* and *The Ukrainian Canadians and the War*; W. Kossar, "Ukrainian Canadians in Canada's War Effort" in *First Ukrainian Canadian Congress*, pp. 40–8; Rev. Dr. B. Kushnir, "Opening Address" in *Second Ukrainian Canadian Congress*, pp. 13–22; Vera Lysenko, *Men in Sheepskin Coats*; Charles H. Young, *The Ukrainian Canadians*.

The Canadian Ruthenian Ukrainians, sympathizing in the grief of our ancient Fatherland, made evident their sentiments in church services for the assassinated ones, and in their prayers for the fate of their native land. . . .

To Canada there came an official appeal that the Austrian subjects who are duty-bound to serve in the army should return to Austria in order to be prepared to defend the state. . . .

All Austrian subjects must be at home in positions ready to defend our native land, our dear brothers and sisters, our Nation. Whoever receives the call should feel obligated to go to the defence of our threatened Fatherland. To all who have not received the call or who have not reported to the army, but who are liable to military service, and to all deserters, the Emperor has granted amnesty, which means freedom from punishment, if they will immediately report to the consulate and leave for the old country to defend the Fatherland.[2]

A week later, when Canada declared war on Austria and the Central Powers, the Greek Catholic Bishop issued another pastoral letter, dated August 6, in which he renounced his previous statements and appealed to the Ukrainians to join the Canadian armed forces, and if necessary to form separate battalions to fight for Canada.[3] The renunciation was not considered sincere by the government and the Anglo-Saxon Canadians. Apparently, one man's rash statements, which, as events proved, were not representative of the opinions of the majority of the Ukrainians in Canada, were used to indict the whole people.

In the hysteria that followed the outbreak of the First World War, the Ukrainians, being classified as Austrians and hostile to the Allies, were subjected to unjust, discriminatory treatment verging on persecution. Thousands were dismissed from work, and thousands were rounded up by the police and interned. There were frequent cases of "indiscreet looting of property, disturbing of divine services in the churches, raiding of private homes, and personal assaults of the gravest kind."[4] Naturalization was suspended for Ukrainians, and for all other aliens. Their right to vote was taken away by the War Times Election Act of 1917. The disfranchisement was followed by the suppression of Ukrainian language newspapers. After strong protests, these were permitted to resume publication after the war, but with parallel columns of English translation.

Continued mistreatment and humiliation roused the "seditious" Ukrainians to such action as appeals. One such appeal was drawn up

[2]The letter appeared in *Kanadiysky Rusin* (Canadian Ruthenian), Aug. 1, 1914. The quoted passages have been translated from the Ukrainian text.

[3]This letter was printed *ibid.*, dated Aug. 8, 1914.

[4]See Vera Lysenko, *op. cit.*, p. 116, and *Propamyatna Knyha Ukrayinskoho Narodnoho Domu v Winnipegu* (Commemorative Book of the Ukrainian National Home in Winnipeg), pp. 191–4.

by the editors of six Ukrainian papers and submitted to the Canadian press on July 17, 1916, entitled "An Address to the Canadian People." Sections of the address read as follows.

> While in Canada the Bohemians and Slavonians, though Austrians by birth, are treated as welcome settlers . . . yet, for unknown reasons, the Ukrainians in Canada are treated as enemy Austrians. They are persecuted, by thousands they are interned, they are dismissed from their employment, and their applications for work are not entertained. And why? For only one reason, that they were so unhappy as to be born into the Austrian bondage. . . .
>
> We proclaim that after Canada and the British Empire to which as Canadian citizens we owe allegiance, we have love only to Ukraine in Europe, and we want to see there such another democratic government as we enjoy in Canada. . . .
>
> We realize that all the injury done Canadian Ukrainians in the name of the government of Canada was due in part to the ignorance of the Canadian people concerning the Ukrainian question, and in part to denunciations—too easily accepted at their face value—by the enemies of our nationality, Poles, and others. It was also due to the unfortunate pastoral letter of Bishop Budka on the eve of the war. . . . But a whole nation should not be answerable for the mistake of one man, and during the two years of the war that has been over and over again wiped out by the loyal conduct of Canadian Ukrainians to the land of their adoption and the great empire that guarantees liberty and justice. . . .
>
> Thousands of our Ukrainian boys have enlisted with the Canadian overseas force, and many have already lost their lives fighting beside their English brethren on the battlefields of France. And as the price of their blood we have the right to ask the Canadian people for better treatment of the Canadian Ukrainians.[5]

There were, of course, several reasons why the Ukrainians should show apathy towards joining the Canadian armed forces and towards supporting the war effort of 1914-18. First of all, on the ground that they were considered enemy aliens, they were not permitted to enlist as Ukrainians, Ruthenians, or Galicians and were accepted only when they registered as Russians, Poles, or Bohemians, or adopted English names. Secondly, the unjust treatment given them up to the end of the war by the Canadian government was reason enough to alienate their affection from their adopted land. Thirdly, they were fully aware that in participating in front-line warfare they ran the risk of fighting personally their own brothers, fathers, sons, or near kinsmen, who had been conscripted to fight for Austria. Furthermore, if Ukrainian soldiers

[5]The names of the following editors and papers were attached to the address: O. Hykawy, *Canadian Farmer* (Liberal weekly); A. Jolla, *Robochy Narod* (Ukrainian Social-Democratic party of Canada); Rev. E. M. Glowa, *Ranok* (Ukrainian Presbyterian weekly); P. C. Crath, *Kadilo* (humour magazine); M. Bellegay, *Kanadiyets* (Ukrainian Methodist weekly, Edmonton); J. Stefanitzky, *Robitnyche Slowo* (Ukrainian Social Democratic weekly, Toronto).

in the Canadian army were captured they would be treated not as ordinary prisoners of war but as traitors to their former country, which had never recognized their Canadian citizenship. Nevertheless the bulk of the Ukrainian settlers had become attached to Canada and to the ideals of British democracy and freedom. They did not care to return to their native land, to Austrian rule and their former low status. Having made Canada their home, they decided to remain loyal in the crisis. They had faith that after the war the situation would return to normal.

Despite the abuses that they had to suffer and the grim prospects of fighting their nearest relatives on the battle-front and of facing a traitor's death if captured, the war record of the Ukrainians in reality proves that they were a positive element in the prosecution of the war. In the first place, there was an entire absence of any large-scale seditious activities or organized opposition suggesting "revolution." Moreover, more than 10,000 of them voluntarily enlisted and served on the battlefields of France.[6] One Ukrainian Canadian, Philip Konowal, won the highest British award for heroism, the Victoria Cross. There was no concerted opposition to conscription, as there had been by the French Canadians in Quebec, and many thousands went into service in non-combatant units (forestry and engineering), where the government had placed them. The Ukrainians in Winnipeg wired Premier Borden, offering to mobilize their labour for greater production. Their contributions to the Patriotic Fund, the Victory Loans, and the Red Cross were regarded at that time as substantial.[7] For a new people in a new land, which had displayed hostility to them, this war record is worthy of recognition and emulation.

The two decades after the First World War brought about great changes in the position of the Ukrainians in Canada. For one thing, their population almost doubled. The increase was due in part to the large post-war immigration which brought 45,000 Ukrainians from Europe, and to a high natural birth-rate. The Canadian-born element in 1941 constituted over 65 per cent of the Ukrainian population.[8] Unlike the situation at the beginning of the First World War, their complexion was no longer European, but Canadian.

During this period, the national sentiment of the people had crystallized in two ways. The intense nationalism of the inter-war immigrants, who had witnessed the rise and fall of their cherished Ukrainian state, made itself felt on the older immigrants. Large numbers of people who had formerly called themselves Austrians and Russians improperly, or had been thus designated by Canadian officials, now identified themselves as Ukrainians. Ukrainian feeling generally ran high during the

[6]See Heap, *op. cit.*
[7]*Ibid.*
[8]N. J. Hunchak, *Canadians of Ukrainian Origin: Population*, p. 27.

short existence of the Carpatho-Ukrainian state in 1938-9. Perhaps stronger, however, was the feeling of Canadianism, natural with the second generation, but cultivated by the older and the newer immigrants who were ever conscious of the loss of Ukrainian freedom in their native land and looked upon their adopted country as a bastion of liberty and democracy.

Thus, when Canada entered the war in September, 1939, against Nazi Germany and her allies, most of the Ukrainian Canadian organizations immediately reaffirmed their loyalty to the Canadian government and pledged their whole-hearted support of the war effort. The hopes which many Ukrainians had entertained in 1938-9 that Hitler would support an independent Ukrainian state had turned into revulsion and condemnation when the Führer allowed his satellite, Hungary, to crush the Carpatho-Ukrainian state in March 1939. The Ukrainians then became fully aware that the Nazi policy, as outlined in *Mein Kampf*, included the subjugation of Ukraine, the enslavement of the people under a ruthless dictatorship, and the colonization of the rich land by Germans. Furthermore, the Nazi-Soviet pact of September 1939, between the two arch-enemies of Ukrainian independence, served to strengthen greatly the faith of the Ukrainian Canadians in the cause of the Allies.

Only the Ukrainian Labour Farmer Temple Association (ULFTA), a small group, which espoused the communist cause of the Soviet Union, at first opposed Canada's participation in the war, Stalin then being in alliance with Hitler. This organization, together with the Communist Party of Canada, openly attacked Canada's war effort and advocated a soviet revolution in Canada.[9] Seditious activities increased to such a proportion that the Canadian government was forced to suppress the ULFTA in June 1940, and to confiscate its 108 halls and property. Investigation of the background of the organization revealed that it had descended from the Ukrainian Social Democratic party, which had been suppressed at the end of the First World War for being outwardly sympathetic towards the Bolshevik revolution in Russia. In the fall of 1941, however, when Hitler attacked Soviet Russia, the very same members of the ULFTA gave all-out support to Canada in the war, and reorganized into the Ukrainian Canadian Association, which after the war changed its name to the Association of United Ukrainian Canadians. This small but active group continued to denounce all the other Ukrainians who had been loyal to Canada from the outset, as "Nazis" and "Fascists," and eulogized the Soviet Union.

[9]See Watson Kirkconnell, *Seven Pillars of Freedom*, pp. 51–6, 99–100.

The Canadian government was pleased with the spontaneous response of the non-communist Ukrainian organizations and citizens in support of the war effort. Nevertheless, it was highly conscious that if political and religious feuds persisted among them they would greatly hamper their corporate action. Closer co-operation of the Ukrainian organizations and the achievement of unity was essential for an all-out war effort.

Early in 1940 the federal Department of National War Services, after consultation with the Department of External Affairs, took steps to achieve unity among the Ukrainian Canadians. Two experts on Ukrainian Canadian affairs, Professor Watson Kirkconnell of Manitoba and Professor George W. Simpson of Saskatchewan, as well as an expert on eastern European affairs, Dr. Tracy Philipps of England, were requested to assist in bringing about the conciliation of the Ukrainian organizations. Their efforts and the willingness of the Ukrainian leaders brought into existence the Ukrainian Canadian Committee in October 1940 at a time when the communists of the ULFTA had been outlawed.[10] This meant that all the legal Ukrainian Canadian organizations, including all the churches, had been united around a common Canadian policy towards the war and a common policy towards Ukraine.

