

**THE UKRAINIAN
GREEK ORTHODOX CHURCH
IN CANADA**

by

Odarka S. Trosky

**IN GRATEFUL MEMORY OF
FATHER HERONIM D. HRYCYNA**

Acknowledgements

This book is extracted in large part from a thesis "A Historical Study of the Development of the Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church of Canada and its Role in the Field of Education (1918-1964)" presented to the Faculty of Graduate Studies, University of Manitoba in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree Master of Education. The writer acknowledges with deep thanks the assistance of several persons for their helpful remarks and suggestions regarding the thesis: Metropolitan Ilarion Ohienko, Fr. Dr. S. W. Sawchuk, Principal of St. Andrew's College, the late Fr. T. Kowalishen and Mr. J. Syrnick, editor of *Ukrainian Voice*. The writer is indebted to her father, the late Fr. H. D. Hrycyna, for his research and his reading of the manuscript. For encouragement to undertake the endeavour, the writer is grateful to Dr. Eleanor Boyce. To Dr. J. M. Brown, Dean of the Faculty of Education, she owes her deepest thanks for his help and guidance in bringing this work to fruition.

In order to bring this material up to date of publication, the writer gives thanks to Fr. F. Kernisky, Chairman of the Praesidium of the Consistory of the Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church of Canada, for his help and his many suggestions.

It is to her dear husband, Harold, that the writer is most grateful. Without his love, encouragement, and support, the production of the thesis and the book would not have been possible.

ODARKA S. TROSKY
January 1, 1968.

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PUBLISHED JUNE 1968

**PRINTED AND BOUND IN CANADA
BY BULMAN BROS. LIMITED
WINNIPEG**

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Foreword

It is most fitting that, on the threshold of Canada's second century and for the benefit of generations to come, there should be a record of the contributions made by the pioneer forefathers of various ethnic groups and their institutions to the development of Canada. The Ukrainian people, concentrated mainly in Western Canada where in some provinces they constitute the second language group after English, have made a particularly significant contribution during more than three quarters of the century of the most rapid development of Canada. The Ukrainian Orthodox Church of Canada deserves special distinction for the guidance and inspiration that it gave to the Ukrainian settlers and in this way was instrumental in the significant contribution which these people made to the welfare and growth of the Canadian nation.

The Ukrainian Orthodox Church of Canada has another unique distinction in the way it was established. The Church was organized at a meeting of a group of laymen without the initiative or assistance of any existing church and without the participation of priests or theologians. That this event occurred in the early decades of the arrival of Ukrainian settlers in Canada indicates that they considered the church to be indispensable to their philosophy of life and to meaningful progress in their newly acquired homeland. The new settlers appreciated their fundamental freedoms, particularly the freedom of worship, and were anxious to exercise it in a practical way at the first opportune moment. The democratic and exclusively Canadian basis of organization of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church shows an early participation in the Canadian system of self-government that has been evolving over the years. The Ukrainian pioneers clearly saw the harmony, in principle, of Christianity, democracy and freedom.

The fact that Odarka Trosky, a prominent educationist and a leading Canadian of Ukrainian descent, attached such importance to her church that she chose to write its history is a tribute, first, to her Church itself, secondly, to her parents particularly her father who devoted his life in the service of the Church and, thirdly, it is a tribute to the author as a representative of the younger Canadians of Ukrainian descent who respect the material, spiritual and cultural contributions of their pioneer ancestors which have become an integral component of Canada.

Odarka Trosky (née Hrycyna) obtained her public and high school education in various centres across the Prairie Provinces wherever her father was called upon to carry out his church ministry. She then took her teacher training at the Manitoba Normal School in Winnipeg and taught fourteen years in the Greater Winnipeg schools. She was also active in the instruction of Ukrainian language in private schools for several years. During this time she successfully continued her higher education through

evening and summer school sessions and obtained her B.A., B.Ed., and M.Ed. degrees from the University of Manitoba.

In 1965 Mrs. Trosky was appointed Assistant Professor in the Faculty of Education at the University of Manitoba. In addition she has served as director of summer reading workshops for the Manitoba Teachers Society. She was a member of the Curriculum Committee in Language Arts for the Manitoba Department of Education and has conducted in-service training of teachers across Manitoba. Mrs. Trosky soon became well recognized as an expert in this field. Since the fall of 1967 she has been studying towards her Doctorate degree in Education at the University of Toronto and we wish her every success in her endeavours. She is married to an industrial engineer and is a mother of a little daughter, Deanne.

This history of the Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church of Canada by Odarka S. Trosky is largely a reproduction of her Master of Education thesis which was submitted to the Graduate School of the University of Manitoba in April 1965 and which has been up-dated by the author for this purpose. The original, which includes some additional material, may be found in the University of Manitoba library under the title "A Historical Study of the Development of the Ukrainian Greek-Orthodox Church of Canada and Its role in the Field of Education (1918-1964)". Although various aspects of the Church history have been reported in journals and in another thesis, this is the first comprehensive history of the Ukrainian Greek-Orthodox Church of Canada to be published. It will undoubtedly be recognized as one of the major contributions to, and accomplishments of, the Golden Jubilee Year of the Church. It will fill a serious gap for students, for its faithful and for all interested by providing them with authentic information about the Ukrainian Greek-Orthodox Church of Canada and allied institutions and organizations.

This history is only one example of the untapped resources for research and thesis material that is available in the records of many Ukrainian organizations and institutions, and the contribution that researchers can make in utilizing such resources for the benefit of present and future Canadians. The Ukrainian people as a whole, and particularly the faithful of the Ukrainian Greek-Orthodox Church of Canada, many of whom knew the author's late father Rev. H. D. Hrycyna, are indebted to Odarka Trosky for the contribution she has made in writing this history and donating it to the Church on the occasion of the Golden Jubilee.

The Jubilee Committee of the Ukrainian Greek-Orthodox Church of Canada wishes to add its words of thanks to Mrs. Trosky and her considerate husband for their kind and exceedingly significant deed for the Church on the occasion of its Golden Jubilee. May this bring the giver both satisfaction and encouragement for still greater goals in the years to come.

PROFESSOR P. A. KONDRA,
Chairman,
Jubilee Publicity Committee.

CHAPTER I

Events Leading Up to the Establishment of the Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church of Canada

The Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church of Canada came into being in the new country as a result of the resurgence of national consciousness and due to the fact that the new political atmosphere gave the Ukrainian settler in Canada an opportunity for self-expression and critical reappraisal of his political situation and his spiritual needs. The Canadian democratic government insured a high degree of equality for all and this freedom permitted the immigrant to analyse his needs. In the new country he had an opportunity to shape the future of his political organizations and his church life. Consequently these more favourable conditions eventually led to the creation of the independent Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church of Canada.

To understand more fully the temperament, character, and aspirations of the Canadian settlers of Ukrainian descent, a few notes on their past history may help bring into better focus the initial stages in the formation of the Church.

The Ukrainian settlers came to Canada from Ukraine. Ukraine, however, was not a free country but was partitioned and subjugated by Imperialist Russia and reactionary Austria. The largest part of the Ukrainian territory was under the Russian domination and the provinces of Halychyna (Western Ukraine) and Bucovina were under the Hapsburg autocracy. Most of the new settlers came from Western Ukraine, a smaller number proportionately from the province of Bucovina and a small number from that part of Ukraine under the czarist regime.

In Western Ukraine the only church of the Ukrainian people was the Greek Catholic Church. Although the Church was state-financed, the people did not enjoy democratic freedom. They were submerged and subjugated by the Austrians and manipulated by the Polish overlords. The existence of Ukrainians as a separate ethnic group was denied, learning of Ukrainian language and development of Ukrainian culture was not permitted and political organizations were suppressed. In the province of Bucovina conditions were very much similar except that the "Bucovinians" were dominated by a very aggressive minority of Rumanians. The Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church which served most of the Ukrainian people in Bucovina, was denied the use of Ukrainian language and the operation of schools. Ukrainian political and cultural organizations were suppressed.

The oppression experienced by the Ukrainians in Western Ukraine and Bucovina forced many to seek an escape by joining and supporting the Russophil movement which was directed and financed by the czarist

government. They joined this group in spite of the fact that the movement denied Ukrainian identity and advocated the idea of one Russian nation, one Russian language and one Russian Orthodox Church. The converts began to refer to themselves as Russians, making "Rusin" or "Ruthenian" synonymous with "Russky" (Russian).

The more progressive Ukrainians throughout the Ukrainian territory were very conscious of their past history and resented their subjection and inferior status. They began to oppose the Russophil movement and in concert with the other subjugated peoples of eastern Europe joined in the cry for independence. When the Ukrainian national feeling for liberation finally reached a high level, rapid progress towards independence was made. This included the independence of their church.

Just before the turn of the twentieth century, the first Ukrainian immigrants began to arrive at the ports of entry of the United States and Canada. Some of these were semi-literate, others illiterate. Those who were not influenced by the Ukrainian national movement in the native land were beginning to follow Russophilism which was beginning to spread its roots in North America. As immigration progressed, however, the immigrants who arrived in Canada were more conscious of their national identity due to the ever-increasing contacts with the leaders of the Ukrainian national movement; the movement was assuming formidable proportions in the Ukraine. There were more and more immigrants arriving who were semi-intellectuals and intellectuals and from among these came the leaders and founders of the Ukrainian Greek-Orthodox Church of Canada.

Strangely enough, the evolution of Ukrainian nationalism in the Ukraine provided stimulation to the growth of this nationalism in Canada. The yoke of subjection and of domination was broken in the Old Country. This in turn produced an intense love and loyalty in the new immigrant to his new country, Canada. This intense feeling manifested itself in his attitude toward his work, his land, and his religion. He took pride in all three and guarded them jealously.

Ukrainians began to settle in Canada in the latter part of 1896, their numbers reaching 4,000 in 1897 and over 20,000 by 1907.¹ By 1914 the population had reached between 170,000 and 250,000.²

Most of the Ukrainian immigrants before World War I settled in the Prairie Provinces. Their colonies were scattered from the south-eastern corner of Manitoba to the Peace River area in north-western Alberta. They settled alongside the newly-constructed railway lines and cultivated their lands which were mostly of secondary quality. They worked under primitive conditions and severe handicaps with very little capital. They made progress, nevertheless, and brought civilization to a former wilderness. The pioneers settled in tiny, closely-knit communities which gave these new settlers an intense feeling of belonging to one's own cultural group, thus making the struggle for survival easier to bear. These settlements helped to open up the wilderness and the sub-marginal districts and proved to be as much an influence in developing the west as were those districts settled by the French, English, Scottish, and Icelandic peoples.

¹Based on reports by the Department of Immigration in the *Canada Year Book*, 1917.

²A more accurate figure cannot be obtained because of the confusion in the terminology. Many called themselves "Russians" or "Rus" or "Austrians" or "Ruthenians" as well as Ukrainians. See C. W. Simpson, *The Names "Rus", "Russian", "Ukraine" and their Historical Background*, Slavistica No. 10, Winnipeg, 1951, for an authentic explanation of the confusion in the terminology.

Because Winnipeg was the gateway to the west for the incoming settlers, it became the centre of Ukrainian life from the very beginning of the Ukrainian immigration. Winnipeg soon became synonymous with important events in the lives of Ukrainian immigrants, a reputation it has maintained to the present day. Other Ukrainian centres that played an important part in Ukrainian affairs prior to World War I were Montreal, Toronto, Brandon, Sifton, Yorkton, Saskatoon, Rosthern, Edmonton, Vegreville and Vancouver.

Though immigrants from the Ukraine were coming into Canada in ever-increasing numbers, no clergymen were among them. Helpless and confused in a strange world, the immigrants, through letters written to the Old Country, asked for priests to come to Canada to give them religious guidance. In 1901 Metropolitan Andrew Sheptytsky, in his Pastoral Letter, promised to supply the Greek Catholics with priests. The Greek Orthodox Church in Bukovina did not respond because North America was under the jurisdiction of the Russian Orthodox Church and to have supplied priests would have been contrary to the Orthodox policy. In 1902 a few priests and nuns were sent to Canada by the Greek Catholic Church in Western Ukraine.

In the meantime, the pioneers tried to satisfy their spiritual needs as well as they could. They gathered in private homes and chanted parts of the Mass. When the settlers required a priest, as in the case of a christening, marriage, or funeral, they turned to a church that had some similarity to the kind of worship they had observed in the Old Country. The Greek Catholics turned to Roman Catholic priests who were either French or Polish; the Greek Orthodox turned to the Russian Orthodox clergy, while the remainder called upon the Protestant ministers. Situations like these gave various denominations the opportunity to do missionary work but the result was a kind of paradox: being catered to by the various missionaries, the new settlers realized they were in a position of making a choice. This was certainly an entirely new experience, one they had never seen before, let alone experienced. In the Ukraine this would have been impossible. These new pioneers quickly realized that in Canada, under a democratic government, their decisions were made by choice and free will. Hence self-assertion was easy and was first manifested in religious expression.

With ever increasing confidence in a country that guarantees freedom of speech, conscience and association, the new settlers began to express quite openly their religious ideas and affiliations. The first Ukrainian settlements proved how independent the pioneers had become in Canada in such a short time.

In 1896 at Star, Alberta, a group of about thirty families wrote to *Svoboda*³(Liberty), requesting a priest of the Ukrainian Greek Catholic faith. The associate editor of *Svoboda*, Fr. Nestor Dmytriw, did arrive in the spring of 1896 and visited several prairie settlements. Though he performed many religious services for the settlers and seemed to be most enthusiastic and kind toward the pioneers, his articles in the *Svoboda* were offensive to the settlers. In the meantime, another group of settlers from the nearby village of Wostok, wrote to the Russian Orthodox prelate, Nicholas, Bishop of the Aleutians and Alaska, who was in San Francisco,

³*Svoboda*, which now operates as a daily newspaper, was the first national Ukrainian newspaper to be established. At the time of its inception, it was operated by Greek Catholic priests. Now it is the organ of a fraternal insurance company, the Ukrainian National Association.

asking him for a priest of the Orthodox faith. In June, 1897, two priests were sent to the Star settlement. They were Fr. Dmitri Kameneff and deacon Vladimir Alexandroff.

After a church service on July 12, 1897, at Wostok, deacon Alexandroff, speaking in Ukrainian, discussed the building of a Church. He informed the congregation that the government would provide a free grant of land and a permit to cut logs for the church building. Enthusiasm was high and an application was sent forthwith to the Land Department at Edmonton, Alberta.⁴

Fr. Dmytiw arrived back at Star in September. On hearing reports of the formation of a Greek Orthodox congregation, he had arrived this time with coadjutor Bishop Emile J. Legal of the Roman Catholic diocese of St. Albert. There being no Greek Catholic hierarchy in Canada, the Roman Catholic Church was assuming jurisdiction over the Greek Catholics. Bishop Legal promised to secure land and financial assistance for the congregation. The people were advised by Fr. Dmyrtiw to accept the bishop's offer but not to commit themselves by signing anything. The result was the formation of the first Ruthenian Greek Catholic congregation in Canada.

Without authority from the congregation, Bishop Legal then applied to get the land vested in the diocese of the Roman Catholic bishop. A patent was issued after payment of fees in early 1898. The trustees, however who had been elected by the Greek Orthodox congregation had returned the signed requisition to the Land Office on December 7, 1897 with the statement, "This 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."⁵ The Greek Catholic congregation was satisfied for the moment at Star, but soon they were attracted to a very active priest, Fr. Jacob Korchensky, from the Russian Orthodox mission. Many of the Star congregation went to Wostok to attend services and gave support to the Orthodox Church.

By the summer of 1899, the church at Star was erected. The first service was conducted by Fr. Ivan Zaklynski, a Greek Catholic priest from the U.S.A. In order to prevent conversion to Orthodoxy, he had the church executive take an oath to stay firm in the Greek Catholic faith. Soon after his departure, however, some members of the congregation visited Fr. Korchensky at Wostok and broached the possibility of holding a service in their church in the late winter of 1900. Fr. Korchensky agreed. The Greek Catholic congregation at Star opposed this action. Finally, when Fr. Korchensky was to hold Mass on Easter morning, they barred the door. A policeman who escorted the priest locked the door and declared that a court verdict would have to be given to settle the matter. The case came before the Supreme Court of the North West Territories in May, 1902. In 1904, a verdict was handed down in favour of the property belonging to the local trustees who supported the Orthodox faith. The case was appealed to the Supreme Court of Canada which reversed the decision on February 20, 1906. The case was then appealed to the Privy Council in London, England, and in 1907, the land and the church was restored to the trustees.

The decision of the Privy Council was of tremendous significance to the new settlers. Here, in a democratic country, a parishioner had a share in the

⁴*The Law Journal Reports for the year 1908, Privy Council Cases, pp. 17-24.*

⁵*The Law Journal Reports, p. 21.*

property of the church to which he belonged. The pioneers became keenly aware that they had a right in matters of policy, even to participation in matters regarding the actions of a priest. These new Canadians were made aware that the laws of Canada, as exemplified in the decision of the Privy Council, safeguarded the democratic rights of every citizen in Canada. This was another step towards the development in these settlers of that self-assertive and determined character that eventually led to the creation of an independent Ukrainian Church.

The first church to exploit the increasing tide of independency was the Russian Orthodox Church. The trustees of the Star parish who won the lawsuit favoured the priests of this faith and were quickly followed by others. The Russian Orthodox Church had many factors in its favour. Firstly, under the rules of Orthodoxy, North America was solely under the jurisdiction of the Russian Church. This meant that other Orthodox churches were excluded. Secondly, the incorporation of parishes was not required under a charter of the church and this appealed to the pioneers. The Russian Church observed the same rituals and form of Mass as was practised in the old country and this made the settlers feel comfortable and at ease. The church in North America was subsidized by the Holy Synod in St. Petersburg and this appealed to the pioneers who had very little means of their own. The priests charged very small fees, or none at all, since they did not depend upon the settlers for their livelihood. Some of the peasants were drawn to the Russian church because they thought "Rusin" (Ruthenian) and "Russky" (Russian) were one and the same thing. Perhaps the greatest and most important reason for the popularity of the Russian Church in United States at that time was the able administration of such men as Archbishop Tikhon (1898-1907) and Archbishop Platon (1907-1914).

In Canada, under the leadership of Archimandrite Arseni Chekkovstev (1905-1911), the Russian Orthodox Church made great gains. Some of his achievements were the publication of a newspaper *Kanadiskaya Neva* (Canadian Field) in Winnipeg, and the organization of a residential school in Edmonton. He won over to his church several Greek Catholic parishes in the Sifton area of Manitoba in 1905 and 1906⁶. In the next five years he influenced several parishes in Alberta to come under his jurisdiction.

Although the Russian Orthodox Church was making very good progress, there were many pioneers who were untouched by the development largely because of the scattered settlements. To exploit this situation a sect appeared in Canada which called itself "The Seraphim Church", its formal title being "The All-Russian Patriarchal Orthodox Church". Its founder Seraphim, called himself "Bishop and Metropolitan of the Orthodox Russian Church for the whole of America". Seraphim was an impostor, who had forged a document⁷ which stated his consecration by three Eastern Orthodox archbishops.⁸ Seraphim came in the spring of 1903 after having being rejected by a small group of dissatisfied Greek Catholic priests in the U.S.A. He found the simple peasants in Canada unquestioning. He quickly ordained priests and deacons from the farmers, many of whom were semi-illiterate. Because of the lack of competition from the other denominations, these priests covered the communities throughout the west, preaching to Ukrain-

⁶P. Bosyk, *Tserkov Ukrainiv v Kanadi* (The Churches of the Ukrainians in Canada), Winnipeg: Canadian Ukrainian, 1927, p.21.

⁷See thesis for a photostatic copy of the forged document.

⁸*Ibid.*, pp 25-57, 323-325.

ian congregations the idea of an orthodox religion independent of any patriarch and trustee ownership of church property. The result was tremendously rapid development of this new religious movement. In about two years' duration there were 55,000-60,000 communicants.⁹

But this Seraphim church soon lost its popularity. The indiscriminate ordination and the poorly-performed services provided by the priests, soon evoked protests from the more intelligent priests and members. By 1903, some of the wiser priests persuaded Seraphim to take a trip to St. Petersburg in Russia on the pretense of seeking support and sanction for his church from the Holy Synod. During his absence in 1905, the clergymen established an Independent Greek Church. Upon his return, Seraphim excommunicated the leaders but this was futile; the excommunicated priests merely refused to accept Seraphim's authority. This was followed by the Russian Holy Synod's excommunication of Seraphim and all the priests who had been ordained by him. Seraphim left Canada for Russia in 1908, a completely ruined man. His successor, Makary, struck the final blow to this sect when he excommunicated the Pope and the Russian Holy Church and called himself "Arch-Patriarch, Arch-Pope, Arch-Tsar, Arch-Hetman and Arch-Prince"¹⁰

Three men are credited with the formation of the Independent Greek Church. They were teacher John Bodrug, a former student of Manitoba College, teacher John Negrycz, a former student of Manitoba College, and editor of *Kanadisky Farmer* (Canadian Farmer),¹¹ and Immigration Agent, Cyril Genik. These three men had made a secret arrangement with the Presbyterian Church of Canada, which had agreed to give financial support to the adoption of certain Protestant teachings.¹² The first two had been priests with the Seraphim sect and were now quite eager and anxious to work for the new church. On August 24, 1903, a consistory was selected which consisted of the Reverends J. Bodrug, J. Negrycz, Alexander Baczynski and Michael Baczynski. They were to handle the administrative affairs of the Seraphim church in Seraphim's absence and without his knowledge. With Seraphim's departure, Negrycz and Bodrug drew up a constitution for the new church which was revised by a group of Presbyterian ministers and Manitoba College professors. In Ukrainian, the church was to be called "The Ruthenian Orthodox Independent Church" and in English the title was "The Independent Greek Church". The Synod was to consist of clergy and laymen who were delegates from each parish. The church was to be governed according to democratic principles. The consistory was to be headed by a bishop, and the clergy were to be ordained by the consistory. The services were to be Orthodox in form. Church property was to be administered by elected trustees. The church was to be independent, having no ties with any other church outside of Canada. The Independent Greek Church was to be Orthodox in form and Presbyterian in spirit.

On January 26th, 1904, the first Synod of the Independent Greek Church was held in Winnipeg. The delegates agreed upon the following resolutions: (a) the establishment of a residential school in Winnipeg, (b) the priests were charged to attend theology classes at the Manitoba College, and (c) spreading of the Bible. They also agreed that a campaign

⁹*Ibid.*, p. 30.

¹⁰*Ibid.*, p. 49-50.

¹¹The first Ukrainian newspaper in Canada, founded in 1903.

¹²Rev. S. W. Sawchuk, "Pershi Kroke do Zasnoovanya Ukrayinskoyi Hreko-Pravoslavnoyi Tserkve v Kanadi" (First steps in the formation of the Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church in Canada) in the calendar *Ridna Niva* (Native Field) 1949, (Winnipeg: Ecclesia Co.) p. 45.

should be launched for a publication and that church reform should be taken under cautious consideration.

The clergy were now on the payroll of the Presbyterian Church of Canada. Hence, when Seraphim returned and declared the excommunication of the clergy of the Independent Greek Church in September, 1904, the clergy were not disturbed. The Presbyterian leaders soon began a policy of conversion, realizing that there was no separate and distinct church organization for the Ukrainian pioneers. They recognized too, that it would take many years to overcome the desires of the settlers for their native form of worship. Thus the Presbyterian Church embarked on a serious campaign of spreading the Bible. Bodrug and his group were declared "missionaries" and were responsible to Dr. J. A. Carmichael, Superintendent of Home Missions. They made regular reports to the Superintendent and received a regular monthly salary. Through the financial support of the Presbyterian Church, a small weekly Ukrainian newspaper called *Ranok* (Morning) was established at Manitoba College in Winnipeg. Soon similar schools were established at Vegreville, Alberta, and at Sifton and Teulon in Manitoba.

At first, with this additional financial help, the Independent Greek Church made rapid progress. It took over almost all the parishes that had been served by Seraphim's priests. By 1909, there were around 60,000 followers.¹³ The Synod of the Presbyterian Church, however, began to insist on reforms; they insisted on the abolition of the consistory of the Independent Greek Church, upon open and direct responsibility of the Ukrainian priests to the Synod. Opposition became vocal; several priests resigned and began to protest openly against this "Protestantism". When a lawsuit over the possession of one of the churches in the Prairie Provinces went in favour of the Presbyterian Church, the people began to abandon the Independent Greek Church.¹⁴

By 1910 a new, and eventually the strongest, newspaper of the Ukrainian opinion appeared, the *Ukrayinski Holos* (Ukrainian Voice). It began publication in Winnipeg. Soon after its formation, the *Ukrainian Voice* began a series of articles against the Independent Greek Church and produced tremendous indignation against the church.

All these factors, coupled with the hostility of more and more teachers of Ukrainian origin, brought about the decline of the Independent Greek Church. By 1912, the Greek Catholic Church installed its first Bishop, Nikita Budka; more Russian Orthodox missionaries from Russia arrived to strengthen the Greek Orthodox Church. These produced the ultimate fall of the Independent Greek Church. In 1912, the Presbyterian Church abolished its subsidiary; it closed down the residential school and the remaining clergy joined the Presbyterian Church officially.

The indecision on the part of the Ukrainian pioneer regarding religious affiliation was only the prelude to a realization that he desired of his church something similar to that which he enjoyed in civil liberties. He would soon realize that through his own initiative and resources he could support a church in which he had a voice, a church which observed the religious rites in which he had worshipped in the old country. He had a home and a land of his own, he could now have a church of his own. The time was here and the Ukrainian pioneer in Canada was ready.

¹³Paul Kret, "Ivan Bodrug" (John Bodrug) in the calendar *Canadian Farmer* for 1964 (Winnipeg: *Canadian Farmer*), p. 118.

¹⁴Bozyk, *op. cit.*, pp. 31-55, 59-60, 68-72. Kret, *op. cit.*, pp. 118, 119. Sawchuk, *op. cit.*, pp. 44-46.

CHAPTER II

1918 - The Establishment of the Church

From the beginning of Ukrainian immigration into Canada, public school teachers of Ukrainian origin influenced not only the educational scene but played a vital role as well in the political, economic, and cultural affairs of the Ukrainian settlers. These teachers were graduates of the Ruthenian Training School,¹ established in Winnipeg in 1905 and transferred to Brandon in 1907, as well as graduates of schools which were affiliated with provincial Normal Schools, established in Regina, Saskatchewan in 1909 and in Vegreville, Alberta, in 1912. They instructed in Ukrainian districts introducing the English language through the medium of the Ukrainian language. They were aided by authorized texts, *The Ruthenian-English Readers*. These schools were abolished when the bilingual system ceased to operate. By that time, some two hundred and fifty teachers² were providing effective leadership in Ukrainian communities. These Ukrainian teachers were instrumental in building community halls where concerts, plays, lectures, reading libraries, and social activities were conducted. They were friends, advisors, guides, as well as leaders, and to them is given the credit that the new settlers, who in many cases were illiterate, indifferent and unenlightened, became responsible Canadian citizens.³

One of the aims of these Canadian teachers was to mold their fellow countrymen, who were called variously: the Galicians, Ruthenians, Poles, Austrians, and Russians into a unit or group of Canadians of Ukrainian origin who would take an interest, perhaps even an active part, in Canadian affairs. To do this effectively, the teachers organized themselves in July, 1907, into "The Ukrainian Teachers Association of Canada."⁴ Some of the active participants in this organization who later proved to be instrumental in the formation of the Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church of Canada were: J. W. Arsenych, W. Chumer, T. D. Ferley, F. T. Hawryliuk, O.H. Hykawy, W. Kudryk, and D. Yakimischak.⁵ In July, 1909, they formed a publishing company which was to launch a newspaper that would be the organ of the Ukrainian teachers. On March 16, 1910, the first issue of the *Ukrayinski Holos* (Ukrainian Voice) appeared. This paper was to be a Ukrainian newspaper published for Ukrainians. The editor was W. Kudryk and the manager was T. D. Ferley. The Board of Directors were T. D. Ferley—President, W. Chumer—Treasurer, W. Kudryk—Secretary, and J. W. Arsenych, W. Karpec, H. Slipchenko, and A. Zylich were members.

¹See thesis for a photostatic copy of a certificate issued to Fred Hawryluk in 1907.

²J. W. Stechishin, *Mizh Ukrayintsyame v Kanadi* (Among Ukrainians in Canada); (Saskatoon: Ukrainian Self-Reliance League, 1953), pp. 12-13.

³W. Buryanik, *Hromadska Pratsya Uchuteliw Pionerskayj Dobe* (Community Work by Teachers in Pioneer Days), *The New Chronicle* (Winnipeg: Trident Press, 1963), pp. 18-31.

⁴Buryanik, *op. cit.*, p. 19.

⁵Conversations with Dr. S. W. Sawchuk.

Once the newspaper was launched, the editor of *Ukrainian Voice* began writing critical articles on the subject of non-Ukrainian clergymen serving the Ukrainian congregations. The paper criticized French bishops⁶ and the acquisition of Greek Catholic property by the Roman Catholic Church.⁷

The paper succeeded in arousing angry protests among the Ukrainians. In September 1912,, the Pope appointed Nikita Budka as bishop for the Greek Catholics in Canada. *Ukrainian Voice* began to criticize Bishop Budka in May, 1913, when there was no indication that the French and Belgian priests serving the Ukrainian settlements would be replaced by Ukrainian priests. The editor stated that Bishop Budka might as well bring in priests of many nationalities "and then the Greek Catholic Church in Canada would represent a genuine Babylon."⁸

In July, Wasyl Kudryk returned from a tour of the Ukrainian communities. He began a series of editorials on the religious problem, stating that there was a desire among the Ukrainians for an independent, national and democratic church. He wrote that the situation in the Greek Catholic Church was very bad for, although the Church had a Greek Catholic bishop, the Roman Catholic priests were supreme. For Ukrainians this was an intolerable situation. Kudryk wrote: "Therefore, it is best altogether to stop incorporating the churches until the matter becomes completely clarified".⁹

In August, 1913, the *Ukrainian Voice* began to include articles urging the people to protest against the decree of the Congregation of Propaganda, *Ea Semper*, dated August 11, 1913, permitting only celibate priests to have jurisdiction in North America. The paper was making celibacy an issue, because in the Ukraine the people were served by married clergymen in both the Greek Orthodox and Greek Catholic churches and to them this was as important as having Ukrainian priests. In November, the *Ukrainian Voice* reported a meeting of Ukrainians at Sifton, Manitoba, which decided "to return to the faith of our forefathers, to the true Ruthenian faith, to Orthodoxy and to send for Orthodox clergy".¹⁰ This was the first flicker of a flame that was to burn brighter with every article. In November 19, 1913, S. Chuko, a pseudonym for Semen W. Sawchuk, advised the establishment of an independent national church. This was followed by a series of articles on church relations in the Ukraine which presented the Orthodox faith in a favourable light. By 1914, the *Ukrainian Voice* took a stronger pro-Orthodox position. The editorial "Also for Confederation" stated: "...In Catholicism as in Russian Orthodoxy, Ukrainian patriotism is not compatible. The one and the other desire to make a Ukrainian a servile slave and not a patriot, not even a man, but only a blind tool of their own interests".¹¹ The movement for a Ukrainian Orthodox Church was developing rapidly, but the first World War put a temporary halt to the development.

