

WINNIPEG PAPERS (No. 4)

SEARCHING FOR

“KANADILS’KA RUS”

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AIM OF "WINNIPEG PAPERS"

This is the fourth annual compilation of "Winnipeg Papers", a project funded by the University of Manitoba's Centre for Ukrainian Canadian Studies in Winnipeg and designed to permit the rapid dissemination of research pertaining to the Centre's focus on Ukrainian culture in Canada.

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The first issue ("Winnipeg Papers on Ukrainian Music"[2008]) featured contributions by Bohdana Bashuk, Alexis Kochan (via Liz Hover), James Kominowski, Melita Mudri-Zubacz, Danny Schur, Myron Shatulsky, and Greg Udod.

The second issue ("Winnipeg Papers on Ukrainian Book Culture"[2009]) included contributions by Denis Hlynka, Robert Klymasz, Jean Kowbel, Ihor Kutash, Nell Nakoneczny, Jaroslav Rozumnyj, Myroslav Shkandrij, Christina Turkevych, and Orest Rudzik.

The third issue ("Winnipeg Papers on Ukrainian Arts Culture in Canada") included contributions by Roman Bozyk, Daria Darewych, Orysia Ehrmantraut, George Fedak, Murray Gibson, Mary Jo Hughes, Janice Kulyk Keefler, Serhij Koroliuk, Mary Mach, Marcia Ostaszewski, Thomas Prymak, Gloria Romaniuk, and Orysia Paszczak Tracz.

The fourth issue follows. Thus far, all four issues have been prepared and introduced by Robert B.Klymasz

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INTRODUCTION

For a season unknown to us Papa called them
his "Little Ruthenians."
— Gabrielle Roy, *The Well of Dunree* (1955).

"...the average Ukrainian peasant
knew little of his origin and
cared perhaps less."
Charles H. Young, *The Ukrainian Canadians*,
Toronto, 1931, p. 174

"They are industrious and thrifty and have large families.
...there will, in another century and a half, be
a Ruthenian population of 13,600,000 in Canada."
W.L. Scott, *Eastern Catholics*,
with Special Reference to the Ruthenians in Canada, Toronto c.1922, p.26

"...the overwhelming majority...
still called themselves *ru syn y*"
Orest T. Martynowych, *Ukrainians in Canada: The Formative Period, 1891-1924*,
Edmonton, 1991, p.xxvii

Historian Orest Martynowych estimates that by 1914 over 170,000 Ukrainians immigrants had flooded into Canada. Yet anyone tracking the origins of these "first-wavers" unavoidably stumbles upon a pronounced dearth of flag-waving Ukrainians. A growing number of genealogy buffs has discovered that, paradoxically, Canada's first Ukrainians entered this country as non-Ukrainians. Instead of Ukrainians they quickly encounter a confusing mix of conflicted identities – Ukrainian-speaking Galicians, Ruthenians, Austro-Hungarians, Romanians, Bukovinians, Poles, Russians, "Little Russians", Slavs and even self-identified Greeks – (In her recently published *Prodigal Daughter*, Myrna Kostash opens with a throwback to the 1950s when she told her school teacher that "I'm Greek") – a mélange that enriched a cultural landscape already peopled by other stateless communities: Russian-speaking Doukhobors, Yiddish-speaking Jews, German-speaking Mennonites, and others. (This seemingly chaotic mix of peoples adds a new dimension of credence to John Ralston Saul's striking opener, "We are a metis civilization." [see his *A Fair Country: Telling Truths about Canada*, Toronto, 2008, p.3]). Today, Canada's Ruthenians /*rusyny* have all but disappeared; but in contrast to their comparatively smooth transformation into Ukrainian Canadians, many *rusyny* in the United States however, have resisted

Ukrainianization and continue to operate as viable communities. (In this regard, consult see the works of Rusyn champion, Paul Robert Magocsi; for example, see his *Our People: Carpatho-Rusyns and Their Descendants in North America*, Toronto, 1984).

In the everyday language of the people, a Ukrainian simply
means that the person comes from a particular area –
if it's a Pole, or a Jew – it's all the same.

Anyone living in Ukraine is a Ukrainian, it doesn't matter....

Translated from the original of Nikolai (Mykola) Kostomarov, 1894,
as cited by B.J. Boeck, p.33 (see biblio.)

In the minds of Canadian Ukrainianists, this seemingly anarchic situation was simply a case of arrested development, so to speak, – a temporary, awkward quirk

(Note: Historian Thomas Prymak has noted the dearth of Canadian scholarly literature devoted to the problem of nomenclature and the tendency for historians to "anachronistically project the term 'Ukrainian' backwards to the pre-1914 period." See Prymak on "Ukrainian Canada in the Encyclopedias, 1897-2010: a Historical Overview" in *Winnipeg Papers on Ukrainian Arts Culture in Canada*, Centre for Ukrainian Canadian Studies, University of Manitoba, 2010, p. 113, n.3. The lingering question of name and its link to Ukrainian Canadian identity issues is reflected in another piece by Prymak: "What Our Name Is and Where We Come From", *Ukrains'ki visti / Ukrainian News* (Edmonton), LXXI, 17, September 9=22, 1998, p.6.)

that simply delayed the relentless march towards the inevitable creation of a homogeneous national, "Ukrainian" identity in keeping with Old Country state-building aspirations – an aggressive *Oberschicht*-driven political agenda of Ukrainianization that, not without considerable success, focused on conformity, uniformity, and regimentation and worked to suppress obstacles that hindered such a transformation.

(In the course of preparing this report, only one voice of dissent / resistance was encountered – a Winnipeg imprint, apparently leftist in orientation, questioned the grand agenda: Evhen Hutsailo's *Fiktsiia natsii / natsial'noi nezavysymosti* [=The Fiction of Nation and of National Independence], Winnipeg, 1921.)

Of course, such an aggressive agenda and its attendant narrative could hardly appreciate Canada's motley hoards of *rusyn* immigrants (often backward, embarrassingly uncivilized, overly earthy, bedraggled and illiterate peasants) even though they represented a remarkable but imperiled heritage of grassroots culture. Although assorted recovery operations and heritage preservation efforts surfaced after World War Two, it

was a classic case of “too little, too late” -- a rich array of dialectal nuances and folkways had already disappeared due to the pressures of change and ethno-cultural conformity. The bulldozing of age-old worldviews and other ways of seeing could not be stopped.

Consequently, when Bishop Budka came to visit his people in Edmonton, on the 26th of February, 1913, and on the following days, we were only too happy to welcome the one appointed by God to govern the Ruthenian population of Canada.
E.J. Legal, compiler, *Short Sketches of the History of the Catholic Churches and Missions in Central Alberta*, Edmonton, circa, 1914, p.127.

Fortunately, outsiders who attempted to proselytize among these “first-wavers” yielded a number of accounts that provide our earliest descriptions of the exotica they encountered (see, for example, the entry for Curelly in the bibliography). A much more significant development was undoubtedly the establishment of the Ukrainian Cultural Heritage Village (just west of Edmonton) with its focus on the preservation/reconstruction of the early homesteading experience. (For a study of the genesis of the “village” see Karen Gabert’s article listed in the bibliography that follows.). Similarly, “The Canada History Hall” at the Canadian Museum of Civilization in Gatineau, Quebec, features two authentic structures from this early period: the St. Onuphrius Ukrainian Catholic Church from Alberta and the “Ruska Knyharnia” Book Store from Winnipeg.

In essence, our report constitutes a kind of salvage operation, -- an act of retrieval that reclaims this ‘dark age’ in Canada’s Ukrainian past experience with the help of literature, material culture and firsthand reportage. This period can be seen as an ephemeral period rife with onomastic indecision that eventually fades away.

(In certain cases, the transition to “Ukrainian” was quick, dramatic and decisive, as shown by Winnipeg’s newspaper, *Kanadyis’kyi rusyn / Canadian Ruthenian* which suddenly changed its name to *Kanadyis’kyi ukrainetsi / Canadian Ukrainian* on April 9, 1919)

By 1930 the transformation is acknowledged as a *fait accompli* by official census figures. (Community leader Juliian Stechyshyn used official statistics to measure the success of Ukrainianization efforts in Canada in his pamphlet, *Nashi dosiahnennia v*

Kanadi i nashe maibutnie (Our Achievements in Canada and Future Prospects), Winnipeg, 1967, p.11.)