Throughout the war the government, anxious to avoid repetition of the mistreatment of Ukrainians and others that had taken place during the First World War, sought to maintain close and friendly relations with the various ethnic groups, and to keep their confidence and support. For this purpose, in January 1942, the Department of National War Services established a voluntary advisory committee called "Committee on Co-operation in Canadian Citizenship, Communities of Recent European Origin." The Committee was composed of such eminent Canadians as Professor G. W. Simpson, Professor Watson Kirkconnell, Robert England, Mrs. R. F. McWilliams, Dr. John Murray Gibbon, Professor H. F. Angus, the Hon. C. H. Blakeny, Major J. S. A. Bois, Professor Jean Bruchési, Donald Cameron, Dr. S. D. Clark, and Mrs. O. D. Skelton. *Ex-officio* members were Dr. Tracy Philipps, as European adviser, and Dr. V. J. Kaye, a former editor of a Ukrainian newspaper, as liaison officer with the foreign language press in Canada. In 1942 the chairman of this committee, Professor G. W. Simpson, head of the Department of History at Saskatchewan, was employed for seven months as a government official at Ottawa.

The full-time staff of the Committee, which was frequently referred to as the "Nationalities Branch," promoted the Canadian war effort

[10]See chap. VI.

among the European Canadian ethnic groups in several effective ways. Its representatives, particularly Dr. Tracy Philipps, combatted discrimination against these people in industry by issuing directives to and conferring with employers. Support was given to such bodies as the Ukrainian Canadian Committee. Diplomatic intervention was used to abate political or religious quarrels, when they showed signs of disrupting unity and injuring the war effort within the ethnic group. Close co-operation was given to the armed services in recruiting campaigns. As recognition of the equality of all Canadian citizens, the "Nationalities Branch" used its influence to have chaplains of the leading churches of the European Canadians appointed to the forces, and recommended promising volunteers from the ethnic groups for officer training. It also drew the attention of Canadian newspapers to the heroic war deeds of members of these groups, to outstanding war services of civilians, and to contributions of European Canadian communities to various aspects of the war effort. Pamphlets and booklets on the New Canadian loyalists were published from time to time. The foreign language press was supplied with a regular war news service reflecting a Canadian point of view. By these means the "Nationalities Branch" was able to maintain the whole-hearted support of the various ethnic groups in the struggle for ultimate victory over the evil forces of Naziism and Fascism.

The devotion of Ukrainian Canadians to Canada and her cause becomes evident from a study of their splendid war record. It has been estimated that in the Second World War well over 35,000 men and women of Ukrainian descent had served in every branch of the Canadian military forces in all parts of the world.[11] The proportion of the Ukrainian population in the services, over 11 per cent, was somewhat higher than the general Canadian average. Hundreds more served in the reserve army units throughout Canada, where they even formed their own separate platoons. Many made the supreme sacrifice and many received decorations for gallantry and meritorious service. Close to three hundred Ukrainian Canadians of both sexes served as officers, some rising to the ranks of colonel and squadron leader.[12] There were six chaplains—three Greek Catholic and three Greek Orthodox priests.[13]

The civilian Ukrainian Canadians also contributed their full share

[11]The editorial in the *Winnipeg Free Press*, June 2, 1943, estimates the figure at that time at from 30,000 to 40,000, while the Toronto *Star Weekly*, Nov. 12, 1943, places the figure at 35,000.

[12]See Kossar, *op. cit.*, pp. 40–8.

[13]The Greek Catholic padres were Fathers M. Pelech (H/Major), M. Horoshko, and T. Dobko; the Greek Orthodox padres were Fathers S. W. Sawchuk (Winnipeg), S. P. Symchych, and M. Kowalyshyn.

to Canada's production effort and humanitarian work. Most of the Ukrainian districts constantly over-subscribed to the Victory Loans and boosted the sale of War Saving Stamps and Certificates. The work of the Red Cross received full support both financially and through contributions of service, such as in knitting, sewing, gathering food and clothing, packing parcels, visiting hospitals, etc. The Ukrainian Women's Association donated two ambulances. In addition, the Ukrainians contributed liberally to the support of the Ukrainian Canadian Servicemen's Canteen in London, England, and shipped thousands of parcels to Ukrainian Canadian soldiers, airmen, and sailors who served in the theatres of war.

The contributions of Manitoba's Ukrainians to the Canadian war effort are significant. Great credit for the whole Ukrainian Canadian war record is due to the competent guidance provided by the leaders of the Winnipeg community, which contains the Dominion executives of Ukrainian organizations both secular and religious. Calculating on the basis that 29 per cent of Ukrainian population in Canada lived in Manitoba, over 10,000 Manitoba Ukrainian Canadians must have enlisted in the Canadian military forces. It is known that among the valiant defenders of Hong Kong were 104 Ukrainian Canadians in the Grenadier Guards of Winnipeg. Of these 38 were killed in action and the rest were taken prisoner. Ukrainian Canadians of Manitoba won recognition for bravery on all fronts in Europe.

The following decorations were awarded Manitoba Ukrainians for deeds of valour: Distinguished Flying Cross and Bar, S/L John Comar (Winnipeg); Distinguished Flying Cross, F/Lt. Harry Chekoluk (Delacour), P/O Peter Liwiski (Gilbert Plains), P/O Joseph Nawazek (Brandon), P/O Julian Rabischa (Winnipeg), and F/O Peter Yarema (Teulon); Distinguished Flying Medal, F/Sgt. John Sosiak (Transcona), Sgt. Theodore Skebo (Winnipeg), and F/Sgt. Michael Werbiski (Rorketon); Air Force Medal, F/O M. Tuchak (Winnipeg); Military Medal, Pte. Nicholas Kowalchuk (Teulon); British Empire Medal, Lt. Anne Crapleve (Ladywood) and Gnr. Jack Krupa (Dauphin).[14]

The full story of the contributions made by the Ukrainian Canadians to Canada's splendid achievement should be a source of pride and inspiration for the people of that ethnic group and indeed for all Canadians.

[14]For a list (incomplete) of the decorations won by Ukrainian Canadians, see Paul Yuzyk, "Historical Data," *Opinion*, March, 1949.

CHAPTER FOURTEEN • Winnipeg: The "Capital" of the Ukrainian Canadians

WINNIPEG WAS THE GATEWAY TO THE WEST THROUGH which successive waves of settlers, composed of various European nationalities, poured into the spacious prairies as a result of the inauguration of Sifton's aggressive policy of immigration and settlement in 1896. Expanding steadily in all branches of economic life, this flourishing city also attracted to itself large numbers of the settlers. Winnipeg's population consequently increased by leaps and bounds, from 40,000 in 1901 to over 100,000 in 1906, and to over 200,000 in 1914. In 1951 metropolitan Winnipeg contained over 354,000 people, with the most pronounced cosmopolitan complex of any city in the Dominion.

The first two Ukrainian immigrants to the West, Ivan Pillipiw and Wasyl Eleniak, came to the city in September 1891, but they later settled in Alberta. Wasyl Yaciw made his home in Winnipeg in 1892 but in a few years took a homestead at Ladywood. Apparently the first Ukrainian who settled in the city and resided there for the rest of his life was Yurko Panischak, also of Nebiliv, who arrived in 1893. From 1896 on, the Ukrainian population of Winnipeg increased quite rapidly. It is estimated that in 1911 there were over 6,000 Ukrainians living in the city, in 1916 about 10,000, and in 1921 over 12,000. In 1931, metropolitan Winnipeg contained over 20,000 citizens of Ukrainian blood, and in 1946 over 27,000, forming approximately 9 per cent of the population; in Winnipeg proper the Ukrainians constituted over 10 per cent. The 1951 census revealed that 41,500 Ukrainians lived in metropolitan Winnipeg forming 11.7 per cent of the population; of these 32,300 resided in Winnipeg proper and constituted 13.7 per cent of the city's population.

Because of the unique role that it has played in the settlement of the West and because of its central geographical location, Winnipeg not only has the largest Ukrainian community in Canada, but also has become the recognized centre, or capital, of Ukrainian Canadian society. In Manitoba's capital are located the national headquarters of the large Ukrainian Canadian organizations, the governing bodies of the churches, the largest educational and cultural institutions, the chief

presses and publishers, and some of the leading business establishments of the Ukrainian people in Canada. Their largest and finest community halls, educational buildings, churches, cathedrals, administrative buildings, business structures, recreational centres, and residences are found in the city. The leaders of the Ukrainian Canadians, the highest dignitaries of the churches, as well as leading educationalists, musicians, writers, and professional men are concentrated here. It is the only large city in Canada where the Ukrainians have regularly elected school trustees, aldermen, and members of the provincial Legislature. Every Ukrainian Canadian community and most of the individuals are in some way or other bound to Winnipeg's community of Ukrainians. Winnipeg can therefore justly claim to be the undisputed capital of the Ukrainian Canadians.

This most compact Ukrainian urban community in Canada is largely situated in the district known as North Winnipeg, which in addition to Anglo-Saxons is also inhabited by a large number of Jews, as well as Poles, Germans, and other smaller ethnic groups. The district extends roughly from a few blocks south of the Canadian Pacific Railway northward to West Kildonan, bounded on the east by the Red River and on the west by McPhillips Street. The poorer section of the district is located around the C.P.R. yards, while the middle class lives mostly in the north part and along the river. It is not an isolated marginal community as are the Ukrainian communities in other Canadian cities, for immediately beyond the suburbs to the west, north, and east there are large continuous settlements of Ukrainian farmers.

AN ORGANIZATIONAL CENTRE

Winnipeg has been the governing centre of the Ukrainian organizations since the early years of the first decade in this century. In 1951, over forty years later, in the fifteen community halls, which accommodated over sixty organizational units, were found the supreme executives of most of the Dominion-wide Ukrainian Canadian associations. The following organizations had their headquarters in the city: Ukrainian National Federation, Ukrainian National Youth Federation, Ukrainian Women's Organization, Ukrainian War Veterans' Association, Ukrainian Catholic Brotherhood, Ukrainian Catholic Women's League, Ukrainian Catholic Youth, Ukrainian Catholic Council, Ukrainian Self Reliance League, Canadian Ukrainian Youth Association, Ukrainian Workers' League, Ukrainian Canadian Veterans' Association, Alpha Omega Society, and Ukrainian Scouts Association. In matters common to all the above organizations, the central executives are united in the Ukrainian Canadian Committee. This

committee also includes representatives of the United Hetman Organization, which has its headquarters in Toronto. The pro-communist Association of United Ukrainian Canadians now has its headquarters in Toronto, although many of the leaders are in Winnipeg. The fraternal assurance societies, in addition to twenty-one local branches, have their national headquarters in Winnipeg—for example, Ukrainian Fraternal Society, Ukrainian Mutual Benefit Association of St. Nicholas, and Workers' Benevolent Association. Since all of these organizations have their branches throughout the Ukrainian communities of Canada, and since most of the national executives are located in Winnipeg, it is readily evident that this city is the centre of control for Ukrainian Canadian society.

The policy of each of the organizations is determined at the conventions, which are generally held annually, but in some cases biennially. These busy three-day events take place at one of the large Ukrainian halls in Winnipeg. Delegates from various parts of the country decide all matters and elect officers according to democratic procedure. The proceedings, decisions, and elections of officers of the convention are reported in the Winnipeg dailies, and often appear as news items in the Canadian press.

The most representative body is the Congress of the Ukrainian Canadian Committee, which unites all the non-communist Ukrainian organizations and elements, and hence speaks on behalf of no less than 90 per cent of the Ukrainian people in Canada. The Congress is often referred to as "the Ukrainian Canadian parliament." The first Congress met in Winnipeg at the Royal Alexandra Hotel for three days during June 1943. The 501 accredited delegates, representing nearly every sizeable Ukrainian Canadian community, "legislated" the policy of all-out support for Canada's war effort and upheld the cause of Ukraine's independence. The second Ukrainian Canadian Congress was held at Massey Hall in Toronto in June 1946, with 405 delegates and 412 registered guests in attendance. It charted post-war policy. The third Congress was held in Winnipeg, in February 1950, with 406 delegates participating.

