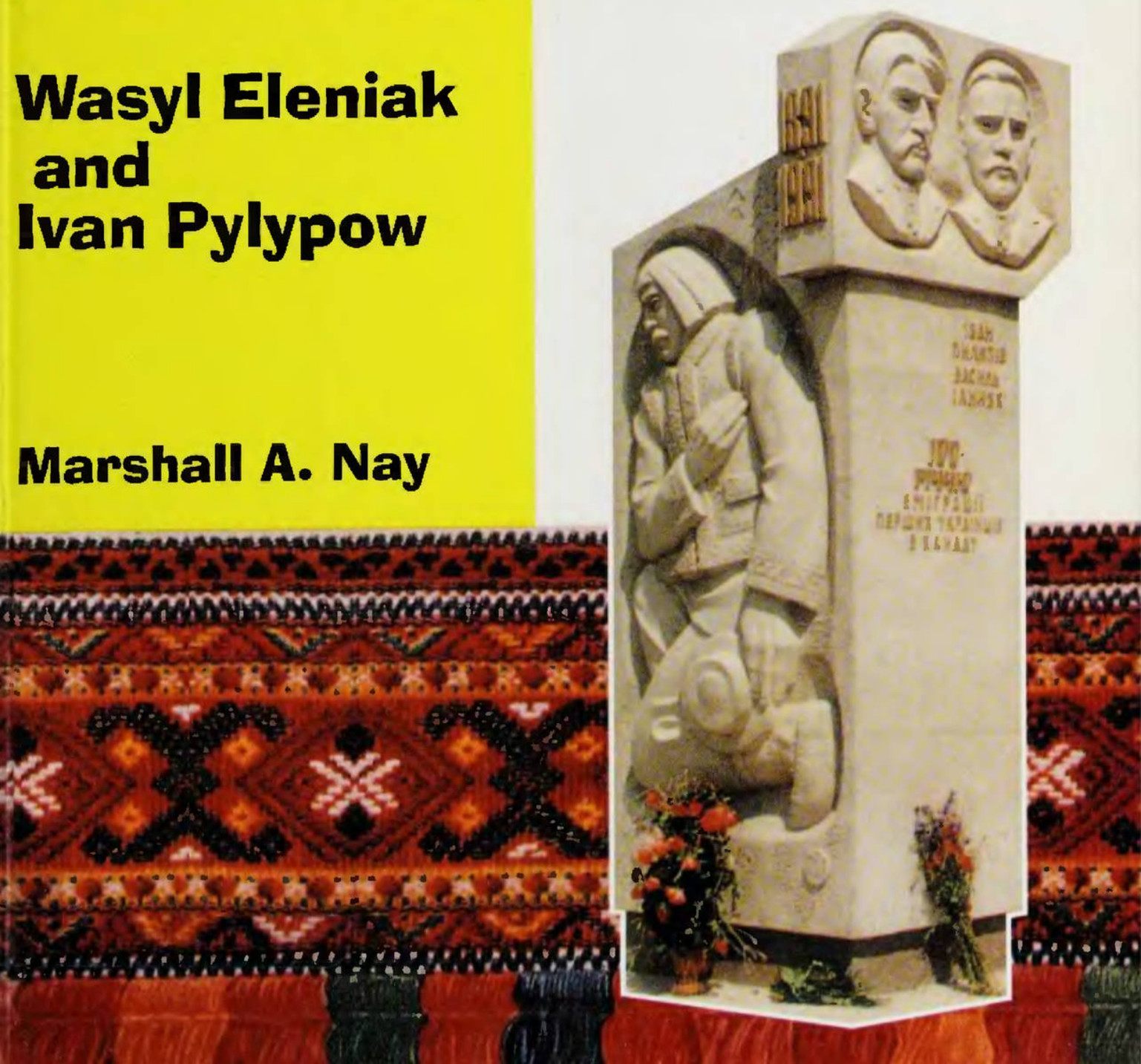
Trailblazers of Ukrainian Emigration to Canada

Wasyl Eleniak and Ivan Pylypow

Marshall A. Nay



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TRAILBLAZERS OF UKRAINIAN EMIGRATION TO CANADA

WASYL ELENIAK AND IVAN PYLYPOW

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Monument erected in Nebyliw, Ukraine, in 1991 to commemorate the 100th anniversary of emigration of the first Ukrainians to Canada and in honour of Wasyl Eleniak and Ivan Pylypow. Photograph by Anna Magas. The embroidery, which is representitive of the region, was selected with the assistance of Betty Kisilevich.

Dedicated to all of our Ukrainian Canadian pioneers who with courage and perseverance helped to build western Canada, but most specifically dedicated to the memory of Wasyl Eleniak and Ivan Pylypow, who blazed the trail for the many thousands of Ukrainian settlers who followed them.

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FOREWORD

Why the biographies of Wasyl Eleniak and Ivan Pylypow? In the historiography of the Ukrainian Canadian community, their names appear infrequently, and when they are mentioned, it is more in the sense of being historical "markers" for Ukrainian immigration to Canada, rather than as outstanding leaders of this community. In addition, the dispute about whether or not they were indeed the first Ukrainians to come to Canada further "tarnishes" their importance in Ukrainian Canadian history. Notwithstanding the denigration of the historical significance of Eleniak and Pylypow, many historians of the Ukrainian Canadian community give valid reasons why the arrival of Pylypow and Eleniak in Canada on September 7, 1891, should be the marker for the centenary of Ukrainian immigration to this country and for the centennial celebrations of the Ukrainian presence, that began in 1991 and concluded in 1992.

The role of Pylypow and Eleniak in Ukrainian Canadian history has become somewhat legendary and to some degree mythical. The reason for publishing their biographies is to increase our understanding and appreciation of them as two ordinary Ukrainians who nonetheless were complex individuals. Although neither pioneer achieved significant public visibility during his life in either the Old Country (except briefly in the case of Pylypow) or in Canada (except late in life in the case of Eleniak), they nevertheless contributed in two significant ways to their new homeland: by helping to trigger a massive emigration of Ukrainians from the Austro-Hungarian Empire to Canada and by becoming highly successful "transplants" themselves. Hence, each in his own unique way made significant history, and as a result has rightly earned the honors bestowed upon him. It seems fitting that they finally should have their own full-blown biographies, rather than having only the piecemeal presentations of their lives in articles, magazines and the published histories of the Ukrainian Canadian community.

I have a personal interest in Wasyl Eleniak and Ivan Pylypow. First, in some remote and indirect sense they were responsible for the emigration to Canada of both sets of my grandparents in 1900. Second, I know several of their offspring. Specifically, I was acquainted with Pylypow's oldest son, William. I know several of Eleniak's grandchildren, one of them, Irene (nee Eleniak) Snatynchuk, as a classmate in Hilliard High School.

A thorny problem for a historian of the Ukrainian Canadian community is what English representations (transliterations) of Ukrainian names, places, and phrases to use. Wherever possible,

the Library of Congress system, as modified by the Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies, will be used. However, the terms that have been in common use for some time will be used preferentially (e.g., Galicia rather than the transliterated form *Halychyna*). Ukrainian terms in quotations will be given unchanged. Below are a number of terms that appear frequently in this book. The underlined one at the beginning of each paragraph is the one used (however with the exception of other spellings when used in quotations).

Wasyl Eleniak. The first name has been also spelled Vasyl, Vassil and Wassil, while his surname has appeared in the literature and in documents as Illilik, Ililik, Elyniak, Elenjuk, Yeleniak, Yelyniak, Jelyniak, Jeleniak, Ileniak, Elenjak, Eleyiak.

Ivan Pylypow. In the literature and official documents one finds Ivan, Iwan, Jan, Jon and John for the Christian name, and many alternative surnames: Pilipiwsky, Pylypiwski, Pylypiwsky, Pylypiw, Pylipiwsky, Pillipow, Pyllipiw, Pylypow, Pillipiw, Pillipoo, Plypoe, Pylyporesky, Pylypiwskyi. On his naturalization papers his name is written as Jan Pilipoli.

I had difficulty in deciding which spelling of Ivan Pylypow's name to use in this biography. The "Pylypiw" spelling is very common in the historical literature on Ukrainian Canadians and is the one I have been accustomed to using. The fact that Ivan wrote his signature in a variety of ways throughout the years of his life in Canada (with no recorded reason for doing so) does not help in settling on the spelling to be used in this biography of him. Lesoway[1] puts the argument thus for using the "Pylypow" spelling:

> A few samples of Pylypow's name are extant on documents relating to his acquisition of his homestead and to church affairs, where he signed as a trustee. Several different spellings are used, including "Ivan Pylypow", "Ioan Pylypow", "Iwan Pilipow" and "John Pylypiw" [and also" John Pylypow", "Ivan Pylypiw", "Iwan Pylypow" — M.N.]. Because of these inconsistencies, the spelling "Ivan Pylypow" is used in this report. This is because "Ivan" most closely approaches a correct Ukrainian transliteration (according to the "Revised Library of Congress Transliteration Table"). "Pylypow" is the spelling presently used by those of Ivan Pylypow's descendants who bear his name.
>
> It is important to remember that although Pylypow used various spellings for his name, the pronunciation was consistent. In Ukrainian, it was pronounced "Pi-li-peew", even when the spelling Pylypow was used. In English, it was pronounced "Pi-li-po". Despite this, most of Pylypow's neighbours called him Pylypiwsky. This name was the informal, village name by which his family was referred to in Nebyliw...

Further light is cast on the origin of the surname Pylypow by Ivan's oldest grandson, Dan Pylypow. His grandfather told him that

the name Pylypow was Russian, and that his ancestors came to Nebyliw from Poltava in Central Ukraine. In regard to the name Pylypiwsky, Dan claimed that "...[b]ecause only Poles were allowed to leave Galicia, Iwan changed his name Pylypiw to Pylypiwsky. He immediately got a passport..."[2] It is more likely that the name Pylypiwsky was used for a long time by the family in Galicia, with the motivation to Polonize it arising from the advantages in having that name in a society dominated by the Poles.

Nebyliw. This is the name of the village in Galicia, western Ukraine, in which Ivan Pylypow and Wasyl Eleniak resided before coming to Canada. Alternative spellings found in the literature are Nebylev, Nebiliw, Nebilow and Nebiliv.

Ukrainian. This refers to the people who live in the geographical region in southeastern Europe called Ukraine. In earlier times, the Roman Catholic Church referred to Ukrainians (especially those living in the Western region) as *Rutheni*, hence the earlier ethnic label "Ruthenian." The term Ruthenian was also used widely during the early decades of the Ukrainian presence in Canada. Since Galicia, Bukovyna, and Transcarpathia were part of the Austro-Hungarian Empire until the end of World War I, the immigrants from these regions were often labelled Austrian. In addition, many of them took their "nationality" from the region in Ukraine from which they came, hence the terms Galician, Bukovynian, and Transcarpathian. It also was not uncommon for the early Ukrainians in Canada to refer to themselves as Rusyns (*rusyny*). Early Ukrainian settlers from western Ukraine who were Russophiles (pro-Russian) and those who came from eastern Ukraine (which was part of the Russian Empire at the time) might actually consider themselves to be Russian.[3]

The term Ukrainian gained dominance in Canada slowly over other ethnic terms after World War I. The racist term "Bohunk" was often encountered directly and indirectly by people of Ukrainian origin in the early decades of their life in Canada. In this book I use at times the label Galician or Bukovynian when dealing specifically with immigrants from Galicia or Bukovyna respectively. However, I use the term Ukrainian most frequently, even though the label was not in common use in Canada during the first wave of immgration prior to World War I.

The reader can get an overview of the book from the Table of Contents. However, a brief elaboration of the contents at this point might be helpful. The chapters are laid out and presented in such a manner as to depict not only the lives of Eleniak and Pylypow in both Ukraine and Canada, but also to describe the context in which they lived in both countries.

In Chapter 1 the focus is on the probability that Ukrainians came to Canada prior to Pylypow and Eleniak.

Chapter 2 presents a very brief history of Ukraine for a period of 1000 years, ending with a description of the conditions in western Ukraine, from which our two trailblazers and thousands of other Ukrainians escaped.

In Chapter 3 the lives of Eleniak and Pylypow are discussed up to the time of their exploratory trip to Canada in 1891. This historic trip is discussed in Chapter 4 and ends with Pylypow's return to his native village Nebyliw (and to trouble with the authorities).

The emigration of both families to Canada is noted in Chapter 5, with the focus being on the general trials and tribulations experienced by Ukrainian emigrants during the journey.

Chapter 6 gives an historical account of Canada at the time that Eleniak and Pylypow made it their new homeland; that is, during the latter part of the nineteenth and the first part of the twentieth centuries. This history is not comprehensive because it focuses mainly on those aspects of Canadian social structure and conditions of life which had the greatest impact on and were experienced by the Ukrainian settlers. A brief early history of the Edna-Star colony is given in Chapter 7.

Chapter 8 presents Eleniak's life in Canada, while Chapter 9 does the same for Pylypow. The decline of the friendship between the two men, after both of their families settled in the Edna-Star region, is dealt with in Chapter 10. This chapter begins by dealing with a major reason for the decline in their friendship.

The concluding Chapter 11 starts with a few details about the death of our trailblazers. This is followed by a comparison of their characters, and the honours that have been bestowed upon them. Finally, a brief summary is given of their importance to the development and growth of Canada in general and of western Canada in particular.

It is hoped that, by interspersing the biographies of Pylypow and Eleniak with brief discussions of the historical circumstances and conditions in which they lived in western Ukraine and Canada, the reader will get a better understanding and appreciation of their lives. This is especially important in view of the gaps in information available on them. However, the book is written in such a manner that the chapters dealing with these historical and social contexts (i.e., Chapters 2 and 6) can be omitted if the reader is interested only in the biographies of the two Ukrainians who helped spark a mass emigration from western Ukraine to Canada prior to World War I.

Footnotes are included at the end of the book, mainly to acknowledge my sources for the information given in the text. Notes

are also included for the following reasons: to provide additional information about a given source; to add peripheral information on people, places and events discussed in the text; to relate anecdotes about these two Ukrainian pioneers which were not possible to authenticate adequately. The reader may ignore these notes entirely without loss of continuity of the biographical story line.

Some readers may conclude that I seem to favour Pylypow because he is treated in more detail than Eleniak. The reason for this more extensive treatment is that there is much more information available on Pylypow. However, I deny in advance any charge of partiality towards him, for I have no reason whatsoever to favour the one over the other. I admire both men greatly for their contribution to the process of Ukrainian immigration to Canada and to the development of the West. But I also realize that they were normal people who were brought up and lived in conditions very different from our own. As a result of the genetic and environmental influences that worked on them, each got his own unique quota of strengths and weaknesses.

My basic strategy for writing this book was to gather whatever information I could on Eleniak and Pylypow, and I let this information direct my writing of their biographies. However, I did impose two caveats on myself in dealing with this available information. The first one required that I always be respectful of the right to privacy of the two deceased pioneers and their descendants. Consequently, I did my best to avoid making statements that might be construed as disparaging or defamatory. This has resulted, of course, in a somewhat incomplete characterization of them. The second caveat, which I imposed on myself when dealing with biographical information, was to rise to the defence of either man in situations where I deemed that he got a "bum rap." Undoubtedly, some of the readers of this book will disagree with my choice of "bum raps" and my discussion of them.

I wish to acknowledge the assistance received in writing this biographical book. My first expressions of gratitude go to the grandchildren of Wasyl and Anna Eleniak. I am especially grateful to Irene Snatynchuk for letting me use her impressive collection of materials on Wasyl Eleniak, consisting of printed material, photographs, and cassette and video tapes. Her materials gave me the initial "boost" in writing the biography of her grandfather. The large number of photographic prints made available to me by Wasyl Eleniak's granddaughter Mildred Lemiski and her husband Allison, and their two children Karen and David, is also gratefully acknowledged. My special thanks go to Karen Lemiski for permitting me to use one of her portraits of Wasyl Eleniak which were taken and de-

veloped by the famous Canadian photographer Yousuf Karsh. I also value the assistance received from William Val Eleniak, and that of other grandchildren of Wasyl Eleniak who provided information — Peter J. Pasemko, Paul Pasemko, Mike A. Starko, and Stephania Van Londerzele.

Steven P. Eleniak, grandson of Ivan Eleniak (Wasyl's brother) provided me with printed, taped and photographic materials which were very helpful in writing about the Eleniak Heritage Society. He also provided information orally on matters discussed in the last chapter of the book. I appreciate Steven's generous assistance very much.

Several descendants of Ivan Pylypow provided me with important information. My thanks go to Henry Pylypow, grandson of Ivan Pylypow, whose assistance consisted of his published articles on his grandparents and the provision of information in telephone conversations. Margaret (nee Pechanec) Loveseth, a granddaughter, was always co-operative and patient in answering my numerous questions, and directed me to other Pylypow descendants for help. Thank you, Margaret! The detailed information provided to me by Margaret Laslop, a great granddaughter, on the descendants of her grandfather William Pylypow, Sr. (Ivan's and Maria's son) was most useful and much appreciated.

I am greatly indebted to Radomir Bilash who is an Immigration and Settlement Historian in the Research and Publications Program, Historic Sites and Archives Service, Alberta Community Development, Government of Alberta. He made research binders and associated reports available to me on the Pylypow home (which is now a part of the Ukrainian Cultural Heritage Village near Edmonton). This enabled me to 'flesh out" substantially the biographies of Ivan and Maria Pylypow. In addition, he spent considerable time going through several drafts of the book and made many suggestions for improving it. I also relied heavily on his expertise in the history of Ukraine and of Ukrainian Canadians. Finally, I greatly appreciate his assistance in getting permission (on behalf of the Historic Sites and Archives Service, Department of Alberta Community Development, Government of Alberta) "...to make reference to the Ukrainian Cultural Heritage Village research binders on the Pylypow home and its associated reports."

I am grateful for the various kinds of assistance provided to me by Myron Momryk of the Manuscript Division, National Archives of Canada, in Ottawa. The material collected by Vladimir Kaye on Eleniak and Pylypow, as well as other material on these two pioneers, is in the National Archives, and Myron piloted me through

them with great patience and helped me obtain copies of the information that was of use to me. I am also grateful for his initiative in getting permission from Mrs. Marina Rudnyckyj of Montreal for me to use the materials relating to her husband's interview of Wasyl Eleniak. Her generous consent is appreciated.

It is with gratitude that I acknowledge Ivan Stadnyk, former curator, and the staff at the Ukrainian Canadian Archives and Museum of Alberta in Edmonton — all of whom were always very helpful whenever I came to use their materials.

This biographical book relies very heavily on published literature, primarily that dealing with the Ukrainian Canadian community. I want to acknowledge with gratitude the following publishing companies, organizations, and individuals for permitting me to reproduce information from specified reference materials of theirs: University of Toronto Press, Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies Press, Ukrainian Pioneers' Association of Alberta, Leon T. and Ivan E. Piniuta.

I also acknowledge the reproduction of information from James MacGregor's *Vilni Zemli (Free Lands). The Ukrainian Settlement of Alberta.* The publisher McClelland and Stewart Limited informed me that it no longer has a claim on this book and the author is dead. Consequently I pass on my acknowledgment to the beneficiaries of the estate of James G. MacGregor, none of whom I was able to contact.

I am grateful to have had access to the impressive private archival collection that Sophia (nee Porayko) Kyforuk and her daughter Professor Octavia Hall of Galveston, Texas, had put together over the decades with painstaking care. The Porayko family and the Pylypow family were neighbours in the Star district.

Publishing in Canada is a costly and precarious business. Hence, any financial assistance is welcome. The author feels honoured to be a recipient of a grant from the Alberta Historical Resources Foundation for publishing this book. I also want to express my gratitude to the Alberta Ukrainian Heritage Foundation for the grant it provided to my publisher, the Brightest Pebble Publishing Company Ltd.

I was determined to include the photographic portrait of Wasyl Eleniak in this book which was prepared by Yousuf Karsh. Judy Boundy of Comstock Photofile Ltd. of Toronto, Ontario, (which serves as Karsh's agent) was one of the people who helped to make this possible. I appreciate her assistance. I am grateful for the permission given to me by the Ukrainian Cultural and Educational Centre (OSEREDOK) in Winnipeg, Manitoba, to use the

photograph of Ivan Pylypow which Professor Ivan Bobersky took in 1932.

The assistance received from a number of long-standing friends and acquaintances must be acknowledged with thanks: Bob Kisilevich and William Chomyn, who read an early draft of the manuscript and made helpful suggestions for improving it, and for their encouragement to pursue the project; Victor Lopushinsky (a high school teacher of mine in Hilliard) for letting me use his materials and notes on the four trials conducted to decide the ownership of the Star church; Anna Magas, Nick Hrynchyshyn and Walter Makowecki for providing me with photographs of the monument erected to Wasyl Eleniak and Ivan Pylypow in the village of Nebyliw (where the two trailblazers were born and lived for the first three decades of their lives).

In Jim Musson, owner of Brightest Pebble Publishing Company Ltd., I found a kindred spirit in our appreciation of Alberta history. Undoubtedly, this mutual interest was a strong motivation for him to undertake the publishing of my book. My heartfelt thanks go to him for undertaking this task, and for the many suggestions offered by him and his staff for improving the book.

Finally, I am greatly indebted to my wife Elizabeth for her constant encouragement of the "budding historian" in me and for her most helpful critical advice. Thank you. Liz! I also wish to express my gratitude to our son David for helping to make the production of this biographical work more efficient and "fun." First he encouraged me to learn word processing and then put me through a crash course on how to do it. Throughout the entire process of "inputting" the manuscript into the computer, he was my computer consultant.

While expressing great appreciation for the immense amount of help received in writing this book, I take total responsibility for all errors and omissions in it.

Edmonton, Alberta, 1997

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Lysenko[1] describes the appearance of the first Ukrainians in Canada as follows:

> It is recorded that on the seventh day of September, 1891 there were, on board the steamship *Oregon* which docked in Montreal, two "Ruthenian workers" whose names were written down thus: W. Illilik...I. Pylipiwsky... Thus landed on Canadian soil the first "Men in Sheepskin Coats", two thirty-three-year-old family men, Ivan Pillipiw and Vassil Eleniak, from the Carpathian village of Nebilow in Galicia, leaders of a quarter-million Ukrainian immigrants to Canada's empty west.

Sailing lists[2] of Ukrainian settlers arriving in Canada at Quebec City and Halifax show two entries for each of these two men:

Elyniak, W.	1891
Elyniak, Wasyl	1894
Pylypiwsky, J.	1891
Pylypiw, Iwan	1893

For reasons discussed below, both men came together the first time in 1891 but separately the second time.

Sago[3] and others have called Pylypow and Eleniak "trailblazers" in the process of Ukrainian emigration to Canada—of getting into motion a process that ultimately resulted in perhaps a quarter of a million Ukrainians coming to this country in the first of three great waves of Ukrainian immigration, spanning more than half a century. Bear in mind that these first Ukrainians came just 24 years after Canada became a semi-independent country as a result of Confederation in 1867.

The label of "trailblazers" may be only a writer's hyperbole, but it does help to convey the notion of "ethnic heroes." Is there any evidence that Pylypow and Eleniak had a great vision of leading their people (in the manner of Moses) out of their miserable existence in their homeland? The available evidence suggests that their "trailblazing" resulted primarily from dire personal circumstances in Galicia and motivation from German Ukrainians who were already in Canada. According to some historians, Josef Oleskow was, for a brief period of time, the "Moses" of the first wave of Ukrainian emigration to Canada.

There is also strong evidence that Eleniak and Pylypow were not the first genuine Ukrainians to set foot on Canadian soil. Kaye and Swyripa[4] and other historians point to the following earlier possible presence of Ukrainians in Canada:

1. Ukrainian immigrants might have come to Canada in conjunction with the colonization of the West Coast of North America. This assertion is attributed to Reverend Honcharenko of Kiev who came to the USA in 1865. Balan states the claim thus:

> The most daring assertions in this regard were advanced by the maverick Orthodox priest Ahapii Honcharenko, who claimed there were 20,000 Ukrainians living in the Alaskan colonies of the Russian American Company, and developed a theory that roaming Zaporizhian Cossacks had established outposts on the west coast of North America as early as the 1700s. But no concrete evidence has yet appeared to support these daring hypotheses.[5]

2. Great Britain sent mercenary regiments to protect Canada in the War of 1812 with the USA and later in the pacification of the Metis in the Red River Colony in the province of Manitoba. There is substantial evidence that mercenary soldiers of Ukrainian origin were in these regiments. Indeed Gregorovich[6] states the following on the matter:

> 1812-14. Ivan Ruchkovsky..., Andrew Yankovsky and other Ukrainians in the De Watteville and the De Meuron Regiments [organized by Lord Selkirk] serve in the War of 1812 defending Canada from American invasion...[In 1817] Lord Selkirk grants 100 acres of land at Fort Douglas [Manitoba] to Andriy Sankowsky [Yankowsky?], soldier from Ternopil, Ukraine on September 2.

3. German Mennonites, who had settled about a century earlier in western Ukraine, began to be saddled with unfriendly government regulations. Hence, in 1874 some of them emigrated to Canada. It is likely that there were Ukrainians among them.

4. Ukrainian emigration to the United States predated emigration to Canada by many years. There is evidence of Ruthenians (Ukrainians) coming to Canada from the south (starting about 1883) to the province of Manitoba and to coal mines in an area of the Northwest Territories (NWT) that is now southern Alberta.

5. The Hungarian Count Esterhazy established two colonies in Canada, one in Hun's Valley in 1885 in the province of Manitoba, and in Esterhazy in 1886 in the part of the NWT that is now in the province of Saskatchewan. There were colonists in these groups that claimed to be Ruthenians (Ukrainians).[7]

6. Lysenko[8] notes that two Ukrainian Stundists[9] came from Bessarabia, Ukraine, to Fort Saskatchewan, NWT (now Alberta) in

1891 shortly before Pylypow and Eleniak arrived in Canada. One was apparently named Nykola Koroliuk. There is uncertainty about him, but there is no doubt that a Stefan Koroliuk did come to the area to homestead and may indeed have come to Canada before Eleniak and Pylypow did[10]. MacGregor[11] claims:

> There is a record, however, of at least one and possibly two Ukrainians who came direct to Alberta to farm...One was Ludwig Kulak, who, judging by his name, may have been the son of a German mother and a Ukrainian father. The other was Stefan Koroluk, who was all Ukrainian ... but, before leaving Ukraine, had married Margaret Hennig, a German girl....

Further confirmation of Koroliuk's presence in Alberta comes from Matthew Shatulsky who states:

> I knew this man Koroliuk very well. He lived in Edmonton by the Rudyk Institute (burse)... There always were a number of Ukrainian workers living at 'Old Koroliuk's' [as we called him] place...including me. Mrs. Koroliuk was German, and worked at the Great Western Garment factory. Unfortunately, it never occurred to any of us to ask Koroliuk when and how he came to Canada.[12]

7. Lysenko[13] also states that "...the first Ukrainian immigrant of whom there is any record was Vassil Kochur and his wife Anna, servants of a German colonist named Landetz, who went along with him to Canada in 1888. Kochur did not report to anyone, did not write any letters, and was lost without any trace in Canada." It is interesting to note that Wasyl Eleniak claimed to have met the man, and consequently believed that he and Ivan Pylypow were not the first Ukrainians to come to Canada. When he was interviewed by Dr. Rudnyckyj[14] in 1953 he stated that "...[t]he Ukrainian whom we met in [the Assiniboia area of] Saskatchewan by the name of Kotsur...was very glad [to see us] and tried to influence us into staying there... He worked for the Germans in the old country and along with them came to Canada. He married one of the daughters. He was already two or three years in Canada when we met him...He also didn't forget the Ukrainian [language] as he spoke as well as I do with you. He spoke German with his wife..."

With such uncertainty as to who the first Ukrainians were to settle in Canada, why do we select the arrival of Pylypow and Eleniak in 1891 as a historical marker of Ukrainian immigration? Kaye and Swyripa[15] provide a reasonable answer to this question:

> ...The pre-1891 arrivals, however, are only an interesting footnote to Ukrainian-Canadian history, for they came out as individuals and failed

to leave any Ukrainian imprint on the communities in which they lived.

Eleniak and Pylypow also came to Canada in 1891 as individuals, but their arrival has been well documented. More important is that they were the first Ukrainian members (undoubtedly more by historical accident than by design) of an immigration process that soon was to become a flood. Perhaps their lives were not the "stuff" from which heroes are made, and the trail they followed may have been already blazed mainly by others. However, they certainly merit "...a place of honour as pioneers in the ranks of nation-builders."[16]

Before presenting a sketch of the life of Ivan Pylypow and Wasyl Eleniak, some limitations should be noted. Much of the information available on these men is fragmented. Hence their biographies in the chapters that follow will have gaps and errors.[17] Neither left an autobiography. Both were interviewed by Bobersky. (See Appendix 1.) In fact at least four interviews of Wasyl Eleniak are available: one by Bobersky[18], one by the Basilian Fathers of Mundare[19], the one mentioned above by Rudnyckyj, and one by Olynyk.[20] Ivan Pylypow was interviewed only by Bobersky[21], but this interview covers in detail only a narrow interval of his life.

Fortunately, the following gave extensive taped interviews that include Ivan's (and to some extent Maria's) life: two of Ivan's children, William[22] and Nicholas; several of his grandchildren and other relatives; several neighbours and hired help that knew him well.[23] Nonetheless there are a substantial number of discrepancies and disagreements to be found in the available biographical information, some of which will be noted in the appropriate chapters. Undoubtedly, further research is needed on these two significant Canadian pioneers.[24]

Neither Eleniak nor Pylypow led extraordinary and sensational lives. The significance of their biographies is that they are similar to those of most other Ukrainian settlers who emigrated to western Canada prior to the First World War. Yet in a multitude of ways the life of each Ukrainian Canadian settler was unique owing to differences in his/her character and the circumstances in which the life was lived. This contradictory but natural combination of the common and the unique will be very evident in the biographies of Pylypow and Eleniak.

As might be predicted, this biographical presentation deals very scantily with the lives and influences of the wives: Maria Pylypow and Anna Eleniak. Unfortunately, the information that is available on them is very inadequate. Indeed, on Anna Eleniak it is almost nonexistent.[25]

CHAPTER 2

UKRAINE—THE LAND OF THEIR BIRTH

2.1 Early History

The history of the region in Europe, which is currently called Ukraine, goes way back into antiquity. Its destiny was considerably influenced by the Greek and the Roman Empires, and later on it was the passageway for the Huns as they made their way from the East to central Europe. In the ninth century Kievan Rus was established (possibly by the invading Vikings or Swedes).[1] This became a highly developed feudal state, which at one time stretched from the White Sea to the Black Sea and from the Carpathian Mountains to the steppes of the Volga. It was ruled by hereditary monarchs (the most noted one being Yaroslav the Wise).

Rus, with Kiev as the capital, lasted until the thirteenth century. Its demise was initiated by internal rivalries, but the final blow came from Genghis Khan and his armies which invaded Rus in 1239. The Cossack period followed the invasions from the East. It lasted three centuries during which the Ukrainian people, led by their Cossacks, conducted resistance to invasions from the south by the Tartars and Turks. As a result of centuries of invasions and occupations by Asiatic armies from both the east and south, the Ukrainian people suffered subjugation, persecution and cruelty — and even slavery. However, in the process of struggling against the invaders, they helped protect the rest of Europe from Asiatic invasion.

Even while the Ukrainian people were resisting the Asiatic incursions, their lands were also invaded and occupied successively by their European neighbours: Sweden, Lithuania, Poland, and Russia. The Cossacks again played an important role in trying to repel the new invaders. In 1667 Russia and Poland partitioned Ukrainian lands, with the latter getting control of more of western Ukraine. Subsequent to this, in a series of partitions (in 1772, 1793 and 1795), Poland and its territories (including western Ukraine) were divided among Prussia, Russia and Austria. By 1795 the provinces of Galicia, Bukovyna, and Transcarpathia were made crown colonies of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, which was ruled by the Habsburg monarchy. (See map in Figure 1.)

It should be noted that prior to the centuries of foreign subjugation, there was a Ukrainian nobility and bourgeoisie in

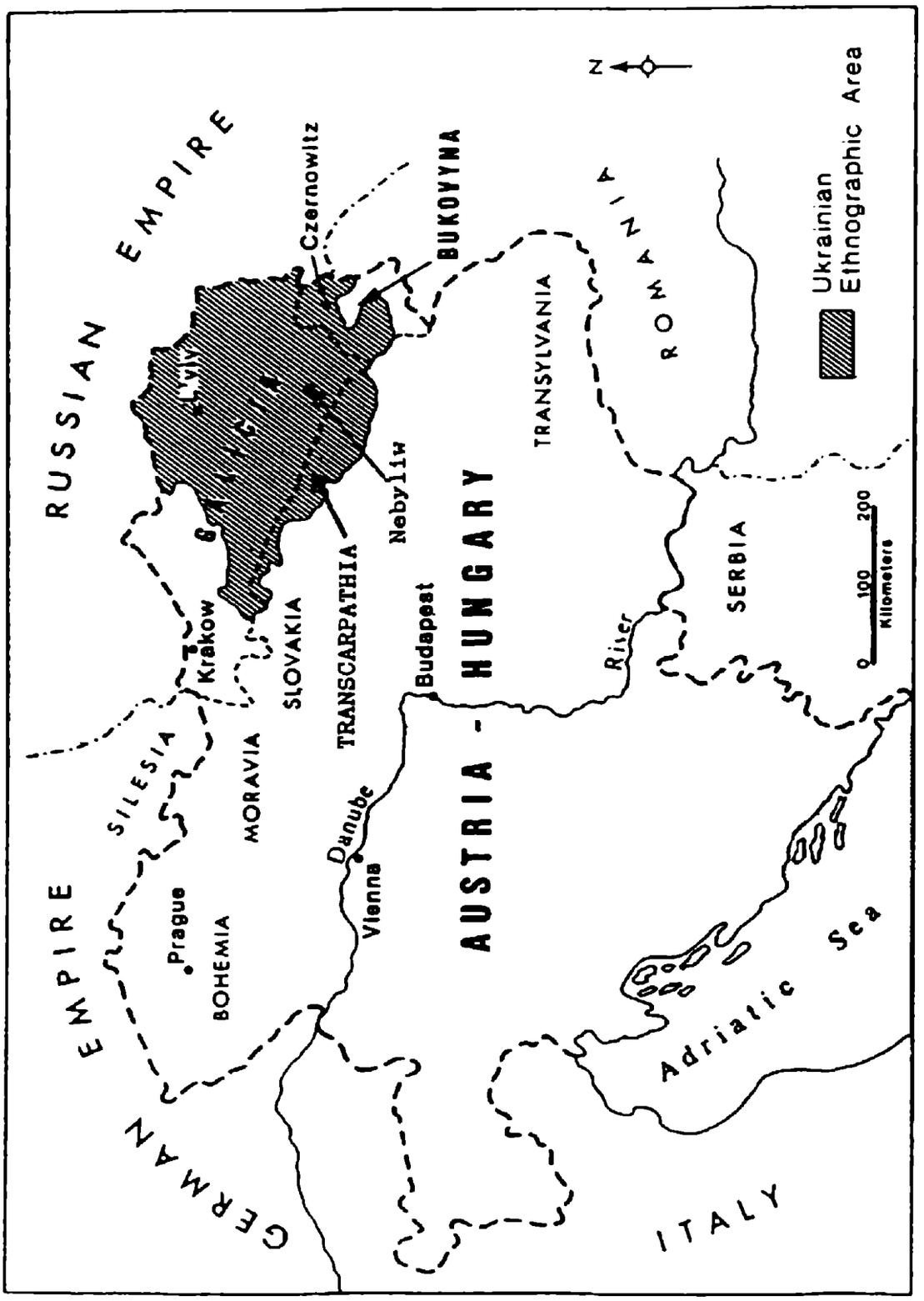


Figure 1: Map of Austro-Hungary [Reproduced from L. Luciuk and S. Hryniuk, eds., *Canada's Ukrainians: Negotiating an Identity* (Toronto: Ukrainian Canadian Centennial Committee and University of Toronto Press, 1991), p. 32. Additions: Transcarpathia and Nebyliw.]

western Ukraine. However, during the subsequent centuries of foreign domination, it was assimilated by the Polish dominating classes in Galicia and the Romanian ones in Bukovyna. Hence up to the end of the nineteenth century, Ukrainian society consisted mainly of two social groups, the peasantry and the clergy.

As a result of centuries of foreign subjugation there was no development of a Ukrainian nationality and consciousness. (In Canada this fact was reflected in the various ethnic labels given to Ukrainians such as Austrian, Russian, Polish, Galician, and Bukovynian). The waves of foreign domination also caused the population of western Ukraine to lose its homogeneity. Indeed, by the end of the 19th century the Ukrainians were no longer a majority in their western provinces. For example, according to Himka,[2] the ethnic mix in "Galicia's population was about 40 per cent Ukrainian, 40 per cent Polish, and 10 per cent Jewish, with a small German minority. In Bukovyna the population was about 40 per cent Ukrainian and 30 per cent Romanian, with the remainder German and Jewish."

2.2. Western Ukraine in the Century Before World War I

Conditions in occupied western Ukraine (i.e., Galicia, Bukovyna and Transcarpathia) in the decades before and during Pylypow's and Eleniak's early life have been well documented. It is generally believed by Ukrainians that it was primarily these conditions that drove them and hundreds of thousands of their compatriots to emigrate to foreign lands, some of them to Canada.

Although western Ukraine was part of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, a substantial amount of the economic (hence the political) power in Galicia and Bukovyna was transferred to the Polish and Romanian aristocracy respectively. This nobility owned big estates and dominated the local government and its bureaucracy. Until serfdom was abolished, the peasant serfs were severely exploited and debased by the predominantly non-Ukrainian (and often absentee) nobility. Piniuta[3] describes the life of the serf thus:

> ...[T]he condition of the Ukrainian peasant serf was pitiable and degrading. Extreme inequality existed between the landlord and his serf. A serf ... could not marry without his lord's permission. His child could not be sent to school without the lord's permission. The lord could have his serf beaten; he could enlist the serf's twelve-year-old son in the army. The serf could not be admitted before the lord to present his grievances.... The serf and his family lived in a hut on a small plot of land which he worked, though it belonged neither to him nor the lord. He had to pay tithes and taxes on it but could not sell it, make any

> improvements on it, or divide it among his heirs without the lord's permission. He worked on the lord's land a certain number of days per week without pay, and he had to give the lord a share of the produce from his own land. He paid taxes on the salt he used and the fruit he grew.... The lord was master, tax collecter, lawmaker, and judge; and the serf was the lord's chattel in every sense of the word.

Serfdom was abolished in the Habsburg Empire in 1848 (and in the Russian Empire in 1861). However, the feudal system in existence gave way slowly to modern nation-building. For a while after emancipation the Ukrainian peasants who had land felt that life was improving. However, the nobility continued to disregard the interests of the peasant class completely. Over the decades the peasants divided and sub-divided landholdings as their children inherited the property. As a result, an increasing number of peasants farmed a plot of land too small to make a living. While the peasants' landholdings were shrinking, the aristocracy and the church grabbed fields and forests which had hitherto been held in common or took the land of peasants who could not pay their taxes or debts. As time went on, more and more peasants with small plots of land (or no land) were forced to work under terribly exploitative conditions for the large landowners. Some of them also went to work for periods of time in the more industrialized cities of Bukovyna and Galicia (e.g., Chernivtsi and Lviv), in other centers of Austro-Hungary, or in neighbouring countries.

All sectors of the economy of western Ukraine were extremely underdeveloped during the nineteenth century. The major one was agriculture, but it was at an abysmally low level of technology, even around 1900:

> Scattered, dwarf-sized holdings rendered agricultural technology impractical even where it was financially feasible. Almost everywhere land continued to be cultivated with wooden hoes and ox-drawn ploughs; grain was sown by hand, cut with a scythe and threshed with flails; and sophisticated methods of crop rotation were unknown. In eastern Galicia 75 per cent of the households with less than two hectares (five acres) had no horses and 25 per cent had no cows; those with two to five hectares (5 to 12.4 acres) averaged a horse and cow per household. In Bukovyna at least 45 per cent of the households had no horses and 11 per cent had no cows. In all of Galicia 1,150,000 households with less than 10 hectare (25 acres) owned a grand total of 34 sowers and 58 harvesting machines. [Areas in acres added—M.N.][4]

There were few industries. The Austro-Hungarian government deliberately maintained the western Ukrainian provinces as sources of cheap labour, mainly for the large local landlords and for foreign

industry through short-term emigration by Ukrainian peasants. The agricultural products and raw materials produced in western Ukraine were provided cheaply to the industrialized European countries. Finally, western Ukraine was a market for Austrian manufactured goods and a source of recruits for its army.

Ukrainians were unfairly represented in occupations other than agriculture. Even as "...late as 1900 only 1 per cent of the Ukrainians in Austria were employed in the church, the government or the free professions. Not many more were employed in trade or industry...Poles, Jews and Germans outnumbered Ukrainians in all urban centres, while the Jews, who comprised 11 per cent of the Galician population, controlled 88 per cent of Galician trade and commerce in 1900."[5] On the other hand, the vast majority of the Ukrainians (probably 95 per cent) were peasants, who tried to eke out a bare existence on a meagre and diminishing patch of land.

Throughout all of the earlier decades of the century before World War I, all of the lower classes, regardless of ethnic origin, suffered greatly in the terrible economic and social conditions existing in western Ukraine, but the Ukrainians suffered the most. They had a lower standard of living and a higher mortality rate because of their more extreme poverty resulting from smaller landholdings, lower wages, and higher debts. The landlords, merchants, and governments continued to impoverish the peasants by levying usurious interest rates on loans, high taxes, exorbitant rent for pasture and woodland, and escalating prices for essential commodities. This extensive impoverishment resulted in the death of thousands of people annually due to malnutrition and starvation.

In addition to suffering exceedingly poor economic conditions, Ukrainians were also subjected to political, social and national oppression. This was true during the entire period of Habsburg rule in western Ukraine. The rulers did not engage in this oppression directly, but used a policy of "divide and rule" for this purpose. An example of this was given above when it was indicated that in Galicia the Poles were permitted supremacy over the Ukrainians. The Romanians were permitted to exercise similar authority over Ukrainians in Bukovyna. Thus any backlash to the oppression would be directed at the most visible "masters" rather than at the Habsburg rulers.

The considerable political discrimination against Ukrainians was manifested in many ways. For example, in Galicia the electoral policy was such that the Poles controlled most of the political positions in the province. Hence, most governing bodies passed laws that favored the Poles. In addition, the landlords (mainly Polish) and the rising merchant class subverted whenever possible

the various democratic reforms passed by the Austro-Hungarian government to forestall rebellion. Furthermore, subservience to authority was enforced by the requirement of compulsory military service of all healthy young males.

Education was curtailed at all levels to Ukrainians in an attempt to keep them ignorant and docile. Illiteracy rates among Ukrainians were very high. In Galicia the Ukrainian language and culture were suppressed, while every effort was made by the Polish overlords to Polonize the Ukrainians. Also policies of assimilation were put into effect such as setting up colonies of foreigners (mostly German-speaking) on Ukrainian territory.

It is true that in the decades immediately prior to World War I conditions began to improve in western Ukraine. This was due more to the growing struggle being waged by Ukrainians to improve their miserable lives and the need for change by the rising merchant and industrial class than by a change of heart on the part of the landlords and the various levels of government. Railway lines were built, which improved travel and the marketing of the peasants' products. Communication services were improved. Agricultural productivity increased and was also diversified to include more crops. Animal husbandry improved significantly, including the appearance of improved breeds of farm animals. All of these improvements resulted in better nutrition for the peasants. This, coupled with vaccination and health education, led to a sharp decline in the death rate. The result was a gradually stronger and more resilient population.

It should be noted that these improvements were at best unevenly distributed throughout western Ukraine. At worst, they still left a large proportion of the population in great poverty, destitution and ignorance. For example, "[i]n 1900 a full 95 per cent of the Ukrainian population was still comprised of peasants, whose social mobility in both the Russian and Austro-Hungarian empires was institutionally circumscribed and largely dependent on their willingness to switch ethnic allegiances."[6] Landholdings continued to dwindle in size. More peasants became landless while the land sizes held by the nobility, churches and rich merchants continued to grow.[7]

During this period of improving economic times the illiteracy of the population, while decreasing, was still unacceptably high. According to Marunchak[8], "[s]tatistics show that in 1908 of the seven and one-half million population in Galicia district over four and one-half million were illiterate...[I]n most villages there were no schools." Access to secondary and post-secondary education by

Ukrainians was restricted as was teaching in the Ukrainian language.[9]

2.3. The Struggle Against Oppression and the Rise of Ukrainian Nationalism

The peasantry of western Ukraine reacted militantly against their miserable living conditions and the political oppression. Even in the earlier centuries, while under Polish rule, there were many insurrections in western Ukraine. Ukrainians revolted again in the 1840s in Galicia and Bukovyna but were defeated. However, the peasant resistance continued in various forms into the present century, with some small gains being made.

While the peasantry conducted militant struggles in the mid-nineteenth century against their oppressors, the Polish and Hungarian aristocracy clamored for still more power in their respective regions. As a result of the restiveness of the Ukrainians and the lower class Poles and other minority groups, as well as of the military setbacks suffered by Austro-Hungary in 1859 and 1866, Habsburg Emperor Francis Joseph democratized the Austro-Hungarian constitution. However, in the process he also gave the Polish aristocracy "...a free hand in the administration of Galicia through Polish viceroys (governors), a provincial Diet, a Polonized bureaucracy and Polish district captains [*starosty*]. Polish also replaced German [which became mandatory when the Austro-Hungarians took western Ukraine from the Poles—M.N.] as the language of administration, higher education and the judiciary. Although the Austrian constitution safeguarded the language and culture of Ukrainians to some extent, in most respects Galicia was a Polish state within a state until 1918."[10]

The reforms to the Austro-Hungarian constitution in the 1860s also gave the right to local legislative assemblies to send representatives to the Parliament (Reichsrat) in Vienna. Because the electoral laws were biased in favor of the Polish elite and because they gerrymandered the electoral process, the Poles held power in the local assemblies. Consequently, in the Vienna Parliament they had more seats than the Ukrainians and could block any moves by the latter for changes favorable to Ukrainians. This form of political discrimination against Ukrainians continued up to the dismemberment of the Austro-Hungarian Empire after World War I. According to Martynowych[11] "...[e]ven after the abolition of the curial system and the introduction of full universal manhood suffrage in 1907, one German deputy in the Austrian Diet

represented 40,000 persons, one Polish deputy 52,000 and one Ukrainian deputy 102,000."

Educated Ukrainians also took advantage of the constitutional democratic reforms to engage in social and political activism. A sequence of mass movements emerged: Russophilism (pro-Russianism), National Populism (Ukrainophilism), and Radicalism. All of them professed belief, to a greater or lesser extent, in the ethnic distinctiveness of the Ruthenians (Ukrainians) of western Ukraine, but each movement had its own solution to the plight of the Ukrainian peasantry.

The Russophiles believed that both the Ukrainians and Russians were descendants of Kievan Rus; hence they felt a "cultural kinship" with the latter. The National Populists rejected Russophilism. While the Russophiles tended to ignore the Ukrainian peasantry, the Ukrainophiles in their early years gave considerable attention to them, primarily by promoting educational and cultural activities among them. Eventually both Russophilism and National Populism slid into conservatism, which resulted in their ever-increasing accommodation with the Polish oppressors and Habsburg rulers. In the process they compromised the struggles of Ukrainians in the Austro-Hungarian Empire for democratic rights and social justice. Consequently, the Radical movement arose in the 1870s in reaction to the "decaying" of the other two movements. It formed the National Democratic Party in 1890. In 1899 splinters of it left to form two new parties: the liberal Ukrainian National Democratic Party and the socialist Ukrainian Social Democratic Party.

The democratic changes to the Austro-Hungarian constitution also made it possible to initiate a process of enlightenment of the Ukrainian peasants. They got an opportunity to assimilate liberal, radical, and technical ideas. Involved in the transformation of the national, political, technical and cultural awareness of the peasants were the reading clubs or *chytalni* (singular *chytalnia*) and the publication of a multitude of Ukrainian newspapers, periodicals, pamphlets, and books. These reading clubs began to appear in the early 1870s and increased rapidly in number in the remaining decades prior to World War 1. They were usually affiliated with enlightenment societies, the regional branches of which provided the reading materials.

Among the main societies formed were the following: the *Prosvita* (Enlightenment) by the National Populists (Ukrainophiles), the russophilic Mykhailo Kachkovsky Society, and the *Narodny Dim* (People's Home) in Galicia; the *Ruska Besida* (Ruthenian Club) in Bukovyna. The *Narodna Volia* (People's Freedom) society was formed by the Radicals. In the early stages the clergy were

heavily involved in organizing and conducting the reading clubs. Later, with growth of anti-clericalism in the villages (mainly because the churches were large landowners and were becoming increasingly collaborationist with the Polish aristocracy), the peasants began to take greater control of the reading clubs.

In these clubs and through publications and lectures the peasants learned about a variety of matters: health, farming practices, politics (e.g., about civil rights), existence of free lands across the oceans, temperance from alcohol, and so forth. Soon many also delved into social and cultural activities (choirs, drama, etc.). The reading clubs were also avenues for agitation for and setting up a variety of co-operatives and loan societies (credit unions), with stimulus and guidance provided by *Narodna Torhivlia* (People's Commerce), *Prosvita*, and other societies.

New societies were formed as time went on to fulfill the needs of specific groups (e.g., students) and regions. At the turn of the century, gymnastic organizations and fire brigades were organized, focusing on young males: the *Sich* (literally Cossack camp) by the Radicals; the *Sokil* by the National Populists; the *Russki Druzhyny* by the Russophiles. In the last decades prior to 1914 these various institutions became a dominant feature in the lives of Ukrainians in Galicia and Bukovyna.[12]

Certainly the various organizations, that came into being in western Ukraine in the last decades of Austro-Hungarian rule, were instrumental to a considerable degree in developing the social and ethnic consciousness as well as the political awareness of the Ukrainian peasantry. This in turn led the peasantry to social activism in defence of their class interests. According to Martynowych,[13] "[a]gricultural labourers began to go on strike in the 1890s after the issue had been debated in the Radical press. In 1902, 100,000 agricultural labourers went out on strike in most districts of Galicia. Four years later 384 east Galician villages went out on strike and managed to win higher wages."

Undoubtedly the various avenues of struggle discussed above, that were undertaken by western Ukrainians in the decades prior to World War I, were significant factors in improving their own economic and social well-being. Hryniuk[14] assesses the effect of these improvements:

> There were thus dark sides in the picture, too, and not everyone shared in the modest increase in material prosperity that agricultural progress and better organization brought about. But there were material and cultural improvements for the majority of the population of Western Ukraine. There was also a growing self-confidence in the villages from the 1890s onwards. Peasants acquired expertise in local government and

> became more aware of their rights as Austrian citizens. In Galicia they stood up to the landowners' bullies at elections ...People's assemblies (*vichi*) were held....
>
> The improvements, however modest, in their material conditions, hard work, civic self-help, and new feelings of human dignity and of Ukrainian consciousness brought the Eastern Galician and Bukovynian peasants from a psychological bondage to tradition into a more modern world. Why then, if conditions were getting better, did a wave of emigration to Canada begin in the mid-1890s?

2.4. Who Emigrated and Why?

In the light of the brief history of western Ukraine outlined above, it may seem obvious why many Galicians, Bukovynians and Transcarpathians began to consider emigration seriously. Prokop[15] encapsulates, in a most forceful manner, a prime motivation in this general statement:

> It [the emigration] was born in the tragedy of the dismemberment of our native Ukrainian land between two rapacious states—one of which was the autocratic tsarist crown, and the other that of the Austro-Hungarian empire. It grew out of the conditions of social and national enslavement. It was born in poverty and hunger in that part of the native land which was under the colonial yoke of the Austro-Hungarian empire, and which held its Ukrainian possessions—Halychyna, Bukovina and Trans-Carpathia—in social-economic, political and national backwardness.

Prokop's statement implies the great complexity underlying the motivation for Ukrainians to emigrate— involving the dialectical interactions of many political, ideological, economic, social, cultural, demographic and personal factors.

Martynowych[16] uses a framework of "pushes" and "pulls" to describe the complexity of factors at work resulting in Ukrainian emigration in the three decades prior to World War I:

> We have seen that by the 1890s conditions in Galicia and Bukovyna were ripe for the emigration of Ukrainian peasants to Canada. The unmitigated subdivision of peasant land-holdings, the alienation of lands by the nobility, the few opportunities to earn wages, and the high taxes and indebtedness were literally "pushing" the peasants out of their villages. Simultaneously, the demand in Canada [as well as in many other countries in North and South America - M.N.] for agriculturalists to settle the vast and underpopulated prairies and for labourers to work in the burgeoning frontier industries and urban centres were practically "pulling" them abroad.