To connect the dots, so to speak, we have assembled a selected bibliography that seeks to provide some context and show the topical dimensions of our findings. As such, the resultant listing does not constitute an exhaustive resource. The report is anchored by two documents providing outsider/ insider eyewitness narratives relating to this early period: firstly, our index to a travel-report ("*Kanadiiska Rus*") written by Rev.Nestor Dmytriv (1863-1925) and published in 1897; and second, a personal experience narrative composed by Nicholas A. Hryhorczuk (1888-1979) – an unpublished typescript, "From Hut to Legislature". (The latter document offers a sample of a remarkably rich memoir-literature that already exists on the subject of Canada's early Ukrainian pioneer experience.) The net result is a dated landscape of considerable ethno-cultural interest.

When employed, the term *Kanads'ka / Kanadiis'ka Rus*' (literally "Canadian Rus'") behaves in much the same manner as the more common "English Canada" or "French Canada". As such, the term was mainly used in reference to the swath of Ukrainian-speaking settlements that stretched across the Prairies from Manitoba westward into Alberta. As pointed out by Mykhailo Marunchak (p.vii), the notion of a "Canadian" Rus' was a natural extension of a naming trend already in vogue for kindred communities/ colonies on both sides of the Atlantic (American, Brazilian, Galician, Hungarian, and Bukovynian are some of these other descriptors used with *Rus*'). A crucial factor for Canada's early Ukrainian settlers (the "first-wavers") was that, although they were ethnically united and spoke a common language, they were divided by country of origin (Austro-Hungary, Poland and Romania were common designations as were regional categories like Galicia and Bukovyna). "Ukraine" (as a "country of origin" or "national origin") was not an option since a Ukrainian nation-state was not yet in existence. It's not surprising, then, some of the earliest Ukrainian schools and settlements on the prairies took on names like *Rus*' and *Ruthenia* (Note: Iaroslav B. Rudnyts'kyi, *Kanadiis'ka mistsevi nazvy ukrains'koho pokhodzhennia (Canadian Place Names of Ukrainian Origin)*, Winnipeg, 1957, pp.64-65.).

The word "*Rus*" itself has its own complexities (see for instance the ambitious study by Omeljan Pritsak, *The Origin of Rus': Volume One – Old Scandinavian Sources Other than the Sagas*, Cambridge, Mass., 1981.) In historical and imaginative literature,

for example, *Rus'* often appears in combination with a descriptor, "Kievan", and the result conjures up a medieval golden age ("Kievan/ Holy Rus'"), a storied past linked to the glories of Byzantium and shared by the Eastern Slavs (today's Russians, Ukrainians and Byelorussians) when the City of Kyiv served as a base of operations for the flowering of power, culture, and the formal adoption of Christianity in 988 A.D. Subsequent derivatives and translations of *Rus'* (like Russian, Ruthenian, and Rusyn) evolved into a philological nightmare with pronounced political overtones concerning rights and ownership (see, for example, M.Hrushevsky, in the bibliography). Currently, the situation seems to be resolved in favour of three separate ethno-cultural branches associated with the *Rus'* legacy: Russian, Ukrainian, and Byelorussian. Thankfully, each branch dominates a clearly defined territory, has its own language and nation-state apparatus. Unavoidably, of course, the City of Kyiv, the mother city of all three branches, rests in the hands of the Ukrainians.

In conclusion, then, *Kanadiis 'ka Rus'*, in spite of its ephemeral nature, constitutes a fascinating albeit complex facet of Canada's early Ukrainian experience.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

This project is indebted to stimulants provided by Jars Balan (who let me view his "not-yet-ready-for-publication" translation of N.Dmytriw's *Kanadiis 'ka Rus'*), and by Orest Martynowych (he led me to several bibliographical references and provided a copy of his unpublished notes [4 typescript pages] on identity issues in Ukrainian Winnipeg 1907-1923). As usual, we gratefully acknowledge the support of all University of Manitoba's Centre for Ukrainian Canadian Studies, its current director (Dr. Roman Yere niuk), and office manager (Victoria Kaschor). An indispensable Zuravetsky Fellowship for 2010-11 helped fund our explorations.

Robert B.Klymasz

A SELECTED, ANNOTATED BIBLIOGRAPHY

NOTE: Hardly exhaustive, the following listing is meant to outline those areas already broached, insofar as *Kanads'ka Rus'* is concerned. The primary focus is on works published before 1930 and studies that cover the period under scrutiny. Three asterisks (***) are used to mark works of special importance. The listing itself consists of the following groupings:

- Part one : Generalities and the name question
- Part two : Winnipeg imprints (1917-1993) regarding *Kievan Rus'*
- Part three: Imaginative literature
- Part four: Material culture
- Part five : Descriptive reportage, specific studies, and other works of interest

PART ONE – GENERALITIES AND THE NAME QUESTION

Bobers'kyi, Ivan (1873-1947). *The Iwan Boberskyj Archival Collection. / Ukrainian Cultural and Educational Centre, Winnipeg: Finding Aid*. Prepared by Jaroslaw Iwanus and Wolodymyr Senchuk. Edmonton, 1988. xiv+9p. Bilingual (English/Ukrainian)..

Bodrug, John (1874-1952). *Independent Orthodox Church: Memoirs Pertaining to the History of a Ukrainian Canadian Church in the Years 1903-1913*. Translation by Edward Bodrug and Lydia Biddle. Introduction by Paul Yuzyk. J.Gregorovich ed. Toronto: Ukrainian Canadian Research Foundation, 1982. xxxii+159p. Fotos, illus. maps, index, bibliography

***Boeck, Brian. J. "What's in a Name? Semantic Separation and the Rise of the Ukrainian National Name", *Harvard Ukrainian Studies* 27:1/4 (2004-2005), 33-65.

Bozhyk, Panteleimon. *Tserkov ukrainsiv v Kanadi – prychnyky do istorii ukrains'koho tserkovnoho zhyttia v Brytlii 'ki Dominii Kanady za chas vid 1890-1927* [=The church of the Ukrainians in Canada – towards a history of Ukrainian church life in the British Dominion of Canada from 1890 to 1927]. Added title in English: *Church of the Ukrainians in Canada*. Winnipeg, 1927. 335p, b/w/ foto-illustrations.

Hrushevsky, Mychaylo. "The Traditional Scheme of 'Russian' History and the Problem of a Rational Organization of the History of the Eastern Slavs," *Annals of the Ukrainian Academy of Arts and Sciences in the U.S., Inc.* Winter, 1952, 355-364.

Originally written in Ukrainian and published in 1903 in L'viv, the pre-eminent historian outlines his pragmatic solution to "the problem of the history of the Great Russian nationality": "All that is needed is to rearrange its beginnings...and to cleanse its pages of the various episodes lifted out of the histories of Ukraine and Byelorussia" (p.363).

Hrynda, Larysa. "Profesor M.Mushynka prochytyav lektsiiu pro politychne rusynstvo" [=Professor M.Mushynka Delivered a Lecture about Political Rusofilism], *Novyi shliakh / New Pathway* (Toronto), July 23, 2009, p.12.

As shown in this report, the Rus' quest is still simmers as a controversial issue both here and abroad. The same lecture was covered in a report written by Iusyf Sirka in the American newspaper, *Svoboda*, August 7, 2009, p.8

Jaenen, Cornelius. "Ruthenian Schools in Western Canada 1897-1919," *Pedagogica Historica* 10 (1970):3, 517-41.

***Kaye, Vladimir J., ed. and comp. *Dictionary of Ukrainian Canadian Biography: Pioneer Settlers of Manitoba 1891-1900*. Toronto, 1975, xxv+249 pp.

_____. "The Ruthenians," *Canadian Slavonic Papers*, 1 (1968), 96-99.

Short but well documented article on Ukrainians known and recorded as Ruthenians in Western Ukraine under Austro-Hungarian rule. See also Kaye's earlier note on "The Problem of the Ethic Name" in his *** *Early Ukrainian Settlements in Canada 1895-1900* (Toronto, 1964), pp. xxiii-xvi., and subsequently his note on "Terminology Relating to the Name 'Ukraine' and 'Ukrainian'" in his *Ukrainian Canadians in Canada's Wars*, Toronto, 1983, pp.3-6.

Klymasz, Robert B. *Svieta: Celebrating Ukrainian-Canadian Ritual in East Central Alberta through the Generations*. R.B.Bilash., editor. Edmonton, 1992, 255 pp.

An attempt to salvage pre-1930 data illustrating the folkways of the Ukrainian bloc settlement in east central Alberta.

*** Knysh, George. *Michael Sherbinin in Winnipeg: A Preliminary Study*. Winnipeg, 1994, 88 pp., includes notes, 13 selections from Sherbinin's writings, b/w fotos, index.

In this capital biographical study, Knysh outlines the multi-faceted productivity of a fascinating figure and his career in Winnipeg's Rus' (1904-1911).

Land of Pain, Land of Promise: First Person Accounts by Ukrainian Pioneers 1891-1914. Research and translation by Harry Piniuta. Saskatoon, 1978, 225 pp., with bibliography, notes and b/w foto-illustrations.