A RELIGIOUS CENTRE

From the very beginning of Ukrainian immigration to Canada, Winnipeg has guided the religious destiny of the group. The first permanent Greek Catholic church in Canada was established in the city in 1899 and the first Ukrainian Greek Catholic priests came to this centre. In 1903, Metropolitan Seraphim arrived in Winnipeg and formed the Russian version of the Greek Orthodox Church, which in

1904 came under the control of John Bodrug. He reorganized it into the Independent Greek Church, a subsidiary of the Presbyterian Church. This church dominated the religious scene in Canada until Bishop Nicetas Budka arrived in Winnipeg in 1912 and established the Greek Catholic Church, which quickly brought under its wing the majority of the Ukrainian population. In 1919, the Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church came into existence in Winnipeg, established its consistory there in 1924, and rapidly became the second leading church among the people. In 1947, this church established its See in Winnipeg, upon the arrival of the first permanent bishop. In 1948, another wing of the Greek Orthodox Church brought to Winnipeg its metropolitan, who had headed an autocephalous Orthodox church in Ukraine, and thus established here the metropolitan See for North America. Thereupon, the Greek Catholic Church expanded its hierarchy, and Winnipeg became the seat of its Canadian archbishopric.

In 1952, there were four cathedrals in the Ukrainian Canadian "capital," one for the Greek Catholics and three for the Greek Orthodox. The prelates of the Greek Catholic and Greek Orthodox churches exercise jurisdiction over approximately 700 parishes, nearly 200 priests, and over 90 per cent of the Ukrainian Canadian population. Winnipeg is also the seat of the smaller Ukrainian Protestant denominations, such as the Presbyterians, the Baptists, and the United Church.

Several Ukrainian prelates were residing in Winnipeg in 1952. The most powerful is Archbishop Basil Ladyka, who has jurisdiction over 4 Canadian Greek Catholic bishops, 150 priests, and approximately 200,000 parishioners (49 per cent of the Ukrainian Canadian population). The Greek Catholic exarch for central Canada, Bishop Maxim Hermaniuk, also has his seat in the city. A large and beautiful Greek Catholic cathedral was completed in 1951 alongside the former Sts. Vladimir and Olga church, whose name was adopted by the cathedral. Archbishop Mstyslaw Skrypnyk, of the Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church, exercised authority, until July 1950 when he went to the United States, over 42 priests and almost 75,000 faithful. In 1952 the new Holy Trinity Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Cathedral had its elaborate basement completed for church services. The highest church dignitary is Metropolitan Ilarion Ohienko, the head of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church, who in 1951 was elected also head of the much larger Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church of Canada. He officiates in the Ukrainian Orthodox cathedral of St. Mary the Protectress, which in 1952 was reaching completion. The Orthodox cathedral of St. John Suchavsky accommodates the consistory under the jurisdiction of

Bishop Bohdan Shpylka, who resides in the United States, and who recognizes a "communion of prayer" with Metropolitan Ilarion Ohienko.

A CULTURAL CENTRE

The Ukrainians have also made Winnipeg their centre for learning and the preservation of their culture. Their most advanced institutions are located here. The Greek Catholic and Greek Orthodox bursas, which were failures after the First World War, became successful in a modified form after the Second World War. In 1952 the Greek Catholics owned and operated two schools: the St. Nicholas School, on Flora and McKenzie Streets, a Separate school teaching up to grade XII, and St. Mary's Educational Institute, on Kennedy Street across from the Legislative Buildings, a residence high school for girls. The Greek Orthodox Church owns and operates St. Andrew's College, on Church and Charles Streets, a residential high school which also offers courses in theology leading to a Bachelor of Divinity degree. The Ukrainian Cultural and Educational Centre, on the third storey of the Ukrainian National Federation Hall on Main Street, is a secular institution, accommodating a significant library, archives, a reading room, a Ukrainian museum, and a publication office. It has conducted annually at United College and since 1951 at the University of Manitoba the renowned Ukrainian summer school of music, folk-dances, drama, and social subjects, which attracts students from different parts of Canada and also from the United States. The Ukrainian churches also conduct summer schools but on a more elementary level. The latest institution to make its appearance in Winnipeg has been the Ukrainian Free Academy of Sciences, of university character, which has been transplanted from Europe.

A significant recent development in cultural activities has been the sponsoring of Ukrainian radio programmes. In 1952 six business firms were acting as sponsors (Direct Furniture Store, National Restaurant Company, Dayton Outfitting Company, Universal Radio, Rudyk Lumber Company, and Ukrainian Booksellers and Publishers) and also the Winnipeg branch of the Veterans of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army. These weekly broadcasts, most of which are half-hour programmes, are usually given on Sunday and feature recordings of Ukrainian choral and instrumental music and performances by various local choirs and soloists.

The extent and quality of the educational and cultural activities of the Ukrainian Canadians in Winnipeg were an important factor taken into consideration by the Board of Governors when they established the Department of Slavic Studies at the University of Manitoba in the

fall of 1949. The person most instrumental in bringing the Department into existence was the President of the University, Dr. A. H. S. Gillson, who, although a mathematician, has displayed a keen interest in the folk cultures of Manitoba. The Ukrainians were particularly delighted when one of their own group, Dr. Jaroslaw B. Rudnyckyj, a distinguished Slavic philologist, was appointed Professor of Slavic Languages, including Ukrainian.[1] A good response from the students of Ukrainian origin, who constitute by far the largest Slavic group at the University (numbering over 300), assured the expansion of the Department of Slavic Studies into Slavic history and literature. In 1951, the staff of the Department was increased by the appointment of Paul Yuzyk as Professor of Slavic Literature and History.

A PUBLISHING CENTRE

From the beginning of Ukrainian settlement, Winnipeg has been the paramount publishing centre of Ukrainian-language papers and books in Canada; a few are published in Toronto, Edmonton, Mundare (Alberta), and Yorkton. The following is a list of Ukrainian periodicals and the publishers in Winnipeg in 1952:

New Pathway; Ukrainian National Publishing Co. Ltd. (semi-weekly paper)
Canadian Farmer; National Publishers Ltd. (weekly paper)
Ukrainian Voice; Trident Press Ltd. (weekly paper)
Ukrainian Word; Peoples' Press (weekly paper)
Canadian Ranok; United Church of Canada (semi-monthly paper)
Herald; Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church (semi-monthly paper)
Christian Herald; Russian and Ukrainian Baptist Conference (monthly magazine)
My Friend; Ukrainian Catholic Council (children's monthly magazine)
Youth Speaks; Ukrainian National Youth Federation (bilingual monthly magazine)
Dawn of a New Era; Promin Publishing Co. (bi-monthly magazine)
Watchman; Bible Students' Association (bi-monthly magazine)
Alpha Omegan; Alpha Omega Society of University of Manitoba (annual magazine)
Ukrainians in Canada Business Year Book; Ukrainian Business Directory
Women's World; Ukrainian Women's Organization (monthly magazine)
Our Culture; Metropolitan Ilarion Ohienko (monthly journal)
Ukrainian Commentary; Ukrainian Canadian Committee.

All of the above-mentioned publishing firms publish or print books and pamphlets as well. Many Ukrainian organizations are also engaged in publishing books, largely for propaganda rather than for profit.

[1]Courses in Ukrainian are given also at the University of Saskatchewan, by Professor C. H. Andrusyshen, a native of Winnipeg, the University of Toronto, the University of Montreal, the University of Ottawa, and the University of Alberta.

Most of the Ukrainian bookstores publish some plays and novels. Among the prominent publishers not mentioned previously are: Ukrainian Canadian Committee, Ukrainian Cultural and Educational Centre, Ukrainian Booksellers and Publishers Ltd., Nasha Kultura, Canadian Ukrainian Educational Association, Ukrainian Free Academy of Sciences, and Iwan Tyktor. The latter publishes large books, an outstanding one being *Velyka Istoriya Ukrayiny* (A Large History of Ukraine), an illustrated work of 967 pages, and a series of novels for the Ukrainian Book Club.[2] The papers and magazines have a greater circulation than the books.

PUBLIC AFFAIRS

The significant size and the compact character of the Ukrainian community in North Winnipeg have influenced some of its members to venture into municipal and political affairs. Winnipeg is the only city in Canada where Ukrainians have been elected quite consistently as aldermen, school trustees, and members of the provincial parliament.

The Ukrainians of Winnipeg made their debut in local government in 1912, when Theodore Stefanik, a former provincial school organizer, was elected to the city Council as an alderman. During and after the First World War the public hostility towards the Ukrainians, believed to have been pro-Austrian, rendered them powerless to elect one of their own aldermen for almost fifteen years. Since 1927, however, they have elected one of their own men to the office in Ward 3 in almost every election. W. N. Kolisnyk, an active Ukrainian communist leader, served as alderman from 1927 to 1930. The larger anti-communist element then united forces and in 1932 brought Taras D. Ferley, the first Ukrainian M.L.A. for Manitoba, to the office for two years. Subsequent to this the Ukrainians were so divided that they failed to elect one of their own candidates until 1938, when D. M. Elcheshen was elected. His forced resignation gave the communists an opportunity to elect Andrew Bilecki. In order to defeat the communist

[2]The Ukrainian Book Club 1952 series includes the following novels: O. Hay-Holowko, *Poyedynok z Diyavolom* (Duel with the Devil), 2 vols.; V. Chaplenko, *Lyudy v Tenetakh* (People in Snares), 2 vols.; Ivan Smoliy, *Kordony Padut* (Borders Fall); Yury Tys, *Shlyakhamy Vikiv* (Along the Highway of Ages); L. Mosendz, *Lyudyna Pokirna* (Humble Man); Rex Beach, *Zalizny Shlyakh* (The Iron Trail), 2 vols.; Wasyl Radych, *Maksym Zaliznyak* [novel of Cossack hero], 2 vols.; Mykola Hohol [Gogol], *Strashna Pomsta ta inshi opovidannya* (The Terrible Vengeance and other stories).

Tyktor has announced the publication of two significant illustrated books: *Istoriya Ukrayinskoyi Kultury* (History of Ukrainian Culture), 900 pages, and *Istoriya Ukrayinskoho Viyska* (History of the Ukrainian Army), 700 pages; both are revised reprints of works that Tyktor had originally published in Western Ukraine before the Second World War.

candidates, who had considerable support from other ethnic groups, the Ukrainians secured an understanding with the Polish anti-communist element and established the Winnipeg Taxpayers' Association. William Scraba thus succeeded in being elected alderman in 1941, and held the office until 1945, when he was elected member of Manitoba's Legislature for Winnipeg. Slaw Rebchuk, a business man, secured election in 1949, having been sponsored by the Winnipeg Taxpayers' Association, and was re-elected in 1951. In the 1952 civic election, Stanley M. Carrick was elected, to become the second Ukrainian alderman in the Council. He unseated Jacob Penner, the veteran communist alderman.

Except for the year 1941, the Ukrainians have had at least one representative on the School Board regularly since 1932. Elected that year, Mrs. Mary Dyma, a graduate of the University of Manitoba, served as school trustee for four years and acted as chairman in 1934. Andrew Bilecki, a pro-communist, who was elected in 1934, sat on the School Board until 1940, when the Ukrainian Labour Farmer Temple Association was suppressed by the government. William Scraba was elected school trustee in 1935, becoming the third Ukrainian on the Board, and he continued in office until 1940 when he was elected an alderman. Since 1942 Andrew Zaharychuk, B.A., has been serving in the capacity of school trustee, having been elected for the sixth term in 1951. He has been sponsored by the Winnipeg Taxpayers' Association. In 1949, with the election of Stanley M. Carrick, two men of Ukrainian origin were on the Winnipeg School Board and both were re-elected for 1950. Carrick left the School Board in 1951 to run for alderman and, as noted above, was successful. In the election of that year, the two candidates of Ukrainian extraction for trustee met with defeat.

