The Ukrainian Religious Tradition in Canada

ВІРА Й КУЛЬТУРА

ч. 12 1999 - 2000 No. 12

ВІРА Й КУЛЬТУРА
FAITH AND CULTURE

ISSN 0-921517-19-X

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This volume of *Віра й Культура* has received funds for publishing from the following generous donors:

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Й СПІВРОБІТНИКІВ
Колегії Св. Андрея
у Вінніпезі

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Published by
THE FACULTY AND
ASSOCIATES
of St. Andrew's College
in Winnipeg

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Preface

Volume XII of *Faith and Culture/Віра й Культура* is dedicated to the theme of the Ukrainian religious tradition in Canada. In June, 1992 St. Andrew's College in Winnipeg hosted a major three-day conference on that theme. Chaired by Dr. Oleh Gerus and Dr. Roman Yereniuk, the conference brought together twenty-four specialists from a variety of relevant disciplines - theology, religious studies, history, sociology, education, fine art, archives and libraries. Seventeen of these papers have been selected for publication in this volume. They are printed in the language of presentation, thirteen in English and four in Ukrainian.

The conference culminated in a banquet at which The Right Rev. Bishop Yurij (Kalischuk) of Toronto and Eastern Diocese of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church of Canada was the keynote speaker on the topic of liturgical music. At the banquet, St. Andrew's College honoured its distinguished musicologist, the late Dr. Pavlo Macenko, by launching in his name the Chair of Ukrainian Church Music at the College.

It is noteworthy that the conference was held at the cross-section of two most important anniversaries in the life of Ukrainian Canadians. In 1991, the million-strong Ukrainian Canadian community celebrated the centenary of the arrival of the first Ukrainian settlers in Canada. In 1993, the Ukrainian Orthodox Church of Canada commemorated its seventy-five years of service.

This volume is dedicated to the Ukrainian pioneer settlers, one of the founding people of western Canada, and to the religious and secular leaders of the Ukrainian community. Their ability to adopt Canadian core values to their traditional Christian heritage and institutions speaks highly of the worth of the Ukrainian religious tradition in the making of Canada's multicultural society.

The Making of a Church: The Reverend Simon Sawchuk and the Ukrainian Orthodox Church of Canada

Dr. Oleh W. Gerus

One of the recurrent themes of Ukrainian history has been the close relationship between religion and nationalism, with the Ukrainian Orthodox and Greek Catholic churches exerting a decisive influence on the national psyche, culture, politics, and identify. As a result, Ukraine's neighbours--Roman Catholic Poland and Orthodox Russia--regularly interfered in Ukrainian religious life as part of their political agenda to denationalize and assimilate the Ukrainian nation. Russia illegally and forcefully absorbed the Ukrainian Orthodox church (the Kievan metropolitanate) in 1686, and Poland unceasingly attempted to Latinize the Greek Catholic church in direct violation of the conditions of the Union of Brest (1596). This unhappy historical experience gave rise to deep-seated suspicion of real and alleged foreign manipulation of the two traditional Ukrainian churches. Such attitudes were transferred to Canada with the first Ukrainian settlers, there to be nurtured by the circumstances of immigrant community life which guaranteed the politics of religion a prominent place.

The paper is premised on the assumption that the chaos of the past is often best interpreted and understood through its actors. Thus, the history of the Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church of Canada (UGOC), which emerged from the confusion and disruption of the pioneer years, cannot be separated from its leading personalities, specifically the Very Reverend Dr. Simon Wolodymyr Sawchuk who was not only the church's chief architect but also its driving force for over three decades. The discus-

sion that follows represents an initial attempt to evaluate Sawchuk's impact on the key stages in the transformation of an immigrant national-religious dissident movement into first a peculiarly Ukrainian Canadian institution and then a major Orthodox ecclesiastical jurisdiction.

The Formation of the UGOC

The origins of the UGOC have been reasonably well documented.[1] Suffice it to say that the church was formed in 1918 largely because of religious turmoil rooted in the fact that for political reasons both Greek Catholic Galicians and Orthodox Bukovynians from the Austro-Hungarian empire were not accompanied to Canada by their own clergy. The greatest obstacle to the immigration of Greek Catholic priests and the chief source of public discontent was the Vatican's insistence on celibate clergy in North America, as the great majority of Greek Catholic priests were married. For their part, the Romanians who controlled the Bukovynian Orthodox church showed no interest in providing missionaries for Canada. This deprived the Ukrainian settlers, by and large a very religious people, of their accustomed rural community leadership. It also exposed them to aggressive proselytization by Anglo-Canadian Methodists and Presbyterians, French and Belgian Roman Catholic priests, and Russian Orthodox missionaries. However, the community leadership vacuum was quickly filled by a small but remarkably capable secular intelligentsia, consisting largely of country school teachers in western Canada, who took advantage of the situation to usurp the role that the Ukrainian clergy reserved for itself in the homeland. Nationalist and populist in outlook, these ambitious, anti-clerical, brash young men (*narodovtsi*) quickly adapted to Canada and established the organizational structures that allowed them to exercise influence over their immigrant countrymen.[2] Their activities laid the foundation for the emergence of a distinct Ukrainian Canadian society. By the time Greek Catholic Ukrainians were granted a separate jurisdiction in 1912, the

nationalist intelligentsia boasted its own organ, the weekly *Ukrainskyi holos*, and had developed definite views on Ukrainian community needs in the adopted homeland.

As self-appointed guardians of the immigrant masses, the nationalists considered it their duty to safeguard the moral well-being of those struggling with the difficulties of cultural adjustment and pioneering. Their defensive and increasingly anti-foreign attitude, initially formed by the decades-long Polish-Ukrainian struggle in Galicia, was reinforced in Canada by the energetic efforts of various Anglo-Canadian, French, and Russian missionary groups to influence and control Ukrainian immigrants on behalf of their own agenda. Such leading nationalists as Wasyl Kudryk, editor of *Ukrainskyi holos*, were convinced that a nationally conscious Ukrainian with a sense of self-worth would make a better Canadian citizen than one who assimilated blindly.[3] Rejecting assimilation outright, the nationalist intelligentsia called instead for the full integration of the Ukrainian immigrant into Canadian society as an equal citizen. Although such an argument was not popular with a nativistic host society promoting Anglo-conformity, Ukrainian nationalists remained committed to their ideal, planting the seeds of Canadian multiculturalism. Because of their keen sensitivity to the potential power of organized religion over often confused and even demoralized settlers, the nationalists also gave high priority to the establishment of a genuinely Ukrainian church in Canada.

Ukrainskyi holos initially supported the attractive but theologically unworkable concept of a Ukrainian "national" church — one single democratic, nationalistic, non-denominational church for all Ukrainians. That such an idea gained popularity among the pioneers indicates great dissatisfaction with the prevailing religious situation. However, the notion that Ukrainian national interests must supersede denominational priorities flouted the religious exclusiveness demanded of his faithful by Bishop Nykyta Budka, newly appointed head of the Greek Catholic

church. Nor did nationalist demands for a fundamental restructuring of his church into a democratic institution sit easily with Budka's stringent commitment to clerical authoritarianism. In fact, if there was one key reason for the alienation of the secular intelligentsia from the Greek Catholic church, it was the controversial bishop. Despite recent scholarly efforts to redeem him, Budka remains the proverbial "wrong man at the wrong place at the wrong time."[4] His deep conservatism and his almost paranoid distrust of the free-thinking intelligentsia precluded any possibility of compromise with the Ukrainian nationalist elite, and they reluctantly decided to create their own church.[5]

The Catholic dissidents, led by Wasyl Swystun, the twenty-five-year-old rector of the Mohyla Ukrainian Institute in Saskatoon, and Michael Stechishin, a thirty-year-old law student at the University of Saskatchewan, formed a National Committee. It invited selected prominent Ukrainians--students, teachers, the more prosperous farmers--to a confidential meeting to "discuss, determine and clarify our church position, especially to determine the relations of the [Greek Catholic] church with our national institutions and national issues in general."[6] One hundred fifty-four of 310 invitees, overwhelmingly from western Canada, attended the historic assembly of disaffected Catholic laity on 18-19 June 1918 that marked the culmination of the bitter feud between Bishop Budka and his secular critics. Denouncing Budka's authoritarianism, his apparent subordination to the Latin-rite hierarchy, and his perceived anti-Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church of Canada. This was a revolutionary but logical step in the transformation of the intelligentsia's negativism into positivism, or a shift from merely quarreling with Budka to actually creating an alternative church organization based on the democratic principles and Orthodox doctrines espoused by the populists-nationalists.

But why did these Catholics embrace Orthodoxy, which in Canada was tainted with Russophilism? Dominated by the ideas

and personalities of Stechishin and Swystun, then undoubtedly the most skilled organizers and agitators the fledgling Ukrainian community possessed, the Saskatoon meeting rationalized the decision to create the UGOC as a conscious return to the distinctive Ukrainian Orthodoxy that had embodied the historical and true faith of their ancestors before part of the Ukrainian people had been forced into an unhappy union with Rome.[7] The assembly drew a sharp distinction between Ukrainian and Russian forms of Orthodoxy. Most participants, however, were unaware that they were making history, that they were laying the foundation for the first independent Ukrainian Orthodox church in the world. Nothing similar would emerge in the homeland until 1921.

Eastern Orthodoxy epitomizes unit in diversity. Its churches belong to a variety of countries and cultures; each is independent in administrative matters but all are one in faith. The founders of the UGOC declared their church to be "in communion with other Eastern Orthodox churches...accept[ing] the same dogmas and the same rites,"[8] but with no theologians present they did not elaborate on what this meant doctrinally speaking. They stressed instead the new church's nationalism (reflected in its name and later in the use of Ukrainian in services), and its distinctiveness from the Canadian Greek Catholic church (for example, a married priesthood and a democratic structure, with g by the laity in the general council or *sobor*).[9] Thus, created by laity the UGOC would remain largely democratic, to distinguish it from other Orthodox churches where real power remained with the hierarchy. In light of the fact that the UGOC was formed by people with very little theological expertise, it is not surprising that in its infancy the church appeared to be more a socio-political than a spiritual institution. To founders like Wasyl Swystun, the UGOC represented part of a general Ukrainian liberation movement from foreign domination, being first and foremost a manifestation of modern Ukrainian nationalism and democracy in Canada.

To convert the resolve to create a new church into reality, the Saskatoon meeting formed the Ukrainian Orthodox Brotherhood, resurrecting a peculiarly Ukrainian Orthodox institution originating in the sixteenth century. The Brotherhood handed Swystun a enormous task: to organize the UGOC without recourse to a relevant model, to find priests among sympathetic Russian Orthodox and Greek Catholic clergy, to establish a financial base for the church, and, most importantly, to secure a bishop. Because the bishop in the Orthodox tradition is not only the chief spiritual guide of the faithful but also embodies the all-important doctrine of the apostolic succession, his office is vital to the unbroken continuity of the church of Christ. In fact, an Orthodox church is not a true church without a canonical bishop, one whose legitimacy in church law is recognized by other Orthodox bishops.[10] It is highly likely that in 1918 the founders of the UGOC did not realize that complex issues of canonical legitimacy and hierarch would shape the history of their new church.

In the early twentieth century, the dominant Orthodox church in North America was the Russian mission with its roots in the tsarist colonial presence in Alaska.[11] Employing Ukrainian-speaking missionaries and providing free ministries, it expanded its influence from the United States to the nascent Orthodox Bukovynian communities in Canada. Outward similarities between Orthodox and Greek Catholic rituals, the acute shortage of Greek Catholic priests, and certain Galician Russophile sentiments attracted a number of Greek Catholics to the Russian mission as well. But as the Russian church had also been promoting Russian nationalism and was resolutely opposed to a separate arrangement with its hierarchy to provide a bishop for the UGOC. Consequently, in near desperation, he turned to the American exarch of the ancient Antiochian (Syrian) Orthodox church, Metropolitan Germanos Shehedi of New York, who was in communion with the ecumenical patriarch. Although Germanos was a controversial character, his hierarchal status was

canonical or legitimate, and this was an important benefit for the new Canadian church. Germanos agreed to assume spiritual authority over the UGOC until a suitable Ukrainian hierarch could be found. Without his cooperation, the UGOC could have easily been stillborn, but instead it soon boasted a canonical bishop plus five Ukrainian priests who defected from Russian Orthodox and Greek Catholic camps.[12]

UGOC organizational work inevitably involved confrontation with the Greek Catholic and Russian Orthodox jurisdictions whose parishes UGOC activists coveted. Both churches understandably felt threatened and viciously attacked the upstart church in their sermons and press, frequently applying the label "Swystunite" to smear the UGOC as an illegitimate collection of social misfits.[13] *Ukrainskyi holos* steadfastly defended and promoted the UGOC as a legitimate and desirable Ukrainian national institution, with its editor, Wasyl Kudryk (who would soon accept priesthood) arguing that Ukrainian Orthodoxy and Ukrainian national identity were synonymous; any other religion was anti-Ukrainian.[14] The idea that Ukrainian Orthodoxy stood for national elitism carried a definite appeal in the 1920s, and growing public support for the UGOC suggests that there was a community need for such a church. According to the archival evidence, most early parishes were organized by local initiative, generally by individuals who responded to the rhetoric of *Ukrainskyi holos*. Once a nucleus formed, appeals were made to the Brotherhood and later to the UGOC consistory for priests, although the shortage made it difficult to provide adequate service.

P the birth of the UGOC was the formation of the Ukrainian Orthodox church in the United States. However, unlike the UGOC, the American body was organized by dissident Catholic priests, with the result that its clergy exercised much greater influence and control than their counterparts did in Canada.[15] Furthermore, the American church was exclusively urban (large-

ly blue collar) whereas the UGOC was rural-urban conglomerate. Initially both churches recognized common growing pains and attempted a joint administrative structure under the Reverend Mykola Kopachuk, a recent arrival from Bukovyna, but different priorities made localization of authority inevitable. In 1920 the Canadian Brotherhood appointed the newly ordained Simon Sawchuk, a young man of twenty-five, secretary of the UGOC's executive organ, or consistory, which consisted of three laymen and two clerics.[16] Sawchuk quickly emerged as an effective and talented church leader, a role he was destined to pay for the rest of his life.

Who was Simon Sawchuk? Born to peasant parents in the village of Volkivtsi, Borshchiv county, Galicia, he had come to Canada with his family in 1899 at the age of four. The Sawchuks' homesteaded in the Inkster district of Saskatchewan, but Simon chose not to farm. Deeply religious and highly intelligent, he first trained as a public schoolteacher, then continued his education at the University of Saskatchewan while residing at the Mohyla Institute, a hotbed of Ukrainian patriotism and anti-Budka sentiment. The Sawchuk family, like many others, divided over the issue of the UGOC, with Simon taking a definite pro-Orthodox position. In 1919 he surprised his fiance and friends by interrupting his final year of university studies (arts) to e in the theological program offered in Saskatoon by Dr Lazar German, formerly of Chernivtsi University, and sponsored by the Brotherhood. Reflecting on his decision many years later, Sawchuk noted with irony that Swystun suspected his motives for entering the priesthood, telling students at the Mohyla Institute that Sawchuk "was a hardline Catholic, his family was Catholic, and most likely Sawchuk was a Catholic mole with the task of undermining the church."[17] In March 1920 Sawchuk, Dmytro Stratiychuk, and Petro Samets were ordained by Metropolitan Germanos in the United States, increasing the number of clergy in the UGOC from five to eight priests. The Brotherhood

assigned Sawchuk to missionary work among the growing numbers of Ukrainian communities in Saskatchewan.

Why did Sawchuk interrupt his university studies until 1951 and choose the hardships and uncertainties of priesthood in a neophyte church? Sawchuk himself, either then or later, said little on the subject except that as a student he was overwhelmed with a desire to fill a spiritual and patriotic need in himself and the Ukrainian community in Canada. In short, he wanted to serve and to lead. Nurtured on Mykhailo Hrushevsky's populist history of Ukraine, Sawchuk developed his own sense of historic mission and idealism, and realizing the importance of the events of July 1918, wanted to play a direct part in them. He viewed the formation of the UGOC as a noble effort to save defenseless Ukrainian immigrants from hostile and foreign influences--an assimilationist Anglo-Celtic host society, proselytizing Protestant denominations, and anti-Ukrainian policies pursued by both the Greet Catholic church and Russian mission. Sawchuk believed as well that the secular intelligentsia was to provide community leadership in Canada not only through active involvement in church affairs, but also by accepting the difficult responsibility of priesthood. To his everlasting disappointment, the lay elite of the UGOC steadfastly refrained from following his personal example.

The Search for a Ukrainian Bishop

Although the UGOC's leaders were deeply indebted to Metropolitan Germanos for his crucial assistance in legitimizing their church by his canonical status, they were equally aware of the political drawback to even nominal authority being invested in a non-Ukrainian hierarch and resolved to make his tenure as short as possible. After all, one of the main reasons for the formation of the UGOC had been the perceived foreign (French and Belgian) domination of the Greek Catholic church in Canada. Thus it was urgent to find a Ukrainian hierarch for the UGOC.

Despite communication d caused by the Great War, the UGOC leadership knew of and derived moral strength from the birth of a Ukrainian state and the accompanying revival of Ukrainian Orthodoxy correspondence with Professor Ivan Ohienko, minister of religious affairs in the government of the Ukrainian People's Republic, and already in exile in Tarn w, Poland.[18] As secretary of the consistory, Sawchuk requested Ohienko to recruit ten priests for Canada and to find a suitable bishop to head jointly the Canadian and American Ukrainian Orthodox churches.[19] To expedite the search, the Brotherhood elevated Sawchuk to administrator of the UGOC and dispatched him to Europe. There he was to assess the unfolding religious situation in Ukraine and visit both Ohienko and the primate of the newly created Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox church, Metropolitan Vasyl Lypkivsky. Before going to Kiev, Sawchuk informed Michael Stechishin back in Canada that he wished "to persuade Lypkivsky not the interfere in church affairs in North America because no bishop will be prepared to come to Canada if another bishop goes to the United States, especially if he is a Lypkivite."[20]

According to his diaries, Sawchuk's stay in Europe between November 1922 and March 1923 proved a most useful introduction to Orthodox religious politics. Ohienko confirmed Sawchuck's view that Orthodox Ukrainians in North America needed a special kind of bishop, one who was both canonical and a proven Ukrainian patriot. But where to find one? Sawchuk had two possible sources, both new Orthodox churches: the Ukrainian Autocephalous church in Soviet Ukraine and the Orthodox church of Poland.[21] There were serious canonical and political problems, which Sawchuk and Ohienko recognized and hoped to avoid in Canada, associated with the Autocephalous church. In the eyes of the highly conservative Orthodox world, it lacked canonical legitimacy. Not only had its primate been consecrated in an unacceptable manner (by priests not bishops) but

the series of reforms it had enacted (such as allowing married bishops) also placed its Orthodox doctrines in question. Its fervent nationalism, however, made the Autocephalous church the embodiment of Ukrainian opposition to Soviet Russian imperialism in Ukraine, which most certainly enhanced its prestige and popularity among the patriotic population but guaranteed its ultimate liquidation by the atheistic communist regime.[22] Sawchuk concluded that a bishop from the Autocephalous church would create serious difficulties for the UGOC and was thus undesirable. Ohienko also advised against recruiting a Lypkivite bishop, saying that it "would deliberately destroy your young church....You have enough enemies."[23] Sawchuk believed that a suitable candidate could be found in the canonical Orthodox church being established in Poland for the country's large Ukrainian and Belarusian populations. However, the fact that the Majority of the Canadian Brotherhood leaned towards Lypkivsky's Autocephalous church undermined his efforts.

Of the several candidates from the Polish church who, according to Ohienko, were prepared to emigrate to Canada, two warrant special attention. Archimandrite Polikarp Sikorsky, a former o in Ohienko's ministry, would be consecrated bishop of the Orthodox church of Poland in 1932 and in 1941 become the administrator of the second, and this time, canonical, Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox church. Bishop Oleksiy Hromadsky, a reputable theologian, would head the rival Ukrainian Autonomous Orthodox church during World War Two. It is enticing to speculate whether the tragic history of Ukrainian Orthodoxy during the war would have been different had either of the two men come to Canada.[24]

That Sawchuk ultimately failed to find a bishop was due in part to the pro-Lipkivsky position of the Brotherhood, especially Swystun, and in part to its deteriorating financial situation. The Brotherhood suddenly discovered that the postwar economic depression in Canada left no money to make an attractive offer

to the prospective candidates, and sent mixed signals to Sawchuk. The relatively comfortable lifestyle of the Orthodox clergy under Polish administration acted as a deterrent to emigration except for individuals, like the Reverend Petro Bilon, who were hounded by the Polish government for political reasons.[25] In the final analysis the UGOC could afford to import only three priests. The Canadian clergy earned very little, often living on the edge of poverty; even as administrator of the UGOC, Sawchuk h found it hard to support his growing family, which eventually numbered eight children.[26]

While Sawchuk was in Europe, the Ukrainian Orthodox church in the United States decided to obtain a bishop from Metropolitan Lipkivsky. Given the pro-Lipkivsky sentiment in the nationalistic Canadian Brotherhood, Sawchuk realized that the American choice could be imposed on Canada and lobbied hard but unsuccessfully against a bishop from Autocephalous circles. In late 1923 Lypkivsky designated Archbishop Ioan Teodorovych for the American church. A Ukrainian patriot, a prominent pastor, an effective orator, and, most importantly, a pragmatist who quickly adjusted to North American conditions, Teodorovych had impressive credentials for his post. To the American leadership and the Canadian Brotherhood in the 1920's, a patriotic image of their church leader was more important than the fuzzy question of canonicity. After all, nationalism had prompted the formation of the UGOC, and the Autocephalous church was the only national Ukrainian Orthodox church in Europe. In the opinion of the Brotherhood, its bishops should be good enough for North America.[27] So important had nationalism become by this time that even the conservative Ohienko moderated his position on canonicity, writing the baffled Sawchuk that the issue of canonicity was no longer so critical.[28] Some Canadians were also attracted by the reformist or neo-Protestant features of the Autocephalous church, which they saw as a magnet for attracting Ukrainian Protestant converts in

Canada. Although no influx materialized, the UGOC stalwart Peter Svarich insisted that "if we had a Lypkivite bishop in Canada, all our Presbyterians would join us," on the grounds that the Ukrainian Presbyterian leader, Ivan Bodrug, was "a great friend of Lipkivsky."[29] Sawchuck remained justifiably concerned about the Greek Catholic and Russian Orthodox reaction to a bishop of dubious canonical status for Canada, but accepted the inevitable. The fourth general council of the UGOC, held 15-27 July 1924 in Yorkton, Saskatchewan, unanimously elected Archbishop Ioan Teodorovych as Canada's primate. The three hundred delegates, overwhelmingly lay, were duly impressed with his dignity and declared willingness to serve Ukrainian Orthodoxy.

It seems that Sawchuk never totally resolved his personal moral dilemma about the canonical status of Archbishop Teodorovych. But after 1924 the UGOC's position legally complied with Orthodox teachings that recognized two types of church law, inviolable dogmatic canons and flexible administrative-judicial canons. The question of hierarchy fell between the two. In fact, each Orthodox church follows only those laws which are relevant to its historical experience and peculiar needs. For the UGOC to accept only those administrative-judicial laws concerning it as a peculiar Ukrainian Canadian institution was entirely proper. But by this time Sawchuk had realized that the question of canonicity was often more political that theological.[30] Like many other Ukrainians, he excused the controversial origins of Lypkivsky's hierarchy as honourable ends justifying questionable means. Since the disputed consecration of Lypkivsky had occurred because of abnormal political circumstances and not wilful violation of Orthodox tradition, the Autocephalous church should be considered canonical.

Publicly, Sawchuk tried to make a virtue out of necessity by arguing that the status and prestige of the UGOC was contingent upon its own moral and spiritual s and not the attitude of other

Orthodox churches. The principle of self-reliance and independence was frequently reaffirmed in Vistnyk, the church's official organ: "When we stand on Orthodox basis, when our church is sincere, when the cause for which we struggle is sacred, we do not need additional recognition from foreign and distant people, people who do not know us and for whom our church concerns are alien and incomprehensible and who made no contribution whatsoever to our common good."[31] Russian Orthodox and Greek Catholic polemics questioning the UGOC's legitimacy Sawchuk deflected as malicious attacks on the church's independence and Ukrainianism. Privately, however, he remained troubled about the future implications for the UGOC of the canonical controversy surrounding Teodorovych. While justifiably concerned about the ammunition it provided for the UGOC's enemies, Sawchuk was even more apprehensive for the future of his church. Since Teodorovych's status was not recognized by other Orthodox churches in North America, the archbishop was incapable of perpetuating the hierarchy of the UGOC or, for that matter, of the American church. Moreover, as the article of canon law to which Sawchuk and the consistory subscribed stipulated that a new bishop could be consecrated by no fewer than two other bishops, should Teodorovych die, his death would create a crisis for the UGOC. Sawchuk recognized that the decision of 1924 merely postponed the question of the UGOC's status as an independent and a c ecclesiastical body. He thus maintained a deliberately vague position on the implications of the relations between the UGOC and the Autocephalous church in Ukraine that were implicity in Teodorovych's function as archbishop of the UGOC. Both this a relationship and Sawchuk personally would be seriously challenged by the pro-Lypkivsky forces in the 1930's.

Although a formal primate of the two Orthodox churches, Canadian and American, Archbishop Teodorovych resided in the United States, limiting his presence in Canada to summer visita-

tions and church council meetings. This arrangement did not allow the traditional power of a hierarch to develop, so that Teodorovych's role in Canada was largely symbolic; it freed Sawchuk, as administrator and head of the consistory, to run the UGOC according to his own vision and competence. The church's headquarters had meanwhile been transferred to Winnipeg in 1922 when Sawchuk, the priest, moved there to establish a UGOC presence in the emerging capital of Ukrainian like in Canada and Greek Catholic stronghold. The new parish, which Sawchuk served until 1932, was designated as the all-Canadian cathedral. Wasyl Swystun, now studying law in Winnipeg, was its most prominent member. In a relatively short time relations between Swystun and Sawchuk soured as their personalities and philosophies clashed.

Under Sawchuk's leadership the UGOC grew steadily in the interwar years, including the Great Depression of the 1930s, and survived an internal crisis. Growth was assisted by external events as much as by the church's Orthodox-nationalistic image promoted by *Visnyk*, which Sawchuk edited, and by the powerful Orthodox lay organization, the Ukrainian Self-Reliance League (USRL). The UGOC was a curious amalgam of Uniate and Orthodox Bukovynian rites and traditions. Its leadership, secular and ecclesiastical, remained p Galician, while the bulk of the membership was Bukovynian. The collapse of the Russian mission particularly benefited the UGOC as several Bukovynian parishes, without clergy as the number of Russian Orthodox priests in Canada fell to fourteen in the early 1920s, switched allegiance. Defections from the Catholic side continued among those who preferred a democratic church structure and the Ukrainian language to Church Slavonic. The Catholic parish at Vita, Manitoba, for example, split into rival Orthodox and Catholic churches over the issue of parish control of church property.

UGOC priests, whose parish districts averaged eight congre-

gations, were considered by the parishioners to be contractual employees and not their superiors. As the correspondence between the clergy and Sawchuk indicates, priests were often at the mercy of parish executives who expected them to lead exemplary family lives and perform a variety of community functions, like teaching Ukrainian school, in addition to carrying out their pastoral responsibilities. The meager remuneration and demanding work load caused several priests to leave for the United States and discouraged new candidates (the seminary opened in Winnipeg in 1932 produced only eleven priests before 1939). Immigrant priests from Western Ukraine only partially offset the shortage. Sawchuk's fear of scandal and stringent moral code also barred disaffected Greek Catholic, Russian Orthodox, and Protestant clergymen with dubious reputations from entering the UGOC, a policy that led to occasional disagreements with lay leaders who sponsored prospective candidates for the better control of church affairs by the consistory, to rapid expansion and possible problems. With 203 congregations embracing one-third of the Ukrainian Canadian population, the UGOC had become a major religious and political force, especially in the West, by 1939. Moreover, its influential secular ally, the USRL, dominated organized community life.[32]

Given the origins of the UGOC, it is not surprising that tensions, competition, polemical conflicts, and occasionally law suits characterized its relations with the Greek Catholic church, and, to a lesser extent, attitudes among Catholic and Orthodox faithful. It would appear that much squabbling was precipitated by a small number of zealots in both camps preaching religious exclusiveness, while their fellow parishioners, especially in more cosmopolitan urban centres, generally inclined towards religious tolerance and pluralism. Initially, under Sawchuk's leadership, the UGOC strove to assert itself as the only truly Ukrainian church in Canada. This emphasis on Ukrainianism rather than Orthodoxy was logical given the UGOC's genesis and uncertain

canonical status. In addition, to be Orthodox in the 1930s meant not necessarily to be a better Christian but to be a better Ukrainian, so that conversion to Orthodoxy constituted above all a demonstration of Ukrainian patriotism.[33] The position promoted by *Vistnyk* and *Ukrainskyi holos*, the latter now the mouthpiece of the USRL, clearly implied that Greek Catholic and Ukrainian Protestant churches were less Ukrainian that the independent, self-reliant UGOC because they were unwittingly dominated by foreigners who wanted to extinguish the Ukrainian nation. This position did not go unchallenged, but the Catholic response for one, particularly in the 1920s, was poorly and unwisely formulated. Mudslinging by *Kanadiiskyi ukrainets*, the church's official organ, led to a successful libel suit by the UGOC, which received a public apology. Awareness of Canada's libel laws, not to mention the financial costs of going to court, temporarily muted the polemical warfare.

In the 1930s the Greek Catholic church itself underwent a major internal reorientation.[34] A new bishop, Vasyl Ladyka, initiated changes in the interests of Catholic Brotherhood. A more serious challenge to the UGOC's coveted status as the exclusive champion of Ukrainian nationalism in Canada came from recently arrived veterans of Ukraine's wars of national independence, who also happened to be mainly Galician Catholics. Faced with these developments, Sawchuk accepted that the Greek Catholic church would remain the largest and potentially the most powerful Ukrainian ecclesiastical body in Canada. Faced with internal dissension within the UGOC as well, he also favoured a policy of co-existence, providing the Catholic press refrained from attacking the UGOC. Indeed, on Ukrainian and Canadian issues of national importance, he even advocated cooperation with the Greek Catholic church.[35] It was this new pragmatism of the UGOC, reflecting the growing confidence of its leadership, that eased the way to meaningful community consolidation during the Second World War.

The Swystun Crisis

It was not external pressure from Greek Catholic or Protestant quarters but an internal conflict that posed the most serious treat to the UGOC in the 1930s. The celebrated but little understood public feud between Reverend Sawchuk and Wasyl Swystun dominated church affairs in that decade and severely shook the UGOC. Sawchuk's ultimate victory was critical because it assured the continuity of the church as a traditional Orthodox ecclesia. But while on one level the struggle represented deep ideological differences on the nature and function of the UGOC, on another it represented a bitter personality clash between the two most prominent Ukrainian Orthodox church leaders in Canada.

As his controversial life so vividly demonstrated, Swystun was a permanent rebel with a cause and a gifted crusader who immensely enjoyed challenging conventional authority and wisdom. A founding father of both the UGOC and the USRL who soon found reasons to attack both institutions, Swystun was once compared to Napoleon and nicknamed "Wasylini" after the Italian dictator Mussolini.[36] His critics alleged, with considerable justification, that his alienation from his colleagues was due mainly to an insatiable lust for power. The man's consuming ambition to direct virtually every aspect of church and secular life in accordance with his own views, always more radical than those of the USRL generally, met resistance and forced his withdrawal from official leadership of the Orthodox community. He continued to champion Ukrainian nationalism, however, and remained a power at the cathedral of St Mary the Protectress in Winnipeg, using that parish as a base in his confrontation with Sawchuk and the consistory.[37] While both Sawchuk and Swystun held that the UGOC had spiritual and social functions, they differed over which should take priority in the life of the church, and they sharply disagreed over the distribution of power between laity and clergy.[38] Sawchuk stressed religiosity and the guiding role of

the clergy in parish and church affairs, but his cautious effort to free the church from excessive secularism, strongly supported by the clergy and Archbishop Teodorovych, was loudly resisted by Swystun.

The first step towards a balance of power between laity and clergy had been taken in 1929 when the federal charter incorporating the UGOC established the legal relationship between the consistory and UGOC parishes. The church's relationship with the USRL remained ambiguous. Formally, the USRL was an independent secular organization that supported the UGOC because of its Ukrainian profile and content, and Sawchuk certainly appreciated its importance to the Orthodox cause and the UGOC. But he was increasingly uncomfortable with a number of USRL activists who appeared to be only "fashionably" or tentatively Orthodox, avoiding the vital sacraments of confession and communion, for example, and whose influence in church affairs he and the clergy considered undesirable.[39] In essence, Sawchuk wanted USRL membership to work for the church but not to interfere with or dominate it, ideally becoming, it seems, an extension of the UGOC much as the Brotherhood of Ukrainian Catholics was of the Greek Catholic church. Sawchuk's efforts to strengthen the influence of the clergy over the parishes and create a clerical-lay balance found support among the influential Stechishin brothers, Michael, Myroslav, and Julian.[40]* But Swystun, now a lawyer, was incensed by Sawchuk's apparent growing power, and his correspondence with his old friend Michael Stechishin suggests that he was determined to remove Sawchuk from the leadership of the church. He accused Sawchuk of betraying the UGOC's basic principles, imposing dreaded clericalism, and trying to turn the democratic (that is, lay-controlled) institution into a carbon copy of the despised Greek Catholic church which the founders of the UGOC had rejected.[41]

Personal relations between the two men had been deteriorat-

ing since 1929. Difficulties were compounded at the parish level at St Mary's where Sawchuk, the pastor, often clashed with Swystun, the choir director and president of the church executive. This caused Sawchuk to leave St Mary's for the small parish of St Michael, which had left the Russian jurisdiction for the UGOC. However, it is debatable whether the "Swystunite revolution," as Sawchuk called it, would have been so vehement and public had Sawchuk not offended Swystun's enormous ego by deliberately omitting his name from a fund-raising brochure.[42] In 1934 Swystun declared all-out war, accusing Sawchuk of ambition, incompetence, and abuse of power. The man, he continued, "is not an orator, nor a writer, nor an editor (*Vistnyk* is proof), nor a dedicated worker as he avoids work because he is always sick [referring to Sawchuk's bouts with tuberculosis]."[43] Such personal attacks turned many potential allies against Swystun.

The escalating polemical battle included brochures, ad hoc committees, articles in the Ukrainian press, circulars to the clergy, numerous letters, and passionate speeches. Despite repeated references to canonical issues, the feud was at root a power struggle for control and direction of the UGOC. It caused much consternation in UGOC circles and probably an equal amount of delight among the church's enemies. Michael Stechishin, for one, feared the ramifications of a prolonged Sawchuk-Swystun conflict. He tried to mediate between the two, but unsuccessfully, and bitterly concluded that their personalities prevented any real reconciliation. Swystun he described as "energetic, sharp, loud, adversarial, and unforgiving," while Sawchuk was "also sharp-witted, somewhat secretive, [and] calculating," and quietly did what he wanted.[44] It appears that Swystun was determined to destroy Sawchuk much as he had tried to destroy Bishop Budka, with little regard for the church itself. Sawchuk, in turn, considered his adversary a disruptive force which the UGOC did not need and was equally determined to get rid of him. This anti-Swystun sentiment was shared by the influential editor of

Ukrainskyi holos, Myroslav Stechishin.

The Sawchuk-Systun feud was complicated by Archbishop load Teodorovych. In the early 1930s the Soviet government had violently liquidated the Autocephalous church, including much of its episcopate and clergy, leaving Teodorovych as the only practicing h. At that point another group of Ukrainian Catholic priests in the United States rebelled against their bishop and declared themselves a Ukrainian Orthodox church. Despite negotiating with Teodorovych, they decided to become part of the Greek diocese of North America in the jurisdiction of the Patriarch of Constantinople because of the archbishop's controversial canonical status. Saddened by the setback and sensing increasing isolation of his church in the United States, Teodorovych turned to the Patriarch of Constantinople offering to "complete" his consecration in the acceptable manner in return for formal recognition.

Sawchuk and the consistory were outraged, both by their primate's failure to consult the UGOC and by his intentions, which contained devastating implications for their church. Despite Sawchuk's lingering personal doubts about Teodorovych's canonical status, current church politics demanded that the primate of the UGOC be seen as canonical. There could be no talk of reconsecration because reconsecration would seriously undermine the Canadian church and its hard-won credibility. As Sawchuk pointed out to his confidante, Reverend Kudryk, "There are priests in Canada who would not continue serving the church should the Archbishop agree to be reconsecrated. Furthermore, it would be necessary to trample everything which we have been defending until now.....Having exhausted all our arguments to prove that our hierarchy is indeed Grace-bearing [canonical], we would be left with no ammunition to defend the new position, that of reconsecration."[45] Although Teodorovych tried to downplay the issue with evasiveness, Sawchuk was convinced that the archbishop would continue to find ways to resolve his canonical

status and no longer trusted him. The bond of mutual confidence on which the UGOC leadership, as representative by Teodorovych and Sawchuk, had been based since 1924 was shattered. Teodorovych pursued a dialogue with Constantinople while Sawchuk maintained that the UGOC was an independent or autocephalous Canadian church that would never place itself under foreign jurisdiction. Despite the historical link between Constantinople and the ancient Ukrainian church, Sawchuk harboured a life-long suspicion of and even antagonism towards the Patriarchate because of what he saw as a pro-Russian attitude. To him, both Rome and Constantinople were enemies of Ukrainian interests.

Early in 1935 Swystun jumped into what had hitherto been a relatively private and internal Teodorovych-consistory disagreement by attacking both Sawchuk and Teodorovych in the press for abandoning the Kievan canons of 1921.[46] To Swystun's argument that the UGOC had accepted these canons when it received Teodorovych, Sawchuk responded in *Ukrainskyi holos* that the UGOC had had only a spiritual connection with the Autocephalous church, which disappeared with its liquidation. The UGOC, according to the consistory, had never compromised its independence or accepted the Kievan canons or Kievan authority. Teodorovych's function in the UGOC was that of an independent Canadian hierarch and not an extension of the Autocephalous church.[47] Swystun, however, was not totally incorrect in his interpretation of the contentious UGOC-Kievan relationship, for there was indeed a legacy of deliberate ambiguity promoted by Sawchuk himself.

It was clear that the final showdown between Sawchuk and Swystun would take place at the scheduled general church council in July 1935. Sawchuk set aside his differences with the archbishop and worked hard to convene a council which would support the consistory on the issue of Canadian-Kievan relations.[48] The bottom line was the preservation of the present nature and

unity of the UGOC, which would undoubtedly fragment if Swystun won over the council. A segment of opinion did sympathize with his concept of a reformed Orthodox church, but luckily for Sawchuk, it disapproved of his confrontational tactics. The USRL power brokers, including the Stechishin brothers, considered Sawchuk indispensable to the survival of the UGOC and threw their critical support behind him.[49]

The organized Sawchuk-Teodorovych force not only censured and humiliated Swystun on the day but also had the council proceedings published for greater impact.[50] The feisty Swystun did not take defeat lightly. At his stronghold, the cathedral of St Mary the Protectress, he hastily organized the Ukrainian Church Defence Brotherhood, which attacked the legitimacy of the church council. Relations between the consistory and the Swystunites deteriorated further when the consistory and the archbishop suspended Swystun's pastor, the Reverend Petro Mayevsky, for breach of church discipline. The resulting litigation between the consistory and the parish dragged on until 1940 and produced mixed blessings for the UGOC. On the purely legal front, the Supreme Court of Canada ruled against the consistory over control of the cathedral parish, but it affirmed the UGOC's authority as a corporation to enforce jurisdictional discipline over member congregations and the clergy. The vast majority of parishes recognized the need for some sort of centralized authority and readily supported the consistory in its effort to assert its leadership; they also accepted the loss of the cathedral as the price for the expulsion of troublesome dissidents.

Sawchuk's victory solidified his own leadership and enhanced his power as administrator. More importantly, it signified that the UGOC would remain a relatively traditional Orthodox church, albeit more democratic than most as Sawchuk's struggle against Swystun compelled him to continue to rely on the USRL as a source of lay church leadership. A glance at the consistory membership in the 1940s and 1950s

demonstrates clearly the powerful influence of the USRL in church affairs.[51] Indeed, to an outsider the UGOC had the appearance of being the religious arm of the USRL.

The Archbishop Mstyslav Skrypnyk Controversy

Sawchuk had always believed that Canada should have its own bishop rather than share one with the United States. Although this view was strengthened by Teodorovych's unceasing search for a canonical connection with the Patriarch of Constantinople, Ukrainian Orthodox bishops were very scarce in the 1930s. Only in the aftermath of the Second World War did the acquisition of a Ukrainian Orthodox bishop for Canada become possible, helped by events overseas. During the German occupation of Ukraine, a new version of the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox church had been established, this time canonically. Headed by Metropolitan Polikarp Sikorsky, its hierarchy of eleven bishops and archbishops found refuge in postwar Europe.

But the Autocephalous church was not the only potential source of hierarchy for Canada. Professor Ivan Ohienko, Sawchuk's former tutor in church affairs and an internationally renowned Slavic scholar, had been consecrated as archbishop Ilarion of the Orthodox church of Poland in 1940; there was no question about the legitimacy of his canonical status. During the war Ohienko had distinguished himself as an effective church administrator and an energetic Ukrainian community leader. In 1945, however, he was both a metropolitan without a church and a refugee, temporarily residing in Switzerland. Sawchuk initially looked favourably on bring him to Canada as a replacement for Teodorovych,[52] but Ohienko no longer reflected the progressive views of his secular past, even suggesting that the UGOC was uncanonical because of Teodorovych. Simultaneously, his willingness to assume primacy over the UGOC, if offered the opportunity, implied that his presence would make it canonical.

Sawchuk's high personal regard for Ohienko's scholarship and proven leadership qualities notwithstanding, it soon became clear that such a patronizing attitude and highly conservative interpretation of canon law would be incompatible with the ideology and tradition of the Canadian church.[53] Ohienko's candidacy was dropped and Sawchuk turned to Sikorsky of the Autocephalous church, with whom Ohienko feuded over wartime issues. For his part, realizing that he was no longer welcome in Canada, Archbishop Teodorovych graciously resigned as head of the UGOC in 1946 pending selection of a successor. The UGOC church council authorized Sawchuk to repeat his search of 1923. Although civilian travel to Europe remained difficult in 1946, Sawchuk as a Canadian military chaplain was able to visit Ukrainian refugees and the Autocephalous hierarchy in Germany. He had positive discussions with Sikorsky and reached an understanding with the Autocephalous church while maintaining the cherished jurisdictional independence of the UGOC.[54]

As the candidate to head the UGOC, Sawchuk selected Bishop Mstyslav Skrypnyk, a prominent Ukrainian politician in interwar Poland who had been consecrated in 1942 without being a priest earlier.[55] Sawchuk was impressed with the bishop's intelligence, energy, and pledge to uphold the traditions of the UGOC, never realizing that in less than a year he would be engaged in a power struggle reminiscent of the Swystun affair. An extraordinary church council convened in Winnipeg in October 1947 elected Mstyslav Skrypnyk "archbishop of Winnipeg and all Canada" and established a tentative link (as between two equals) with the Autocephalous church. The enthronement of Skrypnyk signified that the UGOC finally had its own Canadian primate.

But for Sawchuk a dark cloud loomed on the horizon. Two months earlier Metropolitan Ilarion Ohienko had arrived in Winnipeg to assume pastoral duties at the outlaw cathedral of St

Mary the Protectress at the instigation of Wasyl Swystun, who was perhaps motivated by revenge.[56] Winnipeg was suddenly the seat of two rival Ukrainian Orthodox hierarchs. Ohienko, who loved to publish, almost immediately launched his own journal, *Slovo istyny*, which became an instrument of serious scholarship as well as of self-glorification and unceasing sniping at the "uncanonical" UGOC, Skrypnyk, and Sikorsky. *Vistnyk* and Mstyslav's personal journal, *Tserkva i narid*, turned their "cannons" on Ohienko and a polemical inter-Orthodox war erupted, much to the delight of the Catholics and Protestants. Sawchuk had anticipated the unpleasant ramifications of having a resentful and influential Ohienko so close, but he could do little except to try to isolate him from the mainstream Orthodox community. This was not easy because that community was in a state of flux.

The arrival, with the postwar displaced persons immigration, of thousands of traditional Orthodox believers, often from Eastern Ukraine and Volhynia, who were not converts like those in Canada, changed the mix in the UGOC. Many of the new immigrants gravitated to the urban centres of eastern Canada, where they quickly established parishes. A number of Orthodox priests from various parts of Ukraine also arrived from overseas, either independently or sponsored by the consistory. Sawchuk even imported two outstanding Ukrainian scholars, the historian Dmytro Doroshenko and the theologian Ivan Wlasowsky, to strengthen the newly established St Andrew's theological college in Winnipeg. Wlasowsky, who had been a close collaborator of Metropolitan Sikorsky and became Archbishop Skrypnyk's chief adviser and defender of European Orthodoxy, was appalled by the improvised Orthodoxy practiced in Canada and said so publicly. Such tactlessness alienated the "old Canadian" Orthodox establishment, which expected the newcomers to be grateful and appreciative of the proud achievements of the pioneers.[57]

The honeymoon between Archbishop Mstyslav and the consistory was short as serious idcological differences, rooted in the

absence of clear divisions of responsibility between the consistory and the primate, escalated into a power struggle that again almost split the church. It was obvious that Skrypnyk was not going to be a mere figurehead like his predecessor. Although Sawchuk was prepared to relinquish some of his customary administrative authority for a form of collective leadership with Skrypnyk, the available evidence and Skrypnyk's subsequent actions suggest that the archbishop disliked the team approach and wanted to be in complete control.[58] He considered the consistory an advisory not an executive body. Citing both Canadian tradition and theological sources, Sawchuk challenged Mstyslav's monarchical principle to insist that bishops were essentially servants not masters of the church. Agreeable to cooperation but totally opposed to subordination, Sawchuk and the consistory found themselves on a collision course with Skrypnyk, as both sides suspected and accused each other of harbouring "dictatorial" ambitions.[59] In contrast to the Swystun crisis, where Sawchuk had defended the authority of the church hierarchy, he was now defending church democracy against Skrypnyk's innate authoritarianism, something he had missed in his initial interviews with the archbishop.

A second but related source of friction between the administrator and the archbishop lay in the UGOC's relationship with the rest of the Ukrainian Orthodox community in diaspora and with the ecumenical Patriarchate of Constantinople. While favouring limited inter-Orthodox co-operation, Sawchuk remained true to his 1930s position on Teodorovych and stood firmly for complete independence of the UGOC. Skrypnyk, in contrast, was a passionate promoter of the inter-Orthodox consolidation and perceived the UGOC as the nucleus of a unified global Ukrainian Orthodox church. The official extinction of Ukrainian Orthodoxy in Soviet Ukraine made a worldwide autocephalous church embracing far-flung Ukrainian emigrant communities essential, it was believed, to preserve the idea of an independent

national church. To promote this concept Skrypnyk became involved in Ukrainian church affairs in the United States,[60] thereby demonstrating remarkable ignorance of the Canadian church tradition and psyche. He was contemptuous of Sawchuk, had no patience with the consistory, and chose the advice of his "new Canadian" friends over that of the "old Canadian" pioneer generation, behaviour that compounded the urgent problem of authority in the church. While the immigrant European clergy supported a monarchical concept of leadership, UGOC traditionalists were determined to preserve their unique democratic system.

Despite the consistory's repeated opposition, Skrypnyk became deeply embroiled in American Orthodox politics. First, he helped to orchestrate the long-anticipated reconsecration (or the "completion" of consecration) of Ioan Teodorovych. Second, he assumed spiritual authority over a faction of clergy in the jurisdiction of the Patriarchate of Constantinople that had rebelled against their bishop, Bohdan Shpylka.

Sawchuk and the consistory were angered by such independent actions and the implications for their church. The reconsecration issue, which Sawchuk had steadfastly opposed, cast an embarrassing shadow of canonical illegitimacy over the majority of Canadian priests, who had been ordained by Teodorovych. More importantly, Skrypnyk's dual leadership, and through it the implied subordination of the UGOC to Constantinople, challenged the cherished independence of the Canadian church. "Can a bishop head two churches which are mutually incompatible?" *Vistnyk* asked.[61] The consistory— and the USRL, until now marginal to the controversy— emphatically answered no. Although initially Sawchuk had kept the consistory's difficulties with the archbishop private and refrained from bringing the clergy or laity into the picture, a public showdown became inevitable when Skrypnyk forced the issue by resigning from the primacy of the Canadian church but leaving the final decision to the general church council scheduled for June 1950 in Saskatoon.