This collection of 16 "accounts" in English translation provides a good introduction to this period and includes one excerpt from N.Dmytriw's *Kanadits 'ka Rus'* (pp.37-49) as well as Dmytriw's piece on "Assimilation" (pp.49-51), an account of a mixed wedding that took place on Oct. 18, 1897 at Dauphin, Manitoba (the piece was published in the American newspaper, *Svoboda*, on March 24, 1982).

Lehr, John Campbell. "The process and pattern of Ukrainian rural settlement Western Canada, 1891-1914." Ph.D.dissertation, University of Manitoba, 1978.

Levchenko, Kost'. "Ternystyi shliakh vid rusynstva do ukrainstva" [=The Thorny Path from Rusynism to Ukrainism], *Almanac of the Ukrainian National Association* 2009, pp. 35-39.

*** Martynowych, Orest T. *Ukrainians in Canada: The Formative Period, 1891-1924*. Edmonton, 1991. xxix+562pp. With maps, tables, foto-illustrations, bibliography, and index.

This comprehensive and meticulously researched study is the indispensable work on this period in Ukrainian Canadian history. See especially pp.xxvii-xxviii ("Rusyny/Ruthenians, defined").

Nakonechnyi, Ievhen. *Ukradene im'ia: chomu rusyny stal y ukrainsiamy* [=The Stolen Name: Why the *rusyny* Became Ukrainians]. L'viv, 1998. 161 pp.

As shown here, the name question continues to surface in Ukraine where centuries of data and attendant discussions are tracked and re-examined. Luckily, thanks to the comparative brevity of the Ukrainian experience in Canada, the same question can be tracked with enviable precision.

Poniatenko, P[rokip], b.1880. *Kul'tura, natsional'nist' ta asimiliatsiia* [=Culture, Nationality and Assimilation]. Winnipeg, 1917. 50 pp.

Published in Winnipeg, this booklet exemplifies the nature of the nation-building discourse, imported from abroad, that raged within the upper echelons of Canada's fledgling Ukrainian community in the early 1900s. The booklet's heady sub-sections include: Culture and Civilization -- The Three Aspects of Culture -- The Cradle of Culture -- Any People Can Create a Culture -- Societal Culture. All Peoples Borrow Culture from Others -- Borrowings in the Sphere of Spiritual Culture -- Most Culture Can be Transplanted -- Changes the Psychology of People's Thinking -- The Impact of the Psychology of Thinking on the Changeability of Creativity -- Classical Examples -- What Peoples Perish -- Assimilation -- The Awakening of Comatose Peoples -- The Link Between Thought and Language.

***Shevel'ov, Iu. [Entry for:] "*Rus'*," in *Entsyklopediia ukrainoznavstva, slovnykova chastyna*, 34, p.265 (with bibliography at end).

Swyrypa, Frances and John H.Thompson, eds. *Loyalties in Conflict: Ukrainians in Canada During the Great War*. Edmonton, 1983.

This collection of essays covers the years from 1914 to 1923.

"Ukrainsi ne rusyny" [= Ukrainians Aren't Rusyns], in *Nashe hospodarstvo / National Economy* 3, Winnipeg, July/August 1936, 40-41.

A brief comment on a dispute in the Old Country.

Voitsenko, O'ha. *Litopys' ukrains'koho zhyttia v Kanadi* (added title in English: *The Annals of Ukrainian Life in Canada*), vols. 1-4, Winnipeg, 1961-1965, with indices for names and subjects.

The "annals" uses one Winnipeg paper, (*Ukrains'kyi holos / Ukrainian Voice*) as its only source of data. The first three volumes track the "*Rus'* question": vol. 1 covers the period 1874-1918; vol. 2 -- 1919-1924; vol. 3 -- 1925-1929; and vol. 4 -- 1930-1939.

Young, Charles H. *The Ukrainian Canadians: A Study in Assimilation*. Toronto, 1931. xiv+327 pp. With 3 maps, bibliography and index.

Dated but useful for its "outsider's" approach.

PART TWO-- WINNIPEG IMPRINTS (1917-1993) REGARDING KIEVAN *RUS'*

NOTE: The intelligentsia's infatuation with the glories of medieval *Kievan /Hdy Rus'* lingered on into the twentieth century, as exemplified by the following works, --- all published in Winnipeg.

Bilets'kyi, Leonid. *Rus'ka Pravda i istoriia ii tekstu* (added title in English: *The Ruska Pravda and Its Textual History*), edited by George D. Knysh. Winnipeg, 1993. 165 pp. with 285 footnotes, editorial notes, and name index.

Chornohora, Fedor [pseud.]. *Pys'mo narodovtsiv rus'kykh do redaktora politychnoi chasopysi "RUS'" iak protest i memorial*. Winnipeg, 1973. iv+15+v/viii pp.

A reprint of a polemical letter-to-the-editor of *Rus'* (Vienna), 1867.

***Dmytriv, Nestor. *Kanadiis'ka Rus'*. *Podorozhni pomyny*. (Added title in English: *Canadian Ruthenia: Traveler's Memoirs*) Winnipeg, 1972. x+56+xiii pp.

This is a photo-print of Dmytriv's original publication (Nt.Carmel, Pa., 1897) and features an introduction by Mykhailo H. Marunchak, pp. vii-x.) Dmytriv's "*Kanadiis'ka Rus'*" focused on the sizeable swath of Ukrainian-speaking immigrant settlements that stretched across the prairies from Manitoba to Alberta. For further details, consult the index to this work, provided elsewhere.

Hordyns'kyi, S. *Nazvy "Rusychi" i "Rusovychi"* (added title in English: *The Names "Rusychi" and "Rusovychi"*). Winnipeg, 1963. 13 pp. In Ukrainian with English summary at end..

The names (as found in an early literary epic) are interpreted as meaning sons of Rus'.

Knysh, Iurii. *Rus and Ukraine in Mediaeval Times*. Winnipeg, 1991. 40 pp. Endnotes, pp. 29-39. Separate errata slip at end.

_____. "Taiemnytsia pochatkovoi Rusy v Kyievi," in Oleksander Baran and Oleh V.Gerus, eds., *Zbirnyk tysiacholittai khrystyiansytva v Ukraini 988-1988* (added title in English: *The Millennium Collection - Christianity in Ukraine 988-1988*), Winnipeg, 1991, pp. 1-34. This article by Knysh has 104 footnotes and was published separately in Winnipeg, 1991 (34 pp.) with an added title in English: *The Mystery of Kyiv's Original Rus'*.

Lesnoi, Sergei. *Rus', otkuda ty? Osnovnye problemy istorii drevnei Rusi* (added title in English: *The origins of the Ancient "Russians"*). Winnipeg, 1964. 336 pp. In Russian.

_____. "*Vlesova kniga*"—*iazycheskaia letopis' doolegovskoi Rusi (Istoriia nakhodki, tekst i kpmmentarii* (added title in English: *"The Book of Wles" - a pagan Russian chronicle from the pre-Oleg epoch [History of discovery, text and commentary]*). Winnipeg, 1966. 37+lxii pp. with added textual insert at tend (8 folded pages). In Russian.

Ohijenko, Ivan. *Ukrains'ka kul'tura. Korotka istoriia kul'turnoho zhyttia ukrains'koho narodu*. Winnipeg, 1970 (= fotocopy of original 1923 edition).

F. specialty pp. 24-25.

Paramanov, S. Ia. *Zvidky my, chyi my dity? (Nove z istorii starodavn'oi Rusy)* (added title in English: *Our Ancestors and Their Descendants [New material from the History of Old Rus']*). Winnipeg, 1963. 118 pp. In Ukrainian.

Simpson, George W. *The Names "Rus'", "Russia", "Ukraine" and their Historical Backround*. Winnipeg, 1951. 24 pp.

Slovo o polku Ihorevi [=The Tale of Prince Ihor's Campaign]. This anonymous epic poem from the late 12th century is celebrated as a literary monument of Kievan Rus'. Three Winnipeg imprints on the *Slovo* are:

(1) Sviatoslav Hordyns'kyi's study, *Slovo o polku Ihorevi i ukrains'ka narodna poeziia: vybrani problemy* (added title in English: *The Tale of Prince Ihor's Campaign and Ukrainian Folk Poetry: Selected Problems*). Winnipeg, 1963, 94 pp. with footnotes and English resume at end (pp.87-92); (2) Iar. Rudnyts'kyi's compilation, *Slovo pro Ihoriv pokhid v perespivakh na s'ohochasnu ukrains'ku movu* (added title in English: *Ihor Tale in Modern Ukrainian*. Winnipeg 1973 (2nd edition), 72 pp., glossary at end (pp.69-72); Metropolitan Ilarion's monograph, *Slovo pro Ihoriv pokhid; literaturna monohrafiia* [=The tale of Ihor's campaign: a literary monograph]. Winnipeg 1967 (2nd edition, revised and expanded version of 1st edition published in Winnipeg 1949), 250 pp.