In March, 1916, the Ukrainian Student Club in Saskatoon, Saskatchewan, held a meeting and set up a committee to establish a bursa in that city.¹² The name was the P. Mohyla Institute, named after the great Orthodox metropolitan and educator in the seventeenth century.¹³ Wasyl Swystun,

⁶*Ukrainian Voice*, August 31, 1910.

⁷*Ukrainian Voice*, September 21, 1910.

⁸*Ukrainian Voice*, June 11, 1913.

⁹*Ukrainian Voice*, August 13, 1913.

¹⁰*Ukrainian Voice*, November 5, 1913.

¹¹*Ukrainian Voice*, May 27, 1914.

¹²*Ukrainian Voice*, March 22, 1916. A bursa is a residential school.

¹³See Chapter 7 for a history of the P. Mohyla Institute. See appendix in thesis.

a law student, was its first rector or principal. The executive claimed the bursa was of a secular character, therefore, all Ukrainians should support it and Ukrainian students of various religious denominations should attend it. Bishop Budka, however, took the official position of opposing the bursa because it was interdenominational and not Catholic. To this opposition, the *Ukrainian Voice* replied that the Greek Catholic bursas,

... which are under the control of the French, must not be camouflaged and called Ukrainian It is a pity that they are not in the hands of our Bishop. Then they would be ours. And also the Presbyterian and Methodist bursas cannot be regarded as Ukrainian, but foreign . . .

A secular bursa is necessary and if there was not one, then it would be necessary to establish one even today. ¹⁴

Bishop Budka replied that he was not in favour of such bursas where various denominations have accommodations. ¹⁵

Subsequently, Wasyl Swystun made an appeal to the *Ukrainian Voice* readers under the heading "For the Judgment of the People":

What will you say about this, member share-holders of the P. Mohyla bursa? Will you permit the bishop to grasp the property of the bursa, of which you and all the people with you are joint-owners, not only for himself but also for all his successors and not only for the time of his life but forever and forever?

What is your decision, Ukrainian people? Will you permit the expansion of the clerical group which wants to control your property and all your cultural gains? ¹⁶

The leaders of the institution feared the designs of Bishop Budka. They acquired a charter under the Companies Act on January 20, 1917, giving the bursa the official name of "The P. Mohyla Ukrainian Institute". Michael Stechishin, an executive member, undertook to explain the action of the bursa's executive in an article in the *Ukrainian Voice*, September 26, 1917. His explanation was that the incorporation guaranteed not only the Ukrainian character of the Institute but also the democratic control by the people.

A week later, Michael Stechishin wrote a long article to give the public some idea of what the status of the Institute would be if it came under the church charter. He discussed and analyzed the charters of the Greek Catholic Institutions. In discussing "An Act to Incorporate the Ruthenian Greek Catholic Episcopal Corporation of Canada" Mr. Stechishin concluded that the episcopal corporation does not guarantee Ukrainianism.

... The authority that the Bishop received according to this act is wholly unrestricted in church matters. It also applies to secular and business affairs connected with church matters, restrictions may be imposed either by Rome or by the bishop himself. ¹⁷

Mr. Stechishin pointed out that the charter stated that the bishop was a bishop for the Ruthenian Greek Catholics, emphasizing that it did not mean a Ruthenian Greek Catholic bishop. Mr. Stechishin continued:

Bishop Budka drew up this incorporation himself and it was his duty as a Ukrainian Greek Catholic bishop to insert into the incorporation the distinct stipulation that the bishop for our people in Canada must be a Ukrainian. The bishop did not do this. Consequently, the bishop did not guarantee the Ukrainian people anything in the incorporation. . . .

It is the bishop's duty to revise this incorporation in such a manner that the Ukrainian people will be guaranteed by law that no one here in Canada may be a Ukrainian Greek Catholic bishop except a person of Ukrainian origin. ¹⁸

¹⁴*Ukrainian Voice*, November 1, 1916.

¹⁵J. W. Stechishin, *Yovileynya Knyha Ukrayinskoho Instytutoo P. Mohyla v Saskatooni* (Jubilee Book of the P. Mohyla Ukrainian Institute in Saskatoon). Winnipeg: Ukrainian Publishing Co., 1945), p. 65.

¹⁶*Ukrainian Voice*, August 1, 1917.

¹⁷*Ukrainian Voice*, October 3, 1917.

¹⁸*Ibid.*

Mr. Stechishin then examined the provincial charter of the Ruthenian Greek Catholic parishes and missions and the charter of the sisters in Yorkton, Saskatchewan; he stated that there was no guarantee that they were Ukrainian. In his criticism of "The Ruthenian Catholic Mission Act", Mr. Stechishin concentrated on the clause, "the body shall consist of all persons now members of the said association in the said province and who shall hereafter become members thereof," and interpreted it as:

This act is the greatest insult to the Ukrainian people in Canada. It is distinctly named Catholic and not Greek Catholic, meaning—Roman Catholic. Over in Galicia, the Poles attempted with the aid of our bishops to convert our people from Orthodoxy to Roman Catholicism and in such a way to destroy our nationality; and here, Roman Catholics with the aid of Bishop Budka are converting our people to Roman Catholicism. At the same time, this same bishop pretends to be a Ukrainian—a national trustee and demands that we give into his hands our national institutions and property, for he wishes to boast before the French of his achievements among our ignorant people.

From the above mentioned, Ukrainian People, you be the judges as to who has justification. ¹⁹

Michael Stechishin's article created a sensation. In December, 1917, at Saskatoon, Saskatchewan, some seven hundred delegates or representatives of many local societies and visitors from the Prairie Provinces and Ontario approved the policy of the *Ukrainian Voice* and the stand taken by Stechishin and Swystun. The convention adopted the following resolution:

... whereas the newspaper the *Canadian Ruthenian*, the organ of his Excellency Bishop Budka, and the *Canadian Ranok* (the organ of the Presbyterian church) as well as the same bishop and part of the clergy under his jurisdiction in an unfair manner attack all national work among the Ukrainian people in Canada, and chiefly the P. Mohyla Ukrainian Institute in Saskatoon, and whereas all such subversive work is directed to destroy all educational and cultural work which is independent of the episcopal church corporation and whereas this is felt very painfully and with great loss in our national life,

BE IT RESOLVED in the face of the above-mentioned facts that the convention condemn these enemies of national progress and give them a deserved reprimand for their hitherto subversive work, hoping that in the future they will change their behaviour and instead of harming will aid Ukrainian cultural work. ²⁰

The Greek Catholic leaders retaliated with allegations that the leaders of the Institute were agents paid by the Presbyterian church. The accusation was a feeble one because the convention had condemned the work of the Presbyterian church in their resolution. Furthermore, the *Canadian Ranok* had only recently lost a libel suit to the Institute.²¹ This was nevertheless the beginning of a steady campaign by the bishop and his priests against the Institute and its leaders.

Shortly after the convention, a critical situation appeared at Tolstoi, Manitoba. Keenly aware of the problems concerning the Institute, the parish openly refused to incorporate the church with the bishop. This action was approved by Swystun and Stechishin; they advised the parish to demand that the bishop should revise the charter to guarantee that missionaries and the bishop will be of Ukrainian origin. Swystun and Stechishin were careful to say that they were giving this advice as private citizens interested solely with the charter concerning property matters and were definitely not criticizing the faith.²² However the Greek Catholic leaders chose to interpret the action as the work of the Institute and increased their cam-

¹⁹*Ibid.*

²⁰J. W. Stechishin, *op. cit.*, p. 78.

²¹*Ibid.*, p. 84.

²²*Ibid.*, pp. 88-90.

paign against the bursa. This campaign took many forms. Semen W. Sawchuk, a teacher, reported in the *Ukrainian Voice* that in Yorkton, Saskatchewan, Belgian Catholic priests refused to give confession to those who openly supported the Institute; a Catholic priest, F. N. Decamp, stated that he would refuse to bury anyone who had not had confession.²³ Other reports stated that Bishop Budka announced one could not be a Catholic if he supported the bursa or sent children to it; that all sacraments would be refused to such a person and if he were to be buried in a Greek Catholic cemetery, his body would be refused.²⁴

Swystun tried to counteract this campaign by calling meetings in various centers and defending the Institute. The *Canadian Farmer* reported a meeting at Meacham, Saskatchewan, during which a motion was passed to have such meetings held throughout Canada. The meeting also passed resolutions condemning Bishop Budka's attacks on the Institute, and urged priests to work with the intelligentsia, and to maintain that institutes were providing religious instruction, hence they cannot be labelled non-religious. The meeting agreed that certain changes should be made in the episcopal charter: guarantee of a bishop of Ukrainian origin, ownership of church property to be vested in the congregation, that the bishop and priests were to have an advisory voice, and that French and Belgian priests must cease their missionary work among Ukrainians.²⁵

The position was now one of no return. Neither side would yield. The Greek Catholic Church represented by Bishop Budka refused to change its position against secular institutions. He would not compromise with the teachers and university students who wanted more of a church than just the sacraments and Sunday services. He would not compromise with those who wanted secular education. If the Greek Catholic Church would not give it, then the intelligentsia would have to look elsewhere. Perhaps a new church would have to be organized that would look after their spiritual needs and at the same time embody the ideals that the intelligentsia were advocating.

The first definite plans towards the formation of a truly Ukrainian and independent Orthodox church in Canada was taken on October 12, 1917 by a former teacher, O. H. Hykawy, editor of *Canadian Farmer*. He wrote an editorial describing Bishop Budka as a bishop having no authority, one who was a titular head of a non-existing diocese.²⁶ This was followed by a series of articles signed "Narodny Svyaschenik" (National Priest) from December 1917 to July, 1918, in which a method of organizing the new church was presented, including a constitution and administration. In these articles, the writer urged that the people must take the initiative and be masters of their own fate. The New church must be national and democratic; the candidate for bishop and clergy must be elected by the people and approved by a synod which would be composed of an equal number of clergy and laymen. Letters that came in following these articles indicated a large number approving the formation of the new Ukrainian church.

In March, 1918, upon the suggestion of some church congregations, Wasyl Swystun and Michael Stechishin urged the calling of a national church convention to discuss the bishop's charter.²⁷ Again, the "National Priest" came to the Ukrainians' aid; he wrote that communities interested

²³*Ukrainian Voice*, June 5, 1918.

²⁴Strechishin, *op. cit.*, p. 90.

²⁵*Canadian Farmer*, June 7, 1918.

²⁶*Canadian Farmer*, November 2, 1917.

²⁷*Canadian Farmer*, March 1918.

in the formation of a new Ukrainian national church should hold meetings and list their members. Delegates should be chosen and sent to the convention. The writer then presented a draft of a constitution which consisted of fifty-nine articles.²⁸ Many of the articles suggested were eventually incorporated into the constitution of the Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church of Canada.²⁹

Because many questioned the existence of the "National Priest," a declaration appeared in the *Canadian Farmer* on May 3, 1918, stating he was an independent priest, ordained in 1916 by a Latin bishop of the Polish National Apostolic Church for the specific purpose of serving Ukrainians. On May 31, 1918, in the same paper, another priest signing himself as, "A Ukrainian Orthodox Priest," made the following statement:

I am for a national church but not for a national faith as there is no such faith and cannot be. Christ established one faith for all nations.

In regard to the Ukrainian National Church, I agree that church property should belong to the people, for the kind the people are, so will be the church . . . Our Greek Orthodox faith is the best, for such was accepted by our forefathers from the Greeks.

The two priests were later revealed as Fathers John Kusy and John Kokolsky who had been ordained by Bishop Paul Markiewicz of the Polish National Apostolic Catholic Church,³⁰ and who, after their ordination, had worked as independents.

Finally, as a result of rising hostility against non-Ukrainian priests in the Greek Catholic Church, coupled with the agitation in the *Canadian Farmer* by Fr. J. Kusy, as the "National Priest" for a Ukrainian National Church, prompted the calling of a confidential meeting of leading Ukrainians in Saskatoon, Saskatchewan. The invitation, dated June 26, 1918, was endorsed by a group of thirty men who formed "The National Committee." They were:

From Alberta:

T. Goshko, farmer;
S. B. Mykytiuk, teacher;
M. Sutkowych, farmer;

A. T. Kibzey, medical student;
J. J. Ruryk, teacher;
P. Svarich, farmer;

From Saskatchewan:

A. Bodnarchuk, farmer;
M. Chorneyko, teacher;
F. Hawryliuk, B.A., teacher;
S. Sawchuk, secretary-treasurer;
B. M. Sawiak, secretary-treasurer;
M. Stechishin, law student;
J. D. Stratyчук, banker;

J. Bohonos, teacher;
J. Kulczycki, buyer;
A. Markowsky, farmer;
P. Shwydky, farmer;
T. Stadnik, farmer;
A. Worobec, storekeeper;

From Manitoba:

J. W. Arsenych, lawyer;
O. H. Hykawy, editor;
M. Mihaychuk, reeve;
W. Romanchyck, farmer;
J. Petrusovich, secretary-treasurer.

T. D. Ferley, M.L.A.;
P. Hykawy, farmer;
W. Kudryk, editor;
D. Yakimischak, law student;

²⁸*Canadian Farmer*, April 12, 1918.

²⁹See Chapter Four.

³⁰An independent Polish Catholic Church formed in Winnipeg in 1913.

Absent from the list were Wasył Swystun because he wanted to avoid the involvement of the Institute, and Fathers Kusy and Kokolsky because of their affiliation with another church at that time.

The purpose in holding the meeting in secret was to determine the feelings or disposition of the representatives as well as to hear their opinions. Perhaps the most important reason for this meeting was to avoid any religious furor among the Ukrainian people if it proved that there was really no desire for a Ukrainian independent Church in Canada.

The meeting took place at Saskatoon, Saskatchewan, attended by some one hundred and fifty delegates from the three Prairie Provinces. The meeting proceeded with dignity and solemnity.³¹ Individually and collectively, the delegates' reaction was that they were creating an historical event which would determine the future for Ukrainians in Canada.³²

The convention agreed that if there were a possibility of worshipping independently of any outside influence or connection, and if there were a possibility of creating an institution that was within the context of their Canadian way of life in which they could be responsible entirely for their own actions and thoughts, then these possibilities should be explored and realized.

At the end of the two-day meeting, the convention adopted the following resolutions:

WHEREAS the head of the Ukrainian Greek Catholic organization in Canada unconditionally demands that the title to the church property be given to the Ukrainian Greek Catholic bishopric corporation which, according to its provisions, constitutes the bishop of the Ukrainian Greek Catholic parishes or missions whose only administrator is the bishop, and

WHEREAS according to the regulations of this corporation, Ukrainian Greek Catholic parishes and the congregations are deprived of all rights to manage their own church finances, and

WHEREAS the aforementioned bishop refused to admit married Ukrainian priests into Canada (which is contrary to our rights and privileges) and in fact introduced celibacy, and

WHEREAS the aforementioned bishop gave jurisdiction to the Roman Catholic missionaries, the Redemptorist fathers, amongst our Ukrainian Greek Catholic people, and

WHEREAS the aforementioned bishop accords himself exclusive right and control over all the education, institutions, and aspirations, and

WHEREAS the aforementioned bishop administers religious affairs contrary to the democratic principles of this country, which are upheld by the Ukrainian people in Canada, and

WHEREAS the aforementioned bishop's actions are such that are compromising to the Ukrainian society, and

WHEREAS all petitions and painstaking care urged by the Ukrainian element upon the bishop that he fulfill his obligations with more tolerance and better procedure, revealed to be unsuccessful, and

WHEREAS the aforementioned bishop often in an unchristian manner refuses religious service to those parishes that wish to handle their own church property without the protection of the bishopric corporation, and

WHEREAS the aforementioned bishop threatens excommunication of the members of those various educational organizations in Canada that are not under his jurisdiction and further instructed his priests not to confess these members nor to give absolution, and

³¹*Ukrainian Voice*, August 7, 1918.

³²Sawchuk, "Pershi Kroke do Zasnoovanya" (First Steps to the Formation of the Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church in Canada) in *Native Field*, 1949, p. 50.

WHEREAS the present Ukrainian Greek Catholic church is a result of religious union forced upon the Ukrainian nation by Poland in 1596 and which was supported by Austria,

THEREFORE, we, the representatives of various Ukrainian communities and congregations of Western Canada, resolve as follows:

To organize the Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church of Canada on the following principles:

- (1) This church is in communion with other Eastern Orthodox Churches, and accepts the same dogmas and the same rites.
- (2) The priests may be married.
- (3) The property of each congregation shall belong to its members who will be entirely responsible for it.
- (4) Bishops shall be chosen by the general Sobor of priests and delegates of all congregations, from among qualified candidates.
- (5) The appointment and dismissal of priests shall be with the consent of the congregation concerned.
- (6) To fulfill the aims and objectives of this conference, it is resolved to organize the Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Brotherhood of Canada, which shall:
 - a) incorporate the newly-formed Church in Canada
 - b) establish a Ukrainian Greek Orthodox seminary
 - c) organize Ukrainian Greek Orthodox congregations
 - d) provide priests for each and every congregation
 - e) prepare and call a general Sobor of members and followers of the new Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church of Canada to complete its organization.³³

After the resolution had been passed, the Brotherhood was organized and in which all the participants of the meeting joined.

The executive of the Brotherhood consisted of: Tymko Goshko of Alberta, Wasyl Hawrysh of Saskatoon, and Alexander Zylich of Manitoba.

Secretaries were: J. W. Arsenych of Manitoba, Michael Stechishin of Saskatchewan, and Peter Svarich of Alberta.

The organizers were: W. Mihaychuk of Manitoba, Andrew Shandro of Alberta, and Peter Shwydky of Saskatchewan.

A Committee was created whose function was to organize local Brotherhoods and congregations. To this committee the following were elected: From Saskatchewan: M. Halik and O. Halulyk, both of Birmingham; J. Hawrysh, Hafford; W. Hryvnak, Hafford; H. Lesechko, Melville; N. Mamchur, Sokal; S. Matviyshin, Krydor; W. Mihaychuk, St. Julian; S. Nelyk, Goodeve; G. J. Pidverbetsky, Radisson; S. Sawchuk, Insinger; J. Soroka, Meacham; M. Stashin, Whitkow; P. Suknatski, Krydor; J. Masly, Moose Jaw; and J. Juba from Alberta. ³⁴

On August 7, 1918, the Brotherhood, in the *Ukrainian Voice*, published an "Appeal to the Ukrainian People in Canada":

Ukrainian People!

In the midst of the terror of this war, there comes before us an additional crisis; namely, a crisis concerning our religion.

The religious question has become one of the most urgent problems facing our ethnic group; a question which for some time has needed a positive resolution. Leadership in this very important matter was grasped by one individual who not only does not qualify but is also an instrument in the hands of the French and Belgian priests.

Due to this individual's unwise direction, to the subjection under foreign administration, to the introduction of celibacy, to the introduction of new rituals in the

³³*Vistnyk* (The Herald), July, 1928.

³⁴*Ibid.*

religious service and to the demand of the bishop to own the church property, our church affairs are in a very difficult predicament.

We recognize the importance of the Church in our lives. We know that the Church is one of the most important institutions of our people. For that reason, when we see that the Church ceases to function as one of the most important institutions, it is our duty to remove the shortcomings and faults that prevent the Church from fulfilling its obligations to society.

Feeling very keenly this obligation, and abiding by the instructions of the First Secret Meeting which was held July 18 and 19 of this year in Saskatoon, we are appealing to you, the Ukrainian People to heed our call:

You, the Ukrainian People, should take the church matter into your own hands. Knowing all the faults of the Church, you should cast them aside. Knowing that your church is dependent upon foreign guidance and these foreigners are exploiting you, you should cast them aside. Knowing that our bishop in his administration is divided between his interest in the Church and the interest of the Ukrainian people, then you, the Ukrainian People, should correct this, ignoring the bishop.

Knowing from history that many present inadequacies in our Church are a result of the Church union with Rome which was forced upon us by several of our bishops, who by means of the union, wanted to make themselves autocratic ecclesiastical masters and thus gain aristocratic favours from the Poles; a union which was fabricated by the Poles, calculated to pave the way to Latinization and Polonization of our people; a union which over many years, particularly here in America and Canada, trampled over the rights of our Church; a union which made our bishop a pawn in the hands of foreigners; you, the Ukrainian People should see to it that these obstacles to our Church unity cease to exist.

In this regard, the first positive step was taken at Saskatoon during the secret meeting held on July 18 and 19, 1918 towards the establishment of the Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church, a Church of our fathers and grandfathers, a Church of nine-tenths of the Ukrainian nation.

Now it is up to You, the Ukrainian People, to carry on from here by supporting this action and by promoting an independent church organization.

Now is the time to put down the Roman Mammon and build our Church into a great institution that will look after the religious, moral and educational affairs of the people.

Now is the time to free ourselves from uninvited foreign guardians.

Now is the time to remove celibacy which is demoralizing our priests and our people.

Now is the time to send away the French and Belgian missionaries to preach the faith among their own people or among the heathen but not among us.

Now is the time to obtain a truly Ukrainian bishop who will not be a tool of the French and Rome, rather a servant of his own Church and of his own people.

Therefore it is the sacred duty of every Ukrainian to work sincerely towards the realization of a truly independent Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church.

Therefore it is the sacred duty of every Ukrainian to become a member of the Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Brotherhood which has undertaken the task of organizing the Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church.

When this is realized, then the partitions which divided the Galician, Bukovinian and Russian Ukraine will vanish.

When this is realized, then all Ukrainians will be united.

When this will be achieved then our Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church will be a truly democratic institution which will work for the glory of God and the welfare of the people. ³⁵

One week later an appeal was published in the *Ukrainian Voice* by the Brotherhood, announcing the opening in Saskatoon, Saskatchewan, on October 15, 1918, of the Theological Seminary of the Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church of Canada.

³⁵*Ukrainian Voice*, August 7, 1918.

CHAPTER III

First Steps

Now that the decision to establish the Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church was made, the immediate problem was to obtain a bishop and priests.

The first step towards finding a solution to this problem was to obtain a bishop to head the church. The Brotherhood approached Alexander, the head of the Russian Greek Orthodox Church of America, to be their head temporarily until they could find a Ukrainian bishop. The main reason for approaching Alexander was that during his visit to Winnipeg in 1917, he had remarked that he was a Ukrainian hence the Brotherhood thought he would be more understanding towards their position. Alexander agreed to be temporary head of the Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church of Canada.¹

The Brotherhood then announced that the First Sobor would take place on December 28, 1918, in Saskatoon, Saskatchewan. Alexander did not attend this Sobor. In June 1919, a Russian Metropolitan, Platon, came to America. He was the head of the Autonomous Orthodox Church in Ukraine. The Brotherhood turned to him for spiritual guidance. Wasyl Swystun, representing the Brotherhood, conferred with Metropolitan Platon and Archbishop Alexander. The negotiations resulted in a document which granted recognition to the new church. The document also stated that the Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church of Canada has the right to its own Ukrainian bishop who would reside in Canada and who would have full episcopal jurisdiction within the boundaries of his diocese. The church was to have full autonomy. The consistory and the Sobor were to guide the bishop and the church in their work. The Sobor and the consistory were to include representatives of both clergy and laymen.² This meant that the church would follow democratic principles.

The agreement meant official recognition by the head bishop, Bishop Alexander, of the Russian Orthodox Church of America. Because Metropolitan Platon was the head of the Autonomous Ukrainian Orthodox Church in Ukraine, which in turn came under the jurisdiction of Tikhon, the Russian Patriarch, this gave the new church the necessary apostolic succession. The agreement also meant that the new church was in spiritual communion with the Autonomous Orthodox Church in the Ukraine. Hence, spiritually the new church was accepted as an integral part of the One Holy Apostolic Church including its rites and dogmas.

When the announcement of Metropolitan Platon's sanction was published in the *Ukrainian Voice*³ together with the announcement of the

¹Rev. W. Kudryk, "Do Istoriyi Ukrayinskoyi Hreko-Pravoslavnoyi Tserkvy v Kanadi" (To the History of the Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church of Canada) in the calendar *Ridna Niva* (Native Field), 1952 (Winnipeg: Ecclesia Co.), pp. 53-57.

²*Ukrainian Voice*, November 5, 1919.

³*Ukrainian Voice*, July 30., 1919

intention of the Metropolitan and of Archbishop Alexander to attend the church Sobor in the fall, repercussions were heard from the Russian newspapers. The position was taken that the Metropolitan's sanction meant Ukrainians were being recognized as a separate people and this was definitely contrary to the interests of the Russian nation and the Russian church, and would result in the Russian nation and its Orthodox church becoming disintegrated.⁴ The two church leaders felt the pressure to such an extent that, on September 10/23, 1919, Archbishop Alexander in his pastoral letter said:

It is understood that each of us, faithful sons of the Holy Russia has thought, does think and cannot think otherwise than that the Ukrainians are not a separate people nor a nation but only one of the Russian political parties.⁵

The letter censured the Brotherhood for its work and seemed to revoke the agreement signed on July 16, though it did not officially say so. The effect was a blow to the Brotherhood and to the supporters of the new church. This infuriated the Brotherhood. National sentiments were high and the phrase "not a separate people nor a nation but only one of the Russian political parties," over-ruled all considerations of working together. Their national pride was injured and the Brotherhood refused to reply officially to Archbishop Alexander. Instead, they preferred to sever all connections with the Russian Church.

In spite of the Archbishop's pastoral letter, the Brotherhood announced the Second Sobor for the following places and dates in 1919: Winnipeg, November 27; Edmonton, December 4; and Saskatoon, December 11. The Sobor was to be under the patronage of Metropolitan Platon, Archbishop Alexander and Bishop Dzubay, who had been a bishop of the Carpatho-Ruthenian Uniates in America.⁶

The Brotherhood also explained the reasons for the Orthodox Church being established in Canada: the church affairs in Canada necessitated the establishment and the recognition of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church in the Ukraine by the Moscow patriarch.⁷

Archbishop Alexander arrived in Winnipeg on October 19, and denounced the sponsors of the new Church and reiterated his loyalty to Russia, resulting in the patronage of the Russian bishops being withdrawn.⁸ At the same time, the Brotherhood released the full text of its agreement with the Russian bishops with an explanation of the basic facts underlying the establishment of the Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church of Canada.

In preparation for the forthcoming Sobor, an article appeared in the *Ukrainian Voice* under the title "The Situation of the Orthodox Church in Canada."⁹ The article stated that there were 107 Orthodox parishes; about 20 were urban and the rest were rural. Some forty to fifty priests served these parishes. The priests were: two Bukovinian Ukrainians and the remainder were Ukrainians from the Province of Galicia. The Orthodox population was approximately 65% Bukovinian Ukrainians, 20% Galician Ukrainians, 12% Russian Ukrainians and 3% Moscovites.

One week after the first of these articles was published, the *Ukrainian Voice* announced the opening on November 15, 1919, in Saskatoon, of a

⁴Bozyk, *Tserkov Ukrayintsev v Kanadi*, p. 177.

⁵*The Orthodox Herald*, May, 1925.

⁶*Ukrainian Voice*, October 1, 1919.

⁷*Ibid.*

⁸*Ukrainian Voice*, November 5, 1919.

⁹*Ukrainian Voice*, October 29, 1919.

seminary for the training of priests. The seminary had at its head Fr. Dr. Lazar Gherman . Dr. Gherman was of Romanian descent from Bukovina and was extremely sympathetic to the Ukrainian cause.¹⁰ He had been assistant professor at the University of Chernovetz, Faculty of Theology. When he arrived in Canada from New York to take his new post, he brought with him two Ukrainian Orthodox priests.

It was upon Dr. Gherman's advise that the Brotherhood approached Metropolitan Germanos of the Syrian Greek Orthodox Church of America under the jurisdiction of the Patriarchate of Antioch, Gregory IV.¹¹

The Metropolitan agreed to attend the Second Sobor in Winnipeg which took place in Winnipeg on November 27, 1919. Mass was celebrated in the morning at St. Peter's Anglican Church on Selkirk Avenue, assisted by Syrian priests, Fathers Dr. L. Gherman ,D. Kyrstiuk, P. Dmytryk, V. Kaskiw and L. Kushnir.

After the church service, the proceedings of the Sobor were chaired by Wasyl Swystun who also served as the chairman of the Sobor at two other sessions, Saskatoon and Edmonton. The Sobor concerned itself largely with a discussion of the approval of the jurisdiction of Metropolitan Germanos over the new church.¹² Dr. Gherman produced documents proving that Metropolitan Germanos was a legal bishop and that the Metropolitan agreed to head the new Church until a Ukrainian bishop was obtained by the Brotherhood. Furthermore, the Metropolitan was to act only as a spiritual head, supervising doctrinal matters, the Orthodox rite, and ecclesiastical discipline, leaving the administration of the new Church in the hands of the Brotherhood and the Consistory. At the end of the Sobor, the Metropolitan appeared and confirmed the terms of the agreement between himself and the new Church. He also made the statement, "I want your church to be so democratic that undemocratic persons would not be able to have a place in it."¹³

Having agreed to a temporary spiritual jurisdiction of Metropolitan Germanos, Sobor heard a policy set out and elected a consistory of the following persons: Fr. Dr. L. Gherman, Fr. P. Dmytryk, F. Hawryliuk, W. Kudryk, S. W. Sawchuk, M. Stechishin and P. Svarich.

On December 10, 1919, the *Ukrainian Voice* published Metropolitan Germanos's letter confirming his agreement with the Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church of Canada. The pastoral letter of the Metropolitan was a very moving one for the faithful of the new Church. The following extract is an example:

We convey to you our pure, sincere and heart-felt thanks for your confidence which was demonstrated in asking my protectorship over your Orthodox Church up to the time that your church of its own free will, will elect from among yourselves and through yourselves, its own spiritual head, your own bishop, in order that he may supervise and look after the congregations of your faithful and conduct their religious matters in accordance with the rite and the teachings of the Orthodox Church . . .

May your hearts rejoice that your desires have become fulfilled in the organization of the Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church in Canada and the United States, which spiritually is to be based upon the rites, dogmas and discipline of the ancient Orthodox Holy Church and in practical administration is to be based upon demo-

¹⁰Kudryk, "To the History of the Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church of Canada" in *Ridna Nava*, 1952, p. 57.

¹¹*Ibid.*

¹²*Ukrainian Voice.*, December 10 and 31, 1919.