There were additional "pushes" and "pulls" to those mentioned above by Martynowych. For example, overpopulation in parts of western Ukraine is offered by some historians as an important

"push" for Ukrainian emigration. In response one could argue that equitable land redistribution, still greater application of science and technology to agriculture and the general well-being of the people, and more industrial and commercial development in western Ukraine would have provided gainful employment to a large segment of this "surplus" population. In the process it would have improved the standard of living of all of the inhabitants of western Ukraine—perhaps to the level of the industrialized countries of western Europe. However, there obviously was a limit to this approach in providing a better standard of living for the entire population in the historical period under consideration, since the industrialized countries had their own large sector of poor people, many of whom chose to emigrate.

The "seeking of adventure" by the Ukrainian peasant has also been invoked as a motivating factor in emigration. Undoubtedly, a few did leave western Ukraine in search of adventure, and indeed people like Eleniak and Pylypow had to be adventurous to venture on a voyage to a strange and distant land. However, their financial standing, and that of most of the other emigrants from western Ukraine, was not such that it could cater to a yen for adventure.

Obviously, one's economic status was an important factor in deciding whether or not emigration was a rational choice. The wealthier Ukrainians would not have had a strong economic incentive to emigrate, while a large segment of Ukrainian peasantry was too poor to contemplate it seriously. (In actual fact, in desperation many of them did emigrate anyway.) Since at the turn of the century the economic status of many Ukrainian peasants was improving, Hryniuk[17] claims that "...it was precisely because conditions had improved and people's expectation for themselves and even more so for their children had increased that they were willing to entertain the idea of uprooting themselves."

Of course the miserable conditions of life for most of the peasants in western Ukraine was a dominant "push" on them to emigrate. Both Pylypow and Eleniak indicated vehemently (in a totally apolitical manner) that their very difficult life in Nebyliw was a key factor in their decision to emigrate.

However, the extreme poverty and the other factors internal to western Ukraine, that are discussed above, provided the *necessary* conditions for engendering emigration. What were the *sufficient* conditions? These were the "pulls." The main one by far was having somewhere to emigrate. This was provided by countries with vast spaces that needed large numbers of people for their development, such as those in Siberia and in South and North America.

In the ensuing "competition" among countries for immigrants, Canada soon became a preferred choice due mainly to three events:

1. The exploratory trip made to Canada by Pylypow and Eleniak in 1891 and the laudatory reports that the former gave upon his return to Nebyliw in 1892. His message became widely known and became reinforced by his subsequent trial and incarceration.

2. The two booklets written by Oleskow[18] on his trip to Canada in 1895: *Pro vilni zemli* [About Free Lands] that he wrote before the trip and *O emigratsii* [About Emigration] that he wrote after trip, in which he recommended emigration to Canada rather than to Brazil.

3. The increasing number of letters received in Ukraine from relatives and friends who had already settled in Canada, many of them very favorable. Some of these new Canadian immigrants offered financial assistance for emigration to these relatives and friends.

Late in the nineteenth century, the Canadian government became highly interested in European immigration, primarily to settle the prairies in the West. It made its most energetic push for immigrants during the period 1896-1905 when Clifford Sifton was the Minister of the Interior. He quickly perceived, that in the conditions prevailing in western Canada, a "...stalwart peasant in a sheepskin coat..."[19] would make a very suitable settler. As instruments for achieving the aims of his immigration policy, Sifton reorganized his Immigration Department and permitted the North Atlantic Trading Company to be set up by Canada's high commissioner in London and the Canadian inspector of immigration agencies in Europe.

A variety of methods, used both in an acceptable diplomatic manner and clandestinely, informed western Ukrainians (as well as potential emigrants from other countries) of Canada's need for settlers and induced some of them to come to this country. These methods included laudatory propaganda and advertising (in the Ukrainian language), and the establishment of emigration agencies in Galicia and Bukovyna from which agents operated (and to whom a settlement bonus was paid for each emigrant recruited). The pamphlets that were distributed in western Ukraine carried such enticing titles as "Free land is waiting for you," "The wondrous Canadian West," "Be your own master husbandman," "Take care of your children's future."[20] Of course, the main bait (and a very alluring one for the "land hungry" peasants) was the free (actually $10.00) homestead being offered to the head of each immigrant family.

The efforts of the Canadian government to entice immigrants from Europe was reinforced by a veritable army of agents who worked for the steamship companies that transported the emigrating

people to their destined countries. These agents received a commission on the boat and railway tickets that they sold to recruited emigrants. Some of them were retained by the Canadian government, which paid a bonus of $5.00 to them for each emigrant that they directed to Canada. Piniuta[21] claims that "[s]ome 5,000 to 6,000 agents scoured Galicia and Bukovina outlining the [Canadian] government's offer of 160 acres of free land per farmer and the prospects of jobs with good pay for workers."

The Canadian Pacific Railway, which had just finished spanning the prairies, got into the emigration act also, for it realized that providing railway service to the new settlers was the only way to make its trans-Canada venture profitable.

Primarily due to their dire living conditions and an uncertain future, the majority of western Ukrainians were highly vulnerable to the emigration "sales pitch" coming at them from all sides. In principle, there ceased to be a legal obstacle to emigration when the Austro-Hungarian Empire became a constitutional democracy. The rulers realized that emigration could reduce the threat of a revolutionary upheaval of the poor and destitute. Obviously, those who could profit from emigration (e.g., transportation companies) favoured it.

But constitutional democracy notwithstanding, political obstacles soon arose. As the emigration fervor in Galicia began to build up it became evident to the Austrian militarists that a mass exodus of peasants would mean fewer soldiers for the army. To the exploiters of labour (e.g., big landowners and industrialists), such an exodus would mean a loss of cheap labour power, and concomitantly the remaining population would be able to exert more pressure for a better life through improved wages. The loss of population in western Ukraine also caused concern to the clergy who relied on peasants for some of their income, and to the leaders of Ukrainian nationalist movements, who saw that massive emigration would hamper their struggle for social justice and political rights (and ultimately for national liberation).

Upon the instigation of the Polish members in the Parliament in Vienna, state measures were taken to thwart emigration, especially of young men of military age. Shlepakov[22] states that "...[t]he first—and almost only—law regulating the flow of emigration to any extent, was the one effected in 1887, whereby young citizens of conscription age were denied exit visas." In spite of surveillance, withholding of work permits and passports and so forth, many people still managed to get across the border (through stealth and bribery) into Germany and proceed on to Hamburg and Bremen for embarkation to Canada.

In addition to political and legal obstacles, there were numerous other hurdles to overcome before emigration was possible. A major one was the inadequacy of the financial resources of most of the Ukrainian peasants. To accumulate the necessary cash for emigration, they had to dispose of their plots, houses, livestock and other chattels. As emigration reached "epidemic" proportions, the supply of property greatly exceeded the demand, and people were forced to sell it for whatever it could fetch (at one-half to one-quarter of its real value). The main buyers were the wealthy landowners and innkeepers, because few of the peasants remaining in the country could afford to buy the property of those leaving. If the sale of the property did not raise enough cash, the peasant would have to borrow money from whatever source was available: relatives, innkeepers, moneylenders, credit unions. The interest on such loans was usually very high. Indeed, as land prices dropped the interest charges for loans rose.

The cash that the emigrating peasant family amassed had to cover a host of expenses: fees for passports (which were seldom easy to get); travel expenses for the long journey to the point of departure (usually Hamburg or Bremen, Germany); purchase of passage for each member of the family on a steamship; tickets for land travel in Canada and living and other expenses incurred en route; the required amount of cash on hand per family (at least $25.00 for summer arrival and $50.00 for those arriving in the winter) when disembarking in Canada (so as not to require immediate assistance from the Canadian government); enough cash on hand to tide the family over the first year or two until production on the homestead could sustain the family. The minimum total amount needed ranged from $200.00 to $300.00 depending on the size of the family.

Only a few of the wealthier peasants were able to meet all of the expenses involved in emigration and still have enough reserve cash on which to bank during the first few uncertain years in Canada. A large proportion of the Ukrainian emigrants had barely enough to cross the Atlantic Ocean. Dr. Oleskow cautioned such peasant families not to emigrate, but there were less scrupulous individuals and agents who tantalized the prospective emigrants into taking a chance. The range of cash per family arriving in Canada was from zero to about $1000.00. "...Dr. Woodsworth, who on the basis of [a] questionnaire, covering 832 families, was able to verify that 50% of the immigrants who settled in Canada had no capital whatsoever, and 42% had less than $500.00 and only 8% had over $500.00."[23] As a result, many Ukrainian immigrant families suffered varying degrees and periods of destitution in this country.

Another major obstacle to emigration was the psychological one. The Ukrainian peasant had a narrow world view, having lived in one area for a long time without much contact with outsiders. Hence, understandably, they had a deep fear of the unknown posed by emigration. They also had a deep love for their homeland, in spite of the harsh life they were forced to live in it. By emigrating, they had to tear themselves away from loved ones and friends—saying the final farewells, and almost certainly never to see them again. Ukrainian books, plays, poems, memoirs and songs appearing on both sides of the ocean during the years of emigration before World War I are replete with expressions of emotional shock engendered by the parting and uprooting. This emotional state continued in varying degrees throughout the lives of most of the Ukrainian immigrants—especially for the wives.

In the end, for a large number of western Ukrainians, the inducements to emigrate outweighed the obstacles. Overcoming the obstacles in the best manner they could, Ukrainians came to Canada by the thousands prior to World War I in the first wave of immigration—mainly from Galicia and Bukovyna. Of course, in addition to bringing whatever financial and material possessions they could, they also brought their beliefs, preferences, animosities, etc. Himka[24] sums up the issue thus:

> ...[T]he Ukrainian peasants of Austria knew the hopelessness of working a grudging, shrinking patch of land ... In the end many decided to turn their backs on this and strike out for lands across the ocean. But during the same period, an organized political and economic struggle was already under way in the homeland. Thus, those who left Galicia and Bukovyna were under the influence, directly or indirectly, of the social and national awakening back home; and this they brought with them to Canada. Many may not have been able to read and write, but they nonetheless understood much. They knew what injustice was and they were learning how to organize to fight it. These were the men and women who stepped off the boat onto Canadian soil.

Starting with the first groups which emigrated from Nebyliw, the trickle of emigrants from Ukraine swelled into a "flood" within a few years. By the time World War I started, it is estimated that upward to 200,000 Ukrainians came to Canada to begin a new life.

CHAPTER 3

THEIR LIFE IN THE OLD COUNTRY

3.1. Introduction

Wasyl Eleniak and Ivan Pylypow came from the village of Nebyliw, in the district of Kalush, Stanyslaviv region (now called Ivano-Frankivsk region), province of Galicia, Austro-Hungary. (See Figure 1.) Both were born in Nebyliw in 1859, Pylypow on September 28[1] and Eleniak on December 22. Shatulsky[2] describes Nebyliw as follows:

> In the foothills of the green Carpathian mountains, by the fast-flowing Limnitsya stream, lies the village Nebiliv.
>
> It is a large village. Sixty years ago it had over 600 households and a population of several thousand.
>
> Beautiful are the foothills in this area. The timber-clad mountains rise one above the other to the west. Plums, pears, apples and cherries grow well. But the land is not as fertile as in the lowlands and the steppes of Ukraine. Grain, oats and potatoes yield poorly.
>
> Most of the farmers also had to work in the forests, cutting down trees in the mountains and rafting them down the river, to make a living. And even then they lived mostly on rye bread and oat gruel, for Graf Sheptitsky, who owned the forests, paid a mere pittance.

Neither of Ivan's two sons, William Pylypow and Nicholas Phillips, mentions Count Sheptitsky in their interviews. However, the former does mention Count Andrew Potocki several times as having had a direct impact on his father's life in Galicia. Marunchak[3] indicates that Count Potocki was "...the governor of the Province of Galicia..." at the time when Ukrainian emigration to Canada started and grew. There were several members of the nobility that owned property in the Nebyliw area, possibly including Sheptitsky.

Lysenko[4] adds the following description:

> (Pillipiw's and Eleniak's) native village of Nebilow, a typical settlement of the Carpathian Mountains, had six hundred homes, a Ruthenian school, a Greek Catholic church, a tavern controlled by the Austrian Government and a reading-hall. The houses snuggled next to each other beneath flowering orchards, and the ceremonies of land cultivation provided the chief enjoyment in a life which was a continual struggle against the encroachment of the landlords. It was from this

> village, where life had changed little for centuries in its immemorial usages, that Eleniak and Pillipiw set out to the wild lands of Canada.

Eleniak and Pylypow were friends in the Old Country, and their lives intertwined a great deal until the end of their first trip to Canada. For reasons to be discussed later, this friendship waned in their new homeland.

3.2. Wasyl Eleniak's Life Until 1891

Wasyl Eleniak was born in Nebyliw on December 22, 1859.[5] He was the son of Stefan Eleniak (1818-1878) and Eudokia (nee Stefura) Eleniak (1822-1878). There were four children in the family: Anna, Wasyl, Ivan and Petro. Their parents were very poor, with only 3 morgs (about 4.5 acres) of land consisting of scattered pieces, one cow, two oxen and a few chickens. "...[O]ur village, and not only there but most of the areas were very poor. Land was at a premium. Houses built with roofs even overlapping the neighbour's house."[6] Wasyl recalled vividly the cooking and heating system in these houses and how it was improved while he was away in Canada:

> Let me tell you about the houses. Smoke houses. At night we lit a fire, opened the door and let the smoke drift up and out [no chimneys]. To where the smoke drifted—the ceiling and the walls—were totally black. This is what it was like throughout the area ... The government passed a law that all had to have a brick chimney installed and all homes had to be white-washed. When I returned to the village [from Canada] after being away for two years, what a surprise I got. A transformed white interior and white ceilings, no smoke inside. What a miracle.[7]

Wasyl's father was a shoemaker. "When I was a small boy, I held the burning wick so that my father could see how to repair shoes. I used to fall asleep many times. [I] usually stayed up until midnight. Finally my older sister took over. My father earned the sum of fifty cents for [working] all days and till midnight ... I did learn how to mend shoes, but this did not appeal to me. I did repair all of my family's shoes in Canada."[8] Wasyl was 12 years old when his father died. Six years later his mother died. He then at 18 became the head of the family and had to look after the welfare of his younger siblings.

All the children had to help to support the family. Wasyl described one of his early responsibilities: "[from a very young age and starting in early spring I herded our] cow along with 8 or 10 other cows belonging to the villagers. That was how I was steadily employed until late fall. For tending each cow, each villager gave me

two rinski—about two dollars. Our food consisted mainly of corn, which was brought from Rumania."[9] He describes other details of his life thus:

> My younger brother went to my sister's to baby sit, my other brother went to my uncle's to herd cattle. My mother wouldn't let me go anywhere. I had to stay home and tend to the land and was the master. What sort of property this was is beyond description. It is beyond words and shameful to relate. It is as though I wasn't there. Oh Lord, Lord![10]

Wasyl's education was so limited that he was unable to write his name. Rudnyckyj[11] mentions asking "...for his autograph and reluctantly, Mr. Eleniak drew a cross..." Wasyl[12] describes his formal education thus:

> I attended school for less than three years, and what a school that was! [Classes were held in a rented house because the old school caved in.] Most of the time my teacher, who was also the deacon and the secretary of six villages, taught me at his home. He also worked thirty morgs of land. Quite often, some of his older students were sent to teach me during his absence ... It was only during the winter months that I attended this village school. Only about fifteen pupils were enrolled, but at times this number dropped down to ten or less because at that time attendance was not compulsory. We began our classes by kneeling and repeating the Lord's Prayer. There I learned to read only printed material but nothing handwritten. By the time I had come to Canada I had forgotten all that....

Wasyl could speak German, which he presumably learned through his contacts and dealings with Germans during the earlier decades of his life.[13]

When Wasyl became of military age he was not conscripted because he "... was quite small and skinny. It was said that I was born in a dry year..." Hence, he could continue to help to farm his mother's small patch of land. He also began to work for wealthier landowners.

In 1883, at the age of 23, Wasyl Eleniak married Anna (b.1865; d.1935), daughter and only child of Yurko and Maria Roshko of Nebyliw. Anna was 18 years old. In one of his interviews Wasyl[14] gives an interesting account of the marital event:

> Father Nikola Maletsky charged me nine rinski for the marriage ceremony which consisted of the regular High Mass. Besides this I had to pay the Bishop seven rinski as my wife and I were related. Before the marriage ceremony the priest asked us to repeat certain prayers and then he catechized us. I did very well but my wife-to-be made a mistake which she promptly corrected. According to our custom, every bride had to pass this oral test; otherwise there would be no wedding. We were

married on Sunday. Each of us wore a gilded wreath for which I paid sixty cents into the church treasury. After celebrating High Mass, Father Maletsky blessed our home. He had been our parish priest for thirty years. Now he was seventy years old. He was very conscientious in guiding his parishioners who, as a result, avoided frequenting the local tavern and inn-keeper ... There was very little whiskey consumed in our village for most of the boys had taken a pledge never to drink liquor. I drank some beer for the first time in Berlin when I was returning to our native village. My brothers never drank and my wife never tasted any liquor.

Father Maletsky, the cantor, and the sexton, and some friends and relatives were invited to the wedding reception. Even though some of my uncles were musicians, the priest would not permit any dancing. However, when he had left, the instruments were tuned up and the dance was in full swing. The young wanted to dance; for what is a wedding without any dancing? Next day Father Maletsky was greatly displeased with our disobedience, but what could we have done?

We had bought a small keg of beer which cost me 3 1/2 rinski. I had never drunk beer before, so I dipped my finger into it just to taste it. How bitter it was!...Next morning my wife went to plant potatoes while I drove out with the oxen to spread the manure.

Because of his poor economic circumstances, Wasyl had to live with his in-laws. In due course he and Anna had three children in Nebyliw: Maria (Mary), Fedir (Fred) and Magda. As an only child, Anna's dowry consisted of three morgs (about 4.5 acres) of land, a cow and 100 crowns *(rynskykh)* in cash. Wasyl brought nothing from his parents' estate because all of it went to pay debts. The young couple farmed the land:

On our land we grew oats successfully when the land was well fertilized with manure; otherwise, the oats were so short during harvest the sickle could scarcely catch the stems. We also seeded some barley and some rye but very little wheat. In winter our diet consisted mostly of potatoes with rye bread, cabbage, and peas: but we had to buy beans and broad beans. We also ate (oatmeal) porridge and boiled corn flour which quite often was damaged by the early frosts ... O,dear Lord! How difficult it was to make a living! This is what eventually drove me to emigrate to Canada.[15]

To supplement his meagre income, Wasyl hired himself out to wealthy landowners and also worked in the logging industry in the Kalush District. His job was to fasten logs together into log booms (rafts) and float them down the Limnytsia tributary, past the town of Perehinsk, and then up to the Dniester River. From there, Jewish merchants would have these booms floated down the Dniester River all the way to Odessa:

> [I] enjoyed that work very much. How quickly I covered those four miles. Early in the morning I would fasten ten thick logs together and then I would float them down the river to the town of Perehinsk. It took two hours to get there. At first I had others helping me, but I found it more enjoyable to do this work alone. For lunch I had a chunk of bread and drank some water.... In the springtime I was paid three rinski, but only one rinski in the summer.[16] [With this money Wasyl was able to buy several "koretz" (1 koretz equals 100 kilograms) of corn to feed his family.—M.N.]

Anna, Wasyl's wife, also had to work for the large landholders in the district. The conditions under which she worked had a profound effect on him. "When I went to see how my wife cut the barley, 10 heads for 100 cut, I vowed that this would be the last time that she would have to work so hard. We will go in search of easier bread...."[17]

Wasyl Eleniak was hearing stories about Canada from Germans he encountered on the logging job. Some of the relatives of these Germans had emigrated and were encouraging others to come to Canada, where one could get 160 acres of land for nothing (actually for $10). Because of the difficult life he and his family were living, he had a great urge to emigrate.

3.3. Ivan Pylypow's Life Until 1891

Details on Pylypow's life in the Old Country are scanty and fragmentary, since he left no autobiography and no comprehensive description of his life was recorded by others. Therefore, some of the details included in this account will be inferential or will be based on unsubstantiated information from some of those who knew him.

3.3.1. Life Until 1882

It appears that in the early 1800s two Pylypiwsky brothers (we assume that was the original family name) migrated from eastern Ukraine (possibly from the Poltava region) to Galicia. We do not know the reason for their leaving their ancestral land. It is possible that they got into trouble with the Czarist regime, which held the large eastern portion of Ukraine in colonial bondage. Many Ukrainians who fought for independence and against Russian oppression had to flee to Galicia. It is unlikely that the two brothers came to the Carpathian area to seek better land since it was not of comparable quality to the land in Poltava.

One of the brothers (the grandfather of Ivan Pylypow) settled in Nebyliw. This brother had three children, one of whom was Ivan's father Hawrylo. Hawrylo married Maria Kulka.[18] The couple had

six sons (the oldest child Ivan, Iurko, Dmytyr, Nykola, Vasyl and Mykhailo) and daughter Anna.

How did the conditions in western Ukraine described in the previous chapter impact on the Pylypow family at the time that Ivan was born? Hawrylo Pylypiwsky was deemed to be a prosperous farmer.[19] It is stated in the literature that he had forty morgs (about 57 acres) of land.[20] However, the children of Maria and Hawrylo could not have been well off if they had to rely solely on the one-seventh (about eight acres) of land that they could each inherit.

There is doubt about the extent of Ivan's education and where it occurred. We know that he was literate and that he attended school in Nebyliw. In his interview with Bobersky he said, "I can read and write and I know a bit of German...I had gone to school in the village for four years and had a good teacher..."[21] He may also have attended a *gymnasium* [an advanced high school] in Stanyslaviv.[22] MacGregor[23] describes Ivan's education thus:

> The village had no school, but the local priest, ever alert for bright boys, singled him out and made him one of his choir boys and consequently taught him to read church books. Continuing his interest and regarding Iwan as good material for the clergy, he talked the lad's father into allowing him to send the boy away to school in Stanyslaviv. The boy's performance did not match his intelligence.

Ivan's son William Pylypow claimed that his father was tight-lipped about his earlier life and had to be questioned incessantly to get information. He asked his father if he had had some higher education in Stanyslaviv. Not denying having had such an education, Ivan replied, "Why do you need to know?"[24] MacGregor's story about Ivan's higher education concurs with that of grandson Dan Pylypow. While working for his grandfather, he presumably got first-hand information on Ivan's life (which purportedly his father William could not get). Dan[25] said:

> Iwan Pylypow was a fairly educated man. His father sent him to school in the hope that he would become a priest. These hopes never materialized because Iwan "liked dancing, singing too much." He did however complete two years of higher education, attending outside of his home province of Kalush. He learned several languages including Greek, German, English, Russian, Ukrainian and Polish. His penmanship was excellent.

It could be that Ivan's pride would not permit him to talk about his failures, including the abandonment of higher education. Consequently, he claimed only that he could read and write a bit in Ukrainian. In any event, he probably acquired an education that was

fairly good for a Ukrainian in the times in which he lived. In addition to having some competence in several languages, he probably knew some mathematics since in later life he needed it in his business ventures.

Details are also lacking on other aspects of Ivan's childhood as well as about his adolescence and early adulthood. One can assume that in most respects it was what could be expected of a Ukrainian male living in a small village during the second half of the nineteenth century in occupied Galicia. He most certainly helped his parents with their work from an early age.

Starting in early adulthood Ivan worked for the local landlords. Dan Pylypow[26] recalled his grandfather "...telling him of the time he got a job from a landlord for one year. After the year was over, Iwan was to work one more week for free ... as was the custom before terminating employment. Iwan boasted that his employer let him go without working that extra week as he was a good and loyal worker all year..." Apparently in his early teens he worked as a blacksmith, and at the age of 22 began to farm on his own.[27] There was compulsory military service for three years in the Austro-Hungarian empire at that time, but it is uncertain if Ivan did a stint in the armed forces.

3.3.2. Life From 1882 Until 1891

Ivan has been characterized as "a youth of strange ambitions and far-off longing," "a restless, ambitious man," and "a man of enterprise."[28] Probably as a result of these traits, Ivan took a number of business gambles in Nebyliw, which may have changed his economic circumstances for the worse, and which likely culminated in a desire (perhaps even a need) to emigrate.

Ivan married a neighbor's daughter, Maria Luniw (b.June 20,1864; d.February 2,1942)—probably in 1882. She was from Perehinsk, a village separated from Nebyliw by the Limnytsia river. Her father was a fairly wealthy peasant. The married couple lived with Maria's parents (a fairly common occurrence at that time in Ukraine for "surplus" sons). Eventually, the couple had four sons and two daughters: Wasyl (William), twins Iurko (George) and Nykola (Nicholas), Anna (Ann), Mykhailo (Michael), and Magdalena [Margaret]. The last two children were born in Canada.

Ivan farmed during his married years in Galicia. His land was poor and needed fertilization. Hence, he "...travelled on many occasions to the land of the Magyars [Hungary] to do seasonal work to pay for the fertilizer."[29]

It seems that not long after the marriage, Maria inherited a substantial amount of property, which made Ivan one of the wealthier farmers in the village.[30] If this is true, then two complementary questions arise: Was his wealth sufficient to provide adequately for himself and his family? If it was, then why was Ivan not content to live the rest of his life as a prosperous peasant? We do not have the required evidence to answer these questions. We do know, however, that soon after Maria Pylypow acquired property, Ivan started to use it to pursue an unsuccessful path of entrepreneurship.

Other than the farming, we have only indirect information on the other occupations that Ivan undertook in Galicia. Sophia (nee Porayko) Kyforuk, who was the daughter of a neighbour of Ivan Pylypow, stated in an interview that at one time Ivan "...opened up a mercantile store [in Nebyliw]. He managed to acquire a fair amount of customers. This caused his competition, primarily Jewish, great concern. As a means of protest, they combined their influence to force the local wholesaler to charge Iwan ridiculously high prices for goods. This forced Iwan out of business..."[31]

It appears that Ivan was engaged in several other business ventures—some in partnerships. He ran a saw and grist mill. Ivan's son Nicholas Phillips stated that his father "...became a cattle buyer, an enterprise which sometimes took him across the Carpathian Mountains to Transcarpathian Ukraine... He also became a contractor to deliver logs [from the timbered slopes of the Carpathian Mountains] which were floated down the Limnytsia and Dniester rivers to many towns and cities along their banks and even to the Black Sea."[32] Apparently, Wasyl Eleniak worked as a foreman on Ivan Pylypow's logging contracts, but the former makes no mention of this in any of his interviews.[33]

Ivan had an affinity for logging. Dan Pylypow[34] said "...that his grandfather was a bushman in the old country, and that his skill with an axe was phenomenal. He could close his eyes, put his hand on a log, and make a cut between each of his fingers without hurting himself."

According to William Pylypow,[35] the oldest child of Ivan and Maria, his father had been involved in three logging contracts—two before his exploratory trip to Canada in 1891, and one immediately before his emigration with his family in 1893. At times he had up to 40 people working for him. In conjunction with this business activity Ivan made a trip to Vienna by oxen and cart, that took several weeks, to obtain some machinery for the cutting operation. William's recollections of these logging operations were as follows in his interview with Solomon:

> My father had two contracts in the forests. In the first one he and his partner Ivan Hlushak lost heavily. For the second one he begged my mother for money. A man came and told my mother to sell some land and help, and that he guarantees that my father will make a profit ... My mother was constantly pressured by my father's father not to sell land, because Ivan loses everything. Finally, my mother gave in to my father and sold some marshes with trees fairly cheaply, because nobody wanted them except someone who could benefit from the woods... My father used this money for the second contract, but alone this time. He never told me how much he earned, but it must have been quite bit because he had many people working for him with three foremen... My father subcontracted others to cut the trees, take the logs out of the woods, and have the bark taken off the logs....

If indeed Ivan lost money in most of his businesses, this would have gradually reduced Maria's equity and presumably lowered his status from a financially secure farmer to that of most of his neighbours in Nebyliw.

Two questions were raised earlier regarding Ivan Pylypow's thrust into the business world. A partial answer to them can be attempted now. It may be that Ivan's and Maria's equity was not sufficient to ensure a comfortable living for the family. Hence, Ivan may have been motivated to improve his economic circumstances by going into business, and even hoping to become wealthy—a completely normal objective. Then there may have been a predisposition in Ivan's character for involvement in business. Both factors may have been operative in his ventures into the business world.

William Pylypow characterized his father "...as a fearless and venturesome man, not afraid to try something new and different." However, he seemed to lack sufficient business sense and shrewdness, as well as the experience, to be a good entrepreneur. Indeed, William also characterized his father as "...a kind, considerate, and very fair and very honest person ... always willing to help..." Such traits could militate against success in the business world—especially if he was prone to sell goods and services on credit. Finally, being a member of a people oppressed by foreigners would work against him in business ventures.

As a result of his declining economic situation, Ivan began to contemplate leaving Nebyliw. William[36] said his "...father wanted to go for better land. The ones against the Carpathians were not suited for raising grain and vegetables... It was sandy and marshy. The soil was not productive, so people went to work in the forests, mountains and for landlords...The forests and mountains belonged

to the big magnates one of whom was Count Potocki..." [the Governor of the Province of Galicia—M.N.].

When Ivan finished his logging contract, he wrote the Mykhailo Kachkovsky Society for information about countries with good land that were admitting immigrants. The reply was that Russia was admitting foreigners to improve the quality of farming near the Caucuses. Acting on this information Ivan went to the Kuban region (which is east of the Black Sea) to a area between Baku and Tiflis. In addition to being unimpressed with the quality of this land, Ivan was also bothered by the stories he heard there: how the indigenous people resented foreigners coming to settle in their area and resorted to violent scare tactics such as beating up on them and burning their houses.

Ivan had heard about Canada and America (USA) from his teachers and more recently from German Ukrainians working in the logging industry who had relatives in Canada. He wrote one of these people in Canada. There is some uncertainty as to whether Ivan wrote to the emigrated children of a German worker in the logging industry or to John (Johan) Krebs who presumably had been a German classmate during his school days. Although in the interview with Bobersky he indicates the former, in actual fact he ended up in 1893 with his family in Bruderheim near Edmonton and got a homestead close to where Krebs was farming.

In any event the reply to his letter to Canada was very positive, making Ivan determined to emigrate there. Here is how Ivan[37] described the reply:

> They answered, "Leave the hills and valleys behind and move here".
>
> I wrote back, "Good, I will go."
>
> I was seized by a strong urge to go. I would leave immediately...But my wife did not want to go. She had a fear of the ocean and foreign countries...
>
> Very well, then stay here...
>
> I sold a team of horses and my oxen to get enough money to pay for the passage. I also sold some land.
>
> My father said to my wife, "Do not go with him at this time. Let him go alone first to see what the land is like over there; then we shall see what to do next."
>
> I applied for a passport for myself and my wife. I obtained it with considerable difficulty at the *starostvo* [head of the county—M.N.]...But I went alone...This was in the fall of 1891...

It did not take much to motivate Ivan, his friend Wasyl Eleniak, and his brother-in-law Iurko Panischak to investigate the possibility of making an exploratory trip to Canada.

CHAPTER 4

THE EXPLORATORY JOURNEY TO CANADA IN 1891

4.1. Introduction

The stories told by German neighbours to Wasyl Eleniak and Ivan Pylypow about their relatives who had emigrated to Canada, and the letter received by Ivan from one of these new settlers, caused a great stir in Nebyliw. Eventually ten families decided to emigrate, but the emotional obstacles were too great, especially for the wives. Hence, in the end Wasyl Eleniak, Ivan Pylypow, and Iurko Panischak[1] (Ivan's brother-in-law) decided to go to Canada, but only to explore the possibilities. Since the Austrian authorities were reluctant to grant permission to emigrate, the German neighbours advised them not to get passports but to get permits instead to work in Germany. They were assured that there would be no problem leaving Germany to travel to Canada.

Wasyl amassed 200 Austrian crowns[2] for the trip: 100 earned by floating log booms, 70 from the sale of his oxen, and 30 which he borrowed from his father-in-law and a neighbour. Ivan obtained his money for the trip as follows: "...I sold part of my land and after paying my debts I had 150 crowns and 50 cents left ... I paid 10 crowns for the fare to Mylynets, but because I had to have 150 crowns at the border I borrowed 7 crowns from Wasyl Eleniak, and to be on the safe side I also borrowed 20 crowns from Tyt Ziniak (Iurko Panischak?), who was turned back because he had only 120 crowns."[3] Each of the three men obtained a work permit (for 10 crowns and considerable difficulty) from the authorities in Kalush to work in Germany.

4.2. The Journey

At the end of the summer they took off, and going through Lviv and Cracow (Poland), they reached the German border. As was indicated above, Panischak was not allowed to enter Germany because he had too little money. He returned home while the other two went on.

Ivan and Wasyl reached Hamburg in due course, where with the assistance of the shipping agent Spiro and Company, they got passage on the *S.S.Oregon*. They were registered as labourers on the ship's passenger list. (See Appendix 2 for the passenger list.)

They "...passed through the port of Quebec [City] en route to Montreal...The ship sailed from the port of Liverpool on 28 August 1891. The journey from England to Canada took eleven days. It is likely that Ivan Pillipiw and Wasyl Eleniak came to Montreal from Quebec City that same day, that is, 7 September 1891."[4]

Eleniak and Pylypow immediately took a train for Winnipeg (a city of 30,000 people at that time). Here they stayed at the Immigration Hall while pursuing their purpose of assessing the potential of Ukrainian immigration to Canada. There is no doubt that three separate ventures were undertaken by our trailblazers between the time of their arrival in Winnipeg in early September and December 1 when Ivan Pylypow left Gretna, Manitoba, to return to Nebyliw. These are as follows: a trip to look at land in the Langenburg area (which now is in eastern Saskatchewan), a trip to Calgary with the intention of getting to Edmonton, and helping Mennonite farmers in Gretna with threshing. However, Wasyl Eleniak and Ivan Pylypow seem not to agree entirely on the order in which these ventures were undertaken or who participated in them.

Pylypow stated in his interview with Bobersky that, upon arrival in Winnipeg from Montreal, he and Eleniak were assigned a land agent, who spoke Ukrainian and German, to show them homesteads. He took them to Langenburg, NWT, which was being settled by Germans. Here they met acquaintances who worked under Ivan's supervision in the forests in Galicia. Ivan and Wasyl were shown land that pleased them. "We liked the farms. I wrote down the co-ordinates of one quarter-section for myself and another for Eleniak.... We returned to Winnipeg and paid ten dollars each for the land which we took for homesteads."[5] Apparently they believed that owning land in Canada might assist them to get out of Galicia the second time in case difficulties were encountered with Austrian authorities. With the act of registration they became the first known Ukrainians to "own" a homestead in Canada (but were not the first Ukrainian settlers). Since they never occupied or developed the land, the homesteads reverted eventually to the Crown.

According to Pylypow, upon returning to Winnipeg from Langenburg, another German acquaintance (who had emigrated from Kalush) advised him and Eleniak to go to the Edmonton area to see the land there. They got free rail passage to Calgary but could not get to Edmonton (where Ivan's school-mate John Krebs had a homestead) because the railway line was not finished yet. They were shown land around Calgary and other areas (e.g., Grenfell) on the way back to Winnipeg, but were not impressed because there were few trees.

Pylypow used "we" in describing the trips to Langenburg and Calgary to Bobersky, but in none of his interviews did Wasyl Eleniak mention making the one to Calgary. However, Ivan's son Nicholas Phillips and Wasyl's grandson William Val Eleniak indicated that both trailblazers went to Calgary.[6] Presumably each one heard about this trip from his respective ancestor.

Ivan and Wasyl did agree in their respective interviews about the third venture in which they were involved. They helped a Mennonite farmer in Gretna, Manitoba, harvest his grain for about a month (20 days of paid work plus days that they did not or could not thresh the grain). Gretna is in the Red River Valley just a few miles south of the city of Winnipeg. The Mennonites had emigrated there in 1874. Eleniak and Pylypow fed sheaves into the grain separator (threshing machine). The pay was $1.50 per day, and presumably included food and lodging. They worked until a heavy snowfall made threshing impossible, by which time they had earned about $30 each.

Pylypow stated to Bobersky that they did the threshing following the trips to Langenburg and Calgary, while Eleniak indicated in his interviews that they did it soon after they arrived in Winnipeg from Montreal. In fact, the latter remembers being hired on September 15.

It is impossible for us to resolve completely the apparent inconsistencies in the descriptions (including sequence) of the activities of Wasyl and Ivan for the period of time between their arrival in Winnipeg in early September until the latter left Gretna in December to return to the Old Country. However, it is obvious that if they spent about a month threshing then they would have had enough time to take the trips to Langenburg and Calgary—either before or after threshing; that is, in early or late fall. However, a late trip to the western Northwest Territories would run the risk of snowfall, making it more difficult to judge the quality of the land when it is covered with snow.

In the early days of agriculture in western Canada, the Red Fife wheat that was sown was quite late in maturing, so threshing was usually done later in the fall. There was also a great shortage of threshing machines. Therefore, to get around these problems, the settlers often hauled the dry sheaves from the fields and stacked them. Hence, they could be threshed right after a light rain or snow fell because the sheaves beneath the top layer were dry. It was not uncommon in those days for the threshing of crops to go on until well into November.

Both Eleniak and Pylypow imply in their respective interviews that they were back in Gretna by late November. This is when it was

decided that Ivan would return to Nebyliw alone and start organizing a group to emigrate to Canada, while Wasyl would stay on to work for a Mennonite farmer and earn some money to pay for his family's emigration with this group. Pylypow had an idea to create a settlement in Canada:

> I figured that it might be a good idea to bring other families from our village back with me as well. They would all be able to get land in a block, and thus they would not feel lonely in a foreign country. It occurred to me that it might even be possible to acquire a whole township...[T]he whole township contains 144 farms of 160 acres or, as we say, 113 morgs. This way 144 families could live side by side.[7]

4.3. Ivan Pylypow Returns to Nebyliw

Ivan Pylypow left Gretna on December 1, 1891, and arrived in his village on January 12, 1892. His route took him to Montreal, Boston, London, Hamburg, Berlin, Oswiecim (Auschwitz), Cracow, and Krekhovychi. From the last place, he made the trip to Nebyliw by horse-drawn cart. At Hamburg he made a deal to recruit emigrants for the shipping agent, Wolff and Company. For this he was to receive a commission of five crowns (about $2) for each family.[8]

Pylypow's return to Nebyliw caused a sensation. There was a steady stream of people going to his house, from the immediate vicinity and beyond, to hear his story. William Pylypow described some of the commotion this caused:

> ...People came to the house to learn about how things were in America (Canada)—so many that my father had to go outside and stand on the table to speak to them... One Sunday there were so many people from other villages—more than could be accommodated comfortably in my father's front yard. During his speech, the crush of humans broke the fence of our neighbour Dmytro Romaniuk... Next day he came and accused my father of breaking his fence and hit him on the head. My father sued him. The judge made my father pay for the fence broken by his "guests" while Romaniuk was fined for hitting him.[9]

Ivan told the people: "Flee, flee this place for here you have nothing, and there you will have free land and be your own boss."[10] He gave them a highly favourable account of the trip, including the route Eleniak and he took to Canada, where they had been in Canada, how the Mennonites were prospering in Gretna, why Eleniak did not return, and so forth.

Because of their ignorance and the fact that Pylypow said things that were contrary to their experience (e.g., free land), many people were skeptical of his story:

> But the villagers were simple folk. "It is so far beyond the ocean," they said. Here was a mother shedding tears; although she had ten children, she had no desire to leave even should all her children starve with her...The peasants did not understand that across the ocean free lands were available, without landlords, which could actually be acquired for little or no money. They listened to my stories and wondered.[11]

Some suspicious souls (including Mrs. Eleniak) began to question the whereabouts of Wasyl Eleniak, claiming that Pylypow killed him along the way and took all of his money. (In another version of the rumor, Eleniak purportedly drowned when his ship sank.) One day Pylypow had a call from "official" visitors, which he described as follows:

> One day the magistrate of the village, the priest, the [village] clerk, and a trustee of the church paid me a call. They began to quiz me to see whether or not I was telling the truth. They spread a map on the table and told me to stand aside.
>
> The clerk asked me, "Where were you?"
>
> I answered, "In America."
>
> Very few knew where this country was, and even today it is difficult to tell someone who has no knowledge about the world.
>
> "Which way did you go?" the magistrate asked.
>
> I answered, "I went to Cracow, from there to Berlin then to Hamburg. Then I traveled across the ocean to Montreal and from there by train to Winnipeg. I went by rail and by ship."
>
> I stood aloof, talking, while they were searching the map.
>
> "Where exactly have you been?" asked the priest.
>
> I answered, "The country is called Canada. I was in Winnipeg, in Calgary, in Gretna. Wasyl Eleniak stayed behind in Gretna, at a farmer's place.
>
> There was nothing they could do about it; they just had to believe me. The magistrate's only remark to me was "Watch yourself."
>
> One day, I took a walk to Perehinska. A gendarme met me there and warned me. "Pylypiw, look out for yourself, or I'll lock you up one of these days."
>
> "What for?" I asked.
>
> "You'll see. Watch what you're saying."
>
> It did not bother me a bit.[12]

According to William Pylypow (Ivan's son), the priest also took the address of the Mennonites in Gretna, Manitoba, to whom he wrote a letter to inquire about Eleniak. They replied in due course saying that Wasyl Eleniak was in good health and was waiting for his wife and children to join him. According to Lysenko, Pylypow then used the letter to prove that Eleniak was alive and living in Gretna.[13]

Another problem soon surfaced as Ivan Pylypow began to organize a group of families to emigrate to Canada, this time because of his agreement with shipping agent, Wolff and Company. Here is how he described the matter:

> Altogether, twelve families got set for departure...They sold their fields and got their passports. To help them, I went with them to Kalush and interceded for them. They paid me a little for my assistance. It is no use concerning oneself about others for nothing, spending your time and effort so others might have everything in order. I struck a bargain with an agent in Hamburg whereby I would direct emigrants to his bureau to book passage on his ships and he would pay me five dollars [crowns?] for each family. Such an arrangement would be a common thing in Canada because a person must spend his time running around here and there, and he must live. Remuneration for work is a requirement, but our people were not wise to it. Raised in the village, they were simple in their ways. They found out that my work and my trouble would fetch me some cash, and they began to gossip.[14]

Just as the Pylypows and twelve other families were ready to leave for Canada, Ivan was arrested on May 12, 1892, along with Tyt Ziniak[15], who helped him recruit people. In addition to the arrest, Pylypow's house was searched, packed cases were broken open, and correspondence with Wolff and Company was taken. According to Bobersky[16] the policeman charged the two men "...for allegedly inciting people to emigrate to America and embezzling their deposits." Undoubtedly, the main "crime" Ivan committed was to openly advocate emigration and organize a group to emigrate. This made him the target for the wrath of the government authorities, who perceived a loss of potential soldiers, as well as that of the large landowners and other employers, who saw emigration as undermining the economy by draining off cheap labour.

Pylypow and Ziniak appeared before the local magistrate (presumably Maria Pylypow's uncle), who had already heard the former's story about travelling to Canada. The magistrate could see nothing illegal in what the two men were doing so dismissed the case. Instead of freeing the two men, the gendarme took them to the police station at Kalush where they were interrogated and then put behind bars. The preliminary hearing was held from May 14 to July 1, 1892, at the Kalush County Court before Judge Karatnysky.

The focus of the hearings was on the way Pylypow handled the money obtained for steamship tickets and the commission that he received for each person that he enlisted for emigration. Testimony was provided by Pylypow's correspondence with Wolff and Company, by five of the men whose families were preparing to emigrate to Canada, by Iurko Roshko (father of Wasyl's wife Anna

Eleniak), and by Karol Szczepanski, the policeman who arrested Pylypow and Ziniak. "The police report does not say who complained to the police or who carried out the investigation at Ivan Pillipiw's home on 12 May 1892 and then arrested him and Tyt Ziniak ..."[17] To the charges of inciting emigration and embezzlement, Pylypow responded as follows at the hearing:

> ...I incited no one to go, but when people asked me what it was like and how to get there, I told them what I knew. At that time other farmers decided to go to America [Canada—M.N.] and they got their passports without my help...[However], they turned to me to get them a ticket. I wrote to Wolff's office because I travelled on one of their steamships and was informed by them on 13 March 1892 that a ticket for an adult cost 172 crowns, with children five to twelve years old paying half-fare, one to five years old, 58 crowns, and those under a year, 11 crowns. I explained this to the people who were preparing to leave, and they decided to send 20 crowns per family. These deposits were left in my home...Last week I received a letter, dated 28 April 1892 which had the tickets enclosed.
>
> [T]he agent Wolff encouraged me to get people...to travel on his steamships, for which he would pay me at a rate of five crowns per family. He also told me to order the steamship tickets ahead of time because the border police would allow those with tickets to pass and it wouldn't be necessary for passengers to show any more money. I collected deposits from people so they wouldn't go to some other agent, but I had no intention of cheating anyone.[18]

At the end of the hearing, on June 30, 1892,[19] the Kalush judge indicted the two accused men and sent them to Stanyslaviv for trial. Pylypow described the transfer and the following incarceration thus:

> A different policeman from Kalush took us to the railroad station and rode with us to Stanyslaviv. Neither one was handcuffed but escorted us with a bayonet fixed to his rifle. It took two hours to get to Stanyslaviv and we sat there in jail, as they say "incommunicado." We had separate cells.[20]

Before discussing the trial, it should be noted that six families and one single male (all from the group that Pylypow had been organizing for emigration) left for Canada before the trial took place. Therefore, the credit for being the first *active* Ukrainian homesteaders in Canada does not go to Pylypow and Eleniak. According to Shatulsky[21], "[p]eople went but not all of them that had been preparing to go. Many people got frightened. Those did not go that succeeded in getting back the property they sold. Those who did not succeed...had no choice but to go."

The trial took place on July 21, 1892, in Stanyslaviv before a tribunal consisting of four judges and was conducted in Polish. The

prosecuting attorney charged the accused with fraud. The counsel for the provincial court defended them.[22] Pylypow, in his interview with Bobersky, indicated that the trial went beyond the charge of fraud:

> The judge said to me, "What do you need land for? Haven't you got enough?"
>
> I said, "We don't have enough land."
>
> The judge said, "You're encouraging people to go."
>
> I said, "No, they want to go themselves."
>
> The judge said to me, "Why don't you keep your mouth shut. You should go yourself and not drag others with you. You've sold out people to the agent [Wolff and Company—M.N.]. Our most illustrious emperor helped thirty people return from Argentina at his own expense and you want the emperor to help again should something go wrong.[23]

The allusion to Argentina by the judge stems from the earlier Ukrainian emigration to South America. These immigrants were severely exploited on the plantations and suffered from tropical diseases. When a clamour was raised about this in western Ukraine, the Habsburg emperor brought some of them back to Austro-Hungary.

The entire trial lasted about three hours.[24] William Pylypow,[25] Ivan's son, claimed that he was told that during the trial "...it was found out that the letters taken [from Ivan's home] by the gendarme and given to the magistrate in Kalush had disappeared. In addition, the clerk who had handled them had resigned and disappeared...Hence, the letters were not available at the higher court. The gendarme witnessed [at the trial] that there were letters with my father's name which he had passed on to the magistrate..." Bobersky makes no mention of this in his account of the trial (possibly because this evidence was erased from the court records).

Bobersky summarizes the verdict and the sentencing of Pylypow and Ziniak as follows:

> They found him guilty because *he had not forwarded the money to the steamship offices and had not given receipts for the money he had received.* The verdict was equally harsh for both the accused. Each received one month in jail with days without food each week. The inquiry and imprisonment lasted a total of three months and a week...[26]
> (Emphases added—M.N.)

According to Bobersky, the judges were not aware of the fact that Pylypow had returned the deposits. Earlier at the preliminary court hearings Pylypow claimed that he had received the steamship tickets for the group of 12 families that were supposed to leave for Canada with him. This is a believable claim since a part of that

group did indeed leave before Pylypow's trial took place in Stanyslaviv. Obviously Pylypow had mailed the deposits for steamship tickets for these prospective emigrants to the shipping agent Wolff, so they could not have been refunded. It may be that the money returned to the clients was the portion of the deposit that was to be Pylypow's commission—and perhaps some new deposits given to him later.

As has been noted by Bobersky, Pylypow and Ziniak sat in jail from the time of their arrest until their release; that is, over three months. There was no option of bail in Austro-Hungary at the time. Because the trial casts a blemish on Pylypow's character, it is essential to try to establish what he was really guilty of. The evidence in the excerpt from Bobersky's interview of Pylypow and the summary of the legal proceedings in the trial, which he appended to this interview, hardly prove fraud or even intent of fraud on the part of the accused. The following "evidence" argues that the charge of fraud was a cover up for the more important political fears that the authorities had:

1. It seems strangely suspicious that the legal records in this case do not specify who initiated the legal proceedings against Pylypow and Ziniak. One suspects that it was the governing authorities that initiated them, because if the initiative for legal action had come from one or more of Pylypow's clients who were planning to emigrate, then it would have been of propaganda advantage to the Crown to mention it. Consequently, one is led to believe that Count Potocki, the Governor of the province of Galicia, was implicated in the arrest of Pylypow and Ziniak.

In his interview with Solomon, William Pylypow recounts an interesting story about Potocki's alleged implication in his father's arrest. It appears that the story originated with the driver of the "taxi" (horse-drawn carriage), Iuri Trenchuk, who drove Potocki and another nobleman to the Carpathian Mountains where they were having a resort built at a hot springs. Apparently, when they got to the site they found very little work done. When the contractor was asked for an explanation, the noblemen were told that very little help was available because Pylypow and Panischak [Ziniak?] were encouraging the potential workers to emigrate. Potocki asked one of the workers if this was true. He replied in the affirmative and stated that he had heard Pylypow speak about emigration to America.

On the way back to Nebyliw, the Count asked the driver to find him a gendarme. When one was found, Potocki and the gendarme had a chat in German, which the driver did not understand. After Pylypow got out of jail, he heard about Potocki's involvement in his arrest, and he sought out the gendarme. The latter in effect

confirmed that Potocki asked him to arrest Pylypow. The gendarme also said that he told Potocki that he had already investigated allegations about Pylypow's wrongdoings but found no cause for arrest. Knowing that it would be useless to go to the local magistrate to have Pylypow arrested, Potocki laid his charges against him with higher authorities. Ivan Pylypow then went to the higher judicial level and was told that Potocki had him arrested.

Apparently on the basis of the information they got about Potocki's involvement in their case, Pylypow and Panischak (Ziniak?) wrote letters to him asking for redress for their incarceration and the financial losses incurred. Potocki did not reply to any of the letters. When Bobersky returned to Galicia, after interviewing Pylypow, he purportedly looked at the record of the preliminary hearings and the trial, but found no mention of Potocki's involvement in the affair. Of course, eradication of such involvement from the trial records would have been no problem for a person with Potocki's authority.

2. Four of the villagers who testified at the earlier hearings, were allowed to emigrate to Canada before the trial was held in Stanyslaviv. Why were they permitted to go? If their testimony at the hearings was deemed to be sufficient for the subsequent trial, then why were the policeman who arrested Pylypow and Ziniak and the latter's brother-in-law (who gave testimony damaging to both of the accused) required at the trial? The policeman and the brother-in-law had also testified at the hearings. Presumably, the four witnesses who had left for Canada were not hostile to the defendants and therefore might have given evidence in favor of their innocence. Indeed all of them were Pylypow's neighbours when he eventually settled in Edna-Star.

3. The judges at the trial found Pylypow guilty "...because he had not forwarded the money to the steamship offices and had not given receipts for the money he had received." It bodes badly for a legal system that labels "not giving a receipt" a criminal act. The former reason for a guilty verdict begs the following question in regard to an act of fraud: "What is the maximum length of time that is legally acceptable between receiving deposit money and sending it to its intended destination?" Apparently, by the time the trial was held in Stanyslaviv, some of the deposit money had been sent to the steamship company and tickets had been received by those who left for Canada.

4. There seems to have been a deliberate "overkill" in the legal process involved. It took place in three venues (Nebyliw, Kalush and Stanyslaviv), and involved six members of the judiciary—this for an alleged crime that apparently involved 12 families, who all

together paid a grand sum of 240 crowns (about $100 in Canadian money) as deposits for steamship tickets. Also, the legal process seemed very protracted, especially at the hearing stage which took 37 days. Could it be that the changing of venue to an increasingly larger population center and protracting the legal process was all part of a deliberate attempt by the authorities to broadcast intimidation to would-be emigrants to the largest possible area?

