

Editors' Note

Owing to unforeseen circumstances, we had a number of delays with the publication of this special double issue on Ukrainian Canadians. To our 2010 subscribers, we ask that you please accept our sincere apologies for this delay. Since we are now publishing this special issue, we have numbered it Volume 47.4-5, 2015 [Volume 42.2-3, 2010] with the bracketed volume and issue numbers indicating that this was when it was originally scheduled to be published. We hope this satisfies our obligations to our 2010 subscribers and to the authors who so generously submitted material to this issue and patiently waited for it to be published. We believe this issue will be a significant and important contribution to the study of Ukrainian Canadians. We thank you for your patience and understanding and for your continuing support of Canadian Ethnic Studies.

NATALIA Aponiuk – Special Guest Editor

Ukrainian Canadians, Canada, Ukraine, and the Popular Imagination

*“Look at where Canada is, and look at where Ukraine and Russia are....
Neither Canada nor the U.S. have [sic] the same amount [sic]
of interests in Ukraine as Russia does.”*

– Vladimir Putin, president of Russia,
as reported by the Canadian Press, May 24, 2014

This special issue of *Canadian Ethnic Studies* is being published at the intersection of two momentous events. In Canada the 125th anniversary of Ukrainian settlement will be celebrated in 2016. Although it is highly likely that individual Ukrainians came to Canada much earlier, 1891 is generally accepted as the beginning of the first wave of mass migration from Ukraine. Canada is now home to the third largest population of Ukrainians in the world (after Ukraine and Russia), numbering over 1.2 million or approximately 4% of the population in 2011. In Ukraine, contemporaneously, a battle is being waged to preserve an independent, integral Ukraine.

As recently as a quarter-century ago and for centuries before, the preceding reference would have been to “establishing,” not “preserving,” an independent Ukraine. In the century preceding 1991, when Ukraine declared its independence, Ukraine’s cultural heritage was under threat—as it had been for centuries before—but a variant of it was preserved and developed in Canada. This fact was noted with some surprise by Leonid Kuchma, Ukraine’s second president, when he was serenaded in Ukrainian by school children enrolled in the English-Ukrainian Bilingual program in Edmonton on October 25, 1994.

With Ukraine’s declaration of independence, Ukrainian Canadians at last had an independent homeland with which they could identify. Older generations—especially the so-called “DPs” (Displaced Persons) who had been forced to leave Ukraine during and after World War II—returned to visit the country that had been pre-

served only in their memories. They came back to Canada having realized that their true homeland was Canada and were grateful for it. This realization was no doubt helped along when their naively offered, unsolicited advice on various matters was rebuffed by Ukraine's first president, Leonid Krawchuk, who told them in no uncertain terms not to meddle in Ukraine's affairs.

Now, finally, we all seem to be on the same page. A younger, more sophisticated, worldly, and English-speaking leadership has emerged in Ukraine—a leadership that has recognized the importance of gaining the support of the Western world of which it wants to be a part. This change in attitude and outlook is exemplified by Ukraine's national anthem: the first stanza was slightly modified in early 2013 and the result was the transformation of a dirge sung in a minor key in Canada to a triumphal hymn.¹

Canada has responded positively and supportively to the most recent events in Ukraine, thereby eliciting President Putin's dismissive and ill-informed comment. Canada had done the same in 1991 when Canada was the first country to recognize the newly-independent Ukraine. Of course, one does have to admit that the Canadian government's response in both instances may not have been wholly altruistic since Ukrainians constitute the ninth largest ethnic group in the country and arguably exert more influence than their numbers might suggest because they are well organized and because of the younger, more activist leadership of their umbrella organization, the Ukrainian Canadian Congress.²

However, what is most striking is that Ukraine has caught the attention and the imagination of the Western world for arguably the first time in its entire history. The United States and Western Europe, as well as Canada, are concerned about Russia's annexation of Crimea and incursions along the eastern border of a country they would like to see in NATO. Poland and the Baltic countries are concerned that incursions into Ukraine are a portent of what could happen in their own countries.³ Germany and France are concerned about their gas and oil supplies as Russia periodically threatens to shut down the pipeline at the Ukrainian border. With the shooting down of the Malaysia Airlines plane over eastern Ukraine by Russia-backed "rebels" (July 17, 2014), Western Europe—indeed most of the world—has realized that the crisis centering on Ukraine far outstrips the merely political and economic. This tragedy has claimed the world's attention not least because the dead were citizens of so many countries. Ukraine, which seemed not to have left the front page of newspapers for at least the past eight months, now commanded the entire front page of the *Globe and Mail* (July 18, 2014) and then the top half on July 21. Ukraine was again the lead item on the BBC television news as it had been for months, only briefly displaced by other tragedies such as the disappearance of an airplane in the Far East and the kidnapping of over two hundred girls in Africa, and, later, the cri-

sis in Gaza and the ebola epidemic in Africa. British and American reporters had been trying for months to interpret events from various locations in Ukraine. Michael Bociurkiw, a Ukrainian Canadian working for the OSCE, was interviewed frequently regarding the shooting down of the plane. President Obama was joined by the prime ministers of the Netherlands and of England and the foreign minister of Germany (among others) in discussing events in Ukraine on television. At a ceremony in Liege commemorating the hundredth anniversary of Germany's invasion of Belgium (Aug. 4, 2014), Prince William and several other speakers compared that event with the current situation in Ukraine vis-à-vis Russia. Thus, it is not surprising that Ukraine would be discussed by Charlie Rose and assorted guests and, less eruditely, on the McLaughlin Group.

But how does one explain the fact that Ukraine—this poor country caught between East and West and devastated by both at one time or another, this cradle of a great civilization which, until a few months ago, few could locate on a map—had also caught the popular imagination? Could anyone have imagined that David Letterman would be talking about Ukraine with Vera Farmiga, who would use a scatological proverb in flawless Ukrainian in reference to Putin—with the censored English translation appearing almost simultaneously on the screen?⁴ Or, that Letterman would comment that he had a friend who was Ukrainian?⁵ Indeed, could anyone have imagined that a Ukrainian American actress would become famous enough—and without changing her name!—to appear on Letterman's show?⁶

In the past, Canadians and, to a lesser extent, Americans had become familiar with Ukrainian names through hockey broadcasts on radio and television. “Turk” Broda, Bill Barilko, John Bucyk, Terry Sawchuk, Mike Bossy, Dave Andreychuk, Dave Babych, and Dale Hawerchuk were prominent players during the last sixty-seventy years. Juliette, whose variety show was broadcast for many years on Saturday nights was at least as famous as the hockey players. Luba Goy was known throughout Canada, as were politicians like Steve Juba, Roy Romanow, Roman Hnatyshyn, and, more regionally, Sylvia Fedoruk, and Peter Liba.⁷ There was even a Ukrainian Canadian astronaut—Roberta Bondar!

However, in American (and Canadian) films and on television series—with their huge international audiences—Ukrainian and Ukraine were mentioned in passing, if at all. John Hodiak and Jack Palance had been famous movie stars without anyone having paid much attention to their names or their origins. Nick Adams, who had changed his name, was not as famous nor as long-lived as they had been. But by the beginning of the twenty-first century, the attentive viewer might have wondered if a writer on a show had some kind of Ukrainian connection (a friend, like Letterman, an acquaintance, an employee, a wife/husband, a parent, an in-law) or simply wanted to make a character—especially a villain—more “exotic” than a

Russian would have been. For example, there was a passing reference to a Ukrainian villain on an early version of *Law and Order*. By 2007 one of the “good guys” (but still a minor role) in David Cronenberg’s *Eastern Promises* was the heroine’s Ukrainian uncle and self-described former KGB officer. (This would make the leading woman character, played by Naomi Watts, at least partly Ukrainian.) By 2012 the events at Chernobyl were well enough known internationally for a movie title to include the name. *Chernobyl Diaries* (2012), which, ironically, could not be filmed there due to the radiation,⁸ is shown repeatedly on television. It concerns “humanoid mutants,” which result from the nuclear explosion. The trend of Ukrainians as villains continued with *Banshee* (premiered on Jan. 11, 2013), but the roles were now more prominent. Rabbit, the powerful crime lord, is Ukrainian, and his daughter, Anastasia, is one of the leading characters. Helena, one of the eleven clones of the leading character on the critically acclaimed *Orphan Black* (premiered on March 30, 2013), was raised by nuns in a Ukrainian convent. Helena’s heavy accent is definitely Slavic though she mispronounces the one Ukrainian word she speaks at the end of the first season!⁹

Tatiana Masliany, who plays all the clones, has won critical acclaim and been the subject of a long article (complete with colour photo) in the Sunday *New York Times*,¹⁰ without needing to change her obviously Ukrainian name. Like Masliany and Formiga, Matt Czuchry, who co-stars in yet another critically acclaimed series, *The Good Wife* (premiered in 2009), chose not change his name.¹¹

In a more positive vein than the preceding fictional characters, Carrie Roman, a resident on *Nurse Jackie* (also a critically acclaimed series which premiered in 2009) reveals, to the surprise of her colleagues (and to the viewers) that she is Ukrainian and speaks the language fluently, having learned it when she was sent to camp as a child. The revelation comes when she suddenly begins to translate an ER patient’s dying (he thinks!) confession to his wife that he has a second wife and two sons. The confession is in Ukrainian—presumably because the patient has reverted to his native language as a result of his accident. Although we do not hear Dr. Roman speak Ukrainian, there is no doubt that the patient (and, most likely, the actor playing him) is indeed a native speaker of Ukrainian.

It is, of course, difficult to judge what impact any of the preceding has had on the so-called “average” viewer. If nothing else, all these references had to have had a cumulative effect since each of these programs/films are viewed by millions of people. And, if Ukraine and Ukrainians were not part of the American and Canadian lexicon, it hard to imagine that programs like David Letterman’s, which pride themselves on their broad appeal and timeliness, would have ventured into this area. Even programs like *Saturday Night Live* and *The Tonight Show* with Jimmy Fallon, which supposedly appeal to a younger demographic, also included sketches relating to

Ukraine. The former included a sketch (March 9, 2014) in which the great action hero Liam Neeson tries to help “President Obama” convince President Putin to stop invading Crimea! The program also featured a recurring character, the Russian Olya Povlatsky, commenting at length on the situation in Ukraine. *The Tonight Show* featured sketches centering on phone calls relating to Ukraine between actors portraying Presidents Obama and Putin (March 19, 2014) and President Putin and Sarah Palin (April 2, 2014).

However, the most telling examples of how much Ukraine has entered American and Canadian popular culture are two incidents involving private citizens. In one, the young man who got just a little too close to Brad Pitt was described in news reports as “a former reporter on Ukrainian television.”¹² In the second, Mike Tyson is quoted as telling Russian reporters that Russia should get out of Ukraine. One can only surmise how Tyson learned about the situation in Ukraine. Perhaps it was simply a case of one world heavyweight boxing champion talking to another world heavyweight boxing champion—whose brother happens to be mayor of Kyiv!¹³

Contrary to what President Putin said, Canada and the United States are not too far from Ukraine to be vitally interested in events there. For almost 125 years there has been an irrevocable bond between Ukrainian Canadians and Ukraine. This bond has been extended by successive federal governments to include Canada as a whole. More surprising, in view of Ukraine’s tragic past, is the fact that Ukraine is now being championed by the United States and Western Europe. Indeed, the news coverage in the Western world of events in Ukraine—including the horrific downing of a passenger plane and its aftermath—has caught the interest and the imagination of the Western world to the extent that Ukraine has become part of the West’s popular culture, as evidenced by movies and, especially, by television.

All in all, this would seem to be a propitious time for this particular issue to be published, dealing, as it does, with Ukrainian Canadians, Canada, and Ukraine.

This special issue—*The Ukrainian Canadians*—follows the standard format of *Canadian Ethnic Studies* issues—articles, review articles, reviews—with the exception that *all* the material in each section is devoted to one theme—the Ukrainian Canadians. All the material is written by scholars and researchers working in this field. And, throughout, there are reverberations of Ukraine.

The articles fall naturally into two sections, the first dealing with art, literature, language, and material culture, and the second, with historical and political events.

The first article (by Marilyn Baker) resulted from an exhibition of the work of William Kurelek at the Winnipeg Art Gallery and the concurrent publication of the

large, beautifully illustrated catalogue. What was originally intended as a review of the catalogue became a larger study of Kurelek's exhibition history, illustrated books, and the role his art dealer played in Kurelek's career. Kurelek, who spent his formative years in Manitoba and graduated from the University of Manitoba, became a prolific and now a highly prized artist, whose works (when they became available) sell for hundreds of thousands of dollars. Although Kurelek's subjects vary, many very obviously reference his Ukrainian heritage.

The next two articles discuss Ukrainian Canadians in the context of Canadian English-language literature. Arguably, the first work of Canadian fiction in English to depict Ukrainians was Ralph Connor's *The Foreigner*, published in 1909. Since then, some of Canada's major writers, including Margaret Laurence, Margaret Atwood, Morley Callaghan, Sinclair Ross, and W. O. Mitchell, have depicted Ukrainians in their works. Gabrielle Roy, writing in French, also created Ukrainian characters. Beginning at least in 1954 with the publication of Vera Lysenko's *Yellow Boots*, writers of Ukrainian origin began to break through into the pantheon of CanLit. The publication of works by writers of Ukrainian origin increased dramatically following the adoption of Multiculturalism and the resultant infusion of government funding into the "culture industry."

My article considers the depiction of the Ukrainian immigrant in two plays (*Paper Wheat*, written by a collective, and Gwen Pharis Ringwood's *A Fine Coloured Easter Egg*), in several novels (Frederick Philip Grove's *Fruits of the Earth*, Arthur G. Storey's *Prairie Harvest*, and Vera Lysenko's *Yellow Boots*), and in Gabrielle Roy's "The Well of Dunrea."

Lindy Ledohowski deals with the multiculturalism debates of the 1960s and 1970s when Ukrainian Canadian groups successfully pushed for the recognition of other ethnic identities, which ultimately resulted in a shift from Biculturalism and Bilingualism to Multiculturalism and Bilingualism. She argues that by placing Ukrainians and other ethnic groups as "first" inhabitants of the Prairies, "the pre-existing Aboriginal presence on that landscape" was removed. She uses contemporary literature to "[theorize] the relationship between the homesteaders and their descendants vis-à-vis Aboriginal presences in the prairie provinces."

The article by Veronika Makarova and Khrystyna Hudyma discusses the results of a study of reported ethnic self-identity of Saskatchewan residents with Ukrainian ancestry and the role of the Ukrainian language in identity, and "the correlation between the factors of ethnic identity, Ukrainian language proficiency, age, gender, and generation."

The article by John Lehr and Brian McGregor discusses place names on the Canadian Prairies. The authors note that it was difficult for agricultural immigrants from Europe to mark their presence in the landscape by naming settlements.

However, since school names were generally assigned locally, otherwise powerless groups from Eastern Europe were able to mark their presence by naming schools.

The next three articles deal with material culture. Natalie Kononenko discusses the collecting of folk art associated with heritage and the desire on the part of the collectors to connect to a past, with which they may have had no direct contact, but one “they feel they need to understand in order to make sense of their own identity.” Her case studies are Peter Orshinsky and Leonard Krawchuk, two important Canadian collectors of Ukrainian folk arts and crafts. Orshinsky’s collection is now housed in the Royal Alberta Museum; Krawchuk’s is awaiting a suitable home.

Natalia Khanenko-Friesen’s article discusses transatlantic family correspondence—specifically letters written in Ukraine to relatives who had immigrated to Canada—as cultural artifacts. She focuses on the Wakarchuk collection (1949-89), which is housed in the Personal Sources Archives of the Prairie Centre for the Ukrainian Heritage at St. Thomas More College, the University of Saskatchewan.

The article by John Lehr and Serge Cipko compares the cultural landscapes created in Western Canada and southern Brazil by Ukrainian immigrants. The landscapes reflected environmental differences between these two countries, on the one hand, and the Ukrainian homeland, on the other, with the settlements in Brazil displaying the more immediate response to the environment. However, because the Ukrainian settlements in Brazil were more isolated than those in Canada, traditional folkways and material culture were able to survive longer in Brazil.

The second half of the articles focuses on Canada’s and, specifically, Ukrainian Canadians’ perception of and involvement in events relating to Ukraine, beginning in the mid-1920s and continuing through World War II. These papers emanated from the conference “Becoming Canadian: Ukrainian Canadians and the Second World War,” which was held in Winnipeg, November 11-12, 2011.

Three of the articles—by Jars Balan, Myroslav Shkandrij, and Serge Cipko—deal with mainstream Canadian press coverage of events in Ukraine and of topics relating to Ukrainian Canadians. The other two—by Orest Martynowych and Roman Yereniuk—deal with Ukrainian Canadians who played significant roles in events leading up to and during World War II. The articles are in chronological order with respect to the dates on which the events discussed took place.

Jars Balan’s article deals with mainstream Canadian press coverage of the Soviet Union between 1924 and the end of 1930, when Stalin inaugurated the first Five-Year Plan in an attempt to fundamentally reshape “the economic, political, social, and cultural fabric of the former Russian empire,” with particular attention to events in Ukraine on the eve of the *Holodomor*.

Myroslav Shkandrij’s article examines Canadian press reports on the Carpatho-Ukrainian autonomous state (Nov. 1938-March 1939) and “how fears that Hitler

was about to create a ‘Greater Ukraine’ internationalized the issue of Carpatho-Ukraine, which some feared would be the first step in Germany’s destabilization of the Soviet Union.”

Vladimir J. Kaye/Kysilewsky, the subject of the next article, had a storied career as one of Canada’s first civil servants of Ukrainian origin, as an academic who was the first president of the Canadian Association of Slavists, as a mediator in the formation of the Ukrainian Canadian Committee, and as a researcher who wrote the first scholarly history of Ukrainian immigration to and settlement in Canada.

In his article, Orest Martynowych discusses the nine-year period (1931-40) when Kaye/Kysilewsky, then director of the Ukrainian Bureau in London, tried to bring the famine in Ukraine to public attention, while at the same time contending with what Martynowych describes as “the Bureau’s obstreperous Ukrainian émigré rivals, in particular the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN).”

Serge Cipko’s article discusses the coverage of Ukrainian Canadian topics by the *Edmonton Journal* and the *Edmonton Bulletin* during World War II, including Ukrainian Canadian participation in the war effort, the banning of the Ukrainian Labour Farmer Temple, the formation of the Ukrainian Canadian Committee, the question of Ukrainian independence, and the Canadian conscription plebiscite.

Roman Yereniuk discusses the creation of the office of Ukrainian chaplaincy in the Canadian military during World War II. Seven chaplains—four from what is now the Ukrainian Orthodox Church of Canada and three from the Ukrainian Catholic Church of Canada—served approximately 32,000-35,000 military personnel. The work of the chaplains is outlined in the article.

The review articles are critical assessments of groups of books on related subjects. The first of Mary Kirtz’s articles is a study of the representation of Ukrainians and Ukraine in novels and short stories from Canada, the United States, and Ukraine. In her second article, she discusses two novels dealing with Ukrainian immigrant families and the prejudices and hardships they encountered after settling on the Canadian prairies. Natalie Kononenko assesses three books about “objects and practices of the Canadian past,” including the material culture of the Ukrainian pioneers, early Canadian folk art, and Ukrainian folk remedies.

Robert Klymasz looks at Ukrainian-Aboriginal cultural interrelations in Canada.

The collection concludes with reviews of recent books on a variety of topics relating to Ukrainian Canadians.

I would like to thank the three people most closely involved in the production of this special issue—Claire Hutchinson, Jacqueline Barral, and Rachele Painchaud-Nash.

I was very fortunate in assembling this team soon after I became the editor of *Canadian Ethnic Studies*. Their dedication, precision, and attention to detail helped to ensure that each issue was as close to perfection as possible.

I would also like to thank Genia Bozyk and her staff at St. Andrew's College for providing all kinds of assistance as I worked on this issue.

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Finally, I would like to thank all of the contributors to this issue. Thank you for your contributions and for your patience during what was a lengthy gestation, but which has resulted in an issue of which I am sure we can all be proud.

NOTES

1. The anthem's music was officially adopted on January 15, 1992, following Ukraine's secession from the Soviet Union; the lyrics, on March 6, 2013. The original words, from a poem written in 1862 and set to music in 1863, were:

*Shche ne vmerla Ukraina,
Ni slava, ni volia*

Ukraine has not yet died,
Neither has glory, nor freedom

The words—somewhat questionable grammatically—adopted on March 6, 2013 (the changes are highlighted):

*Shche ne vmerla Ukrainy,
I slava i volia*

Ukraine's glory and freedom have not yet died.

Changing the words of a national anthem is not a new phenomenon; see, for example, the Canadian and the American anthems.

2. For a positive assessment of Prime Minister Stephen Harper's statements on President Putin's comments and actions vis-à-vis Ukraine, see J. L. Granatstein and William Kaplan, "Harper saw through Putin from the start," *Globe and Mail*, July 22, 2014, A11.

3. The Baltic countries—Latvia, Lithuania, and Estonia—have sizable Russian populations consisting of people who preferred to remain in these countries post-independence, rather than to return to Russia.

4. *The David Letterman Show*, April 28, 2014.

5. *Ibid.* Letterman's wife, Regina Lasko, is reputed to be of Ukrainian origin, as her name suggests.

6. Although perhaps not quite a household name, Vera Farmiga is a lead in the television series *Bates Motel*. In 2009 she appeared in the movie *Up in the Air* opposite George Clooney. She has been nominated for an Oscar, a BAFTA, a Golden Globe, and a Screen Actors' Guild Award.

7. Juba was Winnipeg's longest serving mayor; Romanow was premier of Saskatchewan; Hnatyshyn was a cabinet minister and governor general of Canada. Fedoruk and Liba were lieutenant-governors of Saskatchewan and Manitoba, respectively.

8. It was filmed in Belgrade.

9. Helena repeats the word *seštra* (*sister*) several times, but the stress should be on the second syllable (*seštrá*). If she were using the vocative case as would be appropriate here, she should be saying *seštro*.

10. Arts and Entertainment, April 20, 2014. Masliany, a native of Regina, has identified herself as being of German origin or having a diverse background. According to sources in Regina, her mother is of German origin; her father and grandfather identify as Ukrainian.

11. Wikipedia lists many actors and actresses as being of Ukrainian origin, but does not distinguish between Ukrainian ethnicity and Ukrainian nationality. For example, Katheryn Winnick, a guest on such series as *Nikita*, *Criminal Minds*, *Law and Order*, *House*, and *Bones* (2010), is Canadian-born of Ukrainian origin. Olga Kurylenko, a “Bond girl” who starred in *Quantum of Solace* (2008), was born in Ukraine and inherited her Ukrainian surname from her father with whom, apparently, she rarely had contact. Her mother is not of Ukrainian origin. Oksana Lada, whose first and last names are Ukrainian, played the recurring role of Tony Soprano’s Russian mistress. The Ukrainian Canadian actor Lubomir Mykytiuk plays primarily character roles in Canadian movies and on Canadian television series. Anyone following the fashion industry will be familiar with the “super-model” Daria Werbowy, who is Ukrainian Canadian.

12. *Winnipeg Free Press*, June 3, 2014, C2.

13. Tyson, a former world heavyweight boxing champion, reportedly made the remark at the Tribeca Film Festival in New York in April, 2014. (Others reported to have indicated their support for Ukraine at the festival were the Scorpions, Milla Jovovich, and Madonna.) See www.belsat.eu/en. Wladimir Klitschko is the world heavyweight boxing champion. His brother is the mayor of Kyiv.

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MARILYN BAKER

Framing Kurelek

Abstract

In the 1960s and 1970s William Kurelek was a widely recognized Canadian artist whose paintings were purchased for public and private collections in Canada and abroad. Kurelek was a celebrity when he died of cancer at fifty years of age in Toronto on November 3, 1977. This paper describes Kurelek's career—focusing on his exhibition history, his illustrated books, and the role played by his art dealer, Avrom Isaacs. His exhibition history showed him to be an incredibly prolific artist, one whose art was inspired by his religious and moral passions, by the prosaic stories of ordinary Canadians, by the Canadian landscape, and by his fascination with history. His illustrated books typically consisted of paintings and drawings organized into a series designed to tell a story—a device also used for many of his exhibitions. Kurelek's own life story, told in his own words, provided the story line for his best loved books such as *A Prairie Boy's Winter* and *Lumberjack*. Isaacs and Kurelek formed a comfortable and useful business relationship whereby Isaacs encouraged Kurelek to paint what he wanted and made Kurelek known to the press, the public, and the Canadian art establishment. Finally, the paper reviews *William Kurelek: The Messenger*, the 2011 catalogue for Kurelek's latest major retrospective exhibition.

Résumé

Dans les années 1960 et 1970, William Kurelek était un artiste canadien généralement reconnu, dont les tableaux ont été achetés pour les collections publiques et privées au Canada et partout dans le monde. Kurelek était une célébrité quand il est mort d'un cancer à cinquante ans à Toronto—le 3 Novembre, 1977. Ce papier décrit la carrière de Kurelek—en mettant en exergue l'histoire de ses expositions, ses livres illustrés, et le rôle qu'a joué son marchand d'art, Avrom Isaacs. L'histoire de ses expositions l'a présenté comme un artiste incroyablement prolifique, celui dont l'art a été inspiré par ses passions religieuses et morales, par les histoires prosaïques de Canadiens ordinaires, par le paysage canadien, et par sa fascination pour l'histoire. Ses livres illustrés sont constitués typiquement de peintures et de dessins organisés dans une collection destinée à raconter une histoire—un emblème a été également utilisé pour beaucoup de ses expositions. Véritable autobiographie de Kurelek dite dans ses propres mots, elle fournit une ligne historique de ses meilleurs livres les plus aimés tels que *A Prairie Boy's Winter* et *Lumberjack*. Isaacs et Kurelek entretenaient une relation d'affaires confortable et utile au moyen de laquelle Isaacs encourageait Kurelek à peindre ce qu'il voulait et le faisait connaître par la presse, le public, et la création de l'art canadien. Enfin, le papier passe en revue *William Kurelek: The Messenger*, le catalogue 2011 pour la dernière grande exposition rétrospective de Kurelek.



INTRODUCTION

William Kurelek's story is a compelling one. Despite a distressing personal history, he was at the time of his death a widely recognized and broadly popular Canadian artist. His paintings had been acquired by numerous public and private art collections in Canada and abroad. His books—*A Prairie Boy's Winter* (1973), *Lumberjack* (1974), and *A Prairie Boy's Summer* (1975), which he wrote and illustrated—brought him national and international awards and recognition from the general public. The *Globe and Mail* twice chose a Kurelek painting for the front page of its Christmas edition in 2010 and 2013. Kurelek was a well-established celebrity when he died at fifty in Toronto on November 3, 1977. Interest in Kurelek continued after his death. Honours were accorded him and exhibitions were mounted about his life and art. His original 1973 autobiography, *Someone with Me*, was republished in 1988. A shorter, revised autobiography, also titled *Someone with Me*, was published in 1980. Other books using Kurelek's own words or images (or both) were published after his death, for example, *Fox Mykyta* (1978), *The Ukrainian Pioneer* (1980), *The Polish Canadians* (1981), *They Sought the New World* (1985), *To My Father's Village* (1988), *William Kurelek's Huronia Mission Paintings* (1991), and *Kurelek Country* (1999). Kenneth Thomson—at the time of his death (2006) one of Canada's wealthiest men and owner of the *Globe and Mail*—expanded Kurelek's representation in Toronto by donating a large collection of Kurelek paintings (and other artists' work) to the Art Gallery of Toronto (Adams 2002).

Kurelek may be less known today than in the 1960s and 1970s. Nevertheless, his work now sells for record prices at Canadian auction houses and galleries. In 2012 Kurelek's *King of the Mountain* (1973), sold at auction above estimates for \$380,250 ("Sales Records Broken at Canadian Art Auction" 2012; Adams 2012). Indeed, prices for Kurelek's work continue to rise as prices falter for other Canadian artists, including many of his contemporaries considered more significant during his lifetime (O'Reilly 1998; Adams 2003).

This study was initiated by the recent major retrospective exhibition of Kurelek's paintings at the Winnipeg Art Gallery, which opened in late September 2011 and ran for three months. It ran for similar periods at the Art Gallery of Hamilton and the Art Gallery of Greater Victoria, finally closing on September 3, 2012.

The three institutions produced a catalogue for the exhibition, *William Kurelek:*

The Messenger (henceforth referred to as *Messenger* 2011) which included, in addition to reproductions of all of Kurelek's works in the exhibition, six essays on him and his art. Mary Jo Hughes, one of the curators of the exhibition, explained the title:

We felt that, in essence, Kurelek's whole career was centered around trying to communicate messages. He was indeed a messenger first and foremost. Whether it was literal Christian messages or broader moral messages, they were always there in all his paintings. We felt that implicit moral messages were held even within the works that may appear to the naked eye to be simply about his boyhood on the prairies. He was not a painter for painting's sake—he was a messenger. Painting was simply his medium of choice (e-mail message to Marilyn Baker, Feb. 7, 2014).

Before discussing the exhibition and catalogue, this paper describes Kurelek's career, focusing on his exhibition history, his illustrated books, and the role played by his dealer, Avrom Isaacs.

KURELEK'S CAREER

Kurelek was born on a farm in Alberta in 1927. His mother was Mary Huculak (b. 1906), the daughter of prosperous, first-wave Ukrainian immigrants who arrived in Canada in the late 1890s. His father was Metro Kurelek (b. 1904), a second-wave Ukrainian immigrant who arrived in 1923. Immediately following his arrival, Metro found work on the Huculak family farm in a Ukrainian enclave northeast of Edmonton. Two years later, he and Mary would marry. Their firstborn, Vasyly (William), spoke no English until the age of seven when his family moved to a farm north of Stonewall, Manitoba, where he was enrolled in an English-language primary school. Kurelek's father valued education, so in 1943 Bill was sent to Winnipeg where he attended Isaac Newton High School, located in the North End. Known for its high academic standards, the school specialized in the education of children of non-English speaking immigrants (the majority of the students). Kurelek also attended services at St. Mary the Protectress Ukrainian Orthodox Cathedral,¹ located near the high school, where he developed a close relationship with its priest, Peter Maevsky. Maevsky and others instilled in Kurelek an awareness of Soviet oppression and a respect for Ukrainian nationalism. These were nurtured during the university years through his friendship with Zenon and Orest Pohorecky, whose father was editor of the periodical *Novyi shliakh* (*New Pathway*) (Kear 2011, 101-3; Kurelek 1973, 150-2, 162).

Kurelek earned a Bachelor of Arts degree from the University of Manitoba—majoring in Latin, history, and English and taking courses in psychology and art history. He was profoundly moved by James Joyce's *Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man*

(1916). Against his father's strenuous objections, he determined to become an artist. He attended the Ontario College of Art in Toronto in 1949-1950 and later, in 1950-1951, the Instituto Allende, a private art school in San Miguel, Mexico. Disappointed in both schools, he decided to pursue art instruction in Europe. When his father refused financial support, Kurelek worked as a lumberjack in Quebec and Northern Ontario to finance the trip. He had already worked as a lumberjack to help pay for his university education. Kurelek would describe such experiences in his illustrated book *Lumberjack*.

In 1952 Kurelek moved to England where he would live for approximately seven years. He painted—occasionally selling his work—and participated in art exhibitions. He sold his 1952 painting *Tramlines* (also called *Taking Up London Tramlines*) to the London Board of Transit. After undergoing treatment for psychological disorders in British hospitals, he exhibited trompe l'oeil paintings at three summer exhibitions (1956, 1957, 1958) sponsored by the Royal Academy of Arts (Hughes 2011, 45; Morley 1986, 80-81, 134-5). During his final two years in England, Kurelek worked for a prestigious London-based picture framing establishment where he learned framing and old-master painting techniques.

Despite attending art schools, Kurelek claimed that his art skills were largely self-taught. Nevertheless, he respected certain past artists whose work he had studied and at times emulated, in particular artists such as the early Dutch painter Hieronymous Bosch and the Flemish Renaissance master Pieter Brueghel, the Elder. He also found inspiration in *The Natural Way to Draw* (by Kimon Nicolaides), which was to Kurelek something of an artistic bible and self-help manual (Morley 1986, 73).

Kurelek's art career never prospered in England although he produced many impressive paintings. In June 1959 Kurelek returned to Canada. He left considerable work in England, but brought home *Self-Portrait* (1957) and *Lord That I May See* (1955) (see *Messenger* 2011). These paintings record the steps he took in his spiritual transformation which culminated in his becoming a Roman Catholic. In *Lord That I May See*, Kurelek represents himself as the blind man, Bartemeus, who asked Christ for sight. Kurelek later attached the following explanation (not included in the 2011 exhibition or catalogue) to the painting:

Blindness is a spiritual blindness like the inability to believe which I went through in England, which is the setting for this picture. The Shadow on the Path is of Christ as He approached the blind Bartemeus, an incident recorded in the Bible. Christ answered his cries by asking what he wanted and he answered in turn "Lord, that I may see." The Skylark is the beauty of the world which can be heard by a blind man but not seen. The Woman leading the artist up the hill is she who introduced me to the Catholic faith (*William Kurelek* 1966, 5).

Hughes calls the two paintings—as did Kurelek and others—“the beginning of his post-conversion narrative (*Messenger* 2011, 50).²

Following his conversion Kurelek eschewed atheism and habits of mind from his student days at the University of Manitoba (Hughes 2011, 40-3). Moreover, he rejected his connections to and membership in the Ukrainian Orthodox Church (Kear 2011, 101-3). His family regarded his rejection of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church as a betrayal of his ethnic identity. They asked him to keep his new religious enthusiasm to himself—though they were otherwise glad to have him back in the family fold (Morley 1986, 148).

After visiting his parents on their farm in Vinemont, Ontario, near Hamilton, where the family had been living since 1949, Kurelek settled in Toronto. He resumed work on a multi-panel series, *The Passion of Christ*. The series depicts St. Matthew's story of Christ's Passion with St. Matthew's text below each picture.³ Before returning to Canada, Kurelek had gone to the Middle East to research the series. He surveyed the Holy Land for settings and purchased photographs of Jewish people to use as models in the paintings (Kurelek 1973, 464-8). Kurelek wanted *The Passion of Christ* series to tell Christ's story from the Last Supper to the Resurrection and to teach Christ's message of good and evil, of sin and salvation. He intended that the series be used by missionaries as slide or film shows.⁴

Realizing that he would probably not make a living from his art, Kurelek enrolled in a teacher training program at the Ontario College of Education, but was “rejected on the fourth day as psychologically unfit” (Morley 1986, 148-9). In late 1959 he approached Avrom Isaacs, who ran a commercial art gallery in Toronto, hoping for a job in Isaacs' framing shop. He showed Isaacs samples of frames he had made—and also his paintings. Isaacs hired Kurelek as a part-time framer. Brian Dedora, who had also worked in Isaacs' shop and had become a good friend of Kurelek's, reminisced about Kurelek's employment there in his essay in *Messenger* 2011. Dedora's reminiscences are one of the highlights of the catalogue, not only because of the description of Kurelek going about his everyday business but also because of the personal information about Kurelek, for example, his love of puns and practical jokes. Kurelek also loved framing. Dedora quotes Kurelek, “It's physically satisfying and also quite creative to be able to plan one's own frames” (Dedora 2011, 183). Kurelek's 1973 drawing *The Isaacs Gallery Workshop*⁵ (*Messenger* 2011 and Kurelek's *O Toronto*) recalls Breughel's group paintings. It also suggests Kurelek's familiarity with the camera, especially the wide-angle lens which renders distant objects very small and close objects very large.

It was Kurelek's paintings, however, that most impressed Isaacs. Isaacs invited Kurelek to become a regular exhibitor at his gallery, which showcased upcoming Toronto artists. A handshake and a guarantee to pay Isaacs a commission—roughly

20 to 30 percent of a painting's selling price—is reputed to have been Isaacs' "contract" with his artists in the 1960s (Nowell 2001). According to Kurelek's major biographer Patricia Morley, "The Isaacs Gallery paid Kurelek a monthly stipend from his own credit account" (Morley 1986, 232).⁶ For his commission, Isaacs agreed to promote Kurelek in the private and public spheres of Canadian art. Whatever the details of the agreement, it would become exceedingly profitable for both men.

Kurelek had his first one-person exhibition at the Isaacs Gallery in March–April 1960 (Kurelek, *Someone with Me*, 1973, 496; 1988, 506). His work *Lord That I May See* was reproduced on advertisements for the show. Two Toronto newspapers carried reviews of the show. Pearl McCarthy, art critic for the *Globe and Mail*, wrote a glowing review—highlighted by a three-column wide reproduction of the 1957 *Self-Portrait* (McCarthy 1960). Robert Fulford, arts and letters critic for the *Toronto Star*, suggested that the Art Gallery of Toronto (now the Art Gallery of Ontario) should buy from the exhibition Kurelek's *Behold Man without God* (1955). Both Fulford and McCarthy expressed admiration for Kurelek's technical mastery—unusual for contemporary artists, according to Fulford. Many years later, Isaacs recalled how successful this exhibition had been—with both critics and the gallery-going public—and how profoundly Kurelek had been affected. The success created

an effect similar to the opening up of the flood gates in a dam. Paintings began to pour out of him. There was no let-up almost until the day he died. His energy and drive were a constant source of amazement to me. In the very brief period of twenty years after his return to Canada [it was closer to eighteen, M.B.], he produced more than two thousand works, mostly paintings (*Kurelek Country* 1999, 6).

In May 1961 Kurelek was included in the opening exhibition—titled Opening Exhibition—of Isaacs' new gallery. Kurelek's painting *Prairie Hailstorm* was singled out for praise by McCarthy: "I suggest it takes a peculiar verve to make an ultra-realist painting excite the imagination as does Kurelek in *Prairie Hailstorm*" (McCarthy 1961).

As interest in Kurelek spread, Isaacs began to sell Kurelek's art to individual collectors, corporate collections, and Canadian art institutions. He also facilitated Kurelek's participation in exhibitions outside the Isaacs Gallery. One of the earliest and most prominent Kurelek collectors was Joseph H. Hirshhorn, who bought at least four of Kurelek's early paintings.⁷ By 1962 Canadian Industries Ltd. had added two Kurelek paintings to their collection of better known Canadian artists—many of whom were members or associate members of the Royal Canadian Academy (C.I.L. 1962). Other early Kurelek collectors included Prime Minister Lester Pearson's wife, Maryon; Alan Jarvis, former director of the National Gallery of Canada and then editor of *Canadian Art*; and Evan Turner, the director of the Montreal Museum of Fine Arts (MMFA). Kurelek's first sale to a public art institution was to the MMFA in early 1963—*Lord That*



Fig. 1. Kurelek seated in front of *The Passion of Christ* series, McIntosh Memorial Art Gallery, the University of Western Ontario. Photograph courtesy of the *London Free Press* Collection of Photographic Negatives, Western Archives, Western University.

I May See. Enthusiasm for Kurelek was thus spreading beyond Toronto. Robert Ayre, former editor of *Canadian Art* and an art critic for the *Montreal Star*, extolled the humanity of Kurelek's work in his review of Kurelek's two-person exhibition with Michael Snow, another Isaacs Gallery artist, at the MMFA in Montreal in 1963 (Ayre 1963).

With his new professional success, Kurelek could start a family. He met Jean Andrews at the Catholic Information Centre in Toronto where he was a frequent visitor and volunteer worker. She was a Christian social worker and a member of Our Lady of the Wayside Presidium—a group at the Centre focused on the rehabilitation of prostitutes and drug addicts (Morley 1986, 170). Kurelek married Andrews in late 1962.

One of his paintings was on view in the Centre's library: *Ubi caritas et amor Deus ibi est* ("where charity and love reside, God is there" from St. Augustine's *Confessions*), inspired by St. Augustine's spiritual struggles (Hughes 2011, 51). It portrays "the peaceful unity of all mankind [gathered] around a tabernacle," Kurelek explained (Jarmicki 1961). It was at the Catholic Information Centre where, in 1963, Kurelek first showed *The Passion of Christ* series—now numbering approximately 160 paintings. He liked this location for the series because it was not a commercial

art gallery. Throughout the 1960s, Kurelek used *The Passion of Christ* series to encourage a dialogue with other Christian denominations, including Protestant, Anglican, and Ukrainian Orthodox.⁸

For Kurelek, art was supposed to glorify God and promote Christian values. This is evident not only in *The Passion of Christ* series, but also in other paintings through which he told Christian moralistic stories. For example, *The Rock* (1962) portrayed the Catholic Church built on a rock, with saints in the sky above and attacking demons in a sea of blood below. *Dinnertime on the Prairies* (1963) showed that, even today, Christ is crucified by our sins. Kurelek called such work “didactic” art (Bruce 2011, 140-2), and Isaacs encouraged Kurelek to produce it.

In 1963 Kurelek had his third one-person exhibition at the Isaacs Gallery, William Kurelek: Experiments in Didactic Art.⁹ Its overt religious moralizing generated even more interest than had his first one-person show in 1960 or his second exhibition, William Kurelek: Memories of Farm and Bush Life, in 1962. In *Experiments in Didactic Art*, some themes were timely, such as the threat of nuclear war, and some timeless, such as poverty, injustice, and religious beliefs.¹⁰ The exhibition generated much publicity and some purchases. “If this is didactic art, I would willingly expose myself to more even at the risk of conversion,” Elizabeth Kilbourn wrote in the *Toronto Star* (Kilbourn 1963). Similarly impressed, Paul Duval, an art critic for the *Toronto Telegram*, characterized Kurelek’s paintings as “humble, sincere, talented religious tracts” (Duval 1963). Hughes wrote that “Kurelek’s views on the relevance of a medieval approach to art, while seemingly out of step [with modern times] . . . were aligned with the philosophies of 20th century theologians who wrote about the link between religion and aesthetics . . . Jacques Maritain [and] . . . John Newport” (Hughes 2011, 52-3; see also Bruce 2011, 138-9).¹¹

By the early 1960s Kurelek’s work was being shown regularly outside Toronto in group exhibitions in public and private galleries.¹² He was particularly pleased by an invitation to participate in a group exhibition, *New Images from Canada*, to take place in September 1963 at the Banfer Gallery in New York City. Alex Colville, a Banfer Gallery artist, wrote the introduction to the exhibition catalogue in which he extolled the value of realist painting. Kurelek had hoped that his participation in this show would lead to representation by a New York gallery, but it did not happen (Sypnowich 1963). Nevertheless, Kurelek was marked as a rising talent by his inclusion in the 1963 National Gallery of Canada (NGC) sponsored biennial exhibition of contemporary Canadian art—a juried event. The exhibition was shown in London, England, at the Commonwealth Institute in 1963 and later the same year in Ottawa at the NGC. Kurelek would also be included in the NGC 1965 and 1968 biennial exhibitions—also juried events. The NGC purchased his painting *The Manitoba Party* (1964) from the 1965 exhibition—their first purchase of a Kurelek work and a significant Kurelek career event.

In addition to his participation in group shows, Kurelek was featured in numerous retrospective and one-person exhibitions in the 1960s and 1970s in Toronto and beyond. Notable was his one-person show in 1964 at St. Stephen's United Church, Port Credit, Ontario—a large show with possibly as many as fifty-three works, including some from the *Passion of Christ* series and many from the Didactic Art exhibition.¹³

In February 1965 Kurelek had his first one-person exhibition in Western Canada. The exhibition—William Kurelek: An Immigrant Farms in Canada—showed at the Edmonton Art Gallery.¹⁴ It portrayed the experience of Kurelek's father who had farmed in various locations in Canada. The exhibition confirmed Kurelek's reputation beyond Eastern Canada and was the first opportunity for Westerners to see a good selection of Kurelek's art work locally. Also in 1965 Kurelek had his first one-person exhibition in Montreal—at the Agnes LeFort Gallery, a private gallery owned by Mira Godard. This was a significant foothold for Kurelek in Montreal and a dependable venue for more one-person exhibitions and group shows.¹⁵

In 1966 the Winnipeg Art Gallery hosted a Kurelek retrospective, William Kurelek. This tribute to Kurelek was organized by the Alpha Omega Women's Alumnae, an organization made up of university graduates of Ukrainian descent. This retrospective of thirty-five works reflected the pride of Manitobans, particularly the Ukrainian Canadian community, in Kurelek's success in the Canadian art world. "It [the retrospective] is dazzling proof of our input into the culture of Canada," wrote S. H. in the *Ukrainian Voice* (H., S. 1966). Donations for the Winnipeg retrospective came from Ukrainian Canadian organizations, businesses, and individuals across Canada. Kurelek's painting *The Manitoba Party* from the NGC's collections was used on the cover of the exhibition catalogue.¹⁶ *Zaporozhian Cossacks* (1952), Kurelek's gift to his father, was the largest painting in the exhibition. Ukrainian Canadians would have understood that the Cossacks symbolized Ukrainian nationalism.¹⁷ Isaacs and Kurelek helped plan this exhibition—as they did virtually all one-person and retrospective exhibitions during Kurelek's life.¹⁸

In 1966 Kilbourn selected Kurelek for her book, *Great Canadian Painting: A Century of Art Education* (1966), accepting Kurelek within the mainstream of Canadian art history. She placed Kurelek within an ongoing Canadian realist tradition—a painter of "Daily Life"—that included Cornelius Krieghof, Horatio Walker, and Alex Colville. Kurelek was also selected for a NGC exhibition and catalogue, *Three Hundred Years of Canadian Art*, which marked the centenary of Confederation. The artists were chosen by the NGC's chief curator and the curator of Canadian Art. By the end of 1966 Kurelek was showing at private galleries and being featured in one-person exhibitions from Montreal to Edmonton. At the end of 1966 Kurelek had his first one-person exhibition at the Yellow Door, a private gallery in Winnipeg.¹⁹ In 1967 he had his first one-person exhibition at the Jacox Gallery, a

private gallery in Edmonton, and his second one-person exhibition at the Agnes Lefort Gallery in Montreal.

As plans for Expo 67 in Montreal got underway, Kurelek was selected for a National Film Board short film, *William Kurelek*. In July 1967 Queen Elizabeth II visited Expo 67, and Kurelek was invited to a state dinner hosted by Prime Minister Lester Pearson (Kurelek 1973, 498). Also at Expo 67, during Ukrainian Week, Kurelek's *The Ukrainian Pioneer Woman in Canada* series, a group of twelve panels, had its first showing in the Hospitality Pavilion.²⁰ It "had all the earmarks of a national pavilion" though it fell somewhat short of being one (Smindak 1967).²¹ In 1968 Kurelek's *The Ukrainian Pioneer Woman in Canada* series, now with additional panels, opened at the Isaacs Gallery (Michener 1968).²² In 1968 and 1970 Kurelek was included in two NGC sponsored exhibitions, the Seventh Biennial and the Canada Council Collection. The latter travelled to eight cities in Eastern Canada through 1971.

In 1970 Kurelek's increasing recognition as a significant contemporary Canadian artist culminated in a major retrospective organized by the Edmonton Art Gallery. The retrospective, which included seventy-nine works, was approximately three times larger than his first Edmonton Art Gallery exhibition in 1965. The chief curator of the 1970 retrospective, William Kirby, worked closely with Isaacs and Kurelek in choosing the works. Supported in part by the Canada Council (Silcox 1969) and the Ukrainian Professional and Businessmen's Club of Edmonton, the retrospective surveyed Kurelek's art from the 1940s to 1970.²³

The Edmonton retrospective included thirty-four works produced after the 1966 Winnipeg Art Gallery exhibition.²⁴ Large landscape paintings from the *Hound of Heaven* series were shown, including *Glimmering Tapers Round the Day's Dead Sanctities* (1970) (hereafter referred to as *Glimmering Tapers*).²⁵ Paintings in this series were among the first Kurelek paintings to use a markedly larger canvas (Rzepecki 1970). Also shown were two selections dated 1969 from his *Pacem in Terris* series: *Where Do You Go When You are Old?* and *The Place of Christmas Pilgrimage—A Liquor Store*. The series continued Kurelek's long-standing fight against indifference to injustice. *Pacem in Terris* (peace on earth) is an intentionally ironic title.²⁶ Concurrent with the Edmonton exhibition, and extending through 1971, was a travelling exhibition mounted under the auspices of the Extension Department of the Art Gallery of Ontario—William Kurelek: A Point of View, Cape Dorset, Baffin Island, Northwest Territories.²⁷ Also in 1970, *The Maze: The Story of William Kurelek*—a film made about Kurelek's 1953 painting *The Maze*—was shown in Toronto.²⁸

Enthusiasm for Kurelek's art increased in the 1970s in the Ukrainian Canadian community. In 1970 Olya and Mykola Kolankiwsky purchased the entire *The Passion of Christ* series, reputedly for \$32,000 (Morley 1986, 321), as the centrepiece of their private art gallery, the Niagara Falls Art Gallery (Kritzwisser 1971, 1978).²⁹ In grati-

tude for their support, Kurelek gave to the Kolankiwsyks his mural *The Ukrainian Pioneer*, a series of six large panels which he completed in 1971 and reworked in 1976. In 1973 the Ukrainian Cultural and Educational Centre in Winnipeg organized a major fund-raising exhibition of Kurelek's work on the theme of pioneer artifacts and pioneer activities. Kurelek flew in for the exhibition and contributed a door prize. Kurelek wrote: "Yes, I'll donate a \$500.00 painting for your raffle. But it must be understood by you and the ticket buyer that a \$500.00 painting is not very big—about 9" x 24". It will look bigger however with a good frame round it" (Kurelek to Bob Achtemichuk 1973).³⁰ Films about Kurelek were part of the ancillary offerings in Niagara Falls, Winnipeg, and elsewhere. In 1975 the Kolankiwsyks initiated an annual Kurelek Festival at the Niagara Falls Art Gallery. The first festival featured 72 drawings which he had recently finished for a book to be published in English based on Ivan Franko's tales of Lys Mykyta (Melnyk 1978; Morley 1986, 226-228). Kurelek's large 1952 painting *Zaporozhian Cossacks* was also borrowed for the festival (Murray 1982). The festival would continue after Kurelek's death (Kritzwisser 1978).³¹

Kurelek was particularly honoured by an invitation to exhibit his art in London, England, at the Commonwealth Institute. This was to be a one-person show, not like the 1963 NGC biennial exhibition in London in which he was one among many. Thirty-five of his works were exhibited during March and April 1972. Kurelek and Isaacs were deeply involved in the planning and choice of works. Some works were sent from Canada, including *Lord That I May See*, *Manitoba Party* (chosen for the catalogue cover), and *Glimmering Tapers*. Kurelek showed works with Ukrainian themes, such as *Ukrainian Christmas Eve Supper* (1955), and works with anti-Soviet themes, such as *The Maze* (1953), *The Sheet* (1963), and *Cross Section of Vinnitsia in the Ukraine, 1939* (1968).³² Works were shown which had remained in England after Kurelek left in 1959, including one of his masterworks—*Tramlines*, a vivid treatment of workers on a south London Street (Hughes 2011, 45-46; Morley 1986, 81-83). The exhibition included a work, *Skiing in Manitoba* (1970), belonging to Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau. It included a work belonging to the Royal Family, *Canadian Schoolchildren on the Way to See the King and Queen in Winnipeg* (c. 1967, now lost). This was inspired by the 1939 visit of the King and Queen to Winnipeg and was a gift to the Queen Mother from Kurelek in 1967. Kurelek was pleased to be able to say that one of his paintings was represented in the Royal Collection. The exhibition was reviewed not only in Canadian newspapers (e.g., Jensen 1972), but in London papers as well (e.g., Bowen 1972). London reviewer Bernard Denvir, art critic and art historian, wrote: "They stand in their own right as paintings with a vivid, perceptive quality, reminiscent at times of the emotional directness of a Brueghel" (Denvir 1972).

The exhibition's second showing was in Edinburgh. Kurelek brought the film *The Maze* with him to the London and Edinburgh exhibitions. The film was based

on the painting which illustrates vignettes from his life, disturbing visions, and horrific events. Kurelek viewed the world as spiritually barren, akin to T. S. Eliot's *Wasteland* (Kurelek, *Someone with Me*, 1973, 520-21).

The inclusion of anti-Soviet paintings in the London and Edinburgh exhibitions underscored Kurelek's commitment to Ukrainian nationalist causes and his stand against the Soviet Union, whose permission he required to travel to his father's village (Morley 1986, 322). Both *The Maze* and a similar painting, *The Maas Maze* (1971), included in *Messenger* 2011, depict vignettes of Soviet oppression. *The Maze* shows a male figure, resembling Stalin, shoving a homeowner out of his home and portrays Ukraine as a bound woman threatened by a lurking Soviet presence. *The Maas Maze* portrays Ukraine more graphically—arms flung out, on the ground, bloodied, and a victim of rape.³³

After the London/Edinburgh exhibition, Kurelek's anti-Soviet work continued against the backdrop of the West's criticism of Soviet repression (e.g., Bardyn 1971). In 1972 and 1974 hunger strikes took place in Ottawa to protest the Soviet treatment of dissidents, specifically Ukrainian dissident Valentyn Moroz, and to protest Canada's inaction. Kurelek's painting, *Hunger Strike in Ottawa for Valentyn Moroz* (1972), shows Moroz in a Soviet prison cell hovering above hunger strikers in Ottawa.³⁴ In 1974 Kurelek signed a petition widely circulated in Canadian newspapers to protest the Soviet treatment of dissidents (Appeal 1974). A few years later, in another anti-Soviet painting *Famine 1933* (1977), also called *Starvation in Ukraine 1933*, Kurelek portrays a Ukrainian family starving on the street, victims of the Soviet-induced famine (fig. 2).³⁵

In October 1972 the Isaacs Gallery mounted the exhibition William Kurelek: The Toronto Series. The exhibition showed works that would be reproduced the following year in Kurelek's illustrated book *O Toronto*. The exhibition was the first formal tie-in between a Kurelek exhibition and a Kurelek book. The second was between Kurelek's illustrated book, *A Prairie Boy's Winter*, published in 1973, and several exhibitions by the same name in 1973-1974 in Toronto and Montreal.³⁶ With Mary Cutler as editor and publisher of Tundra Books, Kurelek's career as a children's book author and illustrator took off. Among other awards, the book won the *New York Times* Best Illustrated Book of the Year for 1973. Also in 1973 Kurelek's first autobiography, *Someone With Me*, was published (Morley 1986).

In 1974 Kurelek's illustrated book, *Lumberjack*, received rave reviews. "With its 25 full-color paintings and its text as spare as a bone and as illuminating as the natural light of truth the whole is a work of art, an unmannered documentary," wrote John Richmond for the *Montreal Star* (Richmond 1974). Among other awards, *Lumberjack* won the *New York Times* Best Illustrated Book of the Year for 1974—the second consecutive year that Kurelek won this honour—and the *New York Times*



Fig. 2. *Famine 1933* (detail). Copyright the Estate of William Kurelek, courtesy of the Wynick/Tuck Gallery, Toronto. Gift of Dr. and Mrs. John Halyckyj, Collection of the Ukrainian Institute of Modern Art (UIMA).

Outstanding Book of the Year for 1974, the first Canadian book to be so honoured. Preceding its publication, *Lumberjack* was promoted in a tie-in exhibition, William Kurelek: Ontario and Quebec Bush Camp Memories. The exhibition was shown in October–November, 1973, at Koehring–Waterous Ltd. in Brantford, Ontario—a company that made machinery and equipment for the pulp and paper industry—and in December, 1973, at the Marlborough–Godard Gallery in Montreal. Two years later, in 1975, Hiram Walker and Sons Ltd. bought all the paintings Kurelek had done for another book, *A Prairie Boy's Summer*. The paintings were given on permanent loan to the Art Gallery of Windsor. A show based on those paintings toured Canada from 1975 through 1982 with the Hiram Walker logo conspicuous on the exhibition pamphlet. Following Kurelek's death, the show took on the connotation of a memorial exhibition at some venues (Rowe 1978).

In 1973 Kurelek had his first one-person exhibition in British Columbia. Actually, there were two one-person exhibitions sharing the same catalogue but taking place simultaneously at two locations. My Brother John was shown at the Equinox Gallery, a private gallery in Vancouver, and William Kurelek: A Prairie Artist Paints the Mountains was shown at the Burnaby Art Gallery, a public gallery in Burnaby.³⁷ In

1975 his illustrated book, *Kurelek's Canada*, included British Columbia landscapes.

In his contribution to the *Messenger* 2011 catalogue, Isaacs recalled a trip that he and Kurelek made to Vancouver. "When we had a flight together to one of his exhibitions held in Vancouver, he told me he would have no time for conversation on the plane; he would be busy with his notebooks. On arrival at the airport he asked me to pick up the luggage so he could keep working" (Isaacs 2011, 20). Nevertheless, Kurelek did appreciate Isaacs. In 1973 Kurelek wrote to a friend: "Mr. Isaacs discovered me and made me when no one else had faith in my possibilities" (Morley 1986, 323). In 1976, in a letter to Kurelek, Isaacs assessed their relationship:

I have realized for some time you see me as some sort of father figure or in other words someone whose disapproval you were particularly sensitive to. I am not. I am just a guy who is trying to work with you and who may be wrong some of the time just as you are wrong. The main thing that you had better realize is that aside from monetary possibility of gain I genuinely have your best interests as an artist at heart (Morley 1986, 323).

In 1974 Barry Lord's book, *The History of Painting in Canada: Toward a People's Art*, identified Kurelek as one of Canada's "painters of people in the west" (216). Lord's book reinforced Kurelek's place in Canadian art history, earlier proposed by Kilbourn (Kilbourn 1966). Unlike Kilbourn, however, Lord disliked Kurelek's religious work. In 1974 Kurelek was featured in two more Canadian retrospectives. The Art Gallery of Windsor showed forty-eight works in a retrospective titled William Kurelek: A Retrospective Exhibition 1942-1972. The Art Gallery of Brant (now the Glenhyrst Art Gallery) in Brantford, Ontario, showed 39 works in a retrospective titled Exhibition of Paintings and Drawings from the Years 1952-74.

Isaacs and Kurelek each contributed a statement to the Brant catalogue. Isaacs stressed the fact that Kurelek was "a religious painter." He explained: "I am talking about the intensity or conviction that he brings to his work. He is a chronicler, recording for future generations, in a manner that the camera cannot" (Brant 1974). Isaacs also stressed the importance of political and social issues to Kurelek: "At one time this was considered in bad taste, and anti-art, but more recently has become quite acceptable as artists begin to be aware of the state of our world" (Brant 1974). Both the Brantford and Windsor retrospectives included examples of Kurelek's anti-abortion work.³⁸

In June 1975 Kurelek received the Jubilee Award from the University of Manitoba.³⁹ On that occasion, he met Michael Ewanchuk who would interview him and write a book that included the interview (*The Suffering Genius*, 1991). In October 1975 Kurelek's didactic work was the focus of the forty-four items shown in his exhibition at Center Art Gallery at Calvin College, a conservative Christian Reformed college in Grand Rapids, Michigan. Arranged through Isaacs and in coop-

eration with Mykola Kolankiwsky, the exhibition focused on religious themes and contemporary issues, such as abortion, criminality, gambling, drugs, pornography, and social justice. Kurelek, who in the 1970s had become increasingly willing to talk about his work in public gatherings, went to Grand Rapids to explain his work in a question-and-answer session organized at the college.⁴⁰ In January 1976 Kurelek was made a member of the Order of Canada.

In 1977 a second exhibition was being planned for London, England, to be shown at the Canada House Gallery in Trafalgar Square. Originating with the Canadian High Commissioner in London, the exhibition was a collaboration between the Isaacs Gallery and Kurelek's British publisher, William Collins. It was to coincide with the publication of Kurelek's books in Great Britain. The ultimate tie-in exhibition, it was to show works from six illustrated books. However, Kurelek died during the planning stage and the exhibition took on the added purpose of becoming a memorial. Isaacs wrote a eulogy. A London art critic lamented, "Kurelek has not been adequately shown in Britain . . . An untimely death (Nov. 1977); but a rich and unique Legacy" (Shepherd 1978).⁴¹

To honour Kurelek, the Ukrainian Professional and Businessmen's Club of Toronto sponsored the William Kurelek Memorial Lectures at the University of Toronto. Former Trudeau advisor and York University history professor Ramsay Cook—who had grown up in Morden, Manitoba and attended United College in the early 1950s—was the first speaker. In his lecture, *A Prairie Boy's Visions*, Cook "identified four 'recurrent themes' in Kurelek's art: childhood, the Prairies, pioneer settlement and cultivation, and religion" (Kear 2011, 110).

Books about Kurelek followed his death. Kurelek's revised autobiography, *Someone with Me*, was published in 1980. The lengthier, original autobiography, published in 1973, also titled *Someone with Me*, was reissued as a facsimile edition in 1988 by the Niagara Falls Art Gallery. Concordia University professor Patricia Morley wrote the thoroughly researched *Kurelek: A Biography* (1986). Other useful books were Michael Ewanchuk's *The Suffering Genius* (1991), Ilse Friesen's *Earth, Hell, and Heaven in the Art of William Kurelek* (1997), and Michael D. O'Brien's *William Kurelek: Painter & Prophet* (2013).

Major exhibitions were mounted to honour Kurelek after his death. The first memorial exhibition, Kurelek, was shown in 1980 in Winnipeg at the Ukrainian Cultural and Educational Centre, a joint endeavor of the Centre and the Winnipeg Art Gallery whose curators selected the fifty-one works in the exhibition and organized it.⁴² An exhibition, *The World of William Kurelek*, was shown in 1987 at the Ukrainian Museum in New York City. The Ukrainian Museum exhibition travelled to Chicago and Oshawa. The exhibition, *Kurelek's Vision of Canada*, curated by Joan Murray of the Robert McLaughlin Gallery in Oshawa, was shown in 1982-84 in four-

teen Canadian cities. This exhibition portrayed Kurelek primarily as a painter of Canada's natural beauty and geographical diversity. Murray minimized Kurelek's ethnic and religious connections.⁴³

A small travelling exhibition, William Kurelek, was mounted in the early 1990s by the NGC as part of Ukrainian Canadian Centennial celebrations. It included Kurelek's six-panel *The Ukrainian Pioneer* series as its centerpiece. An ambitious exhibition planned by Mrs. Kolankiwsky for Ukraine, Rome, London, and Toronto was cancelled because of "the disintegration of the former Soviet Union" (Friesen 1997, iix) and the death of Mrs. Kolankiwsky. Undoubtedly the most ambitious recent exhibition to honour Kurelek was the major retrospective, William Kurelek: The Messenger.

WILLIAM KURELEK: THE MESSENGER

William Kurelek: The Messenger consisted of eighty-five works drawn from all periods of Kurelek's life. They came from public, corporate, and private collections, and some were being shown for the first time.⁴⁴

The exhibition catalogue is a large book, 250 pages in length, containing colour reproductions of the works, two introductory articles, and six essays in both English and French.

The works are organized into six divisions: (1) Where Am I? Who Am I? Why Am I? (mostly biographical works, *Self-Portrait*, 1957, and work from the 1950s); (2) The Rock (mostly religious works, including examples from *The Passion of Christ*); (3) Our World Today (part of the *Burning Barn* series, scenes from across Canada, some are apocalyptic); (4) Big Lonely (largely Canadian landscape); (5) Belonging (ethnic—Ukrainian, Jewish, Polish); and (6) The Workshop (drawings of the tools and workshops at Netherne Hospital in England and the Isaacs Gallery). The names for divisions 1-3 are based on titles of his works. Division 4 is based on the title of a 1977 Kurelek exhibition—William Kurelek: Big Lonely—at the Mira Godard Gallery in Montreal. In the preface to the catalogue, the curators write that "[i]n essence, the exhibition and publication mirror the artist's own psychic and creative journey, through a reconciliation of his formative experiences and beliefs; from isolation, through religion, to a place of hope and acceptance" (19).

The essays are "Knowing Kurelek" by Avrom Isaacs; "The William Kurelek Theatre Presents William Kurelek, An Epic Tragedy" by Mary Jo Hughes (curator); "*The Passion of Christ*—William Kurelek's Cinematic Vision: A Journey from Storyboard to Film" by Brian Smylski; "Incarnation on the Prairies: The Theology of William Kurelek's Ethnic Consciousness" by Andrew Kear (curator); "The Clarity of Conviction: Kurelek as Journeyman Picture Maker" by Tobi Bruce (curator); and

“The Necessary Frame: William Kurelek as Picture Framer” by Brian Dedora. The essays by Isaacs and Dedora are particularly valuable because they knew Kurelek personally.

The catalogue is handsome and informative. Its cover features a detail from panel 2 of Kurelek’s *The Ukrainian Pioneer* series—a well-chosen image showing Ukrainian immigrants on a ship looking toward the approaching Canadian shore. But this description of panel 2 is neither on the cover nor in the catalogue (though Kear’s essay does discuss Ukrainian immigration in general).⁴⁵ Nor is the series adequately explained. We are not told, for example, that *The Ukrainian Pioneer* series was used by the Canadian government to celebrate multiculturalism. To that end, the series was installed in 1983 in the Railway Committee Room of the House of Commons in Ottawa with Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau attending (Morley 1986, 95).⁴⁶ The series is now on permanent display in Rideau Hall in Ottawa.

All works in the exhibition are represented by full-colour plates in the catalogue, constituting a useful reference to many of Kurelek’s works. Some Kurelek paintings unavailable for the exhibition are also reproduced in the catalogue in colour—as are works by artists who influenced Kurelek, such as Bosch and Brueghel. In addition, the catalogue shows an impressive sampling of documentary photographs of family, friends, and places Kurelek frequented. The organizers provided an online site with limited additional information about Kurelek (<http://kurelek.ca/>).

The catalogue essays are episodic and do not provide a complete picture of Kurelek—a major weakness of the catalogue. It is as though the essay on Kurelek’s later years did not get written. For example, we are told a great deal about Kurelek’s problems, especially his psychological problems, before he became Roman Catholic—but we are told little of his problems after conversion or even his triumphs. Other sources describe his problems. According to Shevelov, “his conversion (to Catholicism) did not put an end to his torments and crises. It did not prevent him from another suicide attempt” (1987, 28). According to Ewanchuk, Kurelek said that “there is a barrier between my wife and me on the raising of the children” and characterized the “atmosphere we had at home: always hostility” (1991, 65; see also Kurelek 1973, 517).

Kurelek’s life as an illustrator and writer is not adequately covered. In the last five years of his career, from around 1972 to 1977, Kurelek wrote and/or illustrated at least fifteen books—several winning international awards. Writing, both in books and in explanations he appended to his art, was important to Kurelek’s communication with his audience.

Kurelek’s relationship with his publishers—May Cutler, owner of Tundra Books; Christopher Ondaatje, owner of Pagurian Press; and James Bacque, owner of New Press—is not adequately covered. In contrast, Morley provides an extensive dis-

discussion of Kurelek's relationship with Cutler and Ondaatje, for example, in Chapter 14, "The Mass Marketing of Kurelek." Morley reports that Ondaatje strained the Kurelek-Isaacs relationship, which caused Kurelek and Isaacs personal distress, and that Kurelek had difficulties with Cutler resulting from her editing his manuscripts.