Smal-Stocky, Roman. *The Origin of the Word "Rus'"*. (added title in Ukrainian: *Pokhodzhennia slova "Rus'"*). Winnipeg, 1949, 22pp. In English.

Tsehel's'kyi, L'onhyn (1875-1950). *Zvidky vzialy sia i shcho znachyt' nazvy "Rus'" i "Ukraina"* [= Where did the names "Rus'" and "Ukraine" come from and what do they mean]. Winnipeg, 1917. 91 pp.

Unbegaun, Boris. *L'origine du nom des Ruthenes* (added title in Ukrainian: *Pokhodzhennia nazvy "Ruteny"*). In French. Winnipeg, 1953. 12 pp., with bibliography at end.

PART THREE -- IMAGINATIVE LITERATURE

NOTE: A selection restricted to works originally published/written before 1930.

***Connor, Ralph. *The Foreigner: A Tale of Saskatchewan*. Toronto, 1909, 384 pp.

Although Connor never uses the word "Ukrainian" in this work of fiction, it is clear that his novel feeds on the rowdy and undisciplined urban culture of Winnipeg's ghettoized Ruthenian-Galician community. For contextual insights, see Orest T. Martynowych's piece, "Canadianizing the Foreigner": Presbyterian Missionaries and Ukrainian Immigrants", in Jaroslav

Rozumnyj, ed. *New Soil – Old Roots: the Ukrainian Experience in Canada*, Winnipeg, 1983, pp. 33-57.

Fedyk, Teodor. *Pisni pro Kanadu i Avstriiu. Zibrav Teodor Fedyk. 4-e vydanie* [=Songs about Canada and Austria, collected by Teodor Fedyk. 4th edition. Winnipeg: *Rus'ka Knyharnia*, 1912. illus.

A most popular songbook, the collection featured texts (no musical notations) on the theme of Ukrainian emigration to and settlement in Canada.

Gowda / Govda, Michael / Mykhailo (1874-1923). "Do Rusyniv Al'berty i vsiiei Kanady" [=To the Rusyns of Alberta and of all Canada], *Kanadiis'kyi farmer*, April 1909.

For more on this item, see Jars Balan's piece "'Prysychuiet'sia Kanadi' [...]" ("To Canada": Michael Gowda's Unique Contribution to the Literary History of Alberta"), in *Ukrains'ka fol'klornyky v Kanadi (Narodoznavchi zoshyty, t.'viv, Ukraine, no.3/ 4 (93-94): 2010, pp.477-485. (In Ukrainian)*

Irchan, Myroslav (1897-1937). *Proty smerti. opovidannia* [=Against death: stories]. Montreal, 1927, 160 pp.

This collection is possibly Irchan's most important contribution to Ukrainian Canadian literature. Besides the tragedy of his liquidation by Soviet authorities, Irchan's literary output in Canada (1923-1929) remains largely unknown and unstudied.

Karmans'kyi, Petro (1878-1956). *Mavpiache dzerkalo (Lysty z Kanady i pro Kanadu do "Kanady")* (added title in English: *Monkey's Mirror (Letters from Canada and about Canada to "Canada")*, prepared by Myroslav Shkandrij. Winnipeg, 1998, 94 pp. (In Ukrainian)

This collection of biting "letters" appeared in a newspaper (*Kanada*) between 1913 and 1914 and largely reflects Karmans'kyi's reaction to the lack of refinement in Winnipeg's fledgling Ukrainian community.

***Maidanyk, Iakiv (1891-1984). *Vuikova knyha: richnyk vuika Shit'fa v rysunkakh Ia.Maidanyka*. [=Uncle's book: uncle Steve's annual in the drawings of Ia.Maidanyk]. Winnipeg, 1915. 84pp.

PARTFOUR-MATERIAL CULTURE

NOTE: *Kanads'ka Rus'* left behind a significant and massive legacy in terms of material culture – sacred structures (churches), bell-towers, cemetery crosses, farmsteads, and so on. The legacy has inspired a small army of collectors, enthusiasts, scholars and artists. Some of this attention is captured below.

Currelly, Charles Trick. *I Brought the Ages Home*. Toronto, 1956.

In this autobiography, the first curator of Toronto's Royal Ontario Museum of Archaeology provides the following capsulated description of a 'Galician' settlement in Manitoba in the 1890's: "They built their houses by driving stakes into the ground and then weaving.

Fodchuk, Roman Paul. *Material Culture of the Ukrainian Pioneers*. Calgary, 2006, xxi +156 pp, with drawings, foto-illustrations, and glossary at end.

Gabert, Karen. "Locating Identity: the Ukrainian Cultural Heritage Village as a Public History Text" in *Re-imagining Ukrainian Canadians: History, Politics, and Identity*, edited by Rhonda L. Hinther and Jim Mochoruk. University of Toronto Press, 2011, pp. 54-84.

Melnycky, Peter. "Draught Horses and Harnesses among Early Ukrainian Settlers in East-Central Alberta," *Material History Bulletin*, Ottawa / Hull, no.29 (spring 1989), pp. 37-44 with 2 b/w/ fotos, and note at end.

Silverthorne, Judith. *Made in Saskatchewan: Peter Rupchan [1882-1944], Ukrainian Pioneer and Potter*. Saskatoon, 1991, viii+88pp., illus.

This biography is possibly the only one of its kind. It tracks the life of a Ukrainian immigrant who battled incredible odds, pursued his dream and became Saskatchewan's first major potter. He dug his own clay, built his own kilns, and traveled the countryside to sell his wares, struggling to survive. In 1992, the story was captured in a half-hour docudrama ("*Rupchan: Spirit of a Prairie Potter*").

Wasył Negrych Pioneer Homestead: Interpretation Manual. Gilbert Plains, Manitoba: Gilbert Plains and District Historical Society, 1999, pagination not accumulative, b/w/ and col. foto-illustrations, line-drawings. Comes with a separate teacher's manual ("Teachers' Materials").

Formally unveiled as a historical site in 1997, this original farmstead (a short drive northwest of Dauphin, Manitoba) is the only *in situ* complex of its kind in Canada. Developed between 1897 and 1910, the farmstead features orchards, gardens and the oldest known residence in Manitoba built in the Ukrainian vernacular style, as well as the most complete set of original pioneer-era farm – including a 1908 bunkhouse containing a handmade bake-oven or "peech."

PART FIVE – DESCRIPTIVE REPORTAGE, SPECIFIC STUDIES, AND OTHER WORKS OF INTEREST

Baerlein, Henry. *Over the Hills of Ruthenia*. London, 1923. 245 pp.

An interesting albeit dated piece of travel literature.

Bilash, Borislav Nicholas. "Bilingual public schools in Manitoba, 1897-1916." M.Ed. thesis, University of Manitoba, 1960.

Bilash, Radomir, B. "The colonial development of east central Alberta and its effect on Ukrainian immigrant settlement to 1930." M.A.thesis, University of Manitoba, 1983.

Bodrug, John J. and M.A.Sherbinin. *Hand-Book of the Ruthenian Language (Galician)* (with added title in Ukrainian). Winnipeg, 1905, 380 pp.

One copy reportedly survives in the Manitoba Legislature Library.

Borovs'kyi, M.L. *Roslyny pereseleni z Ukrainy do Kanady ("levshyn zillia")*. Added

title in English: *Flora Transplanted from the Ukraine to Canada*. Winnipeg, 1967, 48 pp., illus., with list of flora in English at end.

Budka, Nicetas / Nykyta. A memorandum (in English), dated January 31, 1914, on the "Status and Improvement of the Ruthenians of Canada" published in Bohdan S. Kordan and Lubomyr Y.Luciuk, eds., *A Delicate and Difficult Question: Documents in the History of Ukrainians in Canada 1899-1962*, Kingston, Ontario, 1986, pp.24-27.

An interesting document from Canada's controversial, first Bishop for the country's "Ruthenians" (see Stella Hryniuk's article cited elsewhere in this bibliography).

Bychyns'kyi, Zygmunt (1880-1947). *Istoriia Kanady* [=A history of Canada]. Introduction by Ralph Connor (=C.W.Gordon). Winnipeg, 1928. 222pp. Foto-illustrations.

It appears that this remains the only book ever published in Ukrainian on the history of Canada. Section 7 is dedicated to Ukrainians in Canada (pp. 203-215).

Canuck, J. "Communing with Ruthenians," *Canadian Magazine* 40 (March 1913): 403-410.