The first attempt of the Ukrainians of Winnipeg to enter provincial politics came in 1932, when C. H. Andrusyshen, now Professor of Slavic Studies at Saskatchewan, ran on an Independent ticket, unsuccessfully. Mrs. Mary Dyma ran as a coalition candidate in 1936, but was also defeated. However, in 1941, both candidates who contested the election won seats: William A. Kardash, a pro-communist, won for the Workers' party and S. N. Krawchuk, a teacher, was elected on an Independent Coalition platform. In 1945, W. Kardash won again, this time for the Labour Progressive party, of which he became the provincial leader. William Scraba, former school trustee and alderman, was elected at the same time as a Liberal Progressive member. The 1949 provincial election again resulted in Kardash's re-election, and also brought in John M. Hawryluk, a school principal, as a C.C.F. member. The experience gained from these three elections will prob-

ably encourage Ukrainian Canadians to contest the federal riding of North Winnipg in succeeding elections. Reliance on a straight Ukrainian vote is, however, out of the question. To be successful candidates must advocate the general policies of the Canadian parties and in turn receive their full support.

LEADERSHIP

The Ukrainian Canadians look to Winnipeg for leadership in matters of vital concern to the whole ethnic group. Since Winnipeg has always attracted some of their most gifted, it was only natural that the national headquarters of the various organizations should be located here. The establishment in 1940 of the Ukrainian Canadian Committee, which co-ordinates the common activities of the non-communist organizations, has brought to the fore some very capable Ukrainians who have received recognition as general leaders of their people. These men and women have achieved a high place in Ukrainian Canadian society through experience gained in their respective organizations, but more through their ability to overcome narrow organizational and religious prejudices and to emphasize matters of common concern. Some of the prominent leaders in 1952 are referred to in an appendix to this chapter.

Unlike the adult organizations, the Ukrainian Canadian youth groups have never been co-ordinated. The proposals at the second Ukrainian Canadian Congress at Toronto in 1946 to set up a co-ordinating youth committee have been disregarded by the Ukrainian Canadian Committee. In Winnipeg are the central executives of the three leading youth organizations: the Ukrainian National Youth Federation of which William Hladun is the popular president, the Ukrainian Canadian Youth Association with Peter Krepiakevich as its most prominent leader, and the Ukrainian Catholic Youth which is dominated by youthful priests.

Antagonistic to the Ukrainian Canadian Committee is the Association of United Ukrainian Canadians, a comparatively small but clamorous group of supporters of the Moscow-directed communist movement. Its national headquarters is located in Toronto, but many of the prominent leaders are also found in Winnipeg, their centre for western Canada.

Leadership in the Ukrainian community is changing very slowly. The older, veteran leaders are passing from the scene, one by one. Younger, Canadian-born men and women and highly educated, experienced newcomers are gradually assuming the positions of responsibility. The concentration in Manitoba's capital of the outstanding

leaders and the supreme governing bodies of the organizations, churches, and institutions of the people ensure that Winnipeg will continue to be the pulsating heart of the Ukrainian Canadian group.

APPENDIX

Among the outstanding living leaders in Winnipeg in 1952 who have been instrumental in maintaining Ukrainian Canadian unity and in promoting progress in various fields of life are the following:

Monsignor Basil Kushnir, chancellor of the Greek Catholic Church, President of the Ukrainian Canadian Committee, and President of the Pan-American Ukrainian Conference.

Wladimir Kossar, M.Sc., former colonel of the Ukrainian Republican Armies of 1918-21, agricultural editor of *New Pathway*, President of the Ukrainian National Federation, and Vice-President of the Ukrainian Canadian Committee.

Father Semen W. Sawchuk, Administrator of the Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church, former chaplain in the Canadian Army, a leader of the Ukrainian Self-Reliance League, Principal of St. Andrew's College, and Vice-President of the Ukrainian Canadian Committee.

John Syrnick, former teacher, editor of *Ukrainian Voice*, and secretary of the Ukrainian Canadian Committee.

Dr. T. Datzkiw, former Ukrainian teacher, editor of *Canadian Farmer*, now a horticulturist, a leader of the United Hetman Organization, treasurer of the Ukrainian Canadian Committee until 1952.

John R. Solomon, barrister, M.L.A. for Emerson, President of the Ukrainian Self-Reliance League.

Anthony J. Yaremovich, lawyer, former editor of *Opinion*, former director of the Ukrainian Relief Bureau in London, England, former acting secretary and present executive member of the Ukrainian Canadian Committee.

Daniel Lobay, former communist leader, now President of the socialist Ukrainian Workers' League, assistant editor of *Ukrainian Voice*, and executive member of the Ukrainian Canadian Committee.

John G. Karasivich, lawyer, former captain in the Canadian Army, Dominion President of the Ukrainian Canadian Veterans' Association.

Andrew Zaharychuk, B.A., former teacher, elected member of the Winnipeg School Board, and acting secretary of the Ukrainian Canadian Committee.

Dr. M. I. Mandryka, former diplomatic emissary of the Ukrainian National Republic, poet and writer, travel bureau manager, active member of the Ukrainian Canadian Committee.

Michael Pohorecky, editor of *New Pathway*, a leader of the Ukrainian National Federation, and executive member of the Ukrainian Canadian Committee.

The leaders among the Ukrainian women in Winnipeg in 1952 who have won Dominion-wide recognition include:

Mrs. B. (Mary) Dyma, B.A., former school trustee for Ward 3, President of the Ukrainian Catholic Women's League, and Past President of the Ukrainian Canadian Women's Committee.

Mrs. O. (Evhenia) Sytnyk, Vice-President of the Ukrainian Women's Organization, secretary of the Ukrainian Canadian Women's Committee, and Vice-President of the World Federation of Ukrainian Women.

Mrs. P. H. (Olga) Woycenko, a leader of the Ukrainian Women's Association, Vice-President of the Ukrainian Canadian Women's Committee, and executive member of the World Federation of Ukrainian Women.

Mrs. M. I. (Anne) Mandryka, executive member of the Ukrainian Canadian Women's Committee, and acting secretary of the Ukrainian Canadian Relief Fund.

The most active participants in the Association of United Ukrainian Canadians include:

Matthew Shatulski, an ideologist, former editor of *Ukrainian Labour News* and the banned *Peoples' Gazette*, and editor of *Ukrainian Word* (died December 1952).

William Kardash, Labour-Progressive M.L.A. for Winnipeg, an officer of the People's Co-operative Creamery.

Andrew Bilecki, former school trustee and alderman for Ward 3, candidate of the Labour-Progressive party in several federal elections, officer of the People's Co-operative Creamery and the Workers' Benevolent Association.

Wasyl Swystun, barrister, founder of the Ukrainian Greek Orthodox church of Canada, former president of the Ukrainian Self-Reliance League, former Dominion executive member of the Ukrainian National Federation and the Ukrainian Canadian Committee, prominent speaker at folk festivals and other large-scale activities sponsored by the Association of United Ukrainian Canadians, President of the Association for Cultural Relations with (Soviet) Ukraine.

CH. FIFTEEN . The Process of Canadianization

NO DOUBT MANY OF THE THOUSANDS OF POVERTY-stricken and oppressed Ukrainian peasants who left their native land and came at Canada's invitation to help develop her vast natural resources had intended to stay in this country only long enough to make a small fortune and then return to their native villages. However, the comparatively favourable circumstances here, in contrast to the oppressive foreign subjugation of Ukrainian lands by historical enemies after the First World War, permanently dispelled the hopes that many had entertained of returning to Europe. With their children growing up in Canada, they fully realized that they were better off in almost every respect in this country than were their kinsmen in Ukraine. The same was equally true of the immigrants who arrived between the two wars. For all of them Canada became their home and their country. After the passage of time, in all probability, the large number of recent arrivals will make the same decision.[1]

Manitoba, as part of Canada, offered to the Ukrainian settlers many opportunities which they had never had in their native land. They took advantage of these opportunities, which may be listed under the following general headings:

1. *Economic opportunities.* Compared with farming the meagre, non-supporting plots of land or the exhausting alternative of hiring as cheap labour for the Polish landlord in the old country, the immigrants found in Canada homesteads, land on easy payments, remunerative even though hard work, prospects of advancement, business opportunities, the freedom to change their type of work, and a higher standard of living.

2. *Freedom.* The Ukrainians had often shed blood for their freedom. Yet they had not succeeded in winning it and oppression was one of the driving forces behind their exodus. On the prairies of Manitoba, as elsewhere in Canada, they found the freedom they coveted—freedom of assembly, of the spoken and printed word, of action, and of

[1]On the problems of assimilation see, for instance, H. F. Fairchild, *The Melting-Pot Mistake*; John Murray Gibbon, *Canadian Mosaic*; Ronald R. Taft, *Human Migration*; Charles H. Young, *The Ukrainian Canadians*; Paul Yuzyk, "Ukrainian Cultural and Educational Achievements in Canada" in *Second Ukrainian Canadian Congress.*

religious worship, as well as freedom to cultivate their culture. Though unaccustomed to such liberty and at first abusing it, they in time learned that privileges required corresponding duties.

3. *Education.* Deprived in their own land of an education or discriminated against in advanced studies by foreign teachers or officials, the Ukrainians in Canada were anxious to provide their children with a good education, and parents made sacrifices in order to obtain the means to send them to the highest institutions of learning. Today, in Manitoba, the children of these pioneers occupy positions that require the most advanced educational training.

4. *Security.* Discriminatory laws, capricious police, and arbitrary judges in the Ukrainian lands had kept the people in constant fear, but, except for a brief period during the First World War, the situation in Canada was just the opposite. Individuals had the protection of the law, before which all were equal. Law-abiding citizens rested in a sense of security.

5. *Social improvement.* In the land of their birth the poorer peasants and landless labourers were regarded as the lowest in the social scale, with scanty prospects for betterment, but in Canada, where individual worth is recognized, a person may improve his financial situation and social standing through work, thrift, or business ability. Theoretically, everyone has the right to become a premier. Many Ukrainians of lowly birth in Manitoba have risen to high positions and enjoy the respect of all citizens.

6. *Tolerance.* Having been brought up in an atmosphere of national and religious hatreds and class discrimination, the Ukrainians for many years perpetuated acts of intolerance in Canada. In time, however, they gradually learned the Canadian practice of the Golden Rule, of acting towards others as they would want others to act towards them. Mutual respect for others, co-operation, and harmony meant peace and welfare for all in the Canadian polyglot population.

7. *Democratic rights.* The bulk of the Ukrainian settlers who came to Canada prior to the First World War had been brought up under the pseudo-constitutional monarchy of Austria-Hungary, where corruption and coercion were practised during the elections, which were controlled by the Polish aristocracy and their political followers. In their ignorance of procedures, the settlers at first became the dupes of political sharks, but in the course of time and of experience of democratic rights, they learned the processes of democracy. They became a positive element in the government of the country by contributing trustees, aldermen, reeves, judges, and legislators.