Also not adequately covered is Kurelek's diligence as a researcher. For example, he demonstrated commendable archeological rigor in researching details (hair styles, room details, furnishings, clothing, head coverings, aboriginal face painting, etc.) for his paintings, especially for his historical work—for example, *The Passion of Christ* series (1960-1963), *The Ukrainian Pioneer Woman of Canada* series (1965-1968), the *Huronian Mission* series (1969), and *The Polish Canadians* series (1975). Kurelek understood the importance of his work as a historical record and accuracy was important. "I tried to make each picture as true to history and setting as possible," Kurelek wrote about *The Passion of Christ* (Morley 1986, 315, 41). Regarding *The Polish Canadians*, Kurelek wrote, "It was he [Ted Glista] who recognized the worth of the series as historical record" (from Kurelek's 1977 Introduction to his book, *The Polish Canadians* 1981). Note that Kurelek valued the series as a whole because he could say more with a series than with a single work. The *Huronian Mission* series—appearing neither in the catalogue nor in the exhibition—shows that Kurelek's interest in Canadian history extended back to the original contact by missionaries.⁴⁷

The catalogue states, "While his painting displayed a marked decrease of overt didacticism in the late 1960s and 1970s, the Christian messages still remained, coming through in more subtle ways" (Hughes 2011, 55). This conclusion is not warranted. Counter-examples are plentiful: *Deformed Destitute of India* (1969), from the *Pacem in Terris* series, shows a grotesque, emaciated, starving figure. *He Gloats Over Our Skepticism* (1972), from the *O Toronto* series, shows sinners being cut down like wheat by harvesting blades. *Harvest of Our Mere Humanism Years* (1972), from the *O Toronto* series, shows a huge bomb suspended over Toronto City Hall. *Joe Borowski, Champion of the Helpless* (1977), from *The Polish Canadians*, shows foetuses in a trash can. *Our My Lai: The Massacre of Highland Creek* (1972) (hereafter called *Our My Lai*), from the *O Toronto* series, again shows trash-can foetuses. *Our My Lai* is particularly dramatic, with a flow of blood from dead foetuses oozing out of the painting and over the frame (Friesen 1997, 123). These paintings show Kurelek's didacticism to be strong and overt in his later years, the 1970s and late 1960s—not subtle or decreasing.

The catalogue gives insufficient attention to Kurelek's social views that are unpopular today, though they are the subject of many of his paintings. The catalogue ignores his condemnation of abortion and his connection to the pro-life movement, a connection that began in the 1950s and continued into the 1970s (DeMarco 1974).⁴⁸ A year before his death Kurelek wrote about abortion: "This is done by burning him

or her to death in the womb with brine and then ejecting the body; or else by tearing him or her to pieces and sucking those pieces out with a high-power vacuum like so much dirt” (Kurelek, “Another Perspective Hushing the Noisy Revolution,” 1976). Kurelek’s painting *The Doctor’s Dilemma* (Robert McLaughlin Gallery, 1971) shows an abortion instrument inside a womb about to scrape out the foetus—and the doctor agonizing over the procedure.

Kurelek’s condemnation of homosexuality, never discussed in the catalogue, was equally strong. The condemnation went back at least to his student days in Mexico and is extensively discussed in his autobiographies (Kurelek 1973, 1980). Kurelek wrote about homosexuality: “It contradicts both of the all-embracing laws governing the universe—the natural law and the divine law” (Kurelek’s “Another Perspective . . .” 1976).

Ignored in the catalogue was Kurelek’s distress with the sexual revolution, with women moving out of their traditional roles (Kurelek 1976). Discussing his attitude towards women would have made the catalogue’s picture of Kurelek more complete.⁴⁹

Especially unpopular today was Kurelek’s belief that the best thing that happened to Canada’s aboriginal peoples was their conversion to Roman Catholicism. Kurelek wrote about the Inuit and Christianity that the religious message of the missionaries “is the only one that makes sense to man’s struggle to survive both on a physical and moral plane. . . . [T]he hope of the Eskimo lies . . . in the ordination of the four young Eskimo priests I saw on TV here in Pangnirtung” (Kurelek, *The Last of the Arctic*, 1976, 4). Kurelek produced a large number of works about the Inuit but none is discussed in the catalogue or represented in the exhibition.⁵⁰ Kurelek’s views on aboriginal peoples are especially clear in his *Huronian Mission* series—gruesome drawings that pay tribute to Roman Catholic priests murdered by bloodthirsty aboriginals. The drawings depict two kinds of aboriginals: virtuous Hurons, who had accepted Christ’s message, and blood-thirsty Iroquois, who had not. The *Huronian Mission* was neither discussed in the catalogue nor displayed in the exhibition.

The catalogue’s discussion of *The Passion of Christ* (e.g., Smylski 2011, 76) barely mentions the controversies that the series provoked, for example, charges of anti-Semitism (Morley 1984, 7; Oziewicz 1984). True or not, such charges deserve examination. Smylski’s discussion of *The Passion of Christ* is unduly focused on style and composition.⁵¹

The most serious problem with the catalogue is that the paintings in the exhibition, with some exceptions, are not adequately explained. For example, *Cross Section of Vinnitsia in the Ukraine, 1939* recounts a major war crime in 1939 by the Soviets against the Ukrainian people—which is never explained in the catalogue. The catalogue does discuss Kurelek’s Ukrainian nationalism and ethnic consciousness but does not adequately discuss his anti-Soviet paintings (e.g., fig. 2). While the

exhibition shows several anti-Soviet paintings—*Vinnitsia*, *The Maze* (as an illustration), and *The Maas Maze*—the catalogue discusses neither the anti-Soviet content of the works nor the atrocities they portray.

Although the exhibition paintings are not adequately explained, Kurelek did, in fact, write explanations that he appended to his works. Many previous Kurelek exhibitions put a Kurelek explanation next to each work. The organizers failed to do this and made minimal use of Kurelek's explanations in the catalogue. Appending Kurelek's explanation next to the colour plate for each painting would have filled in many of the catalogue's omissions and transformed it into a more valuable resource. For example, *Glimmering Tapers*, shown in the 2011 exhibition, depicts northern lights filling a night sky. Kurelek explained:

In those Fall days when threshing would go on after dark there might come a year or two in which the Northern Lights would put on an awesome and entertaining show. I was surprised to hear (and observe) when up in Cape Dorset that even at the Arctic Circle the display is not as big and brilliant as farther south, say around Churchill, Manitoba. I've shown them dancing over our farm...no, "dancing" is not an accurate word, nor is "glimmering" exactly on... "evanescing," perhaps. The long work day is over. Racks, teams, men clatter on their way, farmyard bound, where a hearty supper waits. The separator man moves the threshing machine to a safe fire distance from the straw pile. By the light of gasoline lanterns the owner and his boy scrape up the chaffy grain from the ground, to save it for chicken or pig feed (Edmonton Art Gallery 1970).

Kurelek's care over the choice of words—"dancing," "glimmering," "evanescing"—suggests a person greatly concerned with detail. Isaacs commented on the value of using Kurelek's own words in an exhibition:

Displayed with each painting is an explanatory note. . . . When considered along with the paintings, his writings provide such a complete explanation of Kurelek as an artist and as an emotionally committed individual that all critical comment by someone outside his own realities must become somewhat superficial and redundant (ibid.).

James Bacque, in his introduction to Kurelek's book *O Toronto*, also commented on Kurelek's words:

The titles and notes he writes to accompany the pictures are like an orator's gestures. Seen in a group in a gallery, the vision in many facets jumps off the walls into the crowd, vivid as bloodstains, explicit as print in *The Good Book* (Kurelek 1973).

Kurelek's words help explain why he was so popular in his time—something never fully addressed in the catalogue. His explanations of *Lord That I May See*, *The Manitoba Party* (n16), and *Glimmering Tapers* (above) show why the near failure to

include his explanations in the 2011 exhibition—on the walls or in the catalogue—was a mistake by the organizers. The words say as much about Kurelek as did Isaac's and Dedora's reminiscences.

The catalogue has many technical problems. It does not include an index, a bibliography, a biography, an exhibition history for each work, painting dimensions next to the colour plates, Kurelek's explanations of the paintings, and so on. On a page where a painting is reproduced, it would have been helpful to list the pages where the painting is discussed in the essays. It would also have been helpful to give the page number when one essay discusses something in another essay. With some exceptions, the catalogue fails to indicate when a painting comes from a series or to say anything about the series. Basic information about Kurelek's thinking is thus lost.

The catalogue also has serious scholarly problems. It does not pay sufficient attention to Kurelek's exhibitions as primary source material on Kurelek and his art. The catalogue conveys an image of Kurelek as a struggling artist but not the successful, functioning artist that he was. Nor does the catalogue provide an accurate picture of Kurelek's considerable popularity with critics and the public. The curators' essays (Bruce, Hughes, and Kear) repeatedly state that Kurelek was out-of-step with his times. However, given the variety of art in the 1960s and 1970s, Kurelek did, in fact, fit in. But why must good art "fit in"? The curators often practice pop psychology when they crawl inside Kurelek's head and conclude what he was thinking and feeling. The essays place undue reliance on Kurelek's autobiographies as source material—to the virtual exclusion of other important sources such as newspaper articles and art reviews; Ilse Friesen's book, *Earth, Hell, and Heaven in the Art of William Kurelek* (1997); Kurelek's own writings (other than his autobiographies); and Kurelek's personal correspondence. Because Kurelek's autobiographies emphasized his life before 1960, so do the essays—distorting the picture of Kurelek (Morley 1986, 2) and giving him too much control over his story. Morley, in her biography of Kurelek, comments on using Kurelek's autobiographies as source material: "Bill's [Kurelek's] evasiveness had been borne in upon me slowly, over a period of months, even years" (1986, 2).

The exhibition title, *William Kurelek: The Messenger*, was well chosen. Kurelek wrote, "The message is much more important than any aesthetic contribution I can make" (Kurelek quoted in Rzepecki 1970). Unfortunately, the catalogue censored Kurelek's messages. The exhibition did not do justice to some of Kurelek's most revealing and controversial paintings—either by omitting his explanations or, worse yet, by ignoring the work altogether—for example, *Our My Lai*.

NOTES

1. As a member of the congregation, Kurelek helped raise funds to complete St. Mary the Protectress. However, he

left Winnipeg in 1949 before the Cathedral was completed (dedication Dec. 28, 1952). *Messenger* 2011, fig. 24, shows the completed Cathedral, which is not how it looked when Kurelek lived in Winnipeg.

2. The 1957 *Self-Portrait* had an earlier title *Late Have I Loved You, O Ancient Beauty, Ever Old and Ever New*. This title, located in the upper left of the painting, is a quotation from St. Augustine's *Confessions*. St. Augustine, like Kurelek, came to God belatedly.

3. By his own estimate, during the period from 1960 to 1963, Kurelek produced on average one painting every week and completed the project in three years (Sypnowich 1963; Kurelek 1973, 487-488). Kurelek's book *The Passion of Christ According to St. Matthew*, published in 1975, shows 166 paintings. Despite the book's title, some paintings portray topics later in time than Christ's passion, e.g., French missionaries in the New World (173), missionaries teaching third world children (174-176), and a World War I battlefield with dead German soldiers being piled onto carts (58). Nevertheless, these paintings illustrate Christ's admonitions as recorded in St. Matthew 28: 19-20. For example, below the painting with dead German soldiers, Kurelek quoted the Bible, "Whereupon Jesus said to him, put your sword back into its place; all those who take up the sword will perish by the sword" (Matthew 26: 50-52).

4. After Kurelek's death, *The Passion of Christ* series was made into a film: *The Passion of Christ* (Shooting Pictures Limited; Phillip Earnshaw, producer/director; Len Cariou, narrator; 1981). There was considerable controversy about what some saw as its anti-Semitic content and Jewish stereotyping. The film was delayed and eventually some panels were omitted for its CBC showing. Morley defended Kurelek against charges of anti-Semitism as did Abraham Arnold who collaborated with Kurelek on *Jewish Life in Canada* (Morley 1984, 7; Oziewski 1984).

5. Dedora: "The drawing depicts Stan Beecham in the lower-left foreground at the mitre saw. Bill is at middle left, holding a stick of moulding, and is seen coming up the stairs from the basement, where he stored the barn boards he used to frame his own paintings. I am seen in the upper-right corner, cutting glass. The viewer's perspective of the workshop is slightly elevated at the entrance to the cutting room where, on the floor (bottom right), is a list of all the people who had 'slept' there (to avoid working); the finishing room is behind the viewer. Above the entrance to the fitting room, Kurelek painted Edgar Allan Poe's famous bird who continually responded 'Nevermore' in the poem *The Raven*. Beecham, being British, referred to our workrooms as ends, hence the raven is at the entrance to the 'fitting end' (Dedora 1989, 179-180)." Kurelek's *Tramlines* (1962) had a similar composition and was derived from photographs (Hughes 2011, 46).

6. "This totaled \$500 a month through the mid-sixties, \$600 in the late sixties, \$1,000 in the early seventies, and \$2,000 in the mid-seventies" (Morley 1986, 232). In addition, Isaacs allowed Kurelek a certain latitude on private sales (*ibid.*, 232-234). Kurelek made copies of some of his popular paintings which he would sometimes give away or sell. It was a practice that irritated Isaacs and others who saw it as unethical. Isaacs preferred to give his artists one-person shows every other year, but Kurelek received them more frequently. He was also included in most group exhibitions. (See Wigmore 2005, for a list of exhibitions of Kurelek and other Isaacs Gallery artists at the Isaacs Gallery.)

7. The Joseph H. Hirshhorn Museum and Sculpture Garden in Washington was named for him after his donation of his vast collection of modern and contemporary art to the American nation. The donation included four Kurelek paintings purchased from the Isaacs Gallery. One of these would eventually be de-acquired: *Winter North of Winnipeg* (1962). Kurelek was also represented at the Museum of Modern Art (MOMA): *Hailstorm in Alberta* was a gift from the Women's Committee of the Art Gallery of Toronto which was trying to promote Canadian art in the United States. Alfred Barr from MOMA had been asked to choose any three paintings as a gift for MOMA from an exhibition of contemporary Canadian artists at the Art Gallery of Toronto. Kurelek's *Hailstorm in Alberta* (possibly called *Prairie Hailstorm*) was one of the paintings Barr chose. Many believe that Barr's widely publicized selection of a Kurelek painting helped jumpstart Kurelek's career (Kurelek, *Someone with Me* 1973/1988, 497-498; Tyrwhitt 1962).

8. One of the few Christian groups that Kurelek did not invite into his ecumenical fold were Jehovah's Witnesses—see Kurelek's painting *The Blind Leading the Blind* (1966) (National Gallery of Canada site <http://www.gallery.ca/en/see/collections/artwork.php?mkey=18178>). In 1965 *The Passion of Christ* was shown in its entirety at both Trinity College at the University of Toronto and the McIntosh Memorial Art Gallery at the University of Western Ontario. In 1966 the series, or a large number of paintings from the series, was shown at Holy Trinity Church, an Anglican church in Toronto. "Church Walls Become Bible in Art," a Toronto art critic noted approvingly (Dempsey 1966). In 1967 the series was shown at Christ Church Cathedral in Montreal, another Anglican Church. The last showing of *The Passion of Christ* series, before its purchase in 1970, was at St. Vladimir's Institute, a Ukrainian Orthodox community centre and student residence in Toronto (Kritzwise 1970).

9. The 1963 show included *The Rock*, *Dinnertime*, and other paintings such as *Satan Sowing Weeds* (c. 1962), *The Day the Bomb Fell on Hamilton* (1963-1969), and *Dogs or People*. For an image of *Dogs or People*, see the Mayberry Fine Art Gallery site (<http://www.mayberryfineart.com/artwork/AW25250>). Other works listed in the show were *Hell*, *Heaven*, *The Agony in the Garden*, *Chastity*, *Before the Fall*, *Industry*, *Nativity*, *Who Is She That Cometh Forth as the Morning Riseth?*, and *Lord That I May See* (Appendix III 1982, 73).

10. Shevelov (1987) sees Kurelek as continuing the nineteenth century Ukrainian and Russian traditions of social realist art—for example, Ilya Repin (1844-1930)—into the later twentieth century. Nineteenth-century Ukrainian artist Konstantyn Trutovsky, who portrayed ordinary people's lives and picturesque Ukraine, is even closer to Kurelek's portrayal of ordinary people's lives and the picturesque beauty of his homeland, Canada. See: Internet Encyclopedia of

Ukraine (<http://www.encyclopediaofukraine.com/Art.asp>). Shevelov also suggests affinities between Kurelek and nineteenth- and early twentieth-century European Symbolist and Modern artists. Hughes (2011, 43-46) discusses Kurelek's stylistic affinities with Mexican muralists and American artist Ivan Albright.

11. Modern art, as viewed by many, follows in the tradition of formalist aesthetics as popularized by Clive Bell's book *Art*, which devalued "message art." Bell (1914, 27) wrote that "to appreciate a work of art we need bring with us nothing from life, no knowledge of its ideas and affairs, no familiarity with its emotions." Kurelek was well aware of the formalist agenda but did not buy into it. He wanted viewers to look at his work and read his messages. He insisted on putting text on the walls. The difficulties of adhering to formalist aesthetics were apparent in *Messenger* 2011: "The three curators who worked on this found ourselves torn. . . . You keep getting pulled into the works. You know you're being preached at, but there's something about the work itself that stands out" (interview with Andrew Kear in Mays 2011).

12. Exhibitions in public galleries in the early 1960s included 22 Canadians, Invitational Show, Beaverbrook Art Gallery, Fredericton, New Brunswick (1962); 19 Canadian Painters, J. B. Speed Art Museum, Louisville, Kentucky (Oct.-Nov., 1962); and Contemporary Canadian Painting and Sculpture, Rochester Memorial Art Gallery (curated by Evan Turner), where Kurelek was represented by *Behold Man without God* (Jan.-Feb., 1963). See also *Portfolio* 20, 1965, University of Toronto Press (<http://www.waddingtons.ca/pastauction/120/lot-143>).

13. Bruce McLeod, the pastor of St. Stephen's and later the Moderator of the United Church of Canada, had written a very favourable review of the 1963 Isaacs Gallery show which was published in *The Observer*, the United Church publication. Kurelek gave McLeod a painting of his church—*Suburban Church* (1965)—with Christ, among the parishioners, talking to Zacchaeus up in a tree (Luke 19: 1-10).

14. The 1965 Edmonton Art Gallery exhibition is usually identified as a reprise of the exhibition William Kurelek: An Immigrant Farms in Canada shown at the Isaacs Gallery, Dec. 1964. Works identified as being part of the Edmonton exhibition are *Despondency*, *Manitoba Party*, *Leaving the Old Country*, *In the Autumn of Life*, *Hauling Grain in Winter*, *Plowing in the Thirties*, *Milking Time*, *The Grasshopper Plague*, and *Ukrainian Orthodox Easter Vigil* (Appendix III, 73). However, Dorothy Barnhouse, an art critic for the *Edmonton Journal*, discussed works that were not part of the 1964 exhibition in her 1965 exhibition review (Barnhouse 1965).

15. Montrealers now had the opportunity to view Kurelek's work on a regular basis. Isaacs agreed to the arrangement (Morley 1986, 324, n24). The following exhibitions were shown at the Montreal gallery through 1971: Kurelek: Manitoba Bog Paintings (March, 1965); Kurelek: Memories of a Manitoba Childhood (July, 1967); Kurelek: Prairie Farm Work (August-September, 1969); and William Kurelek: The Last Days (June-July, 1971). The 1971 exhibition included: *It Will Go Hard with Women* (Appendix III, 75), alternatively titled *The Nuclear Madonna* (see Gawdiak 1988). Ayre wrote the first of the generally favorable reviews of Kurelek's Montreal exhibitions (Ayre 1969; Heywood 1967, 1969; Montbizon 1965; Nixon 1971). The Agnes Lefort Gallery became the Gallery Godard Lefort and then the Godard Marlborough Gallery. As the Godard Marlborough Gallery, it continued to show Kurelek's work even after his death (Appendix III, 75).

16. *The Manitoba Party* portrayed a Ukrainian Canadian event, which Kurelek described as "[a] combination of two memories of parties under a circus tent at our neighbours, the Tomyks, near Stonewall where our family farmed: both a wedding and an anniversary but mostly an anniversary. Typical half-Ukrainian and half-Canadian aspects of such a community celebration in the 30's are presented" (Winnipeg Art Gallery 1966).

17. *Zaporozhian Cossacks* is based on Nikolai Gogol's novel, *Taras Bulba* (1835). Kurelek portrays a large group of Cossacks, including what looks like Taras Bulba and his son—whom Taras Bulba would later execute for betraying the Cossacks to their historic enemy, the Poles. Repin's painting *Reply of the Zaporzhian Cossacks* (1891) also portrays a large group of Cossacks but not father-son relations. Hughes believes that Kurelek's painting was a representation of his relationship with his own father (Hughes 2011, 45). She reproduces Kurelek's ink drawing of Repin's painting (*ibid.*, fig. 5, 45). See also Morley for a discussion of *Zaporozhian Cossacks* (Morley 1986, 72-3, 205).

In his illustrated book *The Polish Canadians* (1981), Kurelek paid tribute to Canada's Polish immigrants and notable Polish Canadians and attempted to put to rest old-world hatreds in the new land. The book's 26 paintings, completed shortly before Kurelek's death in 1977, were shown in Poland. Kurelek's painting *Cultural Exchange in Canada* (1966) portrays old-world enmities and racial prejudices transported to the New World. This displeased Kurelek and saddened Christ (see Legge and Madill's essay in the catalogue for the 1980 exhibition, Kurelek).

18. The exhibition, Kurelek's first retrospective outside the Isaacs Gallery, showed 35 works—oils, watercolours, and gouaches. They came from Kurelek, family members, friends, private and corporate collections, and major museums. From museums came *Lord That I May See*, MMFA; *Dinnertime on the Prairies*, Wentworth House, McMaster University; *Milking Time* (1964), Agnes Etherington Art Centre, Queen's University; and *In the Autumn of Life* (1964), Art Gallery of Toronto. *Hauling Sheaves* (1961) came from Canadian Industries Ltd. and *Depression Diet* (1964) from General Distributors, Ltd. Among the prominent individuals who lent work and were identified as lenders in the exhibition brochure were Prime Minister and Mrs. Lester B. Pearson, *Dairy Farming in Manitoba* (1963) and the Hon. and Mrs. Walter Gordon, *Stooking No.2* (1963). Mrs. Avrom Isaacs is listed as a lender of *Haystack* (1961) and *In Search of the True God*, No.5 (1964). Also included in the exhibition were *Behold God without Man* (1955), which would eventually be gifted to the Art Gallery of Ontario in 1982 by Mr. and Mrs. George Sinclair, and *The Rock* (1962). Later *The Rock* would go to

the AGO as part of the Thomson Collection. Kurelek included two self-portraits, his well-known *Self-Portrait* (1957) and a lesser known painting, *Studying in Winnipeg* (1964), portraying himself studying in his home, which Kurelek's father had bought for his children while they were students. Another important autobiographical work, *The Auction Sale* (1963), was lent by prominent Winnipeg art patrons Marjory and Samuel J. Drache (Glow 1995).

19. In 1967 Kurelek's painting *The Pool of Sorrows* (1966) was bought from the exhibition at the Yellow Door and given to the Winnipeg Art Gallery by the Alpha Omega Women's Alumnae. In 1970 the Ukrainian Cultural Committee of the MMFA donated to the MMFA *Farm Scene Outside Toronto* (1963), selling price \$1,050. Kurelek agreed to attend the gala in celebration of Ukrainian Week in October, 1970 at the MMFA—when this painting was officially donated to the MMFA—provided he be allowed to show his 160 item slide collection of *The Passion of Christ* at the event (Morley 1986, 218–219). Montreal's Mayor Jean Drapeau and Senator Paul Zuyk attended. The addition of *Farm Scene Outside Toronto* increased to two the MMFA's Kurelek holdings (Morley 1986, 218–219). *Farm Scene Outside Toronto* was in the *Messenger* 2011 exhibition, but *The Pool of Sorrows* was not.

20. The core paintings in the *Ukrainian Pioneer Woman in Canada* series, before Kurelek added to it for the 1968 Isaacs Gallery exhibition, were: *A First Meeting of Ukrainian Women's Association; Women Feeding Threshing Gang; A Boorday—The First House; Ukrainian Canadian Farm Picnic; Blessing the Easter Paska; The Second House; Clay Plastering; Teaching the Sign of the Cross; Making Easter Eggs; Ukrainian Christmas Eve Feast; Teaching Ukrainian; and Teaching Ukrainian Embroidery*. The first and fourth, or works with similar names, were included in *Messenger* 2011. Earlier in 1967 Kurelek had participated in celebrations of Ukrainian Week in Sudbury, Ontario. An exhibition of his work was also shown at Sudbury University in 1967 (Morley 1987). Kurelek's connection to Sudbury—and visits there—is more fully discussed in Morley's 1987 article.

21. The pavilion was identified as the “Canadian Women's Pavilion” by Natalia Kohuska (Kohuska 1986) and as the “Ukrainian Pavilion” on the web site (<http://kurelek.ca/>) created for the *Messenger* 2011 exhibition. The women sponsors of Kurelek's exhibition were warned about anti-Soviet activities by Expo 67 officials. See “Yesterday, two Expo security guards were keeping careful watch at the fair's Hospitality pavilion where a lecture on Ukrainian history and demonstrations of Ukrainian handicrafts brought Canadian-Ukrainian week to a close” (Police 1967). See also Morley's discussion of the Montreal branch of the Ukrainian Women's Association of Canada which Maria Logush helped to found. She met Kurelek during Expo 67, helped him with his career, and arranged exhibitions for him in the Montreal area. Logush remembered: “He was *not* perfect in Ukrainian; he spoke the language of his folks, a pidgin Ukrainian like peasants speak, and wrote the same way. It was not the language of an educated Ukrainian” (Morley 1986, 321, n25).

22. *The Ukrainian Pioneer Woman in Canada* series tells the story of settlement in Canada's Western provinces. Bernadette Andrews, an art critic for the *Toronto Telegram*, describes the expanded series: “This is a series of 20 pictures starting with a triptych: *The Ukrainian Woman in the Old Country*. The left panel shows *Free Women on Ukrainian Frontier, Election of a Cossack Chieftain* in the centre and to the right, *Oppression and Poverty*. This last panel shows the woman with her belongings setting off down an endless road. This three-part painting with its intricately decorated frames was sold for \$3,000” (Andrews 1968). The entire series, twelve panels of which belonged to the Ukrainian Women's Association of Canada, would be shown on many occasions and at many venues, including the Edmonton Art Gallery in 1972 and the Norman MacKenzie Satellite Gallery, Regina, in 1976. The original twelve-panel series would also be shown at many venues, including the Dauphin Fine Arts Centre in 1968 (Ukrainian 1968). Kurelek had been made an honorary lifetime member of the Dauphin Festival, reputed to be the largest Ukrainian National Festival in Canada.

Works identified as being in the 1968 Isaacs Gallery exhibition are *Farm Wife Pumping Water for Cattle in Saskatchewan, Immigrant Train above Lake Superior, Flu Epidemic, Material Success, Mama, The First House—A Boorday, The Second House, The Third House, Ukrainian Canadian Picnic, Dinner Time on the Prairies, The Ukrainian Woman in the Old Country* (Appendix III, 74).

23. Works came from Kurelek; his father and mother; his brother, John; his sister, Winnie; and other relatives and friends. Mira Godard and the Right Hon. and Mrs. Lester B. Pearson lent work. Paintings were also borrowed from public collections: *Lord That I May See* from the MMFA; *Hail Storm in Alberta* from the MOMA; *The Rock* from the collection of the University of St. Michael's College, Toronto; *Dinnertime on the Prairies* from McMaster University; and *In the Autumn of Life* (1964) from the Art Gallery of Ontario. *Dogs or People* (1962) was borrowed from a collector in Baltimore. (It had also been in the 1966 Winnipeg show.) *A First Meeting of the Ukrainian Women's Association (in Saskatchewan)* (1966) was borrowed from the Ukrainian Women's Association of Canada in Toronto. The exhibition also included other well-known Kurelek paintings, such as *Self-Portrait* (1957) and *Behold Man without God* (1955). The retrospective (with a hardcover catalogue) was the largest Kurelek exhibition of the twentieth century.

24. Among these were three small works dated 1970 from Kurelek's sentimental trip to Minnedosa, Manitoba: *Remains of Our Old Barn, Our Old Place in Manitoba Today, and A House Just Like We Had*. Not included, however, was *Manitoba Party*.

25. *The Hound of Heaven* alludes to a poem by Francis Thompson, the English mystic poet, which had particularly impressed English major Kurelek. According to Rzepcki (1970), a Toronto-based writer who reviewed the 1970 Edmonton exhibition, “Kurelek chose lines from the poem that convey ‘Thompson's worship of nature’ paralleling the thematic thrust of Kurelek's works. Kurelek paints the prairies and nature working on them. Perhaps there is an empa-

thy with Thompson in more than just a shared love of nature for some of the 16 paintings are almost surrealistic in their presentation, their Technicolor chromatics, their electrifying, trembling vitality." *The Hound of Heaven* series was shown at the Isaacs Gallery in November 1970 under the name *Nature Poor Stepdame: A Series of 16 Paintings by William Kurelek*. (See Morley 1986, 196-197 and Russell 1970 for a more detailed discussion of this series.) Isaacs thought the works in this series were some of the best Kurelek had done. *Hound of Heaven* was also the title of a Kurelek lithograph (1965), which was the other work purchased by the NGC out of its 1965 biennial and one of a portfolio of illustrations by 20 Canadian artists (*Portfolio 20*) published by the University of Toronto in 1965.

26. The *Pacem in Terris* series resulted from Kurelek's trip to India, Africa, and Hong Kong in 1969 on a Canada Council travel fellowship (Kurelek 1973, 514). Kurelek's drawings from the series, based on a poem about world poverty by Father Murray Abraham, were made into a 1972 film *Pacem in Terris* (Morley 1986). Some of Kurelek's drawings of severely emaciated individuals in the *Pacem in Terris* series resemble figures in photographs of concentration camp victims of World War II. Kurelek had a copy of this film which he would duplicate on request at a cost of \$71 (see Krawchuck's letter in n29).

27. The exhibition was shown in Sudbury at the Sudbury Museum and Arts Centre and in public libraries in Woodstock, London, Kitchener, York, and Orillia. Works listed in the exhibition were *Snow Cracks in the Bay*, *Plane Met by Eskimo Settlement*, *Cape Dorset in the Snow Storm*, *Origin of the Constellation Pleides—Eskimo Legend*, *Eskimo Moral Tale*, *Gasoline Revolutionizes Eskimo Hunting*, and *Arctic Icicle* (Appendix III, 75). See also Morley 1986, 253.

28. The film *The Maze: The Story of William Kurelek*, National Film Network, 1970, directed by Robert Young and David Grubin, produced by Stanley Plotnik, was first shown in Toronto in November, 1970 as an Isaacs Gallery event. It was shown at the Dauphin Festival in 1972 and at the World Congress of Free Ukrainians in Toronto (Hukalo 1972). In the following years, it would be shown even more widely on both Canadian and American television (PBS). The film was shown all over North America in 1976-78 in half-hour slots (*Winnipeg Free Press*, Sept. 11, 1976). An expanded version of the film was shown in conjunction with *Messenger 2011* (Mayes 2011). A second painting, called *The Maas Maze* (1971), was shown in the *Messenger 2011* exhibition. It was a gift from Kurelek to his benefactor James B. Maas, who gave it to the Herbert F. Johnson Museum of Art at Cornell University (Religious 1971). The original painting, *The Maze*, was reproduced in the *Messenger 2011* catalogue but, due to its fragility, was not included in the exhibition and the similar *Maas Maze* was substituted.

29. The Kolankiwskys left Ukraine in 1944 and immigrated to Canada in 1955. Before building their Niagara Falls Art Gallery, they had run two small galleries in Toronto, one near the Isaacs Gallery, and they often ran into Kurelek. Mykola Kolankiwsky also published the Ukrainian language journal *My i svit* (We and the world). Their Niagara Falls gallery was designed by Radoslav Zuk, a professor of architecture at the University of Manitoba in the 1960s and a donor to Kurelek's 1966 Winnipeg retrospective. Kurelek and Zuk knew each other and had participated on a panel in Winnipeg on Ukrainian cultural survival in Canada (Discuss 1977).

30. Letter from William Kurelek to Bob Achtemichuk, Jan. 8, 1973; see also letter from I. Krawchuk to William Kurelek, Feb. 27, 1973 (archives, Ukrainian Cultural and Educational Centre, Winnipeg). See also "Visual Arts," 1973, *Winnipeg Free Press*, Feb. 17, for a listing of this exhibition.

31. The advertisement for the Kurelek Festival, July 6 to Aug. 3, 1975, reads: "Paintings, Films, Books, Slides, Narrations. (Also the new series of 72 drawings to 'Lys Mykyta.'). See hundreds of Works by the GREAT UKRAINIAN ARTIST at the Niagara Falls Art Gallery and Museum." Kurelek's illustrations were to be included in an English translation of Franko's tales of Fox Mykyta by Bohdan Melnyk, but Kurelek viewed Franko's tales as encouraging immoral behavior and anti-clericalism (Morley 1986, 225-228; *Lys Mykyta* 1978; Prociuk 1980). Kurelek halted the publication until it included a statement by him castigating the tales. It was only after Kurelek's death that Melnyk's *Fox Mykyta* with Kurelek's illustrations could be published. A tie-in exhibition of Kurelek's drawings at the Isaacs Gallery in Nov. 1978 coincided with the book's publication. See "William Kurelek's Literary Legacy" by Jars Balan, an unpublished and undated essay written for the Kalyna Country Ecomuseum Trust Society, in the Winnipeg Art Gallery files on William Kurelek.

Support for Kurelek from Ukrainian Canadian organizations and communities across Canada was widespread. Exhibitions of Kurelek's work were often accompanied with Ukrainian-themed events. Two exhibitions held in Ottawa were William Kurelek: Saskatchewan and Ontario Winter Contrasts (Feb. 1975) at the Ukrainian Orthodox Church Auditorium and a one-man show at Ottawa's city hall (Feb. 1977), sponsored by the Ukrainian Association of Ottawa and organized by Kurelek's friend, John Tokaryk. Thirty-seven paintings of recent work for which no catalogue has been found were shown in city hall (Ketchum 1977). Kurelek's activities in both Canada and the U.S. were followed in Ukrainian language and English-language Ukrainian Canadian and Ukrainian American publications. The first reference to Kurelek in the *Ukrainian Weekly* was in 1964 in an article describing both the William Kurelek: An Immigrant Farms in Canada exhibition in Toronto and *The Passion of Christ* (Canadian Immigrants' Struggles Recreated in Son's Paintings). As a result of such publicity, Kurelek had American friends who purchased his work (Morley 1986, 219).

32. *The Sheet*, a tribute to a dead Soviet martyr, which shows an empty cot in what looks like a Soviet prison, is a black and white illustration in the catalogue for the 1980 Kurelek memorial exhibition held at the Ukrainian Cultural and Educational Centre in Winnipeg. Kurelek's anti-Soviet painting *Vinnitsia* was finished the year following anti-Soviet

demonstrations at Expo 67. Efforts to air-drop a protest leaflet at Expo 67—which detailed Soviet atrocities against the Ukrainian people, including the Soviet-induced famine—were thwarted by Canadian government officials. A *Globe and Mail* reporter wrote: “The Ukrainian leaflet prepared for the abortive air-drop signed by the National Executive Committee of the Association for the Liberation of the Ukraine, accuses the USSR of the murder of 7 million people during the 1932 famine, the murder of 14 million Ukrainians in concentration camps, destruction of Ukrainian churches, exploitation of tens of millions in slave labor camps and a total lack of individual freedom of thought and self-expression” (Russia 1967; see also Police 1967).

Vinnitsia is the site of a series of executions of thousands of citizens perpetrated in 1937-38 by the Soviet secret police. In an attempt to discredit the previous Soviet regime, the German occupational forces revealed the massacre in 1943. The news attracted little publicity from the Western press and the Allies, which included the Soviet Union. Beale writes: “Everything is allegorical in Kurelek’s paintings, even the frames that he made himself, which extend the meaning of each work. *Cross Section of Vinnitsia in the Ukraine, 1939* is framed in bars, crisscrossing the canvas. It shows the image of Stalinist repression—mass graves beneath the ground. *This is the Nemesis* has a frame inset with newspaper TV listings” (Beale 1992).

33. Kurelek’s arsenal of images portrays Ukraine as a captive nation. Kurelek’s image of Stalin in the 1953 *The Maze* is similar to images of Stalin that appeared in *Paix et Liberté, France*, an anti-communist propaganda poster series published in 1951 (see *Cold War Modern Design 1945-1970* 2008). A Stalin-like image also appears in the 1971 *The Maas Maze*. Kurelek’s 1953 *The Maze*, done while undergoing psychiatric treatment, grew out of his desire to share his troubled psyche with his doctors. Both *Maze* paintings—in which Kurelek portrays his fears in tightly packed compartments inside a human skull—recall the work of sixteenth-century Italian artist Giuseppe Arcimboldo (1527-1593), which Kurelek likely saw when he visited the art collections of the Kunsthistorisches Museum in Vienna (Morley 1986, 80). See *Paix et Liberté* (http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Paix_et_Libert%C3%A9).

34. In 1979 Kurelek’s painting was presented to Moroz by his Toronto sympathizers at a Toronto event that celebrated his release from prison (Toronto 1975). The event was held at the Royal York Hotel in July, 1979, with 1,600 attending (Smindak 1979). See also Kurelek 1986. Kurelek’s painting—*Free Moroz* (1972)—was recently donated to the Winnipeg Art Gallery. “Moroz is depicted as a gaunt figure behind the bars of a cell, floating over a scene outside the Soviet Embassy in Ottawa filled with protesters carrying placards” (Kurelek Painting 1986). For an image of *Free Moroz*, see the Mayberry Fine Art Gallery site (<http://www.mayberryfineart.com/artwork/AW5335>).

35. A detail from *Famine 1933* (1977) is shown on a page from the Ukrainian National Museum of Chicago online site (<http://uima-chicago.org/artwork/famine-1933/>). See Solchanyk 1987. An American collector purchased and possibly commissioned this painting.

36. According to James Bacque, owner of New Press which published *O Toronto*, Bacque came to the Isaacs Gallery, was impressed by the exhibition paintings, and then offered to publish a book that reproduced them (Bacque, personal correspondence 2013). Bacque published 2,500 hardcover copies. Rights to the book were subsequently bought and the book was reprinted in softcover by another publisher in what appears to have been a larger edition. The softcover version is out-of-print but still easy to purchase from online sources (Saunders 1973).

Tie-in exhibitions followed for other books, including *Kurelek’s Canada*, *The Last of the Arctic*, *Fox Mykyta*, and others. Some of the books were produced by other publishers, most notably Pagurian Press in Toronto owned by Christopher Ondaatje. A number of books using Kurelek’s own words or images (or both) were published after his death, for example, *Fox Mykyta* (1978), *The Ukrainian Pioneer* (1980), *The Polish Canadians* (1981), *They Sought the New World* (1985), *To My Father’s Village* (1988), *William Kurelek’s Huronia Mission Paintings* (1991), and *Kurelek Country* (1999). Kurelek’s books were the subject of lavish colour spreads by newspapers in their Sunday supplement sections, which further helped to sell the books and associated art work (see, e.g., Light 1974; Stoffman 1981; Villiers 1974).

37. The name of the Burnaby show is deceptive. In addition to mountain landscapes, the show included *Glimmering Tapers; Women Feeding Threshing Gang* (1966) from *The Ukrainian Pioneer Woman in Canada* series; and, at Isaac’s urging, Kurelek included two religious works, *Dinnertime on the Prairies* and *In Search of the True God* (1964). Thereafter, Kurelek frequently exhibited in British Columbia, in one-person exhibitions and in important group shows which toured Canada with stops in British Columbia. Kurelek was not as well represented, however, in public collections in the far West as he was on the Prairies or in Eastern Canada (see Rombout 1984). The first Kurelek painting in the Art Gallery of Victoria was a donation from a former Manitoban. In 1973, Peter Dobush gave *Industry* (1962) to the AGV. *Industry* was in *Messenger* 2011. In 1966 the Vancouver Art Gallery acquired its first Kurelek work—the lithograph *The Hound of Heaven* (1965). Its second Kurelek acquisition was *Ontario Lumberjack* (1971). It was a gift to the VAG from Kurelek in 1972. The third Kurelek painting at the VAG, *Snow Crack in the Bay* (1968), was a gift to the VAG in 2011.

38. The Art Gallery of Brant retrospective showed and reproduced in its catalogue Kurelek’s painting *Our My Lai: The Massacre of Highland Creek* (1972), from the *O Toronto* series, a particularly gruesome anti-abortion painting. The Windsor exhibition included *This Is the Nemesis* (1965). *Nemesis*, given to the Art Gallery of Hamilton in 1966, portrayed a scary view of mankind under siege. *Nemesis* was included in *Messenger* 2011. The Art Gallery of Windsor retrospective also included *Unwanted Citizen in the Just Society* (1968), another gruesome anti-abortion painting with foetuses spilling out of a toppled garbage can. *Unwanted Citizen*, like *Our My Lai*, is a startling trompe l’oeil painting. *Unwanted Citizen*

had been included in an exhibition entitled *The Burning Barn*: 16 paintings by William Kurelek at Hart House Art Gallery, University of Toronto, in 1969 and, along with a painting which portrayed American moral superiority over the Viet Cong—*The Viet Cong Make An Example of Suspected Collaborators*—elicited some negative responses (Dexter 1969; Appendix III, 74). *Our My Lai, Unwanted Citizen*, and *The Viet Cong* were not included in *Messenger* 2011.

39. Ewanchuk: “The Jubilee award is presented each year to an outstanding graduate of the University who received his degree twenty-five years ago. This year the award was presented to Kathleen Richardson, daughter of a one-time financial giant of Manitoba, and to Mr. Kurelek, son of Dmytro and Maria Kurelek, Manitoba farmers” (1975). Kathleen and William were classmates. The Richardson family collected Kurelek’s art. Four works from the Corporate Collection, James Richardson and Sons Ltd., were in *Messenger* 2011.

40. Twenty works in the Calvin College exhibition came from Kurelek’s *Temptation in the Desert* series (1975). *Pornographic Reading* (<http://www.mayberryfineart.com/artwork/AW23520>), *The Killing Instinct* (<http://www.mayberryfineart.com/artwork/AW23519>), and *Bad Companions* (<http://www.mayberryfineart.com/artwork/AW23518>) from the series were included in the exhibition and can be seen at (http://www.mayberryfineart.com/artist/william_kurelek/portfolio). See Waddingtons.ca (<http://www.waddingtons.ca/prices-realised>) for other less commonly illustrated Kurelek paintings. Kurelek was included in the following group exhibitions from 1975 through 1977: *Images of Women*—which included Kurelek’s *Ukrainian Homesteader’s Christmas* (1970)—shown Nov. 1975–Jan. 1976 at the Winnipeg Art Gallery; *William Kurelek/Ukrainian Artists from Alberta* shown in 1975 in Edmonton (in St. John’s Auditorium); *The Canadian Canvas* sponsored by Time (Canada) shown in nine cities (including at the Vancouver Art Gallery in June–July, 1975); and *Changing Visions: The Canadian Landscape* shown in eight cities (including at the Vancouver Art Gallery, Feb. 1977). *Canadian Canvas* included *Hay, Put My House Down* (1974) (lent by the Isaacs Gallery). *Changing Visions* included *Women Feeding the Threshing Gang* (1966) (lent by the Ukrainian Women’s Association of Canada) and *Thy Young Skye Blossoms* (1970) from the original *Hound of Heaven* series (lent by the Isaacs Gallery). (See Appendix III, 79.) *Changing Visions* was organized by the AGO and the Edmonton Art Gallery. Kurelek was included in *Canadian Tapestries*, an exhibition of twenty-three tapestries designed by some of Canada’s most prominent artists. (The actual weaving was done in Mexico.) *Canadian Tapestries* was an Art Gallery of Ontario sponsored travelling exhibition which was seen at the Vancouver Art Gallery, Art Gallery of Ontario, Art Gallery of Windsor, and other venues. The Ukrainian Cultural and Educational Centre in Winnipeg recently accepted a donation of Kurelek’s tapestry from the Tapestry exhibition. The tapestries were produced as multiples and sold to collectors (Purdie 1977). In 1972 Art Bank began purchasing Kurelek’s work: *The Hound of Heaven*, lithograph (1965) (two copies); *Against the Red Throb of It’s Sunset Heart* (1970); *Cold Lake Plunge after Sauna* (1973); *The Cook Shack on a Grey Day* (1973); and *A Roofing Bee* (1976).

41. The exhibition showed 30 works, 18 from illustrated books and 12 from various series not yet published in books. Kurelek hoped that most or all of his series would eventually be published in books though that did not happen. The works from books in this exhibition came from 6 books: *A Prairie Boy’s Winter* (6 works); *Lumberjack* (5); *O Toronto* (1); *Nativity in Canada [A Northern Nativity]* (1); *Kurelek’s Canada* (2); and *Fields* (3). The works from unpublished series came from 5 series: *A Prairie Painter in the Mountains* (2 works); *Montreal* (3); *The Irish in Canada* (3); *Les Gens de-Charlevoix* (3); and *Big Lonely* (1). At least 4 illustrated books were not represented by work in the exhibition: *A Prairie Boy’s Summer* (1975), *Jewish Life in Canada* (1976), *The Last of the Arctic* (1976), and *The Polish Canadians* (first exhibited in 1977 and published in 1981). Kurelek’s Arctic works were shown in various exhibitions in Canada. The exhibition *William Kurelek: The Last of the Arctic*, was shown in Toronto in May, 1978 at the Shaw-Rimington Gallery. The exhibition *Fox Mykyta: William Kurelek*, had an Isaacs Gallery showing in Nov., 1978.

42. The exhibition was partly funded by the Canada Council and the Ukrainian Canadian Foundation of Taras Shevchenko. Winnipeg Art Gallery curators chose the 51 works and organized the exhibition. Isaacs did not cooperate. It is widely believed that Isaacs thought a major Kurelek memorial exhibition should be held in Manitoba’s new art gallery and not relegated to the more limited exhibition space of the Ukrainian Cultural and Educational Centre. Only one work from the Isaacs Gallery appears in the exhibition list of works: *Village at Night and Haystacks* (1977), a scene from Ukraine. Letters in Winnipeg Art Gallery files confirm that there was strain between Isaacs and the Winnipeg Art Gallery’s director, Roger Selby. The rift may have kept the exhibition from travelling. The exhibition received very positive reviews and one notorious and controversial pan (Marcoe 1980). Murray’s exhibition, *Kurelek’s Vision of Canada*, was also not shown at the WAG but at the Manitoba Museum of Man and Nature in Winnipeg.

43. Expenses for Murray’s exhibition were covered primarily by Mutual Life of Canada, which donated more than \$100,000, and the National Museums of Canada. Oddly, Murray, who curated two important Kurelek exhibitions, was ambivalent about Kurelek as an artist: “By the time Kurelek died, at fifty, he had just barely improved as a painter. The table-top composition remained, but by 1975 he could achieve small miracles of colour and mood. . . . A big show of his landscape paintings teaches you to hate the finicky detail and ever-present green grass. In his work, in fact, there’s much to hate—an unformed sense of picture making, for instance” (Murray in Kurelek and Murray 1983, 17). Friesen was also ambivalent about Kurelek: “Depending on which kinds of paintings are examined, I would argue that Kurelek’s art is both realistic and abstract, both amateurish and expert, both naive and sophisticated, both mundane and mystical” (Friesen 1997, 177).

44. Fifty-two works came from public collections (art galleries, etc.), 27 from private collections (including private

galleries), and 6 from corporate collections. The largest corporate lender was the Corporate Collection, James Richardson & Sons Limited, lending 4 works. The Art Gallery of Hamilton lent 6 (3 of these a gift to the Hamilton gallery from the Polish Alliance); the Art Gallery of Ontario lent 7 (3 of these from the Thomson Collection); the NGC lent 10 (counting as 6 the panels from the *Ukrainian Pioneer* series, a transfer from the House of Commons); and the Niagara Falls Art Gallery lent 10 (9 of these coming from *The Passion of Christ* series). The Winnipeg Art Gallery lent 4 and the Art Gallery of Greater Victoria lent 3. Paintings Kurelek had left in England, which had not been shown previously in North America, were included in this exhibition (e.g., *I Spit on Life*, c. 1953). Other works formerly located in England but recently arriving in North American collections were shown for the first time in this exhibition, for example, *Where Am I? Who Am I? Why Am I?* (c. 1953-54) and *King of the Castle* (1958-59).

45. Kurelek explains the series in his book *The Ukrainian Pioneer*. Regarding panel 2, he wrote: "The first beginnings for the pioneer in this new land, however, were not easy. The first physical ordeal was the crossing of the Atlantic. He and his family had to cope with sea-sickness, homesickness, strange food and a strange language—all new experiences. At the first sight of land they wonder, as they scrutinize the shoreline, what the future holds in store for them" (28, 32). A reviewer of the 1992 NGC exhibition elaborated: "Kurelek used the image of a boat crossing in earlier series. The homeland is seen as a village all in blue, smoke rising through roof hole openings that look like closed eyelids. Then Kurelek shows the voyage, the wide expanse of sea, the clearing of the land, the cultivated prairie, the fields of snow broken by telephone poles. In the last painting, on the high horizon line that links all these works, in an unclouded sky, there is the mushroom cloud of an atomic explosion" (Kurelek 1992). In 1991 the Canadian government issued postage stamps reproducing details from *The Ukrainian Pioneer* series (Mitchener 1991). In 2005, to celebrate the centenary of Alberta and Saskatchewan becoming provinces, the series was included in a non-traveling NGC group exhibition—Alberta and Saskatchewan 1905-2005: A Centennial Celebration.

46. Pasichny writes: "...in the spacious hall off the main corridor in Parliament's Centre Block in Ottawa. There it will speak to all who come to view it of the hardy Ukrainian pioneers who came to Canada seeking freedom and opportunity, and whose toil and endurance won them and their adopted land prosperity and growth" (Pasichny 1983). Governor-General Edward Schreyer, Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau, and the Ministers of Public Works and of State for Multiculturalism were among those present, as were many Kurelek relatives, including his mother. Many came from the Ukrainian Canadian community. The Ukrainian Canadian Professional and Businessmen's Association responded to the presentation "on behalf of the Ukrainians." Kurelek started *The Ukrainian Pioneer* series in October, 1971, and finished it a month later. The series was used for a 15-minute film, *Kurelek: The Ukrainian Pioneers*, 1974 (see Appendix III, 80), and Kolankiwsky's introduction to Kurelek's book, *The Ukrainian Pioneer* (Kurelek 1980). According to Kolankiwsky, after viewing the film, Kurelek made changes to the series on April 27 and 28, 1976. Kurelek gave the series as a present to the Kolankiwsks because of their previous support. Later, in financial distress, the Kolankiwsks sold the series to the Canadian government, with Kurelek's blessing (Kritzwisser 1978; Morley 1986, 295).

47. For the *Huronion Mission* series, Kurelek produced 21 drawings about the encounter between missionaries and aboriginal peoples. Originally intended for television (see the Foreword by Francois-Marc Gagnon in Pomedli and Kurelek 1991), the series is on view at the Filion Centre in the Martyrs' Shrine in Midland, Ontario. Kurelek's first account of missionaries in the New World is portrayed in a panel in *The Passion of Christ* series under which is written, "You, therefore, must go out, making disciples of all nations" (Matthew 28: 19-20).

48. The Canadian Criminal Law Amendment Act, 1968-69, and the Roe v. Wade U.S. Supreme Court decision, 1973, inflamed Kurelek's personal crusade against abortion. The Canadian bill decriminalized homosexuality, allowed abortion under certain conditions, and permitted access to contraception. The U.S. Supreme Court decision held that abortion was a privacy issue and that women had the right to an abortion until a foetus is able to live outside the womb. *Our My Lai* was in fact an elaboration on Kurelek's long-standing outrage with abortion, which he had identified previously as an evil in *Behold Man without God* (1955) and in *Unwanted Citizen in the Just Society* (1968) (Dexter 1969). Kurelek also provided low-key drawings for chapter headings for Donald DeMarco's book *Abortion in Perspective: The Rose Palace or the Fiery Dragon?* The Foreword for DeMarco's book was written by Marshall McLuhan, also a Roman Catholic and an abortion opponent. In 1978 the U.S. Pro-Life Award was renamed the William Kurelek Award (Kurelek 1987).

49. Kurelek responded strongly in person, in print, and in his paintings to the controversies of the 1960s and 1970s. Responses to Aitkin's and then Kurelek's articles on the sexual revolution provide a fascinating window into the conflicting values of those changing times (Aitken, *The Noisy Revolution* 1975; Kurelek, *Another Perspective* 1976). Kurelek held common attitudes towards homosexuality (bad), abortion (unthinkable), and women's role in society (traditional). In a group exhibition at the Stable Gallery, a gallery inside the MMFA, in 1965 Kurelek showed *The Hen-Pecked Husband*, part of the *Fallen Man* series. In a related work, *Today We Are Emancipated* (1965), he compared a modern-day wife to King Herod, in a painting both humorous and serious. Kurelek had traditional values: women worked in the home; men provided for them by working outside of it; few exceptions were tolerated (Morley 1986, 320, n17). See, however, Mrs. Kurelek's sympathetic description of her husband at home (Guly 1987). Kurelek celebrated motherhood in one of his most popular books *Northern Nativity: Christmas Dreams of a Prairie Boy* (1975). The paintings from this series were seen in an exhibition William Kurelek: *The Nativity in Canada* at the Equinox Gallery in British Columbia. Much to Kurelek's surprise, his decision to redo the nativity was criticized not for its traditional values but for the opposite (Fox

1975). "Artist Denies Trying to Exploit Religion," published in the *Vancouver Sun*, was Kurelek's response.

50. In his review of Kurelek's book, *The Last of the Arctic*, Christopher Young writes: "The 30 paintings in this book—some of them among the finest Kurelek has ever done—reveal the Arctic landscape and the traditional life in all their splendor, their terror and their inconvenience. (Kurelek must be the only writer in the English-speaking world today who would use the words, 'This picture may shock some readers' to introduce a homely view of a small boy urinating into a bowl inside his igloo.) Each painting is paired with a page or so of text. . . . For instance: 'In the picture I have a snow-white ptarmigan crouching beneath a dwarfed willow, which lies gnarled and twisted close to the ground. . . . When one is killed, the Eskimo immediately slits the gizzard and intestines seeking the partly digested willow. This is considered a delicacy, and is extremely rich in vitamin C. . . .'" (Young 1977).

51. Hitler was on Kurelek's mind. Based on Kurelek's diaries, Morley describes his painting *The Unclean Spirit Outside Sudbury*: "A desolate landscape just west of Sudbury, with blackened rocks and dead tree stumps beneath a grey sky, includes a tiny stick-figure in red, walking with hands clasped behind his back. This philosophic devil appears to be out for a Sunday stroll. Careful examination reveals several faces concealed in rocks near the painting's centre. One clearly resembles Hitler, by means of a black moustache and a cowlick across the forehead. . . . nothing speaks of rebirth in this area or this society" (Morley 1987, 264). Of what happened to the Jewish people at the hands of the Nazis, Kurelek wrote, "The shame of that crime is shared in some part by Christians throughout the world. As a Christian I hope through my art to help in paying the debt we are in as a result of that enormous crime" (Kurelek quoted in the Introduction in Kurelek and Arnold 1976, 7). See also Morley 1984, 7; Oziewicz 1984.

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“...No Longer Quite Ukrainian But Not Quite Canadian Either...”: The Ukrainian Immigrant in Canadian English-Language Literature

Abstract

Arguably, the first work of Canadian fiction in English to depict Ukrainians was Ralph Connor's *The Foreigner, a Tale of Saskatchewan*, published in 1909. Since then, some of Canada's major writers, including Margaret Laurence, Margaret Atwood, Morley Callaghan, Sinclair Ross, and W. O. Mitchell have depicted Ukrainians in their works. Gabrielle Roy, writing in French, also created Ukrainian characters. Beginning at least in 1954 with the publication of Vera Lysenko's *Yellow Boots*, writers of Ukrainian origin began to break through into the pantheon of CanLit. The publication of works by writers of Ukrainian origin increased dramatically following the adoption of Multiculturalism and the resultant infusion of government funding into the “culture industry.”

This article considers the depiction of the Ukrainian immigrant in two plays—*Paper Wheat*, written by a collective, and Gwen Pharis Ringwood's *A Fine Coloured Easter Egg*; in several novels—Frederick Philip Grove's *Fruits of the Earth*, Arthur G. Storey's *Prairie Harvest*, and Vera Lysenko's *Yellow Boots*; and in Gabrielle Roy's short story “The Well of Dunrea.”

Résumé

On peut dire que la première œuvre de fiction canadienne décrivant les Ukrainiens en anglais était *The Foreigner, a Tale of Saskatchewan*, de Ralph Connor, publiée en 1909. Depuis lors certains des plus grands écrivains du Canada y compris Margaret Laurence, Margaret Atwood, Morley Callaghan, Sinclair Ross, et W. O. Mitchell ont représenté les Ukrainiens dans leurs œuvres. Gabrielle Roy a également en français, créé des personnages ukrainiens. À partir de 1954, les écrivains ukrainiens ont commencé à émerger dans le panthéon de “CanLit” avec notamment la publication de *Yellow Boots*, de Vera Lysenko. La publication d'ouvrages par les écrivains d'origine ukrainienne a considérablement augmenté, suite à l'adoption du multiculturalisme et à l'injection des fonds gouvernementaux dans «l'industrie de la culture».

Cet article examine la représentation de l'immigrant ukrainien dans deux pièces—*Paper Wheat Ringwood*—écrit par un collectif, et *A Fine Coloured Easter Egg* de Gwen Pharis Ringwood; dans plusieurs romans dont *Fruits of the Earth* de Frederick Philip Grove, *Prairie Harvest* de Arthur G. Storey et *Yellow Boots* de Vera Lysenko; et dans *The Well of Dunrea*, une nouvelle de Gabrielle Roy.



INTRODUCTION

The cast of Ukrainian characters in Canadian English-language fiction is a diverse one

covering a broad intellectual, cultural, chronological, political, and socio-economic spectrum. The cast includes immigrants, their children and grandchildren, men, women, and children of all ages. There are farmers on the Prairies in the 1920's, inhabitants of a small town in Manitoba in 1978 (Ted Galay's "After Baba's Funeral"), and urban dwellers in a seamy section of Toronto (Len Peterson's *Chipmunk*). There are Ukrainian labour organizers leading a march of the jobless in Vancouver in the 1930's (Irene Baird's *Waste Heritage*) and a Ukrainian socialist worker (Morley Callaghan's *They Shall Inherit the Earth*). There are people with various levels of education ranging from the illiterate (in any number of works) to a teacher (Margaret Laurence's *A Jest of God*), to medical doctors (Sinclair Ross's *Sawbones Memorial* and W. O. Mitchell's *Who Has Seen the Wind*), to a Cambridge University Ph.D. (Henry Kreisel's "The Broken Globe") (Aponiuk 1982). Some of the cast find their origin in other works of world literature: most striking, perhaps, is Morley Callaghan's heroine whose parallel is Sonia in *Crime and Punishment* (Aponiuk 1983, 46-48); a Ukrainian character in Robert Kroetsch's *But We Are Exiles* has the fascination, charm, and enigmatic quality of the great Gatsby.

One method of studying these characters is through the initial natural division of generations: the immigrants and their children. The sons of the immigrants—as depicted in works by Margaret Laurence, Sinclair Ross, W. O. Mitchell, and Henry Kreisel (Aponiuk 1982)¹—are troubled by the problem of their identity, which confronts them once they move into a predominantly English or English-speaking milieu. Though their ties to the old culture may be tenuous at best, they are forced to reconcile the world of their parents, in which they were brought up, with the "outside" world into which they are, not unwillingly, thrust (*ibid.*). The daughters, on the other hand, are not all confronted with this problem. Their problems are of a more elemental, basic nature and are perhaps more diverse (Aponiuk 1983). This paper will deal with the parents—the immigrants—most of whom are depicted as farmers in Western Canada and who are treated as a single group with no distinction being made as to when they came to Canada, but who are most representative of those who came to Canada before the First World War and after about 1920.

Emily Murphy, whose pen name, Janey Canuck, left no doubt as to her origin or her sympathies, described in *Seeds of Pine* (first published in 1914) the new settlers she and her husband encountered as they moved from Toronto, in 1903, to Swan River, Manitoba, and then, in 1907, to Edmonton.

Canada is the child of the nations and our husky provinces have need of these husky peoples. Not only must we open wide our doors and bid them a good welcome, but having entered, it must be our endeavour to weld them into a seemly and coherent whole.

This is a task which is half accomplished e'er it is begun, for the Russian, the Italian, the

Scandinavian and all our immigrant are eager to be like the Canadians, to speak our language, to wear our clothes, and to think, talk and walk like us. Their differentiation is a burden to them and they desire to drop it as quickly as possible.

These Coming Canadians from Europe are of a fine advantage to this country where thousands of miles of roads and railways are to be built, in that they perform the more onerous tasks of digging and drainage which the Canadian, British, and American turns from as menial and unworthy. It would be a wide mistake for us to turn back from our sea-ports these unlearned and common peoples who seek entrance—as foolish as the farmer who would fear a large yield of wheat lest he could not thresh it, or a banker who dreaded an inrush of gold lest he could not count it (69-70).

Inherent in these comments is not only the assumption that these “Coming Canadians” must be assimilated into the larger whole, but the additional assumption that their assimilation would not necessarily bring with it equality. Instead, they appear destined to remain inferior to what Canuck calls “the Canadian, British, and American,” but what John Marlyn’s Hungarian Canadian protagonist in *Under the Ribs of Death* defines, at age twelve, more simply as “the English”:

“The English.... The only people who count are the English. Their fathers got all the best jobs. They’re the only ones nobody ever calls foreigners. Nobody ever makes fun of their names or calls them ‘bologna-eaters,’ or laughs at the way they dress or talk. Nobody...’cause when you’re English it’s the same as bein’ Canadian” (24).

The sense of not belonging, of being a “foreigner” tended also to be assumed by the immigrant himself, and it was reflected in his feeling of having to earn the right to belong, a right which he might not attain for himself but might perhaps succeed in attaining for his children. This idea is exemplified in a poem by Michael Gowda, which Janey Canuck cites, referring to the author as “a Ruthenian living in Edmonton”:

And are you not, O Canada, our own?
Nay, we are still but holders of thy soil,—
We have not earned by sacrifice and groan
The right to boast the country where we toil.

But, Canada, our hearts are thine till death,
Our children shall be free to call thee theirs (*Seeds of Pine*, 70).

Two separate elements are, therefore, to be noted here: the accession, as a matter of course, by “the English” of their superiority to and dominance over the more recent immigrants and the immigrants’ acquiescence, for various reasons, to this idea. For the Ukrainian immigrant, this meant the coincident imposition on him of an inferior status and, at least equally significant, his assumption of his own inferi-

ority. The result was his feeling of being an outsider in what should have been his native land. He was, in Gabrielle Roy's words, "no longer quite Ukrainian but not quite Canadian either..." ("Garden in the Wind," 140).³

"...NOT QUITE CANADIAN..."

The works of fiction discussed here deal with the Ukrainian immigrant as depicted, in most instances, by an external observer—the author—who is, again in most instances, non-Ukrainian. One work, however, the play *Paper Wheat*, presents a unique example of the Ukrainian immigrant as seen by himself.

Paper Wheat, which was produced by the 25th Street House Theatre (later, 25th Street Theatre) in Saskatoon, was a "collective" effort on the part of the actors and the director, in imitation of the focus of the play—the Saskatchewan Co-operative Movement and the creation of the Saskatchewan Wheat Pool. *Paper Wheat* derives its name from the speculation in wheat on the Winnipeg Grain Exchange, for many years the only conduit for grain from the Canadian Prairies to market.

According to the first published version of the play (*Paper Wheat* 1978, 40), *Paper Wheat* was "written collectively" by Linda Griffiths, Sharon Hughes [Bakker], Michael Fahey, Bob Bainborough, Brenda Teadley [sic, Leadley], and Catherine Jaxon—some of whom would gain fame in Canadian theatre—and directed by Andras Tahn. Later versions of the play (*Paper Wheat* script; *Paper Wheat, the Book* 1982, 37) give a somewhat different emphasis, stating that it was "created and performed" by the above group and "conceived and directed" by Tahn. According to Bainborough, the creative process seems to have been fairly chaotic (*ibid.*, 33-34).

The play premiered on March 18, 1977, before a "capacity standing ovation crowd" (*Paper Wheat* script; see also Bainborough, 34) in the small town of Sintaluta—the site of the first grain co-operative in Saskatchewan. A brief tour of several other towns in the province followed.

Paper Wheat was then "remounted" by 25th Street Theatre (*ibid.*, 37).⁴ According to the new director of this second production, Guy Sprung, in his brief introduction to the first published version of *Paper Wheat*,

less than one-quarter is taken directly or indirectly from the original version. Because there was no writer working on the script, each actor developed, through improvisation and research, his or her own part, guided by the director. The structuring and editing was done by the director, guided by discussions with the actors and stage manager. The second cast was fortunate to be able to stand on the shoulders of the first, and profit from that initial hard work, to focus and develop the script further (*ibid.*, 40).

This second production is a series of vignettes, predominantly light comedy inter-

woven with songs and music, depicting in the first act what it *might* have been like for an early immigrant coming to Canada and, in the second, the creation of the Saskatchewan Wheat Pool. According to Guy Sprung's introduction to the first published version of the play,

[t]he first act, a poetic interpretation of the sod-busting immigrants to the prairies, was put together from countless discussions and interviews with some of the pioneers themselves. It contains no dates or places or actual "historical" figures, but is not any the less "history" for this absence. The second act does introduce some of the important recorded milestones and leaders of the Saskatchewan Co-operative Movement with speeches based in part on their own writings. Although it is more "historical," it is not any the less poetic than Act One (*ibid.*).

The second production of *Paper Wheat* was a far more elaborate one than the first, incorporating, for example, the fiddle playing of Bill Prokopchuk, who is listed as a member of the cast though he has no speaking part. Although only two of the original six actors continued in the second production, the contributions of the original cast members were acknowledged in the published script (*ibid.*) and later in the film's playbill (1979). The now five actors (though six are listed in the playbill) played multiple roles, as before. This version of the play premiered in Saskatoon, played in Toronto for five days, and then toured thirty-one communities in Saskatchewan in the fall of 1977.⁵

This is the version that was filmed by the National Film Board of Canada, beginning in Strasbourg, Saskatchewan on November 10, 1977 (*Paper Wheat* 1978, 41). The film records the tour, interspersing scenes from the play with audience reaction, comments from the audience, and discussions among members of the cast. The result is not only a very good idea of the play's content (about half of the scenes from Act I and most of Act II are included in the film), but also some idea of what went into the creation of the play.

A prominent addition to the cast of this second production was Lubomir Mykytiuk, a Canadian actor who would also later become well-known, and, most important in the present context, was of Ukrainian descent. In view of the forgoing description of how the play and the characters were created and the comments recorded throughout the film, it is a safe assumption that the "Ukrainian guy" (as Mykytiuk refers to him in the film), whom Mykytiuk is depicting, *is* basically Mykytiuk's own creation. The "Ukrainian guy" is featured in five scenes in Act I of the play; the film incorporates three of the scenes.

In the documentary segment of the film, Mykytiuk refers to the Ukrainian immigrant, whom he is portraying in the play, as a clown, almost on the verge of being a joke—a Ukrainian joke. Mykytiuk then adds that on the night in question he

played him “with a lot more weight” (*Paper Wheat*, film 1979). Mykytiuk’s “heightened consciousness” aside, a study of both the play and the film supports his view that the “Ukrainian guy” is indeed the comic relief in a work which treats serious ideas in a light vein. More significant is the fact that much of the humour in the character is inherent in his being Ukrainian: in contrast to the other immigrants in the first act (a Latvian girl, a Liverpudlian, and a couple from Lancashire) who emerge as individuals, Vasil Havryshyn is indeed the “Ukrainian guy,” the symbolic representative of the specific ethnic group. As such, the image of the Ukrainian that is projected is that of a buffoon, who elicits laughter as a result of his broken English, his use of Ukrainian, and his simplicity and naïveté. However, as the play progresses, other traits such as sensitivity, lack of pride, and the almost stereotypical industriousness do emerge from beneath the clownish exterior.

Nevertheless, despite creating a fairly rounded character in Act I, Mykytiuk seems unable to drop the concept of the Ukrainian as comic relief. In Act II, now playing Louie, who is of no identifiable ethnicity, Mykytiuk seems unable to drop the idea of the Ukrainian as clown. After completing an intricate juggling act, Mykytiuk goes for the easy laugh (which he gets in the film), commenting, “Not bad for a Ukrainian, eh?” (*Paper Wheat* 1978, 89).