Focus on early Ukrainian-Canadian immigrants and their customs.

Gauthier, Angela. "The Ruthenian school revolt: a theoretical analysis." M.Ed. thesis, University of Alberta, 1995.

Gerus, Oleh W. "The Canadian-Galician Connection: Osyp Nazaruk in Canada, 1922-23", in Jaroslav Rozumnyj, ed., *New Soil – Old Roots: the Ukrainian Experience in Canada*. Winnipeg, 1983, pp. 225-242.

A sensitive observer of the Ukrainian scene in Canada, this diplomat on a mission left behind a collection of correspondence. Several of his letters, in English translation, appear here.

Holowach-Amiot, Elaine. "Assimilation or preservation: Ukrainian teachers in Saskatchewan, 1905-1920." M.A.thesis, McGill University, 1983.

Hryniuk, Stella. "The Bishop Budka Controversy: A New Perspective", in *Canadian Slavonic Papers* 23:2 (June 1981), pp. 154-165.

"Kanadskie rusyny" [=Canadian Ruthenians], *Kievskaja starina* (Kiev), 9 (1899), 107-110.

[newspaper:] *Kanadyis'kyi rusyn*. / *Canadian Ruthenian*

In April of 1919, Winnipeg's Ukrainian Catholic newspaper suddenly changed its name to a more politically correct *Kanadyis'kyi ukrainets* / *Canadian Ukrainian*.

Kowbel, Jean. "*Kanadiiskyi farmer*: poetry in Canada's first Ukrainian newspaper". M.A.thesis, University of Manitoba, 2005.

Lehr, John C. "Propaganda and Belief: Ukrainian Emigrant Views of the Canada West," in Jaroslav Rozumnyj, ed., *New Soil – Old Roots: the Ukrainian Experience in Canada*, Winnipeg, 1983, pp. 1-16.

_____, S.Hryniuk and J.Picnicki. "A Tale of Two Frontiers: Ukrainian Settlement in Canada and Brazil, 1891-1914" in R. Widdis, A. Paul and B. Thraves, eds., *The Estevan Papers (=Regina Geographical Studies No.6)*, University of Regina, 1997, pp.130-147.

Lishchynsky, Andrew. "Msgr.Nicetas Budka and the Ukrainian immigrants in Canada 1912-1929." M.A.thesis, University of Ottawa, 1955.

Luciuk, Lubomyr Y. and Bohdan S.Kordan. *Creating a Landscape: a Geography of Ukrainians in Canada*. University of Toronto Press, 1989.

See especially the section on Manitoba.

Magocsi, Paul Robert. *The Carpatho-Rusyn Americans*. New York, 1989.

Makuch, Andriy. "In the populist tradition: organizing the Ukrainian farmer in Alberta, 1905-1935." M.A.thesis, University of Alberta, 1983.

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Marunchak, M. "Sti'uartburn – Rus' – Ruteniia," *Kalendar "slovo" na rik 1965*, Toronto, 1965, p.77

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"*Obraz yz chyzny Kanadiislytkh Rusynova*" [= *A Scene from the Life of Canadian Rusyns*], *Kanadiiskaia nyva* (Manitoba), March 15, 1909.

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BY NESTOR DMYTRIV

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From Hut to Legislature (by Nicholas A. Hryhorczuk)

For sometime I have been thinking about writing of our immigration to Canada and our early life here but it is rather difficult because I was too young to make any notes and am unable to give the exact dates although I do remember individual happenings which I experienced. I remember the people and locations.

In ¹⁸⁹⁶~~1905~~ my late father, John Hryhorczuk, together with the late Wasyl Syrotuik, from the village of Balenec, decided to send the late George Syrotuik to Canada to observe life there. George went and in a short time wrote us to come to Canada immediately because in Canada a settler could get 160 acres of land for \$10.00. The land was good with plenty of timber and pasture. Wasyl Syrotuik, my father and his family, started preparing for the long journey. The people of Syrotuik's village shed tears on his departure. They were sorry to lose a well-educated neighbour and see him go into the far unknown.

The same destiny was ours. We lived in an adjoining community, Buchachky, in the county of Kolomaya. I remember that it was Easter and I got a new suit and shoes and looked like a landlord's son. At that time I was nine years old and never gave a thought as to what we were doing or where we were going. I was happy just to be all dressed up. I still remember how our neighbours accompanied us to the railway station. There were six of us. My father, mother, a brother George, 7 years of age, a sister Mary, 4 years of age and Dora, one year old. I recall that we went through the capital of Kolomaya. I guess I remember it because this was my first trip there. For some reason, I can also remember very clearly our stop in Hamburg, Germany. Maybe it was because I had a bun and very good coffee there.

Canada, at Last!

After about ten days, our ship arrived at Halifax. This was a short trip compared to some which took as long as three weeks. We spent a few days there before boarding the train for Dauphin where we found a few families from Kolomaya County, - Slyzuik, Pidlisecky, Genik, Negrych, Tokarcuk. The brothers Syrotuiks settled on a farm near Ethelbert. The railroad ended in Dauphin at that time and further transportation had to be made in a horse drawn wagon. We hired a farmer, Mr. Childs, to transport

us 30 miles but the last two miles from our destination had to be walked. Our belongings and one-year old sister were carried to our new homestead. We found a nice clearing by Drifting River and that is where we built our log hut, covering it with bark. This was our first residence in Canada. It had no windows or doors. From branches, which were plentiful, we made our beds on the ground and also used them to chase away the hordes of mosquitoes.

Father Off to Work

When the hut was completed, father left us and went to work on the construction of the railroad at Sifton, Manitoba, 18 miles from home. He had to do so because we needed some money with which to start farming. We were the only settlers in the western part of the settlement. Later, however, other immigrants settled west of us, picking out the better areas. Because the immigrants had no forests in the Old Country and owned no more than five or six acres of land, they felt that it was a good farm if only because it contained plenty of bush. They believed that all they needed were ten or fifteen acres of good soil along the creek and it didn't matter if the rest of the land was swampy or stoney.

Life in the Wilderness

I don't remember what mother fed us. Sometimes we were fortunate enough to catch a rabbit when we would have a feast. Rabbits were plentiful but rather difficult to catch. The worst thing that bothered us were the rains, especially at night. Our roof leaked and the water would eventually get under our beds, wetting our blankets, as well as everything else in the house. Besides all of the inconveniences mother had to put up with, she suffered from sore eyes and this lasted for about six weeks. We had no light of any kind in the house. The light of the moon was a help. When it was very dark, we enjoyed watching the lights of the fireflies which were very plentiful at that time. Dark nights were not monotonous because we could also listen to the howling of coyotes all around us. We heard them but never saw any.

A New House

In about three months father came back from work and brought, what seemed to us in those days, a substantial sum of money. He had earned \$1.50 a day. Since he was economical, he walked all the way home. With his

earnings he was able to buy a cow to supply milk for the children. He also brought with him two windows and a set of hinges for a door as he was planning to build a second house. In the winter months there wasn't much to do on the farm. My father, with the help of neighbours, prepared material for the building. Father cut the trees and the neighbours hewed them into long logs. The house was built within a year of our arrival in Canada. The roof was covered with sod and the house had an open clay fireplace and some wooden beds. We now had one of the nicest houses in the settlement and it cost father all of \$1.95. The stable was built of logs without any cash output. The log walls were plastered with mud and later the roof was covered with manure.

The settlers were good neighbours. They often helped one another. Social gatherings were spent reading, singing and discussing problems and future plans. My father was literate and brought some books with him from the Old Country. The settlers of our community came from Kolomaya, Borshiw and Sokolskoho Counties of the Ukraine.

Our Farm Grows

In the spring of 1898 father again went to work. On his return he was able to purchase two male calves which in time grew up to be a fine pair of oxen. There was also some money left for the purchase of clothing for the family. Unfortunately, during our trek we lost two large trunks which contained all our clothing, bedding and linens. We arrived at the homestead wearing the only clothing we possessed. The \$10.00 we had when we arrived had to be used to pay for the homestead. Before we could make use of our oxen, father hired Mr. Childs to break two acres of land which cost \$6.00. Now we had cultivated land which yielded plenty of potatoes and other vegetables. This was a great help to newly arrived immigrants. They were fortunate as they were able to share the bumper crop with us.

Going to School

The nearest school to our home was five miles southeast, which was called Drifting River. The school had opened in 1899 in an English speaking community. It was rather difficult to get to as for the first two miles there was hardly any trail but further on there was an Indian road. I enjoyed tramping along it with my bare feet as it was also used by the wild animals and their tracks made it much easier on my feet. I found

schoolwork very easy as I had learned the English alphabet in the Old Country. Although I could not pronounce the English words correctly, I could read the sentences. Because almost all the children in the school were English I was forced to use the language. It did not take me long to learn to speak it.