5. Pylypow claimed that his compatriots could not understand the matter of commission or remuneration for help given them in their preparations for emigration. It seems that he was imprudent in not informing his clients that he would obtain a commission from the steamship company for directing emigrants to it. Hence, Pylypow was accused of cheating by some of his fellow villagers when this fact became public knowledge.

Pylypow's arrest, trial and incarceration had an immediate double-edged effect on Ukrainian emigration. Some prospective emigrants lost their courage and either delayed or dropped their plans for emigration. Others were greatly impressed with Pylypow's descriptions of opportunities in Canada and pressed ahead with emigration plans. Canada received much publicity as a desirable alternative to Brazil or United States for emigration. According to Sago,[27] "...what was intended to serve as an act of intimidation became, instead, a vindication of Pylypiw's mission." Because of the wide publicity that the trial received, there is no doubt that Ivan Pylypow played an important role in initiating Ukrainian emigration to Canada. To quote Czumer,[28] "[t]he commotion started by Ivan Pillipiw among the peasants of Nebyliv, encouraging them to accompany him to the free lands of America, caused such a stir in Galicia that there was not a town or village where they were not talking about the man who had come from America and had urged them to go there."

CHAPTER 5

FINALLY EMIGRATION TO CANADA

5.1. The Trailblazers Emigrate

By the time Ivan Pylypow was released from jail, he did not have enough money to emigrate. His son William[1], who was nine years old at the time of the trial, recalled that on the day that his father was arrested his mother Maria went to see him in the Nebyliw jail. Ivan gave her all of the money he had amassed for the emigration and instructed his wife to give it to his Uncle Alex for safekeeping. She did this except for 180 crowns which was kept for living expenses.

Soon after Ivan was released from jail, Uncle Alex came to return the remainder of the money which he held—147 crowns. Maria was very upset by the small amount left and argued with Ivan about the matter, intimating that his uncle pocketed some of it. However, Uncle Alex had a reputation of being a very honest man. Years later William asked his father why so little money was left. The reply was that many people had to be paid during the trial. William claimed that Maria's uncle, who was a local magistrate, had hired a lawyer (Mayeranovski) from Vienna to defend his father. Bobersky does not mention where the defence lawyer came from.

To emigrate Ivan he had to earn some money first. Here is how he described getting the required cash and the subsequent journey to Canada:

> I agreed to act as an agent for a wood buyer in Odessa, at a commission of five cents a cubic (meter). I had people working for me, and I paid them so much per day. I got some horses, and we hauled the wood for shipment to Limnytsa and then down the Dniester to Odessa. I worked in the bush until winter and then spent the winter at home.
>
> In spring of 1893, on the third day after Easter, I set out. With me were my wife and four children...Yurko Panischak with his wife and two children, and Stefan Chichak with his wife and four children. We made the journey together through Lawoczne, Budapest, Vienna, Paris, and Rotterdam. From there we went by ship [*S.S. Laurentian*] across the ocean and up the river to Quebec [landing on May 8, 1893—M.N.]. From Quebec, we took the train to Winnipeg.[2]

During the time that Pylypow was having his troubles with the Austro-Hungarian authorities, Eleniak was working on a farm at

Gretna, Manitoba. As was mentioned earlier, before returning to the Old Country, Pylypow promised Eleniak that he would bring Anna Eleniak and her three children to Canada. However, Anna and the children were not part of the Pylypow group that emigrated in 1893. Neither one, in his interviews, gave an explanation for this.

Eleniak realized that he had to return to Nebyliw in order to bring his family to Canada. However, he did not go immediately, because he had to earn enough money for the emigration. He worked for almost two years at Gretna—a year each for two German Mennonite farmers. He earned $100 in the first year and $120 in his second year, plus his food and lodging.

In late 1893 he took a train from Winnipeg to Quebec City, where he got on a ship. After landing in Hamburg, he travelled by train through Berlin to Kalush, Galicia. He arrived in Nebyliw on St. Nicholas Day in December, 1893. He immediately sold his property to his father-in-law for 400 crowns. On February 26, 1894, he obtained an Austro-Hungarian passport from the district governor for himself and his family. Shortly afterwards he left Nebyliw with his own and six other families.

At the German border only three families were admitted. The other four families, including Eleniak's, did not have enough money for the steamship fare, so were forced to return to Nebyliw.[3] "For a whole month I floated log rafts and earned 40 crowns. I wrote to Spiro in Hamburg to send steamship tickets. He sent three and I sent 10 crowns in down payment for each one. The ticket was made out to Winnipeg..."[4] This time three families made it across the German border— Eleniak's and those of Nick and Michael Melnyk. In Hamburg they boarded the *S.S. Mongolian*. Travelling by way of Liverpool, England, they arrived in Quebec City on June 25, 1894.

5.2. The Ordeal of the Emigration Journey

Neither Eleniak nor Pylypow left an account of their emigration journey to Canada. The only statement on this matter that is on record is the following one from Eleniak: "The train took us to Hamburg. There we embarked on a ship and after about eighteen days reached Montreal. I was seasick for five days and I thought I would never see land again."[5]

However, the trials and tribulations experienced by Ukrainian immigrants in preparing for and making the journey to Canada have been well documented in autobiographies, biographies, oral histories, etc. Such a journey consisted of several phases. As was noted in an earlier chapter, this began with the many tasks involved in preparation for emigration. For example, a decision had to made

on what to take along and how to pack it. Sophia Kyforuk and her daughter Octavia Hall describe the contents taken to Canada by Jakiw and Katerena Porayko (parents and grandparents respectively), who settled in the Edna-Star area in 1899:

> In preparation for the journey, Grandfather Jakiw built wooden trunks to take along such supplies as: homemade (of home-grown fibers) hempen towels, rugs, sturdy grain sacks, belts, pillows; beautifully embroidered linen or hempen pillowcases, tablecloths, blouses, shirts; plain trousers, wrap-around heavy woolen skirts, and other items of clothing. They also packed: books, binoculars, medicine kits, seeds, scissors; bought cloth and sheepskin coats, shoes, shawls, wrought iron pots and bread pans, including a circular one for the Easter bread, *paska*. Taking only metal parts of cultivation and workshop tools, they packed tools such as: scythes and sickles, flails and winnowing sieves, hoes, shovels and spades, axes, saws, hammers, pliers and planes. Grandfather's mother gave them her spinning wheel to take to Canada.[6]

The other phases in the emigration trip were as follows: a long land voyage to a port in western Europe, the crossing of the Atlantic Ocean to a port in eastern Canada, the train trip across Canada to an immigration distribution centre in the West, and finally finding a suitable homestead and settling on it.

In a previous chapter there was some discussion of the material and emotional problems faced by the prospective Ukrainian emigrant. It took considerable courage and determination to make the decision to emigrate and to carry it out. Even after starting out on their journey a family could be turned back at the border of the country they had to travel through, most often because of the state of health of individual members of the family or insufficient money to cover all of the expenses that would be incurred. There was a continual risk of being beset by crooks (phoney ticket and document manipulators, bribe-takers, short-change artists, price gougers, etc.)—throughout the entire trip, from the village in Europe that they were leaving to their arrival at a homestead in Canada. The emigrant would have to be on guard constantly not to be bilked out of his meagre cash. There were also delays in ports, which added unexpected costs to the emigrant.

Travelling conditions on most ships were very difficult for emigrant families. Most of them travelled in steerage compartments located below the water line. (Webster defines steerage as "...that part of a ship allotted to the inferior class of passengers.") These were usually crowded, hot and stuffy, smelly, dirty, and noisy. Some crossed the Atlantic Ocean on ships (cattleboats) that had just completed carrying livestock from the Americas to Europe. The hygienic conditions on such ships were anything but acceptable.

It was often difficult to buy food on board, and when obtainable was often unpalatable. Hence, to a large extent the emigrants had to survive on food they brought with them. Of course, often the sea was rough, so seasickness was experienced by many—with its accompanying ravaging of the body. The crossing took from one to three weeks, depending on the type of ship, and for some it ended in tragedy. Marunchak[7] mentions the *Volturno* which sank on November 20, 1913: "It was an old tub used only for transporting 'the world's miserables'—the Galician emigrants. Pages were written about the loss of the 'Titanic' but nothing was said about '*Volturno*' —for who could ever care about these 'non-entities'."

Upon reaching a Canadian port-of-entry, every immigrant was subject to a medical examination (usually perfunctory) and documentary control. Those who landed with a communicable disease could be quarantined for a period of recovery. Each family had to declare how much money was brought. Many had too little or none and would have to borrow from a friend or a kinsman to be able to declare the mandatory $25. This money had to be returned once the port-of-entry procedures were completed.

The next ordeal for the Ukrainian immigrants was the crossing of the vast expanses of Canada by train. This was a long and tiresome journey. For this the Canadian Pacific Railway provided the immigrants with special "colonists cars" of varying quality of amenities. They were usually overcrowded. These cars had bare board seats (which converted into sleepers), washrooms, heaters, and stoves for cooking. Whether they could be considered to be comfortable depended on one's tolerance for crowding and noise, and the maintenance of adequate hygienic conditions on the train by people who were not used to indoor toilet facilities. Food could be bought at station stops, but usually at inflated prices. The immigrants got off at Winnipeg, which was a major distribution centre. From there immigration officers of the Department of the Interior sent them in all directions where land was available or to other distribution centres (e.g., Edmonton).

In each distribution centre there was an immigration hall. The newly arrived immigrants were taken to these halls where they stayed until they could move to their chosen homesteads. These halls were often congested and the hygienic conditions in them usually deplorable. Each family slept on wooden bunks and had to provide and cook their own meals on communal stoves. Once the family was settled in the immigration hall, the husband would go with an immigration agent to look for a 160-acre homestead. Having found one, he would return to the distribution centre where his family was staying, pay the mandatory $10 for the homestead and

register it. The immigrant family was now the "owner" of a Canadian farm and ready to begin building a new life in a new homeland.

CHAPTER 6

CANADA—THEIR NEW HOMELAND

6.1. Introduction

It is almost certain that the Vikings were the first Europeans to set foot on Canadian soil, about one thousand years ago. However, it was the Europeans who came five hundred years ago that remolded the Western Hemisphere drastically. These European adventurers (explorers and traders) stumbled upon the Americas in their quest for the Northwest Passage to the Orient. As they went inland, they saw a vast "empty" land—"empty" because it was devoid of a European type of development. These more recent Europeans came to North America to both coastal regions: from western Europe across the Atlantic Ocean to the eastern coast and from Russia through Siberia and Alaska to the western one. In due course these adventurers were followed by missionaries and settlers. Of course the reality was that the Americas were not "empty," but had been occupied for millennia by people who had developed highly sophisticated societies.

With the arrogance of conquerors, the Europeans took from the native inhabitants of the Americas and their land whatever they wanted. In the initial three centuries, they took mainly furs from the area north of the Caribbean. Usually this was done in a "fair" trade—the native furs exchanged for European goods. From the very beginning the aboriginal peoples resented, protested, and resisted the European presence in North America. Ironically, in the initial decades they helped the newcomers to survive. The native people also played an important role in the wars that occurred as a result of the splitting of the British colony in North America into the United States of America and present-day Canada.

As the encroachment by European traders, settlers, and missionaries on the new lands increased, so did the native resentment and resistance. However, being no match to the newcomers in number and military sophistication, the aboriginal peoples were gradually subdued. This submission was formally documented in "treaties"—to be enforced by the conquerors in Canada under the benevolent watchful eye of the Great White Mother (Queen Victoria). Notwithstanding such watchfulness, the native inhabitants suffered a bitter legacy from the centuries of European domination of the Americas: their highly developed cultures seriously eroded or in ruins, decimination of their populations bordering on genocide, their

increasing dependency on the more advanced European technology, being herded into enclaves called "reservations"; and so forth.

During the earlier centuries of the European occupation of North America, the settlements grew slowly. However, the advent of the Industrial Revolution at the turn of the nineteenth century in Europe heralded a new era for the Americas. Not only did the USA and Canada begin to industrialize slowly, but great economic opportunities awaited them. These countries had vast territories that were only sparsely inhabited and on which food could be raised for the growing armies of industrial labourers in western Europe and at home. They also had enormous natural resources with which to fuel both European and their own industries. To realize the benefits of the new era in the making, these countries needed people. By the middle of the 1800s the time had come to populate the Great Plains of North America. Where were these potential settlers and how could they be induced to come?

6.2. Canada at the Turn of the Century

What was Canada like when the first Ukrainian settlers came in the 1890s? It was the third largest country on the globe, but had a population of only 5,000,000 people—most of them in eastern Canada. The vast majority of them were of British or French origin, roughly in the ratio of two to one. In 1867, twenty-four years before Eleniak and Pylypow arrived, Canada achieved nationhood with the confederation of the five eastern provinces and a large unsettled region in the west and north. However, in the process it achieved only semi-independence from British rule. Soon two more provinces (British Columbia and Manitoba) were created out of a part of the large unsettled land mass to the west. Of the seven provinces, six were on the east side and one faced the Pacific Ocean on the extreme western side of the country. In between there still remained a very large area called the Northwest Territories (NWT), with a population of about 100,000 in 1891 (including the aboriginal Indians and Inuit). This territory was administered by the federal government with headquarters in Regina. The provinces of Alberta and Saskatchewan were carved out of the Territories in 1905.

Canada was very rich in land and natural resources. However, at the time of Confederation it was a backward agrarian country with some development of fishing, mining, lumbering and construction. Industrial development was just beginning. Most of the unsettled arable land was in the central plains of southern Manitoba and the NWT. The Federal Government began to vigorously promote the settlement of these largely uninhabited plains by western Europeans. It was strongly supported in this endeavour by the Hudson's Bay

Company (a fur trading company) and the Canadian Pacific Railway (CPR), that completed a trans-continental railway in 1885. Both companies owned large tracts of land (obtained free of charge) which they wanted to sell to settlers as they prospered.

Railways played a very important role in the industrialization of Canada and the development of the Canadian prairies. Without them the West could not be adequately settled. Railway expansion was especially rapid between 1891 and 1920. Besides making it possible for immigrants to travel to western Canada, it provided employment for those needing extra cash. It brought goods closer to the settlers and took their products to distant markets.

The railways also promoted industrialization of Canada by providing a market for timber products (e.g., railway ties) and steel rails to build them, locomotives and rolling stock for the trains and coal to run them. Thus the railway expansion helped to develop the mining, lumber, and steel industries. Of course, all of these industries favoured bringing in immigrants because they were cheap labour. In addition, the majority of them were illiterate and malleable, hence would not be easy to organize into labour unions in order to improve their economic and working conditions.

Settlement of the western prairies required people with the physical and psychological stamina to transform the virgin plains into farming and who would also provide the labour for building the required infrastructure (transportation, industry, commerce, etc.) that would make agriculture viable. The federal government first sought settlers from western Europe, but not enough could be lured to western Canada. It had limited success with this strategy because the majority of those who came to homestead soon abandoned farming and left for other places where life was less precarious and isolated.

Hence, the Laurier government, under the direction of the Minister of the Interior, Clifford Sifton (and with the help of the Canadian Pacific Railway, European shipping companies and "bounty hunting" agents), launched a vigorous campaign for immigrants from eastern Europe. The carrot was a promise of a free 160-acre homestead. It did not take much inducement to get the Ukrainians to come to Canada and thus be able to escape the desperate existence in their homeland. A trickle, led by Pylypow and Eleniak, soon became a flood. It is estimated that by 1914 up to 200,000 came. Being peasants and land-hungry, most of the Ukrainians came to the prairies of the Northwest Territories. Martynowych[1] gives some interesting demographic statistics on the settlers who arrived between 1892 and 1900:

> The male heads of rural immigrant families were men in the prime of life. The median age of fifteen hundred Ukrainian males...was 38.5 years...The median age of their wives was 32.5...

The southern plains of western Canada were treeless but generally fertile. Between the northern fringe of these plains and the forested region in the north was the bushland (parkland), which was preferred by the Ukrainian immigrants. One reason for this was that wooded areas were more like the landscape they left in the Old Country. The trees would provide them with building materials, fuel and fencing. Another reason why the parkland was preferred was that there was an abundance of water everywhere. The marsh grass that grew in the sloughs and lakes could be used for thatching roofs. The parkland habitat provided wild berries, mushrooms, wild game and fish to supplement their diet. Clay, sand, stone and shrubs were also considered valuable building materials. Finally, the settlers could embellish their meagre incomes by selling logs and cordwood, by working in nearby lumber camps, and by digging and selling senega root ("snakeroot"), which was used in the preparation of medicines.

Obviously, for settlers who came to their homesteads with little cash, the prospects that wooded areas provided for survival and self-sufficiency were very attractive. However, a considerable price was paid by many for their choice of land. Much of the wooded soil was of marginal quality and, although probably adequate for subsistence agriculture of the type practiced in western Ukraine, was unsuitable for commercial farming. Another serious disadvantage of parkland was the need to clear it of trees, shrubs and rocks, and then plough it and remove the roots. This was a slow and back-breaking task. In any event, economic progress for settlers who homesteaded poor land was a slow or non-existent process. Hence, many changed homesteads (some several times) or left farming entirely.

Many of the Ukrainian immigrants were directed to such marginal lands by immigration agents. As a result, some historians of Ukrainians in Canada have accused the Canadian government of official discrimination—with the better quality lands being designated for settlers from western Europe. Others have claimed that the accusation of official discrimination against Ukrainians in land selection is not true. They attribute the settlement of poor land by many immigrants to other factors; for example, primarily they desired wooded land with water. However, trees and water can exist on all three categories of soil: poor, average, or excellent.

How did the first immigrants get to settle in an area with poor soil? It must have been suggested to them by immigration agents (apparently they were not permitted to direct, order or coerce), who

undoubtedly were familiar with the varying quality of land in the region surrounding an immigration distribution centre. Certainly many immigrants being shown land that they did not like must have been reluctant to reject it, for how were they to know if or where better land was available. Undoubtedly, once a Ukrainian settlement was started, factors such as kinship and other ties (e.g., village, religious) became strong incentives to settle in an area—regardless of the quality of the land.

It should be noted that it did not take long for Ukrainian settlers to realize the importance of the quality of the soil. That is one reason why Pylypow moved from Scotford to Edna-Star, and Eleniak rejected land that he was shown at Stuartburn, Manitoba. Thousands of Ukrainian settlers across the prairies switched homesteads after a year or so, and many more would have done so if they had had the financial means.

New arrivals from Ukraine most often settled in areas already being homesteaded by their countrymen. Being strangers in a foreign environment, they wanted to be among their own kind so as to gain from the comfort, support, and assistance that this would provide. Soon nearly homogeneous "colonies" or blocs of Ukrainian immigrants began to form. The one started by the Nebyliw group at Edna-Star, northeast of Edmonton, gradually spread east, north, and south to encompass an area approximately 112 km (70 miles) in the east-west direction by 64 km (40 miles) in the north-south direction. Bloc settlements also formed in other areas of the Northwest Territories and Manitoba. (See Figure 2.)

Of course, not all Ukrainian immigrants settled on homesteads on the western prairies. They spread throughout the length and breadth of Canada, entering many other occupations. Despite the lack of experience in the Old Country, a fairly large proportion of the Ukrainian immigrants did become full-time labourers. Marunchak[2] provides the following information on the matter for the year 1912:

> Generally speaking it is assumed that about 20% of the pioneers were in the labouring class. These were in most cases seasonal workers, as well as labourers, in such manufacturing cities as Hamilton, Toronto, Quebec City, and Montreal. Many Ukrainians worked in the coal mines in British Columbia, Alberta, Ontario and Nova Scotia; in the logging and lumbering industry in Saskatchewan and Ontario; in the building of the railroads; and the digging of ditches for city waterworks.

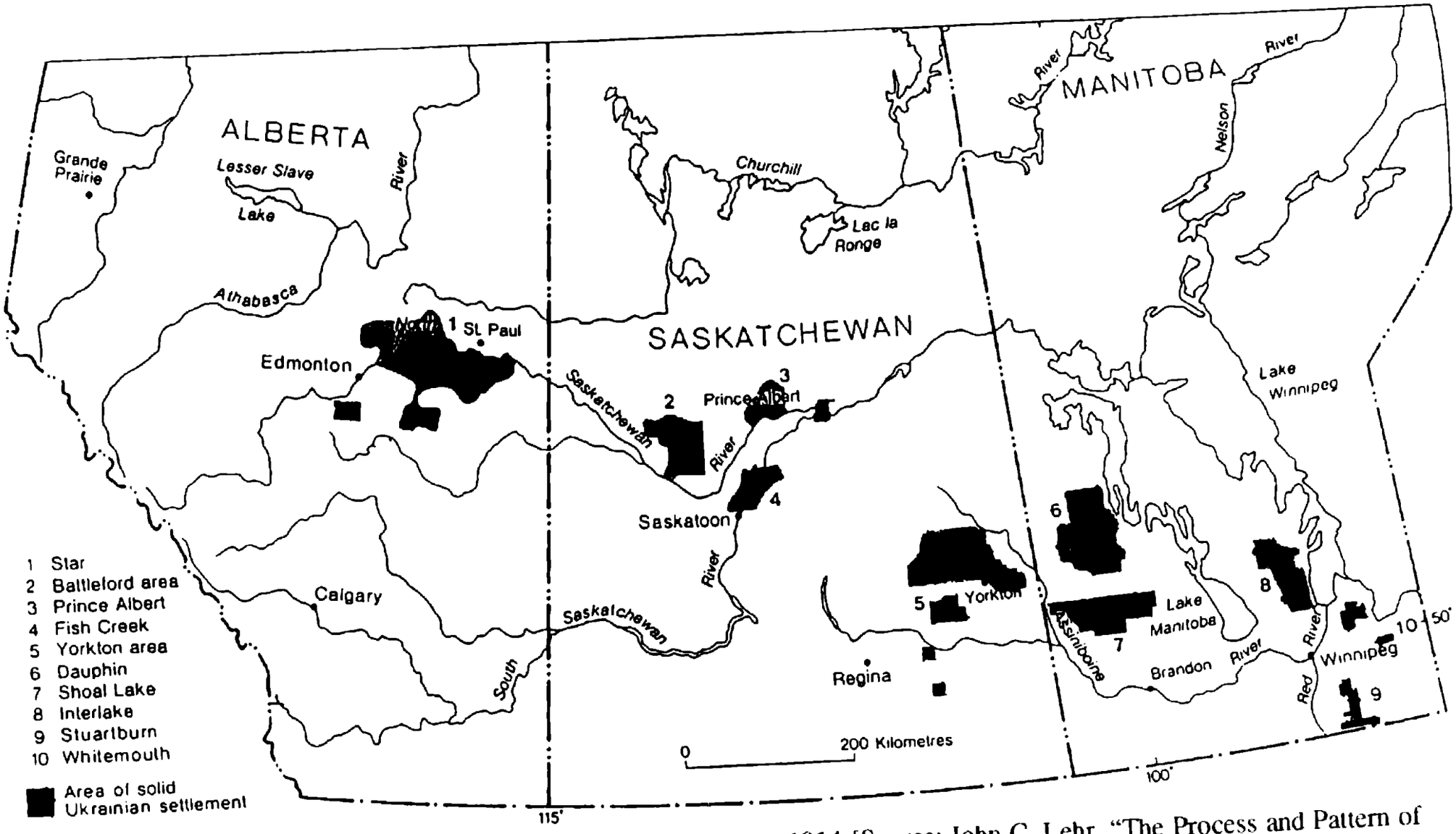


Figure 2: Ukrainian bloc settlements in the prairie provinces ca. 1914 [Source: John C. Lehr, "The Process and Pattern of Ukrainian Rural Settlement in Western Canada, 1891-1914," Ph.D. dissertation, University of Manitoba, 1978. Reproduced from Orest T. Martynowych, *Ukrainians in Canada: The Formative Period. 1891-1924* (Edmonton: Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies Press/University of Alberta, 1991).]

Considering the state of development of the prairie provinces (and indeed of Canada as a whole) at the time of their arrival, Ukrainian immigrants were truly Canadian pioneers and certainly one of the West's founding people. They were part "...of the great human army that was to conquer the prairies and open the West...who, by their creative labour, helped to anchor the hopes of Confederation in the thousands of square miles of empty primitive land that stretched from the borders of Ontario to the foothills of the Rockies."[3] Their history in this country coincides with the development of Canada from a semicolonial status to an independent state. They helped to make Canada one of the great industrial and trading nations of the world.

Who were the main beneficiaries of the immigration to the Canadian West? According to Martynowych, "...[b]etween 1870 and 1920 the Canadian prairies were transformed from a sparsely populated fur-trading region into one of the world's major grain exporting agricultural regions. This transformation had benefited eastern Canadian commercial capitalists and industrialists more than it had benefited the Native population or the homesteaders recruited to farm the Prairies. From the outset, Prairie society was a colony within a colony, a hinterland subordinated to the interests of a colonial elite, which was itself subservient to a metropolitan elite in Britain."[4]

6.3. The Life of Early Ukrainian Settlers in Canada

The early Ukrainian settlers were not prepared for the conditions they had to face in the new homeland. Life was difficult for all families in the first few years, with the degree of hardship depending on a combination of factors: linguistic, cultural, financial, geographical, material, climatic, social, health, and psychological. For starters, they had no prior knowledge of the English language or of Canadian customs, law and agricultural practices. Hence, they had to learn these quickly as the need arose.

Having selected a homestead, the next step for the Ukrainian family was to remove itself from the immigration hall. If the settler had enough cash, he would buy a wagon and a team of horses or oxen (as well as other required tools, implements, livestock, etc.) with which to make the trip to the homestead. Otherwise, the services would be obtained of a Ukrainian homesteader who had settled in the area earlier. The trip to the chosen homestead was more often than not an arduous one—taking days because of the distance involved, lack of roads and trails, and obstacles (rivers, muskegs and bush) that had to be crossed.

The first year or two were the most difficult for a Ukrainian pioneering family because of the need to adjust quickly to the conditions of frontier life in a cold climate. Of course, those who arrived on the homestead with too little cash or too late in the season to plant a garden suffered the most—so much so that many families had to seek assistance from the federal government. The Ukrainian settler did so with great reluctance because he did not want to become indebted to the government that, lacking compassion and generosity towards immigrants, gave only "relief" as a loan. A lien was placed on the recipient's homestead to ensure repayment. Kaye[5] quotes from a report of Immigration Officer Sutter who rationalizes the government's paltry assistance with the claim that the Ukrainian settlers must "...fully realize the responsibility of looking after themselves..." The amount of assistance, ranging from $5 to $16, seems like a pittance today, but presumably it helped to alleviate the destitution of needy families. In the historical accounts of the Ukrainian Canadian community it is noted that virtually all of these "relief" loans were repaid.

Only those families that arrived in the warmer months could start work on the homestead. The late-comers usually had to spend the winter in the already overcrowded quarters of a relative, friend, or acquaintance. The first task on the homestead was to provide some kind of shelter for the family. Whatever shelter was constructed initially, it had to be adequate to enable the family to survive winters, the likes of which were never experienced before.

Depending on the month of arrival in the warmer months, the initial shelter could be a tent, an overturned wagon box, a crude hut built out of trees and branches (*buda*), or a dugout with a turf roof (*burdei* or *zemlianka*). The makeshift shelter was to be replaced as soon as possible by a log cabin plastered with clay mud. If circumstances permitted, this would be similar to the house the settler had in the Old Country, namely consisting of two rooms separated by a covered porch. Dr. Oleskow (see Appendix 3), who visited the Edna-Star settlement in 1895 (three years after the first settlers arrived), made this observation about their houses:

> Our people generally build nicer houses than the German or English farmers do in Canada. One of the Melnyks even covered his house with ornaments, which he made himself. The house looks very nice from a distance, but it is senseless to waste valuable effort like that at this early stage. The first house of a settler is usually very simple. It is a box made of poplar logs without a ceiling, and with a roof made of tree trunks. The roof is sometimes plastered with clay from the inside, and the house is then ready for occupancy. A house with a roof like that is possible only in Canada where there are no rainy seasons. As a rule, but

> not invariably, the house has a lean-to, where an iron cooking stove is placed. An immigrant farmer lives in such a house for several years and later builds himself a dwelling of seasoned lumber according to American methods, when he has saved enough money to do so.[6]

The next major (and back-breaking) task to be tackled was the clearing of the land of shrubs, trees, stumps and rocks, and plowing the cleared area.[7] On some of this newly-broken land the wife would plant a garden, mostly with seeds she brought from Ukraine. On the remainder, the husband would seed grain. The process of clearing and plowing was slow and tedious with the technology the settlers had available and would take many years to clear 160 acres. It was also necessary to initiate animal husbandry as soon as possible to provide the pioneer family with draught power, meat, milk and eggs.

As was stated earlier, most of the Ukrainian immigrants did not bring enough cash to purchase immediately the essential livestock, tools, implements, furniture, building material, food supplies, seed grain, etc. In the initial years the income from the farm was too meagre, allowing the purchase only of some of the most urgently required materials. Hence there was a continual need to augment the farm income in whatever manner possible. For example, they sold farm produce to town and city dwellers or traded them for essential supplies and equipment.

For many of the husbands there was no other way to earn extra cash but to leave the wife and family during the summer for long periods to become wage-earners on whatever jobs were available (sometimes at great distances from home). There were few factory jobs in western Canada, and even if there had been more, few Ukrainian settlers had the necessary skills for them. Consequently, most of them did heavy work on railroad gangs, on construction sites in towns and cities, in mine and lumber camps, and on farms of wealthier farmers. Nemirsky[8] recounted one of his experiences working away from home:

> [In the summer of 1897] I went on the CPR section to work to earn a little money. I worked a couple of weeks on the section at Nanton, south of Calgary. Mihailo Skulsky and Mihailo Koshubsky worked with me, also Andrey Nikoleshen and Nikola Lacusta. Later they took Skulsky and me to McLeod. There there was a new railroad being built through McLeod that year from the east and going west into the mountains. Here it was better for me than at Nanton. The food was good nor was the work too bad...Here I worked till late fall. In the autumn I returned home from work to my homestead...

Throughout the decades the Ukrainian settlers were extremely exploited, with wages being very low, and sometimes non-existent if the employer refused to pay or declared bankruptcy. Lehr states that "...heavy labour on the railway section gangs brought only $1.25 for a ten-hour day, from which the railway companies deducted 75 cents for board, while farm labourers in the Brandon area were receiving a maximum of $15.00 a month in addition to their board." [Presumably this was in 1898— M.N.].[9] By 1912 the wages had increased substantially. Marunchak reported that "...in 1912 one could earn from four to six dollars a day in the coal mines and about forty-five dollars per month in the lumber camps...[Work] in the harvest fields...netted from $3.00 to $3.50 for a 16 hour day..."[10]

Conditions of work were usually deplorable. As a result of poor wages and bad working conditions, many Ukrainian workers were radicalized politically and became militant in trade union activities (including strikes). Many joined left-wing political parties and Ukrainian organizations.

Women are the unsung heroines of the early pioneer days, since little has been written about their specific contribution to frontier life and how they coped with the difficulties involved. On an everyday basis throughout the entire year, they had to look after the household tasks and care for the children. They were responsible for a variety of activities that contributed to the diet of the family such as gardening, tending to the poultry and livestock, and picking berries and mushrooms. They had to weave cloth and make clothes and other fabric necessities (until the North American dress code was adopted). Furthermore, they would supplement the family income by selling farm produce, wild berries, and seneca root (snakeroot).

Out of necessity, the pioneer women did practically everything on the homestead that the husband did—and more so when he was away working to supplement the family income. If necessary, the wives would do their share of the field work: clear the land; plough, harrow, and seed it; cut the hay and stack it; cut the crops and stook the sheaves. When the husbands were away, the wives had to walk miles to the nearest country store or town to sell produce and buy items needed for the home. Some even worked periodically for a wealthier farmer in the community, although it was more common for daughters to do so. Piniuta[11] portrays the contribution of the Ukrainian pioneer women thus:

> She was her husband's partner "for better or worse", sharing with him all the woes of their pioneer life...Besides being a faithful wife and a dedicated mother, she had at times to assume the roles of father, teacher, doctor, veterinarian, tailor, carpenter and hunter. Yet in spite of all her

> time-consuming activities, so necessary to the survival of the family, she was able to bring up her children in ancestral cultural traditions. In addition, many pioneer women found the time for Ukrainian folk arts and handicrafts or for writing.

The children also had to work from an early age. Sophia Kyforuk recalls the role of children in the pioneering days as follows:

> But no farm child, however young, is allowed to have idle hands or mind. The youngest is soon sent to fetch wood for the stove and take out the ashes, dust with a duster made of turkey primaries, get seasoning—fresh dill or parsley— from the garden, gather the eggs daily. Too soon, they had to assume chores, endless and over-reaching their stature and strength...Children over twelve were not allowed to go to school, as they were needed for home and farm chores. Those under eight were considered too small to walk long distances in all kinds of weather, nor was it thought children so young could absorb their lessons. Only nine-, ten-, and eleven-year olds became pupils.[12]

Life on the frontier was not only a co-operative family effort but also required considerable mutual aid and comfort among the settlers in the community. They helped each other build log cabins and thresh grain, shared their draught animals and equipment, traded goods and so forth. Of course, the much-needed sustenance for their social, cultural and spiritual life was also community-based.

Ridicule, hostility, and discrimination were other bitter factors in the lives of early Ukrainian pioneers, generated in part by their "foreign" language and different habits and dress. Many newspapers across Canada made frequent racist remarks about them, labelling them as undesirable immigrants, least promising, uncouth, "bohunks", not wanted, etc. When seeking employment, they were the last to be hired and the first to be fired, were given the hardest and dirtiest jobs, and were among the most exploited. They suffered verbal abuses from bosses, government officials and merchants and were often shunned by neighbours of other ethnic groups.

During World War I Ukrainian immigrants coming from the Austro-Hungarian empire were considered enemy aliens and were subjected to internment, deportation, loss of property, compulsory registration and reporting, and other restrictive measures. About 6,000 of them were imprisoned in internment camps (those in Alberta being in Lethbridge, Banff and Jasper) as enemy aliens, where they lived under guard in sub-standard facilities and made to work for little or no pay. The Ukrainian Canadian community has sought for many years to obtain an apology and redress from the Canadian government for this serious and unwarranted grievance, but with limited success to this date.

The list of hardships experienced by the first Ukrainian Canadian settlers is not exhausted quickly. For example, until stores were opened on nearby homesteads or towns, even going to the nearest one was an arduous and time-consuming task. These "shopping trips" were made on foot or by wagon (drawn by oxen or horses) over the rough and often muddy Victoria Trail. In the early days the settlers of Edna-Star had to go to Edmonton to do their selling and shopping. This could take several days since their mode of travel was very slow.

There were also a host of specific tragic events that could set them back: prairie fires, hail, drought, early frost, sickness and injury (most often with no medical attention available), death of a parent, and so forth. The struggle to build a secure and abundant life in the new homeland overwhelmed some of the settlers and broke their spirits and health. Too many of them paid the supreme price on the farm and industrial jobs with their lives, while thousands more suffered as a result of bodies mangled and deformed in accidents.

Martynowych[13] gives the following summation of the gain for the Ukrainians who emigrated to Canada:

> Emigration was always a gamble and not all of the peasant immigrants benefited equally. Those with adequate financial resources who settled on productive land usually did quite well; however, thousands of young, single men and women seeking employment in Canada's frontier regions and urban centres were often much less fortunate. Sucked into a vortex of backbreaking toil and indebtedness, the men, in particular, faced death and disability practically daily, the victims of exploitation, humiliation and brutalization under working and living conditions that were frequently unspeakable. Moreover, the stress of departure and resettlement strained family and community bonds and added to the social disarray observed among Ukrainian immigrants in all regions—rural, frontier and urban—and in all parts of the new country.

Of course, Ukrainian immigrants in Canada experienced and suffered the above litany of difficulties, problems, setbacks, discrimination, and so forth to a varying degree. But they all suffered! However, our early Ukrainian pioneers did not give up readily in the face of adversity—for they had a tradition of struggle and a determination to succeed. In desperation they set about to wrest a living from the virgin land, forests, mines, railways and factories. Gradually, through their own and collective efforts, their economic and social circumstances improved. They shifted from subsistence farming, which they practiced in the Old Country, to commercial farming.[14] They helped to transform the virgin prairies into bountiful farms. The younger generation began to go first into businesses and then into the trades and professions.

Slowly, Ukrainian Canadians began to be appreciated by the Canadian society as diligent and trusted citizens—people who could be relied on to work hard and with a will, but who were not to be pushed around. Succeeding generations of Ukrainian Canadians began to enter all walks of Canadian life in growing numbers and make outstanding contributions. As a result, Canadian society slowly began to shed its chauvinistic attitude towards the "men in sheepskin coats" and began to respect them for their considerable contributions to the development of the Canadian West, and indeed of all of Canada. Today many Canadians of Ukrainian origin hold important positions in various levels of government, the media, the arts and sciences, the skilled trades, the professions and in business.

Ukrainian pioneers gradually became integrated and assimilated into Canadian society, but in doing so they did not forsake their ancestral heritage. They brought not only their muscle and heart to their new homeland but also their culture. They gave settlements and towns Ukrainian names. They incorporated facets of Ukrainian tradition when they built, decorated, and furnished their homes and churches. They adapted the old customs and traditions in their activities such as marriages, funerals and festive occasions.

A large proportion of the Ukrainian pioneers were illiterate, but they realized that their children should have an education—preferably bilingual. Consequently, in the early 1900s, in an attempt to maintain the Ukrainian identity, the Ukrainian Canadian community in the three prairie provinces initiated a strong movement for bilingual schools (English and Ukrainian). Considerable headway was made during two decades of effort, including the training of bilingual teachers. However, in its determination to force assimilation of Ukrainians into the dominant Anglo-Saxon culture, the bilingual school movement was squelched by the provincial governments.

The Ukrainian pioneers also yearned to hear their own music, songs and poetry and watch their own dances and drama. As soon as they could find the time from the struggle for survival, they began to establish those institutions which had been part of their lives in Ukraine: churches, community reading rooms and libraries (usually imitations of the *chytalni* in Ukraine), performing arts groups, political organizations and publishing companies. Ukrainian Canadians in many communities (both urban and rural) built a *narodnyi dim* (some called theirs a "national hall" while others called it a "labour temple") so that they and their children could take part in cultural and educational activities. Ukrainian Canadians have struggled for over 100 years to maintain their cultural heritage and have striven to bring it to the attention of the Canadian public. In the process, this Ukrainian heritage has enriched Canadian culture.

CHAPTER 7

THE EDNA-STAR SETTLEMENT

Edmonton was the gateway for Ukrainian settlement of Edna-Star (and of Rabbit Hill to the south). It originated in the late eighteenth century as a fur-trading fort on the North Saskatchewan River in the south-western portion of the Northwest Territories. Transportation to Fort Edmonton from Fort Garry (located on the Red River near present-day Winnipeg) was by canoe and York boat. There were two forts on the Red River near present-day Winnipeg: Upper Fort Garry and Lower Fort Garry. They were approximately 1300 kilometers (800 miles) from Edmonton.

During the nineteenth century the Fort Garry Trail evolved between Fort Garry and Edmonton, over which the main mode of transportation was the two-wheeled Red River cart. The portion immediately east of Edmonton was called the Victoria Trail, which forked into a number of trails with the South and North ones being the main ones. The first railway to Edmonton (actually to Strathcona which was across the North Saskatchewan River) from Calgary was completed in 1891, thus connecting it with the Canadian Pacific Railway and the rest of Canada.

When the province of Alberta was carved out of the Northwest Territories in 1905, Edmonton was located centrally in the new province and became the capital.[1] It was a typical frontier town at the time the first Ukrainian immigrants arrived. William Pylypow was ten years old when he and the family arrived in Edmonton in 1893. Here are his recollections:

> We arrived in the evening. For the immigrants there was a stove [in the Immigration Hall in Strathcona—M.N.]. We had to find wood to heat our meal. Dad and I went for wood. We had to go quite a way before we found some that was sufficiently dry...We brought the wood and started a fire on which my mother cooked some food. I then went to see the town. There were two stores on Whyte Avenue [the main street of Strathcona—M.N.]. There were no sidewalks. There was frozen mud...I saw the north side [i.e, Edmonton] in 1895 when I came with my father to buy a cow...[2]

Edmonton had only about 1,000 people when the first Ukrainian immigrants arrived (compared with about 800,000 in Metropolitan Edmonton in 1991). It became incorporated as a town in 1892 and a city in 1905. With the settling of the homesteads surrounding it by

many ethnic groups, Edmonton became the major commercial and service centre for the farmers in central Alberta.

The first people to occupy the Edna-Star area were, of course, the native Indians. (See Figure 3.) After the land was taken away from the Indians, the first settlers were Anglo-Saxons and Scandinavians. The Edna-Star settlement was located about 70 kilometers (45 miles) northeast of Edmonton. It was also referred to at times as Beaver Hills, Beaver Crossing, Beaver Creek or Beaverhills Creek (because the creek ran through the settlement on its way to the North Saskatchewan River), and Limestone Lake (about one mile from Ivan Pylypow's homestead).

Initially, Edna was the name given to the area by Ed Knowlton and also to the post office for the settlers, which he started on his homestead in 1892.[3] Knowlton's homestead bordered on the South Victoria Trail. Nemirsky[4] recalled Knowlton and the Edna post office in his journal:

> The post office at that time was kept by Knowlton on the farm...called Edna. Near the post office there was a store. In his store Knowlton skinned us heartlessly because there was no other store. If we did not buy from him it was necessary to go to the city—Edmonton.

As an aside, it should be noted that Theodore Nemirsky opened a post office at nearby Wostok in 1899—the first Ukrainian to hold such a position in Canada.[5] In his journal he states:

> We were eager to have some word from the Old Country and the post office was altogether too far. It was necessary for me to go not less than 10 miles to the post office [at Edna-Star]...At the time I made a request and an application to have a post office. On 1 January 1899 it was already opened. I called it Wostok. It was the first post office amongst our Galician settlers in the whole of Canada that was designated by a completely Russian name. I was the post master of this post office...and looked after it until 1912. During this year there was a change of government because...the Conservative Party won over the Liberals in the elections and as I belonged to the Liberals, the post office was taken from me and transferred to Knowlton, the same one who kept the Edna post office. But I had also a store in Wostok. We both lived in disagreement...[6]

In 1900 the post office was moved across the South Victoria Trail to J.D. Campbell's homestead and renamed Star—hence the designation Edna-Star in the historical literature on the Ukrainian Canadian community. On current maps only the name Star is used. In due course a hamlet developed around it.

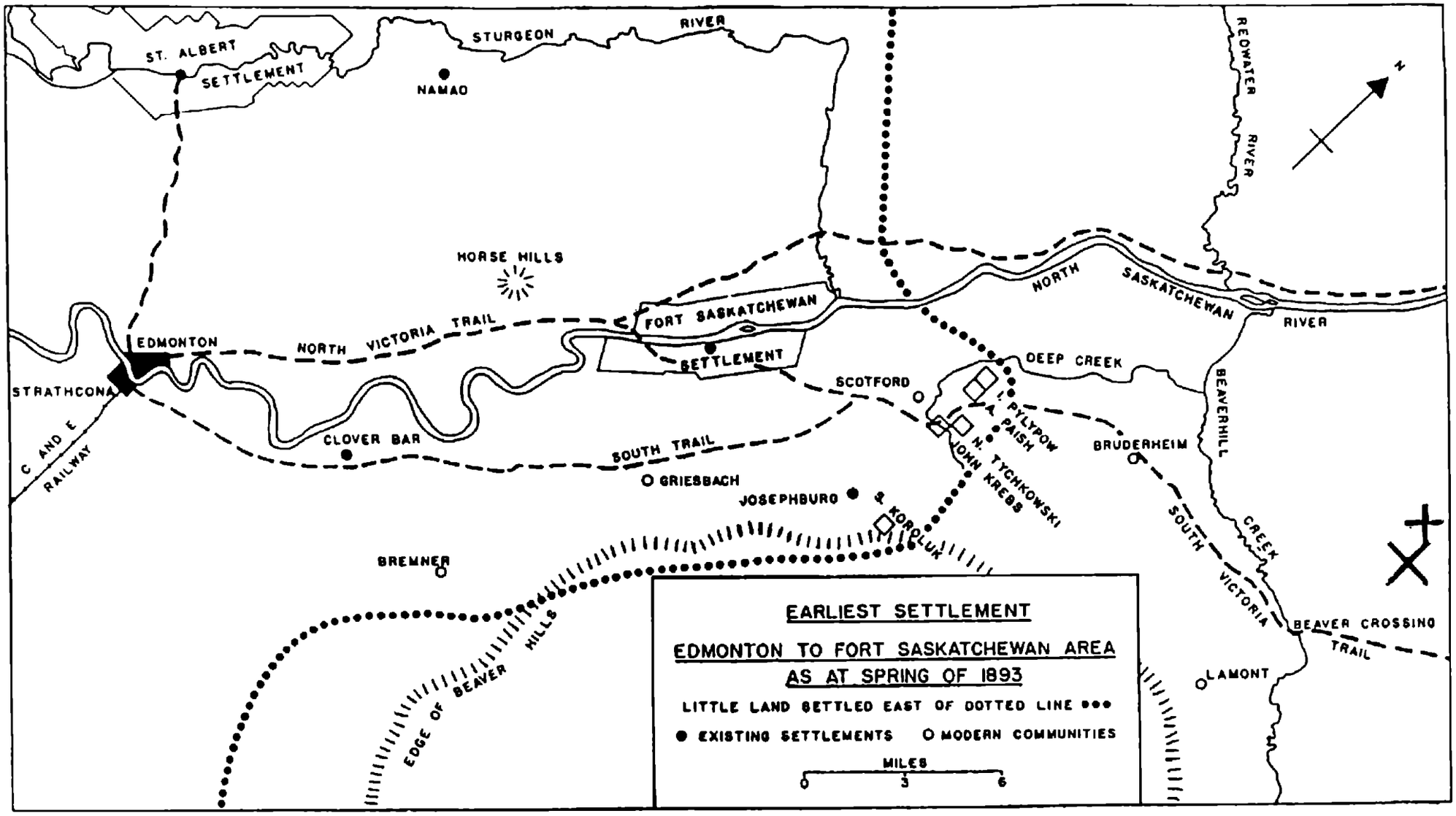


Figure 3: [Reproduced from J.G. MacGregor, *Vilni Zemli (Free Lands). The Ukrainian Settlement of Alberta* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1969), p.39. Additions: X Pylypow's second homestead; + the Star church.]

The Ukrainian immigrants destined for Edna-Star got off the train at Strathcona (now part of Edmonton). Since this settlement was on the south side of the North Saskatchewan River, the homesteaders going to it from Strathcona would follow the South Victoria Trail. (See Figure 3.) They trekked along the Trail northeastward (now approximately the route of Highway 14 out of Edmonton), travelling past present-day Clover Bar, Josephburg, and Scotford—skirting the northern boundary of the Beaver Hills. Next their route took them briefly along the Beaverhill Creek (also known as Beaver Creek), whence they finally arrived at the Edna-Star settlement. Ivan Pylypow's first homestead was near Scotford, and a year later he moved to one across Beaver Creek, about five miles north of present-day Lamont.

In 1905 the Canadian Northern Railway was constructed about one mile south of the hamlet which had been built up around the Star post office. This resulted in the moving of some of its buildings to the new hamlet of Lamont being built alongside the railway. However, the Star post office remained in Campbell's home. In 1928 a branch of the Canadian Pacific Railway was built about one mile north of the Star post office and a new hamlet (including the post office) sprang up one mile west and a mile north of the original post office site.

It was noted earlier that a group of Ukrainian immigrants came from Nebyliw to Canada in 1892. They were part of the group that Pylypow was organizing for emigration upon his return to Nebyliw early in 1892. They left for Canada while Pylypow was having his trial and sitting in jail. Included in this "Nebyliw group" were the families of Anton Paish, Mykola Tychkowsky, Dmytro Wiznovich, Michael Eleniak (relative of Wasyl Eleniak), Wasyl Jaciw, Michael Romaniuk, and bachelor Joseph Paish.[7] Although Pylypow and Eleniak helped to trigger the first wave of massive Ukrainian immigration to Canada, and were the first to register a homestead (at Langenburg, Saskatchewan), they were not the first recorded active Ukrainian homesteaders. It appears that honor belongs to Tychkowsky and Anton Paish.[8] However, apparently the first Ukrainian settler to get a title to land in Canada was Fedko Fuhr of Rabbit Hill just south of Edmonton. He got one in 1894.[9]

The Tychkowsky and Anton Paish families went directly to the Edmonton area. The others stayed in Manitoba to earn some money. All moved eventually to the Beaver Creek (Edna-Star) and Beaver Lake (Mundare) areas except Jaciw who settled in Manitoba. Tychkowsky and Paish first took homesteads in 1892 in the Scotford area (see Figure 3) where John Krebs, Pylypow's

classmate in the Old Country, was farming. In 1894 they moved to Edna-Star to become part of the original Ukrainian settlement there.

The Edna-Star settlement was referred to as the Nebyliw Colony and is considered by Ukrainian Canadian historians to be the oldest Ukrainian one in Canada. It formed the nucleus of the large Edna-Star bloc of Ukrainian settlers mentioned earlier. (See Figure 2.) The Chipman district into which Wasyl Eleniak moved in 1898 was part of this bloc.

The land in this bloc seemed generally to be of good quality. Immigration Agent C.W. Speere described it thus in one of his reports:

> I may here say that this is a very fine tract of fertile land, commencing at Edmonton south through the celebrated Clover Bar and Agricola districts on to Fort Saskatchewan, and still on to Victoria, a distance of a hundred miles. The country is perceptably rolling, almost level, well watered, with occasional streams that have good, deep beds—also well wooded, although prairie fires have left a great deal of standing dry timber. The timber is principally poplar, with an occasional bluff of spruce. In most places a growth of light scrub covers the surface, but this is no drawback, as it is light, mostly dead and will plow down. The soil is unequalled, and a striking fact is the sameness of the country. Every few miles passing along, one thinks the country improving, if anything, with every acre rich, fertile and desirable; no bad sections, but a grand tract of beautiful land of excellent quality—such is the kind of country possessed by the Galicians at Edna, and there still remains a number of Townships open for colonization.[10]

Dr. Oleskow is often called the "father" of Ukrainian emigration to Canada. (See Appendix 3 for a brief biography of him.) He visited the Edna-Star colony in August of 1895 as part of his fact-finding tour of western Canada. He described the "...Edna post office [as being] on the edge of the civilized world, since there are no other settlements beyond that place."[11] Reverend Nestor Dmytriw, a Greek Catholic priest in eastern USA, visited the colony in April of 1897, and reported that 75 families were already settled there. In August of 1903 Cyril Genik[12] visited the Ukrainian settlements of Edna-Star and Rabbit Lake (just a few miles southwest of Edmonton). After this visit, he reported that 2500 Ruthenian (Ukrainian) families lived in the two settlements with a combined population estimated at about 16,000.

The economic circumstances of the Edna-Star settlers improved rapidly. One of the reasons for this was that the land was suitable for farming. Of course, the main reason for the improvement of the life of the settlers was their own hard work. Key evidence of the economic progress of the Ukrainian settlers was the amount of land

they had cultivated, the number of livestock they owned and their improved buildings including housing. Two schools were established by 1898, one named Limestone Lake (built on Pylypow's homestead) and the other one Beaver Creek.

Statistical evidence for the progress of the Ukrainian settlers was provided by Dominion land agents who made periodic visits to Edna-Star (and other settlements) and submitted reports of their findings to their superiors. One of them, C.W. Speers, gave an extensive account in 1900 of the material wealth of nine Edna-Star settlers (including that of Ivan Pylypow, which will be presented in detail in a later chapter). The equity of these nine families ranged from $1550 to $4373—sizable amounts for the times.[13] He concluded the statistical part of his report with the statement that "...I beg to say that no nine men of any nationality ever made greater progress in Western Canada than these and if the record of the past is any criterion to govern the future the Galician people will be all right."[14]

The Ukrainian settlers were consumers as well as producers. According to Speers[15] "...[t]he merchants speak highly of them stating that they are honest and men who were against them and their advent are now catering to their trade. Thus it will be observed that they are honest and industrious and are not only producers but are being felt as great consumers of our manufactured products...They have all been self-sustaining. None wanting any support, no destitution and the majority of them very comfortably off..."