¹³*Ukrainian Voice*, December 3, 1919.

cratic principles, which upon your own request is recognised by our agreement which we grant you in the name of the Lord God for the good of the Ancient Holy Orthodox Church. ¹⁴

In the same edition, the following explanation concerning the connection with the Patriarch of Antioch was printed:

There are several eastern Orthodox patriarchs and each of them considers the other to be proper and authoritative and therefore there is no difference whether someone comes under the Patriarch of Antioch, or of Jerusalem, or Russia, or any other one. . . . Thus, today, the spiritual jurisdiction of Metropolitan Germanos over the Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church is only a restoration of the bond which the Ukrainian Orthodox Church had at one time with the Orthodox patriarchs of the East. ¹⁵

The newspaper then explained why Archbishop Alexander had been rejected and why Metropolitan Germanos had been accepted in his place:

It is only today that the real difference between Archbishop Alexander and Metropolitan Germanos becomes evident. The former is a pupil of the Muscovite-tsarist school and for many years has been in the service of the Russian state. That is why he does not understand what the oppression of one nation by another means and what suffering and slavery are. The latter is a son of a nation which suffered many centuries and that is why he understands what are oppression and slavery, truth and injustice. It is only thus his sympathy to democracy can be explained. ¹⁶

The Church was ready to begin serving its people. There were many parishes that were prepared to join the new Church; among these were parishes that had been served by Russian Orthodox priests and Greek Catholic parishes that had become dissatisfied.

Training at the Seminary in Saskatoon was in full progress. The first graduates of the Seminary in March, 1920, were Fathers P. Sametz, S. W. Sawchuk and D. Stratyчук, who had arrived in Canada as youths and had been school teachers before entering the Seminary.¹⁷ They were ordained by Metropolitan Germanos in St. Paul, Minnesota in the Syrian Church. They were each assigned a province in which to carry on missionary work. Fr. Sametz was to work in Manitoba, Fr. Sawchuk in Saskatchewan, and Fr. Stratyчук in Alberta. These three priests were joined by Fr. John Kusy who by this time had joined the new Church.

The first Liturgy to be celebrated in Canada entirely in the Ukrainian language took place in Saskatoon June 18, 1922, with Fr. Sawchuk officiating. This was a great historical event for the new Church and its faithful.¹⁸ The church leaders were encouraged to work even harder to put the Church on a firm basis.

Progress was slow but the young Church showed definite signs of popularity. The Russian Orthodox Church and the Greek Catholic Church were alarmed at the progress made by the Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church. Leaders of both churches dubbed the new church as the "Swystunite sect," and its followers as "Swystunites,"¹⁹ but the leaders of the new church countered with such means as the "Open Letter to Archbishop Alexander"²⁰ in which replies were made to the charges of both churches that the new church was dominated by non-religious people.

¹⁴Dated November 29, 1919.

¹⁵*Ukrainian Voice*, December 10, 1919.

¹⁶*Ibid.*

¹⁷*The Orthodox Herald*, August, 1925. These three priests are still active at the present time.

¹⁸Kudryk, "To the History of the Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church in Canada" in *Ridna Nera*, 1952, p. 57.

¹⁹Bozyk in *Tserkov Ukrayintsev v Kanadi* makes numerous references and quotes many sources that used this terminology.

²⁰*Ukrainian Voice*, January 28, 1920.

Parishes began to convert to the Ukrainian Greek Orthodox faith. An example of this took place in Vita, Manitoba.²¹ The parish had been a Greek Catholic parish but had balked when Bishop Budka in 1914 had demanded that the church become incorporated under the episcopal charter. For several years subsequent to this affair, the parish did not have the services of a priest. The members of the parish had to turn to a Russian Orthodox priest in times of burials, christenings, and marriages. In September, 1919, a meeting was called and the decision was made to change the name of the parish to that of "Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church." The members of the parish secured the services of Fr. L. Kushnir, under the auspices of the Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Brotherhood. In December, 1919, a Ukrainian Greek Orthodox parish was formally established with 52 members. Later a settlement was made whereby the Greek Catholics were reimbursed for the church property and the church legally became a part of the Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church of Canada. In April, 1920, Fr. P. Sametz arrived to serve the parish on a regular basis. In 1930, a large church was built and at present the parish is one of the most active in the Ukrainian Greek Orthodox diocese.

Another incident involved Fr. J. Kusy of the Suchewa parish, which is north-west of Vegreville, Alberta.²² When Fr. Kusy arrived at Suchewa during the latter part of 1920, he undertook his work with enthusiasm and vigor. In addition to his religious duties, he conducted a Ukrainian school, helped erect a Ukrainian community centre, and assisted with concerts, dramas, and literary meetings. His popularity was so wide-spread that it angered the clergy of the Russian Orthodox Church into threatening to attack Fr. Kusy in church during a service on May 6, 1921. In spite of the danger, Fr. Kusy in his sermon chided his aggressors and urged his congregation to treat the visitors with politeness and Christian consideration. Fr. Kusy's popularity became even more wide-spread and the young Church gained new respect.

The Third Sobor was held in 1920 on November 11, in Winnipeg; on November 18, in Saskatoon; and on November 25, in Edmonton. The Sobor was noteworthy because it was the first such assembly in which priests, who had been trained by the church and ordained by its bishop, participated. A resolution was passed to establish a monthly paper. The most important resolution was the decision to enter into communion with the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church in Ukraine, if conditions permit it.

The church was growing and the demand for clergy was increasing. At a joint meeting of the consistory, the Brotherhood and the clergy held at Yorkton on October 11, 1922, two important decisions were made to remedy the situation. Fr. Kopachuk was dismissed as administrator of the church. He had been a former lecturer at a teachers' seminary in Bukovina as well as a former official in the western Ukrainian Republic Government. Upon his arrival in Canada, he proved to have an inadequate understanding of the problems confronting the church.²³ He held the position from March 1921, till the joint meeting in October, 1922. In his place the meeting elected Fr. S. W. Sawchuk.

²¹Nestor Bodnarchuk, "Yak Povstala Ukrayinska Pravoslavna Hromada v Vita, Man", (How the Ukrainian Orthodox Community was established in Vita, Man.) in *Veliki Rokovene* (Great Anniversary) (Winnipeg: Consistory of the Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church of Canada, 1938), pp. 147-150. See photostatic copy of a portion of this article in the thesis.

²²*Ukrainian Voice*, May 25, 1921.

²³*The Orthodox Herald*, August, 1925.

Father Sawchuk's first task was to visit Europe and negotiate with Orthodox bishops for the consecration of a candidate as bishop for the new Canadian Church. Fr. Sawchuk left for Europe on November 8, 1922, with the intention of going to Kiev, but was unable to gain access to Ukraine because the country was now under Bolshevik regime. Through the efforts of Professor Ivan Ohienko, the Minister of Faiths in the exiled Ukrainian government, Fr. Sawchuk held conferences with Orthodox church leaders in Galicia and Volyn.²⁴ Upon his return to Canada, the consistory issued a communique,²⁵ stating that a bishop would be sent as soon as the necessary preparation for his installation could be made.

The Consistory and the Brotherhood prepared for the bishop's arrival. Wasyl Kudryk, former editor of the *Ukrainian Voice*, became a priest of the Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church. He was ordained as an unmarried priest, August, 1923, by Metropolitan Germanos. The Church was indeed fortunate in acquiring the talents of Fr. Kudryk. He had vast knowledge of church affairs, having been a founder and a champion of the new Church, and he possessed wide experience in church matters. He was kind and friendly, yet he could be merciless in his arguments; he was modest and very humble, yet he was very proud of his loyalty to the Ukrainian people and of his devotion to Canadian democracy. He was willing to sacrifice all for the good of his people and his Church, and remained so till his death in 1963.

Now that Fr. Kudryk was a member of the clergy, the church was ready to carry out the resolution passed at the third Sobor, that of establishing a monthly paper. In April, 1924, a religious monthly paper, *Pravoslavny Vistnyk* (The Orthodox Herald), was launched with Fr. Kudryk as one of its editors.²⁶

By 1924, the church had eleven priests.²⁷ There were some 70 to 75 congregations which were visited frequently and many small communities that were visited only occasionally.²⁸ As each new parish was organized, the matter of having a bishop was becoming a very important one.

The founders of the Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church had based their arguments for a new church on the principle of nationalism, hence a bishop of Ukrainian origin was imperative. The existence of a Ukrainian bishop would have a deep emotional connotation because the Ukraine from where the bishop was to come, had just recently established a state of its own and had restored the Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church. Thus the arrival of the new bishop was anxiously awaited.

In the meantime, the Ukrainian Orthodox Church in the United States had communicated with Metropolitan Lipkivsky, who was the primate of the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church in Kiev. The result of this communication was the arrival in New York on February 13, 1924, of Archbishop Ivann Theodorovich of Vinnitsia and Podillia.²⁹ He was formally elected bishop of the American church at their Sobor on June 12 and 13 at Newark, New Jersey.

Archbishop Theodorovich quickly became a very popular man. He was a man of learning, deep humility, and a fine sense of humour. He

²⁴Provinces in the Ukraine.

²⁵*Ukrainian Voice*, March 14, 1923.

²⁶The publication shortened its name to *Vistnyk* (The Herald) and began to issue two editions per month on January, 1928. This policy has continued to the present day.

²⁷*Orthodox Herald*, July, 1924.

²⁸*Orthodox Herald*, April, 1924.

²⁹Cities in the Ukraine.

was very particular about his personal appearance and carried himself with great dignity. A gifted orator, he has been known to leave a congregation spellbound and even in tears after listening to one of his sermons.

The consistory of the Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church of Canada sent the new bishop a letter of welcome to which Archbishop Theodorovich replied in part:

With great joy I accept them (salutations) in the unshaken hope that the Supreme Will will bless our people with the realization of union in the single Fold of the Christian Church. Your greetings are dear to me as one of the first heralds and as the illustrious guarantee that we are on the road to that union, blessed by God. We shall all meet in our own Church and on our own path of unfaltering faith in order to lead our people to the higher kingdom of the Divine Teacher, to the kingdom of beautiful illumination of the higher being, of love and beauty. ³⁰

Further correspondence convinced the Canadian church leaders that Archbishop Theodorovich had the qualities that they desired in their own bishop. A joint meeting was convened of the consistory, the Brotherhood, and the clergy at Yorkton on May 21 and 22, 1924, to consider the canonicity of the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church in order to determine whether Archbishop Theodorovich's appointment would assure apostolic succession, or whether the new Church should continue its search. The issue was whether the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church was true when it had been elected by the people without the sanction of another Greek Orthodox Church. It had been created as the result of the determination of the Ukrainian people to have a church completely independent of any foreign interference, and the establishment of the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church was the only way. Metropolitan Lipkivsky became head of the church by the Alexandrian method of ordination by priests and not by two bishops as was the traditional custom.³¹ This fact became a vital and significant issue for the Canadian church.

The meeting consulted various authorities and agreed that the Ukrainian Orthodox Church in the Ukraine was Canonical for the following reasons:

- (a) Eastern Orthodox churches had not condemned it.
- (b) Russian Orthodox church representatives had made attempts to unite with the Ukrainian church in 1922 on the basis that it was legal, and only the intervention of the Bolsheviks prevented a realization of the union.
- (c) Archbishop Theodorovich's argument:
The Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church considered itself as part of the entire Orthodox Eastern Church. The dogmas of the entire Orthodox Church are an inviolable sanctity and our church has never demonstrated any desire to violate even one of these dogmas. ³²

The meeting, satisfied that it had a true candidate for their bishop, decided to convene a Sobor on July 16 and 17, 1924, at Yorkton, Saskatchewan, to confirm the appointment of their candidate.

In June, 1924, the *Orthodox Herald* published an article by Fr. Sawchuk, advising the faithful that at the forthcoming Sobor the delegates would have three proposals to consider:

- (a) To invite Archbishop Theodorovich to become their permanent bishop,
- (b) To invite the Archbishop to be a temporary head of the Canadian church until another bishop would be found, or
- (c) To remain under the patronage of Metropolitan Germanos until such time when a Ukrainian bishop would be elected.

³⁰*The Orthodox Herald*, April, 1924.

³¹See thesis for a note on the Alexandrian method of consecration.

³²*The Orthodox Herald*, October, 1924.

The Sobor had ninety delegates in attendance.³³ Though there should have been considerably more, many delegates from Alberta could not come because of the distance. The representation, however, was the largest since the inception of the Church. The distribution of delegates was: From Alberta—Radway Center; from Saskatchewan—Arran, Canora, Fenwood, Foam Lake, Goodeve, Hamton, Hvas, Ituna, Kosiw, Meacham, Melville, Norquay, Prelate, Punichy, Radymno, Regina, Rhein, Saskatoon, Sheho, Sopoff, St. Julian, Theodore and Yorkton; from Manitoba—Gardenton, Mensie, Poplarfield, Senkiw, Vita, and Winnipeg.³⁴

The focal point of the Sobor was the address delivered by Archbishop Theodorovich. He outlined³⁵ the sequence of events related to the revival of the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church and explained the basic principles governing the policy of the new church movement. The Archbishop's address began with an account of the revolution that not only changed governments but the mental attitude of the people as well; the birth of the church organization took place as an outcome of initiative and idealism.

Before the revolution, the church ceased to be a living organism and it failed to fulfil its task; priests were government officials. The rulers of Russia and the Byzantine Empire had made the church serve their political ends to the detriment of the interests of the people. Opposing the oppression, the Ukrainians had suffered from floggings of the Tsar.

The church must be free; decisions must be made not by the tsars but by Sobors and the people, who were the living Church of Christ. The clergy must be elective and the government of the church must be democratic. Only under such a system, the Archbishop continued, could the commandments of Christ be adapted to life.

When the Ukrainian Orthodox movement began, it was started by a small group of individuals who approached the Russian bishop but negotiations failed because of the latter's antagonism. The group turned to the people who decided to make the church independent of foreigners. The people were refused by the Russian bishop to allow the Ukrainian language in the liturgy; this was in clear defiance to the teachings of the Bible, because the apostles received the gift of tongues from the Holy Spirit, and Saints Cyril and Methodius translated the Holy Scriptures from Greek into old Slavic. The Ukrainian people finally turned to autocephaly in spite of the objections of the Russian rulers.

Archbishop Theodorovich continued to explain that the Ukrainian Orthodox Church was accused of being a political institution and that this was false; national identity was not politics. Ukrainians were Ukrainians because of birth and because they had the heritage of language and traditions. The preservation of national traits in a church conformed with the plans of God. The church was the soul of the nation and its supreme aim. Politics was changeable but the church was not. The church cared for the spiritual welfare of man and it was only when there was a spiritual transformation that a new and just order would come to the world. The church was founded in the very depths of human hearts and upon the eternal world of Christ.

³³*Ibid.*

³⁴*Ibid.*

³⁵*The Orthodox Herald*, November 1924.

The speech was a moving one and the impact upon the audience was described thus:

This first speech of the Bishop captivated with its sincerity the hearts of all. Most of the participants wept with joy that they had lived to see their very own bishop and the revival of their own mighty Orthodox church in Ukraine, and also wept with sorrow that Ukraine had suffered such great sacrifices in the struggle for independence, which will be necessary to gain again. The stirring salutatory speech of the bishop made a very favourable impression upon the entire Sobor with respect to the personality of the Bishop, so that it was now possible to predict boldly that the Sobor would unanimously support the invitation that he assume the leadership (not only in the United States of America) also of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church of Canada.³⁶

There was a question and answer period following the Archbishop's address. Nicholas Bachynsky, member of the Legislative Assembly of Manitoba, asked two questions: (a) did the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church regard itself as a part of the universal Orthodox Church, and (b) might the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church exist without the recognition of the other Orthodox churches. The Archbishop's reply³⁷ to the first question was in the affirmative, adding that the Russian church made attempts to obtain the conditions for an agreement with the church and to the second question, that recognition comes after work had been accomplished; besides, the Ecumenical Council had not been called and, since nothing had been said in this regard, the church would not worry about this matter at the present time. Michael Stechishin added to the Archbishop's answer, that Metropolitan Germanos had turned over formally the administration of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church in the United States to Archbishop Theodorovich thereby signifying recognition, for recognition was implied with the transference of jurisdiction.

The resolution that the Ukrainian Orthodox Church of Canada come under the spiritual jurisdiction of Archbishop Ivan Theodorovich was voted on during the evening session of the first day of the Sobor and received unanimous endorsement. The terms of this spiritual union were similar to those that had been made with Metropolitan Germanos which insured administrative independence for both parties.

The following morning was an occasion of great emotion for those who attended the Sobor because it was the first episcopal service in the Ukrainian language replacing the old Slavic, and because it was the first celebration of Mass by the first Ukrainian bishop of the Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church of Canada. During this great occasion, the order of the arch-priests was conferred upon Fathers W. Kudryk and S. W. Sawchuk.

The final session was devoted to discussions of the various phases of church work: administration, Sisterhoods and Brotherhoods. The consistory was elected; the members were: Fr. S. W. Sawchuk (president), Fr. W. Kudryk, Fr. K. Kyrstiuk, Fr. P. Sametz, Michael Stechishin, Ivan Semeniuk and Fred Kawryliuk.

Now that the church had its own bishop, the consistory and the Brotherhood jointly sent a letter to Metropolitan Germanos thanking him for his spiritual guidance during their search:

Please accept from us, Your Excellency, sincere thanks for your past spiritual guidance over the Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church of Canada. In Your person the Ukrainian Orthodox Church in Canada found an illustrious bishop and defender

³⁶*The Orthodox Herald*, July, 1924.

³⁷*The Orthodox Herald*, January, 1925.

of its rights to an independent existence. Your profound belief that the Ukrainian Orthodox Church would make good progress, and your hopes that eventually the Church would have a Ukrainian as bishop came to fruition this year, when God sent us such a bishop in the person of His Excellency Archbishop Ivan Theodorovich. The history of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church in Canada will immortalize Your Name as its first Bishop who, although of another nationality, understood very well its high purpose and led it along the road of the faith of Christ. ³⁸

The controversy over the episcopal consecration by the Alexandrian method never ceased as long as Archbishop Theodorovich headed the Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church of Canada. The concern among Ukrainians in Canada was natural. If the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church in the Ukraine was canonical, then Archbishop Theodorovich's ordination was also canonical and apostolic succession was possible for the Canadian church. The opponents of the new church said that the church in the Ukraine was not, hence neither was Archbishop Theodorovich's ordination, canonical.

Articles such as "According to the Example from Apostolic Times"³⁹ explained the method of episcopal consecration and traced the consecration to the time of St. Paul who had been ordained by his presbyters. The issue was never settled. The opposition continued to claim that Metropolitan Lipkivsky, who had consecrated Archbishop Theodorovich, had been consecrated by priests and not by bishops and hence, the Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church of Canada, in accepting Archbishop Theodorovich, was not canonical. The opponents continued the attack through the Greek Catholic organ, *Canadian Ukrainian*,⁴⁰ that the Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church was Presbyterian in form, that in spite of the bishop being the elected head of the church, he was merely a figure head and that the consistory governed. Hence the church was not a truly Orthodox church.

The controversy over Archbishop Theodorovich's consecration continued through the newspapers for the remainder of the year of 1924, with no apparent resolution. As far as the Orthodox followers were concerned, the issue was closed with an article in the *Orthodox Herald*.⁴¹ Under the heading, "The Superiority of the Ukrainian Church", the author, Fr. W. Nowosad, discussed the ordination of a bishop by two other bishops and the claim that by this method apostolic succession was perpetuated. St. Paul was ordained by the presbyters and not by apostles. The author discussed the apostolic succession theme by outlining the ordination of the bishops of Alexandria⁴² by priests for some two hundred years. "The succession arose later when episcopal offices were acquired by sinful people who, unable to extol their own good deeds, began to take refuge behind the good deeds of their predecessors."⁴³ Father Nowosad continued with the point that if the regulation of the ordination of a bishop were of such importance, it should have become one of the holy sacraments but it was not, hence it was relatively unimportant. His final point was that the method of consecration did not sanctify those who were thus touched, and cited Judas Iscariot as the prime example.

The next topic discussed by Fr. Nowosad was the true interpretation of the church canons, pointing out for example, that many of the oldest canons that were valid in their times, were not applicable now and were being

³⁸*The Orthodox Herald*, July, 1924.

³⁹*The Orthodox Herald*, August, 1924.

⁴⁰For an example of such attacks, see *Canadian Ukrainian*, August 6, 1924.

⁴¹December, 1924.

⁴²This method is often referred to as the Alexandrian method of ordination. See appendix in thesis.

⁴³*The Orthodox Herald*, December, 1924.

disregarded. Bishops of the Roman Empire times were appointed by the Emperor, and bishops of the Russian Empire era were appointed by the Tsar. The author quoted one of the oldest canons: "Any bishop who acquires his authority in the church through secular officials must be dismissed and expelled from the church",⁴⁴ and asked the opposition to reconcile their arguments in the light of this canon. The author asked, "How could apostolic succession be perpetuated by those who had lost their rights of membership in the church?"⁴⁵

In conclusion, Fr. Nowosad stated that anyone who was christened was a member of the christian church, whereas an expelled bishop was not a member and had lost the grace of God. Therefore, "...the Ukrainian Orthodox Church in respect to the legality of its bishop, stands a whole sky higher than other churches".⁴⁶ In fact, said the author:

A bishop ordained by the faithful gathered at a church sobor and chosen by them after prayer and fasting, like the Apostle Paul, has greater authority than a person ordained by those who, according to canons, have ceased to be members of the Christian Church.⁴⁷

Rebuttals in the newspapers were not the only method that the Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church used to meet these accusations. During this period, the Greek Catholic newspaper, the *Canadian Ukrainian*, printed several libellous statements. In the fall of 1923, an article was printed against W. Swystun and his promotion of the Orthodox church and the P. Mohyla Institute. Court action was avoided when, on December 12, 1923, a retraction and an apology were printed in the paper. Again, in 1924, the newspaper accused the Orthodox leaders of using the church as front for business dealings and that the priests were "parasites", "ignoramuses", and "quacks".⁴⁸ This editorial produced a case before the Court of King's Bench and the decision went against the *Canadian Ukrainian* on June 25, 1925.⁴⁹ A fine was imposed of \$10,000.00 which was later reduced to \$7,000.00 and, because the paper went bankrupt, the amount was never paid.

The Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church of Canada was now ready to continue the business of expansion. The dynamic personality of the Archbishop, the enthusiasm and unselfishness of the priests and the devotion and loyalty of the laymen to the new church, explain in large part the rapid increase in the number of parishes. Archbishop Theodorovich's itinerary⁵⁰ for two years shows some of the parishes organized to the level that they were able to receive an episcopal visit:

1924 — August	2	Gardenton, Manitoba
"	3	Arbakka, Manitoba
"	10	Winnipeg, Manitoba
"	17	Tolstoi, Manitoba
"	18	Senkiw, Manitoba
"	22	Menzie, Manitoba
"	24	Sheho, Saskatchewan
"	28	Meacham, Saskatchewan
"	31	St. Julien, Saskatchewan

⁴⁴*Ibid.*

⁴⁵*Ibid.*

⁴⁶*Ibid.*

⁴⁷*Ibid.*

⁴⁸*Canadian Ukrainian*, October 1, 1924.

⁴⁹Full proceedings were reported in the *Ukrainian Voice*, July 1, 1925.

⁵⁰Taken from the *Orthodox Herald*. This is a service of the paper. Some priests continue to list the church services for their districts each month.

— September	7	Shypenitz, Alberta
”	11	Espas, Alberta
”	14	Mundare, Alberta
”	21	Radway Centre, Alberta
”	27	Bufford, Alberta
”	28	Edmonton, Alberta
1924 — October	3	Saskatoon, Saskatchewan
”	5	Goodeve, Saskatchewan
”	12	Regina, Saskatchewan
”	14	Hampton, Alberta
”	19	Keld, Manitoba
1925 — August	9	Brandon, Manitoba
”	16	Winnipeg, Manitoba
”	19	Fenwood, Saskatchewan
”	23	Goodeve, Saskatchewan
”	28	Canora, Saskatchewan
”	30	Theodore, Saskatchewan
— September	6	Melville, Saskatchewan
”	13	Radymno, Saskatchewan
”	20	Krydor, Saskatchewan
”	21	St. Julien, Saskatchewan
”	27	Slawa, Alberta
— October	4	Mundare, Alberta
”	6	Zawale, Alberta
”	11	Brunderheim, Alberta
”	14	Vilna, Alberta
”	18	Smoky Lake, Alberta
”	25	Radway Centre, Alberta
— November	1	Tolstoi, Manitoba
”	8	Fort William, Ontario

^ * The Theological Seminary was progressing. Moved from Saskatoon to Regina, Saskatchewan, the graduates in 1926 were: Fathers T. Horbay, H. D. Hrycyna, D. Leschyshyn, J. Mayba, M. Podolsky, T. Volochatiuk and P. Zaporaniuk.⁵¹ These young priests, imbued with undaunted missionary zeal, were a great factor in the tremendous popularity of the church among the ever-increasing numbers of immigrants coming to Canada.

Many parishes converted to the Church. These parishes had been either Greek Catholic and had refused to become incorporated under Bishop Budka, or had been parishes with the declining Russian Orthodox Church. Many new congregations were formed and churches built, like St. Mary the Protectress in Winnipeg in 1925. Gradually parishes were organized in Eastern Canada and by 1926, Toronto and Montreal had active congregations.

The Ministerial Conference prior to the fifth Sobor which was held at Saskatoon, July 20 and 21, 1927 ⁵² was devoted largely to the format of the church service. Many parishes had different customs which they had incorporated into the church service. This was because of the members' origins; people came from different parts of the Ukraine and, depending upon whether they had been served by Russian, Greek Catholic, or Ukrainian priests, they had become familiar with certain rituals and had adopted them as part of the church service. The decision of the Conference was

⁵¹Conversation with Fr. H. D. Hrycyna.

⁵²*The Orthodox Herald*, August, September, 1927.

that there would be one form of church services to be observed throughout all churches of the Ukrainian Greek Orthodox faith and the priests were instructed accordingly.

The Fifth Sobor decided to publish the official prayer book, *Dobrey Paster* (The Good Shepherd), which continues publication to the present time. Other matters discussed were Sunday School, Ukrainian School, and missionary efforts.

There were now eighteen active priests. They were placed in the following districts:⁵³

Father S. W. Sawchuk, Winnipeg	Fr. D. Leschyshen, Winnipeg dist.
Fr. J. Mayba, Dauphin and dist.	Fr. P. Zaparyniuk, Tolstoi, Vita and districts
Fr. H. D. Hrycyna, Sheho and dist.	Fr. S. Hrebeniuk, Brandon
Fr. N. Sametz, Goodeve and dist.	Fr. T. Wolochatiuk, Kolomeya, Burford, (Alta.) and districts
Fr. Kirstiuk, Theodore and dist.	Fr. N. Melynychuk, Wakaw, St. Julien, Meacham and Tarnopol, Sask.
Fr. D. Stratyчук, Honeymoon, Wonda and Regina.	Fr. D. Seneta, Canora, Sask. and district
Fr. A. Horbay, Hamlin, Alta. and district	Fr. M. Pololsky, Ft. William and Ft. Frances
Fr. J. Kusy, Watsford, Alta.	
Fr. W. Slusar, Montreal	
Fr. P. Bilon, Edmonton	
Fr. W. Kudryk, Saskatoon and district	

Districts that did not have a priest were to have one as soon as a priest was available.

The last day of the fifth Sobor was devoted to resolutions. The following motions were passed: (a) a committee of Fr. S. W. Sawchuk, W. Swystun, Michael Stechishin, and Miroslaw Stechishin was elected to study and incorporate the church, (b) the *Orthodox Herald* was to be issued twice a month, (c) the next Sobor was to be held in 1930.

By 1928, there were 38,000 people of the Ukrainian Greek Orthodox faith, 26,000 of whom were actually members of the church, and 21 priests.⁵⁴ The church was strong; it was steadily growing and able to defend itself against its opponents. When the Greek Catholic organ, *Canadian Ukrainian*, wrote a defamatory article against the church, immediate legal action was threatened and the result was an apology by the paper on May 30, 1928.⁵⁵

CORRECTION

In the 19th issue of *Canadian Ukrainian* of May 8th, on the fourth page, we published an article under the heading "In Foreign Service."

His Excellency Ivan Theodorovich, Father S. W. Sawchuk and Mr. W. Swystun on their own behalf and on behalf of the Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church of Canada and the people associated with them, as leaders of the Church, have lodged through their lawyers, Heap, Arsenych and Murchison, a complaint and protest against the contents and assertions contained in the said article.

We carefully examined all charges that are contained in the mentioned article and without the least hesitation declare that all allegations and remarks contained therein are false.

⁵³*The Orthodox Herald*, August, 1927.

⁵⁴*Ibid.*

⁵⁵*The Herald*, June 1, 1928. See thesis for a photostatic copy.

It is a falsehood that the Protestants support the Ukrainian Autocephalous Church in Canada. That which we wrote several years ago and that which we wrote in this article are false.

We wrote that the Ukrainian Autocephalous Church in Canada was heading in the Protestant direction and submitted reasons for such an allegation. What we wrote was false and the reasons were false.

It is not true that the leaders of the Ukrainian Autocephalous Church, together with their Archbishop Theodorovich, sold themselves to the Protestants and entered upon the road of a new evolution. Our predictions were false and what we predicted did not happen.

The history of the Ukrainian Autocephalous Church in Canada is honourable and pure. It was established as a result of the spontaneous wishes of the Ukrainian masses in Canada. Our comparison of the Church with Seraphimism, Bodrugism and Makaryism and the allegation that it was established to "trim the wings of Bishop Budka" are false.

The ties with the Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church in Canada of His Excellency Germanos, the Syrian metropolitan and the present spiritual association of His Excellency Ivan Theodorovich have been honourable and worthy of respect and above any kind of suspicion.

It is not true that the associations which from the beginning supported this church now publicly renounce it or that respectable people condemn this church in the press as harmful to the Ukrainians in Canada or that parishes are returning to the church of their fathers or that autocephalous priests are joining other churches. The bishop, priests and leaders of the Ukrainian Autocephalous Church in Canada are worthy of respect, are fully devoted to their church and are giving with devotion their efforts to the expansion of the Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church in Canada, and in the interests of those who are attached to it and like every other religious group, serve the objectives desired among the Ukrainian settlers in Canada, because they endeavour to raise them to a higher level and to lofty ideals.

Our allegations that Protestant churches are financially aiding the Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church in Canada are false and groundless.

The Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church in Canada does not work to harm the Ukrainian immigration in Canada, on the contrary, it serves good and noble objectives and our allegations in the said article, ascribing lack of good will and veiled objectives to people associated with this church, were and are false and consequently we sincerely apologize to His Excellency Archbishop Ivan Theodorovich, Father S. W. Sawchuk and Mr. W. Swystun and all other leaders, members and supporters of this church and we express sincere regret for the wrong caused by the publications of defamatory allegations and the allusions to them. In the future, we shall exert every effort not to allow irresponsible persons to use the columns of our newspaper to make defamatory attacks on the bishop, priests and leaders of the Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church in Canada.

The Publishers of the *Canadian Ukrainian* and
the *Canadian Farmer*
The Ukrainian Peoples Press Ltd.
The National Press Ltd.

The *Canadian Farmer* also had to recant:⁵⁶

AN APOLOGY

In the *Canadian Farmer* of May 9th, 1928, a news item was published under the heading "Protestant women prepare a conference for Ukrainians." This news item had been translated and reprinted directly from *Mail and Empire* which mentioned that Archbishop Theodorovich was to attend a convention organized in Toronto in the month of June by the "Protestant Women's Association."