The first scene of the play introduces the various immigrants, who are the center of the first act, as they arrive in Canada at some indeterminate time, presumably the late nineteenth-early twentieth century. Among them is Vasil, who relates that, as the youngest of eight sons in a poor family, his prospects in *Ukraina* were negligible. Hearing about land in Canada, he is told by his father, “‘You are young. You go. I’m too old.’ So I go.” (*Ibid.*, 42.)

In the next scene, Vasil, now the possessor of a land deed, encounters John Pearson, self-styled “farmer’s friend.” The voluble Vasil, overwhelmed at meeting someone who knows even a few words in Ukrainian, becomes the laugh-inspiring dupe of the storekeeper who, in exchange for a horse, a wagon, a cow, and a hundred pounds each of pork, flour, and prunes (“‘That’ll keep you going for the winter,’” he tells Vasil, *ibid.*, 45), will repossess everything, including Vasil’s land, if payment is not made by the harvest. By the end of the scene, Vasil, initially the object of the audience’s laughter as a “dumb Ukrainian,” gains universality and the audience’s empathy when it becomes evident that the storekeeper has pulled this trick countless times. He comments as Vasil leaves, “‘...He looks like he might make a go of it. But...the odds are in our favour. That’s the fifth time we’ve sold that stuff.’” (*Ibid.*)

Vasil does make a go of it, and we next see him as the prospective husband of Anna Lutz (the Latvian girl from Scene 1), his housekeeper for the last eight months. It is immediately evident that Vasil has succumbed to Anna’s civilizing influence and his own longing for a home. In this scene and in the one that follows, Vasil’s positive traits,

especially evident in his dealings with other people, emerge most clearly from beneath the clownish exterior. For example, when the question of curtains comes up, Vasil's initial response—"Why we need curtains? We don't do nothing. Nobody look."—changes to immediate acquiescence when he notices that he has hurt Anna (*ibid.*, 51). (It is worth noting that the Latvian immigrant, who came to Canada at the same time as Vasil, responds not in broken English but with an articulate comment, "I thought since I was here I could make it more comfortable for you. But I understand. It's your house and I don't want to intrude." *Ibid.*) After listing Anna's positive traits ("...You working here good. You good.") and noting their mutual compatibility ("We get along alright. We don't argue"), Vasil suggests marriage (*ibid.*). Although the agreement is sealed with a handshake, there is no doubt that a much closer relationship is in the offing, as Vasil suggests that Anna get curtains for the bedroom window (*ibid.*, 30).

The fourth scene, too, begins with Vasil as the figure of fun, and again the laughter is evoked by his problems with English, his lack of sophistication, and his lack of ceremony. Here, too, however, more positive traits gradually emerge. Vasil pays an unexpected visit to his neighbours, the Postlethwaites, to the great annoyance of William, who urges his wife not to let Vasil in. Vasil soon comes to the point: "I passing by your field. I look. I see your plow and your plow is broken. I think to myself, Vasil, you finish plowing why not go to Mr. ... Bill and offer him your plow" (*ibid.*, 55). Bill Postlethwaite is too proud to accept the offer, but Vasil offers him a face-saving solution: "I have no money. So, maybe you come working for me. We dig well and I come working for you. We plow. Use my plow. What do you think?" (*Ibid.*, 56.) Bill agrees—but only if they plow first!

In the final scene of Act I, Vasil joins William Postlethwaite and Sean Phelan, all established farmers now, in condemning their unfair treatment at the hands of the elevator agent. They agree to go to a meeting to air their grievances, but Vasil convinces the others, as he rolls up his sleeves, that more direct action may be in order. Vasil is now one with them, though not as an equal, for he is still a figure of fun, a foil for the seriousness of the subject at hand, with the laughter continuing to result from his problems with English and his simplistic "solution" to a complex issue. However, the positive traits, which have been evident throughout the play, keep him from being a caricature and gain for him some measure of the audience's sympathy.

In its depiction of the Ukrainian immigrant, *Paper Wheat* reverts to an earlier archetype, represented by Gwen Pharis Ringwood's *A Fine Coloured Easter Egg*, first performed in 1950 (51). The play features three Ukrainians (a middle-aged couple and the husband's bachelor cousin) on a spring morning in the 1950's in a shack in the Northern Alberta bush. Unlike *Paper Wheat*, *A Fine Coloured Easter Egg* does not depend on broken English or the use of Ukrainian for its laughs. The language is fairly standard English, although the stage directions do state that "the Canadian-

Ukrainian speech pattern should be obtained by inflection rather than by a heavy accent” (*ibid.*). However, as in *Paper Wheat*, laughter is elicited from the stereotypical presentation of Ukrainians as good-hearted, it is true, but mostly simple, naïve and, apparently, a little weird, if one is to believe a stage direction that reads, “Costumes in bright colours, no particular style, *slight touch of the fantastic*” (*ibid.*, my italics, N. A.). It is their simplicity and naïveté which result in the farcical situation, which is the basis of the play.

Wasył Nemitchuk has everything that should make a man happy: a loving wife, seven daughters (“all married...Respectable!”), fourteen granddaughters, and “two hundred and twenty beautiful white pigs” (*ibid.*, 55). Yet he is a dead man, he tells his cousin, George: Wasył has decided to fake his own death because his wife has been seduced—seduced by Oil!

“You’ve no idea what it’s like at home, George. Five oil wells being drilled in the yard. In the house Olga is saying ‘We must move to the city.’ Bang...crash outside. ‘We must give the granddaughters dancing lessons.’ Raise, lower—‘We’ll buy a Cadillac.’ ‘Shall I have a mink or squirrel, my husband?’ My Olga, for twenty-five years has baked bread, made cabbage rolls, borne seven fine daughters. Now that same Olga nags, plans, goes shopping, is always wanting something” (57-58).

Olga has turned her back on the old traditions and the old values, which Wasył continues to cherish. Their differences are symbolized by the Easter egg Wasył holds:

“My Olga took hours to do the careful etching through wax, and all for me. My Olga made this for me—last year.

“Yes, last year she loved me passionately. Nothing is too much trouble. But this year—this year—

“Olga says ‘Wasył, I’m tired of colouring those old-fashioned Easter eggs—such work is for peasants! From now on, I’ll buy chocolate Easter eggs from the store for you and the granddaughters. They are pretty, good to eat, and no trouble’” (58).⁶

Bemoaning the fact that there is no one who understands him (“Ah, women! If only there’d be a boy in the family—a son or a grandson, to carry on the farm, to see my side of it” [59]), Wasył has decided that only his death and reappearance just before his funeral will bring his wife to her senses.

The plot takes the expected turn when Olga appears and George sees in her a potentially rich widow. She has, in fact, been looking for Wasył to announce the great news—they have a grandson, who is to be named after him. Wasył drinks a toast to “little Wasył,” but immediately corrects himself. “No,” he says, “they must use the Canadian—a little William” (68), thereby acknowledging the ideal that only for some

future Ukrainian generation will Canada be, in Gowda's words, "our own." Olga, it turns out, was only joking about the chocolate Easter egg. Everything else is resolved when they learn that the drillers are pulling out, having decided there is no oil on Wasyl's farm. Tradition and old values have triumphed. But one must not lose sight of the fact that, for the playwright, "tradition and the old values" mean, in addition to Easter eggs, counting pigs and grandchildren, baking bread, and making cabbage rolls.

If, in the two works discussed above, the Ukrainian immigrant is depicted as a buffoonish character to be laughed at, in *Paper Wheat*, Vasil Havryshyn's positive traits come through clearly enough that by the play's end the audience tends to be laughing *with* him. This is not the case with the characters in *A Fine Coloured Easter Egg*. In them, positive qualities are not brought out; the result is that the audience laughs *at* them, secure in the knowledge of its own superiority to them.

In other works, the Ukrainian immigrant is depicted in darker colours. No longer the object of laughter, he continues to be set apart from the other inhabitants of Canada by language, custom, and physical appearance, which are sufficient reasons for him to be kept at arm's length. Sometimes it is his blind ignorance and superstition which causes the Ukrainian immigrant to shun the larger community and which result in the community's ostracizing him.

Two Ukrainians are referred to intermittently in the course of Frederick Philip Grove's *Fruits of the Earth* (1933), but it is possible to follow their progress even in a few lines devoted to them. The novel is set in turn-of-the-century rural Manitoba, and the first mention of Ukrainians is by a man named Hall: "They've shipped in two carloads of forriners, Ukairinians, dodgast them.... The white man don't stand a chancet in this country any longer" (33). Somewhat later when there is mention of a Ukrainian seeking land, the comment is much the same: "I'd like to have men of my own colour about. But rather than stay alone, let niggers and Chinamen come" (37). Finally, one Ukrainian (Shilloe) files a claim. Grove describes him as "a pleasant, round-faced, clean-shaven man of thirty-odd, good-looking in his way, though unmistakably Slavic" (43-44).⁷ His wife is never seen, and the children hide in the house or the stable at anyone's approach (44). Shilloe proves to be "an exceedingly shy but accommodating neighbour" (55), and both he and another Ukrainian, Nawosad, prefer to remain in the background, deferring to the man whom they regard "as superior in knowledge as well as in power and wealth" (82), in this case Abe Spalding, the most influential man in the area. Ten or fifteen years pass, and Ukrainians are now sought after as hired men ("For the routine work I prefer the foreigners; they are willing and reliable." [89]). Spalding does not hesitate to leave one in charge of his farm, noting that "never had he put as much confidence in any one as in Horanski" (95). By 1915 both Shilloe and Nawosad have become prosperous "in a modest way" (133), and even Horanski, formerly Spalding's hired man, gets his own place.

Material success does not mean that their neighbours now recognize the Ukrainians as equals. Cultural differences not only set the Ukrainians apart, but condemn them to an inferior status. For example, Grove writes that “Shilloe, Nawosad, Horanski attended meetings at Morley [the nearby town] where a preacher from the city conducted services in Anderson’s shop [the local garage]; for the two churches in town were closed to what many called a freak religion” (143). The Ukrainians have other unusual customs, such as women sitting together at meetings, “separated from their men who lined the wall opposite the windows” (159). By 1921 the Ukrainians are still a distinct group, separate from the community because not accepted into it. And this state continues into the next generation, for when tragedy comes, the report is still of “three *Ukrainian* girls” who have “gone wrong” (214; my italics, N. A.).

Arthur G. Storey’s *Prairie Harvest* (published in 1959) also features a Ukrainian family among the peripheral characters. Storey’s novel, however, begins its depiction of the Ukrainians at the point at which Grove’s ends. Storey’s family is already fairly well-established in the community at the beginning of the novel, and it is the protagonists, an Anglo-Saxon couple from Eastern Canada, who are the newcomers. The depiction of the Ukrainians is a very positive one, except for the apparently requisite broken English, which is spoken by the children even after they have had several years of schooling in Canada.

In 1906, when Henry and Marie Torey arrive in the Dundurn area of Saskatchewan to take up a homestead, Mike Shoulan is the section foreman at the local train station. He is very friendly and very helpful to the newcomers, as he continues to be through the course of the novel. His and his wife’s solicitude for their neighbours is outweighed only by their love and concern for the well-being of their children. The father, for example, “loved little Mike as only an oppressed father can when he has escaped his oppressors and sees a future for his son that he never saw for himself” (Storey, 59). As a result, the Shoulans put all their faith in education; they “bend every waking minute and every hard-earned dollar to this end” (99). “Mike will be a doctor,” the father says, “He will be free and famous like his fadder never vas” (59).

If Mike Shoulan’s hopes for his children result from his Old World experiences, so does his fear of the police. When a member of the Royal Northwest Mounted Police questions Mike about a neighbour,

his alarm [knows] no bounds. His experience with police in the old country had been anything but pleasant. He would not wish them on anyone, especially his friends. Police made trouble rather than helped when one was in difficulties (44).

Mike’s fears are eventually allayed.

Despite their best efforts, the Shoulans are not fated to realize their dreams of a better life, especially for their children. With the coming of the First World War, they are

caught in a no-man's-land between the pro-German and the pro-British settlers: "men like Shoulan were neither fish nor fowl. They had divorced themselves from Europe and wished only to remain in the new world and live at peace with their neighbours" (101). The settlers are too polarized, however, for anyone to be able to remain neutral. For the Shoulans, the end comes because they, European, non-farmers, not pro-British, and of a different religious faith, choose to remain friends with the Anglo-Saxon Toreys. Eventually, Mike Shoulan applies for a transfer, and the family leaves the community. Although the Shoulans ultimately fail in their attempt to build a new life, the reason is only very indirectly related to their ethnic origin. Despite their accented English, they are neither shunted into a ghetto nor treated as inferiors by anyone. Indeed it is they who lend a helping hand to the same type of immigrants from Ontario who are the dominant figures in Grove's community. It is perhaps this fact—that Storey's Ukrainians were already there—that results in their being treated as equals.

Despite the contrast in their depictions, both Grove and Storey have shown Ukrainians primarily from the outside: except for Storey's comments about Mike Shoulan's hopes for his children and fear of the police, there is no attempt either to explore the character of the Ukrainians or to consider what went into its formation. This is in some measure due, of course, to the fact that the Ukrainians in these novels are peripheral characters.

An attempt at character analysis is provided by Vera Lysenko, a writer of Ukrainian origin, in *Yellow Boots* (first published in 1954). The setting is Manitoba circa 1929, but the Ukrainians, latecomers to already settled areas and, consequently, relegated to marginal lands, might well be living in another era. As non-Ukrainians comment in the novel, the "sheepskins" had been thrown into the wilderness to shift for themselves as best they could, proud, not asking for help (6) with little assistance from the government (53). As a result, as an Irishman says, in 1929,

They're still pioneering, when pioneering days are over for most of the other settlers. Do you know, when they first came here, I saw them plough the land as people used to in England in the time of Alfred the Great.... But I think they'll get ahead; they've already made their mark on the land (11).

It is their industriousness or, more precisely, their capacity for the hardest menial labour that has permitted them to survive. Lysenko also notes another quality which the Ukrainians shared with all the other immigrants, whether Swedes, Icelanders, or Scots, whether sub-marginal farmers or men of substantial property—"the beginning of a national spirit" (71).

For Anton Landash (the father of the heroine of Lysenko's novel), as for Mike Shoulan, the motivating factor in his coming to Canada had been to create a new life for his children, if not for himself. Landash's dreams, like Shoulan's, are tied to education:

“I’m sending my boys to school.... I want them to become real men—not, as we elder people, to kiss the hands of the noble, not to bow, not to say ‘yes, yes, your honour,’ but to stand up straight, to look people in the eye and say, ‘I’m a free man’” (46).

For Landash, as for Shoulan, who also spoke of “freedom” for his children, material considerations are not the most important in his dreams of a better life; the primary concerns are freedom of spirit and equality with one’s fellow beings.

In Lysenko’s view, the whole concept of personal freedom was an anomaly for the Ukrainian immigrant, conditioned as he (all the immigrants discussed here are men) was to the serfdom of his not-so-distant predecessors. In fact, the problem for the Ukrainian immigrant was not so much one of gaining his freedom (after all, in Canada it was simply there), as of becoming capable of accepting the freedom and equality which he found in Canada. What was required was a tremendous change in the psyche of the Ukrainian. In Lysenko’s words, the “sheepskins’...had to skip centuries in a single generation, eradicating in themselves the deep traces of the serf” (46).

In *Yellow Boots* this “serf mentality” is manifested in several ways. It finds expression in the harshness of character of a man like Anton Landash, which allows him and his wife to give away their six-year-old daughter into virtual serfdom. When, five years later, the girl, too ill to work any longer, is sent home to die, her hands, someone notes, are “more like a labourer’s than a child’s” (5). However, the years of abuse have not dulled the terror she feels at the prospect of again seeing her father. Her apprehension is justified.

The “serf mentality” is also responsible for what turns into a witch-hunting expedition. A woman, because she is different in outlook from the other members of the community and because she lives alone with no one to protect her, is accused of possessing evil powers, of causing sheep to pine away, tomato plants to shrivel up, and balls of fire to go bouncing across the prairies. A dozen of her neighbours, prompted by old grudges, fear, and envy, set out to drive her away. Anton Landash, prompted partly by his fear of losing face with the Scottish schoolteacher, first tries to reason with them and then reluctantly joins them, hoping to act as a moderating influence. The woman, seeing the gang approach, apparently burns down her house and later kills herself. The episode convinces the now fourteen-year-old girl to escape this life as quickly as she can.

...[T]onight she...had been suddenly thrust into the adult world of emotions, predestined for her people by centuries of ignorance and superstition. Up to this evening she had not questioned the old beliefs, but now a great rent appeared in them and she exclaimed to herself, “Lord, what darkness is in their minds.” Brought up on this isolated homestead, Lilli had had no basis for comparing her parents’ world with the outside world, from which came only dim echoes, sometimes, in the speech of MacTavish [the teacher,] or a

visitor. Nevertheless she felt by intuition that another way was possible, that this thing which was happening in the darkness...might have been prevented; that a day would come, not too long distant, when such tragedies would no longer be possible (158).

For the girl, life has become divided into antipodes: “her parents’ world”—the world she knows, which represents everything Ukrainian and is symbolized by the horrific events of that night—and “the outside world”—totally unknown, barely imagined, but representing everything which the Ukrainian world is not, and symbolized by a Scot. When Lilli eventually escapes from the former into the latter, she takes with her the only thing she considers worthy of preserving, the folk songs. And when she finally finds happiness in “the outside world,” “happiness” is synonymous with being able to successfully “pass” as “English.”

The picture of Ukrainian immigrants which emerges from Lysenko’s novel is almost totally negative. The immigrants she depicts and the events she describes, ending with the witch-hunt, are shown not as an aberration, the acts of uneducated, benighted former peasants, who happen incidentally to be Ukrainian, but as typical of Ukrainians generally, the logical culmination of a Ukrainian way of life, of Ukrainian culture and history.

Two other stories featuring Ukrainian immigrants also deal with superstition and the fear it engenders. Although there is no question of the origin of the immigrants depicted, the incidents described are not presented as necessarily typical of Ukrainians or as the natural consequence of Ukrainian history, as is the case with Lysenko.

W. D. Valgardson’s short story “The Curse” (published in 1973) is set in an area of log cabins thatched with swamp grass and willow and still being cleared of bush, probably in Manitoba. Children are dying of fever, but when the parents gather to commiserate, their talk turns to witches. The very idea of death and sickness caused by curses is too frightening to contemplate, as is the idea that anyone might deliberately wish them harm, faced as they are with the normal dangers of their everyday lives. In their helplessness and inability to comprehend their tragedy, they engage in rituals culminating in a cow’s being led into a circle made up of the settlers; given its head, the cow is to pick out which one of the settlers is a witch. The cow goes up to the woman, who protests, to no avail, that the cow has picked her because it knows her. Even her husband does nothing: “30 years of marriage had been dissolved by fear” (110). The woman is stoned to death.

Gabrielle Roy, in her story “The Well of Dunrea,” describes a colony of “Little Ruthenians,” founded about 1912 by a French Canadian employee of the Ministry of Colonization in the midst of Saskatchewan scrub, swamp, and bad lands. Through sheer hard work the settlers create a veritable paradise, which results in their being overcome by hubris: “since they prospered, the Little Ruthenians believed themselves

better and better loved by God" (79). When tragedy strikes, it is in the form of a prairie fire, which threatens to destroy all they have created. The settlers do all they can to protect their colony, but when they are told to vacate it, it is as if a dormant but basic part of their nature awakens. Instead of leaving immediately, the women fill their wagons with every single movable object, getting out barely ahead of the flames. When the men are told that the only hope of saving the village is to burn their crops so that fire advancing on fire might burn itself out, they will not listen.

Oh, the obstinate, greedy, silly men! In their own country they had possessed nothing—or so very little: a skimpy acre or two on the arid slopes of the Carpathians to feed an entire family; and they had left that behind them without too great pain. But now that they had all sorts of things—they would not part with the least trifle (81).

As they struggle futilely, their friend from the Ministry, exasperated, for their very lives are now in danger, tells them in their own language that the fire is a sign of God's wrath. Finally realizing their danger, the men prepare to leave, except for one, Jan Sibulesky, often singled out by the federal employee for his unflinching judgment, who rushes instead into the church and emerges holding an icon of the Virgin Mary. As he walks into the flames, the Little Ruthenians, oblivious to the French Canadian's shouts, stand "like spectators, in a living hedgerow, and probably at that moment they were curious about God and about Jan; so avid with curiosity that they were stripped of all other thoughts" (83). Only when a blazing log falls on him, do the men, "so intense upon miracles" (83), leave in a stampede.

CONCLUSION

When Emily Murphy wrote in 1914 about the immigrants then seeking entry into Canada, she called them "unlearned and common peoples," burdened by their "differentiation" and eager to become "like the Canadians" by learning to talk, to dress, to walk, and to think "like us." This image has been perpetuated in the depiction of Ukrainian immigrants in the works discussed here, with one exception. Although such positive qualities as industriousness, resourcefulness, simplicity, love of family, belief in education, and love of music can be singled out in most of the Ukrainian immigrants portrayed, the predominant impression (except for *Prairie Harvest*) is a negative one. In *Paper Wheat* and in *A Fine Coloured Easter Egg*, the Ukrainians are buffoons or farcical figures to be laughed at; in *Fruits of the Earth*, they are oddities to be shunned because of their customs; in *Yellow Boots*, they are cruel, ignorant, and superstitious people. The ignorance and superstition are shown again in "The Curse" and "The Well of Dunrea," with the latter also showing greed as an elemental part of their character. This image of the Ukrainian immigrant is consistent, regard-

less of the period in which a given work is set (settings range from the end of the nineteenth century through the 1950's) and regardless, too, of when a given work was written (the works discussed were published between 1933 and 1982). And it is interesting that the negative image of Ukrainian immigrants is perpetuated by Ukrainians themselves, for the harshest depiction is that of Vera Lysenko; Lubomir Mykytiuk's discovery of the type of character he has created has been noted above.

In addition, each work illustrates just how difficult it was for the immigrants to become, in Janey Canuck's words, "like us." Indeed, for the Ukrainians depicted here, the barriers were insurmountable, for only the Shoulans (in *Prairie Harvest*) are shown to be fully accepted members of the community. However, as if to make real Gowda's hope that the children of the immigrants would be able to call Canada "theirs," Lilli, the daughter of immigrants, also makes good, but at the expense of virtually her entire Ukrainian heritage, which is no great loss, bleak as it has been shown to be in the novel.

All the works discussed here have focussed on how Ukrainian immigrants were perceived and on what it was about the Ukrainians which resulted in a predominantly negative image. One additional work must be mentioned here for, in contrast to the others, it focuses not only on the perceived, but on the perceiver. In *The Night We Stole the Mountie's Car*, Max Braithwaite quotes Ernest Stoneman, the RCMP sergeant in the probably fictional Wanego, Saskatchewan of the mid-1930's:

...Those dammed Ukes...always raising hell. They fight over politics and family matters and anything else they can think of. Always fighting. Way to handle them is to clout first and talk after. Only thing they understand (52).

Braithwaite then turns to Stoneman to determine what his opinion of Ukrainians is based on. It happens that the town is divided into three "factions." The minority is the Old Ontario, United Church group, Orangemen, who consider it their duty "to uphold the principles and mores of the white man in this savage land. They mustn't ever allow themselves to become contaminated by association with the 'lesser breeds'" (75), who are the French Canadians, Roman Catholic and Liberal, and the Ukrainians, also Liberal but Orthodox. Religion, politics, and the penchant of the latter two groups for making their own wine and whiskey set them apart. Stoneman, however, disavows any suggestion that his attitude is prejudiced.

"Now don't get me wrong," he [says]. "I consider them as good as anybody else. We're all Canadians...Ukes, Frogs, Wops, Hunkies, Kikes...all members of one big family" (52).

NOTES

1. The characters referred to are Nick Kazlik in *A Jest of God*, Nick Miller in *Sawbones Memorial*, Dr. Peter Svarich in *Who Has Seen the Wind*, and Nick Solchuk in "The Broken Globe."
2. Mykhaylo Gowda (1875-1953) came to Canada in 1898; he has been referred to as "the second Ukrainian poet in Canada" in Yar Slavatykh [ed.], *An Anthology of Ukrainian Poetry in Canada, 1898-1973* (Edmonton: Slovo, 1975), 8.
3. "Qui n'étaient plus tout à fait des Canadiens...." Gabrielle Roy, "Un Jardin au bout du monde," 172.
4. The itinerary for the film version states that the play was "restaged" and "developed further."
5. The itineraries of the first two tours, as well as the third national tour (summer and fall, 1979), are listed in *Paper Wheat, the Book*, 97. The third national tour (summer and fall, 1979) covered forty-six locations and 155 performances to over 50,000 people. The play was produced by the Centaur Theatre, Montreal, for a sold-out run (Oct.-Nov., 1978) and by the Toronto Free Theatre (April-May, 1980). In addition to the film discussed in this paper, *Paper Wheat* was televised by the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation in June, 1980. (*Paper Wheat* script; *Paper Wheat* 1978, 41; *Paper Wheat, the Book*, 97).
6. The references to the method for creating Ukrainian Easter eggs is incorrect.
7. Grove repeats the comment about Shiloe being "handsome in his Slavic way" on p. 159.

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“White Settler Guilt”: Contemporary Ukrainian Canadian Prairie Literature

Abstract

Ukrainians have been in Canada for at least 120 years, and in the federal multiculturalism debates of the 1960s and 1970s, Ukrainian Canadian groups were one of the most vocal, pushing for a recognition of other ethnic identities alongside what was at that time the discourse of the day of “two founding nations.” Interestingly, one of the ways that this ethnic group was able to make ground in these federal debates—ultimately leading to the policy shift from Biculturalism and Bilingualism to Multiculturalism and Bilingualism—was by making an argument for “founding fathers” status across the unbroken prairie. While there was a genuine desire for other ethnic identities to be recognized at the federal legal and political levels, there developed a realization by Ukrainian Canadians (and others) of the ways in which the sleight of hand required to place ethnic Ukrainians (among others) as the “first” inhabitants of the prairie space removed the pre-existing Aboriginal presence on that landscape. Many writers grapple with their awkward sense of wanting to honour their forbearers who did, in fact, emigrate and suffer great hardships, while simultaneously recognizing the colonial project that they have been co-opted into. Using contemporary literature, this article theorizes the relationship between the homesteaders and their descendants vis-à-vis Aboriginal presences in the prairie provinces. This article articulates four different models that authors use in an attempt to make sense of the simultaneous early presence of Ukrainian settlers and Aboriginal peoples across the Canadian landscape.

Résumé

Les Ukrainiens sont au Canada depuis au moins 120 ans et, dans les débats des années 1960 et 1970 sur le multiculturalisme fédéral, les groupes canadiens ukrainiens furent parmi ceux qui ont réclamé le plus haut et fort la reconnaissance d'autres identités ethniques parallèlement au discours de l'époque sur “les deux peuples fondateurs”. Il est intéressant que l'un des moyens de ce groupe ethnique est de faire avancer le débat fédéral – qui a ultimement conduit à un changement de politique du biculturalisme et du bilinguisme vers un multiculturalisme en gardant le bilinguisme – a été de se servir d'un argument en faveur “des pères fondateurs” dans des Prairies vierges. Alors qu'il y avait un désir sincère des autres identités de se faire reconnaître au niveau fédéral, légalement et politiquement, les Canadiens ukrainiens (et d'autres) ont commencé à prendre conscience du tour de passe-passe qu'il fallait opérer pour faire de leurs ancêtres (parmi d'autres ethnies) les “premiers” habitants de l'espace des Prairies, et qu'il effaçait la présence antérieure des autochtones. Bon nombre d'écrivains se battent avec un certain embarras à vouloir honorer leurs ancêtres qui ont, en fait, émigré et grandement souffert, tout en reconnaissant le projet colonial dans lequel ils ont été embrigadés. À partir de la littérature contemporaine, cet article porte sur la théorisation de la relation entre les pionniers et leurs descendants par rapport à la présence autochtone dans les provinces des Prairies. Il présente quatre modèles dont des auteurs se sont servis pour tenter de donner un sens à la présence initiale des colons ukrainiens et des peuples autochtones dans l'ensemble du territoire canadien.



Ukrainians have been in Canada for over 120 years. The first enduring settlers from what is now Ukraine rooted themselves permanently in Canada in 1891, and between then and the outbreak of the First World War, over 170,000 immigrants from Ukraine made Canada their home, with many of these early settlers populating the prairie provinces, eking out an existence on \$10 homesteads. Generations and waves of immigration later, in the federal multiculturalism debates of the 1960s and 1970s, Ukrainian Canadian groups were vocal advocates pushing for a recognition of other ethnic identities alongside what was—in the discourse of the day—Canada’s “two founding nations.” Interestingly, one of the ways that this ethnic group was able to make ground in these federal debates—ultimately leading to the policy shift from Biculturalism and Bilingualism to Multiculturalism and Bilingualism—was by making an argument for “founding fathers” status across the unbroken prairie. In this mythology, Ukrainians in Canada are “a stolid peasantry, inured to suffering by generations of privation” who experienced “either hardship or triumph on the virgin lands of the West” (Hinther and Mochoruk 2011, 4). They are peasants and farmers, or their descendents, and their presence is considered to be indigenous to a Canadian rural setting. Myrna Kostash, for instance, writes that “Ukrainian-Canadians still generally go along with the popular view of themselves as colourful, dancing, *horilka*-tippling hunkies recently arrived from a wheat farm in Saskatchewan” (2000, 30), and Janice Kulyk Keefer would agree, pointing out that most Canadians’ image of Ukraine is shaped by a familiarity with “*borshch* and cabbage rolls, vast and shining wheat fields, and pretty girls with whirling ribbons and flashing red boots” (2005, 19). Historian Frances Swyripa makes the link between this popular image of Ukrainian Canadian-ness as somehow synonymous with a prairie homesteading past and the Trudeau-era debates about federal multiculturalism explicit by pointing out that Ukrainian Canadian

myth makers were driven by the desire for a tidy and satisfying picture of the past that promoted the goal of recognition for their group as a legitimate and valuable actor on the Canadian stage. The result was a founding fathers myth erected on the peasant pioneers: in their backbreaking toil and sacrifice to introduce the prairie and parkland to the plough and to exploit mining and forest frontiers so that Canada could be great, lay Ukrainians’ right to full partnership in Confederation (1993, 221).

This kind of mythology served its purpose to legitimize a Ukrainian Canadian identity in the heady debates about identity politics in Canada, bringing forward an ethnic identity that in the words of one critic “has historically been silenced to a large

degree” and only recently “surface[es] with a determination to be heard” (Mycak 2001, 93). From our contemporary vantage point, however, this “founding fathers” mythology smatters of ugly colonialism.

What those early, land-hungry immigrants did not know was that the open Canadian prairie that they were shuttled out to by the trainload was not, in fact, uninhabited. Sonia Mycak writes about Ukrainian Canadians: “There must be issues of selfhood that are specific to the culturally ‘hyphenated’ self, subtle negotiations of identity which are still occurring two, three, four generations after the act of immigration” (2001, 47). Those early immigrants engaged in the “backbreaking toil and sacrifice” and the later generations who argued vociferously for federal recognition in the 1970s are not today’s generation, a generation which recognizes a genuine desire for other ethnic identities to be recognized at the federal legal and political levels, but also realizes the ways in which the sleight of hand required to place ethnic Ukrainians (among others) as the “first” inhabitants of the prairie space removes the pre-existing Aboriginal presence¹ from that landscape. This elision is one that does not always sit well, and this article outlines how a cross-section of contemporary Ukrainian Canadian writing grapples with an awkward sense of wanting to honour forebears who did, in fact, emigrate and suffer great hardships, while simultaneously recognizing the colonial project into which those ancestors may well have been co-opted into participating.

In 1969 the Minister of Indian Affairs, Jean Chrétien, circulated a White Paper that suggested abolishing the Indian Act and the provisions therein. In effect, this White Paper recommended that Aboriginals be accorded the same status as other Canadians, effectively turning them into another “minoritized” group in what was developing as a federal multicultural framework. The main purpose of this proposal was to abolish the Indian Act and assimilate the “Indian” into mainstream Canadian society. From a legal point of view, this White Paper meant to shift the responsibility for providing services for Aboriginals and Aboriginal communities from federal jurisdiction to provincial jurisdiction. In short, under the new developing notion of multiculturalism, the “Indian” would become just another ethnic, in practice not unlike the Ukrainian Canadian.

The relationship between ethnic minority prairie dwellers and Aboriginal communities across the Prairies is an interesting one. Robert Harney (1988, 66) writes that in the nineteenth century, the “colorfulness of the colonies” could be performed in England, the imperial seat of power, through “countless onslaughts by Cree, Blackfoot, and Ukrainians in full ethnic battle dress, herded by red-tunicked guardians of ‘the Canadian way.’” Both the Ukrainian ethnic subject and the indigenous Aboriginal subject were seen as similarly foreign occupants of the Canadian landscape. In the 1970s Andrew Suknaski reiterates this kind of similitude by admitting that “[i]t was only at

the age of six that I started to learn English, which was also a common experience for many native people” (1982, 69). Referencing Suknaski specifically, George Melnyk sees a link between Ukrainian Canadian writers and Aboriginal experiences and mainstream audiences (2005), and he also writes that “the comparison between native and ethnic makes sense when one is aware of their historical affinity as out-cast minorities” (1977, 52). This “colourfulness of the colonies” in the early days or the shared sense of exclusion from mainstream, Anglo Canadian culture in later generations may tally with the White Paper’s notion that Aboriginals are, in essence, no different from other ethnically-identified Canadians, but the response from some Aboriginals themselves tells a different story.

Cree leader Harold Cardinal’s book *The Unjust Society* (1969), also sometimes referred to as the “Red Paper” in contrast to the White Paper it critiques, offers one response that can serve as a symbolic representative of the kind of resistance to the White Paper that emerged. Cardinal published his book as a direct response—almost point by point—to the proposals outlined in the White Paper that sought to dismantle the provisions outlined in the Indian Act. In a biting critical tone that runs throughout the book, the opening pages dismiss the proposals in the White Paper by summing them up as suggesting that “the only good Indian is a non-Indian” (1). In keeping with the view of scholars such as Tracie Scott (2010/2011), it is reasonable to see in Cardinal’s response a shift in the way in which Aboriginal rights, attitudes, and culture could be understood. For Scott, “since 1969 Aboriginal-Canadian relations have undergone a fundamental change” because prior to the “notorious White Paper in 1969, formal equality on all social, cultural, and political levels was seen by most politicians as beneficial for Aboriginal peoples in Canada”; however, Cardinal’s response, in her view, “clearly disabused the white politicians of the day of that notion” (1). She suggests that starting with Cardinal’s response, previously-held simplistic notions about the eventual assimilation of Aboriginal culture and identity within a larger rubric of Canadian-ness no longer held any cultural currency. For her, not just “white politicians” were “clearly disabused” of those notions, but mainstream Canada was as well.

While early Ukrainian homesteaders may have been wholly unaware of their position vis-à-vis Aboriginals and others may have shared the sense that eventual assimilation was the ideal to be sought, many contemporary Ukrainian Canadian writers publishing in the era after the White Paper and the response it engendered seem more aware of and sensitive to the complex currents swirling between the two groups—immigrant and Aboriginal—of the early Canadian prairie. In the face of the dominance of “the popular image of Ukrainian Canadians [as] farm-dwelling Westerners” (Hinther and Mochoruk 2011, 5), many of these writers grapple with a sense that their “Ukrainian-ness” is somehow rooted to the prairie landscape, but

acknowledge that to make such a claim undermines the more legitimate claims of Aboriginal groups wanting recognition and legitimacy in that same physical space. In writing about prairie literature more generally, Warren Cariou writes that many settlers suffer “a widespread and perhaps growing anxiety” about “the legitimacy of their claims to belonging on what they call ‘their’ land” (2006, 727). Ukrainian Canadians who are often seen as synonymous with the prairie share in this “growing anxiety.” In some of this literature, therefore, I contend that we see a “problematization” of postcolonial dynamics. The Ukrainian pioneering subject—and his ethnocultural compatriots who are often considered to be his literal and symbolic descendents—was neither the Aboriginal colonized object nor the British imperial subject, but a strange hybrid of the two. As a consequence, I suggest that we see in many contemporary constructions of Ukrainian-ness in Canada a particular kind of angst—an angst borne out of a desire to be indigenous to the land, but not complicit in the marginalization of those who were, in fact, indigenous to the land.

In her analysis of Ukrainian Canadian literature in English, Mycak suggests that authors employ a backward-looking nostalgic lens as a heuristic to express the ongoing “dilemmas of the self” (2001, 47) experienced by the contemporary Ukrainian Canadian subject. Following this insight, literary texts that seem to look backwards to “the bygone days of early immigration and settlement” (Grekul 2005, 116) are not necessarily just interested in expressing historical truths about the way that those original immigrant settlers felt or may have felt about Aboriginals, but are more rightly understood as expressing the many varied and vexed feelings that the contemporary descendent may feel about that historical interaction between the non-Anglo European settler who, nonetheless, participated in a colonial marginalization and displacement of Aboriginal peoples. Sherene Razack defines “white settler society” as the legacy of colonialism: a society “established by Europeans on non-European soil,” the origins of which include “the dispossession and near extermination of Indigenous populations by conquering Europeans”; however, as such participation in what she calls “conquest, genocide, slavery, and the exploitation of the labour of peoples of colour” is shameful and painful to the “white settler society” itself, she argues that “in North America, it is still the case that European conquest and colonization are often denied, largely through the fantasy that North America was peacefully settled and not colonized” (2002, 1-2). In my reading of Ukrainian Canadian texts that grapple with the identity issues pertaining to the “white settler society” on the Canadian landscape, we see various ways in which authors and characters struggle with this kind of denial or fantasy. I identify four separate models employed by Ukrainian Canadian authors to address the prior presence of Aboriginals and the continued legacy of colonialism.

In my four-part schema analyzing the textual evidence of angst on the part of minoritized ethnic Ukrainian subject positions as complicit with the colonial project

of displacing and marginalizing Aboriginal peoples, the first model is the most basic: authors acknowledge an Aboriginal presence, but largely ignore the contentious issue of early European (including Ukrainian) contact with these Aboriginals. The second model is perhaps the most common and shares features with much Canadian literature: authors construct a “claim-by-identification” (Fee 1987, 17) with Aboriginal characters, thus legitimizing their position on the landscape. In the third model, authors avoid acknowledging their complicity in the colonial project by turning themselves into spectral presences, fleeing the landscape rather than colonizing it. The fourth model, which takes its name from Suknaski’s ruminations, “a vaguely divided guilt,” demonstrates conflicting feelings about this in-between subject position—both/neither colonized/colonizer. Consoling fantasies and wish-fulfillment characterize the first three models’ attempts to make sense of a Ukrainian subject position vis-à-vis Aboriginal colonization, but the final model demonstrates a potential way forward that acknowledges a need to compensate for and address real wrongs in a contemporary context, suggesting that we recognize a very presentness of continued colonization and occupation of the Canadian place. The following outlines the key features of each of these responses.

“THE VANISHING INDIAN”

I christen the most basic model through which Ukrainian Canadian authors endeavour to respond to Aboriginal presence on the prairie “Absenting the Aboriginal.” Minimal and cursory descriptions of Aboriginals that recall Rayna Green’s “Vanishing American” characterize this model. Green’s article (1988) on the white performance of Indian-ness in America is particularly helpful here. In it she discusses increased attention to what she calls “playing Indian” as real American Aboriginals were being destroyed at an alarming rate. “The cult of the vanishing American, the vanishing noble savage,” she writes, “is emblematically transformed forever as a named, tragic figure” (36). Thomas King takes this idea further, commenting that the image of the vanishing Indian common in much early North American literature that romanticized Aboriginal figures recurs in contemporary literature through characters doomed through drug or alcohol abuse (2003, 34, 45). By transforming real Aboriginals into tragic figures who are or were dying off, some Ukrainian Canadian writers engaged in “The Vanishing Indian” trope elide their own culpability in the colonial project.

Sophia Slobodian’s two novels provide a typical example of this model of (dis)engagement with the prior claim of Aboriginal Canadians. Slobodian’s novels are set in the pioneering era but were published in the 1980s and 1990s, demonstrating the kind of backward glance that tells us more about the contemporary subject

position and its complexity than historical realities. As her Ukrainian Canadian settlers arrive on the prairie, she writes,

a group of Indians dressed in buckskin and soft moccasins, their long black hair in braids, lounged against the wall. Their sombre, granitelike features were inscrutable. Their numbers in the region had diminished drastically in recent years, as the smallpox epidemic of 1870 had killed them off in the thousands (1983, 10).

Her narrator glosses over the death of thousands of people in a nonchalant tone that is at best insulting and at worst chilling. Moreover, her use of passive voice to describe Aboriginal diminishing numbers and deaths due to illness suggests that no one—neither the Aboriginals themselves, nor the European colonizers—has any agency in this “tragic,” fated scenario. The buckskin- and moccasin-clad romanticized Aboriginals are not really present for Slobodian’s narrator; they form part of the scenic backdrop of her narrative. Their “granitelike features” resemble a blank wall; the narrator strips them of their humanity. She then writes that the “wind carried [...] the occasional bark of a dog and the voices of the Indian children romping happily in the tall grass” (14). Slobodian equates the children’s voices with the bark of a dog, both simply carried on the wind. The wind suggests a kind of transience; the children are ethereal, mere sounds carried on the wind. As well, the idea that the children romp in a romantic idyll while others die by the thousands denies them any depth. Texts like Slobodian’s may provide glimpses of Aboriginal characters, but they appear as landscape, absent as real subjects.

Nancy Hawrelak evacuates the Aboriginal presence even further from her prairie tale of immigration and settlement. For instance, when one of the Ukrainian immigrants in the narrative arrives on her homestead, she thinks of “the ruddy complexions of the Indians she saw in Halifax” (1998, 24). Aboriginals are not only “ruddy” in comparison to the unstated but clearly understood ideal of European whiteness, but they are also only found in Halifax, the port of entry for Ukrainian immigrants, rather than on the prairie, their place of settlement. In this way, this text constructs colonialism as having taken place in a historical past and a distant locale, far removed from the arrival of the Ukrainians on the seemingly empty prairie. Even further, similar to the previous text by Slobodian, this one by Hawrelak also objectifies Aboriginals as a kind of “Vanishing Indian.” She writes:

Those natural pockets of grasslands were where great herds of wild plains bison commonly called buffalo had once roamed freely. That was at an earlier time when the bison were used by the natives for their food, clothing, and shelters. When the white man with their traders arrived in the mid-nineteenth century, there had been a great demand for buffalo hides. The animals were slaughtered indiscriminately, almost to extinction, except for a few herds who [sic] escaped north of these territories (77).

We cannot ignore her conflation of Aboriginal populations and the bison they hunt, particularly through her use of the personal pronoun “who” that seems to refer to both the “wild plains bison” and also “the natives.” While she tells of the bison’s near extinction and migration, she is silent on the fate of “the natives” who relied on them; we presume their fate was the same, near extinction or escape to the fantasy of the unsettled north. As well, the “white man” is the antecedent of the third-person pronoun, further distancing Ukrainian settlers from colonial activities—they are not the “white man.”

This version of “The Vanishing Indian” model suggests that if there was colonial displacement, marginalization, and even wholesale extinction of Aboriginals, all that existed prior to the arrival of Ukrainian settlers, thus freeing them from any burden of what Cynthia Sugars calls “white-settler guilt” (2006, 697). The notion underpinning these representations is that any act of colonialism that may have taken place is so far in a distant past, that it need not be addressed today, and particularly not by those Ukrainian Canadians whose ancestors had not even arrived in Canada.

“CLAIM-BY-IDENTIFICATION”

Borrowing Margery Fee’s language, I refer to the second way in which Ukrainian Canadian authors struggle to deal with the prior, and arguably more legitimate, claims of Aboriginals as a “Claim-by-Identification.” This model presents a desire to assuage “white-settler guilt,” not evade it. Critics point to postcolonial settlers’ presentation of connections between the groups—non-Aboriginal and Aboriginal populations—as a way of creating a symbolic legitimacy for the immigrant settler who participated in exploitation and colonization. In Canadian literature, this trend takes the form of peopling non-Aboriginal texts with Aboriginal characters and themes to show imagined connections between the two groups to construct the settler as somehow indigenous to the colonized space. Fee describes this phenomenon, noting: “Those who do not wish to identify with ‘mainstream’ anglo-Canadian culture, or who are prevented from doing so, can find a prior and superior Canadian culture with which to identify” (1987, 17). Daniel Francis clarifies this point by explaining that this move offers a kind of transformation from non-Aboriginal to Aboriginal; he writes that “Canadians need to transform themselves into Indians” (1992, 123); in so doing, the non-Aboriginal ethnic subject “uses the First Peoples’ position as marginal, yet aboriginal, to make a similar claim-by-identification” (1987, 17). Put another way, marginalized subject positions—like that occupied by Ukrainian Canadians—can use Aboriginal characters to grant their ethnic characters a kind of adopted Aboriginal status, thus distancing them from the colonial project and legitimizing their place in Canada.

We see this kind of adoption of a Ukrainian Canadian character by Aboriginal characters in Janice Kulyk Keefer's novel *The Green Library* (1996), where the protagonist's midwife (a symbolic mother figure) is Aboriginal; further, this protagonist's Ukrainian father is described as being physically quite like the Aboriginal midwife (48-49) making the main character seem almost Aboriginal on her mother's and father's side, despite not being Aboriginal at all.²

Marsha Forchuk Skrypuch's *Prisoners in the Promised Land* (2007) is even more overt in its construction of kinship between the Ukrainian Canadian protagonist and her newfound Aboriginal friend. As the protagonist, Anya, and her family are interned in concentration camps in rural Quebec during World War I, Anya befriends two local Aboriginal women. Both groups—Aboriginals and interned Ukrainian Canadians—are set up as parallels, unjustly treated by the imperial seat of power represented by the Canadian government and bureaucracy. And beyond this structural similitude, Anya apostrophizes her diary in rhapsodic terms in order to demonstrate just how connected she, as a Ukrainian, is to her Aboriginal friend:

Dear Diary, you are not going to believe this, but she was using small seed beads just like mine. Who would have thought that I could travel halfway around the world and up into this faraway part of Quebec only to find a stranger doing my own special craft? The floral design that she was creating and reminded me of the beadwork and embroidery that we do on sheepskin vests. I feel like I have met a long-lost relative! (158)

By directly addressing her diary, an inanimate object that serves as a stand-in for us, her readers, Anya draws us into her revelation that she is, in fact, similar to her Aboriginal friend who does the same beadwork as she. The Aboriginal woman's craftsmanship is explicitly compared and likened to the speaker's own work, and their kinship is reiterated in the cliché of being "long lost relatives." As well, Fee tells us that "[s]everal English-Canadian works describe the transfer of something symbolic of the land from Native to white. [...] [S]ometimes a Native voluntarily hands a totem [...] over to a newcomer, thereby validating the white's land claim and blessing the relationship between old land and new land-owner [sic]" (21). Skrypuch's text offers a striking illustration of this thematic when an Aboriginal elder ("old land") offers Anya ("new land-owner [sic]") a gift of a special bead (158). Anya receives the gift as a benediction, a gifting of the land from Aboriginal hands to Anya and people like her, who are, after all, just "long lost relatives," not imperial colonizers. Anya ruminates on this connection through shared marginalization when she asks her diary the rhetorical question: "If this is the Pikogans' land, why did Canada build the internment camp here?" (159). Both Anya—an internee—and her Aboriginal friend who gifts her the beautiful bead—a Pikogan—are constructed as separate and apart from "Canada," a personified entity that builds the internment

camp to unjustly intern one group on the land unjustly taken from the other. Jennifer Henderson writes that “this affiliation with a Pikogan ‘relative’ seems to be earned through the child’s experiences of marginalization [and] confinement” (2012, 139), suggesting that Ukrainian Canadians, like Anya, are not all that different from Aboriginals. In fact, the interaction “reposition[s] incommensurables as equivalents” (139).

Thus, this model suggests that there is no “white settler guilt” because these “white settlers” are accepted members of an imagined community—both somewhat marginalized by mainstream society—consisting of Aboriginals and Ukrainians who are adopted into one indigenous family.

“UNSETTLING THE SETTLER”

The third model does not create this imagined family, but rather undermines any threat that Ukrainian Canadians may pose as permanent settlers. Often this model offers a fantasy where romanticized Aboriginals will be able to return to a pre-colonized state because the settlers are situated as temporary intruders upon a landscape written as permanently Aboriginal. In this model, these settlers are not threatening colonizers, but merely passing tenants. I call this model “Unsettling the Settler,” evoking Paulette Regan’s recent work on residential schools *Unsettling the Settler Within* (2010), in which she deftly argues for non-aboriginal settlers to engage in active decolonization. In the Ukrainian Canadian texts that gesture towards such an imagining, the settlers are the ones who will someday leave the landscape, returning the land to its rightful Aboriginal owners. Larry Warwaruk’s *The Ukrainian Wedding* (1998) offers one of the most pronounced versions of this model. In his coming-of-age story of the young protagonist, Lena, he constructs his Ukrainian Canadian homesteaders as impermanent occupiers of the land. At first one of the women tells a story about an original Ukrainian Canadian settler in the area of northern Manitoba where the story takes place:

Panko’s father[,] Onufrey[,] lost his feet on this lake. He was with an Indian in the winter time going for work to a fish camp further up the lake from here. In the afternoon a blizzard had mixed them up on their directions. For three days in the cold they walked on the ice. The Indian’s feet stayed warm with moccasins, but Onufrey’s feet froze and had to be amputated. ... [T]he rest of his life Onufrey walked on his stumps wrapped with potato bags. He was no longer able to farm (5).

Like the texts that construct a kind of similitude between Ukrainian Canadian settlers and Aboriginal peoples, this vignette presents both men—Ukrainian Canadian Onufrey and “the Indian”—as occupying the same economic and geographical

space. However, “the Indian” appears clearly well equipped for the natural environment, even as it maims the Ukrainian Canadian settler. As a foreign element on the land, Onufrey becomes incapacitated and impotent, undermining any thought of him as a permanent settler threatening to displace the clearly superior Aboriginal figure. Warwaruk pushes this idea of Ukrainian Canadian transience even further when he suggests that “the wind howls across the lake just the same, and over the fields, and it whispers through the trees telling the Indians that someday the Ukrainians will be gone” (240). His Aboriginals occupy the same liminal and marginal place commonly seen in romanticized versions, as they live amongst the trees and communicate with the wind, and while this presentation often suggests the transience or passing nature of Aboriginal culture, in Warwaruk’s vision the transients are Ukrainians. They are the ones who “will be gone,” a prophesy which is pure illusion, what Deena Rymhs would consider “false promises of ‘reconciliation’” (2006, 109). The implicit notion informing this model is one that allows for the transference of real political or legal claims by or for Aboriginals out of the domain of the political and into the domain of the symbolic, thus casting imperial, colonial, and postcolonial complexities into a purely imagined space that floats freely from day-to-day reality in contemporary Canada.

Daria Salamon’s novel, set in contemporary Winnipeg, *The Prairie Bridesmaid* (2008), offers an ironic twist that similarly undermines the real threat to Aboriginal rights, culture, and land claims by the European presence in Canada. The novel focuses on Ukrainian Canadian Anna and her group of girlfriends, all thirty-something and preparing for the wedding of one of them. One of these friends, Julia, is adopted and decides as an adult to research her biological family. She discovers that she has a Métis heritage. As she tells her friends this revelation about her heritage, the protagonist, Anna, says, “It all makes sense now. There’s always been something kind of exotic about you[...] My second-generation Ukrainian Canadian heritage doesn’t assign me an exotic look” (149). Strangely Julia’s part-Aboriginal heritage marks her as more “exotic” than her Ukrainian Canadian friend. Anna laments her banal and, therefore, utterly unthreatening Ukrainian Canadian heritage in the face of her friend’s newfound Aboriginal background. The exotic superiority of Julia’s looks is not remarkably different in type from the superiority of Warwaruk’s “Indian” who travels easily over the ice while the inferior Onufrey is incapacitated by it.

Furthermore, like Warwaruk’s novel in which the Ukrainians are merely passing through the landscape, the potency of Salamon’s Ukrainian Canadians similarly diminishes. The novel ends with Anna’s literal departure from Canada on an overseas flight with no specific return date planned. Symbolically, her link to her Ukrainian Canadian heritage, which has always been maintained through the folk arts she shared with her indomitable grandmother, breaks as well. By the end of the

novel, her grandmother loses her sight and can no longer make *pysanky*, the Ukrainian Easter eggs that symbolize Anna's Ukrainian Canadian culture. In a scene both touching and poignant, Anna's grandmother "waves her hand dismissively at everything at the table" and gives up on making the Easter eggs; Anna then sadly sets "down [her] tool and blow[s] out the candle" (169), an obvious symbol of ending. The candle is blown out on Ukrainian Canadian culture, implying that "someday the Ukrainians will be gone"; both Warwaruk's and Salamon's images suggest that the power of Aboriginal culture has nothing to fear from Ukrainian Canadians.

These three models—"The Vanishing Indian," "Claim-by-Identification," and "Unsettling the Settler"—share a similar construction of Aboriginal characters as objects to be acted upon by others who grapple with their own angst. In the context of debates about Aboriginal voice appropriation (Van Toorn 2004, 24; Williams 1997, 18; Goldie 1991, 383), Terry Goldie points out that "no matter how much the object of a writing subject approximates the self, the object cannot be turned into the subject"; the Aboriginal remains "a semiotic pawn on a chess board under the control of the white signmaker" (1989, 217, 10). Whether those white chess players move the pawns off the board entirely, as in the first model, or console themselves with the fantasy that the pawns invite the game, as in the second model, or even pretend that one day they will stop playing, as in the third model, control rests in the hands of the non-Aboriginal authors and characters. They possess subjectivity and agency, while the Aboriginal characters merely serve their ends.

I contend, therefore, that all three of these approaches are problematic. Even as they offer evidence of an awkward discomfort over the notion of Ukrainian Canadians as founding fathers, they play out a certain kind of continued literary colonialism whereby the Aboriginal object serves the needs of the European subject. By presenting Aboriginal characters who are either tragic figures already doomed or encouraging figures of welcome, we see "the fantasy that North America was peacefully settled and not colonized" that Razack identifies. The notion that no threat or injustice emerges out of colonialism suggests a fantasy of complete denial, a denial that requires no contemporary accounting or redress.

"VAGUELY DIVIDED GUILT"

Some authors, however, express their "white settler guilt" not through instrumental use of Aboriginal characters, but by trying to engage directly with Aboriginal peoples and cultures in a present context that does not push colonial relations into a romanticized textual fantasy of a distant or displaced history. Some texts move beyond the three more self-serving notions of overcoming "white settler guilt" to embrace that guilt as a starting-point for real, productive action. In Suknaski's

words, his *Wood Mountain Poems* address “a vaguely divided guilt; guilt for what happened to the Indian (his land taken) imprisoned on his reserve; and guilt because to feel this guilt is a betrayal of what you ethnically are—the son of a homesteader and his wife who must be rightfully honoured in one’s mythology” (1976, 124). His poetry tries to grapple with his “white settler guilt” in some explicit ways, suggesting that ultimately “his quest for a home and with it a stable identity” is futile (Ledohowski 2011, 97). Despite Suknaski’s sensitivity to his “vaguely divided guilt,” his poems suggest the ultimate unresolvability of the two sides of his identity, a Prairie identity shaped by sensitivity to colonial dynamics and the rights of Aboriginal groups and a Ukrainian Canadian identity emerging from a history of colonial complicity.³

The motif of the Wood Mountain collection of poems is the poet’s return to his childhood home in Wood Mountain, Saskatchewan. The collected poems share his encounters with the ghosts of his past and present across the landscape, both those who are or were Ukrainian Canadian (among other minoritized identities) and those who are or were Aboriginal. Both live characters and ghosts move through the poems as the poet expresses his “vaguely divided guilt.” When he leaves Wood Mountain at the end of the collection, the speaker (Suknaski) is “leaving home having arrived / at the last of all follies,” this final folly is “believing something here was mine” (1976, 119). Suknaski’s speaker flees the prairie setting of his home. In the closing poem, Suknaski apostrophizes himself, giving himself the imperative to “do things with the hands” as he must learn to “walk / ordinary earth” (122). In both the departure from the poetic ruminations and his commitment to “do things with the hands,” we see the crucial elements of this fourth model of how Ukrainian Canadian authors address their “white settler guilt.” Some of the texts ultimately acknowledge that literature can only go so far in addressing the complicated dynamic intertwining the descendents of Ukrainian Canadian settlers to the Canadian prairie and the descendents of Aboriginals who predated European settlement. These texts suggest that ignoring the presence of Aboriginals, as land-hungry homesteaders flooded the prairies as in the first model, or consoling themselves with a fantasy of inclusion and acceptance as in the second model, or ultimately undermining their own position as threatening and/or permanent as in the third model, can only offer symbolic responses to what is, in fact, a very real and tangible experience. As such, the symbolic responses are not ultimately satisfactory in offering authors (and their characters and readers) a comforting or comfortable way through the ethnic angst they may feel about this “white settler guilt.” Texts that fall into this fourth and final model, however, seem to offer a move out of the textual and into the real, to “do things with the hands.”

While Suknaski’s speaker leaves the prairie because he cannot seem to reconcile

these two sides of his identity, Colleen, the protagonist of Lisa Grekul's novel, *Kalyna's Song*, first leaves the prairie, but ultimately returns to take up the challenge of doing "things with the hands" to address what she comes to see as the inequality between her position as a descendent of Ukrainian Canadian homesteaders and the descendents of the original Aboriginals who populated the landscape. Before leaving for Africa, Colleen realizes that even though "there are five Indian reserves around St. Paul," her town, and there are students from each reserve at the school, there is no "Cree teacher at [her] school" (2003, 48), despite it offering both French and Ukrainian language lessons. When she leaves Alberta for an international school, Colleen discusses geopolitics with her more worldly classmates interested in global injustices. Colleen realizes her own subject position vis-à-vis Aboriginals with striking clarity:

If my family were Native[,] then I could talk about self-government, land claims, racism. Reserves. Or if we were Métis. The Métis don't even have reserves. [...] I can't talk about Ukrainians in Canada [...]. About how my parents had to stop speaking Ukrainian. It would sound silly. They didn't disappear, or die. They weren't killed. I have nothing to say. Nothing at all to contribute to the conversation (265).

The very real difference between her own more privileged status as Ukrainian Canadian in comparison to that of Aboriginals or Métis silences her. Later, one of her international classmates accuses her grandparents of "stealing land" from Aboriginals (Grekul 2003, 269), to which, once again, Colleen has no answer.

At the close of the novel, armed with her new insights about her own "vaguely divided guilt," Colleen returns to her Alberta hometown where she realizes not only her ancestors' complicity in the colonial project, but also her own: "I lived in Swaziland for one year, and I know how to say 'hello' in SiSwati. I lived in St. Paul for eighteen years. What is the Cree word for 'hello'?" (379). She begins to acknowledge her own present hypocrisy, making her status as a Ukrainian Canadian vis-à-vis Aboriginal prairie dwellers an immediate and present issue. Grekul expresses a "vaguely divided guilt" in a way that does not allow for consoling fantasies or outright elision; but neither does she express a resolution. Rather, resolution comes in the form of recognizing one's own present role in Canada's continual colonial presence, one's own role in linguistic, economic, and political marginalization of Aboriginal expression and experience. In writing about the continued effects of colonialism affecting Aboriginals in Saskatchewan, Joyce Green writes: "the processes of colonialism provide the impulse for the racist ideology that is now encoded in social, political, economic, academic, and cultural institutions and practices, and which functions to maintain the status quo of white dominance" (2006, 510). Grekul's character recognizes that the land her forefathers settled was not, in fact, an empty space to be claimed; she also recognizes that the act of colonization

represented by her homesteading forbearers did not end with them, but continues with her in structures supporting “the status quo of white dominance.” The novel then suggests that this realization becomes the character’s starting-point for real work. She begins work at a Youth Drop-In Centre to work with at-risk youth and recognizes that a “lot of the children who go to the Centre are Native” (2003, 375). The novel closes with the same kind of sense of the unresolved nature of Colleen’s “vaguely divided guilt” as Suknaski’s book of poems, but Grekul suggests that a focus on social activism to redress present injustices, not past acts of romanticized colonialism, may just provide a starting point; as the novel closes, Colleen, too, needs to “do things with the hands,” rather than just with the words.

Avery Gordon writes: “It has always baffled me why those most interested in understanding and changing the barbaric domination that characterizes our modernity often—not always—withhold from the very people they are most concerned with the right to complex personhood” (1997, 4). She makes her comment in the context of race and gender in the United States, but she could be speaking about Aboriginals in Canada. Writers whose texts fall under this fourth model try to extend real agency and “complex personhood” to their Aboriginal characters. Their texts refuse pat or overly symbolic interactions between Aboriginal and Ukrainian Canadian characters, and, importantly, suggest that the real work lies in actions beyond the pages of their books. Suknaski, Grekul, and authors like them, recognize Aboriginal rights “to complex personhood,” and thus refuse to provide a sense of resolution for their characters in their struggles to understand their position as Ukrainian Canadians vis-à-vis Aboriginals.

All these authors grapple with what diaspora theorist James Clifford theorizes. He asks, “How long does it take to become ‘indigenous?’” (1994, 309), and while none of these authors has a clear answer to that question, the texts falling into this final category—“Vaguely Divided Guilt”—acknowledge that the question of one’s own indigeneity cannot be answered in isolation from the indigeneity of Canada’s Aboriginals, and that the hard and awkward work of addressing this uncomfortable duality is best served through real engagement with Aboriginals outside the pages of a book.

NOTES

1. Terminology is tricky, and Harold Cardinal suggests that the definitional problem of who is Aboriginal amounts to little more than “legal hocus pocus” (1969, 20). For the sake of clarity, I use the term Aboriginal or Aboriginals in keeping with the definition offered by Cora Voyageur and Brian Calliou (2000/2001, 111) as a term encompassing all indigenous people. They write: “Generally the term ‘Aboriginal’ includes all indigenous people in Canada: Indian (First Nations), Metis, Inuit, non-Status Indians, and a more recently created group—Bill C-31s (those who were entitled to reinstatement of Indian status after 1985)” (115). I only use “Indians” or “Natives” where those terms appear in original quotations.

2. For a full development of this insight in reference to Kulyk Keefer's novel, see Ledohowski 2009, 159-60.
3. For a full development of this idea in reference to Suknaski's poetry collection, see Ledohowski 2011, 89-98.

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Ukrainian Ethnicity and Language Interactions in Saskatchewan

Abstract

This paper explores the reported ethnic self-identity of Saskatchewan residents with Ukrainian ancestry, the role of the Ukrainian language in this identity, and the correlation between the factors of ethnic identity, Ukrainian language proficiency, age, gender, and generation. The results show that most participants (Saskatchewan residents with Ukrainian ancestry) identify themselves as “Ukrainian Canadians,” about a quarter of respondents identify themselves as “Ukrainian,” and about 15% as “Canadian.” The results confirm the importance of language in the construction of ethnicity. Most individuals with self-identified “Ukrainian” and “Ukrainian Canadian” ethnicities had Ukrainian as their sole mother tongue in childhood, whereas individuals who self-identify as “Canadian” did not. The use and knowledge of Ukrainian, as well as the level of comfort with the language, are the highest in the “Ukrainian” ethnic group, followed by the “Ukrainian Canadian” group, and are the lowest in the “Canadian” and “Other” groups. The study shows that the immigrant generation, gender, and experience with bilingual schools are also contributing social factors in perceived ethnic self-identity. The results suggest that the opportunities to take Ukrainian language courses in Saskatchewan could be improved. The study helps to establish the components of Ukrainian Canadian ethnicity and explore its diversity and complexity, particularly in relationship to the maintenance of the Ukrainian language.

Résumé

Dans cet article, nous explorons l'identité ethnique auto-déclarée des résidents de la Saskatchewan d'origine ukrainienne, le rôle de la langue maternelle dans cette identification et la corrélation entre ces divers facteurs : identité ethnique, maîtrise de l'ukrainien, âge, genre et génération. Il ressort de notre étude que les participants, (les résidents ci-dessus) s'identifient pour la plupart aux “Ukrainiens Canadiens”, un quart d'entre eux comme “Ukrainiens” et environ 15% aux “Canadiens”. Ces résultats confirment l'importance de la langue dans la construction identitaire : la plupart des personnes qui se voient ethniquement comme “Ukrainiens” ou “Canadiens ukrainiens” ne parlaient que la leur dans leur enfance, alors que celles qui se perçoivent comme “Canadiens” ne le faisaient pas. Ainsi, le degré auquel les participants ont recours à leur langue maternelle, la connaissent et la parlent avec aisance est le plus élevé dans le groupe ethnique “ukrainien”, suivi par celui des “Canadiens ukrainiens”, et il est le plus bas chez les “Canadiens” et groupes “autres”. D'après cette étude, les facteurs sociaux que sont la génération de ces immigrants, leur genre et leur expérience dans des écoles d'immersion ukrainiennes ont aussi contribué à renforcer ce qui est à leurs yeux leur identité ethnique. Les résultats donnent à penser qu'on pourrait accroître les occasions de suivre des cours d'ukrainien en Saskatchewan. Cette étude aide à établir les composantes de l'ethnicité canadienne ukrainienne et permet de sonder sa diversité et sa complexité, particulièrement en relation avec le maintien de la langue maternelle.



INTRODUCTION

Heritage languages and ethnicity

Ethnicity is a complex social and cultural phenomenon, a part of the “cultural code” that constitutes “a component of individuals’ identity” (Shoshana 2011, 49). Ethnicity is addressed in anthropology, sociology, ethnic studies, and linguistics, hence there have been hundreds of attempts to define ethnicity from the perspectives of different disciplines (Fought 2006, 3-4). Most researchers agree that ethnicity is a “socially constructed category not based on any measurable criteria,” that it has to be studied “within the context of other social variables,” and that it is constructed via self-identification, as well as the perceptions and attitudes of others (*ibid.*, 4-6). Language plays an important role in the construction of ethnicity (*ibid.*, 19-20). Many ethnic groups are known to use a distinctive language, language variety, or some distinctive linguistic features “associated with their ethnic identity” (Holmes 2001, 175). The study of “language use within speech communities” is the domain of ethnolinguistics and sociolinguistics (Bonvillian 2000, 4).

The beginning of the twenty-first century is marked by an increased interest in the topic of minority ethnicities and the relationship between ethnicity and language (e.g., Crystal 2000; Bradley and Bradley 2002; Janse and Sijman 2003). This focus is explained first by the realization that “multiculturalism and the challenges of multiculturalism form an integral part of the experiences of most societies and nations in the twenty-first century” (Nye 2007, 109). Minority groups, such as Ukrainian Canadians, are striving for “inclusion and recognition” of their ethnicities, cultures and languages (Tavares 2000, 156). Second, an increasing number of studies demonstrate the connections between ethnicity and language, in particular between minority ethnicities and their languages (Edwards 1986; Oriyama 2012; Spolsky 1999). Languages are seen as “the key to and the heart of culture” (Hinton and Hale 2001, 9). Maintenance of minority languages is shown to be important for the emotional well-being and intellectual growth of its speakers (Döpke et al. 1991; Saunders 1991; Oriyama 2012).

Canada plays a major role in promoting cultural and linguistic diversity (Migus 1975; Hudon 2007). The opposition to the Official Languages Act of 1969 by immigrant and minority groups in Canada led to the development of the multiculturalism policy culminating with the adoption of the Multiculturalism Act in 1988, and the declaration that “Canada was a multicultural nation and that cultural diversity in Canada needed to be recognized” (Tavares 2000, 157). However, most ethnolinguistic studies in Canada concentrate on the maintenance of the official, Aboriginal, and Métis languages (Hewson 2000; Johnson 2006; Freedon 1991; Douaud 1982). So far, less attention has been devoted to heritage languages, such as Ukrainian. Some avail-

able publications demonstrate that heritage languages are fundamental to the multicultural nature of Canada, since they are a part of the “human capital” and contribute to the group and individual identities of speakers and their appreciation of different cultures (Anthony 1983; Cummins and Danesi 1990; Pendakur 1990; Chiswick 1992; Danesi et al. 1993; Edwards 1998; Jedwab 2000; Chiswick and Miller 2003).