Speers waxed enthusiastically about the progress made by the Ukrainian settlers he visited. He seemed to have perceived this as part of the process of their assimilation into the mainstream of Canadian life. In one of his reports he expressed some forthright ideas on the matter:

> Their social conditions are rapidly improving; they are fast adapting themselves to our customs; their homes are comfortable; many have good cooking stoves and proper cooking utensils and are very cleanly and are setting their tables for regular meals as Canadians do, and fast conforming to our usages, both in dress and custom...These colonists are very anxious to learn our language, and are keeping their children at school where they have had an opportunity and in all cases the teachers speak highly of the progress of the pupils—they are quick, bright and attentive...[T]he necessity of an early establishment of more schools must be apparent. This will be the most perfect way to Canadianize these people and make them more useful at an early date.[16]

Speers was accurate in his assessment that Ukrainian settlers in the Edna-Star bloc were making a great effort to *integrate* into Canadian society, but was perhaps overly optimistic in his report

about their readiness to *assimilate*. They wanted instead to retain as much of their own heritage as possible. As a result, fairly early on they built two churches. The building of the first Greek Catholic (Uniate) church in Canada was started in 1898 at Star. The construction of the church of the Russian Orthodox faith was started a few months later at nearby Wostok.[17] A Ukrainian religious Brotherhood group was organized in Edna-Star in 1896 and a Prosvita reading room (*chytalnia*) was set up a year and a half later—both firsts in Canada.[18] Other actions would be taken by Ukrainian Canadians in the decades to follow to maintain some of the heritage of the land of their forebearers.

CHAPTER 8

WASYL ELENIAK'S LIFE IN CANADA

8.1. The Struggle to Prosper

For the first four years after his arrival in Canada with his family, Wasyl continued to work as a herdsman for the Mennonite colony at Gretna, Manitoba—only three miles from the U.S. border. Thus, with the two years spent with the Mennonites before bringing his family, he worked a total of six years for them. His annual pay during the four years as a herdsman was $80.00 in cash, 80 bushels of wheat and 40 bushels of barley, as well as the use of a small house by the family. When Dr. Oleskow visited the Mennonite colony in 1895, he heard about Wasyl, the "cowboy lemko" (Ukrainian cowboy).[1] Wasyl agreed: "I suppose that now you could call me a cowboy as I herded their cattle."[2]

Wasyl's brothers Ivan and Petro also emigrated with their families to Canada. They came on the *S.S. Canadia*, landing in Montreal on November 8, 1895.[3] The brothers also worked in Manitoba for the first three years. Their sister Anna married Petro Chichak and remained in the Old Country.[4]

All the time, while working for the Mennonites, Wasyl harbored plans to farm on his own. In 1897 he began to look for a homestead. According to Kaye, he took a homestead in the Stuartburn, Manitoba, area which was registered on July 12, 1897, under the name of Wasyl Elenjuk. Its designation was SE-24-1-5-E.1.M. However, he cancelled it.[5] Wasyl made no mention of this in his interview with Rudnyckyj:

> During this time I received a free pass to travel by train anywhere, seeking a place for myself. I travelled through Saskatchewan, but found nobody there except a few Germans and a Ukrainian by the name of Kotsur married to a German girl, one of the German settlers in the area of Assiniboia. I travelled all around Emerson, Manitoba, but found nothing that I liked. After discussions with my wife, we decided to go to Alberta...[6]

In 1898 Wasyl and Ivan Eleniak moved with their families to Chipman, NWT (Alberta), which is situated about 80 kilometers (50 miles) east of Edmonton. Their brother Petro went there a month earlier and chose homesteads for all three of them. (Petro made his

application for a homestead on April 26, 1898.) Wasyl and Ivan Eleniak each rented a railway box-car in Winnipeg, and loaded all of their belongings in it. Wasyl recalls: "I took two cows, a team of oxen, a wagon, and a plow. My brother Ivan did the same. We paid $40 for a railway car to take our belongings from Winnipeg to Edmonton."[7] Wasyl also took 30 chickens, 12 sacks of flour, 8 hams and some cloth (which Anna bought for the children's clothes).[8] The cost for the move to Edmonton included passage for the family.

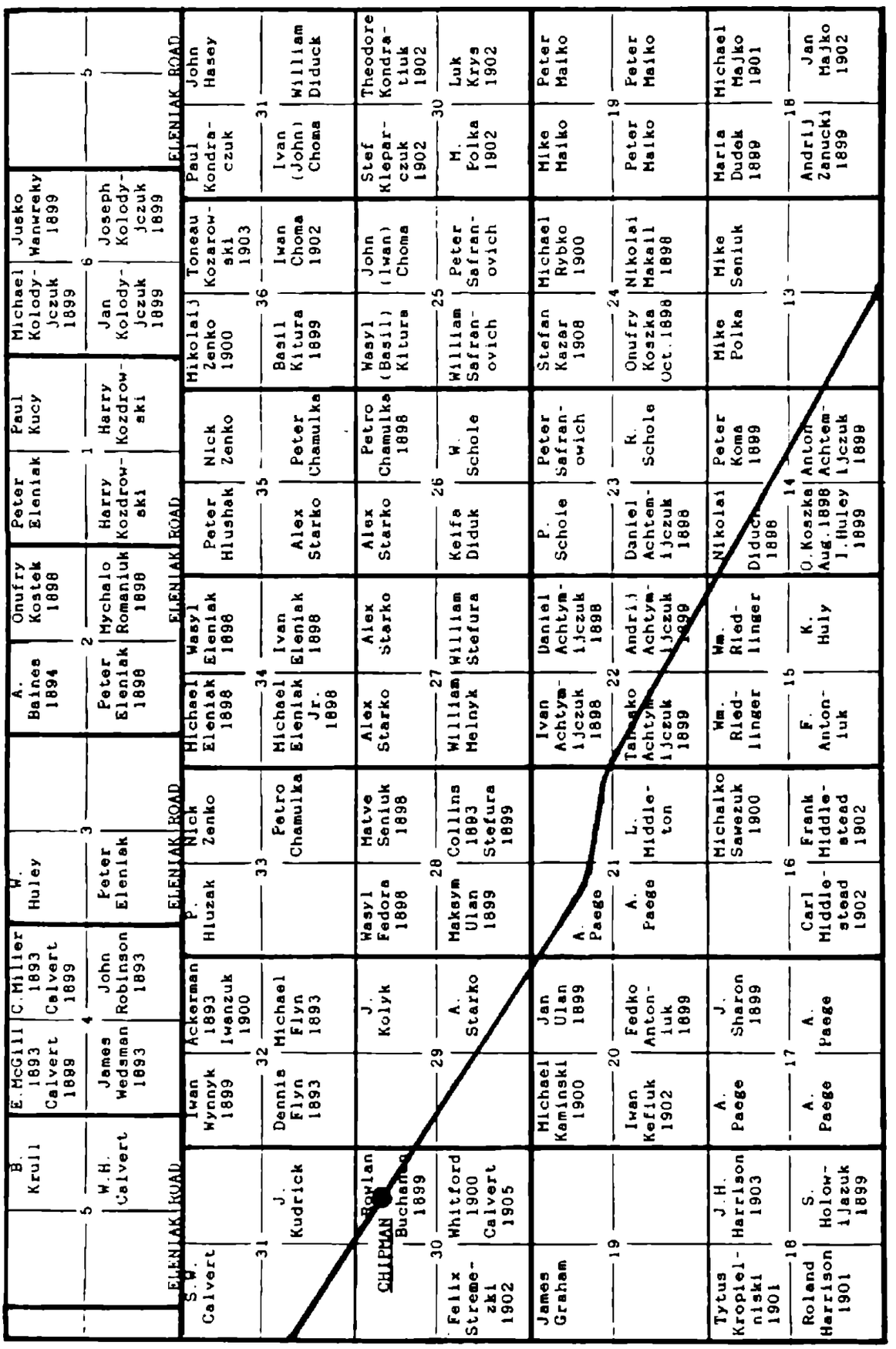
Wasyl and Ivan Eleniak registered their homesteads in Edmonton on May 23, 1898 (that their brother Petro had chosen for them). The designation for Wasyl's land was NE-34-54-18-W4M (which is the north-east quarter in section 34 of township 54 in range 18, west of the 4th meridian).[9] It was about 18 kilometres (11 Miles) as the "crow flies" southeast of Pylypow's homestead. The location of the homesteads of all three brothers is shown in Figure 4.[10] Wasyl described his initiation into homesteading as follows:

> When I arrived in Chipman, my brother Petro by this time had built for us a shelter covered with turf [a *burdei* — M.N.]. I immediately started to cut down trees for logs and by next year had our own [two-story] house built. The same one that I lived in for well over fifty years. Oh Dear Lord! How we suffered the first few years...I scrubbed—uprooted trees. Lord, but this was a forest. Dynamited roots...and cleared the land...[11]

Here at Chipman, Wasyl and Anna lived all of their working years. The first years were difficult, but according to Wasyl not as hard as living in Ukraine. "...[M]y wife was strong and with her help we made steady progress. There was always so much hard work to do...I was deep in debt when I bought a quarter section of land and then another one for my sons..."[12]

Wasyl was engaged in mixed farming, meaning that he grew and sold cereal crops and raised various kinds of domestic animals. He did his field work with horses (i.e., the cultivation of the land, sowing and reaping the crops, etc.). He never owned a tractor or a car, but was a partner with some of his neighbours in the ownership of a steam-powered tractor and threshing machine. This was the only "business venture" he ever was involved in throughout his entire life. He never had a permanent hired man (because he did not need one), nor did he ever leave home during the warmer months to work to earn extra cash. Of course, farming was continually fraught with trials and tribulations. Here is how he relates one of them: "I was always fond of cattle and raised quite a few head. But then the prices dropped [presumably during the Depression years—M.N.].

Figure 4: Map of Homesteads in the Chipman Area



A cow which used to be worth $140 had to be sold now for only eight dollars."[13]

With considerable courage, tenacity and perseverance—as well as thrift, good organization and management—Wasyl and Anna developed their homestead into a thriving farm. Wasyl got his naturalization (citizenship) papers on November 1, 1900, in Edmonton before Judge C.B. Roulieu of the Supreme Court of the Northwest Territories.

As the sons grew up, Wasyl expanded his holdings until he owned a section of land (640 acres).[14] In accordance with Ukrainian tradition, Wasyl and Anna helped their children to start out on their own independent life. Wasyl described some of their contributions thus:

> For my oldest son Fedir I bought a farm for $2200.00. For son John one quarter for $10.00 per acre, and another quarter for $21.00 per acre. For daughter Anna I bought one quarter at Vermilion at $16.50 per acre...I have one farm left. Two families live on it, mine and that of son Peter. In addition, I bought half of a quarter-section for $4,000.00. The land has already become expensive. I gave $2,000.00 in cash and the rest was paid out by instalments. The land is productive, as you can see for yourself. Beautiful![15]

As noted above, and again in accordance with Ukrainian tradition, Wasyl and Anna retired from farming by having their son Peter take over the family homestead. However, Peter and his family lived in a separate house on the farmyard. After Anna died on September 26, 1935, Wasyl continued living in his house alone for awhile. He then moved in with his son John. He did visit his other children quite often, including his daughters in Vancouver, BC—for longer periods when the winters became intolerable.

8.2. The Wasyl Eleniak Family Tree

Wasyl and Anna had nine children. Three (Mary, Fred and Magda) were born in Nebyliw, Galicia, and six in Canada (John in Gretna, Manitoba, and Peter, Paul, Catherine, Olga and Ann in Chipman). All of their sons (except Paul who died young) were farmers, and some daughters married farmers. An abbreviated form of the their family tree is shown in Figure 5, covering only three generations.[16] By the time of Wasyl's death in 1956 the family had grown to five generations consisting of nine children, 51 grandchildren, 62 great-grandchildren and one great-great-grandchild. It is important to note here that the descendants of Wasyl and Anna Eleniak have made a major contribution to the

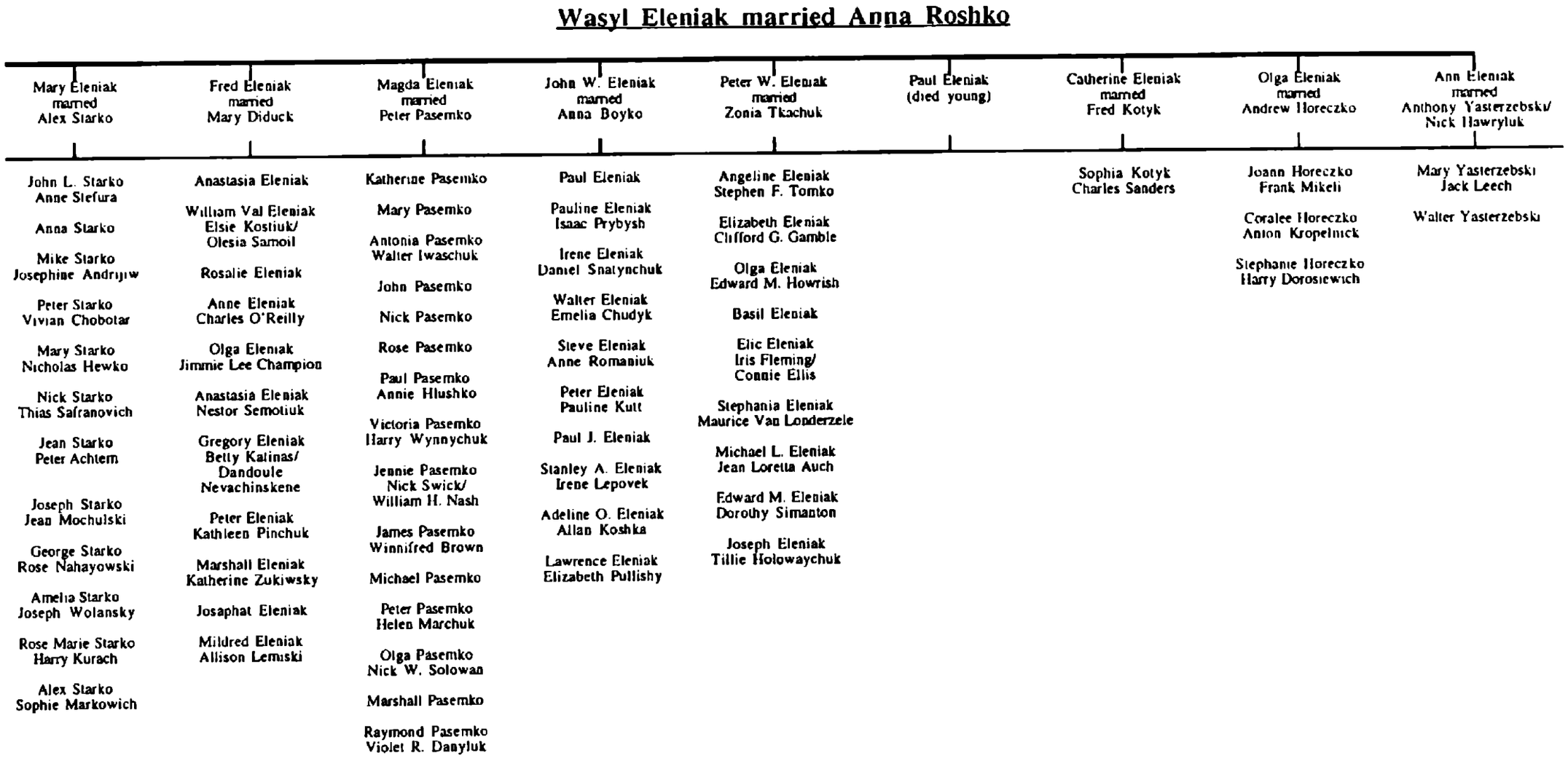


Figure 5: Family Tree of Wasyl and Anna Eleniak—Three Generations

development of the Chipman area, and indeed to the development of Alberta and Canada.[17]

The oldest child *Mary Eleniak* (1886-1966) married Alex (Elias) Starko (1880-1962).[18] Before marriage, both of them worked away from home. Alex worked on the railroad in Calgary whenever he was not needed to help his father on the farm at Star, and Mary worked in restaurants and at the MacDonald Hotel in Edmonton. Both of them saved money while working, hence had a good start in farming on their own. They started to farm at Star and later moved to a farm east of Chipman. Eventually, Alex became a big commercial farmer, having up to three sections (12 quarters) of land, which he initially worked with horses. In due course he began to mechanize, which included the purchase of a threshing machine in 1924. Later in his farming career, Alex raised prize Aberdeen Angus cattle, to be followed some years later by the Hereford breed of cattle and purebred Belgian horses. He won many prizes at agricultural exhibitions for his purebred livestock.

Mary and Alex had twelve children—seven boys and five girls. (See Figure 5.) Anna died as an infant. John, Mike and George Starko farmed—George farming on the home place. All three also raised Aberdeen Angus cattle and Belgian horses. John L. Starko served on the school board for a number of years. George Starko served in the Canadian Army during World War II. Peter, Joseph and Alex (Elias) Starko, Jr. were optometrists (although Peter was a teacher first for a number of years). Nicholas (Nick) Starko farmed for awhile, then went into partnership in a garage in Mundare. Later he owned the Starko Agency and Insurance Co. in Edmonton.

Mary Starko married Nicholas Hewko who was a trucker for the City of Edmonton. Jean Starko married Peter Achtem, an Edmonton business man. Amelia (nee Starko) Wolansky was a nurse. Her husband Joe worked for the Alberta Liquor Control Board in Edmonton. Rose Marie Starko graduated from Alberta College in Edmonton, following which she worked as a secretary. She married Harry Kurach who farmed in Chipman and also worked in the dairy processing industry in Chipman and Riley.

Fred Eleniak (1888-1971) was the oldest son of Wasyl and Anna.[19] He was six years old when he came to Canada. He learned to speak English very well. Fred helped his parents to develop the homestead until the age of 17, by which time his younger brothers were able to take over his work. He left home and his first job was as a fireman on a railway locomotive which pulled coal trains between Lethbridge, Alberta, and Fernie, British Columbia (BC). After a few years he returned to Chipman where he worked in a

branch of Svarich's National Co-operative Company (*Ruska Narodna Torhivlia*). (There was also a branch of the Russian Mercantile Co.—which in Chipman went by the name of the Farmer Mercantile Co. Ltd. [*Russka Torhovelna Ko.*])[20]

Fred married Mary Diduch (1896-1965) in 1913. The couple bought a farm near Chipman with Wasyl's help, where they farmed until 1924. In that year, Fred went into partnership in the operation of the Warspite Hotel. He sold his share in 1930 and returned to his Chipman farm. Then in 1945, after selling this farm in 1945, he bought a larger tract of land in the Holden area. This is where he and Mary spent the remainder of their working years. Fred was active in community affairs and held a number of positions: the chairman of the school board in the Kalusz School District; a councillor for the Municipal District of Wostok; a trustee in the consolidated Lamont School Division.

Fred and Mary Eleniak had six daughters and five sons. (See Figure 5.) Daughters Anastasia (the older one) and Rosalie died as infants. William Val Eleniak was in the Canadian Army from 1939 to 1946 and served overseas for five years. After the war, Val worked for many years in various positions for Trans-Canada Airlines/Air Canada. During these years he attended several universities to take specialized courses. Val also joined the Royal Canadian Air Force (RCAF) on a part-time basis, during which he helped to organize the Canadian Air Cadet Corps. For six years before his retirement, Val was the rector of the St. John's Institute in Edmonton. He held the position of president of the Ukrainian War Veterans' Association and chairman of the Ukrainian Canadian National Homes Association.

Anne Eleniak attended McTavish Business College in Edmonton. She served in the RCAF during World War II. Anne Eleniak married Charles O'Reilly, a chartered accountant, and the couple lived in Phoenix, Arizona. She worked in a bank there, during which time she received a "business woman of the year award" for the state of Arizona. Olga Eleniak also attended McTavish Business College. She married Jimmie Lee Champion, a building contractor, and now lives in Jacksonville, Florida. Anastasia (Nancy) Eleniak married Nestor Semotiuk, who operated a butcher shop in Holden.

Gregory (Harry) Eleniak worked for the Canadian National Railways in telecommunications (e.g., microwave transmission) in Edmonton. Peter Eleniak attended Alberta College in Edmonton. He was an accountant for the Imperial Oil Company in Edmonton. Marshall Eleniak inherited the home place near Tofield by Beaverhill Lake. Josaphat Eleniak was handicapped and first lived at home and

then later at the Michener Centre in Red Deer, Alberta. Mildred Eleniak married Allison Lemiski, an air traffic controller in Edmonton. Mildred studied home economics at the Vermilion College. She worked at a bank for awhile before raising a family.

Magda Eleniak (1891-1977) married Peter Pasemko (1887-1978).[21] Peter farmed in Alberta during his entire active life—in Redwater, Skaro, and Chipman. Magda did all the tasks that pioneer women had to do on a farm. She was a person of great tolerance and compassion.

Magda and Peter Pasemko had fifteen children—8 sons and 7 daughters. (See Figure 5.) Five of their children died at an early age. Antonia Pasemko married Walter Iwaschuk who was an automobile mechanic. John, the oldest son, got the home place and farmed until his retirement. Rose Pasemko was handicapped and stayed at home. Paul Pasemko worked in several occupations in Alberta: farming, owning a garage and car dealership with a partner, and mining in Drumheller. He then lived in several towns in British Columbia and worked as an agent for the CPR, in home construction, in a warehouse, as a logger and as a building custodian.

Victoria Pasemko married Harry Wynnychuk, who was a miner in Drumheller. Jennie Pasemko worked in a store. She went to visit her sister Victoria in Drumheller where she met miner Nick Swick whom she married. James Pasemko joined the Canadian Army in 1939 and was overseas during most of World War II. He saw some action at the battlefront, and was wounded. Upon returning to Canada he was involved in a number of occupations, all in British Columbia: worked in the logging industry, clerked in a Marshall Wells Hardware store, was a general contractor, and owned a hotel in Port Alberni.

Peter Pasemko, Jr. worked in several different occupations in Alberta: logging, mink ranching, mining (in Drumheller), Canadian National Railways, building trucks, MacDonald's Consolidated Wholesalers, clerking in a lumberyard, and doing custodial work for the Jasper Place and Edmonton Separate School Boards. Olga Pasemko married Nick Solowan who was a miner in Drumheller. Later they moved to Edmonton where Nick was first a bar tender and then a court clerk. Raymond Pasemko owned an electrical shop and then became a mobile mechanic for the farmers in the Bruderheim area.

John Eleniak (1894-1988) married Anna Boyko (1898-1986) in 1918.[22] They farmed in the Chipman area for 42 years. During the first few years John and his family lived in a granary. They then had a two story two-room house built, which eventually was replaced by a large modern two story house which is still standing today — but

empty. The gradual improvement in living accommodations reflects the fact that John and Anna started to farm very much in the pioneering tradition but, by the time of retirement, they were into large commercial farming which had become highly mechanized. Over the decades, the increase in the application of science and technology to commercial farming was cost-effective only if the farmer simultaneously increased his land holdings.

John and Anna had ten children—three daughters and seven sons. (See Figure 5.) The parents believed in giving their children access to education. Hence, they all finished high school in Chipman or Hilliard. They also instilled in their children a pride in their Ukrainian heritage.

Their first son died in infancy. Pauline Eleniak married Isaac Prybysh. Irene (Eleniak) Snatynchuk was a school teacher, with her last employer being the Edmonton Separate School System. Her husband Daniel was a mechanic for the Edmonton Transit System. Walter Eleniak farmed on the land originally owned by his uncle Fred Eleniak. Steve Eleniak also farmed — in Chipman at first and later in Edson where he also worked in pipeline construction. Peter J. Eleniak was a trucker first. Later both he and his wife Pauline worked in the Lamont Auxiliary Hospital.

Paul J. Eleniak farmed at first and later did custodial work for the Edmonton Separate School System. He then moved to Kelowna, BC, where he continued doing custodial work. Stanley A. Eleniak went to Alberta College. He got a job with the Alberta Wheat Pool in Calgary, in the department for grading and selecting grain — of which he eventually became the Superintendent. Adeline O. Eleniak attended a business training college. She married Allan Koshka, an experienced millwright. They made their home in Edmonton. Adeline was a secretary with the Separate School Board. Lawrence Eleniak has been working as a custodian for the Edmonton Separate School Board.

Peter Eleniak (1902-1978) stayed with his parents Wasyl and Anna, and eventually inherited the home place.[23] He married Zonia (Sophie) Thakchuk (1898-1987) in 1925. In 1949 he had a sale (except for the farm) and moved with his family to Vancouver, BC. He came back to his parents' homestead in 1952, but soon sold it and bought a bigger farm near Holden, Alberta. Owing to poor health, he and his wife retired to Edmonton in 1959. In 1977 Sophie and her daughter Stephania took a trip to Chernivtsi, Bukovyna, from which they visited the nearby village where she was born and still had family ties.

Peter and Sophie Eleniak had four daughters and five sons. (See Figure 5.) None of the sons were farmers. Angeline Eleniak married

Steve Tomko who farmed in both Chipman and Tofield, and was also a construction worker and a trucker. Angeline worked in the Tofield Senior Citizen's Lodge. Elizabeth Eleniak moved to Vancouver, BC, where she met her husband Clifford Gamble. The family lived in several towns in British Columbia where both of them worked or owned a business. Olga Eleniak and her husband Edward Mike Howrish met and got married in Holden, Alberta. They lived in several towns in Alberta and British Columbia, where Mike was in the trucking business and/or in farming.

Basil (Bill) Eleniak worked in telecommunications; i.e., building and servicing telegraph and telephone lines. He did the whole range of work involved: linesman, crew foreman, field supervisor and contract inspector. His work took him to the three western provinces, Yukon, and the Northwest Territories. Elic (Alex) Eleniak first did odd jobs after leaving home. He then went the Northern Alberta Institute of Technology on the basis of which he got his journeyman's certificate in welding. Stephania Eleniak's career was in banking which she did in several places in Alberta and British Columbia. Her husband Maurice Van Londerzele was in the Royal Canadian Air Force; consequently, the family lived for a time at the base in Cold Lake, Alberta and in Germany.

Michael E. Eleniak and his wife Jean both worked for the Kroehler Furniture Company in Edmonton for most of their lives. Edward M. Eleniak and his wife Dorothy lived in Edmonton. Edward had a variety of jobs: communications, drilling on an oil rig, construction (including sub-contracting), and in a packing plant. Dorothy was a graduate nurse. Joseph Eleniak owned a courier service in Edmonton.

Catherine Eleniak (? -1917) married Fred Kotyk, and the couple lived in Chipman. Her daughter Sophia (Sally) Sanders served in the RCAF. She lives in Vancouver, BC.

Olga Eleniak (1905-) married Andrew Horeczko (1899-1976). They made their first home in Chipman, Alberta, and later in Vancouver, BC, where Olga still resides. Her daughter Joann married Frank Mikeli. Coralee (Louise) married Anton Kropelnick. Stephanie married Harry Dorosiewich.

Ann Eleniak (1907-) married twice. After her first husband Nick Hawryluk died she married Anthony Yasterzebski. Her daughter Mary married Jack Leech. Her son Walter died as an infant.

It should be noted here that the descendants of the three Eleniak brothers (Wasyl, Ivan, and Petro), who emigrated from Nebyliw to Canada just before the turn of the century, have been very active in recent years in commemorating their pioneering ancestors. For this

purpose, they formed the Eleniak Heritage Society. This society was incorporated under the Societies Act of the Province of Alberta on March 30, 1990.[24]

The inaugural executives and directors were elected on February 14, 1990: W. Val Eleniak, President; Steven P. Eleniak, Vice President and Treasurer; Irene Snatynchuk, Secretary; Adele Koshka, Recording Secretary; Al A. Starko, Mildred Lemiski and Allison D. Lemiski, Directors. In April of 1991 three more Directors were added: Joseph Eleniak, Stanley A. Eleniak, and Marvin P. Eleniak. W. Val Eleniak, Irene Snatynchuk, Adele Koshka, Al A. Starko, and Mildred Lemiski are grandchildren of Wasyl and Anna Eleniak. Stanley A. Eleniak is the grandson of Ivan and Anna Eleniak and Steven P. Eleniak is the grandson of Ivan and Irene Eleniak. Joseph Eleniak is a son and Marvin P. Eleniak is a grandson of Petro and Anna Eleniak.

The Eleniak Heritage Society undertook several projects which became part of the celebrations by the Ukrainian Canadian community of the centenary of Ukrainian immigration to Canada. (Wasyl Eleniak and Ivan Pylypow helped to spark this immigration with their exploratory voyage to Canada in 1891). The Society commissioned a coin in commemoration of this centenary. It prepared and published the *Eleniak History and Family Tree*, with Steven P. Eleniak serving as editor and compiler. It should be noted that the three "trunks" of the Eleniak family tree published in this book show 874 descendants spread over five generations: 448 for Wasyl and Anna Eleniak, 325 for Ivan and Anna and Irene Eleniak, and 101 for Petro and Anna Eleniak.[25]

The Eleniak Heritage Society also organized a family reunion at Chipman and Lamont on August 9-11, 1991. Steven P. Eleniak was the principal organizer and co-ordinator. The program for Friday, August 9, was as follows: homestead tours, sports activities, Ukrainian films, and a family talent night in the Lamont Recreation Centre during which there were some Ukrainian items. On Saturday there was golfing, a repeat of the events from the previous day, a banquet in the Lamont Recreation Centre which was attended by about 600 people, and a dance. On Sunday morning, a mass was held at the St. Mary's Ukrainian Catholic Church in Chipman. This was followed by a blessing of the headstones of the three Eleniak brothers. They were founding members of the Church and are buried in its cemetery. In the afternoon reunion participants could attend "Ukrainian Day" at the Ukrainian Cultural Heritage Village. The theme was "A Tribute to Our Pioneers," and was co-sponsored by the Ukrainian Canadian Congress-Alberta Provincial Council and the Alberta Ukrainian Canadian Centennial Committee.

The Eleniak Heritage Society organized and prepared a contribution in 1993 from the Eleniak families for the "Time Capsule" which was buried at the foot of the Ukrainian Centennial Pioneer Monument. This monument is situated in the northwest corner of the grounds in front of the Alberta Legislative Building, and was dedicated on August 29, 1991. It was one of the initiatives of the Ukrainian Canadian Congress, Alberta Provincial Committee.

The Eleniak Heritage Society organized another Eleniak family reunion in 1995—this one to commemorate the 100th Anniversary of the arrival of Ivan and Petro Eleniak and their families in Canada. The event was held on August 5 and 6, in Lamont, Alberta. As part of the celebrations, the Society put up a plaque in honour of the three Eleniak brothers (Wasyl, Ivan, and Petro), and their spouses and children. It is situated on the grounds of the St. Mary's Ukrainian Catholic Church in Chipman. The plaque reads in part as follows: "...dedicated August 6, 1995, by the Eleniak Heritage Society in thanksgiving and memory of our ancestors who immigrated to Canada in search of a better future for their children and their children's children...While we continue to look to the future, we will not forget the land of our ancestors."

The Eleniak Heritage Society also honoured its women in what might be considered a unique manner. It published a cookbook in 1995 entitled *From Baba's Kitchen to Ours,* under the editorship of David Lemiski. The dedication reads as follows: "In thoughtful remembrance of our grandmothers and mothers, and the culinary skills they have passed on to us. To our children and their children, the very best 'From Baba's Kitchen to Ours'."

8.3. Characterization of Wasyl and Anna Eleniak

Wasyl and Anna had a good marital relationship. They made a good team for the frontier life—each supporting and relying on the other. Wasyl appreciated her, saying that she was strong and put in her share in wresting a good life from a difficult homestead situation. She did this without complaint. In addition to helping her husband, she did all of the tasks that were required of a frontierswoman: housework, looking after the needs of the family (preparation of the food, making and mending clothes, etc.), raising poultry and tending some of the livestock (e.g., milking cows), putting in a big garden, and so forth.

Anna died in 1935. Because she died 21 years before Wasyl did, the living grandchildren do not remember her too well. However, they do recall that she was a warm, loving person who pampered them with "goodies" such as hot chocolate, pastries, and other things that children like (which she apparently kept in a small trunk).

They also remember that she was active in community organizations and activities, and was always willing to help neighbours.

Wasyl was small in physical stature but energetic and hard-working—a veritable "workaholic." His very strong work ethic is exemplified by his comment that "...the sun never saw me in bed because I was always up before sunrise..." On another occasion he commented "[w]e worked hard and suffered a good deal but work gives a man joy..."[26] This work ethic stuck with him beyond his retirement from farming: "...When the rest of [son John's] family leaves the house to attend to chores I look after the children. Then I feed and get the water for the chickens and the pigs. That done, I sit down, look around the yard and cry, for now I am quite weak..."[27]

Wasyl Eleniak was a humble man but had considerable pride. In addition, he was a kind, gentle, and generous person who enjoyed life. It was not uncommon to hear him sing or whistle in the mornings as he went about his work. Apparently he had a good tenor voice. He liked to go carolling at Christmas time. Val Eleniak recalled that some evenings he could hear his grandfather play old country tunes on the *sopilka* (reed-pipe).[28] His other "hobby" was reading (which he able to do, although he never learned to write). He mainly read *Ukrainski visti* (Ukrainian News), *Svitlo* (Light), and Ukrainian calendar-almanacs.

Wasyl was immaculate in his personal habits and was always neatly dressed on special occasions. He did not smoke, and drank only sparingly on festive occasions. It will be recalled that he was a teetotaler as a result of the pledge he took in Nebyliw to abstain from drink.

Wasyl was a good family man, and did whatever he could to look after the welfare of his wife Anna and his children. He loved to socialize with his ever-extending family. Although he was kind and gentle, he also could be a disciplinarian with his own children. He believed in instilling in them the Christian values that guided his life. His grandchildren recall him with affection, because he always went out of his way to establish good rapport with them. One strategy, which became a habit, was to carry a lot of change when he went visiting or was going to have visitors with children. At the appropriate moment he would give each of them a nickel.

In spite of the hard work involved, Wasyl Eleniak loved farming. In fact, his main and only vocational interest in life was to become a successful farmer. It gave him independence and a challenge for organizing and carrying out the necessary tasks. He liked livestock, including horses. It seems that he had a knack for breaking horses in for work, and that the wilder they were the more Wasyl enjoyed the challenge. In a gentle and pampering manner, he

would soon have them "docile as kittens."[29] It should be noted that although Wasyl never went into mechanized farming, he nevertheless had a great interest in modern gadgetry such as electric lighting and the radio.

Wasyl and Anna Eleniak on their homestead about 1935.
(Courtesy of Mildred and Allison Lemiski)

Wasyl was a generous man and a good neighbour—always willing to help anyone who needed it. He also was a conscientious community person who helped to initiate projects and participated in them with great energy and enthusiasm. Wasyl was a good

organizer and took on leadership roles (but not administrative one which required writing). Major projects to which he contributed were the building of the Ukrainian National Hall (*narodny dim*) and two churches in Chipman, and collecting food and other necessities for the orphans looked after by the Sisters in the Mundare nunnery. Regarding the building projects, Wasyl helped to cut down trees to be used for construction logs and bring them to the site, haul rocks and sand for the foundation, and did other essential tasks.

Wasyl was a deeply religious man—a very devout Catholic. He attended mass on Sundays and religious holidays, regardless of the state of his health, the weather and the distance he had to travel. He prayed in the mornings and in the evenings. He reminisced about some aspects of his religious life as follows:

> I belong to the church at Chipman. Father Pylypiw conducted the services here for four years in my house, right where you are sitting. And then we drove for eight years to the house of Anton Achteminchuk, with the same wagon that you came to my place. [In 1924] Bishop Budka came by train to Mundare, then by handcar to Chipman and conducted a service in Achteminchuk's house...[30]

Apparently he was prone to making his religious views known to other people. "...I always argued about religion until [Father Kryzanowsky] told me to refrain from this and so, after this I never discussed religion with anyone...Prior to that...Oh Heavenly Father!"[31]

Wasyl and his two brothers Ivan and Petro, as well as their children and grandchildren (and their spouses) were very active in religious affairs. The three Eleniak brothers and Wasyl's son-in-law Alex (Elias) Starko are included among those that are recognized as the organizers and builders of two Ukrainian (Greek) Catholic churches in Chipman. The second one, the St. Mary's Ukrainian Catholic Church, was built in 1916 for $6000 and is still in use. Wasyl Eleniak was named an honourary member of the Chipman parish.[32] Members of all three generations (which were discussed above) participated in such church activities as singing in church choirs, sitting on executive and other church committees, and being members of the Knights of Columbus and the Ukrainian Catholic Women's League.

Wasyl was a great walker. With cane in hand, he would frequently walk the 5 kilometers (3 miles) to Chipman to pick up the mail and have a bath at the hotel. It is said that he would walk (if he did not pick up a ride along the way) from his farm north of Chipman to Mundare to attend the two-day St. Peter's celebration there on July 12th—a distance of 32 kilometers (20 miles).

Wasyl Eleniak loved his Ukrainian heritage, and did his best to pass on this love to his progeny. He also supported causes for the formal teaching of the Ukrainian language and culture in Canada. The momentum for this formal teaching began to grow about 1910 when an increasing number of Ukrainians became certified teachers in the three prairie provinces. They taught the courses prescribed by the provincial departments of education. However, they also taught "...Ukrainian reading and writing, music, dramatics, etc.... Among the many prominent individuals who urged the teachers to assume a bilingual role in their instructive capacity..." was Wasyl Eleniak.[33] Val Eleniak has noted that his grandfather felt badly that Ukrainians have had to subordinate their heritage and suffer assimilation for a long time. In the Old Country "[t]here was pressure first to learning the German language and then the Polish language. Now in Canada it is regrettable that there also is assimilation. It is very difficult for us."[34]

Although Wasyl loved Ukraine, he had a greater love for his adopted land. He was a true Canadian patriot. It was with great satisfaction that he reminisced about the years he spent in Canada, whereas his life in Galicia was too bitter to remember. Therefore, he had no desire to return there—even to visit. His new homeland was good to him. It offered opportunities that he could never have had in the Old Country. He took advantage of these opportunities to build, with his wife Anna, a secure and prosperous life.

It is fitting to conclude with the following impression by Wasyl Eleniak's granddaughter Irene Snatynchuk: "In my books Grandpa was a pioneer worthy of admiration and recognition. Although small in stature, but big in courage, he possessed that spirit characteristic of all worthy pioneers." [35]

CHAPTER 9

IVAN PYLYPOW'S LIFE IN CANADA

9.1. The First Year

When the Pylypow family arrived [in Winnipeg] in May of 1893, they apparently had only $37 left. Ivan had to earn some money:

> I left my family there [in Winnipeg] in a rented house and went to work in North Dakota. In December, when I had earned some money, I returned with some German people who were going to Athabasca. In Winnipeg, I bought a yoke of oxen, a cow, a plow, a wagon, a sack of flour, salt, and sugar. I took all these commodities to the railway and loaded them into a boxcar. The freight charges for the shipment were forty dollars, and the shipper could travel free of charge. Thus I journeyed to Edmonton and from there to Bruderheim [actually Scotford, a settlement a few kilometers closer to Edmonton—M.N.] where I took a homestead.[1]

Maria and ten-year-old son William also worked whenever they could while in Winnipeg. Maria worked at people's homes, doing various menial tasks. William sold newspapers on the streets and polished shoes, claiming to earn at times more than his father.[2]

Upon arriving in Edmonton, the family stayed in the immigration hall for a few days until an acquaintance from Nebyliw, Nick Tychkowsky (who emigrated with his family a year before), could pick them up. He took them to his own old log cabin where they stayed until Pylypow could build one on his own homestead.[3] William, Ivan's oldest son, recalled the first winter:

> That first winter was terrible. We were packed like sardines, together with another family, in an old trapper's cabin that was far too small for all of us. That was a terrible winter of deprivation, crammed as we were and ill prepared for that first Canadian winter.[4]

Once on his own homestead, Ivan, with the help of his family, began to do the things homesteaders had to do. The tasks were primarily determined by the need for the family to survive the variable, and at times rigorous, Alberta climate and the need to clear the amount of land and construct the number of buildings required by the government to give the homesteader a deed to the land. Prosperity was a dream for the future.

However, disaster struck the Pylypow family early in their life in Canada. Ivan was in the process of building a one-room sod-

covered log cabin on the homestead. One day in May of 1894, only six months after their arrival in Bruderheim, this half-finished cabin burned down while the parents and son William were clearing and breaking some land. The loss was very heavy, including all their clothes and documents and some of their money, equipment and livestock. The fire was reported as follows in the May 24, 1894, issue of the *Edmonton Bulletin:*

> Ivan Philipow's dwelling in the Josephburg German settlement in the Beaver Hills, east of Fort Saskatchewan, was burned down on Sunday last. Everything including a cow and calf and $15 in cash. The parents were absent from the home at the time and the fire is supposed to have been started by one of the children who tried to light a fire in the stove. The people are Russians and are left practically destitute. On Tuesday and Wednesday they were in town collecting food and clothing with which to make a fresh start in life.

Ivan became extremely distraught as a result of the disaster (and according to his son William, attempted to drown himself in a nearby lake, but was saved by neighbours who had arrived on the scene). In his interview with Solomon, William Pylypow recalled that "...my father was hit hard by this destruction of our first home in Canada, and as a result he seemed to have aged considerably that first summer in Alberta."

Ivan was advised to go begging for assistance and was given a letter of introduction in English by one of the people who had come to observe the fire. Since there was no governmental social assistance (other than "relief" which had to be repaid), Ivan and Maria had no choice but to follow the advice. Leaving the children with the Tychkowsky family and using a borrowed team of horses (Ivan had only oxen at that time) and wagon, Ivan and Maria spent several weeks seeking help. They covered a large area around their homestead as well as parts of Edmonton and settlements north and south of the city. They were successful in obtaining a substantial amount of clothing and enough money (apparently over $100) to buy some of the essentials that they lost. This enabled the Pylypow family to start all over again.

9.2. The Pylypow Family Prospers

The burning of the house provided Ivan with the opportunity to move to better land. On September 31, 1894, he filed an application for a homestead closer to the Edna-Star post-office and to the families of the Nebyliw group that had just settled there. This homestead went under the registry designation SW-22-56-19-W4M and is included in Figure 6. He got the title to this homestead on

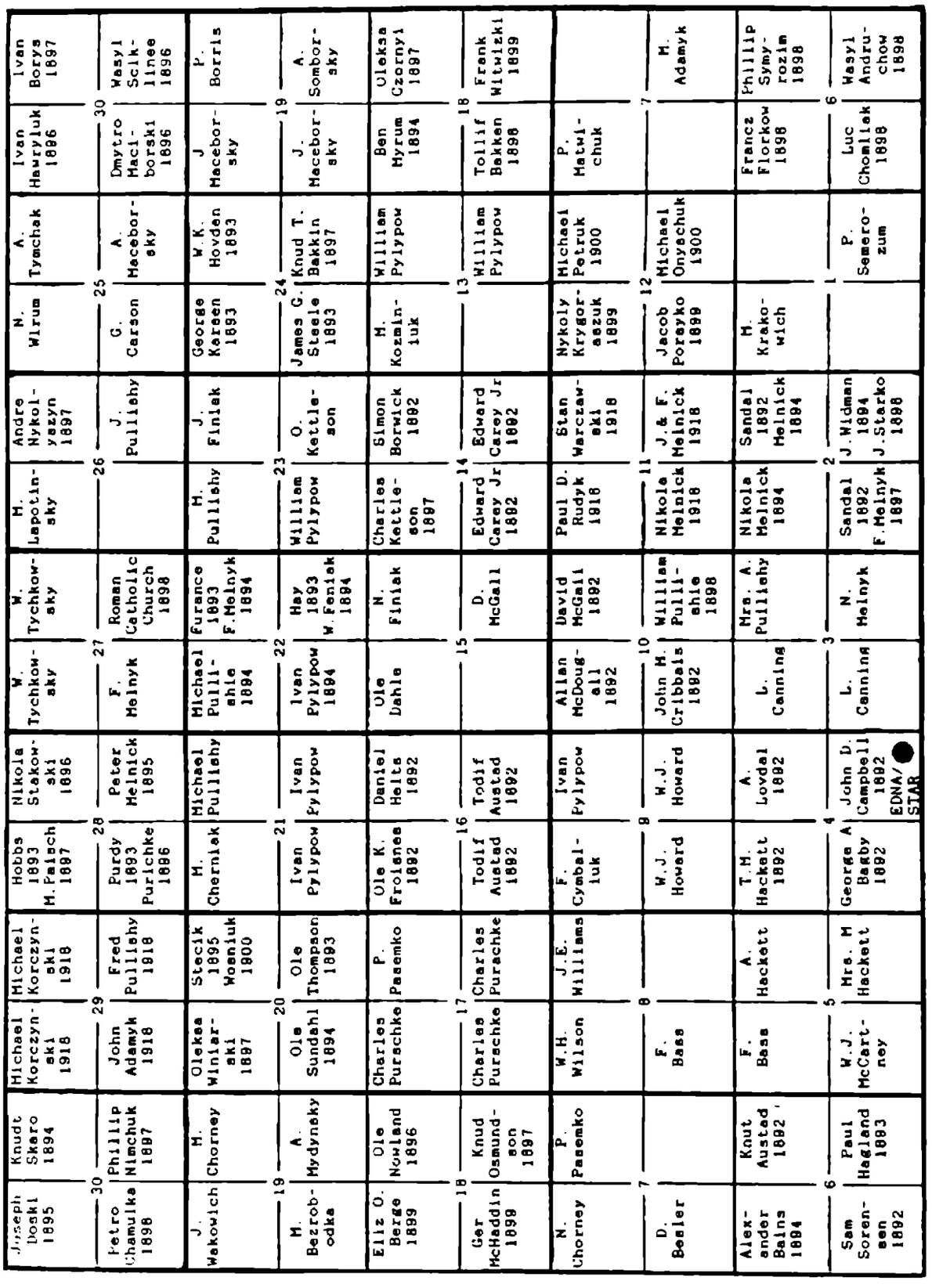


Figure 6: Map of homesteads of some of the early settlers in the Edna-Star area.

August 8, 1899, under the name of John Pylypow. Ivan got his naturalization papers on June 20, 1896, at the District of North Alberta Court, NWT, in Edmonton under the name of Jan Pilipoli.[5]

Not much information is available about the other pioneering trials and tribulations experienced by Ivan Pylypow and his family on the Canadian frontier. However, we do know that they made fairly rapid progress materially. They built a log cabin on the new homestead similar to the one that burnt down.[6] A few years later Ivan began to build a larger house, which was completed for occupancy in 1906. Additions and other improvements were made in later years. Lupul[7] described its construction and furnishings as follows:

> The Pylypow house was built of spruce and tamarack logs which had been cut by Iwan Pylypow and his neighbours during the winter months...On the main floor, there were two rooms...Upstairs there were two additional rooms...On the north end of the house was a porch, which divided into two rooms...It also had a cellar accessible through a trap-door in the kitchen floor...The house was constructed in the style of the inhabitants of the mountainous regions of the Carpathians, who were known for their skill in constructing with wood...

In 1917, the interior and exterior of the house were covered with milled lumber. At some stage, cedar shingles were added to the roof of the house.[8] It was furnished partly with wooden furniture made by Ivan and the remainder with furniture and other household conveniences bought in Fort Saskatchewan, Edmonton, and Strathcona. The Pylypow children were brought up in this house, and it was the one in which Ivan and Maria lived for the rest of their lives (although in later years Maria lived for long spells with her daughter Ann in Edmonton).

Thanks to Immigration Officer C.W. Speers, we know the extent of the progress made by the Pylypow family in the early years on the Star homestead. Here is how he described their equity in 1898:

> Ivan Pylypi (Pylypiw)—came three and a half years ago—Family comprising eight souls. He has built a comfortable house worth $100; stables and outbuildings $150; a good granary worth $75; 75 tons of hay $150; 6 horses $300; 14 cattle $400; 80 acres under cultivation $240; 1300 bushels of wheat in the granary. He has a new binder $150; mower and rake $80; wagon $50; disc harrows and ploughs; two good wells $100. 12 hogs worth $60 and two sheep. He came in 1894 with capital of $200. He has a clear deed of his farm unencumbered, and a very complete equipment.[9]

Ivan Pylypow in sheepskin coat. Photo taken by Ivan Bobersky, 1932. (National Archives of Canada C21480/Ukrainian Cultural and Educatonal Centre – OSEREDOK)

It is interesting to note that the horses were deemed to be worth three times as much as the house, and that no price was put on the grain. A probable reason for this is that labour was not counted in the case of the house and grain, and that the latter was probably designated for consumption in the operation of the Pylypow farm.

Two years later, in his report, Speers gives the following net worth of Ivan Pylypow, the third highest of the nine settlers reported:

John Pillipoo (Ivan Pylypiw)

320 acres land	$1,600.00
7 horses	450.00
16 cattle	480.00
16 hogs	100.00
Binder, Mower and Rake	200.00
Seed Drill, Plows	80.00
Disc Harrow and Harrow	80.00
Wagon and Sleigh	100.00
Share in Steam Thresher	500.00
Share in Flour Mill	60.00
	$3,650.00

Buildings worth $1000 Farm all fenced.[10]

The work on the Pylypow homestead was most likely divided in the fashion common among Ukrainian settlers in the early days of pioneering. Ivan and his sons (and later the hired help) would have been responsible for clearing the land and raising crops on it, caring for the draft animals, and constructing buildings. Maria and her daughters (and later the maids) would have had the main responsibility for looking after the remainder of the livestock and the poultry (she raised chickens and turkeys), the gardening, the operation of the household (including sewing which Maria did a great deal of), and the care of the younger children. This division of labour would have remained fairly constant during the early years of homesteading because Ivan did not leave home for long spells to work as many other settlers did to supplement their income.

Ivan was also responsible in the main for trips to market to sell farm produce and to buy items needed for the house and farm. Until the railway arrived in nearby Lamont in 1905, Ivan had to make his marketing trips to Fort Saskatchewan, Edmonton, and Strathcona. He first made these trips with oxen (which took about a week) and later with horses. With the coming of the railway to Lamont in 1905, Ivan and his family did most of their shopping there, which they could do more frequently because of the much shorter distance involved. They patronized several stores in Lamont, including the

one which Ivan owned in partnership with Shires and Scraba.[11] However, Maria seldom accompanied her husband unless she had an appointment with a doctor. A number of bills of sale are extant from early Lamont merchants with Ivan Pylypow's name on them. Items listed on these bills are shingles, lime, roll paper, cellar sashes, storm sashes, windows, etc.—all required for the building of his new house. It should also be noted that with the arrival of the railway to Lamont (and later to Star) goods were also purchased through mail order houses such as Eatons, Sears, and Montgomery Wards.

In regard to the Pylypow diet Lesoway[12] states the following:

> ...Its nature is dependent on several factors: (1) the history of farming and cattle-raising in a particular area, (2) the geography of the area, and (3) changes in the socio-economic milieu as a result of the introduction of new cultural influences. The diet shared by members of the Pylypow household in the 1920s reflects all of these factors. Since food is one of the "unchanging" components of an ethnic legacy, the Pylypows' diet was largely traditional, and in many ways, similar to the type of diet prevalent in the Ukrainian Carpathians at the turn of the century. However, transplantation into a new [Canadian] environment and the resultant modifications in farming methods and economy as well as exposure to new cultural influences, resulted in some variation away from the traditional diet.

From the property that Speers listed (see above), it is obvious that Ivan Pylypow made a serious effort to keep up with improvements in agricultural technology in his farming and that indeed he was well on the way to commercial farming in only four years after he moved to Edna-Star. It should also be noted that he was a co-owner of a flour mill and a steam thresher—the latter probably the first to be used by Ukrainian settlers in Canada.[13] According to Nicholas Phillips[14], his father's "...threshing machine ...was pulled by horses...[It] was the kind in which people were required to feed the machine by pushing grain into the thresher themselves. The machine had a *kirat* which was powered by horses turning in a circular path. Later, Pylypow purchased another machine...powered by a steam engine." In addition to the thresher, Ivan, again in partnership with neighbours, bought and set up a sawmill on his yard about 1904 — purportedly the first in the Edna-Star district. About 1921 he bought his first tractor (an International "Titan"), but rarely used it (probably because he was insecure in using self-propelled mechanical devices).