We know for certain now that this news item was not true regarding Archbishop Theodorovich and our commentary that the Protestants support the Ukrainian (Autocephalous) Church in Canada was not right.

In this regard the *Canadian Farmer* expresses its regrets and apologizes for the publication of this news item with the commentary to Archbishop I. Theodorovich and other persons who are connected with the church and are its leaders.

The Publishers of *Canadian Farmer*

⁵⁶*Ibid.* See thesis for a photostatic copy.

These apologies were of great significance to the new church. Their main opponent, the Greek Catholic Church, had to admit that it had been stating false information about the Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church of Canada and it meant that these kinds of accusations could no longer be used. By writing the apology, the publishers were recognizing the Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church of Canada as a true church with dedicated and loyal people as its adherents.

These apologies, coupled with the church's decision to continue its autocephalous movement based upon scriptures and canons, closed the issue for several years.

On May 1, 1929, the Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church of Canada was incorporated.⁵⁷ Some of the points of interest in this act are:

PREAMBLE

WHEREAS a petition had been presented on behalf of the congregations and parishes of the Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church of Canada, scattered throughout the different provinces of this Dominion, praying that it be enacted as hereinafter set forth and it is expedient to grant the prayer of the said petition: Therefore His Majesty, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate and House of Commons of Canada, enacts as follows:

FAITH AND DOGMA

1. The Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church of Canada hereby declares that its faith and dogma are the same as that of the various already existing Greek Orthodox Churches, and it adheres to the faith and dogma adopted by the First Seven Ecumenical Councils of the Christian Church.

OBJECTS

4. The objects of the Corporation shall be the maintenance and carrying on of charities or missions, erection, maintenance and conduct of churches, cemeteries, schools, colleges or orphanages and hospitals in any of the provinces of Canada, the advancement in other ways of education, religion, charity, and benevolence, and to administer in Canada such of the property, business and other temporal affairs of the said Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church of Canada as may be entrusted by the said Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church of Canada to the Corporation.

AFFILIATION

6. (1) Any congregation or mission of the Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church of Canada, whether now in existence or which may be formed at any time in the future, shall signify its intention to become a part of the Corporation, by a resolution passed at a duly called meeting thereof, according to the constitution thereof.

(2) The copy of such resolution shall be certified by the chairman and the secretary of the said meeting, and shall be sent to the consistory of the Corporation and the consistory may then issue a certificate admitting such congregation, or mission, to the Corporation.

HIERARCHY

7. Only persons of Ukrainian descent and of the faith, dogma, and rite of the Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church of Canada shall be eligible for the office of priests, bishops, metropolitans, or other spiritual and administrative officers of the Corporation.

MANAGEMENT

8. (1) The Corporation shall be managed by a Board of Consistory of at least five members, or such other number of members, as may be determined upon under the powers hereinafter conferred.

(2) Such Board of Consistory shall be composed of equal numbers of Clergy and laity, and the head bishop of the Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church of Canada, if resident in Canada, shall be the president of the Board of Consistory. In the absence of the head bishop, the administrator, who must be a clergyman,

⁵⁷*Charter i Statoot Ukrayinskoii Hreko-Pravoslavnoyi Tserkve v Kanadi* (Charter and Constitution the Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church of Canada), pp. 1-17.

elected at the last general council, shall act as the president of the Board of Consistory.

(3) The supreme power in all temporal matters of the Corporation shall be vested in the General Council of the Corporation to be held and called according to the rules and by-laws hereinafter referred to.

(4) Each congregation, mission or parish shall have the right of representation at such General Council of the Corporation, subject to the rules and by-laws as aforesaid.

(5) Every clergyman of any rank in good standing in the said church, shall have the right to be present at the General Council and vote and take part in the proceedings at such council.

POWER TO MAKE BY-LAWS

9. The Corporation may from time to time at its general council, make by-laws not contrary to law for:

- a) The appointment, subject as herein provided of a Board of Consistory for the administration, management, and control of property, business and other temporal affairs of the Corporation;
- b) The appointment, functions, duties and remuneration of all officers, agents and servants of the Corporation;
- c) The appointment or deposition of the Consistory, bishops, administrators, special committees or boards from time to time for the purposes of the Corporation;
- d) The calling of general council meetings, regular or special, of the Corporation or of the committee;
- e) Fixing the necessary quorum and procedure in all things at such meetings;
- f) Generally for the carrying out of the objects and purposes of the Corporation.

The following year, the leaders of the Church called the sixth Sobor to decide upon the Statutes of the Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church of Canada.

I. NAME

1. Name of the Church is "Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church of Canada" which can be referred to as "Ukrainian Orthodox Church of Canada."

- a) The Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church of Canada is in communion with the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church through its bishop or bishops.

II. CONSTITUTION

2. In the membership of the Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church of Canada which includes congregations, parishes and missions, may be included separate families and individuals who live in localities where there is no congregation, parish or mission and who profess the teachings of the Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church of Canada and submit to its guidance and act according to the resolutions of the charter, this constitution and sobors of the "Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church of Canada."

3. Any Ukrainian religious congregation, parish or mission which wishes to enter under the constitution of the Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church of Canada, must write to the Consistory of the Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church of Canada a suitable declaration and will receive from it a certificate according to the requirements of the charter of the Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church of Canada; any parish, congregation or mission that the Consistory registers under the constitution of the Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church of Canada from that time that congregation, parish, or mission becomes a legal part of the Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church of Canada.

- a) An individual or family that lives in a locality where there is no Ukrainian Orthodox congregation, parish or mission and wishes to join the Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church of Canada can inform the Consistory of the Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church of Canada as to his, her, their wishes and it (Consistory) may if it considers suitable, register him, her, them under the constitution of the Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church of Canada and ascribe it one of the Ukrainian Orthodox congregations that individual or family accepted, to enjoy full rights of membership in that community and must pay annual dues to the Consistory and to the ascribed community.

III. RULING BODY

4. The highest ruling legislative body of the Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church of Canada is its Sobor, which meets every five years or in the event that matters, in accordance with the requirements of the charter and this constitution dictate and which pertain to the dogma, teachings and fundamental rites of the Universal Orthodox Christian Apostolic Church, dictate.

IV. SOBOR

5. The constitution of a Sobor of the Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church of Canada includes:

- a) All priests of every degree in the Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church excepting those who are suspended,
- b) Members of the Consistory,
- c) Delegates of each parish to the maximum of two per parish. If in a parish exists a Brotherhood, then the parish has one delegate and the Brotherhood has one delegate. If a Brotherhood exists but not a parish, then the Brotherhood may send two representatives.
- d) Members of the Church's Judiciary Committee,
- e) Members of the Diocese's auditing committee,
- f) Editor of the official newspaper of the Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church of Canada,
- g) Members of the Executive of the Brotherhood.

6. The consistory convenes the Sobor every five years beginning in 1935; unless the urgency of matters necessitate it, the Consistory may convene an Extraordinary Sobor by itself or by the vote of at least one-third of all the parishes.

- a) The Consistory determines the place and date of each Sobor.
- b) Notice of a Sobor to be convened must be given at least one month in advance in the official church organ as well as by the regular mail to every priest, congregation, parish, mission, Brotherhood and all those who have the right to participate at the Sobor, as well as by any other means that the Consistory deems necessary.
- c) An Extraordinary Sobor may be convened in the manner described in 6 (b) unless the matter is urgent. Then it can convene the Sobor within two weeks notice, informing by registered mail all congregations, parishes, missions and all those who by this constitution have the right of participation at a Sobor.
- d) The basic program of the Sobor will be prepared by the Consistory, but the Sobor has the right to discuss and decide such questions that may arise before the Sobor.
- e) An Extraordinary Sobor discusses and decides only those matters for which the Sobor has been convened.
- f) All conferences at the Sobor must be preceded by a High Mass celebrated by a bishop or Sobor.
- g) The governing Bishop of the Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church of Canada, when present, is the honorary chairman and the first advisor to the Sobor.

7. The praesidium of the Sobor is composed of the following elective members:

- a) President – a priest,
- b) Three vice-chairmen – one layman, one priest, and the third is the president of the Executive of the Brotherhood; in the event the latter is absent, a layman is elected in his place.

8. In the conduct of records of the conferences of the Sobor, the chairman of the Sobor's praesidium will call upon secretaries composed of an equal number of secular and clergy men.

9. The legality of the Sobor is not dependent upon the number of delegates present at the Sobor.

10. The voting at the Sobor will be made visibly with a show of hands or by standing, excepting if so desired by the majority of the delegates at the Sobor, then the voting will be by secret ballot.

V. BISHOP

11. The bishop is first and foremost religious Teacher, Hierarch and Primate.
 - a) As a Teacher—he teaches the Truths of the Christian teachings, cares about the purity of the Orthodox Faith and works for its expansion.
 - b) As a Hierarch—besides regular priestly offices and participating in the activities of every priest, he has the right to execute such activities as will be assigned to him: ordination of priests and deacons, blessing of church workers, consecrations of blessed altar cloths, myrrh, churches and cemeteries.

The Bishop has the right to recommend a priest to consecrate a cemetery or a church excepting for the consecration of the altar which is exclusively the duty of the Bishop.
 - c) As a Primate—all religious and secular members of the Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church of Canada are responsible to him in religious matters.
12. The Bishop has the right to suspend a priest if it is necessary until his conduct is judged by the ecclesiastical court.
 - a) Deposition or restoration of the order of priesthood will take place at the conclusion of the decision of the ecclesiastical court and the Bishop has been informed.
 - b) The Bishop blesses the establishment of Brotherhoods and Sisterhoods, confirms their resolutions, approves religious texts and religious publications in general; imparts decisions in matrimonial matters dealing with the consecration within the framework of state laws; releases from present vows excepting monastic vows; distinguishes upon the recommendation of the Sobor Consistory in a suitable manner persons, secular and religious, for their particular work for the church.
13. Candidate for the Bishop of the Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church of Canada, is elected by the Sobor or the Extraordinary Sobor of the church.
14. Assisting the Bishop in the execution of his duties in the church is the Consistory with which he will always confer in all important matters dealing with church life and religious administration.
15. The bishopric service has the right to its own seal.

VI. ADMINISTRATOR

16. In accordance with the requirements of the charter, in the event of the death, illness, removal, absence or unforeseen circumstances of the Bishop and prevents his fulfillment of his obligations, his place will be taken by the Administrator, who will fulfill all those obligations which are related to the Bishop and are permissible by the canons of the Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church of Canada and the decisions of the Sobors, and who will fulfill these obligations during the absence, illness or other unforeseen circumstances of the ruling Bishop or until such time when the election of a new ruling Bishop will take place.
17. The Administrator is elected by the ordinary Sobor or Extraordinary Sobor; the ordinary Sobor elects for five years whereas the Extraordinary Sobor elects up till the time when the ordinary Sobor takes place.
18. In the event of the death, illness or other unforeseen circumstances, the Administrator is unable to fulfill his obligations, then with the agreement of the ruling Bishop, the Consistory will; and if the Bishop is absent as is described in paragraph 19 of the Charter, then he is replaced by a substitute chosen by himself from the religious ranks.
 - a) In the event that a substitute for the Administrator has to be chosen from the members of the Consistory, then in his place in the Consistory, the Consistory will call upon a new religious person outside the Consistory in accordance with the regulations of this constitution.

VII. CONSISTORY

19. The Consistory is composed of: the Administrator as the president of the Consistory and two religious and two secular members who are elected by the Sobor.
 - a) One of the two religious members of the Consistory becomes the vice-president of the Consistory and the second becomes the secretary.
 - b) One of the two lay members of the Consistory will become the treasurer of the Consistory and the other an assistant-secretary of the Consistory.

20. Four deputy members of the Consistory—two secular and two religious—will be elected by the Sobor for five years or for such time till the next ordinary Sobor without indicating their positions in the Consistory.

a) The elected members of the Consistory, under the direction of the head of the Consistory, at their first meeting, will decide among themselves who will undertake the positions of vice-president, secretary, assistant-secretary, and treasurer of the Consistory in accordance with paragraphs 19 (a) and (b).

21. In the event of the death, resignation or deposition of a member of the Consistory, in his place the remaining members of the Consistory call upon a new member to complete the term of the former member of the Consistory.

22. A seal with the words, "Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church of Canada" in Ukrainian and English languages will be used on all documents of the Consistory.

23. Minutes of the meetings of the Consistory are signed by the president and the secretary of the Consistory.

24. Correspondence of the Consistory is signed by the president of the Consistory or his secretary upon the instruction of the president of the Consistory; all important correspondence and documents are signed by the president and the secretary of the Consistory.

25. A quorum of the Consistory will consist of three members of the Consistory.

26. All matters in accordance with the requirements of the charter and this constitution that are within the sphere of the operation of the Bishop, the Consistory refers them to the Bishop for his approval.

VIII. THE ECCLESIASTICAL JUDICIARY COMMITTEE

27. For the settlement of important matters, transgressions and misunderstandings in the religious-community life, individuals or communities, the Sobor creates an Ecclesiastical Judiciary Committee of three members, elected by the Sobor which consists of a religious person as chairman and two others as members of which one is a religious person and the other a layman.

a) In the event of a death, resignation, or deposition of a member of the Ecclesiastical Judiciary Committee, the Consistory appoints in his place a new member till the end of the term of his predecessor.

b) The Ecclesiastical Judiciary Committee, after examining all the evidence, passes its findings to the Consistory after which the Bishop announces the decision.

28. The Ecclesiastical Judiciary Committee settles matters concerning religious transgressions in accordance with the canons of the Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church of Canada and in accordance with the resolutions of the Sobor and this constitution.

29. An appeal of the decision of the Ecclesiastical Judiciary Committee may be made to the Sobor.

30. The Ecclesiastical Judiciary Committee has power over all secular and religious members of the Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church of Canada excepting the Bishop and also the Administrator when he is representing the Bishop in accordance with the requirements of this constitution.

31. Serious accusations against the Bishop regarding the Administrator when he is performing in place of the Bishop, in accordance with the requirements of this constitution, are examined by the members of the Ecclesiastical Judiciary Committee and members of the Consistory and, when their findings deserve the attention of the Sobor, they are turned over to the Ordinary or Extraordinary Sobor which has been convened by the Consistory according to the requirements of this constitution.

32. Complaints related to religious life are sent to the Consistory which, upon examination, refers them to the Ecclesiastical Judiciary Committee or settles them.

33. In the event a complaint is directed towards a member of the Consistory or a member of the Ecclesiastical Judiciary Committee, that member is excused from the meetings of the Consistory or the Ecclesiastical Judiciary Committee during which his case is being discussed.

IX. AUDITING COMMITTEE

34. To credit the financial affairs of the Consistory and the Head Executive of the Brotherhood, Sobor elects an Auditing Committee of five members—three laymen and two religious—for a five year term.

a) In the event of a death, resignation, or deposition of a member of the Auditing Committee, the remaining members of the Auditing Committee appoint a new auditor till the term of his predecessor expires.

b) In the event of the resignation or deposition of the entire Auditing Committee, the Consistory will appoint other men in their places.

35. The Auditing Committee examines the accounts of the Consistory and the Head Executive of the Brotherhood at least once a year, submits its findings and suggestions and at the Sobor presents an accurate report for the time of the holding of office.

a) When the Consistory, in agreement with the Auditing Committee, considers as suitable, it may employ an official chartered accountant to verify the accounts of the Consistory or the Brotherhood.

X. PRIESTS

36. Candidates for deacons and priests are accepted by the Consistory, obtaining information regarding the person from priests and from all those who know him in general.

37. Before the ordination of the candidate, he must submit to an examination of general and theological knowledge, such as administered by the Examinations Committee which is composed of the Bishop, preferably the Administrator as the President, and two religious persons appointed by the Consistory.

38. The intention to ordain a candidate is made known to all priests and the head Executive of the Brotherhood, including all pertinent information about the candidate.

39. When the Candidate has fulfilled all requirements set down by the Examinations Committee, the results of the examinations are sent to the Consistory and if there are not any obstacles, the Consistory recommends to the Bishop the ordination of the candidate.

40. The Bishop has the power of the veto in the matter of the ordination of a candidate without giving any reasons, which may be known only to himself and for which he answers to God and to his conscience.

41. Before the ordination, and in front of the Bishop, the candidate takes the oath of allegiance to the Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church of Canada and signs the corresponding oath presented by the Consistory, which remains among other antimensium⁶⁸ under the power of the Bishop and, when the priest ceases to be a priest of the Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church of Canada, the antimensium is returned to the Bishop through the Consistory.

42. In the event the priests transfer from another Orthodox church to the Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church of Canada, the candidate must present his certificate of ordination, must submit to examinations in accordance with paragraph 37 of this constitution and must take the oath and sign it as required in paragraph 41 of this constitution.

43. In accepting a priest of another Orthodox church, the Consistory and the Bishop must abide by paragraphs 36, 37, 38, 39, 40 and 41 in regard to his admission.

44. In the event the transfer is of a Catholic priest to the Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church of Canada, the procedure is in accordance with paragraphs 42 and 43 with the supplement that when he is in church during Divine Service the orthodox Symbol of Faith is professed.

45. The Candidate for priesthood must be at least 24 years of age before he is ordained.

46 No one can become a bishop unless he is at least 35 years of age.

XI. CHANGES IN THE CONSTITUTION

47. Changes in the constitution can only be accomplished by the Sobors; a copy of the proposed change must be published ahead of time in the church organ.

a) The proposed change in the constitution may be submitted by a congregation, parish, or a mission through the Consistory or by the Consistory itself.

⁶⁸An altar cloth.

XII. FUNDS

48. To carry out its activities the Consistory collects funds from congregation, parishes, or missions and from individual members according to the plan accepted by the Sobor.

Section B of the constitution deals with the "Constitution of the Religious Community." There are twenty paragraphs dealing with membership and duties of members, church property, delegations to Sobors, Annual Meetings, and Duties of the Executive.

It is interesting to note that the issue of church property that began the events leading to the establishment of the Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church of Canada is stated in paragraph 53 under Section XIII of "Constitution of the Religious Community":

The church property of the congregation is administered by the executive, elected by the congregation at their annual General Meeting, which is composed of at least the following officers: (a) chairman, (b) secretary, (c) treasurer, (d) manager, and (e) three auditors.

Section XIV deals with Congregation Funds and Section XV deals with the Parish Priest.

XV. PARISH PRIEST

71. The Pastor is appointed to a parish by the Consistory upon the wishes, through the understanding, and by the agreement with the parish.

72. A change in pastors may take place only after preliminary arrangement between the parish and Consistory have taken place, but the final decision remains with the Consistory.

73. Questions regarding the Faith, Divine Services, and Church Laws in the congregation are dealt with by the Pastor.

74. The Pastor is an advisor to the congregation in all religious matters and as such has the right to be present at all discussions and meetings of the congregation and at these has the right of a vote, excepting in those matters concerning him personally.

75. The Pastor is obliged by virtue of his station to oversee all religious discipline in the congregation and guard that the high moral standards of living in the congregation are upheld.

76. The Pastor is obliged with all his ability to help the congregation in all congregational affairs which will help in the development and welfare of the congregation.

77. The Pastor will keep a register of baptisms, marriages and deaths which are obtainable from the Consistory by the congregation.

XVI. CHANGES IN THE CONSTITUTION OF THE COMMUNITY

78. Changes in the constitution of the religious community may take place only in accordance with paragraph 47 of the constitution.⁵⁹

By the end of 1930, the leaders of the Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church of Canada were able to look upon their efforts with considerable pride. The church had been incorporated and had passed its constitution. The apostolic succession was secure and the church was expanding. The future looked bright; the struggle and turmoil of the twenties had settled, but the thirties were to prove that they could be just as uneasy and as troublesome.

⁵⁹*Charter i Statoot Ukrayinskoi Hreko-Pravoslavnoi Tserkve v Kanadi* (Charter and Constitution of the Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church of Canada), pp. 33-55.

CHAPTER IV

Discord

With the onset of 1930, Canadians saw depression settling firmly upon the nation's economy. In spite of economic hardships, the church progressed quietly and steadily until six years later when it too, experienced an eruption at its foundations. In 1935, such a violent internal explosion took place that only the highest court in the country could resolve the matter.

As in the mid-twenties, the issue was the canonicity of Archbishop Ivann Theodorovich; the difference was that this time the issue arose through the actions of the Archbishop himself.

The first event which brought about the eventual upheaval took place in the United States in 1926 at a Congress of Greek Catholics at Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.¹ This Congress, which took place on December 29, 1926, heard a group of delegates protest subservience to Rome. Subsequently, some thirteen priests left the church and formed an independent Ukrainian Orthodox Greek Catholic Church. Two priests of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church of the United States, which was under Archbishop Theodorovich's administration, joined this independent church. The action of the two priests did much to hurt the Archbishop's prestige.² In 1931, the group received the recognition of the Patriarch of Constantinople.³ In July, 1931, at New York, the group took the official name of "Ukrainian Orthodox Church of North America."⁴ The Group refused to join the Ukrainian Orthodox Church of the United States under Archbishop Theodorovich, because of its claim that the Archbishop's ordination was uncanonical. The Archbishop was advised to secure recognition from the Patriarch of Constantinople, to which the Archbishop was agreeable. This, of course, caused confusion within the hierarchy of the church in the U.S.A. and anxiety was felt in Canada.⁵ When the group under the name of "The Ukrainian Orthodox Church of North America" lost its bishop through death in 1934, it once again turned to Archbishop Theodorovich with the same condition, that he supplement his consecration. This time the Consistory of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church of the United States agreed, and thesis or proposition for union was signed on March 6, 1935. This was made public a month later.⁶

The Consistory of the Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church of Canada was officially informed on March 11, 1935, but the articles of the proposed

¹*The Orthodox Herald*, June, 1927.

²*The Herald*, August 15, 1931.

³*The Herald*, October 1, 1931. This group was often referred to as "Zukites" and their church "the Zukite Church" because of their leader, Dr. Joseph Zuk.

⁴*Ibid.*

⁵Conversations with Fr. Hrycyna.

⁶W. Swystun, *Kryza v Ukrayinski Pravoslavni (Autokefalni) Tserkvi* (Crisis in the Ukrainian Orthodox (Autocephalous) Church), (Winnipeg: author, 1947), pp. 37-42.

union were not enclosed.⁷ Naturally there was resentment on the part of the Canadian church leaders. Information about the terms of the agreement and an explanation of the circumstances were demanded.⁸ Some specific questions were asked, such as whether the Archbishop had acted solely on behalf of the American Church or also on behalf of the Canadian Church, and if, in the event the Canadian Church was opposed to the Archbishop's plan, what would the Archbishop do.⁹

The answer dated March 18, 1935,¹⁰ was in most part evasive. The Archbishop, however, assured the Canadian Church that he was not representing the Canadian Church in his correspondence with the Patriarch.

On April 4, 1935, Fr. Sawchuk informed the Archbishop of the decision of the Canadian Consistory taken at its meeting on April 8, 1935. The Canadian Church would not consider any stand other than the one held presently as to Archbishop's reconsecration.

....The Ukrainian Orthodox Church and its hierarchy always were and are Grace-bearing and that is precisely why we regarded and still regard as unnecessary and even improper to strive for patriarchal recognition.¹¹

At the same time as the correspondence was being carried on between the Archbishop and the Consistory, an article appeared in the *Ukrainian Voice*¹² approving the action of a Greek Catholic bishop in suspending two of his priests for having married after ordination. The article stated that the Orthodox church's position was similar to that of the Catholic church in this particular matter; priests who were ordained in celibacy are forbidden to marry; likewise widowed priests are forbidden to remarry. This was challenged by Wasyl Swystun in the *Ukrainian Voice*.¹³ He took the stand that the Canadian church is separate in matters of church administration and episcopate, but in matters of dogma and canons, it has accepted those of the Ukrainian Orthodox Autocephalous Church in the Ukraine, under Metropolitan Lipkevsky, when the Canadian church accepted Archbishop Theodorovich as its primate. Swystun argued that the canons of the church in the Ukraine, which had been sanctioned by the Sobor in Kiev in 1921, contained the clause that not only priests but also bishops may be married, either before or after ordination, hence the Ukrainian Orthodox clergy have the same privileges here in Canada.

Fr. Sawchuk replied in the same newspaper¹⁴ that although the Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church of Canada had elected Archbishop Theodorovich as its bishop, it had never accepted the canons of the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church in the Ukraine and that the Canadian church adheres to the first paragraph of its charter. Furthermore, the Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church of Canada had never become a part of any other Church, and is bound only by the decisions of its own Sobors. In those matters, in which it has not formulated a stand or interpretation of its own, it adheres to the canons and follows the practise of the Universal Orthodox Church.

Unable to print his rebuttal to Fr. Sawchuk's article in the *Ukrainian Voice*, Mr. Swystun published his reply in a pamphlet at the beginning of

⁷*Ibid.*

⁸*Ibid.*

⁹*Ibid.*

¹⁰*Ibid.*

¹¹*Ibid.*

¹²March 6, 1935.

¹³March 13, 1935.

¹⁴*Ukrainian Voice*, March 20, 1935.

May. In his pamphlet, *Dogmaticchno-Kanonichne Stanovische Ukrayinskoyi Hreko-Pravoslavnoyi Tserkve v Kanadi* (The Dogmatical-Canonical Position of the Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church of Canada), Swystun argued that the Canadian church was a part of the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church in the Ukraine, and was bound by its dogmatical and canonical teachings. Spiritually, they were one and the same; jurisdictionally they were separate. Furthermore, in accepting Archbishop Theodorovich as bishop, the church accepted the canonicity of the Ukrainian Autocephalous Church of the Ukraine and its canons. The Fourth Sobor had not accepted some canons and rejected others. The remainder of the article was an attack upon the Archbishop's proposed connection with the Patriarch of Constantinople. Swystun suggested that the Seventh Sobor, which was to convene at the end of June, 1935, should remove the Archbishop, and by the traditional Alexandrian method of ordination of a bishop, elect a new bishop.

Archbishop Theodorovich could not ignore these charges. Instead, he countered with a pamphlet of his own, *Tepereshni Stan Ridnoyi Tserkve i Nashi Problems* (The Present State of the Native Church and our Problems), dated May 23, 1935, at Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. The Archbishop chided Swystun. The democratic structure of the church means, "A private person may express his opinion and criticism only when he acquires definite credentials from the church and then only at a Sobor."¹⁵ He referred to his correspondence with the Patriarch and stated that before any definite action would be taken, the Canadian church would be consulted. The Archbishop categorically denied the assertion that canonical union with the Patriarch meant canonical disunion from the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church. The Sobor of 1921 in the Ukraine confirmed the canons of the Seven Ecumenical Councils, hence the possible union with the Patriarch of Constantinople did not mean disunion because there existed fraternal unity.¹⁶ As to the Alexandrian method of ordination, the Archbishop replied that it was a method of exigency, and that the Sobor of 1921 forbade the repetition of this act, thereby showing a union with the other Orthodox churches. Finally, the Archbishop declared that, if the Patriarch demanded a new consecration, the Archbishop would refuse.¹⁷

The argument continued. Michael Stechishin entered the polemics with his pamphlet, *Pro Dogmy, Kanony i Pravne Stanovische Ukrayinskoyi Hreko-Pravoslavnoyi Tserkve v Kanadi* (Regarding the Dogmas, Canons and the Legal Position of the Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church of Canada). Stechishin, who was a lawyer and one of the founders of the church, and later became a judge in Saskatchewan, endeavoured to convince Swystun that the latter had made a mistake by writing his pamphlet, *Dogmaticchno-Kanonichne Stanovische Ukrayinskoyi Hreko-Pravoslavnoyi Tserkve v Kanadi* (The Dogmatical-Canonical Position of the Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church of Canada). Stechishin chided Swystun for not bringing forth his arguments and disagreements before the Sobor. He outlined the differences between "dogma" and "canon," and cited instances from history when the continuity of apostolic succession was broken. In Stechishin's opinion, Swystun had no right to accuse the Archbishop of betrayal and to issue a censure against him before the prelate related what he had actually

¹⁵Archbishop I. Theodorovich, *Tepereshni Stan Ridnoyi Tserkve i Nashi Problems* (The Present State of the Native Church and Our Problems), (Philadelphia: author, 1935), p.9.

¹⁶*Ibid.* p.14.

¹⁷*Ibid.* p.23.

written to the Patriarch, and the subsequent reply. Stechishin supported the idea of the union of the Ukrainian Orthodox churches and saw nothing objectionable with the Archbishop's efforts in this regard. The author reminded Swystun that, during the lawsuit¹⁸ in December, 1924, for the church at Edmore, Swystun had confirmed under oath that the Canadian church with its canons was independent of the church in the Ukraine. Stechishin reiterated that the charter of 1929, safe-guarded the full autocephaly of the Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church of Canada, and that the ties with the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church in the Ukraine were only spiritual.

Swystun did not accept the explanation and replied with another pamphlet, *Autokefalia-che Zalezhnist vid Choozhuh?*¹⁹ (Autocephaly or Dependence upon Foreigners?). The pamphlet contained the argument that the church in the Ukraine possesses unity of faith and dogma with other Orthodox churches, but not unity of canons because the Sobor adopted its own canons. Swystun argued that the Canadian church recognized the jurisdiction of the Ukrainian church, hence the Canadian church could not go under the subordination or guardianship of any other churches or patriarchs on the basis of autocephaly. Swystun repeated his solution of a new bishop by the Alexandrian method of ordination. Further in his pamphlet Swystun denied Stechishin's statement that he had, under oath, said the Canadian church with its canons, was independent of the Ukrainian church, instead his position was that the Canadian church did not differ from other Orthodox churches in dogma, "although it had different canons regarding the erection of the hierarchy by the Alexandrian method."²⁰

Subsequent to these polemics, the Seventh Sobor saw the largest number of delegates in attendance to date in the history of the young church. The Sobor was held at Saskatoon, Saskatchewan, June 30 to July 3, 1935.²¹

The church had by this time 25 priests and 181 parishes.²² The Sobor was attended by 23 priests and 88 lay delegates.²³ The importance of this Sobor was indicated by the fact that this was the only Sobor that had its proceedings published until 1951.

The Seventh Sobor commenced with the Archbishop's accusation that Swystun had violated the discipline and constitution of the church with the publication of his pamphlet *The Dogmatical-Canonical Position of the Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church of Canada*. The findings of the Judiciary Committee, composed of Fathers P. Sametz, V. Sluzar and Mr. P. Zvarich, were that Swystun had acted in "an improper manner"²⁴ by not referring his grievances to the Judiciary Committee. Swystun's behaviour, therefore, was improper and deserved a public reprimand before the Sobor.²⁵

¹⁸M. Stechishin, *Pro Dogmy, Kanony i Prave Stanovishe Ukrayinskoyi Hreko-Pravoslavnoyi Tserkve v Kanadi* (Regarding the Dogmas, Canons and the Legal Position of the Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church of Canada), (Yorkton: author, 1935), p.13.

¹⁹See thesis for a photostatic copy of a page from this pamphlet.

²⁰W. Swystun, *Autokefalia-che zalezhnist vid Choozhuh* (Autocephaly or Dependence upon Foreigners?), (Winnipeg: Author, 1935), p.43.