At the tense and heated confrontation between the archbishop and the "old Canadians," ideologies and personalities clashed. Sawchuk had been assured support from the USRL, but the presence of "new Canadians" delegates at the council clouded the outcome as it was assumed they would back Skrypnyk. Sawchuk depicted the archbishop as an irresponsible and thus dangerous leader, and undermined Skrypnyk's moral and administrative credibility by reading into the record copies of Mstyslav's letters to Polikarp containing personal attacks on Sawchuk and other consistory members.[62] But the essence of Sawchuck's argument was that Skrypnyk, by assuming leadership over the Ukrainian Orthodox church of America, a dependency of Constantinople, had lost his right to lead the Canadian church. The general council, as the supreme body of the UGOC, narrowly upheld Sawchuk's position by accepting Skrypnyk's resignation. The archbishop departed to the United States where he joined forces with Ioan Teodorovych and later succeeded him as metropolitan. In 1990 the elderly but still feisty and controversial Skrypnyk made history when he returned to Ukraine to be elected the first patriarch of the third formation of the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox church.

Having defeated Skrypnyk and the concept of monarchal hierarchy, Sawchuk moved quickly to heal a budding rift in the church, although his offer to retire from the consistory was rejected. To placate the pro-Skrypnyk faction, on Sawchuk's recommendation the general council placed the UGOC under Metropolitan Polikarp Sikorsky pending election of a new primate. Finally, it was decided to assure complete independence of the UGOC and a self-perpetuating hierarchy by establishing a metropolitanate of three bishops.[63]

The Establishment of the Canadian Metropolitanate

In the months between the council of June 1950 which terminated Skrypnyk's tenure in Canada and the extraordinary

council of August 1951, Sawchuk and the consistory made preparations for the proposed Ukrainian Canadian metropolitanate. Archbishop Mykhail Khoroshy, curator of the Orthodox Theological Academy in Munich, was designated primate of the UGOC, while Bishop Platon Artemiuk of Germany and the respected Reverend Wasyl Kudryk of Canada were proposed as bishops. Yet the consistory could not ignore the high profile presence of Metropolitan Ilarion Ohienko, who, since his arrival in Winnipeg, had engaged in energetic but unsuccessful efforts to create his own Ukrainian North American church in the jurisdiction of the Patriarchate of Constantinople. Despite his public criticism of the UGOC, he had a number of supporters there, especially in Judge Michael Stechishin, who steadily lobbied Sawchuk and other church and USRL leaders to reach an understanding with the metropolitan.

In summer 1950 Ohienko was ready to negotiate seriously with the UGOC.[64] Frustrated by contradictory signals from Constantinople and eager to head a real church, he dropped his criticism of the UGOC, attributing it to a "misunderstanding". Notwithstanding Ohienko's thorny personality, Sawchuk and the consistory also saw the benefits of having him on side instead of in opposition, especially in the volatile post-Skrypnyk period. They were prepared to abandon their original choice for primate in his favour, provided the metropolitan formally and publicly recognized the canonicity of the UGOC. The sudden death of Bishop Platon Artemiuk accelerated confidential
negotiations between Ohienko and the consistory. To prevent future conflicts between the consistory and the primate, Sawchuk drew up terms which clarified the division of power within the UGOC leadership and which Ohienko was obliged to sign. The extraordinary council meeting in Winnipeg in August 1951 unanimously elected Ohienko, whose candidacy Sawchuk formally presented, as "metropolitan of Winnipeg and all of Canada." Archbishop Khoroshy, a good Christian, had willingly relin-

quished his claims to primacy in order to maintain church unity and harmony. As the Reverend Kudryk declined the honour of the bishop's office, the metropolitanate initially consisted of the minimum two hierarchs.

The creation of the metropolitanate signaled the completion of the formative process of the UGOC. After thirty-three years the Canadian church had matured into a self-perpetuating institution, for as long as it had at least two hierarchs it had the canonical power to consecrate new bishops without seeking help from other Orthodox churches. Furthermore, the acquisition of Ohienko, whose own canonical stature was beyond reproach, raised the morale of the clergy and enhanced the prestige of the UGOC in the Orthodox world. The canonical status of the UGOC as an ecclesiastical jurisdiction, however, remained ambiguous until 1990. The tumultuous events of 1950-1 exhausted Sawchuk emotionally and physically. He took a leave of absence, and for the first time since 1922 the UGOC was without his leadership. He returned in 1955 and served as a chairman of the executive of the consistory until shifting his attention to St. Andrew's College, where he was rector, in 1963. Sawchuk remained a force, albeit a diminishing one, in Ukrainian Orthodox life until his death in 1983 at the age of eight-eight.

Conclusion

What does Sawchuk represent in the Ukrainian Canadian experience? He typified that pioneer generation of the tiny community elite that assumed that it had a moral and patriotic duty to instill a sense of national consciousness in the great mass of Ukrainian immigrants. But unlike most of his contemporaries, Sawchuk chose the more difficult religious path to the fulfillment of his perceived destiny. The UGOC and its ecclesiastical democracy (sobornopravnist), secular brotherhoods, and and parish autonomy needed a dedicated, strong-willed, and pragmatic leader with a sense of humour to survive its growing pains

and turn it into a major ecclesiastical body. Ukrainian born and Canadian educated, Sawchuk proved to be such a leader. Under his direction, the UGOC and its lay affiliate, the USRL, fought parochial regionalism by promoting modern Ukrainian national consciousness and active Canadian citizenship.

Sawchuk correctly assumed that the establishment of the UGOC had also a positive impact on the Greek Catholic church, which was obliged to reaffirm its Ukrainian profile in order to compete for the allegiance of the faithful. While consistently defending his vision of the UGOC against internal and external criticism, Sawchuk was not a religious bigot. He preached the peaceful co-existence of all Ukrainian religious denominations in Canada, especially when general community interests were at stake. In the late 1930s, for example, when various efforts at community consolidation were undertaken, Sawchuk advocated a national representative committee based on the Ukrainian Catholic and Orthodox churches and their secular affiliates. Although his novel approach for Ukrainian unity in Canada failed, he continued to promote consolidation and played an active role in the eventual formation of a national coordinating body, the Ukrainian Canadian Congress.

Next to preserving its Ukrainian character and Orthodox doctrines, Sawchuk championed the ecclesiastical independence of the UGOC. He consistently opposed all forms of foreign jurisdictional domination and accepted only limited cooperation with other Ukrainian Orthodox churches. How then would he have reacted to the decision of the extraordinary general council of the renamed Ukrainian Orthodox Church of Canada of October 1989 and the general council of July 1990 to place the Canadian church in the ecclesiastical jurisdiction of the Patriarchate of Constantinople? Would he have been shocked and dismayed at the seeming betrayal of his cherished principle of independence? In his semi-retirement Sawchuk had been keenly aware that the policy of splendid isolation identified with him and the USRL

was not popular with the majority of the clergy, who wanted to be accepted as equals by other Orthodox denominations. A man of his intelligence would have realized that it was only a matter of time before the nagging question of canonicity had to be resolved once and for all. A democrat, he would have grudgingly accepted the council decision as he had in 1924.

The post-Sawchuk leadership of the 1970-80s moved slowly but steadily towards meaningful inter-Orthodox relations despite Sawchuk's reservations. Metropolitan Wasyly Fedak, like Sawchuk Ukrainian born and Canadian educated, spearheaded the reconciliation, made possible because of the steady decline of the influence of the USRL with its philosophy of self-sufficiency in church affairs. The decision of July 1990 can be seen as logical progression in the evolution of the UGOC. Having outgrown its Ukrainian Canadian parochialism, it was now ready to admit that its canonical status was in doubt and take the appropriate steps to acquire legitimacy in the Orthodox world through a special eucharistical relationship with the ecumenical patriarchate.[65] Perhaps more importantly, these steps were taken without sacrificing the church's actual independence and without sacrificing the church's actual independence and without abandoning its unique Ukrainian Canadian tradition that Sawchuk to his death insisted was its most important cornerstone.[66] As behooves a democratic institution, the Ukrainian Orthodox Church of Canada changed not only its name but also its orientation in accordance with the changing wishes of a changing membership.

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1 See Odarka Trosky, *The Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church in Canada* (Winnipeg 1968); *Zbirnyk materiialiv z nahody iuvileinoho roku 50-littia Ukrainskoi Hreko-Pravoslavnoi Tserkvy v Kanadi, 1918-1968* (Winnipeg 1968); Paul Yuzyk, *The Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church of Canada,*

1918-1951 (Ottawa 1981); and the monumental four-volume study by Iurii Mulyk-Lutsyk, *Istoriia Ukrainskoi Hreko-Pravoslavnoi Tserkvy v Kanadi* (Winnipeg 1984-89).

2 The most incisive analysis of the pioneer Ukrainian intelligentsia is to be found in Orest Martynowych's excellent study, Ukrainians in Canada: *The Formative Years, 1891-1924* (Edmonton 1991), 169-81, 237-305.

3 *Ukrainskyi holos*, 27 August 1910; see also Julian Stechyshyn, Mizh ukrainstsiamy v Kanadi (Saskatoon 1953), 8-12.

4 For a sympathetic view of Budka, see Stella Hryniuk, "Pioneer Bishop, Pioneer Times: Nykyta Budka in Canada," *Canadian Catholic Historical Association Historical Studies* 54 (1988): 21-41; for the Orthodox perspective, see Mulyk-Lutsyk, *Istoriia*, III, 162-84.

5 In the Simon W. Sawchuk Papers, UGOC Consistory, Winnipeg, see Michael Stechishin to Simon Sawchuk, 20 March 1934; Simon Savchuk, "Osnovni zasady Ukrainskoi Hreko-Pravoslavnoi Tserkvy v Kanadi," unpublished Convocation address, St. Andrew's College, 28 April 1950; and "Ideolohochni zasady UHPTserkvy v Kanadi," unpublished address to the fifteenth general council of the UGOC, 3 July 1975. Although unorganized, Sawchuk's archive contains a wealth of information for the patient researcher and has been the source for information not otherwise acknowledge in this article.

6 Circular of the National Committee, 26 June 1918, ibid.

7 *Ukrainskyi holos*, 7 August 1918; see also *Vistnyk*, 18 August 1949. Michael Stechishin appears to have been the first dissident to advance the concept of a reborn Ukrainian Orthodox church in Canada, in 1917; Michael Stechishin to Simon Sawchuk, 20 March 1934, Sawchuk Papers.

8 Report, confidential meeting, 18-19 July 1918, Sawchuk Papers; and *Ukrainskyi holos*, 7 August 1918.

9 Church property was to belong to and be managed by the local congregation, whose consent was also needed to appoint or dismiss its priest; bishops were to be chosen by a general council of priests and lay delegates of all congregations. Greek Catholic structures were quite different; see *Constitution and By-laws of the Ruthenian Greek Catholic Church in Canada* (Winnipeg 1913).

10 The bishop's office is seen as a direct succession of the offices of the Apostles whom Christ himself had chosen and entrusted with full spiritual powers, and who, in turn, passed the office to their successors by the sacramental laying on of hands; in practice at least two bishops are required to consecrate a new bishop. See E. Benz, *The Eastern Orthodox Church* (Chicago 1963), 68.

11 See Paul Yuzyk, "The Expansion of the Russian Orthodox Church in

North America to 1918," unpublished paper, 1950; and M.G. Kovach, "The Russian Orthodox Church in Russian America" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Pittsburgh, 1957)

12 Simon Sawchuk to Ivan Ohienko, 22 April 1922, Ivan Ohienko (Metropolitan Ilarion) Papers, UGOC Consistory.

13 Panteleimon Bozhyk, *Tserkov ukraintsiv v Kanadi* (Winnipeg 1927), 193. A Bukovynian Ukrainian who initially served in the Russian mission in Canada, Bozhyk subsequently joined the Greek Catholic clergy and waged a slanderous campaign against the UGOC.

14 This is the theme of *Muzh idei i pratsi: V50-littia zhurnalistychnoi ta tserkovnoi pratsi o. V. Kudryka* (Winnipeg, 1958).

15 Mykola Kopachuk, administrator, Ukrainian Orthodox Diocese of America (Chicago), to Ivan Ohienko, 23 January 1923, Ohienko Papers.

16 Simon Sawchuk to Ivan Ohienko, 18 January 1922, ibid.

17 Simon Sawchuk to Michael Stechishin, 16 April 1957, Sawchuk Papers.

18 Ohienko, as a promoter of the concept of a national autocephalous Orthodox church, was the one who contacted the Canadian Brotherhood, in May 1921; see "Do slavnoho ukrainskoho pravoslavnoho tserkovnoho bratstva v Saskatuni, Amerytsi, "Ohienko Papers. When Ohienko consulted Bishop Dionisiy Valedynsky of Kremenets, the future primate of the Orthodox church of Poland, about assisting the Canadian church, dionisiy was prepared to cooperate because he considered the UGOC under Germanos a canonical church; Dionisiy to Ivan Ohienko, 24 December 1921, ibid.

19 Simon Sawchuk to Ivan Ohienko, 27 October 1921, 24 April 1922, Sawchuk Papers.

20 Simon Sawchuk to Michael Stechishin, 18 December 1922, ibid.

21 On the Orthodox church of Poland, see I. Vlasovsky, *Narys istorii Ukrainskoi Pravoslavnoi Terskvy*, IV, (New York 1966), 5-176; and O. Kurapanets, *Pravoslavna tserkva v mizhvoiennii Polshchi*, 1919-1939 (Rome 1974). On the Autocephalous church, see Bohdan Bociurkiw, "The Autocephalous Church Movement in Ukraine: The Formative Stage, 1917-21," *Ukrainian Quarterly* 16, no. 3 (Autumn 1960): 211-23; O. Zinkevych and O. Voronyn, eds., *Martyrolohiia ukrainskykh terskov*, I (Ukrainska Pravoslavna Tserkva) (Toronto and Baltimore 1987), 29-537; and V. Lypkivsky, *Vidrodzhennia terskvy v Ukraini,* 1917-1930 (Toronto 1959)

22 Zinkevych and Voronyn, *Martyrolohiia*, 231-537, provide detailed documentation of the persecution and liquidation of the Autocephalous church.

23 Ivan Ohienko to Simon Sawchuk, no. 1564, June 1922, Sawchuk Papers.

24 The autocephalous-autonomous controversy is discussed in Oleh Gerus, "The Ukrainian Orthodox Church during World War II," *Vira i kultura*

(forthcoming, September 1993 issue).

25 Ivan Ohienko to Simon Sawchuk, 3 April 1923, Sawchuk Papers.

26 As a parish priest at Canora, Saskatchewan, in 1920 Sawchuk had earned $50 a month, considerably less than the $125 paid a store clerk, Simon Sawchuk to the Ukrainian Orthodox Brotherhood, 5 October 1920, ibid.

27 Myroslav Stechishin to Michael Stechishin, 27 July 1923, ibid.

28 "Here [in Western Ukraine] 'uncanonicity' is being slowly diffused and forgotten because the Autocephalous church as gained much respect due to its genuine democracy and nationalism"; Ivan Ohienko to Simon Sawchuk, 21 June 1924, ibid.

29 Myroslav Stechishin to Michael Stechishin, 16 January 1923, ibid.

30 Sawchuk's view of canon law as a subjective political tool was later outlined in *Tserkovni kanony v teorii i praktytsi* (Winnipeg 1955).

31 *Vistnyk*, 1 October 1949.

32 On the shortage of priests, see *Zbirnyk materiialiv*, 10-13; Simon Sawchuk's diary records how he performed pastoral duties for congregations in rural Manitoba lacking permanent priests. On the early history of the USRL, see Oleh W. Gerus, "Consolidating the Community; The Ukrainian Self-Reliance League," in Lubomyr Luciuk and Stella Hryniuk, eds., *Canada's Ukrainians: Negotiating an Identity* (Toronto 1992), 157-86.

33 Simon Savchuk, *Piatnadtsiat lit pratsi Ukrainskoi Hreko-Pravoslavnoi Tserkvy v Kanadi* (Winnipeg 1933), 3-15; and Vasyl Kudryk, *Chuzha ruka abo khto roziedniue ukrainskyi narid* (Winnipeg 1935).

34 A. Baran, "Relihiini i sotsiialni problemy Ukrainskoi Katolytskoi Terskvy v Kanadi," in *Zbirnyk tysiacholittia khrystiianstva v Ukraini, 988-1988*, ed. A. Baran and O. Gerus (Winnipeg 1991), 125-33.

35 *Vistnyk*, 1 March 1940.

36 Myroslav Stechishin to Michael Stechishen 1934, Sawchuk Papers.

37 P. Mayevsky, "My Work as a Priest in Canada, in the City of Winnipeg," in *45th Anniversary of the Rebirth of the Church in Ukraine, 1921-1966* (Los Angeles 1966), 154.

38 Simon Sawchuk to Michael Stechishin, 16 April 1934, Sawchuk Papers.

39 See Simon Sawchuk to Ioan Teodorovych, 18 December 1929, ibid.

40 Michael Stechishin to Ioan Teodorovych, 20 December 1929, ibid.

41 Wasyl Swystun to Michael Stechishin,

42 Simon Sawchuk to Michael Stechishin, 8 March 1934, ibid.

43 Wasyl Swystun to Michael Stechishin, 17 March 1934, ibid. In fact Sawchuk was an effective speaker with a sharp sense of humour, a quality Swystun sadly lacked.

44 Michael Stechishin to Wasyl Swystun, 19 March 1934, ibid.

45 Simon Sawchuk to Wasyl Kudryk, 16 October 1931, idib.

46 Vasyl Svystun, *Dogmatychno-kanonichne stanovyscbe Ukrainskoi Hreko-Pravoslavnoi Tserkvy v Kanadi* (Winnipeg 1935).

47 *Ukrainskyi holos,* 30 March 1935; and Michael Stechishin to Simon Sawchuk, 3 August 1965, Sawchuk Papers.

48 Consistory circular to the clergy, No. 8830-8853, Sawchuk Papers.

49 Myroslav Stechishin to Michael Stechishin, 18 March 1934, ibid.

50 *Protokol semoho soboru Ukrainskoi Hreko-Pravoslavnoi Tserkvy v Kanadi* (Winnipeg 1935).

51 The following members of the consistory, which was considerably enlarged in 1951, were all prominent in the USRL: the three Stechishins, J. Symyk, P. Lazarowich, J. Arsenych, J. Solomon, P. Kondra, P. Smylsky, T. Humeniuk, A. Pawlik, L. Faryna. In 1938 Swystun joined the USRL's rival, the Ukrainian National Federation, as its vice-president, and helped organize the Ukrainian Canadian Committee. In 1945 he adopted a pro-Soviet position while remaining an Orthodox Christian and member of St Mary the Protectress. He died in 1963. Swystun's papers remain in the hands of his family.

52 Simon Sawchuk to Petro Samets, 30 July 1946, Sawchuk Papers; and Simon Sawchuk to Ivan Ohienko, 6 July 1945, Ohienko Papers.

53 Sawchuk presented the details of his communication with Ohienko to the extraordinary general council of the UGOC, 12-13 November 1947; *Vistnyk,* 1 and 14 April 1948; Ohienko's position was presented to Sawchuk in a major essay, "Riatuimo ukrainsku tserkvu" (1945).

54 Sawchuk's account of his European search, taken from his diaries, was published in *Vistnyk,* 15 July, 15 October, and 15 November 1946.

55 *Vistnyk,* 1 October 1947.

56 See Wasyl Swystun to Ivan Ohienko, 28 March and 30 October 1945, 28 January and 15 November 1946, Ohienko Papers.

57 See, for example, Michael Stechishin to Ivan Ohienko, 30 April 1950, ibid.

58 Mstylav Skrypnyk to John Hundiak (United States), 28 January 1949 and Polikarp Sikorsky, 25 October 1950, ibid.

59 Minutes, meeting of the consistory, 1 December 1949, Sawchuk Papers.

60 *Vistnyk,* 15 February 1950.

61 Ibid., 15 October 1949.

62 For example, in a letter to Metropolitan Sikorsky, 17 February 1949, Skrypnyk referred to "the obvious banditry of my consistory priests"; Sawchuk Papers. How Sawchuk and Ohienko managed to obtain copies of Skrypnyk's confidential correspondence remains a mystery.

63 Minutes, meeting of the consistory, 24-5 October 1950, Sawchuk Papers.

64 See Oleh W. Gerus, "Metropolitan Ilarion Ohienko and the Ukrainian

Greek Orthodox Church of Canada," in O. Gerus and A. Baran, eds., *Millennium of Christianity in Ukraine, 998-1988* (Winnipeg 1989), 239-74.

65 "Report of the Presidium of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church of Canada, the Very Rev. Dr. Stephan Jarmus, to the Eighteenth Sobor," *Delegates' Manual for the Eighteeenth Sobor of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church of Canada*, 4-8 July 1990 (Winnipeg), 62-5.

66 "To take away the Ukrainian language, to take away the Ukrainian ideology, to take away the Ukrainian liturgical music, to take away Ukrainian religious rituals and traditions such as Ukrainian Christmas and Easter rites, to take away the church calender, is to end the UGOC itself...it would remain a church or an ecclesiastical organization but it would not be a Ukrainian church"; *Protokol piatnadtsiatoho soboru UHPTs v Kanadi*, 2-6 July 1975 (Winnipeg), 29.

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1918 and the Emergence of the Ukrainian Orthodox Tradition in Canada

Dr. Roman Yereniuk

The Ukrainian Orthodox tradition in Canada[1] traces its emergence to the year 1918. As a result of an invitation dated June 26, 1918 and signed by 30 prominent 'narodovtsi" (nationalists)[2] - 6 from Alberta, 15 from Saskatchewan and 9 from Manitoba[3], some 310 conscientious and informed ("svidomi") prairie Ukrainians were summoned to Saskatoon for July 18-19, 1918 for a confidential meeting ("dovirochni zbory"). The planned meeting opened on July 18, 1918 in the Ukrainian National Home with the presence of 154 individuals. Most of those attending were prominent nationalists; most were from the province of Halychyna with a smaller number from Bukovyna. A large portion were Greek Catholics, although some were not active due to their own volition or due to censure by Bishop Budka, a much smaller number were members of the Russian Orthodox mission, or former members of the Independent Greek Church, as well as at least one Protestant (Rudyk). Those present were in a large part all lay members, mainly teachers or upward mobile farmers with only a small number of clerics (Fathers Kusy, Kyrstiuk and 2 others - all members of the Russian Orthodox Mission).

The task of the meeting was to "discuss, resolve and clarify the status of our church" and "to resolve the religious issue". What was the religious issue that these nationalists saw fit to resolve? Who were the "narodovsti" (nationalists), and who empowered them to take such an important action?

The religious history of Ukrainian Canadians from 1891 to 1918, a little over a quarter of a century, can be termed a history of religious competition for the salvation of the souls of

Ukrainians. In this competition the Greek Catholics played the greatest role with minor ones played out by the Russian Orthodox mission, the so called "Seraphimite" Church (All Russian Patriarchal Orthodox Church), the Independent Greek Church as well as the Anglo Protestants (Presbyterians and Methodists). Each religious group had its agenda and platform, each had significant leadership as well as vehicles for disseminating their views, chiefly newspapers. By the middle of the 1910's, the prominent position of the Greek Catholics had been achieved by the appointment of a Ukrainian Greek Catholic bishop (Bishop Nykyta Budka) in 1912 and the arrival of Ukrainian secular priests to complement the monastics, mostly of non-Ukrainian background. However, their relationship with Roman Catholics was not the best, and Archbishop Langevin's "Catholic Empire" had trouble fitting the Ukrainians into their vision of prairie Catholicism. On the other hand the "Seraphimite" and Independent Greek Churches[4] had been unmitigated failures, while the Russian Orthodox mission[5] was tied too closely with Russian imperialism and autocracy. Likewise the Anglo Protestants, with their liberal current of thought linked with the ideals of Canadian imperialism and the social gospel movement believed that all newcomers should be "Christianized, Canadianized and incorporated into the bone and sinew of our national life".[6] Medical missions, student residences, settlement houses and Sunday schools were employed to "convert" the Ukrainians, however, their successes were meager.

In the middle of the 1910's Canada had given root to the rise of a Ukrainian intelligentsia - a class of secular idealists, usually well educated and well versed in Old World politics, who quickly had become socially mobile in Canada. Some of these became teachers of the Ukrainian bilingual schools, others graduated from universities, still others became government and political hacks, newspaper organizers and labour leaders. Most of the prairie secular institutions were initiated and established by them

(national homes, co-ops, political organizations, labour circles etc.). In fact, they became the intermediaries between their countrymen and the general Canadian society. Between 1907 and 1915 the intelligentsia itself was splintered into two groupings - the nationalists (narodovtsi)[7] and the socialists.[8] Both of these articulated different social, cultural and political programmes, each repudiated the other and each competed with institutions in both the cities and the countryside to lure Ukrainians.

The first of these, the nationalists, were earmarked by an agenda that included five important pillars:

a) Non sectarianism - an attempt to organize the community ("hromada") according to secular, non sectarian principles rather than denominational principles.
b) Bilingual education - based on an educational programme where all languages and cultures were to have the same rights and privileges. Thus for Ukrainians, Ukrainian language and culture should be taught parallel to English.
c) Economic self-reliance - funds and profits were to remain within Ukrainian circles for the further development of language and culture. "Svii do svoho" ("one to his own") was a popular slogan and was backed by various Ukrainian cooperatives and community business ventures.
d) Political independence - they supported their own Ukrainian candidates and touted political non-partisanship. In so doing they refused Canadian Liberal and Conservative partisan politics.
e) Democracy - they held the view that all members should share power in a collegial way and opposed dictatorial and small group leadership. They were thus the first to call a National Converition of Ukrainian Canadians in Canada in 1916.

The nationalist's vision of the community opposed that of the socialists. They presented a platform that included social revolution and the creation of a just and egalitarian social order and thus

strove to organize labourers and later farmers into a network of their own institutions across Canada.

Both of these became in the mid 1910's, a major concern for the Greek Catholic Church headed by Bishop Nykyta Budka.[9] The radical position of socialists was indeed a threat to the Ukrainian settler's "faith", nevertheless it was the nationalists who posed the challenge head-on of entering into direct conflict with the centralized bureaucracy and stranglehold of Greek Catholicism in Canada.

The nationalists "narodovsti" challenged Bishop Budka on several fronts in the period 1912 to 1918 among which were:

1. The presence of non Ukrainian clergymen - a threat of Latinizing the Ukrainian Catholic Church and of de-Ukrainianization,
2. The emphasis on celibate clergy (both secular and monastic), especially in Saskatchewan and Manitoba - another intrusion into the Ukrainian religious psyche,
3. The incorporation of parishes of the Ukrainian Catholic Church under the Catholic hierarchy, including that of Bishop Budka - a usurpation of the communities labours and freedoms, and
4. The attempt at incorporating the Petro Mohyla Institute (Saskatoon)[10] under Bishop Budka's charter - a direct attack on one of the major institutions of the "narodovtsi" in preparing the youth - the future cadres of the community.

The nationalists ("narodovtsi") had a number of options in their approach after the latest incident with Bishop Nykyta Budka over the incorporation of Petro Mohyla Institute in Saskatoon. First, they could have continued to battle Bishop Budka as a secular body at various venues and to remain a social force for change within the Greek Catholic Church. Second, there were some that considered the need for a separate National Ukrainian Church. In 1913,[11] three letters appeared in *Ukrainskyi Holos* in this regard. Later in December, 1917, a "people's priest"

("narodnyi sviashchennyk"), writing in *Kanadvis'kvi Farmer* suggested the need for a "Ukrainska Natsional'na Tserkva (Ukrainian National Church).[12] This priest was Fr. Ivan Kusy, one of the Ukrainian priests ordained by Bishop Paul Markiewicz of Chicago of the Polish National Church. Certainly this breakaway Polish model from Polish Catholicism could have been adapted for the Ukrainians. Fr. Kusy even proposed a governing model and the foundations for such an endeavor.

Third, Rev. Maksymchuk, writing in the Presbyterian newspaper *Ranok* proposed a separate Presbyterian version Ukrainian church[13] without the trappings of the eastern rite. He hoped it would be a "truly independent democratic church in which religious liberty and freedom of consumerism would prevail".

Fourth, the option of returning to the ancient tradition of Ukrainian Orthodoxy was considered. This was the faith of Prince Volodymyr the Great, Metropolitan Petro Mohyla, the cossacks and the hetmans as well as of the Ukrainian brotherhoods. Many of the nationalist leaders liked the decentralized church organization, with its emphasis on regular sobors (councils) in decision making, the participation of clergy and laity, and the importance of a married clergy, one that shared many aspirations with the masses. The emphasis on antiquity, especially the X -Xl and XVII centuries, encouraged some of the "narodovtsi" to attempt to replicate its essence on Canadian soil.

Thus the "dovirochni zbory" in Saskatoon in July 18-19, 1918 looked minimally at the above options, bashed Bishop Nykyta Budka, and proceeded with the last option. The meeting had three major speeches by Mychailo Stechishin, (1880-1964), Wasyl Swystun (1893-1967) and Yaroslav Arsenych (1887-1953). All three had spent the last decade in these debates, were the acknowledged leaders of the "narodovtsi" and were on the average 31 years of age. All three were involved in education and enlightenment and thus attacked with emotion Bishop Budka. Mykhailo Stechishin critically analyzed Bishop Budka's episco-

pal charter and brought forth a list of its various inadequacies. He then proposed that it should be invalidated and a new charter be drafted to reflect greater emphasis on "democratic" principles in Canada. Wasyl Swystun outlined the history of the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church since the union of Brest (1596) and emphasized many of its historical shortcomings. He especially underscored Rome's Latinization work in the rites and rituals and the centralization policies of Poland and its Catholic Church. He emphasized that there was a need either to compromise with the Greek Catholics (which was most difficult with Bishop Budka at the helm) or to engage in an independent process of activities to create a new Church. Meanwhile Arsenych criticized the Greek Catholic Church and its "Roman headed agenda", repudiated its ecclesiastical hierarchal structure and instead recommended a more "democratic" church structure that would still use the Greek rites and rituals.

All three speeches were well received by the partisan crowd, and subsequently a legalistic set of resolutions[14] were drafted. In the first part, with eleven "whereas clauses", Bishop Nykyta Budka and the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church were censured and repudiated. Next in the "therefore clauses", six points were raised supporting the restoration of "our old ancestral Ukrainian Orthodox Church". The first promised to place this new church body in communion with other Eastern Orthodox Churches and to accept their unified dogmas and rites. The second and fifth clauses related to the type of clergy - only married were to be accepted and with the right of parishes to appoint and dismiss them. The third related to the importance of member trusteeship in all future parishes. The fourth regulated the election of bishops through Sobors (Councils) of clergy and laity. The last "therefore" clause concluded with the aims and objectives of the meeting - "to organize the Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Brotherhood of Canada" with a five point agenda:

1. to prepare the incorporation of the Ukrainian Greek

Orthodox Church in Canada,

2. to establish a seminary,
3. to organize parishes,
4. to provide clergy for parishes, and
5. to prepare and convoke a Sobor (Council) to initiate the new church and to establish its organizational structure.

The same day, the Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Brotherhood of Canada was organized with all present joining (the nominal fee was five dollars). Their first elected head was the Winnipeg leader, Wasyl Swystun. An executive of nine[15] was elected - a who's who of the "narodovtsi" along with an organizational committee of 16 to organize brotherhoods and parishes.

Three weeks later on August 7, 1918, an open appeal to the Ukrainian people of Canada was published in the *Ukrains'kyi Holos* concluding with the words:

"It is the sacred duty of every Ukrainian to become a member of the Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Brotherhood, which took upon itself the matter of organizing the Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church.

> When this will be achieved, with the help of God and through the work of all of us, the Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church will become a true democratic institution which will be working for the glory of God and the welfare of the people."[16]

A week later, on August 14, 1918, an announcement was circulated to open a seminary on October 15, 1918 in Saskatoon (to this end, some $2,000.00 was collected at the July 18-19, 1918 meeting). However, due to the lack of an instructor it didn't open until November 15, 1919 and in March 1920 the first three graduates[17] were ordained - the first indigenous clergy for the Church - all married, in their late 20's, and all former teachers. They were added to the five clerics who had joined from other jurisdictions to become the first clergy of the new church.

Initially the leadership negotiated for a bishop with the Russian Orthodox Mission in North America and its Archbishop Alexander Nemolovsky,[18] but quickly abandoned the idea. In

turn, they were accepted under the spiritual care of Metropolitan Germanos Shegedhi (1870-1934)[19] of the Antiochian Orthodox Patriarchate.

In December 1918, the first Sobor (Council) was convoked in Saskatoon and subsequently in November-December 1919 the second one was held in three cities: Winnipeg (27 - XI -1919), Edmonton (4 - XII), and Saskatoon (II - XII). The second one accepted Metropolitan Germanos as their first hierarch and elected the first Consistory Board of 7 - 2 clergy and 5 lay members headed by Reverend Dr. Lazar German. It also drafted the first statutes of the new church which were published in May 1921 (later they were approved by Canada's Federal Parliament on March 5,1929).

These initial steps, in the first two years, demonstrates how quickly the Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church was established, based on the resolutions of the 1918 confidential meeting in Saskatoon. Nonetheless a few words must be said of the process itself and the 1918 decision. The major thrust of the 1918 meeting was against Bishop Nykyta Budka and the resulting decision was to counter his influence and role in the Ukrainian Canadian community. The decision to establish the Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church in 1918 was just as much a national and political stand as it was a religious one. The leaders of the "narodovtsi" resented clerical control of the Church and community, especially the secular institutions, and were convinced that Russian Orthodoxy, Roman Catholicism and various branches of Protestantism were also against Ukrainian national interests and were de-Ukrainianization agents. Religiously and spiritually, the decision reflected the search of the "narodovtsi" for a church that best exemplified their needs and arrived at the Orthodox Christian tradition.

A number of scholars[20] have argued that in the debate of the "narodovsti" with the Greek Catholics, there was no doctrinal issue, that is one of a dogmatic nature. Matters of rites and ritu-

als had been raised and major opposition to the Roman model was emphasized. The "narodovtsi' preferred the Greek Byzantine rite as exemplified in the title of the new church - Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church of Canada.

Although the "narodovtsi" did not have a profound understanding or appreciation of Eastern Orthodox theology, doctrine and spirituality, they nevertheless seemed more comfortable in Eastern Orthodox ecclesiology - the understanding of the nature of the Church and its governance. Their position showed great propensity to Orthodox church government with its "soborno-pravnist" (Counciliarism) and relative "democracy" with roles for both clergy and laity over that of the Roman Church (considered to be very hierarchical). They wanted a Church that had room in it for both God and man, the divine and the human - the symbiotic relationship between the church ("ecclesia") and its nationhood -peoplehood, especially in governance.

In analyzing the emergence of the Ukrainian Orthodox tradition on Canadian soil, it should be kept in mind that this tradition also was being re-kindled in the homeland. How much of this was known in Canada is difficult to ascertain, however it seems the leadership was following the events closely, even though the news reached Canada somewhat late. Also the "narodovtsi" read the prominent literature of the time and were aware of Hrushevsky's one volume *History of Rus'-Ukraine*, Antonovych's *History of the Ukrainian Cossacks*, Franko's *Outline History of Ukrainian Literature* and Shevchenko's *Kobzar*. They were nurtured also by the pamphleteers and the partisan newspapers in both Ukraine and Canada. In this way the difficult position of Ukrainian Orthodoxy in the period 1686 to 1918, subjugated under Russian Orthodoxy and its Holy Synod was known by the leadership of the newly formed Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church in Canada. All of this influenced the "narodovtsi" in their bold new step to rediscover the Orthodox Church in its historical Ukrainian tradition.

The emergence of the Ukrainian Orthodox tradition on Canadian soil is a unique phenomenon in the two thousand-year history of Orthodoxy. The various ideals that launched the Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church in Canada shared many of the same characteristics with that of the homeland. The role of the laity was paramount for both, and the leadership of an enlightened cadre of the "intelligentsia" and clergy was central to their successes.

The question of launching a Ukrainian Orthodox Church in Canada based on a tradition of earlier centuries was not beyond recall, even in 1918. However it necessitated, a new accommodation to the unique Ukrainian Canadian reality - a reality somewhat parallel and yet different from that in the homeland. The birth of the Ukrainian Orthodox tradition in Canada is a unique chapter in the annals of the history of Orthodoxy, especially its various Orthodox jurisdictions in the New World. Nonetheless, it deserves greater attention, study and appreciation. Likewise, in the history of religion in Canada, the early Ukrainian Orthodox experience is one that is little known, as opposed to the better-known Catholic and Protestant traditions. Hopefully, this article will contribute to a better appreciation of Orthodoxy in Canada, especially the beginnings of the unique Ukrainian Orthodox tradition.

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1 On the Ukrainian Orthodox Church in Canada and its tradition see P. Yuzyk, *The Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church of Canada (1918-1951)* Ottawa: University of Ottawa Press, 1981, 0. Trosky, *The Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church in Canada*, Winnipeg: Ukrainian Orthodox Church of Canada Press, 1968 and S.V. Sawchuk and Y. Mulyk-Lucyk, *Istoria Ukrainskoii Hreko -Pravoslavnoii Tserkvy v Kanadi*, 4 volumes, Winnipeg: Ecclesia Publishing, 1984-1989.

2 On the term "narodovtsi" see the discussion in O.T. Martynowych, *Ukrainians in Canada, The Formative Period, 1891-1924*, Edmonton: CIUS Press, 1991.p. xxviii-xxix.

3 For a list of the thirty see Trosky, *op.cit.*, p. 13 and Yuzyk, *op.cit.*, p. 85.

4 On the Independent Greek Church see the memoir of J. Brodrug, *Independent Orthodox Church*, Toronto: Ukrainian Canadian Research Foundation, 1980.

5 On the jurisdictional issues and competition see the author's article "Church Jurisdictions and Jurisdictional Changes Among Ukrainians in Canada 1891-1925" in D. Goa (ed.) *The Ukrainian Religious Experience*, Edmonton: CIUS Press, 1989, p. 109-127.

6 E.D. McLaren. "The Perils of Immigration", in *The Presbyterian Record*, XXXI (1) (January 1906), p. 11.

7 See discussed in Sawchuk & Mulyk-Lucyk, *op. cit.* vol.II, p. 236-293.

8 See discussed in Martynowych, *op.cit.*, p. 496-501.

9 On the appointment and early work of Bishop Nykyta Budka, see Martynowych, *ibid.*,. p. 381-386

10 On the Mohyla Institute see the anniversary volume *luvileina knyha, 25 littia Instytutu im. Petra Mohyly y Saskatuni*, Saskatoon: 1945.

11 *Ukrainskyi Holos*, Sept. 13, 1913, (two letters) and Nov. 5, 1913 (one letter).

12 *Kanadviskvi Farmer*, Dec. 21, 1917.

13 *Ranok*, Jan. 30, 1918.

14 For the entire resolution see the translated text in Trosky, *op. cit.*, p. 14-15.

15 They included T. Goshko, P. Svarich and A. Shandro (from Alberta); W. Hawysh, M. Stechishin and P. Shwydky (from Saskatchewan) and A. Zylich, J.W. Arsenych and W. Michaychuk (from Manitoba). Six of these were signees of the invitation to the Saskatoon Confidential Meeting. See listed in Trosky, *Ibid* p. 15 and Yuzyk, *op.cit.* p. 86.

16 For the text of the appeal see *Ukrains'kyi Holos*, Aug. 7, 1918. For the English translation see Trosky, *Ibid.* p.15-16.

17 They included Fathers S.W. Sawchuk (1895-1983), P. Sametz (1893-1985) and D. Stratychuk (1892-1973). The first became the major organizer and leader of the Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church of Canada for over sixty years. For his obituary see *Visnyk* (The Herald), vol. 60 (1983), no.21, p.1-2.

18 On this negotiation see Sawchuk and Mulyk-Lucyk, *op. cit.*, vol. III, p. 491-509.

19 On him see *Ibid*, III, p. 610-681.

20 See for example, Martynowych, *op.cit.*, p. 410.

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The Petro Mohyla Institute: The Emergence of a Ukrainian Orthodox Institution, 1916-1920

Uliana Holowach-Amiot

The Petro Mohyla Bursa, subsequently known as the Mohyla Institute and the Mohyla Academy, was established in response to the growing needs of the Ukrainian Canadian community. Although founded as a non-sectarian body, this institution came within the purview of the Ukrainian Greek-Orthodox Church of Canada. This paper traces the early history of Mohyla, focusing on the polemics and developments surrounding its religious character, and examines the role played by the Institute and its members, particularly those in positions of leadership, in the formation and early growth of the Ukrainian Greek-Orthodox Church.

The idea to found a Ukrainian bursa[1] in Saskatoon was conceived by a group of Saskatoon students and student-teachers[2] at a meeting of their organization on March 4, 1916. The following day, at a gathering at West Side Theatre, a committee was formed to oversee the project, which included the preparation of a charter, the incorporation of the institution, and the dissemination of information.[3] These actions were approved at the First Ukrainian National Convention held in Saskatoon in August 1916, to which "teachers, students, trustees, municipal and school secretaries, councilors, priests, farmers, businessmen, workers and all conscious and sincere Ukrainian patriots from Saskatchewan and other provinces" were summoned.[4] This convention placed the Mohyla Bursa on a more solid foundation. Joseph Megas, one of Saskatchewan's supervisors of school districts in foreign-speaking communities, became the first president of Mohyla, which officially opened its doors to both males and females in the fall of 1916.

The aim of the institution was to raise the educational level of the Ukrainian Canadian community by providing relatively inexpensive accommodation for students from Ukrainian colonies who desired to pursue their academic and professional studies in the public, high, and Normal schools and at the University. In 1919 an arrangement was concluded with the Saskatoon Public School Board whereby a teacher conducted classes in the Institute itself. This was continued until the number of public school pupils at Mohyla decreased.[5] The directors decided to expand the bursa's educational activities in the fall of 1918 and to offer practical courses in commerce, home economics, and agricultural engineering. The latter was run in conjunction with the University. The future plans of Mohyla included extension work among the older generation by establishing chytalnias or reading associations, national homes, and cooperatives. Mohyla was to become "the main seat of enlightenment, knowledge and learning not only in Saskatchewan but in all of Canada."[6] Thus the Institute aided in putting Ukrainians on a more equal footing with other Canadians.

More importantly the bursa was designed to counter the assimilative tendencies exhibited by the Anglo-Canadian majority, evident since the beginning of Ukrainian immigration to Canada and heightened during the First World War. This was particularly clear with the abolition of the bilingual system of education in Manitoba in 1916 and the cancellation in December 1918 of the right to teach languages other than English during the final hour of the school day in Saskatchewan. Mohyla's mandate was accomplished by bringing pupils who had previously been scattered throughout the province to one central location and housing them in a uniquely Ukrainian milieu. Instruction was given outside regular school hours in Ukrainian language, literature, history, and music by older and more educated students. A choir was established and in the fall of 1917 girls received piano lessons. These classes were open to pupils who did not live at the

bursa.[7] A students' group, whose goal was self-education and the fostering of a patriotic spirit, was organized. In the fall of 1917 it took the name *Kameniari* or *Stone Cutters* and adopted the motto "Scaling the heights."[8] Its charter morally obligated the Institute's residents to actively participate in its work.[9] Its activities included concerts, plays1 debates, lectures, a choir, sports, and the publication of the newsletter *Bursak,* which subsequently became a journal entitled *Kameniari.* The society was also involved in Ukrainian affairs outside Mohyla.[10]

Ukrainian nationality rather than religious sectarianism was foremost in the minds of those who organized the Mohyla Bursa. The environment and curriculum at the institution served to raise the Ukrainian consciousness of the students and aided in cultivating a Ukrainian Canadian intelligentsia in order to assume a leadership role within the community as a whole. In May 1916 the executive of the bursa appealed to the Ukrainian residents of Saskatchewan:

> Let us all, as one, support this bursa, which will educate for us patriotic teachers, professors, priests, and individuals generally, who will stand on guard for national rights. Let us bring up a native intelligentsia, for without it our people will surely perish -drown in the midst of a foreign sea, such that there will be no trace of them and they will not contribute anything worthwhile to the uplifting of the national culture of this country.[11]

Such sentiments did not imply Ukrainian separatism, but denoted the desire to maintain a Ukrainian Canadian identity within the framework of the Canadian political system.

The Mohyla Institute was nonsectarian; it accepted Ukrainian applicants regardless of their religious affiliations. It was to be a truly "national temple"- a "Ukrainian stronghold" -supported strictly by Ukrainians.[12] This position was not challenged by the Bishop of the Greek Catholic Church, Nykyta Budka, in his address to the First National Convention in 1916. Although he spoke about the connection between nationality and religion, he did not specifically mention Mohyla or Catholicism.[13]

Kanadyiskyi Rusyn, the organ of Bishop Budka and the Catholic Church, was also at first pleased with the outcome of the Convention. "Everything was dignified, timely, constructive, harmonious, truly Canadian and national; we may be proud of such a meeting."[14] It was not long, however, before divisions within the Ukrainian Canadian community surfaced over the nature of education and how best to raise the new generation with respect to the language and traditions of the old. By the end of 1916, *Kanadyiskyi Rusyn* began to query whether the Institute was run according to Greek Catholic principles and furnished students with a proper religious upbringing.[15] Greek Catholics felt that this was one of the prime functions of the bursa.

> It is nice that you teach singing and language and native history because this is necessary.... But for us being Ukrainian does not end there.... Ukrainianism is education, but love of ones heritage belongs to upbringing [which] must be religious.... If you do not believe in providing a religious upbringing, it means that you do not believe in providing any upbringing.... Therefore our demand for a good bursa and its students remains: religious upbringing.[16]

Orest Zerebko, the editor of *Ukrainskyi Holos* and an executive member of the Adam Kotsko Bursa in Winnipeg, penned a lengthy and, at times, rather harsh response. Although referring to the bursa in Winnipeg, his comments may be applied in general terms to the Mohyla Institute, since both were run on similar principles with respect to religion. Zerebko emphasized that the aim of the bursa was to look after national rather that religious upbringing "because we are all Ukrainians, all members of one nation, but not all members of the Greek Catholic, or the Orthodox church." The majority of Kotsko's directors were Greek Catholics, but "not such bigots as to push [religion] on someone by force."[17] Religious education was to remain the joint responsibility of the parents, the church, and the priests. This set the stage for future debates on the subject.

Despite the fact that the Mohyla Institute did not provide reli-

gious instruction or cater exclusively to the sectarian needs of Greek Catholics, Christianity and morality were stressed, and the bursa could not be termed irreligious as the Catholic newspaper was wont to do. Students were encouraged to attend services at the church of their choice, and prayers were offered before meals. The Greek Catholic priest was allowed into the Institute to minister to the spiritual needs of his flock, and in the fall of 1916 he received permission to meet with students on a monthly basis in his church.[18] Beginning in 1918 one of the requirements for admission was a report on the applicant's morality by a priest, teacher, or member of the bursa.

This, however, did not satisfy Bishop Budka who, in a letter to Mohyla's executive dated May 14, 1917, insisted that being Christian was not enough. The bursa had to become Greek Catholic, since the majority of its students and share-holders were of this persuasion.

> I am not for.. a bursa where various religious denominations are housed. Not only will a Greek Catholic be against this, but a Protestant and Orthodox [as well], if they the least bit understand the religious side of educating youth.[19]

If the situation was not rectified, Budka threatened to withdraw his support from the Institute, and *Kanadyiskyi Rusyn* vowed to discontinue the publication of Mohyla's notices, informative articles, and lists of donors.[20]

Events came to a head in the summer and fall of 1917. On June 16th Bishop Budka arrived in Canora for a mission service. He was approached at the train station by Wasyl Swystun, the first rector and vice-president of the Mohyla Institute, in order to come to an understanding regarding the nature and character of the bursa. Swystun was in Canora for a meeting to establish a branch of Mohyla.[21] Budka and Swystun reiterated the Catholic and nationalist positions respectively. The Bishop claimed that he did not believe in a bursa "without any colour;" Swystun countered that Mohyla carried the blue and yellow colours of a Ukrainian national institution, which should unite and strengthen

the Ukrainian community rather than divide it into factions.[22] The issue of incorporation further complicated matters. Budka desired Mohyla to be under the Bishop's Corporation - a "stable organization... that cannot waver to and fro." - in order that it not fall into the wrong hands and lose its Ukrainian and Catholic distinction. According to Greek Catholics, their religion and nationality were inseparable. The bursa's directors, however, believed that the Episcopal Corporation did not guarantee the institution would remain Ukrainian because its act of incorporation mentioned a "Bishop for the Ruthenian Greek Catholics of Canada," not a "Ruthenian Greek Catholic Bishop." More security was provided by Mohyla's charter which required all shareholders, and thereby directors, to be Ukrainian.[23] *Kanadyiskyi Rusyn* rejoined that Mohyla's incorporation ensured that residents of the Institute would lose their Ukrainian identity, for it referred to "students of Ukrainian descent"; in other words, the bursa was designed for the "English of Ukrainian descent."[24] The war of words had begun.