Ivan also kept up with advances in transportation and communication. He was one of the first in the Star area to buy a car (a Chevrolet or a Model T Ford) — some time before 1923. It seems

that he had an unpleasant experience driving the car shortly after purchasing it, so never drove it again. Apparently, "...when he and his wife were returning home from some political rally or visit, he found that he did not know how to turn off the engine. He was forced to keep driving until he finally ran out of gas, and the car came to a stop on its own".[15] Thereafter, on the rare occasion that he and Maria wanted to go on a longer trip, Ivan had his son William, a grandson or a neighbour drive them. Ivan was listed for the first time in the Alberta Government Telephones directory in July, 1923, under the name John Pylypow. Bobersky stated that there was electricity in Pylypow's house when he visited the farm on April 2, 1932.[16]

Ivan and Maria Pylypow about 1930. (Provincial Archives of Alberta UV. 315)

Ivan observed closely how others farmed (e.g., his neighbours as well as farmers for whom he worked in Gretna, Manitoba, and North Dakota) and followed their practices. He may have also picked up ideas from the newspapers that he read. As a result, he used many new practices in farming, such as crop rotation and leaving a field fallow every fourth year to rejuvenate it. Ivan raised many cattle (apparently he had about 200 head during the period 1923 to 1928) but did not go for pure-bred stock. He also raised hogs and, in earlier years, some sheep, the wool from which was used by Maria to make quilts.

Ivan Pylypow was involved in a variety of other activities to supplement the family income. It appears that he panned for gold on

the North Saskatchewan River. MacGregor[17] implies that panning for gold during the slack periods on the farm was an important source of supplementary income for the settlers. However, William Pylypow, in his interview with Solomon, gave the impression that it was a "one-shot" effort for his father. "A Norwegian induced seven Edna settlers to go to the North Saskatchewan River where there was a sluicing machine for panning for gold. My father came back the second day...because the pay was poor and the work hard...The Norwegian paid 50 cents per day to those who stuck it out for a week while those who left early got nothing..." It was during this gold-panning venture that Dr. Oleskow made his historic visit to Edna-Star, so Ivan missed him (although his son William spent a day with the guest because he drove him around the district).

Early in his pioneering days, Ivan had a contract to supply tamarack poles to contractors who were building bridges across the many creeks in the area. He bought cattle and horses and re-sold them, usually to newly arrived settlers. During 1904-1905 he sold some horses to a contractor who was laying the gravel bed for the last stretch of the Canadian Northern Railway to Edmonton. Ivan also supplied him with oats and hay. It seems that for this assistance Ivan was awarded a life pass on the railway.[18]

Earlier, it was stated that in the 1920s Ivan was a co-owner of a store in Lamont. If indeed he was a co-owner, then by the time of his death in 1936 he was no longer in this partnership because the inventory prepared by the executor for the probation of his estate does not include ownership in a store.[19]

Ivan Pylypow also was involved in the co-operative movement that swept through the Ukrainian Canadian community during the second and third decades of this century. It was noted in an earlier chapter that the National Cooperative Company Limited (*Ruska Narodna Torhivlia*), organized by Peter Svarich and Paul Rudyk in 1909, was one of the first. It had several stores in the Edna-Star bloc settlement, including one in Lamont and another in Chipman. It was very successful for a decade and then over-extended itself and went bankrupt. In 1913 the Russophiles around Lamont set up the Russian Mercantile Company (*Russka torhovelna kompaniia*), which had a store in Lamont and another in Chipman.[20] It too went bankrupt eventually. The inventory mentioned above of Ivan Pylypow's estate shows that he had two shares in the Russian Mercantile Company of Lamont and another two shares in the Russian Publicity Company Limited of Lamont. All four shares were declared "valueless."

Ivan Pylypow also liked to speculate on property in order to make a profit, such as the buying and re-selling of horses mentioned

above. One of his grandchildren remembered that he would buy cattle locally and ship them to distant markets such as Winnipeg where the prices might be higher.[21] However, his main speculation was in city lots:

> I've also bought and sold lots in Edmonton and Winnipeg, sometimes selling them for a profit and sometimes losing on them. Some Ukrainians bought a store [in Lamont—M.N.] from an Englishman for $16,000 in which I bought fifty shares at $25 each. The managers were Shkraba and Bricks [and Shires?—M.N.], but it was all lost. Now I don't own any property in Edmonton, but I own fifteen lots in Winnipeg and pay about 40 dollars a year in taxes.[22]

It should be noted again that in the inventory for probating Ivan's estate there is no mention of his owning lots in Winnipeg. Presumably he had given them up in the four-year interval between the interview and his death in 1936.

Ivan's son William was also involved in land speculation in Edmonton, starting before World War I. According to the latter, in the early stages of the land sale boom both of them made quite a bit of money. Then the land crash came at the beginning of the war. At first neither one wanted to let go of his lots so continued to pay city taxes on them. Then William dropped his lots while his father continued paying taxes until 1924. William stated: "...In 1913 I brought to my dad a buyer who offered him $60,000 for his lots. My father wanted a $100,000 because some land nearby sold at a $1,000 per frontage foot, and my father had 180 feet [of frontage]...[F]rom that time my father paid $13,000 in taxes and lost them anyway...But generally my father did not lose because he did sell some lots [before 1913], so I think that he did not put any money in from his own [farm] property."[23]

In spite of his losses in the various business enterprises, Ivan Pylypow continued to prosper so that forty years later, when he was interviewed by Bobersky in 1932, he claimed to have an unencumbered title to five quarter-sections (800 acres) of land.[24] He accumulated his wealth through hard work, thrift, good farm management, and sufficiently adequate modern farming practices. Certainly the Pylypows enjoyed a level of prosperity that they probably never could have achieved in Nebyliw.

9.3. The Ivan Pylypow Family Tree

As was mentioned earlier, Ivan and Maria were blessed with six children: William (Wasyl), George (Iurko), Nicholas (Nykola), Ann, Michael (Mykhailo), Margaret (Magdelena). The family tree for three generations is shown in an abbreviated form in Figure 7.[25]

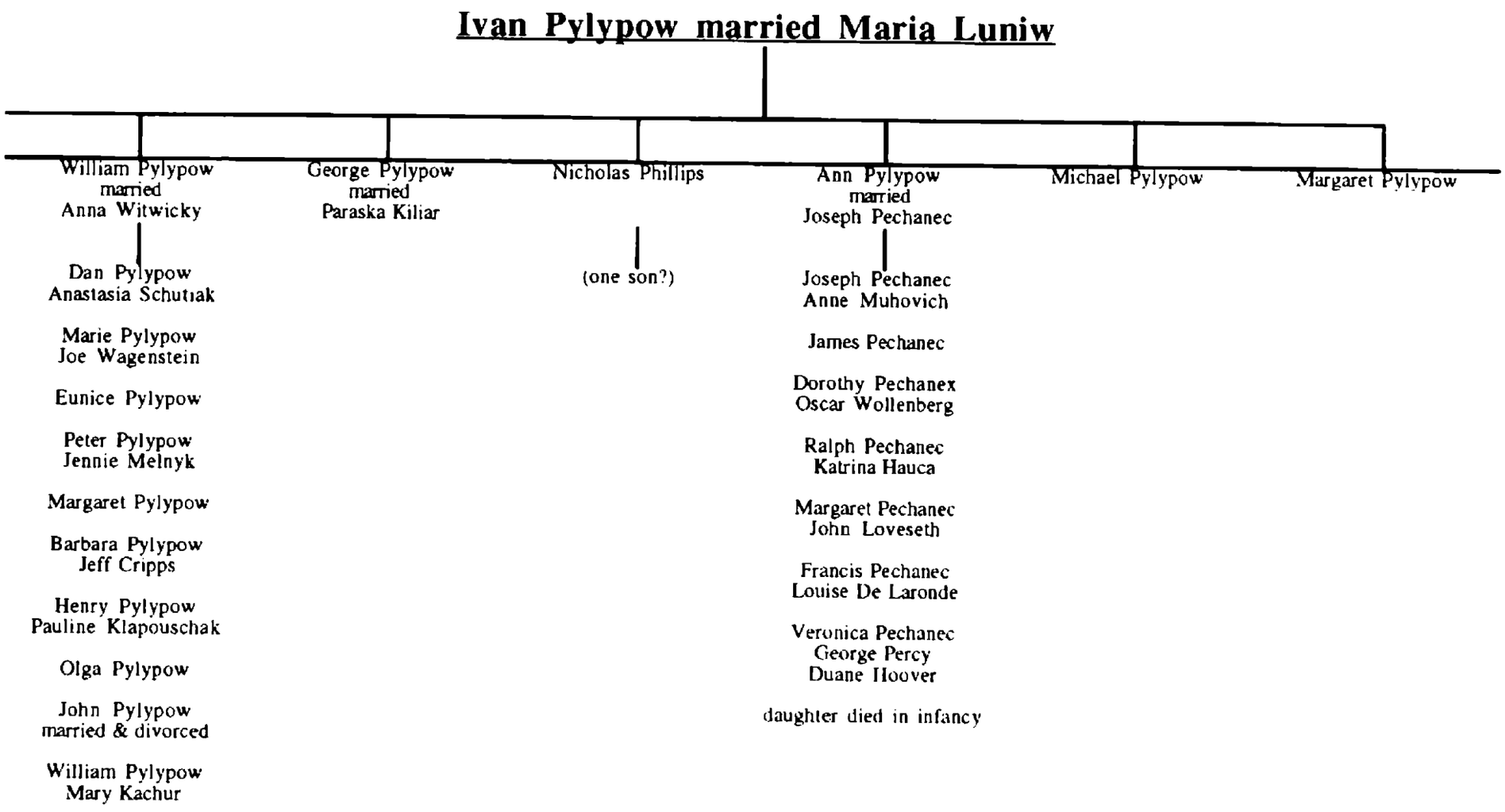


Figure 7: Family Tree of Ivan and Maria Pylypow—Three Generations

The first four children were born in Nebyliw, while Michael and Margaret were born in Star. Maria and Ivan experienced heartbreak with three of them because of their tragic lives.

Limestone Lake School was built on Ivan's farm (for which he donated land), but only the younger children attended it. The older ones were desperately needed to help on the farm. They apparently learned to read and write on their own with help from others.

William Pylypow (1883-1968), the oldest child, married Anna Witwicky (1885-1946). The couple farmed all of their working years in the Star area (see figure 6), starting with land given them as a wedding present by Ivan and Maria. In due course they became quite prosperous. William became skilled as a blacksmith and also had professional papers as a steam engineer. He worked in the latter occupation full time for several years at a coal mine in Edmonton; and when he began farming, he operated a steam-powered threshing machine. In his earlier years he wrangled horses, buying them in southern Alberta and driving them (later on shipping them by rail) to Edna-Star area for his own use and resale (some to his father). He was also a "bronco buster." On the basis of this experience he claimed to be the first genuine Ukrainian Canadian cowboy. William called himself a "jack-of-all-trades."[26]

Like his father, William was a religious man all of his life. He also took an active interest in community affairs. He served as a councillor for the Municipal District of Leslie from 1932 to 1934.[27] Politically, he held some contradictory views. He supported the Liberal Party, and indeed ran as Liberal candidate in the provincial elections in 1924 and lost.[28] In later life he became sympathetic to the USSR because he was impressed that under the Soviet system his native Ukraine progressed from a semi-feudal state to a modern industrial one. He was also a supporter of world peace: "I had two brothers in the First Great War and four sons in the Second Great War, so I too know the heartaches of waiting..."[29]

As a result of his support of the USSR, William Pylypow began to attend functions of the Association of United Ukrainian Canadians (AUUC) after the war. In 1966 he was a guest of honor at the Joint Convention of the AUUC and the Workers Benevolent Association in Winnipeg. Also in 1966, with the sponsorship of the AUUC and upon the invitation of the Ukrainian Society for Friendly Relations with Ukrainians Abroad, William visited Nebyliw, the town in which he was born. Both the Convention and the trip were part of the 75th anniversary celebrations of the recorded Ukrainian presence in Canada, which began with the exploratory trip made to

this country by his father and Wasyl Eleniak. For all of these activities William Pylypow was accused of being a "Bolshevik".[30]

William and Anna Pylypow had ten children—five sons and five daughters. (See Figure 7.) Eunice and Margaret died at an early age. Dan, Peter, and William farmed in Alberta: Dan in Wildwood, Peter in Star, and William in Viking. Later Dan worked in construction and then went into the hotel business in Killam, Alberta with his brother John and in Devon with his son-in-law. Henry Pylypow was a school teacher, with his last employment being with the Edmonton Public School Board. John Pylypow farmed for a number of years in Star. He left farming and bought a cafe in Wildwood, Alberta. Subsequently he owned a hotel in Prince George, BC, then another in Killam, Alberta, and the final one in Fernie, BC. Peter, Henry, John and William served in the Canadian army during World War II, with Peter serving overseas for a time.

Marie Pylypow married Joe Wagenstein and the couple lived in Vancouver. Marie worked as a seamstress, while Joe worked in industrial plants, where he was killed in an accident. Barbara Pylypow married Jeff Cripps who was civic employee in Vancouver. Olga Pylypow moved to Vancouver where she took a course in bookkeeping, and then worked for the federal government in the Income Tax Department. Later she moved to San Francisco where she worked and made her permanent home.

George Pylypow (1890- ?) and *Nicholas Phillips* (1890-1985) were twins. George was married to Paraska Kiliar. The couple was childless, probably because Paraska died from tuberculosis fairly soon after her marriage. Subsequently, George left home to work (about 1918) and was never heard from again.

Nicholas Phillips (Nykola Pylypow) stayed home until the age of 19 and helped to run the family farm. He attended Limestone Lake School, but not for long because he was needed on the farm. In later life he attended night school to learn reading and writing. Apparently, he left home as soon as he could (one reason being that his father would not give him enough spending money). During World War I he changed his name to Nicholas Phillips and joined the Canadian Expeditionary Force (Canadian Forestry Corps) and became a non-commissioned officer. He served overseas and was stationed in Scotland, but did not see action in the war zone. He lost his corporal's stripes because he "...hit a big-shot officer."[31] According to Kaye[32], while overseas Nicholas became a father to a son. Eventually, he returned to Canada alone.

During his early decades, Nicholas was engaged in a variety of occupations: farming for brief spells before and after the war; working for a limited time during World War I in the yards of the

Northern Alberta Railway in Edmonton; being involved in a number of partnership—in a meat and grocery store, in a real estate agency combined with sale of steamship tickets, and finally in selling coal.

Following his endeavours in the business world, he worked consecutively on a ranch in High River, ran a threshing machine, served as an interpreter for Doukhobors in Saskatchewan, and did other jobs. During the Second World War he went to work again for the Northern Alberta Railway in Edmonton.[33] He spent the last 25 years of his working life for an Edmonton lumber company. Nicholas claimed to have been strongly influenced by Roman Kramer in his later years but did not specify in what way.[34]

The older daughter *Ann Pylypow* (1893-1980) came to Canada as an infant. As a young woman she went to work at the Transit Hotel in Edmonton, and met her husband Joseph Pechanec (1880-1954) They lived in Edmonton where Joseph was the head of several departments in the Swift's Packing plant.

Ann and Joseph had eight children: four sons and four daughters, one dying at an early age. (See Figure 7.) Both Joseph and James Pechanec worked in the Swift's packing plant in Edmonton. Ralph Pechanec was a veterinarian meat inspector. Francis (Toby) Pechanec moved to Vancouver where he worked first as a logger and later as a mechanic on large machines. During World War II all four sons served in the Canadian military: Joseph and James in the army, Toby in the navy, and Ralph in the air force (with some time spent overseas).

Dorothy (Dolly) Pechanec attended Commercial High School in Edmonton, where she took secretarial training. She worked as a secretary in Edmonton and later in Vancouver. She married Oscar Wollenberg who worked in a meat packing plant, first in Edmonton and then in Vancouver. Margaret (Marge) Pechanec took a course at the McTavish Business School and worked as a secretary in Edmonton. She married John Loveseth who owned a furniture and appliance store for many years, and, after selling it, worked as a clerk for the Campbell Furniture store in Edmonton. Veronica (Vernie) Pechanec moved to Los Angeles and worked for Delta Airlines, first as an airline stewardess and later in other departments of the company. Her first husband George Percy was in the oil business. Later Veronica married Duane Hoover who works in Sacremento, California, for the computer company, Oracle Corporation.

Ivan's and Maria's youngest son *Michael Pylypow* (1896-1971) had mental problems—apparently all of his life. The exact nature of his illness is not known, but in later life he had epileptic seizures. In the early 1920s he went to work in Winnipeg and stayed with his

aunt Anna and uncle George Panischak. He returned to live with his parents in 1927. In 1929 he was hospitalized for the remainder of his years.

The youngest child *Margaret Pylypow* (1901-1926) left home in the 1920s to work as a secretary in San Francisco. She died from tuberculosis and was buried there.

Today the progeny of Ivan and Maria Pylypow is not very large — only about one-fifth that of Wasyl and Anna Eleniak. In 1997 the number of descendants spanning five generations was as follows: 6 children, 19 grandchildren, 28+ great-grandchildren and 38+ great-great-grand children and 5 great-great-great-grandchildren. This information was included in the "Legacy of John and Maria Pylypow" — the contribution on the Pylypow family that was put in the "Time Capsule" which is buried at the foot of the Ukrainian Centennial Pioneer Monument in front of the Alberta Legislative Building.[35]

It should be noted here that several of Ivan's siblings and cousins also emigrated to Canada. As was mentioned earlier, his sister Anna and her husband George (Iurko) Panischak and family came to this country in 1893 with the Pylypows and Chichaks. They lived in Winnipeg where George began to operate a store in the Point Douglas area a year after his arrival. Apparently, he was one of the first Ukrainian immigrants to go into this type of business.[36]

Ivan's brother Vasyl (and probably Mykhailo) came to Canada alone. He died several years later in this country. A few years after Vasyl died, his daughter Annie emigrated to Canada under the sponsorship of her uncle Ivan Pylypow. She worked for Ivan and Maria from the time she came in 1923 until 1928 (for board, clothing and other necessities, but got no money since her labour was to repay the cost of the voyage which uncle Ivan paid for). Her married name was Tatarchuk.

Ivan's cousin Theodore (Fred) Pylypow emigrated to Canada alone (in 1907) as did Maria's cousin Vasyl Kulka. Both chose homesteads in the Edna-Star bloc and eventually brought their families over. Theodore's daughter Anne (nee Pylypow) Huley worked for Ivan and Maria for a brief period right after their niece Annie left.

9.4. Character, Beliefs and Activities of Ivan and Maria Pylypow

Neither Ivan nor Maria left any personal records of their lives in the form of diaries, autobiographies, or oral histories (except for the one interview the former had with Bobersky four years before his

death). In addition to the interview, we have only sketchy information about this pioneering couple from those who knew them in their earlier years in Canada. We do have the recorded recollections of their sons William and Nicholas, a number of their grandchildren, and a few others (nieces, hired help and neighbours), who fortunately did provide us with some insight into the character, personality, interests, motivations, passions, and idiosyncrasies of Ivan and Maria. Undoubtedly, all of these recollections are subjective to varying degrees and of diminishing accuracy due to the passing of time. Therefore, in an attempt to portray the individuality of Ivan and Maria as truthfully as possible, we must dwell primarily on those characteristics and beliefs that have been described by more than one informant and that may be corroborated with their known activities and associations.

Most of the information that we have about Ivan and Maria Pylypow pertains to the last decades of their lives. It is tempting to extrapolate from this information as to what their character and beliefs might have been in their adult years in Nebyliw and their earlier decades in Canada. There is danger in doing this because traits and beliefs evolve over time (some for the better and others for the worse), and new ones are formed (again some good and others undesirable). Finally, their characteristics, behaviors, and beliefs should not be judged solely on the basis of inheritance, but also as being historically determined to a substantial degree by the conditions on the two continents in which they lived.

An example of the last caveat is the belief that Maria and Ivan were not well-matched and that indeed at the time of the wedding Maria still loved "...a young man who was away working in Germany."[37] This story might be true, but Maria's marriage to Ivan, in spite of the presumed existence of another lover, is not surprising. Such a contradiction existed in a large fraction of the marriages in western Ukraine during its period of semi-serfdom—and indeed well into the present century. Certainly the primary cause for the prevalence of mismatching of marital couples was the universal practice of matchmaking in which the parents took little heed of the wishes of their children. Love, and the devotion to one's mate based on it, was incidental rather than a usual ingredient of arranged marriages. This practice of matchmaking was deeply rooted in the rigid, undisputed patriarchal authority of the father who ruled all aspects of family life.

Undoubtedly, despite the arranged marriage, over time some bonds of affection and devotion did develop between Ivan and Maria, perhaps born of the necessity to remain in a shared life. The following analysis of their marital relationship is probably right:

> It is certain that Ivan and Maria Pylypow had some measure of respect for one another, despite their differences. They had crossed unknown lands and seas and come to a new land, where together, they achieved prosperity and wealth. The struggle to succeed surely involved hardships that could not have been overcome without cooperation, and without a mutual dream...[T]he Pylypows must have worked and planned together, or they never would have become leaders in their community and among the most prosperous farmers in the Edna-Star area.[38]

Of course, there were sufficient grounds for matrimonial discord: Ivan's dissipation of some of Maria's property in the Old Country; Maria not having the same enthusiasm for emigration as did Ivan; probable disagreement on religious matters when Ivan converted to the Orthodox faith; loss of the children; none of the remaining children wanting to take over the family farm when both parents got old; and so forth. However, their disagreements were never violent.[39]

We have no physical description or photographs of Maria and Ivan in their younger years. The existing photographs show them well on in years. We have descriptions of them in these later years, based on people's memory:

> Ivan Pylypow was about 5'6" tall and of medium build. He weighed approximately 150 lbs. in the period between 1923 to 1929. His hair was only slightly grey, and was still dark even at the time of his death in 1936. He was blue-eyed with fair skin and brown hair, and this coloring was typical of the Pylypow family. He did not wear a beard or a moustache...He never wore glasses, and was relatively young looking except for the fact that by 1923, he had lost all of his teeth...Pylypow never smoked, but chewed tobacco almost constantly...Maria Pylypow was approximately 5'3" tall and weighed 150 lbs. in the period between 1923 and 1929. She had long, silver-grey hair which she always kept hidden under a toque.[40]

Ivan apparently was in good health all of his life and in his prime had a considerable capacity for hard work. Undoubtedly Maria's health was good when she was younger, but in her older years she was incapacitated a great deal by health problems (the nature of which had not been indicated in available records). Consequently, she often spent days in bed. However, on better days her illness did not prevent her from helping her maid around the house or looking after the chickens and turkeys. Purportedly, she still had 60 chickens at the time of her death in 1942.[41]

Ivan was very non-conformist in his attire—at least in the later decades of his life about which we have information:

> Ivan Pylypow paid little attention to his clothing. He dressed very simply...and held the philosophy that it is a man's actions, not his appearance, that are a measure of his worth. Pylypow had only one suit [and a hat], and this was saved for going to church or for special occasions...Pylypow shaved [with]...a safety razor...[which] was quite an innovation in the 1920's...He wore his hair fairly short...The one luxury item in his wardrobe was the fur coat he was wearing when Professor Bobersky photographed him in 1932.[42]

Maria's attire was simple and functional in her twilight years. She did not have a large wardrobe because she went out very infrequently— undoubtedly in part because very often she was not feeling well. The sweater was a constant part of her attire (even in the summer) because her illness always made her feel cold. In addition, she always had her head covered. Ivan bought her a luxurious fur coat in the 1920s.[43]

What kind of personalities did Ivan and Maria have? Their grandson Henry states that living in the isolation of the Carpathian Mountains—and the distinct traditions, beliefs and customs that ensued—had an impact on their development.[44] This may be only partly true because the supposed geographic impact was not the same on both of them. As was noted earlier, Ivan was deemed to be an adventurous man, while Maria was more timid in taking risks. This difference in character was probably prevalent in most married couples who emigrated to Canada. Ivan was more outgoing and good-natured while Maria tended to be more serious. "Ivan was a typical 'Hutsul': he loved to sing, laugh, and share a good joke...and he enjoyed nothing more than a good discussion on his favorite topic—politics. His neighbours often consulted him regarding farming techniques, and he was always ready to help...He enjoyed life, and he enjoyed the companionship and conversation of his friends, whom he often met in the Lamont tavern to share a glass of beer and exchange the news of the day."[45]

Rigid patriarchy was almost universally practiced during the time that Ivan lived. This traditional practice in effect endowed the husband and father with complete control of the family and family life and greatly influenced his relationships with other people in society. It seems that this ingrained social behavior, coupled with the need to survive a difficult and uncertain frontier life, made Ivan a demanding and somewhat inconsiderate father. His children were required to help with the farm work from an early age and to take on important responsibilities (e.g., taking the cattle to market in Edmonton) as early as the age of nine. With a typical patriarchal attitude, Ivan expressed little gratitude to the children for their contribution to the farm operation, even to the point of being

reluctant to give them adequate spending money. This attitude undoubtedly strained Ivan's relationship with his children and undoubtedly was an important factor in their decision to leave home as soon as they were able.

Apparently Maria and Ivan were good grandparents. William Pylypow's children attended Limestone Lake School, which was on their grandparents' farm. They would stop to see them on their way home and receive "goodies from grandma." Ivan's and Maria's daughter Ann Pechanec and her children would come from Edmonton every summer to visit for two or three weeks.

It appears that on the matter of spending money Ivan exhibited an ambivalence that is again a typical manifestation of patriarchy. The patriarch is a tightwad when it was a matter of spending money on the household or his children. However, it was important to show generosity in one's dealings and relationships with neighbours and even strangers, or in supporting what was considered to be worthwhile causes. This would enhance one's status in the community (especially in the eyes of like-minded males).

William Pylypow labelled his father as a generous, compassionate, and helpful man. Undoubtedly there were many genetic and social reasons underlying the development of these characteristics in Ivan—including the social esteem to be derived from his patriarchal tendencies. In the early days of Ukrainian immigration, he would pick up newly arrived settlers in Edmonton and deposit them at various homes in the Edna-Star community where they would stay until a homestead was selected and a log cabin built. He also drove some of them around the area to show them land for homesteading. Partly because of his generous nature and partly because of the generosity shown by people towards him and his family when their home burned in 1894, Ivan Pylypow began to give away cows as well as grain and food to needy immigrant families who had just recently settled on their homesteads. According to his son William, he gave away twenty cows during his life in Canada, the last one being promised just before his death and picked up after his burial.

William Pylypow[46] related the following story about the first cow that Ivan gave away:

> My father had a contract for providing tamarack poles...to a contractor building the first bridges in the Northwest Territories. While I was away in the bush cutting poles, my father gave a cow away. Later a neighbour...told me "You are freezing in the bush while your father is giving cows away..." I confronted my father, even though I was only twelve years old. He replied, "You have forgotten that if people hadn't helped, you would have perished and me with you just like mice.

> Children growing on potatoes and water will not die, but they will not have good health or a good mind. I will never give away what was given to me. You know real well that I got ahead from the help given me."...I realized that my father was talking sense, so I never objected again when he gave cattle and grain away to poor people.

Ivan Pylypow's generosity to new Ukrainian settlers is illustrated by the case of a fellow townsman from Nebyliw by the name of Mychail Myhowich. He and his family came in 1907 and settled in the Delph area, not far from Star. Myhowich found himself in dire circumstances, and upon hearing that Ivan Pylypow helped new settlers, went to him for assistance in 1908. From his first visit on, he received donations of a milch cow, money and provisions.[47]

In another instance which occurred in 1922, a stranger by the name of Bihun, who had recently arrived in Canada with his expectant wife, also came to Ivan Pylypow and said that he heard that the latter gave a cow free to poor families. Ivan concurred that this was so and picked out a cow for him and also gave him money. Years later, both Myhowich and Bihun swore before a commissioner of oaths that they had indeed received from Ivan Pylypow, without recompense, a cow and other assistance. (See Appendix 4 for a copy of Bihun's sworn document.)

The demands of a pioneering life left little leisure time for Ivan and Maria. The little free time they could garner was in the evenings (mainly in the cold seasons) when the day's work was done, and on Sundays and holidays. Ivan would spend his time reading, writing letters to his three brothers in Nebyliw (to whom he often sent gifts), or playing cards with the hired help. Maria could not read or write.

Ivan was a well-read man. He read books and subscribed to several newspapers including *Kanadiiskyi farmar* (Canadian Farmer), *Ukrainskyi holos* (Ukrainian Voice), *Nash postup* (Our Progress), *Novyny* (News) and *Novyi shliakh* (New Path). His son Nicholas remembered being sent as a young boy of seven to borrow old German newspapers from a neighbour (Charles Purschke, a Galician-German). This was a time when there were no Ukrainian newspapers being published yet in Canada. Ivan is said to have read almost every evening until nine or ten o'clock by a coal oil lamp. Nicholas also claimed that his father contributed $500 towards the construction of the Ukrainian News building in Edmonton.[48]

Ivan's love for reading was a significant factor in his character and undoubtedly made him quite a learned man compared to others in the Star community. This is perhaps best illustrated by his grandson Dan Pylypow who worked for his grandfather for two

years, starting at the age of 19. He harboured some negative feelings about Ivan prior to coming to work for him. However, during the time that he worked for his grandfather, he had many discussions with him. "Dan had a tremendous revelation about his grandfather...[He] became impressed by his grandfather's genuine intelligence, dowsing forever his previous opinion..."[49]

Although Ivan Pylypow and Maria were highly respected in the Star community, they did not have an extensive social life. They rarely entertained; and if they did, it was usually one of their children's family for some festive occasion. Sometimes relatives or friends from Delph, North Bank or Smoky Lake would stop on their way from shopping in Lamont, and at times would also stay overnight. Both Ivan and Maria liked to have visitors, and neighbours would drop in for a chat and refreshments. They also returned neighbours' visits. They attended church and after the service would visit their son William and his family. More rarely they would attend weddings and local social gatherings. As illness overtook Maria, Ivan would often go alone to church or visiting.[50]

Religion played an important role in the daily life of Ivan and Maria Pylypow. Maria was more meticulous in religious observances. Both were Greek Catholic (Uniate) in the Old Country, but converted to Orthodoxy in Star (although some of the interview informants claimed that she remained a Catholic at heart). This conversion was tied in with the struggle for control of the Star church (see Chapter 10). They attended mass fairly regularly (except in old age Maria went only when her health permitted), practiced rituals such as praying before meals and fasting, and observed the tradition of Sundays and religious holidays as days of rest. This they did essentially in the same manner as they did in Nebyliw. In their twilight years, when they had a Polish hired man, they celebrated Christmas Eve on December 24 as well as on January 6. Occasionally Ivan went carolling at Christmas. He was also actively involved in the affairs of the Star church from its inception. He served on the parish executive for many years. For example, records exist which show that he held the position of chairman during the years 1923, 1924, 1925, 1927, 1928 and 1931.[51]

Ivan Pylypow pursued politics with a passionate interest, primarily in the form of political discussions and attendance at political meetings held in the area. We have no information if this included local politics, such as serving on municipal councils and school boards, which were more accessible to him. It is likely that he served on these bodies—at least on the latter since he did provide two acres for the Limestone School. As was mentioned earlier, at the provincial and federal levels, Ivan and his son William were

supporters of the Liberal Party all their lives. According to MacGregor[52], Ivan "...was the only Ukrainian in Alberta who did vote in 1896 [in the federal elections]."

Ivan and Maria were very proud that their son William had political ambitions and attended his meetings when he was a candidate for the Liberal Party in the Alberta provincial elections in 1924. Ivan commented to Professor Bobersky in 1932 that "...[m]y son Vasyl should be elected. He's a good farmer and has a good education. He knows what farmers need and how to stand up for their rights."[53]

Although Ivan Pylypow was interested in politics it seems that he was not too affected by the liberal and radical movements that had been evolving slowly in western Ukraine from the 1840s on into the twentieth century. There is no evidence that he supported any Ukrainian political party in the Old Country. Therefore, it is not surprising that he did not harbour radical political views and seems to have been unaffected by the vigorous populist and socialist movements in Alberta in the first third of the twentieth century.

He was aware of the existence of reading clubs (*chytalni*) in Galicia and of the Mykhailo Kachkovsky Society, from which he sought information on lands to which he and his family might emigrate. However, we have no evidence if he participated in the reading club that was set up in the Star settlement.

We have some evidence that Ivan Pylypow had strong sentiments for his Ukrainian roots. We already know about his purported grand scheme for emigration. He thought it would be possible to take perhaps up to 144 families of Ukrainians to fill one township of land—to create a veritable miniature Ukraine in Canada. Another bit of evidence of his pro-Ukrainian feelings is the comment he made to Cyril Genik, the Ruthenian interpreter from the Winnipeg Immigration Office, when he visited Edna-Star in August of 1903. William Pylypow claims that his father said the following to Genik:

> "Strive to have our people settle together — not among others. Then they can have their own church, *chytalni*, Ukrainian schools where our own culture can be taught alongside the official schooling. If you permit our people to settle in a mixed community then they will become assimilated...[I beseech your support] so that our people would have their own language and beliefs..." I realized that my father was more interested than others [i.e., Ukrainian settlers] in the future...[54]

Pylypow was among the activists who vigorously sought to have the Alberta government appoint only Ukrainian teachers to schools in Ukrainian districts. A Ukrainian *Viche* (convention) was

held in Edmonton on December 27, 1909, which was attended by 200 delegates. A number of resolutions were passed on the teaching of Ukrainian in schools. A "National Council" was elected at this Viche and Ivan Pylypow was one of the three members on it from the Beaver Creek area.[55]

We have no information about Ivan Pylypow's involvement in economic organizations in the Old Country, but undoubtedly he was involved in them in Canada. We are not certain what credit unions, cooperatives and agricultural marketing associations he belonged to (other than the United Grain Growers and the Russian Mercantile Company in Lamont). There was a United Livestock Association in Lamont of which he may have been a member.

There is evidence that Ivan Pylypow had a social conscience. According to his son William, his father was always against war (perhaps reinforced by the fact that two sons were in uniform in World War I). In his interview with Bobersky, he makes many comments about the plight of his fellow countrymen: poverty, no land, being serfs to nobility, the ignorance and illiteracy of his fellow citizens and so forth. He refused to take part in public auctions of neighbours' land that was confiscated for unpaid taxes. It was said that he donated $500 for the building of the hospital in Lamont.

It seems that his sympathies were with the estimated 13,000 people assembled in the Market Square for a Hunger March in Edmonton on December 20, 1932. The moment the march began, it was attacked and dispersed by the police. An acquaintance of his, Peter Kyforuk, who was a key figure in organizing this march, was one of the thirty people arrested the next day for the "unlawful" assembly. Ivan Pylypow was involved in Kyforuk's release on bail:

> [The thirty people] were taken to court and bail was supposed to have been set at $3,000 each. Peter's wife, Sophia Kyforuk, took the deed to their farm to pay his bail but was advised by the judge that bail for Peter's release was set at $50,000. This was an unheard of sum at that time. But with the help of friends who rallied around Peter, arrangements were made with two parties who were willing to stake their property on Peter's word of honour. Ivan Pylypiw offered the deeds to his four quarters of land and Joseph Paruk, owner of a general store at Lamont, offered his property as bail for Peter's release.[56]

The Count Potocki connection surfaced again for Ivan Pylypow in Star in 1901. In an earlier chapter it was noted that the Count, who was the Governor of the Province of Galicia at the turn of the century, might have been responsible for Ivan's arrest and incarceration when he returned to Nebyliw in 1892. In 1908 Potocki was assassinated in Lviv by Myroslav Sichynsky, a student at the

Lviv University and a social democrat. The assassin was comprehended, tried before an all-Polish jury, and sentenced to death. To Ukrainians who had felt the socio-economic oppression of the Habsburg rulers and their Polish hirelings, Sichynsky became a national hero. A world-wide movement developed among Ukrainians (especially among those with left-wing leanings) to have the Austro-Hungarian government commute Sichynsky's death sentence and grant him amnesty.[57] In due course the Emperor changed the sentence to 20 years imprisonment in the Stanyslaviv jail.

Many Ukrainians in Canada also took up the cause of Sichinsky's liberation, including demands upon the Canadian government to approach the Austro-Hungarian rulers to grant him amnesty. Indeed this became a famous legal case within a segment of the Ukrainian Canadian community, with Sichynsky's name being given to reading clubs and so forth. For example, the reading club was named in his honour in Wostok, Alberta—a hamlet just east of Star. As part of the movement to free Myroslav Sichynsky, his sister Irene came to Canada in October of 1910 to collect money. She was accompanied to Edna-Star, according to William Pylypow, "...by a man by the name of Kremar."

A meeting was held at Ivan Pylypow's house at which Irene spoke and money was collected. Ivan, who considered Count Potocki to be his tormentor, purportedly gave generously to the visitors, perhaps $3000 or more, according to his son William. William also believed that only a part of this contribution went towards the fight for Sichynsky's freedom, with the remainder going to Kremar to start a business. Ivan never got his money back, which prompted William Pylypow to remark: "So Potocki caused us a loss the second time as a result of his death."[58]

If Ivan Pylypow indeed contributed about $3000 to the Sichynsky cause, it likely would have been done on several different occasions. It seems that "Nicolas Pylypow met Roman [Kremar] for the first time addressing a gathering to collect funds. He recalls that his father, John Pylypow, was so enthusiastic about Sichynsky's cause that he promised to double any amount that might be collected at the meeting. As three hundred dollars were collected, the promise cost John Pylypow six hundred dollars."[59]

9.5. The Twilight Years

In the Ukrainian tradition it was expected that one of the sons would inherit the "home place" and look after his aging parents. For reasons already discussed, this option was not available to Ivan and

Maria Pylypow. There were alternative options for them: rent the land to a neighboring farmer and live on the rental fee; sell the farms and everything on them, move to the nearest town and live on the interest on the equity; continue to farm with hired help. Ivan and Maria chose the last option. This was perhaps the wisest choice since in those days there were no social programs (old age pensions, health care, etc.) for Canadians.

Throughout most of their farming life in Canada, Ivan and Maria hired help as necessary—usually for brief periods. When the last of the children left home, they began to hire help on a permanent live-in basis—a man to help Ivan and a woman to help Maria (or take on her complete workload when Maria went to Edmonton for long spells to stay with her daughter).

During the 1920s and 1930s there was a "string" of hired help, including, as was mentioned earlier, niece Annie (Pylypow) Tatarchuk and grandson Dan Pylypow and his wife Anastasia. The latter two were employed at the time of Ivan's death. The pay for the hired help was quite meagre.[60]

Ivan and Maria farmed with the help of hired people for a considerable number of years, well into their old age. Then on October 10, 1936, Ivan died in a tragic accident. Upon his death there was considerable speculation about his net worth. Some said that he was quite rich (probably worth as much as $80,000), while others claimed that he was virtually penniless because he squandered his wealth on questionable business ventures.

Fortunately for historians, Ivan left no will. Consequently the Alberta government engaged a trust company to serve as the administrator in the liquidation of the Ivan Pylypow estate. Its first task was to make an inventory and an assessment of the property. The inventory and the document showing the disposition of the property are still available,[61] and in an abridged form show the following assets and liabilities:

Farm implements, etc.	$500.00
Livestock	1,175.00
Cash in Lamont bank	1,200.00
Farm produce of all kinds	625.40
Two mortgages owing to Ivan Pylypow	4,000.00
Two shares in the United Grain Growers	50.00
Two shares in the Russian Publicity Co. (Lamont) valueless	
Four shares in the Russian Mercantile Co. (Lamont) valueless	
Four quarters of land (no mortgages/encumbrances)	12,000.00

Total value of real property	19,550.40
Less debt owing	1,001.85
Net value of the estate	18,548.55

The inventory also included improvements made on the four quarters of land. Of note are the 425 acres of land cultivated out of a possible 640 acres. It is difficult to judge the relative wealth of Ivan Pylypow at the time of his death. However, it should be remembered that this property was inventoried during the Great Depression when a net worth of $18,548.55 was probably an impressive one. Also one might wonder how many western farmers had $5,200 in liquid assets during the depression years ($1,200 in the bank and $4,000 owing to Ivan in mortgages).

How did Ivan Pylypow judge his life in Canada during his twilight years? In his interview with Bobersky in 1932, he seemed quite positive:

> The years go by. I am seventy-three years old. I'm happy to talk to people over a glass of beer. I'm in good shape but my wife isn't well...We've hired help to look after the farm since it's hard for us to do the work ourselves. Our people have made progress in Canada and have learned a lot. Canada has made progress too. People used to work with oxen, then horses and now with machines. Our farmers already have cars for travelling. From Alberta three Ukrainians have been elected, two to the Legislature in Edmonton and one to Parliament in Ottawa...It's not so good in the Old Country. It's gotten worse for our people...Already young people born in Canada don't know this, but those who came from the Old Country remember what it was like when the Poles pushed us around. How much longer is it going to last?[62]

However, there was also much to be bitter about: the negative aspects of old age; the decline of his personal relationships with his family and former friends and acquaintances; the disasters and setbacks that he had experienced during his life (e.g., the trial and imprisonment in Nebyliw, the loss of his house and other property during the first year in Canada, his involvement in the prolonged legal fight over the Star church, and his business failures). The fact that he had conquered the land and had become a successful farmer in a new homeland gave him little comfort or satisfaction. He seemed bitter about his lost youth and longed for the strength he had then. Dan Pylypow recalled "...his grandfather saying that life was better in the days when he had to use a gunny sack to dry himself and when he had to use a finger to butter his bread for want of a knife. [He was young then], and youth was a rarer gem than the conveniences of old age..."[63]

CHAPTER 10

THE DECLINE OF A FRIENDSHIP

10.1. The Religious History of Ukraine

Ukraine (or more correctly its predecessor Kievan Rus) became Christian in 988 A.D. The Byzantine form of Christianity was adopted, of which the Patriarch of Constantinople was the spiritual head. "The rite, practices, theological beliefs, institutions, and architecture of the majestic Byzantine church and the advanced culture of the Greeks were assumed by the new church, except for the use of Old Church Slavonic as the language."[1] The Church in Ukraine assumed the title of "Orthodox" (*pravoslavni* in Ukrainian) after the great religious split of Christianity occurred in 1054 A.D. to form the eastern branch centered on Constantinople and the western branch centered on Rome.

Starting in the thirteenth century, Rus was dismembered and occupied repeatedly by neighbouring countries, each of which put pressure on the Ukrainians to adopt the religion of the occupying power. From the 17th century, in the larger eastern part of Ukraine dominated by Russia, the Greek Orthodox Church predominated with recognition of the Patriarch of Moscow as the spiritual leader. In reality, the Greek Orthodox Church in the part of Ukraine under the control of Russia became a part of the Russian Orthodox Church.

When the Poles conquered Galicia in the 1300s, they set about to destroy the influence of the dominant Greek Orthodox Church and to catholicize the population. This engendered a conflict between the Polish rulers and the Ukrainian clergy and people. According to Yuzyk[2], in addition to the conflict with the Polish authorities, "[s]ome Ukrainian Orthodox bishops were thoroughly dissatisfied with the patriarch of Constantinople, who after the fall of Constantinople in 1453 had been forced to recognize the Turkish sultan."

A partial settlement of this struggle was reached at the Union of Brest in 1596, when some of the disaffected Greek Orthodox bishops agreed to recognize the supremacy of the Roman Pope and to create the Uniate (Ruthenian) Church. Under this agreement the Ukrainian clergy were able to retain the right to adhere to the Byzantine and Ukrainian traditions, which included the use of the Old Slavonic language (instead of Latin) in the liturgy and

ceremonies, choral singing in church unaccompanied by musical instruments, and the right for Greek Catholic priests to marry before ordination.

One result of the agreement reached in Brest was that the sevices in both the Uniate Church and the Greek Orthodox Church remained almost identical. However, the Uniate Church was required to accept the following changes in religious dogma (which were not understood very well by many Ukrainian peasants who converted to the Uniate Church): the infallibility and supremacy of the Pope, the Immaculate Conception of the Virgin Mary, the existence of purgatory, and the procession of the Holy Ghost *from* the Father and the Son. In the Orthodox Church the belief is that the Holy Ghost proceeded from the Father *through* the Son.

When western Ukraine came under Austrian rule in 1772, steps were taken by the Habsburg rulers to suppress Greek Orthodoxy in Galicia (as had been done previously under Polish rule). In addition, they needed to continue the oppression of the Ukrainian peasantry. Because the Austrian government had no Ukrainian nobility to help it to implement these social policies, it resolved its dilemma in a dual manner. Rather than dismantling the Polish aristocracy, the Habsburgs let it continue to exercise its authority over the Ukrainian peasantry (the "divide-and-rule policy"). However, to keep the Polish aristocracy in check and to reinforce its efforts to suppress the Greek Orthodox Church, it turned to the Uniate Church for help. Martynowych[3] describes the nature of this arrangement as follows:

> A series of reforms were enacted granting the Uniate Church and clergy legal and economic equality with the Polish Roman Catholic Church and clergy. *Even the Church's name was changed to the Greek Catholic Church.* In this manner a loyal and privileged elite, which mediated between the central government and the aristocracy on the one hand and the Ukrainian peasant masses on the other hand, was elevated to a pre-eminent position within the Ukrainian community. [Emphasis added—M.N.]

Because the Habsburg monarchy kept the Polish Roman Catholic Church and the Greek Catholic (Uniate) Church separate and made them equal, the larger population centers had churches of each denomination. In smaller villages there would be only one church—which one depended on which ethnic group was larger. In these instances, permission was granted for all Catholics (both Ukrainian and Polish) to attend the church in the area.

During all of the centuries following the formation of the Uniate Church, neither the Polish nor the subsequent Austro-Hungarian rulers were able to bring Galicia totally into the Roman Catholic fold. At first the Galician peasants resisted changes to their religious

beliefs and affiliation, but gradually each generation became more receptive. Under the Austrian rule, many Galicians began to consider the Greek Catholic Church to be a bulwark against Austrian religious oppression; and during the nineteenth century they also considered it to be a defender of their rights against injustices of the ever-present, heavy-handed Polish domination (which was part of the Habsburg's policy of divide-and-rule). However, tension remained between the Ukrainian peasantry and the Greek Catholic Church and clergy because the latter supported the Habsburg dynasty and increasingly collaborated with the Polish aristocracy in politics.

With the emergence of an educated Ukrainian elite in the latter half of the 19th century, the bitter divisions that arose among the Galicians on national, political and social issues spilled over into the area of religion. During the 1880s "latinization" of the Greek Catholic Church became an issue, especially in that the Polish Roman Catholic Church initiated the transformation of the Basilian Order of monks from its old practices to those followed by the Roman Catholic orders.

The history of religion in Bukovyna and Transcarpathia is parallel to that of Galicia up to the time of the Polish conquest of the latter province. Bukovyna and Transcarpathia also suffered a series of conquerors, but Greek Orthodoxy remained dominant throughout their history. According to Martynovych[4], "...in northern Bukovyna, where Rumanian *boyars* and Turkish sultans had ruled since the fourteenth and sixteenth centuries, and where the Counter-Reformation had failed to penetrate, the Greek Orthodox Church—dominated by a Rumanian hierarchy—continued to command the allegiance of the Ukrainian population." In order to exercise its divide-and-rule strategy in the south-east corner of their empire, the Habsburg rulers left religious matters alone. However, the influence of the Russian Orthodox Church was an ever-present threat.

10.2. Religious Strife Among Ukrainian Canadian Settlers

The Ukrainian immigrants who settled in Canada brought with them their religious beliefs. Those from Galicia were predominantly Greek Catholic (including Eleniak and Pylypow), while those from Bukovyna and Transcarpathia were mainly Greek Orthodox (which at that time was not differentiated too rigorously from the Russian Orthodox religion). Adherents from each religion did not trust the other.

Lesoway[5] summarizes the role and importance of religion and rituals in the lives of Ukrainians from the Carpathian Mountains who came to settle in Canada:

> [They] were a devout and superstitious people, and were ever mindful of their place within the scheme of nature. God was an ever-present force in their lives. He was seen as the protector of the poor, and the source of all good things—the harvest, bread, rainfall, and all the other elements essential for the success of an agrarian economy. Because of this close dependence on divine forces to ensure survival, prayer was an intrinsic part of daily life. A housewife or a farmer asked God's blessing before undertaking any task, and offered a prayer of thanks when the task was done...
>
> The day to day affairs of agrarian peoples with limited technological knowledge are often spiced with magic and rituals which take the place of technological expertise. There are rites to ensure the productivity of the land, the fertility of flocks, good weather, bountiful harvest, and all of the other factors which are related to survival in a harsh environment. As well, a complex set of beliefs regarding interpersonal relationships also evolves. There are set patterns governing the relationships between old and young, parents and children, men and women. Fortune-telling assumes a major role, and experts are employed to impart advice and magical charms. Although by the 1920s, the Church had a strong hold on the lives of Carpathian villagers, the age-old legacy of folk beliefs was still maintained. The two forces were balanced against each other in a fascinating balance of ancient animistic magic and "organized" religion.

In Canada, social processes were at work which tended to undermine the importance of religion in the lives of Ukrainian immigrants. For example, by the 1920s, Ivan Pylypow's family (and presumably many other Ukrainian settlers in Canada) began to ignore "...many of the folk beliefs and rituals that had governed the lives of their ancestors. Others were observed, but not given the solemn consideration they had been earlier. Others served primarily for amusement. The rituals which retained their importance into the 1920s were usually linked with the religious calendar cycle..."[6]

In addition, as was discussed in Chapter 2, many of the immigrants were aware of and some had even been involved to varying degrees in the national, political, and social ferment that had been going on around them in the Old Country during the latter half of the 19th century—and which had generated considerable divisions among the population of western Ukraine. Hence, some of the Ukrainian settlers (including intelligentsia of peasant origin) brought to Canada the potential for religious strife, which indeed erupted soon after their arrival and which lasted several decades.

The Ukrainian pioneers had little time during the first years in Canada to attend to their spiritual needs, although most felt the absence acutely (especially in the matters of baptism, marriage and death). However, soon they began to seek the services of priests and laid plans to build churches. Neither the Greek Catholic Church nor the Greek Orthodox Church had a presence in Canada when the first Ukrainian settlers arrived; consequently, the latter appealed to the Old Country for help. When this did not materialize, they sought assistance from the USA where the Greek Catholic Church was present in Pennsylvania and the Greek Orthodox believers could be serviced by the Russian Orthodox Church, which was well established in California and Alaska.

The Greek Catholic priests that came to the USA (and some of whom eventually came to Canada) were required to report to the Roman Catholic hierarchy. However, this relationship was hardly amicable since the latter had decreed that married priests were not to serve in the Roman Catholic diocese and that the Greek Catholic clergy were not permitted to have their own hierarchy. Roman Catholic influence and encroachments into Ukrainian settlements in Canada were supported to some extent by the Basilian Fathers when they took over from the secular priests in 1902. However, they, like most of the Greek Catholics settlers, were also opposed to the "latinization" of their church.

Of course, any attempts to latinize the Greek Catholic Church added fuel to the criticism levelled against it by Ukrainian settlers of Greek Orthodox persuasion. However, as was mentioned earlier, settlers of the Greek Orthodox persuasion were compelled to appeal to the Russian Orthodox Church in the USA for assistance. The appearance of Russian Orthodox missionaries in the Ukrainian settlements in Canada caused a renewal of the old criticism by the Greek Catholics that these incursions were a continuing attempt by Russia to "russify" Ukrainians and to denigrate Ukrainian culture. Martynowych[7] describes the situation thus:

> A number of Galician Greek Catholic communities split into two hostile camps: a pro-Catholic group which urged co-operation with the Roman Catholic hierarchy until permanent Ukrainian Greek Catholic priests could be obtained, and a pro-Russian group, frequently led by Russophiles, which counselled a "return to the ancestral Orthodox faith" and invited Russian Orthodox missionaries to minister to the community's spiritual needs.

The religious question among Ukrainian settlers was made more contentious by the appearance of two independent religious groups: the St. Vladimir and Olga Church (the "Little Church") and the

Independent Greek Church (which was supported by the Presbyterian Church).

The contention of the various religions for adherence was the main cause for religious strife among Ukrainian settlers in Canada. Of course, other factors contributed to the conflict. When the religious struggles finally petered out decades later, the Greek Catholic Church (subsequently renamed the Ukrainian Catholic Church) and the Greek Orthodox Church (subsequently renamed the Ukrainian Orthodox Church) had the adherence of the majority of Ukrainian Canadians. The Russian Orthodox Church and the Presbyterian Church were able to garner and retain only a small following.

In due course the two main Greek religions built many churches across Canada, and obtained priests and a hierarchy (including bishops). The first Greek Catholic bishop was Nykyta Budka who arrived from Galicia in 1912. He was given full jurisdiction over the Greek Catholic Church and was responsible directly to the Pope. In addition, these two main religions established national organizations and newspapers. In sum, after decades of struggle the Greek Catholic Church in Canada gained essentially the same degree of autonomy that it had in Galicia.

10.3. The Conflict Over the Church in Star

The Star settlement was heavily involved from the very beginning in the religious strife within the Ukrainian Canadian community.[8] Written appeals for priests to the USA from various Ukrainian settlements in Canada (including Star) got some action. Reverend Father Nestor Dmytriw from Pennsylvania toured Ukrainian settlements in Canada in the spring of 1897. He visited the Star area around Easter time and performed a variety of religious services, which had been absent for a long time in the community. These included conducting services at Limestone Lake School (which was on Ivan Pylypow's homestead) and at settlers' homes in Star and nearby Wostok.