It should be borne in mind that the Ukrainian tiller of the soil who

settled in Canada up to 1914 had come from a village whose life had been almost wholly self-contained. His interests had rarely extended beyond his family, his church, and his community. His wife was a local girl; his clothes were local products fashioned according to local styles; his food was raised and produced locally; his work was determined by local needs; his news was local gossip; his patterns of thinking reflected the local spirit. Next to nothing had been known of the tremendous advances made in mechanization with the accompanying interdependence of individuals and communities.

Settlement in Canada, whether on the farms or in the urban centres, involved a trying change in mode of living, habits, and attitudes. At first the people segregated themselves and attempted to carry on as had been their custom in the old country. When it was found that this only perpetuated their poverty, changes began. The first great changes came in the ways of earning a living as this was of prime importance. The people in time adapted themselves completely to the use of machinery, to different types of jobs, and to participation in business. Similar changes took place in their habits with clothes, food, home equipment. They acquired English, received citizenship, and learned the processes of democracy. Gradually the Ukrainian Canadians put down their roots in Canadian life and learned to regard Canada affectionately as their adopted country.

It must not be forgotten, however, that these comparatively simple folk brought to Canada a rich cultural heritage, which centuries of oppression had not discouraged. It was their birthright, their mark of identity, and they were determined to preserve it and to promote its development on free Canadian soil. Even though in most cases this meant sacrifices, the settlers contributed their hard-earned money, as well as their labour, and built their Byzantine-style churches and community halls. As their economic circumstances improved they constructed larger and more beautiful churches and halls. Various aspects of their Ukrainian culture were perpetuated and developed—their charming songs, their vivacious, rhythmic folk-dances, their lively music, their majectic church liturgy, their stirring dramas, their colourful costumes, their exquisite Easter eggs, their richly designed embroidery. They read, re-read, and recited the gems of Ukrainian literature. They related many episodes from their history, and yearned for the return of their national freedom. All these were woven into the developing pattern of their new life in Canada.

For almost a generation, these pioneer Ukrainian settlers carried on their cultural activities with little interference or conflict, though without acquiring prestige because of them among the Anglo-Saxon Canadians. Living in segregated groups, they established relationships of

interdependence on a secondary level, without close contact with tl dominant culture. There were few, if any, direct relationships betwee these people and Anglo-Saxon families, schools, churches, or recre tional groups. Hence, in the pioneer period there was almost no dif culty in retaining their culture, and it was, indeed, even reinforced b the arrival of fellow-countrymen from Europe.

These conditions, however, changed when the first Canadian-bor generation of Ukrainians reached adolescence. Having been educate by general Canadian standards, the children of the immigrant settle found themselves at variance with the old world culture of their pa ents. Clashes occurred over the sanctity of mores and the traditio of the family, a primary group, causing confusion both for the paren and for the children.

The new generation of Ukrainian Canadians are confronted wit a perplexing and vital problem. Torn between the dominant Angl Saxon culture and the Ukrainian folk culture of their parents and the own early life in Canada they are divided between two loyalties. I fact, they are composed of elements of both cultures. For large numbe of Ukrainian young people, the clash of cultures has brought abo a loss of respect for the old patterns of Ukrainian behaviour, especiall where parents are only semi-literate. In the confusion, an ever increa ing number of young people attempt to cast off what they consider t be the useless and impractical Ukrainian culture of their fathers, b changing their names, by refusing to speak Ukrainian, and by avoidin Ukrainian activities. They often profess to be English or just Canadian even though their features, some of their manners, and often thei accent betray their Ukrainian identity. In reality, these people are nc whole-heartedly accepted in Anglo-Saxon circles. Thus this "marginal man finds himself in a sort of No Man's Land.

Too often these "marginal" people who cannot reconcile themselve with the culture of their parents, for which they have lost respect, fa into a moral anarchy. Too often they develop an inferiority comple and anti-social attitudes. The loss of a set of values, which is not firml replaced by another set, causes demoralization of the individual an disorganization in the communities. The emotional conflict in suc persons often leads to an undue tendency to commit crime. Conse quently this problem becomes the responsibility of society.

The question of the assimilation of the various ethnic groups i Canada has produced four theories in answer. There are those wh would like to see the obliteration of all foreign characteristics, wh would make all "foreigners" into Englishmen. This theory disregard the basic principles of democracy. Some have advocated the melting pot theory—that all cultures be quickly melted down so that the dro

might be removed, and the pure gold secured. The chief drawback of this concept is that no one knows what the final result might be if it were applied practically; it might mean the lowering of present, known standards. Others believe that nationalities should be preserved, as in the Swiss democracy of nationalities. The theory that has the support of prominent American sociologists and many Canadian leaders would preserve the various cultural heritages but not the political loyalties—in other words would aim at unity not uniformity, or unity through diversity.

Cognizant of the harmful effects of over-rapid assimilation on young people as well as on the older immigrants, many sociologists in recent years have been recommending a policy of gradual accommodation. An eminent authority has this to say on the subject:

> Assimilation is effected with a minimum of friction and personal demoralization when it is group-wise. That is, the very institutions believed by natives to prevent assimilation, may act as a media for the interpretation of the dominant culture to the migrants. They no doubt operate to preserve the more personal elements in the old culture, but they aid in the adjustment of the individual to the surrounding group at least in those matters held to be most important by the latter. Without this protection of his own group, the individual is lost and suffers serious personal demoralization.[2]

Acculturation, the recognition of cultural dualism and its value in contributing the finer elements of a different culture to the general Canadian pattern of culture, provides the key to the problem. Assimilation in the long run is inevitable. The problem is to control the assimilation to such a degree that persons of a different cultural background will be given time to become fully adjusted to Canadian life and at the same time to make significant cultural contributions. Even if little is transmitted from one culture to the other, the fact that the two exist side by side, thereby creating a conflict, causes discussion of cultural values and this tends to bring about changes for the better in both cultures, which otherwise might never have taken place.

The view that the folk cultures which exist in our midst should be preserved and even encouraged is becoming more prevalent among Canadians as a whole. It is becoming customary on our national holidays to see and hear a variety of splendid performances of various ethnic groups on the same stage, accompanied by the resounding ovations of an appreciative audience. Consciousness of the diversity and richness of our cultural heritage is thus being woven into the fabric of Canadian mentality.

[2]Taft, *op. cit.*, p. 264.

Perhaps the most clearly formulated view on the value of the pre servation and integration of the folk cultures in Canada is that of Dr Watson Kirkconnell:

> There is nothing so shallow and sterile as the man who denies his own ancestry. The "100%" American or Canadian is commonly one who ha deliberately suppressed an alien origin in order to reap the material bene fits of a well-advertised loyalty. There can be little hope of noble spiritua issues from such a prostituted patriotism. Unfortunately, it is abetted b the ignorant assumption of many an English-speaking citizen that alie origin is a natural mark of inferiority. He who thinks thus is a menta hooligan—whether he be a lawyer, militia colonel, or bishop of the church What we sorely need, on the contrary, is enough common intelligence t recognize both the rich diversity of racial gifts on this earth and th strength which racial roots can contribute to the individual.
>
> We do not think less of the Scot in Canada because of his proud wist fulness towards the land of his origin. . . . Nostalgia still has power to sti the Scotch Canadian who is four generations removed from the countr of his forbears. As a Canadian, he is not poorer but richer because h realizes his place in a notable stream of human relationships down throug the centuries. His sense of the family, the clan, and the race can scarcel fail to vitalize the quality of his citizenship. He grows greater than him self by virtue of his conscious pride in the past and his determination t be worthy of it.
>
> Prophetic hopes would envisage a future Canada in which every indi vidual would be thus inspired to fuller citizenship by his realization o his origin, whatever that might be. There is already, however, grav danger of the third and even second generation of Swedish, Ukrainian and other immigrant groups turning their backs on the language an history of their own people in a hasty act of renunciation. That the should be speedily integrated into loyal co-operation with our genera Canadian population is, of course, of supreme national importance. Bu it would be tragic if there should at the same time be a clumsy stripping away of all those spiritual associations with the past which help to giv depth and beauty to life. . . .
>
> Canada has not yet achieved any such spiritual integration as ha brought Celt, Angle, Saxon, Dane, Norseman, Norman, and Fleming t a unified consciousness in England; and we must realize that the integration to which we ultimately attain will be very different from that o England. If, however, we accept with Wilhelm von Humboldt "the abso lute and essential importance of human development in its richest diver sity," then we shall welcome every opportunity to save for our country every precious element of individuality that is available. Our constitution is founded on the federative principle. Our nation could not do bette than to take "confederation" as its motto in culture and education. Our national holidays might well be given over to such pageantry (including perhaps, festivals of drama, poetry, and music) as would emphasize the co-operative existence of the distinct racial groups in our population. Our schools might give ample recognition to their history and culture. Our universities might foster their languages and literatures, or even set up an

Institute of Cultural Traditions to preserve and encourage all that may contribute to the diversity of our cultural life.[3]

A memorable occasion for the Ukrainian Canadians was the visit of Lord Tweedsmuir, Governor-General of Canada, to the Ukrainian rural community of Fraserwood (about sixty miles north of Winnipeg), on September 21, 1936. After being greeted by Cossacks on horses and with bread and salt, in traditional Ukrainian fashion, the distinguished representative of the British king delivered the following message, the last line of which is quoted over and over again at Ukrainian gatherings:

> Every Briton and especially every Scotsman must believe that the strongest nations are those that are made up of different elements. The Ukrainian element is a very valuable contribution to our new Canada. You have accepted the duties and loyalties as you have acquired the privileges of Canadian citizens, but I want you also to remember your old Ukrainian traditions—your beautiful handicrafts, your folk-songs and dances, and your folk legends. I do not believe that any people can be strong unless they remember and keep in touch with all their past. Your traditions are all valuable contributions towards our Canadian culture which cannot be a copy of any one old thing—it must be a new thing created by the contributions of all the elements that make up the nation. . . . *You will all be better Canadians for being also good Ukrainians.*[4]

A deep impression was also made on the Ukrainian Canadians by the Earl of Athlone, when Governor-General of Canada. In the last days of the Second World War, on April 26, 1945, accompanied by Princess Alice, the representative of the king visited Gonor, where Lieutenant-Governor R. F. McWilliams and Mrs. McWilliams, both of whom have friendly associations with the Ukrainians, were present to receive them. Several hundred residents welcomed the Governor-General and his wife in a colourful programme of Ukrainian folk-dances and choral music, and with a display of Ukrainian handicraft. The Earl of Athlone, like his predecessor, Lord Tweedsmuir, declared that the preservation of the Ukrainian culture of music, song, and decorative costumes enriched the Canadian culture, and expressed appreciation for the contributions of the people to the war effort.

This sympathetic attitude and the recognition of the cultural contributions of the component ethnic groups by Canadian leaders can only result in the establishment of much closer relations among these groups, and in the development of a pride in working for the common welfare of all Canadians in their common country.

[3]Watson Kirkconnell, *Canadian Overtones*, preface.
[4]Gibbon, *op. cit.*, p. 307.

The interplay of economic forces, of democratic practice, of th many cultural traits is slowly welding all its component ethnic grou into one dynamic Canadian nation. As yet, there is no distinctly Can dian culture, but it is in process of formation. Patterns of Canadia behaviour are already becoming evident and from these will come cu tural traditions.

In this Canadian mosaic of peoples, the Ukrainian Canadians ar consciously or unconsciously making their contribution to the creatio of a common Canadian culture. Some Canadian leaders like to thin of Canada as a symphony orchestra composed of a variety of instru ments which play different notes, but all of which blend to give to th listener a masterpiece of harmonious and inspiring music. Other leade like to compare Canadian culture to a flower garden in which ar beautiful flowers of many varieties, colours, and scents. Among thes the Ukrainian flower has its opportunity to blossom forth in rich an exciting beauty. Certain it is, that out of the best elements of the divers cultures in Canada there will be moulded a superior civilization. T that end the wise leadership of men of understanding, sympathy, an vision, which has been forthcoming constantly from the peoples c Anglo-Saxon stock, may worthily be devoted.