Our Own School

In 1902 there were several children of school age in our community, and it was decided by the settlers to build a school of their own. I don't recall what assistance, if any, was received from the government. I do remember my father and Mr. Slyziuk having me accompany them, as interpreter, when they went among the English-speaking farmers to look for a school teacher. We finally found a bachelor, Mr. Charles Heath, who agreed to take charge of our school for \$30.00 a month. I don't know from what source the money came but that was the salary he received. Since we had no school building we used Mr. Slyziuk's house. When we got there we would take all the furniture outside and turn the house into a classroom. Before leaving for home after the lessons, we would carry the furniture back into the house. This was a daily routine. At that time there were about twelve pupils but the number was growing as new settlers came into the district.

"Goodies" from Dauphin

Dauphin was our nearest source of supply. We had to get someone who owned oxen or walk to Dauphin to get supplies. The distance was thirty-two miles. Fortunately, in 1899, one immigrant, Mr. Maksymetz, had enough money with which to buy a yoke of oxen. He went to Dauphin once a week to bring supplies and the settlers' mail. On several occasions, when we were short of some small items, such as matches or sugar, I was asked to walk to Dauphin. Father would give me a dollar bill and mother gave me enough bread for the round trip, which took two days. Mr. Cohen, who was a merchant in Dauphin at that time, had built a shack for his customers where they could spend the night before going home the next day. The hut was small and once when I was there I counted fifteen men. However, we were fortunate to have a place to sleep and it did provide protection from the mosquitoes. Going home the next day I would not only carry the small purchases I made but some unwelcome little creatures under my shirt collar. Not only did they bother me but also made me move very fast in order to get home and take off my



shirt to get rid of them as soon as possible. Everybody who stayed in the shack expected this to happen but at the same time it was much better than sleeping outdoors among the mosquitoes.

Kolomaya School

During the winter the settlers felled some good standing trees for a new school building. Since the immigrants were quite handy with an axe they hewed logs and in the spring of 1902 they completed the log building. The roof was covered with shingles that had been split from blocks of wood. The spaces between the logs were filled with clay which was easy to get. This school was named Kolomaya and it served the community for many years. On arrival of new immigrants, the number of children increased to the extent that our school became very crowded.

I believe it was in 1903 that we were able to get a Ukrainian school teacher - Wasyl Zaporzan. The salary was raised to \$35.00 a month. He felt that this amount was too small to sustain him so he started a store in order to make a little money on the side. Since he lived in a small room he could not have much stock. We believed that he was making about \$2.00 a month. However, some people thought he was making as much as \$4.00 and many envied him but since he carried out his teaching obligations satisfactorily they couldn't very well prevent him from moonlighting. Later he taught in other schools and became the owner of a general store in Gilbert Plains. He took an active part in local school and church activities.

My Ox

Around this time the Venlaw post office was opened. It was about five miles from our home. We could now get our mail once a week without much inconvenience. Although not much mail arrived in those days, a group of us boys would get together to go for the mail. When the water was high, I rode on the back of my ox to get across Drifting River. The ox was very obedient and usually went where I wanted him to go. I would direct him by tapping the side of his head with a switch. I trained him for this job during the time we were growing up together. When I went into the bush to bring the cattle home, the first thing I would do was to look for my ox then, instead of wading home, I would ride home in style. There were times when he wanted to play tricks on me. He would look for a couple of trees not too far apart - with just enough space for him to get through -



then he would run for that opening knowing that there was not enough room for my legs and feet, the result being that I would slide down and so free him of his load. Every time he did this I always thought he had a good laugh at leaving me behind.

Community Centre

As the district became more settled, Kolomaya School Became the centre of Ukrainian cultural life. This was the place where young people gathered - to sing, dance, perform plays and concerts and discuss their future plans.

One day it was decided to hold a dance in which case we had to have an orchestra. Another chap and I were chosen to make the necessary arrangements. We had to walk two and a half miles to ask Mr. Ternawsky and his son to provide the music for us. The father played the violin and his son, the dulcimer. They walked back with us and provided the music. We engaged them for the grand sum of thirty cents, being all the money we had for this purpose. They played for us all afternoon and their pay of thirty cents was clear profit since it did not cost them anything for transportation or income tax.

My First Earnings

That summer, for the first time, I had my own money. During summer vacation I worked on a farm owned by a Mr. Robertson. My pay was twenty cents a day. As he found me to be a good worker, he paid me \$5.00 a month for the following month, the fringe benefit being that I was paid for the days I was unable to work due to rain or for some other reasons. When I received the five dollar bill for my month's work I was not too happy because I was unable to change this into smaller bills and so brought home only "one piece" of money.

Youth Club

During this same summer new immigrants arrived from our village in the Old Country. There were several young men who had had some education and knew about the "Seech" organization in their homeland. "Seech" was equivalent to the Boy Scouts in Canada. Through their effort and guidance, by 1906 we had our own organization and wore yellow and blue ribbons as emblems of it. On Sundays we would get together to practise marching, play games and would sing as we paraded.

My Present

The best present I received from the Old Country was with the arrival of the Dzaman family. I fell in love at first sight with the daughter, Anastasia, and married her not long afterwards. Shortly after her arrival in Canada, at the age of nine, she went into service of a farm family in Ethelbert. For the first six months she earned \$1.00 a month. Subsequently this was increased to \$1.50 a month but she got none of her hard-earned money. Her father used it to buy drag harrows which were needed on the farm.

An Unfortunate Accident

In the winter of 1903, when I was fifteen years old, my future brother-in-law and I went hunting for rabbits. While in the bush we stopped to rest. I placed the butt of my gun on a log covered with snow while holding it by its barrel. Without my noticing it, the gun was gradually slipping off the log into the snow. The hammer struck the log and the gun fired into the wrist of my left arm. When I got home, which was about a mile away, my father, using a team of oxen, drove me to a doctor in Gilbert Plains. The village had no hospital so after the doctor administered first aid, he sent me by the first train to the Dauphin Hospital where my arm was amputated just below the elbow.

After this accident, I was forced to leave school. I got a job with an implement dealer in Gilbert Plains selling and setting up machinery, mostly binders. I was paid \$15.00 a month, plus my board and room. At that time this was fairly good pay.

Many immigrants continued to arrive at Gilbert Plains and settle on farms north and west of it. Knowing the English language, I



became very useful to them as interpreter. I was also able to direct them to the homesteads of their former Old Country neighbours.

Our Youth Club organized a credit union with a membership fee of five cents a month. Loans were made to needy members, at a high interest rate, and in a matter of a few years we had a capital of \$80.00. The last loan was made to an unreliable member. He left the district with our funds and our financial structure collapsed.

My father continued to farm with the help of the oxen and while I tried my best to persuade him to trade them for a team of horses, he refused to do so.

Some farmers already had enough wheat enabling them to take it into Dauphin to the flour mill and so discontinued using the hand stone grinders to make their own flour. A power flour mill was built in Ethelbert by Syrotuik, the first Ukrainian settler in the district. For some time farmers in Venlaw went to the mill in Ethelbert, which was closer than Dauphin to have their wheat ground into whole wheat flour. This mill served the district for a few years until many families began switching to white flour which they preferred.

Wedding

During the summer I continued working for the implement agent and in the winter I carted and sold wood in town. My fiancée's father was considering a move to Beasuejour because news had reached him that many of his compatriots were settling there. This bothered Anastasia and me. Rather than be separated we decided to get married as soon as possible. Our parents gave their consent so on February 22nd, 1905, for the sum of \$2.00, we hired the finest pair of horses in the district and our best man drove us to Gilbert Plains where we were married. I had turned seventeen in December and Anastasia was only fifteen.

The wedding festivities, as was customary at that time, lasted two days. The orchestra, composed of a violin, a dulcimer and a drum, provided music for the dancing. The charge was \$3.00. After the wedding I returned to work for my agent.

Community Work

Our Cultural Society was a dedicated venture and continued to grow. The members consisted of conscientious and good-natured workers, some of whom were John Negrych, John Bodruk and Onufry Pykaway, later editor of the

Canadian Farmer. In their spare time they walked from school to school where the settlers gathered to enjoy their lectures and listen attentively to discussions on various topics. Membership increased with the arrival of several new immigrants who were Ivan Hrychyk, Ivan Virstuk, brothers Fichuk, Wasyl Romaniuk and Michaylo Rurak. We organized an amateur theatrical society and began staging plays. Our main difficulty was putting these plays on in the very small schoolhouse. After building a stage, there wasn't much room left for our audience.