The settlers of Star and nearby Wostok became serious in 1896 about getting a church built and a priest to minister to their religious needs. Acting independently of any outside influence, and even before Father Dmytriw's visit, they began to have meetings to deal with the matter.[9] However, it appears that they were not clear or in total agreement among themselves about the kind of religion they should espouse—Catholic or Orthodox. In Galicia all of them were (Uniate), Greek Catholic, with some of them probably having secret preferences to adhere to the ancestral Greek Orthodox religion.

which was banned in Galicia (but not in neigbouring Bukovyna) by the Habsburg rulers of the Austro-Hungarian Empire.

There also was russophilism (pro-Russianism) among some of the Ukrainian settlers in Star (and more so in the Wostok area), and these would undoubtedly desire to return to the orthodox religion. It appears that some of these russophiles became leaders in the movement to get a church built in the Star settlement, with the result that the appeal for help did not go first to the Greek Catholic bishop in Lviv. Rather, a letter for assistance was written in late 1896 to the Russian Orthodox Bishop of the Aleutian Islands and Alaska. He replied very positively in letters dated January 8th and February 5th of 1897. His letters were read and discussed at large meetings in the settlement.

Shortly after Father Dmytriw left the community, the Russian Orthodox Bishop of the Aleutian Islands and Alaska followed up on his promise to help by sending two priests to the Wostok area, Reverend Kamneff and Psalmist Alexandroff. Nemirsky[10] described the event as follows:

> Then the priest Dmetri Kamneff was sent to us by the Bishop Nikolai, together with the Psalmist Wladomir Alexandroff from Seattle, Washington, U.S.A. On 6 July 1897 [18 July by the Julian calendar] they came to our colony quartering themselves in a tent at my brother Kost's...These missionaries had not yet conducted a Holy Service in Canada. On my homestead...the Holy Service was conducted under the naked sky under an erected cross, built of wood by Wasel Statsko, while I carved the message on that cross using the "Slaviansky" [Cyrillic] alphabet: "In memory of the passing of the Galicians from the Uniate [Greek Catholic] to the Eastern Orthodox Faith, 6 July 1897."

Father Kamneff also stated after the service that his Bishop would assist the settlers to build a church in Wostok. An application was made by Psalmist Alexandroff on July 23, 1897, for church land for the Greek Orthodox Russian Church at Wostok, and the patent fee for the land was paid in January, 1898.

When Father Dmytriw heard about the activities of the Russian Orthodox Church at Wostok, he made a return visit to Star in September, 1897, to counteract any possible conversion of the Greek Catholics there. He again conducted a service at Limestone Lake School to which he invited Bishop Legal of the Roman Catholic Diocese of St. Albert. Before leaving the district, Father Dmytriw held meetings on the building of the church and consecrated the cemetery at the chosen church site. At one of the meetings held before or during Father Dmytriw's second visit, Ivan Pylypow, Michailo Melnyk and Michailo Polushie were elected as trustees for the building of the church. It should also be noted that

Bishop Legal came to the Star district on his own to conduct services after Father Dmytriw left the district again. He assured the Star settlers that he would help them to secure land for the church and give assistance for building a church. These acts by Father Dmytriw and Bishop Legal seemed to establish Roman Catholic authority over the Greek Catholics in the area.

Upon the initiative of Father Dmytriw and Bishop Legal, Reverend Father Ivan Tymkiewicz arrived in Star in April, 1898, where he stayed about four months. His departure left the settlers without a priest for about two years. Finally, in apparent exasperation, a letter was sent to the USA, on behalf of a group of people in the district, with a request for a priest. The letter was signed first by Ivan Pylypow, followed by the other two elected trustees, Michailo Melnyk and Michailo Polushie. (All three were co-defendants in the subsequent trials over control of the church.) The letter included a promise that each family would pay $2.00 per annum towards the upkeep of the priest. As a result of the request, Reverend Father Ivan Zaklynski came from the USA in July, 1900. He stayed about a year.

All three Greek Catholic prelates, who were the first to serve in the Star area, were secular priests; that is, they did not belong to a monastic order. They were the only secular priests to serve the Star area. Secular priests could marry before they were ordained, while monks took vows of celibacy. However, Fathers Dmytriw, Tymkiewicz and Zaklynski were not married.

These three prelates recognized the authority of the Roman Catholic hierarchy in Canada and, in the absence of their own Uniate church hierarchy, reported as required to the Roman Catholic bishop of the St. Albert Diocese. However, they were against any move to have the Star church absorbed by the Roman Catholic Church. They warned the Star community to be wary of either accepting or asking Bishop Legal for help. They wanted the Greek Catholic Church to be independent and on equal footing with the Roman Catholic Church as it was in Galicia.

We do not know how Ivan Pylypow felt about Father Dmytriw. He did express fondness for Father Tymkiewicz. However, undoubtedly he harbored animosity towards Father Zaklynski who was one of the plaintiffs against him in the legal fight for control of the Star church. By the time Father Zaklynski arrived in the Star district, Pylypow was already veering towards the Orthodox faith. MacGregor[11] attributes the following quotation (presumably derived from the journal of Ivan Nimchuk) to Pylypow after he took his ailing child to Father Zaklynski: "I did not then consider him my priest. I asked him to baptize it because it was sick. I expected it to

die and it did not make any difference who baptized it." Father Zaklynski refused to baptize the child, so Pylypow took it to Reverend Korchinsky at the Wostok Russian Orthodox church.

Wasyl Eleniak[12] had this to say about his relationships with the first three Greek Catholic priests who came to the Beaver Creek area: "I don't recall Father Nestor Dmytriw. I heard from people about his visits...I knew Father Zaklynski. He held a service in my house three or four times."

In October of 1902 the first three Greek Catholic priests and a lay brother from the Basilian Order and four Sisters of the Congregation of Sisters Servants of Mary Immaculate came to Canada from Galicia.[13] They arrived in Edmonton on November 1, 1902. In due course they set up a monastery and a convent in Beaver Lake area (Mundare, Alberta). These Basilian Fathers ministered to the religious needs of the Ukrainian settlers in the surrounding area, including the Beaver Creek (Star) area. Being under Roman Catholic influence, these Basilian priests were more willing than the secular ones to co-operate with Roman Catholic Bishops. Presumably they felt that by not alienating the Roman Catholic hierarchy in Canada, the Greek Catholic Church would get its own Canadian hierarchy sooner, and thus gain equal status with the Roman Catholic Church.

True to the promise he made to the people in Star when Father Dmytriw was there in September, 1897, Bishop Legal took steps to obtain land in Star for building a church. As will be noted in Appendix 5, the application for this church land (SE-27-56-19-W4) was made on December 1, 1897, in the name of his Roman Catholic Diocese of St. Albert (the location of which is shown in figure 6).

When the settlers in Star heard that the land (and probably the church) would be owned by the Roman Catholic Church, they mounted a wave of opposition. In Galicia "...Ukrainian Catholics were not eager to incorporate their churches with Latin bishops because in Austrian civil law churches did not belong to the diocese but to the whole community. While the latter could not dispose of church property without the approval of priest and bishop, the faithful in each village did consider the church to belong to them."[14]

As a result of the opposition from the Star settlers, the application for the church land was reassigned on May 25, 1898, to the *Greek Catholic Little Russian Church* to be held in trust by trustees Michailo Polushie, Michailo Melnyk, and Ivan Pylypow. This reassignment was done with help from Father Tymkiewicz and with the consent of Bishop Grandin (who was acting on behalf of Bishop Legal who was away in Europe). The church land was patented to these three men on September 26, 1898.[15] On July 6,

1899, a certificate of title was issued in the name of these three trustees to be held "... 'in trust for the purposes of the congregation of the Greek *Catholic* Church at Limestone Lake' being the congregation which had elected the [three] trustees..." [Emphasis added—M.N.][16]

Despite the growing controversy in the Star district over what was deemed to be an attempt at Roman Catholic control, the building of the church proceeded. Money was collected for building it. An application for a permit was made by Michailo Polushie, Michailo Melnyk, and Fedor Melnyk on November 29, 1897, for cutting logs for the church on government land. On the application it was stated that "[t]his timber is required and will be used in the erection of a church building for the mission of the Greek *Orthodox* Church, and for no other purpose."[17] [Emphasis added—M.N.] This permit for logging on government land proved to be an important document in the subsequent legal action over the ownership of the Star church.

The logs were cut and brought to the church site by volunteer labour. Other construction materials were brought from Edmonton. Flak indicates that "...the contractors were John Matej and Peter Chamulka, though Mr. Chumer mentions D. Gluchy in place of P. Chamulka."[18] Members of the community took part in the actual construction of the church. In the summer of 1899, the church was essentially completed. Soon after Father Zaklynski came to the district in 1900, he conducted a service in the church and consecrated it.

However, by this time the community of Star was badly divided, partly on the question of independence from Roman Catholic influence and partly because of the lure of the Russian Orthodox church being built at Wostok (coupled with the desire in some settlers to revert to the Greek Orthodox religion of their ancestors and the religion of their countrymen under Russian rule).

During the time that the conflict over control of the Star church was on, the faction (including Ivan Pylypow) that was attracted to the Orthodox faith began to attend masses held in Wostok (in homes and open fields because the Orthodox church had not been completed yet). At the mass held in February, 1901, some of those attending (including Ivan Pylypow) renounced the Pope by accepting the Orthodox version of the tenets mentioned earlier on which the Greek Catholic and Greek Orthodox disagreed.

This faction of defectors also asked the Russian Orthodox priest Reverend Jacob Korchinsky to sing liturgy at the Star church, which he did on February 3 and April 8, 1901. He promised to return on Easter Sunday to bless the Easter bread (*paska*). However, Father Zaklynski had also announced plans to perform a service on that

holy day at the Star church and bless the bread for his Greek Catholic followers. On Easter Sunday, April 15, 1901, both priests and their respective adherents appeared at the Star church. In due course fighting broke out between the two factions. It was only through the intervention of the policeman (whom Reverend Korchinsky had advised to be present) that more serious trouble was averted. The policeman padlocked the church door, denying both groups access until legal ownership was established in court.[19]

When the church was padlocked by the police, the onus was on the Greek Catholics to initiate legal action for the control of it. This step was taken on March 11, 1902. After a long period of preliminary hearings, the case went to trial in Edmonton. According to the "Judgment of Privy Council,"[20] the Edmonton "...trial itself occupied no less than thirty-three days. The hearing began on May 16th, 1902. The evidence closed on September 4, 1903...In the beginning of January, 1904, the learned judge filed his written judgment, which was afterwards embodied in a formal decree dated March 25, 1904." This represents a period of almost two years. Defendant Michailo Melnyk died before the decision of Judge Scott was handed down.

The protagonists in the trial were identified as follows:

Between

Reverend Iwan Zaklynski, Pavlo Pasemko and Petro Melnyk, Trustees of the Congregation of the Greek Catholic Church at Star, Alberta, N.W.T. and also as Individuals as Priest and Members of the said congregation suing on behalf of themselves and all the other Members and Adherents of said Congregation. (Amended by leave granted March 11th, 1902).

Plaintiffs

and

Reverend Iwan Korchinski, Michailo Polush[i]e, Iwan Pylypiw and Michailo Melnyk.

Defendants[21]

A decade transpired from the time meetings were first called in 1897 to discuss plans for building a church in Star to the final legal decision in 1907 on its ownership. Four separate court battles were conducted during the last half of these years. The decisions of the judges were appealed as the case went from the Edmonton Trial Court to the Supreme Court of the Northwest Territories in Calgary, to the Supreme Court of Canada in Ottawa, and finally to the highest court for Canada at that time, the Judicial Committee of the Privy

Council in London, England. The decision at each level was as follows:

> 1. Trial Court [in Edmonton], March 25th, 190[4]. Scott J. ...held in favour of the "Uniate" Greek Catholic Church as Plaintiffs [who then took control of the Star church—M.N.].
>
> 2. On appeal by the Greek Orthodox Church to the Supreme Court of the North West Territories [in Calgary] on January 18th, 1905, Chief Justice Sifton dissented, ... and held for the Greek Orthodox Church. Judges Wetmore, Prendergast and Newlands...held for the "Uniate" Greek Catholic Church and dismissed the appeal of the Greek Orthodox Church.
>
> 3. On appeal by the Greek Orthodox Church to the Supreme Court of Canada [in Ottawa], February 21st, 1906, Sir Lou Davies J., ...Idlington, J., ...[and] MacLennan, J. ...sustained the appeal and held for the Greek Orthodox Church...While Sir Henri E. Taschereau, Chief Justice of Canada...dissented, ...Girouard, J. also dissented and [both] would have rejected the appeal and ruled in favour of "Uniate" Greek Catholic Church.
>
> The Supreme Court of Canada thus reversed the ruling of the Supreme Court of the North West Territories and of the Trial Court and held in favour of the Greek Orthodox Church. Following this the "Uniate" Greek Catholic Church appealed to the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council in London, England.
>
> 4. The judgement of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council was delivered on December 3rd, 1907. Lord Loreburn, L.C., Lord MacNagthen, Lord Atkinson and Sir Arthur Wilson heard the appeal... [and] held for the Greek Orthodox Church [to retain control of the Star church—M.N.] and rejected the appeal of the "Uniate" Greek Catholic Church.[22]

The evidence presented at the Edmonton trial was voluminous and conflicting. Most of the witnesses spoke only Ukrainian, which required the presence of an interpreter. Witnesses were called from many religious denominations.

It appears that the decision of the judges depended on which one of two main categories of evidence was deemed most important. If a judge accepted that there was a clear distinction between the Greek Catholic and the Greek Orthodox religions, then he decreed that the church property belonged to the former. Such a judge would claim that it was the intent of the Star settlers from the very beginning (and of the first three Uniate priests who served them) to build a Greek Catholic Church (as was indicated on the certificate of title for the land, even though the three trustees whose names were on it eventually became Orthodox).

However, some of the judges would not accept that there was a sufficiently clearcut distinction between the Greek Catholic and the

Greek Orthodox Churches—at least not in the minds of many of the Star witnesses. Many of them seemed confused about the differences in the two Greek religions, since in their testimony they used the words "Greek", "Catholic", "Orthodox", "Uniate", and "(little) Russian" in various combinations to describe the denomination of the church in Star and the religion they believed they were practicing in the Old Country. For example, a number of them said on the witness stand that they considered themselves to be "Russo-Greek Catholic Orthodox."

During the trial in Edmonton some of the Ukrainian settlers who were witnesses claimed they knew that the Greek Catholics were called Uniates in the Old Country while others professed ignorance of this appellation. They did realize that a prayer was said for the Pope during the service but, considering their circumstances in Galicia, did not pay much attention to it. Even Judge Scott, who in his decision favored ownership of the Star church by the Greek Catholics, seemed to recognize this confusion. In his written judgment he stated that "...[t]he evidence of the Galician witnesses leads me to conclude that they do not trouble themselves very much over the difference in creed between the two churches. Many of them do not understand what these differences are. They appear, however, to be strongly attached to their own rite [which is similar for the two religions—M.N.] and jealous of any encroachments upon their rights by Roman Catholic...Latin rite..."[23]

This lack of clearcut distinction in the two Greek religions in the minds of many of the Star settlers who were active in building their church appeared to convince some of the judges to put the main weight, when making their legal decisions, on the wording of the denomination of the church in the documents pertaining to the acquisition of the land for it, and in the permit for obtaining logs from crown land for building it. The fact that the names of trustees Pylypow, Polushie, and Michailo Melnyk (all of whom openly converted to the orthodox faith during the conflict) were on these documents probably enhanced the claim of the Orthodox believers to ownership of the Star church.[24] Hence these judges ruled in favor of ownership of the Star church by the Orthodox Church.

The legal costs in the fight for ownership of the Star church were enormous and were hundreds of times the cost of building the Star church.[25] When the Privy Council gave ownership finally to the Orthodox adherents, the legal costs reverted to the Greek Catholic faction. The sum involved was more than the budding Star settlement could handle, so appeals were made far and wide for financial help. Some of the settlers most involved in the dispute had to mortgage their property. However, the damage to the social

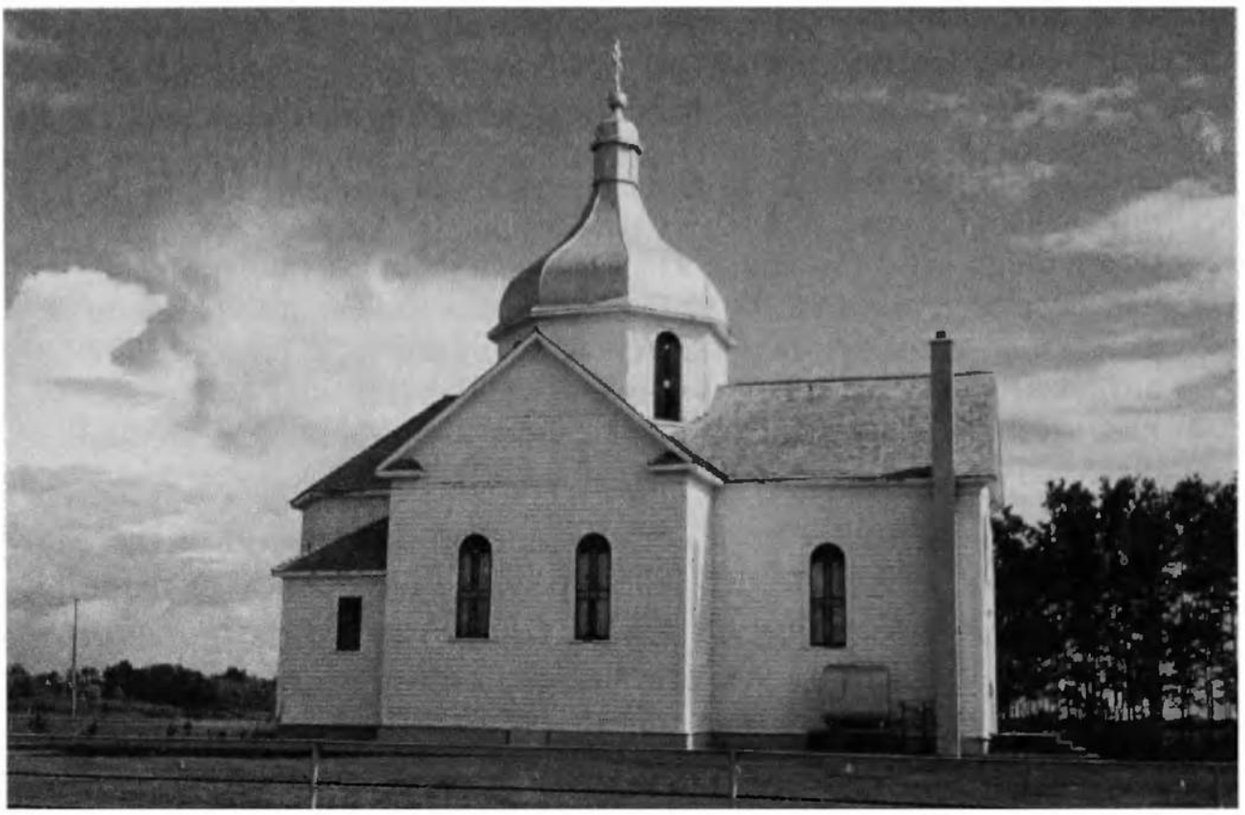
climate and relationships was immeasurable and more serious. Families and friendships were split apart as a result of taking opposite sides in the dispute. MacGregor[26] sums up the matter thus:

> By far the larger cost lay in bitterness and soul-searching and in the discord that for years was to rive the community. All these costs were over a rough-hewn log church which, in money and labour contributed, may have been worth $1500. At these costs they had purchased a lesson in freedom, the lesson that in a democracy, while legal processes are always available, nevertheless a little restraint, a little give and take, a little accommodation to the other fellow's viewpoint pay greater dividends than court decrees.

When the Orthodox believers took legal possession of the Star church after the Privy Council ruled in their favour, they re-named it the *Russo-Greek Catholic Orthodox Church of Transfiguration.*[27] Ironically, in 1913, only six years after gaining legal ownership of this church, the Orthodox Star parish deemed it necessary to replace it with a more modern one. The original "... log church was dismantled and the logs were cut into lumber which was used in the construction of the..." newer church.[28] It is still standing today. It was designated a historical site by the Government of Alberta on August 6, 1991.

In sum, what were the reasons for the bitter and protracted struggle for control of the Star church? It appears that the main one was the strong opposition from some of the Ukrainian settlers to any form of Roman Catholic control. This feeling did not originate in Canada but was engendered in the Old Country where the Greek Catholic Church was on "equal" footing with the Roman Catholic one. However, the freedom the settlers began to experience in Canada perhaps intensified this aversion to Roman Catholic control. A number of witnesses (including Pylypow) noted this new sense of religious freedom, and some claimed that they wanted to revert to the religion of their forefathers.[29]

Other factors also operated. Undoubtedly, the proximity of the Russian Orthodox church at Wostok tended to pull settlers away from catholicism. This pull was intensified by the irregularity with which Greek Catholic priests came to Star. The settlers were starved for spiritual sustenance, and when no Greek Catholic priest was available, they got it wherever and whenever it was available. This "switching" back-and-forth by some of the settlers had an undermining effect on their religious adherence. In addition, a cross-over to orthodoxy was not difficult since the rites were similar and were given in the Old Slavonic language in all three religions: Greek Catholic, Greek Orthodox and Russian Orthodox.



Russo-Greek Catholic Orthodox Church of Transfiguration in Star, Alberta

In the course of planning and building the Star church, the settlers faced many disagreements among themselves, with their priests, and with the Roman Catholic hierarchy. The impossibility of resolving them to everyone's satisfaction is expressed thus by MacGregor[30]:

> ...[A]nyone who wished to revert to the religion of his ancestors and believed that this could be done by retaining the Greek Catholic religion was in an untenable position. As we have seen, the hybrid Greek Catholic religion retained the old orthodox rites and used old Slavonic in liturgy and ceremonies. This part of the religion—the part that was obvious and visible to the average worshipper—was what the Star pioneers were used to and liked. The less obvious part which placed them under Roman Catholic jurisdiction—that part which had been superimposed on the ancestral Greek Orthodox Church—was the part of the Greek Catholic religion they wished to do away with. And they could not see why they could not start afresh, clinging to the old rites, rejecting the dogmas, but at the same time using the Greek Catholic priests, such as Father Dmytriw and Father Tymkiewicz. As they saw it, all the Greek Catholic priests had to do was to carry on providing them with services but ignoring the Roman Catholic hierarchy. This the priests could not do. One obvious way to attain their end of freeing themselves from the church which they considered tainted by the Poles was to ...make the... compromise necessary and fall in line with the Russian Orthodox Church...[31]

Apparently some of the Ukrainian settlers did learn a lesson from the protracted and costly legal struggle over the Star church. A similar situation was avoided in Chipman a few years later. Krezanowski[32] describes the issue thus:

> In 1908, the first [Chipman] church was built on NE-28-54-18-4 by P. Chomliak. It was 40 x 32 [feet] in size and had one dome. The committee consisted of A. Achtemichuk, *P. Eleniak* and *W. Eleniak*. A misunderstanding developed and as a result the parish was split into Catholic and Orthodox groups. The assessed value of the church was $3000. The Orthodox took over the church and paid out $1200 to the Catholics...In 1916 the present [St. Mary's Ukrainian Catholic Church]...was built in town by Yanishewski for a cost of $6000...[Emphasis added—M.N.]

The legal battle for the control of the Star church was widely reported among Ukrainian Canadians. Therefore, it would have served as an important lesson to other communities in which there were religious disputes.

10.4. The Aftermath: Friends No More

Wasyl Eleniak and Ivan Pylypow were friends from childhood. Wasyl recalled their friendship days in Nebyliw in these words:

> I knew Ivan Pylypiw when we sat on a school bench. [As young men] we also went out together looking for a good time. We both got married in the same month. On week days we used to meet less often because he lived at the other end of town and was occupied tilling his land, and I was running [log rafts] on the river. But on Sundays and holidays we almost always met.[33]

Undoubtedly they parted as friends in December, 1891, when Ivan departed from Canada for his village in Galicia (with the understanding that he would bring Wasyl's family to Canada). It is likely that the breakup of the friendship began when accusations were made by Anna Eleniak and others that Wasyl disappeared (and probably was dead) during the exploratory trip to Canada. Even though these accusations proved to be false, hard feelings between the two families probably remained.

After their separation in 1891 in Gretna, Manitoba, the two former friends did not have an opportunity to meet again until Wasyl Eleniak and his family moved to Chipman, Alberta, in 1898.[34] By then the conflict for changing the religious affiliation of the Star church had already begun. Wasyl Eleniak had to choose between friendship and religious beliefs, and he chose to remain a Uniate or a Greek Catholic. Ivan and Wasyl did meet occasionally but these

were not satisfactory encounters, partly because of the differing religious views which they now held.

Of the two men, only Ivan was in the thick of the legal battle for control of the Star church, but Wasyl was affected by the conflict as well. He[35] reminisced about the matter thus:

> There was a church already under construction near Star, Alberta, by those settlers from Nebiliw. Iwan Pilipiwsky and Micha[e]l Romaniuk hauled the logs from our district. My brother Petro brought some lumber and I with my wife cut trees for the logs... Dear God! How joyful we were to have our first church. Troubles began almost immediately...I was one of those who had to pay Ewing, a Mundare lawyer, $10.00. Micha[e]l Romaniuk paid $50.00 on behalf of Pawlo Pasemko, and Iwan Starko around $1800.00. Some of the farmers lost their farms...[36]

He comments further:

> It was [Reverend] Korchinsky who confused Pylypiwsky, Melnyk and others. At first I warned him about what he was doing.[37] After that I never spoke with Pylypiwsky about religion because I saw that he was stubborn. Even though I would go past his place to my service at Skaro or Delph, it was not very pleasant to stop at his place. Often he would complain to me, "Why do you shun my house?" And I would reply, "You know why."

In his interviews Wasyl Eleniak appears quite negative and bitter about his former friend. Unfortunately, we do not have direct information about Ivan Pylypow's feelings towards Wasyl during the years that both lived in Canada. It seems that frontier life in the new homeland took a toll on the Ukrainian settlers in a multitude of ways, including friendship.

CHAPTER 11

THE TRAILBLAZERS PASS ON INTO HISTORY

11.1 Ivan Pylypow: 1859-1936

Ivan Pylypow died accidentally on October 10, 1936, at the age of 77. Bobersky[1] noted this event as follows:

> I have received news that Mr. Ivan Pillipiw (Pylypiv), a farmer, has passed away. He was a happy and talkative man, who ended his life merrily because he died at a wedding of two of his relative's daughters at Northbank, Alberta. It was hot and stuffy in the room, so the windows were opened. He had sat on the sill, leaned over too far and fallen to the ground. He fell so hard that the people who had ran out to help him found him dead.

Another version of Ivan Pylypow's death is given by Stechishin:

> ...[T]he occasion was a wedding at the home of Pillipiw's cousin, Vasyl Kulka of North Bank. Pillipiw had been drinking and was helped to one of the bedrooms upstairs to rest. During the night, mistaking the large window for a door, he walked through it and fell to the ground, killing himself instantly. The doctor who was called affirmed the cause of death as a broken neck.[2]

Ivan was buried in the cemetery of the Star church (the one that Ivan fought so tenaciously to be of the Orthodox faith).[3] The epitaph reads:

> John Pylypow. Born September 28, 1859. Came to Canada to look over country 1891. Went back to Austria. Brought back his family to Canada to stay in 1893. Died here October 10, 1936. Rest in Peace.

At the time of his death, Ivan Pylypow was survived by his wife Maria, sons William, Nicholas and Michael, daughter Ann, the spouses of William and Anna, and several grandchildren. He was predeceased by his daughter Margaret and presumably by his son George who disappeared in 1918. Maria died on February 4, 1942, and was buried alongside of Ivan in the cemetery of the Star church.

How is one to summarize and assess Ivan Pylypow, the trailblazer of Ukrainian immigration to Canada? This is not easy since there are many omissions and errors in the available information on his life. We do not even have a clear physical

description of the man, other than what can be gleaned from the few available photographs and descriptions by people who knew him.

Headstones of Ivan and Maria Pylypow in the Star Church cemetery.

We can only infer what his psychological make-up was. Swyripa[4] says that MacGregor "...characterized Pylypiw as a 'restless persuasive leader' who often acted before thinking; alert and intelligent; and a visionary who recognized the significance of Ukrainians arriving 'in the beginning of things,' but whose vision receded when he had failed to lead the great colony that he had originally planned." Is this characterization adequate? Undoubtedly, he was a leader, but perhaps more as a result of psychological make-up than by ambition. There is little evidence to support the view that he had plans to lead a great colony. The twelve families he organized for emigration before being arrested has hardly the makings of a "great colony."

Ivan undoubtedly was adventurous and courageous. He was prepared to take risks and persevered in whatever task he undertook (sometimes with negative consequences). He experienced many setbacks in the prime of his life: business failures, an encounter with the Habsburg legal system before emigrating, the burning of his first house in Canada, the religious struggle that started with his gradual conversion to orthodoxy, being a defendant in the trials for control of the Star church, loss and some alienation of his children—to

name only some of the major ones. These setbacks, along with the strain of emigrating and starting a new, difficult life in a strange land, undoubtedly took their toll on his adventurous and enterprising spirit. It is not surprising then that Ivan Pylypow seemed to be satisfied to spend his life in Canada becoming a prosperous farmer (but continuing to be not too successful in business ventures). However, in the process he remained a co-operative, generous, and compassionate man.

Did Ivan Pylypow and his family achieve a better life — economically, socially, spiritually — in Canada than they could have had in Nebyliw? On the basis of the evidence presented in this biography the answer must be: "initially not much better—but eventually a great deal." In his interview in 1932 with Bobersky,[5] Pylypow seems to concur with this assessment.

11.2. Wasyl Eleniak: 1859-1956

Wasyl Eleniak died in Mundare Hospital on January 12, 1956, at the age of 96. Requiem mass was celebrated at the St. Josaphat's Ukrainian Catholic Cathedral in Edmonton on Saturday, January 14, 1956, with Bishop Neil Sawaryn, D.D., officiating. Many members of the family and numerous people from the community attended. The funeral service was held in the St. Mary's Ukrainian Catholic Church in Chipman, Alberta, where he also was interred.

Wasyl Eleniak's death received wide coverage across Canada, in both English and Ukrainian newspapers, which included eulogies and commentaries on his importance to Ukrainian immigration to Canada and the development of the West. On January 17, John Decore, the Member of Parliament for the constituency in which Eleniak had lived and died, rose in the House of Parliament to pay tribute to him.

Wasyl Eleniak was predeceased by his wife Anna (who died on September 26, 1935, at Chipman), son Paul and daughter Catherine. He was survived by his sons Fred, John, and Peter; daughters Mary Starko, Magda Pasemko, Olga Horeczko, and Ann Yasterzebski; 51 grandchildren, 62 great-grandchildren, and one great-great- grandchild. At the time of the 1991 celebrations of the centennial of Ukrainian emigration to Canada, the progeny of Wasyl and Anna Eleniak had grown to 448 descendants spanning five generations.[6]

Wasyl Eleniak, although a diminutive man, had the considerable courage, dedication, and stamina needed to pursue his major ambition, which was to secure a better life for his family and himself.

Undoubtedly, it took courage to go to Canada with Ivan Pylypow to explore the possibilities for emigration, and subsequently to bring his family to this land. Wasyl and his wife Anna were persevering pioneers who with untold hardship transformed a piece of virgin land into a prosperous farm. He was contented to do all of his life what he did best, namely, to be a successful farmer—a prosperous *hospodar*. He was also a devoted family man. He had the good fortune to live a long life; hence he was able to witness the transformation of his beloved western Canada into a highly advanced region.

Isiaw noted in his eulogy that Wasyl Eleniak "...was an model of industriousness, thrift, piety, co-operativeness and community spirit for his family and all of their descendants—this is the legacy that their father and grandfather gave them by his exemplary life. Wasyl Eleniak's modesty was also a strength. He was a person of small stature, but was courteous, a man of few words and unpretentious...He never sought glory or praise...He understood his historical role in Canada..."[7]

Headstone of Wasyl and Anna Eleniak in the cemetery of the St. Mary's Ukrainian Catholic Church in Chipman, Alberta. (Compliments of Anna Magas).

11.3. The Trailblazers—A Comparison

One is tempted to compare and contrast Wasyl Eleniak and Ivan Pylypow, but how valid would the resultant comparison be since we have somewhat scanty biographical detail on both men? However, it is safe, but perhaps trite, to say that they had some similar characteristics but were very different in other ways. Each had sterling qualities as well as shortcomings. In a sense they were opposite in character, yet complimentary to each other—at least in the Old Country. Obviously, they were both adventurous and courageous men. They also were risk-takers. Of course their biggest risk was to leave all that was dear to them in Nebyliw and venture into an unpredictable life in the New World. This gamble paid off for both of them. In addition, Ivan appears to have directed a good deal of his risk-taking to business ventures—often without success. On the other hand, Wasyl Eleniak mainly took risks which enabled him to become a successful farmer.

Ivan Pylypow was outgoing while Wasyl Eleniak appears to have been quiet, modest, and unassuming. Both were pleasant and approachable—Ivan in a gregarious fashion while Wasyl was reserved. It is interesting, that despite Ivan's outgoing personality and apparent lack of inhibition to speak about his successes, he seemed very reluctant (bordering on the secretiveness) to speak about apparent setbacks and failures (e.g., his education).

Both Ivan and Wasyl were compassionate and generous in their relations with people, often beyond what could be expected of a person living on the frontier. However, it appears that some of Ivan's generosity might have been mis-directed since it was motivated by resentments engendered in the Old Country (i.e., the Count Potocki connection).

To continue the comparison, both Ivan Pylypow and Wasyl Eleniak appeared to have had a stubborn streak, each in his own way. A streak of stubbornness (bolstered by their desperate living conditions in Galicia) would be essential for successful immigration to the Star Bloc settlement in Alberta. However, other dimensions of stubbornness appear, such as Ivan's dogged determination to ward off Roman Catholic control of the Star church (which resulted in his recantation of catholicism) and Wasyl's refusal to have much contact with Ivan in Canada (even though he may have felt strongly that he had good reasons for shunning his former friend).

Associated with the stubbornness was self-discipline. Both of them exhibited this trait, coupled with the ability for planning and

organization, and their "addiction" to hard work. In Wasyl self-discipline was the basis of his abstention from alcohol and his deep and constant devotion to religion. Over the years both men developed a great love and patriotism for Canada. Yet they never spurned or even scorned their Ukrainian roots. On the contrary, they sought to preserve their Ukrainian heritage. On this matter, one of Eleniak's granddaughters[8] had this to say about her grandfather:

> Grandpa used to talk about his homeland...When asked if he would like to return to Ukraine, even to see it, he'd reply: "My life in Canada has been too happy to want to return." He loved Canada. He loved Ukrainians. He was a true patriot.

Ivan Pylypow expressed similar sentiments to Cyril Genik (the Ukrainian interpreter working in the Winnipeg Immigration office), and when he was interviewed by Bobersky.

At first glance, most of the similarities and differences discussed in the above comparison of the characters of Wasyl Eleniak and Ivan Pylypow seem to be rooted in their different hereditary make-up. However, differences in social background obviously played an important role as well. Social, economic, and political oppression under the Polish overlords and Habsburg monarchy, took a terrible toll in the psychological development of the Ukrainian people in western Ukraine. Even within this ethnic group there were significant disparities in economic status—hence in nutrition, opportunities for education and social advancement, development of self-esteem, and so forth.

Wasyl, having been brought up in much poorer circumstances than Ivan, probably suffered different psychological (and even physical) "damage" from the existing oppressive conditions of life in Galicia. Modern science has not developed yet to the level where it is possible to identify and quantify, with any degree of certainty, the impact of adverse living conditions on human development. However, there is sufficient qualitative evidence that the quality of life does have a profound effect. Regardless of the imprint that differing social circumstances may have made on our two trailblazers, ultimately they both arrived at the same point in their life: they both decided that they had to remove themselves and their families from the miserable existence that they experienced in Galicia. And, as the expression goes, the rest is history!

11.4. Glory to the Trailblazers

The role of Wasyl Eleniak and Ivan Pylypow in trailblazing the immense Ukrainian emigration to Canada was first brought to public light when Bobersky published articles on his interviews with them.

Their importance to the history of the Ukrainian Canadian community was further highlighted by Vera Lysenko and other historians.

The laurels of recognition have fallen unevenly on the two pioneers. Pylypow has generally received more comprehensive coverage than Eleniak in the historical writings on Ukrainians in Canada. There is an implication that Pylypow was the leader, the man of action. His life seems to have been more interesting and complex—both in the Old Country and in Canada. Undoubtedly, this is partly due to the difficulties he encountered with the Austro-Hungarian authorities when he returned to Nebyliw in 1892 and his direct role in the struggle for control of the Star church. As will be indicated below, Wasyl Eleniak has garnered more public recognition in other ways than has Ivan Pylypow.

Undoubtedly, among the reasons Wasyl Eleniak has received more public recognition overall than Ivan Pylypow are his long life and a very extended family. He lived well into the period when the Ukrainian presence in Canada "had come of age." Canadians in general had become aware and had begun to appreciate this presence and were willing to give it proper recognition. However, the difference in the amount of public recognition awarded to each pioneer also seems to be dictated to some degree by their difference in religious belief. Understandably, some of the earlier Ukrainian Canadian journalists, historians and community leaders of Ukrainian Greek Catholic faith never forgave Pylypow for being a religious "renegade" and a defendant in the legal struggles for the control of the Star church. Unfortunately, as a consequence they have tended to downplay the importance of Pylypow's (and as a result Eleniak's as well) role in the first wave of Ukrainian immigration to Canada.[9]

Some Ukrainian Canadian historians have questioned whether Pylypow and Eleniak are worthy of the recognition they have been receiving in recent decades, since they were not prominent in public affairs, either within the Ukrainian Canadian community or in Galician or Canadian society. It is understandable why Pylypow and Eleniak did not become prominent in public affairs, in the field of education or in publishing a Ukrainian newspaper. Neither one had the necessary background (e.g., level of education, experience in political activism in Galicia) nor the ambition and confidence to become a prominent public figure in this ethnic community or in the Canadian community. The critics miss the true purpose of honouring these two pioneers. They are being honoured primarily because, by coming to Canada in 1891, they helped to initiate a massive Ukrainian immigration to Canada. Therefore, they are

rightly designated as the historical markers for the Ukrainian presence in Canada.

However, Eleniak and Pylypow are more than historical markers. They are also archetypes of the majority of the early Ukrainian settlers in Canada. They were the products of a downtrodden and poverty-stricken life in the Old Country. Yet, despite their supposed backwardness, they exercised the decision-making, courage, faith, perseverance, and adaptability required to emigrate; to overcome a multitude of obstacles in the process of becoming successful farmers in their new homeland; and to ward off the culture shock and total assimilation (and the prejudice and discrimination that goes with it). Pylypow and Eleniak typify the early Ukrainian settler who turned virgin land into a commercially productive one and as a result helped to develop western Canada. In the process they became ardent patriots of the country they helped to build.

Eleniak and Pylypow were common folk, and common folk collectively make important history. Fortunately, their honoured place in Ukrainian Canadian history has been established and due acclaim has been (and continues to be) directed at them, mainly upon the initiative of the organized Ukrainian Canadian community.

Eleniak especially received substantial honour in his later years. On August 1, 1941, he was honoured at a banquet in Mundare, Alberta, on the occasion of the fiftieth anniversary of Ukrainian immigration to Canada. He was presented with a gold medal on behalf of Ukrainian Canadian organizations. During the celebrations Bishop Basil Ladyka conducted high mass in the grotto at Mundare. The anniversary event was attended by a large number of Ukrainian Canadians from across the country.

In 1947 Wasyl Eleniak got what was probably the greatest recognition that could be bestowed on a Canadian of Ukrainian origin. On January 1, 1947, the Canadian Citizenship Act came into force. This act established, for the first time, Canadian citizenship as a national entity, as distinct from the previous designation of Canadians as "British subjects." Thus Canadian citizenship became recognized internationally. Two days later, on January 3, 1947, the First Citizenship Ceremony was held at the Supreme Court in Ottawa to commemorate the enactment of Canadian citizenship.

Prime Minister Mackenzie King was the first honorary recipient of the Canadian Citizenship Certificate. Several other Canadians were also honored with Certificates at this ceremony, including Wasyl Eleniak (Elyniak) of Chipman, Alberta. Later he recollected the event in these words:

> They did not ask me any questions as they knew that I was a Canadian Citizen and a British subject, as this was a dual citizenship. They didn't ask me anything. I just knelt down and they gave me the papers. I bowed my head, thanked them, got up and went and sat down on the side.[10]

Yousuf Karsh, the internationally renowned Ottawa photographer, was also a recipient of a Citizenship Certificate at this ceremony. He persuaded Wasyl Eleniak to pose for a photographic portrait.[11]

Honorable Paul Martin, Minister of National Health and Welfare at the time of the First Citizenship Ceremony, wrote a letter to Wasyl Eleniak dated January 16, 1947. He congratulated Wasyl for being honoured with a certificate and stated further: "The selection of yourself to participate in the ceremony was a mark of our esteem for the contribution you have made to Canada by your life and your work in this country. Canada is proud to number you among its citizens." Wasyl Eleniak's sentiment about his Canadian Citizenship Certificate was purportedly as follows: "I accept this not for myself or for my glory, but for all Ukrainian people in Canada. The government, through me, has shown its gratitude to all Ukrainians for their integrity and their loyalty to their new land."[12]

In 1954 the parishioners of St. Mary's Ukrainian Catholic Church in Chipman, Alberta, erected a monument beside the church "in commemoration of the Ukrainian pioneers in Canada by their grateful sons." The monument also includes the following special dedication: "Wasyl Eleniak, the first Ukrainian to Migrate to Canada. Arrived in 1891. He was born in Western Ukraine in 1859."

In 1966, organizations within the Ukrainian Canadian community made a request to the Post Office of Canada to issue two commemorative stamps, with portraits of Eleniak and Pylypow on them. The occasion was the seventy-fifth anniversary of the arrival of these two Ukrainians in Canada. Apparently the Post Office did show some interest initially in the project, but ultimately nothing came of it. Consequently, the Winnipeg Philatelic Society put out two commemorative stamps—one with a portrait of Eleniak and the other with that of Pylypow.[13]

The City Council of Edmonton, Alberta, decided to honour Ivan Pylypow and Wasyl Eleniak in 1974 by endorsing a plan to create an industrial park in southeast Edmonton in which parts would be named after our two pioneers. On the map of Edmonton, circulated continent-wide by the American Automobile Association, it is labelled as the "Pylypow Industrial [Park]."[14] From this map one gets the impression this industrial park is a huge area—about two to

Wasyl Eleniak © Comstock/Yousuf Karsh. Photo by Yousuf Karsh. (Located in the National Archives of Canada C-11386).

three square kilometers in size. According to the plan, one of the streets was to be named the Eleniak Road and another one the Pylypow Road. In addition, there was to be a recreation area along Fulton Creek in the industrial park which was to be named the Pylypow Park.[15]

Monument dedicated to Ukrainian Pioneers by St. Mary's Ukrainian Catholic Church in Chipman.. Wasyl Eleniak standing by it. (Mildred and Allison Lemiski)

The City of Edmonton proceeded to develop the Pylypow Industrial Park. However, there is no sign anywhere on its perimeter to indicate that it exists.[16] Early on the City sold the portion along the north end to a developer, who named it the Capital Industrial Park. Unfortunately a few years after the plan for Pylypow Industrial Park was accepted, the economy of Edmonton took a nose dive. Due to a glut of industrial parks in the Greater Edmonton Region, competition among industrial parks for business became vigorous. Consequently, there has been insignificant development of the Capital Industrial Park and virtually no development in the remainder of Pylypow Industrial Park (which is being used as farm land).

In accordance with the original plan, the Eleniak Road now exists because it is situated in the developed part of Capital Industrial

Park. Neither the Pylypow Road nor the recreational Pylypow Park exist, but would be developed if and when Pylypow Industrial Park takes on "a new lease on life." This is an unlikely prospect considering the insignificant development that has occurred in the 23 years since the inception of Pylypow Industrial Park.

One must conclude that the intent of the City Fathers who accepted the plan for the Pylypow Industrial Park does not square with the reality of what it is today. The Edmonton City Council of two decades ago should be commended for their intended recognition of our two trailblazers, but it should also be recognized that to date Pylypow has been honoured only on paper. The least the current City Council can do is to put a prominent sign in a conspicuous place in the area reading "Pylypow Industrial Park."

A significant honor was bestowed upon Ivan Pylypow in 1972 when the house which he built in the early 1900s on the old homestead (see Chapter 9) and in which he and his wife spent most of their life in Canada, was moved to the Ukrainian Cultural Heritage Village near Elk Island National Park—about 54 kilometers east of Edmonton, Alberta. The Administration of the Village indicated that "...[t]he Pylypow Home will not be treated like other buildings on site in terms of a 'living' interpretation...[I]ts primary significance is that of a monument to Iwan Pylypow..."[17] Lesoway states that "...[b]y itself, the Pylypow house stands as a testament to Pylypow's courage, his perseverance, his success in the new land, and the realization of his dreams."[18]

There has been a historical plaque for many years on Highway 16 east of Edmonton, and situated approximately straight south of Chipman, Alberta. It has inscriptions in both Ukrainian and English. The latter message reads as follows:

> On September 7, 1891, Ivan Pylypiw and Wasyl Elyniak arrived in Canada from the Ukraine seeking new homes for their oppressed countrymen. Within a year the original nucleus of Ukrainian settlers in Canada began to form in the vicinity of Edna-Star, two miles north of present Lamont. They and the thousands who followed helped to build the Canadian west by making the land flourish and by manning the early railroad, lumber and mining camps. Today their descendants proudly maintain their distinctive traditions.

In the celebrations marking the centenary in 1991 of the arrival of the first Ukrainians in Canada, considerable mention was made of Eleniak's and Pylypow's historical role and contribution in write-ups, speeches, news items, and so forth.

Pylypow home located in the Ukrainian Cultural Heritage Village near Edmonton

A "First Settlement Site Marker" was unveiled near Star on August 31, 1991—a short distance west of the Russo-Greek Catholic Orthodox Church of Transfiguration (the one over which a protracted legal battle was fought). The marker reads:

> In commemoration of Ivan Pylypow and Wasyl Eleniak whose arrival in 1891 led to the first permanent settlement of Ukrainians in Canada. As follows: Mykhailo Pullishy, May 7, 1894 on N.W.22-56-19 W4 and followed within one month by Wasyl Feniak on S.E.22 and Fedor Melnyk on N.E.22. Together, these families spent the first winter a few meters from this marker. Ivan Pylypow settled on S.W.22 in September 1894.

This site was developed on land donated by descendants of Michael Pullishy. All five settlers named in the marker came from Nebyliw. The marker was unveiled on behalf of the Government of Alberta and in honour of the Ukrainian Canadian Centenary. The centennial flame was lit by The Right Honourable Don Mazankowski, who was the Deputy Prime Minister of Canada at that time. The marker was sponsored by the Alberta Ukrainian Canadian Centennial Committee and the National Ukrainian Canadian Centennial Commission of the Ukrainian Canadian Congress. The marker rightly commemorates Edna-Star as the first Ukrainian settlement in Canada, and indicates some of its first Ukrainian settlers. However, it should have included in some suitable manner the names of the members of the "Nebyliw group"

which was the first to come to Canada in 1892. All except one family, eventually settled in the Edna-Star Bloc settlement.[19]

Upon the initiative of the Eleniak Heritage Society, the County of Lamont designated a road in 1991 as the Eleniak Road in honour of the three Eleniak brothers: Wasyl, Ivan, and Petro. This road is about five kilometers (three miles) north of Chipman, and runs east-west along the correction line between the original homestead of Wasyl Eleniak and that of his brother Petro. (See Figure 4.) It ends north of Mundare, Alberta.

It is also important to note here the photograph on the front cover.This centennial monument was erected in Nebyliw, Ukraine, in 1991, in honour of Wasyl Eleniak and Ivan Pylypow, and also has the following inscription: "100th anniversary of the emigration of the first Ukrainians to Canada."

The unveiling of this monument was tied in with Heritage Tour III to Ukraine in July of 1991, sponsored by the Association of United Ukrainian Canadians (AUUC) and the Workers Benevolent Association (WBA). The tour group consisted of 159 Canadians with Ukrainian roots, from all parts of Canada. In Ukraine the tour was handled by Society Ukraina. A highlight of the tour was a visit to Nebyliw. The centennial monument was unveiled during this visit, with the participation of the Canadian guests. The main speech from the Nebyliw hosts was given by Petro Ivanovych Arsenych, who was a deputy to the Provincial Council of Deputies and also was one of the initiators of the commemoration event. Replies were given by Peter Krawchuk, President of the AUUC and Zenovy Nykolyshyn, President of the WBA, and several other Canadian guests. Prior to the tour Krawchuk was in Alberta and obtained a clump of earth from the grave of Wasyl Eleniak in Chipman, Alberta, as well as a clump of earth from the grave of Ivan Pylypow in Star, Alberta. The earth from Eleniak's grave was accepted by Joseph Rymar, the Chairman of the Village Council. The earth from Pylypow's grave was presented to Olga Vynnyk of Nebyliw, a distant relative of Ivan.[20]

11.5. Conclusion

Ivan Pylypow and Wasyl Eleniak rightfully have an honourable place in Ukrainian Canadian history. When they set out on their voyage to Canada in 1891, they were undoubtedly unaware that they would become trailblazers for the tens of thousands of their countrymen who followed them. In later years these two pioneers (and Wasyl Eleniak in particular because his life spanned two thirds of Ukrainian Canadian history) began to gain a sense of the

importance of their mission, both for the Ukrainians themselves in that they had better prospects for a good life in their new homeland and for Canada as a whole, which they helped to build up materially and enrich culturally. Glory to Ivan Pylypow and Wasyl Eleniak and to all of our Ukrainian Canadian pioneers for their legacy!

APPENDIX 1

ABOUT IVAN BOBERSKY

Professor Ivan Bobersky did the Ukrainian Canadian community a great service when he interviewed Ivan Pylypow and Wasyl Eleniak in 1932, thus making this community aware of their place in its history. This deed is the more remarkable in that Bobersky was not a Canadian. In fact, he came to Canada in 1918 as "...a representative of the Ukrainian organized life in Lviv...He worked diligently in cooperation with the National Republic of Western Ukraine and when in 1922 a representative body of this administration was formed in Canada, with Dr. Osyp Nazaruk at its head, I. Bobersky filled the position as its secretary..."[1] After the government of this republic ceased to exist, he stayed in Canada until 1931. He revisited Canada in 1932 and 1937.

During his long stay he was actively involved in promoting Ukrainian immigration in the affairs of the Ukrainian Canadian community, including writing about it. Marunchak describes his contribution as follows:

> After the dissolution of this representation of [the National Republic of Western Ukraine—M.N.] governmment in exile, I. Bobersky went to work for the Cunard Line and devoted much time and energy to St. Raphael's Ukrainian Immigrants' Welfare Association of Canada (St. Raphael's Association). He was the first among Ukrainians who worked earnestly to compile Ukrainian statistics in this country and to prepare materials for the history of Ukrainians in Canada. He travelled throughout Canada, gave speeches, collected various mementos and held interviews. He was the first to prepare the Chronicle of Ukrainians in Canada, as well as prepare statistics of Ukrainian churches, national homes and cultural centres, and had a large collection of rare pioneer pictures. He also prepared a map of Canada, showing where Ukrainians settled in the first and second era.[2]

He became interested in determining who the first Ukrainians were to come to Canada. Hence he was instrumental to some extent in convincing the St. Raphael's Ukrainian Immigrants' Association of Canada to launch a search in 1933 for the first Ukrainians to come to Canada. This association, in cooperation with the CPR Colonization Department, requested the Department of Immigration

to search its records to this effect. The available records in the Department of Immigration revealed that "W. Illilik" and "I. Pylypiwsky" were the earliest, arriving in Montreal on September 7, 1891. As a result of this finding, Bobersky went to the Edna-Star district and interviewed Wasyl Eleniak and Ivan Pylypow. He donated his archival materials to the Canadian Library of Ivan Bobersky.[3] Eventually these materials became part of the archival collection at the Ukrainian Cultural and Educational Centre (OSEREDOK) in Winnipeg, Manitoba.