²¹*Protokol Semoho Soboro Ukrayinskoyi Hreko-Pravoslavnoyi Tserkve v Kanadi* (Records of the Seventh Sobor of the Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church of Canada), (Winnipeg: Consistory of the Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church of Canada, 1935).

²²*Ibid.* p.63.

²³*Ibid.*

²⁴*Ibid.*, p.5.

²⁵See thesis for a photostatic copy of this part of the proceedings.

Swystun repudiated the charges, claiming that he had not been invited to the Judiciary Committee's session,²⁶ and that according to the constitution the Committee had no right to issue a verdict; only the Sobor could make a judgment. Swystun then threatened to go to court to enforce the constitution.²⁷

The second session was a closed one, during which the whole matter was reviewed, beginning with events in 1930 in the United States, until the final pamphlet by Swystun was published.²⁸ The vote of 62-6 approved the verdict of the Judiciary Committee.²⁹

The third session began with Swystun walking into the hall with a pack of papers and issuing them to all the members of the audience, delegates and non-delegates, shouting, "This is an act of accusation against the Archbishop!"³⁰ The paper contained "Thesis for Discussion," a document which had had the approval of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church of the United States and had been circulated among the clergy for their comments. The document was to have come under consideration at a future joint convention of the clergy of both dioceses.

Allowed to present his case before the Sobor, Swystun read many of the articles in the document and ended his presentation by moving the following resolution:

In view of the fact that our present Archbishop, Father Ivann Theodorovich with his conduct in connection with the request to the Patriarch of Constantinople and in connection with the negotiations and terms with the so-called Zukite Church in America as Arch-pastor of the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church in America, which with us is under his jurisdiction at the present time, wanted to violate canon 6 of Section 11 of the All-Ukrainian Sobor of 1921 in Kiev, he thereby lost his right to be Archbishop of the Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church of Canada.

This Sobor decisively opposes any kind of union with the Patriarch of Constantinople and the so-called "Zukite Church".³¹

During the lunch hour Swystun was prevailed upon by several delegates,³² and returned to the afternoon session with a modified form of his resolution:

1. In view of the fact that our present archbishop, Father Ivann Theodorovich with his conduct in connection with the request to the Patriarch of Constantinople and in connection with the negotiations and terms with the Zukites in the name of the Ukrainian Orthodox Autocephalous Church in America as Archbishop of this Church which finds itself together with the Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church of Canada under his jurisdiction made steps that

(i) cast doubt on the canonicity of the hierarchy of the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church in the Ukraine, and thereby even cast doubt on the canonicity of his office as bishop of our church in Canada, and simultaneously in connection with that request to the Patriarch of Constantinople and in connection with the negotiations with the Zukites.,

(ii) disregarded the principle of government by the Sobor of the Ukrainian Orthodox Autocephalous Church in America and thereby placed under a great threat this principle in our church in Canada, and also in view of the fact that these steps and principally the step in connection with the request to the Patriarch of Constantinople,

(iii) were made without any consultation with our Church in Canada, of which he is also Arch-pastor,

²⁶This statement was denied by the Committee. *Ibid.* p.6.

²⁷*Ibid.*, p.11.

²⁸*Ibid.*, pp.13-20.

²⁹*Ibid.*, p.20.

³⁰*Ibid.*, p.20.

³¹*Ibid.*, pp.33-34.

³²*Ibid.*, p.35.

This Sobor hereby resolves that the above steps of his brought detriment to the Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church of Canada.

2. This Sobor regards the union with the Zukites and the Patriarch of Constantinople and the recognition of our Archbishop and Church as canonical as unnecessary and undesirable, because our church professes that the hierarchy of the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church is fully canonical and that our church is also a fully canonical Orthodox Church in fraternal unity with all the other Orthodox Churches.³³

The fourth session was turned over to Archbishop Theodorovich to answer Swystun's charges. The Sobor had an opportunity to see the prelate in one of his finest moments. A normally calm orator, the Archbishop became a fiery debator who, instead of standing accused, became the accuser. He categorically denied that he had any intention of accepting reconsecration secretly.³⁴ He explained his association with the Patriarch; he is for unity, not for any reconsecration. The church in the Ukraine had been liquidated by the Bolsheviks, hence recognition by the Patriarch of Constantinople for the new church was absolutely necessary.³⁵

The Archbishop compared his procedure with that of Swystun; having faith in the democratic rule, and in the Sobor, he had stayed any formal decision until he had heard the Sobor's opinion, whereas Swystun took matters into his own hands and published pamphlets. The "Theses" were not an act of union but, rather, propositions for relations with the Patriarch, for which "a whole group of people are responsible . . . and not I alone."³⁶ The Archbishop referred to evidence which had been presented before the Sobor by Fr. Leschyshyn, that Fr. P. Mayewsky, the pastor of St. Mary the Protectress Cathedral (of which Swystun was a member), had corresponded with Professor I. Ohienko and Dr. Ohienko informed the priest that Metropolitan Dionysius of the Orthodox church in Poland agreed to consecrate a Ukrainian bishop for the Canadian church. This matter was to have been kept in complete secrecy.³⁷ Fr. Mayewsky's letter was followed by Dr. Ohienko's reply. The second letter explained that the bishop consecrated by Metropolitan Dionysius would be under the jurisdiction of Archbishop Theodorovich and not the Metropolitan. Dr. Ohienko approved the step taken by the Archbishop, to obtain recognition from the Patriarch and even the consecration in accordance with the non-revolutionary circumstances and customs.³⁸

Fr. P. Mayewsky, in his defence,³⁹ vowed that his action had been done in good faith. He claimed he had been instructed by the Ministerial Conference two years ago to find a bishop for Canada.

Swystun then withdrew his resolution, "knowing in advance that it would not pass,"⁴⁰ and accepted as punishment, "a rebuke and reprimand by the Sobor."⁴¹ The Swystun case took two full days of the Sobor's time.

On the third day, July 2, 1935, the Sobor passed the following resolution:

The Seventh Sobor of the Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church of Canada adjudges the charges made by Mr. W. Swystun in writing and orally before and during the Sobor against His Excellency Archbishop Ivann Theodorovich as unfounded and unworthy.

³³*Ibid.*, p.35.

³⁴*Ibid.*, pp. 39-45.

³⁵*Ibid.*, pp.39-45.

³⁶*Ibid.*, p.44.

³⁷*Ibid.*, pp.45, 46.

³⁸*Ibid.*, pp.46, 47.

³⁹*Ibid.*, pp.50-56.

⁴⁰*Ibid.*, p.60.

⁴¹*Ibid.*, p.62.

The Sobor further declares that Mr. Swystun, after a lengthy discussion during the Sobor, withdrew without reservations his charges against His Excellency the Archbishop and promised in this matter to accept the decision of the Sobor and in the future to conform to the requirements of the discipline of the church organization.

For this reason the Sobor accepts the declaration of Mr. Swystun in good faith and confines itself to giving him a reprimand.⁴²

Archbishop Theodorovich graciously forgave Fr. Mayewsky and asked the Sobor to do likewise.

Then Swystun arose with the statement:

....a member of the resolutions committee privately told me that I should withdraw from the Sobor. I accept this! I consider that for me further participation in the life of the church is unthinkable. I must also withdraw from national work.⁴⁴

Swystun withdrew from the Sobor.

P. Lazarovich, a lawyer from Edmonton, pleaded before the Sobor to invite Swystun back; argued that "errare humanum est,"⁴⁵ but a vote of 20-44⁴⁶ showed that the Sobor held suspicions regarding Swystun and refused to extend an invitation. A forecast of the unpleasant events that were to follow, was made in a report the following day by Fr. Leschyshyn when he described that in front of witnesses, Swystun called him "a provocateur."⁴⁷ Fr. Leschyshyn who had revealed the secret correspondence between Fr. Mayewsky and Dr. Ohienko to the Sobor the previous day, added that he suspected a "frameup."⁴⁸

The final day of the Seventh Sobor was devoted to resolutions. The following resolutions were passed unanimously:

The Seventh Sobor of the Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church of Canada takes notice of the initiative of Archbishop Ivann in commencing spiritual relations with the Patriarch of Constantinople; further, this Sobor constitutes the fact that this matter is not a matter of the Archbishop of the Ukrainian Church of the U.S.A. alone, but is also a matter of common gravity and consequence to both churches and for that reason this Sobor considers that further action in this matter must be conducted in consultation with the Consistory of our Church in Canada. The Sobor nevertheless, safeguards for itself the full right to a final decision in this matter, in which it will be guided by the following principles:

- (1) Inviolability of Soboroeracy and the independence of the Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church of Canada.
- (2) Inviolability of the present canonical status of the clergymen of our church.
- (3) Establishment in due time of our own hierarchy, maintaining the autocephaly of our church.
- (4) The right to a spiritual communion with Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church in the Ukraine when it will be restored according to the will of the Ukrainian nation and independently of foreign influences.⁴⁹

The Sobor confirms the fact that the Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church of Canada upheld and upholds, regarding canons, the very same position as all other Orthodox Churches, and in practical matters conducts itself according to its own constitution and charter as an independent church organization; when a special canonical question will emerge in concrete form it will be decided by special studies of experts engaged for this purpose by the church authorities.

The Sobor further adjudges that the article by the Administrator, Father S. W. Sawchuk, printed in the *Ukrainian Voice* of March 20, 1935, correctly defines the position of the Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church of Canada in the raised matter⁵⁰

⁴²*Ibid.*, p.63.

⁴³*Ibid.*, p.64.

⁴⁴*Ibid.*

⁴⁵*Ibid.*, p.64.

⁴⁶*Ibid.*, p.66.

⁴⁷*Ibid.*, p.76.

⁴⁸*Ibid.*, p.77.

⁴⁹*Ibid.*, p.73.

⁵⁰*Ibid.*, p.73.

The former members of the Consistory were re-elected. The members were: Arch-priest S. W. Sawchuk, President and Administrator; Arch-priest W. Kudryk, Vice-President; Father D. F. Stratyckuk, Secretary; Myroslaw Stechishin, Vice-Secretary; Joseph Bohonos, Treasurer.⁵¹

The Sobor ended on a note of unswerving loyalty to the Archbishop and the Consistory. The opposition had been vanquished, but the issue was not closed. Stechishin proved himself a prophet when he wrote: ". . . the personal irritations which compelled Mr. Swystun to write, publish, and circulate his brochure, threw him off balance and drove him not only to the most drastic, but really to the tragic step of his life."⁵²

Mr. Swystun was an idealist and a crusader who envisaged himself as a leader of the Ukrainian people. A clever, shrewd and proud lawyer, he was willing to sacrifice his time and energy, money and friendships, to achieve his aim. He did not let the Sobor's decision end his fight with the church's leaders. Soon after the Sobor ended, Swystun aroused his parish, St. Mary the Protectress, in Winnipeg, to condemn the Seventh Sobor as being illegal, irregular and invalid and to assist that an Extraordinary Sobor should be convened within one year to discuss the entire issue anew.⁵³

The Brotherhood of the parish of St. Mary the Protectress, formed a group called "The Ukrainian Church Defence Brotherhood," with Swystun as its head. The group undertook to publish a bulletin, *Ridna Tserkva*⁵⁴ (Native Church), which appeared irregularly from 1935 to 1940. The bulletin provided Swystun with the opportunity to present his views to the public and immediately proceeded in the first issue, with a proclamation that the Seventh Sobor was illegal,⁵⁵ followed by an attack on Fr. S. W. Sawchuk in the second edition.⁵⁶ *Ridna Tserkva* was not the only means that Swystun used to continue his attack against the church's leaders. He visited various centres in Saskatchewan and Alberta,⁵⁷ agitating the feelings of the people against the Consistory and the Archbishop. The bulletin claimed by the end of 1935 that over 200 members had joined the Brotherhood and various congregations were supporting the resolutions of the Cathedral parish.⁵⁸

In the meantime, the Consistory defended its position through its official organ, *The Herald*,⁵⁹ But the increased activity of Swystun and the "Ukrainian Church Defence Brotherhood" began to disturb the church leaders. The church issued a proclamation:

1. There have been made absolutely no changes in the position of the Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church of Canada at the Seventh Sobor and the Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church of Canada remains to the smallest details in the same position as it stood since 1924.
2. The Seventh Sobor did not consider nor did it resolve to recognize the supremacy of the Patriarch of Constantinople or any other patriarch over the Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church of Canada nor to subordinate our church to any other foreign church or church authority, and no participant of the Sobor did introduce or express such an idea at the Sobor.
3. Likewise, no one at the Sobor made a proposition for the Ukrainian Greek Ortho-

⁵¹Ibid., p.73.

⁵²Stechishin, *Pro Dogmy, Kanony i Pravne Stanovische Ukrayinskoyi Hreko-Pravoslavnoyi Tserkvy v Kanadi* p.3.

⁵³*Ridna Tserkva*, August, 1935.

⁵⁴See thesis for a photostatic copy of the first edition.

⁵⁵*Ridna Tserkva*, August, 1935.

⁵⁶*Ridna Tserkva*, September, 1935.

⁵⁷*Ridna Tserkva*, October-December, 1935.

⁵⁸Ibid.

⁵⁹*The Herald*, September 1, 1935.

dox Church of Canada to unite with the so-called Zukite Church and therefore, there was not, nor could have been, any discussion or resolution, concerning this at the Sobor.

4. In particular, at the Seventh Sobor, there was no change in the principle of the Soborocracy of the Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church of Canada nor in the principle of its Ukrainian leadership. The principle of Soborocracy and the independence of our church from foreign churches and overlords may never even be placed on the daily agenda of the Sobor, for this would be contrary to the charter of our church, and every resolution contrary to the charter must be regarded not only as illegal but also as non-existent.

5. Finally, the Seventh Sobor did not authorize the Consistory to make any changes in the structure or the position of the Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church of Canada, and the Consistory is conscious of the fact that if it wanted to make, on its own behalf, any kind of changes in that direction, it would overstep its rights and would thus place itself outside the framework of the church organization.

...If any church congregation unites with the enemies of the church it exposes itself to expulsion from membership in the Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church of Canada.⁶⁰

Both sides reconsidered their positions. Negotiations began and a declaration dated January 3, 1936, appeared in part:

1. The Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church of Canada upholds the following canonical principles which are in conformity with the canonical position of the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church adopted by the All-Ukrainian Orthodox Sobor of 1921 in Kiev:

- (a) Soborocratic structure;
- (b) Canonicity of the hierarchy of the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church;
- (c) Right of the church to establish new canons at a Sobor of the church in accordance with the demands of the life of the church and to exclude the use of canons which have ceased to be applicable to represent conditions in the life of the church;
- (d) Use of the native language in Mass;
- (e) Prevention of the subordination of the Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church in Canada to foreign churches or foreign church authorities.

2. The Consistory of the Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church of Canada regards the "Theses for Discussion" as a document which does not express the viewpoint of the Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church of Canada and regards the terms of these "Theses for Discussion" as not acceptable to the Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church of Canada because they are contrary to the basic principles of the Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church of Canada.⁶¹

Subsequent to the declaration, *Ridna Tserkva* suspended publication. The Ukrainian Church Defence Brotherhood issued the following statement:

In the last issue of the Herald, the Consistory of the Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church of Canada published a declaration regarding the canonical position of the Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church of Canada. In view of the fact that the mentioned declaration clearly and unequivocally defines the present canonical position of the Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church of Canada, the Ukrainian Brotherhood considers the foregoing misunderstanding in this matter as ended and consequently the Ukrainian Church Defence Brotherhood becomes dissolved and together with Mr. W. Swystun terminates the foregoing activities conducted in this matter, including the publication of *Ridna Tserkva*. The Ukrainian Church Defence Brotherhood appeals to its members to work jointly with all other members of the Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church of Canada for the welfare of the church and the glory of God.⁶²

⁶⁰*The Herald*, Nov. 15, 1935.

⁶¹*The Herald*, January 1, 1936.

⁶²*The Herald*, January 15, 1936.

It seemed as though peace would now reign but a year later the church was to experience again dispute and disagreement that led to court action.

Fr. Mayewsky decided to broadcast the entire Holy Liturgy from St. Mary the Protectress on January 10, 1937, contrary to the instructions of the Consistory. Since 1935 it was permitted to broadcast a portion of the Liturgy, excluding transubstantiation, on any day other than during Easter, Christmas or Pentecost. Fr. Mayewsky ignored these instructions and the church service was broadcast in its entirety during the Christmas Season.⁶³ In addition, the *Herald* revealed that the priest had repeatedly ignored directions from the Archbishop and the Consistory and had agitated his parish against them; he had continued correspondence with Metropolitan Lipkivsky without the knowledge or approval of the Consistory; he had not abided by his promise at the Seventh Sobor.⁶⁴

Upon notification, Archbishop Theodorovich suspended the priest. The priest refused to accept suspension and continued to minister. The church Judiciary Committee rendered a verdict that Fr. P. Mayewsky was expelled from the clergy and from the Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church of Canada.⁶⁵ The Cathedral parish refused to accept this verdict. A meeting was called and once again Swystun was at the head of the opposition. The meeting decided to renew the "Ukrainian Church Defence Brotherhood" and *Ridna Tserkva*.⁶⁶

J. Bohonos and G. Bugera, charter members of St. Mary's, acting on their behalf, and on behalf of their associates, who were also members, decided to take legal action to enforce the suspension of Fr. Mayewsky. The Consistory supported their action.⁶⁷ The trial was held in the King's Bench on November 8, 9 and 14, 1938.⁶⁸ The decision was in favor of the plaintiffs.⁶⁹ The case went before the Court of Appeal and the decision was reversed on March 13, 1939.⁷⁰ This meant that the corporation of the church did not have the right to enforce the suspension of a priest because it had no spiritual jurisdiction, only temporal rights. The case went to the Supreme Court of Canada which decided on June 29, 1940, to uphold the decision of the Court of Appeal of Manitoba.⁷¹ The issue that decided in favor of Fr. Mayewsky and his parish of St. Mary was that he served an unincorporated parish; the parish had never applied to become part of the incorporated church as was required by the charter.

The Herald summarized the results of the litigation: The church gained in the elimination of the dissenters, in the knowledge that the decision of church judiciary is inviolable, and in the judge's comments, which would be taken into immediate consideration by the church to avoid such situations in the future. The church lost the Cathedral, the antimensium,⁷² and the plaintiffs had to pay the court costs. The Cathedral congregation lost unity with the Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church of Canada, and the services of the priests, and guardianship of the Archbishop. Fr. Mayewsky won the right to continue serving the Cathedral parish as an independent

⁶³Ukrainian Greek Orthodox faithful observe Christmas on January 7, according to the Julian calendar. January 8 and 9 are religious holidays.

⁶⁴*The Herald*, April, 1937.

⁶⁵*The Herald*, April 1, 1937.

⁶⁶*Ridna Tserkva*, May, 1937.

⁶⁷*The Herald*, May, 1937.

⁶⁸*The Herald*, November 15, 1938.

⁶⁹*Ibid.*

⁷⁰*The Herald*, March 15, 1939.

⁷¹*The Herald*, July 15, 1940.

⁷²Alter-cloth.

congregation and to hold the antimensium. He lost: unity with the Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church of Canada, the recognition as a legitimate priest of the Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church of Canada; the court did not recognize his expulsion as illegal; the court did not recognize him as a representative of the Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church; the court did not recognize that the Archbishop, the Consistory and the Judiciary Committee had no rights; and he lost his claim for \$50,000.00 damages.⁷³

Though the church lost the court decision, it gained immeasurably in public support. The clergy, parishes, and lay organizations were so firmly united behind the Consistory that Swystun, Fr. Mayewsky, and St. Mary the Protectress Cathedral congregation found themselves ostracized.

The Eighth Sobor was held on August 4 and 5, 1940, at Saskatoon, Saskatchewan, only one month after the verdict of the Supreme Court of Canada had been rendered. The congregation of St. Mary the Protectress sent Fr. Mayewsky, Swystun and N. Kinash as delegates, only to find that their delegates were barred from the Sobor as "people entirely outside of our church,"⁷⁴ and belonging to a church they themselves called "the unincorporated Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church."⁷⁵ The three delegates were not admitted to the Sobor. Thus the ostracism was definite.

The Eighth Sobor immediately set out to rectify the weakness in the legal position of the Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church of Canada. The courts indicated that the charter had not provided for spiritual jurisdiction; thus the Sobor passed a resolution stating that "the incorporated body of the church embraces all the totality of church life; namely, all spiritual and temporal matters."⁷⁶ The Sobor agreed that the disciplinary powers of the administration of the church must be increased to prevent a recurrence of the situation that eventually led to the courts, hence all parishes must adopt a resolution to unite with the whole church.⁷⁷ The parish of St. Mary the Protectress could return to the church when it applies according to the requirements of the constitution of the Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church of Canada.⁷⁸ The parish was to take that step ten years later.

With the exception of one, the members of the Consistory were all re-elected, thus indicating the confidence the Sobor placed in the administration.

On November 15, 1940, Father Sawchuk published the Administrator's report in *The Herald*. The report reaffirmed the fact that, in spite of the controversy, the church had grown. There were 28 priests, about 50 new church buildings and 203 congregations. 3 parishes were lost: St. Mary the Protectress in Winnipeg, Redfield and Sopoff in Saskatchewan.⁷⁹

By 1940, there were three lay organizations that have done much to promote the interests of the Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church of Canada. In 1927, a new organization, Soyooz Ukrayintsiw Samostiyniykiw (The Ukrainian Self-Reliance League) was formed. This organization has proved to be the bulwark of the Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church of Canada.

⁷³*The Herald*, July 15, 1940.

⁷⁴*The Herald*, August 15, 1940.

⁷⁵*Ridna Neva* (Native Field), (Winnipeg: Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church of Canada, 1958) p.71.

⁷⁶*The Herald*, February 15, 1941.

⁷⁷*The Herald*, August 15, 1940.

⁷⁸*Ibid.*

⁷⁹*The Herald*, November 15, 1940. Redfield and Sopoff rejoined the church the following year.

Two affiliates were established with the Ukrainian Self-Reliance League: Soyooz Ukrayinok Kanady (The Ukrainian Women's Association of Canada) and Soyooz Ukrayinskoyi Molodi Kanady (Canadian Ukrainian Youth Association).⁸⁰ Through their activities in the parishes of the church the three organizations have exerted great influence over the attitude and interests of the members.

With the onset of 1940's, economic difficulties in the nation were over and it seemed as though the difficulties for the Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church of Canada were over also. The church was strong; 29% of the 305,926 Ukrainians in Canada professed the Greek Orthodox faith.⁸¹

The Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church of Canada had weathered the storm and now was ready to consider new developments to continue its growth and expansion.

⁸⁰For a detailed account of these organizations, see Chapter 7.

⁸¹N. J. Hunchak, *Canadians of Ukrainian Origin*, (Winnipeg: Ukrainian Canadian Committee, 1945), pp.9-12.

CHAPTER V

Security in the Hierarchy

The Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church of Canada was established as a result of an upsurge of Ukrainian nationalism and independence in Canada. To secure its independence, the church had a fundamental problem: it had only one bishop and he was the only one left of the now-liquidated Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church in the Ukraine. Since Archbishop Theodorovich refused to resort to the Alexandrian method of creating another bishop and the Canadian church shared this feeling, the situation was critical. If something happened to the bishop, the church would have to seek help and protection of a "foreign" church and this would strike at the very heart of the church's autocephaly. To prevent such a situation happening, it was imperative that the church's hierarchy be self-perpetuating. Once the church had two bishops, then it would canonically ordain other bishops when the necessity arose. Then autocephaly would be assured and the church would never have to seek outside help.

The church was strong enough to support its own episcopate of two or even more bishops. Thus work in the 1940's was to be devoted to securing full hierarchy for the church. This was not to be achieved, however, until two bishops had been sacrificed.

The work towards achieving full hierarchy, had to take secondary position at the beginning of the forties because of the Second World War. All efforts were directed towards helping the Red Cross, in the recruitment for military services, in campaigning for war bonds and in the rehabilitation of war veterans. The church sent overseas as army chaplains two priests, Fathers S. W. Sawchuk and S. P. Symchych, to administer to the spiritual needs of the Orthodox faithful in the armed forces.¹ Two other priests, Fathers M. Fyk and T. Kowalyshen, served in the armed forces in Canada. Parishes sent money and parcels to the Ukrainian Canadian Servicemen's Canteen in London, England, as well as to Ukrainian men and women in the armed forces in various theatres of war.

In 1940, the Ukrainian Canadian Committee was formed. Its purpose was to aid the Canadian government in its war effort and to promote the cause of the liberation of Ukraine. After the war, the Committee became a co-ordinator for the general activities of all the Ukrainian organizations in Canada; it concerned itself with the perpetuation of Ukrainian culture, with the encouragement of the arts, and with the political, economic and social aspects of Ukrainians in Canada. Though the Ukrainian Greek

¹For an account of one priest's work, see "Vidvidene Viyskovoho Taventarya v Angliyi" (A Visit, to an Armed Forces' Cemetary in England) by Fr. S. W. Sawchuk in the calendar *Ridna Neva* (Native Field) (Winnipeg: Spilka Ecclesia, 1949), pp.62-66.

Orthodox Church as such, does not directly participate in the Committee, church leaders have actively supported the committee, and have served on its head executive.

The early forties also brought before the church leaders the necessity for a Ukrainian Orthodox College. The first step was taken in 1932 when a permanent Theological Seminary in Winnipeg was established.² Decision to launch a campaign for funds for such a college was reached at a Ministerial Conference in 1943.³ That same year, at St. Julian, Saskatchewan, Fr. S. W. Sawchuk and Fr. H. D. Hrycyna launched the campaign for funds for a St. Andrew's College. When the College was opened in 1946, it became the only Ukrainian Orthodox institution of its kind in the world.⁴

In 1946, the war was over and the church could return to the problem of achieving complete independence and canonical conformity. The Ninth Sobor was held in Saskatoon, Saskatchewan, on July 25-30, 1946. The Sobor expurgated the following article from the constitution: "The Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church of Canada finds itself in spiritual ties with the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church through its bishop and bishops."⁵ The bond with the non-existent church was severed and left the way clear for a new relationship. The Sobor unanimously approved the establishment of St. Andrew's College; the college would include a Seminary thereby making this institution an important feature in the development of the self-contained independent church.⁶

Another significant event of the Sobor was the resignation of Archbishop Theodorovich. Prior to the Ninth Sobor, the Archbishop had sought canonical relationship with the hierarchy of the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church in exile in Europe, and expressed readiness to undergo reconsecration if necessary. The Consistory and the Ministerial Conference prior to the Ninth Sobor did not approve the Archbishop's actions regarding reconsecration; the Archbishop decided to resign. At the Sobor the Archbishop stated that the Canadian church required its own bishop or bishops and gave his assent to find his successor. "A church with one bishop cannot exist and it is not desirable for it to be in such a state."⁷ He said it was desirable to have three bishops so that in the event one departs, there were two others who could consecrate a third. He agreed to serve until such time when a successor was elected.

Thus once again the Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church of Canada found itself without a bishop. Father Sawchuk was instructed to go to Europe to contact the hierarchy of the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church in exile with the view of inviting some of the bishops to Canada. The administrator left on a journey that lasted from October 25, 1946 to February 14, 1947. Canonical relations with the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church in Europe were established, as a result of this journey.⁸ Four months later, at the request of the Consistory of the Ukrainian Greek

²S. Kowbel and D. Doroshenko, *Propanyatna Knuha Ykrayinskoho Narodnoho Domoo v Winnipegoo* (Jubilee Book of the Ukrainian National Home in Winnipeg), (Winnipeg: Ukrainian National Home in Winnipeg, 1949), p.586.

³Conversations with Dr. S. W. Sawchuk.

⁴See Chapter 7 for an account of St. Andrews College.

⁵W. Swystun, *Kryza v Ukrayinski Pravoslavni Autokefalni Tserkvi* (Crisis in the Ukrainian Orthodox (Autocephalous) Church), (Winnipeg: Author, 1947), pp. 57-58.

⁶*The Herald*, August 15, 1946.

⁷*The Herald*, November 15, 1946.

⁸*The Herald*, March 1, 1947.

Orthodox Church, the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church in exile, sent Bishop Mstyslaw Skrypnyk of Pereyaslav to head the Canadian church.⁹

To make the appointment of Bishop Skrypnyk official, an Extraordinary Sobor was held in Winnipeg on November 12 and 13, 1947. Fr. Sawchuk presented a report on his negotiations with Metropolitan Policarp Sikorsky in Europe and the agreement concerning the candidacy of Bishop Skrypnyk. Mention was made of Metropolitan Ilarion Ohienko who had arrived in Winnipeg on September 19, 1947, to join the cathedral parish of St. Mary the Protectress. Fr. Sawchuk informed the Sobor of the Consistory's reasons for not considering the Metropolitan at that time; the prelate had corresponded with Fr. P. Mayewsky,¹⁰ and he had refused to recognize the canonicity of the hierarchy of the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church as well as of Archbishop Theodorovich.¹¹

The Sobor unanimously elected Archbishop Mstyslaw Skrypnyk as bishop of the Canadian Church and approved spiritual communication with the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church in Europe with the stipulation that the Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church of Canada "continues to remain independent in the internal life and in the administration of the church organization in Canada."¹²

In spite of the high recommendations and qualifications as a layman and as an ecclesiastic,¹³ and of his growing popularity, Archbishop Skrypnyk's actions, as leader of the Canadian Church, began to arouse alarm. Contrary to the Constitution of the Church, he operated independently of the Consistory in a project which involved direct relations with another church, namely, the Ukrainian Orthodox Church in the U.S.A., a church which questioned the canonicity of the Canadian church. He encouraged and assisted Archbishop Theodorovich in obtaining reconsecration, contrary to the stand of the Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church of Canada, which considered his original consecration valid. He established in May, 1949, a monthly religious magazine *Tserkva i Narod* (The Church and the People) with Professor Ivan F. Wlasowsky, the church historian, as editor. Archbishop Skrypnyk also proposed to establish a St. Nicholas Ukrainian Orthodox Monastery close to Grimsby, Ontario, collecting donations among the faithful and taking the title to the property in his own name, thus becoming the sole owner. The Consistory was deeply concerned, as indicated by the following notice:

Concerning questions of the faithful of our Church in the matter of the monastery in Grimsby, Ontario (St. Nicholas), the Consistory hereby gives the interested persons the following information:

The mentioned monastery is not the property of the Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church of Canada, which has nothing in common with it and which is not responsible for it. According to the explanation of Archbishop Mstyslaw Skrypnyk himself, which he gave at the Tenth Sobor of our Church in Saskatoon, Saskatchewan, the mentioned monastery was purchased by him privately, and as much as is known to the Consistory, it still appears to be his private property.¹⁴

The action that irritated the church most was the Archbishop's intervention in American church life. On December 8 and 9, 1948, at

⁹*The Herald*, July 15, 1947.

¹⁰See Chapter Five.

¹¹*The Herald*, March 15, April 1, April 15, May 1, 1948.

¹²*The Herald*, November 15, 1947.

¹³A full account of Bishop Skrypnyk's life and activities was published in the church calendar, *Ridna Neca* (Native Field), 1948, Opp.435-445.

¹⁴*The Herald*, July 1, 1950.