This entire issue was put "on trial" before a "People's Court" in a lengthy series of articles in *Ukrainskyi Holos* and *Kanadyiskyi Rusyn.* The bursa's directors explained that, in the final analysis, no fundamental changes could be executed without the prior approval of Mohyla's shareholders at a general meeting. They requested that calm prevail in order that the good work already accomplished by the Institute not be ruined.[25] The calm was short-lived.

The nationalists inquired: "What do you think of this, Ukrainian nation? Will you allow a clerical clique, that wants to control your property, all your cultural gains, to widen in your midst?"[26] An article signed "Thoughtful"[27] appeared in *Ukrainskyi Holos* asking Ukrainians not to submit meekly to the demands of the Catholic Church.

> We are Greek Catholics, but... we are against Bishop Budka keeping us in the role of submissive lambs, that can be jerked

> around without protest; moreover, we do not want our children to be such lambs as Bishop Budka wishes to bring up in his "religious" bursas.[28]

The ideal upbringing created well-rounded individuals with good characters, religious and moral principles, and broad world views. This could not be attained in such Catholic institutes as the Metropolitan Sheptytsky Bursa in St. Boniface, with its "blind, narrow-minded, medieval" rules of permitting only those books, journals, and newspapers approved by its director.[29] An additional concern lay in the fact that a number of Catholic bursas were run by French or Belgian missionaries. Although the priests had adopted the Greek rite, these institutions were not considered truly Ukrainian and the fear of Latinization was always present. The nationalists did not want Mohyla to fall into this category. Their motto remained that one's own - Kyiv -came ahead of foreign interests - Rome.[30] The issue for the nationalists was not one of religion but one of religious control; they maintained that a single church should not retain sole authority over national institutions and interests. *Ukrainskyi Holos* feared that one day the Catholic position would result in the reproach of the church hierarchy with accusations of "pride and unchristian arrogance".[31] The paper launched a final appeal, labeling the enemies of the Mohyla Institute as the enemies of the Ukrainian people in Canada.[32]

The Greek Catholic response was that national work in Canada should be undertaken with the cooperation of the church and its vast organization, otherwise it was like building a house on sand.[33] *Kanadyiskyi Rusyn* commented on the role of the Bishop in this debate.

> The Bishop does not want to be an absolute prince, but the Bishop is the prince of the Church, and a student (Swystun] must not dictate to him how a nation should bring up its children; he should learn from the Bishop, for the Bishop is the highest teacher of his People.[34]

Bursas needed to assume the character of the nation and the peo-

ple they served, in other words, Greek Catholic. A question was raised: "How would it look if a master kept sheep as well as a few wolves, domesticated but wolves nonetheless, in his barn?"[35] Needless to say, non-Catholics were the wolves in sheep's clothing who would poison the minds of impressionable children. People were warned against following "Swystun, Ferley and Company" and accepting the "shackles of the nonsectarians" - "the new tsar-dictators [and] false leaders[36] who were attempting to usurp the power of the church. The "great Ukrainian Greek Catholic nation of Saskatchewan" was asked to choose whether its children would be raised in the likeness of its ancestors or as rogues without faith."[37] *Kanadyiskyi Rusyn* was positive that the people would defend the Greek Catholic faith because it was the "treasure of the national soul: to be or not to be."[38] Both Kyiv, as a political entity, and Rome, as a religious centre, were close to the hearts of Ukrainian Catholics. They were not to be separated, for together "they provide absolute strength and wholeness."[39]

The polemics became more acrimonious and, at times, contained only half-truths as weeks passed and the date for the Second National Convention, the day of judgment, approached. Affidavits were sworn, and depositions were submitted and published in the newspapers regarding whether or not Budka had actually requested Mohyla to be registered under the Episcopal Corporation. Wasyl Swystun, supported by Michael Stechishin, confirmed this conversation, whereas Bishop Budka unequivocally denied having made such a statement.[40] It is difficult to ascertain, as Paul Yuzyk points out, how the Greek Catholic nature of the institution was to be maintained without resorting to the Bishop's Corporation.[41] The debate degenerated to the point that an editorial appeared in the Catholic organ under the heading "Hooliganism in *Ukrainskyi Holos*," which called the writers of the latter paper "smart young punks and moral bankrupts".[42] Wasyl Swystun was accused of using the Saskatoon bursa as a

"milch cow and private business for a good and easy life."[43] The article failed to mention that such "business-patriots" received no financial remuneration for their work in the first years of Mohyla's existence. It was obvious that the nationalists and Greek Catholics had opposing views with respect to the aims and purpose of the Petro Mohyla Bursa, and compromise and conciliation were impossible.

The Second National Convention, attended by more than seven hundred delegates and guests, was held in Saskatoon in December 1917. Resolutions were passed censuring *Kanadyiskyi Rusyn*, Ranok, and Bishop Budka for their unfair treatment of the Mohyla Institute, aimed at "destroying all educational-cultural work which is independent of the Episcopal Church Corporation;" it was hoped that in the future there would be more cooperation in national endeavours. The administration of the Saskatoon bursa received a vote of confidence when the delegates, the majority of whom were Greek Catholics, resolved that Ukrainian affairs in Canada be under lay leadership.[44] The shareholders had spoken; Mohyla was to continue as a national, non-denominational institution.

The break with the Greek Catholic Church was complete, and the Catholic organ no longer published any advertisements or announcements concerning Mohyla. If the church could not have total control, it wanted nothing more to do with the Institute. The Catholic hierarchy, however, did not remain silent. Certain clergy alleged that the 1917 declarations were tantamount to barring them from the bursa.[45] *Kanadyiskyi Rusyn* viewed the 1917 convention not as an expression of the will of the people but as a symbolic crucifixion of the primate, and accused the nationalists of conspiring with the Presbyterians. It attempted to instill fear in the hearts of its readers by parodying the words of the nationalists.

> We nonsectarians - new hirelings of the Protestant mission - need dollars, not a bishop!... We tore faith and God out of our

> hearts and shall do the same with the hearts of your innocent children! We shall kill in the hearts of your children the love of God, the love of parents, the love of one's people and homeland, and shall sow sin, immorality, and crime! We shall ruin the church and shall lead your children to jails and the gallows! Just give us money! Money! Money! Money![46]

This was sheer propaganda, for the nationalists were having their own problems with the Protestants, but it seems to have been somewhat effective.

Several correspondents to *Kanadyiskyi Rusyn* publicly cut their ties with the Saskatoon Institute.[47] Those who supported the work of *Ukrainskyi Holos* and felt that the younger generation could be raised in a national spirit in "non-religious" bursas were advised to withdraw from the Greek Catholic parishes to which they belonged, since "harmony between God and atheism is impossible!"[48] There were reports of Catholic priests in the Yorkton area withholding the Sacraments from those who endorsed Mohyla; such unconfessed individuals could not be buried in consecrated cemeterics.[49] During a sermon in Hafford Father Boske was quoted as saying that people who upheld and sent their children to schools or bursas that offered no religious training would go to hell.[50] Greek Catholics who were uneasy about attending Mohyla and who heeded the call "Catholic children to Catholic schools" were readily accepted by such Catholic establishments as the Metropolitan Andrew Sheptytsky Bursa in St. Boniface, and the Sacred Heart Institute[51] and St. Joseph's College, both in Yorkton.

The Protestants were not aloof from this debate. Arguments similar to those in *Kanadyiskyi Rusyn* were voiced, but the polemics were not as lengthy. In the fall of 1916 Paul Krat and Ivan Kotsan, both Presbyterian theology students, accused Mohyla of being anti-Protestant. Wasyl Swystun responded that this was an outright lie because it went against the principles upon which the institution was founded - a home for all Ukrainians regardless of religious affiliation. Protestant minis-

ters were free to tend to the needs of their flock, but none had come yet to the bursa.[52] This did not stop the verbal attacks. A correspondent to Ranok thanked certain preachers for warning their parishioners against sending children to Mohyla where they would become "moral cripples". "We do not need atheists, people without feeling, who have no religious convictions, only mockery and a long arm for money.[53] Swystun was singled out for abuse. He was labeled an "abnormal individual" with "sick ambitions", who did not even know to which religious denomination he belonged.[54] Some Protestant students even left the Institute because of the religious question.

Ukrainian Presbyterians asked the Saskatchewan Synod and the Board of Home Missions for aid in setting up their own evangelical bursas[55] which would give the youth, who no longer required the "old corrupt faiths" an upbringing in a "spirit of full religious freedom based on the Gospel."[56] Mohyla's directors saw these actions as contrary to the national good.[57] The aim of these residences was Canadianization and control, though Protestant Ukrainians did not always see their work as such. By 1918, when it was obvious that the differences between the nationalists and the Greek Catholics were definitely irreconcilable, Ranok ventured to include a few articles favourable to the Institute, one of which proclaimed: "If priests begin to scold a man, he must be good and doing good work. Long live the Petro Mohyla Bursa."[58] Despite such statements, there was no close working relationship between Protestants and nationalists.

The Mohyla Institute remained nonsectarian. However, as various segments of Ukrainian society - the Greek Catholics and the Ukrainian Protestants - withdrew their support, the bursa came to rely almost exclusively on those adhering to the nationalist camp, who were the founders of the Ukrainian Greek-Orthodox Church of Canada in the summer of 1918. The Institute did not officially partake in the creation of the new church, as was made clear by Wasyl Swystun at the gathering in Saskatoon on

July 18 and 19.[59] Nevertheless1 it is not difficult to make the indirect connection between the two bodies in terms of the ideals they espoused and the individuals involved. Moreover, the impetus for a new church organization was provided by exactly those difficulties which the bursa experienced with the Greek Catholic Church over such issues as incorporation, clerical dominance, and foreign control.

The Ukrainian Greek-Orthodox Church, a national church, was not subservient to any foreign interests, neither French Roman Catholic nor English Presbyterian. The bishop and clergy were to be Ukrainian, laity had a voice in the administration of the church, and the ownership and management of church property by congregations were protected. Both Mohyla and the Orthodox Church stood for the same basic national principles.

Many of the people responsible for the Institute and its growth in the early years were also on the "National Committee" convening the meeting in July 1918 or were subsequently elected to the first presidium of the Ukrainian Greek-Orthodox Brotherhood. They included Michael Stechishin, a teacher in the bursa and its treasurer; Joseph Bohonos, the head of the first temporary committee chosen to organize Mohyla; A.T. Kibzey, Mohyla's first secretary; Tymko Goshko, one of the Institute's first one-thousand-dollar donors; B.M. Sawiak, vice-secretary of Mohyla and secretary of its affiliate in Canora. Other names were Peter Svarich, A. Bodnarchuk, Michael Chorneyko, J.D. Stratychuk, T. Stadnyk, Wasyl Hawryshl Alexander Zylich, and Wasyl Hryvnak. Notably absent from the "National Committee" was Wasyl Swystun, since he did not want to openly involve the bursa. However, he did play an active role in these deliberations. He later also represented the Brotherhood in negotiations regarding the recognition of the church[60] and chaired the sessions of the 1919 Sobor in Winnipeg, Saskatoon, and Edmonton. Among the seven elected to the first Consistory, or administrative body, of the Ukrainian Greek-Orthodox Church in 1919 were:[61]

Michael Stechishin; Peter Svarich; F.T. Hawryliuk, one of Mohyla's directors in 1920; and Semen W. Sawchuk, Mohyla's secretary, founder and president of the students' group Kameniari, and editor of the students' journal.

It was no coincidence that in 1918, 1919, and 1920 the Sobors of the Orthodox Church were held the day after the National Conventions, which comprised the annual meetings of the Mohyla Institute. Entertainment - concerts, musical productions, and dramatic presentations - at the Saskatoon events was provided primarily by Mohyla's students. Stronger links developed between the bursa and the church when Saskatoon was chosen as the seat not only of the Orthodox Brotherhood but also of the first religious seminary or, more accurately, theological courses. Classes were to commence in the fall of 1918, but they were postponed until the following year because of the lack of qualified instructors and the outbreak of the Spanish influenza.[62] The lectures were held at the Institute,[63] and Mohyla's own Wasyl Swystun and Julian Stechishin taught Ukrainian language, literature, and history.[64] Julian Stechishin, who became secretary of the Brotherhood in the spring of 1919 and vice-rector of Mohyla in 1920, wrote letters to suitable candidates encouraging them to attend the theological courses.[65] The first priests graduated in March 1920:[66] Semen W. Sawchuk; Dmytro F. Stratychuk; and Petro Sametz, an active collector of funds for Mohyla and the secretary of Kameniari in 1918. The Institute itself began to place more emphasis on religion. The 1918 and 1919 calls for applicants specifically mentioned that the executive of the bursa looked after the moral and religious upbringing of those entrusted to their care.[67] Although religious freedom prevailed, the linkages between the Ukrainian Greek-Orthodox Church and the Mohyla Institute were unmistakable. It was not long before the ties were formalized through the establishment in 1927 of the Ukrainian Self-Reliance League of Canada (S.U.S.), to which the Institute was affiliated and which became the lay organization of

the Orthodox Church.

One issue remains to be examined - the name of the bursa. Virtually no contemporary information was uncovered as to the reasons for the choice of Metropolitan Petro Mohyla, an Orthodox ecclesiastic, as the patron of the institution besides the fact that he was a promoter of education, literature, and culture in the Ukrainian territories. He was also instrumental in revitalizing the Orthodox Church in the seventeenth century. Only in the summer of 1917 did *Kanadyiskyi Rusyn* comment that the name Mohyla was chosen according to the "prescription" of *Ukrainskyi Holos*, which preferred Orthodoxy over Catholicism for Ukrainians in Canada.[68] *Ukrainskyi Holos* rejoined that Mohyla was honoured not simply because he was a church leader; he epitomized the importance of educational work.[69] The following year, however, the Catholic organ remarked that the Saskatoon Academy besmirched the name of the Orthodox Metropolitan, since the institution contravened everything that the "great man" had stood for, particularly with respect to organizing schools based on the French and Jesuit models.[70] Greek Catholics were attempting to justify their own involvement with the French Roman Catholic hierarchy in the face of criticism from the nationalists. The two situations could hardly be compared. French Catholics in Canada employed schools and religion as agents of assimilation and control, whereas Petro Mohyla had used the resources at his disposal to enhance the position of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church, the rallying point of national life.[71]

Despite the religious and ideological controversies surrounding the bursa, Mohyla's influence spread and it became one of the foremost Ukrainian educational institutions in Canada. The number of individuals who took advantage of its facilities grew from thirty-five in the first year of its operation to over one hundred by 1920. The Institute, however, could not satisfy the needs of all segments of Ukrainian Canadian society. The views of the Greek Catholic hierarchy and the Protestant Ukrainians differed

significantly from the concepts upon which the bursa was based - nationalism and non-denominationalism. The polemics between the Catholics and the nationalists over the control of the bursa were particularly acrimonious. The nationalist position prevailed, and Mohyla came more fully within its sphere and that of the Ukrainian Greek-Orthodox Church of Canada. The Institute, though not a founding member of the new church, lay some of the ideological groundwork for its inception, and the linkages between the two bodies in terms of principles and personnel were indisputable. This study highlights one aspect of the religious and educational experience of Ukrainians in Canada. Intra-group conflict led each sector of society to establish its own infrastructure to fulfill and promote its aims. This prevented the emergence of a cohesive community, an ideal which the Petro Mohyla Institute strove, but ultimately failed, to achieve.

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1 The general concept of bursas was not new. They were referred to in *Ukrainskyi Holos* as early as August 1910.

2 The term student-teachers refers to those individuals who taught during the summer months and pursued their studies during the winter.

3 *Ukrainskyi Holos* (hereafter cited as *UH*), March 22, 1916.

4 In 1916 the Saskatchewan Department of Education refused to acknowledge a separate gathering of the province's Ukrainian instructors on the grounds that there was ample time to discuss pedagogical matters at the regional and provincial meetings of the entire teaching body. To circumvent this difficulty, Saskatoon's students decided to transform the convention into a students' conference. It assumed greater proportions, however, when the general Ukrainian public was invited. *Ibid.*, April 19, June 7, July 19 and 26, 1916. See also Elaine Holowach-Amiot, "Assimilation or Preservation: Ukrainian Teachers in Saskatchewan, 1905-1920 (unpublished Master's thesis, Dept. of History, McGill University, 1982).

5 Mohyla paid each teacher so employed an annual salary of $500, the balance being made up by the Board. *UH*, November 19, 1919; Julian

Stechishin, *Twenty Five Years of The P. Mohyla Ukrainian Institute in Saskatoon* (Winnipeg, 1945), p.104.

6 *UH*, November 14, 1917.

7 *Ibid.*, September 27, 1916.

8 "Charter of the Students' Organization "Kameniari"," *Kameniari*, 11:1 (January 15, 1919), 29.

9 Michael Chorneyko, "Students' Organizational Life in the Petro Mohyla Institute," *Kameniari*, 11:6 (April 1, 1919), 202.

10 Mohyla students took an active part in the work of the National Home in Saskatoon. They also taught Ukrainian courses for children and English-language classes for adults in the Alexandra School outside regular school hours. *UH*, March 7 and 28, 1917, June 18, 1919.

11 *Ibid.*, May 3, 1916.

12 *Ibid.*, August 30, 1916, November 28, 1917. Although the government provided Mohyla with no financial assistance, the Education Department did donate some English books to its library and certain individuals, such as W.B. Bashford, the M.L.A. from Rosthern, made private contributions. *Ibid.*, October 25 and November 29, 1916.

13 *Ibid.*, August 30, 1916.

14 *Kanadyiskyi Russian* (hereafter cited as *KR*, August 16,

15 *Ibid.*1 October 25, 1916.

16 *Ibid.*, November 8 and 15, 1916.

17 *UH*, November 1, 1916.

18 *Ibid.*, December 6, 1916, October 17, 1917; Stechishin,

19 Stechishin, p. 65.

20 *KR*, January 23, 1918.

21 An article in *Kanadyiskyi Rusyn* criticized the manner in which the Bishop was approached Swystun and his followers should have requested a meeting with Budka at his residence rather than running up to him at the train station. "One can only say that they are led by diabolical pride and blind arrogance." *Ibid.*, November 28, 1917.

22 *UH*, August 1, 1917.

23 *Ibid.*, May 17, 1916, August 1 and October 3, 1917.

24 *KR*, October 17, 1917. The article took this one step further. These assimilated Ukrainians would help *Ukrainskyi Holos* and its "Presbyterian allies" convert Greek Catholic churches to English Presbyterianism.

25 *UH*, September 5, 1917.

26 *Ibid.*, August 1, 1917.

27 Julian Stechishin attributes these articles to Wasyl Swystun, a statement questioned by Sawchuk and Mulyk-Lutzyk. They postulate the author to have been Michael Stechishin. Stechishin, p. 66; S W Sawchuk and

G. Mulyk-Lutzyk, *History of the Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church of Canada*, Vol.11: Period of the Emergence of the Idea of the Establishment of the Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church in Canada (Winnipeg, 1985), pp.729-730.

28 *UH*, September 12, 1917.

29 *Ibid.*, September 19, 1917.

30 *Ibid.*, November 1, 1916.

31 *Ibid.*, October 17, 1917.

32 *Ibid.*, November 7, 1917.

33 *KR*, November 14, 1917.

34 *Ibid.*, August 22, 1917. An earlier article condemned exactly this "student orientation" of the movement. It alleged that the "patriots" lacked a mature outlook, for they were too young and had not received sufficient education to know what position to take with respect to religion and the school question. *Ibid.*, October 18, 1916.

35 *Ibid.*, August 8, 1917.

36 *Ibid.*, August 22, 1917. Mohyla's directors the use of Ferley's name in this context, since he was member of the Institute. *UH*, September 5 and 19, 1917.

37 *KR*, September 19, 1917.

38 *Ibid.*, October 17, 1917.

39 *Ibid.*, November 15, 1916.

40 *Ibid.*, October 17, 1917; *UH*, November 14, 1917.

41 Paul Yuzyk, *The Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church of Canada 1918-1951* (Ottawa, 1981), p.71.

42 *KR*, December 5, 1917.

43 *Ibid.*, December 19, 1917.

44 Stechishin, pp. 78, 81. It is not known if there were any dissenting voices. Stechishin cites the minutes of the convention, which state that the vote was unanimous. A Greek Catholic shareholder of Mohyla, however, had written to *Kanadyiskyi Rusyn*, asking the meeting to demand a religious-national institution. Another correspondent later remarked that only a segment of those present upheld the resolution against the Bishop, while others left the hall. *KR*, December 26, 1917, April 10, 1918.

45 *Ibid.*, January 16, 1918; *UH*, June 5, 1918.

46 *KR*, January 23, 1918.

47 *Ibid.*, November 7 and 28, 1917.

48 *Ibid.*, January 23, 1918.

49 *UH*, June 5, 1918.

50 This ultimately led to the arrest of Bishop Budka. When Worobec, a local farmer, protested against the sermon, Budka took him to court. He in turn

took out warrants for the arrest of the Bishop and the priest, Boske, on the grounds of inciting the people. Both clerics were freed on $3,000 bail each. The case against Budka was withdrawn and the one against Boske dismissed. *Kanadyiskyi Rusyn* accused the Mohyla "patriots" of being behind the arrests, but they denied any involvement. *Ibid.*, July 17, August 28, and September 18, 1918; *KR*, July 17 and 24, 1918.

51 Nationalists felt that the $15,000 borrowed from Montreal's Sulpician Fathers to aid in the construction of the school, run by the Sisters Servants of Mary Immaculate, was a sign of French Roman Catholic interference in a national matter. *Ibid.*, January 17, 1917.

52 *UH*, December 6, 1916; *Ranok*, December 13, 1916.

53 *Ibid.*, February 21, 1917.

54 *Ibid.*, December 13, 1916, January 31, 1917. Such statements led the Institute and its rector to sue *Ranok* for libel, and the newspaper had to pay damages in the amount of $500. *UH*, November 14, 1917; Stechishin, p.84.

55 *Ranok*, November 15, 1916, January 17, 1917.

56 *Ibid.*, March 28, 1917.

57 *UH*, December 6, 1916.

58 *Ranok*, January 9, 1918.

59 Yuzyk, p.85.

60 Odarka S. Trosky, *The Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church in Canada* (Winnipeg, 1968), p. 17.

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62 George Mulyk-Lutzyk, *History of the Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church of Canada*, Vol.111: Ukrainian Greek Church of Canada in Jurisdiction of Metr. Germanos (Winnipeg, 1987), pp.343, 700-701; *UH*, February 19, 1919.

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64 *UH*, January 14, 1920.

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67 *UH*, July 17, 1918, August 27, 1919.

68 *KR*, August 8, 1917.

69 *UH*, September 12, 1917.

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Churches in the Riding Mountains:

A Study of the Development of Church Communities among Ukrainian Settlers (1899-1992) [1]

Edward Kowalchuk

The Beginning

In the Spring of 1899 settlers from the Austro-Hungarian provinces of Galicia and Bukovina began moving into townships on the southern slopes of the Riding Mountains.[2] By 1914, the settlement area had been extended to over 500 square miles in fifteen townships. one of the possessions brought by the settlers pouring into the Riding Mountains was a religious tradition rooted in Eastern Christianity. That tradition was deeply embedded in the psyche of the settlers shaping their daily lives and sustaining a strong personal faith impregnable to adversity. A reflection of that faith is contained in the architecture of the churches built by the settlers, for it was through the design of their churches that the settlers outwardly expressed their identity, their faith, their traditions, and their anticipation of Christ's return to head His Kingdom on Earth.

It did not take long for the new arrivals to organize parishes and to begin constructing churches. By the end of 1904, 9 parishes had been established, including 5 Ukrainian Catholic[3] parishes, 2 Roman Catholic parishes, 1 Russian Greek Orthodox parish, and 1 Independent Greek parish. In all, seventeen churches were built prior to 1914 (see Table 4). That rate of church construction, an average of over one a year, represented a sizeable drain on the resources of a community struggling to become established in a new world and is an indication of the importance

of religion in the lives of the settlers. Building a church in the early days of the settlement was truly a community enterprise. In most cases, the workers were selected from within the settlement. often a chief carpenter supervised volunteer labour, but sometimes the work was carried out by a team of craftsmen. These first churches were log structures. The logs were cut locally, and the lumber used to finish the interior and exterior of the churches was milled at one of the many sawmills in the area. The building was usually rectangular, and featured a curved ceiling. External features included a spire or domes. The church was the settlers' first major community project.

The churches of the Riding Mountains are particularly interesting on five counts. First, the number of churches built is sufficient to identify trends and changes. The Ukrainian Catholic Church, especially, built enough churches over a long enough period of time to portray an evolution in design ranging from the first churches modelled on buildings in Galicia, to a modern-day version of those churches. Second, since the churches were largely an extension of Eastern Christian traditions, it is possible to observe the effects of westernization on those traditions. Third, the settlers themselves were suddenly confronted with a number of new options for religious expression. Their choices and their solutions are preserved in the architecture of the churches they built. Fourth, churches reveal much about the people who built them. Their devotion, craftsmanship, and sense of the majestic and the beautiful remain visible in what they built. Fifth, the church building is part of the historical record of a community.

The information which a church building provides about its builders and users must be examined in a historical and social context if it is to be properly understood. A newly built church, while it marks a beginning for the local parish or congregation, is also the fulfilment of a long tradition rooted in the past. Thus, church buildings reflect both creative expression and tradition. Several factors had an impact on the development of Churches in

the Riding Mountains. First, the settlement was almost exclusively an agricultural community. Preoccupied with farming successfully in a pioneer environment, the settlers had little time or energy to pursue philosophical subtleties. Hence they preferred to rely on tradition and their Church leaders for spiritual guidance and direction. The pioneers' farming success was based on a high level of personal pride in their work together with knowledge. Their work demanded a clear sense of direction, long hours, a wide range of technical skill, a good sense of timing, and a profound faith that ultimately their toils would be rewarded. Confronted with the whims of nature and all the related uncertainties, they relied on their families, their neighbours, and their Church for support and strength. The Church provided a place where neighbours could meet and its message of the Resurrection provided strength. The Eastern Church also served as tangible proof that adversity can be conquered with persistence and faith. It was a model much needed by the new settlers.

Second, the traditions of Eastern Christianity call on the Church to serve a communal function. Thus, the Church was not only a gathering place for the community to worship. It was also the centre of community activity, so that attending Church was as much a social affair as a time of communal prayer. This connection between the Church as a religious institution and the Church as a social institution extended far beyond the immediate community to include the whole of the Ukrainian nation. It was this profound faith in God's intervention to improve the condition of Ukrainians as a community, in both Canada and the homeland, which inspired deep personal and community devoutness. The bond between national aspiration and Christian devotion, an integral part of the traditions of the Ukrainian Church, was made indissoluble through a common sharing of persecution and conquest.

Third, traditional values, mores, and language were important in the lives of the first settlers. Tradition was the pioneers'

connection with the homeland where friends and family members still lived. Traditional values provided stability in a new environment, while the language served to preserve identity in the face of strong pressure to be "Canadian." As well, the community, according to the traditions of Eastern Christianity, included those who had died. Preservation of tradition thus meant keeping faith with the departed.

Fourth, establishment of parishes and selection of the location for the first churches in the Riding Mountains was not a systematic process. Rather, location was dependent on initiative within an informal grouping of neighbouring settlers, many of whom probably knew each other before they emigrated. Since the few roads restricted travel, communities tended to be small. More often than not the land for the church and the cemetery was donated. Often the need to locate a cemetery preceded any decisions to build a church. Eighteen of the churches in the Riding Mountains could be considered remote, meaning they were located at some distance from a railway.

The remoteness of these churches made it difficult for priests to attend on a regular basis, particularly in the early days of the settlement. The first Ukrainian Catholic priests in the area were Basilian Fathers providing only occasional services initially. After 1905 they could reach the area by train and then needed every available means of transportation to reach their ultimate destination. (See Table 5 for lists of clergy serving in the Riding Mountains.) During such visits mass baptisms and multiple weddings were common. Such conditions required extensive participation of lay people in the development of the Church. This dependence on lay leaders proved to be significant as it was they who ultimately determined the destiny of the churches in the Riding Mountains.

This work is based on a photographic study using church buildings as a data base. Such an approach has several attractions. A church building provides a tangible and enduring reflection of

the experience of the settlement, revealing both the spiritual and physical dimensions of that experience. On the spiritual side, the settlers are revealed through their artistic portrayal of religious and national traditions in the form of Church art and the design of their churches. On the physical side, the size and shape of the building, the materials used, and the time of construction provide clues for tracing development and progress in the community. Churches provide concrete evidence of what a community has accomplished, but old churches also transmit cultural traditions to later generations through their design, structure, craftsmanship, and decoration. Comparisons between older and newer churches chart the direction and rate of change affecting the community. Even the size of the church is useful in defining population groups, and church buildings can be counted for statistical purposes.

The Background

The vast majority of Ukrainian settlers entering the Riding Mountains were Greek Catholics raised in the Galician Uniate Church tradition. Among them was a sizeable number whose religious preference was Roman Catholic,[4] and a much smaller number who were Greek Orthodox. Very little is known about religious activity in the first months of the settlement. Since there were no churches in the area at the time, it is likely that services were held in the homes of settlers. Parish organization meetings were common after such services. It is known that Father Achilles Delaere,[5] a Redemptorist, arrived in Brandon in the fall of 1899 at the invitation of Archbishop Langevin, and was assigned the mission of the Riding Mountains. It is also recorded that Father Kulawy passed through Shoal Lake on the way to the Mountain on 1 April 1900.[6]

The situation in the early days of the settlement posed a considerable potential for religious conflict as the settlers proceeded to organize their parishes according to traditions of Eastern Rite

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Catholicism, in the face of strong discouragement from the Canadian Catholic hierarchy. The key player in the development of these parishes was Father Delaere. Although his stay in the Riding Mountains was short, his influence was significant and long-lasting.[7] It became clear to him early in his mission that the initial goal of making Western Catholicism dominant in the new settlements could not be achieved. He was also highly concerned with the intrusion of the Presbyterian Church, through the Independent Greek Church, into the religious life of the community.

The importance of Father Delaere to the Riding Mountains is that he set the pattern for religious development in the community. He was attracted by the religious vigor and zeal of the newcomers and wished to serve the community in accordance with their traditions, so he obtained permission to change rites and proceeded to establish both Roman and Greek Catholic parishes as the need arose. Father Delaere offered his first Mass using the Ukrainian Catholic rite in St. Boniface in 1906. Monuments to his efforts still stand. That a Roman Catholic missionary, confronted in a frontier environment with the traditions of Eastern Christianity by very religious adherents who had just endured the trauma of relocation to a foreign land, would understand the situation reveals a remarkable insight.

The working language of the Roman Catholic Church in the Riding Mountains was Polish. Thus on Sundays, the Galician Roman Catholic would hear a Mass in Latin, a homily in Polish, and then would exchange the local news among neighbours in Ukrainian. However, a sharp distinction, based solely on religious grounds, developed separating the Roman Catholic Ukrainian from the institutional structures of the Ukrainian community. That early, though short-lived, dominance of the Polish Roman Catholic Church was both a blessing and a source of conflict. As Roman Catholic, the Church was accepted without modification by the Canadian hierarchy. Furthermore, the settlers

were familiar with the form of service and the language, and even shared common customs such as the blessing of Easter food and the Christmas eve celebrations. However, there were major barriers to the acceptance of a Polish Church in a Ukrainian community based largely on historical relations between the two groups in Eastern Europe. In addition, there was a considerable difference between the Roman Catholic Church and the Ukrainian Catholic Church in the architecture and interior decoration of the churches, the shape of the liturgy, the time of holy days, and the relationship between the clergy and the laity during worship.

A thorough description of such differences is provided by Nicolas Zernov[8] in a study of the development of Eastern Orthodoxy. Such differences are readily observable.

1. Architecture, liturgy, and sacraments are the major source of the differences between Eastern and Western Christianity. Reinforced by theological and psychological factors and rooted in culture and temperament, the differences block integration of Church services.
2. A major difference is found in the role of individual persons in the function of the Church. The Western Christian puts the individual above the community while the East instinctively acts in the opposite way.
3. The West sharply separates matter and spirit, and tends to oppose what the East regards as indissolubly bound. Thus the Western Christian can separate work from worship. To the Eastern Christian, living is a never-ceasing worship.
4. The freedom and spontaneity of Eastern Christian worship is rooted in the conviction that they are all members of one great family composed of the living and the departed. During worship, it is the saints and the faithful departed who lead the prayers of the congregation in its never-ending praise. The icons are the visible signs by which a Christian is reminded of his heritage and of those who preceded him in the worship of God, supporting the conviction that the living and the

departed are linked as one large family.

5. In contrast to Western awareness of the duty to worship God, the Orthodox stresses the privilege of joining the glorious company of saints in Church.
6. For the Eastern Christian, liturgical worship is a source of inspiration providing an experience which appeals to all the senses. The beauty of the sacred paintings, the power of the music, and the aroma of incense all combine to produce an atmosphere of worship in which the entire person is uplifted in union with a congregation inspired by faith, love, and the fellowship of the Holy Spirit.

Although Eastern and Western Christianity stand in complete agreement with one another on fundamental convictions, differences between Eastern and Western Christianity reflected in worship, culture, art, and architecture made it difficult to relocate, into a Western milieu, the institutions of Eastern Christianity which were familiar to the settlers. For example, the reluctance of the Canadian Roman Catholic hierarchy to accept married priests—an Eastern Orthodox tradition—delayed the availability of priests to serve emerging parishes. Also, the form of worship was unlike anything that was familiar to the Anglo-Saxon community surrounding the settlement. The spontaneous singing, frequent kneeling, interaction between priest and congregation, and display of icons and holy pictures were just some of the features of Eastern Orthodoxy that puzzled local Protestants.

Both the Presbyterian Church and the Canadian Roman Catholic hierarchy failed to recognize the holistic nature of Eastern Christianity and the intensity of religious devotion among its adherents entering the Riding Mountains. They both also underestimated the capacity of the newcomers to manage their own affairs. The result was almost total rejection of the Presbyterian Church and a less than enthusiastic acceptance of Roman Catholicism.

Church Construction in the Riding Mountains

Church construction in the Riding Mountains can be divided into three phases: 1899-1922, 1922-1947, and 1947-1992. The dates 1922 and 1947 are not critical. The building of the Holy Eucharist Church at Horod, in 1922, marked the end of the pioneer church construction period. It was the last church to be built which closely adhered to the forms adopted in the early days of the settlement. By 1947, all parishes and churches were in place and there was no further church expansion in the Riding Mountain settlements. The five churches built after 1947 were replacements of earlier churches.

Table 1

Number of Religious Groups/Parishes/Churches Organized 1899-1959

Religious Institutions	Before World War I	After World War I	Total
Ukrainian Catholic	9	8	17
Romam Catholic	5	4	9[1]
Ukrainian Orthodox	--	7	7[2]
Greek Orthodox (OCA)	2	--	2[3]
Independent	1	--	1
United Church	1[4]	--	1[5]
Seventh-Day Adventists	--	1	1[6]
Jehovah's Witness	--	1	1[7]
Total	18	21	39

1 Of the nine Roman Catholic Churches established, two were transfers - one from Rossman Lake to Rossburn, the other replacing Holy Trinity north of Angusville with St. Anthony in Angusville.

2 The Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church or Ukrainian Orthodox Church did

not begin building churches until the 1920s.

3 The only Greek Orthodox Church to become established in the area was St. Nicholas, north of Sandy Lake. St. Mary's at Glen Elmo was served by Greek Orthodox priests on an occasional basis but the church remained more or less interdenominational until the establishment of the Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church in the early 1920s.

4 This United Church, at Pete's Lake, was initially a Presbyterian Church organized by the parishioners of the Independent Church at Rossman Lake which ceased operations in 1913. It became a United Church in the early 1920s.

5 Although the Presbyterian Church was the dominant religious group in the region at the time of settlement, the Church had little effect on the new arrivals. In fact, the Church systematically receded from those missions where Galician settlement was concentrated.

6 There were no churches built by the Seventh-Day Adventists. This group consisted of several families in the Sandy Lake area.

7 Started in Glen Elmo in the 1920s, this religious group apparently did not attract Ukrainian adherents until the 1940s. A Kingdom Hall was erected in Rossburn in 1974.

The other major church builder in the Riding Mountains was the Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church which began erecting church buildings in the mid-1920s.[9] In all, seven churches were built before 1947. (An eighth, St. Mary's at Glen Elmo, had previously been used on an interdenominational basis.) The Ukrainian Catholic Church also built seven churches during those years.

Table 2

Location of Churches Built in the Riding Mountains Pre-1922

Ukrainian Catholic	Roman Catholic	Greek Orthodox	Protestant
Ozema	Rossmam Lake	Glen Elmo[1]	Rossman Lake[2]
Rossbum Farms	Oakburn Farms	Sandy Lake	Pete's Lake
Olha	Jack Fish Lake		
Sandy Lake	Angusville[3]		
Lakedale	Wisla		
Dolyny			
Ruthenia			
Seech			
Mohyla			
Horod			

1 This church was used interdenominationally for some time.
2 The Independent Greek Church at Rossman Lake folded in 1913. It was replaced by the church at Pete's Lake.
3 St. Anthony in Angusville replaced Holy Trinity north of Angusville.

The three phases of church construction also coincide with divisions in other aspects of Church development in the area. During the first phase, the Ruthenian Greek Catholic Church emerged as the mainline Church in the Riding Mountain settlements. Although the established Church was Presbyterian, attempts by Presbyterians to make inroads into the Ukrainian community in the Riding Mountains were unsuccessful, except for the Independent Greek Church organized in 1903 by Seraphim[10] and subsequently funded by the Presbyterians. The Independent Greek Church had only one parish in the Riding Mountains, at Rossman Lake. When the Church ceased operations in 1913, the small group of supporters built a Presbyterian Church at Pete's Lake.

The second phase of church construction in the Riding Mountains was the result of two separate circumstances. The first was establishment of the Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church in 1918.[11] The second was increased migration of people from the farms into the villages on the southern perimeter of the settlement. The community experienced a major religious upheaval in the mid-1920s with the arrival of the newly formed Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church in the area marked by the construction of the first church near Menzie about 1924. The issues which propelled establishment of the Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church were rooted in Ukrainian nationalism and were largely a reaction to perceived "Latinization" and "Polonization" of the Ukrainian Catholic Church by French-Belgian missionaries. Those issues had limited appeal in the rural agrarian portions of the settlement, so the new Church was unable to muster widespread support in its drive to become the dominant Ukrainian Church. of the eight parishes organized by the Ukrainian Greek

Orthodox Church in the Riding Mountain area, six were located in or near larger population centres.

The growth of small towns along the CNR railway on the southern edge of the settlement increased significantly after World War I as the children of the first settlers reached adulthood. Faced with the limited productive capacity of a quarter-section homestead, members of the normally large pioneer families looked elsewhere to make a living. Many purchased more land. others left the area for other parts of Canada or the United States. A significant number moved to nearby towns and villages where they set up businesses or were employed in the service sector, such as the railway. In time, and depending on the resistance offered by the local Anglo-Saxon population, the number of Ukrainians living and working in the towns and villages grew. With that growth came the need to build new churches in new locations.

Table 3

Location of Ukrainian Catholic and Ukrainian Orthodox Churches Built 1922-1947

Ukrainian Orthodox		Ukrainian Catholic	
FARM	TOWN	FARM	TOWN
Seech (N)	Sandy Lake (N)	Crawford Park (N)	Sandy Lake (R)
Glen Elmo (A)	Angusville (N)	Ozerna (R)	Angusville (N)
	Rossburn (N)		Rossburn (N)
	Oakburn (N)		Oakburn (N)
	Menzie (N)		Menzie (N)
	Vista (N)		Rackham (N)
			Elphinstone (N)

Key: (A) Acquired (N) New parish (R) Replaced earlier building

The inability of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church to penetrate into the settlement's farm sectors in any significant way limited its expansion and its church construction to the town sites on the southern perimeter of the settlement (see Table 3). The Ukrainian Catholic Church also undertook an extensive building program, responding both to the population shift from the farms to the towns and to the incursion of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church. The intense competition that developed between the Churches aroused feelings which permeated the community and which can still occasionally be detected. It was not until after World War II that, slowly at first, cooperation between Ukrainian Catholic and Ukrainian Orthodox Churches increased noticeably. It was during that same period, however, that all the Churches in the Riding Mountains were confronted with declining membership as dramatic changes in the farm economy prompted depopulation of the settlement area first, and then the towns surrounding the settlement.[12] During the third phase of development, 1947-1992, new church construction was limited to the most southern population centres of an expanding settlement perimeter.

All of the earlier Church conflicts and anxieties came to naught in the late 1940s with the dawn of the technological age. As larger farm machinery became available, consolidation of farms into larger, more productive units became popular. Later, the high cost of production together with low grain prices forced further integration. Establishment of large farms, increased availability of automobiles, and improved roads all combined to depopulate the area at ever increasing rates. That steady flow of population out of the settlement area to larger population centres to the south had a destabilizing effect on the Church as a community institution. Transiency breaks down loyalties, weakens community ties, and dilutes personal relationships. Even as old churches are abandoned, new churches must be constructed to serve a transient population which requires increased sharing of resources at a time when there are fewer to share.

Church Architecture in the Riding Mountains

Architecture is a form of cultural expression. Church architecture, in particular, reflects the intellectual, social, and religious dimensions of a community. Church builders in the early days of the settlement did not start out with new concepts in church design. Rather, they built their churches in accordance with traditions established in Ukraine. By tradition, such churches were usually small and either round or in the form of a Greek Cross. The Ukrainian church featured at least one dome on the roof of the building, a separate bell tower, and an interior ornately decorated with religious scenes depicting the religious experience.

A study of church construction in the Riding Mountains is primarily a study of Ukrainian Catholic Churches. No other denomination built as many churches over as long a period as did the Ukrainian Catholic Church and, except for the Roman Catholic and the Ukrainian Orthodox Churches, no other denomination built enough churches to establish a trend. Records of the construction of the early Roman Catholic Churches do not remain. The earliest extant building is St. Peter and Paul at Wisla, erected in 1917. Earlier churches were either destroyed by fire or were rebuilt. The style of the Roman Catholic Churches remained consistent throughout the building period. Such churches are readily recognized by the spire over the entrance to the church, although that feature is not unique to Roman Catholic Churches. The other major church builder in the Riding Mountains was the Ukrainian Orthodox Church. However, these churches were governed by a building code adopted when the Church was first organized. It required that churches be built in the "ancient style of our churches on the exterior and in the interior."[13] As well, Ukrainian Orthodox Churches were built in the Riding Mountains for only about twenty years. Consequently, the churches are very similar in construction.

The interior form of the Riding Mountain churches was very consistent irrespective of the denomination, which might be

expected given the common cultural background of the builders. However, there were significant differences in the interior design and interior decoration of these churches. In Roman Catholic Churches, the cathedra, the tetrapod, and the iconostasis were not included. In place of the iconostasis, a communion rail separated the nave from the sanctuary. Neither the iconostasis nor the communion rail are a feature of newly constructed or redecorated Catholic Churches. The Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Churches were not unlike Ukrainian Catholic Churches except that everything Roman was removed. Thus, the only images that could be displayed within the church were pictures painted on paper, cloth, boards, and the cross.

The most distinctive feature of Ukrainian Orthodox Churches and early Ukrainian Catholic Churches was the iconostasis, a solid screen with three doors, dividing the eastern end from the rest of the building. According to one description: "The Orthodox temples represent heaven and earth joined together in glorious union. The sanctuary divided from the rest of the building by the screen is heaven with its holiness and mystery; it is always there, yet inaccessible to sinful man so long as he remains in his isolation; therefore the doors leading into the sanctuary are closed except during the service."[14]

On the outside, the bell tower, the domes, and the crosses on the domes are the distinguishing features of Ukrainian churches. The Ukrainian practice of housing the bell in a separate free-standing structure was traditional. The church bell was a source of considerable pride in Ukrainian parishes, and the size of some of the church bells demanded separate housing. These large bells served to call the faithful, to announce a death in the community, and to celebrate at Easter.

The crosses placed on church buildings are also an important feature in church construction.[15] The cross placed on top of Ukrainian Orthodox Churches was the Eastern Cross (also known as the Russian Cross) with its upper arm representing the inscrip-

tion placed over the head of our Lord and the lower, slanting arm representing the footrest. Roman Catholic Churches in the Riding Mountains generally displayed the Latin Cross mounted on an orb. The Greek Catholic Churches featured a variety of cross designs. The most common form consisted of a rayed Latin Cross with trefoils mounted on an orb and crescent. The crosses are rich in symbolism. For example, the crescent and orb at the base of the cross is generally recognized as a proclamation of victory over the infidel. While such a symbol had little meaning in the New World, the attachment of the early settlers to old World religious symbols was intense. In an atmosphere which saw various religious interests vying for their allegiance, the settlers felt more comfortable with familiar symbols which related to their religious experiences in Eastern Europe.

Conclusion

The Ukrainian families who settled in the Riding Mountains in May 1899 encountered tragedy in the form of a scarlet fever epidemic. Although all of the families were affected to some degree, some were devastated. It was their faith which sustained them as they moved out to their homesteads from the Patterson Lake camp to establish a new life for themselves and their families. Those early days of the settlement posed considerable potential for religious conflict as the settlers proceeded to organize their churches according to Eastern tradition, in the face of strong discouragement by the Canadian Catholic hierarchy. That the conflict frequently encountered in other Ukrainian settlements did not materialize in the Riding Mountains is a credit to the work of Father Delaere. He established both Ukrainian Catholic (Uniate) and Roman Catholic parishes as the need arose, thus largely insulating the community from the Church politics raging in other parts of the country.

Although dissatisfaction with the Ukrainian Catholic Church eventually surfaced, it was sporadic and slow in coming. The dis-

senters, who were mainly business and professional people from the towns on the southern perimeter of the settlement, solidified their protest in the form of the Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church. It was not until at least the mid-1920s that the full impact of the newly formed Ukrainian Church was felt in the Riding Mountains. There followed a period of intense competition between the two Ukrainian Churches, manifested mainly in construction of sixteen new church buildings. However, direct confrontation was rare and there was no violence. The preferred confrontation method was the ballot box as each group fought to establish dominant influence on local school boards and municipal councils.

The competition eventually subsided in the 1950s as depopulation became a threat to both Churches. Large farms meant fewer people on the land. Good roads extended the size of the community and diminished the need for local services. Thus, the small country church was abandoned in favour of churches in larger population centres. The small rural community suffered further deterioration when the local school disappeared with the establishment of school divisions. Even the towns have now been affected as attempts by governments and municipalities to stem rural depopulation have failed. The result has been a steady decline in Church membership necessitating the closing of a number of churches in the towns on the southern perimeter of the settlement and a reduction of services in others. No end to the process is in sight, given current instability in the economics of farming arising from intensification of world competition in agriculture. While the closing of a church is an overt act frequently rooted in necessity, what can not be closed is the spirit in the hearts of believers and worshippers. That spirit and faith, a gift from the early pioneers, continues to serve all who have lived in the Riding Mountains and who have heard, on a quiet summer evening, the tolling of the bells calling the faithful to prayer.