APPENDIX 3

ABOUT JOSEF OLESKOW

Dr. Josef Oleskow has been credited with giving the initial boost to Ukrainian immigration to Canada. He was born in 1860 in Skvariava, Galicia. He studied in the local school and then attended a *gymnasium* (in Europe a type of high school that prepares students for a university education) in Lviv. This was followed by many years of study at the University of Lviv, where he eventually received a Ph.D., majoring in botany, chemistry and geology. He did further studies in botany, agriculture, and political economy in Erfurt, Germany. Returning home, he got an appointment as Professor of Agriculture of the Teachers' Seminary at Lviv; and subsequently in 1900 he was made the Director of the Teachers' Seminary in Sokal.

Oleskow, like many of his peers, was brought up on Western progressive ideals and subscribed to the program of the National Populists. He understood the plight of the Ukrainian peasantry and, being a humanitarian, wanted to help it. Many of them were emigrating to Brazil, which provided a life that was hardly better than the one at home.

Oleskow decided to find out if Canada provided better opportunities for the Ukrainian emigrants. At his own expense, he travelled to Canada where he stayed from August 12 to October 4 of 1895. He saw at first hand the land that prospective Ukrainian emigrants would get and observed how the handful of Ukrainian settlers already in Canada were faring. In preparation for this trip he wrote a booklet, *Pro vilni zemli* (About Free Lands). Upon his return he wrote another booklet, *O emigratsii* (About Emigration), in which he recommended emigration to Canada rather than to Brazil. These booklets spurred emigration to Canada.

However, Oleskow did more than that. His mission was to encourage only those peasants to emigrate who had the financial means. Starting in 1896, he selected and organized large groups of emigrants in Galicia and sent them to Canada in charge of a guide so as to protect them from exploitation during their long journey.

Inspite of Oleskow's good intentions, his promotion of Canada also spurred emigration of Ukrainians whose financial means were too meagre to make an auspicious start in Canada. This bothered him a great deal.[1]

Dr. Oleskow died a young man in 1903. Although he never lived in Canada, he became part of the history of Ukrainian Canadians because of his efforts in promoting emigration from western Ukraine. Indeed some historians of the Ukrainian Canadian community call him the "father" of Ukrainian emigration to Canada. In the author's opinion, such an assessment is not entirely justified. For example, it tends to play down the importance of the visit Eleniak and Pylypow made to this country in 1891. By the time Oleskow "got into the act", emigration fever had been building up in western Ukraine for about a decade. During that time Ukrainians had emigrated to the U.S.A. and South America.

The attention of prospective Ukrainian emigrants began to focus on Canada only after Eleniak and Pylypow made their journey in 1891, and the latter's trial and incarceration upon returning to Galicia. As a result of the courageous effort of these two men and the publicity that was associated with it, there were several dozen families in Canada by the time Oleskow made his visit to Ukrainian settlements in Canada in 1895. Undoubtedly, it was this beginning in Ukrainian emigration that prompted Oleskow's interest in this country. The author believes that Pylypow and Eleniak (as well as the other brave Ukrainian peasants and their families that emigrated to Canada before 1895) sowed the "seed" for this emigration. Oleskow's efforts (along with those of the Canadian government, the steamship agents, the Canadian Pacific Railway, etc.) "nurtured" the process until it became a mass exodus.

APPENDIX 4

AFFIDAVIT

Statutory Declaration—Form 36. Hamilton Stationery Ltd

CANADA
Province of Alberta
To Wit:

IN THE MATTER OF ONE IVAN PYLYPOW, EARLY SETTLER, UKRANIAN, LATE OF THE STAR WHO DIED ON OCTOBER 14, A.D. 1936

I, J. BIHUN of the Village of Lamont in the Province of Alberta,

Do SOLEMNLY DECLARE, that I am the J. Bihun who immigrated from the Western Ukraine to Canada in the year 1929 from the Village of Zbora in the District of Kallush, in the Western Ukraine and did in the year aforesaid immigrate to the Village of Mundare in the Province of Alberta.

THAT in December of the year of my immigration to Canada, one Ivan Pylypow of the Star area of the Province of Alberta, did assist me as an immigrant both financially and with donations of livestock to assist my establishment in Canada as a landed immigrant.

THAT I did receive in particular one milk cow from the said Ivan Pylypow as a voluntary donation to me as a needy person.

THAT the said Ivan Pylypow of the Star District did assist me further in raising my family by the said donation of the milk cow as the said milk cow provided food for my children without which said donation feeding my children would have been extremely difficult.

of the same force and effect as if made under oath and by virtue of The Canada Evidence Act.

Declared before me at the Village of Lamont in the Province of Alberta, this 4th day of September, A.D. 1965

J. Bihun

A COMMISSIONER FOR OATHS in and for the Province of Alberta.

John Fedyniak

APPENDIX 5

About the Acquisition of Land for the Star Church

The process of acquiring land for the church in Star was a tortuous and protracted process because of misunderstanding of established practices within two distinct cultures and established governmental (bureaucratic) procedures. The acquisition of the quarter-section of land for use by the parishioners of Star involved about seventy documents consisting of letters, applications forms (mainly for land patents). memorandums and re-assignments covering a period of about ten years.[1]

By August 12, 1897, the planning of the Star church had advanced sufficiently to prompt Bishop Pascal, Coadjutor (to Bishop Legal) of the Episcopale Corporation catholique de St. Albert, to write a letter to the Agent, Dominion Lands Office. Department of Interior, in Edmonton, District of Alberta, NWT. In it he stated that in the Limestone Lake (Edna-Star) area "...I have found that there is a large number of families of the Greek church united to the Roman Catholic (about 100 families on 123) and they stand in need of Church accomodations...To accomodate the greatest number of families, the church should be built on Township 56, Range XIX...[All government quarters are taken up in this township except four which are not suitable. Therefore] I am compelled to make application for some CPR Land."[2] He requested the Department of Interior to obtain SE1/4-27-56-19.W4 (on which some people had been buried already) from the CPR so that it could be made available to the Edna settlers: 40 acres for the church and cemetery and the remainder for homesteading by the resident priest. (See Figure 6.)

The Minister of Interior in Ottawa agreed to Bishop Pascal's request, which he then forwarded to the CPR. In due course the latter agreed to relinquish the specified quarter-section (in exchange for a government one in the Lethbridge area). Subsequently, the Deputy Minister of Interior wrote to his Agent in Edmonton informing him about the successful negotiations with the CPR. This letter also contained the following statement: "You are therefore at liberty to report any legal Subdivision within this quarter-section as a mission grant to the Roman Catholic Church...The application must be made by the resident Priest accompanied by a statutory declaration to the effect that the land is to be used for purposes

solely and properly connected with the Church and not for any other purposes..."[3] It is interesting to note that Frank Oliver, who was the MP for the Edmonton region at the time, took an active interest in this phase of land acquisition for the Edna-Star church.

Upon being informed about the availability of the CPR homestead, Bishops Legal and Grandin instructed Father Leduc to make an application for it on December 1, 1897, in the name of the Corporation Episcopale catholique Romaine de St. Albert. This act upset the settlers of Edna-Star when they heard about it, because they perceived it as a move to latinize their Greek Catholic Church. With the assistance of Father Tymkiewicz, their elected trustees (Michael Polushie, Ivan Pylypow and Michael Eleniak) took steps to have the CPR land transferred to their control. First they convinced Bishop Grandin to cancel the application for the land grant made by Father Leduc. This the Bishop did on May 25, 1898, by instructing his assistant to send a declaration to the Department of Interior which stated that the Bishop agrees "...to give back and given back indeed to the Government the (40) forty acres of land...granted to him for ecclesiastical purposes, on the condition however that the said 40 acres of land be transferred to the Greek Catholic Little Russians settled in the vicinity around, for the same ecclesiastical purposes."[4]

The Minister accepted Bishop Grandin's declaration and the condition that it specified. This permitted Father Tymkiewicz to make an application in July, 1898 for the 40 acres of CPR land (as well as submit the required patent fee and a declaration that the land would be used for church purposes). This he did with the written consent of the three trustees. "On September 26th, 1898, Special Grant No. 1227 was patented to Mikel Puleschy, John Pylypriv & M. Melnyk..."[5] It was to be held in trust by them for the purposes of the congregation of the Greek Catholic Church at Limestone Lake (Edna-Star).

APPENDIX 6

ABOUT THE UKRAINIAN CULTURAL HERITAGE VILLAGE

The Ukrainian Cultural Heritage Village was launched by the Ukrainian Cultural Heritage Village Society in 1971. This society consisted of a small group of descendants of Ukrainian settlers. "The Society's principal purpose was to develop a 'Heritage Village' through displays and demonstrations of authentic structures, furnishings, and handicrafts reminiscent of the past"[1]

In the next four years substantial headway was made by the Society in achieving its objectives. A major accomplishment was the relocation of a number of buildings from farms and towns of east central Alberta. However, for a number of reasons, by 1975 it could not continue with the project. In that year the Alberta Government bought the village and turned it over to its Alberta Culture Department to administer. Alberta Culture set a broad goal for the Village. "The Village depicts the early development of the east central area of Alberta, whose population at the turn of the century originated primarily from Ukraine... [It does this by means] of historical buildings typical of Ukrainian homesteads and prairie towns...historical artifacts, furnishings and farm implements required for the buildings and on the land...demonstration of farming techniques, trades, business, domestic and community activities, and the cultural and spiritual life of such communities...[and] provision of educational, exibition and visitor services."[2]

The Village has been maintained as an open air museum and continues to carry out "...extensive programs of research, restoration and furnishing of over 30 historic structures which have been moved to the Village site...The Village now works with volunteer groups such as the Friends of the Ukrainian Village Society, as well as with the corporate sector, to enrich the site's existing structures and thematic areas...[Its 'living history' approach requires costumed staff who speak to visitors] from their perspective of the year 1930 or earlier...The Village has been organized into three zones based on settlement patterns: the Townsite, the Rural Community, and the Farmsteads. All features on site represent the 1925-30 era, except the Farmsteads, which also portray 1900 and 1919."[3]

Notes

Foreword: Notes

1. M. Lesoway, *The Pylypow House: A Materials History*. Report in *The Pylypow House Research Binders* of the Ukrainian Cultural Heritage Village Research Programme (Edmonton: Historic Sites Service Branch, Department of Alberta Community Development, Government of Alberta, 1983), pp. vii-viii.
2. Synopsis of the interviews of Dan Pylypow in *The Pylypow House Research Binders* of the Ukrainian Cultural Heritage Village Research Programme (Edmonton: Historic Sites Service Branch, Department of Alberta Community Development, Government of Alberta).

   Dan Pylypow (Ivan's oldest grandson) and his wife worked for Ivan and Maria Pylypow from 1935 until a few months after Ivan's death in 1936. This gave Dan ample opportunity to hear about their lives, both in Canada and the Old Country. Dan was interviewed extensively for this information by Roman Brytan, David Lupul and Marie Lesoway during the period 1979 to 1981.
3. Apparently there was some confusion even within the Pylypow family about their ethnic origin, probably because of their use of the ethnic label "rusyn" for people from Galicia and their pro-Russian feelings. Consequently, Dan Pylypow recalled in one of his interviews that his own father William (Vasyl) considered himself to be *Russki* (Russian). However, when Dan was working for his grandfather, he asked him one day "what [nationality] are we?" The reply was "Ukrainian." *Ibid.*

Chapter 1: Notes

1. V. Lysenko, *Men in Sheepskin Coats* (Toronto: The Ryerson Press, 1947), p.6.
2. V.J. Kaye in the National Archives of Canada, National Ethnic Archives, Manuscript Division, Ottawa, 1982. MG 31, D69, "Appendix A, Index of Names to Sailing Lists Prepared by V.J. Kaye of Ukrainian Settlers Arriving in Canada at the Ports of Quebec and Halifax, 1891-1900," pp. 34 and 110.
3. M. Sago, "Ivan Pylypiw—Trailblazer," *The Ukrainian Canadian*, 15 September 1966, pp. 9-10.
4. V.J. Kaye and F. Swyripa, "Settlement and Colonization," in M.R. Lupul, ed., *A Heritage in Transition: Essays in the History of Ukrainians in Canada* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart Limited, 1982), pp. 33 and 35.
5. J. Balan, *Salt and Braided Bread* (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1984), p.3.
6. A. Gregorovich, *Chronology of Ukrainian Canadian History* (Toronto: Ukrainian Canadian Committee, 1973), pp. 5-6. He also states: "1860. Michael Hrynyk is said to be an early Ukrainian settler in Canada."
7. Balan, p.4.
8. Lysenko, p.6.
9. Webster gives the following definition of Stundist: "One of the Russian sects of peasants rejecting the doctrines of the Orthodox Church, and following the mystic ideas of German Pietists." *Consolidated-Webster Encyclopedic Dictionary* (Chicago: Consolidated Book Publishers, 1954), p.718.

10. I. Goresky, "Stefan Koroluk," Ukrainian Pioneers' Association of Alberta, editorial committee, *Ukrainians in Alberta*, [Vol. 1] (Edmonton: Ukrainian News Publishers Ltd., 1975), pp. 249-253; W.A. Chumer, *Spomyny pro perezhyvannia pershykh ukrainskykh pereselentsiw v Kanadi* (Edmonton: 1942). This book was translated into English by Louis T. Laychuk with the title William A. Czumer, *Recollections About the Life of the First Ukrainian Settlers in Canada* (Edmonton: Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies, 1981), p.23; Gregorovich, p.9.
11. J.G. MacGregor, *Vilni Zemli (Free Lands). The Ukrainian Settlement of Alberta* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart Limited, 1969), p.14. He does not indicate the source of his information.
12. P. Krawchuk, editor, compiler and biographer, *Siach slova pravdy: Rozpovid pro Matviia Shatulskoho, yoho vybrani statti, opovidannnia, feletony i spohady pro noho*. [Sower of the True Word: A Narrative About Matthew Shatulsky, His Selected Articles, Stories, and Feuilletons, and Reminiscences About Him] (Toronto: Kobzar Publishing Co. Ltd., 1983), p.154.
13. Lysenko, p.6.
14. Tape of an interview of Wasyl Eleniak in Ukrainian made by Dr. J.B. Rudnyckyj in Chipman, Alberta, on August 6 and 26, 1953. Its listing in the Visual and Sound Archives Division, National Archives of Canada is as follows: J.B. Rudnyckyj, No. 1975-0022, Tapes PAC 871, track 2 to Pac 883 track 1. This interview is also listed in Frances Swyripa, *Oral Sources for Researching Ukrainian Canadians* (Edmonton: Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies, 1978), p. 166.

    Rudnyckyj also provided a manuscript containing an English synopsis of the interview as well as some literal translation. (Incidentally, for some unspecified reason his name in this manuscript is given as J.B. Rudnitsky). The reason Rudnyckyj gives for editing the interview is as follows: "On both of these sessions, Wasyl Eleniak...repeated a lot of his reminiscences and this only because of his age...In any case, I have tried to put the whole text into a formal running commentary. Am also enclosing literal (verbatim) translation of the both sessions..." Manuscript, p.1. The author checked the content of Rudnyckyj's manuscript (i.e., synopsis and literal translation) against the original audio-tapes of the interviews, and found them to an authentic portrayal of what Wasyl Eleniak said. *Therefore, all of the information from Rudnyckyj's interview that the author included in this book is from his manuscript.*

    The quotation mentioned in point 7 in Chapter 1 is from page 15 of the manuscript. Rudnyckyj had this to say about Wasyl Eleniak: "...he was congenial, confident of himself, had full use of all his senses and stated that he remembers everything as though this happened yesterday." Manuscript P. 1.

    It should be noted here that Jaroslav B. Rudnyckyj was a professor at the University of Manitoba. He was a prolific researcher and writer. One of his major projects involved travelling across Canada to record the oral histories of Ukrainian pioneers. Woycenko states: "A scientific and broad approach to Ukrainian Canadian folklore was initiated by J.B. Rudnyckyj when, in 1953, he

began his travels across Canada to collect all forms of folklore...The Ukrainian Canadian Pioneer's Library Series, under [his editorship] produced six volumes of memoirs and biographies..." O. Woycenko, *Canada Ethnica IV: The Ukrainians in Canada* (Second revised edition) (Winnipeg: Trident Press Ltd., 1968), p.31 and 131.

15. Kaye and Swyripa, p.35.
16. Sago, p.10.
17. P.I. Arsenych, a senior researcher at the Ivano-Frankivsk Museum in Ivano-Frankivsk, Ukraine, made a claim to the author in 1990 in Lviv that there were biographical write-ups on both Pylypow and Eleniak in the Museum. Several attempts were made by the author to obtain this information but without success.
18. I. Bobersky, "Pryikhav v rotsi 1891" ["He Came in the Year 1891"], *Kalendar kanadiiskykh ukraintsiw - "Providnyk"* [Calendar of Ukrainian Canadians—The Leader] (Winnipeg: St. Raphael's Ukrainian Immigrants' Welfare Association, 1933), No.7, pp. 33-34. The interview with Wasyl Eleniak was conducted on April 3, 1932, in Chipman, Alberta.
19. Interview of Wasyl Eleniak by Basilian Fathers at the Monastery in Mundare, Alberta, on September 21 and 22, 1940. This interview was published in both Ukrainian and English as follows:

    [Basilian Fathers], "Pershi Ukrainski imihranty v Kanadi" ["The First Ukrainian Immigrants in Canada"], *Kalendar Ukrainskoi rodyny* [Calendar of the Ukrainian Family], 1941, pp. 81-88. The author translated the entire interview as printed in this article.

    [Basilian Fathers], "Zhyttievyi shliakh Vasylia Ielyniaka" ["Path of Life of Wasyl Eleniak"], *Ukrainskii visti* [Ukrainian News], 23 January 1956 and 6 February 1956. Except for the title, this article is identical to the one indicated above. It was published right after the death of Wasyl Eleniak. This interview was printed again in *Ukrainian News*, 29 December 1966

    The entire interview was translated into English by J. Skwarok, "The Memoirs of Wasyl Eleniak," *Svitlo* [Light], July-August 1959, pp. 351-353; September 1959, pp. 402-403; October 1959, pp. 450-451.

    An abridged translation in English by S. Urchak was printed under the title "Memories of Wasyl Eleniak," in Ukrainian Pioneers' Association of Alberta, editorial committee, *Ukrainians in Alberta*, Vol. 2 (Winnipeg: Trident Press,1981), pp. 59-63.

20. Wasyl Eleniak had a recorded interview with Roman Olynyk in 1955 for use in the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation/Radio-Canada International program entitled "First Settlers in Canada." About ten minutes of this interview were broadcast on October 12, 1981. Its listing in the Visual and Sound Archives Division, National Archives of Canada is as follows: Roman Olynyk, No. 1984-191.
21. I. Bobersky, "Iak pershykh dvokh ukraintsiw zaikhalo do Kanady, v p. 1891" ["How the First Two Ukrainians Came to Canada in the year 1891"] {*Illustrovanyi kalendar—almanakh Kanadiiskoho farmera* [Illustrated Calendar—Almanac of the *Canadian Farmer*] (Winnipeg: Kanadiiskyi farmar, 1937)}, pp. 122-133.

    Bobersky interviewed Ivan Pylypow in Lamont, Alberta, on April 2, 1932 in the presence of a lawyer. When Bobersky returned to Europe, he reviewed the contents of the interview. It seemed inaccurate and incomplete in various places.

Hence, he contacted the lawyer in Lamont to have Pylypow correct it and add information. Despite several appeals to the lawyer no action was taken on the request.

Bobersky's article on Pylypow is included in its entirety in Ukrainian in Czumer, pp. 17-27, and in Laychuk's English translation, pp. 12-22. Other English translations of Bobersky's article on Pylypow in an abridged form are as follows: Z. Keywan and M. Coles, *Greater Than Kings: Ukrainian Pioneer Settlement in Canada* (Montreal: Harvest House, 1977), pp. 9-13; H. Piniuta, *Land of Pain, Land of Promise* (Saskatoon: Western Producer Prairie Books, 1978), pp. 27-35. Parts of the original Ukrainian article by Bobersky and the above-mentioned English translations have also been published in Ukrainian and English books, newspapers, and magazines — some of which are listed in the section on "Reference Materials Used."

22. George Solomon (who was the Provincial Secretary of the Association of United Ukrainian Canadians in Alberta for many years) conducted an extended interview of William Pylypow in Edmonton, Alberta, in February, 1966. William was the oldest child of Ivan and Maria Pylypow and was 73 years old at the time of the interview. These tapes were made available to the author. *All of the information from William Pylypow used in this book, including quotations, is from these tapes.*

Matthew Shatulsky, who was an editor of left-wing Ukrainian Canadian newspapers for decades, interviewed William Pylypow and William's cousin Wasyl Kulka on August 9, 1950. Shatulsky wrote a number of articles about Ivan Pylypow based on this interview. For an exmple see Krawchuk, pp. 151-190.

MacGregor has Ivan Pylypow as one of the central characters in his book *Vilni Zemli (Free Lands)*. He interviewed a number of people for this book, including Ivan's son William. The author searched for MacGregor's notes on these interviews. His search in the Glenbow Archives in Calgary revealed only two edited manuscripts of *Vilni Zemli (Free Lands)*. Glenbow Archives had no audiotape or notes of any interview with William Pylypow, nor any photographs of Ivan Pylypow and Wasyl Eleniak.

In the Alberta Provincial Archives in Edmonton there are a number of files that pertain to the publication of *Vilni Zemli (Free Lands)*. These are indexed as Acc. No. 79.269, Box 8. File 113 was of particular interest since it did contain both typed and handwritten interview notes on Ukrainian pioneers portrayed in MacGregor's book. There was no audiotape of an interview of William Pylypow in the Archives, but there was a synopsis of MacGregor's interview (consisting of about thirteen typed pages) that are relevant to a biography of William's father, Ivan Pylypow. MacGregor's interviews with William Pylypow were conducted on three separate dates: October 31, 1964; November 7, 1964; April 10, 1965. However, the information in the notes is quite scant and disjointed. The hand-written notes were difficult to decipher. There was a brief note on Wasyl Eleniak. The author decided not to cite from MacGregor's notes in File 113 for two reasons. The important information contained in the file is included in *Vilni Zemli (Free*

Lands). The author found the information that William Pylypow gave in his interviews with George Solomon to be much more coherent and detailed. (Note that Solomon's interviews took place only about a year after MacGregor conducted his and were put on audiotape.)

Sophia (nee Porayko) Kyforuk also interviewed William Pylypow. Her parents Jakiw and Katerena Porayko were neighbours of Ivan and Maria Pylypow in Star.

23. Staff members working on the Ukrainian Cultural Heritage Village Research Programme of the Historic Sites Services Branch (Department of Alberta Community Development, Government of Alberta) did extensive research in the late 1970s and early 1980s on the Ivan Pylypow house. This house is now located in the Ukrainian Cultural Heritage Village 50 kilometers east of Edmonton near Elk Island National Park. The researchers interviewed people who knew Ivan and Maria Pylypow and were familiar with the last house in which they lived.

The interviewing was done by Roman Brytan, Marie Lesoway and David Lupul. They interviewed (in person and/or on the telephone) forty-seven people, some of them on several occasions. Included in the sample were *son Nicholas Phillips* and several grandchildren of Ivan and Maria Pylypow. Some of these interviews are listed in Frances Swyripa, *Oral Sources for Researching Ukrainian Canadians* (Edmonton: Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies, 1978).

The researchers compiled three unpaginated binders which contain formal reports, interview synopses, documents, correspondence, photographs, etc. These binders are revised, expanded and re-organized continually as new information is obtained. The citations for the materials used by the author from these binders are as follow: *The Pylypow House Research Binders* of the Ukrainian Cultural Heritage Village Research Programme, Volumes I, II, III (Edmonton: Historic Sites Service Branch, Department of Alberta Community Development, Government of Alberta). These binders include the following reports which were used as references:

Roman Brytan, *Ivan Pylypow Home: A Structural Report* in *The Pylypow House Research Binders* of the Ukrainian Cultural Heritage Village Research Programme (Edmonton: Historic Sites Service Branch, Department of Alberta Community Development, Government of Alberta, 1982)

Marie Lesoway, *The Pylypow House: A Narrative History*. Report in *The Pylypow House Research Binders* of the Ukrainian Cultural Heritage Village Research Programme (Edmonton: Historic Sites Service Branch, Department of Alberta Community Development, Government of Alberta, November, 1982).

Marie Lesoway, *The Pylypow House: A Materials History*. Report in *The Pylypow House Research Binders* of the Ukrainian Cultural Heritage Village Research Programme (Edmonton: Historic Sites Service Branch, Department of Alberta Community Development, Government of Alberta, November, 1983).

24. M. Ukas, "The First Ukrainian Immigrants in Canada," *Papers Presented at the Annual Meeting of the CSULR in 1987 and 1988* (Toronto: Canadian Society for

Ukrainian Labour Research, 1990), p.5. One can only agree with Ukas when he writes:

> In fact, there is an urgent need to intensify the search for further information which may still lie hidden in the archives of governments at different levels, from school districts to rural municipalities, to provincial seats of government and finally to the National Archives of Canada in Ottawa. Just as important in this respect are the archives in various educational institutions...in Western Ukraine. It goes without saying that such research has to be done on both sides of the ocean, in Canada as well as in Ukraine.

25. More information on Wasyl and Anna Eleniak and their children should have been obtained two or three decades ago, when some of the latter were alive and with good memories. At the time that this biographical account of Wasyl and Anna was being written, their second youngest child Olga was still living in Vancouver, B.C. She was 91 years of age, and it was deemed by those who had seen her recently, that her health was such that an interview with her would not be feasible. Consequently, the author had to resort to interviews of grandchildren of Wasyl and Anna for information about their grandparents and their own parents.

Chapter 2: Notes

1. G. Knysh, *Rus and Ukraine in Medieval Times* (Winnipeg: Ukrainian Academy of Arts and Sciences in Canada, 1991), p.4.
2. J.-P. Himka, "The Background to Emigration: Ukrainians of Galicia and Bukovyna, 1848 - 1914," in M.R. Lupul, ed., *A Heritage in Transition: Essays in the History of Ukrainians in Canada* (Toronto: McLelland and Stewart Limited, 1982), p.11.
3. H. Piniuta, *Land of Pain, Land of Promise* (Saskatoon: Western Producer Prairie Books, 1978), p.17.
4. O. T. Martynowych, *The Ukrainian Bloc Settlement in East Central Alberta, 1890-1930: A History*, Historic Sites Service, Occasional Paper No.10, March 1985 (Edmonton: Alberta Culture and Multiculturalism, 1990), pp. 19-20.
5. *Ibid.*, pp. 11, 13, 14.
6. J. Balan, *Salt and Bread: Ukrainian Life in Canada* (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1984), p.6.
7. According to Marunchak, in Galicia the statistics for 1902 show that only 0.6 per cent of the landowners (including the nobility) had 100 hectares (about 145 acres) or more, but they accounted for 40.3 per cent of the amount of land held. At the same time 79.9 per cent of the landowners (all peasants) had fewer than 5 hectares (the minimum needed to make a living), and in total held only 27.2 per cent of the land. M.H. Marunchak, *The Ukrainian Canadians: A History* (Winnipeg / Ottawa: Ukrainian Academy of Arts and Science [UVAN] in Canada, 1982), pp. 20-21.
8. *Ibid.*, p.161. Other historians give a somewhat lower incidence of illiteracy for the period, but still highly unfavorable.
9. Martynowych states that "...[a]lthough Ukrainians constituted at least 40 per cent of the Galician population, prior to 1909 they comprised only 26 per cent of the students in teachers' seminaries, 19 per cent of gymnasium [high school]

students, 13 per cent of the law students, 13 per cent of philosophy [arts] students, 7 per cent of medical students, and 6 per cent of technical students. In 1911 the proportion of Ukrainian students at the University of Lviv was 21.7 per cent and at the Lviv Polytechnical Institute it was 5.4 per cent. Only 10 of 409 university instructors were Ukrainians, while none of the 129 instructors at the Polytechnical Institute were Ukrainian." The situation in Bukovyna was similar. *The Ukrainian Bloc Settlement*, p.15.

10. O.T. Martynowych, *Ukrainians in Canada: The Formative Period, 1891-1924* (Edmonton: Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies Press / University of Alberta, 1991), p.11.
11. *Ibid.*, p.28.
12. Martynowych gives the following impressive statistics on the growth of the reading clubs, cooperatives, etc. in western Ukraine:

    > Between 1877 and 1914 *Prosvita* published 305 booklets for the peasantry in over 2,500,000 copies. By 1914 there were 2,949 *Prosvita* reading clubs and 197,000 reading club members. This meant that 75 per cent of all villages, towns and cities populated by Ukrainians boasted reading clubs and that 20 per cent of the adult Ukrainian male population availed itself of the facilities. In addition there were some 300 Mykhailo Kachkovsky reading clubs and the Radical clubs. In northern Bukovyna there were 190 reading clubs with 13,000 members affiliated to *Ruska Besida*. In Galicia *Prosvita* reading clubs alone sponsored some 540 cooperative stores and 257 credit cooperatives. In addition to these, there were in 1914 over 370 Ukrainian credit unions with a combined membership of over 180,000; 80 dairy cooperatives; about 100 agricultural marketing cooperatives and a network of cooperative stores organized on Rochdale principles. In Bukovyna there were 160 cooperatives of various kinds. *The Ukrainian Bloc Settlement*, p.53.

13. *Ibid.*, p.33.
14. S. Hryniuk, " 'Sifton's Pets': Who Were They?" in L. Luciuk and S. Hryniuk, eds., *Canada's Ukrainians: Negotiating an Identity* (Toronto: Ukrainian Canadian Centennial Committee and the University of Toronto Press, 1991), p.13.
15. P. Prokop, *Tribute to Our Ukrainian Pioneers in Canada's First Century.* Proceedings: Special Convention of the Association of United Ukrainian Canadians and the Workers' Benevolent Association of Canada, in Winnipeg, March 23, 1966 (Winnipeg: AUUC and WBA, 1966), p.15.
16. *Ukrainians in Canada*, p.59.
17. "Sifton's Pets," p.14.
18. Oleskow's role in Ukrainian emigration to Canada will be discussed in a later chapter.
19. Martynowych, *Ukrainians in Canada*, p.42.
20. Marunchak, *The Ukrainian Canadians*, p.71.
21. *Land of Pain*, p.20.
22. A. Shlepakov, *The Emigration of Ukrainians to Canada: Reasons and Circumstances* (no information on the publisher was included), p.21.
23. Marunchak, *The Ukrainian Canadians*, p.78.
24. "The Background to Emigration," pp. 23-24.

Chapter 3: Notes

1. Pylypow's headstone shows September 28 as his birth date. However, July 7 is given as the date of birth in the very brief biography of Ivan Pylypow in Danylo Husar Struk, editor-in-chief, *Encyclopedia of Ukraine*, Volume 4. Produced under the auspices of the Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies (University of Alberta), the Shevchenko Scientific Society (Sarcelles, France), and the Canadian Foundation for Ukrainian Studies. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1993), p.287.
2. M. Shatulsky, "Ivan Pylypiv — First Settler," *The Ukrainian Canadian*, 1 December 1950, p.5. Based on Shatulsky's interview of William Pylypow, the son of Ivan, and William's cousin William Kulka.
3. M.H. Marunchak, *The Ukrainian Canadians: A History* (Winnipeg / Ottawa: Ukrainian Academy of Arts and Sciences [UVAN] in Canada, 1982), p.233.
4. V. Lysenko, *Men in Sheepskin Coats* (Toronto: The Ryerson Press, 1947), p.7.
5. There is a very brief biography of Wasyl Eleniak in V. Kubijovyc, editor-in-chief, *Encyclopedia of Ukraine*, Volume 1. Produced under the auspices of the Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies (University of Alberta), the Shevchenko Scientific Society (Sarcelles, France), and the Canadian Foundation for Ukrainian Studies. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1984), p.815.
6. Rudnyckyj's manuscript on his interview of Wasyl Eleniak, p.6.
7. *Ibid.*, p.12.
8. *Ibid.*, p.14.
9. S. Urchak, "Memories of Wasyl Eleniak," in Ukrainian Pioneers' Association of Alberta, editorial committee, *Ukrainians in Alberta*, Vol. 2 (Winnipeg: Trident Press,1981), p.60.
10. Rudnyckyj's manuscript on his interview of Wasyl Eleniak, p.14.
11. *Ibid.*, p.1.
12. Urchak, pp. 59-60.
13. Rudnyckyj's manuscript on his interview of Wasyl Eleniak, p.5.
14. Urchak, pp. 60-61.
15. *Ibid.*, p.60.
16. *Ibid.*, p.61.
17. Rudnyckyj's manuscript on his interview of Wasyl Eleniak, p.11.
18. Henry Pylypow, grandson of Ivan and Maria, claimed that Maria Kulka, the mother of Ivan "...was Jewish, but she had fully accepted the Orthodox religion." *The Ukrainian Canadian*, July/August, 1981, p.39. No other reference to this information was encountered by the author. The conversion to Orthodoxy may seem to be contradictory since Greek Orthodox believers were almost non-existent in Nebyliw. However, if Ivan's grandfather indeed did come from eastern Ukraine, then in all likelihood he was Greek Orthodox when he came to Nebyliw (or maybe even Russian Orthodox). This might help to explain Ivan's conversion to orthodoxy in Canada. This facet of Ivan's life will be discussed in a later chapter.

19. Ukrainian Pioneers' Association of Alberta, editorial committee, "Nicolas Pylypow," in *Ukrainians in Alberta*, Vol. 2 (Winnipeg: Trident Press, 1981), p.203.
20. J. Balan, *Salt and Bread: Ukrainian Life in Canada* (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1984), p.107; V.J. Kaye and F. Swyripa, "Settlement and Colonization," in M.R. Lupul, ed., *A Heritage in Transition: Essays in the History of Ukrainians in Canada* (Toronto: McLelland and Stewart Limited, 1982), p.36; J. Stechishin, *Istoria poselennia ukraintsiw u Kanadi* [History of the Settlement of Ukrainians in Canada] (Edmonton: Ukrainian Self-Reliance League, 1976), p.119.

    Lysenko claims that Hawrylo had 40 acres of land. *Ibid.* p.8 Incidentally, *160 acres equals 113 morgs.*
21. W.A. Czumer, *Recollections About the Life of the First Ukrainian Settlers in Canada,* translation by L.T. Laychuk (Edmonton: Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies, 1981), p.13.
22. Shatulsky, "Ivan Pylypiv—First Settler," p.5.
23. J.G. MacGregor, *Vilni Zemli (Free Lands). The Ukrainian Settlement of Alberta* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1969), p.7.

    Swyripa gives an interesting critique of MacGregor's book *Vilni Zemli* in which the Edna-Star settlement and Ivan Pylypow play a prominent role. She writes : "Adopting a flowery and descriptive writing style, MacGregor included imaginary conversations and played the mind-reader to determine his characters' thoughts, attitudes, and reactions. He justified this pseudo-novelistic approach by claiming that his book was intended not only for the historian but also for the lay reader. Nevertheless, he has done the historian an injustice. Although *Vilni Zemli* included numerous quotations, sources are only sporadically provided as the work is without a bibliography, footnotes or index. As historically accurate as the facts may be, these omissions reduce the value of *Vilni Zemli* as a source of information on early Ukrainian settlement in rural Alberta from the standpoint of any serious student of Ukrainian-Canadian history." F. Swyripa, *Ukrainian Canadians. A Survey of Their Portrayal in English-Language Works* (Edmonton: The University of Alberta Press, 1978), p.108.
24. Solomon's interview of William Pylypow.
25. Synopsis of the interviews of Dan Pylypow in *The Pylypow House Research Binders* of the Ukrainian Cultural Heritage Village Research Programme (Edmonton: Historic Sites Service Branch, Department of Alberta Community Development, Government of Alberta).
26. *Ibid.*
27. Lysenko, p.8.
28. Shatulsky, "Ivan Pylypiv — First Settler," p.5; Lysenko, p.8.
29. Lysenko, p.8.
30. Second wealthiest according to Shatulsky in "Ivan Pylypiv — First Settler," p.5.
31. Synopsis of the interview of Sophia Kyforuk in *The Pylypow House Research Binders.*
32. "Nicolas Pylypow," p.203.

33. Kaye and Swyripa, p.36; Solomon's interview of William Pylypow.
34. Synopsis of the interviews of Dan Pylypow in *The Pylypow House Research Binders*. Additional information was obtained from Margaret Loveseth and Margaret Laslop, granddaughter and great granddaughter respectively of Ivan and Maria Pylypow.
35. Solomon's interview of William Pylypow.
36. *Ibid.*
37. H. Piniuta, *Land of Pain, Land of Promise* (Saskatoon: Western Producer Prairie Books, 1978), p.28.

Chapter 4: Notes

1. W.A. Czumer, *Recollections About the Life of the First Ukrainian Settlers in Canada*, translation by L.T. Laychuk (Edmonton: Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies, 1981), p.13.

   Bobersky included in his article, as an addendum to his interview of Pylypow, excerpts from the court proceedings of Ivan's trial in the Old Country after he returned from Canada. *Ibid.*, pp. 18-22. In his testimony Pylypow indicated that the third man was Tyt Ziniak, a fellow-villager who also was put on trial because he was assisting Ivan with the organization of a group to emigrate to Canada. There is an obvious contradiction between what Pylypow told Bobersky during the interview and his testimony at the trial.

   Memories undoubtedly dimmed considerably in the 40 years intervening between the trial and the interview with Bobersky in 1932. It is significant, however, that both Pylypow and Eleniak mentioned Panischak and not Ziniak as the third man in their interviews with Bobersky. It is not likely that both men had identical lapses in memory in later years, or that they colluded in substituting Panischak for Ziniak. William Pylypow, Ivan's son, also stated that the third man involved in the exploratory trip to Canada was his uncle Panischak. Undoubtedly he heard this from his father, but it can be claimed that it was at a time when his father was much younger and closer to the event.

   In this biography the author will assume that the third man was Panischak, and that Ziniak was the one arrested with Pylypow in 1892. The error in mentioning the latter being involved in both events may have been due to Pylypow's confusion resulting from the stress of the trial, or that the court recorder erroneously recorded Ziniak's name for both events.
2. It should be noted that Laychuk uses the monetary designation "crown" synonymously with the Ukrainian term *rinski*, which was used by Pylypow and Eleniak in their interviews. Presumably both terms were acceptable in western Ukraine for the unit of Austro-Hungarian money. At the time Eleniak and Pylypow came to Canada this unit was worth about 40 cents.
3. Czumer, (Laychuk's translation), p.20.

   This is the story Ivan Pylypow told at his preliminary court hearings in Kalush. However, when Bobersky interviewed him in Lamont, Alberta, he claimed to have had 600 crowns for the trip. Czumer, (Laychuk's translation), p.13. This

is also the amount that he indicated at the hearing that he had obtained for the sale of his property in preparation for emigration. The lesser amount of cash which he indicated at the hearing, for the trip in 1891, is more believable. If Ivan actually had had 600 crowns, he could have made a loan to Panischak to get him across the border into Germany.

4. *Ibid.* pp. 19-20.

There is agreement in the literature about the date (September 7, 1891) of Eleniak's and Pylypow's arrival in Canada. However, there is disagreement about the Canadian port at which they landed. In their interviews, both men stated that they landed in Montreal. This is supported somewhat by "Schedule B: Form of Passenger List." (See Appendix 2.) The phrase "...treal" is written on it, with the "Mon..." blotted out by an overlapping note.

Kaye states that they landed in Quebec (City?). *Early Ukrainian Settlements in Canada, 1895-1900* (Toronto: The Ukrainian Canadian Research Foundation / University of Toronto Press, 1964), p.229. This claim is supported somewhat since at the top of the Schedule B form mentioned above the following phrase is written in unclearly: "...arrived at...Wharf Levis..." Levis is an urban centre situated across the St. Lawrence River from Quebec City.

Martynowych indicates that Eleniak and Pylypow disembarked at Halifax, but gives no reference source. *Ukrainians in Canada: The Formative Period, 1891-1924* (Edmonton: Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies Press / University of Alberta, 1991), p.60.

According to W. Val Eleniak, grandson of Wasyl, the *Oregon* arrived (stopped?) in Quebec City on September 7, 1891, and then went on to Montreal, arriving there on September 8. Stated in a copy of a speech that Val Eleniak gave the author.

5. Czumer, (Laychuk's translation), p.14.
6. Ukrainian Pioneers' Association of Alberta, editorial committee, "Nicolas Pylypow," in *Ukrainians in Alberta*, Vol. 2 (Winnipeg: Trident Press, 1981), pp. 203-205; stated also in a copy of a speech that Val Eleniak gave the author.
7. H. Piniuta, *Land of Pain, Land of Promise* (Saskatoon: Western Producer Prairie Books, 1978), p.31.
8. Czumer, (Laychuk's translation), p.21.
9. Solomon's interview of William Pylypow.
10. Piniuta, p.31.
11. *Ibid.*, p.31.
12. *Ibid.*, pp. 31-32.
13. Solomon's interview of William Pylypow; V. Lysenko, *Men in Sheepskin Coats* (Toronto: The Ryerson Press, 1947), p.18.

The matter of convincing the Nebyliw people that Wasyl Eleniak was safe and well in Canada was probably more complicated than indicated by William Pylypow. The logical course would have been for Eleniak to give Pylypow a letter to pass on to his wife, telling her that he was working in Gretna, Manitoba. The problem was that Eleniak could not write, so Pylypow or (preferably) someone

else would have had to write it for him. Indeed in his interviews with Bobersky, Wasyl Eleniak confirms that a letter was sent to his wife. He told Bobersky that "...I sent news (*vistku*) with him [Pylypow] and wanted him to bring my family...He went, and I wrote to the *village*, telling my wife to get ready to go to Canada when Pylypiw goes..." [emphasis mine—M.N.] I. Bobersky, "Pryikhav v rotsi 1891" ["He Came in the Year 1891",] *Kalendar kanadiiskykh ukraintsiw — "Providnyk"* [Calendar of Ukrainian Canadians - The Leader] (Winnipeg: St. Raphael's Ukrainian Immigrants' Welfare Association, 1933), No.7, p.32.

In his interview with Rudnyckyj, Eleniak stated the following: "...I sent my wife a letter. He [Pylypow] took the letter from the Post Office. The policeman caught him and...I made a false declaration from Canada to the effect that I gave him permission. In reality, I didn't give him any permission." At another point in the interview he states that "Pilipiwsky returned to our village of Nebiliw...He firstly took the letter that I wrote to my wife and I had to make [a] false statement to the authorities telling them that I had given him permission to receive the letter." Rudnyckyj's manuscript on his interview of Wasyl Eleniak, pp. 10 and 3 respectively.

The above quotations raise a number of important questions, since they cast aspersions on the character of Ivan Pylypow. Did Pylypow bring a written message from Eleniak to Nebyliw? It seems that he did not. To whom was the subsequent letter sent in Nebyliw (to the priest?), and what was its content? Since Eleniak could not write, who wrote the letter for him? If Pylypow was caught taking the letter from the post office, why were no charges laid against him for such a criminal offence? Why is there no official record of Pylypow having committed such a criminal deed? (In Pylypow's situation the authorities would have been most pleased to be able to lay such a charge.) Why would Pylypow need to "receive" the letter when it was Mrs. Eleniak and the authorities who needed confirmation of Wasyl's whereabouts? Who in Nebyliw wrote to Canada to ask Eleniak about Pylypow's right to use the letter (for whatever unspecified purpose)? How could Wasyl "give" and yet "not give" permission to Pylypow to use the letter? Was Eleniak culpable when he made "...a false statement to the authorities telling them that...[he had given Pylypow] permission to receive the letter?" Would such a statement (false or otherwise) by Eleniak release Pylypow from a criminal charge for taking a letter from the post office? It is unfortunate that the Bobersky and Rudnyckyj did not question Eleniak in depth on this important matter.

14. Piniuta, p.32.
15. As was noted earlier, Ivan Pylypow, in his interview with Bobersky, claimed that his accomplice in recruiting emigrants was his brother-in-law Iurko Panischak. However, in detailing Pylypow's scrape with the law in Galicia, I will accept the proceedings of the preliminary hearings and the trial as being more reliable, since the defendant was 40 years younger and closer to the event, hence remembered details better. *I will accept Tyt Ziniak as the other man arrested with Pylypow.*
16. Czumer, (Laychuk's translation), p.21.

The account of the arrest and trial of Ivan Pylypow is based mainly on the details provided by him in his interview with Bobersky, and William Pylypow's interviews with Solomon and with Shatulsky.

According to Balan, Ivan was charged with "...sedition, fraud (for taking advances on tickets) and inciting emigration." J. Balan, *Salt and Bread: Ukrainian Life in Canada* (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1984), p.108. Balan does not give his reference source for the charge. Presumably he inferred it from Bobersky's comments on the arrest, the hearings, and the trial which were appended to his published interview of Pylypow. Bobersky does not mention sedition, although inciting people to emigrate might possibly be construed to be seditious. The charge of fraud was made at the end of the preliminary hearings in Kalush. Apparently the judge saw fit not to charge the defendants with embezzlement.

17. Czumer, (Laychuk's translation), p.21.
18. *Ibid.*, pp. 20-21.
19. *Ibid.*, p.21. In the Ukrainian version Czumer erroneously changed the Roman numeral VI, which in Bobersky's original article signified the month of June, to the written form "July".
20. *Ibid.*, p.16.
21. P. Krawchuk, editor, compiler and biographer, *Siach slova pravdy: Rozpovid pro Matviia Shatulskoho, yoho vybrani statti, opovidannia, feletony i spohady pro noho*. [Sower of the True Word: A Narrative About Matthew Shatulsky, His Selected Articles, Stories, and Feuilletons, and Reminiscences About Him] (Toronto: Kobzar Publishing Co.Ltd., 1983), p.162.
22. The judges were Starosolsky, Shankowsky, Shymanovych and Piskozub. The prosecuting attorney was Argasinsky. The counsel for the defendants was Mayeranovski. Czumer, (Laychuk's translation), p.21.
23. *Ibid.*, pp. 16-17.
24. *Ibid.*, p. 21.
25. Solomon's interview of William Pylypow.
26. Czumer, (Laychuk's translation), p.21.
27. M. Sago, "Ivan Pylypiw — Trailblazer," *The Ukrainian Canadian*, 15 September 1966, p.10.
28. Czumer, (Laychuk's translation), p.22.

Chapter 5: Notes

1. Solomon's interview of William Pylypow.
2. H. Piniuta, *Land of Pain, Land of Promise* (Saskatoon: Western Producer Prairie Books, 1978), pp. 33-34.

   The *S.S. Laurentian* sailed from Liverpool on April 27, 1893. The ship's records show the names (albeit some are misspelled) of all six members of the family.
3. I. Bobersky, "Pryikhav v rotsi 1891" ["He Came in the Year 1891"], *Kalendar kanadiiskykh ukraintsiw — "Providnyk"* [Calendar of Ukrainian Canadians — The

Leader] (Winnipeg: St. Raphael's Ukrainian Immigrants' Welfare Association, 1933), No.7, p.32.

4. *Ibid.*, p.32.
5. Rudnyckyj's manuscript on his interview of Wasyl Eleniak.
6. O. Hall and S. Kyforuk, *Jakiw and Katerena Porayko*, (Edmonton: manuscript, undated), p.6. From the Sophia Kyforuk and Octavia Hall Private Archival Collection.
7. M.H. Marunchak, *The Ukrainian Canadians: A History* (Winnipeg / Ottawa: Ukrainian Academy of Arts and Science [UVAN] in Canada, 1982), pp. 80-81.

Chapter 6: Notes

1. O.T. Martynowych, *Ukrainians in Canada: The Formative Period, 1891-1924* (Edmonton: Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies Press / University of Alberta, 1991), p.78.
2. M.H. Marunchak, *The Ukrainian Canadians: A History* (Winnipeg / Ottawa: Ukrainian Academy of Arts and Sciences [UVAN] in Canada, 1982), p.97.
3. A. Bilecki, W. Repka and M. Sago, *Friends in Need: The W.B.A. Story, a Canadian Epic in Fraternalism* (Winnipeg: Comet Press, 1972), pp. 40-41.
4. O.T. Martynowych, *The Ukrainian Bloc Settlement in East Central Alberta, 1890-1930: A History*. Historic Sites Service, Occasional Paper No.10, March 1985 (Edmonton: Alberta Culture and Multiculturalism, 1990), p.125.
5. V.J. Kaye, *Early Ukrainian Settlements in Canada, 1895-1900* (Toronto: The Ukrainian Canadian Research Foundation / University of Toronto Press, 1964), p.329.
6. *Ibid.*, pp. 318-319.
7. Developing the homestead was a condition of ownership of it. Marunchak explains part of the requirements thus:

   > On the basis of "Dominion Land Act", the homestead could be acquired when the would-be owner had lived on it for a period of twelve months and had, during that time, put into cultivation 30 acres of land. One could take possession of the homestead after living on it for only six months, but the procedure had to be repeated every year for a total of three years. If at the end of five years the owner had not applied for a patent, as required by the act, then he could lose the right of ownership.*The Ukrainian Canadians*, pp. 82-83.

8. *Theodore Nemirsky's Journal* (Edmonton: manuscript, 1965), pp. 128-129. From the Sophia Kyforuk and Octavia Hall Private Archival Collection.

   This manuscript was written in Old Cyrillic between 1920 and 1929. The journal was translated into modern phonetic Ukrainian by Sophia Kyforuk of Edmonton, Alberta, which was then translated into English in 1965 by her daughter Octavia Hall of Galveston, Texas.
9. J.C. Lehr, "Peopling the Prairies With Ukrainians," in L. Luciuk and S. Hryniuk, eds., *Canada's Ukrainians: Negotiating an Identity* (Toronto: Ukrainian Canadian Centennial Committee and University of Toronto Press, 1991), p.42.
10. *The Ukrainian Canadians*, p.96.

11. H. Piniuta, *Land of Pain, Land of Promise* (Saskatoon: Western Producer Prairie Books, 1978), p.10.
12. O. Hall and S. Kyforuk, *Jakiw and Katerena Porayko* (Edmonton: manuscript, undated), p.30. From the Sophia Kyforuk and Octavia Hall Private Archival Collection.
13. *Ukrainians in Canada*, p.59.
14. Martynowych identifies three phases in the Ukrainian settler's progress in farming:

> The typical Ukrainian farmstead in east central Alberta passed through three phases between the 1890s and 1930. During the first phase...[m]ost able bodied adult males spent the better part of the year working off the farm in order to acquire the capital necessary to to set up a farming operation. Only enough land to satisfy the provisions of the Homestead Act was improved during this period. By 1905 or 1910 this phase had come to end in most parts of east central Alberta. During the second phase, which usually commenced about five years after the settlers' arrival in Alberta, the men were ready to devote themselves full-time to farming...Livestock holdings were expanded, more land was brought under cultivation, and a variety of specialized outbuildings were constructed...Although some Ukrainian farmers were already producing grain for the market before the war, most did not make the transition to commercial wheat farming until after 1917-1918...During this last phase, many Ukrainian farmers turned to wheat farming, buying up and renting additional land, purchasing sophisticated new implements and cautiously adopting new agricultural methods. *The Ukrainian Bloc Settlement*, p.113.

Chapter 7: Notes

1. In 1870, Canada acquired the North-Western Territory and Rupert's Land from Great Britain, and named the combined area the Northwest Territories. In 1880 Great Britain also transferred the Arctic islands to Canada, which were incorporated into the Northwest Territories. This huge land mass was divided up into four districts: Assiniboia, Alberta, Athabasca, Saskatchewan. J.H. Marsh, editor-in-chief, *The Canadian Encyclopedia* (Edmonton: Hurtig Publishing Ltd.,1985), p.1275.
2. Solomon's interview of William Pylypow.
3. A. Melnyk, "Story of Star, Alberta," S. Hrynew, ed., *Pride in Progress: Chipman, St. Michael, Star and Districts* (Chipman: Alberta Rose Historical Society / Friesen Printers, 1982), pp. 64-65.
4. *Theodore Nemirsky's Journal* (Edmonton: manuscript, 1965), p.129. From the Sophia Kyforuk and Octavia Hall.Private Archival Collection.
5. A. Gregorovich, *Chronology of Ukrainian Canadian History* (Toronto: Ukrainian Canadian Committee, 1974), p.12.
6. *Theodore Nemirsky's Journal*, p.129.
7. M.H. Marunchak, *The Ukrainian Canadians: A History* (Winnipeg / Ottawa: Ukrainian Academy of Arts and Sciences [UVAN] in Canada, 1982), pp. 23-24.
8. Paish made an application for a homestead on August 29, 1892, and Tychkowsky made one on August 5, 1892. (See Figure 3.) Both cancelled their applications in 1894 and made new ones for homesteads in the Edna-Star area. (See figure 6.) V.J. Kaye, editor and compiler, *Dictionary of Ukrainian Canadian Biography of*

Pioneer Settlers of Alberta, 1891-1900 (Ukrainian Pioneers' Association of Alberta / Friesen, 1984), pp. 204 and 288.