Appendix

A CHRONOLOGY OF IMPORTANT EVENTS, 1891–1953

1891. First Urkrainian settlers, Ivan Pillipiw and Wasyl Eleniak, arrive in Winnipeg.
1895. Dr. Osyp Oleskiw, from Lviv, Galicia, tours the prairies, and recommends settlement of Ukrainians.
1896. Beginnings of first rural settlements of Ukrainians in Manitoba at Brokenhead, Gonor, Stuartburn, and Dauphin.
1897. Beginnings of mass immigration of Ukrainians to Canada.
First Greek Catholic service in Canada, conducted by Father Nestor Dmytriv, in Stuartburn.
1899. First Ukrainian (Greek Catholic) church in Manitoba, St. Nicholas, built in Winnipeg.
1902. Arrival of Bishop Seraphim, who established a short-lived Russian Orthodox Church.
1903. First Ukrainian newspaper in Canada, *Kanadiysky Farmer* (Canadian Farmer), is published in Winnipeg, editor John Negrich.
1904. Emergence of the Independent Greek Church, led by John Bodrug, and subsidized by the Presbyterian Church of Canada.
1905. Ruthenian Training (normal) School is established in Winnipeg.
First Ukrainian bookstore is founded by Frank Dojachek, a Czech.
Ukrainian Mutual Benefit Association of St. Nicholas (Greek Catholic) is founded by V. Karpetz and N. Hladky.
1908. Ivan Storosczuk is elected reeve of Stuartburn municipality, the first Ukrainian reeve.
1909. *Ukrayinsky Holos* (Ukrainian Voice), a weekly, begins publication.
1910. Greek Catholic Metropolitan Andrew Sheptitsky of Lviv, Galicia, tours Ukrainian settlements.
1911. Greek Catholic newspaper, *Kanadiysky Rusin* (Canadian Ruthenian), commences publication.
Wasyl Holowacky, socialist, first Ukrainian to run as candidate in Dominion election of 1911, is defeated in Selkirk riding.
1912. Bishop Nicetas Budka assumes jurisdiction over Greek Catholic Church with seat in Winnipeg.
Election of Theodore Stefanik, first alderman of Ukrainian origin in Winnipeg.
1913. Incorporation in provincial parliaments of the Ruthenian Greek Catholic Church by Bishop Budka.
Independent Greek Church is absorbed by the Presbyterian Church of Canada.
1915. T. D. Ferley is elected to provincial parliament in Gimli, first Ukrainian M.L.A. in Manitoba.

1916. Abolition of bilingual schools in Manitoba, in which Ukrainian had been taught.
1917. War Times Election Act disenfranchizes Ukrainians, as former Austrian citizens, for duration of First World War.
1918. Brief suppression of Ukrainian newspapers.
Banning of Ukrainian Social Democratic party for alleged Bolshevik sympathies.
Wasyl Swystun and Michael Stechishin take the initiative in setting up the Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church.
Approximately 10,000 Ukrainians have enlisted by this date in Canadian military forces.
1919. *Kanadiysky Rusin* (Canadian Ruthenian), Winnipeg, under impact of Ukrainian nationalism brought about by rise of the Ukrainian State, changes name to *Kanadiysky Ukrayinets* (Canadian Ukrainian).
Dominion act deprives Ukrainians of naturalization for ten years after the war; rescinded in 1923.
Ukrayinski Robitnychi Visty (Ukrainian Labour News), pro-communist newspaper, founded in Winnipeg.
1920. Founding of pro-communist Ukrainian Labour Temple Association.
1922. Election to Manitoba legislature of four members of Ukrainian extraction: Dmytro Yakimischak (Ind., Emerson), Nicholas A. Hryhorczuk (Ind., Ethelbert), Nicholas V. Bachynsky (United Farmers of Manitoba, Fisher), and Michael Rojecki (Lib., Gimli).
1924. Incorporation of the Ukrainian Labour Farmer Temple Association (ULFTA), composed of pro-communist element.
Bishop Theodorovich assumes jurisdiction over the Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church.
1927. Founding of Ukrainian Self-Reliance League, composed of Greek Orthodox element.
Vasile Avramenko popularizes Ukrainian folk-dances in Canada.
1928. Founding of the Ukrainian War Veterans' Association, composed of former members of Ukrainian republican armies.
1929. Basil Ladyka becomes bishop of Greek Catholic Church in Canada.
1930. Canadian Community Progress Competition; Rossburn wins first prize, and Ethelbert second prize.
1931. Ukrainian Labour Farmer Temple Association (ULFTA) shifts to revolutionary communism.
1932. Founding of Ukrainian National Federation, appealing for unity among the Ukrainian Canadians.
Founding of Ukrainian Catholic Brotherhood, a lay organization.
1935. *Ukrayinski Robitnychi Visty* changes name to *Narodna Gazeta* (People's Gazette), supporting a communist revolution in Canada.
1936. Lord Tweedsmuir, Governor-General of Canada, visits Ukrainian community at Fraserwood.
1938. Ukrainian Canadians welcome rise of Carpatho-Ukraine and send aid to the little country, which was crushed by pro-Nazi Hungary on March 16, 1939.

939. All Ukrainian Canadians, except ULFTA, declare loyalty to Canada upon declaration of war on Nazi Germany.

940. The Ukrainian Labour Farmer Temple Association (ULFTA) is banned and 108 halls are confiscated by the government for seditious activities.
Establishment in Winnipeg of the Ukrainian Canadian Committee to aid the Canadian war effort and plead the cause of Ukraine's freedom. The Committee united five Dominion-wide organizations: Ukrainian Catholic Brotherhood, Ukrainian Self-Reliance League, Ukrainian National Federation, United Hetman Organization, and League of Ukrainian Organizations.

941. Seven Ukrainian Canadians elected to the Manitoba legislature: John R. Solomon (Lib. Prog., Emerson), N. A. Hryhorczuk (Lib. Prog., Ethelbert), N. V. Bachynsky (Lib. Prog., Fisher), J. Wawrykow (C.C.F., Gimli), Nicholas J. Stryk (Lib. Prog., St. Clements), Stephen N. Krawchyk (Ind., Winnipeg), and William A. Kardash (Prog. Lab., Winnipeg).

942. *Novy Shlyakh* (New Pathway), organ of Ukrainian National Federation, moves from Saskatoon to Winnipeg.

943. First Ukrainian Canadian Congress, representing over 90 per cent of the people, held in Winnipeg.

944. Establishment of Ukrainian Cultural and Educational Centre.

945. Earl of Athlone, Governor-General of Canada, and Princess Alice visit Ukrainian communities at Gonor and Gimli.
Election of first Ukrainian Canadian federal member for Manitoba, F. S. Zaplitny (C.C.F., Dauphin).
At termination of Second World War, Ukrainian Canadians had contributed their share to Canada's gigantic war effort, including 35,000 to 40,000 members in the armed forces.

946. Ukrainian Canadian Veterans' Association, composed of veterans of Canadian forces, joins Ukrainian Canadian Committee.
Association of United Ukrainian Canadians, composed of former members of the suppressed ULFTA, sponsors Ukrainian folk festivals, featuring delegation from Soviet Ukraine.
Establishment of St. Andrew's College (Greek Orthodox) in Winnipeg.
Second Ukrainian Canadian Congress, sponsored by the Ukrainian Canadian Committe of Winnipeg, is held in Toronto.

947. Canadian Citizenship Act comes into effect. In ceremony at Ottawa, the first Ukrainian settler in Canada, Wasyl Eleniak, is honoured.

948. Ukrainian Greek Catholic diocese in Canada is divided into three exarchates under Archbishop Basil Ladyka.
Archbishop Mstyslaw Skrypnyk assumes jurisdiction over Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church of Canada (autocephalous).
Metropolitan Ilarion (Ohienko) arrives in Winnipeg to head the Ukrainian Orthodox Church.

949. Seven Ukrainian Canadians elected to provincial legislature.
Presidium of Ukrainian Free Academy of Sciences is transferred from Europe to Winnipeg.

Winnipeg's Ukrainian Canadians win recognition for display of various aspects of Ukrainian culture at Winnipeg's seventy-fifth birthday celebrations.

Establishment of Department of Slavic Studies at the University of Manitoba, under Professor J. B. Rudnyckyj. The Ukrainian language is taught for the first time at the University.

1950. Third Ukrainian Canadian Congress held in Winnipeg, during which President W. Kirkconnell (Acadia University) is presented with an honorary degree conferred by the Ukrainian Free University of Prague.

Archbishop M. Skrypnyk resigns as head of the Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church of Canada and departs for the United States. N. V. Bachynsky, of Fisher Branch, is appointed Speaker of the Manitoba Legislative Assembly, first Speaker of Ukrainian extraction in Canada and the British Commonwealth.

1951. Ukrainian Professional and Business Men's Club pledges $25,000 in support of Ukrainian studies in the Department of Slavic Studies at the University of Manitoba.

Sixtieth anniversary of Ukrainian settlement celebrated throughout Canada. The Prime Minister of Canada, the Right Honourable Louis St. Laurent, speaks at Pleasant Home and meets Ukrainian leaders in Winnipeg. Memorial tablet unveiled at the Manitoba Legislative Building by the Lieutenant-Governor, the Honourable R. F. McWilliams.

International Service of the C.B.C. commences Ukrainian-language broadcasts to Europe on July 1. Official inauguration attended by the Honourable L. B. Pearson, Secretary of State for External Affairs.

Metropolitan Ilarion Ohienko is elected Primate of the Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church of Canada.

1952. Seventy-fifth anniversary of the University of Manitoba celebrated in many Ukrainian communities in the province. President A. H. S. Gillson speaks at Brandon, Rossburn, Shoal Lake, and Winnipeg.

1953. Mark G. Smerchanski, geologist, appointed to the Board of Governors of the University of Manitoba, first Ukrainian in Canada to hold such a position; John R. Solomon, of Winnipeg, appointed Deputy Speaker of the Manitoba legislature.

Bibliography

NOTE: This selected list of titles is intended as a guide for those interested in the specific subject of this book and related topics. Included in it are those monographs mentioned in the text proper.

I. UKRAINIAN HISTORY
(in English and Ukrainian)

ALLEN, W. E. D. *The Ukraine: A History.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1940.

BUELL, RAYMOND LESLIE. *Poland, Key to Europe.* New York, 1939.

CHADWICK, N. K. *The Beginnings of Russian History.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1946.

CHAMBERLIN, WILLIAM H. *The Ukraine: A Submerged Nation.* New York: The Macmillan Company, 1944.

DOROSHENKO, DMYTRO. *History of the Ukraine.* Edmonton: The Institute Press, 1939.

HRUSHEVSKY, MICHAEL. *A History of Ukraine.* New Haven: Yale University Press, 1941.

HRYHORIJIW, N. Y. *The War and Ukrainian Democracy: A Compilation of Documents from the Past and Present.* Toronto: Industrial and Educational Publishing Company, 1945.

KOBERSKY, KARLO. *Ukrayina v Svitovomu Hospodarstvi* (Ukraine in World Economy). Prague, 1933.

LAWTON, LAUNCELOT. *The Ukrainian Question and Its Importance to Great Britain.* London: The Sarjeants Press, 1935.

——— *Ukraina: Europe's Greatest Problem.* London. Reprint from *East Europe and Contemporary Russia,* 1939.