Table 4

Churches of the Riding Mountains
(Arranged According to Year organized)

Name	Denomiation	Date*	Date**	Location
St. John Cantius	Roman Cath.	1901	1929	one mile E of Patterson Lake
St. Nicholas	Ukr. Cath.	1902	1936	Ozema
St. Anthony	Roman Cath.	1903	1923	Jack Fish Lake
Independent Church	Protestant	1903	««««	Rossman Lake NE 14-20-24
St. Peter and Paul	Ukr. Cath.	1904	1904	Rossburn Farms, SE 12-20-24
St. Michael	Ukr. Cath.	1904	1904	Olha
St. Nicholas	Greek Orth.	1904	1953	Sandy Lake
Holy Ghost	Ukr. Cath.	1904	1904	Lakedale
St. John the Baptist	Ukr. Cath.	1904	1904	Dolyny 2-19-22
St. Mary's	Greek Orth.	1905	1928	Glen Elmo–I. Karmazyniuk s farm
Holy Ghost	Ukr. Cath.	1907	1937	Sandy Lake
Church of the Ascension	Ukr. Cath.	1910	1910	Ruthenia SW 26-21-25
Christ the King†	Roman Cath.	1910	««««	Rossman Lake
St. Mary s	Ukr. Cath.	1911	1912	Seech
Holy Trinity	Roman Cath.	1914	««««	NE 14-21-26
St. Anthony	Roman Cath.	1914	««««	Angusville
St. John s Ukr. United	Protestant	1914	1914	NW16-20-24–Dmytro Kozaks farm
Holy Tninity	Ukr. Cath.	1914*	««««	Mohyla SE 22-21-24
St. Peter and Paul	Roman Cath.	1917	1917	Wisla SE 7-19-21
Seventh-Day Adventist	Protestant	1920		Sandy Lake
Holy Eucharist	Ukr. Cath.	1922	1922	Horod
St. Michael	Ukr.Orth.	1924	1944	SandyLake
Holy Transfiguration	Ukr. Orth.	1924	1925	Menzie
St. Mary the Protectress	Ukr. Cath.	1927	1954	Elphinstone
St. Volodymyr	Ukr. Orth.	1929	1946	Oakburn
Holy Trinity	Ukr.Orth.	1930	1935	Vista SE13-19-24
Holy Ascension	Ukr. Orth.	1932	1945	Angusville
St. John the Baptist	Ukr. Cath.	1933	1945	Rackham
St. Peter and Paul	Ukr. Orth.	1936	1939	Seech NW 33-19-22

Holy Eucharist	Ukr. Cath	1936	1947	Oakburn
Sacred Heart	Roman Cath.	1937	1938	Elphinstone
Ascension Chapel	Ukr.Cath	1939	1939	CrawfordPark
Sacred Heart of Jesus	Ukr. Cath	1941	1970	Rossburn
St. Vladimer and Olga	Ukr.Cath.	1943	1970	Angusville
St. Eliah	Ukr. Orth.	1944	1967	Rossburn
Transfguration of Our Lord	Ukr.Cath.	1947	1947	Menzie
St. Catherines	Roman Cath.	1947	1947	Oakburn
St. Theresa	Roman Cath.	1957	1934	Rossburn

* Date when parish or church group was first organized

** Date of construction of current church building; «««« indicates church building no longer exists

† Building was originally located on the east side of Rossman Lake,but was moved to its present location in Rossburn in 19S7 and renamed St. Theresa

* Best available date, but earlier date is probable

Table 5
Clergy Serving in the Riding Mountains

A record of the parish of St. Peter and Paul, Rossburn Farms, gives the names of Ukrainian Catholic priests who served the parish and the date of service:

Pre 1908	Fr. A. Delaere	1931-34	Fr. Peter Pasichuyk
1908-09	Fr. N. Kryzanowsky	1934-37	Fr. Michael Hryhorychuk
1910-14	Fr. J. Didyk	1936-37	Fr. Peter Sulatycky
1915-16	Fr.NestorDrohomereski	1938-40	Fr.ConstantineZarski
1917	Fr. Peter Kamenecky	1940	Fr. Theodore Kocaba
1918-20	Fr. A. Kraykiwsky	1940-41	Fr. Cyril Lotosky
1920-24	Fr.PeterOleksiw	1941-46	Fr.MaryonShwed
1921-22	Dr. Fr. Ambrose Radkewych	1946-49	Fr. Joseph Fornalchuk
1924-29	Fr. Michael Ircha	1949-56	Fr. Evhen Olynek
1929-31	Fr. Myron Krywicky	1956	Fr. John Lehky

These priests served the parish of St. Michael's at Olha:

1899-1904	Fr. A. Delaere
1904	Fr. Hura
1907	Fathers Didyk and Kryzanowsky

Subsequent priests: Sholdak, Drohomiretcky, Kraykiwcky,

oleksiw, Radkewicz, Kamenetsky, Irha, Krywysky, Pasychnyk, Hryhorychuk, Zarsky, Lotosky, Kosaba, Shwed, and Olynyk.
Source: *On the Sunny Slopes of the Riding Mountains* (Rossburn History Club, 1984), vol. 2: 137, 13S.

Ukrainian Catholic priests who served the Holy Ghost parish in Sandy Lake and area:

1899-1904	Rev. A. Delaere CSsR		Rev. Michael Olenchuk
1904-12	Rev. Henry Boels CSsR		Rev. Myron Krywucky
1914-20	Rev. Eugene Andruchowych		Rev. Paul Reshetylo
1914-20	Rev. Apolinary Kaluzniacky		Rev. Peter Pasichnyk
1921-22	Rev. A. Cherepaniuk	1934-49	Rev. Michael G. Hryhorichuk
1923-24	Rev. John Koltsun	1949-50	Rev. Nicholas Siry
	Rev. A. Kraykiwsky	1950-57	Rev. John Iwanchuk
	Rev. Peter Oleksiw	1957-59	Rev. Michael Melnyk
	Rev. Wasyl Striltsiv	1959-65	Rev. Vladimir Luckiw
	Rev. Peter Kamenecky	1965-90	Rev. Stephen Kulak

Some of the visiting ministers who served St. Nicholas Greek Orthodox Church from 1900-17: Rev. Ivan Bodrug, Rev. Gabriel Tymchuk, Rev. Ivan Danylchuk, Rev. D. Pynovsky, Rev. M. Hutnakowich, Rev. John Kushvara, Rev. M. Hunchak, and Rev. Elisha Lilikowich. Some of the ministers resident after 1917: Rev. D. Ivanoyko, Rev. Damian Krehel, Rev. Kolodiuk, Rev. Anthony Tereschenko, Rev. Petro Oleniuk, Rev. Constantin Bilych, and Rev. Stefan Verbovyj. Ministers after the church house was sold: Rev. Ivasiuk, Rev. Bondarchuk, Rev. Falowsky, Rev. Chewaruk, Rev. Glitzsky, Rev. Tokaruk, Rev. Anthony Hurowsky, Rev. Yoachim Moseychuk, Rev. Joseph Homik, Rev. Urbanowitz, Rev. Eugeny Shageniuk, Rev. Michael Androchiw, Rev. Svetoslav Belavich, and Rev. Evan Lowig assisted by Rev. Myrone Klysh.
Source: *Our Roots* (Sandy Lake Historical Society, 1984), 18, 16.

From 1904-25 St. Mary's at Glen Elmo had clergy from the Greek Catholic, Independent Missionary (later Protestant), Independent Mission (Orthdox), and Russian Orthodox Mission. Some of the names: Rev. Didyk, Rev. Bodruch, Rev. I. Danylchuk, Rev.

Tymchuk, Rev. Poplowski, Rev. Galushka, Rev. Ewanenko, Rev. Krehaiel, Rev. Koliaduk, Rev. Migdaliuk, Rev. Antonow, Rev. Bilych, Rev. Charambura.

St. Mary's at Glen Elmo became a Ukrainian Greek Orthodox parish in the 1920s. These priests served the parish:

	Rev. Hrebenink	1948-49	Rev. E. Ulyan
	V. Rev. Dr. S.W. Sawchuk	1949-52	Rev. D. Stratychuk
1926-27	Rev. Nowosad	1952-55	Rev. P. Glitsky
1927	Rev. D. Leschyshyn	1955-58	Rev. J. Ryblaka
1927-30	Rev. Zaparaniuk	1958-60	Rev. J. Kulish
1930-34	Rev. A. Beryk	1960-63	Rev. Wm. Melnychuk
1934-37	Rev. Hrebeniuk	1963-66	Rev. J. Melnyk
1937-41	Rev. S. Semchyh	1966-69	Rev. Shwetz
1941-43	Rev. T. Kowalyshyn	1969-70	Rev. Diachina
1943-44	Rev. P. Kusiy	1970-73	Rev. M. Sokyrka
1944-48	Rev. Wm. Fedak	1973-	Rev. M. Skrumeda

Source: *On the Sunny Slopes of the Riding Mountains*, 141.

Some priests who served St. John Cantius Parish (Assumption Parish):

1902	Fr. Adeibert Kulaway	1927	Fr. Macaszek
1903	Fr. A. Deiaere		Fr. Kurys
1905	Fr. Finka		Fr. Borkowicz
1906	Fr. Margos		Fr. Lozinski
1910	Fr. Szaynowski		Fr. Buska
1911	Fr. Dr. Korvin Szymonowski		Fr. Faber
to 1920	Fr. Piucinski		Fr. JeromePodbieiski
1925	Fr. Kreciszerski		Fr. Lopuszanski

Source: *On the Sunny Slopes of the Riding Mountains*, 130.

Priests who served St. John the Baptist Ukrainian Catholic Church, Dolyny, included:

1904-15 Rev. Joseph Sabourin, Rev. A. Deiaere, Rev. Henry Boels

1907	Rev. Navkraty Kryzhanowsky OSBM	1934-48	Rev. Michaei Hryhorychuk
1908	Rev. Sozont Dydyk OSBM	1936-37	Rev. Pavlo Suijatycky;
1915-17	Rev.NestorDrohomyrecky	1937-40	Rev.ConstantineZarskyj
1917	Rev. Petro Kamenecky	1940-41	Rev. Kyrylo Lotockyj
1917-20	Atanasij Kraykinsky	1941-46	Rev. Marian Shwed
1920-24	Rev. Petro Oieksiw	1943	Rev. Theodore Kocaba
(visiting)			

1921-24	Rev. Dr. Ambrose Redkewych (visiting)	1946	Rev. Joseph Fornaichuk
1923	Rev. N. Shumsky (visiting)	1946-48	Rev. Michael Hryhorychuk
1924-25	Rev. Wasyl Striitsiw	1948	Rev. Julian Habruswych
1925-29	Rev.Michaeilrcha	1949-51	Rev.AndrewZayac
1929-31	Rev. Myron Krywucky	1951-63	Rev. Volodymyr Oiach
1931-36	Rev. Petro Pasichnyk	1963-65	Rev. Hryhory Eiais Olinyk
1933	Rev. Antin Luhovy (visiting)	1965-92	Rev. John Lehky

Source: Lionel Ditz, historian, St. John the Baptist Ukrainian Catholic Church, Dolyny

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1 This study is dedicated to the memory of my wife, Verna, whose assistance and encouragement was an important part of the work.

2 Riding Mountain is an escarpment in western Manitoba within a triangle marked by the towns of Neepawa, Dauphin, and Russell. The escarpment rises to a height of approximately 2,OOO feet above sea level. Most of the escarpment is a plateau covered with low rolling hills.

3 The Uniate Church, Greek-Catholic Church, Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church, Ruthenian Greek Catholic Church (incorporated in 1913), and Ukrainian Catholic Church (adopted in 1951) are different names for the same institution. Ukrainian national consciousness has led to it being generally referred to as the Ukrainian Catholic Church, so that is the name that will be used primarily here.

4 An estimate of the religious preferences of the first settlers can be made from Church enrollments between 1899 and 1922. Where early Church records have been lost, enrollment can be estimated from the size of the church that was built: Ukrainian Catholic, 63 percent or more; Roman Catholic, 26 percent or less; Greek Orthodox, 8 percent; other, 2 percent. The uncertainty in those numbers stems from the fact that the first Church in the Riding Mountains, St. John Cantius (Polish Roman Catholic), was attended by Ukrainian settlers who had no other Church to attend until St. Michael's (Ukrainian Catholic) at Olha was completed in 19O4.

5 A short summary of Father Delaere's work is contained in By Steps not Leaps (Brandon, Manitoba: St. Augustine's of Canterbury parish, 1981).

6 Father Kulawy's arrival was noted in the *Shoal Lake Star*, 3 May 19OO, under the heading Immigrant Notes.

7 Prior to 19OO Father Delaere's centre of activity appears to have been Polonia (also called Huns Valley). By 1901 he had extended his mission west to Oakburn. Before 1904 he had succeeded in establishing missions in the Riding Mountains as far west as Lakedale, north of Angusville.

8 Nicolas Zernov, *A Study of the Origin and Development of the Eastern Orthodox Church* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1961).

9 The Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church, Ukrainian Orthodox Church, and Ukrainian Orthodox Church of Canada (enacted 1990) are different names for the same institution.

10 Bishop Seraphim's real name was Stefan Ustvolsky. For further information on the growth of the Independent Greek Church see John Bodrug, *Independent Orthodox Church*, trans. Edward Bodrug and Lydia Biddle (Toronto: Ukrainian Canadian Research Foundation, 1982); and Nick Mitchell, "Encounter with the Sacred in Manitoba," in this volume.

11 For a detailed account of the formation of the Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church of Canada see Paul Yuzyk, *The Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church of Canada 1918-1951* (Ottawa: University of Ottawa Press, 1981).

12 In the 1920s, the sons and daughters of the original pioneers who left the farm moved to the towns surrounding the settlement: Angusville, Rossburn, Oakburn, Menzie, Elphinstone, and Sandy Lake. The rate of movement depended on the work and business opportunities available in the nearest town. The effects of this movement were delayed somewhat where the attitude of the town's Anglo-Saxon population was sufficiently negative toward Ukrainians. Fifty years later, these small towns were themselves subject to depopulation as the descendants of the original settlers moved on to the larger urban centres of Russell, Shoal Lake, and Minnedosa.

13 See Yuzyk, *The Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church,* 83.

14 See Zernov, *Study of the Origin of the Eastern Orthodox Church.*

15 F.R. Webber, *Church Symbolism: An Explanation of the More Important Symbols of the Old and New Testament, the Primitive, and Medieval and Modern Church* (Detroit: Gale Research Company Book Tower, 1971).

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Ukrainian Orthodoxy in Montreal: Education, National Consciousness, and Christian Tolerance

V. Rev. Fr. Dr. Ihor G. Kutash

Introduction

Since 1969 I have had the privilege of ministering in Montreal, the only city in Canada where the Ukrainian Orthodox Church grew in a predominantly Roman Catholic and francophone setting. My predecessor, the Right Reverend Dr. Volodymyr Sluzar, ministered to this community for a total of 48 years—almost from its very inception. The unique character of the Ukrainian Orthodox community in Montreal is undoubtedly due to the combination of this unusual setting and the strong character of Fr. Sluzar. His first Liturgy in Montreal was celebrated on 22 August 1926. He found his community—the Ukrainian Orthodox congregation of St. Sophie, named after the Cathedral in Kyiv—a struggling and beleaguered flock in need of a shepherd. He left it a strong, vibrant, respected part of the Montreal community in general, and the Ukrainian community in particular. He reposed in the Lord on 26 December 1976.

Ministering at St. Sophie's has given me the opportunity to hear many wonderful stories about the community from the pioneers, most of whom have since gone to their reward. I will relate one of them, recounted by Alex Kipybida of blessed memory, since it provides a good illustration of the milieu in which the community arose and the kind of ministry exercised by Fr. Volodymyr. Kipybida, Cantor of the Cathedral for fifteen years, had come to Montreal with a Greek Catholic[1] background, like most of the first members of St. Sophie's. During a sermon at St. Michael's Greek Catholic Church, the first Ukrainian Church in Montreal, Kipybida heard the priest speak in strongly deprecato-

ry terms of the new Orthodox parish and its "officer" priest.[2] His curiosity piqued, he decided to go and see for himself. Kipybida found the service at St. Sophie's a pleasant experience. The atmosphere was reverent, the Liturgy was in the living Ukrainian language, and most important of all, the sermon was inspirational, with no hint of any attack on people of persuasions other than the Ukrainian Orthodox. Kipybida decided to stay. A good many years later, Fr. Sluzar expressed his pleasure at the contribution Kipybida was making to the life of the community. "Oh, I'm only here temporarily, Father," Kipybida replied, with a glint of the humour for which he was famous. "I decided, when I first came to the service here, to stay only until I heard a sermon like the one I heard at St. Michael's—attacking another Church. After that, I probably would have no other choice than to go to the Labour Temple." "Then you're going to be with us a long time," responded Fr. Sluzar. Indeed, Alex Kipybida remained with St. Sophie's till the end of his earthly days, and his grandchildren are still with the Parish. That intolerant sermon was never preached.

Beginnings

On 21 April 1926, *Ukravinsky Holos* (Ukrainian Voice) in Winnipeg published a letter signed by "A former faithful Catholic:" "During the last 15 years some 6,000 Halychyna-Ukrainians have settled and live in Montreal. They all came here with the same intellectual capacities, penniless, unorganized, good sons of their people, true Christians and zealous Catholics"[3] The author went on to recount how these immigrants organized their Greek-Catholic community, only to be disappointed by the priests who were sent to serve it. Apparently their first disappointment lay in the refusal of these priests—with the exception of the first, Fr. Yermi—to use the term "Ukrainian."[4] The "former faithful Catholic" also professed impatience with interminable collecting for a church building which was never fin-

ished. He went on to describe how some disillusioned people, "without outcries in newspapers and without the least attack on the Greek Catholic Church," organized the Ukrainian Orthodox Brotherhood of St. Sophie and planned to build a church which would be "a child of St. Sophie Cathedral in Kyiv."[5]

Formation of the St. Sophie Brotherhood

Education of the young was a paramount concern of Ukrainian immigrants. The "former faithful Catholic" noted that, because of their dissatisfaction with the instruction their children were receiving in the French schools, which was primarily directed at making good Catholics out of them, many of "the simplest Ukrainian workers" had taken their children out of these schools and enrolled them in English Protestant schools. They were also concerned that their children should receive nurturing in their native language and culture. This concern for education led to formation of the Ukrainian Orthodox community of Montreal:

> In 1924, Fr. Dr. A. Redkevitch was the Pastor at St. Michael's [Greek-Catholic] Church on Iberville [Street]. This Father was not only a faithful Catholic, but, more than this, he exhorted his faithful to be Roman Catholics. This was very painful to us, but what hurt most was that our children did not get the slightest national [Ukrainian] nurturing.... Our Greek-Catholic rite was disappearing before our very eyes....Fr. Dr. Redkevitch, with the help of his faithful, prepared a list of children of Greek-Catholic parents—according to his understanding, Roman Catholics—who were attending Protestant schools. He sent this to the Protestant Council and asked the School Council to expel all these children, because they ought [not] to be going to Protestant schools. In this way, about 280 children of Ukrainian birth were expelled from the English Protestant schools. This was the step that made us think hard and begin to take concrete measures.[6]

Jurian Dragan was a catalyst in the formation of the Brotherhood. He had come to Montreal from Saskatchewan to study medicine at McGill University. In his spare time this ener-

getic young man became actively involved in the Drahomaniv Society, one of the first Ukrainian organizations in Montreal, which was "father" to many subsequent organizations and churches: "As a young and ambitious student and a conscious Ukrainian patriot and member of the newly-reborn Greek-Orthodox Church in the western provinces of Canada, he gave us many consciousness-raising talks, which we heard with great interest and discussed among ourselves."[7] Dragan was present at a fateful meeting held in the home of Mykola Jurychuk on 9 March 1925:

> The main goal of this meeting was not exactly to create a church, but, first of all, to find a way to keep our children in the English Protestant schools; to find ways and means to nurture them with a national spirit, the history of Ukraine, the history of the Ukrainian struggle for liberation and, obviously, to write, read and speak Ukrainian.... At the beginning, Mr. Jurychuk read a letter from the school authorities of the Protestant schools which said that the Church on Iberville is recognized to be Roman Catholic, based on a letter from Fr. Dr. Redkevitch, and that therefore our children must go to Catholic schools. We concluded that the only recourse for us was to attempt to make contact with the Ukrainian Greek-Orthodox Church already existing in Western Canada.[8]

The decision was not taken lightly. Dragan urged the fifteen people present at this meeting to think the matter over carefully and to discuss it with their wives and families, before committing themselves to such a dramatic course of action. There would be consequences to test the resolve of the founders. Fr. Redkevitch and his successors would certainly not take that lying down. Also, relations between friends and neighbours, and even within close family units, could be shaken and even destroyed. In his words of caution, Dragan was showing the tolerance and restraint which was to mark the new community.[9]

Nevertheless, the fifteen people present decided that they would not leave the Jurychuk house without signing the voluntary declaration of entry into the Brotherhood which marked the foun-

dation of the St. Sophic Cathedral Community. A copy of it, together with pictures of the founders, hangs in the St. Sophie hall today. (The fact that some of them, including the first president, A. Pysarsky, subsequently left the Brotherhood yet continue to be honoured and recognized by the Parish, simply underscores the voluntary basis and tolerant nature of the Community.) At the second meeting, held on 19 March 1925, they decided to contact the Protestant School Commission to state that the Ukrainian parents were not Roman Catholic.[10] It was not until the third meeting, on 1 April 1925, that creation of the Brotherhood was formalized with election of the first officers.

By the fourth meeting, on 14 April 1925, a letter had arrived from Fr. Semen W. Sawchuk, Administrator of the Consistory of the Ukrainian Greek-Orthodox Church of Canada. He agreed to come to Montreal to celebrate a Divine Liturgy, since the Church then had no priests to spare. The Brotherhood decided to ask the Syrians for use of their church on rue Notre Dame. There was immediate consent and the members gathered $ 132—no small amount at the time—to pay Fr. Sawchuk's expenses.[11] Thus it was that Fr. Sawchuk celebrated Montreal's first Liturgy in Ukrainian on 14 June 1925, in St. Nicholas Syrian Orthodox Church. While he was in Montreal, he also gave a series of talks on historical and religious matters.

In October 1925 the Brotherhood realized its dream by organizing a Ukrainian School. A store was rented at 1627 rue Ontario for the school, and Ilia Romanchuk, who had taught in Ukraine, was engaged to teach the children.

The Ministry of Fr. Sluzar

At a meeting on 3 September 1925, the Brotherhood decided to request that a permanent pastor be assigned so the Community could become a fully functioning Parish.[12] Jurian Dragan went to Saskatoon that Christmas to help find a priest. He met Fr. Volodymyr Sluzar, who had studied theology in his native

Chernivtsi before coming to Canada upon the invitation of a relative in 1923. He had been ordained by Metropolitan Ioan (Theodorovich) to serve the Mission district of Sheho, Saskatchewan. When Dragan recounted his conversations with Fr. Sluzar, the Brotherhood pleaded with the Consistory to assign Sluzar to Montreal. Their efforts were finally successful and Fr. Sluzar celebrated his first Liturgy in Montreal on 22 August 1926.

Fr. Sluzar and his talented and dedicated wife, the indomitable Dobrodiyka Leonia, organized the Women's Association, Sunday School, and Youth Association in short order. They had found a community of courageous young people who were eager to work and to give. As for the morale of this community, the pioneers are unanimous in describing with nostalgia the sense of brotherly love and joy that they shared then. This was very important since the odds against the community, its pastor, and his family were great. The Great Depression was coming and they had to contend with powerful enemies.

The Communists were an obvious force to be reckoned with, for they had won the loyalty of a sizeable number of Ukrainian immigrants who were faced with the traumas of being transplanted in a strange land with economic hardships. Alas, fellow Christians were also among the foes. The Greek Catholic clergy were unsparing in their efforts to discourage their faithful's transfer of allegiance to the new community. Indeed, the article by the "former faithful Catholic" was written in response to attacks on the St. Sophie community by Fr. Hryhoriychuk from the pulpit of St. Michael's. The immediate result of such attacks was continued growth of St. Sophie's, where the people marvelled at sermons where "they did not hear the slightest denunciation, but, rather, Christian teachings."[13]

However, the attacks brought suffering, to Fr. Sluzar, as leader of the community, as well as to his family:

> Slander and more slander, coming from what ought to be con-

sidered one's own environment. The children of parents who were, after all, Ukrainians, seeing the figure of Fr. Volodymyr on the street, would call nasty words after him, which they learned from their blinded, intolerant teachers, throwing stones from behind corners.[14]

These "enemies" also made it difficult for the community to obtain a charter from the Quebec government. Until 1931 Fr. Sluzar had to use the register of St. Nicholas Syrian Orthodox Church to enter acts of Civil Status. A common charge against the new community was: "If they are not Communists over the table, they are Communists under the table."[15] Finally, with the help of attestations from the Consistory, the RCMP, and several prominent Canadian figures, the Parish of St. Sophie became a legal entity.[16]

The community kept firmly to its first resolve: to maintain the ideals of education, national consciousness, and Christian tolerance. As cultural and religious activity flourished, St. Sophie's more and more became a centre of cultural life not only for the Orthodox, but for Ukrainians in Montreal in general. Fr. Sluzar was also instrumental in laying the groundwork for inter-Orthodox cooperation in Montreal. The Clergy Fellowship instituted in the early years of his ministry continues to function. I have a picture of that early fellowship in which Fr. Sluzar is joined by priests of the Greek, Russian, Romanian, and Syrian Churches. Problems of canonicity and ethnic tensions were dealt with in a tolerant manner which did not undermine the fraternal relations that the clergy and their communities enjoyed.

Finally, after the Second Vatican Council, it became possible to have common ecumenical functions with the Ukrainian Catholic clergy, something Fr. Sluzar and his community had always wanted. One of my first ecumenical functions in Montreal was attending, together with all the clergy of the Montreal Ukrainian Orthodox Mission District, the funeral of Fr. Nicholas Kushniryk, at St. Michael's Ukrainian Catholic Church, in 1969. When Fr. Sluzar died in 1976, the Ukrainian Catholics recipro-

cated. Prior to his death, Fr. Sluzar was honoured by the Ukrainian Catholic Young Men's Association at their annual banquet. The result of this educational work has been that some of the most prominent positions in the Ukrainian community in Montreal have been occupied by Ukrainian Orthodox. One prime example is that the Canadian Ukrainian Committee in Montreal has been headed by Orthodox for most of its existence. (Its current head, Mr. Yaroslav Kulba, who is also president of the Church Executive of St. Sophie's, was re-elected for a seventeenth consecutive term).

The victory of patient Christian tolerance in Montreal is apparent in the existence in this city of a vibrant Ukrainian community in a society that really is distinct. This victory is not unique to Montreal, yet Montreal is a particularly striking example of it. These examples can be very useful as models for Ukraine, which is struggling to find a way of living and growing out of the rubble left by decades of viciously intolerant totalitarianism.

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1. I am aware Orthodox theologians have reservations about applying "Greek Catholic" to those Ukrainian Christians who are in the jurisdiction of the Roman Pontiff, while retaining the Byzantine-Ukrainian rite. I use the term here since it is the one popularly used by such Christians in Ukraine.
2. Prior to his theological studies in Chernivtsi, Fr. Sluzar served with distinction in the army of the short-lived Ukrainian National Republic.
3. "O. Hryhoriychuk i Pravoslavna Tserkva v Montreali" [Fr. Hryhorlychuk and the Orthodox Church in Montreal], in *The Golden Jubilee Book of the Ukrainian Orthodox Cathedral of St. Sophie* (Montreal, 1975), 175.
4. Halychyna, the centre of the Ukrainian Catholic Church, was under Polish rule then. Clergy sent from Halychyna (Galicia) were expected to be loyal to the government in power, which did its utmost to quell nationalist sentiments. Hence they used the politically safe term Ruthenian instead of Ukrainian.
5. *Golden Jubilee Book*, 177.
6. "On the Fortieth Anniversary of the Ukrainian Orthodox Brotherhood of St. Sophie in Montreal; Memoirs of its Living Creators: D. Mokrynsky and

Y. Redchuk," *Sviato-Sofirski Dzvony* [St. Sophie's Chimes] vol. 2, no. 17 (October 1965): 3-7. The fact that Kornel Redkevitch, a relative of this pastor, later joined and became a leader in the St. Sophie community, provides additional evidence of how counterproductive such coercive methods of persuasion were.

7. Dedication: *St. Sophie Ukrainian Orthodox Cathedral* (Quebec, 1962), 30, 3. This souvenir book was published on the occasion of the consecration of the new cathedral in Rosemount on 25 February 1962.
8. Ibid, 4.
9. Ibid.
10. Ibid., 5.
11. Ibid.
12. Ibid., 6.
13. Letter from Fr. Sluzar to Jurian Dragan, 24 August 1926, published in *Golden Jubilee Book,* 184.
14. V. Emsky, "25 rokiv sluzhinnia Tserkvi i Hromadi" [25 Years of Service to the Church and the Community], in *25 lit ukravins'kovi pravoslarnoyi tserkvy sv. Sofyi v Montreali* ([5 Years of the St. Sophie Ukrainian Orthodox Church in Montreal] (1951), 63.
15. Recounted by Fr. Sluzar in numerous conversations.
16. I have not yet been able to obtain documentation for this. I rely instead upon conversations with Fr. S.W. Sawchuk and members of the editorial committee of the *Golden Jubilee Book.*

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History and Self-Understanding: The Ukrainian Orthodox Church of Canada

David J. Goa

Since 1987 a series of changes have led to independence for Ukraine and entrance into communion with the canonical Orthodox[1] churches of North America and much of the world for the Ukrainian Orthodox Church of Canada. These two shifts in orientation touch the heart of theUkrainian community in Canada and challenge the self-understanding of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church of Canada. Since its formation the Ukrainian Orthodox Church of Canada has worked diligently on behalf of the national and cultural aspirations of Ukraine. The intimate connection of faith and culture has been in service to a Ukraine which has been traumatized by Soviet cultural policy. This has given a particular shape and focus to the life of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church of Canada. Thus in 1985 Rev. Dr. Steven Jarmus, head of the Church's Consistory, indicated that his intent for the Church in the next five years was to "normalize" the Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church of Canada's relationship to the canonical Orthodox churches. The central reason for this also has to do with faith and culture.

The few scholars who have studied the Ukrainian Orthodox Church of Canada, many of the younger clergy, and a number of the Church's recent leaders have all noted that for the last seventy years the Church's energy has been in service to the national and cultural aspirations of Ukraine and to preservation of Ukrainian national tradition in the Canadian cultural context. The Church has been the Ukrainian community's chief instrument, yet its agenda has been largely set elsewhere—in Moscow and the former Soviet Union with its grand experiment in modern

Empire, and in the Vatican with its seeming irresponsibility and unwillingness to honour the integrity of Ukrainian spiritual culture.[2]

This period that we honour with the Centennial of Ukrainian Settlement in Canada was fraught—at least within the life of the Church—with issues that arose largely outside the context of Orthodoxy. Perhaps now that Ukrainian cultural and political aspirations have their rightful place in a restructured Ukraine, "Orthodoxy can finally be born in the Ukrainian Orthodox Church of Canada."[3] The centennial of Ukrainian immigration coincides with development of Ukrainian national integrity. Both mark the advent of a lengthy process of rethinking the Church's role in history, and both will lead the faithful and the Ukrainian Orthodox Church of Canada to a new self-understanding. Commitment to the aspirations of the people of Ukraine is not in any sense diminished, nor is concern for Ukrainian tradition in Canada less a matter of interest. Rather, the Church is at work examining its relationship to the culture in which it finds itself.[4]

The entrance of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church of Canada into communion with the Ecumenical Patriarchy on 1 April 1990 is perhaps the most dramatic and immediate change which reflects this shift in focus. When a delegation of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church of Canada was received by the Ecumenical Patriarch at the Cathedral of St. George, the Patriarchal See, in Constantinople, the negotiations of the previous three years reached their culmination.[5] At the invitation of the Ecumenical Patriarch, a delegation led by His Grace Bishop Yurij of Saskatoon and Rev. Dr. Stephan Jarmus celebrated the Holy Mysteries with his All-Holiness.[6] This act of Communion brought the Ukrainian Orthodox Church of Canada into a "normal" relationship with the Ecumenical Patriarchate.

Various consequences flow from this remarkable shift in the relationship of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church of Canada to the Orthodox world. The Church is now a part of the Standing

Conference of Canonical Orthodox Bishops in the Americas. This will be a new influence on the Church and a new opportunity for Ukrainians to influence North American Orthodoxy. The Orthodox bishops who sit on this body—including several churches of Russian origin with ties to Moscow—will have a "brother" at the table who will speak to the aspirations and issues that face the community and the Church in Ukraine. The Ukrainian Orthodox Church of Canada will be directly influenced by the agenda of the Standing Conference and by the new fellowship forged by normalization of its status. One area in which this influence is likely to be felt is the liturgical life and the influence Latin ritual forms (including those of Protestantism) have historically had on Ukrainian parish life.[7] Over the next generation liturgical renewal will probably flourish in the Ukrainian Orthodox Church of Canada. Normative Orthodox forms of liturgical practice, iconography, and architecture will move to the centre of parish life. This will be the fruit of regular association and worship with other Orthodox churches and of increased opportunity for the next generation of priests to receive a broad Orthodox education.

Perhaps the most significant consequence of this normalization is that the Ukrainian Orthodox Church of Canada will become conscious of its entrance into the cultural milieu of North America. No longer will concern for the aspirations of Ukraine and its peoples and the diaspora community's nostalgic desire to "preserve the tradition", be most important in the discourse of the faithful and Church leaders. Increasingly, the Church will grapple with the meaning of an Orthodox formation and with an Orthodox response to the culture of North America. This challenge to the Ukrainian Orthodox community—largely unrecognized in the heat of the tragedies and struggles of the homeland—will come to the fore. It is part of the genius of Orthodoxy, with its rich implicit theology of culture, to address the cultural context in which it finds itself. What does Orthodoxy

have to say to its faithful about the cultural and social life of North America, about the values that drive our economy and our relationship to other peoples, societies, and nations? What does it have to say about living the fullness of life—the gift it offers and so richly proclaims at every liturgy—at the end of the twentieth century in a largely secular world, a largely pluralistic society? What does it have to say about the presence of a living tradition within a world that values change above most things and progress above everything?

The faithful are already beginning to explore these questions. The independence of Ukraine and the entrance of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church of Canada into communion with the Ecumenical Patriarch has opened a new chapter in the history of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church of Canada. The crucible for rethinking the identity and self-understanding of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church of Canada will be discussion of the place of the Church in the life of the faithful and its institutional role in the society and culture in which it lives. This is fundamentally a question of ecclesiology, of the Church's self-understanding of the living tradition of God's people.

The Orthodox Understanding of History

How the Ukrainian Orthodox Church of Canada understands and responds to the possibilities of the historical moment will depend on how sacred tradition and the role of the Church—the institution of sacred tradition—is interpreted in the face of history. Orthodoxy is a cosmic form of Christianity, distinct in emphasis and development from its Latin sister. In Orthodox Christianity, history and human experience exist within the larger context of creation; it is the concept and understanding of creation that are highly articulated. The Orthodox tradition understands history within an eschatological framework. On the surface, this appears to be shared with Western Christian tradition, however, Orthodox understanding of history does not speak of

the linear progress of history in the fashion of the West. Orthodox theology is concerned with a change in the vision of the human being. Individuals are not to be under the dominance and terrors of history understood and mediated by personal perception and cultural interpretation. History does not define the human context. In a sense, Orthodox tradition proclaims that the Kingdom of God was as present at the beginning of history as it is now and will be at the end of time. The faithful live in the eighth day of creation, the day of the presence of the Kingdom of God.

For the Orthodox community, the Church is model, icon, and archetype of the presence of the Kingdom of God. It is not a sacred community standing in opposition to the world. Instead it shows the world, which has forgotten its own reality, creation as divine energy, creation as that place where co-suffering love sanctifies all that is. Essentially a liturgical tradition, Orthodoxy understands its role as unveiling the Kingdom of God, which for human beings is the mystery of life. The Church as archetype of creation is the presence of that Kingdom in history, and it calls all creation to the present fullness of the Kingdom of God.

History and historical consciousness have been central to the way modern culture understands human life. Many have argued that historical consciousness has deep roots in biblical faith, that it is the central contribution of Christianity to modern consciousness. The rise of Marxism, with its notion of society's evolution culminating in an eschatological paradise, and the rise of Liberation Theology have brought this matter home in a fresh and powerful way. God's plan of salvation, we are told, is being worked out in the vagaries of human history, and the people of God participate in the unfolding of this historical process. Some argue that those who participate in the historical process of the liberation of peoples are by definition the people of God. What has characterized a good deal of modern theology, and is clearly articulated in recent Liberation theology, is that a divine process

unfolds in time precisely as peoples are liberated from the oppressive authority of the past, even if that authority was, or was supported by, a Church.

This understanding is a deep part of the Western view of history shared by the Western Church but not at all by the Church of the Christian East. To understand the place and process of history in Eastern Christianity the ground on which this tradition is built must be examined. In the East there is a tradition of understanding creation, time, and the events and struggles of human life as rooted in the eternal present in sacred time. The liturgy is thus the place where the meaning of historical time is most clearly apprehended. History is a subset of creation; history is not in and of itself the making of the meaning of creation.

Liturgy and Historical Time

Time is a fundamental problem for human beings.[8] The past informs our existence and prejudices our way of being and our understanding of the future. Hopes and dreams are at work in every decision. Human beings are given to nostalgia and utopianism. For many, the great task of life is actually to be present, to have memory and imagination serve our presence in the world and not impede our ability to live the time that is at hand in a full and responsible way. The philosophical and theological aspects of time and history have been studied by a number of scholars who have traced the roots of Patristic thinkers and Eastern Christian theology and the rich synthesis of Greek and Hebrew ways of thinking about this matter.[9] Since the primary language of the Orthodox tradition is liturgy, in the faithful common worship of the Divine Liturgy cultivates a vision of time and history that is deeply rooted in a vision of the world of time as essentially a world in the Kingdom of God.[10] In this vision, time is not a linear unfolding of a pre-ordained plan of salvation. Rather, the Eastern Christian tradition leaves open all the possibilities humans can imagine, and sees all of them as potential places of

the Kingdom of God or the kingdom of darkness.[11] This tradition speaks about cosmic sacrality and sees time within that sacrality. In the West, the unfolding of history of salvation has been seen as a path to the Eternal through faithfulness to divine commandment about what is right and good about incidents of time. In the East, incidents of time are understood from the perspective of the Eternal.

The Church and the Presence of the Kingdom[12]

Orthodoxy understands its role as unveiling the Kingdom of God, which for human beings is the very mystery of life. It is not charged with redeeming or reforming a profane world. It does not show something new to the world, but rather what is, has been, and will be. The Church prays for the life of the world and reveals its proper nature as creation. A movement from recognition, confession, and forgiveness to the fullness of adoration of God and apprehension of the mystery of creation is necessary for each generation throughout time. This is what liturgy does every time it is celebrated. The Church itself is the presence of that Kingdom in history, and it calls all creation to the fullness of the Kingdom.[13]

The icon of the Church is the Holy Theotokos. It is in this image that Orthodox tradition provides the Church's self-definition. The Church's particular vocation is to be the "birth-giver" of the divine in the world. The Holy Theotokos, the mother of Jesus and birth-giver of God, was attentive and open to the presence of divine life, even under what could be seen as scandalous circumstances. She gave birth to Christ, the presence of God, and the fullness of human nature, and she did this in time, in history. It is the Church's vocation to "give birth" to Divine love in history.[14] The liturgical life of the Church—the sanctifying of space, time, and the person— shows the presence of the Kingdom of God. The Church as temple—microcosm of the Kingdom of God—is a theophany of the sacred creation; it unveils the mys-

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tery of creation. So what does the Church do with historical experience and what does this tell us of its understanding of its role within history? The Church's vocation is to serve the liturgy. The liturgy is the Church's bringing forth of creation as the creator made it. So the liturgy is not about private prayer or saving individual souls of the faithful. Rather, it is public work of the community for the life of the world.[15] In the liturgy all the fundamental characteristics of human experience, society, and culture are presented in the pattern of the Kingdom of God. This culminates, of course, in Communion.

Liturgy begins with a dramatic movement, a metanoia. Called into consciousness is the experience of estrangement, called sin, that so characterizes the life of the world. For the individual, the point of departure in the liturgical journey is recognition of the darkness which shrouds the fullness of the faithful's life in God. All experience of estrangement—whether out of ignorance, deliberate deceit, failure of mind, will or response—is called forth to the light of consciousness. The mercy of God is petitioned so that the faithful can confess their failure to live the fullness of life. The issue here is not some moral impropriety. The issue is that fear and desire, the failure of mind, heart, and will, separate the faithful from life itself. They have failed to live what the Lord of Life has created and given to them. Recognition and confession of this is the road to the "light of life." Since God is the lover of humankind, forgiveness is axiomatic. Grace is the central feature of creation. With recognition and confession comes forgiveness, even the grace to accept that forgiveness. Flooding out of this is adoration of the Divine who has created life and placed the faithful within it. Adoration of the Divine, which itself corrects the relationship between human beings and the Creator, culminates in Communion. This Communion is not a private sacramental act taking place in a "cultic" environment. Rather, it is beginning to live in communion with the Lord of Life, in communion with life itself. "The

liturgy after the Liturgy" is nothing more than communion and co-suffering love in the world of everyday life. It is in the commonplace that "time is redeemed." Whatever challenges history may offer, from the point of view of sacred tradition, the Church is to serve the life of the world through giving birth to the divine presence in those who are its faithful.

The Church and the Fullness of the Kingdom of God

What is the ultimate destiny of the cosmos as understood by Eastern Christian tradition? The eschatological vision of this tradition which is focused on the presence of the Kingdom of God suggests that apprehension of this presence is not complete. It is one thing to talk about the possibility of communion and the fullness of life, and quite another to claim that this is the normal condition of the world. Orthodoxy recognizes the grip suffering, estrangement, and death have on the human condition, and how difficult it is for even the most faithful to maintain a clear-sighted view of the presence of the Divine in the midst of sorrow. Orthodoxy builds on biblical, apocalyptic imagery, and speaks of the coming of the fullness of the Kingdom of God. Periodically in the history of the Orthodox Church, movements have arisen which took biblical imagery quite literally and claimed to see the demonic presence bringing about the imminent demise of this world.[16]

For Orthodox tradition, however, the image of the coming fullness of the Kingdom suggests that full apprehension of the meaning of experience is finally and only in God. This aspect of the Orthodox iconic vision of history encourages the faithful to be attentive to new and deeper understanding of the divine meaning unfolding around the particular experiences which characterize historical life. This is illustrated beautifully in the Orthodox service for burial when the deceased is placed at the front of the temple and faced toward the royal doors. (The royal doors are the central opening in the iconostasis and mark the bridge

between the presence of the Kingdom of God symbolized by the nave of the church and the fullness of the Kingdom of God symbolized by the sanctuary with its holy table surrounded by the icon of the Mystical Supper.) The liturgy for burial "sends" the deceased into the sanctuary of the cosmos. In God, where ultimately all life rests in the fullness of being, the deceased is gathered into the fullness of the kingdom which has no end. This example does not suggest that the Kingdom of God is equated with heaven or an afterlife. Rather it suggests that the meaning of things can only be partially comprehended by mortal, created beings. Our utopian notions of a perfect world, perfected experience, collapse the unfolding of life into an ideology of how life ought to be. The iconic vision of the fullness of the Kingdom of God, on the other hand, sees the unfolding of meaning as the character of life. All that is given to human beings is the presence of the Kingdom, a life of loving communion; key to it is apprehending that the fullness of divine meaning is beyond our purview. What the iconic vision of Orthodoxy is cultivating is a regard for this unfolding, which we grasp always and only in part within history.

Paradigms of Faithfulness

How faithful is the Orthodox community to its view of history when it interprets its own history? A range of paradigms of interpretation operate within Orthodox communities as they work to understand their place in each historical epoch. There is a combination of these paradigms present in various jurisdictions in the contemporary Church. How each jurisdiction within the Orthodox world—indeed, how various groups of faithful within any one of these jurisdictions— brings understanding of the Church's role in history to bear on a self-definition of their history will depend to a large extent on the ecclesiology which informs the community's understanding. Here I will attempt to map the central elements in the conservative, modernist, and traditionalist paradigms.

Orthodoxy and Modernity[17]

The study of Orthodox Church history in the modern world is in its infancy for a variety of reasons, not the least being that much of the Orthodox world has only in this century begun to grapple with modernity. Historically, Orthodox communities have developed in a largely homogeneous cultural context. Consequently language, local custom, and cultural forms have been either wedded to sacred tradition or parallel to it. Modern society, often characterized by pluralism, challenges the community's normative self-understanding. Not only does the community have to consider its place within a pluralistic context, it may also have to accommodate pluralistic expression of Orthodoxy within the community itself. (This has certainly happened with the development of pan-Orthodox parishes in various jurisdictions.) Questions of which language to use in the liturgy, the place of local custom and folk tradition, and episcopal authority must be addressed.

The liturgical tradition of Orthodoxy challenges modern historical consciousness in a variety of ways. One of these has been expressed in the fierce debate over whether to retain the liturgical calendar shaped by the Julian calendar or to adopt the Gregorian calendar used by the societies in which many Western European and North American Orthodox communities live. The liturgical calendar is built on a biblical, liturgical tradition. The secular calendar stands on its own. Adjusting a liturgical calendar to fit a secular calendar means forcing a liturgical pattern to fit a secular pattern. This can seem problematic.

A variety of other considerations on liturgical reform[18] have been opened by the increasing Western influence on Orthodox communities. Are there aspects of the liturgy that are simply redundant? Is it necessary to serve Vespers prior to the serving of Divine Liturgy, and if so, can it be done as a preamble to the Divine Liturgy in the morning? How seriously does the community abide by the highly structured symbolic shape given to

space, time, and the initiation of persons? How do Orthodox communities, informed by a catholic tradition with a national and folk ethos, come to terms with a world that has increasingly become a global village? How does the community reconcile its rather exclusive cultural definition of "the people of God" with the possibility of entering into ecumenical and social justice organizations which express a variety of international concerns, and with the pressure to be relevant and involved on behalf of the needy of the world?

Modern history has also placed the question of the Orthodox Church's self-understanding in the face of secular culture squarely on the agenda. The Orthodox pattern of the symphonia, which has influenced the Church's understanding of its relationship to the state for centuries, is problematic in secular democratic cultures. Classically, the relationship between Church and state was established on a pattern that recognized:

> [the] mutual harmony and independence of the two parts. The state recognized the ecclesiastical law as an interior guide for its activity; the Church considered itself as under the state. This was not a Caesaro-papism in which the ecclesiastical supremacy belonged to the Emperor. Caesaro-papism was always an abuse; never was it recognized, dogmatically or canonically. The "symphonic" relationship between Church and state ended in the Emperor's directing all the domain of ecclesiastical life and legislation within the limits of his administration of the state. But, if that "symphony" became troubled by discord, if the Emperors attempted to impose on the Church dogmatic directions ... then the Church thought itself persecuted, and the real nature of its connection with the state became manifest. Still the Church attached much importance to its alliance with the state, insofar as state was of use to Church and as the existence of a crowned head for the entire Orthodox world—the Orthodox Empire—was considered one of the Church's essential attributes. The Emperor was the sign of the conquest of the world by the Cross; he was the "architect" of the Kingdom of God on earth.[19]

The symbolic image of the imperial crown is all but forgotten in

democratic societies, and hierarchical imagery which forms so large a part of the Orthodox Church's tradition no longer has a resonance within the society. The relationship of secular, democratic societies to the Church has yet to be worked out.

The Conservative Historical Paradigm

One sector of the Orthodox community has a conservative historical paradigm. This conservatism is born of deep concern that the rapid change and historical traumas so characteristic of the modern world will destroy the identity of the community. For many of these jurisdictions the terrors of history have justified their concern.[20] Most East European communities have suffered greatly in the twentieth century from attacks on their society and culture that accompanied their entry into the modern world. Under the rubric of "preserving tradition," they marshal their resources to maintain everything that is a sign of their identity as a people faithful to the past. Yet education and formation in Orthodoxy for many of the leaders in these communities has been very thin indeed, and leadership was often wiped out in revolutions. In some cases, the Ukrainians being perhaps the most extreme, the Roman Catholic Church worked on its own particular agenda with little or no regard for the Eastern Christian tradition which was central to the people it wanted under its jurisdiction.

These traumas, and conservative understanding of them as potentially fatal to the identity of the community, resulted in elevation of folk and national tradition into sacred tradition. So the Church became more vulnerable to being used as an instrument for national aspirations. In such circumstances, ritual forms of folk and national tradition take on a central importance because they speak of "peoplehood," not because they reveal the Kingdom of God and the glory of creation. Judgements about the value of liturgical and ritual acts, and about the shaping of liturgical time, sacred space, and the language of worship are

largely in service to expressing the identity of a people on a national, ideological, and historical basis.[21] It becomes paramount that the "purity" of the tradition be protected against reforms, even if modern scholarship shows that the particular "tradition" in question was imported from the Latin Rite in the nineteenth century or from Protestantism in the twentieth century. Those who have commandeered the universe of discourse within this context have forced the community to look inward for the validity of the tradition. The tradition becomes a way of preserving the identity of the community, and the community becomes a remnant of the people of God living in a deeply troubled world without power. Nostalgia for a golden age or another land and leadership defines the Church's understanding of its own history under the conservative paradigm.

The Modernist Historical Paradigm

In this century a critique of the conservative paradigm has been developed. The impetus for this is manifold and includes a return to liturgical and ecclesiastical sources as a reference point for introducing changes in liturgy and jurisdictional relationships, a desire to enter into a host culture, and participation in the ecumenical movement.[22] What seems to operate here is a sense that the scrutiny of modern knowledge can refine a sacred tradition, purging it of folk religious forms that have accrued over the centuries. Gradually, there emerges the sense that if a religious form is not clearly and verifiably part of "canonical tradition" it is suspect and ought to be cast out. The modernist paradigm is open to modern questions and methodologies, and requires that the tradition find a way to justify its practice in light of these questions and methodologies.