Allentown, Pennsylvania, the Sobor of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church of America elected Archbishop Skrypnyk as their head. The church's reaction to this was as follows.:

. . . For the Canadian Church to unite with the American Churches would mean for the Canadian Church to repudiate the principle of independence and become subordinated to Constantinople or Alexandria, or someone else.¹⁵

Archbishop Skrypnyk chose to ignore this warning and began to lay foundations for the union of the American Church which he now headed, with the American church headed by Archbishop Ivann Theodorovich. The Canadian church could not accept the Archbishop's actions in the light of its strict adherence to complete independence, thus Archbishop Skrypnyk offered his resignation.

The Tenth Sobor, held in Saskatoon, Saskatchewan, on June 18 to 21, 1950, accepted the Archbishop's resignation and approval was given to find a new bishop.¹⁶ Archbishop Skrypnyk, upon his return to the U.S.A., resumed negotiations with Metropolitan Theodorovich¹⁷ and the two American Orthodox churches merged into the Ukrainian Orthodox Church of the United States of America, at a joint Sobor held in New York City on October 14 and 15, 1950. Metropolitan Theodorovich became head of the church and Archbishop Skrypnyk was made the chancellor and president of the Consistory.¹⁸

The tenth Sobor elected a larger membership to the Consistory to handle the increasing volume of work in the growing Canadian church: Fr. S. W. Sawchuk—President, Fr. H. D. Hrycyna—Vice-President, Fr. S. Boychuk—Secretary, Professor P. Kondra—Vice-Secretary, Mr. J. Syrnick—Treasurer, Fr. W. Sluzar, Fr. P. Sametz, Fr. P. Stefiuk, Fr. M. Fyk, Mr. W. Sarchuk, Mr. J. W. Stechishin, Mr. A. Oryschak and Dr. J. Verchomen—members.

Once again the Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church of Canada found itself without a bishop. The tenth Sobor had placed the church under the spiritual guardianship of Metropolitan P. Sikorsky¹⁹ in Europe, until a bishop was elected. The Consistory held a meeting October 24 and 25, 1950 at which it was decided to ask the Metropolitan Sikorsky for two bishops from the hierarchy of the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church in Europe and to seek a candidate for a third, among their own clergy. The Consistory's decision was based upon securing a self perpetuating hierarchy and thereby become fully autocephalous.²⁰

In the spring of 1951, Metropolitan Sikorsky, at the request of the Consistory, sent two bishops to Canada; Archbishop Michael Choroshy and Bishop Platon Artemiuk. They were to be approved and elected at an Extraordinary Sobor which was to convene on August 8 and 9, 1951, at Winnipeg. Unfortunately, Bishop Platon died unexpectedly on August 5 in Toronto; thus the Extraordinary Sobor had only one candidate to consider. The Sobor, however had a surprise ending for the 49 priests, 132 lay delegates, and 361 registered guests.²¹ Metropolitan Ohienko, associated with the

¹⁵*The Herald*, November 1, 1949.

¹⁶*The Herald*, July 1, 1950.

¹⁷Archbishop Ivann Theodorovich was reconsecrated on August 27, 1949 by Metropolitan Christopher, Exarch of the Alexandrian Patriarch and by Archbishop Matyslaw.

¹⁸*The Herald*, November 1, 1950.

The Herald, July 1, 1950.

²⁰*The Herald*, November 1, 1950.

²¹*Protokol Nadzvetchaynogo Soboroo Ukrayinskoyi Hreko-Pravoslavnoyi Tserkve v Kanadi* (Record of the Extraordinary Sobor of the Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church of Canada), (Winnipeg: Consistory of the Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church of Canada, 1951) pp.4, 5.

St. Mary the Protectress Cathedral, offered his candidature. Before the Consistory presented his candidature to the Sobor, it first entered into a written agreement with him as to his attitude to the Canadian Church. This was thought necessary because of previous criticisms of the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church in Europe and the Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church of Canada. The terms to which the Metropolitan agreed were: (a) recognition of the principles of autocephaly and soborocracy; (d) recognition of the canonicity of the hierarchy of the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church in Europe; (c) recognition of the canonicity of the priests of the Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church of Canada; and (d) confinement of his archpastoral activities exclusively to Canada.²²

The Sobor unanimously approved the Metropolitan as the primate with the title "Metropolitan of Winnipeg and of all Canada" and Archbishop Michael as Archbishop of Toronto and of the Eastern Canada. Archbishop W. Kudryk was unanimously approved as candidate for the third bishop but the honour was declined.²³ The congregation of St. Mary the Protectress Cathedral was accepted back into the Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church of Canada on November 4, 1951.²⁴

The Sobor discussed the democratic administration of the church. *The Herald* reported this discussion as follows:

The Extraordinary Sobor of the Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church of Canada resolves that the administration of the Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church of Canada as a whole is soborocratic; it is the manifestation of the will of the majority of the Sobor, and is with one administration, that is, a Consistory, which comprises all the Bishops of the Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church of Canada by right of their position and the members elected by the Sobor.

Decisions of the Consistory are made by a majority of votes. When the ruling bishop disagrees with a decision of the Consistory, such a decision does not go into force, and the dissatisfied parties have the right of appeal to the Sobor of the church.

A decision of the Sobor is final.²⁵

To keep a balance of clergymen and laymen according to the constitution, the Consistory was increased: Fr. H. D. Hrycyna—President, Fr. J. Dmytriw—Vice-President, Fr. F. Kernisky—Secretary, Professor L. P. Kondra—Treasurer, Fathers D. Stratychuk, P. Stefuk, P. Sametz, T. Kowalyshyn, P. Melnychuk, and M. Bodnarchuk; Mr. J. Syrniuk, Dr. J. Verchomen, Judge J. W. Arsenych, Mr. J. W. Stechishin, Mr. L. Tomaschuk, General M. Sadowsky and Mr. A. Oryschak—members.²⁶

The pride and joy of the Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church in Canada knew no bounds: "The canonical completeness of the church organization, for which our people have patiently waited for more than thirty years, has been attained."²⁷

The hierarchy was secure and their Metropolitan was of such stature that the church could look ahead with confidence. Metropolitan Ilarion Ohienko had been a former minister of Church Affairs and of Education in the government of the Ukrainian National Republic. He was a distinguished scholar in linguistics, a translator of the Bible and an author of Ukrainian grammars and lexicographical texts. He was the editor and pub-

²²*The Herald*, November 1, 1951.

²³*Ibid.*

²⁴*The Herald*, November 15, 1951.

²⁵*The Herald*, November 1, 1951.

²⁶*Protokol Nadzvetchaynogo Soboroo Ukrayinskoyi Hreko-Pravoslavnoyi Tserkve v Kanadi*, p.96.

²⁷*The Herald*, September 1, 1951.

lisher of the religious magazine *Slovo Istene* (The Word of Truth) and of *Ridna Mova* (The Native Language). He had published several books of his own poetry and literary and historical studies. Before his arrival in Canada, he had been a high-ranking prelate of the Orthodox Church in Ukraine. The Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church of Canada gained much prestige when it acquired Metropolitan Ohienko as its head.

Secure in its hierarchy, the church began to expand rapidly. It established a budget system which fixed the amount each parish would contribute annually into a diocese fund.²⁸ In 1954, the church took complete charge of the publication of the *Herald* from the publishing company Trident which publishes the *Ukrainian Voice*.²⁹

By 1955, when the Eleventh Sobor was convened in Winnipeg on June 29 and 30, there were 270 established parishes, 27 missions and 76 priests.³⁰ The 206 delegates in attendance were asked to consider matters concerning St. Andrew's College. The Sobor passed resolutions to put the College under the control of the Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church of Canada and that all candidates for priesthood in the church must take their training at the College.³¹ The Sobor also passed a motion making the development of the College, the concern of all Ukrainian Orthodox Church followers.³²

The Sobor also discussed the Holy Trinity Cathedral in Winnipeg. Construction had begun in 1949 and by 1952 the lower portion was completed. The Sobor passed a resolution to help financially complete the building.³³

The church was concerned with missionary work. The Sobor passed a resolution to establish a mission with two priests, to begin work in expanding the church across Canada.³⁴ The Consistory was to be departmentalized into administration, financial, educational and missionary departments;³⁵ an administrator was to be appointed for the Western Eparchy until such time as a third bishop might be elected.

The Consistory now had 18 members, 9 clergymen and 9 laymen³⁶ with Dr. S. W. Sawchuk³⁷ as the chairman of the praesidium. Fr. H. D. Hrycyna was appointed administrator of the Western Eparchy.

The hopes and dreams of the founders of the Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church of Canada were finally realized. Now the church's hierarchy was self-perpetuating; the clergy were being trained by the church's own college; the church was financially secure and steadily expanding. An article in the church calendar, *Ridna Neva* (Native Field) entitled "The First Step of our Church", indicated the confidence the church possessed:

When the people have their autonomous (sovereign) state, then they will not permit that their schools, their national institutions, their army be dependent upon foreign nations. They, like a true master of the house, want to keep everything under their own control.

Why then should people relinquish their householder's right to their church and give it into foreign subordination? They know themselves best, know their needs

²⁸*Protokol Odenadtsyatoho Soboro Ukrainyiskoyi Hreko-Pravoslavnoyi Tserkvi v Kanadi* (Records of the Eleventh Sobor of the Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church of Canada), p.38.

²⁹*Ibid.*, p.40.

³⁰*Ibid.*, pp.35, 36.

³¹*Ibid.*, p.117.

³²*Ibid.*

³³*Ibid.*, pp.117-118.

³⁴*Ibid.*, p.118.

³⁵*Ibid.*, p.119.

³⁶*Ibid.*, p.123.

³⁷Dr. S. W. Sawchuk received the doctoral degree during the first convocation of St. Andrew's College on April 28, 1950.

and the foreigners do not. They themselves have to work for the good of their church, for strangers will not do so. Foreign leadership can only take charge of that which the people achieved through their own endeavours—why then cannot the people themselves take charge? Does God's commandment forbid Ukrainians, so they be subordinate to foreigners?

For that reason, Ukrainians in Canada took a wise step when they decided that their church must be independent of any foreign religious mercies, thereby giving above all, the most important beginning to the independence of the Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church.³⁸

In 1959, the third bishop was chosen from among the ranks of the priests. Fr. A. Metiuk was ordained as Bishop Andrew of the Western Eparchy; Fr. Hrycyna was appointed head of the missionary department.

In 1960 the Twelfth Sobor was held in Winnipeg on July 1 to 3. The church had expanded to such a degree that the president's report to the Sobor included the following items: Financial Report of the Consistory, Budget Report of the Congregations, the Consistory's Bookstore, Depot for Church Objects, Priesthood, *The Herald*, Priests' Pensions, Ukrainian School Council, Missionary Fund, Ukrainian Invalids' Fund, Taras Shevchenko Memorial Fund, and the financial Report of the congregation of the church.³⁹

During the Sobor, the delegates heard that there were a Metropolitan, two bishops and 89 priests.⁴⁰ There were 305 organized parishes and 140,000 Ukrainian Greek Orthodox in Canada.⁴¹

By 1965, when the church delegates assembled for the Thirteenth Sobor in Winnipeg, Manitoba on May 22 to 24, there were in addition to the Metropolitan, two Archbishops and a Bishop, who were charged with the responsibility of the three eparchies consisting of 88 priests and 305 parishes.⁴² St. Andrew's College was located on the campus of the University of Manitoba as an associate of the University, with Dr. S. W. Sawchuk as the principal. To succeed him as president of the praesidium of the Consistory, Fr. T. Kowalyshen was elected. A year later, Fr. Kowalyshen passed away and Fr. K. Kernisky became the president, a position he holds to the present time.

Since the last Sobor the missionary department has undertaken a small publication *Mission Bell* with the first edition appearing in January 1967; this publication is bilingual with articles of religious and literary interest. A special cemetery for the deceased dignitaries of the Church has been acquired which is situated on the outskirts of Winnipeg. The plan to conduct a vigorous campaign for Canadian-born and educated candidates for the priesthood has born fruit, with five such young men now serving the Church. Plans are continuing for an Old Folks' Home as well as a new building for the Consistory to house its administrative offices, supplies, library, and the publishing and missionary offices.⁴³

The church has also participated in the observation of Canada's Centennial. As one of the eight churches representing 95% of the Christian population in Canada,⁴⁴ the Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church of Canada

³⁸*Ridna Neva* (Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church of Canada) 1957, p.57.

³⁹*Ohlyad Diyan Dranadtsyatoho Soboroo i' krayinskoyi Hreko-Pravoslavnoyi Tserkve v Kanadi* (Review of the Events of the Twelfth Sobor of the Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church of Canada), pp.22-23.

⁴⁰*Ibid.*, p.32.

⁴¹*Ibid.*, p.27.

⁴²Conversations with Fr. F. Kernisky.

⁴³Conversations with Fr. F. Kernisky.

⁴⁴From a brochure *The Christian Pavilion* which was distributed at Expo '67.

contributed toward the Christian Pavilion at Expo '67. Arrangements are also underway for retaining as a historical site the original Ukrainian Greek Orthodox church built in 1928 at Canora, Saskatchewan.

Now in its fiftieth year as an established institution in Canada, the Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church is an integral part of the lives of over 140,000 Canadians of Ukrainian background. It is strong and secure, looking forward to the future with considerable confidence and enthusiasm. It now has members of the third generation of Canadians who bring a freshness and a vitality ensuring the growth and progress of the church. New Canadians who arrived from eastern and central Ukraine since the second World War have formed a substantial portion of the membership; with their rich cultural background and their spirit of determination they have added much strength to the church.

It is with great pride that the faithful are celebrating the fiftieth year of the establishment of the Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church in Canada. It is a year of renewing their strengths and energies, of reflection and evaluation, and of rededication to continue building upon the foundations laid by their forefathers a half century ago.

The prime object of the founders of the . . . Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church was to make it truly Canadian—democratic in its government, and free from any outside or foreign ecclesiastical control or administrative jurisdiction. Such an ideal is fully in accordance with the provisions of the canons and the structure of the Eastern Orthodox Church, which is composed of many national or autocephalous churches, each having its own head and all united in faith and dogma, but free and independent of each other in all their administrative matters.

. . . the Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church of Canada came into being on the territory of the free and independent Canadian state by the will of the Canadian Ukrainian people as an expression of their internal need, without any outside help or influence, but in the same way as were formed various other christian territorial or national churches during the first centuries of the Christian era, it has a full right and vital necessity for independent existence and development on the basis of complete autocephaly.⁴⁸

⁴⁸Conversations with Fr. F. Kernisky.

⁴⁶An excerpt from an address by Dr. S. W. Sawchuk, Principal of St. Andrews' College, at the official opening of the College on the campus of the University of Manitoba, July, 1964.

CHAPTER VI

Education

INTRODUCTION

"YOU WILL ALL BE BETTER CANADIANS FOR BEING ALSO GOOD UKRAINIANS"
LORD TWEEDSMUIR, GOVERNOR-GENERAL, FRAZERWOOD, MANITOBA, AUGUST
21, 1936.

Soon after his arrival in Canada, it became apparent to the Ukrainian settler that, with the abundance of opportunities, it was up to the individual to take advantage of these opportunities and create a better life for himself and his family.

This meant acquiring a better education. Ukrainians always valued education; in the Old Country education was a privilege for only a few and at a great sacrifice to the family. The general education in the Ukraine grew or collapsed as independence grew or collapsed in the country, but the collapse was never total, even in the darkest of times. This was due to the efforts of the intelligentsia, who understood that the strongest and the best weapon against their enemies was the education of the Ukrainian people. The intelligentsia sponsored Church Brotherhoods, who built and supported schools and placed them under the administration of the church. Thus, when the country was over-run by the enemy, and the schools were closed, at least a tiny portion of Ukrainians was still receiving an education.

The Brotherhoods were credited with the greatest development of education in the church institutions during foreign rule in the Ukraine. These Brotherhoods were organized among the townspeople in various Ukrainian cities; their purpose was to aid the poor and the underprivileged, and to concern themselves with the moral life of the community. Gradually, their interest extended to the education in the community and they began to build schools. These schools raised the children in a religious atmosphere which cultivated at the same time a national consciousness. The first Brotherhood to undertake such a task was that of the Uspenska Brotherhood in Lviv; it established a school in 1586. Soon other schools were established in cities like Kiev, Peremyshil and Kremintsi.¹

Thus the awareness of the necessity of education was instilled in the Ukrainian settler long before he came to Canada, but it took the freedom in a democratic country to permit this awareness to flourish and to manifest itself in institutions, organizations, and publications.

¹Rev. S. W. Sawchuk, "Istoriya Zasnovanyia Kolegiyi" (The History of the Establishment of the College) in the church calendar *Ridna Nava* (Winnipeg: "Ecclesia," 1948), pp.46-50.

INSTITUTES

The history of the Institutes in Canada is the greatest page written by the Ukrainians who immigrated from their native country to a strange land. If the Ukrainians in Canada have surpassed other Ukrainians in the U.S.A., Brazil and Argentina—and there is no doubt that they have—then they have surpassed because of the formation of the institutes and made them the centres of their cultural lives and to some degree, of their political lives. Institutes . . . fulfill for Ukrainians in Canada the same function as does a lighthouse for a ship in the dark night amid dangerous rocky shores. If they have not led, they have directed the Ukrainians in Canada on the right road.²

THE P. MOHYLA UKRAINIAN INSTITUTE IN SASKATOON

Having so many Ukrainians settling in their province, the Manitoba Government urged young men of Ukrainian origin to enter the Training School and become teachers among the new settlers. These teachers not only fulfilled their duties in the classroom, they also conducted community activities such as choir singing, dramatics, concerts and folk-dancing. These young Ukrainian teachers became the first pioneers in the educational and national lives of the Ukrainians in Canada.

The young Ukrainian school teachers regarded the principle of dependence upon one's own skills and abilities as foremost in the development of the individual. To promote this principle more effectively, these young men, most of whom were graduates of the Ruthenian Training School, organized themselves into the Ukrainian Teachers Association on July 12 and 13, 1907.³ In 1908, the organization decided to publish an independent newspaper that would promote the cause of the Ukrainian people in Canada, and on March 16, 1910, the first edition of the *Ukrainian Voice* was published. The first edition contained a statement that the publishers were completely independent of any religious or political party; their only purpose was to serve the Ukrainian people.⁴

Three months later, a group of young people in Winn.peg formed a club called "Zaporozka Seech."⁵ The club's objective was to broaden the education among the Ukrainian settlers, including the establishment of residential schools called "bursa" which were similar to those in the old country.⁶

With the help of the *Ukrainian Voice*, the idea of establishing bursas across the prairies became a popular one. By 1916, a group of students in Saskatoon began to discuss the establishment of such a bursa in their city. On April 3 of that year,⁷ the proposed bursa was given the name of "P. Mohyla Ukrainian Institute", after a famous Greek Orthodox Metropolitan and educationist in the Ukraine (1596-1647). On May 17, 1916, the *Ukrainian Voice* published the proposed institute's constitution. In its condensed form it stated:

1. Name: The P. Mohyla Institute.
2. To be located in the city of Saskatoon or in any other place agreed upon by the shareholders.

²Excerpt from the Foreward by the late Miroslaw Stechishin, Editor of *Ukrainian Voice*, in the *Youvileyna Knuha Ukrayinskoho Instiitootoo imya P. Mohyla v Saskatooni* (Jubilee Book of the P. Mohyla Ukrainian Institute in Saskatoon).

³Stechishin, *Youvileyna Knuha Ukrayinskoho Instiitootoo imya P. Mohyla v Saskatooni* (Winnipeg P. Mohyla Ukrainian Institute, 1945), p.25.

⁴*Ibid.*, p.27.

⁵"Zaporozka Seech" was a name given to a cossack camp in the region below the Dneiper's cataracts in the Ukraine.

⁶*Ibid.*, p.27.

⁷*Ibid.*, p.46. The name was made official when the Institute acquired a charter under the Companies Act on January 20, 1917.

3. Purposes in establishing the Institute:

- 1) To provide residence for Ukrainian students attending public schools, high schools, teachers' college, university and other schools, or other courses.
- 2) To give scholarships and awards to gifted Ukrainian students who live in Saskatchewan.
- 3) To promote courses in the areas of Ukrainian and English writing, history, music and art, also introductory and advanced courses for adults.
- 4) To establish libraries in various localities in Saskatchewan.
- 5) To establish educational lectures in Ukrainian districts in Saskatchewan.
- 6) To establish courses in home economics for women and girls.⁸

The first shareholders were university students, W. Swystun, M. Michasiw and Michael Stechishin, and school inspector J. Megas.⁹

To establish such an institute required the full support of Ukrainians across the prairie provinces and to acquire this support, W. Swystun in the summer of 1916, travelled across the provinces,¹⁰ arousing the interest and announcing the forthcoming National Convention of Ukrainians.

On August 4 and 5, 1916, the first Ukrainian Peoples Convention took place in Saskatoon, Saskatchewan. Among the guest speakers at the Convention was J. C. Woodsworth, the director of the Bureau of Social Research who in his address said:

I am ashamed of that man who is ashamed of his background. One cannot expect much from a man who quickly forgets his origin, because he does not have a stable character. He may change his opinion every minute.¹¹

Addresses such as Mr. Woodsworth's left a deep impression upon the 500 delegates¹² who attended the Convention. Before the delegates returned to their homes, they passed a resolution asking the Saskatchewan University to open a department of Ukrainian language, history and literature. Another motion asked the government to pass legislation making school attendance compulsory for children.¹³

Prior to the Convention, there had been many criticisms that Ukrainians were organizing themselves for reasons that were alien to Canada. The *Free Press* in Winnipeg dispelled many fears when it reported on August 16, 1916:

There is no doubt at all that those present at the Convention care a great deal that their people learn the English language well . . . Their desire to retain their native language does not conflict with their desire to assimilate with Canadian life in every way.

In September, 1916, the Institute's executive found on Lansdowne Avenue in Saskatoon, a three-storey house which was near schools and the University. That year, the enrolment was 35; 22 were attending public schools, 10 were going to the collegiate and 3 students were at the University. The Institute was an interdenominational institution; 23 students were Greek Catholics 6 were Protestant, 4 were Greek Orthodox and 2 were Roman Catholic.¹⁴

On March 5, 1917, the P. Mohyla Ukrainian Institute in Saskatoon was incorporated.¹⁵

⁸*Ibid.*, pp.261, 262.

⁹*Ibid.*, p.262.

¹⁰*Ibid.*, p.48.

¹¹*Ibid.*, p.52.

¹²*Ibid.*, p.50.

¹³*Ibid.*, p.53.

¹⁴*Ibid.*, pp.55, 56.

¹⁵*Ibid.*, p.59.

The first major problem that faced the Institute was the opposition of the Greek Catholic clergy, on the grounds that the Institute should be a Greek Catholic institution.¹⁶ Bishop Budka took the position that if the Institute is not Catholic then he must oppose it. His argument was that an inter-denominational atmosphere will produce a non-religious student.¹⁷ The Institute's executive disagreed.¹⁸

Bishop Budka's position led to an examination of the Episcopal Corporation in the *Ukrainian Voice* by Michael Stechishin.¹⁹ The people were so aroused by the article that, when the Second National Convention was convened by the Institute in December, 1917, in Saskatoon, Saskatchewan, the following resolution was passed:

The Ukrainian Peoples Convention, attended by 700 delegates from various Canadian provinces, hereby declares that the newspaper *Canadian Ruthenian*, organ of Bishop Budka, also the *Canadian Ranok* (the organ of the Presbyterian Church), as well as the bishop himself, and a group of his priests, are attacking in an unhonorable manner all national activities among the Ukrainian people in Canada and particularly the P. Mohyla Ukrainian Institute in Saskatoon; that their intrigue, planned to destroy all educational-cultural work, which is independent of the episcopal corporation, is detrimental to our national life, therefore, this Convention brands these enemies of national progress and censures them for their intrigue to date, and hopes that in the future they will change their conduct and will help the national effort.²⁰

The Convention endorsed the Institute's directors in their position that the Institute should admit any Ukrainian student; the delegates also confirmed that the Institute should be a cultural centre for Ukrainians in Canada.²¹

Many delegates left the Second Ukrainian National Convention greatly impressed with the accomplishments of the Institute and with its potential as a Ukrainian cultural centre. Among these delegates was a group from Alberta who agreed that such an institution should be established also in their province. Upon their return to Edmonton, initial steps were taken to organize the M. Hrushevsky Ukrainian Institute.²²

After a vigorous fund-raising campaign was conducted by the *Ukrainian Voice* and the Institute's directors, a building was purchased on April 20, 1918. Situated on Main Street and Victoria Avenue in Saskatoon, the building was once the Empress Hotel.²³ It served as the Institute from 1918 to 1964.

In the meantime, the Greek Catholic opposition became very strong. The issue over the incorporation of church property²⁴ prompted many Ukrainians who had been sympathetic to the Greek Catholic position, to re-examine their affiliations to a church that maintained interests which they thought were alien to the Ukrainian cause in Canada. As the Greek Catholic opposition to the Institute grew, so did the feeling that a new church had to be formed that would share this feeling of independence. The result was the establishment of the Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church of Canada. The break between Greek Catholics and the P. Mohyla Institute

¹⁶*Ibid.*, pp.63-65.

¹⁷*Ibid.*, p.65.

¹⁸*Ibid.*, p.67.

¹⁹See Chapter Three.

²⁰*Ibid.*, p.78.

²¹*Ibid.*, p.79.

²²See "The M. Hrushevsky Ukrainian Institute in Edmonton" in this chapter.

²³*Ibid.*, p.86.

²⁴See Chapter Three.

in Saskatoon was complete. The Greek Catholics withdrew their support; the Institute had to depend upon the support of non-Catholic Ukrainians.

During the 1917-1918 school year, the students of the Institute organized themselves into a club called "Kamenyari" (stonebreakers). The Kamenyari set for themselves a very busy program of activities: debates, concerts, lectures, oratorical contests, recitations, and choral singing. The club began to publish a monthly bulletin with the same name. Under the editorship of S. W. Sawchuk, the club also issued a year book for the year 1919. The year book became the only one of its kind among Ukrainian students' associations in Canada.²⁵

During the first decade of the Institute's life, there were many young men and women living at the Institute who were completing public school education. The directors of the Institute approached the Saskatoon school board and obtained the services of two teachers to instruct these young men and women at the Institute. The Institute paid \$500.00 per teacher annually and the remainder of the teachers' salaries was paid by the school board.²⁶ This arrangement continued for several years, until the Institute's students no longer attended public school. The other students attended high schools and university.

That first decade also saw the Institute with financial difficulties. The Institute's executive and supporters wished to attract young men and women who eventually would become leaders in various communities, hence, students were not expected to pay for their board and room; the Institute depended largely upon donations and fund-raising campaigns to pay the mortgage and overhead expenses. This policy continued for several years. By 1925, however, the mortgage on the building was paid in full.²⁷

When the Institute was established, it operated as a secular institution, supported by all Ukrainians. In 1918, the Greek Catholics withdrew their support and the Institute depended more and more heavily upon the next largest group of Ukrainians, the Greek Orthodox. In spite of this support, the Institute had not changed its position of being an interdenominational institution. In the meantime, Greek Catholics established the St. Joseph's College in Yorkton.²⁸ When it was revealed that the faculty was non-Ukrainian and the College was owned by the Catholic Church Extension Society,²⁹ Ukrainians across the prairie provinces became resentful.

The Institute's directors did not let this opportunity pass. As the Greek Catholics clergy were campaigning for funds for the St. Joseph's College, the Institute conducted its own campaign with the following appeal:

... are our people to continue regarding themselves as small children who require foreign, expensive guardians, or do they regard themselves as people who are heading towards self-reliance by being responsible for the education of their children?³⁰

The members of the P. Mohyla Ukrainian Institute in Saskatoon decided to openly support the Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church of Canada,³¹ which was free from foreign control.

²⁵*Ibid.*, pp.103, 104.

²⁶*Ibid.*, p.104.

²⁷*Ibid.*, p.163.

²⁸*Ibid.*, pp.115-122.

²⁹*Ibid.*, p.116.

³⁰*Ibid.*, p.117.

³¹*Ibid.*, pp.117, 184.

The Institute concentrated on becoming more and more the centre of Ukrainian culture in Western Canada, as was envisaged by its founders. The following resolution passed at the sixth National Convention on December 27 and 28, 1922, indicated the leadership of the executive, and vision of the delegates:

The Convention resolves that, after the debts of the Institute are cleared, a large Ukrainian library be established, placing special emphasis upon the collection of Ukrainian publications in Canada, U.S.A., Brazil and Siberia and in general, within areas where Ukrainian immigrants are located, as well as non-Ukrainian publications that write about Ukrainian events. Further, to initiate an art gallery which, would primarily depict important events in Ukrainian history from the earliest times to the present, as well as descriptions of distinct Ukrainian provinces and cities, institutions and individuals eminent in the various fields of Ukrainian life. Also to establish at the Institute, a Ukrainian museum with sections for old books and manuscripts, publications, biographies and autobiographies of Canadian Ukrainians; in the museum there should be historical records of our individual settlements in Canada, different currencies, photographs of Ukrainian life in Canada, of old weapons and a museum of science.³²

The students in the meantime, continued to engage in various activities. During the 1925-26 school year, the first interprovincial debates were initiated between Saskatoon and Winnipeg.³³ Close contacts were maintained with students of the M. Hrushevsky Institute in Edmonton and with Ukrainian students in Winnipeg. These contacts led to the first Ukrainian Students Council in Canada in 1926.³⁴

The list of graduates of the P. Mohyla Ukrainian Institute in Saskatoon was impressive, even as early as 1926, and did much to raise the Institute's prestige in Canadian society. Teachers, doctors, lawyers, priests, dentists, druggists and businessmen, were some of the graduates who became beneficial to their community and a credit to their professions. These people went out among the Ukrainian people and organized various activities; they conducted choirs, taught folk-dancing, the Ukrainian language, literature and history, and gave lectures on Canadian affairs. These people were dedicated, and willing to sacrifice their free time to help Ukrainians become proud, intelligent, and useful Canadians.

To aid the graduates in their activities, the Institute provided guide-books and programmes of studies; thus the Institute became the director of Ukrainian life in Western Canada, and achieved its objective in becoming one of the centres of Ukrainian cultural and educational life in Canada.

The P. Mohyla Ukrainian Institute in Saskatoon provided the initiative for the establishment of three Ukrainian organizations that remain active to the present time. The first was the Ukrainian Women's Association of Canada which was founded in 1926.³⁵ The founders were young women who were graduates of the Institute.

By 1927, it became apparent to the Institute's members that, if the P. Mohyla Ukrainian Institute were to continue its function as an educational and cultural institution, it must divorce itself from economic, political and religious issues. To promote interest in these areas, a new organization was formed. The organization was the Ukrainian Self-Reliance League.³⁶ At the Eleventh National Convention which took place in 1927 at two centres: Edmonton—December 24 to 26, and Saskatoon—December 28

³²*Ibid.*, p.132.

³³*Ibid.*, p.189.

³⁴*Ibid.*, pp.170 and 204.

³⁵See "The Ukrainian Women's Association of Canada" in this chapter.