9. W.A. Czumer, *Recollections About the Life of the First Ukrainian Settlers in Canada*, translation into English by L.T. Laychuk (Edmonton: Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies, 1981), p.26.
10. V.J. Kaye, *Early Ukrainian Settlements in Canada, 1895-1900* (Toronto: The Ukrainian Canadian Research Foundation / University of Toronto Press, 1964), p.346.
11. *Ibid.*, p.318.
12. *Ibid.*, p.357. Cyril (Kyrylo) Genik led one of the groups of Ukrainian emigrants to Canada that was organized by Oleskow. Cyril spoke English, hence was appointed in 1896 by the Canadian government to be an interpreter in the Winnipeg Immigration Office. In later years he also played a leadership role in religious and other affairs of the Ukrainian Canadian community.
13. *Ibid.*, pp. 350-352.
14. *Ibid.*, p.354.
15. *Ibid.*, p.354.
16. *Ibid.*, p.347.
17. Religious matters as they pertained to the lives of the early Ukrainian settlers are discussed briefly in a later chapter.
18. Marunchak, pp. 102, 162, 163.

Chapter 8: Notes

1. M.H. Marunchak, *The Ukrainian Canadians: A History* (Winnipeg / Ottawa: Ukrainian Academy of Arts and Sciences [UVAN] in Canada, 1982), p.35.
2. S. Urchak, "Memories of Wasyl Eleniak," in Ukrainian Pioneers' Association of Alberta, editorial committee, *Ukrainians in Alberta*, Vol. 2 (Winnipeg: Trident Press,1981), p.62.
3. S.P. Eleniak, ed., *Eleniak History and Family Tree* (Edmonton: Eleniak Heritage Society, 1991), p.124.
4. V.J. Kaye, editor and compiler, *Dictionary of Ukrainian Canadian Biography of Pioneer Settlers of Alberta, 1891-1900* (Ukrainian Pioneers' Association of Alberta / Friesen, 1984), pp. 72-73.
5. V.J. Kaye, editor and compiler, *Dictionary of Ukrainian Canadian Biography: Pioneer Settlers in Manitoba, 1891-1900.* Reprinted in Ukrainian Pioneers' Association of Alberta, editorial committee, *Ukrainians in Alberta*, Vol. 2 (Winnipeg: Trident Press,1981), p.64.
6. Rudnyckyj's manuscript on his interview of Wasyl Eleniak, p.4.

   In another place he states the following: "We [Eleniak and Pylypow, or Eleniak and someone else?] were given a free ticket to look for land anywhere. A train used to leave Winnipeg once a week...[and] would go on towards Assiniboia. This we would catch and look around and that is how we met Kotsur...We returned to Winnipeg and then to Gretna without getting any land." (*Ibid.*,p.15)

This meeting between Wasyl Eleniak and Kotsur has already been mentioned in Chapter 1. The quote referred to in Chapter 8 and the above quotation from Rudnyckyj's transcript imply that the meeting with Kotsur happened during a homestead-seeking trip that Eleniak made during the period 1894-98 when he was working for the Mennonite farmers in Gretna, Manitoba. If this is the case then Kotsur did not come to Canada before Eleniak did, since presumably he had been in Canada only two or three years before the two of them met. However, if the meeting with Kotsur occurred while Eleniak and Pylypow were being shown land in the Langenburg area in 1891 then Kotsur would have come to Canada before they did.

It is unfortunate that Eleniak was not explicit enough on this matter during his interview with Rudnyckyj; that is, who went, in which year, whom did they meet during each trip, etc. He seems to be confusing trips he made to eastern Saskatchewan that were taken years apart. There is a supporting argument (albeit indirect) for the Eleniak-Kotsur meeting taking place in 1891 — the ethnic German settlers (with whom Kotsur came) began to emigrate to Canada quite a few years before the Ukrainians did.

7. I. Bobersky, "Pryikhav v rotsi 1891" ["He Came in the Year 1891"], *Kalendar kanadiiskykh ukraintsiw— "Providnyk"* [Calendar of Ukrainian Canadians — The Leader] (Winnipeg: St. Raphael's Ukrainian Immigrants' Welfare Association, 1933), No.7, p.33.
8. [Basilian Fathers], "Zhyttievyi shliakh Vasylia Ielyniaka" ["Path of Life of Wasyl Eleniak"], *Ukrainskii visti* [Ukrainian News], 6 February 1956.
9. Marunchak describes the land division as follows:

> The whole country was divided into townships of 36 square mile areas. The townships were subdivided into sections and those in turn were parcelled into quarters. Each quarter was half a mile long and the same in width. These quarters of 160 acres each, were the apportioned homesteads for each settler. Usually the even numbered sections belonged to the government and the odd numbered ones were at the disposition of the railway companies...In addition to the above arrangement every 8th and 26th section belonged to the Hudson Bay Co. and every 11th and 29th was reserved for the schools. From this allocation plan it will be seen that every township of land could accommodate 65 [68? — M.N.] farmers. *The Ukrainian Canadians*, pp. 82-83.

10. Figure 4 and 6 were patterned by the author on the one included in S. Hrynew, ed., *Pride in Progress: Chipman, St. Michael, Star and Districts* (Chipman: Alberta Rose Historical Society / Friesen Printers, 1982), p.105. Information for constructing the maps was obtained from pp. 15-29, including the spelling of the names of some of the pioneers.
11. Rudnyckyj's manuscript on his interview of Wasyl Eleniak, pp. 4 and 8.
12. Urchak, p.63.
13. *Ibid.*, p.63.
14. Rudnyckyj's manuscript on his interview of Wasyl Eleniak, p.12.
15. Bobersky, "He Came in the Year 1891," p.33.
16. The information for this Family Tree is taken from Eleniak, *Eleniak History and Family Tree*, pp. 1-37.

17. Information on the history of Wasyl and Anna Eleniak and their progeny was obtained from the following sources: several of their grandchildren; Kaye, *Dictionary of Ukrainian Canadian Biography*, pp. 73-75; documents from the archival materials of V.J. Kaye in the National Archives of Canada, National Ethnic Archives, Manuscript Division, Ottawa. MG 31, D69, Finding Aid No. 1409 (Prepared by Dr. Kaye in 1976, and revised by Vera Yuzyk and Myron Momryk in 1982.), Volume 32, File 1, "Biography of Wasyl Elyniak, 1859-1956," and Volume 33, File 11, "Wasyl Elyniak."
18. The references used for this brief biographical sketch of Mary (Eleniak) Starko and her family are as follows: Kaye, *Dictionary of Ukrainian Canadian Biography*, pp. 275 - 276; Hrynew, *Pride in Progress*, pp. 725 - 728; Nay's interview of Mike A. Starko, a grandson of Wasyl Eleniak, on February 26, 1996.
19. The references used for this brief biographical sketch of Fred Eleniak and his family are as follows: Hrynew, *Pride in Progress*, pp. 323-24; the discussions the author had with William Val Eleniak and Mildred Lemiski.
20. O.T. Martynowych, *Ukrainians in Canada: The Formative Period, 1891-1924* (Edmonton: Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies Press / University of Alberta, 1991), p.284; Hrynew, *Pride in Progress*, pp. 70-78, which includes a photograph of the interior of the co-operative store showing Fred Eleniak.
21. The information for this brief family history is based on a tape of an interview of Peter J. Pasemko conducted by Marshall Nay in Edmonton, Alberta, on August 7, 1996, and a brief written family history by Paul Pasemko dated March 18, 1996. Both are grandsons of Wasyl Eleniak.
22. The information for this brief family history of John Eleniak and his family is based on the following sources: Hrynew, *Pride in Progress*, pp. 322-323; a family history written by Irene (nee Eleniak) Snatynchuk that was obtained in August, 1996, and in discussions that the author had with her.
23. The references used for this brief biographical sketch of Peter Eleniak and his family are as follows: L. Semeniuk, ed., *The Journey Continues: The Tkachuk Story* (Altona, Manitoba: Friesens Corporation, 1995), Chapter 5; the discussions the author had with Stephania Van Londerzele, a granddaughter of Wasyl Eleniak.
24. Eleniak, *Eleniak History and Family Tree*, p.a26.
25. *Ibid.*, 82.
26. Bobersky, p.33.
27. Urchak, p.63.
28. Interview of Wasyl (William Val) Eleniak by Ulana Plawuszczak, in July, 1982. This was done as part of a project by the Ukrainian Canadian Students' Union, #49. A copy of the tape is located in the National Archives of Canada under the reference name of Multicultural Media Skills Development Project. Accession #: CAVA: 1989-0487. Source and ISN: 142337.
29. Manuscript of a speech that William Val Eleniak had prepared on his grandfather Wasyl Eleniak.
30. Bobersky, pp. 33-34.

31. Rudnyckyj's transcript of his interview of Wasyl Eleniak, p.9.
32. Hrynew, *Pride in Progress*, pp. 147-148.
33. J.M. Lazarenko, editor-in-chief, *Ukrainian Pioneers in Alberta, Canada* (Edmonton: Editorial Committee, Ukrainian Pioneers Association in Edmonton / Alberta Publishing Company, 1970), p.39.
34. Interview of Wasyl (William Val) Eleniak by Ulana Plawuszczak.
35. Speech given on June 30, 1991, by Irene Snatynchuk about her grandfather Wasyl Eleniak at an informal gathering during the conference on the "Centenary of Ukrainian Immigration to Canada," convened in Winnipeg, Manitoba, by the Catholic Heirarchy of Canada on June 29 - July 1, 1991.

Chapter 9: Notes

1. H. Piniuta, *Land of Pain, Land of Promise* (Saskatoon: Western Producer Prairie Books, 1978), p.35.

   There seem to be some discrepancies and omissions here. It seems that Pylypow went alone to Edmonton (right after getting his family settled in Winnipeg) to file a claim on May 23, 1893, for a homestead in the Bruderheim (Scotford) area. He then returned to Winnipeg, and from there went to work both at Gretna, Manitoba, and in North Dakota. See V.J. Kaye, editor and compiler, *Dictionary of Ukrainian Canadian Biography of Pioneer Settlers of Alberta, 1891-1900* (Ukrainian Pioneers' Association of Alberta, 1984), p.229.
2. Solomon's interview with William Pylypow.
3. This version of the move from the Immigration Hall to the homestead came from William Pylypow when he was interviewed by Solomon. There is a contradiction here. If Ivan brought oxen and a wagon from Winnipeg, he should not have required his countryman's help with transportation to the homestead. On the other hand, there might have been too big a load for Ivan to haul alone; and furthermore, Tychkowsky knew the route to Scotford and could guide the Pylypow family there.
4. G. Solomon, "Reminiscences From 75 Years of Life in Canada," *The Ukrainian Canadian*, 15 September 1966, p.4.
5. Kaye, *Dictionary of Ukrainian Canadian Biography*, p.229.
6. D. Lupul, *The Pylypow House Research Binders* of the Ukrainian Cultural Heritage Village Research Programme (Edmonton: Historic Sites Service Branch, Department of Alberta Community Development, Government of Alberta).
7. *Ibid.*
8. R. Bilash, *Ukrainian Cultural Heritage Village Guide* (Edmonton: Historic Sites Service Branch, Department of Alberta Community Development, Government of Alberta, 1995), p.13.
9. V.J. Kaye, *Early Ukrainian Settlements in Canada, 1895-1900* (Toronto: The Ukrainian Canadian Research Foundation / University of Toronto Press, 1964), p.350.

   The phrase "...has clear deed of his farm unencumbered..." presumably means that Ivan Pylypow did not have any liens (e.g., as a result of having received

"relief" from the government) against his homestead. Ivan did not get the title to his land until August of 1899.

10. *Ibid.*, p.356.

Critics claimed that personnel of the Immigration Department gave inflated assessments of settlers' property to bolster their argument against giving "relief" to destitute Ukrainian settlers. They had a dispute on the matter with the North-West Mounted Police who were in favour of giving financial assistance to such settlers. Lesoway cites the values given to holdings in the governmental homestead records for the year in which each settler applied for a patent (title) for the homestead. For Ivan the following values are given, presumably for 1899:

house 24'X15' [it was actually smaller]	$ 30.00
4 stables and a granary (designation is confusing in the report)	160.00
2 wells	100.00
fence (1 1/2 miles)	100.00
4 horses	
14 cows	
12 pigs	
1 sheep	
80 acres of cleared land	

M. Lesoway, *The Pylypow House: A Materials History*. Report in *The Pylypow House Research Binders* of the Ukrainian Cultural Heritage Village Research Programme (Edmonton: Historic Sites Service Branch, Department of Alberta Community Development, Government of Alberta, November, 1983).

It is not clear whether a government assessor was sent out to assess the settlers' property (since granting a patent required a specified minimum amount of improvement), or if the settlers provided the information themselves. Lesoway implies the latter when she states that "...[i]t is possible that settlers undervalued their holdings when applying for patent to their lands, but if this was so, their motivations remain obscure."

One wonders if the settlers factored in their "free" labour when assessing the value of buildings (including the "free" labour in preparing the "free" logs). Apart from the value of the house, which Speers assesses at $100, his other values are not discrepant from those given in the table above. He shows "stables and outbuildings $150" compared with $160 for "4 stables and a granary" in the table above. It is ironic (but perhaps logical if the labour is not factored in) that in the above table the average value of a yard building is about the same as that of the house. It should also be noted that the two wells are assessed at $100 in both reports, that there is no discrepancy in the amount of land cleared, and that the number of livestock is in good agreement.

The fact that there is considerable agreement in the assessment of the property of settlers in the two reports discussed above, belies the critics who attributed inflated assessments of settlers' property by Immigration Department personnel. Many Ukrainian settlers were in desperate need of genuine relief, but they were not

the Pylypows, Pullishies, Melnyks and other early settlers in the Edna-Star district. Unfortunately, when the federal government finally consented to give relief it did so in the form of a paltry loan that had to be repaid.

11. All details in this paragraph were obtained from *The Pylypow House Research Binders* including Lesoway's report, *The Pylypow House: A Materials History*. Wasyl Eleniak stated that a man by the name of (Michael) Bryks was also involved in this mercantile venture (which apparently was a branch of the Russian Mercantile Company). [Basilian Fathers], "Zhyttievyi shliakh Vasylia Ielyniaka" ["Path of Life of Wasyl Eleniak"], *Ukrainskii visti* [Ukrainian News], 6 February 1956.
12. M. Lesoway, *The Pylypow House: A Narrative History*. Report in *The Pylypow House Research Binders* of the Ukrainian Cultural Heritage Village Research Programme (Edmonton: Historic Sites Service Branch, Department of Alberta Community Development, Government of Alberta, November, 1982), p.55.
13. In the same report that the net worth of Pylypow was reported, Speers included a signed affidavit from N.B. Peck, Manager of the Massey-Harris Company (presumably in Edmonton) which has the following statement: "I find the Galicians good men and honest, meeting their notes before they mature...I sold them a steam thresher for over $2000.00. It went to the large colony 50 miles East of here..." Kaye, *Early Ukrainian Settlements*, p.354. This is confirmed by an item in the *Edmonton Journal* 3 July 1899, to the effect that Ivan Pylypow and some of his neighbours bought a thresher.
14. Synopsis of the interview of Nicholas Phillips, *The Pylypow House Research Binders*.
15. Lesoway, *A Narrative History*, p.139.
16. W.A. Czumer, *Recollections About the Life of the First Ukrainian Settlers in Canada*, translation by L.T. Laychuk (Edmonton: Canadian Institute of Canadian Studies, 1981), p.18.
17. J. MacGregor, *Vilni Zemli (Free Lands). The Ukrainian Settlement of Alberta* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart Limited, 1969), p.97.
18. Synopsis of the interview of Nicholas Phillips, *The Pylypow House Research Binders*.
19. *Ibid.*
20. O.T. Martynowych, *The Ukrainian Bloc Settlement in East Central Alberta, 1890-1930: A History*. Historic Sites Service, Occasional Paper No.10, March, 1985 (Edmonton: Alberta Culture and Multiculturalism, 1990), pp. 280-81.
21. Lesoway, *A Narrative History*, p.139.
22. Czumer, (Laychuk's translation), p.17.
23. Solomon's interview of William Pylypow.
24. Czumer, (Laychuk's translation), p.17.
25. Information for the Pylypow family was obtained from the following sources: Henry Pylypow and Marge Loveseth who are grandchildren of Ivan and Maria Pylypow; Margaret Laslop who is a great granddaughter; *The Pylypow House Research Binders*; documents from the archival materials of Vladimir J. Kaye

(Kysilewsky) in the National Archives of Canada, National Ethnic Archives, Manuscript Division, Ottawa. (Prepared by Dr. Kaye in 1976, and revised by Vera Yuzyk and Myron Momryk in 1982.) MG 31, D69, Finding Aid No. 1409, Volume 33, File 46, "Pylypow, Ivan and Maria."

26. Solomon's interview of William Pylypow.
27. S. Hrynew, ed., *Pride in Progress: Chipman, St. Michael, Star and Districts* (Chipman: Alberta Rose Historical Society / Friesen Printers, 1982), pp. 58-59.
28. Lesoway, *A Narrative History*, p.136.
29. G. Solomon, "William Pylypiw Recalls Those First Years," *The Ukrainian Canadian*, May 1971 / "Festival 80" Edition, p.66.

    William's claim that two of his brothers served in World War I poses the question, "Which ones?" Nicholas (Phillips) served, but he himself never mentioned in his interviews that he had a brother in the armed services. George might have been in the services for awhile, before he left home permanently in 1918. Brother Michael was 18 years old when the war broke out but, if he suffered from mental illness from an early age, it is unlikely that he was in the armed forces.
30. Solomon's interview of William Pylypow.

    In the author's opinion, the accusation that William Pylypow was a "Bolshevik" is unfounded. He never was a member of any left-wing Ukrainian Canadian organization. At most he was a "sympathizer" of these organizations. During the decades of Soviet power there were many such sympathizers in Canada because they, like the left-wing Ukrainian Canadian organizations, believed that Soviet power would alleviate the plight of the peasantry by modernizing the backward republics within its borders. This belief was bolstered by the victory of the Red Army over the Nazis who invaded the USSR in World War II. Many of these sympathizers were religious, and those of Russian Orthodox persuasion would have had a greater tendency to support the Soviet system because of their pro-Russianism.

    In a minor way, Wasyl Eleniak and Ivan Pylypow became an "issue" in the political-ideological debates between the left-wing and anti-communist (nationalist) Ukrainian Canadian organizations. The former organizations tended to claim in their publications that Pylypow was the first Ukrainian immigrant to come to Canada, while the the latter organizations tended to make a similar claim for Eleniak. Of course, the reality is that both came together to Canada in 1891. (We will never know which one was the first to step off the boat onto Canadian soil!)

    Undoubtedly, William Pylypow enjoyed and appreciated the attention that his father and he were getting from the left-wing Ukrainian Canadian organizations. However, it should be borne in mind that both William and his father were religious. They were also supporters of the Liberal Party thoughout their entire lives—a party that can hardly be labelled as being left-wing.
31. *The Pylypow House Research Binders.*
32. *Dictionary of Ukrainian Canadian Biography*, p.230.

In his interviews with Lesoway *et al*, Nicholas never mentioned being married in Great Britain during World War I or having a son. The author asked several of Ivan's grandchildren about this matter. Their version is that Nicholas had a girl friend in Britain with whom he may have fathered a son.

33. Ukrainian Pioneers' Association of Alberta, editorial committee, "Nicholas Pylypow," *Ukrainians in Alberta*, Vol. 2 (Winnipeg: Trident Press, 1981), pp. 204-205.

34. Synopsis of the interviews with Nicholas Phillips, *The Pylypow House Research Binders*.

Nicholas had a long and close friendship with Roman Kremar. Kremar was a somewhat colorful and ambitious character in the Ukrainian Canadian community in the earlier decades of this century. However, he also shifted his political and religious affiliations over the years, but promoted various Ukrainian ethnic causes energetically all of his life in Canada.

He was born in the Old Country and his real name was Michael Solodukha. He was well-educated, having attended law school in Lviv. Apparently some of the activities in his legal practice, in which he became engaged as a result of concessions won by the peasants in Galicia through strike action in 1902, were not to the liking of the Polish overlords. In addition, the authorities suspected that Kremar was involved in the left-wing Social Democratic Party. Fearing arrest, he took the name of Roman Kremar and fled the country.

Kremar came to Edmonton about 1910, and soon was deeply involved in the activities of the Ukrainian social democratic (socialist) movement. For a time he was the national secretary of the Federation of Ukrainian Social Democrats in Canada. In 1911 he helped to initiate and publish an oppositional Ukrainian socialist newspaper within the party called *Nova hromada* [The New Community]. He also was its first editor. Subsequently, his factional activities involved him in the formation of the competing Federation of Ukrainian Socialists. It was during this period that Kremar was involved in collecting funds for the release of Sichynsky from prison in Galicia.

By 1913 Kremar became disillusioned with socialism and began to publish the Catholic newspaper *Novyny* [News] in Edmonton. In the subsequent decades he was involved in various ventures, but was always a newspaper man at heart. Hence he worked for several other newspapers. In 1915 he ran a close second to Andrew S. Shandro as an independent Liberal candidate in a provincial by-election in the Whitford constituency. Kremar died on January 13, 1953, and was buried with a Ukrainian Catholic priest officiating. It is said that Nicholas Pylypow was in charge of the funeral arrangements.

See the following references for further detail on Roman Kremar: Ukrainian Pioneers' Association of Alberta, editorial committee, "Roman Kremar," *Ukrainians in Alberta*, Vol. 2 (Winnipeg: Trident Press,1981), pp. 166-171; P. Krawchuk, *Our History: The Ukrainian Labour-Farmer Movement in Canada, 1907-1991* (Toronto: Lugus Publications, 1996), pp. 10-15; H. Potrebenko, *No*

Streets of Gold: A Social History of Ukrainians in Alberta (Vancouver: New Star Books, 1977), pp. 84-87.

35. Information on the number of descendants in the Pylypow family was obtained from the following sources: Marge Loveseth who is a grandchild of Ivan and Maria Pylypow; Margaret Laslop who is a great granddaughter; *The Pylypow House Research Binders.*
36. M.H. Marunchak, *The Ukrainian Canadians: A History* (Winnipeg / Ottawa: Ukrainian Academy of Arts and Science [UVAN] in Canada, 1982), p.236; Ol'ha Woycenko, *Canada Ethnica IV: The Ukrainians in Canada* (Second revised edition) (Winnipeg: Trident Press Ltd., 1968), p.52.
37. J.G. MacGregor, *Vilni Zemli (Free Lands). The Ukrainian Settlement of Alberta* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart Limited, 1969), p.10.
38. Lesoway, *A Narrative History*, p.125.
39. *Ibid.*, pp. 124-125.
40. Lesoway, *A Materials History*, pp. 342, 376.
41. *Ibid.*, p.376.
42. *Ibid.*, p.376.
43. *Ibid.*, p.342.
44. H. Pylypow, "My Grandfather: John Pylypow," *The Ukrainian Canadian*, July/August 1981, p.39.
45. Lesoway, *A Materials History*, pp. 125-126.
46. Solomon's interview of William Pylypow.
47. William also told Solomon another story about his father's generosity:

    ...When Bill Olinyk asked for seed oats, my father gave him three bags (about 100 pounds in each). Olinyk asked, "What if the oats does not yield?" My father said, "Whatever yield you get, that is what you can give back." Later, when Olinyk returned the oats, it was frozen, so my father gave him bags of seed oats for the folowing year.

48. Synopsis of the interviews of Nicholas Phillips, *The Pylypow House Research Binders.*
49. Lesoway, *A Materials History*, pp. 44, 46, 124; *The Pylypow House Research Binders.*
50. Lesoway, *A Narrative History*, pp. 132-136; *The Pylypow House Research Binders.*
51. Lesoway, *A Narrative History*, pp. 130, 163, 164; *The Pylypow House Research Binders.*
52. *Vilni Zemli (Free Lands)*, p.98.
53. Czumer, (Laychuk's translation), p.18.
54. Solomon's interview of William Pylypow.
55. Marunchak, p.170.
56. A.B. Woywitka, "Recollections of a Union Man," *Alberta History*, Autumn 1975, Vol. 23, No.4, p.10.
57. The Uniate (Greek Catholic) Church in Galicia condemned the assassination. Its Metropolitan Sheptytsky described the assassination of Potocki as an "abominable crime" and an example of "godless politics". See Martynowych, *The Ukrainian Bloc Settlement*, p.52. On the other hand, as was noted above, the

Ukrainian social democratic (socialist) parties in Canada were active in seeking Sichynsky's release and promoting him as an ethnic hero. Another example of this is that in 1910 "...the Federation of Ukrainian Social Democrats in Edmonton created a Society for the Liberation of Myroslav Sichynsky..." O.T. Martynowych, *Ukrainians in Canada: The Formative Period, 1891-1924* (Edmonton: Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies Press / University of Alberta, 1991), p.257.

58. Solomon's interview of William Pylypow.

    Myroslav Sichynsky eventually escaped from jail in 1911, with the help of two prison guards. The former gradually made his way as a fugitive to the USA, while the guards apparently emigrated to Canada.

    An activist in the Ukrainian social democratic movement in Edmonton by the name of Toma Tomashevsky published a Ukrainian pamphlet about Myroslav Sichynsky on the fiftieth anniversary of his assassination of Count Potocki, under the title *Na Vidyznachennia 50-richchia chyny M. Sichynskoho, 1908-1958*. This pamphlet was translated by Octavia Hall under the following title: Tom Tomashevsky, *On marking the 50-anniversary of M. Sechinsky's act, 1908-1958*. From the Sophia Kyforuk and Octavia Hall Private Archival Collection.

59. "Roman Kremar," p.167.

60. Lesoway, *A Narrative History*, pp. 126-128; Lesoway, *A Materials History*, pp. 23-24, 276, 416-417.

    Lesoway indicates two sources of hired labour:

    > In the 1920s, Ivan Pylypow took advantage of the renewed immigration from Ukraine and East Europe to supply himself with cheap labor. Some of those who worked for him were "sponsored" - Pylypow paid their ship's passage with the understanding that they would repay him with labor.... Some were newly-arrived immigrants who needed to earn enough to buy land of their own. It seems that some remained in Pylypow's employ for considerable periods, but that disputes over wages often occurred. *A Materials History*, pp. 23-24.

61. *The Pylypow House Research Binders*.

62. Czumer, (Laychuk's translation), pp. 17-18.

63. Synopsis of the interviews of Dan Pylypow, *The Pylypow House Research Binders*.

Chapter 10: Notes

1. P. Yuzyk, "Religious Life," in M.R. Lupul, ed., *A Heritage in Transition: Essays in the History of Ukrainians in Canada* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart Limited, 1982), p.143.
2. *Ibid.*, p.144.
3. O.T. Martynowych, *The Ukrainian Bloc Settlement in East Central Alberta, 1890-1930: A History*. Historic Sites Service, Occasional Paper No.10, March 1985 (Edmonton: Alberta Culture and Multiculturalism, 1990), p.10.
4. *Ibid.*, p.10.
5. M. Lesoway, *The Pylypow House: A Narrative History*. Report in *The Pylypow House Research Binders* of the Ukrainian Cultural Heritage Village Research

Programme (Edmonton: Historic Sites Service Branch, Department of Alberta Community Development, Government of Alberta, November, 1982), p.203.

6. *Ibid.*, p.219.
7. *The Ukrainian Bloc Settlement*, p.172.
8. Some information on the first church to be built in Star is given in S. Hrynew, ed., *Pride in Progress: Chipman, St. Michael, Star and Districts* (Chipman: Alberta Rose Historical Society / Altona: Friesen Printers, 1982), pp. 152-153 and 165-166.
9. It appears that the settlers in Star initiated action to build a church independently of Father Dmytriw. Judge Idington of the Supreme Court of Canada, in his decision on the ownership of the Star church, had the following to say on the matter: "Father Dymytrow did not build, or initiate then the building of, the church in question. He said they were too poor to build then. Notwithstanding that, within two or three months afterwards, they followed out what they had previously projected, and still desired, in regard to building this church. They met on more than one occasion to settle this matter of church building and the site thereof." *Report on The Case of Zacklynski vs. Polushie, 1908 Appeal Cases* (Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, London), p.27. The author used the copy located in the Alberta Provincial Archives in Edmonton which has the following citation: James Grierson MacGregor Archives, Acc. No. 79.269, Box 8, File 114.
10. J.G. MacGregor, *Vilni Zemli (Free Lands). The Ukrainian Settlement of Alberta* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart Limited, 1969), p.173. This quote was taken from *Theodore Nemirsky's Journal* (Edmonton: manuscript, 1965). From the Sophia Kyforuk and Octavia Hall Private Archival Collection.

    As was mentioned in the notes for Chapter 6, this journal was translated from Old Cyrillic into modern phonetic Ukrainian by Sophia Kyforuk of Edmonton, Alberta, and was then translated into English in 1965 by her daughter Octavia Hall of Galveston, Texas. MacGregor used Hall's English translation extensively in writing *Vilni Zemli (Free Lands)* without acknowledging her or S. Kyforuk. When this omission was mentioned to MacGregor by Hall, he made an appropriate acknowledgement in the *Alberta Historical Review*, Summer, 1970, p.30.
11. *Vilni Zemli (Free Lands)*, p.177.
12. [Basilian Fathers], "Zhyttievyi shliakh Vasylia Ielyniaka" ["Path of Life of Wasyl Eleniak"], *Ukrainskii visti* [Ukrainian News], 6 February 1956.
13. J. Skwarok, *The Ukrainian Settlers in Canada and Their Schools* (Toronto: Basilian Press, 1959), pp. 24-25.
14. O.T. Martynowych, *Ukrainians in Canada: The Formative Period, 1891-1924* (Edmonton: Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies Press / University of Alberta, 1991), p.194.
15. Ivan Pylypow testified as follows on the matter at the trial:

    > At this time the entry for the [church] land had been made in the name of the French Bishop, and all of us people did not like this and all wanted to get the land for the congregation in the name of the trustees...so it would not be in the name of the Bishop, French. Father Tymkiewicz said the same thing and he helped us get [it] in our names...I was in the land office when the entry was

made in our name. We three old trustees [referring to the first elected trustees who were replaced later by Father Zaklynski when disagreements arose — M.N.], Father Tymkiewicz and an interpreter were there. The assistant Bishop [Grandin] was there, too. He agreed to the change being made; we made him agree. Polushie had a certificate of title after it was obtained... *Trial Record of the Appeal Case of Zacklynski vs. Polushie in the Supreme Court of the North-West Territories, Northern Alberta Judicial District* (Edmonton: Bulletin Company Limited Printers, 1904), pp. 223-224.

16. *Zacklynski vs. Polushie, 1908 Appeal Cases* (Privy Council), p.11.
17. *Ibid.*, pp. 28 and 44.
18. N. Flak, "The Oldest Ukrainian Settlement in Canada," in J.M. Lazarenko, editor-in-chief, *Ukrainian Pioneers in Alberta, Canada* (Edmonton: Editorial Committee, Ukrainian Pioneers Association in Edmonton / Alberta Publishing Company, 1970), p.18.
19. The keys and the money collected for the Star church were first held by the original board of trustees which included Pylypow. As the animosity between the two factions deepened, Father Zaklynski set up a new committee of trustees to which the church keys were entrusted. However, soon the group which was drifting towards orthodoxy regained the keys and had them for the opening of the church for the Easter gathering. Father Zaklynski sued the person holding the keys for not allowing him into the church. The trial was held in Star before Judge Holmes.
20. *Zacklynski vs. Polushie, 1908 Appeal Cases* (Privy Council), p.37.
21. *Trial Records of the Appeal Case*, p.1.
22. *Zacklynski vs. Polushie, 1908 Appeal Cases* (Privy Council), p.1.
23. *Trial Records of the Appeal Case*, p.244.
24. In the "Judgment of Privy Council" the following acknowledgement is made of the contribution of these three original trustees:

    In 1896 there were about thirty Galician families in the neighbourhood of Star, P.O., scattered about in the surrounding country. Then some of the leading men among them resolved to take steps with a view of providing a place for religious worship and securing the services of a priest. Prominent among the leaders of the movement were the respondents [defendants Pylypow, Polushie and M. Melnyk — M.N.] and two or three others...The trial judge [Scott] records an admission by the learned counsel for the plaintiffs [Father Zaklynski, Pavlo Pasemko and Petro Melnyk — M.N.] to the effect that the three respondents were "among the most active members and liberal supporters of the church...[and] were amongst the first active workers in the congregation." *Zacklynski vs. Polushie, 1908 Appeal Cases* (Privy Council), p.40.

25. MacGregor claims that the total legal costs were at least $100,000, while the church may have been worth $1500. *Vilni Zemli (Free Lands)*, p.199.
26. *Ibid.*, p.199.
27. The "ambiguity" in this name, given to the Star church when the orthodox faction got permanent control of it as a result of the decision of the Privy Council, reflects the seemingly contradictory manner in which some of the witnesses at the Edmonton trial labelled their religious beliefs. For example, several of them stated that their church in Galicia was called *Ruska* (Russian) and the priest used the term "*pravoslavna*" (orthodox), and some used the term "Greek Catholic Orthodox Church." Even Reverend Korchinsky, who served in the Russian

Orthodox church in Wostok, claimed he was ordained as a priest of the "Orthodox Russo-Greek Catholic Church." *Trial Record of the Appeal Case*, pp. 56 and 71.

It should be noted that the name "Russo-Greek Catholic Orthodox Church of Transfiguration" was on a sign by the gate when the author visited the church in 1992. In 1997 a new sign by the gate read "Russo-Greek Orthodox Church of Star Alberta. Dedicated to the Holy Transfiguration." However, there was a plaque on the grounds that still used the name "Russo-Greek *Catholic* Orthodox Church." [Emphasis added—MN].

28. A. Melnyk, "Orthodox Church of the Transfiguration, Star/Edna, Alberta," in Hrynew, *Pride in Progress*, pp. 165-166.

29. Witnesses at the trial for the control of the Star church made comments such as the following (all from the *Trial Record of the Appeal Case)*:

> In the old country we were Uniates, and when we came here from the old country we saw we could be Orthodox the way our forefathers were. p.175.
>
> We told [Reverend Korchinsky] that we were now in a free country, that we left the "Uniates" in the old country... p.106.
>
> ...we wanted to get away from the Polocks; because in the old country we were under the yoke of the Polocks and under the Pope of Rome. p.149.
>
> We had a row every little while because we were forced to pay taxes to the Pope. p.156.

30. *Vilni Zemli (Free Lands)*, pp. 180-181.

31. A number of questions could be asked about Pylypow's switch in religious allegiance: what motivated him to do it; how did the trials affect his economic standing and relationships in the community; did he believe that the strife over the Star church was justified and worthwhile; and so forth? Unfortunately we have no information whatsoever from Ivan Pylypow himself (even as a trial witness) or his son William to answer these questions adequately. Ivan's grandson Dan Pylypow did comment during an interview that his grandfather "...used the fact that his ancestors had been orthodox to justify his insistence that the Star church be orthodox..." Interview synopsis, *The Pylypow House Research Binders* of the Ukrainian Cultural Heritage Village Research Programme (Edmonton: Historic Sites Service Branch, Department of Alberta Community Development, Government of Alberta).

    It is also unfortunate that Theodore Nemirsky, who devoted a good portion of his biographical journal to religious matters, made no mention whatsoever of the conflict surrounding the Star church — a conflict that he undoubtedly was involved in (indirectly).

32. P. Krezanowski, "St. Mary's Ukrainian Catholic Church in Chipman, Alberta," in Hrynew, *Pride in Progress*, pp. 147-148.

33. *Ukrainian News*, 6 February 1956.

34. In an interview Wasyl Eleniak recollects the reunion thus:

> After seven years I met Pylypiwsky at Star. He told me that at first he had settled in Bruderheim, but after a year he had to move closer to Star, because the Germans took the whole colony for themselves...He farmed right from the start. At first he bought oxen, but because they were slow, he sold them and bought horses. During the day he farmed, and at night he would go to Edmonton

for immigrants for which he charged $15.00 per family. At home he sold bread, oats and wheat to the immigrants... *Ukrainian News*, 6 February 1956.

35. Rudnyckyj's manuscript on his interview of Wasyl Eleniak, pp.4-5.
36. *Ukrainian News*, 6 February 1956.
37. Eleniak claimed that there was a sequel to one of these meeting:

> Once in defence of my Catholic faith before Orthodoxy I was obliged to pay $4.40 court costs. It happened this way. I met one of my friends, P., who had lived with me in the same village in the Ukraine [which suggests that "P" was Ivan Pylypow — M.N.], and placing my hand on his shoulder in a friendly way said, "How are things P.? I would have risked my neck that you would have never gone over to Orthodoxy. Why we even built churches together..." ...The Orthodox advised him to lay charges against me, as if I had struck him, although I had only placed my hand on his shoulder in a friendly way. The matter went to court. Both of us spent the night at a friend's home in the town of Fort Saskatchewan. While staying in this man's home he advised us not to go to court but to settle the matter amicably for after all we both came from the same village in Ukraine. We both agreed, and I paid the policeman's costs which amounted to $4.40. J. Skwarok, "The Memoirs of Wasyl Eleniak," *Svitlo*, [Light], October 1959, p.504.

Chapter 11: Notes

1. W.A. Czumer, *Recollections About the Life of the First Ukrainian Settlers in Canada*, translation into English by L.T. Laychuk (Edmonton: Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies, 1981), p.12.
2. Quoted in V.J. Kaye and F. Swyripa, "Settlement and Colonization," in M.R. Lupul, ed., *A Heritage in Transition: Essays in the History of Ukrainians in Canada* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart Limited, 1982), p.55.
3. Wasyl Eleniak was unforgiving to the end and did not attend Ivan Pylypow's funeral. In one of his interviews he makes this comment:

> The Orthodox people from Chipman went to the funeral [of Ivan Pylypow]. Melnyk invited me to go with him to pay last respects to a "friend." I replied; "It is not along the way for me. You know why." He was buried on October 14, 1936. [Basilian Fathers], "Zhyttievyi shliakh Vasylia Ielyniaka" ["Path of Life of Wasyl Eleniak"], *Ukrainskii visti* [Ukrainian News], 6 February 1956.

4. F. Swyripa, *Ukrainian Canadians. A Survey of Their Portrayal in English-Language Works* (Edmonton: The University of Alberta Press, 1978), p.108-109.
5. W. Czumer, (Laychuk's translation), pp. 17-18.
6. S.P. Eleniak, ed., *Eleniak History and Family Tree* (Edmonton: Eleniak Heritage Society, 1991), p.82.
7. I. Isiaw, "Nad mohyloiu Vasylia Ielyniaka" [Over the Grave of Wasyl Eleniak]. *Ukrainski visti* [Ukrainian News], 23 January 1956.
8. Speech given on June 30, 1991, by Irene Snatynchuk about her grandfather Wasyl Eleniak at an informal gathering during the conference on the "Centenary of Ukrainian Immigration to Canada," convened in Winnipeg, Manitoba, by the Catholic Heirarchy of Canada on June 29 - July 1, 1991.
9. The following seems to be an illustrative case. In 1961 a Ukrainian house was erected in the public area at the lake in Elk Island National Park, which is about 50 kilometers east of Edmonton. It was "typical" of the kind found in Galicia in the late nineteenth century, and of the type that was transplanted to Canada by the

early Ukrainian settlers. Alongside of it a monument (marker) was put up. Both were erected by the efforts of the Ukrainian Pioneer Association of Alberta, and money was collected for the project. Wasyl Eleniak and Ivan Pylypow's sons William and Nicholas were among the contributors. J.M. Lazarenko, editor-in-chief, *Ukrainian Pioneers in Alberta, Canada* (Edmonton: Editorial Committee, Ukrainian Pioneers Association in Edmonton/Alberta Publishing Company, 1970), p.117.

The plaque on the monument reads "in honour of the Ukrainian pioneers of western Canada." It seems that originally there was a plan to include the names of Wasyl Eleniak and Ivan Pylypow in the dedication. However disagreement on the matter arose among the members of the sponsoring organization, so the names of our trailblazers were not included. When Ivan's son William was asked in his interview by Solomon about some of his "outstanding disappointments" in his life, he replied:

> "...Together with my brother, and other people, I was deeply hurt, when at Elk Island Park, at the unveiling of the plaque to our pioneers on the grounds of the Ukrainian home, no mention was made of my father. Discarding all facts, some individuals tried to create their own history. This type of narrow and prejudiced approach will get us nowhere, and future students of our history will frown and disapprove of such tactics. I might add that most people do not approve of such tactics of disunity today. G. Solomon, "William Pylypiw Recalls Those First Years", *The Ukrainian Canadian*, May 1971 / "Festval 80" Edition, p.67.

10. Rudnyckyj's manuscript on the interview of Wasyl Eleniak, p.8.
11. This photographic portrait of Wasyl Eleniak by Yousuf Karsh is widely known in the Ukrainian Canadian community. When Karsh retired, his immense collection of photographic negatives and prints were acquired by the National Archives of Canada, which is located in Ottawa. However, he kept some of the prints and engaged Comstock Photofile Ltd. of Toronto, Ontario, to sell them and negotiate copyright fees for the use of Karsh prints in publications and displays. Unfortunately, there were no prints left of the portrait of Wasyl Eleniak when the author tried to buy one from Comstock. However, Comstock gave the author permission to use an authentic Karsh print if he could find one. He was able to arrange the use of one owned by Karen Lemiski, a great granddaughter of Wasyl Eleniak, who now resides in Phoenix, Arizona. The copyright fee was covered by the grant received from the Alberta Ukrainian Heritage Foundation by the Brightest Pebble Publishing Company Limited.
12. The program for the "PYSANKIA FESTIVAL 91: Cultural Showcase and Pioneer Family Recognition" held in Vegreville on July 7, 1991, by the Vegreville Cultural Association.
13. The information about the unofficial 1966 commemorative stamps was obtained from William Val Eleniak, grandson of Wasyl and Anna Eleniak.

    Some restitution for the absence of an official stamp in 1966 was made to the Ukrainian Canadian community in 1991 when the Canada Post Corporation issued a set of four stamps, showing four paintings by William Kurelek. Undoubtedly Kurelek is one of the foremost Ukrainian Canadian (and indeed Canadian)

painters. However, in the author's opinion, the four miniatures of his paintings that were put on the stamps are not sufficiently reflective of the centenary of Ukrainian immigration or its significance. Indeed, the only inscription that there is on the stamp is "arrival of the Ukrainians" — hardly an indication that this was supposedly a *centennial* stamp!

14. Calgary and Edmonton Streetmap (Alberta Motor Association, 1996).
15. A map of the Capital Industrial Park is shown in *Saint John's Edmonton Report*, 6 December 1976.
16. Information was obtained through correspondence with the General Manager of Edmonton Planning and Development, and a telephone conversation with his Secretary of the Names Advisory Committee. The author asked them why there was no sign anywhere on the perimeter of the Pylypow Industrial Park to indicate its existance. He was told that it was not city policy to put up such a sign. On the matter of why there was a sign for the Capital Industrial Park, the response was that "[w]hile there are City bylaws which govern signs, private developers have the right to refer to their private developments as they wish."
17. *The Pylypow House Research Binders* of the Ukrainian Cultural Heritage Village Research Programme (Edmonton: Historic Sites Service Branch, Department of Alberta Community Development, Government of Alberta).

    The existence of the house (which Ivan Pylypow began to build in 1898) was a matter of "luck", for which credit is due to George Tichkowsky. When it was not occupied anymore by the Pylypows, it was acquired by George Tichkowsky, who used it as farm building for many years, but who fortunately did not demolish it. The Ukrainian Cultural Heritage Village Society found out about the house and bought it from George for $150. It was moved to the Village in 1972. The Pylypow House was restored at the Village, essentially to what it looked like in the 1920s.

    Radomir Bilash (who is an Immigration and Settlement Historian, Historic Sites and Archives Service, Alberta Community Development, Government of Alberta) stated to the author that the personnel of the Ukrainian Cultural Heritage Village made an exhaustive search for an original building from the homestead of Wasyl Eleniak so that it could be brought to the Village for public display. Unfortunately, none was ever found.
18. M. Lesoway, *The Pylypow House: A Narrative History*. Report in *The Pylypow House Research Binders* of the Ukrainian Cultural Heritage Village Research Programme (Edmonton: Historic Sites Service Branch, Department of Alberta Community Development, Government of Alberta, November, 1982), p. ix.
19. See Chapter 7 for the names of the members of the "Nebyliw group."
20. N. Hrynchyshyn, "Heritage Tour III to Ukraine Highlight of Centennial Summer," *The Ukrainian Canadian*, September 1991, pp. 14-15; Several articles and photographs in *Zhyttia i slovo* [Life and Word], 16 September 1991.

Appendix 1: Notes

1. M.H. Marunchak, *The Ukrainian Canadians: A History* (Winnipeg / Ottawa: Ukrainian Academy of Arts and Sciences (UVAN) in Canada, 1982), p. 537.
2. *Ibid.*, pp. 537-538.
3. *Ibid.*, p. 368.

Appendix 3: Notes

1. For a detailed account of Dr. Oleskow's role in Ukrainian emigration see the following references: V.J. Kaye, *Early Ukrainian Settlements in Canada, 1895 - 1900* (Toronto: The Ukrainian Canadian Research Foundation / University of Toronto Press, 1964); "Joseph Oleskiw: He Helped His Countrymen Choose Canada," *The Ukrainian Canadian*, January 1, 1967, p.18.

Appendix 4: Notes

1. Obtained from the Sophia Kyforuk and Octavia Hall Private Archival Collection.

Appendix 5: Notes

1. The information in this appendix was obtained from the following sources:

   Ottawa File No. 438627, Film 1604, Accession Number 74.48, Provincial Archives of Alberta, Edmonton.

   Ottawa File No. 438627, Film 2042, Accession Number 70.313, Provincial Archives of Alberta, Edmonton.

   Letter dated August 17, 1960, from C.B. Kenway, Registrarar, Department of Lands and Forests, Government of the Province of Alberta, to Roy A. Philion, of the law firm Liden, Murray, Acroyd & Bradley in Edmonton, Alberta.
2. Ottawa File No. 438627, Film 2042.
3. *Ibid.*
4. *Ibid.*
5. Letter from C.B. Kenway to Roy A. Philion

Appendix 6: Notes

1. Alberta Culture, *Ukrainian Cultural Heritage Village: Historical Development Proposal* (Edmonton: Alberta Culture, Government of Alberta, 1981), p.9.
2. Alberta Culture, *Ukrainian Cultural Heritage Village: Historical Development Proposal* (Edmonton: Alberta Culture, Government of Alberta, 1981), pp. 3 and 10.
3. Radomir Bilash, *Ukrainian Cultural Heritage Village Guide* (Edmonton: Historic Sites Service Branch, Department of Alberta Community Development, Government of Alberta, 1995), pp.4-6.

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Several articles on the unveiling of the monument in Nebyliw, Ukraine, dedicated to Ukrainian immigration to Canada, in *Zhyttia i slovo* [Life and Word], 16 September 1991.

4. Audio-visual Materials

Tape of an interview of Wasyl Eleniak by Roman Olynyk in 1955 for use in the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation / Radio-Canada International program entitled "First Settlers in Canada." Its listing in the Visual and Sound Archives Division, National Archives of Canada is as follows: Roman Olynyk, No. 1984-191.

Tape of interview of Wasyl (William Val) Eleniak by Ulana Plawuszczak, in July, 1982. This was done as part of a project by the Ukrainian Canadian Students' Union, #49. A copy of the tape is located in the National Archives of Canada under the reference name of Multicultural Media Skills Development Project. Accession #: CAVA: 1989-0487. Source and ISN: 142337.

Tape of an interview of Wasyl Eleniak in Ukrainian made by J.B. Rudnyckyj in Chipman, Alberta, on August 6 and 26, 1953. Its listing in the Visual and Sound

Archives Division, National Archives of Canada is as follows: J.B. Rudnyckyj, No. 1975-0022, Tapes PAC 871, track 2 to Pac 883 track 1. Rudnyckyj also provided a manuscript containing an English synopsis and an edited translation of the interview. This interview is also listed in Frances Swyripa, *Oral Sources for Researching Ukrainian Canadians* (Edmonton: Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies, 1978), p. 166.

Ottawa File No. 438627, Film 1604, Accession Number 74.48, Provincial Archives of Alberta, Edmonton.

Ottawa File No. 438627, Film 2042, Accession Number 70.313, Provincial Archives of Alberta, Edmonton.

Tape of an interview of Peter J. Pasemko, a grandson of Wasyl Eleniak, conducted by Marshall Nay in Edmonton, Alberta on August 7, 1996.

Tape of an extended interview of William Pylypow, the son of Ivan, conducted by George Solomon in Edmonton, Alberta in February, 1966. Currently, the tapes are in the possession of the author.

Janice Starko, writer, producer and director, "Harvest of Dreams." Janice Starko is a great grandchild of Wasyl and Anna Eleniak. She produced a videotape on the early history of the Edna-Star settlement. It includes excerpts of interviews of second and third generation descendants of pioneers of that area, including Mike A. Starko and William Val Eleniak (grandchildren of Wasyl and Anna Eleniak) and Dan and Henry Pylypow (grandchildren of Ivan and Maria Pylypow).

Tape of an interview of Mike A. Starko, a grandson of Wasyl Eleniak, conducted by Marshall Nay in Edmonton, Alberta on February 21, 1996.

5. Miscellaneous

Calgary and Edmonton Streetmap (Alberta Motor Association, 1996).

Steven P. Eleniak's materials received on loan consisting of printed materials, photographs and cassette tapes. In addition, the author had several discussions with Steven regarding matters pertaining to the content of this book.

William Val Eleniak gave the author a manuscript of a speech that he had prepared on his grandfather Wasyl Eleniak, and provided other useful information at an extended meeting with him on February 8, 1997 in Vegreville, Alberta.

Documents from the archival materials of Vladimir J. Kaye (Kysilewsky) in the National Archives of Canada, National Ethnic Archives, Manuscript Division, Ottawa. (Prepared by Dr. Kaye in 1976, and revised by Vera Yuzyk and Myron Momryk in 1982.) MG 31, D69, Finding Aid No. 1409:

Volume 32, File 1, "Biography of Wasyl Elyniak, 1859-1956."

Volume 33, File 11, "Wasyl Elyniak."

Volume 33, File 46, "Pylypow, Ivan and Maria."

Appendix "A", Index of Names to Sailing Lists Prepared by V.J. Kaye of Ukrainian Settlers Arriving in Canada at the Ports of Quebec and Halifax, 1891-1900.

Letter dated August 17, 1960, from C.B. Kenway, Registrarar, Department of Lands and Forests, Government of the Province of Alberta, to Roy A. Philion, of the law firm Liden, Murray, Acroyd & Bradley in Edmonton, Alberta.

Irene (née Eleniak) Snatynchuk's impressive collection on her grandfather Wasyl Eleniak was given on loan to the author. This contained printed materials, photographs and cassette tapes. In addition the author obtained information from her on her parents John and Anna Eleniak, both written and oral.

Numerous articles in newspapers and magazines on Wasyl Eleniak and Ivan Pylypow in both Ukrainian and English (in addition to those listed above under articles).

Index

Brief Life History of the Author

Marshall Alexander Nay is a native Albertan. Born in Mundare, he grew up and was educated in Hilliard, Alberta. He received his B.Sc., M.Sc., and Ph.D in chemistry, and B.Ed degrees from the University of Alberta. He taught science and mathematics at the junior and senior high school levels in several Alberta schools, and chemistry and physics at Mount Royal College in Calgary and the Lethbridge Junior College. He became a professor at the University of Alberta in 1960, where he taught and did research in the Department of Secondary Education and in the Department of Chemistry. He has published extensively during his tenure at the university, mainly in science education, and held positions on many committees at the university and in Alberta Education.

Marshall has always been keenly interested in his ethnic roots, and indeed spoke only Ukrainian until the age of four. Upon retirement in 1989, Marshall began to study the history of the Ukrainian Canadian community. The stimulus to write the biographies of Wasyl Eleniak and Ivan Pylypow came from the celebrations held in 1991 to mark the centennial of the Ukrainian presence in Canada. These two pioneers came to Canada in 1891. The year of their arrival is generally recognized as a "historical marker" for the settling of Ukrainians in western Canada.

Marshall and his wife Elizabeth live in Edmonton. They have three children.

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