LEVITSKY, K. *Istoriya Politychnoyi Dumky Halytskykh Ukrayintsiv, 1848-1914* (History of the Political Thought of Galician Ukrainians, 1848-1914). Lviv, 1926.

LEVYNSKY, VOLODYMYR. *Pochatky Ukrayinskoho Sotsiyalizmu v Halychyni* (The Beginnings of Ukrainian Socialism in Galicia). Toronto: 1918.

LOBAY, D. *Neperemozhna Ukrayina* (Invincible Ukraine). Winnipeg: Ukrainian Canadian Committee, 1950.

——— *Za Diysne Vyyasnennya Polozhennya na Radyanskiy Ukrayini* (For a True Explanation of the Situation in Soviet Ukraine). New York: the author, 1935.

MANDRYKA, M. E. *The Ukrainian Question.* Winnipeg: Canadian Ukrainian Educational Association, 1940.

MANNING, C. A. *Outline of Ukrainian History.* Winnipeg: Ukrainian Canadian Committee, 1949.

——— *The Story of the Ukraine.* New York: Philosophical Library 1947.

——— *Twentieth Century Ukraine.* New York: Bookman Associates 1951.

MARGOLIN, ARNOLD D. *From a Political Diary.* New York, 1946.

MIRCHUK, I. (ed.). *Ukraine and Its People.* Munich: Ukrainian Free University, 1949.

POHORECKY, M. *Demokratyzm Stalina ta yoho Kominternu* (The Democracy of Stalin and His Comintern). Saskatoon: Ukrainian National Federation, 1939.

RESHETAR, J. S. *The Ukrainian Revolution.* Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1952.

ROSTOVETZ, M. *Skoropadsky i Skoropadchuky* (Skoropadsky and the Skoropadkyites). Saskatoon: *New Pathway,* 1938.

ROUCEK, J. S. (ed.). *Slavonic Encyclopedia.* New York: Philosophical Library, 1949.

SCIBORSKY, MYKOLA. *Ukraine and Russia: A Survey of Soviet Russia's Twenty-Year Occupation of Eastern Ukraine.* Washington, D.C.: Ukrainian Bureau, 1940.

——— *Ukrayina v Tsyfrakh* (Ukraine in Figures). Saskatoon: Ukrainian National Federation, 1940.

SHUMEYKO, STEPHEN. *The Ukrainian National Movement.* New York: United Ukrainian Organizations of the United States, 1939.

SICHINSKY, V. *Chuzhyntsi pro Ukrayinu* (Foreigners on Ukraine). Augsburg, 1946.

SIMPSON, G. W. *The Names "Rus," "Russia," "Ukraine" and Their Historical Background.* Slavistica No. 10. Winnipeg: Ukrainian Free Academy of Sciences, 1951.

——— *Ukraine: An Atlas of Its History and Geography.* Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1941.

SKRZYPEK, STANISLAW. *The Problem of Eastern Galicia.* London, 1948.

SMAL-STOCKI, ROMAN. *The Nationality Problem of the Soviet Union and Russian Communist Imperialism.* Milwaukee: The Bruce Publishing Company, 1952.

STECHISHIN, MYROSLAW. *Radyanska Ukrayina* (Soviet Ukraine). Winnipeg: *Ukrainian Voice,* 1945.

TARNOVICH, JULIAN. *Ilyustrovana Istoriya Lemkivschyny* (An Illustrated History of the Lemko Region). Lviv, 1936.

UKRAINIAN NATIONAL ASSOCIATION. *Ukraine's Claim to Freedom.* New York, 1915.

Ukrainian Resistance: The Story of the Ukrainian National Liberation Movement in Modern Times. New York: Ukrainian Congress Committee of America, 1949.

VERNADSKY, GEORGE. *Bohdan Hetman of Ukraine.* New Haven: Ukrainian National Association, 1941.

WEIR, JOHN. *Slavs.* Toronto: Canadian Slav Committee, 1949.

WINCH, MICHAEL. *Republic for a Day.* London, 1939.

The Annals of the Ukrainian Academy of Arts and Sciences in the U.S. New York, since 1951.
Ukrainian Quarterly. New York: Ukrainian Congress Committee of America, since 1944.

II. UKRAINIAN CULTURE
(in English and Ukrainian)

BRIAN-CHANINOV, N. *The Russian Church.* New York, 1930.
CUNDY, PERCIVAL. *Ivan Franko, the Poet of Western Ukraine.* New Jersey: Ukrainian National Association, 1949.
——— *Spirit of Flame: A Collection of the Works of Lesya Ukrainka.* New York: Bookman Associates, 1950.
DERRICK, MICHAEL. *Eastern Catholics under Soviet Rule.* London: Catholic Truth Society, 1946.
Diyanya Soboru Kreko-Katolytskoyi Tserkvy v Lvovi, 8–10 Bereznya, 1946 (Acts and Proceedings of the Synod of the Greek Catholic Church in Lviv, March 8–10, 1946).
DMYTRIW, OLYA and MITZ, ANNE (ed.). *Ukrainian Arts.* New York: Ukrainian Youth's League of North America, 1952.
EWACH, HONORE. *Ukrainian Songs and Lyrics.* Winnipeg: Ukrainian Publishing Company, 1933.
HORODYNSKYJ, W. M. *Ukrainian Folk-Arts.* Munich: Association of Former Ukrainian Political Prisoners, 1949.
HUNTER, A. J. *The Kobzar of the Ukraine: Select Poems of Taras Shevchenko.* Winnipeg: the author, 1922.
Katolytska Tserkva v Zakhidniy Ukrayini (The Catholic Church in Western Ukraine). Mundare, Alta.: Basilian Fathers' Press, 1947.
KOSHETZ, A. *Pro Ukrayinsku Pisnyu i Muzyku* (On Ukrainian Songs and Music). Winnipeg: Ukrainian Cultural and Educational Centre, 1942.
KUDRYK, W. *Chuzha Ruka* (The Foreign Hand). Winnipeg: Eclesia Publishing Company, 1935.
LIVESAY, FLORENCE R. *Songs of Ukraina.* New York: J. M. Dent & Sons, 1916.
MANNING, C. A. *Taras Shevchenko, the Poet of Ukraine: Selected Poems.* Jersey City: Ukrainian National Association, 1945.
——— *Ukrainian Literature.* Jersey City: Ukrainian National Association, 1944.
MIRCHUK, I. (ed.). *Ukraine and Its People.* Munich: Ukrainian Free University, 1949.
OHIENKO, IVAN. *Ukrayinska Kultura* (Ukrainian Culture). Leipzig, 1923.
RUDNYTSKY, A. *The Role of Music in Ukrainian Culture.* New York. Reprint from *Quarterly Bulletin of the Polish Institute of Arts and Sciences in America,* 1943.
SIMPSON, G. W. *Alexander Koshetz in Ukrainian Music.* Winnipeg: Ukrainian Cultural and Educational Centre, 1946.

SNOWYD, D. *Spirit of Ukraine: Ukrainian Contributions to World's Culture.* New York: United Ukrainian Organizations of the United States, 1935.

The Annals of the Ukrainian Academy of Arts and Sciences in the U.S. New York, since 1951.

Ukrainian Quarterly. New York: Ukrainian Congress Committee of America, since 1944.

III. UKRAINIANS IN THE NEW WORLD
(in English)

A. *Official Sources*

CANADA, SENATE. *Proceedings on Immigration and Labour: Wednesday, 29th May, 1946.* Ottawa.

Canada Year Book. Ottawa: King's Printer, annually.

Dominion Bureau of Statistics. Census releases. Ottawa.

City of Winnipeg Municipal Manual, compiled by the City Clerk. Winnipeg: City of Winnipeg, since 1904.

MANITOBA, DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION. *Special Report on Bilingual Schools in Manitoba.* Winnipeg, 1916.

PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH OF CANADA, GENERAL ASSEMBLY. *Acts and Proceedings,* 1906, 1907. Toronto.

B. *Secondary Sources*

ANDERSON, J. T. M. *Education of the New-Canadian.* Toronto: J. M. Dent & Sons, 1918.

BALCH, EMILY GREENE. *Our Slavic Fellow Citizens.* New York, 1910.

BRYCE, PETER. *Continental Europeans in Western Canada.* Winnipeg, 1928.

COOK, L. *The Little Magic Fiddler.* Toronto: The Macmillan Company of Canada Limited, 1951.

DAFOE, JOHN W. *Clifford Sifton in Relation to His Times.* Toronto: The Macmillan Company of Canada Limited, 1931.

DALY, G. T. *Catholic Problems in Western Canada.* Toronto: The Macmillan Company of Canada Limited, 1921.

DAVIES, RAYMOND ARTHUR. *This is Our Land.* Toronto: Progress Books, 1943.

DAVIS, PHILIP. *Immigration and Americanization.* Boston, 1920.

ELLIOT, R. S., *et al. The Marketing of Fresh Fruits and Vegetables in Greater Winnipeg.* Winnipeg, 1946.

ENGLAND, ROBERT. *The Central European Immigrant in Canada.* Toronto: The Macmillan Company of Canada Limited, 1929.

——— *The Colonization of Western Canada.* London: P. S. King & Sons, 1936.

FAIRCHILD, H. F. *The Melting-Pot Mistake.* Boston, 1926.

GIBBON, JOHN MURRAY. *Canadian Mosaic.* Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, 1938.

HALICH, WASYL. *Ukrainians in the United States.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1937.

HEDGES, JAMES B. *Building the Canadian West.* New York: The Macmillan Company, 1939.

HLADUN, JOHN. *They Taught Me Treason.* Toronto, 1947. (Reprint from *Maclean's.*)

HUNCHAK, N. J. *Canadians of Ukrainian Origin: Population.* Winnipeg: Ukrainian Canadian Committee, 1945.

HUNTER, A. J. *A Friendly Adventure: The Story of the United Church Mission among New Canadians at Teulon, Manitoba.* Toronto: Board of Home Missions of the United Church of Canada, 1929.

KAYE-KYSILEVSKYJ, V. T. *Slavic Groups in Canada.* Slavistica No. 12. Winnipeg: Ukrainian Free Academy of Sciences, 1951.

KIRKCONNELL, WATSON. *Canada, Europe, and Hitler.* Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1939.

——— *Canadian Overtones.* Winnipeg: Columbia Press, 1935.

——— *Our Ukrainian Loyalists.* Winnipeg: Ukrainian Canadian Committee, 1943.

——— *Seven Pillars of Freedom.* Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1944.

——— *Twilight of Liberty.* Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1941.

——— *The Ukrainian Canadians and the War.* Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1940.

LYSENKO, VERA. *Men in Sheepskin Coats.* Toronto: The Ryerson Press, 1947.

MACKINTOSH, W. A. *Prairie Settlement: The Geographical Setting.* Toronto, 1934.

MCWILLIAMS, MARGARET. *Manitoba Milestones.* Toronto: J. M. Dent & Sons, 1928.

MASTERS, D. C. *The Winnipeg General Strike.* Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1950.

MURCHIE, R. W. and GRANT, H. C. *Unused Lands of Manitoba.* Winnipeg: Department of Agriculture and Immigration, 1926.

PALUK, WILLIAM. *Canadian Cossacks.* Winnipeg: Canadian Ukrainian Review Publishing Company, 1943.

A Program and a Record. Saskatoon-Winnipeg: Ukrainian National Federation, 1943.

RUDNYCKYJ, J. B. *Slavistica Canadiana A.D. MCML.* Slavistica No. 9. Winnipeg: Ukrainian Free Academy of Sciences, 1950.