Within this paradigm, sacred tradition is far less rooted in the cultural forms of the past and is more able to engage the cultural forms of the present. The Church is required to be faithful to its mission to enculturate, and this can be carried out with as much

case in the modern world as it was in Islamic contexts or in the Byzantine period. The Church has a responsibility to be engaged with the society in which it lives and to adopt models of association and participation offered to it. The ecumenical movement, for example, is an opportunity to participate in the voice of the one holy catholic church, to lobby on behalf of the bereft of the world, and to participate in social justice projects throughout the world. The modernist paradigm is critical of the Church's "folk" past, and open to opportunities offered by modern culture. Sacred tradition is a touchstone, but the Church's sphere includes participation in the institutions of the world. Participation of the Church in society is institutionalized, and committees and responsible parties are encouraged to make the necessary links on behalf of the Church so that its voice can be heard clearly and its influence felt in the seats of power.

Under the modernist paradigm, symbolic aspects of the tradition are subject to a model of change that is quite distinct from that found in other Orthodox perspectives.[23] For example, the Liturgical Calendar was an object of considerable controversy in some jurisdictions in this century. For Orthodox tradition, time has sacred movement, and thus it continued to set its feasts and seasons by the Liturgical Calendar. From the modernist perspective, the need to use the Gregorian calendar overrides the particular liturgical confusions that arise through adopting it. The function of sacred tradition is secondary to being able to participate in the modern cultural context in a straightforward manner. The modernist paradigm has strong critical tools to evaluate the tradition and is concerned to purify it in light of modern learning. This paradigm is also critical, in principle, of the folk and national traditions and ethos within parish life. It calls for a shedding of cultural forms not deemed appropriate to contemporary life.

Perhaps the most significant aspect of this paradigm is its understanding of the Church's role in society. The Church must enter into the social order and work through the forms provided by

society. For modernists, joining ecumenical organizations in order to work for social justice is a formal part of Church life. Indeed, by some it is considered part of the Orthodox mission to other Christian churches and to the world at large. This ecclesiology understands that the Church has a mandate beyond its liturgical work. As an institution, it speaks on behalf of Christ and works through the political structures of the day for a more just world.

The Traditionalist Historical Paradigm

Many jurisdictions within the Orthodox world which claim to be "traditionalist" have elements of the conservative paradigm, but a few are informed by the traditionalist paradigm.[24] This paradigm, which is uncharacteristic of Western European Church history, is rooted in a singular regard for "holy tradition." While not immune to the influences of history and culture, the traditionalist is primarily concerned to live within and through the forms of spiritual discipline and worship which make up holy tradition.[25] Hence the Church's role is simply faithfulness to holy tradition, and its responsibility is to gather the community of faithful together for worship following the pristine pattern which structures the liturgical life. The structure of liturgical life is paramount because it is an icon of the presence of the Kingdom of God. The pattern of the sanctification of time—the fasts and feasts of the Church—unveils the divinely created being of the world—the sacred character of time, space, and human experience. The discipline provided by this life cultivates within the faithful a recognition of their being as the place of divine incarnation, as theosis.

The Church calls the faithful together in the temple as the place of the presence of the Kingdom of God. The symbolic form Orthodox temples embody is part of the revelation, the unveiling of the meaning and form of the divinely created life. The temple and the liturgy served in it are an archetype of creation, the Kingdom of God. The role of the Church in this para-

digm is not within the historical life of the world. Rather, the sole and essential role of the Church is to incarnate holy tradition because holy tradition is an icon of the sanctified cosmos in which human beings experience the fullness of life. This the Church does to show the world that creation is a place of communion with the Divine, a place of self-giving love which redeems time.

It's noteworthy that in this paradigm the Church is not an instrument for intervention on behalf of righteousness in the historical process. Consequently, the Church neither encourages collapsing ecclesial power into civil power—an issue for the Roman Catholic tradition until it was directly prohibited in the documents of the Second Vatican Council—nor takes a direct institutional role in marshalling resources around a social or historical issue within society. The cardinal issue is that through sanctification of the person and the cosmos the Church clearly offers the faithful a life of action in the world, which calls the faithful to transform the pain and sorrow of history through acts of love. The Church is an icon of the Kingdom of Communion. While having no expectations of the world, the Church (holy tradition) cultivates a regard for and apprehends the sacred character of creation's self-recovery. While the Church has no expectations of the historical process—no latent theory of optimism about the evolution of history—it does call the faithful to live a truly mortal life with all the gifts and terrors of history. It is this paradigm which is faithful to the Orthodox tradition's view of history in interpreting its own history.

Church, Society, and History

For the Orthodox community, life in the world is life in the Kingdom of God. This eighth day of creation, the time of the presence of the Kingdom, is not a private or communal mysticism. Rather, it is a regard for and a treasuring of the creation which God has made. The vision of that divine creation and the

ability of human beings to apprehend it properly are the goals of the liturgical life. Yet, even slight knowledge of the institutional life of Orthodox communities shows that there is a struggle to be clear about the full range of human commitments, aspirations, and values. For those with a conservative paradigm, life in the cultural community has taken on a singular value. Within the modernist paradigm, society and the possibility of social relationships have become the proper concerns of the Church. For the traditionalist, history itself, and the society in which the faithful live, must be of concern but these are not issues of the Church. Rather, the Church is the servant of creation, and on that ground alone it serves society and culture; to that extent it faithfully worships the Creator and cultivates in the faithful a regard for reality as the Creator made it—a world of communion in co-suffering love.

No jurisdiction or Orthodox community or perhaps even the faithful (and certainly not the Ukrainian Orthodox Church of Canada) can be understood by one of these paradigms alone. Religious imagination is too rich for such a reduction, but in a particular period in the history of the Orthodox Church and in the life of particular Orthodox jurisdictions one of these paradigms will hold centre stage. Whichever it is, the other two will not be far off. This is a world view shaped by sacred tradition in which creation is understood as a divine gift, and the act of living a consciously mortal life—living in time—is central to the human vocation. The three paradigms which inform the Orthodox view of history are born of this remarkable understanding of tradition, creation, and the human place in history.

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1. "Orthodox" literally means right or proper praise. Here again the tradition emphasizes the singular significance of the proper relationship the human being has to the Divine. This relationship is best expressed by "praise," the adoration of the Divine.

2. The various issues involved in this theme have been explored in several essays in David J. Goa (ed.), The Ukrainian Religious Experience. Tradition and the Canadian Cultural Context (Edmonton: Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies, 1989): Roman Yereniuk, "Church Jurisdictions and Jurisdictional Changes among Ukrainians in Canada, 1891-1925," 109-27; Dennis J. Dunn, "The Vatican, the Kremlin and the Ukrainian Catholic Church," 131-42; and Bohdan R. Bociurkiw, "Soviet Suppression of the Greek Catholic Church in Ukraine and its Impact on Ukrainian Catholics in Canada," 143-55.
3. Interview with Rev. Dr. Stephan Jarmus, Winnipeg, 1988.
4. On this theme in Orthodox ecclesiology see "The Time of the Kingdom: Eastern Christian Understanding of History," in Penton and Parry (ed.), Religious Views of History (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, forthcoming).
5. Pertinent documents on the negotiations and an initial reflection by key participants is available in Delegate's Manual for the Eighteenth Sobor of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church of Canada, 4-8 July 1990.
6. Illness prevented Metropolitan Wasyly (Basil) from joining this delegation.
7. Two fine studies of this set of influences are in *The Ukrainian Religious Experience:* Casimir Kucharek, "The Roots of 'Latinization' and its Context in the Experience of Ukrainian Catholics in Canada," 69-79; and Vivian Olender, "Symbolic Manipulation in the Proselytizing of Ukrainians: An Attempt to Create a Protestant Uniate Church," 191-207.
8. Mircea Eliade has studied this matter in a most provocative way in *The Myth of the Eternal Return* (New York: Panthcon Books Inc., 1954). Of particular interest are the chapters on "Misfortune and History" and "The Terror of History."
9. See Vladimir Lossky, *Orthodox Theology. An Introduction* (Crestwood, New York: St. Vladimir's Seminary Press, 1978), chapter 2; and Gilles Quispel, "Time and History in Patristic Christianity," in Joseph Campbell (ed.), *Man and Time, Papers from the Eranos Yearbooks*, Bollingen Series XXX.3 (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1957), 85-107.
10. On liturgics and the meaning of the liturgy see Alexander Schmemann, *Introduction to Liturgical Theology*, trans. Asheleigh E. Moorhouse (New York: St. Vladimir's Seminary Press, 1966); idem, *For the Life of the World, Sacraments and Orthodoxy* (New York: St. Vladimir's Seminary Press, 1973); and Hans-Joachim Schulz, *The Byzantine Liturgy, Symbolic Structure and Faith Expression*, trans. Matthew J. O'Connell (New York: Pueblo Publishing Company, 1986).
11. Harry Austryn Wolfson, *The Philosophy of the Church Fathers* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1956) is the classic

philosophical study. Tomas Spidlik, *The Spirituality of the Christian East, A Systematic Handbook,* trans. Anthony P. Gythiel (Kalamazoo, Michigan: Cistercian Publications Inc., 1986) is an encyclopedic consideration of these themes within the tradition.

12. The first two volumes in the collected works of Georges Florovsky, *Bible, Church, Tradition. An Eastern Orthodox View, and Christianity and Culture* (Belmont, Massachusetts: Nordland Publishing Company, 1972 and 1974 respectively) are seminal contributions. See also Dumitru Staniloae, *Theology and the Church*, trans. Robert Barringer (Crestwood, New York: St. Vladimir's Seminary Press, 1980); and John Meyendorff, *The Byzantine Legacy in the Orthodox Church* (Crestwood, New York: St. Vladimir's Seminary Press, 1982).
13. One of the finest studies on this theme in the development of liturgical theology is Geoffrey Wainwright, *Eucharist and Eschatology* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1981).
14. See Staniloae, *Theology and the Church;* and "Two Aspects of the Church" in Vladimir Lossky, *The Mystical Theology of the Eastern Church* (London: James Clarke & Company, 1973), 174-95.
15. Schmemann, *For the Life of the World.*
16. A vivid example of this apocalyptic vision developed in a literalistic paradigm in modern Orthodoxy occurs in some of the Old Believer communities. See David Scheffel, *In Antichrist's Shadow. The Old Believers of Alberta* (Peterborough, Ontario: Broadview Press, 1991).
17. My full-length study of this theme, *Ritual and Modernity*, is forthcoming.
18. Robert Taft, *Beyond East and West: Problems in Liturgical Understanding* (Washington, D.C.: The Pastoral Press, 1984).
19. Sergius Bulgakov, *The Orthodox Church* (London: The Centenary Press, 1935), 182-3.
20. One need only survey Pedro Ramet (ed.), *Eastern Christianity and Politics in the Twentieth Century* (London: Duke University Press, 1988) to glimpse how traumatic this century has been for Orthodox churches.
21. See David J. Goa, "Cosmic Ritual in the Canadian Context," in *The Ukrainian Religious Experience*, 23-35; and idem, "Three Urban Parishes: A Study in Sacred Space," in *Material History Bulletin* 29 (Spring 1989):13-24.
22. See documents and statements of the Orthodox Church on ecumenism from 1902-1975 in Constantine G. Patelos (ed.), *The Orthodox Church in the Ecumenical Movement* (Geneva: World Council of Churches, 1978).
23. Two authors reflect on this in a fruitful way: Vigen Guroian, Incarnate Love: Essays on Orthodox Ethics (Notre Dame, Indiana: University of Notre Dame Press, 1987), particularly "Orthodoxy and the American

Order: Symphonia, Civil Religion, or What?" 140-65 and "The Americanization of Orthodoxy: Crisis and Challenge," 166-78; and Anthony Ugolnik, *The Illuminating Icon* (Grand Rapids, Michigan: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1989), particularly "Beauty and the Beast," 174-226 and "One Nation Under God," 227-76.

24. One of the leading figures in a "patristic renaissance" to free Orthodox teaching and practice from its "Latin captivity" was Metropolitan Antony Khrapovitsky (1863-1936). The monks of All Saints of North America monastery, Chilliwack, British Columbia, are engaged in translating his works into English: Antony Khrapovitsky, *The Moral Idea of the Main Dogmas of the Faith*, trans. Varlaam Novakshonoff and Lazar Puhalo (Chilliwack, British Columbia: Synaxis Press, 1984). See also Bishop Chrysostomos, *Hieromonk Auxentios, and Archimandrite Akakios, Contemporary Traditionalist Orthodox Thought* (Etna, California: Center for Traditionalist Orthodox Studies, 1986).
25. My understanding of the traditionalist Orthodox paradigm has been enriched through a series of conversations in 1989-91 with Bishop Lazar Puhalo of the All Saints of North America monastery, Chilliwack, British Columbia. A number of these conversationswere recorded and are part of the audio collection of the Folk Life program, Provincial Museum of Alberta.

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The Ukrainian Sacred Canopy

Leo Driedger

When the Ukrainians first came to Canada, they pitched their immigrant tents on the untamed prairies. Their homelands were far away so they were faced with reordering old experiences into a new, meaningful order *(nomos)* which would shield them against the terrors which lay ahead.[1] This new construction of reality is like a "sacred canopy"—a tent-like roof used by the Jews as protection from the elements in their wilderness wanderings. This canopy, symbolized by a blanket with poles at each corner to hold it up, provided a protective roof so struggling pioneers could begin to feel a sense of togetherness, of wholeness, of being at home. These strangers in a new land turned to familiar elements like religion, community, culture, institutions, and land to use as poles to stake their Ukrainian claim. Humans have a tendency to attribute the sacred to elements of social structures which provide protection, hence the name for the "canopy" that provides a mysterious sense of being at ease in the familiar.

Community: The Prairie Aspen Belt

Ukrainians came to the Canadian prairies rather late, after the British, French, Mennonites, Icelanders, and others had claimed most of the best agricultural land in the southern parts of the three prairie provinces. Only 5,682 Ukrainians had arrived by 1901, and two-thirds of these were located in Manitoba. In 1911, ten years later, these numbers had escalated to 75,000 immigrants.[2] While the largest number still resided in Manitoba, they had expanded extensively into Saskatchewan and Alberta. By 1971, the peak of Ukrainian prairie expansion, the number had reached half a million.[3] Most Ukrainians remained in Manitoba until 1951, when the numbers in Ontario and Alberta began to

Table 1

Total Ukrainian Population in Canada By Province, 1901-1981

Provinces	1901	1911	1921	1931	1941	1951	1961	1971	1981*
Atlantic	--	3,000	392	883	735	1,431	2,349	3,215	2,745
Quebec	6	458	1,176	4,340	8,006	12,921	16,588	20,325	14,640
Ontario	31	3,078	8,307	24,426	48,158	93,595	127,911	159,880	133,995
Manitoba	3,894	31,053	44,129	73,606	89,762	98,753	105,372	114,410	99,795
Sask.	1,094	22,276	28,097	63,400	79,777	78,399	78,851	85,920	76,815
Alberta	634	17,584	23,827	55,872	71,868	86,957	105,923	135,510	136,710
BC	23	682	793	2,583	7,563	22,613	35,640	60,145	63,605
Yukon/NWT	--	1	--	3	60	374	703	1,245	1,210
Total Ukrainians in Canada	5,682	75,432	106,721	225,113	305,929	395,043	473,337	580,660	529,315
Ukrainians in Total Canadian Population	0.1%	1.1%	1.2%	2.2%	2.7%	2.8%	2.6%	2.7%	2.1%

Percentage of Total Ukrainian Population in Canada By Province, 1901-1981

Provinces	1901	1911	1921	1931	1941	1951	1961	1971	1981*
Atlantic	--	0.4	0.4	0.4	0.2	0.4	0.5	0.6	0.5
Quebec	0.1	0.6	1.1	2.0	3.0	3.3	3.5	3.5	2.8
Ontario	0.5	4.1	7.8	11.0	15.7	24.0	27.0	27.6	25.3
Manitoba	68.5	41.2	41.3	33.0	29.3	25.0	22.3	20.0	18.9
Sask	19.3	30.0	26.3	28.2	26.1	20.0	17.0	15.0	14.5
Alberta	11.2	23.3	22.0	25.0	23.5	22.0	22.4	23.3	25.8
BC	0.4	0.9	0.7	1.2	2.5	6.0	8.0	10.3	12.0
Yukon/NWT	- -	- -	- -	- -	- -	0.1	0.1	0.2	0.2
Total Ukrainians in Canada	100.0	100.5	99.6	100.8	100.3	100.8	100.8	100.5	100.0
Ukrainians in Total Canadian Population	0.1%	1.1%	1.2%	2.2%	2.7%	2.8%	2.6%	2.7%	2.1%

Source: William Darcovich and Paul Yuzyk (ed.), *A Statistical Compendium on the Ukrainians in Canada 1891-1976*, Series 20, 1-29, 26-30.
* Unlike previous censuses, 1981 census data do not include multiple origins.

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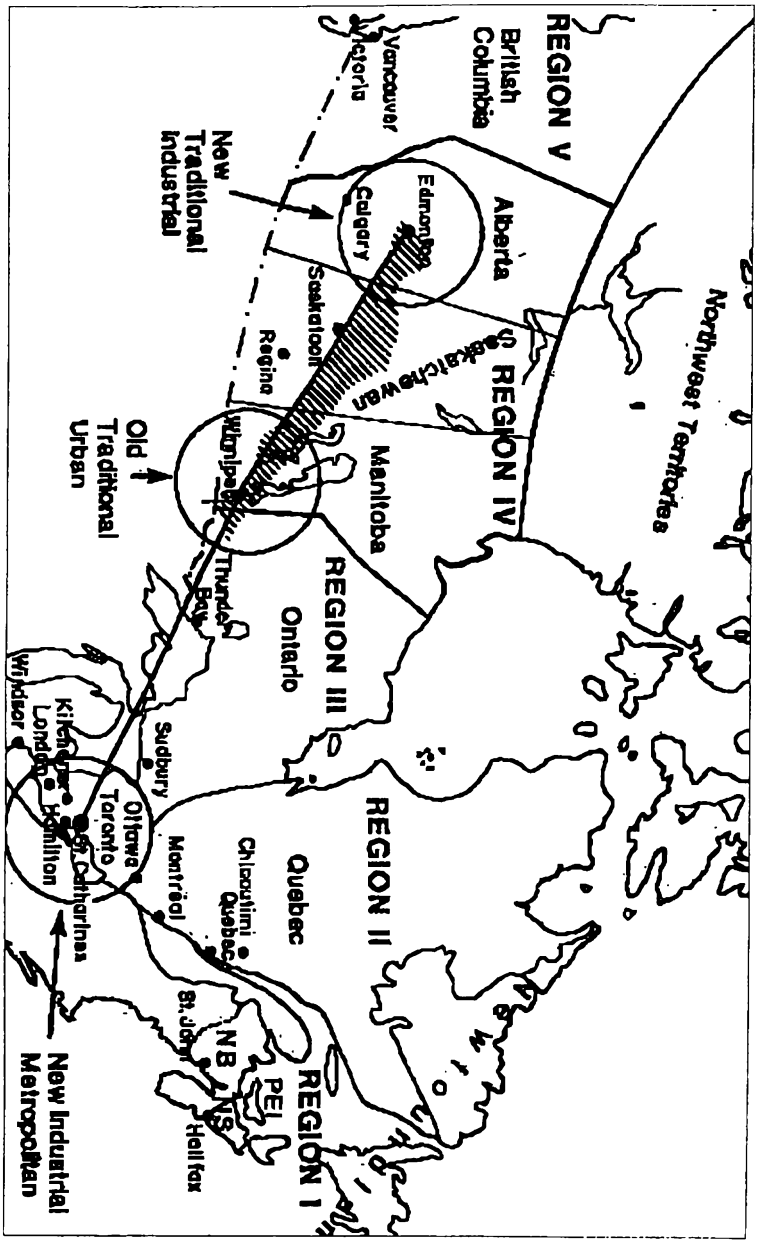
forge ahead.[4] By 1981, three major regions—Ontario, Alberta, and Manitoba—had at least 100,000 Ukrainians.

By 1981, the Ukrainian population dipped, largely because of declining immigration, lower birth rates as urbanization proceeded, and, to some extent, assimilation. The redefinition of the 1981 census to exclude multiple origins also makes 1981 and 1991 census figures smaller for all ethnic groups.[5] The more than 500,000 Ukrainians never representedmore than about 2 percent of the Canadian population, however, since they were concentrated in the most westerly five provinces, they did represent as much as 10-12 percent in Manitoba. Even on the prairies, they located further north in the aspen belt, which greatly enhanced their dominance in key northern parts of the prairies.

Most of the Ukrainian immigrants who arrived on the prairies were agriculturalists. Land was one of the most sacred elements of their homeland in Ukraine, so they looked for partially wooded terrain in the prairie aspen belt north of Winnipeg, Saskatoon, and Edmonton. Dauphin became their first sacred agricultural rural homeland. The aspen belt can be represented by a straight line anchored at the eastern end by Winnipeg and the western end by Edmonton. Ukrainians settled north of this line because most of the agricultural land south of it had been settled earlier. This rural aspen belt represented a fairly contiguous area where Ukrainians were often in the majority, and had sufficient numbers to establish their Churches, schools, and cultural institutions.

Later, when Ukrainians became more urban, they tended to flow into small towns like Dauphin, Yorkton, and Edna, and later to nearby cities like Winnipeg and Edmonton. By 1981, more than 60,000 Ukrainians resided in Winnipeg and Edmonton, two

Map 1
The "Big Three" Ukrainian Metropolitan Axis
and the Rural Ukrainian Aspen Belt



of the "Big Three" in the Ukrainian Metropolitan Axis. In Winnipeg they segregated themselves in the North End where they established their domed Ukrainian Orthodox and Catholic Churches, symbols of a Ukrainian presence.[6] Although they had moved off their agricultural land, they formed new segregated Ukrainian communities, among other East European Polish and Jewish residents. A new territory in the city now became sacred ground with its ethnic culture and institutions.

Religion: The Sacred Core

Rural and urban Ukrainian communities provided important spatial crucibles in which sacred Ukrainian values could be planted and maintained. The core of most minorities in Canada has been religion, and this is also true for Ukrainians. While Hutterites, Mennonites, Doukhobors, and Mormons all have their conservative and liberal variations, the Ukrainians divide along the two early Christian streams— Orthodox and Catholic—which has often created greater divisions than other ethnic groups have experienced. Nevertheless, these two major streams are both Christian, which does provide common foci of faith and life.

Table 2 shows that in 1931 most Ukrainians belonged to Greek Catholic (58 percent) and Greek Orthodox (25 percent) denominations. While 11 percent belonged to the Roman Catholic, only about 7 percent belonged to Protestant or other groups. However, by 1971 only 52 percent still belonged to the two traditional Ukrainian religious groups, while 33 percent belonged to Protestant and other groups. Not only was there a shift from religions of the eastern rite into the Roman Catholic (15 percent), but there was a dramatic shift to Protestant groups, especially the United Church (14 percent).

While the aggregate number of Ukrainians belonging to the Ukrainian Catholic Church increased from 130,534 to

Table 2
Ukrainian Population in Canada by Religious Denominations, 1931-1971

Year	Greek Catholic	Greek Orthodox	Roman Catholic	United Church	Anglican	Lutheran	Other	Total
1971	32% (186,460)	20% (116,700)	15% (88,835)	14% (80,785)	5% (26,950)	2% (10,175)	12% (70,750)	100% (580,655)
1961	33% (157,559)	25% (119,219)	17% (79,638)	13% (59,825)	4% (19,140)	1% (6,590)	7% (31,366)	100% (473,337)
1951	42% (164,765)	28% (1 1 1,045)	14% (56,650)	7% (28,190)	3% (10,082)	I% (3,435)	5% (20,876)	loo% (395,043)
1941	50% (152,907)	29% (88,874)	12% (37,577)	3% (9,241)	1% (3,131)	1% (1,686)	4% (12,513)	100% (305,929)
1931	58% (130,534)	25% (55,386)	11% (25,781)	2% (3,667)	1% (755)	1% (1,180)	3% (7,810)	101% (225,113)
Percentage Change	-26	-5	+4	+12	+4	+12	+9	

Source: Darcovich and Yuzyk (ed.), *Statistical Compendium, Series 30*, 1-12, 178-83.

186,460, the proportion dropped from 58 percent of all Ukrainians to 32 percent. The number of Ukrainians in the Greek Orthodox denomination more than doubled, probably due to immigration trends between 1931 and 1971, but their proportion also declined slightly from 25 percent to 20 percent of all Ukrainians. In this forty-year span, those who belonged to the Roman Catholic Church more than tripled, while the number of Ukrainian adherents to the United Church, the Anglican, the Lutheran, and the Other category increased fourteen fold. Although more adhere to the two traditional denominations of the early sacred core, proliferation into non-traditional Ukrainian religious groups has replaced religious solidarity.

What influence does intermarriage have on the decline of adherence to Ukrainian traditional religions? It is assumed that endogamy reinforces family solidarity. In Ukrainian Catholic and Orthodox denominations in 1931 (Table 3), both partners were usually of Ukrainian ethnic origin. The Canadian average (71 percent) of endogamous marriages of all groups was lower. However, by 1980 endogamous Ukrainian marriages had dropped drastically—63 percent among the Greek Orthodox, 40 percent among the Greek Catholics.[7] While Orthodox Ukrainians approximated the average endogamy of other groups (62 percent), the Greek Catholics had dropped far below.

Table 3 is an examination of the extent to which Ukrainian brides and bridegrooms both married into their own traditional Ukrainian religious groups and married into other religious groups. Almost all Ukrainian brides and bridegrooms who married in 1921 and 1931, married spouses who were either Greek Orthodox or Greek Catholic. By 1971, well over half of the Orthodox brides and bridegrooms still married within the Orthodox faith. The Greek Catholic decline to 39 percent represented an enormous drop. One-fourth (26 percent) of the Greek Catholic brides and bridegrooms married Roman Catholics in 1971, which shows a major shift from the eastern to the western

Table 3

Ethnic Marriage of Ukrainian Brides and Bridegrooms, 1921-1971

Religious Denomination of Bnde Bridegroom Married

Year		Total	Greek Orthodox	Greek Catholic	Roman Catholic	Anglican Church	United	Other
	Orthodox	6,032	61%	3%	13%	5%	9%	9%
1971			(3,708)	(166)	(805)	(317)	(516)	(520)
	Catholic	2,857	6%	39%	26%	6%	13%	10%
			(172)	(1,104)	(740)	(175)	(366)	(300)
	Orthodox	4,976	67%	3%	9%	5%	8%	8%
1961			(3,340)	(136)	(456)	(225)	(417)	(402)
	Catholic	2,833	5%	54%	24%	3%	7%	7%
			(136)	(1,516)	(685)	(86)	(208)	(202)
	Orthodox	3,716	55%	7%	12%	6%	9%	11%
1951			(2,040)	(271)	(456)	(244)	(312)	(393)
	Catholic	4,105	7%	64%	17%	2%	4%	6%
			(271)	(2,606)	(705)	(99)	(174)	(250)
	Orthodox	2,516	65%	6%	12%	5%	5%	7%
1941			(1,634)	(154)	(285)	(132)	(128)	(183)
	Catholic	2,984	5%	67%	16%	2%	4%	6%
			(154)	(1,998)	(479)	(68)	(112)	(173)
	Orthodox	1,646	83%	7%	5%	1%	1%	3%
1931			(1,372)	(109)	(74)	(23)	(22)	(46)
	Catholic	2,964	4%	80%	12%	1%	1%	2%
			(109)	(2,364)	(370)	(22)	(29)	(70)
	Orthodox							
1921		1,975	87%	7%	1%	1%	4%	
	Catholic		(1,726)	(139)	(24)	(13)	(73)	

Source: Darcovich and Yuzyk (ed.), *Statistical Compendium, Series 60*, 257-92, 654-57; 1980, 696-97.

Catholic rite. Interestingly, in the intermarriage shift, both Orthodox and Greek Catholic Ukrainians married more Roman Catholics than they did Greek Orthodox and Greek Catholics. Intermarriage with Protestants also was quite pronounced.

Thus, while Ukrainians in 1921 were highly endogamous, by 1971 extensive intermarriage was taking place. Indeed, Ukrainian exogamy was higher than that of most other ethnic groups.[8] Greek Catholics were intermarrying more often than Greek Orthodox Ukrainians. Many Greek Catholic Ukrainians were marrying Roman Catholics; and Ukrainians of both traditional religious groups were increasingly marrying Protestants by 1971.

Ukrainian Solidarity and Identity in Community

Census data describes the larger national and provincial outlines of Ukrainian life. More intensive qualitative community studies make it possible to plot additional linguistic, cultural, and institutional stakes in the Ukrainian sacred canopy. This greatly enriches understanding of Ukrainian communities in the rural aspen belt, in the early traditional centre of Winnipeg, and in the more recent industrial metropolis of Toronto. Where will these changes lead, and what does the future hold for Ukrainian identity and survival?

Solidarity in the Rural Prairie Aspen Belt

Since many of the ethnic groups in rural western Canada created bloc settlements, and since change in rural areas is slower than in the city, it is useful to examine Ukrainian identity in the heart of the rural prairie aspen belt first. While the census provides general data, it was necessary to try to find the rural nuclei where Ukrainian identity might be most pronounced. A study comparing ten rural ethnic bloc settlements in northern Saskatchewan, which is located in the heart of the rural prairie aspen belt, provides the best rural data available.[9]

In Table 4 it is clear that the Ukrainian Catholic and Ukrainian Orthodox respondents ranked in the middle of ten rural groups.

Table 4 Ukrainian Identity in Rural Northern Saskatchewan (Heart of the Rural Prairie Aspen Belt)

Ethnic Groups	Number in Sample	Favor Identity Preser-vation	Language Preference		Church	Intermarriage		
			Knowledge of Mother Tongue	Frequent Use of Mother Tongue	Regular Attendance	Extent of Endogamy	Opposed to Religious Endogamy	Opposed to Ethnic Exogamy
Hutterite	6	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
Polish Catholic	14	92	100	87	53	69	73	40
Doukhobor	17	85	95	70	55	60	35	45
UKRAINIAN CATHOLIC	126	82	99	67	82	90	70	70
UKRAINIAN ORTHODOX	66	80	100	63	70	89	43	41
Mennonite	184	75	97	69	86	98	69	57
Scandinavian	64	74	90	37	87	96	77	52
French	142	70	99	78	91	91	81	46
German Catholic	62	33	93	29	53	90	70	10
Sample Total	681	68	97	60	86	92	70	44

Source: Alan Anderson, "Assimilation in the Bloc Settlements of North-Central Saskatchewan: A Comparative Study of Identity Change Among Seven Ethno-Religious Groups in a Canadian Prairie Region" (Ph.D. thesis, Sociology, University of Saskatchewan, 1972), 1-170.

About 80 percent of both Ukrainian groups favoured identity preservation. Except for the German Catholics, a very high proportion of each of the other nine groups favoured identity preservation. Ukrainian bloc settlements which bordered on other ethnic settlements, whose inhabitants also wished to preserve their identity, would tend to reinforce the potential for perpetuation of a separate identity.

Practically all of the residents in these ethnic bloc settlements could speak their mother tongue. However, the extent of use of the mother tongue varied greatly by ethnic group. About two-thirds of the Ukrainians used their mother tongue frequently. While rural Ukrainians do not use their mother tongue as extensively as the Hutterites or Polish Catholics, for example, more are using their Ukrainian language in the rural aspen heartland than in the cities. Thus, the rural ethnic bloc tends to conserve ethnic language use by means of segregation.

Church attendance shows that regular attendance is high among Ukrainian Catholics, and almost as high among Ukrainian Orthodox. Faithful Church attendance by so many indicates that religion is an important factor in maintaining rural Ukrainian identity. Table 4 also shows that ethnic intermarriage in rural Saskatchewan is very low. Ukrainians of both religious persuasions are about as endogamous as their ethnic neighbours. However, it is significant to note that opposition to religious and ethnic marriage is declining. Seventy percent of Ukrainian Catholics are still opposed to either religious or ethnic intermarriage, but fewer than half of Ukrainian Orthodox are opposed to exogamy. The difference between the Ukrainian Catholics and Orthodox is noteworthy, and

does not speak well for maintenance of future Orthodox identity. Since there are fewer Ukrainian Orthodox adherents in the rural areas which were sampled, this difference may be a function of the Anderson sample which needs to be checked.

Taking language preference, Church attendance, and intermarriage together, Ukrainian identity is still quite high in rural Saskatchewan.

Identity in Traditional Urban Winnipeg

While Ukrainian identity appears to be holding in rural Saskatchewan, what about Ukrainian identity in the heart of the oldest traditional urban centre—Winnipeg? Winnipeg anchors the eastern end of the Ukrainian rural prairie aspen belt; is the centre of the Ukrainian metropolitan axis; is the oldest Ukrainian metropolitan centre; and is one of the Big Three Ukrainian metropolitan centres. Such a strategic, historical, ecological, institutional, and social place in the century of Ukrainian life in Canada should have left its impact in Winnipeg.

In a study of seven ethnic groups at the University of Manitoba in Winnipeg, Ukrainians rank in the middle (Table 5).[10] Seventy-five percent of the Ukrainian students reported only endogamy in their family (parents, and brothers and sisters). Close to 50 percent of the students attended Church services at least twice a month; and about as many had attended a Ukrainian parochial school for at least a year. Participation in Ukrainian organizations (23 percent), speaking Ukrainian to their parents at home (22 percent), and choice of a majority of their friends from their Ukrainian ingroup (16 percent) were relatively low.

Compared to the other six ethnic groups, Ukrainians did not rank first in any of the six identity factors. Jews were very strong on endogamy and choice of Jewish friends, while French students scored high on French school attendance and use of the French language at home. Except for endogamy, which is still quite high, Ukrainian identity seems to be declining among university students in Manitoba. They scored considerably lower on

Table 5

Ukrainian Identity in Winnipeg

Ethnic Groups	Number in Sample	Composite Identity Index	IDENTITY FACTORS (Percentages)					
			Endogamy	Ingroup School Attendance	Ingroup Church Attendance	Ingroup Friends	Ethnic Language Use	Ethnic Organizational Participation
French	86	55.0	65.4	79.1	53.5	48.8	60.5	22.6
Jewish	112	44.2	91.3	74.0	7.2	62.5	1.8	28.6
German	160	40.8	62.8	44 3	55.6	36.3	29.4	16.3
UKRAINIAN	188	36.8	75.6	41.1	43.6	15.9	21.8	22.9
Polish	56	31.5	53.2	57.1	46.4	5.4	14.3	12.7
British	157	29.5	72.0	27.4	22.9	44.6	0	10.0
Scandinavian	61	16.4	57.1	24.5	14.7	0	0	2.0

Source: Leo Driedger, "In Search of Cultural Identity Factors," *Canadian Review of Sociology and Anthropology,* (1975) 150-62.

endogamy, Church attendance, and use of the Ukrainian language at home, than the rural prairie sample.

Generational Changes in Industrial Toronto

The rural and urban traditional samples in Saskatchewan and Winnipeg were integral parts of the early Ukrainian aspen belt which emerged at the turn of the century. Waves of Ukrainian immigrants after World War II, however, clustered in Toronto, which is the largest Canadian metropolis (3.8 million in 1991). In one of the most comprehensive studies of the ethnic identity of eight groups in Toronto, the sample of 2,300 respondents is unique because it represents three generations. This makes it possible to trace maintenance of identity over time.[11]

Almost all Ukrainians there were involved in ingroup social networks centred around eating Ukrainian food, practising Ukrainian customs, and being involved in Ukrainian functions (Table 6). For third-generation Ukrainians food was important to 86 percent, although fewer than half were involved in Ukrainian customs and functions.

Many first-generation Ukrainians were involved in language networks where they had learned their mother tongue, used it at home, and were able to read or write the Ukrainian language. While at least 50 percent continued these skills through the second generation, by the third generation only about 10 percent possessed these skills. The decline in language skills occurred faster than ingroup network activity. Of the first generation, 61 percent watched Ukrainian television and heard radio programs, but only 35 percent of the second generation did, and by the third generation only 18 percent did. While 61 percent of the first generation married within the Ukrainian fold, ingroup marriage declined drastically in the second and third generations. This seems to be related to choice of friends. Forty-six percent of the first generation had a majority of friends who were Ukrainians, but by the third generation this figure declined to insignificance

(3 percent). Social contacts with non-Ukrainians escalated after the first generation thus eroding friendship and marriage ingroup networks. However, Breton et al. did not collect information on religion, which might have been a more important variable to pursue.

This Toronto study showed that Ukrainians retained their

Table 6

Ukrainian Social Solidarity in Toronto

by Generations (in Percentages)

Gener-ations	Ingroup Networks			Communications	
	Eat Ukrainian Food	Practice Ukrainian Customs	Involved Ukrainian Functions	Watch Ukrainian TV/Radio	Read Ukrainian Papers
First	92	92	71	61	63
Second	89	67	49	35	20
Third	86	47	33	18	1

Gener-ations	Language Networks			Social Contacts	
	Mother Tongue	Use Ukrainian Language	Read/ Write Ukrainian	Marry Within Group	Majority Ingroup Friends
First	92	84	78	61	46
Second	71	58	50	20	20
Third	12	9	10	5	3

Source: Raymond Breton et al., Ethnic Identity and Equality 51-85.

overall identity better than the English, Germans, and Italians, but not as well as the Jews. Identity declined for all groups by the third generation, and on many indicators the loss of identity was severe. Without the substantial rural, aspenbelt anchor found in the west, these eastern third-generation Ukrainians seemed to assimilate into the mainstream a great deal faster. In the heartland of Canada's industrial core in southern Ontario, Toronto Ukrainians found it harder to maintain their Ukrainian identity.

Maintaining the Ukrainian Metropolitan Axis

Ukrainian identity was likely to be most evident in the enclaves of the rural prairie aspen belt. It was also likely that early Ukrainian segregation in the North End and strong building of Ukrainian institutions would result in considerable identity in the traditional urban centre of Winnipeg. However, to what extent is Ukrainian identity evident in the Big Three metropolitan axis—Edmonton, Winnipeg, and Toronto—as well as other metropolitan centres on the east and west flanks? Data from one study of ten ethnic groups in five metropolitan centres—Vancouver, Edmonton, Winnipeg, Toronto, and Montreal—illustrate comparative trends of Ukrainian identity.[12] Table 7 compares the four cultural identity factors of language preference, religious participation, ethnic school preference, and use of ethnic media. Evidence of Ukrainian identity, as measured by these four indicators, shows that they are again near the average. They never score as high as the Greeks and Italians, but they never score as low as the Scandinavians either.

Almost all adult Ukrainians know their mother tongue (89 percent), but only 49 percent use it. This is considerably higher than for the university students in Winnipeg, but not as high as adults in Saskatchewan. While 64 percent of first generation Ukrainians are fluent in Ukrainian, by the third generation fluency has declined to 1 percent.[13] Similarly, frequency of language use declines by the third generation, which confirms earlier find-

Table 7 Ukrainian Identity in Five Metropolitan Centres—
Montreal, Toronto, Winnipeg, Edmonton, Vancouver (in percentages)

Ethnic Group	Number in Sample	Language Preference		Religion		Ethnic School	Ethnic Media	
		Knowledge of Mother Tongue	Use of Mother Tongue	Church Attendance Listening	Religious Beliefs	Preference	Newspaper Readership	Radio Regular
Greek	172	99.1	91.7	75.3	78.4	76.7	45.1	67.5
Italian	355	93.7	84.3	82.4	78.1	63.2	46.8	51.2
Portuguese	111	97.7	95.2	86.4	74.8	38.6	35.6	62.4
Chinese	151	96.3	88.0	36.1	28.0	61.2	64.1	34.3
Hungarian	137	90.3	63.1	75.1	53.5	41.3	40.3	19.0
UKRAINIAN	338	88.8	49.0	63.0	60.2	62.9	29.7	42.0
Polish	278	77.3	46.1	74.1	59.8	43.3	33.4	21.0
German	346	78.5	45.7	69.0	52.9	36.2	34.0	34.9
Dutch	262	82 0	42.0	80.0	59.6	24.6	33.6	18.6
Scandinavian	283	52.3	13.9	55.4	46.7	27.4	18.7	3.4
SampleTotal	433	86.3	62.6	72.1	63.2	47.0	38.4	41.6

Source: KG. O'Bryan, J.G. Reitz, and O.M. Kuplowska, Non-Offcial Languages, 43-162.

ings in the census data. While most first-generation Ukrainians have a fluent knowledge of Ukrainian and use it extensively, by the third generation this knowledge and use declines dramatically. While 86 percent of the Ukrainians in the sample considered it desirable to retain their language, many were no longer using it.[14]

Sixty-three percent of the Ukrainians in the study attend Church regularly, and 60 percent consider many of their basic religious beliefs important, which is lower than the average for the ten groups studied. Again, rural Ukrainian adults scored higher, while Winnipeg youth did not do as well. The 63 percent who preferred to have access to Ukrainian parochial schools represented a much higher number than the average in the sample, but how many actually attended parochial schools is not indicated. Fewer than one-third read a Ukrainian newspaper, regularly or occasionally, and considerably more than one-third listen to Ukrainian radio programs, but both figures were somewhat less than the total sample.

Thus, while there is considerable evidence of language knowledge and use, Church attendance, reading of Ukrainian newspapers, and listening to Ukrainian radio programs by first-generation metropolitan Ukrainians, this tends to decline dramatically by the third generation. That was not as pronounced in the rural ethnic enclaves.

Conclusion

When Ukrainians first came to Canada, their new sacred canopies on the prairies were anchored by strong stakes of community, religion, culture, language, and institutions. They came somewhat late to the western agricultural scene, so they found their agricultural homes in the prairie aspen belt, a contiguous strip ranging from north of Winnipeg to Edmonton. Later they moved to Winnipeg and Edmonton, and still later to Toronto, which became the "Big Three Metropolitan Axis." By 1981, 75 per cent of all Canadian Ukrainians had moved to the city. Many

first-generation Ukrainians maintain their culture and institutions, however there is much evidence of decline of language use and endogamy, especially among third-generation Ukrainians. Although many Ukrainians may be shifting toward other means of identity than the traditional cultural factors,[15] the data show that assimilation is making severe inroads, even in the heart of the Big Three Metropolitan Axis where new segregated communities were established.

Outside the rural aspen belt and the Metropolitan Axis, assimilation seems to be greater. Only 10 percent of all Ukrainians live on the west coast, and most of these no longer speak or use the Ukrainian language. Exogamy in these sparse Ukrainian areas is growing and adherence to the traditional Ukrainian religion is waning. The same is true for the few who live in the Atlantic provinces and Quebec. One-fourth of all Ukrainians who live in Ontario manage to maintain many cultural features in the first generation, but by the time they are Canadian-born, assimilation increases. These Torontonians seem to find it more difficult to maintain separate institutions in such a massive megalopolis.

However, the Ukrainian sacred canopy seems to be holding firm in the rural prairie aspen belt, where other ethno-religious minorities have also created their distinctive bloc settlements. Parents in metropolitan centres like traditional Winnipeg have passed on much of their heritage, endogamy persists, heritage schools and Church attendance continue for many. Ingroup language, communication, friends, and marriage are very difficult to maintain for three generations. A sense of obligation to Ukrainian values may continue for many, but it seems to take on more psychological and symbolic forms. Will these values continue without concrete religious, social, spatial, and cultural structures?

1. Peter L. Berger, *The Sacred Canopy: Elements of a Sociological Theory of Religion* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1967), 19.
2. Vladimir Kaye, *Early Ukrainian Settlements in Canada* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1964); Michael H. Marunchak, *The Ukrainian Canadians: A History* (Ottawa: Ukrainian Academy of Sciences, 1970).
3. Manoly Lupul, *Ukrainian Canadians, Multiculturalism, and Separatism* (Edmonton: Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies, 1978); W.W. Isajiw, *Ukrainians in American and Canadian Society*, vol. 1 (Cambridge, MA: Harvard Ukrainian Research Institute, 1976); Elizabeth D. Wangenheim, "The Ukrainians: A Case Study ofthe 'Third Force'," in W.E. Mann (ed.), *Canada. A Sociological Profile* (Toronto: Copp Clark Publishing, 1971); and Ol'ha Woychenko, *The Ukrainians in Canada, Canada Ethnica IV* (Winnipeg: Trident Press, 1967).
4. Paul Yuzyk, *Ukrainians in Manitoba* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1953).
5. Much of the Canadian census data used in this paper was taken from William Darcovich and Paul Yuzyk (ed.), *A Statistical Compendium on the Ukrainians in Canada, 1891-1976* (Ottawa: University of Ottawa Press, 1980). The compendium consists largely of census data cross tabulations made with a special focus on Ukrainians. I wish to thank Darcovich and Yuzyk for the use of their data. Census data for 1981 are a problem because respondents with multiple ethnicity were separated into a new category. Thus numbers for all ethnic groups seem to be lower. The 1991 census data for ethnic and religious groups were not yet available as I was writing.
6. Leo Driedger, "Ukrainian Identity in Canada," in J. Rozumnyj et al. (ed.), *New Soil, Old Roots: The Ukrainian Experience in Canada* (Winnipeg: Ukrainian Academy of Sciences, 1983); idem, "Urbanization of Ukrainians in Canada: Consequences for Ethnic Identity," in Roman Petryshyn (ed.), *Social Trends among Ukrainian Canadians* (Edmonton: Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies, 1979); idem, "Ukrainian Identity in Winnipeg," in Martin L. Kovacs (ed.), *Ethnic Canadians: Culture and Education* (Regina: Canadian Plains Research Centre, University of Regina, 1978).
7. Driedger, "Ukrainian Identity in Canada."
8. *Ibid.*
9. Alan Anderson, "Assimilation in the Bloc Settlements of North-Central Saskatchewan: A Comparative Study of Identity Change among Seven Ethno-Religious Groups in a Canadian Prairie Region" (Ph.D. thesis,

University of Saskatchewan, 1972) collected his data during 1968-71 in eighteen ethno-religious bloc settlements (7 French Catholic, 1 German Catholic, 2 Mennonite, 2 Hutterite, 1 Ukrainian Orthodox, 1 Ukrainian Catholic, 1 Polish Catholic, 1 Russian Doukhobor, and 2 Scandinavian Lutheran). These settlements were located in the region between Saskatoon, North Battleford, and Prince Albert (Census Divisions 15 and 16). In each settlement a 2 percent controlled quota sample was stratified by age, generation, and sex to represent as closely as possible the demographic structure of the total population of the settlement. These people were then interviewed. This sampling technique yielded 1,000 respondents who were located in the heart of the Rural Ukrainian Aspen Belt.

10. I have published numerous articles based on a random sample of 1,560 questionnaires collected from seventy-six classes at the University of Manitoba. See especially: Leo Driedger, "In search of Cultural Identity Factors: A Comparison of Ethnic Students," *Canadian Review of Sociology and Anthropology* (1975) 12:150-62. Seven groups were represented: British (157), French (86), Germans (160), Jews (112), Poles (56), Scandinavians (61), and Ukrainians (188). These data were useful because they were gathered in the old traditional Ukrainian areas of settlement in Manitoba and Winnipeg; because this sample was located in the heart of the Rural Ukrainian Aspen Belt, and the Big Three Ukrainian Metropolitan Axis; and because the study used a series of Cultural, Identity, Self Identity, and Religious Identity indices in a more sophisticated way than had previously been done in Canada.
11. Raymond Breton, W.W. Isajiw, W. Kalbach, and J.G. Reitz, *Ethnic Identity and Equality: Varieties of Experience in a Canadian City* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1990) collected a sample of 2,338 respondents in Metropolitan Toronto by interviewing adults aged 18-65. In a two-phase sampling procedure, they collected data from three generations and ten groups (English, Irish, Scottish, German, Ukrainian, Italian, Jewish, Portuguese, Chinese, and West Indian). Using the three generations permits group comparison so that changes can be plotted.
12. K.G. O'Bryan, J.G. Reitz, and O.M. Kuplowska, *Non-Official Languages. A Study in Canadian Multiculturalism* (Ottawa: Minister of Supply and Services, 1976) made their study of ten groups (Chinese, Dutch, German, Greek, Hungarian, Italian, Polish, Portuguese, Scandinavian, and Ukrainian) in five metropolitan centres (Montreal, Toronto, Winnipeg, Edmonton, and Vancouver). Each metropolitan area was stratified by ethnic-language group, using 1971 census tracts as units. Several phases of sampling are discussed in detail (24-41, 176-91). These data are especially useful because they include the three metropolitan centres of our Big Three

Ukrainian Metropolitan Axis; because they include the five metropolitan centres with the largest number of Ukrainians; and because the ten groups studied included Ukrainians.