Religious Life of the Community

To satisfy the religious needs of the settlers, in 1907 a small church was built in spite of the fact that there was no resident priest. In the absence of our own clergy, some young couples had been married in churches foreign to them. Greek Catholic and French Roman Catholic priests did not approve of such marriages and considered them illegal. They refused to hear the confessions of these people and to baptize their infants. They wanted the couples to go through another marriage ceremony. Our organization "Seech" disagreed with their views. We felt that a second marriage would be below the dignity of a human being. The Presbyterian Church sent one of their ministers, Reverend Berezowsky, to serve the spiritual needs of the community. He conducted the services in the same manner as the Greek Catholic priests. Church services held in our church were always well attended. Reverend Berezowsky also took an active part in the Seech organization.

Independent Farmer

In 1908 my father gave me eighty acres of his homestead. Six of us farmers jointly bought a threshing machine which contained a portable steamer, wooden 22" separator with hand feed, straw carrier and low bagger. Although I did not know much about threshing machines, apparently I knew more than the other five as I was chosen to be the operator. I think we broke all records as to the number of farmers we serviced and the length of the threshing season which did not end until March. There were new settlers west of Venlaw right up to the Duck Mountains. The farms were scattered since the C.P.R. and school lands were vacant.

In those days the farmers had only two or three small stacks to thresh. First, we threshed our own crops and those of near neighbours. By that time it would begin to freeze. Then we would move west to the other settlers. The thresher and steamer were moved from farm to farm by

oxen. The best road at that time was a bush trail. During a heavy winter snowfall, it took three or four teams of oxen to move the equipment. I was the only paid man on the job. The others, pitchers, ban cutters, feeders, straw pitchers, grain carriers and the water man, who supplied water for the steamer, were neighbours helping one another. With good cooperation and luck we managed to do one job and move to another place in one day. During the heavy frost, especially in the mornings, the grinding of the wheels through the snow could be heard for two or three miles.

The woman of the home where we were to thresh would make preparations a week in advance in order to feed some seventeen men and, if necessary, provide lodging for the night in a one-room house. The men slept on the earth floor on straw bedding. There was plenty to eat, especially meat from moose, elk and rabbits. In those days there was an abundance of wild game. The law was not strict and farmers were allowed to procure the odd wild animal for their own use.

We charged \$15.00 for threshing at each location. From that I received \$3.00 and cost of oil. The balance was profit and went towards paying for the machine which was bought on long term payments. We worked that machine so hard that by the time it was paid for there wasn't much left of it. What was surprising was that, with so much moving from place to place under very bad conditions, the machine did not go to pieces the first winter.

Father had finally agreed to sell the oxen and buy a team of horses. Our cultivated land increased yearly and he had to buy a third horse and a two-furrow plow. I got this for \$60.00 with two annual \$30.00 payments.

In 1908 we had a very wet year and during harvest time we could not get into the field with a binder. We had to delay our harvest until the frost set in. The frost did considerable damage to our crop and although we had nine hundred bushels of wheat we had to sell it for the best price we could get which was seventeen cents a bushel. This after a cost of seven cents a bushel for threshing.

I continued to work part-time for the implement dealer in



Gilbert Plains. Farmers had begun to buy their own binders and since there were only trails over which to travel, the parts of the binders were taken to the farms in their original boxes. These binders were scattered over the area from two to ten miles apart. I was paid \$3.00 for setting up each binder, including my transportation and a bag of tools.

Farm wagons were also selling well. I recall the time when it took one farmer a whole day to pick out a wagon. He wanted to make sure that there wasn't the slightest scratch on any part of it. It was dark when he finally made his selection. All we had to do then was put on the tongue. This part the farmer did not examine very closely. Next day he drove back fifteen miles to exchange the pole which he found to be crooked.

Spreading Ukrainian Culture

Our society, "Seech", was more active during the winter months when there wasn't too much work on the farms. We staged a few plays. In the winter of 1911 I made the suggestion that our theatrical group in Venlaw stage a play in Ethelbert, which was twenty miles away. We made the trip in horse-drawn wagons on a cold frosty day. The name of the play was "Ubynyk" (Killer). Because I was travelling away from home and could not practise with the group, I rehearsed for the play by myself in my hotel room. I joined the group on the night of the performance. The play was staged in the poolroom building which also served as a school-house. The chairman of the school board, Mr. Katz, agreed to let us have the use of the building. With the help of some local people, among them Mike Wolochatiuk, Alex Magis, Ivan Kowcun and Petro Kuzyk, we built a platform for a stage. For walls, we used different coloured blankets. Admission was twenty-five cents. This was the first play to be seen in Ethelbert and was well received by the Ukrainian residents.

In the spring of 1911 we moved to Ethelbert. The population was approximately seventy-five per cent Ukrainian. At that time our family consisted of two boys, Michael and William. Eventually our complete family numbered six. A third son, Ross, and three daughters, Rose, Nadia and Violet were all born in Ethelbert.

In order to continue staging plays it was necessary to have a hall. In the summer of that same year we had the first meeting of the settlers in the community and decided to go ahead with erecting a building. We organized a society under the name of Taras Shevchenko. Alex Magis was elected chairman of the society. At that first meeting it was decided

that no clergy of any church would be elected to the executive. The reason for this was that at that time there were serious misunderstandings among the different churches. It was also decided that no religious matters were to be discussed in the building. The property was not to be allowed to pass into the hands of any religious sect. Any church or organization could have use of the building when it was not needed by the society.

Membership fee was \$5.00 and any Ukrainian could be a member of the society regardless of his church, political beliefs and affiliations. Since we had no capital with which to start, a member of the society, besides paying his membership fee, also agreed to do free work on the construction of the building. Before the building was completed we began staging plays. Admission was twenty-five cents. As we made a little money and obtained a small loan, we were able to complete the building.

At that time we had several Ukrainian school teachers in the municipality. Their work, interest in the community and leadership meant a great deal to the settlers. They not only taught our children but also worked among the adults. Saturdays, Sundays and evenings were spent among the people, giving lectures on different subjects such as citizenship, farming, education and theatrical work. Most of them took part in the plays and it was nothing for them to walk ten and fifteen miles to rehearsals, over roads that were almost impassable. We are very grateful to these men. They are still in my memory and I will mention the names of at least some of them- Ivan Hryciuk, Ivan Wichkowski, Anton Skorbohach, Ivan Ruydachek, Michaylo Malkowich, Michaylo Demchuk, Petro Melnyk, Ivan Maschuich, Besides the school teachers there were ^{other} ~~several~~ men who used their time to raise the standard of the community. Among them were John Kowcun, Kyrilo Livitski, Peter Kuzyk, Wasyl Pernerowski, Stefan Wyshneski and many others.

The young women also contributed to our theatrical group. In spite of the house work, with no conveniences, and rearing the children, they made every effort to attend the rehearsals. My late wife, Anastasia, took part in all the plays that were staged by either taking roles in them or helping and directing the girls in order to make the play a success. In our family when attending rehearsals we had to take one child in our arms, the other in a baby carriage and the third, we led by the hand.

Since the hall had no furniture for its stage, it was necessary to bring this from the homes and take it back after the completion of the play. I recall one time when a bed was required on the stage we took the bed from our bedroom. Since the back-stage was not as large as it is now, the bed had to be taken outdoors before the play was finished. Apparently someone thought the bed had been discarded and we never did see it again.

We had no seating accommodation so we took the chairs we had at home to the hall in order that people who had travelled some distance to see the plays could be seated comfortably. For the local people we had blocks of wood and planks, if we could get them. These were what would now be called "hard times" but they were certainly happy days for us.

Ladies' Aid Society

However there were also really hard times for some of the people. At that time, government assistance was not available even for the very poor. My wife, who was always concerned about the needs of others, formed a Ladies' Aid Society and with the assistance of other women in the community did a great deal to help those in needy circumstances. It was necessary for quite a number of men to go away to look for work and often families were left with very few provisions. I recall one such case where a mother was left with seven small children. To help this family the Society raised enough money to buy a cow in order to provide the children with milk. Money was raised through staging concerts and by other means. Some of the ladies in the Society were Mrs. Mike Demchuk, Mrs. Theodore Bodnar, Mrs. Harry Karpiak, Mrs. John Dzaman, Mrs. Dora J. Masciuch, Mrs. Jacob Masciuch, Mrs. Tom Woronchak, Mrs. Charles Shewchuk and Mrs. Mike Wolochatiuk.

First Ford

Needless to say there were no cars to be seen in the village or surrounding area. In 1914 while walking along Portage Avenue in Winnipeg, I saw a fellow cranking a Ford car. He was having much difficulty in getting it started. He was very disgusted and told me so. While talking to him we made a deal. I bought the car for \$275.00 - paid him cash right on the street without any transfer or receipt, and took possession of the car. Until then I had never driven a car although I had ridden in one while

I was employed as a collector by the International Harvester Company. Since there were no other cars in sight, I had no problem driving on Main Street and Portage Avenue. My big problem was getting the car started again after stopping. I had to crank it for a long time before the motor would start. It had four cylinders but most of the time only three operated. I took the car into a garage to get some information and instructions on how to handle the car but apparently the man in charge didn't know much more about cars than I did.