The maintenance of heritage languages in a majority language environment can be a challenge due to “the constant invasion on all sides of the dominant’s culture language” (Caldas and Caron-Caldas 2008, 473). Minority ethnicities experience a language shift toward a wider use of the majority language possibly followed by the loss of the minority language (Chumak-Horbatsch 1999, 75-76). While some ethnic minority communities may succeed in maintaining their minority languages for centuries, others may lose their minority language in as little as three generations, i.e., over about 50-60 years (Holmes 2001, 59). The ability of a minority language to withstand the pressures of the majority language—ethnolinguistic vitality (*ibid.*, 65)—includes a number of factors related to the demographic, economic, social, and cultural characteristics of the minority group, as well as institutional support that it may or may not have from the majority nation-state (*ibid.*; Jedwab 2000; Pendakur 1990).

The Ukrainian Language in Canada

Ukrainian immigration to Canada began in 1891 and took place in four waves, the last of which continues to the present (Kostyuk 2007). Over 300,000 Ukrainians have immigrated to Canada since the end of the nineteenth century (*ibid.*). According to the 2006 Census, there are over 1.2 million people in Canada claiming Ukrainian ethnic origin, which makes Ukrainians the seventh largest ethnic group in Canada after the British (11 million), the French (5 million), the German (3.1 million), the Aboriginal (1.6 million), the Italian (1.4 million), and the Chinese (1.3 million). The concept of Ukrainian Canadians as a “distinct ethnic category with specific features and reference points” was formed by the end of the 1970s (Ledohowski 2007, 108). Ukrainian Canadian ethnicity can include some knowledge of the Ukrainian language and associations with Ukrainian names, a knowledge of Ukrainian history and literature, folk culture, such as music and costumes, coloring eggs (*pysanky*) at Easter, arts, dance, etc. (*ibid.*; Tarnawsky 1999).

Ukrainian is spoken in Canada as a mother tongue by 141,805 individuals (Statistics Canada, Census 2006), i.e., roughly every eighth person of Ukrainian ancestry speaks the language as the mother tongue. This is not very high, compared to some other ethnic groups, e.g., Vietnamese ethnicity is claimed by 180,130 people in Canada, and 146,410 individuals speak Vietnamese as a mother tongue (i.e., almost every person with Vietnamese ethnic roots speaks the Vietnamese language).

The Ukrainian language remains an important part of ethnicity (Ledohowski

2007; Tarnawsky 1999), but its use differs by generation (Chumak-Horbatsch 1999). A recent study of the use of Ukrainian in Toronto shows that first generation immigrants are “fluent in their native Ukrainian and use it in their homes,” whereas the situation is different for the second and later generations of Ukrainians who display a clear decrease in knowledge and use of Ukrainian (*ibid.*, 63). While for the first generation of immigrants Ukrainian is used primarily for communication, in later generations, the language acquires more symbolic and expressive meaning (*ibid.*).

Canada Census language data also show a decline in the use of Ukrainian as a mother tongue in Canada over the last few decades, and that most native speakers of Ukrainian are in the age group of over 60 (Statistics Canada; Chumak-Horbatsch 1999, 63). Children acquire languages in the family, from peers, and at school. The institutional support for heritage languages in general and Ukrainian in particular has always been very limited in Canada. However, as a result of the “multiculturalism” policy implementation, by 1980, English-Ukrainian bilingual programs had been established in Alberta, Saskatchewan, and Manitoba (Tavares 2000, 157).

The Ukrainian Language in Saskatchewan

Census 2006 shows that Ukrainian ethnic origin is reported by 129,265 residents of Saskatchewan (13% of the population which reported ethnic origin), which makes them the fourth major ethnicity in Saskatchewan after the British (411,400), the German (286,045), and the Aboriginal (149,810), or the fifth, if the “Canadian” ethnic origin is included (172,365).

Ukrainian as the mother tongue is spoken by 17,290 residents of Saskatchewan (about 2% of the population who answered the question about mother tongue and 13% as compared to the number of individuals with Ukrainian ancestry). Roughly, every seventh person in Saskatchewan with ethnic Ukrainian roots speaks Ukrainian as the mother tongue. Ukrainian in Saskatchewan is the fifth major mother tongue after English (819,080), German (29,780), Cree (26,155), and French (17,575).

Ukrainian communities in Saskatchewan are active in promoting their ethnicity, culture, and language. For example, they house the Saskatchewan Provincial Council of the Ukrainian Canadian Congress, participate in a wide range of cultural activities and festivals (such as the *Vesna* Festival and *Folkfest* in Saskatoon), actively promote a Saskatchewan Ukrainian Historical society, maintain a Ukrainian museum, and support a few choral groups, along with over forty dance groups (Ukrainians in Saskatchewan 2012; Ell 2010). In the education area, Saskatchewan has one full-time Ukrainian-English bilingual school (Bishop Filevich Ukrainian Bilingual School in Saskatoon), and a few schools throughout the province offer courses in Ukrainian. *Ukrainian as a Foreign Language* classes are available from St. Thomas More College and the University of Saskatchewan. Saskatoon Community

Radio offers a one-hour radio program in Ukrainian once a week on Sundays (Saskatoon Community Radio).

Rationale

While the ancestral language is an important part of ethnic identity (Oriyama 2012), we have shown above that its significance differs by generation (Chumak-Horbatsch 1999). After the ancestral language loss in the second, third or later generations of immigrant minorities, ethnicity can be constructed by other cultural means such as music, festivals, ethnic cuisine, observing religious holidays, etc. (Driedger 1980, Struk 2000).

The goal of the study reported in this paper is to identify the level of maintenance of the Ukrainian language by individuals with Ukrainian ancestry in Saskatchewan and to determine the role that the Ukrainian language plays in their ethnic identity. To the best of our knowledge, there are no other contemporary studies that address these issues.

The specific objectives of the study were to gather data about self-identification of Saskatchewan residents with Ukrainian ethnic roots, their experience with Ukrainian language education, and their knowledge of Ukrainian.

Further, the overarching objective was to establish any correlations among the above social variables, coupled with the factors of gender, age, generation of immigration, occupation, and education.

MATERIALS AND METHODS

A questionnaire survey was selected as the method for the study since a large number of ethnolinguistic and sociolinguistic studies have successfully utilized it (Crozier 1999; Rohani et al. 2005; Tuwakham 2005). The questionnaire was constructed by the authors based on some previous studies (Crozier 1999; Rohani et al. 2005; Kuplowska 1980; Baker 1992; Tuwakham 2005) and included demographic questions and research questions presented in “yes-no,” open-ended, multiple choice, and Lickert scale formats.

The participants in the study were recruited on a voluntary basis via posters placed at the University of Saskatchewan and the Ukrainian Museum of Canada in Saskatoon, announcements made in classes at the University of Saskatchewan, and flyers sent out together with the Prairie Centre for Ukrainian Heritage newsletters to residents of Saskatchewan. The eligibility requirements for the study were self-reported Ukrainian ancestry, being over 18 years of age, and having permanent residence in Saskatchewan for more than one year.

Close-ended responses by the participants were entered on SPSS sheets for

analysis. Descriptive statistics were obtained for all the close-ended entries, and a Pearson product-moment correlation coefficient was computed to reveal the relationship between different variables. Open-ended questions were analyzed by extracting key-word entries and calculating their frequencies.

A total of 82 questionnaires were completed by eligible respondents and constituted the basis for the research study reported here. Most respondents (75%, n=62) resided in Saskatoon; there were also respondents living in Regina (8.5%, n=7), Wakaw (3.6%, n=3), Yorkton (2%, n=2), Prince Albert (2%, n=2), North Battleford (2%, n=2), Nipawin (1%, n=1), Saint Brieux (1%, n=1), Smuts (1%, n=1) and Aberdeen (1%, n=1).

Respondents' distribution by gender was 41.5% (n=34) male and 58.5% (n=48) female. The distribution of the respondents by age group is presented below in table 1.

TABLE 1. Respondents' distribution by age group

| Age group, years | % respondents | N respondents |
|------------------|---------------|---------------|
| 18-29 | 37.8% | 31 |
| 30-39 | 13.4% | 11 |
| 40-49 | 13.4% | 11 |
| 50-59 | 12.2% | 10 |
| 60-69 | 8.5% | 7 |
| > 69 | 14.6% | 12 |
| Total | 100% | 82 |

As table 1 shows, the largest number of respondents was in the youngest age group (18-29) and the rest of the respondents were well balanced by age group.

The respondents indicated the generation of immigration as follows: 20.73% (n=17) were first generation immigrants, 15.9% (n=13) second, 39.0% (n=32) third, 22.0% (n=18) fourth, and 2.4% (n=2) indicated *Other*. The sample therefore represents first to fourth generation of immigrants.

The reported occupations belong to three major groups: students (26.8%, n=22), professionals (52.4%, n=43), and retired (20.7%, n=17). The indicated highest level of education is high school (22.5%, n=18), secondary education (23.8%, n=19), a university Bachelor's degree (25.0%, n=20), an MA degree (25.0%, n=20), and a PhD (3.7%, n=3).

RESULTS

Ethnicity and social factors

Self-identification of Saskatchewan residents with Ukrainian ethnic roots (ethnicity)

The question about ethnic identity in the questionnaire was a multiple choice, with the following options provided: “Ukrainian,” “Canadian,” “Ukrainian Canadian,” “Other (specify)”; a slot was provided for the specification of “other” option. The term “Ukrainian Canadian” was selected over “Canadian Ukrainian”, since the former is more customary (e.g., Kordan 2000, 6). After a pilot trial of the questionnaire, it was decided not to include “Canadian Ukrainian” as an option, since the respondents were confused by the differences between “Canadian Ukrainian” and “Ukrainian Canadian,” and those individuals who preferred to self-identify as “Canadian Ukrainians” could do this via an entry in the “Other” option.

Most of the respondents (56.1%, n=46) identified themselves as “Ukrainian Canadians”; about a quarter of respondents identified themselves as “Ukrainian” (24.4%, n=20), and 14.6% of the respondents (n=12) identified themselves as “Canadian.” Four subjects (4.9%) chose “Other” as an indication of their ethnic identity, namely “Canadian Ukrainian,” “Galician Ukrainian,” “Carpathian” and “mixed ethnic Canadian.”

Ethnicity and gender

The distribution of ethnic groups by gender is represented in table 2.

TABLE 2. Distribution of reported ethnic groups by gender

| Reported ethnicity | Gender | | |
|--------------------|----------|----------|-----------------|
| | F, N (%) | M, N (%) | Total, N (100%) |
| Ukrainian | 16 (80%) | 4 (20%) | 20 |
| Ukrainian Canadian | 24 (52%) | 22 (48%) | 46 |
| Canadian | 7 (58%) | 5 (42%) | 12 |
| Other | 1 (25%) | 3 (75%) | 4 |

As reported in table 2, while there are more female respondents in the survey (58.5% female), the numbers of responses to the “ethnicity” question do not differ significantly by gender for the “Ukrainian Canadian,” “Canadian,” and “Other” groups. There are also significantly more females than males in the “Ukrainian” group, i.e., females are more likely to identify with the ancestral ethnicity than males (see table 2).

The statistical analysis shows a weak correlation between ethnicity and gender ($r(80) = -0.226, p=0.041$), i.e., gender is a contributing factor in the construction of ethnicity.

Ethnicity and age

The younger age group (18 to 29 years old) is the best represented group overall in the sample. The distribution of reported ethnicities by age group is shown in table 3.

TABLE 3. Age distribution by ethnic groups

| Reported ethnicity | Age groups | | | | | | Total, N |
|--------------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|------------|----------|
| | 18-29, N (%) | 30-39, N (%) | 40-49, N (%) | 50-59, N (%) | 60-69, N (%) | >69, N (%) | |
| Ukrainian | 12 (60%) | 3 (20%) | 3 (20%) | 0 | 0 | 0 | 20 |
| Ukrainian Canadian | 10 (22%) | 5 (11%) | 6 (13%) | 7 (15%) | 6 (13%) | 12 (26%) | 46 |
| Canadian | 6 (50%) | 2 (17%) | 1 (8%) | 2 (17%) | 1 (8%) | 0 | 12 |
| Other | 1 (25%) | 1 (25%) | 1 (25%) | 1 (25%) | 0 | 0 | 4 |

According to the data presented in table 3, “Ukrainian” ethnicity is associated predominantly with the younger group (18-29) and partly with the middle-age groups (30-39, 40-49). “Ukrainian Canadian” ethnic identity is equally likely to be reported in the youngest (18-29) and oldest (>69) generations, and is somewhat less likely to be reported by middle-age generations. The statistical analysis for the ethnicity and age variables does not reveal a significant correlation between them.

Ethnicity and immigrant generation

The distribution of self-reported ethnicity by immigrant generations is represented in table 4 below.

TABLE 4. Immigrant generation by ethnic group

| Reported ethnicity | Immigration generation | | | | | Total, N |
|--------------------|------------------------|------------|------------|------------|--------------|----------|
| | 1st, N (%) | 2nd, N (%) | 3rd, N (%) | 4th, N (%) | other, N (%) | |
| Ukrainian | 14 (70%) | 2 (10%) | 1 (5%) | 3 (15%) | 0 | 20 |
| Ukrainian Canadian | 2 (4%) | 10 (22%) | 21 (46%) | 11 (24%) | 2 (4%) | 46 |
| Canadian | 0 | 1 (8%) | 7 (58%) | 4 (34%) | 0 | 12 |
| Other | 1 (25%) | 0 | 3 (75%) | 0 | 0 | 4 |

Quite predictably, table 4 demonstrates that “Ukrainian” ethnicity is associated primarily with the first generation of immigrants, whereas “Ukrainian Canadian” ethnicity is reported mostly by individuals in the second, third, and fourth generations of immigration. “Canadian” ethnicity becomes most prominent in the third and fourth generations in immigrant families. The statistical analysis shows a significant correlation between ethnicity and generation ($r(80) = 0.376, p < 0.0001$).

Ethnicity and occupation

In order to check whether occupation may have any impact on self-identified ethnicity, in the construction of the questionnaire, we split the variety of occupations into three general categories: “students,” “professionals” (employed individuals), and “retired.” The distribution of claimed ethnicity by these three groups is represented in table 5.

TABLE 5. Occupation by ethnic group

| Reported ethnicity | Occupation | | | Total, N |
|--------------------|-----------------|----------------------|----------------|----------|
| | students, N (%) | professionals, N (%) | retired, N (%) | |
| Ukrainian | 8 (40%) | 12 (60%) | 0 | 20 |
| Ukrainian Canadian | 8 (17%) | 22 (48%) | 16 (35%) | 46 |
| Canadian | 6 (50%) | 5 (42%) | 1 (8%) | 12 |
| Other | 0 | 4 (100%) | 0 | 4 |

“Ukrainian” ethnicity, as demonstrated in table 5, is claimed mostly by “professionals” and “students,” whereas “Ukrainian Canadian” ethnicity is claimed mostly by “professionals,” “retired” individuals, and “students.” “Canadian” ethnicity is associated with “students” and “professionals.” These differences in the distribution of reported ethnic identities across occupations are not significant for the given sample.

While “students” tend to be younger than “professionals” or “retired” individuals, the “occupation” categories do not completely overlap with age categories represented above in table 3, since there were 6 young “professionals” in the 18-29 age category (the typical “student” age).

Ethnicity and education

The categories of education included in the study were “high school, secondary, bachelor, MA, and PhD.” Table 6 provides a distribution of reported ethnicities by educational level.

TABLE 6. Education by ethnic group

| Reported ethnicity | Immigration generation | | | | | Total, N |
|--------------------|------------------------|------------------|------------------|-----------|------------|----------|
| | High school, N (%) | Secondary, N (%) | Bachelors, N (%) | MA, N (%) | PhD, N (%) | |
| Ukrainian | 2 (10%) | 6 (32%) | 4 (21%) | 6 (32%) | 1 (5%) | 19 |
| Ukrainian Canadian | 12 (26%) | 7 (15%) | 12 (26%) | 13 (28%) | 2 (5%) | 46 |
| Canadian | 3 (25%) | 6 (50%) | 2 (17%) | 1 (8%) | 0 | 12 |
| Other | 1 (33%) | 0 | 2 (67%) | 0 | 0 | 3 |

As follows from table 6, individuals who claimed “Ukrainian” ethnicity are more likely to have a secondary to post-secondary education (e.g., a Masters degree), whereas “Ukrainian Canadians” are almost equally likely to have any level of education between high school and a Masters degree. Most “Canadians” have secondary education. There was no significant correlation between ethnicity and education.

Ethnicity and the Ukrainian Language

Ukrainian as the mother-tongue

Due to the ambiguity of the terms “mother-tongue,” “first,” and “native” language, in order to retrieve information about the numbers of respondents for whom Ukrainian was a mother tongue, we formulated the question in the following way: “Was Ukrainian the sole home language in your childhood?”

Most of the respondents (61.73%, $n = 50$) list Ukrainian as their only mother tongue; for other respondents (38.27%, $n = 31$), Ukrainian is not the sole mother tongue, i.e., they either have another mother tongue, or are bi- or multilingual. The relationship between ethnicity and mother tongue is represented below in table 7.

As shown in table 7, the number of respondents who have Ukrainian as their mother tongue is the highest in the “Ukrainian” ethnicity group, is high in the “Ukrainian Canadian” group, and low in “Canadian” and “Other” groups.

Statistically, there is a significant correlation between the factors of ethnic identity and having Ukrainian as the sole mother tongue ($r(79) = 0.429$, $p < 0.000$).

The acquisition of Ukrainian as the mother tongue is also related to the age of the respondents ($r(79) = -0.420$, $p < 0.0001$), whereby older respondents are on the whole more likely to have Ukrainian as the sole mother tongue. A strong positive correlation was observed between Ukrainian as mother tongue and the generation ($r(79) = 0.577$, $p < 0.0001$), i.e., first generation immigrants are more likely to have Ukrainian as the mother tongue than subsequent generations.

TABLE 7. Reported ethnicities vs. Ukrainian as the sole mother tongue

| Reported ethnicity | Ukrainian as the sole mother tongue | | |
|--------------------|-------------------------------------|-----------|----------|
| | Yes, N (%) | No, N (%) | Total, N |
| Ukrainian | 17 (85%) | 3 (15%) | 20 |
| Ukrainian Canadian | 30 (67%) | 15 (33%) | 45 |
| Canadian | 2 (16%) | 10 (83%) | 12 |
| Other | 1 (25%) | 3 (75%) | 4 |

Ukrainian language use

In response to the question “How often do you use Ukrainian now?” (with given multiple choices “always, often, half the time, rarely, never”), the participants provided answers indicating that for most of them, Ukrainian is used only on occasion: “rarely” (40.24%, N =33) or “often” (31.7%, n=26). Very few respondents use it always (4.9%, n=4) or never (3.7%, n=3) (see table 8).

TABLE 8. The frequency of Ukrainian language use by ethnic groups

| Reported ethnicity | Frequency of the use of the Ukrainian language | | | | | Total, N |
|--------------------|--|--------------|----------------------|---------------|--------------|----------|
| | always, N (%) | often, N (%) | half the time, N (%) | rarely, N (%) | never, N (%) | |
| Ukrainian | 3 (15%) | 10 (50%) | 4 (20%) | 3 (15%) | 0 | 20 |
| Ukrainian Canadian | 1 (2%) | 14 (31%) | 12 (26%) | 19 (41%) | 0 | 46 |
| Canadian | 0 | 1 (8%) | 0 | 8 (67%) | 3 (25%) | 12 |
| Other | 0 | 1 (25%) | 0 | 3 (75%) | 0 | 4 |

A positive correlation was observed between the ethnic identity and the use of Ukrainian ($r(80) = 0.465, p < 0.000$), i.e., individuals who identify themselves as “Ukrainian” use the language more often than those who identify themselves as “Ukrainian Canadian,” and the latter group members use the language more often than “Canadians” and “Others.”

Other social factors exhibiting significant correlations with the frequency of Ukrainian language use are generation of immigration ($r(80) = 0.372, p < 0.001$) and education ($r(78) = 0.248, p = 0.027$). The most frequent use of Ukrainian occurs in the first and second generation of immigrants and decreases with generations. Overall, a higher level of education is associated with more use of Ukrainian.

Knowledge of Ukrainian, its correlation with ethnicity and other social factors

The respondents were asked to provide an estimate of their Ukrainian language proficiency demarcated by the following language skills (“I understand spoken Ukrainian, I speak Ukrainian, I read Ukrainian, I write Ukrainian”). These multiple choice questions addressing the proficiency level offered the following answer options to the participants: “like a native speaker, very well, reasonably well, poorly, not at all.”

Overall, all the aspects of Ukrainian language ability are rather high in the respondents’ group. Most participants could either understand spoken Ukrainian like a native speaker (28%, n=23) or understand it reasonably well (23.2% , n=19). A small number of participants could only understand it poorly (11.0% , n=9) or not at all (4.9% , n=4). The ability to speak Ukrainian was overall very high as well. Over a quarter of participants (26.8% , n=22) can speak Ukrainian like a native speaker. Many of them can speak it very well (18.3%, n=15) or reasonably well (29.3%, n=24). About one-fifth of the participants (19.5% , n=16) can only speak it poorly, and a very small percentage (6.1%, n=5) cannot speak it at all. The subjects were also fluent in reading: 28.4% (n=23) of participants can read Ukrainian like a native speaker; 23.5% (n=19) of them can read very well; 21% (n=17) read it “reasonably well.” About 21% (n=17) of the participants can only read Ukrainian “poorly,” and only 6.2% (n=5) cannot read Ukrainian at all. Writing ability is also well-developed: 25.6% (n=21) can write like a native speaker; 23.2% (n=19) write very well; 20.7% (n=17) write reasonably well; 22.0% (n=18) write poorly; and 8.5% (n=7) report that they cannot write Ukrainian at all.

Ethnic identity correlates with the abilities to speak ($r(80) = 0.354, p < 0.001$), read ($r(80) = 0.275, p = 0.013$), and write Ukrainian ($r(80) = 0.320, p = 0.003$). All these correlations are positive, i.e., a person identifying oneself as “Ukrainian” typically has a higher language proficiency than individuals claiming “Ukrainian Canadian,” “Canadian,” or “Other” ethnicities. Self-identified “Ukrainians” typically have language abilities in the “native speaker” to “very good” range; “Ukrainian Canadians”—“very good” to “reasonably good”—and “Canadian” or “Other”—“poorly” or “not at all.”

Other social factors exhibiting correlations with Ukrainian proficiency by skills are age, generation, occupation, and education. For the age factor, negative correlations with language skills proficiencies were observed for writing ($r(80) = -0.277, p = 0.012$) and reading ($r(79) = -0.223, p = 0.046$) abilities, i.e., the older the person is, the less is the probability of him/her having well-developed reading and writing skills.

Generation of immigration correlates positively with proficiency in all the language skills: understanding of spoken Ukrainian ($r(80) = .585, p < 0.0001$); ability to speak Ukrainian ($r(80) = 0.688, p < 0.0001$); ability to read ($r(80) = 0.484, p < 0.0001$); and ability to write ($r(80) = 0.487, p < 0.0001$). In other words, as common

sense suggests, first generation immigrants are most likely to excel in all the language skills, and the mastery of all the language skills deteriorates over generations in immigrant families.

Positive correlation was observed between *occupation* and the knowledge of Ukrainian: ability to understand spoken Ukrainian ($r(78) = 0.274, p = 0.024$); ability to speak ($r(78) = 0.257, p = 0.021$); ability to read ($r(77) = 0.279, p = 0.013$); and ability to write ($r(78) = 0.330, p = 0.003$). Thus, those actively involved in a workforce (“professionals”) have the best Ukrainian language knowledge, whereas those who are not—“students” and “retired”—show lower language skills.

Education factor displays a positive correlation with proficiency in the following language skills: understanding of spoken Ukrainian ($r(78) = 0.252, p = 0.024$); ability to speak Ukrainian ($r(78) = 0.257, p = 0.021$); ability to read Ukrainian ($r(77) = 0.279, p = 0.013$); and ability to write Ukrainian ($r(78) = 0.330, p = 0.003$). A higher level of education is associated with a higher proficiency in Ukrainian.

Comfort level with Ukrainian

An open-ended question—“What is the language that you feel most comfortable with?”—yielded the following groups of responses: “English” (71%, $n=57$), “Ukrainian” (16%, $n=8$), “English and Ukrainian” (10%, $n=8$) and “Other” (2.5%, $n=2$).

The correlation analysis demonstrated a negative correlation between the language of maximum comfort for the respondents and their ethnic identity ($r(78) = -0.390, p < 0.0001$). The language that respondents in every reported ethnic group were most comfortable with is represented in table 9.

TABLE 9. The language the respondents in reported ethnic groups feel most comfortable with

| Reported ethnicity | The language respondents are most comfortable with | | | | |
|--------------------|--|-----------------------|-----------|---------|----------|
| | Ukrainian | Ukrainian and English | English | Other | Total, N |
| Ukrainian | 10 (53%) | 1 (5%) | 6 (31%) | 2 (10%) | 19 |
| Ukrainian Canadian | 3 (7%) | 7 (15%) | 35 (78%) | 0 | 45 |
| Canadian | 0 | 0 | 12 (100%) | 0 | 12 |
| Other | 0 | 0 | 4 | 0 | 4 |

As shown in table 9, the majority (53%) of those who report Ukrainian identity are more comfortable with the Ukrainian language, whereas 78% of Ukrainian Canadians are more comfortable with English and only 3% with Ukrainian. All the participants (100%) who claimed “Canadian” ethnic identity are most comfortable with English.

The language of comfort for participants also depends on the generation of immigration ($r(78) = -0.464, p < 0.0001$). First generation immigrants are more likely to be the most comfortable with Ukrainian and the least comfortable with English, whereas the level of comfort with Ukrainian decreases with generations of immigration and the level of comfort with English increases over generations. No correlations with other social factors were observed for this variable.

Exposure to Ukrainian Language Education and Reported Ethnicity

Three “yes”-“no” questions in the questionnaire asked the respondents if they had ever been enrolled in Ukrainian-English or Ukrainian school, had taken any Ukrainian courses at a Canadian university or attended other kinds of Ukrainian language courses, workshops, or summer sessions.

The results show overall the lack of experience of the respondents with any kind of official Ukrainian language education: 73% ($n=58$) of all the respondents never attended Ukrainian or Ukrainian-English schools, 56% ($n=46$) had never taken Ukrainian course(s) in a Canadian university, and 67% ($n=55$) had never attended any non-credit Ukrainian language courses, workshops, or summer sessions.

Bilingual schools experience

Enrolment in a Ukrainian or bilingual school showed a significant positive correlation with ethnicity ($r(77) = 0.274, p = 0.014$). The details of the respondents’ experience with bilingual schools are outlined in table 10.

TABLE 10. Bilingual schools experience by reported ethnicity

| Reported ethnicity | Ukrainian bilingual schools experience | | |
|--------------------|--|-----------|-----------------|
| | Yes, N (%) | No, N (%) | Total, N (100%) |
| Ukrainian | 9 (47%) | 10 (52%) | 19 |
| Ukrainian Canadian | 11 (24%) | 34 (75%) | 45 |
| Canadian | 0 | 11 (100%) | 11 |
| Other | 1 (25%) | 3 (75%) | 4 |

As follows from the data reported in table 10, despite the overall paucity of the experience with bilingual schools, “Ukrainians” are more likely than “Ukrainian Canadians” to have bilingual school experience and “Canadians” and “Others” are highly unlikely to have been enrolled in a bilingual school.

Ukrainian courses taken in the university and reported ethnicity

An overview of the experience that the participants had with university Ukrainian courses is given in table 11.

TABLE 11. Experience with university Ukrainian courses by reported ethnicity

| Reported ethnicity | Experience with Ukrainian language classes in universities | | |
|--------------------|--|-----------|----------|
| | Yes, N (%) | No, N (%) | Total, N |
| Ukrainian | 3 (15%) | 17 (85%) | 20 |
| Ukrainian Canadian | 29 (63%) | 17 (37%) | 46 |
| Canadian | 2 (17%) | 10 (83%) | 12 |
| Other | 2 (50%) | 2 (50%) | 4 |

Table 11 shows that “Ukrainian Canadians” clearly stand out as the only ethnic group in which the majority of members (63%, n=29) have taken Ukrainian language courses in the university. However, no significant correlation was observed between ethnicity and taking classes in a university ($r(80) = -0.096, p = 0.389$).

Other Ukrainian courses taken and reported ethnicity

The experience of the respondents with Ukrainian language courses offered outside universities and bilingual schools is represented in table 12.

TABLE 12. Experience with other Ukrainian courses by reported ethnicity

| Reported ethnicity | Experience with other Ukrainian language classes | | |
|--------------------|--|-----------|----------|
| | Yes, N (%) | No, N (%) | Total, N |
| Ukrainian | 3 (15%) | 17 (85%) | 20 |
| Ukrainian Canadian | 20 (43%) | 26 (56%) | 46 |
| Canadian | 2 (19%) | 9 (81%) | 11 |
| Other | 1 (25%) | 3 (75%) | 4 |

Table 12 indicates that “Ukrainian Canadians” are the only ethnic group with a sizeable number of members (43%, n=20) having taken Ukrainian courses outside schools and universities. An overwhelming majority of respondents in other ethnic groups have not taken any non-credit language classes or workshops.

Ethnic identity does not correlate with attending non-credit language classes or attending workshops ($r(79) = -0.046$, $p = 0.684$).

Language Attitudes and Ethnicity

The perceived role of the use of the Ukrainian language for some social needs

Two groups of multiple-choice questions addressed language attitudes. The first of them asked the respondents to mark on a Lickert-scale (from 1 unimportant to 5 crucial) the importance of the Ukrainian language in performing the following functions:

- a) be accepted in the Ukrainian community
- b) become successful
- c) self-identify as Ukrainian or Ukrainian Canadian
- d) travel
- e) mingle with friends
- f) maintain traditions
- g) bring together family generations

The overall results are presented in table 13.

TABLE 13. The role of the Ukrainian language for some social needs of the respondents

| Language functions | Perceived importance of language functions | |
|---|--|------|
| | N responses | Mean |
| maintain traditions | 82 | 3.32 |
| bring together family generations | 82 | 3.23 |
| be accepted in the Ukrainian community | 82 | 2.73 |
| identify themselves as Ukrainian or Ukrainian Canadians | 82 | 2.72 |
| travel | 81 | 2.72 |
| mingle with friends | 82 | 2.34 |
| become successful | 82 | 1.98 |

Table 13 indicates that for the respondents the Ukrainian language is most important for maintaining traditions and bringing together family generations; it is of moderate importance for being accepted in the Ukrainian community, identification as Ukrainian Canadians, travelling, and mingling with friends; and it is of very low importance for becoming successful.

Ethnicity correlates only with the values of the following two language functions:

- *Mingling with friends* ($r(80) = -0.304, p = 0.006$), i.e., those who identify themselves as Ukrainians consider the Ukrainian language to be more important for mingling with friends than Ukrainian Canadians and Canadians (see table 14); and
- *Identifying themselves as Canadian, Ukrainian, or Ukrainian Canadians* ($r(80) = -0.270, p = 0.014$) (see table 15).

Ethnicity and the role of Ukrainian while mingling with friends

The connection between self-reported ethnicity and the perceived importance of the Ukrainian language while mingling with friends is shown in table 14.

TABLE 14. Ethnicity and the role of Ukrainian in mingling with friends

| Reported ethnicity | The importance of Ukrainian language in mingling with friends | | | | | Total, N |
|--------------------|---|---------------------------|------------------|-----------------------|----------------|----------|
| | unimportant, N (%) | slightly important, N (%) | important, N (%) | very important, N (%) | crucial, N (%) | |
| Ukrainian | 1 (5%) | 3 (15%) | 11 (55%) | 5 (25%) | 0 | 20 |
| Ukrainian Canadian | 14 (30%) | 14 (30%) | 15 (33%) | 0 | 3 (7%) | 46 |
| Canadian | 5 (42%) | 6 (50%) | 1 (8%) | 0 | 0 | 12 |
| Other | 1 (25%) | 1 (25%) | 1 (25%) | 1 (25%) | 0 | 4 |

Table 14 suggests that a person who self-identifies as Ukrainian is more likely to have Ukrainian friends than a self-identified Canadian, therefore the Ukrainian language is more important for the former than for the latter ethnic group. A natural explanation is that Ukrainians and Ukrainian Canadians are more likely to have Ukrainian friends (since they are typically first- and second-generation immigrants) than “Canadians” and “Others,” and, consequently, the role of the Ukrainian language is more important in maintaining these friendships.

The importance of the Ukrainian language in ethnic self-identification

The importance of the Ukrainian language in ethnic self-identification is reflected in table 15.

TABLE 15. The importance of Ukrainian in ethnic self-identification

| Reported ethnicity | The importance of Ukrainian language in ethnic self identification | | | | | Total, N |
|--------------------|--|---------------------------|------------------|-----------------------|----------------|----------|
| | unimportant, N (%) | slightly important, N (%) | important, N (%) | very important, N (%) | crucial, N (%) | |
| Ukrainian | 2 (10%) | 5 (25%) | 7 (35%) | 2 (10%) | 4 (20%) | 20 |
| Ukrainian Canadian | 4 (9%) | 16 (35%) | 17 (37%) | 6 (13%) | 3 (6%) | 46 |
| Canadian | 2 (17%) | 3 (25%) | 7 (58%) | 0 | 0 | 12 |
| Other | 1 (25%) | 3 (75%) | 0 | 0 | 0 | 4 |

Table 15 demonstrates that for all the ethnic categories, except “Other,” the Ukrainian language is important for self-identification. It is surprising that for the “Canadian” group, the Ukrainian language appears to be even more important for ethnic self-identification than for the “Ukrainian” and “Ukrainian Canadian” groups, despite the fact that language knowledge and proficiency is the lowest in the “Canadian” group. In other words, even for individuals who do not speak Ukrainian and identify as “Canadians,” the perceived role of the Ukrainian language component in ethnicity is very high.

Perceived connection of the Ukrainian language with ethnicity, family, and community life

The second group of questions addressing the perceived connections of the Ukrainian language with ethnicity, family, and community life included seven statements about Ukrainian as follows:

- a) For a person with Ukrainian roots, it is important to speak Ukrainian;
- b) Ukrainian is essential to fully participate in Ukrainian community life;
- c) Children should learn both Ukrainian and English at the same time;
- d) Speaking Ukrainian can be economically beneficial;
- e) Using both Ukrainian and English in everyday life is not difficult;
- f) It is a waste of time to keep the Ukrainian language in Canada alive;
- g) I feel sorry for Ukrainian Canadians who don’t know Ukrainian.

The respondents were requested to evaluate whether they agree with these statements using a five-point Lickert scale (1= strongly disagree, 2=disagree, neither =3, agree=4, strongly agree=5). The results show that the respondents are ambivalent regarding all the statements except for (f), with which they strongly disagree (mean

value = 0.46), i.e., they think it is important to keep the Ukrainian language in Canada alive.

The only statement that yielded responses with a correlation between ethnicity and the statement ranking is (e) (“Using both Ukrainian and English in everyday life is not difficult”), ($r(80) = -0.358, p = 0.001$). The subject responses to this statement are summarized in table 16.

TABLE 16. Self-identity and the perceived difficulty of using Ukrainian and English in everyday life

| Reported ethnicity | Using both Ukrainian and English in everyday life is not difficult | | | | | Total, N |
|--------------------|--|-----------------|-----------------------------------|--------------|-----------------------|----------|
| | strongly disagree, N (%) | disagree, N (%) | neither agree nor disagree, N (%) | agree, N (%) | strongly agree, N (%) | |
| Ukrainian | 0 | 1 (5%) | 2 (10%) | 7 (35%) | 10 (50%) | 20 |
| Ukrainian Canadian | 1 (2%) | 5 (11%) | 6 (13%) | 25 (54%) | 9 (20%) | 46 |
| Canadian | 0 | 5 (42%) | 2 (17%) | 4 (33%) | 1 (8%) | 12 |
| Other | 0 | 1 (25%) | 2 (50%) | 0 | 1 (25%) | 4 |

It can be seen from table 16 that the respondents who identify themselves as “Canadians” agree with this statement less than those who identify themselves as “Ukrainian Canadians” and “Ukrainians.” This result likely suggests that the respondents self-identifying as “Canadian” (more likely third and subsequent generations) experience more difficulties with the use of Ukrainian than other groups. On the other hand, the results also seem to indicate that the “Ukrainian” group (more likely to be first generation immigrants) do not experience difficulties with the use of English in everyday life.

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

Ukrainian Canadian ethnicity

The debate about ethnic “labelling” and characteristic features of Canadians with Ukrainian ancestry started in the 1980s and continues to the present day. The current discussions focus mostly on the term “Ukrainian-Canadians,” where the two parts of the compound and the hyphen between them seem to emphasize the double nature of ethnicity, as opposed to “Canadians” and “Ukrainians.” This phenomenon is also known as “Ukrainian-hyphen-Canadianness,” which it is claimed has become “a hyphenated reality” (Ledohowski 2007, 108).

Our study shows that while most Saskatchewan residents with Ukrainian ancestry do identify as Ukrainian Canadians, about a quarter of respondents identify as Ukrainian, and about 15% as Canadian (plus a few other entries), i.e., there is a rainbow of gradation in “Ukrainian-Canadianness” with “Ukrainian” and “Canadian” being the extreme poles, and “Ukrainian Canadian” the “golden section” between them.

Some of the discussions approached “Ukrainian-Canadianness” from the viewpoint of ethnicity and race (e.g., Kostash 1977), and tried to identify what makes it unique; some others focus on ethnicity in the history, politics, language, and literature of Ukraine itself (Ledohowski 2007). Our study follows a different approach—we try to “dissect” the self-constructed identity in search of its contributing factors. The study shows that the contributing social factors in perceived ethnic self-identity are gender and immigrant generation.

Gender and ethnicity

Our study shows that ethnic self-identity is gender-sensitive. Women are more likely to associate with “Ukrainian” ethnicity than men. This result agrees with the theory that women are the keepers of languages, traditions, and family values (Holmes 2001, 158). On the other hand, this result disagrees with the theory according to which women are more social-sensitive and prone to adapt to the social environment better and faster than men (Holmes 2001, 157-158).

Immigrant generation and ethnicity

The results of the study confirm the obvious—that the feeling of ethnic connection with the ancestral roots weakens with generations and that the feeling of “Ukrainianness” decreases and of “Canadianness” increases with generations in immigrant families.

“Ukrainianness” in connection with language

It has been reported in many studies that minority languages are important to ethnicity. For example, the ability to read Shevchenko’s poems in the original, or to speak the language at mealtimes, or even having Ukrainian names is associated with “Ukrainianness” (Ledohowski 2007; Tarnawsky 1999). On the other hand, multiple non-language sources of Ukrainian ethnicity include art, traditions, religion, and community activities (Ledohowski 2007; Tarnawsky 1999). Our study emphasizes not only the importance of language in ethnicity, but also the exact connections between the mother-tongue and ethnicity: ethnic “Ukrainianness” directly correlates with having Ukrainian as the sole mother tongue in childhood, the frequency of the use of Ukrainian, the proficiency in speaking, reading, and writing Ukrainian, and the level of comfort with Ukrainian.

Ukrainian Canadians in Saskatchewan do not have enough opportunities to use the language—most respondents (40.24%) claim that they only use the language “rarely.” While enrollment in Ukrainian bilingual schools is connected with ethnic self-identity, most respondents have no experience with any kind of organized Ukrainian language education, which points to the paucity of heritage language education in Saskatchewan and the need for more financial investment in the area.

Contrary to the assumption that the minority language rapidly deteriorates over three generations of immigration (Holmes 2003) in general, and for Ukrainian in particular (Chumak-Horbatsch 1999; Darcovich and Yuzyk 1980; Kuplowska 1980; Isajiw 1983, 1985), our study shows a rather high percentage of self-reported language proficiency across generations. The level of comfort with Ukrainian, however, does deteriorate rapidly over generations of immigrants, as in earlier studies in other regions of Canada (Chumak-Horbatsch 1999).

Limitations of the study

Our study was done with few resources, thus only a limited number of respondents were available. The subject group was not ideally balanced by some social factors (such as education level, generation of immigration, age, occupation). Due to the limited sample, a meaningful factor analysis could not be conducted to evaluate the value of all the factors that correlate with ethnicity in constructing the ethnic identity. This remains a task for future work.

Some of the variables that may potentially relate to Ukrainian language proficiency and may also have an impact on the self-identified ethnicity were beyond the scope of the investigation (e.g., family status and family type, age on arrival in Canada, length of residence, number of siblings, and other factors) (Oriyama 2012).

Some other variables, such as frequency of contact with Ukraine, community interactions, and exposure to media, were addressed in the study, but are left out of the present article due to space limitations and because most of them had no correlation with ethnicity.

In conclusion, language is known to be “a principal means for regulating access to the social networks and situations in which value is assigned to resources and in which those resources are produced and distributed” (Heller 2001, 214). More generally, through language “we become ourselves, know our own thoughts, and construct our ideas” (Clark et al. 2008, v). It is not, therefore, surprising that language has deep and multifaceted connections with ethnicity. Many earlier studies of heritage languages show a connection between an ethnic language and ethnic identity (Fought 2006, 21) and a gradual construction of new ethnic identities in the immigrant minority communities (Harris 2006, 46). Ukrainian language maintenance in Canada has been addressed in earlier studies (e.g., Kuplowska 1980; Pendakur 1990;

Sekirin and Courtois 1994; Struk 2000; Jedwab 2000). However, these studies did not resolve the question of the exact role the Ukrainian language currently plays in the construction of the new ethnicity of Ukrainian Canadians that has been taking shape in Canada since the late twentieth century. This question is answered in our study for a sample of Saskatchewan residents with ethnic Ukrainian roots: self-reported ethnic “Ukrainianness” correlates with the knowledge and use of the Ukrainian language, the level of comfort with Ukrainian, having Ukrainian as a sole mother tongue, and having experience with bilingual education.

Despite the theory of language shift within three generations (Holmes 2001) and the limited opportunities to take Ukrainian language courses in the province, as our study shows, the Ukrainian language survives in Saskatchewan and keeps performing its function in supporting Ukrainian and Ukrainian Canadian ethnicity. Even the respondents identifying themselves as “Canadian” and having no or little Ukrainian proficiency believe that the language is important for ethnic self-identification.

Similarly to previous studies (e.g., Barrett 1999; Fought 2006), we also observed the effect of generation, age, and gender on the knowledge and use of the heritage language. Our results also suggest that the use of a heritage language and proficiency in it are affected by education and occupation.

Our study provides a “spectral slice” of the constructed self-identity of individuals with ethnic Ukrainian roots in Saskatchewan, which can be directly comparable to studies conducted in other regions of Canada to establish the components of Ukrainian Canadian ethnicity and explore its diversity and complexity, particularly in relation to the maintenance of the Ukrainian language. Despite the common frame of reference to individuals with ethnic Ukrainian roots residing in Canada as “Ukrainian Canadians” (e.g., Kordan 2000), we see a variety within this group in self-identified ethnicity ranging from “Ukrainian” to “Canadian,” whereas “Ukrainian Canadian” is the option preferred by over half of the respondents. Future research would need to address the “polyphonous identities” (Barrett 1999, 313) of Ukrainian Canadians, the analysis of “the nuances of identity in multilayered ways” (Fought 2006, 25) including a more detailed analysis of their use of Ukrainian, English, and other languages in the context of modern Canadian society.

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Did Your Mother Go To Bimbo School? Naming Schools, Power, and Politics in Canada's Prairie West

Abstract

Naming converts space to place. Place names are often the manifestation of military and political power. The victors write history and embed their culture and power in the landscape by naming and renaming places. In Canada's Prairie West, after 1870, Aboriginal place names were submerged beneath a tide of British imperial nomenclature bestowed by major corporations. Agricultural immigrants from Europe found it difficult to mark their presence in the landscape by naming settlements, but school names were generally assigned locally. By naming schools, otherwise powerless groups from Eastern Europe marked their presence in the rural landscape. Naming or renaming them reflected the strength of community power, the community's *weltanschauung*, and fluctuations in the influence of the Anglophone elite.

Résumé

L'acte de nommer convertit l'espace en un lieu. Le nom des lieux (toponyme) sont souvent la manifestation du pouvoir politique et militaire. Les vainqueurs écrivent l'histoire et intègrent leur culture et pouvoir dans le paysage en nommant et en renommant des lieux. Après 1870, dans la région des Prairies de l'Ouest du Canada, les toponymes autochtones ont été submergés sous une marée de nomenclature impériale Britannique conférée par les grandes entreprises commerciales. Les immigrants agricoles en provenance d'Europe ont trouvé difficile de marquer leur présence dans le paysage en nommant des villages. Toutefois, cela n'était pas le cas pour le nom des écoles qui était généralement attribué localement. L'acte de nommer leurs écoles a permis à des groupes d'Europe de l'Est de marquer leur présence dans le paysage rural. Ainsi, nommer ou renommer les écoles reflète le pouvoir de la communauté, l'*weltanschauung* de la communauté, et les fluctuations de l'influence de l'élite anglophone.



INTRODUCTION

Asking anyone if his/her mother went to Bimbo School is a risky proposition, except in Saskatchewan, where the oddly-named Bimbo School operated from 1914 until it closed in 1960. Like thousands of other rural one-room schools across the Canadian prairies, Bimbo School District was a product of local initiative, and its name was bestowed by its founding families, mostly Hungarian (Lestock 1980). In 1914 the term did not carry any negative connotations and may have come from the

Hungarian for eye or bud: the association with an empty-headed promiscuous woman did not gain currency until some decades later.

Scholars from many disciplines have long been fascinated by place names. In Canada many early works, such as that of Armstrong (1930), were essentially gazetteers. Later work tended to be provincially focused. Rudnyc'kyj (1970), Hamm (1980), and Buchner (2000) maintained a gazetteer-like approach but provided increasingly sophisticated and detailed analyses of Manitoba place names. Other place names in the Prairie provinces were similarly identified and explained by Karamitanis (1990), Hamilton (1994), and Mardon (1973) who considered Alberta names. Saskatchewan place names were inventoried and explained by Russell (1980) and Barry (1997). As with Manitoba studies, analysis did not extend to the level of school districts. For information about school district names this study relied on different sources for each province. Information about Manitoba school districts was obtained from Perfect (1978) and the Records of School Formation (Archives of Manitoba [AM]). Saskatchewan data was gleaned principally from the on-line Saskatchewan *One Room School Project* (2011), and Alberta data was taken from Baergen (2005) and the on-line School District Catalogue in the Glenbow Museum (Glenbow Museum, Archives School District Catalogue).

Place names have been studied from a wide variety of perspectives. Gelling (1988) saw them as an integral part of English history, while Arturo Sousa and Pablo García-Murillo (2001) used place name evidence to reconstruct landscape changes in past environments. They have been viewed as part of political processes aimed at legitimizing territorial claims (Katz 1995; Cohen and Kliot 1992), as expressions of social power (Guyot and Seethal 2007), as integral parts of the colonization and decolonization process (Lester 1979), as indicators of social attitudes and political thinking (Yeoh 1996, 298-307), and as valuable aids in the teaching of regional geography (Lockery 1984). Place names are important to national governments, some of whom are prepared to go to war over the naming of a place in the belief that recognition of a place name legitimizes a territorial claim (Radding and Weston 2010, 394). Certainly, the names of places and institutions, no matter how ephemeral or territorially insignificant, were important to those who created and named them.

NAMING PLACES IN WESTERN CANADA

The obscure Bimbo School District reminds us of the role that power plays in the naming of places, even at the local level. Across the Prairies most early settlements were products of the fur trade; later, in the 1880s and 1890s, the Canadian Pacific Railway and its competitors, the Canadian Northern and Grand Trunk Pacific Railways, set the fabric of the settlement geography of the Prairies as they spaced

their station halts at regular intervals determined by the economics of grain haulage. These railway settlements were mostly named by corporation employees after British imperial heroes, places in the British Isles, and the sites of past British military victories (Lehr and Katz 1995). Naming these new places was a corporate process and one that taxed the imagination of the Grand Trunk Pacific Railway, which chose to name the station halts along its line running from Winnipeg to Prince Rupert in alphabetical order, running from Alpha to Zeneta, then repeating the sequence from Atwater to Zelma, Allan to Zumbo, and so forth. It was a process that failed to involve local people or reflect local culture. Like the Dominion Lands Survey, it was mechanistic and imposed by decision makers mostly from outside the region.

Aboriginal place names are few and far between on the Prairies and, as one would expect from a nomadic people, those that survive are mostly confined to physical features in the landscape or to broad swaths of territory. Without any political power, they saw their toponyms discarded and replaced by European names, although occasionally their descriptive place names survived in English translation as with Indian Head, Head-Smashed-In, and Medicine Hat. In Manitoba the native descriptive place name Sipewiske, meaning Crooked River, offended the straight-laced views of arriving settlers with leanings toward temperance, since it sounded too much like a “sip of whisky.” Sipewiske was quickly replaced with Wawanesa, a variant of an Aboriginal word whose meaning is disputed (Buchner 2000, 289-290). Athabasca, Assesippi, Minnedosa, Winnipeg, Saskatoon, Manitoba, and Saskatchewan are examples of surviving Aboriginal place names (Rayburn 2001, 181-197), albeit somewhat bastardized in their pronunciation.

Anglophone immigrants from Britain, Ontario, and the United States were the most numerous and politically influential of all who settled in Western Canada from 1870 onwards. As Widdis (1998) noted, English-speaking settlers from the United States blended into Western Canadian society “with scarcely a ripple.” In their names few of their schools hinted at their origins, save for Yankee Hill and Yankee Bend School Districts in Saskatchewan, both of which were later renamed to the more innocuous Prairie Lily and North Bend School Districts.

Settlers without political influence, which generally meant all non-Anglophone immigrants, were denied the opportunity to name the settlements they built. Only when people settled ahead of the railway did they have any real opportunity to name the places they created. The Métis, backed by the Roman Catholic Church, moved westward after 1870 and successfully implanted their religious iconography into the landscape in areas they pioneered, usually years before the arrival of the railway, naming their settlements after saints and church leaders. Places such as Ste. Agathe, St. Malo, St. Pierre-Jolys, and St. Jean Baptiste in Manitoba’s Red River Valley, and Gravelbourg in Saskatchewan, named after Abbé Louis Pierre Gravel, a Roman

Catholic Church leader, carry a legacy of French and Métis heritage and Roman Catholic influence. Mennonite settlers in Manitoba and Saskatchewan also settled long before the railways arrived in their districts, hence their long-established nucleated settlements retained their pastoral and pacific German names, such as Gnadenthal (Grace Valley), Reinland (Clearland), and Schoenwiesse (Beautiful Meadow).

SCHOOLS AND PLACE

Naming schools and the districts they served provided an exception to the general rule governing the assignment of place names on the Prairies. The process whereby schools were created on the frontier ensured that they were closely tied to the communities that founded them. Provincial and territorial legislation set fairly rigid standards for the establishment of schools. In Manitoba, for example, the Manitoba Schools Act specified the distances that students could be required to walk to school and restricted school hinterlands to twenty square miles which included at least ten children of school age. When children had to walk more than three miles to school and a sufficient number of school-age children were present, parents could petition the Department of Education to create a new school district (AM School Formation Files). The same situation prevailed in Saskatchewan and Alberta, though the rules varied slightly regarding the maximum distance pupils would be expected to walk to their school (Horsman 2005, 277-280). People within any school district were thus directly involved in all stages of the formation process and thereafter in school governance through participation in school boards. The locally elected members of these school boards decided upon a name for the school though the school's number was assigned by the territorial or provincial government.

It might be argued that school buildings are not generally regarded as geographic places in the strictest sense; schools are not identified by name on Canadian topographic maps nor are school districts identified or demarcated. In Western Canada many rural communities had no defined centre since the requirements of the Dominion Lands Act of 1872 mandated dispersed settlement (Martin 1973, 17-19). Post offices, which would seem to be a natural focus for any rural community, tended to be located in nucleated settlements and to take their names from that settlement; those located in the countryside moved frequently according to the dictates of political patronage. They seldom played a role in determining the name of dispersed rural communities. On the other hand, when schools were established they became the focus of the otherwise dispersed community which now had a legal definition as a school district.

Education officials saw the schools functioning as community centres, not only educating their pupils but becoming "the centre[s] around which community life revolves" (Herriot 1918, 85). This was especially true in "isolated districts remote

from the railway” (Watson 1918, 177) where schools functioned as community centres, developing community cohesion and spirit (Hartley 1918, 105). In other words, these rural schools actively created a sense of place. The name of the school became the name of the dispersed community, albeit a community whose boundaries were subject to change as school-age populations fluctuated.

An area near Lestock, Saskatchewan, was served by Bimbo School District No. 3288, thus the rural area of the school’s hinterland became known simply as Bimbo. This process was repeated thousands of times in the rural areas of all three Prairie provinces as school districts with no well-defined centre became places, but places only in the sense of being areas or districts. It was not uncommon for schools to change their location within the boundaries of their school district. This had no effect upon the name of the school district nor the name of the place.

POLITICAL POWER AND NAMING SCHOOL DISTRICTS

There is no doubt that when a community named its school it conferred a sense of empowerment to the people in the district. This was not lost on the leaders of “foreign” communities who took great pride in marking their groups’ presence in the Canadian landscape by bestowing an “ethnic” name that in some way recalled their homeland or celebrated their national values and heroes. An article in *Ukrains’kyi holos* [Ukrainian Voice] in 1917 mentioned with some pride schools in Ukrainian districts of Western Canada that bore Ukrainian names. It was one of the few ways open to an otherwise powerless community to affirm its presence in Canada and clarify its role as a part of the nation-building process. There can be little doubt that other non-Anglophone communities felt and acted in much the same way.

The close ties of school districts to the people who founded them is evident from the number of schools that in some way celebrated ethnic identity. In Alberta, for example, at least 80 schools (table 1) were named by Ukrainian communities; in contrast it would be difficult to find more than two dozen settlements that carried Ukrainian names. Of these only a handful were significant settlements located on a railway line and fully integrated into the economy of the region. Most frequently the names of locally-named school districts were transferred toponyms. For example, in Alberta, Buczacz was named after a town in Galicia, Chernowci was named after the capital of Bukovyna, and Kiew after the Ukrainian capital. Szypenitz was named after a village in northern Bukovyna, while Dnipro and Dnister were the names of rivers in Western Ukraine. Nowa Bukowina and Ukraina recalled the western Ukrainian province and the country itself. The spellings of these Ukrainian place names tended to reflect Polish influences prevalent in Western Ukraine at the time of emigration, so they seldom agree with modern transliteration.

Personal first and family names such Paraskevia, Myroslaw, Kazimir, and Shandro were also frequently given to school districts. Names that embraced values as did Myrnam (peace to us), Slawa (glory), and Zhoda (harmony) rivalled descriptive names such as Zora and Zoria, two different transliterations of *зоря* (star). Only two of the eighty Alberta school districts with Ukrainian names commemorated old country figures: Franz Joseph School District was named after the Austrian Emperor and Mazeppa School District after Ivan Mazepa, the seventeenth-century Ukrainian Hetman. Similar patterns prevailed in Saskatchewan and Manitoba. In Saskatchewan 107 school districts had Ukrainian names. In Manitoba Ukrainian communities assigned Ukrainian names to over 60 school districts (Perfect 1978). Table 1 lists the schools by province that at one time or another carried a Ukrainian name. Figure 1 shows the distribution of school districts with Ukrainian names in the Prairie provinces and reveals a pattern that reflects the distribution of Ukrainian settlement in Western Canada before 1914. Not every school district with a Ukrainian name had it bestowed by a community that was ethnically Ukrainian. Ethnic Germans from Ukraine settling in Saskatchewan recalled the places they had left behind in Europe when they named their school districts Lemberg, Volga, Odessa, and Crimea. It is not surprising that some school district names appeared in every province as communities commemorated national ideals, places in Western Ukraine, and Ukrainian national heroes.

School districts were often renamed. Most commonly the name was changed shortly after the district's establishment when its name had been misspelled or it became clear that the name had already been awarded to an earlier established district, as happened with Baldur School in Manitoba's Interlake region. Originally

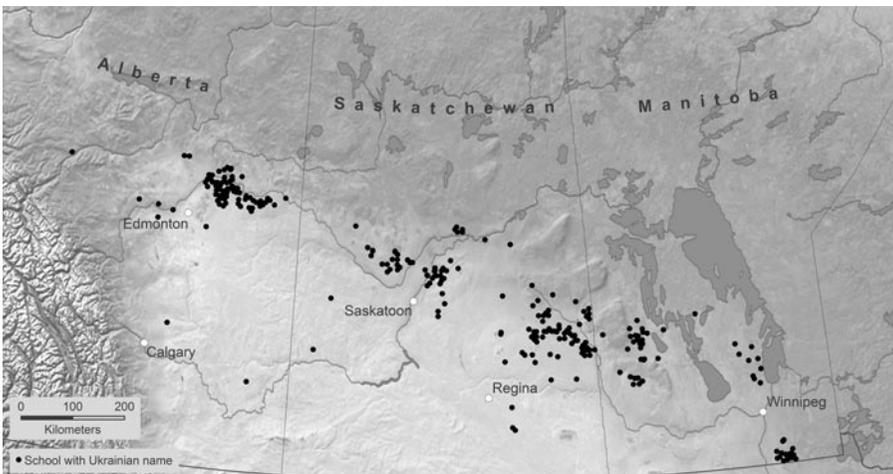


Fig. 1. School districts with Ukrainian names in the prairie west.

named Baldur, it changed to Hnaua to avoid confusion when a new district was settled and named Baldur. In other instances the name was likely changed to avoid ridicule or to obtain a name that was more decorous or that the trustees felt better reflected the potential of the district. Just as the settlements of Dead Horse Creek and Scratching River in Manitoba were respectively renamed Morden and Morris (Rudnyc'kyj 1970, 134), in Saskatchewan, Nut Mountain School Division was changed to Woodstone, Blamo to Barvas, Auto Road to Leacross, Coyote to Bluebird, Hardscabble to Madoc, Vandal to Fish Creek, and Lost Horse to Corning. It was hardly surprising that Swastika School District in Alberta, formed in 1926, later changed its name to Wayside School District when the ancient swastika sun symbol became associated with the National Socialist movement in Germany. In Swastika, Ontario, local residents saw things differently. They successfully resisted an attempt by the Ontario Department of Highways to change Swastika's name to Winston (Rayburn 2001, 79-80.) Other examples of name changes intended to enhance the image of the school and its district include Snake Creek, which was changed to the less intimidating Aetna, Pig Lake, which upgraded to the more appealing Heatherbank, and Muddy Lake, which became Queenston. In Manitoba, Mud Creek School District changed its name to the far more enticing Golden Branch School District. Strangely, Manitoba's Badthroat School District never changed its name (AM School Formation files).

THE EFFECTS OF WAR

From the 1890s onward, many Ukrainian, German, and French communities in Manitoba took advantage of the opportunity to have a bilingual education system (Friesen 1984, 215-218; Lehr and McGregor 2009, 33-34). Originally intended to placate Francophone communities, the Manitoba Bilingual Schools Act permitted any school where a majority of the pupils spoke a language other than English to have a part of the curriculum taught in a foreign language. Bilingual education was never popular with the Anglophone population who felt it promoted French rights and impeded the process of assimilation of the "foreign" population into mainstream Anglo-Canadian society (Friesen 1984, 259). During the First World War popular sentiment against the bilingual school system was fueled by suspicion that it encouraged sympathy for the Austrian and German cause among German and Ukrainian communities (Martynowych 1991, 332-333). Resentment grew among the Anglophone population, culminating in the abolition of the Bilingual School System in 1916. It was within this context that school trustees in Ukrainian-speaking and German-speaking districts decided on the names for their schools during and immediately after the war.

Since most Ukrainian settlers who immigrated into Western Canada prior to 1914 came from the Austrian provinces of Galicia and Bukovyna, they were citizens of Austria-Hungary. After the outbreak of war in 1914 they were regarded as enemy aliens despite the fact that most spoke little, if any, German and were in no way sympathetic to the cause of the Central Powers. Nevertheless, some were interned for the duration of the war and others (including those who had become naturalized Canadian citizens) had restrictions placed on their movements (Minenko 1991, 293-298; Lehr and McDowell 2011, 32-33). The more xenophobic elements of the Canadian press worried about the loyalty of these immigrants, whether naturalized Canadian citizens or not, and were openly hostile to them. Any association with the Central Powers was cause for approbation and place names with a central European association were no exception.

There was a spate of school district name changes during the First World War. Many settlers from the Habsburg lands of Austria-Hungary were ethnic Germans. They were understandably anxious to downplay their ethnicity, especially as the war progressed and the British and Canadian press unleashed a propaganda campaign against the "Beastly Hun." It was not a good time to draw attention to the connections that a community might have to anything German or Austrian. Anti-German hysteria in Ontario saw the city of Berlin renamed Kitchener in an attempt to expunge all trace of a German or Austrian legacy from the map. On the Prairies the same scenario unfolded except that the name changes of school districts were generally initiated by the communities themselves in an attempt to forestall the development of more harmful actions. In Alberta, New Berlin School District was renamed Verdun, thereby both erasing its German connection and celebrating the successful French defense of the fortress of Verdun, a key fort on the Western Front. Other schools in German districts sought to downplay their links to Germany. For example, Lebricht School was renamed Stornoway, Prussia became Leader, and Shoenfeld (Good Field) was renamed Pleasant View (*Saskatchewan One Room School Project*).

School districts founded in the closing months of the war, or immediately after the armistice when patriotic fervor was still running high, were frequently named or renamed to ensure political correctness. Across the Prairie provinces Ukrainian communities were anxious to make their loyalty to Canada clear. Some schools were renamed to express patriotic sentiments or at least to dissociate the community from sympathies for the Central Powers. In Manitoba, Bukovina School District became Lord Roberts, Svoboda became Beckett, Slowo became Strand and Wisla became Prince of Wales (Perfect 1978; AM School Formation Files). New school districts no longer retained any trace of the ethnicity of the communities founding them. In the more recently settled Ukrainian areas of Manitoba, newly-formed school districts

were named Ypres, Somme, Aldershot, and Devon in commemoration of two major battles, the British military training base, and the English county. Elsewhere across the Prairies the names of new school districts read like a list of First World War battles, allied military leaders, and politicians: Marne, Mons, Vimy Ridge, Hill Sixty, Haig, Joffre, Jellicoe, Foch, and Balfour (AM School Formation Files; *Saskatchewan One Room School Project*, Baergen 2005).

In Saskatchewan in 1919 Verebczabja School was renamed New Canadian. In the same year Horosziwci School was aptly renamed War End. Not only communities with ties to Central and Eastern Europe were affected by the chauvinism unleashed by the war. In 1918 a newly formed school district in an Anglophone area of central Alberta was named Lusitania, which recalled the sinking of the British ocean liner by a German U-boat in 1915. The sinking of the Lusitania and the loss of over 1,000 civilian lives was considered an act of barbarity by the Allies. Certainly it was an act that eventually brought the United States into the war on the allied side, although the German navy held the sinking was justified as the armed vessel was carrying munitions as well as passengers. The choice of name for the school reflected popular sentiments and a desire for the school to serve as a permanent memorial to those who perished.

SYMBOLISM IN SPELLING

Many school districts in Ukrainian areas changed the spelling of their names during and after the First World War. This was mostly to simplify spelling and move away from the initial Polish rendition of the name. When Ukrainians first settled in Western Canada, those familiar with the Latin alphabet were likely conversant in Polish and used the Polish spelling for the transliteration of Ukrainian place and personal names, hence Czernowa, rather than Chernova. Although innocuous at first sight, changing the spelling to eliminate the Polish linguistic influence reflected a revolution in political alignment among the Ukrainian communities in Western Canada. A surge of Ukrainian nationalism in Canada followed the creation of the short-lived Ukrainian national state after the First World War. Many Ukrainians who emigrated from Galicia, where the aristocracy was mostly Polish or Polonized, tended to be antagonistic towards Poles. Following the end of the war the newly-created Poland attempted to annex Ukrainian territory in Galicia. Anti-Polish feelings ran high within Ukrainian-settled areas. Rejection of the Polish spelling was a politically nuanced statement embracing nationalist sentiments, a desire to embrace modernity, and a wish to be seen as part of mainstream Canadian society.

Names with Polish, or as some saw it, old-fashioned spelling, served to call attention to the status of Ukrainians as “the other.” For example, the settlement in which the Szewczenko School was located originally bore the same name, but the

Canadian Northern Railway felt that Szewczenko was unpronounceable and too long to fit on to railway timetables. Despite the protests of local residents the name of the station halt was changed to Vita in 1908 (Buchner 2000, 282), but Szewczenko School in Vita, Manitoba, changed the spelling of its name to Shevchenko School only in 1955 (Perfect 1978).

For other schools, and there were many of them, the initial name was misspelled, likely a result of poor penmanship by the school board. Handwriting was often incorrectly transcribed. In Saskatchewan, Norwidian Grove School District was quickly renamed Norwegian Grove and the mysteriously named Tranistan was corrected to Iranistan. Among school districts serving predominantly Ukrainian populations misspellings were common, perhaps because the school board secretary was often an Anglophone who simply transcribed Ukrainian names as heard from Ukrainian board members, or had difficulty in transliterating from the Cyrillic to Latin alphabet: thus Kotzman rather than Kitzman and Kaluz rather than Kalush or Kalusz.

PLACE NAME CATEGORIES

School districts across the Prairies displayed almost every category of place name. Transferred toponyms were common: Husiatyn, Stryj and Sambor are examples of names transferred from Western Ukraine. Descriptive names, in many different languages, were also common, witness the Ukrainian Horod [Garden] in Manitoba and Dickiebush (an amalgamation of the Ukrainian word for wild and the English-Canadian term for woodland) in Alberta. The choice of school names often embodied an optimism for the future and fairly lofty economic expectations. In Alberta, the Cornucopia and Eldorado School Districts overshadowed the more prosaic but perhaps more realistic Verdant Valley, Belle Plains, Big Prairie, and Blooming Valley School Districts. One can only wonder at the state of mind of the Alberta school board members who chose to name their districts Coffin and Dismal, or that of the school board members in Saskatchewan who decided that Vindictive was an excellent name for their school district. More understandable was the selection in 1910 of Up to Date as the moniker for Alberta's School District No. 2014. Some school district names were acronyms. For example, in Saskatchewan, Krydor School District's name, as well as the name of the town, celebrated Petro *Krysak* and Teodor *Lucyk*, two pioneers of the area (<http://scaa.usask.ca/gallery/mainstreet/krydor.html>).

CONCLUSION

The three agencies setting the principal toponymy of the Canadian Prairies were those that determined the economic and social geography of the region: the Crown,

corporations and the established churches. For the most part those who actually settled the land were excluded from the process. The Aboriginal people who had occupied the territory before the arrival of Europeans were largely powerless as the relative dearth of Aboriginal place names in settled areas attests. Where Aboriginal names survive, mostly in the northern reaches of the three Prairie provinces, there was little agriculture and few Europeans.

The process of naming places in Western Canada, as elsewhere, was a political process that reflected the relative power of peoples and their institutions. Ordinary people played little or no role in naming the majority of settlements in the West. The placement and naming of settlements was overwhelmingly in the hands of the railway companies. School districts, however, had their genesis in local community initiatives; the process by which school districts were formed ensured local participation and, most importantly, that local emotions were expressed in the naming of the district. Thus, the nuanced relationship between the various levels of government, local (school board), provincial, and national, and the positioning of a community within wider Canadian society, could be seen in the initial choice of name and, in some cases, in the process of renaming school districts. The choice of names for their schools served as a barometer of opinion in the evolving society of which they were a part.