——— *Slavica Canadiana, A.D. 1951.* Slavistica No. 15. Winnipeg: Ukrainian Free Academy of Sciences, 1952.

SCOTT, W. L. *Eastern Catholics.* Toronto: Catholic Truth Society, 1927.

Seven Presidents in Uniform. Winnipeg: Ukrainian National Youth Federation, 1945.

SISSONS, C. B. *Bilingual Schools in Ontario.* Toronto: J. M. Dent & Sons, 1917.

SKELTON, O. D. *The Language Issue in Canada.* Kingston, 1917.

SMITH, W. G. *A Study of Canadian Immigration.* Toronto: The Ryerson Press, 1920.

TAFT, RONALD R. *Human Migration.* New York: The Ronald Press, 1936.

THORNTON, R. S. *Address on Bilingual Schools in the Legislature on January 12, 1916.* Winnipeg: King's Printer, 1916.

WEIR, GEORGE M. *The Separate School Question in Canada.* Toronto, 1934.

WOODSWORTH, J. S. *Strangers within Our Gates.* Toronto: The Missionary Society of the Methodist Church, Canada, 1908.

YOUNG, CHARLES H. *The Ukrainian Canadians.* Toronto: Thomas Nelson & Sons, 1931.

YUZYK, PAUL. "The History of the Ukrainian Greek Catholic (Uniate) Church in Canada." Master's thesis, University of Saskatchewan, 1948.

First Ukrainian Canadian Congress. Winnipeg: Ukrainian Canadian Committee, 1943.

Second Ukrainian Canadian Congress. Winnipeg: Ukrainian Canadian Committee, 1946.

C. *Articles*

HEAP, F. "Ukrainians in Canada," in *Canadian Magazine*, May–October 1919.

KIRKCONNELL, WATSON. "Ukrainian Canadian Literature," in *Opinion*, September–October 1947.

——— "Ukrainian Canadiana," in *Canadian Forum*, January 1934.

ROSLIN, CHARLES. "Canada's Bolshevist Drama,' in *Saturday Night*, February 1929.

"Ukrainians in Canada," in J. S. ROUCEK (ed.), *Slavonic Encyclopedia.* New York: Philosophical Library, 1949.

Winnipeg Tribune, Ukrainian Jubilee issue. September 1951.

YUZYK, PAUL. "The First Ukrainians in Manitoba," in *Papers Read before the Historical and Scientific Society of Manitoba.* Series III, No. 8. Winnipeg: Historical and Scientific Society of Manitoba, 1953.

D. *Periodicals and Newspapers*

MACROUCH, F. A. *Ukrainians in Canada Business Year Book.* Winnipeg: Ukrainian Business Directory, since 1945.

Canadian Ukrainian Review. Winnipeg, 1936-43.

Opinion. Winnipeg, 1946-9.

Ukrainian Digest (formerly *Youth Speaks*). Winnipeg, since 1947.

Winnipeg Free Press.

Winnipeg Tribune.

IV. UKRAINIANS IN THE NEW WORLD
(in Ukrainian)

A. *Primary Sources*

BALA, JOSEPH. *Pershy Ukrayinsky Epyskop Kanady, Kyr Nykyta Budka* (The First Ukrainian Bishop in Canada, Nicetas Budka). Winnipeg: Ukrainian Catholic Council of Canada, 1952.

BATYCKY, W. *Scho Ye Soyuz Ukrayintsiv Samostiynykiv* (What the Ukrainian Self-Reliance League is). Winnipeg: Ukrainian Self-Reliance League, 1945.

CHUMER, W. A. *Spomyny pro Perezhyvannya Pershykh Ukrayinskykh Pereselentsiv v Kanadi, 1891-1941* (Memoirs of the Experiences of the First Ukrainian Settlers in Canada, 1891-1941). Winnipeg: the author, 1942.

DMYTRIW, NESTOR. *Kanadiyska Rus* (Canadian Ruthenia). Jersey City, N.J.: *Svoboda*, 1897.

KOHUSKA, NATALKA L. *Chvert Stolittya na Hromadski Nyvi: Istoriya Soyuzu Ukrayinok Kanady, 1926-1951* (A Quarter of a Century in Community Work: History of the Ukrainian Women's Association of Canada, 1926-1951). Winnipeg: Ukrainian Women's Association, 1952.

KRYSKY, A. and KARABUT, M. *Pidsumky Nashoyi Pratsi* (Review of Our Work). Winnipeg: Central Educational-Economic Committee, 1938.

Narady Ukrayinskykh Robitnycho-Farmerskykh Masovykh Orhanizatsiy 11–14 bereznya, 1935, roku (Conference of the Ukrainian Labour Farmer Mass Organizations, March 11–14, 1935). Winnipeg: Ukrainian Labour Farmer Temple Association, 1935.

OLESKIW, OSYP. *O Emigratsiyi* (On Emigration). Lviv: The M. Kachkovsky Society, 1895.

——— *Pro Vilni Zemli* (About Free Lands). Lviv: Prosvita Society, 1895.

Propamyatna Knyha (Jubilee Book). Jersey City: Ukrainian National Association, 1936.

Propamyatna Knyha Poselennya Ukrayinskoho Narodu v Kanadi, 1891-1941 (Commemorative Book of the Settlement of the Ukrainian People in Canada, 1891-1941). Winnipeg: Episcopal Ordinariate (Ukrainian Catholic Church), 1941.

Propamyatna Knyha Ukrayinskoho Narodnoho Domu v Winnipegu (Memorial Book of the Ukrainian National Home in Winnipeg). Winnipeg: Ukrainian National Home in Winnipeg, 1950.

Pyatylitya Ukrayinskoho Katolytskoho Yunatstva (Fifth Anniversary of Ukrainian Catholic Youth). Yorkton, Sask.: Ukrainian Catholic Youth, 1943.

RUDNYCKYJ, J. B. *Kanadiyski Mistsevi Nazvy Ukrayinskoho Pokhodzhennya* (Canadian Place Names of Ukrainian Origin). Onomastica No. 2. Winnipeg: Ukrainian Free Academy of Sciences, 1951.

SAWCHUK, S. W. *Pyatnatsyat Lit Pratsi Ukrayinskoyi Hreko-Pravoslavnoyi Tserkvy v Kanadi* (Fifteen Years of the Work of the Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church in Canada). Winnipeg: the Consistory, 1933.

Ukrayinski Profesionalisty v Amerytsi i v Kanadi, 1935 (Ukrainian Professionals in America and in Canada, 1935). Winnipeg: Ukrainian Professional Association, 1935.

YASINCHUK, LEV. *Za Okeanom* (Beyond the Ocean). Lviv: Ridna Shkola, 1930.

Yuvileyna Knyha Ukrayinskoho Instytutu im. P. Mohyly v Saskatooni, 1916-1941 (Jubilee Book of the P. Mohyla Ukrainian Institute in

Saskatoon, 1916-1941). Saskatoon: P. Mohyla Ukrainian Institute, 1945.

Zvit w Resolyutsiyi Dvanatsyatoho Zyizdu TURF Domu v Kanadi 15–20 lypnya, 1931 roku (Report and Resolutions of the Twelfth Convention of the ULFTA in Canada, July 15–20, 1931). Winnipeg: Ukrainian Labour Farmer Temple Association, 1931.

Pershy Vse-kanadiysky Kongres Ukrayintsiv Kanady (First All-Canadian Congress of Ukrainians in Canada). Winnipeg: Ukrainian Canadian Committee, 1943.

Druhy Vse-kanadiysky Kongres Ukrayintsiv Kanady (Second All-Canadian Congress of Ukrainians in Canada). Winnipeg: Ukrainian Canadian Committee, 1946.

Tretiy Vse-kanadiysky Kongres Ukrayintsiv Kanady (Third All-Canadian Congress of Ukrainians in Canada). Winnipeg: Ukrainian Canadian Committee, 1950.

B. *Secondary Works*

Antologiya Ukrayinskoho Pysmenstva v Kanadi (Anthology of Ukrainian Literature in Canada). Winnipeg: Canadian Ukrainian Educational Association, 1941.

Bilecky, Leonid. *Ukrayinski Pionery v Kanadi, 1891-1951* (Ukrainian Pioneers in Canada, 1891-1951). Winnipeg: Ukrainian Canadian Committee, 1951.

Bozyk, P. *Tserkov Ukrayintsiv v Kanadi* (The Church of the Ukrainians in Canada). Winnipeg: *Canadian Ukrainian*, 1927.

Bychinsky, S. *Istoriya Kanady* (History of Canada). Winnipeg: Ukrainian Booksellers and Publishers, 1928. Chapter 32.

Ewach, Honore. *Holos Zemli* (The Voice of the Land). Winnipeg: Ukrainian Publishing Company, 1937.

Kohuska, Natalka L. and Woycenko, Olga. *Na Storozhi Kultury* (Guarding the Culture). Winnipeg: Ukrainian Women's Association, 1947.

Krypyakevych, Ivan and Doroshenko, Dmytro. *Velyka Istoriya Ukrayiny* (A Large History of Ukraine). Winnipeg: Iwan Tyktor, 1948. Pp. 912–21.

Savaryn, Neil. *Rolya Otsiv Vasyliyan u Kanadi* (The Role of the Basilian Fathers in Canada). Mundare, Alta.: Basilian Fathers' Press, 1938.

Stechishin, Savella. *Mystetski Skarby Ukrayinskykh Vyshyvok* (Artistic Treasures of Ukrainian Embroidery). Winnipeg: Ukrainian Women's Association, 1950.

Swystun, Wasyl. *Kryza v Ukrayinskiy Pravoslavniy (Avtokefalniy) Tserkvi* (The Crisis in the Ukrainian Orthodox (Autocephalous) Church). Winnipeg: the author, 1947.

C. *Periodicals Published in Winnipeg*

Kanadiysky Farmer (Canadian Farmer), since 1903.

Kanadiysky Rusyn (Canadian Ruthenian), 1912-19; *Kanadiysky Ukrayinets* (Canadian Ukrainian), 1919-31.

Ranok (Dawn), 1905-20; *Kanadiysky Ranok* (Canadian Dawn), since 1920.
Novy Shlyakh (New Pathway), since 1930.
Ukrayinsky Holos (Ukrainian Voice), since 1910.
Robochy Narod (The Working People), 1909-18; *Ukrayinski Robitnychi Visty* (Ukrainian Labour News), 1919-37; *Narodna Gazeta* (The People's Gazette), 1937-40; *Ukrayinske Slovo* (Ukrainian Word), since 1943.
Pravoslavny Vistnyk (The Orthodox Herald), 1924-36; *Vistnyk* (The Herald), since 1936.

Holos Molodi (Youth Speaks), since 1947.
Zhinochy Svit (Woman's World), since 1950.

Kalendar Kanadiyskoho Farmera (Calendar-Almanac of the Canadian Farmer).
Kalendar Kanadiyskoho Rusyna (Calendar-Almanac of the Canadian Ruthenian).
Kalendar Kanadiyskoho Ukrayintsya (Calendar-Almanac of the Canadian Ukrainian).
Kalendar Novoho Shlyakhu (Calendar-Almanac of the New Pathway).
Kalendar Ukrayinskoho Holosu (Calendar-Almanac of the Ukrainian Voice).
Nove Pole (New Field), 1927; *Klenovy Lyst* (Maple Leaf), 1929; *Providnyk* (The Leader), 1930-4. St. Raphael's Ukrainian Immigrant's Welfare Association of Canada.

NOTE: Most of the above-listed books and files of newspapers, calendar-almanacs, and magazines are found in the library and archives of the Ukrainian Cultural and Educational Centre, 935 Main Street, Winnipeg.

ndex