13. O'Bryan et al., 46.
14. O'Bryan et al., 75.
15. Nathan Glazer and Daniel P. Moynihan, *Beyond the Melting Pot* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard-MIT, 1970).

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Traditional Church Involvement Among Ukrainians in Alberta: Some Correlates and Consequences

Charles Hobart

Introduction

Traditional religion is one of the most powerful influences in sustaining Ukrainian ethnicity in Canada. To support that statement, this presentation of information on the religious backgrounds of 806 survey respondents and their current Church affiliations and involvements describes several measures of religious influence and relates these indices to three focal interests—Ukrainian identity, Ukrainian community, and Ukrainian culture. The purpose here is to assess the influence that religious involvement may have on the survival of the Ukrainian heritage in Canada.

This is based on interviews conducted with Ukrainian-origins residents of five communities in Alberta between May 1990 and April 1991. Edmonton was home to 466 of the respondents, and the remaining 340 were from four much smaller communities—Willingdon, Andrew, Lamont, and Thorhild—all in the "Ukrainian bloc settlement" area of central Alberta. Residents of these small communities were defined to include those living on farms within 15 km of the small community. The goal was to interview one person in each Ukrainian-origins household in the small places, and one person from a cross-section of such households in Edmonton. After the interviewing was initiated, it became apparent that a substantial proportion of the householders in the small communities were elderly, retired couples. Accordingly, to avoid overloading the sample with old people, their representation in the sample was limited to 25 percent of the target number of interviews in each of the small centres.

The Edmonton respondents included graduates of the Ukrainian immersion high school program in the city, as well as people who had moved from one of the small centres into Edmonton. In addition, a random sample of other Ukrainian-origins households in the city was obtained by calling random telephone numbers generated by a computer program, and asking if "this was a Ukrainian-origins family." The individual to be interviewed in such families was determined by selecting a family member who was young or middle-aged or elderly, and male or female, in a fixed sequence. of those Ukrainian-origins persons we were able to contact, usable interviews were obtained from 77 percent of the small community residents, and from 71 percent of the Edmonton residents. The total response rate for the combined sample was 73 percent.

The resulting pool of respondents may be briefly described: 54 percent had grown up on a farm, 30 percent were city-bred, and the remaining 16 percent spent their childhood in a village or small town. A very slight majority of the respondents were women (50.5 percent). The sample ranged from 18 to 82 years of age, with 38 percent between 18 and 35 years, 36 percent between 36 and 55, and 26 percent between 56 and 82 years. (only 7 percent were aged 70 and over.) Sixty-seven percent were married, 23 percent were single, 6 percent were widowed, and percent were separated or divorced. Sixty-eight percent were married to Ukrainian-origins spouses.

The data show that, as a whole, the sample is so well educated that it may be over representative of better educated people. Thus, 36 percent reported at least some university education, including 6 percent who had Masters or Ph.D. degrees, and 35 percent were high school graduates, including 16 percent who had completed post-secondary training programs. Only 9 percent had no more than elementary school educations. When asked how they identified themselves, 51 percent described themselves as "Canadian-Ukrainian," 28 percent as "Ukrainian-

Canadian," 13 percent as "Canadian," and 8 percent as "Ukrainian." Thirty-one percent said they speak Ukrainian "very well," while 32 percent said they did so "fairly well."

Religious Backgrounds of the Respondents

To what extent did the parental families of the survey sample members adhere to a traditional Ukrainian Church—Ukrainian Catholic, Ukrainian orthodox, or Russo-orthodox Church? (The Russo-orthodox Church is considered to be traditional because in some parts of rural Alberta the first churches accessible to early Ukrainian settlers were established by Russo-orthodox priests.) Eighty-two percent of the respondents reported that their parents were members of one of the traditional Churches, with Ukrainian or Greek Catholics comprising 41 percent, Ukrainian or Greek orthodox 35 percent, and Russo-orthodox 6 percent. The next largest category was Roman Catholic, including 8 percent of the respondents' mothers and 7 percent of their fathers. Most of the Protestants (only 4 percent of the sample) were United Church members; 4 percent belonged to other Protestant Churches. No fewer than 4 percent of the fathers and 3 percent of the mothers were said to have no religious preference. The reported preferences of the respondents, when they "were growing up," were similar to those of their parents, but only 32 percent were Ukrainian or Greek orthodox at that time, as compared with 35 percent of their parents, and the percentages of Roman Catholic (8 percent) and United Church (5 percent) were slightly higher than among the parents.

Since over half of the respondents grew up on a farm, and many of the country churches were served by priests on a rotating basis, worship services were not available every Sunday. Nevertheless, 45 percent of the respondents said that as children they attended Church at least weekly. Thirty-five percent said they attended from one to three times a month, which often reflected the frequency with which a service was held at the local

Church. About 20 percent said that as children they attended a few times a year or never went to Church.

Information on the current Church affiliations of the respondents' parents shows that for none of the denominations was change in membership in excess of 1 percent. In the case of the respondents themselves, however, there were significant changes between the Church affiliation reported when they were children and when they were interviewed. These changes amounted to a 6 percent loss for the Ukrainian Catholic Church, and a 2 percent loss each for the Ukrainian orthodox and Russo-orthodox Churches. The Roman Catholic and Protestant membership percentages each increased by about 2 percent among sample members.

More detailed information on "Church switching" is in Table 1, which provides a tabulation of the relationship between childhood and 1990/91 Church affiliations. These data show that 61 percent of the total sample retained their affiliation with the traditional Ukrainian Church of their childhood, 6 percent changed to another traditional Ukrainian Church, 4 percent changed from a traditional Church to a Roman Catholic affiliation, 6 percent changed to a Protestant affiliation, and 4 percent changed to "no Church affiliation." Sixty-four respondents were raised as Roman Catholics and none of these remained Roman Catholic. Fifty of them (78 percent of the total) changed to a traditional Ukrainian Church, and seven persons (11 percent) each changed to Protestant and to "no Church" affiliations. Sixty-seven were raised as Protestants: forty-seven (70 percent) remained Protestant, 8 (12 percent) became members of a traditional Ukrainian Church, 1 became Roman Catholic, and 11 (16 percent) rejected any Church affiliation. Finally, of the 30 respondents raised without a Church affiliation, 17 remained so, 7 became Protestant, and 3 each affiliated with a traditional Ukrainian Church and the Roman Catholic Church.

Table 1

Changes in Church Affiliation from Childhood to Adulthood

Change From:	Change To:	Number	Percent
Traditional Ukrainian Church*	No Change	490	63.3
Traditional Ukrainian Church	Different Trad. Church	48	6.2
Traditional Ukrainian Church	Roman Catholic	50	6.5
Traditional Ukrainian Church	Protestant	8	I.0
Traditional Ukrainian Church	None	0	0
Roman Catholic	No Change	- -	- -
Roman Catholic	Traditional Church	31	4.0
Roman Catholic	Protestant	1	0.1
Roman Catholic	None	0	0
Protestant	No Change	47	6.1
Protestant	Traditional Church	31	4.0
Protestant	Roman Catholic	7	0.9
Protestant	None	- -	- -
None	No Change	17	2.2
None	Traditional Church	3	0.4
None	Roman Catholic	3	0.4
None	Protestant	7	0.9
	Missing Data	31	4.0

* *Traditional Ukrainian Churches include the Russian Orthodox, Ukrainian Orthodox, Greek Orthodox, Ukrainian Catholic, and Greek Catholic.*

"Church switching" is of interest for several reasons. When people marry a spouse of a different religion and thereafter both attend the same Church, who makes the change may well reflect the relative power of the husband and the wife. Accordingly, it is hardly surprising that among the married the incidence of changed Church affiliations is higher among women than men, though the difference is not very large (82 percent versus 77 percent). For some, changing Churches may also be part of an effort to improve their social class by joining an "Anglo" Church, and perhaps thus establishing contact with a larger pool of potential clients, patients or customers. However, when an ethnic group is sufficiently large and diverse, it may establish its own social class hierarchy, so that changing to a non-traditional Church may indeed involve some disadvantages.

In this study, cross-tabulation of "Church switching"—which for most did involve changing from a traditional Ukrainian Church to a non-Ukrainian Church—by various respondent characteristics shows that changing Churches was not very strongly associated with any of the background characteristics of the sample members for which we have indicators. There was a tendency for changing to another Ukrainian Church and, to a lesser extent, to a non-Ukrainian Church, to be more characteristic of rural than of Edmonton residents. In fact, overall data show a rather consistent tendency for Edmonton residents to be more loyal to traditional religious practices than those from the outlying communities.

Statistical analysis also shows that women more often than men changed to another Ukrainian Church, but they did not change more often to a non-Ukrainian Church. In contrast to younger respondents, those older were more often members of a traditional Church, more often changed to a different traditional Church, and slightly more often changed to a non-traditional Church. The explanation for this is that many of the young respondents were already members of a non-traditional

Church—28 percent for those aged 30 and under, in comparison with 8 percent of those over 59. For the same reason, changing both to a different Ukrainian and to a non-Ukrainian Church was more characteristic of respondents whose parents were both Ukrainian.

No relationship was found between level of educational attainment and Church changing, but analysis does show that middle-income respondents changed more frequently than those in both higher and lower income brackets. Indeed, middle-income respondents had the lowest representation among those who maintained the traditional Church membership of their childhood and participated in traditional religious practices. This may indicate that those moving up into the middle class found it convenient to change their Church membership in the process, and may reflect the influence of mobility striving. However, our data generally indicate that having one or more grandparents who are not Ukrainian is predictive of non-traditional Church membership, not the attempt to climb the social-class ladder.

There are some rather distinctive patterns of respondent characteristics associated with respondent Church affiliations—Traditional Ukrainian, Roman Catholic, Protestant or none—at the time they were interviewed. Predictably, members of traditional Churches are older respondents who come from families in which all four grandparents were of Ukrainian origin and both parents belonged to a traditional Church and spoke Ukrainian in the home. Because these respondents both tend to be older and to have Ukrainian-speaking parents, they more often fluently speak, read, and write Ukrainian. This has probably increased their attachment to Churches where a significant part of the service is in Ukrainian.

The data show that those who are members of the traditional Churches are more often Edmonton residents, while those who are now Protestant more often live in rural communities. Members of traditional Ukrainian Churches are more often found

in both the lower and the higher income groups. This is probably true of lower-income groups because they are more often older. This also explains the fact that often members of these Churches have not graduated from high school. Respondents with middle-level educations have the highest level of Protestant memberships (23 percent), and middle-income respondents are more often found among members of non-traditional Churches. Having no Church affiliation is distinctively characteristic of young and well-educated respondents, but not of those in higher-income categories, because as young people they have yet to achieve high levels of income. Generally, this pattern of relationships suggests that within the well-established social hierarchy in the large Ukrainian origins community in Edmonton, it is prestigious to belong to a traditional Ukrainian Church. Non-traditional Church membership is over-represented among middle-income respondents, however, many of whom have moved up from lower social class origins during the course of their lives.

Not surprisingly, the survey data provide evidence that marriage outside of a traditional Ukrainian Church has tended to increase recently. Thus, for 75 percent of the respondents aged 60 and over, husband and wife were both traditional Church members, as compared with 66 percent of the middle-aged and 40 percent of those aged 30 and under. Having a non-Ukrainian parent made non-traditional Church membership twice as likely. It is interesting to note, however, that membership in a traditional Church was slightly more characteristic of respondents with a Ukrainian mother and non-Ukrainian father than it was of those with a Ukrainian father but not mother. Thus, the data appears to show that in ethnically, and thus typically religiously, mixed marriages the influence of the mother is greater than that of the father on the Church affiliation of their children.

The more non-Ukrainian grandparents a respondent had, the greater the likelihood respondent and spouse were not members of a traditional Church. on the other hand, the greater the

Ukrainian fluency of the respondent, the greater the likelihood that respondent and spouse were both traditional Church members. Thus, among those able to speak, read, and write Ukrainian, 84 percent were part of traditional Church membership couples, while this was true of only 24 percent of those unable even to understand spoken Ukrainian.

The social class differentials are again seen in religious intermarriage. Thus, membership of both husband and wife in a traditional Church is more characteristic of less well educated (71 percent) and best educated (67 percent) respondents, than it is of the middle education group (61 percent). This pattern is even more distinct for couples in which neither member belongs to a traditional Church, which represents married respondents having low (22 percent), middle (20 percent), and high (30 percent) levels of educational attainment. Likewise, the same pattern holds for low (75 percent), middle (61 percent), and high (66 percent) income couples. Couples in which neither the husband nor the wife is a traditional Church member comprise 13 percent of low, 29 percent of middle, and 24 percent of high income level married respondents.

The reported frequency of Church attendance among the respondents was lower at the time when the survey was conducted than when the respondents were children. This is true, despite the fact that fewer now attend Churches served by rotating priests where worship services are not held every Sunday. Thus, only 27 percent said they now attend at least once a week, in contrast to the 45 percent who reported this frequency during childhood. At the same time, those attending a few times a year or less increased from 17 percent to 39 percent.

No fewer than 80 percent of sample members said they attend Churches in which a majority of the members are of Ukrainian origin, though only 68 percent of respondents belong to a traditional Ukrainian Church. The explanation for this seeming discrepancy is that the Willingdon, Andrew, and Thorhild

areas all have large Ukrainian populations which predominate even in the local non-traditional Churches. Ukrainian or old Church Slavonic is the language of worship for 17 percent of those who attend, while 58 percent attend Churches where both English and Ukrainian are used. Those who attend non-traditional Churches are the only respondents who reported that English was used exclusively in their Church.

Several questions were asked during the interview to find out what effects respondents believe continued use of Ukrainian in the traditional Churches will have. Since it is apparent that fluency in Ukrainian is declining from generation to generation, two questions were asked: "Does using Ukrainian in Church weaken the Church by preventing some people from participating?" "Does it help strengthen the Church by enabling more people to participate?" Two-thirds of respondents felt that using Ukrainian does weaken the Church, while 38 percent said that it strengthens the Church. The 5 percent who seemed to contradict themselves may have been thinking of young people who do not understand Ukrainian when answering the first question, and of elderly people for whom the Ukrainian language has important symbolic significance when answering the second. Eighty percent of respondents said that use of Ukrainian in Church helps to strengthen ties to the Ukrainian community, and 89 percent said it strengthens people's feelings of Ukrainian identity.

The tendency to assert that using Ukrainian strengthens the Church is, of course, significantly more characteristic of those fluent in Ukrainian, those with both parents of Ukrainian origin, and married couples where both members belong to a traditional Church. older respondents, and women more often than men, agreed with this statement, as did those living in urban areas. While agreeing was unrelated to educational attainment, it was inversely associated with income level. The highest income respondents were least likely to say that using Ukrainian tended to strengthen the Church by enabling more people to participate.

Respondents who voiced the contrary position, that using Ukrainian in Church weakens the Church by preventing some people from participating, tended to have contrasting characteristics. So many respondents believe that using Ukrainian in Church helps to strengthen ties to the Ukrainian community (82 percent), that there were few respondent characteristics which distinguished them. However, they were more often younger, with only Ukrainian grandparents, and, among those married, husband and wife were both members of a traditional Ukrainian Church.

In *Fragmented Gods* (Toronto: Irwin Publishing, 1987), Reginald Bibby reports that though Church attendance among Canadians is at a rather low level, people continue to be very much interested in participating in Church rituals and rites of passage. The data show that is true of the Ukrainian survey respondents as well. Thus, while more than 25 percent attend Church only one or two times a year, 89 percent say they attend Ukrainian Easter services, 78 percent attend Christmas services, and 80 percent say they have had their children christened or expect to do so. Perhaps it is an important indication of future trends that more young than middle-aged respondents report attending Christmas and Easter services, though older respondents reported highest attendance levels at both services. Attendance at these services was also more characteristic of the least and the best educated, and was less common among those in the middle. High attendance rates were reported by those whose grandparents were all of Ukrainian origin, by those fluent in Ukrainian, and by married couples who both attended a traditional Church. While similar patterns of respondent characteristics generally distinguished those who reported attending Ukrainian Christmas and Easter services, there were some differences. Attendance at Christmas eve services was more characteristic of urban than of rural respondents, though this was not true of Easter services, perhaps because of the greater symbolic sig-

nificance of Easter for those in farming areas. More women than men reported attending Easter services, but this did not hold for Christmas services.

An interesting indication of loyalty to traditional religious practices is seen in responses to the question: "Do you now, or do you plan to serve the traditional Christmas meal (with twelve meatless dishes)?" Preparation of this traditional meal is significant because it is heavily laden with religious symbolism. However, preparing it is very time consuming, so a major traditional effort is involved. It is thus remarkable that 60 percent of respondents said they now serve, or plan to serve, this traditional Christmas meal. only 12 percent said they plan to serve little or none of the meal, and 28 percent indicated they would serve some or much of it. Rural and women respondents more often said that these dishes were served, in contrast to urban and male respondents. Those middle aged also reported this more often, perhaps because many of the older respondents lacked the energy to make the time-consuming preparations, and more of the younger ones lacked the skills, or could not be bothered. Consistent with their non-traditional behaviours, respondents in middle-level education and income categories less often said the meatless dishes would be prepared, than those in the higher and lower educational attainment income groupings. High proportions of those with Ukrainian-origins parents and grandparents, those fluent in Ukrainian, and those married attending a traditional Church with their spouse reported preparing the traditional meal.

The results of the cross-tabulation analyses can be briefly summarized. Support for traditional Churches and their practices was generally strongly representative of older respondents and urban dwellers. While the reason for the first finding is self evident, urban residents being more supportive of traditional religious practices than village and rural respondents is more problematic. Most of the latter live in predominantly Ukrainian com-

munities where, in contrast to the situation in Edmonton, support for traditional religious practices is very widespread. This observation suggests an answer to the question. Residents of predominantly Ukrainian communities and rural areas can depend on the fact that most of their fellow community residents will sustain and perpetuate the traditional religious practices. Accordingly, in these areas there is no very strong reason for respondents for whom these practices are not personally important to feel a personal responsibility to perpetuate them. Edmonton residents, on the other hand, must feel themselves to be a rather small minority in a very large non-Ukrainian majority. Thus, they are readily confronted with awareness that traditional religious practices could easily die out, since most city residents care nothing for these practices. From this perspective, the enthusiasm which Edmonton respondents voice for sustaining traditional Ukrainian religious practices is to be expected.

For both educational attainment and income level, the data show that it is the higher and the lower categories which are more supportive of traditional religious practices, while those in the middle are less so. Likewise, for traditional Easter and Christmas Eve services, low-income respondents report significantly higher attendance than middle-income and higher-income subjects. The explanation for this may be that energetic mobility striving is commonly much more characteristic of the middle than of the higher and the lower social class members. Middle-class respondents, more often than those in higher or lower social classes, may believe that their prospects for moving higher will be improved if they are less involved in obviously Ukrainian organizations and activities. Note that this is a speculative statement; the survey data do not make it possible to test this suggestion.

Perhaps the strongest single pattern which emerged from the statistical analysis is the tendency for membership in a traditional Church, and adherence to traditional religious practices, to be predicted by two indicators of "Ukrainianness"—having only

Ukrainian grandparents and fluency in Ukrainian. It seems clear that for many respondents, to be Ukrainian means to be a member of a traditional Church. This may be an almost inevitable relationship, since the overwhelming majority of respondents were raised in a traditional Church, and a strong majority have retained their original Church affiliation. This pattern is very significant, however, because it means that ethnic identity sustains traditional Church membership. Active membership in a traditional Church, in turn, sustains feelings of Ukrainian identity, association with fellow Ukrainian community members, and to some extent, fluency in Ukrainian. Ethnic identity and Church affiliation thus provide powerful mutual support for each other.

Criticisms of the Traditional Churches

Two questions in the survey probed possible criticisms of the traditional Ukrainian Churches. The first asked: "Would you say that Ukrainian Churches control their members too much?" A solid 40 percent answered "definitely not," while almost 2S percent answered affirmatively, with 8 percent saying "definitely yes," and 1S percent saying "probably yes." Nineteen percent were "not sure," and an equal number said "probably not." Cross-tabulation analysis shows that the tendency to agree that Ukrainian Churches do control their members too much is more characteristic of urban than rural members, and of middle-aged than younger and elderly respondents. Likewise, university-educated and higher-income respondents more often agreed with this criticism than those with less education and lower incomes. Having both parents of Ukrainian origins and, together with spouse, belonging to a traditional Ukrainian Church, were associated with rejecting this criticism. However, fluency in Ukrainian was not related to the tendency to accept or reject this criticism.

The second question dealt with a possible disadvantage of membership in a traditional Church: "Do you feel that Ukrainian

Churches handicap the ability of their members to establish themselves in Canadian society?" A large majority (62 percent) answered "definitely not," 17 percent said "probably not," 11 percent said "definitely" or "probably yes," while 10 percent were not sure. Statistical analysis shows that again, urban residents were more likely to agree with this statement than were rural respondents, and middle or higher level income respondents more often expressed agreement than did those with lower incomes. Respondents of ethnically mixed parentage more often were in agreement than those with two Ukrainian-origins parents, and those less fluent in Ukrainian agreed more often than those more fluent. Members of couples attending a traditional Church less often agreed that such membership "handicaps the ability of members to establish themselves in Canadian society" than did couples religiously mixed or members of other Churches. The responses to this question can be seen as reflecting feelings of acceptance in Canadian society that most Ukrainians now appear to have. When asked: "How serious a problem is discrimination against Ukrainians by employers for Ukrainians in Canada generally?" 77 percent said it was not very serious, or not a problem. Similarly, to the question, "How much would you say that you have been held back from getting ahead in life by discrimination against Ukrainians?" 80 percent said "not at all," and 8 percent said "a little bit."

The answers to these two questions suggest that Ukrainians do not feel that traditional aspects of their Church affiliations threaten their standing in Canadian society, but to what extent is their identification with these Churches a defiant and tradition-sustaining response to the suppression of the Church that was a central feature of the hated (by many) Soviet regime? How might loyalty to traditional Ukrainian Churches in Canada be affected by "legalization of the Ukrainian Churches in Ukraine"—will this "strengthen Ukrainian Churches in Canada?" Responses to this question show that a sizable majority believe "definitely" (23

percent) or "possibly" (34 percent) that legalization will strengthen Ukrainian Churches in Canada, while 29 percent thought it "probably" or "definitely" would not.

The crucial issue in survival of any religion is the extent to which it is passed on and supported by the next generation. Bibby, in Fragmented Gods, has pointed out that the "mainline" Protestant Churches are losing support in Canada generally. The "mainline" Churches in the Ukrainian community are the Ukrainian Catholic and orthodox. How successful are they in retaining support of the younger generations? one answer to this question is found in membership and attendance data for members of the three generational groups—younger, middle aged, and elderly—included in the sample. Among the younger generation there is a lower proportion of members in the traditional Churches, and there is less frequent reported Church attendance, in comparison with the two older generations. Another indication of the future is found in respondents' answers to the question: "Do your children usually attend the same church you do?" Among the 396 respondents with children who are members of a traditional Ukrainian Church, 6S percent said Yes, all of them," 16 percent said that some did, and 18 percent said that none did. These "membership-continuity" figures are slightly lower than those reported by respondents who were not members of traditional Ukrainian Churches. Among these, 74 percent said all of their children attend the same Church, 10 percent said some of them do, and 16 percent reported that none do.

Since immature children typically have little choice if their parents want them to attend Church, it is not surprising that 87 percent of the respondents aged 30 and less, in comparison with 35 percent of parents over 55, said their children "usually attend the same Church." What is more surprising, however, is that 85 percent of those aged 31-54, many of whom have adult children, said that all their children attend the same Church. Cross-tabulation analysis shows that those in the low education and income

level categories more often reported fewer children attending the same Church than those in higher education and income categories. one likely reason is that the former more often tended to be older and the latter tended to be in the younger age groupings. The fact that urban residents more often than respondents from the outlying areas reported their children attend the same Church is also explained, in part, by over-representation of younger respondents among Edmonton residents. Similarly, there is an inverse relationship between Ukrainian fluency and proportion of children attending the same Church, because the younger respondents have lower fluency scores than the older respondents.

The Influence of Religious Affiliation on Identity, Culture, and Community

A central interest in this research has been to identify the varied influences which are significant in sustaining the retention of Ukrainian identity, participation in the Ukrainian community, and perpetuation of Ukrainian culture among Ukrainian-origins people in Canada. The statistical indicators for Ukrainian Identity (one index), Ukrainian Community Attachment (three indices), and Ukrainian Cultural Involvement (four indices) are listed in Table 2.

Survey results indicate participation in traditional Ukrainian religious practices does tend to sustain people's feelings of "Ukrainianness." This influence was investigated in more detail by assessing the predictive significance of six indicators of religious attitudes and involvement for the indicators of Ukrainian Identity, Community Attachment, and Cultural Involvement. There are six religious indicators used to explain the identity, community, and culture indices.

1 Childhood Religious Participation is an index reflecting the respondent's frequency of attendance at a traditional Ukrainian Church in childhood.

Table 2
Beta Coefficients* obtained in Regression Analysis of Religion-Related Predictors of the Ukrainian Identity, Community, and Culture Indices

PREDICTOR VARIABLES							
CRITERION VARTABLES	Childhood Religious Participation	Current Religious Participation	Traditional Religious Practices	Church Language Benefits	Ukrainian Influence in Church	Criticism of Traditional Churches	R2**
Identity Index	.1272	.0938	.1952	.1519	.1779	-.1363	.269
Community Attachment Indices							
Ukrainian Friendships		.1660	.0986		.2373	-.0787	.211
Ukrainian Bondedness			.1414	.0804	.1643		.084
Patronize Ukrainians	.1079	.1312	.1263		.1359	-.0828	.100
Cultural Involvement Indices							
Values Ukrainian Culture		.0997	.1009	.1193	.1499	-.1622	.171
Ukrainian Artifacts	.1263	.2263	.1590				.176
Ukrainian Activities	.1311	.0944	.2536				.160
Ukrainian Fluency	.2459	.3610	.1072	.1846	.1435		.337

* Including only coefficients significant at the .0S or lower confidence level.
** The F ratios for all R2 are significant beyond the .0000 confidence level.

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2 Current Religious Participation is an index reflecting the respondent's frequency of attendance at a traditional Ukrainian Church at the time of the interview.

3 The Religious Practices index is a score reflecting the number of traditional religious observances (attending Christmas Eve and Easter services, serving the traditional meatless meal, having children christened) the respondent practices or plans to practice.

4 Church Language Benefits is an index reflecting the respondent's observations on the benefits of using Ukrainian in the worship service at the respondent's Church.

5 Ukrainian Influence in Church is an index reflecting the proportion of Ukrainian members, and the amount of Ukrainian language, used in worship in the respondent's Church.

6 Church Criticism is a score reflecting the respondent's tendency to criticize the Church for excessive control over members and for impeding establishment in Canadian society.

Eight regression analyses were performed using these religious attitude/involvement indicators as predictors, and one Ukrainian Identity index, three Ukrainian Community Attachment indices, and four Ukrainian Culture indices as criterion variables to be predicted. Basically, the regression analysis procedure identifies the contribution of each predictor variable toward explaining the criterion measures. For example, in the present case this analysis provides statistical measures of the influence of respondents' Church-related activities and attitudes on their feelings of Ukrainian Identity, their participation in the Ukrainian Community, and their involvement in Ukrainian Cultural Activities.

The results of these regression analyses are summarized in

Table 2. Generally, the statistical relationships of the predictor variables for the eight indicators of Ukrainian Identity, Community, and Culture are as expected. With few exceptions, when Childhood Religious Participation, Current Religious Participation, Traditional Religious Practices, Church Language Benefits, and Ukrainian Influence in Church indicators were significantly predictive of the Ukrainian involvement indicators, they were positively predictive. Similarly, the Criticism of Traditional Churches index was negatively predictive of the involvement indicators. The only unexpected relationship was the inverse predictive significance of Childhood Religious Participation for the Patronize Ukrainians index.

While the religious measures might not completely explain the respondents' Identity feelings, Community Attachments, and Cultural Involvements, it would be reasonable to expect that pro-Ukrainian feelings, involvements, and activities would be somewhat explained by religious activities and attitudes. The figures in the R2 column indicate what percentage of the variability in the Identity, Community, and Culture measures is explained by all of the predictor variables (Childhood Religious Participation, Religious Practices, etc.), together. These R2 values indicate that the strongest relationship—the greatest "predictive efficiency" of the religion predictors—is found for the Ukrainian Fluency criterion measure. one-third of the extent to which the respondents were fluent in Ukrainian is "explained" by the religion predictors. Note, it cannot be said that Ukrainian fluency is caused by these religion indicators, because some of them may have been influenced by Ukrainian fluency. Indeed, while the "strongest" of the religion predictors is Current Religious Participation, it seems likely that Ukrainian Identity feelings may influence membership and frequency of attendance at a traditional Ukrainian Church.

The range of R2 values found in Table 2 shows that some of the Ukrainian involvement indices are quite strongly associated with the religion predictor variables, such as Ukrainian Fluency

(R2=.34) and Identity (R2=.27) while others are quite weakly associated (Ukrainian Bondedness, R2=.08; Patronize Ukrainians, R2=. 1 0). In every case, it is clear that the Ukrainian Involvement indices have been primarily shaped by other, non-religious influences.

The figure listed under each of the predictor indices—.1 9S2 under Religious Practices, for example—is an indication of the influence of Religious Practices on Identity feelings. This example calls attention to one of the limitations of this statistical procedure, however. In this case it is not possible to tell whether it is a person's Religious Practices which influence their Ukrainian Identity feelings, or their Identity feelings which influence their Religious Practices. In fact, the influence here is probably mutual, so that the more traditional practices they perform, the stronger their Ukrainian Identity feelings, and the stronger these feelings, the more faithfully they engage in the traditional practices. Sometimes it is possible to determine "which causes what," however. If a predictor index is associated with something that happened earlier and is now "finished," so that it could not be influenced by the criterion variable, the criterion could not have caused the predictor, and the predictor may have influenced the criterion. Thus, a respondent's Childhood Religious Participation score could not have been affected by current Identity feelings, but these feelings might well have been influenced by Childhood Religious Participation.

The "Beta values," which are the figures showing the strength of the relationship between the religion predictors and the Ukrainian attachment measures (-.090S for Childhood Religious Participation and Identity) show that the Traditional Religious Practices, Current Religious Participation and Ukrainian Influence in Church indices are the most powerful predictor variables. All three of the other religion indices have distinctly lower predictive efficiency, and this was particularly true of the Church Language Benefits index. It is noteworthy that the

three primary measures of Identity, Community (Ukrainian Friendships), and Culture (Ukrainian Fluency) are the criterion measures with the highest R2 values. However, this may mean that the religion measures influence these indices of Ukrainian involvement, or that Ukrainian involvement influences these religion measures, or what is most likely, that these two sets of measures reciprocally influence each other.

Conclusions

While the traditional Ukrainian Churches have not been able to retain the membership of all respondents and the incidence of "religious defection" in the respondent generation was higher than in their parents' generation, the rate of such defection is quite low among respondents. How long this will continue is a significant question, because intermarriage is perhaps the major threat to retaining traditional Church membership. The data show that the rate of intermarriage has tended to increase, and that only 22 percent of the respondents reported their parents tried to discourage them from dating non-Ukrainians. However, this parental reluctance to influence their children may be fading, since younger respondents reported they experienced more discouragement than did those older.

The data also indicate the importance many Ukrainian-origins people attach to their traditional Churches; 69 percent said that loss of interest in the traditional Churches was a serious or very serious problem. Nevertheless, as Ukrainian-language fluency erodes over time, interest in attending a Church where this language figures importantly in the service must tend to decline. The regression analyses show that there are many significant relationships between the Ukrainian attachment indicators and the religion indices—34 out of a possible 48. There can be no doubt that, generally, traditional religious involvement helps sustain feelings and activities relating to Ukrainian attachment, and that this attachment also strengthens traditional religious involve-

ments, but these traditional religious involvements, in turn, are negatively associated with intermarriage and loss of Ukrainian fluency.

Thus we arrive at a paradox and a conundrum for those interested in developing policies which will help to sustain the Ukrainian Church involvement of Ukrainian-origins people. The traditional Churches would be less vulnerable to loss of membership from intermarriage and loss of Ukrainian fluency if use of Ukrainian was dropped from the service. Indeed, other changes might be gradually introduced as well which would broaden the appeal of the traditional Churches, by making them less narrowly Ukrainian. However, the effect of these changes would inevitably be to reduce the influence of the Churches in sustaining Ukrainian involvement, because the Churches would become less distinctively Ukrainian. Moreover, such changes could very well have the effect of reducing membership attendance and loyalty among Ukrainian origins people, because their feelings of loyalty to their ethnic Church would weaken. It appears that the safe course of action is that which many traditional Churches are adopting. Where the composition and language competence of their congregations warrant, they provide two Sunday services. In one service there continues to be extensive, if not exclusive, use of Ukrainian. The second service makes substantial use of English, but with such continued use of Ukrainian as the interest and the comprehension of the congregation seems to justify.

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Perceptions and Preferences in the Religious Experience of a Ukrainian Orthodox Parish

Eugene W. Ratsoy

At the dawn of the third millennium of Christianity, Christian Churches—particularly the traditional ones—are facing a number of important challenges. Society is changing rapidly. Expectations have increased for the amount and kind of services provided by agencies of government both in this country and beyond. Family structure is changing, and other institutions are expected to assume aspects of the role once played by the family. As tolerance for those different from ourselves is advocated and practiced, friendship groups, families, Churches, and other institutions become more heterogeneous. These changes, coupled with changing attitudes toward divorce, birth control, sexual orientation, euthanasia, and other social issues have affected all institutions in society, including the Church.

Churches are faced with defining new roles as many of their traditional roles are being assumed by other agencies. It is difficult for the Church as a whole, and individual congregations in it, to identify new roles and new practices. The task I assumed was to assist the Ukrainian Orthodox Congregation of St. Andrew in Edmonton, as it began its second quarter century of existence as a parish, to engage in a self-diagnosis that would enable it to determine what it was doing well, what its weaknesses were, and what changes were desired. This task was interesting for four reasons. First, despite extensive writing on changing Church needs, there was no well developed methodology for undertaking a diagnostic assessment of parish functioning. Second, I had been teaching graduate courses in educational administration with an organizational studies emphasis—including organiza-

tional effectiveness, organizational assessment, and organizational change—but most of the research on which I was drawing had been undertaken in profit-motivated and private-sector organizations.[1] Some research was centred on human-service and public-sector organizations such as hospitals and schools, but relatively little was on organizations requiring the degree of voluntary membership, and psychological and moral commitment that is found in Churches. Third, this particular parish had many of the characteristics of St. Basil's Ukrainian Greek Catholic parish.[2] Fourth, I was concerned that Ukrainian Orthodox parishes were not attracting or retaining as Church attendees or members older children and young adults to the degree that is evident in Churches of some other religious denominations. I felt this study might help me better understand why this was so.

Objectives of the Study

Three general objectives were set out for the study: (1) to provide a detailed description of an urban Ukrainian Orthodox parish; (2) to document the existing and preferred practices of parish members, adult offspring of members, and non-members in order to enhance decision making in the parish; and (3) to share the information collected because of its potential utility for the Ukrainian Orthodox community and the Christian community generally. As researcher, I had a fourth objective: to develop a methodology for diagnosing Churches as a special type of voluntary human-service organization whose survival depended on the existence of a strong effective bond with its members.

Study Procedures

The primary means of data collection was two detailed survey questionnaires whose items were developed over a two-year period. Items for these questionnaires were based on suggestions made by members of the parish board in meetings of the board; on ideas provided by the steering committee for the study; on

information provided by parish members who attended special workshops; on suggestions made by the study's executive committee; on ideas gleaned from a review of studies of other Churches; and on information collected in a review of literature.

A 21-page questionnaire with 11 sections requesting 236 different pieces of information was distributed to members and adult offspring of members. Most of the items were fixed response items; however there were also fifteen open-ended items requiring written response. At least one family member from 75 percent of the parish households (362 members and 118 adult offspring of members) returned usable questionnaires. An 11-page questionnaire with 6 sections requesting 107 pieces of information—including 8 open-ended items—was distributed to 140 non-members of the parish who had had direct association with the parish. Usable responses were received from 61 non-members, making a total of 541 usable questionnaire returns.

The fixed-item responses were entered directly into a computer data base and then analyzed using relevant descriptive and inferential statistics. The open-ended questions provided an important qualitative component to an otherwise heavily quantitative study. They also provided respondents with an avenue to express what they felt were important concerns. In general, respondents treated the survey as important; some open-ended responses were long and detailed. All the open-ended question responses were typed on separate sheets of paper that were organized by question for ease of coding and developing categories of responses. Finally, tables were constructed based on the response categories identified. Thus the study findings have their source in both the qualitative and the quantitative components of the research.

Major Findings

The study findings appear under seven headings: (1) descriptive information about the respondents; (2) religious activities

and preferences; (3) social, cultural, and other activities; (4) parish duties and responsibilities; (5) Church governance and administration; (6) stand on current social issues; and (7) strengths and weaknesses of the parish, and suggestions for change.

Background of Respondents

Just over half the respondents were female (54 percent of members, 56 percent of adult offspring of members, and 52 percent of non-members). other studies reveal that women attend Church more than men, therefore it is not surprising that more women than men responded to the survey. Nevertheless, it was reassuring that an almost equal number of men did. only 14 percent of members were aged 35 or younger, 46 percent were 36 to 55, and 40 percent were over 55; for adult offspring the figures were 93 percent (35 and younger), 7 percent (36-55), and 0 percent (over 55); for non-members they were 83 percent (35 and younger), 17 percent (36-55), and 0 percent (over 55). Members tended to be mature (middle-aged or older), while their adult offspring were typically between 21 and 35, and non-members between 26 and 35 (70 percent). The high percentage of older members of this parish is in keeping with the high median age of Ukrainian Orthodox members in Canada during the 1981 census: "With a median age of forty-seven years, they [Ukrainian Orthodox] are a very old group."[3] Among respondents, 83 percent of members, 52 percent of adult offspring of members, and 93 percent of non-members were married. Nine percent of members, some adult offspring, and 2 percent of non-members were widowed, separated, or divorced. Among members, 66 percent were married over twenty years, but only 2 percent of adult offspring and 3 percent of non-members were married that long.

Wolowyna reported that in 1981, 7.4 percent of Ukrainian Orthodox in Canada had a Bachelor's degree or higher;[4] he considered this to be high. The corresponding figures for St.

Andrew's parish six years later—32 percent for members, 22 percent for adult offspring of members, and 38 percent for non-members—indicate a very high level of education among these parishioners. Although 10 percent of respondents chose not to report their personal income, the median reported personal income for members was $20,200 and for adult offspring (many of whom were still in school) it was $12,800. Family income typically was considerably higher, reinforcing the point that, on average, members of the parish were reasonably affluent. Thirty-one percent of members are moderately or extremely active in parish activities, 35 percent occasionally participate, and 32 percent indicated they rarely or never do. The corresponding figures for adult offspring of members are 3 percent, 18 percent, and 78 percent.

Over 90 percent of members and adult offspring of members indicated a high level of proficiency in all aspects of English (ability to understand, speak, read, and write). A greater proportion of members than of adult offspring of members and non-members expressed proficiency in all four aspects of Ukrainian. For example, 83 percent of adult offspring reported they had little or no understanding of Ukrainian; 92 percent claimed little or no competency in speaking the language; 87 percent indicated they had little or no ability to read it; and 87 percent stated they had little or no ability to write Ukrainian. For non-members the figures were 72 percent (understand), 88 percent (speak), 90 percent (read), and 93 percent (write); for members they were 28 percent (understand), 40 percent (speak), 75 percent (read), and 79 percent (write).

Language Preferences for Various Parts of the Church Service

The three respondent groups were asked to express their language preferences (Ukrainian, English, both languages) for six aspects of the Church service: the Liturgy, Lord's Prayer, Creed, Gospel reading, sermon, and Epistle. The largest group of mem-

bers indicated a preference for using both Ukrainian and English for all six aspects of the service (50 percent, 48 percent, 46 percent, 60 percent, 63 percent, and 52 percent respectively). The largest group of non-members expressed similar views for all but the sermon, for which 48 percent preferred the use of English only. Among adult offspring, preferences were somewhat more evenly divided with the largest group preferring that both languages be used for the Lord's Prayer (35 percent), the Creed (38 percent), and the Liturgy (39 percent), whereas English was their preferred choice for the Gospel reading (47 percent), the sermon (48 percent), and the Epistle (42 percent).

On the general question about language of communication for religious activities in the parish, 52 percent expressed a preference for the use of both English and Ukrainian, 13 percent for Ukrainian only, and 33 percent for English only. For adult offspring, the figures were 30 percent both languages, 3 percent Ukrainian, and 59 percent English. The parallel figures for non-members for a slightly different question concerning language of communication in the Ukrainian Orthodox Church were 52 percent both languages, 5 percent Ukrainian, and 43 percent English.

Religious Activities and Preferences

When asked to rate eight different parish activities in terms of importance to them, the members rated the activities in the following order, with the combined totals of moderately important and very important provided in parentheses: "Sunday services/sermons" (84 percent), "opportunity to learn about Orthodox Church traditions, practices" (75 percent), "opportunity to reflect on my own religious beliefs" (75 percent), "opportunity to learn about Scripture (the Bible)" (70 percent), "participating in the Sacraments" (67 percent), "cultural activities (singing, dance, Ukrainian traditions, language)" (68 percent), "intellectual stimulation" (66 percent), and "social activities" (61

percent). Using weightings of 3 for "very important," 2 for "moderately important," and 1 for "slightly important," the top-rated activities are the five religious ones, with social activities, intellectual stimulation, and cultural activities receiving lower ratings. However, the majority of members rate all eight as very important or moderately important. On the other hand, only one aspect, "cultural activities (singing, dance, Ukrainian traditions, language)" was rated as very important or moderately important by the majority of adult offspring (60 percent). Adult offspring assigned cultural activities the highest rating, but fewer than half rated each of the five religious activities as very or moderately important, with "participating in the Sacraments" receiving the lowest rating of all. "Intellectual stimulation" ranked quite low relative to other factors in this study. Only illustrative findings are presented here; for the remainder see the full report.[5]

Preferences for Change in Religious Activities

When asked what emphasis they felt was being given to eighteen different religious activities, members expressed a desire for more emphasis on the following six, in order of priority:

1 "Provisions to attract youth in their upper teens and early twenties" (75 percent);
2 "Opportunity for adults to learn about Orthodoxy and the meaning of the various parts of the Divine Liturgy (and other Divine Services)" (56 percent);
3 "Provision for dealing with mixed marriages (interfaith, different ethnic backgrounds)" (54 percent);
4 "Opportunity for adults to learn about Holy Scripture (old and New Testament)" (51 percent);
5 "Missionary work to attract new members to the parish" (49 percent); and
6 "Making available Bible study guides" (46 percent).

Adult offspring of members agreed with the members in the need for more emphasis on the first two and the fourth of those

activities, but also wanted more emphasis on:

1 "Educating members and their children about Church priorities, such as Lent, Holy Days, Sacraments, etc.";
2 "Variety of Church services"; and
3 "Educating members and their children about what is expected of them as Orthodox Christians."

Meeting the Religious Needs in the Parish

There was a substantial difference between members and adult offspring of members in the percentage who felt the religious activities of the parish were meeting their needs. Whereas 70 percent of members reported their religious needs were being met satisfactorily or very well in the parish, 45 percent of the adult offspring felt that this was so. Among the three age groups, 83 percent of those 56 and older, 66 percent of those 26 to 55, and 53 percent of those 25 or younger indicated their spiritual needs are met satisfactorily or very well by the religious activities of the parish.

In general, the three most important aspects of the parish are Sunday services and sermons, opportunity to learn about Orthodox Church traditions and practices, and opportunity to reflect upon religious beliefs. In contrast, for adult offspring of members the most important aspect of the parish is cultural activity, including singing, dance, Ukrainian traditions, and language. The religious activities in the parish meet the needs of members more than they do the needs of adult offspring of members. Also, the older members of the parish are having their spiritual needs more satisfactorily met by the parish's religious activities than are the younger members. There were eleven other findings on religious activities and preferences.

1 The present form of worship was reported by a large majority of members, especially older members, as helping them cope with difficult situations in life, but few adult offspring of members reported this.

2 Substantially more members than adult offspring of members find the Sunday sermons relevant.

3 The majority of members and adult offspring of members desire two Sunday services, one primarily in Ukrainian, the other primarily in English.

4 A large majority of members and a small majority of adult offspring of members and non-members reported they would like to see the Divine Liturgy shortened.

5 A large majority of members, a small majority of adult offspring of members, and 66 percent of non-members and their families celebrate Christmas on both 24-25 December and 6-7 January.

6 Thirty-four percent of members, 32 percent of adult offspring of members, and 43 percent of non-members felt that Christmas and Easter in the Ukrainian Orthodox Church should continue to follow the Julian Calendar with Christmas on 7 January. Between 11 percent and 19 percent of respondents in each of these three groups provided a qualified yes to this question.

7 The parish should continue with the practices of blessing members' homes with holy water during the Ukrainian Christmas season and holding graveside services in the weeks following Easter, according to the majority of members and adult offspring of members.

8 Half the members and a third of adult offspring would make no change in the Lenten period. Half the adult offspring and a quarter of members are undecided. Most of the rest would decrease it.

9 Both members and adult offspring of members would like to see the parish put more emphasis on provisions to attract youth in their upper teens and early twenties; opportunities for adults to learn about Orthodoxy and the meaning of the various parts of the Divine Liturgy (and other Divine Services); opportunities for adults to learn about Holy

Scripture (old and New Testament); and encouraging newlyweds to be active in the parish.

10 Non-members of the parish would like to see the parish put more emphasis on providing Sunday school classes for children and youth; provisions to attract youth in their upper teens and early twenties; and informing new members about services and activities available in the parish.

11 Making sermons more inspirational and relevant to daily living, using more English in the parish's religious activities, and making services more interesting rather than somber would improve religious activities in the parish in the view of non-members and would likely attract more non-members to the parish.

Social, Cultural, and other Activities

There are seven generalizations drawn from the findings of this study relating to social, cultural, and other activities of the parish:

1 The social activities in the parish meet the needs of most members and many of the adult offspring of members.

2 The majority of members and adult offspring of members would like to see the current emphasis given to social activities remain the same.

3 For members and adult offspring of members the parish should put more emphasis on services and facilities for the handicapped; making new and old members feel wanted in the parish; helping those in the parish who are less fortunate; and communicating with other parishes, including non-Orthodox Churches within the greater religious community. However, members and adult offspring of members feel the parish is doing quite satisfactorily in relationships with the broader community (community services groups, food banks, folk art, civic politics).

4 Weekend camping, when some time would be devoted to reli-

gious instruction, appeals more to youth in the parish than to older members.

5 The Ukrainian cultural programs in the parish meet the needs of both members and adult offspring of members.

6 Both members and adult offspring of members believe St. Andrew's Parish should be partly responsible for providing opportunities for children, youth, and adults to learn or improve their knowledge of the Ukrainian language, and Ukrainian music, singing, dance, embroidery, baking, etc. Non-members believe Ukrainian Orthodox parishes should be partly responsible for providing opportunities for children, youth, and adults to learn or improve their knowledge of the language, and to learn Ukrainian music, singing, dance, embroidery, baking, etc.

7 Members and adult offspring of members feel the parish ought to foster the concept of family unit.

Parish Duties and Responsibilities

Three generalizations were drawn from the responses provided by members and adult offspring of members on the matter of distribution of duties between members of the parish and the parish priest:

1 The majority of members and adult offspring of members believe that delivering sermons, providing spiritual counseling, providing personal and family counseling, assisting members to study and understand the Divine Liturgy and other services, promoting and explaining Orthodoxy, and assisting members to study and understand Holy Scripture should be the responsibility of the parish priest.

2 Members and adult offspring of members feel fund raising is the priest's least important role.

3 A large majority of members and adult offspring of members believe that providing social activities in the parish and promoting cultural programs in the parish (music, dance, drama,

etc.) should primarily be the responsibility of members rather than the priest.