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TABLE 1. Alberta Ukrainian schools

| Number | School Name | Established | Number | School Name | Established |
|--------|--------------|-------------|--------|-----------------|-------------|
| 1477 | Bavilla | 1906 | 4364 | New Myrnam | 1928 |
| 3185 | Bellis | 1914 | 1612 | Oleskow | 1907 |
| 1499 | Berhometh | 1906 | 1487 | Paraskevia | 1906 |
| 3097 | Bohdan | 1914 | 2944 | Peremysl | 1913 |
| 2053 | Boian Marea* | 1909 | 2065 | Podala | 1909 |
| 1777 | Bojan* | 1908 | 1604 | Podeba | 1907 |
| 2052 | Borowich | 1912 | 2523 | Polonia | 1911 |
| 1793 | Brody | 1908 | 1555 | Poznan | 1906 |
| 2580 | Buczacz | 1912 | 1593 | Proswita | 1906 |
| 1162 | Bukowina | 1904 | 1476 | Provishchina | 1906 |
| 1456 | Chernowci | 1906 | 2064 | Pruth | 1909 |
| 4113 | Chornchora | 1923 | 2942 | Radymo | 1913 |
| 2343 | Chornik | 1910 | 2714 | Ruryk | 1912 |
| 4458 | Cossack | 1930 | 1913 | Rusylvia | 1908 |
| 2322 | Czahor | 1938 | 2408 | Ruthenia | 1911 |
| 3894 | Dickiebush | 1920 | 1438 | Shandro | 1905 |
| 3438 | Dilo | 1916 | 2920 | Sheptycki | 1913 |
| 4550 | Dnipro | 1931 | 2614 | Sherentz | 1911 |
| 2716 | Dnister | 1912 | 1801 | Sheskowitz | 1908 |
| 2069 | Franco-North | 1909 | 2483 | Skowiatyn | 1911 |
| 1500 | Halicz | 1906 | 2400 | Slawa | 1911 |
| 1478 | Jaroslaw | 1906 | 3566 | Sniatyn | 1907 |
| 1631 | Kaluz | 1907 | 1485 | Stanislawow | 1906 |
| 1693 | Kiew | 1907 | 1469 | Suchawa | 1906 |
| 1507 | Kolomea | 1906 | 2508 | Stry | 1911 |
| 2325 | Kotzman | 1910 | 1491 | Svit | 1906 |
| 2613 | Kraznahora | 1911 | 1479 | Svoboda | 1906 |
| 1884 | Krazne | 1910 | 1470 | Szpenitz* | 1906 |
| 2045 | Kulak | 1909 | 1935 | Toporoutz | 1909 |
| 1467 | Kysylew | 1906 | 2409 | Uhryn | 1911 |
| 2261 | Leszniw | 1911 | 1672 | Ukraina | 1907 |
| 2113 | Luzan | 1910 | 1217 | Vladymir | 1905 |
| 1494 | Lwiw | 1906 | 4010 | Wasył Rus House | 1925 |
| 3961 | Mazeppa | 1920 | 2591 | Wolia | 1911 |
| 2106 | Mirowslaw | 1910 | 528 | Wostok | 1900 |
| 2528 | Mirowslawna | 1911 | 2246 | Zaporozze | 1910 |
| 1482 | Molodia | 1906 | 1074 | Zawale | 1904 |
| 1435 | Moscow | 1905 | 1498 | Zhoda | 1906 |
| 2219 | Myrnam | 1910 | 2487 | Zora | 1911 |
| 2178 | Nazir | 1910 | 4041 | Zoria | 1921 |

*Named after a Romanian/Ukrainian village in Northern Bukovyna.

TABLE 2. Manitoba Ukrainian schools

| Number | School Name | Established |
|--------|-------------|-------------|
| 1745 | Bohdan | 1914 |
| ? | Borislav | 1902 |
| 1717 | Budka | 1914 |
| 1218 | Bukovyna | 1903 |
| 1244 | Czerwona | 1903 |
| 1463 | Dnister | 1908 |
| 1730 | Doroshenko | 1914 |
| 1515 | Franko | 1909 |
| 1258 | Halicz | 1904 |
| 1631 | Harazd | 1912 |
| 1364 | Horod | 1906 |
| 1794 | Horyn | 1915 |
| 1264 | Hranko | 1904 |
| 1544 | Janiw | 1910 |
| 1512 | Janowski | 1909 |
| 1644 | Jaroslaw | 1913 |
| 1751 | Karpaty | 1914 |
| 1165 | Kolomyja | 1902 |
| 1685 | Komarno | 1913 |
| 1217 | Koroluka | 1903 |
| 1245 | Kosiw | 1903 |
| 1726 | Kulish | 1914 |
| 1434 | Kupczanko | 1907 |
| 1449 | Lemberg | 1908 |
| 1640 | Luba | 1913 |
| 1208 | Lukowce | 1902 |
| 1529 | Mazeppa | 1912 |
| 1295 | Milnice | 1904 |
| 2271 | Nova Zorra | 1935 |
| 1789 | Okno | 1915 |
| 1243 | Olha | 1902 |

| Number | School Name | Established |
|--------|-------------|-------------|
| 1112 | Oukraina | 1901 |
| 1715 | Pawlyk | 1914 |
| 1157 | Podolia | 1901 |
| 1792 | Prawda | 1915 |
| 1701 | Rus | 1913 |
| 1260 | Ruska Rava | 1904 |
| 1259 | Ruthenia | 1904 |
| 1791 | Sambor | 1915 |
| 1539 | Sarto | 1910 |
| 1454 | Seech | 1908 |
| 1387 | Senkiw | 1906 |
| 1257 | Skala | 1903 |
| 1624 | Slawna | 1912 |
| 1433 | Slowo | 1907 |
| 1266 | Sobieski | 1904 |
| 1248 | Swoboda | 1903 |
| 1388 | Szewczenko | 1906 |
| 1256 | Taras | 1903 |
| 1741 | Tarno | 1914 |
| 1779 | Tartakiw | 1915 |
| 1040 | Trembowla | 1899 |
| 1373 | Wisla | 1906 |
| 1169 | Wolodimir | 1902 |
| 1725 | Zalisia | 1914 |
| 1468 | Zaporoza | 1908 |
| 1496 | Zbruch | 1909 |
| 1816 | Zelena | 1916 |
| 1746 | Zelota | 1914 |
| 1518 | Zora | 1910 |
| 1614 | Zoria | 1912 |

TABLE 3. Saskatchewan Ukrainian schools

| District # | School Name | established | District # | School Name | established |
|------------|-------------|-------------|------------|-------------|-------------|
| 1994 | Adamiwka | 1908 | 2308 | Olesza | 1909 |
| 3030 | Bereziw | 1913 | 1511 | Olga | 1906 |
| 1743 | Bogucz | 1907 | 3598 | Osin | 1915 |
| 3511 | Bohdan | 1915 | 2402 | Oukraina | 1909 |
| 2358 | Borszczow | 1909 | 644 | Ozereanko | 1912 |
| 1765 | Bridok | 1907 | 2722 | Ozerianny | 1910 |
| 1162 | Bukovina | 1904 | 2419 | Paseika | 1909 |
| 4004 | Cheremosz | 1918 | 2384 | Podolia | 1904 |
| 4195 | Crimea* | 1919 | 2578 | Pohorlowts | 1909 |
| 2341 | Czernowitz | 1919 | 2335 | Poltava | 1909 |
| 1712 | Czernowka | 1907 | 1552 | Poniatowski | 1906 |
| 1635 | Dnister | 1906 | 3457 | Proswita | 1914 |
| 2608 | Dobraniwka | 1910 | 1482 | Radymo | 1906 |
| 2368 | Dobronoutz | 1909 | 2682 | Rokoczi | 1910 |
| 2637 | Dobrowody | 1910 | 2667 | Rus | 1910 |
| 3165 | Doroshenko | 1913 | 2584 | Ruthenia | 1910 |
| 2501 | Drahamanow | 1909 | 404 | Sambor | 1911 |
| 3164 | Fedkowich | 1913 | 953 | Sich | 1904 |
| 2342 | Fedoruk | 1909 | 3454 | Skala | 1914 |
| 1740 | Franko | 1907 | 2712 | Slavanka | 1910 |
| 1450 | Gelowitz | 1905 | 2279 | Sokal | 1909 |
| 1393 | Halech | 1905 | 1955 | Stanisloff | 1908 |
| 2835 | Halycry | 1911 | 3105 | Stauczan | 1913 |
| 2396 | Haralowka | 1909 | 1826 | Stryj | 1907 |
| 1895 | Horodenka | 1907 | 3201 | Svoboda | 1914 |
| 2433 | Horosziwci | 1909 | 1704 | Syczynski | 1906 |
| 2390 | Hryhoriw | 1909 | 2970 | Taras | 1913 |
| 791 | Husiatyn | 1912 | 4880 | Tarnopol | 1930 |
| 1672 | Jablonaw | 1906 | 2579 | Toporoutz | 1910 |
| 2842 | Janow | 1912 | 1666 | Torsk | 1906 |
| 1731 | Jarema | 1907 | 1713 | Troitzke | 1907 |
| 2487 | Jaroslav | 1909 | 2404 | Uhrynow | 1909 |
| 3945 | Kalyna | 1917 | 2405 | Ukraina | 1909 |
| 1632 | Kaminka | 1906 | 954 | Vasloutz | 1904 |
| 71 | Kieczkowski | 1911 | 2642 | Verboska | 1910 |
| 2400 | Kitzman | 1909 | 1737 | Verenczanka | 1907 |
| 4237 | Kitzul | 1919 | 264 | Vesna | 1911 |
| 3597 | Kobzar | 1915 | 736 | Vladimir | 1912 |
| 1878 | Kolomyia | 1907 | 1217 | Wisnia | 1904 |
| 1739 | Kowalowka | 1907 | 2870 | Wolkowetz | 1913 |
| 1601 | Krakow | 1906 | 1730 | Wolna | 1907 |
| 3058 | Krasne | 1912 | 3503 | Wostock | 1915 |
| 1121 | Krasny | 1912 | 528 | Wysla | 1905 |
| 3571 | Krydor | 1915 | 4106 | Zalischyky | 1918 |
| 1752 | Lemberg* | 1907 | 2961 | Zamok | 1913 |
| 256 | Luzan | 1911 | 784 | Zaporozze | 1912 |
| 2266 | Mamornitz | 1909 | 3188 | Zawale | 1914 |
| 2860 | Mazepa | 1913 | 1074 | Zayacz | 1904 |
| 2328 | Monastyr | 1909 | 3416 | Zazula | 1914 |
| 1734 | Mostetz | 1907 | 4526 | Zbaraz | 1923 |
| 3059 | Nauka | 1913 | 2403 | Zelma | 1909 |
| 2868 | Odessa* | 1913 | 577 | Zeneta | 1912 |
| 2894 | Okno | 1917 | 1436 | Zenon Park | 1906 |
| | | | 1524 | Zorra | 1906 |

*Schools named by ethnic Germans from Ukraine or Russia?

Collecting Ukrainian Heritage: Peter Orshinsky and Leonard Krawchuk

Abstract

Most discussions about collectors of folk art focus on financial issues, examining what makes an object valuable and worth collecting. But financial gain is not the primary motivation of all collectors. When it comes to folk art associated with heritage, collectors are driven by a desire to connect to a past. Often this is a past with which the collectors themselves had no direct contact, but one which they feel they need to understand in order to make sense of their own identity. Folk art objects make the past tangible; they allow a physical link to something that needs to be grasped to be understood. Peter Orshinsky and Leonard Krawchuk are two important collectors of Ukrainian folk art. Their lives provide instructive case studies that help us understand heritage collecting.

Résumé

La plupart des travaux sur les collectionneurs d'art populaire sont focalisés sur les problèmes financiers; on y étudie ce qui rend un objet précieux et digne d'être acquis. Mais le profit n'est pas la motivation principale des collectionneurs. Quand il s'agit d'art populaire associé à un patrimoine, c'est plutôt le désir de se connecter à un passé qui les y pousse. Il n'y a souvent rien de commun entre eux et ce passé, mais ils éprouvent le besoin de le comprendre afin de donner du sens à leur propre identité. Les objets d'art populaire donnent au passé une réalité que l'on peut toucher, ils permettent d'avoir un lien physique avec quelque chose que l'on doit saisir pour le comprendre. Peter Orshinsky et Leonard Krawchuk sont deux collectionneurs importants d'art populaire ukrainien. Leur vie nous fournit une étude de cas fort instructive qui nous aide à comprendre l'acquisition d'objets patrimoniaux.



PREVIOUS STUDIES OF COLLECTORS AND COLLECTING

What turns a person into a collector? Why would someone try to assemble examples of traditional folk costumes from every region of Ukraine? Why would a person travel miles and miles, dig through junk piles, and endure hardships to find and preserve old objects? Why would one spend money on objects that are essentially useless, such as clothes that can no longer be worn or tools from a bygone era that have been replaced by machinery?

One reason is money. The older an object, the more likely it is to be rare and, therefore, valuable. Perhaps the most extreme example of collecting objects on the

basis of limited availability and primarily for the sake of money was the Beanie Baby craze of the 1990s. Ty Inc. made soft toys stuffed with pellets (the beans after which the toys were named) instead of the usual cotton or fibre fill. The toys were appealing in and of themselves, but what made them collectors' items was the fact that they were issued in limited numbers, a strategy originally designed to keep production costs, and thus selling price, relatively low. Children destroy toys or lose them and the fact that certain Beanie Babies went out of production led to the belief that, as the numbers of a particular toy type became smaller and smaller with time, the value of that toy would increase. People bought Beanie Babies, not to give them to their children, but in the anticipation of financial gain, and they kept them in pristine condition to maintain the highest possible value. So far the Beanie Babies have not increased substantially in price, but the assumption that they would and people's willingness to amass objects they were never going to actually use show that people do indeed collect for the sake of money.

Money appears as an important consideration in discussions of the collection of folk art. In his book, *Everyday Genius*, Gary Alan Fine spends as much time talking about collectors as he does about the artists themselves. Much of the discussion that deals with collectors revolves around financial issues. It is collectors, he argues, who determine what constitutes a good work—and a valuable one. Much of Fine's emphasis is on monetary value. Collectors may indeed like the art work that they collect, he notes, but just as often they do not: they acquire their purchases with an eye, not toward enjoyment, but toward reselling and making a profit. Unloved but potentially valuable art may sit in garages or basements until an opportunity to sell arises. Like any phenomenon, folk art collecting is complex. For some collectors, there is the lure of the exotic. These men and women enjoy trips to a rural setting or to a poor section of the city where they can, for a brief time, experience a type of life very different from their own. But even these collectors, Fine claims, are often driven by financial considerations. Direct contact with folk artists in their own setting offers the chance to buy at a lower price and to potentially discover a new artist who will sell far below what established artists charge. In short, it is the thrill of the hunt and the satisfaction of "bagging" a great bargain that are the main motivation of collectors in Fine's view. Money is a big consideration for gallery owners as well: they walk a fine line between promoting artists energetically enough to interest the wealthy and promoting artists too much, thus raising the price of their works to the point where they are out of the reach of most buyers. Museums play into this dynamic as well, for recognition of an artist by a museum will increase the value of his or her pieces (Fine 2004, 140-284).

But does making a profit drive all collecting of folk art? What about crafts, especially crafts that are connected with heritage? Most writing on this subject deals with

heritage items produced for sale, usually as souvenirs. The debate is complex and involves issues of authenticity, with objects deemed authentic being considered more valuable than objects which do not have the authenticity stamp. What constitutes authenticity is itself open to question. Can an item produced for sale rather than for personal use be considered authentic? This particular issue is not typically raised with Ukrainian items and tends to be discussed in conjunction with North American native artifacts, souvenir items produced in poor countries visited by Western tourists, and, interestingly enough, black velvet art (Phillips and Steiner 1999; Phillips 2011, 92-155; Eliason 2011; Graburn 1976; Mullin 2001; Morphy and Perkins 2006). In all these cases, a few folk artists produce high quality items of the type that existed prior to contact with outside buyers, items that would fit the definition of authentic. Most artists, however, cater to the demand for cheap souvenirs and produce items quickly and to less exacting standards. This is true of Ukrainian folk artists working in Ukraine. Among newly produced objects, there are some exquisite, finely worked embroidered shirts, for example, and many shirts that are embroidered by machine and on inexpensive fabric, often polyester. The finely crafted objects are expensive; the machine-made shirts are affordable. Cheaper hand-embroidered shirts, priced slightly above the machine-made ones, exist as well. Here cost is kept down by working the item in large stitches that may catch and pull. The recent craze for folk dolls (*motanky*) has produced intricately crafted dolls dressed in miniature embroideries and cheap dolls made of yarn tied together to produce something like a stick figure (Kononenko fieldwork 2009¹). But while the pressures of the market on Ukrainian folk products are as real as those in other countries, this topic has not been written about to date.

What has been covered both in the press and especially in on-going discussions such as those on newsgroups is a question tangentially linked to money (ukr_folkarts@yahoo.com, storyfriends@yahoo.com). The debate here seeks to resolve the tension between the desire to preserve traditional designs and techniques and the pressure to modernize. Group participants ask: is innovation a good thing or is it a violation of Ukrainian culture? Must tradition be preserved or should it be allowed to evolve? Using the shirt example again, can a garment made of marquisette be considered a traditional *sorochka*, or must such an item of clothing necessarily be made of linen or hemp, as in the past? This is a burning issue for Ukrainians because many feel that the change which occurred during the seventy years when Ukraine was under Soviet rule and, prior to that period when the country was dominated by tsarist Russia, was forced change, rather than natural evolution. Because of the desire to shake off the colonial past, many Ukrainians seek to recover art forms that pre-date Russian rule. In Ukraine, most books dealing with folk art, be it clothing, Easter eggs (*pysanky*), ceramics, jewellery, or folk toys, trace their history as far back as they

can, often reconstructing an imagined past that is based on limited evidence and serves primarily to meet the needs of the present (Odarchenko and Carynyk 1992; Bilan and Stel'mashchuk 2000; Kitova 2003; Krvavych and Stel'mashchuk 1988; Naiden 2007; Nykorak 2004). This imagined past often drives the design of the fine objects produced by contemporary craftspeople. People who sell this work at fairs and festivals try to match embroidery designs to the health and other needs of their customers. In this New Age view of the world, *motanky* are often sold as talismans needed to protect the children of the household. Monetary considerations do surface at this point because those items that are seen to be spiritually potent because of their tie to an ancient, purely Ukrainian, past fetch a higher price (Kononenko fieldwork 2009). In the Ukrainian diaspora, newsgroups debate what constitutes acceptable change and what is a violation of Ukrainian tradition. Again, items judged traditional are deemed more valuable. One Edmonton group recently paid approximately three thousand dollars for a *pysanka* mosaic, a wall plaque about half a meter by two thirds of a meter in size which is made up of *pysanka* pieces mounted in plaster. Although this is by no means a traditional folk art object, apparently the combination of the traditional craft of *pysanka* writing with the church-related tradition of mosaics, makes this new expressive form acceptable. It is time to bring a more nuanced view to collecting and to counter the dominance of financial issues in the writing about folk arts and crafts, especially in North America, with an exploration of other motivations behind collecting. With the increasing attention to emotion in contemporary scholarship (Steinberg and Sobol 2011; Wulff 2007), it is time to look at the emotional reasons behind collecting. This is an especially fruitful line of research precisely in the realm of heritage art. There are collectors of Ukrainian folk arts and crafts who have no intention of selling what they have amassed and whose motivations for assembling their collections were emotional, not financial. Peter Orshinsky and Leonard Krawchuk are two important Canadian collectors of Ukrainian folk arts and crafts. Both men collected costumes and other textiles such as woven rugs and ritual towels (*rushnyky*). Krawchuk collects ceramics and both men collected carved woodwork, Orshinsky's wood pieces being mostly church-related artefacts. In addition, Krawchuk collects porcelains and paintings and has a marvellous collection of old postcards, the kind that feature photographs of people in holiday or wedding costume or images of interesting types such as wandering folk minstrels. Neither man has sought to make a profit. Orshinsky's family donated his collection to the Royal Alberta Museum after his death. According to Dorothy Stachniak, Peter's cousin, the Alberta government at one point offered Orshinsky a substantial amount of money for his collection. He refused, saying that the collection was not for sale. Leonard Krawchuk is looking for a home for his collection, and he intends to give it away, not to sell it. He has been repeatedly urged to sell what he

owns because his collection does contain quite a number of valuable pieces. He has refused because the value of what he owns lies not in the price that it would fetch on the market, but in the meaning that it holds for him. In 2010 I had the privilege of visiting Krawchuk, examining a part of his collection, and interviewing him over the course of several days. I was also able to visit Orshinsky's former home in Fenwick, Ontario and to interview his niece, Jackie Lynn Van Lankveld, and her brother, Joseph Kita. In the fall, Orshinsky's cousin, Dorothy Stachniak, took me, along with Orshinsky's sister, Evelyn Kita, to Willingdon and the area around Desjarlias, Alberta. She showed us the area where her family had once lived, and both women talked about Peter Orshinsky. My interviews of and interactions with Krawchuk and with the Orshinsky family over the last several years provide the data for this study.

CASE STUDIES IN UKRAINIAN CANADIAN HERITAGE COLLECTING

There are many similarities between Orshinsky's work and Krawchuk's. The way that they have gone about collecting is dissimilar, but the meaning and the motivations behind the activity are almost identical—and these motivations may be typical of other heritage collectors. For Krawchuk and Orshinsky, tangible objects provide a way to fulfill an emotional need. These are nostalgia objects, a way to create an environment that evokes a longed-for reality. For both men, traditional Ukrainian folk objects allow the construction of an alternative world, a space of beauty and harmony with a deep emotional resonance. Furthermore, although the objects provide an enclosed space that shields their owner from a harsher reality, they are also a way to reach out to the real world, to interact with it. For both men, the objects provided both personal satisfaction and a way to please others. The collections allowed the men to lead meaningful lives and to win respect in the community. The collections gave and give them the recognition and community standing that they may not otherwise have had.

Why did the men need the collections that they made? Why did they need heritage objects to satisfy their desires? The answers to questions such as these must necessarily be complex, but certain salient features can be isolated. Both men felt a sense of something missing, something lost, and, in both cases, that loss was articulated as the loss of a culture. Lost culture can be seen as a loss of a part of one's identity and, thus, a loss of a part of the self. For both men, amassing beautiful objects emblematic of a lost culture became a life's work, a way to find meaning, a way to gain a place in society and contribute to it. It was a way to fill an emotional void and also a way to leave something behind. As Blom notes, it was a way to achieve an immortality of sorts (2002, 121, 157).

PETER ORSHINSKY

Peter Orshinsky's longing for Ukraine came from his grandmother. His grandfather, Mike, came to Canada in 1911, leaving behind a son (Peter's father John) and his wife, Domca, then pregnant with Peter's uncle. Mike worked in lumber camps and then for the Canadian National Railway, sending money back to his family in Ukraine. But Domca, Peter's grandmother, would not join him while her own mother was still alive. When Domca's mother died and Ukraine came under Russian domination, she left for Canada and joined her husband in St. Catharines, Ontario, where he had built a house. When John, Peter's father, grew to adulthood, he helped Mike build several more houses on the same street. Thus, John's house was in close proximity to Mike's home and, when John himself married in 1933 and had Peter the following year, there was plenty of opportunity for the young Orshinsky to interact with his grandmother, Domca, and imbibe her strong feelings for Ukraine. Peter's tie to Alberta came from his mother's side of the family. Her ancestors had come to Alberta in the early 1900s and Peter's mother was born in Shandro in 1914. The family moved to Ontario in the 1920s, but maintained close contact with relatives in Western Canada. Peter was always a collector, even as a child. According to his sister, he started collecting at age seven and "collected everything: seeds, bird's eggs, rocks, leaves, stamps and coins." The urge to collect and, in Peter's case, to classify, came together with the longing for a lost Ukrainian heritage and made Peter the important collector that he became.

The move to the farm in Fenwick also facilitated Peter's collecting. According to his niece, Peter wanted to be either a priest or a farmer and, as a young man of seventeen, he worked for a farmer in the area. The farmer had expressed a wish to move to the city and, at just about the same time, Peter's grandmother, Domca, became ill and needed to move in with Peter's parents. The Orshinskys took advantage of the opportunity to own a substantial parcel of land and traded Domca's house in St. Catharines for the farm in Fenwick. With this trade, Peter felt that his choice of vocation had been made for him. He and his parents and siblings moved to the farm, and that is where he lived and kept his collection until his death in 2000. Peter was not unhappy in Fenwick. He loved the farm and, according to his sister, farming suited him perfectly. It gave him the time to pursue his artistic and other interests such as geology. But there was also a sense of longing for something more or something beyond, probably a legacy from his paternal grandmother, Domca. And the longing became progressively filled with the study of his Ukrainian heritage and the collecting of Ukrainian objects.

Peter's mother took regular train trips to visit relatives in Alberta. His father first accompanied his wife out west in 1952. Shortly after that, in 1959, Peter started going out to Alberta. Peter fell in love with the west. According to his sister, it was the place that he really felt at home, and the seasonal work of a farmer allowed him to travel there

on a regular basis. Peter saw Alberta, at least rural Alberta, as a Ukrainian place, and when he started collecting artifacts, he chose to collect Ukrainian things, primarily objects brought from Ukraine by early settlers, but also some items made in Canada, specifically religious artifacts. Peter collected extensively in Alberta, picking up objects that people wanted to give him for safekeeping and often rescuing objects, pulling discarded items of great artistic and historical merit from junk heaps. And, once he started collecting, Peter picked up items in Ontario when the opportunity presented itself. Through the objects he collected, Peter was able to maintain a constant tie to Alberta, the home of his heart, even as he returned to the farm in Fenwick, and, through the collected objects, he was able to connect with a more distant family home: Ukraine. Collecting gave Peter a reason to journey back to Alberta, to spend his money, to visit the villages of the rural north. Collecting also allowed Peter to be a different person than he was in everyday life. Orshinsky had some trouble interacting with people and those close to him said that everyone quickly learned when Uncle Jack, the name used for Orshinsky by his family, had had enough company and they were to leave. According to the niece and nephew who talked to me, even as children they knew when to get out of the way. But despite his awkwardness at home, Orshinsky developed special relationships with the rural, and often elderly, women of northern Alberta whom he interviewed and from whom he collected. He even claimed that only he knew how to handle them, how to talk to them properly. Peter particularly valued their stories. To him, the stories that came with the objects he collected made these objects come alive and endowed them with the meaning that he could intuitively feel. When he showed the objects he had collected to friends and family in Ontario, he would regale them with the stories that he had heard. It is a pity that the stories were not written down and preserved; we know about them, but do not have the narratives themselves.

Peter wanted to travel not only to Alberta, but also to Ukraine, that more distant heritage place from which both sides of his family had come. Unfortunately, Ukraine was inaccessible with the travel restrictions imposed by the Soviet state. Ukraine became independent in 1991 and Peter was planning a trip there with his niece, Jackie Lynn, but postponed it so that she could improve her Ukrainian. His own Ukrainian was excellent, and he and his niece felt that she should improve hers to get the most out of the trip. Unfortunately, Peter Orshinsky became too ill to travel before the planned trip could be realized. He was diagnosed with cancer and died in 2000.

LEONARD KRAWCHUK

Len Krawchuk is similar to Peter Orshinsky in many ways. He, too, felt a longing for a heritage that was somewhere in his distant past. He, too, felt a pull to things Ukrainian and realized it through objects. Len suffered a personal loss early in life.

He was born in Flin Flon, Manitoba, where farmland was poor and paid labour was the way to make a living. A serious on-the-job injury left his father in tremendous pain and led to his premature death. In addition to the very concrete and personal loss of his father, Len also felt a more vague sense of things missing, things lost. He knew that he was Ukrainian, but he was not quite sure what all of this meant. Unlike Orshinsky, he had few Ukrainian objects in his surroundings to give him a sense of Ukrainian reality. As Len pointed out, the conditions in Ukraine that had forced his ancestors to leave were harsh in the extreme. There were few objects to bring along on the journey to Canada and there was little desire to keep mementos of a life of hardship. But Len, too, had a grandmother who had a keen sense of heritage and communicated this to her offspring. There were other important people as well. Len's maternal aunt, Angela Kitlarchuk, was interested in things Ukrainian and took the family to the Ukrainian festival in Dauphin, Manitoba, a place where they could all bask in the pleasures of their heritage. One thing that Len remembers was her Ukrainian blouse which she would typically wear to the festival. It is likely that the visual memory of a garment as a cue to heritage left its impression and influenced Len's later work. There was another place that left its mark on Len: Pine River, Manitoba, a tiny settlement which Len's great grandfather had helped found, and a Ukrainian place where people spoke the language and many traditions were preserved longer than elsewhere in Canada.

Len's contact with the Ukrainian things that so attracted him came in bits and pieces such as trips to Dauphin and Pine River. But Len wanted more, and a kindly business man from Flin Flon and later Dauphin provided the opportunity that Len sought. William Perepeliuk was impressed by Len's efforts to learn about Ukraine and to interest others by teaching them Ukrainian dance. He paid for Len to study in Winnipeg where he took a special three-week course at St. Andrew's College, University of Manitoba. Len was able to return to Winnipeg the following year when he was asked to teach summer courses in Ukrainian dance. In Winnipeg there were greater opportunities to learn about Ukraine, and Len took every opportunity to explore the Ukrainian churches of the city and their museums. The city also presented an opportunity to get an education, something that Len's mother strongly encouraged and which appealed to him as well, and he became a registered nurse, the profession that he followed until his retirement. The combination of learning about Ukrainian things and dancing with a Ukrainian group got Len interested in acquiring an embroidered shirt. He had one that was made to look like a traditional *sorochka*, but he wanted the real thing. So he started a collection of clothing from every part of Ukraine as well as the other art objects already listed.

The study of ethnic souvenirs can help illuminate how collecting heritage objects filled the emotional needs of Orshinsky and Krawchuk. As Blom writes in *To*

Have and to Hold, objects can be memory aids. At one point in time people sought to create theatres of memory where the person undergoing the theatrical experience would himself or herself stand on the stage, looking out into a theatre where objects on various tiers would serve as symbols triggering memories of experience (Blom 2002, 176-182). Such theatres no longer exist, but people routinely use objects to help them remember, especially when the memories are of important experiences such as tourism. Tourism is an activity which, in many ways, is akin to ritual. In fact, tourism may be seen as a form of contemporary ritual, rising in popularity and meaning as ritual activity has declined (Douglas 1973, 19-39). A tourist travels to an unfamiliar place. He or she leaves behind his or her usual surroundings, activities, foods, even his or her usual self, much as a person going through a ritual must behave differently, eat special foods, and often be isolated in a special place, all with the purpose of creating a transformative experience. Like ritual, tourism can change an individual through the new things that are learned and the new environments that the tourist experiences. A ritual often concludes with the acquisition of a token, a ring exchanged during a wedding ceremony, a diploma conferred at the end of graduation, work-related implements given to young women and young men initiated into other cultures. Similarly, a souvenir acts as a tangible marker of a meaningful travel experience, a link to a place and a time which were deeply meaningful, but to which the tourist will not return (Hammond 1995). The link that a souvenir creates to a place, the ability of an object to concretize an experience, especially an experience that cannot be repeated, are the operative functions that help us understand Orshinsky's and Krawchuk's collecting. They wanted to connect to a place with deep emotional significance, a place that they sensed to be part of their past. And they used objects to concretize that desire, to provide a tangible link to a past, a heritage which they literally wanted to touch and hold.

APPROACHES TO COLLECTING

Orshinsky and Krawchuk collected similar things, but they went about their collecting in different ways. While Peter Orshinsky collected what was available in the rural Alberta that he associated with his mother's family and the Ukrainian past, Len Krawchuk did not travel back to Flin Flon for his objects for, as noted above, there was little to collect. Rather, he turned to education and the books that were so important to him. Len has amassed an enormous book collection covering all aspects of Ukrainian folk art. And he uses these books to guide him in the construction of his collection, most of which is purchased either online or through people he contacts in Ukraine and in Canada. His sources are collectors in Ukraine, Ukrainian artists themselves, Ukrainian Canadian artists, and the internet. Now that he is

retired, Len searches eBay and other websites for interesting materials. His knowledge of the internet is so thorough that he has proven to be a wonderful volunteer research assistant for me, finding on-line articles and photos appropriate to my work on a regular basis. I would dare say that he is better in many ways than the paid assistants I have. When working on his collection, Len's goal is to take a particular art form, such as embroidery, and to find at least one sample from each region of Ukraine. He has been particularly determined to get costumes from all Ukrainian ethnographic regions, buying old items where he can and ordering new items, such as headgear in the style of the traditional object, when old objects are unavailable. Hats, headdresses, and other pieces worn on the head deteriorate quickly because of sweat and oil, and Len has commissioned headgear replicas from both Ukrainian and Ukrainian Canadian craftspeople. Arranging material by ethnographic region is a classical approach to ethnography. As Saint George (2010) points out, early guides to folk material culture were atlases, patterned on dialect atlases which mapped folk speech by region. Most Ukrainian costume books, embroidery books, *pysanka* (Easter egg) books, and other guides to crafts are arranged precisely by region (e.g., Bilan and Stel'mashchuk 2000; Hasiuk and Stepan 1989; Odarchenko and Carynyk 1992).

Trying to collect a concrete example of each of the categories of folk art objects listed in books is a way for Len Krawchuk to pay homage to his mother and honour the importance that she ascribed to learning. It is also a way to make sense of things. As Blom notes, collections are research tools, and early collections were often amassed precisely for research purposes (2002, 13-49). Systematic collections help make sense of a phenomenon which would not be understood without them, and this is precisely what Len's collection helps him do. The Ukrainian material that formed his heritage was lost and he could not understand the Ukrainian part of himself through it. But a systematic collection of artefacts—examples of each region, each art form—helps him comprehend an important part of his background. The comprehensive nature of Len's collection also underscores its importance as an intellectual, rather than a financial, enterprise. Only a museum could take such a collection in its entirety, and most museums could not afford to purchase it. If the collection is to remain as a unit and not be sold off piece by piece, which is Len's goal, then it is something that could not find a market. The importance of collection integrity is underscored by the experience of other heritage collectors. Myroslav and Anna Hnatiuk also amassed a collection of artefacts which they eventually donated to a museum. Because they had acquired a number of beautiful pieces, many institutions expressed interest in their work—but were willing to take only select items, objects that filled out their holdings or objects that were in particularly good condition. The Hnatiuks ended up donating their collection to the

Ukrainian Museum-Archives in Cleveland because that was the only organization that promised to take and care for it in its entirety (Jarosewich and Kraus 2011).

Items from all parts of Ukraine also help Len create a mini, but complete, Ukrainian environment in which he can immerse himself. Living very frugally and using all his spare cash for his purchases of Ukrainian artefacts, Len has amassed a huge collection and created a special world. I lived in his apartment for close to a week and it is truly a marvellous place. There are traditional ceramics everywhere. A special wooden cupboard, carved in the traditional style, was commissioned by Len to hold some of them. On the wall hang traditional tapestries (*kylymy*) and paintings which depict the bucolic Ukraine that attracts Len. There are mannequins with costumes on them, and these, Len told me, were actually few in number because a substantial part of his clothing collection was on display in Saskatoon. Drawers open to reveal more costumes, more tapestries, and ritual clothes. Books fill the shelves and porcelain figurines stand on top of them. At one point I convinced Len that my cooking would be preferable to going out to eat. I started looking in drawers for kitchen utensils and found the drawers filled with porcelain figurines, carved wood, and smaller ceramics. The apartment is a special Ukrainian space, and in one corner of it, surrounded by books, more costumes, and more paintings, sits Len's computer which he uses to communicate with the world. The apartment is not Ukraine as it really is, even though Len listens to Ukrainian news broadcasts and Ukrainian music and otherwise keeps up with things Ukrainian, both in Ukraine itself and in the diaspora. It is a constructed Ukraine, a place made by Len, that encapsulates the essence of Ukraine through a series of tokens, objects representing all regions. It is also an intellectual space. Because it does contain a representation of every part of Ukraine, it serves to make sense of the country. The apartment with its collection is also an emotional space. The objects in the apartment serve as talismans—objects of power which connect Len to a lost past that has deep emotional significance. Unlike Orshinsky, Len Krawchuk was able to travel to Ukraine. His choice of places to visit underscores what is important to him. Len sought out his own past and went to the places from which his family had moved to Canada, and he went to places associated with the objects that represent Ukraine to him, namely places famous for their folk crafts.

Len was somewhat disappointed with his trips to Ukraine because there, like in Canada, so much had been lost. Production was mechanized, and the gorgeous handwork that he sought was not readily available. Soviet influence was apparent not only in the emphasis on factory production, but also in design. And Len was disappointed that the people he was asking to procure Ukrainian crafts for him actually thought that he wanted the more modern items. His desire was for a Ukraine of the past, one that suited his mental landscape. He is fortunate that he was able to discover this Ukraine in picture postcards. Krawchuk's postcard collection is impressive

in size and functions much like his collection of objects. Because the postcards are photographs, they link to real objects and are akin to the tangible items that Len has collected. Because the photos are of the past, they help Len reconstruct and comprehend a part of his identity that was lost. They allow him to see a part of his heritage that was otherwise obscured. At the same time the images on the postcards are of a Ukraine that no longer exists. What Len has collected are pictures of important buildings, many now gone, and many, many images of so-called Ukrainian folk types such as people in village costume and people doing traditional crafts. The pictures are of an idealized Ukraine, one free of Soviet, if not tsarist, influence. Most of the postcards predate the Soviet Socialist Revolution. In fact, some of the buildings shown on them were destroyed by the Soviets. As such, the postcards, like Len's objects, capture what should be. Because they are images of a Ukraine that does not exist, at least not in the present, the postcards are a way of constructing a beautiful and wished-for Ukrainian world. The images on the postcards are, quite literally, picture-perfect and, being the beautiful objects that they are, reinforce an idealized image of a beautiful and longed-for Ukraine.

By the time that I saw Peter Orshinsky's home, he was no longer living in it and it was being remodelled by his nephew. But I can imagine that it must have looked a great deal like Len Krawchuk's apartment. What started me on this project was being called in to the Royal Alberta Museum to examine the then just-donated Orshinsky collection. The donated items occupied an entire floor of the storage area of the museum and, since then, the collection has been assessed to contain several thousand pieces. Putting all of that into several rooms of a farm house, the part of the house not used by Orshinsky's mother, would have created a space much like Len Krawchuk's apartment, an impression confirmed by Evelyn Kita, Peter's sister.

Like Krawchuk, Orshinsky loved books as well as objects, and he picked up books, including manuscripts, in his collecting process. One especially treasured acquisition was a handwritten account compiled by a traveling priest in 1909. His impressive book collection was also donated upon his death, part going to the library at the University of Alberta and part to St. Andrew's College at the University of Manitoba. Peter was hungry for information about the past, both the past connected to his immediate family and the more distant past to be found in Ukraine, and he got this information not only from books, but from fieldwork, something akin to the work of folklorists. It is perhaps the influence of Robert Klymasz and Orshinsky's collaboration with the Museum of Civilization in Ottawa (then the Museum of Man) that led Peter to interview and gather information about the people of northern Alberta from whom he collected artefacts, asking not only about arts and crafts, but also about rituals. He compiled several booklets, one of which was published, and he led the team that produced the film *Luchak's Easter*. As several relatives

pointed out, Peter was meticulous and wanted things to be just so. This proved to be a great boon for the Royal Alberta Museum because Orshinsky not only compiled booklets, he kept a careful record of his collection. Not all of it was catalogued, and the Orshinsky family is not certain if the missing records were lost or simply never made for lack of time, but those record books that do exist are so thorough and extensive that they make the collection especially valuable.

THE SPIRITUAL DIMENSION

In addition to working with traditional Ukrainian objects, Peter's other great interest was religion. He researched traditional religious practices and he collected numerous religious artefacts, many of little monetary value, but of spiritual significance. Religion was very important to him and, according to his sister Evelyn Kita, this too made life as a farmer suitable to Peter for it allowed him to assist in the local church where his knowledge of the Ukrainian manner of performing weddings, baptisms, and funerals was especially valued. Peter was happy to assist all people interested in preserving their Ukrainian heritage because he considered this an important part of spirituality. The emphasis on spirituality underscores the fact that Peter's work, like Len's, was an emotional enterprise. The object that concretized his spiritual quest was a little chapel, a *kaplytsia*, that he built with his own hands on the road just outside his farmhouse so that travelers, he said, might stop and worship. Of course there were no travelers walking by the farm in Fenwick, the way pilgrims walked the roads of Ukraine. But the *kaplytsia* was very important to Orshinsky, and it also provided a link back to Alberta. The cupola of the chapel, according to Dorothy Stachniak, was a small-scale replica of the dome of a church in Willingdon designed by her father, Harry M. Zukiwski, the designer and builder of domes for five Orthodox churches in the area. Several Orshinsky relatives mentioned the chapel, and it was the first thing that I was shown when I went to the farm. Perhaps Peter felt that he himself was an emotional traveler and that this was his sacred locus, his place to worship on his spiritual journey.

Because religion, practiced in the traditional Ukrainian manner, was important to Peter, he was insistent that the rituals practiced on his own behalf be proper. When he knew that he was going to die, he wrote out detailed instructions for his relatives, explaining how his funeral was to be conducted in the traditional manner. And it was. The only thing that did not happen was burial back in northern Alberta. When the family first approached the church in Desjarlias, they were told that the cemetery was reserved for local parishioners, but agreed to consider Peter's request. In the meantime, Peter checked into the cost of shipping his remains to Alberta and decided that it was prohibitive and that resting next to his father in Ontario made

more sense. Peter's desire to be buried in Alberta was a desire to connect to his Ukrainian heritage in body as well as in spirit. It was another example of making tangible that which was of great emotional importance. It is probably significant that Len Krawchuk took care of his mother's funeral in a similar manner. He wanted her to be buried according to traditional practices, and all of his siblings let him take charge of arranging the funeral. Len's sources were, of course, his books, and he organized the funeral according to the descriptions of traditional practices that he had read.

COLLECTING AS PERFORMANCE, COLLECTING AS OUTREACH

Turning to more cheerful topics, the aesthetic pleasure that both men derived from their objects can be demonstrated in a number of ways. Both men truly enjoyed and appreciated the beauty of the objects in their collections. Both tried their hand at making the objects themselves. Len took Ukrainian weaving courses at the Banff School of Fine Arts. Peter learned quilting by being shown the techniques by other quilters, and he made quilts for all of his family members. But quilting is not an identifiably Ukrainian craft, and Peter taught himself to embroider. His approach to embroidery was ethnographic—much like his approach to collecting—in that he wanted to learn the proper techniques and to learn them in the traditional way; he wanted to be shown proper stitches. I went through the items produced by Peter while I was in Fenwick, and they are interesting and instructive. Peter's technique gradually improved and each piece looks better than the one which preceded it. The pieces that were used during the funeral service held on the Fenwick farm are exquisite.

Peter embroidered not just for his own personal pleasure, but to reach out to others, and he gave away much of his work. In addition to a stack of early work that Peter had kept for himself and that they had acquired only after his death, the relatives in Fenwick had numerous embroideries and quilts made as gifts for nieces and even grandnieces. In Edmonton there were drawers of gift runners and other beautiful household objects embroidered by him. Peter's other creative efforts also produced tangible things that were intended for others as much as for himself. According to every relative I talked to, Peter was a wonderful cook and his specialty was traditional Ukrainian dishes. And it was not just the food that mattered; the technique was equally important, just as it had been with embroidery. Peter churned his own butter and made his own cottage cheese. When Jackie Lynn, Peter's niece, finally did get to travel to Ukraine and visit the villages from which the family had come, she was delighted to encounter the same foods as the ones made by her uncle. And, of course, people knew the same techniques that had been taught to her by her uncle.

The attraction of a beautiful, insular, and created world to both men can also be seen in their interest in Ukrainian dance. Both men danced when they were young, and Len claims that he first developed a desire to acquire costumes because of his participation in dance performances. Both men taught dance, and an invitation to offer dance instruction was what brought Len back to Winnipeg. While not as self-contained as a private collection of folk arts and crafts, the dance environment can be seen as a special place, just like the physical environments of folk craft objects amassed by both men. During dance, a person exists in the enclosed space of a stage or a rehearsal hall. And this is a Ukrainian space, with Ukrainian music, costumes, and dance steps. The dance, like Orshinsky's and Krawchuk's collections, is also a constructed space, showing the best, the most beautiful aspects of Ukrainian heritage. Dance is a public event, and both men's interest in dance underscores the fact that Krawchuk and Orshinsky did not collect for their personal pleasure alone, but also to communicate their vision to others. Both men used their collections directly as a means of outreach, sharing those things that they loved. Both men showed their collections in public, and Len does so still; this is a recent activity for him. The fashion shows that both men orchestrated, and Len still arranges, are performances, like the dance. Len told me how he selected the costumes for each of the people who walked in the fashion show staged in Winnipeg where his costumes were shown to the general public. He matched each outfit to the person he knew would be modeling, meaning that if the model was a person whose ancestors had come from Bukovyna, he would put her in a Bukovynian costume, and so forth. And he determined what was right. Following the descriptions in his books, he decided who would wear what and how the various pieces of the costume would go together. According to Orshinsky's relatives, he behaved similarly. He would display the costumes that he had collected to school and other public groups, and he would dress the models, making sure that the costume had the right pieces, assembled and displayed in the proper way. Furthermore, the objects and their display acted as a key to Peter's telling the many stories that he had collected during his fieldwork. As the objects helped him link to his own Ukrainian heritage, so they were also a trigger that brought forth stories told by others.

Leonard Krawchuk's and Peter (Jack) Orshinsky's collections of folk arts and crafts provide interesting and instructive examples of why people collect when there are no financial incentives involved. They are also interesting for us because we see concrete objects being used for emotional purposes. In her book *Biographical Objects*, Janet Hoskins talks about the use of objects to tell stories that cannot otherwise be told. The objects come from everyday life and are used as metaphors to say the unsayable. They can be used to symbolize conflicts between men and women, and they can provide a safe way to give voice to gender inequalities and other social

problems (Hoskins 1998). The objects in the Orshinsky and Krawchuk collections are not everyday objects. In a sense, they never were, for they were holiday clothes, decorative items, church artefacts, and paintings that only some could afford. But like the objects in Hoskins' books, they were and are used by these special men to tell a story that is charged with powerful emotions. The objects are a way to retrieve a heritage that might otherwise be lost, and they help to satisfy a longing so profound that it cannot be expressed in words. Unlike the objects described by Hoskins, Krawchuk's and Orshinsky's collections are also used to create a special world, a place of memory, an imagined ideal. And from the protection of this place of deep emotional significance and using the objects that created it, both Krawchuk and Orshinsky were able to reach out to others, to grant them joy and emotional satisfaction. They constructed a world out of longing and a desire to preserve and protect a Ukraine which was being lost, a Ukraine that was on the verge of disappearing. In a sense they recreated a world for a community that has a hard time understanding the land that their forefathers left behind. The two heritage collectors gained little financially from their work, but they gained status and were able to satisfy both their own needs and the needs of others.

CONCLUSION: HERITAGE COLLECTING ISSUES

People like Orshinsky and Krawchuk provide an enormous service by collecting and preserving artefacts. In this paper I have emphasized the emotional aspect of their work and contrasted it to the financial motivations emphasized in Fine's book on folk art. But even here, things are not so simple. Money did restrict Orshinsky's travels and it does limit Krawchuk's purchases. Things are not black and white. There are other types of interesting collectors like George Lewchuk in Spirit River, Alberta. He runs a museum in this town and he has collected an enormous amount: farm equipment, musical instruments, an entire abandoned Ukrainian church. And, though he is of Ukrainian heritage and includes Ukrainian items in his collection, he does not restrict his activities to collecting Ukrainian pieces. What are his motives and how does he compare to Orshinsky and Krawchuk? It so happens that Lewchuk was born in Spirit River and currently resides on his ancestral farm. He left for a number of years to make money by working in the oil industry in the Middle East, but returned home when finances permitted (Kononenko fieldwork 2010). Is the nature of his collection different because he was able to come back to the place that he considered home, whereas Orshinsky and Krawchuk could not? Was his idea of home his actual farm in Spirit River, whereas Orshinsky and Krawchuk longed for a heritage home that existed more in the imagination? For Orshinsky and Krawchuk, home may indeed be further away both in time and space. Dorothy Stachniak, Peter's cousin,

said that he was delighted to receive a telephone directory from Borowitz, his grandmother's village in Ukraine. In his typically meticulous fashion, he wanted to go through the entire book, looking for surnames that could be encountered in Canada and trying to spot surnames new to the village. The phone book, while not beautiful like the objects he collected, was a concrete and tangible link to his Ukrainian past. It is but another indication that what makes a heritage collector is the need to find an object to concretize emotion. Like a souvenir, an object that comes from the longed-for place serves as a talisman, a powerful link to the place of one's ancestors. Orshinsky's drive to find linking objects, like Krawchuk's attempts to reconstruct a Ukrainian totality through artefacts, are special and unique efforts. Studying the people who enrich our lives by preserving craft and folk art objects for us is a new field that will surely yield interesting information in the future.

NOTES

1. Kononenko's field recordings are being processed for delivery through an online database. Those recordings which have already been indexed may be accessed through Kononenko's Canada audio website. See <http://www.artsrn.ualberta.ca/EnglishAudio/>.

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“Letters from the Old Country”: Exploring and Defining Ukrainian Canadian Vernacular Letter Writing

Abstract

Ukrainian Canadians have been exchanging letters with their overseas relatives for as long as they have been in Canada. Despite the fact that transatlantic family correspondence has continued since the days of early settlement of the Ukrainians in Canada, scholars have little understanding of how this vernacular practice of modernity has been lived out by the Ukrainian Canadians. Similarly, there is even less understanding of how transatlantic letter writing has affected individuals, families, and communities on both sides of the Atlantic. This article addresses the existing gap in the scholarship with respect to the study of the immigrant letter, and offers a general overview of the phenomenon of transnational family letter writing in the Ukrainian Canadian context as well as outlining the challenges in searching and studying the letters as cultural artefacts.¹

Résumé

Les Canadiens ukrainiens ont maintenu des échanges des lettres avec leurs membres de familles outre-mer depuis qu'ils sont au Canada. Malgré le fait que cette correspondance familiale transatlantique se soit maintenue depuis le temps des premiers colons ukrainiens au Canada, les chercheurs ne saisissent pas vraiment comment ces Canadiens ont vécu une telle tradition vernaculaire sur le long terme. De même, il y a encore une faible compréhension de la manière dont cette correspondance transatlantique a affecté les personnes, les familles et les communautés des deux côtés de l'Atlantique. Cet article porte sur les lacunes dont souffre la recherche concernant l'étude des lettres d'immigrants et offre un aperçu général du phénomène de la correspondance familiale transnationale dans le contexte canadien ukrainien, ainsi que des grandes lignes des défis posés à la recherche et à l'étude de ces lettres en tant qu'objets culturels.



Since the beginning of the Ukrainian immigration to Canada in 1891, letter writing has been the primary means for families on both sides of the Atlantic to stay in touch. Transatlantic letter writing played a significant role in both the personal lives of the Ukrainian Canadians and, by extension, in the Ukrainian Canadian community. As a personal undertaking, writing letters helped the Ukrainian settlers in Canada to cope with the challenge of separation, to deal with the longing for family, to express themselves through the medium of writing and, ultimately, to forge, through the act of writing, their sense of belonging, to the family and to the community.

Back in Europe, in the early years of the Ukrainian immigration to Canada (1891-1914), immigrant letters already occupied an important place in the lives of individuals and their communities, as such letters started arriving from South America and the United States where Ukrainians began immigrating a few decades earlier. In addition to being the only informational bloodline between the immigrants and their families overseas, personal letters were routinely used to pass information about the immigration process to others. They were read aloud during neighbours' gatherings and passed around the village and among members of the extended family. Many were published in magazines and newspapers of the time, *Kanadiiyskyi farmer (Canadian Farmer)*, *Ukraiinskyi Holos (Ukrainian Voice)* in Canada, *Ruska rada (Ruthenian Counsel)*, *Ukrainskyi emigrant (Ukrainian Emigrant)*, *Bukovyna*, and others in Ukraine.

Given its omnipresence in the lives of so many individuals and communities, in the early years of the Ukrainian settlement in Canada, the personal letter from overseas firmly entered the circuits of vernacular and pop cultures of the Ukrainian Canadians. On one end, it found its way into traditional folklore. In the traditional lore of pre-modern Ukrainians, it was the coo-coo bird, which was the news carrier, bringing news from various unreachable domains of the 'outer' world, be it the land of death, the other shores of the Danube, or some other unknown terrains. By the turn of the twentieth century, in many folksongs of the so-called immigrant cycle, the letter took over this function, by connecting the world beyond the Atlantic and the families in the homeland (Klymasz 1969).

Ukrainian Canadian popular culture of that time also embraced the personal letter as an important element of its own, as exemplified by the Ukrainian pop culture icon in early twentieth century Canada, Shtif Tabachniuk. A character created by a Winnipeg-based artist Yakiv Maidanyk, Vuiko Shtif, or Uncle Shtif, reappeared in a series of cartoons, feuilletons, and other media under the name Tabachniuk. The eternal wanderer and a "simple" man, Uncle Shtif was immensely popular among the Ukrainian immigrants in Canada. Capitalizing on the omnipresence of personal correspondence, Maidanyk made his character engage in letter writing as well. Transplanted from the old country and never fully rooted in the new one, Shtif, like many of his countrymen, also "wrote" letters to his wife, whom he had left behind, to the amusement of many admirers of Maidanyk's sharp and biting sense of humour (Maidanyk 1918, 142-145).

With years going by, the Ukrainian immigrants integrating into Canadian culture and Ukraine becoming part of the USSR, transatlantic family correspondence began to change as well. While letters between the 'old country' and new branches of family in Canada continued to be exchanged throughout the rest of the twentieth century, these exchanges ceased to play a prominent role in the public life of both

communities. In Ukraine, after it was incorporated in the Soviet Union,³ the Soviet regime actively suppressed personal correspondence with foreign citizens and with diaspora in particular. The Soviet censorship of family correspondence with overseas relatives is a widely known phenomenon discussed routinely by many Ukrainians on both sides of the Atlantic as a real obstacle to maintaining the connection with each other many times. As long as the USSR existed (1922-1991), and especially after WWII, many times the local Soviet authorities broke down the chain of letters by threatening the writers with various repercussions, according to many informants of mine in Western Ukrainian villages where I conducted fieldwork (Khanenko-Friesen 2011, 19). As an outcome, in Soviet Ukraine, a family letter from overseas became the forbidden topic of discussion, especially in public contexts, despite the fact that transnational correspondence, circumscribed, continued on. In the Ukrainian Canadian community, the “removal” of personal letters from public circulation in the years following the early immigration wave reflects the changing realities of the Ukrainians’ life in Canada. Facing new tasks, focusing on new goals and embracing their status as an ethnic minority, the Ukrainian Canadians continued to evolve as a community. The gap between the families on both sides of the Atlantic kept growing. With new families springing up in the new homeland, the meanings of family and kin among the Ukrainians in Canada began to change. In these families, less focus was given to the old-country kin and more to the newly formed family networks in Canada.

Despite their active public life and public role in the early years of the Ukrainian Canadian community, neither the community nor academic institutions of the day saw the immigrant correspondence as worthy of research and archiving, unless they were sent to established organizations or dignitaries who retained their records, as was the case with letters from immigrants sent to Metropolitan Sheptytsky in the early 1900s to which he responded (Sheptytsky n.d). In subsequent years, the homeland/immigrant letters, profiled in the public media at the turn of the twentieth century, inspired two scholars to reflect upon the phenomenon of transnational letter writing. Robert Klymasz published an article on the immigrant letter as a productive motif in early modern Ukrainian folk culture (Klymasz 1969). Another scholarly publication by a historian came out some two decades later, nearly simultaneously, in Canada and Ukraine (Sych 1991a, 1991b). Sych’s small collection of 42 immigrant letters and folk verses contains reprints of letters originally profiled in selected Ukrainian media at the turn of the twentieth century. Sych’s introduction does not go beyond the historical context in which these letters were written, nor does the author examine the letters themselves, treating them only as illustrative material supporting the author’s overview of the early Ukrainian mass migration overseas.

In the archival world, some efforts have been made recently to publicize existing collections of correspondence, either through the use of the existing collections in research or by profiling the collections themselves. In today's Ukraine, Volodymyr Marchuk, an archivist based in Rivne, uses the letters sent by Ukrainian immigrants to Paraguay in the 1930s and held in the Rivne State Archives, as a source of information in his examination of the migrants' daily lives upon their arrival and settlement in Paraguay (Marchuk 2010). In North America, at the Immigration History Research Centre (IHRC) at the University of Minnesota, selected family correspondences between Ukraine and the United States has been digitized and placed online, as part of a pilot archival project on letter digitization recently initiated by the IHRC (Myroniuk et al. 2010).

Aside from the above sporadic explorations of the topic and the occasional use of the immigrant letter as reference material in historical studies of Ukrainian communities around the globe (Morski 2000; Marchuk 2010), no sustained scholarly attention has been paid to Ukrainian family correspondence and immigrant letter writing, despite the fact that the practice continued throughout the twentieth century and beyond.

What are the dimensions of this cultural phenomenon of transatlantic letter writing? How should we understand this practice? Why did people continue to correspond? Who engaged in the letter exchange and for what reason? What was written in the letters and what was not written? How were they received and read? What can letter writing tell us about Ukrainian culture in Canada and in Ukraine, about the sense of kinship, family, community, and identity, as lived out in two different Ukrainian worlds? These and other questions beg further exploration of the phenomenon of personal letter writing. Before addressing the above questions though, one has to first develop some general understanding of the scope and dimensions of this practice. This is a challenging task as scholars in Ukrainian and Ukrainian Canadian studies have very few organized and systematized collections of family correspondence between ordinary people in diaspora and homeland, unlike some other ethnic groups and their homelands. In addition, in Ukrainian studies thus far, no extensive analysis and interpretation of Ukrainian transnational personal correspondence has been conducted. No discussion has taken place either on structure, content, and social purpose of letter writing, or on the unique cultural, narrative and aesthetic qualities of the letters.

RESEARCHING THE LETTERS

The limited scholarly investigation of the twentieth century Ukrainian and specifically Ukrainian Canadian immigrant/homeland² letter writing is puzzling. While

political control in Ukraine suppressed public discourse and scholarly enquiry into letter writing, Ukrainian Canadian scholarship was free to pursue the study of letters. It is especially puzzling since international scholarship on the immigrant letter has been increasing since the early twentieth century, namely, since the publication of the seminal work on the immigrant letter “The Polish Peasant in Europe and America (1908-1920)” (Thomas and Znaniecki 1958, 1996).

Over the course of nearly a century, immigrant letters were studied and examined from a variety of angles by scholars from various countries and ethnic communities. A significant part of the early work was devoted to the description of the letters, and their publication in special collections (Blegen 1955; Barton 1975; Schelbert and Rapport 1977; Kula et al. 1986; Schroede and Schulz-Geisberg 1988; Kamphoefner et al. 1991; Ganzevoort 1999). In fact, according to Wolfgang Helbich, until recently, 95% of all publications on letters were “editions,” i.e., collections of the letters themselves, with only a few interpretive articles dealing with the nature of letter writing having been produced by scholars (Helbich 2010). Letters written between the immigrants and their families during their early separation assisted many scholars of ethnicity and immigration in their efforts to analyse the processes of migration, settlement, adaptation to the new environment and so on. Thomas and Znaniecki’s book (1920) became a classic, offering insight into sociocultural changes the Polish immigrants and the families left behind had to undergo during the mass migration of Poles to North America.

The last third of the twentieth century, beginning with Charlotte Erickson’s innovative *Invisible Immigrants* (1972), saw the emergence of excellent critical analysis of the immigrant letter. Scholars working in various contexts and disciplines began actively reflecting on private homeland/immigrant correspondence written by the Dutch (Stellingwerff and Swierenga 2004; Brinks 1995), the German (Kamphoephner et al. 1991), the Italian (Cancian 2010), the Irish (Fitzpatrick 1994), the Norwegians (Zempel 1991), the Finnish (Kuparinen 1985), and many other people.

Recently, immigrant letter research has experienced a revival as evidenced by a number of international symposiums and publications resulting from them.⁴ Scholars, well versed in the post-structural debate of representation, reflectivity, power relations, and social constructivism, have returned to the study of the letter, now with a better understanding of their importance. The general consensus at the international symposium *The Migration Letter: Archiving Intimacy in the Postal Era* (Immigrant History Research Centre, University of Minnesota, May 2010) was that the immigrant letters and letter writing are best understood on their own terms, as cultural and social phenomena rooted in the history of modernity itself. Letters and letter writing are now viewed as unique representations of personal anxieties and relations that the immigrants have lived through, and, as windows into the vernacular makings of family,

community, and culture. Jennifer Attebery, an authority on Swedish correspondence, focuses on the vernacular and folkloric nature of letters (2005, 2007, 2010). Other scholars have pointed out to the rootedness of belletrist practices in local tradition and folk practices (Helbich 2010). Marija Dalbello refers to immigrant letters as a subaltern form of literacy and compares their common vernacularity to *scriptura continua*, a flow of text in medieval documents with no punctuation (Dalbello 2010).

In what ways can the letters of ordinary Ukrainians be utilized in the study of Ukrainian Canadian history and culture, especially if their contents were significantly affected by the Soviet censorship? Using this correspondence in the study of Ukrainian Canadian culture poses no small challenge. A similar question was asked by other scholars, researching the immigrant letter in different ethnic contexts. How effective are personal letters exchanged between ordinary individuals in the study of a culture, a people, and their history? Gerber, in his analysis of research on the immigrant letter, pointed out many difficulties in the use of the personal letter in historical and social research (Gerber 1997). Gerber asserts that letters, given their limitations and constraints, are rather challenging sources for the traditional conceptualizations of social and historical processes. They cannot be easily used as illustrations of such phenomena as immigration, cultural adaptation, local economies, and so on, as usually very little contextual information is available in them. The descriptions of broader social settings and institutions (communities, villages, towns, neighbourhoods) to which the writers belong are also usually absent. The writers themselves come through in these letters one-sidedly. What and how the writers chose to communicate in their letters does not necessarily speak about their true personalities, selves, and identities. Rather, the writer's self as projected in letters reveals itself through his/her single relationship to those to whom she or he writes. Not only ought the writer's identity to be far larger than the identity projected through the letters, but the very projection of the only identity available to us can be carefully crafted through writing. A related issue is that we do not and cannot know what was omitted in the letters (Gerber 2005, 2006, 7-8). Most of the time, the letters, economical in their writing as they often are, come across as devoid of some "important" information. Arnold Barton was perhaps the first to comment (in his preface to a 1975 collection of Swedish letters) that most immigrant letters have in fact little of interest to relate, "...they are often filled with *cliches*, concerned with mundane matters and local news from the old home parish" (Barton 1975, 4-5). Many researchers acknowledged this as well in their own presentations on immigrant correspondence. To interpret such vernacular bodies of writing is certainly not an easy task.

Thus, in returning to the question of how research on the letter can assist one in the study of Ukrainian Canadian culture, instead of seeing the letters as supple-

mentary for the historical analysis of one phenomenon or another, I suggest treating Ukrainian immigrant/homeland correspondence as a social cultural phenomenon of its own, a long-lived practice of modernity with its own history and agents. It is also important to recognize that this phenomenon unfolds not within one domain of Ukrainian culture or another, but at their intersections, in this little understood cultural space of in-between the two (or more) worlds, in the end never fully belonging to either of them. Scholars researching so-called immigrant letters often point out that studying personal correspondence is challenging as the archives as a rule preserve only a one-way traffic of letters—in homelands, these would be the letters from the new world, and in the new world, the holdings would include mostly letters from the homelands. The lack of access to both sides of the correspondence is seen as a barrier to effective utilization of the letter in historical or sociological research. Yet, the inconvenience of not having access to the other half of transnational correspondence can be seen as invitation to explore new questions, including the question of how the “other” Ukrainians, perceived as placed in the remote lands of the diaspora or the homeland, continue to be projected on the lives of so many individuals, despite all the challenges of long-term separation between the families.

SEEKING AND ARCHIVING UKRAINIAN LETTERS

To address the existing lacuna in scholarship on the Ukrainian transatlantic letter-writing tradition, in 2007 I launched a new long-term research project, *Family Letters to/from the Old Country*—supported in its earlier phase by a research grant from the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council. Focused on personal correspondences written and exchanged between Ukrainians in Canada, the United States, Argentina, Brazil, etc., and their families and friends in the “old country,” wherever this old country was (Ukraine, Poland, Slovakia, Romania, Russia’s Far East, etc.), this project grew to become a part of the larger research program—the Personal Sources Archives—at the Prairie Centre for the Study of Ukrainian Heritage (PCUH), at St. Thomas More College, the University of Saskatchewan. We at PCUH seek to build an archival collection of diaspora/homeland personal letters, in original or digital formats, which will enable further analysis of this unique and little known cultural practice of modernity. We continue this work in the hope that the development of this collection will open up a new avenue of investigation in Ukrainian Canadian studies and encourage further research and the study of letters, as unique artefacts of modernity, as texts and as an important phenomenon in the domain of Ukrainian vernacular culture.

Over the course of the last several years, more than eleven hundred personal letters belonging to 29 distinct series were identified and archived in our archival hold-

ings.⁵ By a “series” here one should understand letters that were received at different times from one family, on one continent, by another family on a different continent. Such correspondence, if valued by the family, was usually kept in the family. Several individuals donated such old letters to our collection. Other letters I collected over the course of the last two decades as a part of my fieldwork in Ukraine and Canada. Letters were also donated to our archival program by families or individuals who still continue corresponding with their relatives or friends in Ukraine.

The majority of the letters currently housed in our collection represent correspondence received by Ukrainian Canadians from relatives overseas, most often from Ukraine itself. Only eight small series contain letters sent from Canada to Ukraine and only one family exchange archived in PCUH represents in part the two-way traffic of the letters—from Canada to Ukraine and from Ukraine to Canada. This imbalance is due to the specificity of the letter exchange itself, as people rarely copied their own letters before sending them off overseas and even more rarely did they carefully file such copies together with the letters received. Currently, the project has been most active in Canada, with field research in Ukraine being on the small side due to funding limitations.

Our letter collection contains a variety of material. The letter series range in terms of number, from a few letters to several hundred letters per series. The largest series we processed at PCUH was originally donated to the Bohdan Medwidsky Ukrainian Folklore Archives (BMUFA), University of Alberta, in 2007. The Ruptash Letters Series, consisting of 457 letters spanning the years of 1924 through 1997, was carefully processed and fully digitized by PCUH, with permission of the donor and BMUFA.⁶ The geographic distribution of our correspondence is wide as well, and includes letters sent to Canada (and the United States) from Ukraine, Russia, Poland, Romania, Israel, Argentina, and Australia. Some correspondence includes letters, while others, in addition to letters, also have postcards, photographs, receipts, and other kinds of documents. Some collections contain letters that were exchanged between close members of the immediate family. Other letters represent a very different kind of transnational letter writing, in which distant relatives on both sides of the Atlantic, all related to original migrant(s), reestablish contact through letters in pursuit of family history, genealogical curiosity, and for other personal reasons (including potential economic benefit). Yet with others, as in the case of the Olha Buyniak Series, the letter writing connects old and new friends found through travels to Ukraine. This friendship-based correspondence is highly distinctive in its character, contents, tone, purpose, style, and message. Thus, while the family letters tell us something about the longing for the lost kinship connection, the correspondence between friends (people who see each other as soul mates) offers a very different kind of intimacy and range of topics discussed.

The work of developing personal letter collections is tedious and demands great attention to detail, knowledge of several languages, and a good understanding of the social and cultural dynamics of the Ukrainian communities in Canada, Ukraine, and elsewhere. In our effort to systematize the incoming material, we faced several unique challenges. The technology of documenting and archiving the correspondence had to be developed and tested; in the process, some logistical questions had to be resolved. In many ways the most important issue we faced was the problem and challenges of representation. Imposing clear-cut categories on all the donated documents, letters, postcards, notes, envelopes etc., was a doubly challenging task. On the one hand, it was a matter of logistics. But on the other, assigning labels to all the material and then storing it in accordance to the newly established categories, smacked of finality of categorization. Imposing a particular order on the unyielding data lends the data a sense of credibility, but it also distorts it, and one needs to be always aware of this outcome of systematization.