³⁶*Ibid.*, pp.201, 202. See "The Ukrainian Self-Reliance League" in this chapter.

to 30, the delegates transferred the responsibility of convening the Ukrainian Canadian National Convention to the League and the *Ukrainian Voice* became the League's official organ.³⁷

In 1931, the Ukrainian Canadian Youth Association was organized as a sequel to several years of discussions during the Institute's National Conventions.³⁸

The Institute's achievements were eventually recognized by English publications. The *Yorkton Enterprise*, on September 21, 1928, published an article by Charles Lightbody praising the work of the Institute. A week later, on September 28, 1928, the *Saskatoon Star Phoenix* devoted a whole page to the activities of the Institute. Such publications did much to explain to Canadians the function of the Institute, and created a better understanding of its place in Canadian society.³⁹

In the 1930's, the Institute's programme expanded to include musical festivals, oratorical contests, and concerts across Saskatchewan.⁴⁰ In 1931, graduates of the Institute were instrumental in organizing Ukrainian students at the University of Saskatchewan into the Alpha-Omega Club.⁴¹ In 1932, in conjunction with the Ukrainian Women's Association of Canada a three-week home-management course was instituted.⁴² In 1939, the Institute was able to realize the resolution passed at the Sixth National Convention seventeen years ago and with the assistance of the Canadian Ukrainian Women's Association, a museum was established at the Institute.⁴³

The Institute remains a cultural and educational centre. It has helped to educate hundreds of students. It has attracted many competent individuals, helping them first to formulate an ideology and then to guide them in community and cultural activities. Through its influence, the Institute's graduates achieved recognition for their interest and activity in community life.

This interest in community affairs was accomplished through the lectures sponsored by the Institute. Some of the topics listed here indicate the breadth of scope: Russia and the Ukraine, Canadian Farmers, Defects in Our Community Work, Our National Competence During Wartime, Ukrainians in Canadian National Affairs, Bolshevik's Imperialism, Ukrainian Teachers in the Ukraine, Kinds of Aid we should give to the Old Country, Institute's Tasks, Agricultural Products and Cooking Problems, Our participation in Canadian Life, Problems of the Farmers' Organization, Canadian Politics, Women's Responsibilities, The Kind of Leadership Determines the Kind of Nation, Co-operative Market for Agricultural Products, Co-ordinating Cultural and Educational Activities, State of Our Economy, Ukrainian-Jewish Relations, Wheat Pool, and Commerce.⁴⁴

The results of the work done by the P. Mohyla Ukrainian Institute in Saskatoon were described by F. T. Hawryluk, B.A., B.Ed., in his article "Kooltoorna Pratsya Instetootoo" (Cultural Work of the Institute):

Ukrainian song resounded, Ukrainian music played, Ukrainian drama, art, folk dancing, language and all that makes life richer and more beautiful, were

³⁷*Ibid.*, p.201.

³⁸*Ibid.*, p.201. See "Canadian Ukrainian Youth Association" in this chapter.

³⁹*Ibid.*, p.213.

⁴⁰*Ibid.*, pp.222-237.

⁴¹*Ibid.*, pp.239, 240.

⁴²*Ibid.*, p.239.

⁴³Natalka Kohuska, *Chvert Stolitya Na Hromadski Neri* (A Quarter of a Century of Community Work), (Winnipeg: Ukrainian Women's Association of Canada, 1952). p.71.

⁴⁴*Ibid.*, from various articles.

revived. A spirit of comradeship was developed and the eagerness to work cooperatively. This is the beginning of the democratic way of life, where an individual has the opportunity to develop one's talents, and dedicate one's efforts for the good of all. Obviously, this can only be made possible in a certain group, organization or in an institute, where every person feels at home and at ease and has the feeling of responsibility, the feeling that his work is necessary and is valued.⁴⁵

Presently, the Institute is located in a new building near the University of Saskatchewan in Saskatoon. With larger living accommodations and better facilities, the Institute's directors hope to attract many students from all parts of Saskatchewan.

The P. Mohyla Ukrainian Institute continues to fulfill a need in the Ukrainian community in Canada. Students continue to maintain an attitude of dedication towards community work, as exemplified by an article entitled "The Good or Responsible Individual" in the Institute's newsletter *Holos Instetootoo* (The Voice of the Institute):

Fortunately, the number of people who are prepared to assume active roles in community life has been sufficient to ensure that desirable institutions, such as ours, and its services are maintained. The Institute is a desirable institution in our community for the Ukrainian youth of Orthodox Faith who wish to preserve the mother language and their culture.

... Most people can and do demonstrate some, if not all, of the characteristics of a responsible individual. They take active interest in the welfare of the community, respect the law and the rights of others, the desire to understand and increase one's knowledge of public issues and finally the willingness to serve others within the limits imposed by time, talent and experience. These are the desired individuals in all walks of life in each and every community.⁴⁶

The P. Mohyla Ukrainian Institute in Saskatoon was the first institution of its kind in Canada. It has been the yeast that has given rise to the Ukrainian life in Canada. It has educated the Ukrainian youth. It has given initiative to annual national conventions which enabled Ukrainians to discuss and resolve matters concerning their life and their direction in Canadian affairs. Finally, it has given initiative to organizations which informed, encouraged, educated, and united the Ukrainian people of Greek Orthodox faith in Canada.

THE M. HRUSHEVSKY UKRAINIAN INSTITUTE IN EDMONTON

When delegates from Alberta returned home from the Second Peoples Convention in 1917 at Saskatoon, they discussed the possibility of establishing an institute, like the P. Mohyla, in Alberta. They decided to discuss the matter among Ukrainians in their respective districts and listen to the people's comments.

One of the first groups the delegates approached was a students' group named Adam Kotsko Students Association, which had been formed in 1917 in Edmonton. The students were very enthusiastic about an Alberta Institute; they decided to approach certain people across the province and promote the idea. The response was so favorable that on March 10, 1918⁴⁷ the students held a meeting in Edmonton and passed a motion to ask for assistance from the public in the establishment of such an Institute. It was also decided to name the proposed institute the Michael Hrushevsky

⁴⁵*Ibid.*, p.311.

⁴⁶*Holos Instetootoo* (The Voice of the Institute), Mohyla Institute Newsletter, July, 1964.

⁴⁷*Younielyna Knuha imeni Michayla Hrushevskoho v Edmontoni* (Silver Jubilee Book of the M. M. Hrushevsky Ukrainian Institute in Edmonton). (Winnipeg: M. Hrushevsky Institute in Edmonton, 1943), p.7.

Ukrainian Institute⁴⁸ and to become affiliated with the P. Mohyla Ukrainian Institute in Saskatoon.⁴⁹

Appeals for financial help were sent across Canada. The following extract is from one of such appeals:

Do you know that thousands of our children in Alberta are waiting for their own teachers? Have you heard that there are practically none of our children in high schools? Have you noticed how few are doctors, priests, lawyers and businessmen? Is it not a sad situation among our people in Canada? We are behind in education, very far behind other nationalities.

It is not too late to rectify the matter—if every Ukrainian farmer or laborer sends at least one of his children to higher schools. This is the only solution for our people.

It is not easy to send a child to school in town. One must consider that the child needs adequate board and lodgings at a reasonable price and even more important, that the child does not forget his parents, his country and his faith. In order to assist in this objective, the M. Hrushevsky Association is establishing a Ukrainian Institute in Edmonton this fall. In such a city as Edmonton, there should be and will be such an institution like a bursa for Ukrainian youth, for there are all kinds of schools from primary to the highest education. To establish and maintain a bursa for fifty of our school youth requires considerable funds. Let us not forget, dear Ukrainian people, that the bursa to be established is for you and by you alone through your donations. The bursa is for the good of the people. Therefore, dear reader, if you wish a brighter future for our people, if you wish to see our people under better circumstances, you must stand in the ranks of national workers, enrol as members of the M. Hrushevsky Ukrainian Institute and canvass for contributions at every occasion. From every corner of Canada, wherever our people live, contributions should flow for such a worthy cause. Remember that no money will give us such a high interest as money given towards education.⁵⁰

In October 1, 1918, the Institute was officially opened. The executive had rented the former Caledonia Hotel for \$40.00 monthly rental. The first principal was A. T. Kibzey, a medical student, and the vice-principal was M. Luchkovich, who later became the first Ukrainian M.P.⁵¹ The enrolment was 35 students.⁵² In addition to their regular school work the students participated in debates, lectures, concerts, courses in Ukrainian language, history and literature, and choir singing. The Institute also conducted English evening classes for adults.⁵³

In spite of the auspicious beginning, the next year proved to be a failure. People began to lose interest and the Institute found itself in financial difficulty.⁵⁴ A few loans were arranged, including \$100.00 from the P. Mohyla Institute in Saskatoon, but the directors were forced to close the doors and ceased to function. Surprisingly, the T. Shevchenko Institute in Vegreville, saved the Institute in Edmonton because of its own problems.

The T. Shevchenko Institute was founded in 1917 in Vegreville, Alberta, for the purpose of providing accommodation for public school children from the neighboring rural districts. As soon as the M. Hrushevsky Institute was founded in 1918, the executives of both institutions began discussions regarding an affiliation of the two Institutes. A final meeting on May 27, 1918, at Vegreville, concluded this arrangement, with

⁴⁸Michael Hrushevsky was a famous Ukrainian scholar and author. His 10-volume "History of Ukraine" is internationally known.

⁴⁹*Ibid.*, p.8.

⁵⁰*Ibid.*, pp.9, 10.

⁵¹*Ibid.*, p.12.

⁵²*Ibid.*

⁵³*Ibid.*

⁵⁴*Ibid.*, p.13.

the Vegreville executive as the governing body.⁵⁵ At the beginning, this arrangement worked well; the elementary and high school students centred at the T. Shevchenko Institute and the University students stayed at the Edmonton Institute. Then in 1919, the Vegreville school board informed its taxpayers that, due to overcrowding, the school board would not be able to accept non-resident students.⁵⁶ The Vegreville Institute was forced to look to the Edmonton Institute for admittance of its students.

On June 10, 1919, the following resolution was passed:

Resolved that the T. Shevchenko Institute at Vegreville will transfer to Edmonton and unite with the M. Hrushevsky Institute and in this regard, locate and rent a building in Edmonton to accommodate 50 students. The Committee delegates charged with this task are composed of Messrs. Ferby, Luchkovich and Kibzey.⁵⁷

In September, 1919, the executive located buildings belonging to the Edmonton Bible Institute, on 98 Street and 106 Avenue. On September 19, 1919, the transaction was final. The building immediately on the corner became the M. Hrushevsky Institute and the adjacent building was converted into a Community Centre.

The Institute's members were aware of the potential such an institution as the M. Hrushevsky Institute had, as is exemplified by the following report by A. T. Kibzey, Secretary of the Institute:

Finally let us turn once again our attention to that most important matter, the M. Hrushevsky Institute. If we had today more intelligentsia, more educated people, our entire nation and all our affairs would command the respect and attention of others. Today our situation is thus: try and find among ourselves a man competent in any of the higher fields of learning and offer him not just a reasonable sum but a king's ransom, and see if you will be able to find such a man. Maybe one could be found, but it is highly unlikely. Up till now, we do not have people in the professions, with experience, with the learning, and it is these kind of people that we need as soon as possible. If we had had such institutes as the M. Hrushevsky Institute when we arrived (in Canada), today we would not be in need of leading and learned people in all walks of life. Because of them and through them, the entire nation would have been better educated.

Thus no one should be reluctant to contribute donations and all kinds of possible support in order to maintain the kind of work the Institute effects.⁵⁸

By 1920, the tide had turned for the Institute and the institution began to flourish. The enrolment for the 1920-21 school year was 60. A full program of student activities was resumed after a two-year absence.

During this year, the M. Hrushevsky Institute recognized that its ideology coincides with that of the followers of the Greek Orthodox faith and had the honor of having the first Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Mass in Alberta celebrated in its building. Fr. S. W. Sawchuk, Fr. J. Kusey, Fr. Dr. Kopachuk and Fr. Dr. Gherman officiated.⁵⁹

By 1925, the Institute had overcome its financial problems; the mortgage was in the hands of the members and the Institute officially "belonged to the people and responsible to it."⁶⁰

The period of 1925-1930 belongs to the history of the M. Hrushevsky Institute as the brightest and most promising years. During this period,

⁵⁵*Ibid.*, p.14.

⁵⁶*Ibid.*, p.15.

⁵⁷*Ibid.*, p.16.

⁵⁸*Ukrainian Voice*, October 15, 1919.

⁵⁹*Soroklitya Ukrayinskoyi Pravoslavnoyi Katedralnoyi Hromade Svyatoho Irana (40th Anniversary of the Ukrainian Orthodox Cathedral Congregation of St. John's)*, (Edmonton: Ukrainian Orthodox Congregation of St. John's, 1963), p.3.

⁶⁰*Youvileyna Knuzha imeni Michayla Hrushevskoho v Edmontoni*, p.29.

the educational program was extended and developed. Most of the students were attending University and were of high scholastic ability. They helped the Institute executive to organize a Ukrainian school in Edmonton which flourished so well that, by 1926, it had an enrolment of 111 pupils.⁶¹ Public debates began between the M. Hrushevsky Institute and the students of the P. Mohyla Institute in Saskatoon. Eventually these debates became an annual event.⁶² Courses in Ukrainian subjects were changed and adjusted to the methods of teaching in Canadian public institutions.⁶³

A partial list of the topics discussed during the winter of 1927-1928 indicated the interest of the students:

Life and Work of Adam Kotsko
Students and Students' Organizations in the Ukraine
Gonta and Zalizniak as Heroes
Hryhory Skovoroda (Ukrainian philosopher)
General Simeon Petlura
Guidance and Obediance
National Culture
Sovereign Rule in the Ukraine

Debate: "Resolved that Yaroslav Mudry achieved more for the good of the Ukraine than Volodimir the Great;" Debate: "Resolved that Russia has committed more destruction of the Ukraine than Poland;" Debate: "Resolved that educational institutions have more influence upon the nation than economical institutions."⁶⁴

This varied programme of activities at the Institute was largely attributed to the principalship of Peter Lazarovich who had been a school teacher in Saskatchewan from 1921 to 1926, and later became a lawyer, a writer, and a leader in the Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church of Canada.⁶⁵ It is under his leadership that the Institute enjoyed its brightest moments.

In 1927 at the Eleventh National Convention in Saskatoon, The M. Hrushevsky Institute became a part of a larger organization, The Ukrainian Self-Reliance League.⁶⁶ As a result, interest was awakened in the Institute. The following year the enrolment rose to 90 from 51 of the previous year.⁶⁷

With the depression of the thirties, the M. Hrushevsky Institute was once again beset with financial difficulties. Only through the energetic and persistent appeals to the Ukrainians in Alberta was the Institute saved from financial ruin. In spite of the lower enrolments, the students' activities continued, concerts and debates were held, with students from as far as Winnipeg participating.⁶⁸

By 1937, the nation was emerging from the depression and the Institute was engaged in a very full programme of new activities. The Ukrainian Canadian Youth Association was organized by now and became a vital part of the Institute's life. The University of Alberta's radio station CKUA, and radio station CJCA regularly carried programs from the Institute.⁶⁹

With Canada experiencing post-war prosperity in the late forties, the supporters of the Institute began to visualize a newer and larger

⁶¹*Ibid.*, p.30.

⁶²*Ibid.*, p.31.

⁶³*Ibid.*, p.32.

⁶⁴*Ibid.*, p.33.

⁶⁵*Ibid.*, p.32.

⁶⁶See "The Ukrainian Self-Reliance League" in this chapter.

⁶⁷*Ibid.*, pp.34, 35.

⁶⁸*Ibid.*, p.40.

⁶⁹*Ibid.*, pp.52, 53.

institution to accommodate the ever increasing number of students who were anxious for higher education. More and more students were attending the University of Alberta, hence a building near the campus had to be found. In 1949, the Institute's directors purchased the former Robertson College and renamed it the St. John's College.⁷⁰ In 1955, the directors realized the building was too small and a fund-raising campaign was launched to build a new and larger building. By 1961 the building was completed.

The future plans of the Institute are to become a college and become associated with the University of Alberta. In the meantime, the St. John's Institute continues to uphold the objectives it has held since the time of its inception:

1. The role of the Institute is for the encouragement of higher education among the Ukrainian youth in Alberta.
2. The role of the Institute is primarily to awaken national consciousness among its students especially, and among the Ukrainian youth in general.
3. The role of the Institute is primarily to awaken national consciousness and liberality among the adult citizens in Alberta.
4. The role of the Institute is to inform the non-Ukrainians in Alberta about Ukrainians, about Ukrainian history, language, literature, religion, music, art, customs and culture in general and particularly about Ukrainians' demands for freedom in Europe.⁷¹

"Our strength lies in the nation; our hope lies in ourselves" said M. Hrushevsky. In taking the name of this learned scholar and historian, the Institute had indeed succeeded in building hope in each individual Ukrainian who had come in contact with the Institute at some time since 1918. The result has been more informed and more enlightened citizens of Canada.

The motto of the old M. Hrushevsky Ukrainian Institute and the motto of the present St. John's Institute is one and the same: "Our future lies in education."

THE ST. VLADIMIR UKRAINIAN INSTITUTE IN TORONTO

The St. Vladimir Institute in Toronto was conceived in 1942 and organized at the Ukrainian Self-Reliance League Convention on May 27, 1945.⁷² The institute was formally incorporated under the Corporations Act of Ontario and obtained its charter on September 25, 1961.⁷³ The Institute is located at the corner of Spadina Avenue and Glen Morris Street, adjacent to the University of Toronto campus.

In keeping with the University of Toronto expansion, the present site of the Institute has been sold recently to the University and land nearby, at 614-620 Spadina Avenue, has been acquired. The erection of the new building is to begin in the spring of 1968. The facilities are to be expanded to include activities for non-resident and resident students of both Ukrainian and non-Ukrainian backgrounds. The new Institute is being sponsored by the organizations of the Ukrainian Self-Reliance League and the Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church of Canada.⁷⁴

⁷⁰Soroklitya Institootoo Svyatoho Ivana (boovshoho Institootoo imya M. Hrooshevskoho), (40th Anniversary of the St. John's Institute ((formerly the M. Hrushevsky Institute),) (Edmonton: 1959), p.33.

⁷¹*Yousilena Kneha imeni Michayla Hrushetskoho v Edmontoni*, pp. 63, 64.

⁷²From a brochure on St. Vladimir Ukrainian Institute.

⁷³*Ibid.*

⁷⁴Conversations with Dr. P. Smylski, chairman of the Board of Governors of the St. Vladimir Ukrainian Institute.

The Institute provides evening classes and summer courses in Ukrainian language, music, history, slavic studies, folk dancing, and guidance and leadership training.

These institutes . . . are the pride of the Ukrainian people, and at the same time prove that we are a democratic people, a people who create . . . we care about education and with our donations build the best educational institutions for the education of our young generation within a national atmosphere.⁷⁵

ORGANIZATIONS

The Ukrainian Self-Reliance League. The Ukrainian Self-Reliance League or Soyooz Ukrayintsiv Samostiynikiv belongs to the oldest Ukrainian associations in Canada. Like many such organizations in early Canada, its first objective was to educate the Ukrainian people. The second objective was to unite the many factions within the Ukrainians and to unite into one group those who were concerned in becoming useful and beneficial citizens of Canada.

These same objectives had been held by the founders of the *Ukrainian Voice*:

It is shame and ignominy to be uneducated; only education will place us on our feet, only through education will we achieve the good which belongs to everyone equally. It is not enough to be farmers and laborers; we must stand as men, aware of human dignity, human endeavours, and individuality.⁷⁶

When Ukrainians arrived in Canada, they came with little education, with many local customs and philosophies. The Ukrainian intelligentsia recognized that, if these people were to gain the respect of other Canadians, if they were to achieve a place in Canadian society, they must be united into one community and that this could be accomplished in only one way—through education. The quickest method was to establish organizations that promoted reading groups, lectures and Ukrainian schools. It meant educating the people in identifying themselves as Ukrainians in Canada.⁷⁷

Soon it became apparent to the Ukrainian leaders that the *Ukrainian Voice* and other Ukrainian newspapers are reaching only a small portion of the settlers; it was necessary to establish residential schools or bursas to fulfill their objectives quickly and effectively. Consequently the First National Convention was convened and the P. Mohyla Ukrainian Institute in Saskatoon was established.

Thus the first National Convention in 1916 was the beginning of an era of national associations. Until then the *Ukrainian Voice* was the only available means for Ukrainians to learn of national affairs. The Convention proved that the assembling of people offered a much better and more effective means of presenting differences of opinion, of discussing them and arriving at a common decision. The National Convention became an annual event which is carried on to the present time.⁷⁸

The twenties saw in Canada many organizations, societies, community centres, institutes and students' clubs, but there was not one coordinating body which would be the heart or centre of all these activities and would give direction to all separate organizations.

⁷⁵*Canadian Farmer*, May 18, 1964.

⁷⁶*Ukrainian Voice*, March 16, 1910.

⁷⁷Batitsky, *Scho ye Soyooz Ukrayintsiv Samostiynikiv ta yoho soyoozni Organizatsiyi* (What is the Ukrainian Self-Reliance League and its Organizations)? (Winnipeg: Ukrainian Self-Reliance League, 1942), p.7.

⁷⁸The Convention for 1967 was held in Toronto, Ontario, July 13-16.

On December 23 to 25, 1927, at the Eleventh National Convention, the delegates decided to create a central organization that would embody the following existing Ukrainian Greek Orthodox organizations: the P. Mohyla Ukrainian Institute in Saskatoon, the M. Hrushevsky Ukrainian Institute in Edmonton, the Ukrainian Women's Association of Canada, the Ukrainian Community Centres, Ukrainian Student's Association and Ukrainian Canadian Youth Association. The central organization was to be called the Ukrainian Self-Reliance League. The *Ukrainian Voice* became the League's official organ.⁷⁹

One of the founders of the League, Miroslaw Stechishin, the editor of the *Ukrainian Voice*, described the League at the National Convention in 1932 as:

. . . This is the accomplishment, the concentration of all our organizational and national activities in Canada . . . The Ukrainian Self-Reliance League was established for the purpose of uniting more closely the Ukrainian people in Canada.⁸⁰

The basic principles underlying the Ukrainian Self-Reliance League are: (1) the self-reliance of the individual, the organization and the nation, (2) the independence of thought and action, and (3) the independence in politics, in economics and in religion.⁸¹

The purposes of the League are:

1. The unification of all worthwhile national elements on the basis of self-respect, initiative, and independence in the individual and in the community, and in the national life, in Canada and in the Ukraine.
2. The provision of honest, intelligent and responsible leadership for the Ukrainian people in Canada generally, in Canadian and Ukrainian matters.
3. To render moral and material support for the people in the Ukraine in their struggle for liberation.
4. To support, develop and cultivate cultural appreciation of the Ukrainian people in Canada in order to enrich the intellectual life and the Canadian culture in general.
5. To fight communism, fascism, and anti-democratic activities and in general all those manifestations which are harmful in community and political life in Canada.⁸²

The Ukrainian Self-Reliance League encompasses six distinct organizations: the Ukrainian Self-Reliance Society, the Union of Ukrainian Community Centers, the Ukrainian Women's Association of Canada, the Canadian Ukrainian Youth Association and the three Institutions—P. Mohyla, St. John's College and St. Vladimir.

At present, one of the League's major tasks is the compiling and publishing of the history and the contributions of Ukrainians in Canada.⁸³ Also the League has certain objectives for its members:

1. To organize and support Ukrainian and Sunday schools.

⁷⁹*Ibid.*, p.9.

⁸⁰P. Lazarovich, *Soyuz Ukrainytsiv Samostiynikiv i Ukrayinska Vezvolna Sprava* (The Ukrainian Self-Reliance League and the Liberation of Ukraine Issue), (Winnipeg- Ukrainian Self-Reliance League, 1951), p.3.

⁸¹Batitsky, *op. cit.*, p.10.

⁸²P. Lazarovich, *op. cit.*, p.32.

⁸³*Promin*, May 1967, p.15.

- To continue requesting the instruction of the Ukrainian language in high schools and Universities.
2. To organize branches of the Canadian Ukrainian Youth Association for young adults.
 3. To help in organizing Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church of Canada congregations.
 4. To encourage young students for priesthood in the Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church of Canada among the youth in the high schools.
 5. To financially support St. Andrew's College in Winnipeg.
 6. To financially support the Institutes.
 7. To support the Ukrainian Summer Schools.
 8. To support summer camps for children.
 9. To support the *Ukrainian Voice* and the *Herald*.
 10. To financially support the League.
 11. To actively work to arouse interest in conventions and discussions pertaining to the activities of the various organizations within the League.⁸⁴

"Into one community we are forged by strength of mind". In this spirit and direction, function all branches of the Ukrainian Self-Reliance League of Canada.

The Ukrainian Self-Reliance Society. The Ukrainian Self-Reliance Society or *Tovarestva Ukrayintsiv Samostynikiv* is the male organization within the Ukrainian Self-Reliance League. It had its beginning when the League was created in 1927 and became a distinct organization in 1949 at the National Convention. The Society upholds the same objectives and principles that are upheld by the Ukrainian Self-Reliance League, as a whole.⁸⁵

The Ukrainian Women's Association of Canada. "In the Service of the country, as guardians of culture, national traditions and wealth",⁸⁶ is the motto of the Ukrainian Women's Association of Canada, and it is indicative of the kind of women who are members of this organization. The Ukrainian Women's Association of Canada or *Soyooz Ukrayinok Kanadi*, takes pride in its accomplishments and these accomplishments are numerous. As one of its most articulate members, Mrs. O. Woychenko, states:

One finds it hard to believe that the pioneer women in a new world, working hard at their given place, could with such willingness and dedication give of their strength and time for the moral and general Ukrainian cause.⁸⁷

One of the first steps towards the formation of the first Ukrainian Women's organization took place in 1924 at the P. Mohyla Ukrainian Institute in Saskatoon. A group of women was organized by Mrs. Savella Stechishin, B.A., the wife of Julian Stechishin, then the principal of the Institute. Mrs. Stechishin had organized this group of young girls at the Institute under the name of "Mohylanky".⁸⁸ These girls were trained to become

⁸⁴P. Lazarovich, *Strooktoora Soyoozoo Ukrayintsiv Samostynikiv ta Rolya Tovarestva Ukrayintsiv Smostynikiv* (Structure of the Ukrainian Self-Reliance League and the role of the Ukrainian Self-Reliance Society), (Edmonton: Ukrainian Self-Reliance League, 1959), pp.5-11.

⁸⁵*Ibid.*

⁸⁶Natalka Kohuska, *Chvert Stolitya Na Hromadski Nera* (A Quarter of a Century of Community Work), (Winnipeg: Ukrainian Women's Association of Canada, 1952), p.7.

⁸⁷*Ibid.*, p.8.

⁸⁸An adaptation of the name Mohyla.

leaders in their communities and were encouraged to organize local women's associations.⁸⁹ Gradually small women's associations appeared across the prairie provinces, but no definite plans for uniting under a single organization were considered until the National Convention was convened in Saskatoon on December 26, 1926. During the Convention, the delegates heard women speakers on such topics as "The Need for a Women's Page in the Ukrainian Press", "The Role of Women in World Affairs", "Women's Activities in the Ukraine", and "Women's Values and Obligations".⁹⁰ From the discussions following these talks, the necessity of keeping contact between women's groups in the various centres became apparent. The following day, on December 27, 1926, the women members of the Convention held their own meeting and founded The Ukrainian Women's Association of Canada with temporary headquarters in Winnipeg. Mrs. O. Swystun (Mrs. Wasyl Swystun) was elected president.⁹¹

The organization was stated this way:

. . . that through organization it will be made possible for women to participate fully in community work, to develop national consciousness, to grow spiritually, to preserve and develop cultural appreciation in the home and in the community, and to safeguard the religious and cultural upbringing of children and youth. In addition to these spiritual needs and the development of Ukrainian life in Canada, the organized women have not forgotten the important objective, that of freeing the Ukrainian country from its enemies.⁹²

The women immediately responded to this purpose. The *Ukrainian Voice* granted a section of the paper to be used exclusively for women's affairs. Mrs. L. Sluzar and Mrs. S. Stechishin were co-editors of this section.⁹³ In a short time, several well organized women's groups were established—Saskatoon, Meacham, Regina, Whitkow, Goodeve, and Vonda in Saskatchewan, and Kapon in Alberta.⁹⁴

The association set up a program of activities which was divided into two main sections:

a) Community work—to support local churches, Sunday School and Ukrainian schools, and to support the press, literature, arts, and publications. This area of activities was recognized as the most important, since these activities determine the nation's progress, and without which a nation loses its identity and its worth.⁹⁵

b) To aid the Ukrainian nation in Europe, to continue the fight for its freedom and independence, to support financially national institutions in the Ukraine, and to defend the country and inform the free world of the political situation in the Ukraine.⁹⁶ Mrs. T. Kroytor in 1927 said:

Our objective is to prepare ourselves to stand hand in hand with the men for the realization of our highest aim—to build a free Ukraine and to be good Canadian citizens.⁹⁷

In the eyes of the members of the Ukrainian Women's Association, these two aims were not irreconcilable—in fact they were recognized as two branches of the same tree. Love and patriotism to Canada is the root to the love and patriotism for the land of their forefathers and the deep com-

⁸⁹*Ibid.*, p.16.

⁹⁰*Ibid.*, pp.28-30.

⁹¹*Ibid.*, p.30.

⁹²*Ibid.*, pp.8, 9.

⁹³*Ibid.*, p.30.

⁹⁴*Ibid.*, p.31.

⁹⁵*Ibid.*, p.30.

⁹⁶*Ibid.*, pp.30, 31.

⁹⁷*Ibid.*, p.31.

pulsion to free that land so that the Ukraine may be for its inhabitants as beloved and as precious and as free as Canada was and is to its citizens. The basic principle was "Those who respect their own, will respect those of others."

Once the main categories of activities were set down, the Association sent a communique to the various branches which included suggestions in the following areas: Schools of Ukrainian, Sunday School, Library, and Lectures.⁹⁸

Organized branches of the Association sprang up rapidly across the prairies. In 1928, when the Association had its Convention in December at Saskatoon, the following centres were represented: from Saskatchewan Goodeve, Meacham, Mikado, Regina, Saskatoon, Yorkton, Canora, Stornoway, Calonsay, Krydor, Stenen, Glaslyn, Borden, Foam Lake, Wakaw, Vonda, Prudhomme, St. Julian, Hafford, Laverna, Rosthern, Nutana and Willowbrook; from Alberta—Edmonton and Vegreville: from Ontario—Fort William; and from Manitoba—Winnipeg.⁹⁹

The members participated in many functions; they observed such events as Mother's Day, Ukrainian Authors' Day, and "Books" (a day devoted exclusively to the study of books). They sponsored Ukrainian schools, drama, debates, and Sunday Schools. Through the efforts of the Handicraft Guild in Winnipeg, in 1928, the Women's Association became interested in maintaining the centuries-old skill of embroidering and displaying it as part of the Ukrainian culture. In 1929, the Association donated to the University of Saskatchewan a hand-loomed linen table-runner and hand-made straw jewellery case and basket in Ukrainian work.¹⁰⁰ The interest in the art of egg decorating was encouraged as was the designing of modern clothes with accent on Ukrainian cross stitching.