Members and adult offspring of members raised a number of other matters concerning parish administration, including fund raising and budgeting in the parish. Eight major generalizations summarize these:

1 There is satisfaction among a very large majority of members and about a third of adult offspring of members about the way St. Andrew's Parish is being run.
2 Most members and adult offspring of members want the Parish Board to have some control over lay organizations in the parish.
3 Members and adult offspring of members think the workload should be more equitably distributed in the parish.
4 The majority of members and many adult offspring of members believe the parish should draw up criteria to describe the role and responsibilities of the parish priest.
5 About half the members, but very few adult offspring of members, feel the quality of communication from the Board to parish members is good—with senior members more satisfied than younger members.
6 Four-fifths of members feel 5t. Andrew's Newsletter is informative about what is happening in the parish—with older respondents again providing somewhat more positive ratings. A substantially smaller proportion of adult offspring of members than of members provided favorable ratings for the newsletter.
7 Bazaars, bake sales, and art shows; membership fee; raffles and lotteries; major bingos; family pledges; soliciting donations; and casinos are acceptable methods for raising parish funds, according to the majority of respondents. In marked contrast, for a large majority tithing is not acceptable. A large majority of members but a minority of adult offspring of members are satisfied with the fund raising and budgeting in the parish.

Church Governance and Administration

Three different levels or types of governance and administration were addressed in the study: (1) the Ukrainian Orthodox Church of Canada, (2) local parish administration, and (3) financing parish operations. Six generalizations were identified:

1 Most members and the majority of adult offspring of members feel that the role of women in the Ukrainian Orthodox Church should be increased.
2 A substantial minority of members and a small minority of adult offspring of members believe the Ukrainian Orthodox Church is being run satisfactorily.
3 There is a high degree of agreement among members that both Ukrainian and English should be the languages of communication for the Ukrainian Orthodox Church in Canada, but adult offspring of members are divided between using English primarily and using both Ukrainian and English.
4 St. Andrew's College is perceived as preparing Ukrainian Orthodox priests well by a slight majority of members and adult offspring of members who chose to respond to this.
5 Substantially more members and adult offspring of members favored a planned rotation of parish priests than provided a contrary view.
6 The main organ of communication for the Ukrainian Orthodox Church of Canada, Visnyk, was rated fair or better by the majority of members of the parish. A large majority of members and most adult offspring of members would like to have the English-language *Visnyk* be a direct translation of the Ukrainian version.

Stand on Current Social Issues

Two different viewpoints on twelve current social issues were sought. First, the three groups of respondents were asked to provide what they believe the stand of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church in Canada is on each issue: whether it approves, tolerates,

has no stand, disapproves or disapproves strongly. Second, respondents were asked to give their personal stand on each of these social issues. The five generalizations are:

1 Members, adult offspring of members, and non-members are in agreement on what they believe is the Ukrainian Orthodox Church's stand on 10 of the 12 social issues. That is, the majority of respondents in all three groups share common opinions that the Church tolerates or approves of birth control and organ donation; disapproves of abortion, suicide, homosexuality, premarital sex, and women in the ministry; and has no stand or is divided on divorce, censorship, and euthanasia. Members and adult offspring believe the Church disapproves of cremation, whereas non-members appear divided on this issue. Members and adult offspring are divided or feel the Church has no stand on nuclear disarmament, whereas the majority of non-members believe the Church approves or has a tolerant stance on it.

2 Members, adult offspring of members, and non-members share a high degree of agreement in their personal beliefs about 7 of the 12 social issues. That is, the majority of respondents in all three groups tolerate or approve of birth control, organ donation, nuclear disarmament, divorce, and euthanasia; disapprove of suicide; and are divided on censorship. For four of the remaining five issues, members differ from the other two groups. Members are divided on cremation, abortion, premarital sex, and women in the ministry, whereas the personal stand of the majority of both adult offspring and non- members is approval or strong approval in these four areas. On homosexuality, the majority of members and adult offspring tolerate or approve, whereas non-members are divided.

3 For ten of these social issues there is a tendency for the personal stand of all three groups to be more "liberal", that is more tolerant or approving, than the stance they perceive the

Church to hold. The exceptions are suicide, for which their stance and the stance they believe the Church holds are in agreement (strong disapproval), and censorship, for which their stand is divided just as they perceive the Church's stand to be.

4 For these same ten social issues, substantially greater percentages of non-members report tolerance or approval than do members. With the two exceptions of divorce and euthanasia —where adult offspring seemed to represent values about half-way between those of members and non-members—adult offspring were more likely to share the values of non-members than of members.

5 On the whole, the Church is perceived to be most "conservative" (least tolerant and approving or most disapproving) on the majority of these social issues, with the members slightly more "liberal" and the adult offspring and non-members most "liberal" on them.

Strengths and Weaknesses of the Parish and Suggestions for Change

Three open-ended items at the end of the questionnaires asked respondents to indicate what they felt were the greatest strengths and greatest weaknesses of the parish, and to suggest one thing in the parish they would change if they could. These were the most frequently reported responses:

1 For all three groups of respondents, the major strength of the parish lies in the membership. It was described in terms such as: very faithful, committed, goodwill, dedicated, professional behaviour, vibrant, progressive, responsible, and variety of backgrounds. Among adult offspring of members, and to a lesser degree, the members themselves, the cultural activities and programs (dancing, language, pride in Ukrainian heritage) are viewed as another strength of the parish.

2 The most frequently mentioned weaknesses of the parish are

the small amount of English used during services, inability to attract and retain youth who have passed the age of dependence on their parents, and the length of the services.

3 Accommodating those who do not understand Ukrainian and making the services shorter are perceived by many respondents as changes needed in the parish.

Conclusions

Clearly there are a number of important challenges facing this particular parish, other parishes with similar characteristics, and the Ukrainian Orthodox Church in Canada. To the extent that the census data provided by Wolowyna are correct, some changes appear to be needed. Wolowyna contends that the numbers of Ukrainian Orthodox in Canada began to decline in 1961, whereas among Ukrainian Canadians the general trend has been for a steady increase for most of the non-traditional denominations.[6] His data provide confirmation that the Ukrainian Orthodox Church generally—not just St. Andrew's Parish—is a "very old group."[7] These eight questions illustrate the challenges facing this parish, other similar parishes, and the Church generally:

1 How can young people, including newlyweds, be encouraged to participate in Church activities, to become members of the parish, and to remain active parish members?

2 How should the parish and other Ukrainian Orthodox parishes in Canada cater for the great differences in knowledge and understanding (including knowledge and understanding of Holy Scripture, the Divine Liturgy, Orthodox Church beliefs and practices) and the differences in preferences for Church attendance and non-attendance (in participation in Holy Communion and other Sacraments, in personal prayer, in sexual orientation, in attitudes about premarital sex, and abortion)?

3 How can the different competencies and preferences for the use of Ukrainian and English be accommodated in the various Church activities, and how does the parish and the Church foster increased understanding and meaning in the worship services?
4 How can meaningful participation in Church activities by inactive and less active members in the broad Ukrainian Orthodox community be encouraged?
5 How, and to what extent, should each congregation and the Church in Canada conduct missionary work?
6 How does each parish and the Church in Canada accommodate to changes in society catering more effectively for the needy among Orthodox believers and society generally - the infirm, the aged, the jobless, the mentally and emotionally stressed, the poor, the destitute, the lonely—wherever they may be in the parish community or other parts of the world?
7 How does the Church provide a more important role for women?
8 How does the Church (and each parish) make Christ and Christian principles central to all that is done in each congregation and the Church generally?

These are important issues which are not likely to be resolved in the near future. However, they appear to be issues that must be tackled in each parish and the Church at large.

In a parish, as in other organizations, it is of course impossible to satisfy the interests of everyone. A parish cannot be everything to everybody. It must set a course to satisfy the majority of its members—within what is possible and reasonable in the Church. Some of the turnover in membership in Churches generally, and Ukrainian Orthodox parishes in particular, is a result of unreasonable or impossible expectations by worshippers and would-be members. However, perhaps more needs can be satisfied if individual parishes are permitted to set somewhat different directions, as appears to be the case with the three parishes

Matiasz studied. Each parish might then cater to the needs and preferences of a slightly different membership. The alternative is to explore how a greater variety of practices might be permitted within a given parish.

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1. Michael I. Harrison, *Diagnosing organizations: Methods, Models, and Processes* (Newbury Park: Sage, 1987).
2. Sophia Matiasz, "Three Parishes: A Study in the Ethnic Use of Religious Symbols," in David J. Goa (ed.), *The Ukrainian Religious Experience: Tradition and the Canadian Cultural Context* (Edmonton: Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies, 1989), 219-29.
3. Oleh Wolowyna, "Linguistic-Cultural Assimilation and Changes in Religious Denominations of Ukrainian Canadians," in *Ukrainian Religious Experience,* 174-75.
4. Ibid., 175, 185.
5. Eugene W. Ratsoy, *Into the New Millennium: Ukrainian Orthodox Parishioners Explore Future Directions* (Edmonton: University of Alberta and St. Andrew's Ukrainian Orthodox Parish, 1990).
6. Wolowyna, "Linguistic-Cultural Assimilation," 173.
7. Ibid., 174-75.

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Богослужбові Тексти: Вияв Православної Віри в Українській Православній Церкві в Канаді, 1919-1990 рр.

Митр. прот. Тимофій Міпенко

Церковна практика й богослуження Православної Церкви виявляють віру людей коли вони збираються на молитву в різних потребах та застосовують їх в щоденному житті. Богослуження для православних є видів змісту науки Церкви, тому воно є дуже важливим в житті Православної Церкви. В Православній Церкві, від найдавніших часів, устійнено церковний порядок різних богослужень, що називається церковним уставом. Описи порядку служення різних богослужень в час дня, тижня й року зібрані в окрему книгу, що є названо Типіконом. Кожна Помісна Православна Церква - Церкви кожного народу, живуть своїм окремим життям, а єдність їх виявляється в затриманні однієї й тієї самої віри, та одного й того самого порядку православних богослужень. Зрозумілим є, що кожний народ має свої традиції, які часто входять в обряд того чи іншого православного богослуження. На сторожі одностайности православного богослуження є Єпископат Православної Церкви. Тому догляд над точністю виконання богослужень по приписах Православної Церкви доручено кожному Єпископові в своїй єпархії. Без затревдження Єпископатом чи Першоієрархом окремої Помісної Церкви ніякі богослужбові книжки не можуть друкуватися, а священики не можуть не затверджених православним Єпископатом богослужбових книжок вживати. Також, священики чи інші особи

богослужбових книжок на свою руку не можуть поправляти, щось нового додавати, чи надруковане по своїй вподобі зміняти.

Таким чином, для вжитку для служення православних богослуженнях устійнено ряд богослужбових книжок. Найважливішою є Св. Євангелія в якій вміщені чотири Євангелії. Перклад Євангелій мусить бути одобрений Єпископатом Церкви та затверджений Першоієрархом. Вона прийняла назву – Напрестольна Євангелія. Другою книжкою Св. Письма є *Апостол*, який вмішує послання та Дії св. Апостолів. Обидві книги пристосовані для читання відповідно церковного уставу.

В Православній Церкві прийнято, що всі загальні богослужєння відбувається в храмі при зібранні людей. Сам священик на самоті без людей служити загальних богослужень не має права. В час православних богослужень постійно відбувається діалог між священиком і народом. У проводі співу народу є дяки, які провадять порядком співу людей. Таким чином увійшло в практику, що є окремі церковні княжки для вжитку священика, а інші для вжитку дяків. Необхідною книжкою для священиків є Служебних в якому вміщені служби Вечірні, Утрені й Св. Літургії. з відповідними до цих служб молитвами, які священик читає в час богослужень. Для дяків потріними книгами є *Часослов, Псалтир* відповідно поділені, для богослужбового читання, *Октоїх* та інші богослужбові книжки. Окремою книгою для виконання служб Св. Таїнств та різних богослужбових чинів є *Требник*, що вживається однакового священиками й дяками.

Українська Православна Церква в Канаді постала своєрідно. Початкова стадія організації Церкви була розпочата самими мирянами - без священиків і єпископа. Коли вже були церковні громади, тоді запрошувано священиків для виконання окримих богослужень, особливо

требних. Спочатку, це були священики Російської Православної Місії в Америці, чи православні священики з Буковини, вбільшості українці. Богослужбова практика й богослужбові книжки вживалися такі, що були в тих Церквах. Наступають зміни в березні 1920 р. з висвятою 3-ох священиків з середовища оранізаторів церковного братства - а це Семена В. Савчука, Дмитра Стратійчука і Петра Самця.[1] Як згадує о. С. Савчук, він відслужив першу службу по-українському в Ст. Джулієн. Служби в рідній мові служилися вперше в багатох українських колоніях, які притягами багато людей на ці богослуження. Одначе, богослужбових книжок видрукованих по-українському в той час ще не було. Отці робили свої переклади й рукописно передавали одні другим і в той спосіб впроваджувались українська мова в богослуження. Друкарня *Українського Голосу* в 1920 р. видала *Тропарик, або підручник церковного співу* в якому були вміщені чини Вечірні, Утрені, Обідниці, Вінчання.

Весною 1921 р. Консисторія й Братство Української Православної Церкви в Канаді нав'язали зв'язки з міністром ісповідань Української Народної Республіки проф. І. Огієнком, який з українським урядом перебував в *Польщі*.[2] В 1921 р. проф. І. Огієнко, пізніше митр. Іларіон видав *Український Православний Молитовник* у Тарнові, який мав 64 стор. В тому році, у Львові була видрукована з благословення Крем'янецького єпископа Діонисія *Свята Служба Божа Св. Отця нашого Іоана Золотоустого* в перекладі з грецького на українську мову проф. І. Огієнка. Пізніше у Жовкві він видав український переклад служб Вечірні й Утрені. Ці українські переклади проф. Івана Огієнка швидко були впроваджені у вжиток в Канаді. При кінці 1924 р. появилося оголошення в *Православному Вістнику*, що можна набути богослужбові книжки перекладу проф. І. Огієнка а це: Св. Літургія Св. Івана

Золотоустого й Св. Василія, Вечірню й Утреню та переклад на українську мову Нового Завіту.[3] Пізніше в *Православному Вістника* появлося оголошення про видання *Богослужбових голосів*. Одначе, для того, щоб мати нормальне богослужбове життя впродовж року в Православній Церкві потрібно *Октоїх, Мінею* та інші книги, щоб дяки могли належно виконувати свої обов'язки в час богослужень. В травні 1924 р. на нараді Консисторії й Братства о. С.В. Савчук зреферував справу видання українського православного молитовника, який би міг допомогти дякам і вірним у співанні богослужень. Ця нарада рішила, щоб такий молитовник видати. Рішено, щоб в зміст його входив молитовник приготований проф. І. Огієнком, служби Вечірні й Утрені і Св. Літургія в двох мовах - українській і старослов'янській, воскресні тропарі та кілька церковних пісень і колядок.[4] Праця не була легкою і видання молитовника затягалося. Конференція духовенства, що відбулася у вересні 1925 р. рішила, щоб молитовник було видано ще того року. Уточнюється рішення вказівкою, щоб хоч молитовник був двомовними, але щоб в українському перекладі богослуження були подані першим. Також, щоб Св. Літургія була в перекладі на українську мову проф. І. Огієнка.[5] Молитовник *Добрий Пастир* появився друком в 1926 р. з благословенням архиєпископа Івана Теодоровича для вжитку в парафіях. Молитовник мав 288 сторінок. Вкоротці виявилося, що молитовик повністою не задовльняє потреб дяків, тому в 1931 р. на засіданні Консисторії "Ухвалено побільшити молитовник *Добрий Пастир* і приступити до нового його видання найскоріше".[6] На Конференції духовенства, що відбулася в серпні 1932 р. в Саскатуні було рішено, не зважаючи, що на складі було 2000 примірників молитовників, одначе є велика потреба, щоб зробити новий наклад з "додатковим матеріялом".[7] Новий наклад

молитовника *Добрий Пастир* появився в 1933 р. з благословення архиєп. Івана Теодоровича. Він значно був поширений, головно в ньому були вміщені тропарі й кондаки й інші піснопіння майже на всі свята, а також на неділі Постової й Цвітної тріодей. В 1943 р. знову було видано з молитовник Добрий Пастир доповненням. Він був настільки удосконалений, що дяки могли ним користуватися впродовж року, а також і деякі священики заміняли ним Служебника. В 1952 р. з благословення митр. Іларіона появилося четверте доповнене видання. На рішення Собору Єпископів УГПЦ в 1959 р. молитовник *Добрий Пастир* мав переглянути митр. Іларіон і узгіднити його з упровадженими в УГПЦ богослужбовими книжками[8], але затяжна хвороба й смерть стали на перешкоді. Після того молитовник *Добрий Пастир* був кількаразово перевиданий.

Над виданнями інших богослужбових книжок в перший організаційний період не було можливости. В тридцятих роках була затяжна боротьба за впливи в церкві між мирянами (Братством) і духовенством (Консисторія). На початку тридцятих років Консисторія рішила видати Напрестольну Євангелію в українській мові[9] і навіть було у *Віснику* з роблено заклик[10] але до виконання, цього задуму не дійшло. На Конференції духовенства в 1932 р. було прийнято рішення справу видання Напрестольної Євангелії припинити не зважаючи, що деякі громади вже два роки чекали на українське Напрестольне Євангеліє, але були труднощі реалізації його видання. Трудність була фінансова, а також який переклад взяти. Застановлялись над перекладом єпископа Парфенія (Левицького)[11].

На цій конференції також було прийняте рішення вживати *Требник* видання Американської Української Православної Церкви з тим, що "треба лише вплинути на єпископа, щоб була одностайність в переводі".[12] Цей *Требник* був виданий з благословення архиєп. Івана Теодоровича в 1933 році.

Треба звернути увагу, що в цьому періоді служилися богослуження в Українській Православної Церкві і по старословьянському, а тому вживалися богослужбові книжки російського й уніятського видання. Двоє перших видань *Доброго Пастиря* були двомовними. У рішеннях Конференції духовенства наголошено було, щоб в українській мові в молитовнику було вміщено першим перед старослов'янським. Це свідчить про прив'язаність людей до старої "церковної мови". Поширювалися між священиками рукописні скорочення різних чинів і ця практика дійшла аж дотепер.

Напристольна Євангелія в українській мову була видана в 1948 з благословення архиєп. Мстислава й його заходами. Це є передрук з Варшавського видання. Це Напристольна Євангелія перевиданалася багато разів.

Стабилізація богослужбового церковного життя в Українській Православній Церкві в Канаді наступає в періоді, коли вона стала Митрополією в 1951 р. Ставше Митрополитом її, вл. Іларіон в 1954 р. звернувся до українського православного Єпископату в справі впорядкування перекладів богослужбових книжок на українську мову.[13] Одначе, з того нічого не вийшло поза декларацією наради двох Митрополій Канадської й Американської.

Тоді митр. Іларіон сам взявся за впорядкування богослужбового й церковного життя в канадській Миторполії. Він видав ряд послань до духовенства в яких подав вказівки духовенству в справі богослужбового порядку.[14] Для вирішення окримих питань церковно-богослужбової практики скликалися Собори Єпископів під головуванням митр. Іларіона і багато було прийнято рішень в справі богослужбових текстів і практики.[15] В ділянці устійнення одностайности служба Св. Літургії митр. Іларіон в 1952 р. видав книжку *Як правити Св. Літургію*, а в 1954

р. видав вказівки під назвою *Архиєрейська Літургія і Архиєрейська візитація.* Для пояснення різних випадків при службі Св. Літурнії, митр. Іларіон переклав повчальне слово під заголовком *Наука про Св. Літургію ухвалена Всеукраїнським Церковним Собором в 1629 і 1640 роках.* В 1972 р. був виданий *Служебник.* Важливим вкладом митр. Іларіон був переклад *Требника* в двох частинах на основі *Требника Петра Могила.* Перша частина появилася в 1954 р., а друга в 1960 р. Також перевидано в 1955 р. з Холмського видання. *Великопісні Служения*, а це пасії. З благословення митр. Іларіона перевидано з Варшавського видання *Октоїх* та *Служби Страсного* тижня й Великодня з київського видання. Заходами студентів богослов'я Колеґії Св. Андрея перевидано міміографним способом з европейського видання Часослов, Постову й Цвітну тріодь.

Вступаючи в 90-ті роки Українська Православна Церква в Канаді була забезпечена необхідними богослужбовими книжками. Коли відродилася УАПЦерква в Україні в 1989 р. то канадська Митрополія могла допомогти її богослужбовими книжками.

Для кожної Православної Церкви важливою справою є видання богослужбових книжок в мові, що вживається в час богослужень. З організацією українських православних громад в Канаді виникла потреба мати українських священиків, а рівночасно була потреба українських богослужбових книжок. Придбання богослужбовах книжок поділяється на періоди рівнобіжно з періодами розбудови Української Греко-Православної Церкви в Канаді. В першому десятилітті існування Церкви, священики переписували рукоючи друкарською машинкою бослужбові тексти в перекладі, які могли здобути. Великою допомогою були переклади проф. Івана Огієнка та уніяцькі молитовники, що друкувалися в початку 20 ст. В другому і третьому десятиліттях в Українській Православній Церкві в

Канаді вживалися богослужбові книжки видані проф. Іваном Огієнком з благословення Варшавського Митрополита Діонисія (Валєдинського) та видані в Києві ВПЦРадою. Рівночасно в цьому періоді видавалися окремі богослужбово-церковні книжки в Канаді й Америці, які входиці в ужиток в парафіях в Канаді й Америці.

Після Другої Свтіової Війни наступає новий період. До Канади прибула чисельна нова еміграція в складі мирян, священиків і єпископів. Виникли нові потрби богослужбової практики, головно в великих містах східньої Канади. Священики й єпископи привезли нову богослужбову практику та свої богослужбові книжки, що вживалися в Європі. З оснуванням Української Православної Митрополії в Канаді в 1951 р. наступає уніфікація богослужбової практики. Завдяки невтомній видавничій праці митр. Іларіона у співпраці архиєп. Михаїла (Хороша) появилися нові богослужбові книжки, що привели до одностайности церковних служб. З хворобою й смертю митр. Іларіона видання богослужбових книжок в Канаді припинилося.

Розбудова українського церковного життя в Канаді ставить перед Проводом Церкви нові задання. Є потреба усучаснити й устійнити переклад богослужбових книжок та видання нових, що є необхідними в церковному житті.

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1 Савчук, о. С. В. "Як постала Українська Православна Церква в Канаді." *Православний Вістник* ч. 8, 1925 р. ст. 5.

2 Савчук, о. С. В. те саме, *Православний Вістник* ч. 9, 1925 р. ст. 5.

3 Оголошення в *Православний Вістник* ч. 9, 1924 р. стор. 16.

4 "Протокол Наради Консисторії і відділу Братства і священиків Укр. Прав. Церкви в Канаді з 21-22 травня 1924 р. Йорктон" Архів Консисторії УПЦеркви в Канаді. Кн. І, стор. 76.

5 "Протокол Конференції духовенства" 2-3 вересня 1925 р. Йорктон. Архів Консисторії УПЦеркви в Канаді. Кн.І. стор 114.

6 "Протокол засідання Консисторії" 14 серпня 1931 р. Архів Консисторії УПЦеркви в Канаді кн. 1. стор. 187.

7 "Протокол з Конференції духовенства Укр. Прав. Церкви", Саскатун 27-9 червна 1933. Архів Консисторії УПЦеркви в Канаді кн. І. стор. 221-2.

8 "Діяння Першого Собору Єпископів УГПЦ в Канаді 6-го липня 1959 р."

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11 "Протокол Конференції духовненства УГПЦ 23 серпня 1932 р. в Саскатуні" Архів Консисторії УПЦеркви в Канадіа кн. І. стор. 222.

12 Там же.

13 Митр. Іларіон, лист з 22 березня 1954 р. "До всіх архиєреїв Української Православної Церкви" Архів Автора.

14 Митр. Іларіон - "До Всечесного духовенства Української Греко-Православної Церкви в Канаді, *Рідна Нива* календар на 1985 р. стор. 102-127.

15 "З постанов Собору Єпископів УГПЦ" *Рідна Нива* календар на 1985 р. стор. 127-136.

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Дмитро Бартошук народився 1910 р. у селі Березовичі, повіт Володимирський на Волині, один з сімох дітей у родині господарів Івана Бартошука та Палагії з дому Дідун. З дитинства все рисував та багато наслухався про Почаївську Лавру. В школі брав перше місце в мистецтві. Будучи підростком він вступив у Лавру і почав вивчати іконописання у Почаївській мистецькій школі, яка в той час була під управою проф. Якімчука. Студенти рисували з пригоди з ручних малюнків. Найкраще було рисувати сліпців що сиділи перед церквою бо вони довго на одому місці сиділи. Коли славний маляр, Вольський розмальовував Собор у Рівному, Бартошук та три інші студенти були зангажовані до помочі, головно для розмалювання орнаменту. Закінчивши Почаївську школу, Бартошук вступив до війська. Коли Друга Світова Війна розпочалася, він закінчив учительський курс і почав вчити в своєму рідному селі. Рівночасно він писав ікони для різних церков або відновлював інтерєри церков. Так він працював у церквах у селах Дубно, Герсичі, Бобичі та інших. В цей час він одружився з Емілією з дому Сьощенковські. Його іконографічна діяльність далі збільшалася особливо коли почав писати ікони для приватних осіб. Під час війни, Бартошуки опинилися в Німеччині де мусіли працювати на фармі, а по війні перебували у таборі для скитальців.

Маючи знайомих з сусідного села, які вже жили в Беніто, Манітоба, Бартошук листовно попросив їх спровадити його і родину до Канади. Вони погодилися і у 1950 р. Бартошук прибув до Беніто. Там він написав ікони

для церков у Кобзар та Мейбридж у Саскачевані. Того самого року він перебрався з родиною до Вінніпегу і почав працювати як маляр хатів. В 1951 він розмалював свою першу церкву в Вінніпезі. Це була російська православна церква на вул. Манітоба. Починаючи в 1950-их роках, Бартошук писав ікони для іконостасів, хоругвів та плащаниць на замовлення складу церковних речей при Консисторії нашої Церкви, для Якова Майданика котрий був власником складу церковних речей, та теж для Gaspard Church Goods Supply. Приклади його іконописання знаходяться у наших церквах у Вернон, Б.К. і Норт Беттлфорд, Саск.. Він теж виконував безпосередні замовлення для церковних громад і приватних осіб. Все ж таки не було можливо родині вижити з його іконографічної праці, отже він пристав до праці в залізниці "Сі-Ен-Ар". При кінці 1950-их та спочатку 1960-их років, Бартошук написав ікони для церков у Арран, Саск., Санді Лейк, Ман., Транскона, Ман., та для нового іконостасу в нашій церкві в Давфин, Ман. Ікони в церкві на оселі "Веселка" теж є його роботи.

В 1964 році, коли Святослав Гординський розмальовував Собор Св. Покрови та Українську Католицьку Катедру Свв. Володимира і Ольги у Вінніпезі, Бартошук мав нагоду побачити його при праці та приготовити рисунки ікон для нього. Це мало значний вплив на стиль іконописання Бартошука.

В 1980-их роках Бартошук виконав такі важні проєти як наприклад, великі ікони для Катедри Пресвятої Тройці та Церкви Всіх Святих у Саскатуні, серію ікон на запристольну стіну у нашій церкві в Ріджайні, та ікони для іконастасів у наших церквах у Сван Ривер, Ман. та Портедж-ля-Прері, Ман. Його остання праця була ікона "Цар Слави", яка знаходиться у каплиці Колегії Св. Андрея, яку він закінчив у 1990 р.. Відбулися дві вистави його праць.: 1) з Вірою

Лазарович Сеньчук у Соборі Св. Покрови у Вінніпезі в 1988 р., та 2) в іншими іконписцями у Осередку Української Культури й Освіти теж у Вінніпезі в 1983-84 р.

В продовж іконографічної діяльности Бартошука, його дружина, Емілія доглядала господарство, і піддержувала йога на дусі.

Бартошук лишає по собі поперше велику спрадщину ікон. Але тому що він був скромною людиною, багато людей знайомих і приятелів не знали яку працю він справді виконував. Знали що малює але не знали на яку скалю чи на якому рівні. Працюючи над проєктом, він себе віддавав всецільно. Подруге, можна сказати що важливість Бартошука для церкви в Канаді полягає в тому, що він був вишколений в іконописанні і приніс своє знання до своєї праці. Він був перший такий іконописець в нашій церкві в Канаді. По третє щоб продовжувалась наша традиція, Бартошук передав своє знання молодшому поколінню. Я була одна із тих щасливих що використала його знання.

Дмитро Бартошук як учитель

Давніше, виринуло поволі в мене бажання стати іконографом, але я довший час не мала можливости навчитися іконографії. Ця нагода трапилася коли я переїхала до Вінніпегу та коли д-р Роман Єринюк познайомив мене з Дмитром Бартошуком у 1981 році. Я його попросила взяти мене як свого учня іконографії. Він зажадав від мене шкіців яких небудь моїх праць, та я їх йому доставила. Переглянувши їх, він рішив мене прийняти як учня і запевнив мене що навчить мене все що знає. Головна засада його навчання була "все треба побачити". Отже, коли він працював над своїми іконами, він вимагав щоб я постійно приглядалася. А він, працюючи цілий час, розяснював що, як і чому він робить це чи те, і звертав мою увагу на цю чи ту зручну або небохідну техніку та взагалі

показував мені з технічного боку як писати ікони. Коли він відпочивав від праці, ми розмовляли про нашу іконографічну традицію, або він розказував про своє вишколення в іконописній школі Почаївської Лаври та пізнішу працю як іконограф в Україні, або він говорив про техніку і характер інших іконографів яких він знав, з якими працював та які мали вплив на нього. Дуже часто ми теж розмовляли наприклад, про різні старинні технічні методи.

Я приносила до нього свої перші ікони на критику, яка від нього була завжди лагідна, справедлива і поучаюча. Згодом, він попросив мене приготовити рисунки для великих ікон які знаходяться у нашій катедрі в Саскатуні, а ще пізніше взяв мене до помочі у виконанню великого проєкту запристольної стіни у нашій церкві в Ріджайні. В моєму власному іконописанні я завжди могла звертатися до Бартошука на здорову пораду, влучну критику та всяку іншу допомогу.

Дмитро Бартошук мав найзначніший вплив на мене духовно. Спочатку, хоч я мала сильне надхнення до іконописання, але, водночас не мала самопевости потрібної щоб взятися за це святе діло. Але науковий підхід Бартошука, та його наставлення до мене були такі симпатичні та підбадьорюючі, що вони зродили у мене ту самопевність якої мені так бракувало. Без цього не знаю чи сьогодні я б писала ікони. Тому хочу висловити моєму вчителеві, Дмитрові Бартошукові, мою глибоку вдячність за все, що він мені передав і за всю його допомогу.

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Religious Expression in Illya Kyriyak's *Sons of the Soil*

Dr. Alexandra Pawlowsky

Illya Kyriyak's epic trilogy *Syny zemli: Povist' z ukrains'koho zhyttya v Kanadi* (Sons of the Soil), published in Edmonton (1939-45), provides a broad description of three generations of Ukrainians in Canada. The best and most vivid description is of the first generation of Ukrainian immigrants. This is the pioneering generation, composed primarily of peasant farmers, and one of its strongest characteristics is a deep and abiding faith in God. Here I will trace Kyriyak's account of the religious expression of these people. At first, the pioneers must do without benefit of Church or clergy, yet they do not forsake their religious beliefs. In fact, the opposite is true, for they are extremely religious. For example, their deeply rooted piety is reflected in Tetiana Vakar's simple, but sincere nightly prayer ritual:

> Having eaten supper, she knelt down, kissed the ground, prostrated herself before God, and sincerely, sincerely prayed, asking God's favour for her children and for her husband, so that they might be healthy. And after her prayer she quietly covered her children, ... made the sign of the cross over them and kissed them in a motherly fashion on their foreheads, blessing them for the night. She also crossed herself saying, - "A cross at my head, a cross at my feet, I lay down on the cross and I cover myself with the cross; help us, God, to spend this night without sickness and to be alive tomorrow and to spend the day in happiness and tranquility. (I:139)

The immigrants are also constantly in awe of God and are wary of committing any transgressions against Him, for fear of inciting His wrath. Some, for example, believe that the deadly influenza epidemic that broke out after World War I is God's punishment for the many people who have strayed from the traditional Church. Even those people who do not agree with this are

certain that it is punishment for some sort of grave sin. A common fear is that any and all such catastrophic events signal that the Day of Atonement is at hand.

The women, without the aid of a calendar, know when all of the holy days fall, and members of the community faithfully observe those days as fittingly as possible. Among these observances are the feast days of St. Demetrius and St. Andrew, Christmas, and Easter. Kyriyak described Christmas and Easter in extensive detail. The Christmas celebration that he describes is the first the pioneers spend in Canada and it combines both folk and religious traditions. The pioneers believe it is the holiest of all holy days, when all Christians, even the sick and unfortunate, rejoice and gain the strength to persevere in the year ahead. on this one night each year, God is said to grant livestock the power of speech as repayment for having kept the baby Jesus warm in the stable where He was born. The livestock discuss how well their master has taken care of them in the past year, so that God may hear and grant healthy animals to those masters who deserve them.

The Christmas eve meal begins with the head of the household crossing himself and reciting the text of the Fiftieth Psalm from memory and then carrying the prayer throughout the house and stable. His wife and children kneel in prayer while they wait in the house. Places are set at the table for the spirits of deceased family members, so they can partake in the meal on this special evening. In the spirit of Christian charity, packages of food are also distributed to all of the other families in the community.

A particularly important part of the Christmas eve ritual is the singing of Christmas carols. After the meal, the entire family sings carols together. Later that night, the youth of the fledgling community visit each home singing carols and bearing good wishes. The carols have an almost mystical effect on their audience:

> One gets a queer feeling in one's soul and one's heart when carolers carol under one's window late at night. There you are

> lying in your warm bed, in a dark house and listening, at first half asleep and later consciously, as the holy tones caress you, rock you, and carry you together with their words to Bethlehem, to the place where the Three Kings were led by the bright star. And you see how the three Eastern Kings carrying gold, frankincense, and myrrh kneel down before the Child and present their precious gifts to Him. Then you see the malicious Herod, who instructs his soldiers to search for Jesus and they murder innocent children. And in your mind you fly to Egypt together with Joseph, who is leading a donkey carrying the Virgin Mary and her small child. This happened a long time ago, this was long ago, but it seems to you that this Divine Drama is taking place somewhere in the Holy Land right now, at this moment, as the song pours forth and pierces the window. You can feel it and you bow your head before the eternal God, so that He may grant you a happy life and upon death you might reign with him in heaven. (I:286-87)

The Easter service Kyriyak describes takes place some years later, after a Church has been established and a Ukrainian priest visits regularly. It begins late Saturday evening, when young men build a large fire in the churchyard and sit by it all night. Their vigil symbolizes the Roman soldiers who stood watch over Christ's tomb so that His body would not be stolen by His disciples. The faithful begin to gather at the church shortly after midnight. At the door to the church they fall to their knees and thus make their way to Christ's tomb, where they kiss His wounds. Then they stand and silently pray while the voices of the deacons, reading the Acts of the Apostles, resound throughout the church. Before sunrise everyone leaves the church and its doors are sealed. Symbolically, the church ceases to exist until Christ's resurrection, when He establishes the church and opens its doors. The faithful, led by the priest and deacons, proceed in a processional three times around the church, while the sexton beats on a dry board with a mallet to underline the funereal sadness. Then the priest opens the church door with his cross and the church bells ring triumphantly to signal Christ's resurrection. After the liturgy, the priest is led out of the church in a procession that is

headed by a cross bearer flanked on both sides by candle bearers and followed by banner carriers. Each family stands by its own Easter basket in the churchyard awaiting the blessing.

In the book, the first death occurs when little Semenko Vakar dies several months after the community is established. His death catches everyone off guard, since they have neither a church nor access to a priest. They make him a casket out of an old feed bin and perform a makeshift funeral service that consists only of several prayers and singing of the funeral song *Vichnaia pam'iat'*.

By the time Ol'ha Poshtar dies several years later, the community is well established and has its own church, although there is still no priest. Soloviy, the local carpenter, makes the coffin and engraves crosses at the head, foot, and on the lid. He also makes a large birch cross as a grave marker and a small cross for Ol'ha to hold in her hands. The body is kept in the house with a lighted wax candle at her head. A vigil is kept beside the body until the actual funeral, which takes place on the third day following her death. While her coffin is being carried out of the house it is banged three times into the threshold and the deacon asks for and receives forgiveness from the mourners for any transgressions Ol'ha may have made against them. The casket is then placed on a wagon and driven to the church, while the mourners follow on foot. In the church, the casket is opened and the mourners pay their last respects. Then the casket is nailed shut and carried to the cemetery for burial, when *Vichnaia pam'iat'* is sung. Afterwards, the mourners gather for the funeral luncheon. Before lunch is served, however, Ol'ha's mother and mother-in-law distribute braided breads, apples, and candles, the deacon reads the church service for the dead *(parastas),* and everyone prays for the soul of the departed. In the middle of the luncheon and at its conclusion everyone present once again prays for the repose of her soul.

The immigrant community must get by without the services

of a priest most of the time, but a clergyman of some sort is necessary for marriages. In the early years, the bride and bridegroom would go to any available minister, no matter the faith, to marry them. Yelysaveta Vorkun's marriage to the non-Ukrainian, Bill Pickle, is the first one actually conducted by a Ukrainian clergyman, the abbot of a monastery which has been established in the vicinity of their community. Kyriyak does not provide details of the actual wedding ceremony, but he describes the wedding celebration that takes place in the bride's home in great detail. While it involves many folk rituals, the one with the most religious significance is the blessing that Yelysaveta receives prior to setting out for the marriage ceremony. Yelysaveta kneels in front of her parents and Pleshka, the local musician who is also noted for his golden tongue, requests the blessing:

> This child has bowed before God, before Jesus Christ and before the Mother of God, before her father and her mother, before her brothers and before her sisters, before her uncles and aunts, before her distant and close family members, before neighbours, and before the entire Christian world, and asks for forgiveness and blessings, once, twice, three times, as she faces the long journey to God's home. (II:247)

Members of the community often discuss the need for a priest, but the issue is a thorny one. All agree that the community is too poor to support a priest. If one were available to them he would have to be married and willing to take a homestead to support himself. Yet there is considerable doubt about whether a Galician priest would be willing to do that. The immigrants are fairly certain that sooner or later they will somehow acquire a priest, but there is a considerable amount of anticlericalism in the community. Toma Vakar's statement on the matter makes this clear: "Do not be afraid priests and Jews will crawl in here when they hear that there is someone here whose skin they can tear off,... They will bind us here just like they bound us in the old country, and held hands with the privileged class [*pany*].(I:211)

Although some of those present try to dismiss his remarks as

foolishness, tacit agreement with his sentiments is evident in Hryhorii Vorkun's response to Vakar: "That is the way it is, a priest is a priest,... He is just the same as all of us, and will answer to God for his deeds." (I:212)

Such anticlerical sentiments aside, arrival of the first priest in the community is a momentous event. The priest, Father Dymytrii, has been sent to western Canada from the northeastern United States by the Archbishop in Ukraine, to visit various Ukrainian prairie communities. (It is worth noting that this fictitious character bears a remarkable resemblance to the real Father Nestor Dmytriv, who made just such a journey in 1897.) Members of the community rejoice at his arrival, starved as they are for a priest's services:

> ... has a bishop or even a metropolitan ever received such a welcome anywhere as Father Dymytrii did by the parishioners of St. Dymytrii's Church, that only God knows. The news that he arrived with Poshtar Thursday night, was carried like a lightning bolt all around, and on Friday afternoon Poshtar's house was almost exploding from the number of people there. (II:1 1)

Almost all members of the community gather for Father Dymytrii's celebration of the Divine Liturgy. For the few days he spends there, he is also kept busy hearing confessions, baptizing children, and consecrating the local cemetery. Father Dymytrii is astute enough to realize that if communities are not serviced by Ukrainian Catholic priests, they will inevitably either fall prey to the influence of foreign religious groups or abandon religion altogether. Disheartened by the state of affairs he witnesses among them, he labels the Ukrainian immigrants "political and religious orphans." (II:13)

In this community, Father Dymytrii's worst fears are soon realized. other religions begin to make their influence felt soon after his departure. Among the first to make inroads are the Russian Orthodox and Seraphimite Churches, particularly the former. The community, in fact, first divides into two main religious groups, Ukrainian Greek Catholic and Russian Orthodox.

The religious splintering of the community eventually divides the elder members into several opposing camps. It is interesting to note, however, that the youths are seemingly heedless of these differences. They continue to meet, mingle, and intermarry.

The Russian Orthodox Church appeals to some in the community because the priests are completely funded by Moscow and thus do not require financial support from their parishioners, unlike Catholic priests. At the same time, the Protestant Church is also conducting missionary work in the area. It gains ground among some who are disenchanted with the squabbles between Catholics and Orthodox in their community, and among others who are most opposed to the practices of the Catholic Church and clergy in the old Country. The latter also suspect that the Russian Orthodox priests are emissaries of the tsar, just waiting to slip a yoke on them. Nonetheless, some join this faith out of fear that the proposed registration of the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church with the local Roman Catholic chancellery will lead to their being serviced by non-Ukrainian priests, which had happened in Ukrainian communities elsewhere.

Despite these divisions, it is their abiding faith in God that sustains, comforts, and guides the Ukrainian immigrants in their everyday life. It is the primary force helping them to establish a thriving community. Their piety is simple and unquestioning. In their minds, God is an awe-inspiring figure who rewards good deeds and punishes evil ones. The immigrants take every opportunity to celebrate all holy days fittingly, and they ceremoniously conduct weddings and funerals. These occasions, however, are usually a mixture of both religious and folk elements. What is most striking is that the immigrants are largely able to celebrate without the assistance of clergymen. It is ironic that although the first generation of Ukrainians is deeply religious, they display a significant amount of anticlericalism. In fact, anticlerical sentiment is the force that divides the community into several different religious groups. It is further ironic that although the reli-

gious issue divides the older generations, the younger ones want to have no part of that.

Kyriyak's work ends as World War II begins. By then, there are three Churches in the community: Ruthenian, Russian, and Ukrainian (no denomination specified). The young people of Ruthenian and Russian allegiance, who intermarry, want to have no part in the squabbles of the older generations. They either join the Ukrainian Church or fall away from the established Churches altogether, saying they prefer to be "Canadians." These young people represent the third generation of Ukrainian Canadians. The high ratio of alienation from the Church indicates that by this time assimilation is taking its toll on the Ukrainians and the age-old depth of religious expression is being systematically eroded.

Kyriyak's depiction of the religious expression of the Ukrainian pioneer generation in Canada can be said to be accurate. He was obviously well acquainted with both the deep sense of religiosity these people possessed and the ways they found to express this religiosity, especially under often adverse circumstances. That he knew of Father Nestor Dmytriv's real-life sojourn through the Ukrainian colonies of Western Canada during the early years of this century and included an only slightly fictionalized Father Dmytrii visiting the colony to see to the spiritual needs of its inhabitants attests to Kyriyak's knowledge of the religious life of that era.

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Bishop Seraphim: Encounter with the Sacred in Manitoba

Nick Mitchell

In 1903, in Manitoba, the arrival of Bishop Seraphim set the stage for what can be considered a spiritual birth. I will indicate the mythological motifs surrounding spiritual birth and draw some comparisons to what happened in Manitoba. This would support the contention that what Bishop Seraphim initiated was just such a legitimate event, rather than a social novelty or some kind of moral aberration, as most people still feel. Here I will draw on my play, *Tin Can Cathedral*, and the research which has surrounded it.[1]

> For those unfamiliar with the story of Bishop Seraphim, here is a summary: Aware of the pioneers' strong desire for spiritual leadership, Genik, Bodrug, and Negrych (the intellectual leaders of the community at the time) took advantage of a situation that presented itself early in 1903, when Stefan Ustvolsky, a renegade monk from Mount Athos, arrived in Winnipeg calling himself "Seraphym, Bishop and Metropolitan of the orthodox Russian Church for the whole of America." ... Ustvolsky was convincing in his role, for he knew the rituals from memory, had a melodious voice, and conducted himself with all the confidence of a genuine bishop. When he started ordaining priests of questionable competence, however, and revealed himself to be an "obstinate Russian," sympathetic to the Tsar, Genik had an idea: he would use Seraphym to create a new church based on Radical principles, after which his services could be disposed of. on the advice of their colleague, Bodrug and Negrych abandoned their teaching careers and had themselves made priests by Seraphym, even though both admitted to him that they were "Protestants by conviction." In similar fashion the bogus prelate indiscriminately consecrated some fifty other new priests. While many of them were cantors who at least knew

> the services, more than a few were illiterate or of dubious character. Before long the "All-Russian Orthodox Church" was ministering to an estimated 55,000 communicants, having rapidly filled the religious vacuum that existed in the early years of the century.[2]

Spiritual birth is only possible in the wasteland or the desert. This is a timeless motif in mythology. That the spirit and the desert are conducive to each other is found in the Judeo-Christian ethos most dramatically in the Bible, where God appears to the Israelites in the desert as a pillar of cloud during the day to guide them, and as a pillar of fire at night to give them light. Another example, closer to us, but less obvious, is Jesus born in the manger among the animals because there is no room for him at the inn. our highest spiritual values always first appear among our refuse. External impoverishment seems necessary to provoke spiritual experience. It is as if when there is no more room for distraction without, people finally turn to what is within.

How was Canada, in 1903, a wasteland for Ukrainian immigrants? one place to look for clues is in the attempts which were made to assimilate Ukrainians. The Roman Catholic Church, with Archbishop Langevin as its representative, was eagerly vying for their souls. Langevin thought that if he could convince the Ukrainians that they were Poles and Roman Catholic, he could build a Roman Catholic Empire in Western Canada. His forthrightness and hunger for power can be contrasted with Seraphim's dissoluteness and selflessness. Langevin was clean cut. Seraphim was a drunk. Langevin had money and churches. Seraphim lived by begging and chicanery, and had the Tin Can Cathedral in Winnipeg's North End. Langevin was rooted in legitimate religion. Seraphim appeared to be rootless; no one really knew who he was or what he believed. He was more of a pagan magician than a priest. Yet, who is the man in the wasteland? Is it Langevin who is in a spiritual wasteland, though to all external appearances it should be Seraphim?

Another group, the Presbyterians, tried to assimilate the

Ukrainians. The few Ukrainian intellectuals—Cyril Genik, Ivan Bodrug, and Ivan Negrich, the Berezirska Tritsya—who had influence in the community, gravitated, as intellectuals do, to the written word. For most of the peasant immigrants, who could neither read nor write, this was meaningless. Most immigrants were concerned with clearing the land and surviving. To them, the territory of the written word was exactly where a desert existed.

Then there were the Russian Orthodox missionaries. The religion they offered to the Ukrainians was the closest to what was familiar to them, certainly closer than what Langevin and the Roman Catholics could offer. It was an Eastern rite that offered everything except the actual admission that Ukrainians and Russians were different. The added irony to all of this was that Seraphim turned out to be really a Russian, an outsider.

Erich Neumann says, "...madness, as well as vision and inspiration, are spiritual phenomena transcending consciousness."[3] Certainly, in Bishop Seraphim madness as well as vision and inspiration are inseparable. He meets the criteria of the spiritual, above and beyond what the legitimate Churches which existed in Canada at that time offered. The Roman Catholic Church had systematically rid itself of this "madness" through its dogma which provided protection from the unknown for the individual. The Russian orthodox Church, active at that time in Canada, provided this same protection for the individual through its proximity to pagan ritual. The Presbyterian Church suffered in still a different way:

> Protestantism, having pulled down so many walls carefully erected by the Church, immediately began to experience the disintegrating and schismatic effect of individual revelation. As soon as the dogmatic fence was broken down and the ritual lost its authority, man had to face his inner experience without the protection and guidance of dogma and ritual, which are the very quintessence of Christian as well as of pagan religious experience.... The Catholic who has turned his back on the

> Church usually develops a secret or manifest leaning towards atheism, whereas the Protestant follows, if possible, a sectarian movement.[4]

Genik, a fallen Catholic, and his cohorts were socialists and atheists. It was through this door, then, that they naively invited Seraphim to Winnipeg, and into their lives. For Genik, Bodrug, and Negrich, there was the appearance of a Garden of Eden atmosphere before Seraphim's appearance. There Genik and his friends could experiment and play idealistic games. Honcharenko's failed experimental farm in California was one example of this kind of behaviour.[5] The reading societies and newspapers Genik and his friends established were positive aspects of this. It was in this spirit that they invited Seraphim, thinking they could manipulate him and use him to help free them from the various religious factions pulling at them. The object was to establish themselves as Ukrainians in their own right. Free them he did, but not as they could have envisioned. The experience of Seraphim rooted them in the earth once and for all.