For example, what can be considered “a letter” and on what grounds can we single it out? Do we go by the envelope containing many pages of correspondence (that could very well be written by several individuals)? If one chooses to see the text written by one individual as a letter, what should one do with letters that represent a kind of chain-written text, written by different individuals on the same sheets of paper? And what about the length of writing? When is it a short note, as oftentimes we see on postcards, and when is it a letter? The following postcard note exemplifies this dilemma:

Dear friend Stepchuk, we have not heard from you for a long time. We are not upset. We are thinking about you. Our life here continues on as usual. I am reminded of the upcoming holidays and, therefore, wish you Merry Christmas. Myronykha died. As well, Vasyl's brother died. Happy caroling to you and your family, Maria and Dmytro Stepaniuk.⁷

The above letter/note written on a small Christmas card, was received by Maria Smal', in the village of Hrytsevolia in 1959, and is representative of the entire collection of letters I received from Mrs. Smal' in 1998. Though it is very short, the weight of the information submitted is substantial enough not to be considered as just a postcard fill-in.

It is also impossible to know whether the collections we archived thus far are complete. Perhaps, some letters went missing in the family archives for a variety of reasons. With researchers turning to the study of individual letters, careful reading through the letters will allow them to identify any gaps in correspondence.

Not only the ways of classifying the incoming material had to be designed, but the ways of maintaining the database in some effective way also had to be created.

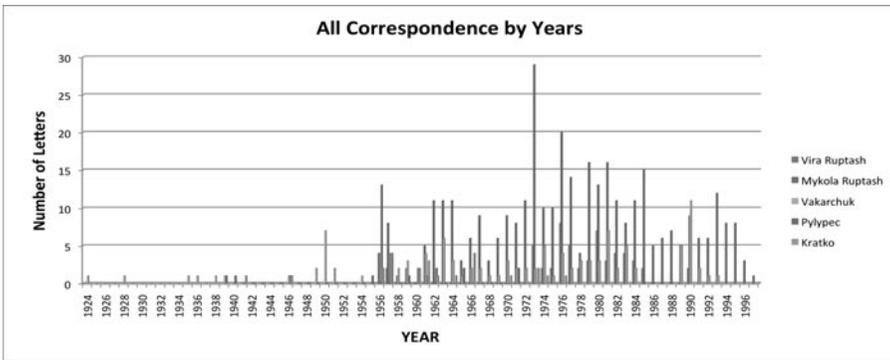


Fig. 1. Chronological distribution of five largest immigrant letter series held in Personal Sources Archives, Prairie Centre for the Ukrainian Heritage.⁸

Do we name the collection by the name of the donor, by the name of the principle addressee or receiver, by the name of the principle writers, or by the geographic locations involved? To pay respect to the writers themselves, we chose to name our collections after the principle writers or addressees. But when we informally refer to various collections, we tend to use the geographic references. At the same time, if we want to make this collection accessible for future researchers, especially those with a strong family interest in the correspondence, the names of addressees are far more useful as a data anchor. Thus, it seems that there is no perfect way, as each method has its pros and cons.

The overall chronological dimensions of principle correspondence collections suggest that letter writing was actively pursued throughout the twentieth century (see fig. 1). The majority of letters currently in our holdings arrived from Ukraine in the second part of the twentieth century. This does not mean that early years yielded fewer letters (careful reading through the entire collection will help to answer this question as well), but that the early letters had fewer chances to survive. Part of the reason could be that in the early stages of corresponding with the homeland, the Canadian writers were as a rule still uprooted and mobile and had fewer chances to keep the letters in a safe place for a long time.⁹ The political developments in Europe in the first half of the twentieth century (world wars, the redrawing of political borders that “moved” Ukrainian lands from one state to another, and the rising of the “iron curtain”) also affected and slowed down the flow of letters across the Atlantic.

The use of language in personal correspondence requires special consideration. If, at times, it is very easy to identify the language as Ukrainian (or Polish or English), in many other cases, the writing is in local dialects and is executed in a unique writing style that may rely on the alphabet of more than one language and observe no

punctuation rules.¹⁰ Such letters escape easy reading, as has been the case with the Larson letters. When in the early 2000s, Karen Larson asked me whether I could help to translate the old family correspondence that her family kept, I gladly agreed. Karen soon brought the letters, and I immediately realized that the task was beyond me, as the language in which the letters were written was nearly incomprehensible to me and a few other people who looked at them upon my request. Written in what appears to be Polish, Ukrainian, and Slovak renderings of phonetic utterances, executed in a particular handwriting style that defies any translation efforts, the correspondence was simply impossible to decipher. Regretfully, we still have no translator for this collection, but we have added this correspondence to our archives, so possibly, in the future, a linguist or linguistic anthropologist with an interest in Central European dialect dynamics in the early twentieth century will be able to decipher these letters for Karen's family and for future researchers.

DEFINING THE UKRAINIAN TRANSATLANTIC LETTER WRITING

As mentioned above, attempting to conduct any analysis of personal correspondence requires some general understanding of the phenomenon itself. Given the lack of study of Ukrainian transnational correspondence in Canadian ethnic studies and building on my research findings thus far, below is my understanding of Ukrainian transnational letter writing in the twentieth century. This discussion does not pretend to offer the final and complete picture, as the phenomenon I am attempting to define is far larger than the data I have assembled thus far. My analysis in this section, informed by the letters in the PCUH collection and their content, focuses in the first place on the nature and the dynamics of the letter exchange itself. In the last section, I turn to one family correspondence to present the complex world of letter writing and its meanings in the form of a case study.

How can one conceptualize the practice of personal transatlantic letter writing among Ukrainians in Canada and Ukraine? While I share the above considerations concerning the study of the personal "immigrant" letter, I have come to believe that the Ukrainian letters exchanged between the families on both sides of the Atlantic in the twentieth century require a customized approach to their study. First, trained as an anthropologist and folklorist, I see this cultural phenomenon of transatlantic letter writing as a truly *vernacular* phenomenon, which came to life and has been maintained by many so-called "ordinary" individuals, and that unfolds in the domain of the non-institutional culture of everyday. Second, unlike other researchers who, in their examination of immigrant correspondence, specifically focus on immigrant letters, or correspondence between the immigrants themselves and their families and friends in the homeland, I see Ukrainian transnational letter writing as a long-lived

vernacular practice sustained not only by those in the immigrant generation, but also those in subsequent generations. As an outcome, and this brings us to the third point, continued throughout the century, this letter writing practice experienced many phases in its development and has indeed acquired many features of a tradition, having been steeped in (and having borrowed from) ritual, folklore, and what Bruner (1990) called the folk psychology. Fourth, the phenomenon of letter writing, though it is usually traced through individual letters, is best understood as a phenomenon, rooted in and sustained not only by individual agency but a certain kind of collective agency generated outside individual will and within particular groups of individuals.

Let us briefly consider qualitative changes that took place in this practice over time. One can identify at least three distinct phases of letter writing in the Ukrainian Canadian context. The earliest transatlantic exchanges of letters unfolded in the immediate families that became subject to what in time became long-term or permanent separation. This correspondence was brought about by the departures of select family members and, therefore, could be properly labelled as immigrant correspondence. With their writing style firmly rooted in the folk psychology of the day, the letters written and exchanged in the earlier periods of immigration, containing much detail about the immigration, served both the personal and public purposes as discussed earlier. It is this kind of correspondence, labelled immigrant letters, that received much academic attention outside Ukrainian studies and minimal attention within Ukrainian studies as discussed earlier. I will refer to this phase of letter writing as the *initial (transatlantic) correspondence*.

With time passing and all kinds of changes taking place in the lives of the authors of the letters, correspondence, if continued, moved into its next phase. The writers, engaged in this next phase of letter writing, often were the same people who started corresponding with the overseas relatives in the first place. Yet, their social roles as family members (as children, siblings, parents, grandparents, aunts/uncles, and great aunts/uncles, etc.), and their expectations of kinship relations in the local and transatlantic context changed as well. Correspondence in this phase was carried out in a rather ritualized manner, with letters sent at intervals (a couple of letters per year) often as Christmas and Easter greetings (making letter writing itself even more ritually constructed). Letters became highly repetitive, formulaic, and contained, as a rule, minimum information about the local lifeworld, as was the case with the above cited letter to Maria Smal' of Hrytsevolia, Ukraine. Diligently registered deaths and births of the family members, and thanks for parcels received would constitute the core of the message in the letter; the elaborate formulas for greeting, expressing gratitude, and bidding good-bye all serving as supporting scaffolding that structured the letters in the same shape over and over again. Maintained for years at such sparse

intervals, this correspondence would dwindle with time, especially if the initial writers passed away. I refer to this phase as *habitual (transatlantic) correspondence*.

In many cases the eventual ending of the family correspondence was also directly informed by developments in the homeland (in Soviet Ukraine and other adjacent countries where the writers lived). The Soviet censorship of family correspondence, as mentioned above, has been by far the most contributing factor to the slowing down of letter exchange. In the 1980s, *perestroika*, and, subsequently, the collapse in 1999 of the Soviet Union of which Ukraine was a part, injected new life into transatlantic letter writing as the descendants of the original migrants, after long periods of silence, started seeking each other out. A significant shift in the meanings and purpose of such correspondence took place. The writers who engaged in transatlantic letter writing in this period, possessing little to no knowledge of each other, engaged in very different letter-writing projects, representing a new round in transnational correspondence between Ukrainians across the Atlantic, to which I refer as the *revival (transatlantic) correspondence*.¹¹ This recent stage of transatlantic letter writing has been unfolding for the last thirty years in a dramatically different context than earlier. Since the political changes in Europe in the 1980s, Canadian families began visiting their long forgotten homelands overseas and renewing their family connections with their distant relatives in Ukraine. Capitalizing on the renewed family ties, representatives of the Ukrainian families started visiting and eventually immigrating to Canada. The transatlantic letters continued their job of connecting the two worlds, now far more open and familiar to each other than before. Since this phase continues to unfold, the letters' historical immediacy and unassuming nature prevents this phase of transatlantic letter writing from being easily recognized by the researchers as an important cultural practice of late modernity. This ignorance will most likely give way to a keen academic interest, once the tradition of letter writing dies out at the hands of new technologies of communication based on instant electronic exchange.

To illustrate the points raised above with respect to the unique dimensions of the Ukrainian letter-writing tradition, let me turn to a particular collection of letters exchanged between two extended families over the course of some eighty years in the twentieth century.

THE WAKARCHUK LETTERS

The Wakarchuk letters serve as an excellent example of a typical family correspondence that connected many Ukrainians in Canada and Ukraine throughout the twentieth century. Since this collection of letters, like most of our holdings, includes only the letters sent from the homeland, my analysis is based on reading the letters sent

from the homeland. Yet, the contents of the Wakarchuk letters reflect reasonably well the two-way exchange between families in Canada and Ukraine, as letters, written in response to the letters that previously arrived from Canada, typically included some information about the Canadian family.

Like much other correspondence, this series has seen various phases in its development. Consisting of one hundred and twenty two letters sent from the homeland to Canada and written between 1924 and 1993, the collection was donated to our archives in 2010 by Mrs. Pauline Semenuik from Yorkton, Saskatchewan. While the letters in this series are now housed in our archive, Pauline and her brother continue corresponding with Ukraine. Therefore, our holdings represent only a part of a nearly ninety-year-old correspondence that continues. The core of this collection consists of the letters written by Stefan Wakarchuk, of Davydivtsi, Chernivtsi *Oblast* (*province*), to his brother Wasyl Wakarchuk of Yorkton, Saskatchewan, with other family members occasionally entering the letter exchange as well. Of all our holdings, the Wakarchuk correspondence is unique for, when it comes to letters from Ukraine, it is primarily maintained by the male writers (see fig. 2).¹²

Wasyl's story of making it in Canada is also a typical story of its time. Upon his arrival in Canada in 1913, fifteen-year-old Wasyl worked at the coal dock in Fort William, Ontario, where he spent the first two years of his stay in Canada. In 1915 he travelled to Saskatchewan and remained there, working as a hired hand on various farms until 1924, when he acquired his own land and married his wife, Zenovia.¹³ One can presume that Wasyl began corresponding with his family in Davydivtsi soon after his arrival in Canada. As Wasyl was the only one of his immediate family who came to Canada, it is most likely that the events in Europe (e.g., World War I), prevented other members of his immediate family from joining him. Left behind in Davydivtsi were his parents and four younger siblings, who all remained in the village throughout their lives and bore children of their own, some of whom joined in the family correspondence in its last phase (from the 1980s). It is not surprising, therefore, that, since Wasyl had no other immediate relatives in Canada, staying in touch with his family throughout his life was important to him.

One of the earliest letters in this series is from Wasyl's mother, who briefly reports on the state of the family in 1928. The letters from later years represent correspondence with the next of kin, a younger brother Heorhii, who in his letters offers regular updates on family affairs, the weather, and the general health of everyone in the family. Stefan comes into the picture in 1949 with a letter dated 12.11.1949, in which he mildly scolds his brother for not having written recently. From this letter one can assume that the two had been writing to each other earlier and that the gap in the correspondence can perhaps be explained by a number of circumstances, including the fact that the year 1949 and the late forties were still a turbulent time in Western Ukraine.

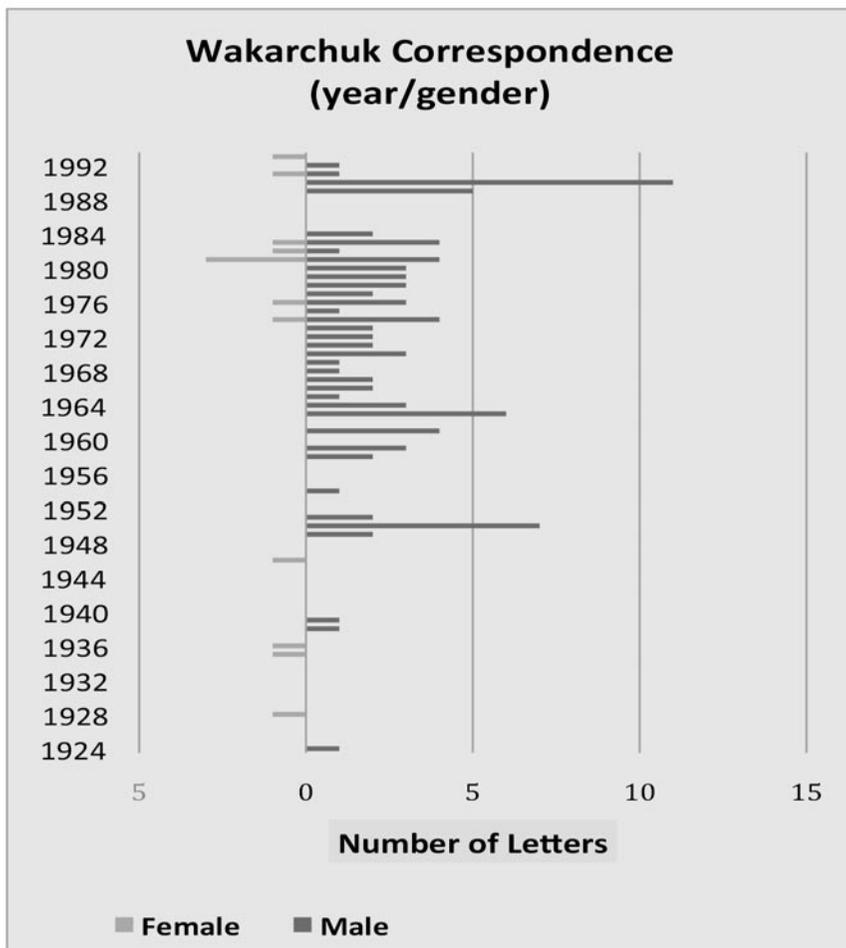


Fig. 2. Chronological and gender distribution of the Wakarchuk Correspondence Collection (122 letters), 1924-1993, Hanley, Vegreville, Yorkton, Saskatchewan; Davydivtsi, Chernivtsi, Ukraine; Lugci, Romania. Personal Sources Archives, Prairie Centre for the Ukrainian Heritage.

Stefan, who became the primary correspondent with Wasył, was fourteen years Wasył’s junior. Stefan was the youngest child in the family, and it is possible that the responsibility for maintaining contact with the oldest brother was delegated to him in accordance to some local unwritten customs. Or, perhaps, the reason Stefan actively pursued the correspondence with his oldest Canadian brother had some-time to do with the fact that the two hardly knew each other as individuals, given their age difference and the physical distance between the two.

The two brothers corresponded with each other until the end of their days.

Wasył died in 1985 and Stefan in 1991. Stefan kept writing letters to Canada even after the death of Wasył in 1985, with a short (two-year) break, according to the collection. He resumed his writing in 1987, addressing his letters to Wasył's children. The last letters from Stefan are dated just a year before his own death in 1991. Those letters were executed on paper by other family members for him; he dictated them, as the style of his composition is the same as in earlier letters.

Thus, the letters from Stefan to Canada in our collection span forty years (1949–1989). The two brothers knew each other only through correspondence and met just once, for a very brief visit in 1973. That year, Wasył went on the classic *Intourist* tour to the USSR,¹⁴ with a brief stopover in Chernivtsi and an even shorter clandestine late-night visit to his village of Davydivtsi (Wakarchuk n.d.). Their only connection to each other were their own letters, which, as mentioned above allowed only for a formalized, ritualized relationship, with no possibility of a real human connection, as the transatlantic letter-writing practice with all its limitations dictated its own understanding of how the brothers could stay in touch and even how they could relate to each other.

Placed neatly next to each other, confined to a small space of a few research folders (in our collection), this long-lived family exchange strikes the researcher as a moving testimony to the burdens of long-term separation and longing for family. The letter-based relationship between the two brothers, which spanned sixty years, is compressed into a few hundred pages, most written in a surprisingly uniform way despite their being spread out across time and space. The letters exchanged between the two branches of the Wakarchuk clan are usually short, with the longest being about four notebook pages. Highly formulaic in their organization, they are elusive in content, offering the researcher not many answers, but many further questions.

Stefan's letters all resemble each other in their organization, brevity, narrative techniques, usage of local metaphor, stance, and mood. The writing of each letter typically follows well-established local belletrist habits and a script that is repeated from one letter to another. Stefan, it seems, hardly ever deviated from his way of writing for forty years, despite the fact that his own life had taken him outside of Davydivtsi. In the 1950s the letters from Stefan were arriving from Romania where he lived for some time. In 1958 he returned to his home village, which had been collectivized following the annexation of Western Ukraine to the USSR in 1939. After his return to the home village, the letters begin to look even more alike. In each letter, Stefan offers ritualistic greetings ("I bow to honour you"), assurances of health, and wishes of even better health to Wasył and his family. He then follows with short statements on current weather conditions and the harvest (dry or wet, poor or bad). Though many hints are offered from letter to letter regarding the difficulties of village life since the annexation to Soviet Ukraine, few specific references were included

to ongoing sociocultural changes that Davydivtsi had undergone through those thirty years of his living there. It was as if the war, underground guerilla fighting, the collectivisation of private family farms, and the exile of villagers to Siberia had little effect on him and his relationship with his brother. The letters are full of these and other voids that effectively blocked the flow of information about the actual state of affairs in the village.

Below I cite one of the many letters from Stefan to Wasyl, which, relying on formulaic writing and local metaphors of the time, still convey, at times with the help of “folkloric negation,” messages about the realities of the life in the village (see fig. 3):

(15.09.63):

Dear *Badika* Wasyl –

I send my best regards, to you, *Badiko* and to you *Liliko*,¹⁵ and to your children, and to your grandchildren. I am bringing to your attention that we are all, thanks to God’s will, healthy, and we wish all of you even better health. And I am writing to you, dear *Badika* Wasyl, that I also received your letter and photographs (*fortyhrafii*) and the parcel, for which we all thank you, *Lilika*, and your children very much, that you took the trouble and sent us your photographs and the parcel, in which there was everything that you sent us.¹⁶ The trousers are a good fit and the shirts are suitable. The parcel came a month later than the letter.

Our life (*povodzhennâ*) is as usual in the old country, and in [this] new life, one has to write briefly, but understand well. It is as happy here as at the cemetery, and we are as well fed as on Easter Friday [when one fasts for the entire day, N.K.-F]. It is because this year we had a great draught from God Almighty. And from those district priests [*zems’ki svîashchenyky*] there is only burned ground, so we are left very ‘rich’. It’s like a son brags that his father is very rich – he has three barns [*stodoly*], in one there is a flail [*îsip*], and in the other one there is sheaf [*snip*], and in the third one [a mouse] came in looking for a grain. That is how we continue on with our life, moving forward like the crawfish.

And I ask you, *Badiko* Wasyl; if you have a chance to see Stephan’s Andriy’s Wasyl; his father asks him to write a few words one day. And with this, I have nothing else to write you, but I send all of you thousands of my greetings.

Stay well. Please write back.¹⁷

Stefan, despite his brevity and careful adherence to local belletrist tradition, manages to communicate to his brother, with the help of metaphor and folkloric expression, the general state of life in the village. Davydivtsi, like other villages, was collectivized after the annexation of Western Ukrainian lands to the Soviet Ukraine, with those in disagreement with the new political powers exiled, their properties confiscated, and most rebellious members of the family shot. The practice of religion was suppressed as was the entrepreneurial spirit of the shrewd villagers. The reference to the district priests will be understood by insiders as a reference to the local Soviet authorities from the district centre who were responsible for collectivisation and then for the

Доц. Д. 163. а Володимир Стефан
Davidovitch, - 2 -

Дорогий Вагико Васильовиче,
Кланяюсь до вас Вагико і до
вас Лилико і до Вахисе зятим
і до Вахисе Онукив.
І до пошу вам до відома що
ми тут знаємося з вас із рашки
воєної війні цієї згоріли і варт
цього разом іще французого
здорові окуляри,
І тимув вам догори Вагико
Васильовиче я вів вас лист
сприятів і сродимі рашки і
такують до компе вам і Лилико
і Вахисе зятим, душки догори
звукують цієї разом що всім
потрудити і нам всім свої
сродимі рашки і такують.
І компе було то-всіє що
ви нам всім і до по розмірі
добри споді і корольки підходи
і такують прийшов підвину
місцеві вів листа,

І наші новоздане як звикло
у старіть краю а у новіть скити
скоролено написати а добри по-
ридудити. то-маке всім як
на звіттарі а ситте як у
вирікозду ніятти муро,
До-у нас цего німа душки вилит
пошоро вів догори, а вів цю
земську і вилити такі
пошоре не, так що осталимсе
душки болати. Ек яксе сир французе
що яло тато душки болатий
має три сродимі у рашки цю а у
додри ситте, а у треті мимі у
пошу займила аби зерно-маши
І так ми цю ситте продовжав-
и цю написав так як так,
І проміж Вагико Васильовиче маєти
налогу цю ситте пошоріти із ситте
Васильовиче догори просе яло Желіо
аби Кольм підходи написав пуд ситте
І всім писав що писати тільки
поздоровіт вів цю ситте разом на цю ситте
разі вів згорі; проміж вів писати.

Fig. 3. Letter from Stefan Vakarchuk [Wakarchuk] to Wasyl Wakarchuk, Sept. 15, 1963. Wakarchuk Correspondence Collection, Personal Sources Archives, Prairie Centre for the Ukrainian Heritage.

management of the local collective farms. From letter to letter, Stefan makes convoluted references to the year 1957, which one presumes was the year in which Davydivtsi was collectivized, in statements like “it has been six (seven, eight...) years since we have had no fields... We are now used to not having to work on our field, etc.” Repetitive as they are, Stefan’s letters contain little personal information about him or his family, though they include the important milestones such as births, deaths, marriages and illnesses of family members in the Wakarchuk clan in Ukraine. In addition to these expected textual reappearances, every second letter contains a reference to a parcel having been received.

The correspondence goes on for years, without seeming interruption until 1973, when Wasyl finally returns to his village, clandestinely, for a half-hour midnight visit. Of course the length of this visit was not chosen by Wasyl, who went on the three-week *Intourist* tour around Ukraine, as did many others in the 1970s, in hopes of setting foot—even if for mere minutes—on the native land.¹⁸ Wasyl returned to Canada and the correspondence between the brothers continued, surprisingly, without much change. Thus, the same short letters kept arriving in Yorkton, containing the bare bones of the information deemed by the Wakarchuks in Ukraine as worthy of or safe to pass on to those in Canada—about health, deaths, and new family members, local weather reports, and the prospects of the upcoming harvest. It is only in the mid-1980s, with the new climate of *perestroika* in the former USSR, that the letters begin to contain more real life information.

I asked Pauline, Wasyl's daughter, in an interview in 2010, whether she knew about this extensive correspondence his father kept up with his family in Ukraine. No, she exclaimed, and proceeded to point out that she and her brother knew that he had relatives in Ukraine, but their father never specifically told his children that he had been writing and receiving letters from Ukraine throughout his life. Mrs. Semenuik recollected that he was sending some kerchiefs (*khustka*)¹⁹ to Ukraine. Still, she said that she and her brother did not know that their father had kept the old letters all those years. When her father died in 1985, Pauline told me, she, her brother, and his wife discovered this correspondence in his house to their great surprise.

With her father's death, and with the discovery of all these letters, Pauline, together with her brother, soon engaged in the same correspondence. The year of their father's death, 1985, signalled the transition in this family correspondence to the next phase. Pauline and her brother found themselves actively corresponding with the children of their Ukrainian uncles, and then with their children as well—all of them inevitably becoming new contributors to this decades-long family correspondence. For Pauline, her brother and their second cousins in Ukraine, this engagement in transatlantic letter writing became a different project than it had been for Wasyl. The correspondence, representing now the third phase in Ukrainian transatlantic letter writing, the revival correspondence, continued on through the 2000s and is still strong today.

The last letter from Stefan which was received by Wasyl is dated 1984. In this letter, in addition to the usual account of the weather and the harvest, Stefan lists all the children and grandchildren in the family that were born to the Wakarchuks in the twentieth century in Davydivtsi. Most likely, he was providing this list in response to a possible inquiry from Wasyl, who may have requested this information in his previous letter to Stefan.²⁰ It is symbolic that at the end of his life, and at the end of their personal correspondence, the brother is re-introducing to his oldest brother in Canada all the younger generations of what used to be their own family, perhaps hoping that each new branch would re-establish its own relationship in time. Though it was probably hard for the two brothers to envision that their correspondence would continue beyond their own time, Stefan inadvertently introduced the new potential writers to all the future readers of his correspondence.

In this letter, the last few lines are both moving and telling:

I have nothing more to write you, dear *Badiko*. I wish all the best to you and your children and your grandchildren and great grandchildren. All of us here greet all of you there, and we wish you all the best in your work, just as we wish you good health.

Stay well.

Until our next sweet meeting, even if only in these letters,

Please respond, Your brother Stefan.²¹

The line, “until our next sweet meeting, even if only in these letters,” would be Stefan’s last words that Wasyl would read before he died. In his last letter to his brother, Stefan yet again resorts to the collective *we* of a family that sends its regards to Canada, “*all of us here greet all of you there.*” It has long become a habit for him to write the personalized greetings to Wasyl, his wife, their children, and, later on, to their grandchildren. Ritualized greetings were usually addressed to all the members of the family in this individualized manner (to *Badika*, *Lylika*, their children, and later their grandchildren). With time, Stefan also adjusted the introductory greetings he used in his letter to his older brother. He began incorporating into the greeting formula, initially used only for his brother, all the other family members of Wasyl, his children and then his grandchildren, addressing them as one entity—“all of you.” And so, his last letter contains the good-byes expressed by one corporate group to another, directed at the family at large—“all of us here greet all of you there.” I read this duality as a testament to the perseverance of kinship corporatism. The greetings are executed by individual writers, but they are also written on behalf of their larger families, and, therefore, serve as the disclosure of an implicit desire to redeem the lived disconnectedness between the two brothers, who never had an opportunity to form a real relationship outside their letters, by means of constructing not just personal but collective longing for the long-lost kin. In such narrative revelations, individual agents of letter writing unintentionally resort to acting in accordance with the corporate principles of traditional family maintenance, despite the burdens of transatlantic family disconnections.

CONCLUSION

Ukrainian Canadians have exchanged letters with their overseas families and relatives for as long as they have been living in Canada. Despite this, scholars have little understanding of how this vernacular practice of modernity has been lived out by Ukrainian Canadians. There is even less understanding of how transatlantic letter writing has affected the individuals, families, and communities on both sides of the Atlantic. This article addresses the existing gap in scholarship with respect to the study of the immigrant letter and offers a general overview of the phenomenon of transnational letter writing in the Ukrainian Canadian context, and of the challenges in researching the letters as cultural artefacts.

In this article, I have examined transatlantic family correspondence in the Ukrainian context from an anthropological viewpoint. Adopting an anthropological perspective to the study of transnational family letter writing allows one to identify vital cultural mechanisms that drive and sustain such correspondence over a long period of time. Most researchers, when studying and working with personal immi-

grant correspondence, tend to focus on the exchanges taking place between individual agents of letter writing. It is true that the correspondence would not have happened if not for the will and desire of individual writers to keep it going. But, considering this phenomenon in its length and totality, and keeping in mind that it exists at the intersection of both diaspora and homeland cultures, allows one to identify a different kind of agency that kept this correspondence alive despite the historical events in the twentieth century. Correspondence was maintained not only between individuals but between extended families on both sides of the Atlantic. The Wakarchuk letters are representative of many other letters that we have in our collection and that are probably still being held in personal family archives by many Ukrainian families in Canada. As with the Wakarchuk letters, individuals in many other families who exchanged letters with the old countries, entered and left the correspondence, but the correspondence continued, albeit between new and different members of both families.

Thus, letter writing, when continued through generations, became a cultural practice of a *corporate nature*, if one can borrow an anthropological understanding of kinship as an early example of a corporate social organization. When we recognize that transatlantic letter writing takes place not only between individuals in one historical moment or another, but between kinship groups with the life span of a century, we understand that the two kinship groups involved in the letter exchange are the corporate agents of correspondence, that both benefit from such exchange, each side in its own way. As such, transatlantic personal correspondence served many writers and their families as an effective tool for the formation and maintenance of not only a unique understanding of who the overseas Ukrainians became or remained to the writers, but, ultimately, of the writers' own sense of who they were, as members of their own families, local social networks, and their ethnic communities. The examination of these effects of family correspondence begs further investigation; to further this investigation, the search for and the archiving of personal correspondence must continue.

NOTES

1. An earlier version of this paper was presented at the annual meeting of the Canadian Association of Slavists, University of Waterloo/Laurier University, Waterloo, May 26-28, 2012.

2. *Homeland* here designates various territories from where Ukrainians immigrated to Canada at the end of the 19th and the beginning of the twentieth century. I operate with the word 'homeland' in the way it is understood in contemporary diaspora studies where it serves as a useful analytical category in opposition to the concept of diaspora and generally means the place of origin.

3. Central Ukraine, once a Southern Province of the Russian Empire, was incorporated in the USSR in 1922 and western Ukrainian provinces of Galicia and Bukovina in 1939 and 1945.

4. "Reading the Emigrant Letter," International Conference, Carleton University, 2003; "Jag lever och har hälsan": Letters and Diaries of Swedish Immigrants in North America," Augustana College, 2004; "The Uses of Immigrant

Letters”, Workshop, German Historic Institute, 2006; “The Migration Letter: Archiving Intimacy in the Postal Era” International Symposium, Immigrant History Research Centre, University of Minnesota, 2010.

5. *Personal Sources Archives*, initiated in 2009, grew out of two research projects, “Ukrainian Canadian Personal Memoirs” and “Letters to/from the Old Country.” The goal of this program is to build a collection and create an inventory of vernacular documentation that is of importance to the study of the Ukrainian cultural experience in Saskatchewan, Canada, and around the world. As a research program, our mandate is to actively seek, collect, and preserve such personal documents as letters written to/from the “Old Country,” diaries, family histories, personal memoirs, photos, and other relevant documentation. Both projects are the outcome of a larger research program, *Diaspora, Homeland and the Ukrainian Other in the Twentieth Century*, supported by a SSHRC’s Standard Research Grant (2007–2010). Special thanks go to Orysia Ehrmantraut, Nadya Foty, Maria Melenchuk, and Yuriy Kirushok, graduate student researchers and research affiliates, who assisted with the creation and maintenance of the general Correspondence Database and selected digital collections. Dr. Olena Huzar, of the Ternopil National Pedagogical University, Ukraine, and a graduate research assistant, Yuriy Kirushok, located other collections in Ternopil and Rivne *Oblasts* [provinces] of Ukraine. Those letters, sent to Ukraine from Canada, Australia, USA, Poland, and Israel are being archived at PCUH.

6. We digitized, labeled, and named each item contained in this collection (this number exceeds one thousand), and organized all the documentation in chronological order (including the chronologization of the computer data layout). The digital version of this correspondence is now available in both BMUFA and PCUH archives. At PCUH, it is also available in printed format.

7. Postcard from Anna Stepaniuk (Canora) to Maria Smal’ (Hrystevolia village, L’viv *Oblast*, Ukraine), 18/12/59. Hrytsevolia Correspondence Series, Personal Sources Archives, PCUH.

8. Ruptash series contain 457 letters, Wakarchuk series—122 letters, Pylypec series—30, Kratko Series—24 letters. 9. As was noted by Orm Overland, in his discussion of Norwegian immigrant correspondence, the letters were most likely to be preserved by the sedentary groups, farmers in particular (Overland 2010).

10. I am reminded here of Marija Dalbello’s observations that immigrant letters are, in fact, true testaments to the power that the oral tradition holds in the communities of the writers. Having studied South European letters, the researcher commented in her presentation in the International Letter Symposium (May 2010) that the texts of the letter oftentimes reminds one of the *scriptura continua*, the flow of the text in the mediaeval documents with no punctuation observed. She called the letters the “subaltern form of literacy” (Dalbello 2010).

11. Despite the assumed correlation between the phases in transatlantic letter writing and the phases of community growth among Ukrainian Canadians, the changes in letter writing first and above all correlate with the timeline of a particular family history in Canada (and with the immigration of the original migrants). In other words, each individual correspondence is as much governed by the circumstances of individual writers and their families as it is subject to the workings of the larger history of community development in Canada or Ukraine. Still, given that immigration took place in massive waves, family experiences with correspondence in general follow a shared chronology in its development.

12. Other collections of letters from Ukraine that we have gathered so far display the opposite tendency: the writing was sustained predominantly by the female members of the extended families.

13. The couple farmed together until 1965, when they retired and built a new home in Yorkton. In Yorkton, Wasyl and Zenovia led active lives as members of various Ukrainian organizations and the Ukrainian Orthodox community. Wasyl died in 1985, leaving behind four children, Alexander, Mary, Pauline, and Sylvia (interview with Pauline Semenuik, November 12, 2010). The family history of the Wakarchuks can also be found in the family history book recently produced by Wasyl’s son in the late 2000s (Wakarchuk, n.d.).

14. Founded in 1929, *Intourist* was the state-owned and operated Soviet company, solely responsible for handling foreign tourism in the USSR. Only organized foreign tourism was allowed in the USSR. *Intourist* offices were believed to be staffed by KGB agents.

15. According to Hrinchenko’s dictionary of the Ukrainian language, *badika* was used by Bukovinians in reference to older men and older brothers (<http://hrinchenko.com/slovar/znachenie-slova/584-badika.html>). *Lylika* as used here is most likely the feminine counterpart of *badika* (N.K.-F.). Editor’s note: the more recent Academy of Sciences dictionary defines it as a dialectal word referring to an older man. Andrusyshen’s Ukrainian English Dictionary describes it as a Western Ukrainian dialectal work meaning “old man (fellow).”

16. Probably a reference to the propensity for items to be “lost” in transit between their arrival in Ukraine and the designated recipient.

17. Letter from Stefan Wakarchuk to Wasyl Wakarchuk, Sept. 15, 1963, Wakarchuk Letters, Binder 4 (1924–1972), Personal Sources Archive, Prairie Centre for Studies of Ukrainian Heritage, St. Thomas More College, University of Saskatchewan.

18. Interview with Pauline Semenuik, November 12, 2010; see also the family history by Alexander Wakarchuk.

19. *Khustka*, a kerchief, was the most common item sent in the parcels to Ukraine. In Soviet Ukraine, especially in the countryside, the plain small kerchiefs from overseas were exchanged for up to 30 Soviet roubles on the black market, and the large and decorative ones could fetch 80–90 roubles (Stefan Wakarchuk letter to Wasyl, March 15, 1964). It is not surprising that the *khustka* assumed the role of currency in local village economies. The purchasing and symbolic power of the *khustkas* was high.

20. Wasył's interest in his own family genealogy would be very much in line with many other families' search for their overseas roots and families that has accelerated in the 1980s. The 1980s proved to be a different historic period when came to maintaining family memories. These were the years in which some Canadian provinces were celebrating their 75th anniversaries (Alberta, Saskatchewan), and many families of the original settlers were actively exploring their own family roots, in anticipation of centennial family reunions to mark both their anniversaries in Canada and the centennial of Ukrainian settlement widely celebrated in Canada in 1991.

21. Letter from Stefan Wakarchuk to Wasył Wakarchuk. Dec. [?], 1984.

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The Ukrainian Cultural Landscape in Canada and Brazil: A Century of Change and Divergence

Abstract

Between 1891 and 1914 thousands of Ukrainian peasants left their ancestral homeland in Western Ukraine to seek land on the agricultural frontiers of Western Canada and southern Brazil. Often these emigrants who left for radically different frontiers originated from the same districts and villages; some even came from the same families. The new landscapes created in Canada and Brazil by these Ukrainian pioneers reflected environmental differences between the Old World and the New. The Ukrainian landscape in Brazil showed the most immediate response to environmental change, but the isolation of the Brazilian communities meant that evidence of traditional folkways and aspects of material culture survived far longer in Ukrainian Brazilian areas than in Ukrainian Canadian communities. At the same time as these landscapes in the Ukrainian diaspora were evolving, the landscapes of the hearth area were also experiencing change. This paper is thus an attempt to consider the role of time, environmental change, and culture in three areas that are geographically widely separated, but retain certain cultural commonalities in radically different physical and political environments.

Résumé

De 1891 à 1914 des milliers de paysans ukrainiens ont quitté leur patrie ancestrale en Ukraine de l'Ouest pour des terres aux frontières agricoles de l'Ouest canadien et du Brésil du sud. Ces émigrants qui partaient pour des contrées radicalement dissemblables, provenaient souvent des mêmes districts et villages, si ce n'est des mêmes familles. La manière dont ces pionniers ukrainiens ont réaménagé ces territoires, reflétait les différences environnementales du vieux et du nouveau monde. Au Brésil, ils se sont immédiatement adaptés au changement géographique, mais l'isolement de leurs communautés a permis aux formes de vie traditionnelles populaires et aux caractères culturels architecturaux de leurs villages de survivre beaucoup plus longtemps que chez les Canadiens ukrainiens. Parallèlement aux transformations des paysages de la diaspora ukrainienne, d'autres mutations se faisaient aussi dans son foyer ancestral. Cet article tente donc de considérer le rôle du temps, du changement environnemental et de la culture dans les trois régions qui retiennent certains points culturels communs malgré leur grand éloignement géographique aux unes et aux autres et des terrains physiques et politiques radicalement différents.



INTRODUCTION

In the closing years of the nineteenth century, peasants from the Austrian-governed western Ukrainian provinces of Galicia and Bukovyna began a migration to the agri-

cultural frontiers of the New World. By the time the outbreak of war in Europe halted this emigration in 1914, there were over 170,000 Ukrainians in Canada, mostly in the Prairie West, and at least 30,000 and perhaps as many as 43,000 had settled in the southern provinces of Brazil: Paraná, Santa Catarina, and Rio Grande do Sul (fig. 1). They were able to take with them few possessions, only those that could be crammed into a trunk and hauled across the ocean: clothes, tools, seeds, and, perhaps, a handful of soil and a religious or cultural symbol. Their cultural baggage was more extensive. They transferred their religion, language, folkways, agricultural technology, architecture, and other elements of their culture to the lands they settled.



Fig. 1. The study areas: Ukraine, the parkland belt of Western Canada, and the state of Paraná, Brazil.

The long-standing interest of geographers, social historians, and anthropologists in the process of transferring material culture to new lands by migrating peoples is reflected in the literature devoted to the issue. Many studies, for example, Jordan (1985), Upton (1986), Jordan and Kaups (1989), and Noble (1992), consider the transfer of Old World folk architecture to the North American settlement frontier. Migration of an ethnic group to different settlement frontiers is not unusual: Welsh emigrants settled contemporaneously in Patagonia, Ohio, and Alberta, as did Italians in Brazil and Argentina. Germans settled in Canada and Brazil, and Mennonites pioneered in Canada, the United States, Mexico, Belize, and Paraguay at roughly the same time. Surprisingly, with the exceptions of Luebke (1990) and Loewen (1993), there are few studies of contemporaneous cultural transfer from a single hearth to frontiers radically different in their climatic, environmental, and social characteristics, and those that attempt to evaluate change both in the cultural core and in colonised areas on the periphery are rare.

This paper analyses the forces bearing upon the trans-oceanic transfer of Ukrainian culture from the Old World hearth to the New World periphery using the cultural landscapes of Ukrainian-settled areas in Western Canada and southern Brazil as an index of cultural change. There is an extensive literature in English devoted to Ukrainian agricultural settlement and material culture in the Americas, but it is mostly concerned with the Ukrainian landscape in Western Canada. Lehr (1974, 1975, 1980, 1982a, 1988), Hohol' (1985) and Nahachewsky (1985) have offered detailed descriptions of Ukrainian Canadian vernacular architecture. The material culture associated with Ukrainian pioneer agriculture was described by Ewanchuk (1976, 1988) and analyzed by Melnycky (1988). More recently, Fodchuk (2006) provided a very detailed account of the material culture associated with Ukrainian settlement in east-central Alberta. Lehr (1982b) gave a general account of the Ukrainian landscape on the prairies, but Darlington (1991) considered the Ukrainian cultural landscape in Manitoba in more detail. As part of a sweeping interpretation of ethnic landscapes on the prairies, Swyripa (2010) also examined how various peoples, including Ukrainians, placed their cultural imprint on the land. Although Albanski and Lehr's (2012) study of Ukrainian and Polish cemeteries in rural Manitoba was thematically and geographically more limited, they argue that cemeteries are effective indicators of cultural change, which can still be applied to other areas of Western Canada occupied by Ukrainian and Polish settlers.

Unfortunately, the literature dealing with Ukrainian settlement and material culture in Brazil is limited (Hrymych et al. 2011). A concise account of the settlement of the Prudentópolis area is given in Portuguese by Zaroski (2001), but despite the recent publication of a trilingual English-language volume devoted to the Ukrainian experience in Brazil, material is still very sparse in any language. Boruszenko (1978), Cipko (1986), and Lehr et al. (1997) outlined the course of Ukrainian agricultural settlement and institutional development. Greater detail is provided by Cipko and Lehr (2011) and Bondarenko (2011), while Morski's (2000) translations of pioneer accounts from Ukrainian-language Brazilian sources let the immigrants recount their personal experiences. A rare exception is a recent profusely illustrated study of Polish and Ukrainian architecture in Paraná, which builds a strong case for the survival of Slavic elements in the rural landscapes of certain regions of the state (Larocca Júnior et al. 2008).

Many ethnic groups settled in southern Brazil, and they all encountered the same administrative framework and, often, very similar physical conditions. Accounts of the experiences of German settlers in Paraná, São Paulo, and Santa Catarina, for example, provide information on the environmental problems faced by settlers of all ethnicities (Ilg 1978; Bergmann 1994; Wagner 1995; Ludwig 1997). With the exception of Cardoso and Westphalen's (1981) *Atlas histórico do Paraná*,

much of the literature in Portuguese dealing with settlement tends to be descriptive and to lack geographical analysis.

CULTURE AND LANDSCAPE

Places are created by people whose cultures determine the appearance of those places, thus the landscapes of places function as the visible memory of the cultures that spawned them. As a society evolves and its culture changes through adaptation to technological innovation, environmental shifts, and economic developments, its landscape will reflect those changes, responding to socio-economic forces that change societies over generations. Cultural landscapes, furthermore, are relatively immune to the transient fashions of mass culture because they generally respond slowly to social changes. On the other hand, when landscapes experience significant alteration caused by deep cultural shifts, changes may become embedded, etched deeply into the ground, and endure for centuries. Even today, the political decisions of Roman road builders and the technological abilities of Iron-Age farmers are visible in many Western European landscapes, seen, for example, where Roman roads still determine some of Europe's modern road networks and ancient field patterns remain visible in the pasturelands of Britain's highland regions (Bowen 1963, 14-50).

Not all forms of material culture become semi-permanent features of the landscape. For example, land tenure systems, communications, and fortifications are more deeply etched into the landscape than most domestic and religious architecture or the material cultural artifacts of peasant architecture. The material of construction also plays a role. Stone or brick buildings generally outlast wood or adobe structures, while some elements of culture such as crop types and land-use practices tend to be ephemeral elements, changing with the seasons and responding quickly to shifts in market prices.

Culture may be viewed as the flow of information. Cultures associated with specific ethnicities can thus be viewed as the coalescence of social values, economic systems, technological abilities, and the physical environment. A change in any of these can be expected to affect the culture in a way that may be expressed in a material fashion. Cultural landscapes thus reflect how, and to what degree, information flows into and penetrates cultural regions and determines social and attitudinal change within them (Hannerz 1992, 217-267). This interpretation draws from a variety of approaches taken by geographers to the study of overseas European colonial cultures. Since environment, economics, and social structures all affect the flow of ideas and information into frontier communities and shape new cultural forms, meta-narratives and overarching explanations are suspect (Lyotard 1984, 1-3). This study, though focussed on one facet of the cultural complex, has wider implications. It confronts,

albeit indirectly, what Wallerstein (1991) termed the emergence of the global system, as new trans-national, even global, flows of images, objects, people, and ideas, transcended political borders and cultural boundaries and began to shape the new global ecumene during the period of mass migration at the close of the nineteenth century.

The paper first presents the background to the emigration movement that swept through Western Ukraine around the turn of the century, before reviewing elements of the migration and settlement process that bore upon the process of cultural transfer to the frontiers of Canada and Brazil. The reconstruction of Ukrainian cultural landscapes in the New World is seen as a process responsive to local, national, and trans-national factors. To illustrate this, the cultural landscapes of the hearth area and the settlement frontiers at the turn of the century are described. The forces acting for change within these landscapes are identified. These landscapes—one hundred years later—are then analysed to assess the impact of migration and social change. This latter analysis is based on field reconnaissance undertaken in Western Ukraine in 1998, 2005, 2006, and 2008, in Brazil in 1995 and 2009, and in Western Canada from 1971 to 2012.

FROM UKRAINE INTO THE DIASPORA: THREE RURAL LANDSCAPES

Emigrants from Western Ukraine to the frontier lands of the Americas around the beginning of the twentieth century left a peasant economy. It was, however, a time of transition. Elementary education had been made available to most, if not all, of the peasantry; railway construction was opening up the region and exposing it to wider regional and global markets while simultaneously facilitating the penetration of manufactured goods from Austria and beyond (Himka 1990; Hryniuk 1991). Enlightenment movements were urging social reform and providing access to information through reading halls and co-operatives. Political and national awareness was on the rise as the social-democratic ideals and the patriotic themes of Ukrainian writers found ready audiences among the increasingly literate younger generation. But for most who lived on the land, there were stronger links to the seemingly changeless routines of the agricultural round of peasant life than there were to the undercurrents of modernity that were beginning to flow into the region. The peasants' capital lay in their land, and most were unable or unwilling to venture into the service trades or commerce, the greater part of which lay in the hands of Jews.

Whether on the cusp of modernisation, as Hryniuk (1991, 212-214) argues, or mired in a sea of poverty as Soviet and other historians have claimed, there is no doubt that in the last decades of the nineteenth century the region was facing an agricultural crisis. Most farms, especially those in Bukovyna, were small, fragmented, and inefficient. The inheritance laws of the region promised further fragmentation of

peasant holdings and a decrease in farm size, which, when combined with a number of social and religious irritants, made for a gloomy outlook for the next generation.

Clear migration patterns had emerged by the mid-1880s as peasants sought off-farm work outside the region to supplement the meagre returns from their holdings. These migrations evolved from seasonal excursions to Bessarabia and Prussia to longer sojourns on the eastern seaboard of the United States. Emigration to the agricultural frontiers of the New World was a logical progression of this trend. In the early 1890s Ukrainian peasants began to emigrate to both Canada and Brazil, whose governments were aggressively recruiting immigrants to settle on the agricultural margins and to provide a pool of cheap labour for their emerging resource industries.

Both Canada and Brazil offered free or cheap land to European immigrants. Canada promised a free homestead of 64.2 hectares (160 acres) to all bona fide agricultural settlers. Brazil offered approximately 25 hectares for a nominal price. Both countries promoted themselves by advertising campaigns waged on their behalf by emigration and steamship agents operating in Western Ukraine, as well as in the ports of departure for the Americas. Bombarded with conflicting claims and advice and caught up in the “emigration fever,” most peasants simply followed relatives, friends, and fellow villagers who had left earlier, creating a chain migration which channelled emigrants from specific villages into the same settlement areas in Canada and Brazil (Lehr and Morski 1999; Lehr et al. 1997; Lehr 2011).

THE LANDSCAPE OF THE HEARTH ON THE EVE OF EMIGRATION

Western Ukraine, at the close of the nineteenth century, was a land of regional diversity. The administrative divisions of Galicia and Bukovyna encompassed many distinctive regional sub-groups of the Ukrainian people, each with its own cultural and landscape identities. At the turn of the century many Ukrainians described themselves by regional rather than national terms—as *hutsuly* from the Carpathians, *boyky* from the western plains and Carpathian foothills, *lemky* from the north-west foothills, *halychany* from the central plains, *bukovyntsi* from Bukovyna, and so on. Each of these regions was associated with a particular topography, architectural style, and folkways (Jóukowski 1935; Kuzela 1978).

Despite considerable regional variation, it is possible to isolate some common characteristics of the cultural landscape of Western Ukraine. Houses in all three regions were generally south-facing, single-storey, two- or three-roomed rectangular dwellings with hipped, hipped-gable, or gable roofs. Thatched roofs were the norm, though in forested areas wooden shingles were commonly used. Within the house social space followed a traditional pattern. The small room on the west side of the house contained the indoor oven (*pich*). This room, *mala khata*, had multiple func-

tions. It was the place for eating, sleeping, and socialising. The eastern room, *velyka khata*, was generally used for more formal occasions and as the sleeping place for the adults. Houses were typically built of wood, the construction type reflecting the availability and cost of building material. In Transcarpathia's forests, houses and barns were constructed of large timbers placed horizontally and notched or dovetailed at the corners. Where wood was a scarcer commodity—in the Galician lowlands—the peasants used the same technique and also employed post-and-fill construction, occasionally even vertical timbering. To compensate for the use of less satisfactory logs, buildings were mud-plastered inside and out and coated with a white lime-wash, which, in turn, was frequently coloured blue along the lower parts of the wall and colourfully decorated along the top of the facade.

Every house had a large indoor clay oven invariably placed towards the centre of the house in the western-most room, thus dictating a central chimney location. In some regions eyebrow vents in the front of the roof were a prominent feature. Houses generally had one door placed either in the centre of the facade in three-roomed houses or slightly to the west of centre in two-roomed dwellings. Floors were either hard packed earth or sawn planking.

In most Western Ukrainian farmsteads an array of ancillary buildings could be found—stables, barns, and so forth—that were constructed in the same fashion as the house. A general storage shed (*komora*) and outdoor oven were generally present. In the hill country of Hutsul'shchyna, farm buildings were still frequently organised so as to form a square around a central yard and linked together by a high stockade wall in order to provide a refuge for stock (*hrazhda*). In other parts of Western Ukraine, buildings were similarly placed so as to form a central yard, although there was no attempt to replicate the fort-like appearance of the *hrazhda*; yards and gardens were enclosed only with the distinctive wattle fence.

Village settlement was the norm in Western Ukraine. Villages were not tightly clustered. Most houses had a garden, some of which were fairly large; hence the Ukrainian village appeared more as a loose clustering of small-holdings than the compact assemblage of buildings that might be associated with rural service centres in Western Europe. In the more mountainous areas villages were constrained by topography, straggling along valley floors. In this rugged physical landscape of narrow valleys winding among hills covered with deciduous forests, various nationalities often shared the same villages. Most houses were built of horizontal logs without the complete whitewashed clay-plastered exterior that was more or less ubiquitous in the lowlands of Galicia and Bukovyna. Houses and ancillary buildings had more steeply-pitched shingled roofs than houses in the lowlands, which were more likely to have thatched roofs.

The lowlands and plateaus of Galicia and Bukovyna ranged from areas of low, rolling hills to extensive glacial till plains with scattered deciduous woods. More

densely settled than Transcarpathia, they were ethnically more homogenous, but were still culturally diverse. In both areas scattered ethnic German colonies were found. Almost every village had a few Jewish families engaged in store-keeping and the petty trades. In the northern and western parts of eastern Galicia, Roman-Catholic Polish peasants lived among the Uniate Ukrainian peasantry. Ethnic lines between Poles and Ukrainians were often blurred, and ethnicity was defined by religion as much as by language and folkways. Northern Bukovyna had a somewhat similar cultural landscape and social mosaic with German colonies and Romanian villages scattered through the Ukrainian area. Not surprisingly, Ukrainian vernacular architecture there reflected Romanian influences (Domanyts'kyi 1910; Onykienko 1956; Himka 1990).

The most imposing building in the Ukrainian village was the church. Design differed by region, although liturgical demands imposed underlying uniformity. Older churches, especially in the more inaccessible mountainous regions, clearly reflected regional styles. By the late 1880s, railways were pushing into rural areas, enabling modern influences and industrial materials to penetrate even into formerly isolated areas. Traditional styles of church design were changing with a general tendency toward incorporation of Kyivan influences and modification of some of the more extreme regional characteristics (Rotoff et al. 1990).

NEW ENVIRONMENTS

The movement from Ukraine to the settlement frontiers of Canada and Brazil took Ukrainian migrants into new physical environments. Like many other immigrants, Ukrainians were awed by the vastness of the Canadian West. They avoided the treeless prairies and sought out the wooded environments of the aspen-parkland; sometimes they by-passed better lands in favour of locations where the vegetation and topography resembled that of their homeland region. The continental climate was more extreme than they expected, with summer temperatures reaching 40 °C, but sinking to -40 °C or lower in the depths of winter. Winters were far longer than anything they had hitherto experienced. First frosts arrived in mid-September, and the danger of frost was ever-present until late May. The annual precipitation in the parkland belt was about 490 mm, mostly convection rainfall in the summer months, not significantly different from the rainfall regime of Western Ukraine.

The vegetation of Western Canada's parkland and the southern fringe of the boreal forest is similar to that of Western Ukraine (Scott 1995, 121-153). Deciduous tree species abound in both areas, and pioneers found many types of flora, such as the high bush cranberry, with which they were familiar from the old country. Fauna, apart from black bears and timber wolves, did not appear to be unusual or dangerous.

Indeed the greatest obstacle was mosquitoes which, although they nearly drove the settlers to distraction, did not carry malaria or other debilitating diseases (Lehr 1996).

The move to Brazil, on the other hand, took immigrants into an unfamiliar world. Although the rugged topography of the interior of Paraná and northern Santa Catarina was somewhat reminiscent of the Carpathian foothills and highlands, there was little else that appeared familiar. Seasons were reversed, and the night sky was strange. Summers were enervating when temperatures ranged up to 43 °C with high humidity. Winters, while cooler, were wet. Rainfall was seasonal and intensive (1414.9 mm per year at Curitiba) and of longer duration than in Western Ukraine. During the rainy season rivers were swollen and travel difficult, if not impossible (Morski 2000).

The fauna and flora encountered in Brazil were also new to all European immigrants (Ilg 1978, 22). Red tropical soils supported dense jungle-like vegetation or forests of huge pine trees (*Araucária augustifolia*), whose girth astounded the pioneers (Bigg-Wither 1878). Upwards of two metres in diameter, these lofty pines were almost impossible to fell with an axe and, once felled, were difficult to split into useable timber (Morski 1995). Various species of bamboo were hard to tackle with the Ukrainian axe that simply bounced off springy canes. Settlers feared venomous snakes, constrictors, and ocelots. More serious, though less visible, were mosquitoes carrying malaria and yellow fever, two diseases which decimated the settlers in the early years (*Bat'kivshchyna* 1894a, 1894b; Olesk'iv 1895, 10-11).

In the Canadian West the North West Mounted Police monitored newly-settled areas and ensured that the Aboriginal peoples remained on the reserves allocated to them, thus reducing the contact between them and incoming settlers. By and large the Aboriginal peoples were friendly, sometimes offering food and advice to destitute arrivals. In Brazil, relations between the aboriginal peoples and incoming settlers were mixed. Some groups saw settlers as invaders, taking their traditional hunting areas and scaring away game. On occasion settlers were ambushed, as at Costa Cavalho, in Santa Catarina State, where a memorial plaque records that 15 Ukrainian settlers were killed there in 1899.

THE SOCIAL CONTEXT OF SETTLEMENT PATTERNS IN THE NEW WORLD

Settlement in the Americas, whether in Canada or Brazil, was governed by an administrative framework and system of land survey imposed by the host government. Immigrant society was immediately affected by the land tenure system in each country. In Canada, the Dominion Lands Act placed families on individual 160 acre homesteads, ensuring dispersed settlement and keeping population densities low (fig. 2). Ukrainian settlements developed as a series of extensive, low density, but geographically cohesive, blocs (Lehr and Katz 1994, 70-87; Lehr and Katz 1995, 413-429).

In Brazil, the government allocated land for settlement in nucleated *colônias*, mostly line-villages (*linhas*), which were widely scattered and often separated by tens of kilometres of difficult terrain. Settlements there thus constituted an archipelago of villages that were sometimes intermixed with the settlements of other European immigrant groups. Ukrainian settlements in Brazil were thus linear with their morphology resembling that of the hearth area in some respects (fig. 3).

Chain migration had important ramifications for cultural transfer since it led to the clustering of immigrants by region of origin. Thus, in both countries the majority of immigrants in specific areas originated from the same village, and those that did not, came from villages from within the same district of Western Ukraine. Thus clustering based on district of origin was common on both frontiers (Lehr 1985, 207-219; Lehr and Morski 1999). Regional folkways, traditions, and building styles were thus transferred to the Americas.

The nature of the emigration campaigns in Western Ukraine affected the regional character of migration. Although Germans from Bukovyna were settling in Paraná in the late 1880s (Ilg 1978, 62), very few Ukrainians immigrated to Brazil from there before 1914, and there was almost no immigration of *hutsuly*. Canada drew more widely with the result that the ethnic geography of Western Ukraine was quickly replicated in microcosm on the prairie parklands of Western Canada.

In Brazil, Ukrainian colonies were not only physically isolated from each other but were socially, physically, and economically removed from the surrounding Luso-Brazilian culture and those of other immigrant groups. Brazilian society and economy acted against the easy penetration of modernity. Its closed, hierarchal, and elitist society, weak central institutions, absence of power outside the landed oligarchy, lack of voluntary organizations or political clubs, and absence of comprehensive universities delayed the evolution of a meritocracy (Levine 1997, 85-87). The technological and scientific revolution associated with industrialisation and urbanization did not take place in Brazil because of its position of dependency in the international market, the weakness of the internal market, and the availability of cheap labour (Costa 1985, 195-201). Industrialization was hampered by lack of liquid capital, an adequate system of currency, credits, and banking, of skilled workers and technicians, and of a satisfactory transportation network (Burns 1990, 355-356). Canada knew no equivalent of the *Contestado*, a borderland claimed by Paraná and Santa Catarina, where anarchist movements flourished between 1912-16. Brazil's frontiers of settlement in Paraná and Santa Catarina were remote and poorly linked to the central economy (Ilg 1978, 36). For the most part the settlers were more likely to have contact with Syrian merchants and local indigenous people (*caboclos*), whose agriculture was subsistence-level, than with Luso-Brazilians (Baltzar 1995; Lesser 1999, 48-54). Opportunity for cultural borrowing was limited by infrequent cultural contact. Evidence suggests that caboclos

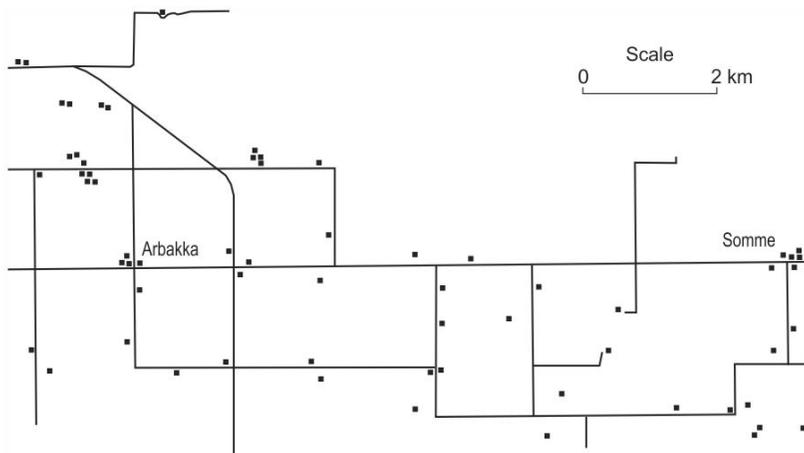


Fig. 2. The dispersed pattern of settlement in the Arbakka district of Manitoba is typical of Ukrainian settlement in Western Canada. © Department of Natural Resources Canada. All rights reserved. Reprinted with permission.

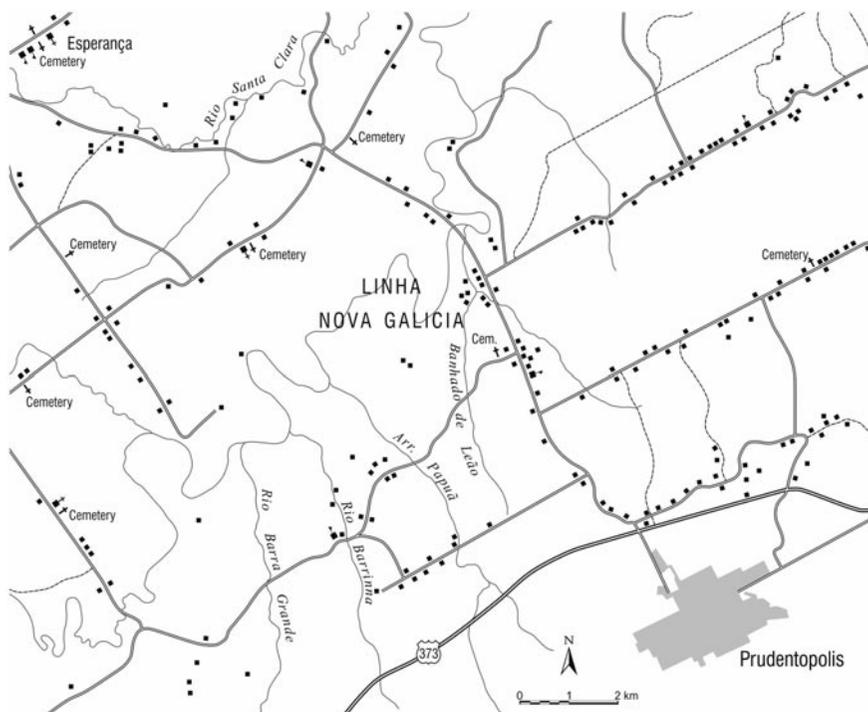


Fig. 3. The linear settlement pattern of Linha Nova Galicia, near Prudentópolis, Paraná, is typical of rural settlement in southern Brazil. Adapted, with permission, from *Mapa Municipal Estadística 2000*.

appropriated Ukrainian technologies more than the settlers borrowed from them (Ilg 1978, 38). Although there were opportunities to “work out” on railway construction or with American-owned lumber companies and be exposed to Luso-Brazilian, or at least non-Ukrainian, culture, they were fewer than in Canada. Labour was more abundant and cheaper in Brazil. Absence of well-developed agricultural sectors or a vigorous railway construction sector limited openings for off-farm employment (Burns 1990, 356). In 1914 Brazil had only 16,000 miles of railways, mostly in the coffee producing states of São Paulo, Minas Gerais, and Rio de Janeiro. Paraná had less than 500 miles of railways (Fundação Nacional de Material Escolar 1967, 54). At the same time, Canada had over 45,800 miles of railways, including two transcontinental lines which linked the western interior with the Great Lakes, Atlantic, and Pacific ports (Urquhart and Buckley 1965, 532; Mackintosh 1934, 44-57).

The politics of religion also affected development on the two frontiers. In Canada, the French Roman-Catholic hierarchy hoped to bring Ukrainian Greek Catholics into their fold and so resisted importation of Greek Catholic clergy, leaving them spiritually leaderless until 1912, comparatively late in the settlement era (Yuzyk 1982, 143-172; Martynowych 1991, 181-293). Virtually all Ukrainian immigrants in Brazil before 1914 came from districts in eastern Galicia, where the Catholic Church was dominant (Ilarion 1986, 69-75). The effects were profound. In Brazil, religious hegemony helped to further isolate the Ukrainian community from already weak external acculturative influences. For example, education in the Ukrainian settlements was dominated by the Uniate Church, which, as often as not, provided the initiative for the establishment of schools. Basilian priests and sisters of the Uniate service order *Sisters Servants of Mary Immaculate* staffed the schools in many colonies. Hannerz (1987, 545-559) argued that education itself is a cultural process and that the growth of formal education in remote underdeveloped areas is a facet of the penetration of the world system. Certainly the provision of education in the Brazilian colonies by the Uniate Church and the staffing of state schools by members of religious orders placed the church in a position where it was able to monitor, and largely control, the process of cultural change in the Ukrainian colonies in Brazil. Furthermore, since medical care in the countryside was, for decades, provided by the Sisters, the Church was the single most important institution affecting everyday life in the Ukrainian community. Ukrainian society in Brazil had no equivalent of the German-Brazilian settlers’ *Hilfverein* (self-reliance leagues) or the Ukrainian Canadians’ fraternal organizations (Ilg 1978, 39-41).

The respective influence of the Ukrainian churches is shown in the naming of places in Ukrainian-settled areas in Canada and Brazil. In Canada, Ukrainians named only a small number of settlements but those they did name have transferred toponyms, e.g., Boian, Halicz, Jaroslaw, Komarno, Senkiw, Terebowla, Ukraina, and

Zbaraz, or secular names such as Myrnam, Sirko, Seech, Zelena, Zhoda, and Zoria (Rudnyc'kyj 1970). In Brazil Ukrainian clergy played little or no part in naming places, so most places in Ukrainian areas have Roman Catholic religious or Luso-Brazilian secular names. Nova Galicia, locally called Nova Halychyna, and Upa (a post-WWII settlement whose name commemorated the Ukrainian Insurgent Army [UPA]), are the only settlements in Paraná with secular Ukrainian names (Nahachewsky 2011).

Ukrainian settlers in Canada pioneered on an agricultural frontier where the rule of law was well established, where producers were well connected to global markets by rail, where immigrants had access to banking institutions for credit, where education provided by the state was mandatory for all and higher education was accessible even to the children of immigrants, where the immigrant community, after some initial hostility, was courted by national political parties, and where egalitarian ideals were espoused. Furthermore, the late arrival of Ukrainian clergy, then competition among Roman Catholic, Uniate, Russian Orthodox, and Ukrainian Orthodox clergy, spawned community divisions leading to social dysfunction that rendered Ukrainian settlements open to penetration by Canadian institutions (Lehr 2011, 140-153). Orthodox and Uniate settlers squabbled, questioned the others' loyalty to the Ukrainian cause, fought over church properties, and even refused to patronize businesses owned by their rivals. Even within the Uniate Church there was dissension. In the first decades of settlement a weakened and divided Uniate Church competed for the religious loyalty of the Ukrainian population with Russian Orthodox, Independent Ukrainian Orthodox, French and Polish Roman Catholics, British Methodists, Presbyterians, and Baptists (Lehr 2002). In the absence of strong religious leadership, a wide spectrum of secular organizations flourished, further dividing the community along ideological lines.