To encourage and develop this interest in handicraft activities, the women assembled at a Convention in Saskatoon on August 1 to 3, 1930 where they displayed their handicrafts. The display was a tremendous success and it was the beginning of many such displays.¹⁰¹ Mrs. S. Stechishin wrote a brochure on "The Ukrainian National Costume," which helped to maintain the correct basic costume throughout Canada.¹⁰² Soon, talk of a museum began. Once again Mrs. S. Stechishin took the initiative and by 1939 a museum was established in Saskatoon in the P. Mohyla Ukrainian Institute.¹⁰³ Gradually, the Association turned its attention to the adorning of the church and with the approval of the Consistory, members were urged to take an interest in embroidering altar cloths, vestments, and other church objects.¹⁰⁴

Home economics area of the women's world was not ignored in the early years of the Association's work. Mrs. Stechishin, who was a graduate from the University of Saskatchewan in Home Economics, conducted a home economics course at the P. Mohyla Ukrainian Institute for several years in the 1930's. The demand for the course gradually decreased as public schools included homemaking in their curricula. Presently the *Ukrainian Voice* carries a special section edited by Mrs. Stechishin; the

⁹⁸*Ibid.*, p.33.

⁹⁹*Ibid.*, p.38.

¹⁰⁰*Ibid.*, p.62.

¹⁰¹*Ibid.*, pp.63-65.

¹⁰²*Ibid.*, p.71.

¹⁰³*Ibid.*

¹⁰⁴*Ibid.*, p.74.

section includes all areas of interest to women, from cooking to interior decorating, from sewing to child guidance and education.

Education was and is one of the cornerstones of the Association's efforts. In 1945, the Association donated \$9,496.00¹⁰⁵ for the girls' dormitory which was adjacent to the St. Andrew's College on Church Avenue in Winnipeg. Presently, some branches of the Association are vitally concerned in supporting the St. Andrew's College Building Fund.

One of the proudest achievements of the Association was the war effort during the Second World War. As an active member of the Red Cross,¹⁰⁶ it donated \$1,977.65 towards the purchase of an ambulance in 1940.¹⁰⁷ Parcels were made and sent and a Ukrainian canteen for armed forces in London was supported by the Association.¹⁰⁸

The Ukrainian Women's Association in Canada has always taken an active interest in publishing articles. In addition to the many bulletins and brochures, it has published books on its own activities, on literature, on Ukrainian women authors, on handicrafts, and on Ukrainian cooking. The Association publishes a monthly magazine *Promin* (Ray of Light) which contains articles on the arts, literature, dress designing, and cooking.¹⁰⁹

At present, the Association is concerned with the art of weaving and developing its affiliated museums in Toronto, Edmonton, and Winnipeg.¹¹⁰

The Ukrainian Women's Association of Canada is a member of the Canadian National Women's Council and is represented regularly at the Council's Convention.¹¹¹ It is also a member of the International Council of Women; at the Eighteenth Conference of the Council held at Teheran, Iran on May 14 to 26, 1966, the Association had four delegates in attendance.¹¹²

In 1967, as its contribution toward the celebration of Canada's centennial year, the Ukrainian Women's Association launched a competition in art and literature which portrays the Ukrainian woman in Canada.¹¹³ The Association also participated in the Ukrainian Week at Expo '67, where handicraft demonstrations and fashion shows of national costumes were held.¹¹⁴

The present basic principles of the Ukrainian Women's Association are:

1. To organize Ukrainian women for common community work regarding education, upbringing, cultural and domestic activities.
2. To be concerned about the religious, moral and national training of Ukrainian Youth.
3. To support and develop Ukrainian art.
4. To enlarge the domestic knowledge among Ukrainian women.
5. To be concerned with women's participation in community affairs.
6. To train the youth to become good and honest citizens of Canada.¹¹⁵

¹⁰⁵*Ibid.*, p.98.

¹⁰⁶*Ibid.*, p.99.

¹⁰⁷*Ibid.*, p.101.

¹⁰⁸*Ibid.*, p.102.

¹⁰⁹See thesis for a photostatic copy of a page from *Promin*.

¹¹⁰*Ibid.*, p.86.

¹¹¹*Ibid.*, p.132.

¹¹²*Promin*, August-September, 1966, p.15.

¹¹³*Promin*, May 1967, p.15; November 1967, p.15.

¹¹⁴*Promin*, November 1967, p.16.

¹¹⁵W. Batitsky, *op. cit.*, p.11.

The Ukrainian Women's Association in Canada continues to expand its interest and activities to meet the needs of its increasing memberships; however, it will always consider as its most important work, that of making better Canadians out of women of Ukrainian origin.

THE CANADIAN UKRAINIAN YOUTH ASSOCIATION

Just as all good parents care for their children's education and upbringing, and in time wish to turn over to them that which they acquired, so too do the parents of every organization care about the younger generation. They wish to give the young people the right education, guide them in community life, hand over to them their experience and their community wealth, so that the younger generation will continue to build that community life.¹¹⁶

When the Ukrainian Self-Reliance League was organized in 1927, it immediately undertook charge of the younger generation, organizing the youth into the Soyooz Ukrayinskoyi Molodyi Kanade or The Canadian Ukrainian Youth Association.

The initial step leading to the organization of the youth began when Ukrainian halls called "Chutalni Prosvita" (Reading Rooms for Enlightenment) and "Ukrayinski Narodni Domi" (Ukrainian Community Centres) were built in Ukrainian communities. These halls became the centre of all activities in the communities: drama, lectures, social dancing, dinners, concerts and choir singing. The proceeds went towards the development of local national institutions and interests.

The first community hall in a Ukrainian community in rural Manitoba was established in Brokenhead in 1908.¹¹⁷ The first lecture given to members and youth in this institution was given by W. A. Chumir, a teacher at Buchan school, north of Beausejour.¹¹⁸ In Saskatchewan, the first Ukrainian community hall was established at Canora in 1907, and in Alberta in 1909 in Myrnam.¹¹⁹

In these community centres, activities were conducted for the youth by public school teachers of Ukrainian background. By 1907, the Ukrainian teachers had organized themselves into an association whose main objective was to develop and expand the educational opportunities for Ukrainians.¹²⁰ Through their dynamic leadership, these teachers succeeded in arousing the interest of the youth in participating in community affairs and in developing an appreciation for higher learning.

With the establishment of the P. Mohyla Ukrainian Institute in Saskatoon in 1916, followed by the establishment of the M. Hrushevsky Institute in 1918, the Ukrainian youth had an opportunity to further their education, and at the same time participate in those activities which they enjoyed at the community centres. Two years after the P. Mohyla Institute had been established, the Ukrainian students organized themselves into an organization called "Kamenyari" (Stone breakers) which became the fore runner of many youth clubs across the prairies. By 1927, there were youth clubs at Saskatoon, Edmonton, Winnipeg, Regina, Kamsack, Canora, Sheho, Yorkton, Moose Jaw, Dauphin, Rosthern, Roblin, Mikado and

¹¹⁶From an introduction by Julian Stechishin, president of the Ukrainian Self-Reliance League, in the book *Youvilena Knuzka Soyoozoo Ukrayinskoyi Molodi Kanade*.

¹¹⁷N. Kohuska, *Youvilena Knuzka Soyoozoo Ukrayinskoyi Molodi Kanade* (Jubilee Book of the Canadian Ukrainian Youth Association), (Winnipeg: Canadian Ukrainian Youth Association, 1956), p.17.

¹¹⁸*Ibid.*

¹¹⁹*Ibid.*

¹²⁰See "The P. Mohyla Ukrainian Institute in Saskatoon."

¹²¹*Ibid.*, p.27.

Vegreville.¹²¹ These clubs carried on such activities as the publication of local bulletins, giving concerts, plays, lectures and debates.

The debates and the plays were two of the most popular activities of the students in the 1920's. Such topics were debated as "Resolved, that great people become great as a result of circumstances," "Resolved, that the Church is a more vital part of the national life than economic organizations," "Resolved, that women should become as responsible for their actions as men," "Resolved, that Ukrainians in Canada should depend more upon their own abilities than being dependent upon the ability of others."¹²²

Another activity which interested the young people was the publication of their own periodicals. The two most successful periodicals were *Kamenyari* (Stone breakers) in Saskatoon, and *Prometey* (Prometheus) in Winnipeg. These publications provided the training for many future writers, journalists and leaders in Ukrainian communities and organizations in Canada: Dr. S. W. Sawchuk, principal of St. Andrew's College; J. Stechishin, lawyer and writer; Michael Stechishin, judge and writer; Mrs. S. Stechishin, writer and lecturer; O. Iwach, writer; P. Lazarovich, lawyer and writer; J. Syrnick, editor of *Ukrainian Voice*; N. Mandziuk, M.P. from Oakburn, Manitoba; and J. Danylehuk, poet and journalist.

In 1929, the youth activities became so popular that the *Ukrainian Voice* began a section devoted exclusively to the young people. Through this section, youth groups across Canada learned of one another's progress, and brought about recognition that the youth activities are an integral part of the general Ukrainian society. Soon this section in the *Ukrainian Voice* was connected with the Ukrainian Students' Association, and it became increasingly apparent that there was a need for a national youth organization.

At the Fourteenth National Convention, held on December 27 to 29, 1930, in Edmonton, Alberta, the organization of The Canadian Ukrainian Youth Association was established and its aims approved.¹²³

The main aims of the Canadian Ukrainian Youth Association are:

1. To cultivate love, respect and loyalty to Canada and to the British Empire.
2. To cultivate love and respect to the Ukrainian people, to the Ukrainian language, and to the faith, customs and traditions of their forefathers.
3. To develop strength of character.
4. To become precise and conscientious. To become prepared for work and sacrifice for one's country and people.¹²⁴

The first group to join the Association was in Vita, in 1931, under the guidance of G. Tyzuk.¹²⁵ By 1937, the Association had expanded to such a degree that the Self-Reliance League in conjunction with the Association, established an eight-week course in training leaders for the Association. The course included history and theory in music, Ukrainian literature, citizenship, religion, leadership, folk-dancing, choir conducting, orchestra conducting, history of the Youth Association, and sports.¹²⁶

¹²¹*Ibid.*, p.28.

¹²²*Ibid.*, p.41.

¹²³W. Batitsky, *op. cit.*, p.12.

¹²⁴N. Kohuska, *Yuvilena Knuzka*, p.42.

¹²⁵*Ibid.*, p.131.

At present there are approximately 4,000 active members,¹²⁷ between the ages of 12-25. They are organized into locals with the membership divided into Junior and Senior groups with 15 years as the variable dividing line. Each local has its own executive officers, including the chaplain and an advisory board of three members usually chosen from the parental organizations. The membership consists almost exclusively of the adherents of the Ukrainian Greek Orthodox faith.

The affairs and activities of the Canadian Ukrainian Youth Association are administered by the Central Executive Committee, elected by the delegates of the locals convened at the convention of the Self-Reliance League. The Central Executive consists of: President, Secretary-General, Treasurer, Instructor and Chaplain. By virtue of his position, the President represents the Association in the Dominion Executive of the Ukrainian Self-Reliance League.

Though there is some variation in the kinds of activities conducted at the local level, an intensive programme of religious, social, educational and cultural items are carried on in each local. These include oratorical contests, choir singing, history of religion, debates, drama, folk-dancing, orchestra, sports, and handicrafts. Many activities such as the oratorical contests and debates, are competitive on local, regional, and national levels. Jamborees, conferences, summer camps, and conventions are also part of the activities.

To inform the members, the Association has undertaken the task of publishing events and activities. Written in both Ukrainian and English languages, the articles are as varied as the interests of the youth—current events, reports of meetings, sports, birth and marriage announcements of members, reports of planned activities on religion and Ukrainian history. In one publication, *Veklek* (Challenge) the official bi-monthly organ of the Alberta-British Columbia provincial organization, lessons are included for those members who wish to acquire or improve the mastery of the Ukrainian language. In the monthly publication of the St. John's Ukrainian Orthodox Young Adults' Club of Edmonton, *News-month*, appear such articles as "The Ukrainian National Republic—Guidepost to the Future" and "The World in a Whirl or Round the World in 70 Days."¹²⁸ Since 1967, the Canadian Ukrainian Youth Association at the national level, has undertaken a quarterly publication, *Sumkivets*.¹²⁹ Articles accompanied by illustrations and photographs, present literature, history, music, travel, conventions, festivals, and reports from various local organizations.

All levels—local, regional, and national—work in close co-operation with the affiliated members of the Self-Reliance League and the Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church of Canada.

The principles of the Canadian Ukrainian Youth Association are:

1. To further youth education and to promote spiritual and physical growth of the members by means of a programme of cultural, social, spiritual and physical activities.
2. To develop good citizenship among boys and girls.

¹²⁷Conversations with Fr. T. Kowalishen.

¹²⁸*Newsmonth*, April 1967.

¹²⁹An adaptation of the letters SUMK which in Ukrainian represents the name of the organisation.

3. To develop character: self-reliance, self-respect, initiative, obedience, discipline, loyalty, and consideration for others.
4. To teach boys and girls skills useful to themselves and to the public conducting meetings, public discussion and debates, dramatics, folk-dancing, handicrafts, organized sports and leadership training in general.
5. To help the youth to develop a well-rounded christian personality and to assist them to become active members of the church through the medium of a balanced leisure-time program.
6. To inculcate respect, love, and understanding of their Ukrainian cultural heritage.¹³⁰

Union of Ukrainian Community Centres. When communities of Ukrainian settlers began to rise across the Prairie Provinces, the heart of each community was the "narodnay dim" (national home). The "narodnay dim" was a hall adjacent to the church or in close proximity to the church. In it were conducted Ukrainian school classes, folk-dancing classes, concerts, holiday celebrations and observances, dramas, oratorical contests, lectures, choir singing, dinners, social dancing, wedding receptions and bazaars.

In the twenties, the thought became prevalent that these community centres should be organized into a body so that certain cultural activities would be uniform throughout the communities.

Hence, in 1927, at the Eleventh National Convention, the Soyooz Ukrayynskuh Narodnuh Domiv or Union of Ukrainian Community Centres¹³¹ was established and immediately became a member of the ideological body, the Ukrainian Self-Reliance League.

The principles that guided the union of Ukrainian Community Centres were:

1. To inculcate and develop moral social life in the community.
2. To educate the Ukrainian people in all segments of community life, and to provide guidance in the communities in the various segments of community life.
3. To maintain and develop all the desirable Ukrainian customs and traditions.
4. To develop brotherly love primarily among its members and secondarily among all Ukrainians.
5. To become the centre of Ukrainian activities in the community.¹³²

Unfortunately, the organization was never strong; at the time of its inception the membership was approximately thirty.¹³³ The activities varied from community to community, and the attempt to have similar functions conducted in all centres was unsuccessful. As the life in the community changed because of the automobile, movies and television, so did the role of the community centre. Though it still houses in many areas, the Ukrainian school, choir singing, concerts, and folk dancing, it is becoming more of a centre for social functions sponsored by other organizations and individuals. The need to be a member of a larger central organiza-

¹³⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 214.

¹³¹ W. Batitsky, *op. cit.*, p.9.

¹³² *Ibid.*, p. 11.

¹³³ *Ibid.*, p. 10.

tion is no longer felt; consequently fewer and fewer community centres have been renewing their membership in the union.

To avoid the dissolution of this organization and to take advantage of the fact that members of the Ukrainian Self-Reliance Society were also members of the Union of Ukrainian Community Centres, it was decided at the National Convention in 1956 to amalgamate the two organizations.¹³⁴ At present, in its association with the Self-Reliance Society, the Union of Community Centres is striving to maintain the principle upon which the organization was founded.

Whether it will remain an integral part of the Ukrainian Self-Reliance League or not depends upon the role it will play in the community life. The task is a difficult one because of the changing social patterns in our society. Whatever the outcome will be, it will remain in the history of the Ukrainian people in Canada as an organization that has played a vital and important role in the development of Ukrainian life in Canada.

THE HERALD

The Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church [of Canada] has a publishing company called "Ecclesia," which publishes all the religious material for the church. The company also publishes the *Herald*, the organ of the church. *The Herald* first appeared in April, 1924, as a monthly paper. In January, 1928, it began to appear as a bi-monthly newspaper, a policy it has maintained to the present day.

The Herald publishes the church news, religious articles, news about other faiths, news from the Ukraine, and news from various Greek Orthodox parishes across Canada. The newspaper also prints fund-raising campaigns and itineraries of the priests.

The Herald's offices are at the Consistory, at 7 St. John's Avenue in Winnipeg. The present editor is Dr. G. Mulyk-Lucyk.

SCHOOLS OF UKRAINIAN

The Ukrainian language was first taught by Ukrainian teachers. The Ukrainian schools were directed by the Institutes, the first of which was the P. Mohyla Institute in Saskatoon. When Julian Stechishin was principal of the P. Mohyla Institute from 1921-1929, he attempted to place Ukrainian graduates of the Institute, who were by profession public teachers, in districts that were predominantly Ukrainian. This was not successful because there were more districts who desired a Ukrainian-speaking teacher than there were teachers available. To overcome this shortage, the Ukrainian Women's Association of Canada urged its members to teach Ukrainian reading and writing to their children at home.¹³⁵

By 1927, the demand for Ukrainian schools across the Prairie Provinces was such that at the Fifth Sobor of the Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church of Canada in 1927, the administrator, Fr. S. W. Sawchuk, instructed the priests to assist their congregations in providing instruction in Ukrainian;¹³⁶ in some cases the priests actually taught Ukrainian school in the halls adjacent to the churches; in a few localities, the priests' wives undertook the instruction.

¹³⁴P. Lazarovich, *op. cit.*, p. 3.

¹³⁵N. Kohuska, *Chvert Stolitya Na Hromadski Nevi*, p. 56.

¹³⁶Conversations with Fr. Dr. S. W. Sawchuk.

In 1938, the Ukrainian Women's Association of Canada discussed the Ukrainian readers at the convention in Winnipeg and the result was the following resolution:

Canadian children of Ukrainian origin are being raised in an atmosphere entirely distinct from that of the children reared in the Old Country. For that reason, readers that were written in Galicia do not meet the Canadian needs because they introduce the children immediately into a strange world, thereby making the initial stages of learning very difficult. There is a need for readers that portray the Canadian way of life, similar to the English readers in Canada, with suitable illustrations of Canadian life.¹³⁷

The following year, the Ukrainian Self-Reliance League joined the Ukrainian Women's Association in action directed towards the publication of a new series of readers. In 1940, through the efforts of the Ukrainian Self-Reliance League, the noted author and teacher Ilya Kiriak, was engaged to write a new reader.¹³⁸

In 1942, at the Ukrainian Self-Reliance League's Convention, held at Saskatoon, a commission was appointed to see specifically that the readers would be published and, in general, to study and to report the development of the Ukrainian school system in Canada. The commission consisted of Fr. H. D. Hrycyna, J. Stechishin, a lawyer and author, F. Hawryliuk, public school inspector, and P. Lazarovich, lawyer and writer.¹³⁹

In 1944, the commission, in its report, recommended that the P. Mohyla Ukrainian Institute should concentrate its attention upon the development of the Ukrainian language among the youth,¹⁴⁰ and that the Institute should help in "organizing, developing, and guiding Ukrainian schools in Canada".¹⁴¹

The following year an Extension Department of the Institute was created entitled "Ukrainian Schools," with a separate office and records. This department, in its initial stages, was under the direction of Fr. H. D. Hrycyna and the Institute's principal, J. Syrnik, who is now the editor of the *Ukrainian Voice*. Their immediate task was to collect data as to where and how Ukrainian schools were being conducted in various centres across Canada.¹⁴² Tours were made, speeches were given, and reports written. By 1946, an organizer was appointed to help in the development of Ukrainian schools, and the first steps were taken in formulating a uniform and standard method of teaching Ukrainian. The need for training Ukrainian teachers was realized; hence, in 1946, the P. Mohyla Institute sponsored the first summer course in teacher-training. The following year, St. Andrew's College began a similar course in Winnipeg.

In 1947, the primer *Marusia*¹⁴³ by I. Kiriak was published. Unfortunately, the series of readers by the same author was not realized.

In 1950, the Ukrainian Schools Office was transferred to Winnipeg and the official title of "Ukrainian Educational Council of Canada" was given.

¹³⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 57.

¹³⁸ *Ibid.*

¹³⁹ Rev. H. D. Hrycyna, "Ukrayinska Shkola" (Ukrainian Schools) in the church calendar, *Ridna Nava*, 1948, p. 69.

¹⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 70. During this period, two members of the commission, Fr. Hrycyna and J. Stechishin undertook to produce a book in Ukrainian grammar. The result was *Ukrainian Grammar* by J. Stechishin (Winnipeg: Ukrainian Canadian Committee, 1951). This book is a text in Saskatchewan High Schools and a reference in the University of Saskatchewan. It is also an authorized text in the secondary schools of Manitoba.

¹⁴¹ *Ibid.*

¹⁴² *Ibid.*

¹⁴³ See thesis for a photostatic copy of a page from the reader.

In 1957, the Ukrainian Educational Council of Canada became one of the departments of the Consistory of the Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church of Canada. In 1959¹⁴⁴ the Council called a convention in Toronto which organized the eastern branch of the Council, the Ukrainian Orthodox Pedagogical Association for the Eastern Eparchy. Similar plan was adopted in the Western Eparchy.¹⁴⁵

The present function of the Ukrainian Educational Council of Canada is to provide the teachers with texts, guidebooks, teaching aids and advice, so that the instruction will be fairly uniform in all Ukrainian schools in Orthodox communities across Canada.

Instruction in Ukrainian is being conducted in practically all parishes of the Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church of Canada. In many places like Winnipeg, Toronto, and other large cities, professional teachers are the instructors. In some cities like Montreal and Winnipeg, public schools are leased after regular school hours for instruction in Ukrainian.

At present, there is considerable interest in using modern reading material that will be interesting to Canadian youngsters and challenging to children who have recently arrived in Canada from Europe. Mrs. M. Yurkiw, a teacher from West Kildonan, Manitoba has written a phonic work book, *Pratsya i Rosvaha*¹⁴⁶ (Work and Think) and is presently writing a reading series accompanied with work books. Mrs. V. Mulyk-Lucyk of Winnipeg, Manitoba has written a new reader, *Nasha Rodena* (Our Family)¹⁴⁷ which is to be published shortly by the Ukrainian Educational Council of Canada. The Ukrainian Women's Association of Canada has announced a literary competition in stories for children about the lives of Ukrainians in Canada.¹⁴⁸

Through its Ukrainian Educational Council of Canada, the Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church of Canada aims to make better Canadians of its young members, by helping them to become better Ukrainians.

ST. ANDREW'S COLLEGE

Thus the first aim of the College was and is—the preparation of candidates for priesthood in the Ukrainian Orthodox Church. The second aim of the College was and is, to provide the necessary religious and liberal education of the youth—not only those who are studying theology, but for all students residing at the College, so that they will have beyond the ordinary secular education and its accompanying philosophy, also suitable upbringing to become informed members of their church.¹⁴⁹

To trace the events leading to this report given by the College's principal, Dr. S. W. Sawchuk, one must go back to 1932.

The first seeds of the St. Andrew's College were sown when the Theological Seminary was organized in 1932. Till that time, the Pastoral courses for training of priests were conducted at Saskatoon and Regina. In 1932, the theology students were housed in the Winnipeg branch of the P. Mohyla Institute. The following year the students were in a private building when the branch was closed because of financial difficulties.

¹⁴⁴*Ohlyad Dyan Dvanodtsyatoho Soboroo* (Review of the Events of the Twelfth Sobor), P. 29.

¹⁴⁵*Ibid.*

¹⁴⁶Published by the Ukrainian Educational Council of Canada.

¹⁴⁷Conversations with Fr. F. Kernisky.

¹⁴⁸*Promin*, December, 1964.

¹⁴⁹Excerpt from the report by Dr. Sawchuk to the delegates of the Eleventh Sobor, *Protokol Obunadtsyatoho Soboroo Ukrayinskoji Hreko-Pravoslavnoji Tserkve v. Kanadi* (Minutes of the Eleventh Sobor of the Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church of Canada). p. 54.

In the fall of 1934, the residence for Theology students was provided in the Consistory building at 7 St. John's Avenue in north Winnipeg. The church leaders quickly realized that if the supply of priests is to meet the demands of the expanding church, plans must be considered for a permanent training centre. Thus the idea of a college began to grow.

The first definite plan for the establishment of a college was presented at the Ministerial Conference on June 25, 1943. The priests were unanimously in favor. The campaign for funds was officially proclaimed January, 1944, but the first collection took place nearly a half-year earlier in St. Julian, Saskatchewan on July 18, 1943, and realized \$472.95.¹⁵⁰ There was concern among the church leaders whether the Ukrainian Orthodox adherents would understand fully the importance and the necessity for such an institution, and would give it the necessary support. The generosity of the public proved the leaders' anxieties were groundless; within one year and a half of the first collection, the campaign had brought in sufficient funds to buy a building.

The building purchased was the former St. John's College on College Avenue in Winnipeg, and renamed St. Andrew's College after the patron saint of the Ukraine. Three years after the initial campaign, classes began in the college.

The official opening of the college took place on November 26 and 27, 1946. Present were Archbishop Theodorovich, Professor S. Timoshenko from the U.S.A., A. Piggott, the Superintendent of Winnipeg Schools, C. K. Rogers, the chief inspector of the Department of Education, Dr. H. H. Saunderson of the Science Faculty of the University of Manitoba, Stewart Garson, the Premier of Manitoba, Gurzon Harvey, alderman of Winnipeg, members of the faculty of the College, including the new dean, Mr. D. Martinovski and the principal, F. Hawryliuk, priests, delegates and guests.¹⁵¹ It was a proud moment for the Ukrainian Greek Orthodox faithful; true to their independent spirit, they had realized the institution through their own efforts.

The courses offered at the College in 1946 were: Grade XI (Junior Matriculation), Grade XII (First Year University), courses in Ukrainian (language, life, manners, customs, and culture), and courses in Theology, leading to a Certificate in Theology and to the degree of Bachelor of Divinity. The high school was under the guidance of the Manitoba Department of Education.

By 1950 there were six graduates in Theology,¹⁵² five of whom became priests. By 1953, high schools were rising in the rural areas and there were not enough students for the high school courses, thus the college discontinued offering subjects at the high school level. Until 1963, the college exclusively trained candidates for priesthood in the Orthodox Church.

One of the most popular courses offered at St. Andrew's College was the Summer School. The first Summer School was held in 1947 and continued for thirteen years; it resumed in 1964 when the college was moved to the campus of the University of Manitoba. The courses offered at Summer School are open to all young people between the ages of 12 and 18, including such subjects as: Ukrainian language, Ukrainian history, choir directing,

¹⁵⁰Fr. S. W. Sawchuk, "Istoriya Zasnovannya Kolegiyi" (History of the establishment of the College in the church calendar *Ridna Nava.*, 1948, P. 46.

¹⁵¹*Ibid.*, p. 48.

¹⁵²*Ibid.*, p. 55.

choir singing, instrumental music, history of Ukrainians in Canada, leadership, art and culture, speech and drama, folk-dancing, embroidery, egg decorating, history of the Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church of Canada, teaching of Sunday School, catechism, religion, English language and Canadian society.¹⁵³

Soon after the high school course was discontinued, the church leaders realized that if the college is to attract the attention of the very capable students, the college must be as close to the University of Manitoba as possible, so as to facilitate those students who wish to take courses that are not offered by the college. There was no question as to relocating the college in any other province because of the Theology course of studies. The Metropolitan, who is a noted scholar in church history and canon law, lives in Winnipeg, and priests qualified to lecture, are members of the Consistory, which is also in Winnipeg. Thus, the church leaders approached the University of Manitoba.

By 1960, negotiations between the University of Manitoba and St. Andrew's College were under way and Dr. Sawchuk was able to report to the Twelfth Sobor that the college's Board of Directors was ready to begin a campaign to build on the campus of the University of Manitoba.¹⁵⁵

On June 14, 1962, the University of Manitoba admitted St. Andrew's College as an associate college. It is the hope of the church that "... in the not too distant future St. Andrew's will become fully affiliated with the University and will provide courses leading to the degree in Arts."¹⁵⁶

The new building on the campus of the University of Manitoba was officially opened in July, 1964. It contains classrooms, library, and chapel in addition to the living and dining areas. The college offers at present a four-year course in Theology leading to the Licentiate in Theology and to the degree of Bachelor of Divinity. The present basic requirement is First Year University. As of September 1968, a University degree will be considered as a basic prerequisite for entry into the Faculty of Theology.

St. Andrew's College is the only Ukrainian Orthodox institution of its kind in the world and it is looked upon with justifiable pride by the adherents of the Ukrainian Greek Orthodox faith. It is

... a fitting monument to the Ukrainian Canadian pioneers without whose vision, fortitude and faith in the future of Canada we would not have had the kind of life which we now enjoy. The project is also a challenge to the present generation to continue building and enriching their own lives and the life of their country on the foundation laid by their fathers.¹⁵⁸

¹⁵³See thesis for a photostatic copy of a certificate given to a student at the close of the Third Summer School.

¹⁵⁵*Ohlyad Dyan Dvanadtsyatoho Soboro*, p. 74.

¹⁵⁶*Ukrainian Voice*, July 15, 1964.

¹⁵⁷Conversations with Dr. S. Sawchuk.

¹⁵⁸Excerpt from Dr. Sawchuk's address at the official opening of the College in July, 1964.

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The publication of this book is sponsored by
MR. MIKE BOYCHUK,
BOYCHUK CONSTRUCTION CO., SASKATOON, SASK.

“The greatest mystery of life is that satisfaction is felt not by those who take and make demands but by those who give and make sacrifices”.

BERDYAEV.

Mr. Mike Boychuk has displayed the above philosophy on numerous occasions; by sponsoring the publication of this book, he has once again demonstrated his generosity. It is but one of many significant contributions to the Church that he is making in this Golden Jubilee year. Mr. Boychuk contributed considerably as an active member of the Jubilee Committee which planned the Sobor and Conference in Saskatoon. And of course he and his family have, for many years, played an active role as members of the Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church. In addition he is a Director of the P. Mohyla Institute in Saskatoon and a member of, and a generous contributor to, the St. Andrew's College in Winnipeg.

Mike Boychuk was born December 15th, 1908 at Fraserwood, Manitoba where his parents Jacob and Nellie settled as pioneers on arrival from the Ukraine. He took his education in Fraserwood before venturing on his own. He married the former Mary Humeny and they have three children. Their son Garry is in business with his father, the second son Fred is an Engineering student and daughter Annie is continuing her studies.

Mr. Boychuk is the owner of Boychuk Construction Co., of Saskatoon. He is also engaged in retail lumber business, land development and in farming.

The Jubilee Committee acknowledges Mr. Boychuk's sponsorship of this book with sincere gratitude. This significant contribution is also a most appropriate example of the assistance that members can give to further the progress of the Church.