At this point it becomes evident that Seraphim was a different experience for different people in the Ukrainian community. I have tried to capture this in my play. With the removal of dogma and ritual, which are the very things that stand between the individual and immediate experience, the immediate experience becomes possible. Jung has defined the difference between the immediate and the removed: "There is a religious sentimentality instead of the numinosum of divine experience. This is the well-known characteristic of a religion that has lost its living mystery. It is readily understandable that such a religion is incapable of giving help or of having any other moral effect."[6] Only those immigrants who were drawn through sentimentality of one sort or another succumbed to the wooing of these various religions. I would even include Genik and his cohorts in this group, gravitating as they did to the Presbyterian Church. The intellec-

tual is most vulnerable to sentimentality because the conscious effort to eliminate it increases the inevitability of falling prey to it in unconscious areas. Seraphim's arrival brought the immediate experience. It cleared away sentimentality and connected individuals with themselves. It shocked, startled, and awakened them.

The interesting thing about all of this was that it happened under the guise of an established religion. Though it is hard to tell just what Seraphim believed or preached, enough ambivalence obviously existed to allow each of the persons who gravitated to him to see what they wanted to see. So perhaps his greatest triumph was in not defining who he was or what he was about. The guise of established religion was the work of Genik, Bodrug, and Negrich. In their minds Seraphim was their creation, and behind the dirty business of setting the community free from all those foreign influences was an honest attempt to set up an independent Ukrainian Church. Ultimately that is what happened, but when they established a legitimate Church, they saw that they would have to rid themselves of Seraphim. The chaotic atmosphere that Seraphim had brought with him, and which had allowed him to establish a religious community where none had existed before, was not conducive to the long-term prospects of an established Church. Like Christ, Seraphim would be much more useful in memory than in person. Sure enough, Seraphim, faithful to the motif of the dying god, finally returned to the old Country and disappeared. Something had happened, but what was it?

In this I have tried to draw some parameters for the desert which existed for Ukrainians. Marie Louise von Franz says:

> The nomadic Arab tribes, who are still famous for their carpet weaving, say that the carpets they use in their tents represent that continuity of earth which they need to prevent them from feeling that they have no soil under their feet. Wherever they go they first spread one of those beautiful carpets with its usually sacred pattern, and over that they put the tent. It is the

> basis on which they stand, as we do on our earth. It also protects them from the evil influences of a foreign soil.[7]

Here, sacred space is being demarcated in relation to profane space. It is the drawing of the temenos so that life can take place within it. It is the circular furrow that was drawn to create the sacred space in Greece inside which a city was to be built. This is what had to take place when Seraphim arrived. Without the demarcation of sacred space, the Ukrainian community would be at the mercy of the "evil influences of a foreign soil."

To look at the detail of what this demarcation and sacralization involve, we can look at the Bible and the Israelites' relationship to the Promised Land. The parallel here can be taken quite far. Canada was the Promised Land for many Ukrainians who lived in oppressive conditions in Europe. Stories of opportunity drew many to cross the ocean in search of a better life. There are a number of interesting qualities about the Promised Land which also were true of Canada for the Ukrainians. The land of Canaan was not a gift that the Israelites could accept or decline. Those who refused it, died. In many ways, this was also true for Ukrainians. Those who came to Canada had little choice as they were faced with a grim future in Europe. Another interesting quality about the land of Canaan was that it had fortified cities. It was occupied. It was a land that had to be conquered. It was a land which was hostile to the Israelites. So though it was a gift, it was a gift that had to be earned. This was certainly true of the Ukrainian experience in Canada. It turned out to be the Promised Land for many, but the "Promise" had to be reclaimed from what already existed in the land upon their arrival. only a spiritual birth would make the land theirs in the truest sense of the word.

Spiritual birth is surrounded by miracles. Aside from the miracle of the mass, just how removed Churches are today from the true spirit can be seen by their discomfort with miracles. Miracles are something that happened in the past. The further away miracles are, the better for the Church. Seraphim literally

worked miracles. He organized a community of 50-60,000 parishioners, where several established Churches had failed to make a dent. Where no other Ukrainian priests survived on the prairies—even the famous Dimitriw[8] was forced to work for Genik part-time at the Immigration Hall to pay his way—Seraphim survived, and had fifth priests under him. True, his methods, such as selling priesthoods for $25 a head, were questionable, but his achievement is undeniable. Something happened to bring people to him and join with him.

The creation of sacred space is vital to any people entering a new land, or the conquest of territory can turn out to be no conquest at all. It is necessary to establish an identity of the people in relation to the land. Joseph Campbell says: "The idea of a sacred place where the walls and laws of the temporal world may dissolve to reveal a wonder is apparently as old as the human race. And as an instance of the way in which such a mystic point becomes known we may take the old Testament story of Jacob's dream."[9] In the dream, a ladder connected heaven and earth; angels ascended and descended on it. Jacob took the stone he had used for a pillow and marked this as a sacred place. In Jewish legend this later became the site of Solomon's Temple. Had Jacob lived in our time and told someone his dream, he would have been either placed in analysis or politely shunned by the community. That says much about the culture in which we live. This is what happened with the arrival of Seraphim in Winnipeg. He was a conundrum for some, a necessary evil in the eyes of others. What he did was demarcate sacred space from profane space for the Ukrainian community in this new land, through the spiritual birth which took place upon his arrival. That ultimately allowed the community to flourish and thrive, because the necessary Cosmic Centre where heaven and earth can communicate with each other was finally in place.

1. The play, written between 1 990 and 1993, was produced by the Prairie Theatre Exchange in Winnipeg in the fall of 1993. It is available from the Playwrights Union of Canada in Toronto. In addition to the books cited in subsequent notes, I consulted Orest Martynowych, *Ukrainians in Canada* (Edmonton: Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies, 1991) and John Bodrug, *Independent Orthodox Church* (Ukrainian Canadian Research Foundation, 1982).
2. Jars Balan, *Salt and Braided Bread* (Toronto: oxford University Press, 1984), 72.
3. Erich Neumann, *The Great Mother* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1972), 78.
4. C.G. Jung, *Psychology and Religion: West and East* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1958), 21-2.
5. See Theodore Luciw, *Father Agapius Honcharenko* (New York: Ukrainian Congress Committee of America, 1970)
6. *Ibid.*, 32.
7. Marie Louise von Franz, *Interpretation of Fairytales* (Spring Publications, 1982), 55.
8. See Martynowych, *Ukrainians in Canada.*
9. Joseph Campbell, *The Mythic Image* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1974), 184.

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Засоби Дослідження Української Православної Церкви в Канади при Консисторії у Вінніпезі

Володимир Ю. Сеньчук

Загоби дослідження Української Православної Церкви в Канаді (УПЦК) знаходяться у Церквоному Архіві, Церковній Бібліотеці та Церковному Музею, які містяться у Консисторіяльних будинкахна вулиці Ст. Джонс, чч. 9 і 3 у Вінніпезі.

Історичний нарис

Матеріяли почали напливати досить рано в історії УПЦК. Адміністрація церкви і церковного органу *Вісник* творили архівні матеріяли, а Голови Президії Консисторії, як напр. оо. Семен Савчук, Єроним Грицина і Дмитро Лучак збирали архівні матеріяли від громад та приватних осіб. Потрібні книжки купувалися для бібліотеки. Книжки, газети і журнали теж напливали від *Вісника*, та як дарунки від священиків та мирян нашої Церкви. Працівники при Консисторії, головно Михайло Ревуцький, зберігли для архіву всілякі матеріяли, особливо чисельні видання Консисторії. Старанням оо. Савчука, Лучака та інших наших отців та мирян, як теж і церковних громад, церковні та інші експонати прийшли до церковного музею. Число цих матеріялів помало збільшалося але їх перевозили з місця на місце та їх переважно зберігали в розєдигному стані по різних кімнатах і будиках. Час від часу Консисторія наймала осіб які впорядковували ці матеріяли.

Поштовх до формального організування цих установ на тривких засадах виринув із слідуючих обставини: 1) число

матеріялів уросло стільки, що його уморядкування стало необхідним; 2) о. Семен Савчук записав свій великий архів та бібліотеку на Церкву, але під умовою що церковний архів та бібліотека будуть зорганізовані й постійно діючі, 3) тисячоліття Української Православної Церкви. В 1987 р. провід Церкви наняв мене як постійноге працівника відповідального за організування та провадження Церковного Архіву - Бібліотеки-Музею. Водночас дано приміщення (підсучасну пору, 4 кімнати у будинку Консисторії та 1 поверх хати) і гроші на потрібне приладдя, та нанято, коли потрібно, додаткових працівників. Сьогодні Церковний Архів - Бібліотека - Музей постійно діють і праця над організуванням матеріялів у них поступає вперед.

Церковний Архів

Мандат Церквоного Архіву, загально, є набувати та зберігати архівні матеріяли церковної адміністрації, наших церковних громад, нашого духовенства й мирян, та організацій повязаних із Цервою. Теж приймаються інші архіви, як є на це поважні причини.

До важніших **архівів Церковної адміністрації** належать: документація Консисторії (повна Консисторія, Президія і Канцелярія) особливо серія про парафії та священиків; архіви різних відділів - місійного, фінансового, та інші; документи різних постійних комісій, напр. Архитектурно-Іконографічної Комісії; та матеріяли різних тимчасових комітетів, напр. Головного Ювілейного Комітету Тисячоліття. Теж маємо чисельну документацію щодо органу Церкви, *Вісника* та Складу церковних речей.

Відносно **архівів наших громадів**, з винятком Громади Св. Михаїла (Вінніпег), маємо дуже мало такої документації.

Серед **архівів Владик** є великі і значні фонди. Митрополитів Іларіона (Огієнка) та Андрея (Метюка),

передані Колеґією Св. Андрея. Є теж малі колекції, напр., Архиєпископа Сильвестра (Гаєвського) (частинно передана Осередком Української Культури й Освіти) та інші.

Найважніші **колекції священників УПЦК** є такі: оо. Франка Керніцького, Василя Кудрика (передана Колеґією) та Івана Гикавого. Маємо менші колекції таких отців: Єронима Грицини, Василя Сенишина, Петра Стефюка та Іллі Шевця. Є теж мале число документів інших отців - документи о. Семена Савчука ще нам не передано офіційно.

Маємо мале число **фондів церковних товариств**: Канадського Запомогового Товариства (Вінніпеґ), Українського Греко-Православного Братства, та інших.

Є у нас ще менше **документації світських спільнот**. Найбільша, можливо, належить до Товариства Охорони Українських Пам'яток на Чужині (Реґенсбурґ), передана Колеґією.

У Церковному архіві зберігаються **особисті папери** таких **наших мирян** як напр: Марії і Григорія Бабяків (Вінніпеґ), Михайла Гикавого (Вінніпеґ), Івана Карасевича (Вінніпеґ), судді Івана Соломона, Івана Рубашевського (Саскачеван), Василя Сорохана (Алберта), та Михайла Стечишина (Йорктон) (передано Колеґією). Недавно ми одержали поважну колекцію української церковної й світської музики у фонді Федіра Рекрута.

Тут знаходяться теж **фонди різних інших осіб** як напр. Онуфрія Гикавого та Петра Петренка (передано Колеґією).

Церковна Бібліотека

Церковна Бібліотека існує головно для вжитку працівників Консисторії, але наше духовенство і миряни, як також і загальна публіка мають доступ. Бібліотека нараховує приблизно 9000 томів різного розміру та має велику збірку різних газет, журналів та іншої періодики, головно в українській мові. Тут знаходяться книжки про

українські та інші православні церкви, та різні галузі православної богословії, історії, тощо. Є також книжки про інші деномінації Християнства, як також і про загально українські теми - українська історія, мова, література, тощо.

Книжки приходять від *Вісника*, та через закупи, але головно як дари від наших громад та від духовенства чи поодиноких мирян. Більші дари книжок та періодики ми одержали від о. Семена Савчука, Митрополита Андрея (Метюка), о.о. Франка Керніцького, Івана Гикавого, та Іллі Шевця, та від пастора Івана Ковалевича (протестанська тематика), Дмитра Олійника і д-ра Юрія Мулика-Луцика. Менші дари прийшли, наприклад від о. Евстахія Уляна й Михайла Тарнавецького, та від різних мирян, як напр. Франка Ґали (Кенора), Антона Молитвинника (Вінніпеґ), Михайла Ревуцького (Вінніпеґ) та Йосифа Савчука (Монтреал). Плянуємо зібрати всі видання нашої церковної адміністрації, та наших громад.

Також збираємо рідкісні книжки, і розпочали склад "історичних книжок", цебто українських книжок з церковною та світською тематикою, які видавалисяв давно часи але тепер не є в друку. Початок цьому складі дали збірка видань Української Книгарні (Вінніпеґ) та інші книжки.

Церковний Музей

Наш Церковний Музей зберігає посвячені церковні речі та інші експонати подаровані Церковними громадами та мирянами. До посвячених речей належать напристольні речі як антимінци кивоти, покривці різні, чаші, свічники, євангелії, тощо, а теж павуки, ризи, декоративні полотничи, хоругви, ікони та церковні образи. Більші дари таких експонатів прийшли від Собру Св. Покрови (Вінніпеґ); Церкви Св. Михаїла (Вінніпеґ); Церкви Пресвятої Тройці

(Леннард, Манітоба); Церкви Успіння Пресв. Богородиці (Россбурн-Ґлен Елмо, Манітоба) та Церкви Св. Преображення (Київ), (Клер, Саскачеван).
Маємо теж особисті речі різних осіб, напр. Митрополитів Іларіона (Огієнко) і Андрея (Метюк). До експонатів належить, напр., булава Кубанського Уряду, подарованна проф. Василем Іванисом.

Ці експонати, головно церковні, наплинули до музею завдяки постійному зацікавленню наших отців таких як напр. Юрій Подтепа, Богдан Демчук та Олег і Олександер Кравченко. Теж важними були зусилля о. Дмитра Лучака, який бувши Головою Президії Консисторії, старався упорядкувати та розбудувати Церковний Музей.

Справа ролі Музею покищо не вирішена. Дехто думає, що не годиться Церкві мати музей і виставляти на показ посвячені речі. Але противно існує думка, що ці речі належать до тої самої категорії що мощі - цебто вони є фізична ознака діяння Духа Святого і повинні зберігатися і бути доступні нашим мирянам. Наша церква завжди мала і буде мати сховище чи склад посвячених речей, але чи ці речі будуть виставлені в музею на показ, ця справа ще остаточно не вирішена. В міжчасі, збираємо і зберігаємо ці речі і, коли потрібно, передаємо їх і потребуючим громадам, щоб вони знову вживалися.

Плани на майбутнє

Плянуємо зібрати церковний Архів, Бібліотеку і Музей в окреме приміщення, яке можливо, буде добудоване до існуючого будинку Консисторії. Наші миряни вже подарували поважні суми на цю ціль, але через економічні проблеми, справа тимчасово відложена. В міжчасі, архів, бібліотека і музей постійно діють і розвиваються. Для Церкви та Консисторії вони становлять важний пріоритет, бо потреба на інформацію постійно зростає і буде зростати у

майбутньому. Плянуємо компютеризувати постипенно цю документацію починаючи від метриків та довідників, щоб можна було скорше знайти потрібі інформації.

Тут треба підкреслити, що Церковний Архів - Бібліотека - Музей не є публичні установи. Це значить, що ніхто не мас безпосерднього доступу до них. Треба одержати, в першій мірі, дозвіл на доступ. Доступ дається кожній особі доброї волі, що має певний дослідчий проєкт, або серйозні причини на доступ. Просимо дослідників та інших людей звертатися до мене, або в моїй відсутності до Митрополичого Канцлера, Голови Президї Консисторії.

Ми маємо першорядні зв'язки з Колеґією Св. Андрея, та з Осередком Української Культури й Освіти. Вони нам передали деякі матеріяли. Хочу тепер висловити нашу вдячність за їхню щедрість і висловити бажання, щоб наша співпраця продовжувалася і зростала. Хочу теж висловити щире спасибі всім жертводавцям за дари матеріялів.

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Матеріяли бібліотеки Колегії Св. Андрея в ділянці церковно-релігійного життя українців в Україні й діаспорі

Раїса Мороз

Бібліотека Колегії Св. Андрея — одна з найбагатших бібліотек на американському континенті, якщо говорити про духовне життя українського народу. Одним з найбільших скарбів бібліотеки є колекція стародруків, більшість з яких є частиною спадщини славного українського колекціонера, видатного мовознавця і церковного діяча, митрополита Іларіона, в миру Івана Огієнка. Вона нараховує коло 100 назв, ілюструючи історію українського друкарства від найдавніших часів. Колекція включає такі рідкісні видання, як *Острозька Біблія* — перша слов'янська Біблія, надрукована на території України в Острозі 1581 року; рукописні Євангелії та інші богослужбові книжки з 16-17 століть; *Старообрядський Збірник* з 18 століття — це щоб назвати лише дещо з цих скарбів.

В бібліотеці зібрані книжки українською, англійською, російською та іншими слов'янськими мовами.

Колекцію матеріялів умовно можна поділити на такі ділянки, як: історія української церкви, канонічне право, догматика, літургіка, етика, іконографія, церковна музика тощо. Деякі з цих ділянок представлені десятками книжок і висвітлені дуже обширно, інші-бідніше. Майже нема в нас літератури українських дослідників з такої ділянки як стисле богословіє (догматика, порівняльне богословіє тощо), що, звичайно, можна зрозуміти з обставин, які існували на Україні до розвалу СРСР. Тому колекція

постійно збагачується за рахунок передплатних надходжень з таких видавництв як Свято-Володимирська Семінарія в Нью Йорку чи Семінарія Святого Хреста в Бостоні. За останні роки досить багато англомовної літератури придбано з догматики, іконографії та християнської етики. Колекція бібліотеки постійно збагачується також завдяки дарункам жертводавців.

Історія християнства представлена особливо широко. Це не лише історія православ'я на Україні й діяспорі, це також історія української католицької церкви та протестантських церков в Україні й поза її межами. Щоб іти в ногу з часом, бібліотека передплачує або намагається одержати в дарунок всі солідніші публікації у цих галузях.

Одним із найґрунтовніших джерел для вивчення історії українського християнства є *Історія України-Руси* видатного українського історика Михайла Грушевського. В бібліотеці є його прижиттєве видання твору, видане ще в Україні, а також 2-ге видання, що з'явилося на Заході. З інших ґрунтовних досліджень на цю тему можна назвати книжку Івана Власовського *Нарис Історії Української Православної Церкви, Історія Української Православної Церкви* Дмитра Дорошенка, *Історія Християнства на Руси-Україні* Миколи Чубатого та інші.

Є в бібліотеці рідкісне видання 1878 року Історія Унії з Римом німецькою мовою Юліяна Пелеша, є й інші видання про історію Української Католицької Церкви, а також про історію протестантського руху в Україні та на Заході, такі як *Нарис Історії Української Євангельської Баптистської церкви* Г. Домашовця чи *Український Баптистський Рух в Канаді* Петра Кіндрата.

Багато видань висвітлюють окремі періоди християнства на Україні та українських церков в Україні та на Заході. Сюди можна віднести такі книжки як *Українська Церква за Час Руїни* Іларіона, *Українська Православна Церква в Добу*

Другої Світової Війни Івана Власовського, Церковна Справа на Україні Василя Біднова — остання невеличка за форматом книжка на сьогодні є бібліографічною рідкістю.

Надзвичайно важливими є зібрані в бібліотеці матеріяли, які висвітлюють духовне життя українців в таборах переміщених осіб (*DP camps*).

Наша бібліотека, можливо, єдине місце, де можна знайти ці матеріяли. Багато вчених з української церковної історії нового часу користувалися і користуються саме нашими фондами. Такий видатний експерт з української церковної історії нашого часу, як Богдан Боцюрків, уживав і копіював для своїх досліджень саме наші матеріали.

Найновіший період історії українських церков, переслідування їх совєтською владою добре висвітлений в різноманітних журналах, в тому числі й англійською мовою. Варто назвати такі періодичні видання як *Religion in Communist Lands, K.S. Frontier, Keston News Service*, або й *Ukrainian Weekly*, який регулярно друкував і друкує статті про всі події, пов'язані з українськими церквами на Україні і в діяспорі. На цю тему в бібліотеці є також низка збірників, матеріялів конференцій, проведених по західних університетах; брошури, видані Українським Дослідним Інститутом при Гарвардському Університеті. Автори — відомі знавці українських церков совєтського періоду, знов таки Богдан Боцюрків, Франк Сисин, Василь Маркусь та інші.

Цими матеріялами користуються не лише наші теологи, але й студенти Манітобського та Вінніпезького університетів, які проходять курс східного християнства, а також Історію України.

Найновіші події в церковному житті України чи українців діяспори добре висвітлені також в україномовній періодиці: у *Вісникові* Української Православної Церкви в Канаді, в *Українському Православному Слові* з Баунд Бруку та в

Нашій Вірі, яка регулярно надходить до бібліотеки з Києва.

Що стосується історії українських церков по різних місцях поселень українців у світі, то бібліотека збирає матеріяли про церковне життя українців Бразилії, Аргентини, Австралії, США та з усіх інших кутків земної кулі. Зрозуміло, що життя українців Канади охоплене бібліотекою найґрунтовніше і найповніше. Колекція має десятки різних видань про життя і діяльність окремих церковних парафій, про побудову і посвячення церков на всіх обширах Канади, починаючи з Британської Колумбії і кінчаючи сходом, включно з провінцією Нова Шотландія. Слід зауважити, що в бібліотеці зберігається навіть така бібліографічна рідкість як Християнський Катехизм 1904 року, виданий "властию Незалежної Грецької Церкви в Канаді" (горезвісним єпископом Серафимом) — перша україномовна книжка, видана в Канаді.

З ґрунтовніших праць про історію українських православних та католицьких церков в Канаді можна назвати *Історію Української Греко-Православної Церкви в Канаді* о. С. Савчука у співавторстві з Ю. Муликом-Луциком, яка знаходиться ще у стадії завершення (бракує останнього, 5-го тому), *Пропам'ятну Книгу ОО. Василіян* у Канаді та низку інших українських католицьких видань .

Що стосується іншої літератури, то різні ділянки, як уже згадано, репрезентовані по різному. В бібліотеці є практично всі українські видання Святого Письма — в перекладах Куліша, митрополита Іларіона, Івана Хоменка. А також більшість з того, що написано українцями про Святе Письмо.

Багата колекція бібліотеки з літургійної традиції українського народу: служебники, требники, апостоли, мінеї та інші богослужбові книжки від найдавніших часів церковно-слов'янською мовою і до наших днів українською мовою. Непогано представлена також література з

української церковної музики. Зберігається в нас рідкісне на сьогодні видання *Ірмологіон,* надрукований у Львові 1904 року.

До унікальних скарбів бібліотеки належить зібрана у її межах періодична література. Це єдина бібліотека на американському континенті, де є більш-менш повний комплект *Православного Вісника* з України. Саме до нас приїздили працювати над цим журналом науковці із Сполучених Штатів Америки. Те саме можна сказати і про періодичні видання з таборів переміщених осіб в Німеччині, про що вже згадано раніше. Календарі, журнали з цього періоду знаходяться у повних комплектах. Це такі, рідкісні сьогодні видання, як: *Бюлетень УАПЦ*, який виходив у Мюнхені, *Богословський Вісник* — орган Української Автокефальної Церкви, редагований у Штутгарті єпископом Никанором, студентський журнал *Богослов*, що виходив у Мюнхені 1949 року тощо. Ці видання відзеркалюють інтенсивне духовне життя українців у таборах переміщених осіб, незважаючи на непевні і нужденні побутові умови. Слід відзначити також, що цей період в історії українців діяспори і досі мало вивчений, тому наша колекція складає неоціненний матеріял для майбутнього дослідника.

Колекція періодики цінна тим, що тут зібрані газети, календарі, журнали з України та з усіх кінців земної кулі, куди доля потрапила закинути українців, особливо коли йдеться про наші, хоч і неповні комплекти періодики з минулих часів. Вони відзеркалюють духовне життя українців в Україні, в Чехославаччині, Польщі, Бразилії, Аргентині, Австралії, Бельгії, себто в усіх усюдах.

Ось лише кілька прикладів:

Церква і життя, Харків, роки 1927-1928.

Церква і нарід, Крем'нець, роки 1935-1937.

Малий Місіонарик, Жовква, Західна Україна, роки 1909-1914.

Українська реформація, протестантське видання, виходило у Львові в 30-их роках.

Хрест і тризуб — орган Української Православної Церкви у Великобританії, 1951-1959 роки.

Духовний сіяч, Варшава, роки 1927-1929.

Рідкісне видання *Місіонар в Бразилії* з 1912 та 1917 років.

Найбагатшою є колекція періодики, яку видавали в Канаді католики, православні та протестанти.

В бібліотеці зберігається повний комплект *Вісника* — органу Української Православної Церкви, є протестантські видання *Канадійський ранок* — окремі числа, починаючи з 1924 року та *Євангельський Вісник* з 1929-30 років. Є низка католицьких часописів з 20-тих років, такі як *Голос Ізбавителя* або *Католицька акція* з 50-тих років. Сьогодні бібліотека одержує, як дарунок, періодику переважно з діяспори. Це православні й католицькі газети й журнали, такі як *Відомості Митрополії УАПЦ й Епархії у Великій Британії*, *Віра* (Баунд Брук, США), *Світло* (Торонто), *Сівач* (Стемфорд, США), *Progress-Поступ* (Вінніпег), *Православна Нива* (Куритіба-Парана, Південна Америка), *Вісник* (Вінніпег).

Останнє, що слід згадати, це бібліографія. Найповнішою аннотованою бібліографією є поки що *Джерела і Бібліографія Історії Української Церкви* Ісидора І. Патрила, видавана в Римі. Є також декілька англомовних бібліографій, куди входять деякі видання українських авторів.

Таким чином, бібліотека Колегії Св. Андрея становить солідне джерело для вивчення історії українського християнства, його минулого та сучасного, як в Україні, так і поза її межами.

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The Religious Archival Holdings at the Ukrainian Cultural and Educational Centre

Zenon Hluszok

The Ukrainian Cultural and Educational Centre (Oseredok) was established in 1944 with the express purpose of collecting, preserving, and disseminating the Ukrainian heritage. The founders of the Centre were concerned with the destruction of Ukrainian cultural and historical centres in Europe during World War II. Numerous letters from war-torn Europe to Ukrainian leaders in Canada asked where to send rescued archives, books, and museum artifacts. Of particular concern to many were the documents that record Ukraine's struggle for independence in the twentieth century. Since its creation, the Centre has evolved into a unique storehouse of Ukrainian heritage, which maintains an archives, art gallery, library, and museum, as well as an education extension program. Located in Winnipeg, in its own five-storey building, the Centre is staffed by nine full-time and four part-time employees. Over the years, the two main research divisions at the Centre, the library and the archives, have grown due to the commitment of literally thousands of individuals who have entrusted their personal collections of books and documents to the Centre.

Here I will briefly focus upon those archival collections which contain information about Ukrainian religion in Canada. However, I will also refer to library materials associated with specific archival collections. Researchers should make a point of visiting Oseredok's library to view library holdings. Researchers also should be aware that Oseredok does not have significant religious archival collections because it is a non-denominational

organization and therefore has not actively pursued collecting religious materials. Furthermore, Oseredok has viewed collecting Church archival materials as within the jurisdiction of the respective Ukrainian Churches. Nevertheless, Oseredok has received archival collections from individuals who have been active in their Church communities.

The Archives does encompass a number of individual collections which contain materials relating to Ukrainian Church music, primarily those of Alexander Koshetz and Pavlo Macenko. There also are such materials in the papers of E. Turula, Mykola Borysyk, and Taras Hubicki. The Koshetz Collection consists of twenty-eight boxes of original correspondence, personal papers, original scores (arrangements by Koshetz and other Ukrainian composers), and printed sheet music. The materials date from 1900-44 and reflect the life and activities of Dr. Koshetz, who was a conductor, composer, and choir director of the Ukrainian National Choir. Researchers will find original compositions based on traditional Ukrainian choral and religious music, including many of the original scores used by Koshetz in various publications. The Koshetz papers contain correspondence between Koshetz and other Ukrainians and non-Ukrainians who looked to Koshetz for advice concerning choral directing and Church and secular music. Complementing the Koshetz Archive is his 350-volume library dealing with Ukrainian Church and folk music, and approximately 2,000 photographs of Dr. and Mrs. Koshetz. The photographs depict their family life, their activities with the Ukrainian National Choir, and individual choristers who went on to become choir conductors across North America.

The Pavlo Macenko Collection consists of thirty boxes of personal papers, original correspondence, original manuscripts, transcriptions and photocopies of manuscripts, as well as transcriptions of music by Macenko and other composers or arrangers, choral scores, and published music. The materials,

which date from about 1920 to 1990, reflect the life and interests of Dr. Macenko. He was an author, choral conductor, community activist, musicologist, teacher, and one of the founders, longtime secretary, and member of the Board of Directors of the Ukrainian Cultural and Educational Centre. Researchers should consult Macenko's doctoral dissertation: "The Composition and Technical Structure of Kievan Chant Melodies in the Pochaiv Irmologion of 1775." Researchers should also consult the materials Macenko gathered during the years he worked as a teacher, organizing and running courses for choral conductors and cantors, while he was rector of St. John's Institute in Edmonton; teaching theology students at St. Andrew's College in Winnipeg; and running the music program at St. Vladimir's College in Roblin, Manitoba (1963-72).

The Macenko Archive contains copies of many of Macenko's writings, and includes his research notes. He was an active writer, journalist, and co-editor of *The New Pathway.* He edited and contributed to the column "Do Dzerel Ukrains'koi muzyky" (The Roots of Ukrainian Music). He wrote monographs on such Ukrainian composers as F. Yakimenko, M. Berezovsky, and D. Bortniansky. He also wrote *An Outline of the History of Ukrainian Church Music* and *A Synopsis of the History of Ukrainian Music.* He published numerous articles and reviews on cultural and social topics in various newspapers and journals. As a musician, he composed and arranged sacred music for the Divine Liturgy, vespers, matins, etc., as well as folk music for choirs. Complementing the archival collection is Macenko's library of 3,500 rare books and periodicals, including many out-of-print Soviet Ukrainian publications. The primary focus of the collection is the theory and history of Ukrainian music, especially Church music.

The Archives at the Centre also contains over 50,000 photographic images. Within these photographic holdings, researchers should note four collections with a significant number of Church-

related images: the Iwan Boberskyj Collection, the Vogue Studio Collection, the Charles Photo Studio Collection, and the Anton Borys Collection.

While the Centre's archival holdings contain numerous collections of individuals prominent in the development of Canada's Ukrainian community, the foremost collection dealing with early pioneer life is that of Iwan Boberskyj. He was a statesman, sportsman, and consular official to Canada for the Western Ukrainian National Republic (W.U.N.R.) from 1919 to 1923. This collection documents Ukrainian community and political life in Western Canada (1920-32). The Boberskyj Papers contain documents dealing with such activities of the Winnipeg-based W.U.N.R. Consular Office as the Western Ukrainian National Defense Loan, the Ukrainian Red Cross in Canada, and the Cunard Line (Ukrainian Department) of which Boberskyj was an employee. Complementing the documents is a collection of 10,000 black-and white prints (1919-32) of Ukrainian Canadians, Ukrainian churches, organizations' buildings, homes, schools, etc. Boberskyj took these photographs as he traveled across Canada raising money for the Western Ukrainian National Republic. It was his intention to return to Ukraine after his fund-raising activities and show his photographs. The Centre also holds 300 glasslantern plates showing the destruction as well as the struggle for an Independent Ukraine (191518). Boberskyj used these plates for a "slide" show as he traveled Western Canada raising funds for W.U.N.R. Besides documenting small-town prairie community life, the Boberskyj photographic collection contains a significant number of images depicting inter-war Ukrainian Canadian religion. Some sample photo captions:

1 Bishop Seraphim and Makarij in Winnipeg (nd.);
2 Congress of the neo-Orthodox in front of the National Home and Hrushevsky Bursa, Edmonton (23 November 1920);
3 Hrushevsky Institute Hockey Club, Edmonton (23 November 1920);

4 Reverend Ladyka in Leeshore, Alberta (21 December 1920);
5 Residence of the Sister Servants of Mary Immaculate of the OSBM, Mundare, Alberta (30 December 1920);
6 Visitation of Bishop Budka to numerous rural parishes across Canada (various dates).

The Vogue Studio Collection (1958-71), whose proprietor was Dmytro Harapiak, provides a snapshot of Ukrainian life in North End Winnipeg, especially during the early to mid- 1960s. The collection contains about 7,500 images, and includes photos of Harapiak's family, small businessmen, Ukrainian farmers from the Interlake, weddings of working-class families, and Church rites—baptisms, first communions, parish executives, weddings, and funerals. Approximately two-thirds of the images are wedding photographs. Some sample captions from Vogue Studio religious images:

1 Ladies Auxiliary of the St. Joseph's Ukrainian Catholic Church (22 February 1959);
2 Staff and students of theology, St. Andrew's College (19 April 1959);
3 Canadian Ukrainian Youth Association, Holy Trinity Cathedral (28 February 1961);
4 Ukrainian Catholic Women's League of Manitoba (27 November 1962).

The third significant photographic collection is the Charles [Krasnopera] Photo Studio Collection, which has more than 50,000 images dating from 1941-89. It was a commercial photo studio so the images are divided into two categories: commercial wedding scenes and family portraits, and photographs of specific community events. There are approximately 35,000 images (mostly negatives) of family portraits and wedding scenes, the remaining 15,000 (negatives/photographs) depict community events including religious events. For example:

1 Members of the Consistory of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church of Canada (ca. 1960);

2 Parishioners of the Holy Trinity Ukrainian Orthodox Cathedral (ca. 1960);
3 Employees of Holy Family Nursing Home (1966);
4 Children of Holy Eucharist Ukrainian Catholic Church (May 1975).

The Anton Borys Collection, with about 1,500 images, dates from 1986-91. The images are the original photographs published in the Ukrainian Catholic newspaper Progress (Postup). The photographs depict Ukrainian Catholic Church life such as celebrations of Church holidays (green holidays), concerts held by various parishes, openings of new parishes, and visitations by Church dignitaries. For example:

1 Green Holidays (June 1988);
2 Ukrainian Catholic Church Millennium Celebrations (1988);
3 Construction of St. Anne's Ukrainian Catholic Church.

There are also a number of other media holdings on deposit with the Centre. The Father Ruh Collection consists of 200 blueprint sheets of Ukrainian Catholic Church structures that Ruh designed and/or built across Western Canada. In many instances there are only one or two blueprints for a particular church. For example:

1 Immaculate Conception Ukrainian Catholic Church, Cook's Creek, Manitoba (1930-52)
2 St. Nicholas Ukrainian Catholic Church, Kenora, Ontario (1956-58);
3 St. Josaphat Ukrainian Catholic Church, Edmonton, Alberta (1939-44).

The Ruh Collection also contains approximately 600 photographs, including personal photographs, highlighting Ruh's religious career, as well as images of the construction of some of the Ruh-designed Ukrainian Catholic Churches.

Complementing the Ruh Collection is the Gloria Romaniuk Collection which includes 63 oral history tapes and transcripts of 50 individual interviews about the life and activities of Father

Philip Ruh, OMI, by Mrs. Romaniuk. Interviewees included Father Ruh's long-time housekeeper, Mary Yanchynski, his parishioners, and fellow clergymen, including Metropolitan Hermaniuk. The interviews include numerous references to the history of the Cook's Creek parish, Father Ruh's building activities, and Ukrainian religion in pioneer days.

Oseredok's cooperation with the Archives of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church Consistory has been growing. Over the past five or six years the archivists at both institutions have established a mutually beneficial relationship. Thus we consult each other on acquisition of new collections, joint purchase of archival storage equipment and conservation equipment, and researcher referrals, and we inform researchers that they may find what they are looking for in the other archives. Recently we expanded our cooperative activity to include the archives of the Ukrainian Catholic Church of Canada.

In conclusion, I believe the Ukrainian Cultural and Educational Centre Archives serves as a valuable resource of primary materials for religious scholars. As with any archives, researchers must keep in mind that some legal and copyright restrictions may govern access to certain collections.

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Religious Artifacts in the Ukrainian Museum of Canada

Rose Marie Fedorak

The purpose of the Ukrainian Museum of Canada is: "to acquire, preserve, study, and interpret, on a national basis, representative artifacts which depict the Ukrainian heritage and its contribution to Canada." As religion was a central part of the life of the Ukrainian people in Canada, the Ukrainian Museum of Canada includes religious artifacts in its collection, primarily at the headquarters in Saskatoon but also at its branches in Vancouver, Edmonton, Winnipeg, and Toronto. The five functions of museums are collection, preservation, research, interpretation, and exhibition. Since all functions are vital, when a museum is offered an artifact, it must consider whether the artifact follows the mandate and the collection policy, as well as how well the five functions can be met for this object.

In the early days of settlements, many churches were built, and regular worship, celebration of holidays and the mystery of the sacraments were part of the lives of the pioneers. As roads and the means of transportation improved, and as rural population declined, many of the pioneer churches were no longer being utilized. Concerned individuals and congregations attempted to preserve their churches and that part of the history of their communities. If services were still held occasionally, buildings and contents were maintained. However, if the church was no longer being used, alternative measures had to be considered.

From time to time the Ukrainian Museum of Canada has received donations of religious objects from individuals and parishes. One donation, however, became memorable because of its size. One congregation decided after holding numerous meetings; after seeking advice from priests and other authorities; after offering some objects to needy churches in the area; after family

members reclaimed donations of parents and grandparents; and after doing research on staff qualifications and museum policies that the remaining artifacts were to be donated to the Ukrainian Museum of Canada—a half-ton truck load!

When their truck arrived at the Museum, these well-meaning people were slightly surprised at the lack of enthusiasm the Museum staff demonstrated. What they did not appreciate was the dilemma created by receiving such a large donation or the shock because the truck appeared quite unexpectedly. The first question of mandate and collections policy was easily answered. The artifacts did indeed fit the Museum's mandate. Subsequent questions that were running through the minds of Museum personnel as multiple items were unloaded from the truck included: How will the artifact(s) be exhibited? If it is a duplicate, can it be used for educational purposes? If it is a duplicate, how many of this particular object does the Museum need for both exhibition and education? Can the artifact(s) be properly stored and cared for? What is the historical value of the artifact(s)?

The last question is important, because the history of the object is at least as interesting as the object itself. For example, this church was called St. John's Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church, and was under the jurisdiction of the Orthodox Church of America. A planning meeting was held in 1908 at which time each of those present donated a sum of $42 toward the purchase of land and building materials. The land title was registered under "Mulock Independent Greek Orthodox Church." The church was built in 1909 for a total cost of $827. In 1918 a priest hired on an annual basis to serve the congregation for $80 per year, with Church services to be held once a month. This church, commonly called "Na Biloho" because the land was purchased from Billy Thomas, observed its last liturgy in 1972. The remaining parishioners met in 1987 and made their decision to donate the artifacts to the Museum.

How has the Museum used these artifacts? In the Permanent

Gallery, one corner has been made to look like the interior of a pioneer church. Using photographs of "Na Biloho", a portion of the iconostasis was simulated by incorporating the donated Royal Doors, placing icons in the prescribed places, and adding silk flowers as decoration. (The staff tried, unsuccessfully, to locate plastic flowers as portrayed in the photograph.) An altar with *kivot* and candle holders, a priest in vestments, a chandelier, and processional banners and crosses completed the representation. Beside this exhibit, showcases of additional artifacts, plus text and photographs, explain the history of Ukrainian churches in western Canada. Tour groups are also given the historical background of "Na Biloho." Religious artifacts, because they are blessed, are not used in educational programming, other than in tours of the gallery.

In addition to the contents of "Na Biloho," the Ukrainian Museum of Canada in Saskatoon has many other religious objects in its collection: icons, vestments, banners, processional crosses, hand crosses, *plashchanytsja, kivoty*, chandeliers, candle holders, *kylymy* and *rushnyky*, chalices, paten, *kadylo*, communion spoons, gospel books, prayer books and bibles, *obrazy*, lecterns, wedding crowns, candle sticks, candles, candle stands, Royal Doors, and heater. Branch museums also house a variety of religious objects. All branches, however, report a conscious attempt not to collect these artifacts. They cite lack of space as the main reason. The British Columbia branch has a *kivot* and several small articles from the cathedral in which it is located.

The Alberta branch has purchased some icons and crosses from Ukraine but holds no artifacts from local churches. The Manitoba branch has no religious artifacts, for what had been collected was either transferred to Saskatoon or given to the Consistory. The Ontario branch has a small collection of icons (including prints and paint on wood), prints of monasteries, embroidered *rushnyky* with Christian motifs, *kadylo*, banners, and a wooden cross and crucifix. The Ontario branch has not

been actively collecting religious artifacts because their understanding was that a museum of religion would be developed in Winnipeg.

A question that remains is what will be the fate of the many artifacts in the many rural (and urban) churches that are going into desuetude? A certain number can be relocated to churches in need, but what of the remainder? Can the Ukrainian Museum of Canada, or any other museum, continue to receive truckloads of artifacts? The answer is "no," because of space and museums' commitment to care for the artifacts they receive. Many of the objects are large so they require considerable storage space. There is also a question of how many of each object a museum does "need." The answer to that, is somewhat less than the total number of objects available.

What is certain is that histories should be collected and preserved and religious objects should not fall to ruin. The public should be made aware of the importance of preserving records and additional anecdotes about their churches and communities. They also should be given some guidance on how and where these could be preserved. People should know where to turn for advice so that all materials will be properly handled. Both the Ukrainian Museum of Canada and the Consistory of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church of Canada have an important role to play in preservation of this history.

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The Dr. Pavlo Macenko Chair of Ukrainian Church Music

St. Andrew's College in Winnipeg was most proud to announce the launch of the Dr. Pavlo Macenko Chair of Ukrainian Church Music on June 20, 1992. The official launch of the newly created Chair, was initiated by His Grace, Rt. Rev. Bishop YURIJ (Kalischuk) in his banquet speech on the occasion of the St. Andrew's College Conference, on the theme, "The Ukrainian Religious Tradition in Canada".

In his banquet address, Bishop Yurij stressed the need for an endowed centre on Ukrainian Church Music in Canada that would be involved with research, teaching and outreach on the rich musical heritage of the Ukrainian peoples. In addition he emphasized that the choice of naming the Chair after one of the foremost academic church musicologists and a longtime professor at St. Andrew's College was unanimous and thus the Chair bears the name of Dr. Pavlo Macenko (1897-1991).

The St. Boniface Branch of the Ukrainian National Federation (UNF) made the intital donation of $10,000, and subsequently and additional $10,000. At St. Andrew's College, Dr. Macenko continued his lifelong devotion and commitment to Ukrainian church Music. He was a pillar of scholarship and an inspiring teacher and conductor.

Dr. Pavlo Macenko was born on December 24, 1897 in Kyrykivka in the Kharkiv region of Eastern Ukraine and here received his early training. After serving in the armies of Imperial Russian and later the Ukrainian National Republic, he emigrated to Cyprus and later in 1924 settled in Czechoslovakia. In Prague, he continued his music education, studying at the Ukrainian Higher Pedagogical Institute (1926-1928) and at the Prague Conservatory of Music. In 1932, he received his doctor-

ate (D.Mus.Ped.) in music-pedagogy with a thesis on "The Composition and Technical Structure of Kievan Chant Melodies in the Pochaiv Irmologion of 1775".

In 1936 Dr. Macenko emigrated to Canada and settled in Winnipeg. There he became a community activist. At the Ukrainian National Home, he initiated and co-ordinated higher level courses in Ukrainian studies, including music. He became a founding member in 1945 of the Ukrainian Cultural and Educational Centre (Oseredok) in Winnipeg where he co-ordinated Ukrainian summer courses. Dr. Macenko was instrumental in bringing the famous composer, Oleksander Koshetz, to Winnipeg.

In the early1950's, Dr. Pavlo Macenko joined the Faculty of Theology of St. Andrew's College. Between 1958 and 1961 he was the rector of St. John's Institute in Edmonton. From 1963 to 1971, Dr. Macenko taught church music at St. Vladimir's College (Minor Seminary) in Roblin, Manitoba. In 1971 he returned to St. Andrew's College to end his teaching career in 1978. For his enormous contributions to Ukrainian church music, in 1983, St. Andrew's College bestowed on Dr. P. Macenko the honourary degree of Doctor of Canon Law.

Macenko's publications include choral arrangements of the entire Divine Liturgy - for mixed choir (1931), as well as for three women's voices (1948), and over twenty other compositions based on religious texts, folk songs and carols. He wrote three monographs on Ukrainian Church Music (two of which were published by St. Andrew's College). In addition, he wrote over two dozen biographies of outstanding Ukrainian composers and choir conductors such as F. Yakymenko, D. Bortniansky, and M. Berezovsky. He also prepared some thirteen teaching manuals for church music still in use in the Faculty of Theology at St. Andrew's College. To educate the general public, Dr. Macenko contributed many articles to the popular Ukrainian Canadian press on topics of Ukrainian church music, secular music, peda-

gogy, and Ukrainian culture.

In 1991, Dr. P. Macenko was called by the Lord after 93 years of creative endeavours. He left to cherish his memory his wife and able assistant, Stephania, and son Oleksander (who also worded in the music field), as well as three generations of music students who came to love and cherish the finest elements of Ukrainian church music instilled into them by a devoted and dedicated teacher, composer and mentor.

Dr. Walter Klymkiw, Macenko's protOgO, initiated a fitting tribute, a monograph Pavlo Macenko, Musicologist, Composer and Cultural Activist (Toronto: UNF Publishing), 1992.

May the memory of Dr. Pavlo Macenko be eternal and may his rich legacy continue in the newly created "Dr. Pavlo Macenko Chair of Ukrainian Church Music" at St. Andrew's College in Winnipeg.

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Автори *Віри й Культури* ч. 12

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Dr. Leo Dreiger is professor emeritus of sociology at the University of Manitoba. He has researched and written on Canadian multiculturalism, including studies on the major communities such as the Mennonites, Ukrainians, and Jews.

Rose Marie Fedorak is presently teaching at LaSalle College in Montreal. She was for a period of nine years on the administrative staff of the Ukrainian Museum of Canada (Saskatoon).

Dr. Oleh Gerus is a long-time professor of Eastern European History at the University of Manitoba. He has written extensively on the history of Ukraine, Eastern Europe as well as on Ukrainians in Canada.

David Goa is the curator of Folk Life at the Provincial Museum of Alberta (Edmonton). He has written and presented on the topic of Eastern Orthodox spirituality for the past two decades.

Zenon Hluszok is the longtime archivist of the Ukrainian Cultural and Educational Centre (Oseredok) in Winnipeg. He has frequently spoken at community events on issues of heritage and archives in the Ukrainian Canadian community and multiculturalism.

Dr. Charles Hobart is a professor of Sociology at the University of Alberta. He has researched and studied the religious fabric of Canadians.

Uliana Holowach-Amiot is a private scholar residing presently in Calgary. She was previously associated with the McCord Museum in Montreal.

Edward Kowalchuk is a retired Manitoba public school administrator and teacher, as well as for over a decade, school trustee in the Winnipeg School Division #1. His specialty is the local history of the Sandy Lake area of Manitoba.

Very Rev. Fr. Dr. Ihor Kutash is the parish dean of St. Sophia's Ukrainian Orthodox Sobor in Montreal and a lecturer of St. Andrew's College in Winnipeg. He has represented his Church at many ecumenical conferences and forums.

Vera Lazarowich-Senchuk is a most respected Ukrainian Orthodox iconographer in Canada with some ten church iconostasis and interiors and over two hundred individual icons.

Rt. Rev. Fr. Timofiy Minenko is a retired professor of liturgics and liturgical theology of the Faculty of Theology, St. Andrew's College in Winnipeg and a former Dean of the Faculty of Theology (1985-1995)

Nick Mitchell is a Manitoba based playwright with over thirty works to his credit. In 1992-1993, he was a writer in residence at St. Andrew's College in Winnipeg.

Raisa Moroz is the head librarian of St. Andrew's College in Winnipeg, and has researched and published on Ukrainian library resources.

Dr. Alexandra Pawlowsky is a lecturer of Ukrainian in the Centre for Ukrainian Canadian Studies (University of Manitoba). She specializes in Ukrainian Canadian literature.

Dr. Eugene Ratsoy is a professor of Educational Administration, Faculty of Education, University of Alberta. He researched and published the first major study of a parish of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church of Canada.

Wolodymyr Senchuk is the archivist of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church of Canada with previous archival experience at the Ukrainian Cultural and Educational Centre - Oseredok (Winnipeg), and the Public Archives of Canada (Ottawa).

Dr. Roman Yereniuk is a professor of church history in the Faculty of Theology, St. Andrew's College in Winnipeg and Acting Director as well as a lecturer in the Centre for Ukrainian Canadian Studies, University of Manitoba. He has written extensively on Ukrainian church history, including Ukrainian Canadians.

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ST. ANDREW'S COLLEGE
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