Schools were organized and teachers were hired by locally-elected school boards, but overall responsibility for curricula and administration lay with provincial and territorial governments who saw education as the key to assimilation of the "foreign" immigrants. Until a cadre of Ukrainian teachers reasonably fluent in English was trained, school teacher positions were filled by young Anglophones mostly bent on the "Canadianization" of their Ukrainian charges through propagation of the English language and Protestant values. Medical services were lacking. In many Ukrainian settlements, Methodists or Presbyterians used hospitals as bridgeheads to proselytise immigrants and inculcate the values of English Canada (Friesen 1991, 345-7; Martynowych 1991, 214-233; Olender 1984, 1988; Krawchuk 1991, 216-17; McGowen 1991).

Trade can provide an effective vehicle to expose a frontier community to the values and attitudes of those that surround it. For the first two or three decades in most

Ukrainian Canadian rural communities, immigrant Jewish storekeepers from Eastern Europe dominated commerce. The Jewish store became the window to the Canadian world for most immigrant women and for men who chose not to “work out” beyond their community. By the early 1920s, a new national awareness, exemplified in the slogan *sviy do svoho*, basically meaning “patronize your own people,” encouraged the formation of Ukrainian co-operatives and the entry of Ukrainians into the business world. As Jewish business declined, the conduit between the colony and mainstream Canada expanded. Neophyte Ukrainian storekeepers adopted Canadian business practices and gained prestige from their degree of integration with mainstream society (Lehr 2011, 84-105).

The proliferation of railways in Western Canada before 1914 was an economic advantage for otherwise inaccessible districts, but just as they hauled out agricultural products, they brought in the manufactured goods and the attitudes and ideologies of mainstream Anglo Canadian life. The Ukrainian Canadian community was thus penetrated relatively easily, and so, from their early years, they were open to the forces of modernity.

CULTURAL LANDSCAPES IN THE DIASPORA

Movement to the frontier necessitated the immediate provision of temporary shelter and a return to the simpler forms of shelter used in the homeland only on a seasonal basis in some highland areas. Accounts of the pioneers' first days in Brazil recount the erection of simple tent-like temporary shelters made of palm leaves and bamboo which were sufficient to deflect the sub-tropical rains (Morski 2000). Similar shelters, made from pine or poplar, were built in Canada for summer shelter, but the severe cold of the Canadian winter demanded more substantial shelters. Dugout shelters, patterned after the seasonal mountain shelters of the *hutsul* shepherds (*burdei* or *zemlianky*), were commonly used. A pit about a metre in depth was excavated, over which a tent-like wooden framework was erected (Nahachewsky 1985; Lehr 2011). This was filled in with other materials such as branches, before the entire structure was covered with a layer of sod. Many settlers spent their first winter in such dwellings; some were occupied for two or three years until more permanent shelter could be erected.

In both Canada and Brazil the first real houses built by Ukrainians were patterned after those in the homeland (figs. 4 and 5). For the most part they lacked the finer points of decoration, and some were crudely constructed from poorly trimmed timbers. In Canada there was an immediate impact on construction methods occasioned by the quality of timber found in various locales occupied by Ukrainians (Lehr 1980, 183-196). In Alberta, for example, Ukrainians generally settled in well-wooded

areas. Whether poplar or pine, the woodlands were mostly mature and timbers of substantial girth were readily available; hence, building with horizontal corner-notched logs was virtually universal. In other parts of the parkland belt, Ukrainians occupied land where forest growth was largely immature, recovering from fire damage; here they turned to post-and-fill. Where no mature timber was available, stockade walling was used. Settlers of other ethnic origins located adjacent to Ukrainian colonies employed these methods of log building, but there is no evidence to support the belief that Ukrainian settlers borrowed from them. All these construction methods were used in Western Ukraine where access to, or the price of, building timbers determined the building methodology adopted (Samoilovych 1972, 11-15).

Ukrainian building techniques in Brazil also reflected homeland experience. Most pioneers built from wood. The size of the most common species of timber made construction with logs the preferred methodology. The prevalence of large trees reduced the need to resort to post-and-fill or vertical timbering, but the great girth of the larger pines ruled out their employment in traditional corner-notched building; hence, slabs of sawn timber were used instead. Nevertheless, a good proportion of pioneer houses were built in the traditional fashion, using slab timbers, rather than the small diameter logs employed in Ukraine and Canada, but oriented to the north in response to hemispheric shift and the position of the sun. The humid climate argued against the long-term survival of wooden dwellings unless built from certain hardwoods, so relatively few buildings from the pioneer era survive. The archival record of the Ukrainian-Brazilian newspaper *Prácia* suggests that second-generation dwellings built in the 1920s and 1930s incorporated design changes to adapt to the Brazilian climate. For example, the indoor *pich* was unnecessary and impractical in sub-tropical areas. Year-round temperatures argued against cooking indoors so the *pich* was placed adjacent to the house, typically remaining attached to the structure, modifying the profile of the building by moving the chimney location but retaining the essential character of the dwelling (fig. 6). Similarly, plastering the interior and exterior of the dwelling, commonly undertaken in Ukraine to cover the imperfections in logs, for insulation, and for aesthetic reasons, became redundant in Brazil. Second-generation houses constructed of high quality sawn timbers were seldom plastered, but instead were painted on the exterior. Some houses incorporated a second doorway to the facade, giving direct outdoor access from each room (fig. 7; Larocca Júnior et al. 2008). Whether this was a response to the warmer climate, a cultural borrowing, or a spontaneous modification copied throughout the region is uncertain.

Construction and some design elements were adapted to the Brazilian environment, but the aesthetic qualities of the Ukrainian vernacular were largely unaffected. Second-generation houses, constructed with more care than the initial hastily-constructed dwellings, retained the front to side wall ratios seen in Ukraine. Roof styles



Fig. 4. One of the first Ukrainian houses near Prudentópolis, Paraná, in 1904. Reprinted with permission of the Archives of the Museu do Milênio, Prudentópolis.



Fig. 5. Ukrainian farm near Vita, Manitoba, ca. 1978, now abandoned. Credit: J. Lehr.



Fig. 6. Ukrainian farmhouse near Iracema, Santa Catarina, Brazil, 2009. Credit: J. Lehr.



Fig. 7. This Ukrainian Brazilian house retains many traditional Ukrainian elements. Credit: J. Lehr.

and the placement of doors and windows remained mostly unchanged and, significantly, the arrangement of space within the house generally followed the traditional segmentation of space using a two- or three-room plan. The tradition of decorating the eaves with elaborately carved “gingerbread” endured for decades and is still a hallmark of Ukrainian dwellings in the Brazilian countryside (Larocca Júnior et al. 2008). Icons graced the easternmost interior wall, as in Ukraine and Canada.

Ukrainian traditional designs proved to be well adapted to the Western Canadian environment and were transferred to Canada with little alteration. The *pich*, which radiated heat slowly, was well-suited to the extreme cold of the Canadian prairie winter. As in Ukraine, cooking in summer was done in an outdoor oven, sometimes free standing, but often housed in an ancillary building. When the early earthen floors in houses were replaced with sawn-timber floors, the great weight of the *pich* put a great strain on the joists, so it was replaced by a smaller cast iron stove. This had no visible effect on the house exterior as the modern stove stood in the same position as the old and was vented through the same chimney.

Second-generation houses, which began to be built in the 1920s, incorporated Canadian tastes in design and are best described as ethnic hybrids, merging the traditional with the modern (Lehr 1975). Retaining the southward orientation and the general arrangement of social space, these buildings often added a three-quarter second storey and moved to the simple gable roof. Traditional decor was partially retained, with blue or green a preferred colour choice for the trim with the wood-siding painted white or cream, resembling the lime-washed exterior of the traditional dwelling (Lehr 1974, 1980).

THE RELIGIOUS LANDSCAPE IN THE DIASPORA

In both Canada and Brazil, Ukrainians settlers began to build churches within a few years of their arrival. Early churches were small, designed only to house the small congregations found on the emerging frontier communities. Their builders worked from memory, using local timber to replicate the styles of their homeland villages (figs. 8, 9). In the 1930s, the settlers began to build more elaborate and larger churches using brick and stone, in place of the ubiquitous timber formerly employed, and embraced the Byzantine dome style. At this time local designers began to emerge. In Canada, for example, the Basilian priest Philip Ruh designed and built churches across the prairies. Using a variety of materials ranging from logs to reinforced concrete, he mixed traditional Ukrainian and Western European design features to create a striking “prairie cathedral” style (fig. 10; Romaniuk 1984). In Brazil, similar trends were evident. Some quite opulent churches were built, even in communities with limited resources, as in Paraná (fig. 11). Despite some stylistic

variations, Ukrainian churches in the diaspora almost always retained the Ukrainian banya, the onion-shaped dome (which in the diaspora became an icon of ethnicity), the separate bell tower, and the tripartite division of space within the church. For the most part, Ukrainian churches in the diaspora show remarkable uniformity; differences from the homeland are revealed not in variations in design or incorporation of local traits, but by their settings and the surrounding vegetation.

Nevertheless, there are now marked differences among the religious landscapes in the homeland, in Brazil, and in Canada. In Western Ukraine almost all Uniate churches are found in Galicia and almost all Orthodox in Bukovyna. During the almost fifty years of communist administration in Ukraine, church attendance was discouraged. Many churches were abandoned and no new churches were built. Surprisingly, virtually every village still retains a church and many new churches are being built. Most of these are brick, massive, and in the Kyivan style. In Brazil, most churches are Uniate and, in the rural areas, often conform to the basilica style favoured by the Roman Catholic Church (fig. 12). The few immigrants who came from Bukovyna after 1945 went mostly to the urban centres, hence Orthodox churches are not a significant presence in the rural landscape of Paraná or Santa Caterina. In Canada, the varied regional origins of the pioneer generation may be seen in some surviving examples of vernacular church designs transferred to the New World without any significant change in design or décor. Both Orthodox and Uniate churches are commonly found in the same settlements, a legacy of early and continuing religious factionalism.

AGRICULTURE AND TECHNOLOGY

At the close of the nineteenth century the Czech ethnographer and photographer František Řehof travelled through eastern Galicia capturing images of Ukrainian village and agrarian life. He photographed a society still largely immune to the inrush of modernity, an economy where craft industries prevailed, and a relatively static agricultural technology which encouraged the perpetuation of established practises, and landscapes shaped by peasant culture and attitudes (Hryniuk and Picknicki 1995). It was a society beginning to be penetrated by goods manufactured outside the region, some of which were beginning to alter the look of the village as they replaced traditional materials in the construction of buildings. For example, the fire hazard was beginning to be reduced by the replacement of straw thatch with corrugated iron on roofs (Bilachevsky 1911, 24). Nevertheless, agricultural technology remained essentially pre-industrial. Much harvesting and threshing was still done by hand. Hay was dried and stacked in the fields using traditional techniques, and stacked in farmyards under an *oborih*, a distinctive apparatus that permitted a thatched roof to be raised or lowered on four corner poles as the stack's height varied (fig. 13).



Fig. 8. The Ukrainian Orthodox Church of St. Elias, Sirko, Manitoba, built in 1909, is an example of the traditional folk style. Credit: J. Lehr.



Fig. 9. Ukrainian Catholic Church near Prudentópolis, Paraná, ca. 1910. Reprinted with permission of the Archives of the Museu do Milênio, Prudentópolis.

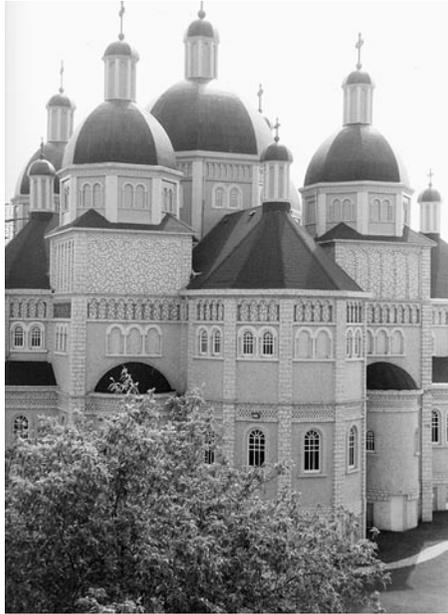


Fig. 10. The “Prairie Cathedral” style Ukrainian Catholic Church at Cooks Creek, Manitoba, was completed in 1950. Credit: J. Lehr.



Fig. 11. Ukrainian Catholic Church, Esperança, Paraná, Brazil. Credit: J. Lehr.



Fig. 12. General view of early Prudentópolis and the Church of St. João Basilio. Reprinted with permission of the Archives of the Museu do Milênio, Prudentópolis.



Fig. 13. An *oborih* in Nebyliv, Ukraine, 1998. It did not transfer to Brazil or Canada as it was rendered obsolete in Canada by technological change, and in Brazil a changed environment rendered it redundant. Credit: J. Lehr.

Although there were reports that some emigrants to South America took with them their wagons in “knocked down” form, the direct shipment of agricultural implements or farm equipment was unusual among Brazilian emigrants and unknown among emigrants to Canada. Most emigrants took only the ironware of scythes, sickles, axes, and other hand tools (Ewanchuk 1988, 59-64; Melnycky 1988, 37-44). There were significant differences in the survival of old country technologies in the New World. Environmental differences determined this. Settlers in Canada were able to grow most crops grown in Ukraine. Wheat, barley, rye, hemp, and beans all flourished, as did a range of vegetables, including cabbage, onions, peas, potatoes, beets, and cucumbers. Tobacco and frost-prone orchard crops fared poorly, but mushrooms, a Ukrainian favourite, were abundant. Indigenous cranberries, Saskatoon berries, chokecherries, and pincherries replaced the cultigens of the homeland.

For the first few years after settlement in Canada, most settlers continued to practise “old country” agriculture, using hand tools to cultivate small areas until such time as they could afford to mechanize and had cleared sufficient land to make it worthwhile to do so. Thus, some agricultural practices were transferred from Ukraine, though few endured for more than a decade. Improvements to Western Canada’s communication network and easy access to manufactured products led to rapid agricultural change. Hemp, for example, grown for its fibre and seed-oil in Ukraine, ceased to be planted when inexpensive denim cottons and cheap processed cooking-oils became readily available. Rye declined in importance as settlers switched to wheat bread, while the area devoted to oats increased in direct relationship to the replacement of oxen with horses, only to decline when gasoline-powered tractors were introduced in the 1920s. Generally, Ukrainian settlers eagerly adopted North American farming methods. They were exposed to them through contact with earlier-established settlers of other ethnicities from whom they secured seasonal employment as labourers or as members of threshing gangs. Even before mechanization, Ukrainians adopted North American harnesses for their teams and abandoned their straight-shafted axe in favour of the superior curved-shaft North American type. Some pioneers built wagons patterned after the style of their homeland, but North American designs, such as the *Adams* wagon with a broad flat bed, soon demonstrated their superiority, and were rapidly adopted by Ukrainian immigrants (Ewanchuk 1989).

In Canada Ukrainian settlers quickly adopted the mechanized farming practices of their already established neighbours with whom they came into frequent contact through “working out” to generate capital. They were encouraged by the presence of implement dealerships in even the more remote colonies and by the relatively high price of contract labour. They were encouraged to mechanize by provincial Agricultural Representatives, whose mission was to foster the adoption of scientific

farming methods. The railway companies, too, promoted modern farming by running competitions between districts and offering prizes to the most progressive areas. In the Ukrainian-language press, farmers were encouraged to be progressive, to adopt new methods, and to emulate their successful Canadian neighbours (*Kanadiis'kyi ranok* 11 Dec. 1923, 29 Aug. 1930; *Ukrains'kyi holos* 14 Aug. 1914, 8 Sept. 1928, 24 April 1929).

For example, techniques and technologies of haying still practised in Western Ukraine (such as the *oborih*, see fig. 13), were quickly rendered obsolete in Canada by the introduction of ox- or horse-drawn swathers and balers. By the early 1920s Canadian methods were vigorously promoted by provincial agricultural institutions. Traditional agricultural practices survived only in the less prosperous areas and had largely disappeared by the 1930s. Modernity in the form of agricultural technology precipitated change in the rural landscape. Wide-turning circles required for team-drawn machines forced relocation of farm ancillary buildings, as well as construction of new buildings able to accommodate large machines.

In Brazil the agricultural economies of the southern provinces, where Ukrainians settled, remained backward, tied only tenuously to wider national and global markets. The rugged topography of Paraná and Santa Catarina and weak links to global markets for agricultural products retarded the development of rail and road communications. Whereas thousands of miles of track in Western Canada placed almost all settlers within a few miles of a rail shipment point by 1914, in Paraná there was only one railway that linked the region to the coast. Most Ukrainian communities were, and remain, a hundred kilometres or more from the nearest railway. Poor roads, under-capitalization of agriculture, weak federal initiatives in agricultural development, and the absence of major industrial centres to drive the market for local agricultural products exacerbated the situation. Even today, relatively few farms in Brazil's Ukrainian colonies are mechanized and a high proportion of Ukrainians still engage in subsistence farming (Cipko and Lehr 2011, 190-191). Some crops grown in Ukraine, such as corn, beans, rye, buckwheat, barley, peas, millet, cucumbers, and pumpkins, grew well in southern Brazil, especially on newly fire-cleared land. On the other hand, hemp could not be grown, wheat was difficult to protect from birds, and settlers lacked seed for growing orchard crops. New Brazilian crops were adopted, e.g., *mandioca*, bananas and oranges (*Svoboda* 29 Dec. 1898). The major problem was lack of markets. This encouraged self-sufficiency, reduced contact with the wider Brazilian community, and retarded agricultural and economic progress. The local Indian and caboclo population copied Ukrainians in planting rye and potatoes. Many learned Ukrainian, which became the lingua franca in the isolated communities of Paraná, Santa Catarina, and Rio Grande do Sul.

The rugged topography of Ukrainian-settled areas of southern Brazil continues

to impede mechanization. Conversely, the Ukrainian design of the horse-drawn wagon was ideal for the rugged hill-country of southern Brazil, so the design changed little. It was even appropriated by Luso-Brazilian farmers, who preferred it to their two-wheeled cart. As in Western Ukraine, wagon design remained essentially unchanged. In a poorly capitalised and non-mechanised agricultural economy, traditional methods and techniques endured. Even today, horses provide the motive power on most farms in Ukrainian districts (fig. 14; Cipko and Lehr 2011).



Fig. 14. In parts of Paraná and Santa Catarina, as in Western Ukraine, the horse-drawn traditional style wagon is still widely used. Credit: J. Lehr.

MODERNIZATION AND MODERNITY

Apart from a few brief years of independence after the end of the First World War, Western Ukraine remained under Polish rule until 1939 when the Soviet Union absorbed the region. Occupied by German forces from 1941 to 1944, Soviet rule was firmly re-established by 1946 (Magocsi 1983, 214). Under Soviet administration, the landscape of Western Ukraine experienced significant changes brought about by the imposition of collectivization and the modernization of the housing stock. The Soviet collective farm (*kolkhosp*), often established outside an existing village, was used to symbolize modernity. In some cases villagers relocated to be closer to their work. Collectivization was not in place for a sufficiently long period for it to have a

lasting effect on the settlement geography of Western Ukraine. Nucleated settlement is still the norm, though in the Carpathian foothills and highlands, the settlement pattern is affected by the topography and tends to be linear and more dispersed. Villages straggle along the valley sides, lacking obvious cohesion, much as they did at the end of the nineteenth century.

More obvious are the effects of Soviet standardized housing on the cultural landscape. Whereas traditional vernacular forms changed little and still prevailed until the post-war era, Soviet attempts to upgrade housing using standard patterns had a major effect on the look of the land. Mostly built in the agriculturally more prosperous areas, Soviet housing in Western Ukrainian villages retained few of the vernacular features that pre-1945 and privately built houses generally retained (Danyliuk 1991, 101-108; Kosmina 1980, 106-186). Among local people and visitors alike, there is a tendency to equate the authentic folk tradition with obsolete building technologies—thatched roofs, for example—and to be oblivious to some of the less obvious but deeper characteristics of the vernacular tradition, such as building proportions, the arrangement of space, door and window placement, and building ornamentation and décor—design elements which are determined by the social dynamics of space within the house—which still survive in many more recently constructed buildings (fig. 15).

The more flamboyant and atavistic features of nineteenth century folk architecture are now seldom seen except in museum settings such as at the L'viv Museum of Folk Architecture and Life, where excellent examples of vernacular architecture and some spectacular wooden church architecture are preserved.



Fig. 15. This house in Bridok, Bukovyna, is of post war vintage but incorporates many traditional architectural elements. Credit: J. Lehr.

Nevertheless, in most parts of Galicia and Bukovyna, cultural landscapes, although changed considerably since the end of the last century, retain distinctive regional characters imbued by the presence of architecture, retaining elements of the Ukrainian vernacular tradition and the persistence of traditional agricultural practices not yet obliterated by the surge toward mechanisation and modernity. This is especially true of the Carpathian and sub-Carpathian areas where Soviet influence was resisted most vigorously, where topography makes mechanisation more difficult, and the less sophisticated agricultural economy remains less well integrated into the national and regional economy. In the mountains and foothills some of the housing stock predates the First World War; many of the more recent buildings follow, or incorporate, elements of the regional vernacular tradition.

Modernity also changed the look of the cultural landscape of Ukrainian rural communities in the diaspora, but it did so at different rates. In Canada the railways penetrated into virtually every Ukrainian settlement, linking them with global markets and facilitating imports of prefabricated buildings and milled lumber for construction of frame pattern-book houses. Expansion of the Canadian postal, telegraph, and telephone services exposed even the most isolated communities to the ideas and tastes of the outside world and brought in the mail-order catalogue and the consumer values that it promulgated.

Steam-powered tractors speeded land clearance even before the First World War. The introduction of caterpillar tractors and bulldozers in the 1940s accelerated the process. Expanded acreages boosted the economies of even the poorer and remote areas. Rural electrification in the late 1940s also expanded agricultural options (Lehr 2011, 81-83). Higher farm incomes were invested in new equipment, buildings, and houses, none of which were connected to the Ukrainian vernacular tradition. Government incentives to modernise and rationalize agriculture from the 1960s increased farm consolidation and quickened rural depopulation. Less prosperous farms, many with dwellings dating from the pioneer era, were the first to be abandoned. If not ripped apart for their lumber, they survived only as storage sheds until, in turn, that function was usurped. In the 1970s and 1980s pioneer-era houses were often viewed as an embarrassing reminder of the lowly social status held by Ukrainians in the early decades of this century. Rural depopulation and shifts in the ethnic character of areas pioneered by Ukrainians exacerbated the rate of landscape change. Today few pioneer houses survive and even fewer are occupied. A 1976 survey of Ukrainian vernacular architecture in the Stuartburn district of southeastern Manitoba identified forty-eight Ukrainian folk houses, some of which were occupied. Today fewer than ten survive, most of these only as abandoned shells (fig. 16). Marks of Ukrainian heritage are now confined to group symbols displayed in community buildings such as the Ukrainian National Homes, the sacred grounds of



Fig. 16. Abandoned in the 1960s, this house built at Sirko, Manitoba, by an immigrant from Bukovyna, ca.1908, now functions as a shelter for cattle. Credit: J. Lehr.

church and cemetery, the artificial environment of the heritage museum or modern-day church buildings where the ethnic symbolism is muted (Zuk 1984, 16-26; 1996). Today, apart from these elements, there is little in the landscapes of Ukrainian-settled areas to indicate the ethnic heritage of those who pioneered the land.

The present-day cultural landscapes of Ukrainian-settled areas in Brazil retain more evidence of a Ukrainian presence. Strangely, and despite the strong role of the church, the cultural symbols associated with religion are not more evident than in Canada. In fact, religious hegemony in Brazil reduced the number of churches built there. Otherwise, Ukrainian material culture has endured longer in Brazil. A poorer economy has meant that a higher proportion of the housing stock in rural areas has been built by the homeowner, rather than by a contract builder working from architect-drawn plans—a situation that closely parallels the situation prevailing in rural areas in Western Ukraine. Spatially and culturally inured from Western European and North American hegemony, builders were inclined to follow the fashion of the region and to preserve the traditional ordering of social space within the house. Thus, despite modifications to allow for the Brazilian climate, recently erected houses are more likely to retain Ukrainian elements in their layout, design, and decor. Paradoxically, both extreme poverty and even modest wealth both erode the continuity of vernacular building traditions—the former because shelter is so basic,

the latter because of an eagerness to demonstrate economic progress by acceptance of modern extra-regional Luso-Brazilian designs.

CONCLUSION

The transfer of culture from the Old World to the New was a complex process. It is difficult, if not impossible, to determine an overarching causality which explains the formation of the Ukrainian cultural landscape in the diaspora. A simple core-periphery model of cultural transference does not fully fit the Ukrainian experience. At the time of migration the cultural core (Western Ukraine) was on Europe's economic periphery. One hundred years later the relationship has changed. Ukrainian communities in Western Canada remain on the cultural periphery, but, in relative terms, constitute an economic core. Brazilian communities remain on the cultural and economic periphery. This model is further complicated by the political and economic isolation of the overseas communities from the cultural hearth between 1941 and 1991, when communications between core and periphery were severely restricted.

The current divergence of Ukrainian landscapes in Canada and Brazil is best explained by variations in the ways by which information and ideas flowed into the communities in the diaspora. Exposure to modernity in Canada occurred earlier and with greater intensity than in Brazil. Canadian institutions were active partners in the settlement process and helped to construct frontier society. In so doing they introduced Anglo-Canadian attitudes, ideas, values, tastes, and fashions, and promulgated a view that modernity was synonymous with prosperity, enlightenment, and the Canadian way. The seemingly simple act of replacing a traditional house-type with one without any trace of the vernacular style in its design or decoration became an overt affirmation of an immigrant's commitment to the new way, acceptance of the values of modernity and progress, and signalled the intention to be a loyal Canadian. Canadians evaluated the merit of immigrants by the rapidity with which they cast off traditional clothing and dressed "like Canadians." Similarly, their built environment became a metaphor for wider cultural appropriation. Within the Ukrainian community, retention of the traditional, whether in everyday dress or the domestic landscape, came to be seen as a mark of economic failure, rather than as a cultural icon celebrating national origins. Today, in rural areas first settled by Ukrainians, there is a formal landscape of constructed memory: a landscape of churches, cemeteries, public memorials, and the preserved past that symbolizes and celebrates the Ukrainian presence. Underlying this landscape is one of abandonment, replacement, and traces. Economic and agricultural progress and incorporation into the global ecumene, have obscured the unconscious impress of ethnicity on the land.

The situation in Brazil differed from that in Canada in three important aspects.

First, the channels of information into the Ukrainian settlements were far more limited; second, information was filtered through the Church; and third, Brazilian national institutions were relatively immature and never successfully approached the questions of Brazilian identity or of national integration. Within the Brazilian settlements the economy remained agricultural and undercapitalised. Cultural memory, the collective memory of the group, remained strong, reinforced by the hegemony of the Uniate church which derived its motive force from the repetition of culturally specific practices associated with its role as a guardian of national identity. Thus, although modified somewhat by its adaptation to a new physical environment, in the cultural landscape, the Ukrainian vernacular remained largely immune to the pressures acting upon it in Canada.

During the time that immigrant Ukrainians were creating new landscapes in the New World, the landscapes of the homeland were also evolving. Change was slow because the region remained on the economic periphery and, from 1945 until 1991, was a part of the Soviet Union, screened from non-Slavic influences by its position behind the “Iron Curtain.” But there was change. The economic and cultural landscapes of Western Ukraine at the end of the century were vastly different from those at the time of emigration. Yet for those in the diaspora, denied access to their cultural wellspring, the “real” Ukrainian landscape became locked in ancestral memory. Modernised Ukrainian landscapes, whether in Ukraine, Canada, or Brazil, were deemed inauthentic.

New environments usually elicited an immediate response from pioneers struggling to carve out a livelihood in a new land. For them adaptability was the key to survival. The ways in which the Ukrainian cultural landscape changed subsequently was a measure of the way that each immigrant community was reconstituted within the context of its relationships with local and national culture and institutions. Exposure to, and appropriation of, new cultural forms was determined by the nature of the host society, its level of economic development and political objectives, the immigrant community’s social and institutional hegemony, and its geographical position within the global ecumene.

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The Gathering Storm: The Mainstream Canadian Press Coverage of the Soviet Union in the Lead-up to Ukraine's Great Famine-*Holodomor*

Abstract

Although far removed from the Soviet Union geographically and by no means a major international power, Canada closely followed events in "Red Russia" from its very inception. This is clear from even a cursory examination of Canadian press coverage of the U.S.S.R., which was both extensive and quite detailed, especially when it came to reporting on Soviet agriculture in the first decade and a half of Communist rule. This paper discusses accounts about the Soviet Union published in the mainstream Canadian press between 1924 and the end of 1930, when Joseph Stalin came to power and inaugurated the first Five-Year Plan with the objective of radically and fundamentally reshaping the economic, political, social, and cultural fabric of the former Russian empire. It pays particular attention to events in Ukraine that contribute to a fuller understanding of the 1932-33 Great Famine (the *Holodomor*). It further analyzes the news stories from Ukraine in the context of broader historical developments.

Résumé

Bien qu'ayant été longtemps retiré géographiquement de l'Union soviétique et sans être considérée comme une grande puissance internationale, le Canada a suivi de près les événements en "Russie Rouge" depuis ses tout débuts. Cela vient clairement d'un examen superficiel de la couverture de presse canadienne de l'URSS, qui était à la fois étendue et très détaillée, surtout quand il s'agissait de rendre compte de l'agriculture soviétique dans la première décennie et la moitié du règne communiste. Cet article révèle des faits au sujet l'union Soviétique publiés dans la presse traditionnelle canadienne entre 1924 et la fin de 1930, lorsque Joseph Staline est arrivé au pouvoir et a inauguré le premier plan quinquennal avec pour objectif de réorganiser radicalement et fondamentalement la vie économique, politique, sociale, et la structure culturelle de l'ancien empire Russe. Il accorde une attention particulière aux événements en Ukraine qui contribue à une meilleure compréhension de la Grande Famine de 1932 à 1933 (*L'Holodomor*). Il analyse en outre les informations sur l'Ukraine dans un contexte des développements historiques plus étendus.



INTRODUCTION

Ukraine's famine of 1932-33 is a subject that has been long relegated to the margins of historical enquiry, having been studiously ignored, covered up, or flatly denied by generations of Soviet scholars in keeping with the Communist Party line on the horrific

consequences of the first Five-Year Plan and its forced collectivization drive. At the same time, the famine was dismissed or downplayed by many Western Sovietologists, who characterized it as a contentious event that was subsequently “exaggerated” and “politicized” by post-Second World War émigrés who had an axe to grind with the U.S.S.R. Although together with the Holocaust, the Great Famine easily qualifies as one of the worst crimes against humanity committed by any state in the twentieth century, for many it remains a challenging subject that continues to be dogged by controversy. Some of the debates can be attributed to efforts by old-school Marxists and neo-Soviet apologists seeking to discredit claims that the artificially-created famine, known as the *Holodomor*, had a distinctly genocidal character in Ukraine and in the heavily Ukrainian Kuban region of southern Russia.

This paper will discuss the nature of the coverage given to the Soviet Union in the mainstream, English-language Canadian press in several critical years preceding the famine, when the Communist dictator, Joseph Stalin, set the U.S.S.R. on a course that would lead to the politically motivated extermination of millions of Ukrainians and other Soviet citizens. It will focus primarily on developments that are important in understanding how the Great Famine impacted Ukrainians, for even though serious hunger affected peasants outside of Ukraine as well, in Soviet Ukraine the mass starvation had several unique features that form part of the basis of why the *Holodomor* has increasingly come to be regarded as having targeted the Ukrainian peasantry with particular malice. The fact that Ukraine’s borders were sealed as crops and personal foodstuffs were confiscated by Soviet authorities and removed from the countryside—while offers of food from abroad were rebuffed by Moscow—are but two of the details which suggest that the Ukrainian famine was not a simple “tragedy” or a natural disaster, but had a coldly calculated intent.¹ That Red Army troops and Communist party loyalists, often brought from outside Ukraine (or from its Russified cities), were used to enforce policies which the Kremlin knew were causing skyrocketing mortality rates among the rural inhabitants of the Ukrainian republic, is yet another piece of evidence pointing to how Ukrainians were singled out for special repressive measures. In the meantime, sweeping purges of Soviet Ukraine’s cultural, spiritual, and political elites (including nationally-minded members of the Communist Party of Ukraine), conducted in tandem with mass deportations of those arbitrarily identified as wealthy peasants, or “kulaks,” effectively decapitated the Ukrainian nation of its natural leadership, while clearing the way for the decisive blow that was directed against the peasantry as a whole. Finally, the abrupt cessation of “Ukrainization” that occurred in conjunction with the famine—whereas similar “indigenization” policies were allowed to remain in effect in other Soviet republics into the late 1930s—followed by the initiation of a stepped-up campaign to promote the linguistic and cultural Russification of Soviet

Ukraine, also support the case that the famine was part of a broader strategy to fully and finally subjugate the restive Ukrainians to the iron will of the Kremlin.² This is equally true for the subsequent re-settlement of the depopulated areas of Ukraine by Russian-speaking workers and farmers from outside the Ukrainian republic, as it laid the foundation for the creation of a new, ostensibly socialist “Soviet man” who would embrace Great Russian values, recognize the primacy of the Great Russian working-class, and whose first loyalty would be to the government in Moscow and not to any local or distinctly Ukrainian entity or identity.

While the number of unnatural deaths in Soviet Ukraine, in the heavily Ukrainian Kuban region of the North Caucasus, in the central Asian republic of Kazakhstan, and in some grain-growing districts of Russia proper (chiefly in the lower Volga basin), reached a peak during the mass starvations of 1932-33, the killing spree overseen by Joseph Stalin began soon after his ascendancy to power and continued until his death in 1953. It is equally important that the phenomenon of the Great Famine not be considered in isolation from other events that took place in the U.S.S.R, and in Soviet Ukraine in particular, before and after Stalin’s long reign of terror.³ Indeed, the famine needs to be seen in the context of the evolution of Soviet Ukrainian society over its seven decades of existence, and against the historical canvas of several centuries of Imperial Russian and Ukrainian relations. Only then, does it become apparent how the *Holodomor* and the series of purges and campaigns that prepared the way for it were deliberate attacks on the Ukrainian nation whose poisoned legacy continues to be felt in Ukraine today.

REPORTS ON THE SOVIET UNION IN THE CANADIAN PRESS

Research that contributed to this paper was undertaken in connection with work being done by the Kule Ukrainian Canadian Studies Centre at the Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies on an interwar history of Ukrainians in Canada. It initially involved methodically going through a number of mainstream Canadian periodicals culling articles in them that referred to Ukrainians, Ukraine, or Ukrainian community groups and individuals in Canada. Select years were chosen for comprehensive examination on a prioritized basis, as time and resource limitations only allowed for the scrutinizing of a handful of major newspapers from 1924 to 1940. However, because of the importance of the Great Famine in Ukraine’s history, the years 1928-1934 were among those chosen for more intensive investigation and for some follow-up work on relevant and promising leads.⁴

The publications that were surveyed, in varying ways and degrees of thoroughness, were the *Toronto Star*, the *Globe*, the *Edmonton Journal* and the *Edmonton Bulletin*, as well as the *Drumheller Mail*. In addition, a partial examination was made

of the *Toronto Telegram*, and articles quoted or indirectly referred to in other sources have also informed this analysis. Searchable databases were utilized for the *Star* and the *Globe*, while microfilms provided the material culled from the Edmonton newspapers and from several months of the 1933 *Telegram*. In this process, numerous serendipitous discoveries were also made that underscore the value of doing an even more comprehensive search of leading Canadian dailies, particularly those published in cities with significant Ukrainian populations. For instance, a scrapbook of clippings assembled by members of the Toronto Ukrainian People's Home yielded interesting items from the *Mail and Empire* and the *Star Weekly*, as well as pieces missed in the Toronto papers that had been scrutinized digitally. When words like "kulak," "collectivization," "Stalin," and "Soviet" were also input into the searchable databases, a veritable flood of additional articles were identified that illuminated the Ukrainian famine and events related to it, only a small number of which are cited in the present discussion. From these efforts it became obvious that there is a wealth of material still waiting to be uncovered in a wider investigation of the journalism of the period, and that one must therefore regard the current discussion as being of a preliminary nature.

The main objective in examining the coverage in this period was to answer the following questions: what did Canadians know—or more precisely, what were they told—about the Five-Year Plan, the forced collectivization drive, and its consequences in Ukraine; how was this information presented, including analyses and editorial commentaries; and how was this coverage contextualized in other contemporaneous news, especially stories about the Soviet Union in general? In asking these questions it was hoped that they would contribute to a better understanding of how the Great Famine was perceived by non-Ukrainians in Canada when it occurred and in its immediate aftermath; if and how these attitudes influenced Canadian relations with the U.S.S.R; and how the Stalinist regime was able to get away with what was essentially a policy of mass murder despite the information that was available about what was taking place in Soviet Ukraine.

The answer to the first of the above questions soon became apparent and was somewhat surprising, as the sheer quantity and variety of news about the Soviet Union during the interwar period is quite amazing, even from a very limited sampling of the Canadian press. Although physically far removed from Moscow and Kyiv, several things made "Russia" a place of great interest for many Canadians, beyond the natural curiosity that an average newspaper reader might be expected to have about life in a country with a similar geography, climate, and economic potential as Canada. That the Soviet Union had embarked on creating a radically different society committed to eliminating private property and a market economy while at the same time rejecting democracy for a "proletarian dictatorship" theoretically con-

trolled by workers, was probably an even bigger reason why Canadians who followed world events in their local papers were eager to know more about how Stalin was faring in remaking the country. This was especially the case after the stock market crash of October 1929 and the onset of the Great Depression, when the serious economic problems of Western nations made “Communist Russia” seem to be an attractive alternative to capitalism and the inherent instability of democracy. Of course, the fact that there were large numbers of immigrant Ukrainians, Jews, Russians, Mennonites, and Germans who all had roots in Eastern European lands under Soviet rule, undoubtedly further encouraged Canadian editors to devote considerable space and attention to news stories from the region. Last, but not least, a desire on the part of Canadian business leaders to expand trade with the Soviet Government was yet another motivating factor which ensured that the mainstream press carried frequent and detailed reports on what was happening in Moscow and the former Tsarist empire controlled by the Bolsheviks.

The answers to the other questions were only revealed more gradually upon closer scrutiny of the material assembled from the publications that were accessed. However, they, too, were surprising for the light that they shed on how events in Ukraine and the Soviet Union unfolded in real time on the pages of the Canadian press, as viewed, of course, with the benefit of hindsight.

THE PRE-HISTORY OF THE GREAT HUNGER

There is good reason to believe that sources of the 1932-33 famine can be discerned as far back as the birth of Soviet power, in particular the famine of 1921-23, which was also partly caused and greatly aggravated by Bolshevik policies toward the peasantry. It has not been possible to research or compare the coverage given to this earlier calamity within the scope of this paper, though this might have provided some fruitful insights for the present analysis. What is clear, however, is that the Canadian press was attuned to the challenges that confronted Lenin and his comrades immediately after they won power and began rigorously applying their doctrinaire understanding of Marxist theories to Soviet society. Thus, throughout the mid-1920s, one encounters sporadic accounts in Canadian newspapers about the persistence of opposition to Soviet rule, not only, but most notably in Ukraine. One such news item, datelined Berlin (*Edmonton Journal*, 6 April 1923), revealed that “[s]erious conflicts in the Ukraine between Bolshevik troops and peasants are reported in despatches ... by way of Lemberg. The Bolsheviks are declared to have executed 340 peasants.” Among other items in a similar vein can be found the following: “REVOLT FROM SOVIET IS SWEEPING RUSSIA IN EUROPE AND ASIA,” which disclosed that “[b]esides increasing disorders in Ukraine, risings in the Caucasus, Turkestan,

Siberia and White Russia are reported..." (*Globe*, 9 Feb. 1924); "INSURRECTION OUTBREAK OCCURS IN UKRAINE" (*Globe*, 16 Feb. 1924); "ANTI-SOVIET REVOLT SPREADS IN RUSSIA / Peasants in Ukraine Chase 'Red' Commissars and Kill Jews / PILLAGING NEAR ODESSA" (*Globe*, 28 Feb. 1924); "REVOLTS DEVELOPING AGAINST RUSSIA REDS / Peasants in Ukraine and Urals Murdering Soviet Commissars" (*Globe*, 7 Apr. 1924); "TURMOIL IN SOUTH RUSSIA" (*Toronto Star*, 19 April 1927); and "IN FACE OF GOOD CROP[,] CONDITIONS IN RUSSIA ARE GROWING WORSE / ... Series of Riots Staged" (*Globe* 19 Aug. 1927).⁵ Whereas the story citing the turmoil relayed that "Grave disorders throughout southern Russia" were being recounted by refugees arriving at the Bessarabian frontier, the last of the articles above informed readers that,

The situation in Ukraine is reported to be especially serious since the Cheka (State Political Police) have been combating three well-organized groups which are attempting to overthrow the Government. The Ukrainian Separatist Movement, which aims to establish an independent Ukrainian Republic, is most powerful, while small groups of White Russians [i.e., anti-Communist elements] are spreading quantities of anti-Semitic literature among the population, who have killed 300 local Communist officials in the last month in the Odessa, Kiev, Kharkov and Minsk districts.

Adherents to the Trotsky and Zinoviev opposition group have been agitating among the Ukrainian workers to depose Commissar Stalin, and demonstrations resulting in riots have been staged in Odessa, Kiev and Kharkov in the last week. A diplomat stationed at Moscow said that the fight within the ranks of the Communist party is more serious than the outside world believes, and the Moscow foreign colony anticipates that the crisis will come to a head in the latter part of October or November.

News of on-going and growing unrest in Ukraine continued to appear in Canadian newspapers, suggesting that the Kremlin's grip on the republic was tenuous at best. This is certainly the impression conveyed by "ANARCHY IN UKRAINE BUCHAREST REPORTS / Hundreds Killed in Fighting Extending All Along Dniester River" (*Toronto Star*, 25 Nov. 1927), which declared "that chaos and anarchy are reigning in the Ukraine" and "hundreds of civilians and soldiers were killed in fierce street fighting in the town of Kamenetz-Podolsk."

An even more alarming picture was painted by "UKRAINIAN TOWNS IN FIERCE REVOLT AGAINST SOVIET RULE / ... 5,000 Have Been Killed" (*Globe*, 30 Nov. 1927), obtained by cable from Kishinev, the capital of present-day Moldova:

The string of Ukrainian towns and villages along the Dniester, which forms the boundary of Russia and Rumania, has been in spasmodic revolt against Soviet authority for the last three months.

Fighting between the insurrectionists and Soviet forces was frequent throughout the autumn, and ten days ago, with the arrival of reinforcements from Moscow, became general. The result has been disastrous for the revolutionaries, according to stories of refugees who have succeeded in crossing to Rumania.

Similar reports have been obtained from Rumanian secret police, almost daily the echo of prolonged firing behind the Ukrainian hills can be heard across the river.

It is fairly easy now, when most of the guards are taking part in the fighting inland, to cross into Russia, and several persons have risked the trip. Those returning also bring accounts of sanguinary revolutions, def[i]ant and revenge [*sic*], varying somewhat according to the sympathies of the speaker.

Allowing for such sympathies, it can be estimated that 4,000 to 5,000 insurrectionists and troops have been killed in the Ukraine in the last three months, several villages burned and ground crops destroyed by both sides.

It is noteworthy that these and other uprisings in Ukraine *preceded* the introduction of the first Five-Year Plan in 1928, which only further heightened tensions and hostility to Bolshevik rule. It is believed that this determined resistance of Ukrainians to Moscow's domination was partially responsible for Stalin resorting to especially harsh measures against the peasantry during the collectivization drive in Ukraine, so as to once and for all break their opposition to the increasingly brutal Communist dictatorship.

Interestingly, at the same time Canadian newspapers were also carrying short news items about the agricultural situation in Soviet Ukraine, particularly what was happening with wheat and grain crops. For instance, in "U.S. CROP REPORTS LESS FAVORABLE" (*Globe*, 22 May 1924) one learns in a market analysis that "Rye was dull, but firmer with wheat and on further drought reports from the Ukraine district of Russia." A little later it is revealed about Russia in a round-up of "World Crops" (*Globe*, 16 July 1924) that "[d]rought has caused a great deal of damage except in the Ukraine." Crop conditions in Ukraine are also cited in "Local Grain Trade Dull" (*Globe*, 14 May 1925); "Russian Grain Crops" (*Globe*, 11 Jan. 1927); the aforementioned front-page story, "IN FACE OF GOOD CROP [,] CONDITIONS IN RUSSIA ARE GROWING WORSE"; and in "Cold Spell in Europe Damages Fall Grains" (*Globe*, 13 Jan. 1928). No doubt similar items can be found in the business sections of other Canadian papers, especially those published in Winnipeg, where Canada's leading Grain and Produce Exchange was based. It is hardly surprising that Canadian grain traders closely followed the crops, weather conditions, and harvests in Ukraine, given that it was Ukraine which supplied much of the surplus historically used by "Russia" for export purposes, and, therefore, Ukrainian yields had a

major influence on world prices and markets. Thus, any problems with agricultural production in the Soviet Union were cheered in other grain-exporting countries because they provided opportunities for competitors to expand and increase the value of their trade. This is apparent in the excited reports about windfall conditions presenting themselves to farmers in Canada, the U.S., Australia, and Argentina, whenever the Kremlin was in no position to export any food, or starvation was ravaging Ukraine.

It should be pointed out that the threat of serious hunger in Ukraine and Russia was viewed as a possibility long before 1932-1933, perhaps because of the memory in the West of the widely-publicized 1921-1923 famine. One early report, "Soviets Are Trying to Hide Signs of Famine in Russia" (*Globe*, 10 July 1924), portentously describes similar developments that were to occur a decade later:

The Moscow Soviets have established a strict censorship on all press news, to prevent the public finding out the facts of the new famine. The newspapers must not mention the famine, except officially, and the Government gives out the information.

In the Ukraine districts the reports are that the bread prices have advanced another 200 per cent, while the meat prices are cut in half because the peasants are unable to get grain and are obliged to kill the cattle.

Another article, "Ukraine Beetroot Crop Fails, Seven Factories Shut Down" (*Globe*, 29 July 1924), somewhat misleadingly proclaims "Soviet Russia is confronted with another famine, in the form of an acute sugar shortage due to the failure of beetroot crop in Ukraine," when a lack of sugar beets would hardly be a cause of real hunger.⁶ Of interest as well is "SAYS FOOD SUPPLIES PLENTIFUL IN RUSSIA / Recent Visitor to Moscow Declares Transportation Is Chief Difficulty / USE CANADIAN FLOUR" (*Globe*, 16 March 1925). It was based on an interview with a representative of renowned producer Morris Gest (in Toronto to publicize a tour by the Franco-Russian revue company, La Chauve-Souris) who, citing the challenge of getting Crimea's famed apples to market, insisted "[t]here is plenty of food in Russia ... but owing to transportation facilities it is difficult to get it into the cities."

While on-going problems in agriculture compelled the Bolsheviks in the mid-1920s to adopt a tactical retreat in the form of Lenin's New Economic Policy (N.E.P.)—temporarily restoring several key components of a capitalist economy and thereby quickly improving rural productivity—the situation in the countryside remained highly volatile, as evidenced by the continuing peasant unrest. An American freelance journalist, Dorothy Thompson (1893-1961), made an interesting observation about an unforeseen consequence of the revolution in a commentary titled "LAND POLICY OF BOLSHEVISTS FAILS TO SPUR COMMUNISM"

(*Toronto Star*, 10 March 1928), written shortly after visiting the Soviet Union. In it, Thompson remarked that

[t]he Russian peasant is aware of his rights and is no longer willing that the cities should prosper at the cost of his stomach. And this is the crux of the whole Russia problem. The peasant cannot be forced to produce at the point of the bayonet, or under the pressure of a thumb-screw bureaucracy. ... He cannot be persuaded to produce by propaganda. Millions have been spent on it. It has had an educative effect but in [a] rather different sense than was expected. It has not made the peasant more communistic and collectivist but it has made him much more aware of his importance and power. Soviet propaganda has waked up the moujik.⁷

Thompson was equally astute in a follow-up piece titled “HUGE POTENTIAL MART AWAITS WESTERN WORLD IN RUSSIA” (*Toronto Star*, 13 March 1928), in which she presented a very optimistic assessment of the prospective market being created by the anticipated transformation of the mostly backward peasantry into modern farmers. Having previously speculated, “[l]eft to free competition, a relatively rich and efficient farmer class will certainly develop,” she argued that it was “almost impossible to exaggerate” the enormous potential of the Soviet market, which she noted, Russian industry was incapable of satisfying and, therefore, offered great opportunities for Western manufacturers. Even though Thompson was wrong in her prediction about the emergence of prosperous independent farmers in Russia, the huge size of the Soviet market was to play an important role in Western democracies eventually reaching an accommodation with Stalin despite and in the midst of his escalating use of terror and brute force to achieve his political ends.

Indeed, concerns about Soviet food supplies resurfaced a short time later and received prominent attention in a page one story headlined “RUSSIA FEARS FAMINE AND SPENDS MILLIONS FOR CANADIAN WHEAT” (*Globe*, 18 July 1928). Equally telling were its string of sub-headings: “Eight Million Bushels Purchased in One Week by Soviet Agents, and Cargoes in Mid-Atlantic Diverted to Red Ports / SCARCITY OF FOOD IS ACUTE IN UNION / Moscow’s Optimistic Crop Reports Belied by Breadlines in Towns, While Peasantry’s Dissatisfaction Reduces Acreage”. Although obviously an unexpected windfall for Canadian farmers, the development also demonstrated the strongly linked fortunes of Canada and the Soviet Union in the realm of agriculture, especially wheat production, as every shortfall in the Soviet harvest represented an opportunity for Canada. Between 1909 and 1913 wheat from the fertile basin of Dnieper Ukraine accounted for 98 per cent of the wheat exported from Tsarist Russia, and twenty per cent of all the wheat grown in the world. Dnieper-basin Ukraine was also the source of 42 per cent of the world’s barley, 21 per cent of its rye, and ten per cent of its corn. But by 1928 Canada had become the leading exporter of wheat in the world, capitalizing on the turmoil

wreaked by the First World War and the persistent inability of Soviet leaders to restore grain yields to anywhere near pre-war levels. This situation was not lost on Canadian agricultural officials and grain traders, who diligently monitored the progress of Soviet agriculture because it had direct consequences for the marketability and value of Canadian farm products, especially grain. One article heading from this period succinctly captured this connection between Canada and Ukraine: "WHEAT PRICES MOUNT AFTER EARLY DECLINE / Threat of Famine in Ukraine is Bullish Influence" (*Globe*, 13 Sept. 1928). It noted that "[i]n addition to late reports that Russia would be forced to buy foodstuffs on account of distressed conditions in the Ukraine, the fact the domestic spring wheat movement is not of large proportions attracted increasing notice as the day drew to an end." And this was before the Depression severely depressed the prices and global markets for grain.

Other news stories followed up on these initial reports of a crisis in food production in the U.S.S.R. In "Famine Faces Ukraine" (*Globe*, 20 Sept. 1928), a worrisome picture was presented in a wire service account from Kharkiv, which was then the capital of Soviet Ukraine:

Eight hundred and fifty thousand persons will be fed through public funds during the coming winter in the Ukraine, the grain crop having fallen far below the needs of the population. Ordinarily the Ukraine is one of Russia's best granaries, and in good years has wheat both to eat and to export. The Moscow Government has appropriated 31,000,000 rubles, the Ukrainian Government 10,000,000 rubles, and social service organizations have begun a campaign to raise an additional 8,000,000 rubles to provide nourishment this winter for the stricken population.

A month later, two cabled news stories from Kishinev appeared in Toronto newspapers which suggested that the Soviets were still facing stiff opposition in rural Ukraine, albeit without specifically attributing the outbreak of violence to the food situation. The first front-page item ("PEASANTS IN REVOLT OUST 'RED' SOLDIERS", *Globe*, 22 Oct. 1928) announced that,

News of a revolt by Ukrainian peasants against Bolshevist authorities seeped across the border today and reached this place.

The stories reported that armed bands of peasants seized the municipal buildings in the Ukrainian towns of Zaterki and Orte. Troops were sent against them, but the peasants drove them off, and some versions of the trouble stated that hundreds were killed or wounded in the engagement.

Heavy reinforcements are on the way, and it is said that the Soviet authorities intend to crush the movement with overwhelming force.

A second version of the same wire service news story published on the back pages of a rival paper (“Ukraine Peasants Again Rumoured in Armed Revolt,” *Toronto Star*, 22 Oct. 1928) was somewhat more equivocal about the same events, speaking of a “rumor of a revolt by Ukrainian peasants against Bolshevik authorities” in Zaterki and Orte in which “according to one rumor ‘hundreds’ were killed or wounded....” Interestingly, the same piece added the following, by way of background: “Last fall a Roumanian newspaper, *Dimincata* of Bucharest, asserted chaos and anarchy reigned in the Ukraine and that hundreds of civilians and soldiers were killed in fierce street fighting. This was denied by Soviet authorities.” Be that as it may, it seems fairly clear that Soviet Ukraine, especially Ukraine’s agricultural heartland, remained a vexing trouble spot for Bolshevik authorities in Moscow.

There were also signs that the regime was encountering and dealing severely with supposedly treasonous activity in other segments of Ukrainian society. A short item headed “Skalsky Faces Trial” (*Toronto Star*, 19 Jan. 1928) reported that charges were being laid against the prior of the Kyiv cathedral for allegedly “organizing an anti-soviet body among the Polish intelligentsia in the Ukraine....” That a senior clergyman had been arrested would have sent a chill through religious circles, which it was undoubtedly intended to do. A second bulletin two months later even more ominously signalled the direction which the regime was heading. In “Fifty Ukrainians Executed, Warsaw Press Declares” (*Globe*, 27 March 1928) it was stated that,

[f]ifty of the Ukraine’s intelligentsia have been executed, and scores arrested, in southern and central Ukraine, according to unconfirmed despatches from Warsaw tonight. National-Ukraine propaganda against the Soviet Government is given as the cause of the activities of the O.G.P.U., aided by Government troops.

Among those shot were Professor Slymonovitch and Dr. Chykalenko, both writers; Dr. Petrenik and Madame Surowcowa, two well-known members of the Socialist party of Ukraine.⁸

Such references to conspiracies by Ukrainian nationalists and alleged agents of hostile powers point to the fact that it was not just the enmity of the peasantry which was worrying Communist officials, but that the *seeming* danger of Ukrainian separatism and of “foreign” agitation were also causing great anxiety for Stalin and his increasingly cowed inner circle in Moscow.

THE INTRODUCTION OF THE FIVE-YEAR PLAN

Following Lenin’s death in 1924, Stalin was able to gradually oust, repress and intimidate all of his key and potential rivals within the Communist Party (chief among

them the charismatic Leon Trotsky) through a combination of audacity, skilful political manoeuvring, guile, and cunning.⁹ And having ensconced himself as Lenin's successor and supreme leader of the Soviet Union, Stalin proceeded to implement what he understood to be the next phase of the revolution, while at the same time further consolidating and greatly extending the Communist Party's control over every aspect of Soviet society. He inaugurated his big initiative in the fall of 1928 under the banner of the first Five-Year Plan, which, it was declared, would rapidly industrialize the Soviet economy and systematically collectivize agriculture so as to modernize the historically backward country and drag it into the twentieth century. The plan would concomitantly eliminate all vestiges of capitalist ownership and traditional social relations, which had been tolerated in Lenin's reversal of Bolshevik policies under the N.E.P.—a temporary concession that was adopted to facilitate post-war reconstruction after economic recovery had been stalled by the stifling effects of heavy-handed War Communism. Conceived and promoted as a fundamental remaking of post-revolutionary "Russia," Stalin's bold program understandably boosted the coverage that the Canadian press gave to the Soviet Union because of its breathtaking scale, far-reaching character, and its promises to drastically improve the lives of ordinary Soviet citizens in a few short years.

In conjunction with the implementation of the Five-Year Plan, several other key initiatives were undertaken by the Kremlin in what amounted to a multi-pronged approach to imposing the major changes and the about-face on the N.E.P. One of these involved a full-bore assault on religious institutions, first and foremost among them the Orthodox church because of its close connections and long-time collaboration with Tsarism. Even more prominent was a campaign directed at so-called "kulaks" or wealthy peasants, as it played a key role in the government's policy of eliminating private farmers and compelling all other peasants to enter into collective or state farms. A third "front" in what was openly described and conducted as a military-style operation was an attack on "counter-revolutionary" intellectuals, former politicians, dissident elements, and those suspected of harbouring treasonous sentiments—a category which in Ukraine was mostly comprised of nationally conscious activists who supported the development of the Ukrainian language and culture or sought greater autonomy for the Soviet Ukrainian republic. Soon, the targeted elements were broadened to include technical experts accused of sabotage and Communist functionaries indicted for incompetence, Red Army soldiers who refused to follow orders to kill their fellow countrymen and innocent civilians, and leading, as well as rank-and-file members of the Communist Party charged with holding "deviationist" views, especially when it came to the national question in Ukraine. It is argued by a growing number of scholars that the victims of all of these attacks also deserve to be considered among the casualties of the Great Famine-

Holodomor, since their destruction was an integral part of the Soviet policies that had such a disastrous impact on Ukraine.

That the forced collectivization of agriculture was having questionable results became almost immediately apparent in news items carried in the autumn and winter of 1929. In “Soviet Union Faces Shortage of Food” (*Toronto Star*, 5 Nov. 1928), it was reported that “[h]iding of grain has started” and “[t]here is enough grain in the country to take care of the larger cities, but those districts east of the Volga and in southern Ukraine, which usually export crops, have not harvested enough to take care of their own inhabitants.” A month later “FAMINE IN RUSSIA LEADS TO REBELLION OF ANGRY PEASANTS / Soviet Concentrates Troops to Prevent Escape of Insurgents / RAILWAY IS WRECKED” (*Globe*, 3 Dec. 1928) provided more specific details about the effect that the food shortages were having.

The Russian Soviets have closed the frontier of the Vilna area on account of the peasant insurrection resulting from the lack of foodstuffs and the taxation burden.

Insurgents destroyed local Soviet offices, killing several commissaries. [*sic*] Other rebels, commanded by the Czarist general McRose, destroyed the main railway of the Moscow-Warsaw line, between Minsk-Stolpie, delaying the transsiberian [*sic*] express several hours.

The Soviets are assembling a large number of troops along the frontier to prevent the insurrectionists from escaping into Poland.

Simultaneously, the Soviets disarmed the Sixth Infantry Regiment of Minsk, composed of White Russians, for their refusal to fight the insurrectionists.

Reports indicating the decline in food reserves and continuous uprisings through White Russia and Soviet Ukraine are confirmed here daily through a reliable source.

In February of the new year the issues of profiteering and corruption were raised as other problems stemming from the obvious deficit in wheat supplies. As noted in a short item titled “RUSSIAN RAILWAY MEN TURN TRICK IN GRAIN” (*Toronto Star*, 18 Feb. 1929), datelined from Moscow and attributed to the *Christian Science Monitor*, “Reports from Ukrainia, the part of the Soviet Union which suffered most from the drought during the last year, indicate that a good deal of speculation with grain and flour is being carried on by the railroad workers, who take advantage of their frequent trips to buy up grain which they sell in cities and towns at trebled prices.”

Finally, several weeks later it was admitted by Moscow’s *Pravda*, according to “GRAIN SITUATION IN SOVIET CENTRES FAR FROM CHEERFUL” (*Globe*, 11 March 1929), that the bread-rationing system in Leningrad was being “reinforced” while “8 per cent of the horses and cattle in the Odessa region have already been

slaughtered on account of lack of fodder; and grain collections in Ukraine in the first five days of March amount to little more than half the estimate.” Although drought contributed at this time to a poor harvest in Ukraine and some other parts of the U.S.S.R., the Five-Year Plan was clearly off to a rocky start, foreshadowing many of the crises that lay ahead.

In the spring of 1929 the *Toronto Star*'s London correspondent, Henry Somerville, was sent to the Soviet Union to provide readers of the paper with “an accurate picture of conditions under Soviet rule.” A British-born journalist who worked in Canada for the *Catholic Register* from 1915 to 1918 and served as its editor from 1933-1953, Somerville produced a series of articles on different facets of Soviet life, which were published in the *Toronto Star* and the *Star Weekly*. In an introductory piece he presented a rather mixed evaluation of the situation in the Soviet Union as he saw it, which was captured in lengthy headings that read: “RUSSIA SEES WORLD ON VERGE OF REVOLT STAR ENVOY LEARNS / Staff Correspondent Paints First-Hand Picture of Conditions in Moscow—Soviet Press Features Symptoms of Industrial Unrest Abroad / FOOD SUPPLIES STRICTLY RATIONED BUT MENACE OF STARVATION IS REMOTE / Tea and Imported Commodities Scarce—Nation Leaps in Fortnight From Winter to Summer—Capital Congested, Populace Ill Clad” (*Toronto Star*, 14 May 1929). As Somerville commented in describing his initial reactions,

Moscow looks more normal than a visitor might expect. Lines of people wait outside food shops for their rations, but they do not have to wait very long. Black bread is plentiful though rationed. Scarcity exists in goods which have to be imported like tea and the tea ration is exceedingly small.

People in Moscow look as well fed as those in London but they are badly dressed and terribly overcrowded, though illusions exist in other countries concerning Russia and Russians themselves that are still more mistaken about conditions abroad.

The whole press is under Communist control and all foreign news that is prominently printed is about strikes and revolutionary activities in other parts of the world. Anyone reading a Russian newspaper would believe the British empire is on the brink of dissolution and all the world within measureable distance of following Russia's revolutionary example.

In his other stories based on a two-week stint in the Soviet capital and mostly published after his return to London, Somerville tried to provide a balanced assessment of life as he witnessed it in Moscow, notwithstanding the fact that he was a strong Catholic. Two story headings from the fairly detailed articles in the series convey a sense of their differing contents: “SOVIET WORKERS GIVEN FREE SUMMER

HOLIDAYS[,] CHEAP THEATRE TICKETS / Good Clubs, Low Rent and Sickness Insurance Offset Low Wages / FOOD SIMPLE, GOOD” (*Toronto Star*, 25 June 1929); and “PARTY MEMBERS SHOCK TROOPS FOR COMMUNISM / Given Dangerous Jobs, Get Scant Leisure, Salaries Restricted to \$113 Monthly / MUST BE ZEALOTS / All-Powerful Though Numbering Less Than Hundredth Part of Soviet Union” (*Toronto Star*, 28 June 1929).¹⁰ Other journalists would subsequently follow in Somerville’s footsteps as the Kremlin doggedly pursued its mission to completely overhaul Soviet society, the reporters charged with the task of learning “the truth” about Russia as they perceived it and how government officials sought to present it to them. It was a challenge that some proved better at meeting than others.

“DE-KULAKIZATION” AND THE SOVIET DECLARATION OF CLASS WARFARE

Having launched the inaugural Five-Year Plan, Stalin next directed the state’s efforts to rooting out everyone that he believed posed a threat to his power and his revolutionary agenda. The ideological basis for this supplementary phase was noted by Henry Somerville in an article titled “SERFS’ CHAINS WELDED ON RUSSIAN BOURGEOISIE BY COMMUNIST TOILERS / Are Outlawed and Debarred From Polls, Colleges, Soviets and Trade Unions—Children Outcasts Also—Bolshevik Excuse Is That Class War Is Still Raging—MANUAL WORKERS NOW PRIVILEGED CASTE” (*Toronto Star*, 26 June 1929). In the same piece, Somerville also described the conditions under which foreign journalists had to operate in reporting on the Soviet Union:

Newspaper correspondents in Moscow tell me that the censorship is pretty liberal. There is no attempt to suppress news simply because it is unfavorable to Sovietism. It is only on specific stories that the correspondents complain of being gagged. Thus they could not send out a word about Trotsky’s banishment [in February 1929] until it was state news in the rest of the world. At the same time I do not believe for a moment that a foreign correspondent has anything like freedom of expression. He meets the censor daily at the press bureau of the foreign office and he depends on the press bureau for much of his news and his facilities for getting and transmitting news. A foreign correspondent who was objectionable to the powers that be in Russia could not live a dog’s life.

He earlier prefixed these remarks with the pertinent observation, “Russians live in dread of O.G.P.U.¹¹ They warned me that every move I made was watched, my baggage examined daily and my conversations recorded. Personally I don’t believe it but there is no doubt that the Russians are terrorized.” Somerville’s comments deserve to be kept in mind when reading all of the press coverage of the Soviet Union in this period, especially the claims made by Soviet officials to visiting journalists that they could write whatever they pleased, as long as it was fair and based on facts.

The drive against “undesirable elements” and “enemies” of the Workers’ State—real or imagined—was chiefly formulated under a policy known as de-kulakization, *kulak* being the Russian word for a wealthy peasant, the Ukrainian equivalent being *kurkul*. Since the “kulaks” owned the land and machinery that were to form the basis of the new *kolkhozes* or collective farms, they obviously had to be dispossessed of their property and removed as political obstacles. That Communist officials were beginning to move decisively against those who resisted collectivization, was made abundantly clear in a front page article, “PEASANTS ARE SHOT FOR OPPOSING PLANS TO SOCIALIZE RUSSIA / Systematic Persecution of ‘Class Enemies’ Is Carried Out by Soviet Authorities—Victims Retaliate by Refusing to Sow Grain” (*Globe*, 26 Oct. 1929). The account, which reported that “a counter-revolutionary organization of priests and general land-owners” had been liquidated by the O.G.P.U., was based on an incident in the North Caucasus and developments in Krasnodar, the Volga region, and Siberia. It was an indication that arbitrary collectivization was not proceeding without both active and passive resistance in the Soviet countryside. This was confirmed in another news story published just two days later, “WILL EXECUTE NINE IN RUSSIAN REVOLT / Death Sentence Includes Two Priest and Three Peasant Profiteers” (*Toronto Star*, 28 Oct. 1929). It gave similar and perhaps related information about the fate of some kulak “class enemies” before concluding, “[i]n organizing terroristic agitations against Soviet legislation, the clergy and rich peasant elements have once more aroused the ire of the government, and it was stated to-day that no effort would be spared to suppress their activities.”

A third short item the following month, “Countess Leads Bandits” (*Toronto Star*, 14 Nov. 1929), told of a former Ukrainian aristocrat named “Levitski,” who, dressed in the habit of a nun and having declared a “holy war” against the Bolsheviks, organized and led peasants in killing Soviet officials as they tried to collect the grain tax in a district near Kyiv. Finally, “NINETEEN EXECUTED FOR SOVIET CRIMES” (*Toronto Star*, 13 Dec. 1929) informed readers that fourteen civic officials had been shot in Astrakhan for profiteering in caviar and speculating in municipal funds, while five peasants were executed in Preluki, Ukraine, “for concealing grain and abetting other peasants to burn grain.”

Not surprisingly, confronted with such challenges the Communists simply escalated the application of force to achieve their desired ends. As revealed in a special report headlined “SOVIET OPENS WAR ON RICH PEASANTS” (*Toronto Star*, 15 Jan. 1930),

The Soviet Union is now fully embarked on one of the most momentous phases of its swiftly evolving revolution. With characteristic thoroughness all energies are being concentrated upon the extermination of the Kulaks, or rich peasants, who for several years have been taxed and otherwise drastically regulated as a socially and economically

obnoxious element of the Russian countryside. The Communist party is now intensifying its policy of the restriction and oppression of the Kulaks into one of swift and ruthless extermination. The party program now provides that all Russian lands must be collectivized by 1932 and that the Kulaks, as psychological and economic impediments to this policy, must be eliminated.¹²

The same message was reinforced in a two subsequent articles published the next week: “BAN ON PRIVATE FARMS WOULD RUIN MILLIONS / Extermination of Rich Peasants Proposed for 1932 Would Affect 700,000 Families” (*Toronto Star*, 16 Jan. 1930); and “RICH FARMERS BEING DEPRIVED OF THEIR LAND” (*Toronto Star*, 22 Jan. 1933). As accurately explained in the first of these,

[j]udged by American standards these kulaks for the most part are poor themselves, but in Communist society they are regarded as exploiters because they have employed laborers to help harvest their crops, have rented their horses to neighbors, or own a mill thresher or dairy apparatus from which profit is derived. Those profits and produce of kulak fields have long been heavily taxed.