The next morning, which was Sunday, I asked a friend of mine (Batryn) to come with me as far as Portage la Prairie. There was no highway - just a winding road. I noticed steam coming from my radiator. On checking, I found that the valve tap had gotten loose and the water had drained out. It was lucky that we had a pail with us and my friend took it and started walking to see if he could find a farmhouse. When the motor cooled, I got it started again and caught up with my friend about a quarter of a mile away. By that time the motor was hot and I had to stop again. Batryn kept on walking while I waited for the motor to cool. When I caught up with him again we were near a farmhouse and so were able to get the needed water. We arrived at Portage in the evening and my friend took the train back to Winnipeg while I stayed overnight with my wife's uncle, Dzaman.

Monday morning, I had to crank for about a half an hour before I could get the car started. The motor made a loud racket and the car shook so much that some of the clay on the walls of my uncle's house dropped off. He didn't mind that. He was proud that one of his relatives already had a vehicle that could go without the help of horses.

It took two days to get from Portage to Ethelbert. This was the first auto in Ethelbert and when the farmers heard about it they came by foot and by oxen from up to fifteen miles away to see it. The building in which the car was kept was placed on blocks and was not on a solid foundation. While a crowd watched me, I tried to start the car. After quite a while, and having no luck, I finally got tired of cranking the darn thing, left it, and went home for dinner. In the meantime, one of the men continued to crank the car and it started. The vibration caused the building to shake so much that it appeared that it might collapse. No one knew how to stop the car. They lost no time in getting to my house and I lost no time in getting to the car.



Inspite of that everybody, or nearly everybody, made some use of the car. The car served the neighbours and I had the privilege of bringing Bishop Butka from Garland to Ethelbert. I imagine this was his first ride in a car since he arrived in Canada. The farthest we went was to dauphin and the return trip took a whole day. I remember having sixteen flats in one day.

International Harvester Company, for which I was collecting at that time, agreed to pay me \$20.00 a week for the use of the car provided I didn't spend most of the time repairing it and being pulled out of mud holes. While driving into farmyards, the Ford made such a noise that it scared the cattle in the yards. The result was that the farmers tried to pay their bills as soon as possible to prevent my coming again. They said that some of their cows had stopped giving milk because of the fright they received.

In 1916 I quit the job on the road with I.H.C. and sold the car to John Kowcun who was in the same business as I was, retailing farm implements. He also had trouble with the car. He said that every morning before starting out from his father's farm, he hitched a team of horses to the car and towed it around the yard in order to get it started.

As I mentioned before, most of the time the car ran on only three cylinders. Once, after a very windy day, I was going to Pine River. Some trees had been blown down and as I came to one in the middle of the road, I swerved to the right to avoid hitting it. The right wheel hit the tree and the axle got bent a little but all four cylinders started to work. The Ford car was very good - much better than its chauffeur and the roads at that time.

My Entrance into Politics

In 1916 during the First World War I was elected Reeve of the Ethelbert municipality and I recall many unpleasant incidents. The settlers had come from Austria. This created misunderstandings and many thought that we were enemies of Canada. Young men, who wanted to join the army to serve Canada, were turned down as enemies. We had no trouble with the R.C.M.P. but had a great deal of it with parttime policemen appointed by the provincial government.

One was stationed at Pine River and he went around the area apprehending some of the boys. He would bring those he caught before the Justice of the Peace who would fine the boys five or ten dollars each for some unknown reason.

One Sunday the Greek Catholic priest had planned to hold an outdoor service. After the congregation assembled, in the midst of mass, this policeman came on horseback, with revolver in hand, and told the people that they had to disperse and the church service was cancelled.

In 1918, a policeman of Polish descent was appointed for Ethelbert by the Provincial government. The Poles and Ukrainians did not get along well, having carried their grievances over from the Old Country. Because of his job, he was in a position to scare the people with threats of court action if they didn't obey his orders. I remember one instance where he asked for and received two chickens from a farmer in exchange for allowing the farmer to water his oxen in the Ethelbert Creek. Many such unfair acts occurred.

The Minister of Education had appointed an official trustee for several schools. The trustee got busy and took over about ten per cent of the schools. This became such a big undertaking for him that he established an office in the legislative building and appointed public trustees all over Manitoba. The strange thing is that they never touched the Ethelbert municipality, but they took over seventy-five per cent of the schools surrounding Ethelbert in the belief that the people were not capable of carrying on their own school activities and hiring teachers. Here is one example of how a public trustee worked. About seven miles east of Ethelbert in the Mossey River municipality, he formed a district and had a school built. He was unfamiliar with the area and selected a spot about five hundred feet from a nice dry ridge. He paid no attention to the protests of the ratepayers. The school was built in the winter months and when spring arrived, it was surrounded by water. The teacher and children had to wade through water and mud to get to it. They did not want for fish to eat as they could go out on the playgrounds and catch suckers with their bare hands.

In 1919 the constituency of Gilbert Plains was divided in two and the new constituency of Ethelbert was created. Taras Ferley and



Yaroslav Arsenych, a lawyer in Winnipeg, knew all about what was going on in our area and they insisted that I become a candidate and run in the next election which was in 1920. In fact, it was these two men who got me involved in politics.

We did not have much use for the Conservative party whose politicians, at that time, were peddling booze and cigars among our people trying to get their votes and spreading the word that they could buy our votes with this method. We still had a little sympathy for that party as we appreciated what it had done in establishing a teachers' training school in Brandon for our young boys and thus provided needed leaders in the community. We did not like the Liberal party at that time. Therefore, we decided that we would nominate a candidate to run as an Independent Farmer. We held a convention in Ethelbert and I was chosen to be a candidate. The eastern part of the constituency did not approve our convention and they called another convention and nominated Mr. Markroff to be the Independent Farmer candidate. The Liberals were not going to be left out and they chose Mr. Gniazdowski of Sifton. The Conservatives didn't think there was any hope for them and they had no candidate in this campaign. During the campaign Mr. Markroff and I got along very well. In one instance at Sclater, where most of the people couldn't understand English, I happened to be in the district and acted as interpreter at Mr. Markroff's meeting. The outcome of the election was that I got sixteen hundred votes, Mr. Markroff eight hundred and twenty, and Mr. Gniazdowski one hundred. That year Mr. Yakimschak was elected in Emerson and according to the Free Press there were "two Galicians elected and endangering our school system". Imagine two members out of fifty-two a threat to the school system!

Our first aim - this was under the minority Morris government - was to get our schools back into the hands of the ratepayers. The Minister of Education refused to do anything. The government was defeated in 1922 and our party (the Independent Farmer) was called upon to form the new government with Mr. John Bracken as Premier. I was re-elected by acclamation. In this election Mr. Bachynsky was added to our group of "dangerous people". The Free Press's prediction of 1920 came true and we finally got rid of the official trustees.

I had discussed with the Attorney General the matter of the policeman in our area with whom the settlers were very unhappy but he refused to anything about the situation. From the things I had observed I was convinced that our policeman was not above board and asked for his vouchers on the floor of the House. On looking through the vouchers I found that the policeman had been buying tamarac wood for heating his office which was in his home. He was buying the wood from his wife for \$9.00 a cord while the selling price in the village was \$2.50 a cord and this was in July. The Attorney General was then forced to fire this man.

I served as an M.L.A. from 1920 to 1945 with the exception of one term when I was defeated by a Social Credit candidate in the depression of the 1930's. During my last term I was the Deputy Speaker and Chairman of the Transportation and Telephones Committee. My twenty year's service as M.L.A. was under the leaderships of Mr. John Bracken and Mr. Douglas Campbell.

The Ukrainian members of the Legislature worked well with the other members. We were loyal to Canada and supported only those measures which we believed were good for the people of Manitoba.



HR YHORCZUK, NICHOLA SAPOLU NER (1888-

Mr. Hryhorczuk, emigrated with his family from the Ukraine c1896 and settled in the Gilbert Plains area. Moving to Ethelbert in 1911 he played an important role in the life of the community. He was Reeve of the Municipality from 1916-1919. Elected to the Legislature in 1920 as an Independent Farmer he sat until c1945 with the exception of one term 1936-41. During his last term he was Deputy Speaker and Chairman of the Transportation & Telephones Committee.

He donated his memoirs and correspondence to the Archives in 1974. The Memoirs were written in Ukrainian in 1965 and translated into English with additional notes 1973-74.