Kulak children are admitted to schools only when vacancies occur and after all other children are provided for. A kulak is unable to buy goods at co-operative prices. Now he will be deprived of his land, animals, tools and apparently his home.

A more detailed description of what “de-kulakization” entailed in practice was then provided in an article with the headings “\$250 IS ‘WEALTH’ AND MERITS DEATH IN LAND OF SOVIETS / Moscow Encourages Farm Workers to Persecute ‘Rich’ Peasants / POSSESSIONS ARE SEIZED / Kulaks’ Houses, Stocks and Implements Handed to Collectives” (*Globe*, 3 February 1930). The “Special Cable to The Globe and the New York Times” began by stating that, “[c]lass war in the villages becomes more ruthless daily. A decree promulgated today by the Council of People’s Commissars empowers local executives to evict and exile the kulaks (rich peasants), thus sanctioning measures already in widespread practice.” At the same time it observed that the term “kulak” was used “sketchily ... according to exigencies of the mass agitation campaigns,” and that the Soviet press justified the new decree “by declaring that liquidation of the kulak farms must proceed concurrently with the creation of collectives, and that kulaks must be ‘liquidated’ as a class, because if they are allowed to remain in their villages they will become an element of discontent.”

A second cabled story published on the same day revealed that a large contingent of specially trained military personnel were going to be sent to run collective farms, supplementing 25,000 civilian Communists already posted from Moscow for this purpose, along with 30,000 “young enthusiasts” who were being despatched to “stimulate spring sowing by the peasantry.” The article “REDS GROW REDDER IN

UNHAPPY RUSSIA / 100,000 Soldiers to be 'Militant Organizers of Soviet Village' / CHURCHES WILL CLOSE" (*Globe*, 3 Feb. 1930), further spoke about the fact that not just the children of the former bourgeoisie, but even those of "handicraft workers and middle peasants"—who "now often belonged to the poorest of the poor"—were being caught up in the wholesale rampages directed at class enemies in rural villages. Therefore, a fresh decree from the Council of People's Commissars was said to have called for a more nuanced approach to dealing with the off-spring of kulaks, instructing that affected children "...must not be driven into an anti-social attitude by expulsion from school; but, on the other hand, must be influenced against their evil class origins by their teachers, and thus split up their families on a class-war basis." This new directive was soon followed by other Kremlin statements calling for some restraint to be exercised in implementing government policies, undoubtedly because the growing mayhem in agricultural communities due to the blunt thrust of the collectivization and de-kulakization drives.

THE FIRST BITTER FRUITS OF COLLECTIVIZATION

Begun in earnest at the end of 1929, the Soviet state's large-scale pogrom against the kulaks began gathering steam in the first months of 1930 with mostly predictable and destabilizing results.

A Toronto editorial responding to a commentary in the *New York Times* on the subject of the Soviet five-year industrial program (which the *Times* declared to be "the most colossal economic experiment in human history") soberly and correctly noted "...that the proposed changes are to be financed with money wrung, somehow or another, from the peasants. [And a]s all the world now knows, the 'kulaks' or richer farmers are to be 'liquidated.'" The author(s) of "RUSSIA'S NEW HORROR" (*Globe*, 30 Jan. 1930) then went on to quote and interpret Stalin's own words as published in the Soviet Army newspaper, *Red Star*:

It is necessary to smash in open combat the opposition of this class and to deprive it of the productive sources of its existence and development the free use of land, the means of production, the right to hire labor, etc. The present policy in the country is not a prolongation of this policy, but a violent change from the old policy of limiting capitalist elements in the villages to a new policy of liquidating the kulak as a class.

The Red Star leaves no doubt as to the fate of the victims. It says:

What will become of the kulak after his liquidation as a class? To us it is all one—let him fall under the first passing automobile or spend the rest of his life in exile—anything, provided he disappears from our midst.

The private farmer is to be deprived of his land; ejected from his home and forbidden entrance to any other. He may not be wiped out with the ruthless despatch of the first Red Terror—but he is to be wiped out.

Needless to say, the pitiless remarks in the *Red Star* helped to set the tone for the war against the kulaks, which was conducted in waves as the Communist Party alternately tightened and then temporarily relaxed its grip on the peasantry while bringing every facet of the agricultural economy under direct state control.

That the rural component of the Five-Year Plan was creating serious difficulties was soon recognized even at the highest levels of government. Particularly revealing is a “Special Report” titled “STALIN COUNSELS CAUTION IN PLAN OF LAND SEIZURE / Says Collectivization Jeopardized by ‘Rash and Insane Policies’ of Some Officials / OVER-ENTHUSIASTIC / Soviet Dictator Uses Ridicule and Sarcasm to Warn His Followers” (*Toronto Star*, 3 March 1930). The urgent-sounding news story somewhat dramatically proclaimed,

Dictator Joseph V. Stalin’s latest stand on the agrarian collectivization movement in the Soviet Union is of foremost importance to the rest of the world and a sensation for the Russians.

At a time when the greatest agrarian revolution in history and the most momentous phase of the Russian revolution is spreading like a prairie fire, the secretary-general of the Communist party has undertaken—as broadcast in a long announcement in the newspapers yesterday—to control the speed, direction and process of that tempestuous movement.

That Stalin found it wise to issue such a statement, and the extent to which his instructions are being heeded, are of extraordinary importance to both the Communist revolution and the economic well-being of all exporting capitalistic countries.

Briefly, Stalin declares that the Communist agrarian program, whose wisdom has been variously regarded by non-Communists, is an unquestionable success, but that over-enthusiastic administrators has [*sic*] been jeopardizing collectivization by their rash and insane policies. He orders that these methods be substituted by measures of party leadership, which he is convinced will carry the program to full victory.

M. Stalin employs ridicule and sarcasm to warn his followers against swell-headedness and folly in the transformation of Soviet Russia’s agriculture from an individualistic to a collective basis. He cautions them against overconfidence, oppressive measures which he declares have been used to obtain results in some regions, and undue progress in the endeavor to complete communization—outgrowths of too-easily won successes as witnessed in the collectivization by Feb. 20 of 50 per cent of all the peasant farms in the Soviet Union.

That is twice what the optimistic state planners had expected and more than the government is able to supply with agricultural leadership, tractors, and other essential means of production, despite the feverish recruiting of the leaders and the mobilization of all possible materials, including confiscation of Kulak property.

Collectivizers have employed force and even threatened to introduce soldiery and withhold water and manufactured goods from regions showing unwillingness to join *Kolhoses* [*sic*]. Such czaristic compulsion injures collectivism and serves its enemies, says Stalin. His order urges that collectivizing be accepted only voluntarily.¹³

Other stories suggesting a softening of the regime towards the peasantry appeared in the Canadian papers in the following weeks, including: “Reds Grow Merciful to ‘Class Enemies’ By Order of Soviet / Labour Unions No Longer Allowed to Deprive Kulaks and Others of Civil Rights—Millions are Affected / SOLE AUTHORITY GIVEN TO OGPU / Cruelty to Many Expelled from Homes and Deprived of Food Is Ordered to Cease—Will Help Many Children (*Globe*, 24 March 1930); and “SOVIET RESTORES ‘RIGHTS’ OF ITS CLASS ENEMIES / ‘Non-Toilers’ Eligible for Food, But Are Still Denied Employment / AND MAY NOT VOTE / Russia Seeking to Avoid Appearance of Coercion, New Decree Indicates” (*Toronto Star*, 24 March 1930).¹⁴ It is debatable how widely or closely the new directives were followed by local apparatchiks, but the published orders did have the undoubtedly desired effect of insulating senior Party leaders from blame for the havoc being wrought by the collectivization program.

Furthermore, whether Stalin was being sincere in his remarks that the collectivization of agriculture should only proceed on a voluntary basis was immediately thrown into question by a report citing a leading Kremlin official. Michael Kalinin, the head of the Central Executive Committee of the Soviet Union and the second most powerful Communist leader after Joseph Stalin, was revealingly quoted from Soviet sources in an article titled “IGNORE HUMAN HARDSHIP WHEN REFORMING MANKIND / ... / NEED ANNIHILATION / Utopia painted by ‘Uncle Mike’ Can Only Come After Great Suffering” (*Toronto Star*, 4 March 1930). A more complete version of the same wire service story was also carried the same day in the *Globe*: under the more benign headings “INDIVIDUAL IGNORED IN COMMUNIST PLAN, RUSSIANS ARE TOLD / Kalinin Explains ‘Red’ Program to Peasants—Uses Veiled Threats / IS ‘REMAKING MAN’”. The report cited the following remarks by Kalinin:

“In this process of collectivizing our farms and suppressing the kulaks (peasant proprietors), we should be considered to have no human feelings if we said such a drastic transformation carried with it no individual sufferings and misfortunes,” he said.

“But we know that this move toward socialization is best for the masses. Therefore we cannot allow individual sufferings to influence us.

“However harsh and painful the extermination of the kulaks may seem, it is absolutely necessary, because it insures the healthy development of the collective farm organism and fortifies us against great expenditure of human lives in the future,” he declared.

The contradictory messages from the “centre” (i.e., the Kremlin) understandably caused confusion in the lower ranks, especially since the hounding and abuse of kulaks had not only been tolerated but encouraged by the Communist Party even before “de-kulakization” formally began.¹⁵

Once again the arbitrary and brutal methods employed by the authorities only succeeded in provoking resistance in kind, and this in turn led to developments that undoubtedly further alarmed the Communist functionaries directing the collectivization campaign. As related in “SHOOTING PEASANTS AROUSES RED ARMY / Frightful Scenes Are Described In City of Kharkov” (*Toronto Star*, 31 March 1930):

The reasons for Joseph’s Stalin’s pity for the Russian peasant are becoming apparent.

The five-year economic plan intended that only 30 per cent of the peasant householders should be collectivized by 1933, when 300,000 tractors would be required for the proper exploitation of land and men. But eager village beggars, together with the Communists, had already collectivized 52 per cent of the peasants by February 1. Only 40,000 tractors were available, and part of these were worthless.

The number of cattle and horses diminished 30 per cent, and peasants have only eight to 20 per cent of the seed necessary.

Trials and shootings of peasants are described as frightful. In Kharkov alone, in February, 2,000 were tried, 1,683 death sentences resulting. These shootings have aroused great excitement in the red army, which consists mainly of peasants’ sons.

A second story on the next day provided further proof that the collectivization of agriculture was not proceeding according to plan, notwithstanding Stalin’s declaration that it was an “unquestionable success.” Thus, “RUSS PEASANTS RISE AGAINST RED RULERS / Attack Collective Farms, Says Report—Troops Refuse to Fire” (*Toronto Star*, 1 April 1930), began with the news that “Bloody peasant riots are marking uprisings in several districts of Soviet Russia ...” according to despatches received in Riga from Moscow. The same piece continued:

According to one version, the centre of the trouble is in Central Russia, and according to another it is in the Ukraine. Large forces of dispossessed peasants have attacked the collective farms, wrecking and burning them. The Bolshevik commissioners on these farms have either been driven out or killed.

It is reported that Red troops sent to suppress the uprisings have refused to fire on the peasants. The situation is regarded here as serious.

Obviously, the regime was facing numerous challenges to its authority, in addition to having to cope with persistent problems obtaining sufficient food supplies. However, it soon became apparent that these difficulties, rather than resulting in changes being made to failing policies, only stiffened Moscow's resolve to eliminate anyone who stood in the way of the drive to rapidly industrialize and collectivize the economy in keeping with the Five-Year Plan.

ATHEISM AS THE NEW STATE FAITH: THE WAR AGAINST RELIGION

At the same time that Stalin's Kremlin was waging war with kulaks, rebellious peasants, suspect intellectuals, and former politicians (whether they were associated with defeated opposition parties, discredited Communist factions, or the Tsarist regime), it also opened up yet another "front" against religious institutions and believers. Of course, the Bolsheviks were from the very beginning of the revolution openly hostile toward the Orthodox Church because of its conservative ideology and subservient relationship with Tsarism, and they were committed, as vigorous proponents of scientific rationalism, to the long-term eradication of religious faith of any kind. However, for much of the 1920s the Kremlin mostly employed a strategy of tacitly encouraging its radical followers organized in Committees of the Godless to "spontaneously" desecrate religious sanctuaries, abuse members of the clergy, and to mock and attack worshippers. Meanwhile, the Communist Party largely restricted itself to zealously promoting atheism, harassing religious leaders, seizing church properties, and fomenting sectarian rivalries (as well as schisms) so as to weaken ecclesiastical influence. Then, in June 1929, after a struggle within the Party to determine the most expeditious means of combating religion, a much more aggressive approach was adopted by the government to help sweep away all vestiges of traditional values.¹⁶

That members of the clergy were sometimes arrested, and even executed, for attempting to prevent the takeover of places of worship or for supporting peasants who opposed collectivization, is evident from some previously cited reports. But in late 1929 and early 1930, the offensive against religion was noticeably ramped up, prompting protests from some Western clerics once word began to filter out that the Soviets were running roughshod over religious communities and people of faith, as was reported in "REDS GROW REDDER IN UNHAPPY RUSSIA" (*Globe*, 3 February 1930):

Next comes a decree from Odessa ordering the immediate closing of all "counter-revolutionary hearths"—that is, all churches, chapels, meeting-houses, and the numerous synagogues of the strong Jewish element in that old and populous seaport. Bells and all other metal objects in such places are to be handed over as "scrap" to the State industries, and the buildings themselves are to be devoted to cultural and educational needs.

It is a fact that Odessa preceded Moscow in organized bread rationing. So far the Moscow Soviet, although it has already closed down a certain number of churches, of which before the war there were 450, excluding convents, has not closed the churches as such. All monasteries in Moscow, however, have been closed.

Moscow has pulled down a large number for reasons of “town planning” and has nationalized a large number of others on the ground that the worshippers were not sufficiently numerous to justify the use of the buildings for religious purposes or the cost of maintaining them. The latest instance is Moscow’s Old Believers’ Church—the Old Believers are an early sect of dissenters—which on Jan. 25 was reopened as a public dining-room, with a cooking stove where the altar once stood.

The Moscow Soviet’s main step forward this week is to forbid the ringing of any church bells.

Another article published a month and a half later, filed from a town southeast of Moscow, concisely captured the situation there in headings that read: “SOVIET TOWN OF 30,000 VOTES GOD NON-EXISTENT / Orders All Churches Closed—Bells to Be Melted For Commercial Use / FOOD IS SCARCE” (*Toronto Star*, 26 March 1930). But whereas the *Globe* immediately expressed concern (in editorials on 3 and 4 February) about these and other disturbing developments that were taking place on the orders of the Kremlin, its cross-town rival took a more skeptical stance toward the news in “WHAT’S GOING ON IN RUSSIA?” (*Toronto Star*, 27 Feb. 1930):

J. L. Garvin in the London Observer has an article dealing with the charges against Russia of carrying on a persecution of the Christians there, the dismantling of churches, the melting down of church bells. While he does not doubt that these things are taking place[,] he suggests that, according to reports not always verified, much else of a similar nature is occurring, such as the dispossession of “kulaks” and the turning of them adrift in large numbers without the means to live—these kulaks being “rich” peasants, who, in defiance of the principles of the Communists, have accumulated gains to the extent that they have as many as three cows, or one cow and other animals of similar value to two more. These men are supposed to have in them the germ of capitalism, and so their wealth is seized and they are driven forth banned and homeless. From different sources come these stories of oppression and one does not know, and cannot definitely learn, to what extent they are true.

Whether conscious or not, the reference to the dispossession of the kulaks in connection with the persecution of Christians correctly implied that the two campaigns were linked, just as both repressive initiatives in turn dovetailed with the industrialization and collectivization programs of the Five-Year Plan.

The Kremlin was well aware of the negative response that its anti-religious drive would receive in the West, and therefore took steps to obscure the truth about the ini-

tiative that was then underway. Especially brazen was an interview with Metropolitan Sergius of Russia's beleaguered Orthodox Church that was carried by Soviet periodicals, in which he categorically rejected claims that the Church was being oppressed in any way and only acknowledged that priests who were guilty of "Anti-Government Acts" were liable to be punished, just like any other Soviet citizens. In "RUSSIAN CHURCHMAN DENIES PERSECUTION" (*Globe*, 17 Feb. 1930) Sergius insisted, "Religion in the U.S.S.R. has never been subjected to persecution before or now," and dismissed as "inventions and slanders" foreign press reports "of brutalities toward individual church members by agents of the Soviet power." Finally, for good measure, "Metropolitan Sergius attacked Pope Pius for his recent denunciation in an encyclical of an 'anti-religious campaign' in Russia," the original interview appearing in *Pravda* and *Izvestia*, the official organs of the Soviet Government and the Communist Party. The story was not the first, nor would it be the last example of a bald-faced lie arranged for international consumption by the Kremlin.

In the meantime, prominent religious figures around the world decried the increasingly aggressive Soviet crusade against religion. Although the Catholic Church, because of its size and global influence, was at the forefront of mobilizing public opinion in an attempt to apply pressure on Moscow, the world-wide protests had a strong multi-denominational character, as reflected in the article heading, "Irish Catholics, Protestants, and Jews Unite in Protest Against Sovietism" (*Toronto Star*, 25 Feb. 1930).¹⁷ Once again, Stalin performed a zigzag manoeuvre to counter criticism and deflect responsibility for any "excesses" on the anti-religious groups that essentially served as proxies for the Communist Party. Particularly noteworthy was a page one Associated Press Cable and Despatch whose heading proclaimed: "Teaching of Religion to Youth of Russia Forbidden by Soviet / Atheistic Press Hurls Defiance at Christian World as Churches of Foreign Lands Offer Prayers for Welfare of Russian Worshippers / REDS MODIFY PLAN OF FIGHT / Special Services Held in London and New York—Stalin Says Warfare on Creeds Must Be Carried On Without Violence" (*Globe*, 17 March 1930). The remarks attributed to Stalin were somewhat at odds with statements made elsewhere by Communist workers, and with what was known about the attitude of the Bolsheviks toward religion and their behaviour toward faith communities at various times since the revolution:

The Russian Government ... has noticeably moderated its attitude toward religion. It now discountenances the forcible closing of churches or the tearing down of church bells without the consent of the overwhelming majority of the population and the formal sanction of the Central Government authorities.

Even so great an atheist as Joseph Stalin, "the strong man of Russia," has issued strict orders that any Communist Party worker or village Soviet official found guilty of using violent methods in the party's fight against religion shall be severely punished.

After describing how all of Moscow's churches were filled during services, and stating that "the Government at no time attempted to prevent individuals from freely taking part in their religious rites," the article went on to explain that

[s]ince the agitation abroad against the Government for its anti-religious views has assumed such imposing proportions throughout the world, there has been a perceptible change in the atheists' plan of warfare against the Church.

Fearing punishment at the hands of the Government authorities if they go too far, they now confine their activities exclusively to disseminating anti-religious propaganda and teaching the peasants that good crops depend, not upon God, but upon their own labor, good weather, and proper methods of cultivation.

The Village Godless One, official organ for the dissemination of atheism among the peasantry, declares in a recent number that "the Soviet Union is the basis for the atheistic movement throughout the entire world.

"The growth of atheism in Soviet Russia creates a ground for the spreading of atheism everywhere else."

Underscoring the missionary role that Soviet Communists saw themselves playing in eradicating religion around the world, the report next quoted bellicose pronouncements by three atheist workers' groups that left no doubt as to the nature of the struggle being waged or its ultimate objective:

Among the numerous manifestoes issued today by factories, workers' clubs and atheistic organizations is one by the Moscow Dynamo factory, saying: "Under the sacred robes of the Pope there is concealed a jackal that is ready to destroy the land which builds socialism with fire and sword."

The Moscow Union of Militant Atheists, addressing the capitalistic world, says: "You will not frighten or dismay the Soviet union of workers with your religious crusade as you have so often attempted to frighten us with your diplomatic notes and wild attacks on our foreign representatives.

"You will not hinder the building of socialism or the cultural growth of our country. You will not be able to protect the kulak (rich peasant) and the nepman (private trader), who are so close to your Christian heart. Religion and collective farms cannot exist together."

...

Another manifesto, by the Moscow Steam Engine Works, says: "We well know that the bourgeoisie, in their struggle against us, will attract every one to their ranks, including God and the Pope. They realized that their gravediggers are approaching, and that neither God nor Pope will save them from death."

“We intend to intensify the irreconcilable struggle with God and religion, which are our class enemies.”

This account datelined from Moscow was supplemented with two additional items from London and New York describing services and meetings held by Anglicans, Catholics, Protestants, and Jews censuring Soviet actions against religious believers. The first of these quoted a speaker at St. Colomba’s Church saying, “Of the reality and the terrible character of the persecution to which Christians in Russia are being subjected, there can be no doubt. Persecution and war to the death on religion have been acknowledged and glorified by those who perpetrate them” (“Prayers in England,” *Globe*, 17 March 1930).¹⁸ In the latter it was reported that a crowd of 14,000 “Communists and others” had “gathered at the Bronx Coliseum to protest against criticism of Soviet anti-religious policies.” It goes without saying that such an assembly in the Soviet Union supporting religious freedom was unthinkable. Meanwhile, “Rabbi Stephen E. Wise, in an address at the Free Synagogue, said that protest should be made, not by the churches, but by the liberals of the land as a duty to minorities” (“Reds Meet in New York,” *Globe*, 17 March 1930).

The anti-religious campaign was described by Soviet authorities as having been inaugurated to advance the cause of atheism while unmasking superstition, hypocrisy, and the complicity of religious institutions in the oppression of the masses under the Tsars. In reality, its objective was to suppress religious expression of any kind. Furthermore, in addition to seeking to discredit and overturn conventional morality in favour of the “higher morality” preached by Bolshevik leaders like Michael Kalinin, the attack on religion sought to eliminate the clergy as potential leaders of opposition to the Five-Year Plan and other Communist policies.

Although short, two other news items from around this time are noteworthy because they reveal the plight of a Greek Orthodox church that was unique to Ukraine. Appearing on the same day in two Toronto papers and reported from Kharkiv, the slightly more detailed of the two was titled “CHURCH REPUDIATED BY SOVIET PRELATE / Archbishop Declares Religion is Harmful to Red Regime” (*Globe*, 20 May 1930) and read as follows:

Renouncing his calling as a priest, Archbishop Constantin Krotevitch, head of the Ukrainian Autocephalous Church, today declared that an analysis of his past ecclesiastical activities had convinced him that the Church was harmful to humanity and hostile to the Soviet regime.

“Preparations are being made for a crusade against the Soviet Union, which will be led by Pope Pius,” he asserted. “This demonstrates the social untruth of religion, which is only a medium for protecting the interests of the ruling class.”

He said he would return to his former cultural work as a teacher.

While obviously hinting at the intense pressure that the regime was applying on members of the clergy, neither piece provided any background on the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church (U.A.O.C.), which had originally been established with the approval of the Soviet government as a breakaway formation from the Russian Orthodox Church. Significantly, although the attempt to impose atheism as the official dogma of the Soviet state ultimately stopped short of totally banning all organized religious communities—thus, a compliant shell of the Russian Orthodox Church was eventually allowed to maintain a tenuous existence in an accommodation with Soviet power—Communist leaders were categorically unwilling to tolerate an independent Ukrainian church, and therefore the U.A.O.C. was completely destroyed. Autocephalous bishops and priests who refused to renounce their faith and didn't manage to escape the Soviet Union after the revolution, either died martyrs' deaths or simply disappeared in the vastness of the Gulag.

THE EMPIRE STRIKES BACK

Over the course of 1930-1931, an increasing number of news stories appeared in the Canadian press about the repressive measures being taken by the Soviet Government against rebellious peasants, class enemies, foreign agents, saboteurs, and others accused of trying to thwart the success of the Five-Year Plan. Several articles from this period document how the Kremlin dealt with the obstacles and opponents that it was encountering on several fronts as it relentlessly implemented its collectivization and industrialization strategy. In "Report Peasants Planning Trouble In Soviet Russia" (*Toronto Star*, 10 April 1930), it was disclosed that a peasant uprising was rumoured in Ukraine, "with the red army at Tiraspol helping the atheists to block the way of Christians going to church, with resultant fighting before the portals of the cathedral." A second story published on the same day announced, "SOVIET PENALIZES RAILWAY SABOTAGE BY DEATH DECREE / Three Officials Will Give Their Lives for Destroying Engines" (*Toronto Star*, 10 April 1930). The piece went on to relate: "The trial of 127 officials of the Ukrainian Lumber Trust and private lumber dealers charged with economic counter-revolution against the Soviet will open Saturday at Zhitomir, in the Ukraina. The defendants included some of the leading figures in the Soviet lumber industry, many of whom are Communists."

Nine days later an article titled, "'EXCUSE IT PLEASE,' SAY SOVIET FOES / Kharkov Counter-Revolutionaries Apologize for Recent Activities" (*Globe*, 19 April 1930), described a show trial in the Soviet Ukrainian capital that was obviously intended to make an example of a distinguished group of Ukrainians who had been associated with Ukraine's short-lived period of independence after the fall of the Tsarism:

Professor Serge Efremov, former President of the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences, and 44 other defendants, on trial here for alleged counter-revolutionary activities, expressed repentance today for their attempts to re-establish the capitalistic regime in the Ukraine. Former premier Chekhovsky and former Foreign Minister Nikovsky, members of the Government set up by General Simon Petlura in 1919, were among them.

They also declared they were willing to work sincerely for the success of the Soviet administration. In the light of this recantation, the death sentences that are normally the punishment in such cases will probably be withheld, and the defendants sentenced to various terms of imprisonment.

The pleas of the Kharkov defendants appear to have had the desired effect judging from a follow-up piece, "ENEMIES OF SOVIETS ARE SENT TO PRISON" (*Globe*, 21 April 1930). It stated that Efremov and the two former ministers in the Petliura government received ten-year sentences, while "[t]wenty other defendants were given prison terms ranging from three and eight years for a total of 173 years, seven were banished from Ukraine, and nine released on probation." Coincidentally, or most likely not, on 19 April the *Globe* also carried a report ("ESPIONAGE CHARGES [A]RE COMING TO TRIAL BEFORE SOVIET COURT") on a major espionage and sabotage trial that had just opened in Moscow involving three employees of a large English concession in the Lena gold-fields, following a series of raids in December that resulted in the arrest of thirteen Russians.

Accounts of other prosecutions continued to be published sporadically in the Canadian press, as the Soviet court system was utilized to create the impression that the state was legitimately cracking down on criminals and those who were working against it. That virtually no one was safe from the threat of arbitrary arrest was made abundantly clear in "CABLE FROM RUSSIA CONFIRMS RUMORS OF REVOLT BY REDS / Names Jewish Conspirators as Plotters Against Joseph Stalin ..." (*Globe*, 24 November 1930). The article announced:

A despatch to-night from Moscow to the Jewish Telegraphic Agency said that five leading Jewish Communists were involved in a plot against Joseph Stalin, head of the Communist Party.

They were listed as assistants to M. Syrtov, who, the correspondent said, had contemplated the overthrow of Stalin, and their names were given as M. Shatzkin, leader of the Komsomol or Communist Youth organization; Ch. Nesinov, V. Kavratsky, Helperin and Reznik.

The correspondent said the men were charged with conducting illegal activities intended to harm the authority of the party leaders among the masses, and also were accused with [*sic*] attempting to destroy the work of the Soviets.

Premier Sergei Syrtov, on Nov. 3 was removed from the Presidency of the Council of People's Commissars of the Russian Socialist Federated Soviet Republic, the largest unit of the U.S.S.R.

A flurry of other stories in the following weeks depicted the farcical quality that several of the proceedings assumed, including "WEIRD CONFESSIONS MADE BY 'TRAITORS,' MOSCOW DECLARES / Reds Allege Implication of France and Britain in Plot / NAME 'LORD CHURCHILL' " (*Globe*, 27 Nov. 1930); "COMIC OPERA PRISONERS JUST LOVE RUSSIAN JAILS / Alleged 'Traitors' to Communism Praise Soviet's Secret Police and Recommend Prison as Nerve and Health Treatment" (*Globe*, 1 Dec. 1930); and "SOVIET ENGINEERS STILL CONFESSING AT MOSCOW TRIAL / Russian 'Traitors' Appear to Enjoy Recital of Misdeeds / TELL GRAFTING SCHEMES" (*Globe*, 1 Dec. 1930).

At the same time the Kremlin began trumpeting the achievements of the government in the spheres of industry and agriculture in "an exhaustive and official analysis" of what had been accomplished in the first two years of the Five-Year Plan. The Soviet point of view was presented in a feature article whose headings read: "VAUNTING OFFICIAL BOASTS OF PROGRESS ACHIEVED IN RUSSIA / Five-Year Plan Succeeds, and Workers Are Happy, He Says ... / Gives Figures, Statistics, Percentages to Prove Prosperity" (*Globe*, 1 Dec. 1930). The same assertions were also made in "SUCCESS IS CLAIMED FOR FIVE-YEAR PLAN / Soviet Commission Head Says Program Will be Achieved in Four Years / LAUDS 7-HOUR DAY / Living Conditions Advance With Socialization of Industry is Assertion" (*Toronto Star*, 1 December 1930). Both pieces cited reams of figures used by the head of the State Planning Commission responsible for the Five-Year Plan to declare its implementation was proceeding so well that it would be completed a year ahead of schedule.

But a very different picture of the situation was painted in yet another front page news story that also appeared on the first of December along with four of the articles cited above. The piece was headlined "U.S. Engineers Warned to Flee From Russia As Lives Are In Peril / American Chemical Society Urges Nationals to Leave Soviet, Both for Own Safety and as Protest Against Communist Tyranny ..." (*Globe*, 1 Dec. 1930), and it drew on an editorial published in the journal *Industrial and Engineering Chemistry* that called on more than 1,000 American specialists working in the U.S.S.R. to set aside their pecuniary interests and to leave "at once" for home. Paraphrasing and quoting parts of the editorial, the article read in part:

Declaring that murders and prosecutions are only acts upon th[e] tragic stage which the Soviet leaders arrange to direct their sadly duped followers from their own failures, the editorial says the five-year industrialization plan is doomed to failure. Even if "by any miracle ... the plan should succeed," the article continued, "the Soviet will only be fur-

ther strengthened to carry out its devastating program in other countries, particularly those that are industrial.”

The scientific journal predicts that the blame for failure will be shifted from the politicians to the technical experts, and proceeds: “More than a thousand engineers and technically trained men are now in Russia engaged in promoting the industrial program. If they [*sic*] program fails they may find themselves in grave danger, and it is not unlikely that a number of “regrettable accidents” may remove some of the individuals from the stage of life.”

“Even when completed, it is doubtful if plants now under construction can be operated by native talent, and failure to get results expected by the political leaders means only one thing in Russia, and shooting is the favorite route.”

Appearing alongside the piece about the boasting official, the warnings not only proved to be prophetic but the juxtapositioning of such diametrically opposed analyses was to become more common as Stalin steadily escalated his use of terror while resorting to disinformation and propaganda to veil the true nature of the Soviet “experiment.”¹⁹

An unattributed article sourced from Moscow in the fall of 1930 was equally perceptive in identifying the real motivation behind the public witch-hunts that were becoming a regular feature of Soviet life. Titled, “DEATH CLOAKS ERRORS STALIN HAS COMMITTED / Collectivism a Failure—Try to Mollify Masses by 48 Executions / A PLOT OF ENEMIES” (*Toronto Star*, 23 Oct. 1930), the report opened with the observation that “[t]owards the end of September the Soviet newspapers began to print extensive disclosures furnished by the G.P.U. (the Russian secret police), telling of a certain organization of dangerous men who had set out to deliver the population to starvation. This could surprise nobody acquainted with the technique of revolutionary events under the Moscow system.” After discussing the arrests and trials that had taken place involving mining and railway officials who were blamed for various “failures,” the piece focussed on the chaos in the agricultural sector:

The critical state of the food supply, by which the Soviet state is constantly being shaken, might easily have been predicted. The overhurried collectivizing policy which was in force from the summer of last year until March 2 of the present year has destroyed some 50 or 60 per cent of the cattle stock. The fish supply has been completely disorganized by the collectivization of the fishermen, the extermination of the experienced individual fish trade and the nationalization of all fishing boats. Also collectivized were the industrious and skilful vegetable growers who, up to that time, had been dealers in produce as well as growers. The collectivization, effected at the beginning of the year, was abandoned in the spring, but it was then found impossible to establish vegetable growing on a new basis. As a consequence there are no fresh vegetables to be had.

The legal measures solely responsible for these conditions were taken in complete accordance with Stalin's party policy, which is regarded as sacred and inviolable. Good statesmanship, of course, has brought about the necessity of relying upon other causes than Stalin's policies in explaining these failures to the masses; such things could not be kept secret; they were making themselves known by starvation.

The article goes on to address how scapegoats were then found and sacrificed by the regime in an effort to assuage public discontent. At the same time, it expressed skepticism as to the ultimate effectiveness of this strategy, the aim of which was patently obvious:

It is difficult to predict for how long a period this cruel process will serve to soothe the pangs of starvation. Already a number of professors of agriculture, chemistry, and other branches of the applied sciences have been implicated by the announced confessions of the men executed, and about 150 new arrests were made a few weeks ago in consequence thereof. They are also charged with having been connected with an organization of dangerous inclinations, with giving false advice and with misleading the government with the intention of overthrowing the power of the proletariat by artificially piling up economic difficulties.

This version, as given by the G.P.U., seems absolutely incredible. The power of the Soviet government remains unshaken. Each and every crisis thus far has had no actual political consequence. Outside of Russia it might be deduced from the detection of counter-revolutionary groups that other organizations of the same nature must exist elsewhere in Russia. This would be a fatal error. The G.P.U., in point of fact, is only setting in motion an apparatus dealing with internal politics; its object is exculpation by means of propaganda.

What is remarkable about this account, written well before mass starvation devastated Ukraine and several other parts of the Soviet Union, was how clearly its author understood what was going on and who was ultimately responsible for the alleged "failures."

Further obfuscating the actual state of affairs in the Soviet Union was the fact that in 1930 it began exporting wheat again despite numerous reports that it was having difficulties feeding its own population. Although the amounts were very small they nevertheless prompted accusations by Canada that the Kremlin was engaging in dumping which further undermined already weak grain prices. The unexpected appearance of the wheat on the international market after years of Russia's absence simultaneously raised fears that the Soviet Union might soon be in a position to retake the dominant position that Tsarist Russia had held in the grain trade before the war and revolution. Journalist Henry Somerville, in "RUSSIA'S 1930 WHEAT SURPLUS DUE TO FORTUNES OF WEATHER ..." (*Toronto Star*, 19 Nov. 1930), judiciously discussed the issue of the Soviet wheat exports based on the sta-

tistics available in the fall of 1930, pointing out that Western experts were widely divided on the question as to whether or not the Five-Year Plan was going to succeed, fall short of its objectives, or fail utterly. But he essentially concluded that it was not collectivization that had been responsible for the Soviet surplus, and shared the following observations about Soviet agriculture made by Alexander Kerensky, the former head of the Provisional Government defeated by the Bolsheviks:

Early this year I had an interview with Kerensky who was most positive in predicting a famine as an absolute certainty resulting from the collectivization of agriculture. There was something like a war of extermination against the kulaks, the kulaks being those peasants who have industry and enterprise enough to make more than average success for themselves in farming. Kerensky may not have judged the situation correctly. It is wise to always discount the views of émigrés about the policy of the government that has driven them into exile. There can be no question, however, that the collective farms were unpopular with the most successful elements among the peasantry.

UKRAINIAN CANADIANS AND THE GATHERING STORM DESCENDING ON SOVIET UKRAINE

Of course, Ukrainians in Canada were well aware of the horror that was beginning to descend on Soviet Ukraine. Early in 1930, the well-known Presbyterian minister, Paul Crath—i.e., Pavlo Krat, a native of the Poltava region who came to Canada in 1908 as a socialist and an atheist but later converted to Protestantism—provided an insightful analysis of what was taking place in his former homeland, as summarized in “Ukrainian Claims Soviet Crop Story Entirely Untrue” (*Edmonton Journal*, 15 Feb. 1930). Crath dismissed the relatively small exports of wheat that were then starting to be made by the Soviets as mere window-dressing, and accurately predicted the eventual consequences of the forced collectivization campaign:

In an article on the situation he stated that the present offerings of grain are but Bolshevik camouflage to hide the truth that the people are starving, and at the same time to secure money for war and domestic needs.

Even the great communal farms have not enough seed left for spring work, while forcible collection has been made from the peasants last fall mid [*sic*] bloodshed.

The government decision to equalize—which is to say pauperize—the remaining three million independent peasants next spring, will mean a further decrease in the following harvest, was the contention of Rev. Mr. Crath.

Crath’s observations were more fully elaborated in an interview in which he described Communist agricultural policies and how they were producing disastrous

results. His remarkably perceptive remarks were made in an article published under the headings, "RUSSIA IS DISCOUNTED AS GRAIN COMPETITOR BY RECENT VISITOR / Insufficient Wheat, He Says, to Provide Seed for Spring / PEASANTS ARE ROBBED" (*Globe*, 17 Feb. 1930). In it, he relates in precise detail how the Kremlin's military-like requisitions and mishandling of the grain collected were leading to severe shortages which were further aggravated by wastefulness:

"As is the custom, last fall armed Government collecting squads pillaged the rural districts, carrying away to towns and railway stations what they could seize, paying the peasants one-sixth the value in worthless paper money, or imprisoning or killing such as dared resist. For, facing winter starvation, armed bands of peasants set on the collectors, and in districts massacres ensued.

"Thus, blood-stained and washed with peasant tears, the grain was heaped up in dumping centres. But there are few elevators in Russia, and the collectors dumped the pillaged grain in sacks or in heaps along railway sidings, exposed to autumnal rains, and much of this wheat sprouted, and thus became worthless. To the calamity was added the demoralization of the Russian railways, and grain loaded into box cars stood weeks, even months, on the sidings. Much of it that reached Leningrad was stored in damp cellars, and rotted.["]

It is worth noting that what chiefly interested the Canadian press was not the plight of the peasantry but whether or not Russia was in a position to export grain, as by suddenly dumping "a couple of million bushels" of wheat on the Baltic markets, the Soviets had "caused a fall in prices, not only there, but in Great Britain, and created a sensation in the Winnipeg Grain Exchange." After outlining his critique of the effect of Bolshevik policies, Crath rhetorically answered the question that was responsible for his being the subject of the *Globe* article: "Is it not, therefore, right to say Russia is not, and cannot for a long time be, a competitor in the world wheat market?" His comments were no doubt music to the ears of Canadian grain producers.

In terms of the Ukrainian Canadian community at large, with the exception of those who had pro-Soviet sympathies, most were not fooled by Soviet propaganda. On the day that the Crath article appeared in the *Globe*, 500 members of the Ukrainian Self-Reliance League and affiliated organizations gathered at the Toronto Ukrainian People's Home to appeal for public and government support in condemning the U.S.S.R. As summarized in "UKRAINIANS PLEAD FOR WORLD PROTEST AGAINST ATROCITIES" (*Globe*, 18 Feb. 1930), a motion directed to Prime Minister Mackenzie King, British Prime Minister J. Ramsay MacDonald, the League of Nations, and the Soviet Ambassador in London was adopted with the following points of protest:

Innumerable arrests and executions of the most eminent men of letters and science; destruction of churches; persecution of clergy and religious population and spreading of

atheism and demoralization among the younger generation; incessant pillages; persecution; arrests and executions of Ukrainian peasants, workers and intellectuals; the systematic campaign conducted by Soviet officials, aimed to destroy Ukrainian cultural institutions and designed to replace them by Russian institutions; ban of Ukrainian newspapers and magazines, and the abolition of freedom of speech.

At least two other Toronto papers also carried reports about the same meeting, ensuring that Ukrainian concerns about Soviet repression received wide exposure. The lengthiest of these said that the protest was coupled with a condemnation of the “barbaric” and “ruthless” persecution of the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church, and quoted the resolution as saying there was a “Bolshevik reign of terror ‘now sweeping across the Ukrainian territory, the aim of which is the extermination of the Ukrainian people’ ” (“Red Tyranny Is Denounced By Ukrainians,” *Toronto Telegram*, 17 Feb. 1930).

The gathering was organized on the initiative of the Ukrainian Self-Reliance League, but involved other Ukrainian groups in the non-communist camp and was part of a series of meetings across Canada denouncing the Soviet Union and appealing for world support. Additional reports of anti-Soviet Ukrainian community gatherings that took place in the following months were “Reds Thrown Out at Oshawa Meeting Scoring Soviet Atrocities” (*Globe*, 3 March 1930) and “Ukrainian Students Assail Persecutions / Meeting in Saskatoon Objects to Bolshevik Activities” (*Globe*, 15 April 1930). And a second meeting in late April at Toronto’s Ukrainian People’s Home again drew a large crowd, which among its resolutions rebuked “... ‘the exterminating policies in the Ukraine by Moscow Soviets and their agents and demand[ed] an immediate release of all Ukrainians held in prisons for their belief in Ukrainian independence’ ” (“Ukrainians Here Demand Release of Countrymen,” *Globe*, 28 April 1930).

What set the Ukrainian Canadian protests apart from other demonstrations and criticisms directed at the growing extremism of the Stalinist regime was that Ukrainians drew attention to the national dimension of Communist policies and their dire implications for the Ukrainian language, culture, and identity in the Soviet Union. For although the Kremlin couched its pronouncements in internationalist rhetoric, formally recognized the right of Soviet republics to secede, and persecuted other national minorities in often similar ways if in varying degrees, because Ukrainians formed the largest non-Russian segment of the Soviet population and had a long history of striving for independence, they were a constant and heightened source of anxiety for Bolshevik leaders in Moscow.

THE CONTINUING STORY AND SOME PRELIMINARY CONCLUSIONS

About to further exacerbate matters for the Ukrainian Canadian community at this juncture was the fact that in the winter of 1930-1931 Ukrainians living in Polish-occupied eastern Galicia were singled out for special repressive measures by the authoritarian regime headed by Marshall Józef Piłsudski. Reacting to acts of sabotage and attacks directed at Polish officials by increasingly radicalized young Ukrainian Nationalists, the Warsaw government responded by targeting a number of problem districts for mass arrests, punitive sackings, as well as severe and often random floggings administered by military troops to the male inhabitants of selected rural villages. Some women were also beaten and assaulted in the process. These actions elicited a storm of protests that received extensive coverage in the mainstream Canadian press, both complicating and multiplying the challenges faced by the Ukrainian community, while creating an impression that Ukrainians were constantly bemoaning the plight and victimization of their kinsmen back home.

At the same time additional factors began to play a role in influencing how the events unfolding in the Soviet Union were subsequently presented and interpreted in Canadian newspapers in the early 1930s. To begin, as the Great Depression took hold and deepened, there was growing sympathy for Soviet Communism among many liberal and left-of-centre Canadians, including, rather incongruously, some members of the Protestant and Anglican clergy. This became more apparent in opinions that were expressed in editorials, commentaries and letters to the editor carried by the mainstream press. New geopolitical developments also started to increasingly colour how Canadians viewed “Communist Russia” notwithstanding frequent and evermore damning news stories—which sometimes appeared in close proximity to totally contradictory pieces—about the totalitarian and brutal nature of the Soviet Union under Stalin. Thus, the threat posed by Japanese militarism in the Far East and the rise of fascism in the heart of Europe, especially Nazi Germany, prodded a growing number of formerly wary or critical observers of the Soviet Union to set aside their fears of Communism and downplay the excesses of Stalin because of the seemingly more immediate danger posed to the West by Tokyo and Berlin.

In the meantime, skilful Soviet propaganda and manipulation was effectively deployed by the Kremlin and its agents in the Comintern to simultaneously undermine confidence in capitalism and democracy while creating the illusion that life for working people in the U.S.S.R. was improving in leaps and bounds when living standards for the vast majority were actually steadily deteriorating. The confluence of these elements would soon lead to several surprises, such as the recognition of the Soviet Union in late 1933 by the United States and the expansion of Canadian trade with “Communist Russia” despite the strong initial opposition to doing any business with Stalin by Conservative Prime Minister, R. B. Bennett.

But perhaps the biggest surprise was that subsequent reports about the famine of 1932-33 came to be met with considerable skepticism, professed confusion, rationalizations, and outright denials on the part of a significant number of Canadians. Included among the latter were not only respected journalists, gullible visitors, well-known intellectuals, influential ecclesiastics, Communist apologists, and fellow travellers, but politically conservative businessmen who were keen on pursuing trade with the Soviets despite the widespread awareness that millions were being murdered and oppressed by Stalinist policies. It was as if all of the news stories published about conditions and developments under Soviet rule in the years preceding the most devastating hunger attributable to Moscow's lengthy war against the Ukrainian peasantry and leadership, were either suspect or irrelevant in the grand scheme of things. Yet, many of the factors that laid the groundwork for the Great Famine—not to mention the dire predictions that mass starvation posed a genuine threat—are made abundantly clear in Western reporting about the U.S.S.R. throughout the 1920s, particularly after the introduction of the first Five-Year Plan with its forced collectivization drive and attendant repressive measures. It should also be obvious from the select examples cited in this paper that the Canadian press of the period is a remarkably rich source of information and insight about the workings of Stalinist Russia in the lead-up to Ukraine's *Holodomor*, and that newspapers in Canada are, therefore, deserving of much wider and deeper investigation by scholars.

NOTES

1. Evidence also shows that food was far more abundant in districts bordering non-Communist states, indicating that supplies were being directed on a politically determined basis.

2. So as to win allegiance in areas conquered by the Red Army where support for the Bolsheviks was much weaker than it had been for other political parties, the Soviet government in the mid-1920s, introduced policies that supported the development of the languages and cultures of indigenous peoples who had been subjected to systematic Russification within the Russian Empire. In addition to criticizing Russian arrogance and promoting native inhabitants of a region to positions in local governments, the strategy also involved aggressively recruiting non-Russians into the ranks of the Communist Party. How sincere the Communists were in making these concessions is open to question, and there is good reason to believe that they were always considered to be temporary measures that were necessary to appease the nationalist sentiments that had been awakened or strengthened by the Revolution. Regardless, indigenization was subsequently abandoned because it was feared that by reversing the chauvinistic Russification policies of the Tsarist autocracy, long-standing separatist aspirations were being fuelled among national minorities in the Soviet Union, especially Ukrainians.

3. It should be mentioned that recent research has shown that besides the *Holodomor* and the well-known famine of 1921-1922 (which only abated in 1923), Ukraine was also affected by outbreaks of hunger in 1924-1925, 1928, 1929, and 1931. While some of these lesser famines might be attributable to adverse weather conditions, they were exacerbated by ineffective government response and the heavy-handed agricultural policies of the Kremlin.

4. Some of the research on the press that contributed to the writing of this paper was done by Dr. Serge Cipko at the University of Alberta, and Maegon Young at Trent University.

5. Headings in sources that appeared in upper case are similarly reproduced where cited, while subheadings are set off by slashes. The intention is to provide a sense of what would have caught a readers' eye even if only casually perusing the paper, without necessarily reading each article.

6. One also cannot help but be struck by various references made to "famines" during this period in articles not dealing with Ukraine, as in a report about labour strife in Cape Breton under the heading "INDUSTRY PARALYZED BY BITTER CONFLICT IN COAL MINING AREA" (*Globe*, 9 March 1925). It featured the following sub-headings: "RELIEF

IS ORGANIZED FOR STARVING PEOPLE,” and “Conditions in Some Parts of District Lead Cleric in Charge to State That Armenia and India in Famine Times Would Be Preferable as Scenes of Labour”. Among numerous other examples is “MILK FAMINE FORESEEN UNLESS DROUGHT ENDS SOON” (*Toronto Daily Star*, 17 July 1933), about a looming shortage of milk in Ontario due to the weather. The hyperbolic use of the word “famine” as a synonym for a “food shortage” or even hunger associated with poverty probably had the unfortunate effect of dulling the word’s impact when it was applied to cases of genuine, large-scale starvation.

7. In the same piece Thompson contrasts the “poor Russian farmer to the richer Ukrainian peasant,” a fact that would soon have fateful consequences for the latter.

8. No less noteworthy was the apprehension the following year of a former first Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Ukrainian SSR, the Bulgarian revolutionary and prominent Bolshevik, Christian Rakovsky—as reported in “ARREST FORMER PRESIDENT” (*Toronto Star*, 19 Oct. 1929). It is significant that Rakovsky had major differences with Stalin on the nationalities question (based in part on his challenging experiences in Ukraine), regarding excessive centralism and internationalism as alienating the populations of many Soviet republics and calling unsuccessfully for limits to be placed on the influence of Russian Federation representatives in the U.S.S.R.

9. Although Stalin is widely (albeit not universally) regarded as the great villain of Soviet history, it should be remembered that the Bolshevik dictatorship and Soviet police state were established under Lenin’s leadership, and that he and his fellow Communists vigorously repressed opponents of any kind, even left-wing political parties and movements that were Socialist, Social Democratic, or anarchist.

10. Also see “TIPS FORBIDDEN THING IN COMMUNIST RUSSIA BUT PRACTICE REMAINS / Soviet Hotel Charges Are Stiff and Service ‘Worst Ever’ / ... / Workers’ Republic Most Expensive Country in World for Tourist” (*Toronto Daily Star*, 24 June 1929); and “SOVIET UNION EMPLOYS MOST MODERN DEVICES IN BUDDING INDUSTRIES / Can Display Factories Containing World’s Most Up-to-Minute Equipment / LOOKING FAR AHEAD / Rigid Curb Placed on Imports in Interest of Future Productivity” (*Toronto Daily Star*, 3 July 1929).

11. O.G.P.U. (a.k.a., G.P.U.) is the Russian acronym for the Joint State Political Directorate under the Council of People’s Commissars of the U.S.S.R. The successor of the Cheka and the forerunner of the K.G.B., it was the all-powerful intelligence and secret police service that was the major instrument of Soviet political oppression from 1922 to 1934, and which, in 1930, created the system of forced labour camps known as the Gulag.

12. An even earlier notice appeared concerning the Kremlin’s plans for dealing with kulaks in “MAY EXPEL FARMERS” (*Toronto Daily Star*, 30 Dec. 1929). The short item datelined from Moscow read: “What the Soviet government’s policy is in regard to collective farming was enunciated by Josef Stalin before a convention of agrarian theoreticians here yesterday. Firstly he prophesied the expulsion from the soil of a million kulak families should they resist the co-operative [sic] agrarian scheme. The kulaks are rich peasants with large holdings.”

13. The piece cited by the *Star* was Stalin’s famous “Dizzy with Success” article, first published in *Pravda* on 2 March 1930. Although the intensity of the forced collectivization drive appears to have abated for awhile, Stalin subsequently renewed his assault on the peasantry, especially when some began leaving floundering kolkhozes.

14. See also “DEFINITION OF KULAK LAID DOWN BY SOVIET / Wealthy Peasant Class Is Restricted to Three Per Cent” (*Toronto Star*, 31 March 1930), which noted that the term would apply to “about 4,000,000 persons.”

15. The utter disregard shown for the human cost of transforming the Soviet Union was to be a hallmark of the Stalinist regime. The same logic later contributed to the horrific death toll of Soviet citizens during the Second World War, when millions were sacrificed needlessly because of Stalin’s military policies and his literal use of human cannon fodder to defeat Nazi Germany and occupy Eastern Europe. However, Stalin’s callousness can be traced back to the Bolshevik coup and the establishment of a Communist dictatorship by Vladimir Lenin, which institutionalized the revolutionary violence and cruelty that had been used to seize power to create a police state that far outstripped the excesses of Tsarist autocracy. Of some relevance in this regard is a short news item titled “PRISONERS IN RUSSIA WALK TO SIBERIA / Soviet Government Reverts to Old Czarist Law of ‘Etape’” (*Globe*, 16 Aug. 1924).

16. See the Henry Somerville report, “DECLARE FAITH WILL BE BROKEN BY OPPOSITION / In Moscow Practically All of Rising Generation Already Rabidly Atheistic / CHURCHES DERELICT / More Sightseers Than Worshipers in Cathedral—Religion Called Opium for People” (*Toronto Star*, 29 June 1929).

17. Also see “CHURCHES ARE SEIZED TO BECOME SCHOOLS IN SOVIET RUSSIA / ‘In Response to Mass Demands of Workers,’ Say Officials” (*Globe*, 18 Feb. 1930); “SAVIOR OF THE WORLD SAVE RUSSIA IS PLEA / Pope Celebrates Mass in Intercession for Christians Persecuted by Soviet / 30,000 ARE PRESENT ...” (*Toronto Star*, 19 March 1930); “CHURCHES ARE URGED TO COMBAT ATHEISM / Dangers of Russia’s Atheistic Campaign Stressed by Rev. M. MacKay” (*Toronto Star*, 19 March 1930); “CATHOLIC WORLD PRAYS FOR CHURCH IN RUSSIA” (*Globe*, 21 March 1930); and “RELIGIOUS ISSUE IN RUSSIA AND IN UKRAINE AIRED / Mennonites Claim Minister Tortured; Toilers Say No Truth to Alleged Persecutions” (*Drumheller Mail*, 2 April 1930). Religious Jews were no less vocal in their criticisms of the Soviet state, but as yet no references have been found in the Canadian press concerning the reaction of Muslim leaders during this period.

18. In the same item the Anglican Bishop of London was said to have exclaimed in his sermon while recalling a friendly pre-war visit made to his Russian Orthodox counterparts: “To think that all those Bishops have been butchered,

all those priests murdered!”

19. Other articles worth noting in this regard are: “Panicky Red Leaders Drive Workers Harder” (*Globe*, 25 Nov. 1930); “STALIN SAYS OUTLOOK GOOD FOR WORLD-WIDE REVOLUTION / Claims Soviet Would Strengthen Economic Ties with United States” (*Toronto Star*, 26 Nov. 1930); and “CREWS SEIZE SHIPS AND TROOPS MUTINY IS RUSSIAN REPORT / Travellers From Black Sea Ports Tell of Outbreaks / Leningrad Plans to Hang Winston Churchill in Effigy” (*Globe*, 1 Dec.).

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The Carpatho-Ukrainian Episode of 1938-39: Canadian and International Ramifications

Abstract

The article examines Canadian Press reports of the Carpatho-Ukrainian autonomous state that existed from November 1938 until March 1939. It describes how Western opinion, including Canadian, reacted to the new state, and how fears that Hitler was about to create a "Greater Ukraine" internationalized the issue of Carpatho-Ukraine, which some feared would be the first step in Germany's destabilization of the Soviet Union. The state's brief existence is also important for what it reveals about the thinking of the OUN (Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists), the shift in the organization's politics at the time, and the lesson it drew or failed to draw from this episode.

Résumé

Cet article porte sur le traitement par la presse canadienne de l'état autonome carpatho-ukrainien qui exista de novembre 1938 à mars 1939. Il montre comment la réaction de l'opinion occidentale, canadienne y compris, à ce nouvel état, et la peur de voir Hitler sur le point de créer une "Grande Ukraine" ont internationalisé la question carpatho-ukrainienne, certains craignant que ce soit le premier pas de la déstabilisation de l'Union soviétique par l'Allemagne. La courte existence de cet état revêt aussi une certaine importance en ce qu'elle a révélé à propos de la réflexion de l'ONU (Organisation des Nationalistes ukrainiens), l'évolution de la politique de l'époque de celle-ci, et la leçon qu'elle a tirée ou n'a pas su tirer de cet épisode.



The Munich agreement of September 29, 1938 significantly weakened Czechoslovakia, which on November 7 recognized the desire of Slovakia for autonomy and, on the following day, that of Carpatho-Ukraine, which formed a government on November 11. The first president, Andrej Bródy (who also used the Hungarian spelling Andras Bródy), was arrested by Czech authorities for secret contacts with Hungary, which wanted to annex the territory. On November 26 a Ukrainophile administration headed by Monsignor Avgustyn Voloshyn (Augustin Volosin), a Catholic priest, was installed.¹ Three weeks later the small territory became even smaller, when, after an arbitration in Vienna, Hungary obtained the economically most developed area in the south including the capital Uzhhorod.² The administration had to be moved to Khust. During its brief existence (which ended when it was invaded by Hungary on March 14, 1939), the small territory became front-page news in the West. Like most of Western opinion, the Canadian press

viewed the appearance of this autonomous state in the context of Hitler's advance to the east and saw the establishment of a Ukrainian state as a real possibility, even, in some cases, as an inevitability. The short-lived state also played a significant role in the evolution of the OUN (Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists).

THE CANADIAN PUBLIC

Canadian opinion was relatively sympathetic to the Ukrainian national cause. In 1939 the Canadian scholar Watson Kirkconnell wrote that the Ukrainian question was the "greatest unsolved problem in nationality," and the potent ferment of nationalism led him to believe that there could be no permanent solution to East European politics that did not permit "a reasonable realization of Ukrainian nationhood" (Kirkconnell 1939, 89). These comments were echoed by Canadian newspapers. An editorial in the *Toronto Daily Star* described Ukrainians as "the largest minority in Europe" which had been treated harshly by Poland (22 Sept. 1938), and a letter to the paper described the Ukrainians as the "forgotten nation" of Europe (24 Sept. 1938).

Canadian newspapers understood the central importance of Ukraine to Hitler's strategy and emphasized the attraction of Ukraine's wheatfields and raw materials. An editorial stated: "Hitler hopes to obtain access within a few years to the wheat, oil, and metals of the Danubian and Balkan countries, and of the Ukraine, which would put him on an even footing with the democracies with respect to raw materials" (*Toronto Daily Star*, 24 Aug. 1938). Articles with titles like "Ukraine is seen as Hitler's next aim" (*Edmonton Journal*, 22 Nov. 1938), and "New Germany is casting covetous eyes in the direction of this rich agricultural area" (*Toronto Daily Star*, 6 Jan. 1939) pointed out the economic importance of Ukraine. One commentator wrote: "It is one of the richest portions of the Soviet Union. Its output of coal and iron exceeds that of most of the European states" (*Toronto Daily Star*, 2 Mar. 1939). Another exclaimed: "How quickly would Hitler follow up his regenerated eastern push toward the dream of rich treasures in the Ukraine?" (*Toronto Daily Star*, 16 Mar. 1939). The article "Hitler covets his neighbour's land of plenty" quotes the German leader as saying, "What we could but do if we had the Ukraine" (*Toronto Daily Star*, 28 Mar. 1939).

Carpatho-Ukraine's importance was seen as geopolitical. Trotsky is reported as saying that Hitler's drive to Ukraine and the Black Sea had been cleared by the dismemberment of Czechoslovakia, which had now become his bridge "into the wheatfields of the Ukraine" (*Toronto Daily Star*, 23 Sept. 1938). A *Toronto Daily Star* editorial spoke of Germany's desire "to acquire a strategic strong point looking to her advance to the Ukraine," and pointed out the possibility of a deal between

Germany and Poland to swap territory—Germany would get Danzig and territory in the West, while Poland would be given Ukraine (7 Jan. 1939). Similar speculation concerning an alliance between Germany and Poland had suggested an agreement in which Poland would get Lithuania, while Germany would get part of Ukraine (*Toronto Daily Star*, 19 Mar. 1938). An article entitled “Hitler schemes to force new Ukraine on Warsaw” (*Toronto Daily Star*, 26 Nov. 1938) informed that there was talk in political circles of the German leader planning to “create a new Ukrainian state federated with Poland.” Hitler, it was reported, had made this offer to Poland, and refused to allow Poland and Hungary to overrun Carpatho-Ukraine, which was to be the “kernel” of the proposed new state. It was reported that 100,000 German troops were ready to fight to prevent Poland and Hungary from crushing Carpatho-Ukraine (*Toronto Daily Star*, 29 Nov. 1938).

Various commentators discussed the possibility of Carpatho-Ukraine being a prelude to the creation of a large Ukrainian state. An editorial in the *Toronto Daily Star* argued that, although Avgustin Voloshyn disavowed “any intention to promote the plans of Adolph Hitler,” Germany “is determined to overthrow the Soviet republic of the Ukraine” (13 Feb. 1939). The territory was, in other words, a stepping stone to the East. This was a leitmotif in newspaper coverage throughout Carpatho-Ukraine’s existence.

Already in April, 1938, Germany’s desire to “bring Ukraine under her control by right of conquest” had been declared as self-evident (*Toronto Daily Star*, 2 Apr. 1938). Kirkconnell was persuaded in 1939 that Hitler would set up a Ukrainian state if he moved on Kyiv:

Under a strong military and police regime like the U.S.S.R., there is no other possibility of a Ukrainian national movement gathering head; and many Ukrainian patriots, while cynical as to any real sympathy on Hitler’s part, have been ready to accept his aid, in the belief that after a generation or less the German control would weaken and Ukrainian liberty would grow progressively more real in the Ukrainian state (Kirkconnell 1939, 74).

Kirkconnell was, of course, thinking of the OUN. As an underground, outlawed party of a stateless nation in conflict with Pilsudski’s Poland and Stalin’s Soviet Union, it was prepared to consider support from any quarter. Circumstances shaped its tactics, although the extent to which they shaped its ideology is debatable.

Observers at the time made a distinction between nationalism, whose underlying roots lay in the drive for statehood, and fascism. Both G. W. Simpson and Wasył Swystun gave Canadian radio addresses in January, 1939. Simpson said:

Englishmen for decades would not face the facts of Irish nationalism until the persistence and toughness of Irish resistance compelled recognition on the basis of equality.

European statesmen in crisis after crisis have ignored the fundamental reality of group consciousness, group self-respect, and group desire for political expression and freedom, with consequent disaster to European stability.

Nationalism is not the exclusive and final law of men's political being; nor does it include the whole Decalogue of political wisdom; but it is a phenomenon of our times, it has roots deep in tradition and political instinct, and to ignore it is to live in a wishful world of unreality (Simpson 1939, 4).

He continued:

The Ukrainian national movement is a widespread and genuine expression of nationalism and conforms to the traditional pattern of group consciousness seeking political expression. It has for its ultimate objective the creation of a united, independent Ukrainian State, including roughly the eastern autonomous section of Czecho-Slovakia, now called Carpathian Ukraine; the south-eastern section of Poland, known generally as East Galicia; Bukovina and a part of Bessarabia, now belonging to Rumania; and the present Ukrainian Socialist Soviet Republic [sic]. The mere recital of these regions and countries indicates the tremendously complicated international situation which stands in the way of achievement of an independent Ukraine, a situation so involved that many casual observers dismiss the whole project as fantastic (*ibid.*).

As for the charge of fascism, he had this to say:

The Ukrainian question is at present definitely associated with Hitler's notorious ambitions in Eastern Europe. It is, however, important to note that Ukrainian nationalism existed long before the rise of Hitler to power [,] and it will continue long after the shade of Hitler has joined the ghostly procession of those dictators who have violently run their course across a single page of history. It is a conjunction of coincidence in international affairs which at the present time links Hitler's ambitions for power with Ukrainian aspirations for national independence. Such a situation is by no means unusual or novel (*ibid.* 5).

Swystun discussed the charge that the Ukrainian independence movement was inspired by Hitler. He pointed out that the Ukrainian movement for independence was strong long before anyone had heard of Hitler:

The Ukrainians have considered themselves as being very unjustly treated by the post-war treaties and by the League of Nations in particular, especially when one considers the fact that even the minority rights granted to them by those treaties were completely ignored by the states which, in fact, owed their birth to those treaties. Poland, to which Eastern Galicia, a predominantly Ukrainian territory, was handed over by the Allies, undertook to give a political autonomy to the Ukrainians but this was never taken seriously by Poland and a recent bill providing for autonomy of the Polish Ukraine spon-

sored by the Ukrainian members of the Polish Diet in Warsaw was not even considered by the diet. The Allies, the Western Powers in general, and the League of Nations in particular, never took the Poles to account for this. Poland, which, after the Treaty with Russia at Riga (in 1921), incorporated the Ukrainian provinces of Kholm, Volen (Volhynia), Polissya and Pidlashshya, and now has within its borders about 7 millions of Ukrainians, went even so far as to repudiate obligations towards all her national minorities under the international treaties, declaring to the world, on the forum of the League of Nations, that the problem of national minorities within Poland was her internal problem (Swystun 1939, 11-12).

He indicated Ukraine's isolation:

In view of the open hostility to the Ukrainian political aspirations of Poland, Rumania and Russia in their respective states, and in view of the lack of sympathy to [sic] those aspirations by the Western Democracies, is it at all surprising that the Ukrainians look with favor on the German promises of assisting them in establishing the Ukrainian State on the territories now within the [sic] Soviet Russia, Poland, Rumania and autonomous Carpatho-Ukraine?

Furthermore, in view of the present political alignment after the Munich Conference, as a result of which the whole of the [sic] Eastern Europe is handed over to Germany as her sphere of influence, the Ukrainians are not in a position to antagonize Germany. The Ukrainians believe that no matter how conditions in Eastern Europe may change, such a change could not be for the worse but for the better [,] as far as they are concerned. In such a change the principle of democracy would not be involved, as in the eyes of the Ukrainians the respective regimes of Russia, Poland and Rumania are not democratic, but dictatorial or totalitarian, though a [sic] lip service may be paid by them to democracy (ibid. 13).

These arguments summarized the grievances felt by many Ukrainians, their irredentism, and their sense of isolation and exclusion from the European mainstream. Swystun underestimated and played down the German threat:

Germany is not an immediate neighbour of Ukraine. Therefore, the Ukrainians are not afraid of an outright annexation of their territories by Germany. To do that, Germany would have to "gobble up" Hungary, Poland and Rumania before she could reach Ukraine. Such annexation would be counter to the present racial theories of the so-called Aryanism underlying the whole German policy, and besides, such annexation would create a very dangerous and formidable minority problem within Germany. Therefore, if I were to give a concise resume of what the Ukrainian reaction would be in case Germany decided to prosecute her policy of "Drang nach Osten" even more vigorously than she does now, even to the point of engaging in a war with Russia, my answer would be that the nationally-minded Ukrainians, with the exception of the Communists who place the [sic] class interests above those of national independence, would be inclined to give all

possible assistance to Germany in her eastward thrust, provided only Germany gave a clear understanding to stand by the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk, because the Ukrainians of Europe see in Germany the only power which now seems to be friendly to the establishment of a unified Ukrainian State (ibid. 14).

As the above suggests, there was an element of political opportunism among those who were prepared to side with Germany, along with an underestimation of the German threat. Ambivalence and confusion were felt not only by those who sympathized with the state aspirations of Ukrainian nationalists of various hues, but also by communists. On August 25, 1939, Stewart Smith, a Canadian communist leader, printed folders in Toronto describing the Soviet Union as “working to block Nazi aggression on Poland” and to preserve “the independence and integrity of Poland.” On September 2, 1939, the day after Poland was attacked, he wrote in another broadsheet that he and the Communist Party “stand for Poland and the implementing of pledges to that country by France and Britain.” However, a month later, when the Nazi-Soviet (Molotov-Ribbentrop) pact was revealed, Tim Buck issued an official leaflet attacking the Mackenzie King government “and the bankers and capitalists” who “are now the promoters of imperialist war... Canada is being sold into economic bondage to the war-profiteers by the government.” In February, 1940, the Communist Party issued a manifesto that said: “Bring Canadian boys back home to Canada! Not a man must leave Canada’s shores to die in imperialist war!” The Party called for a revolution to establish a new government and begin peace negotiations. Even after Germany had attacked the Soviet Union on June 22, 1941, the Party was still calling for a revolution in Canada. Only in September, 1941, did Tim Buck indicate the coming of a new line: “Changes in our mobilizing slogans ... do not reflect any change of aim or slackening of effort.” By December, 1941, the new line was “to defend Canada and save world civilization, to keep faith with our heroic Soviet and British Allies, to press for an immediate invasion of the continent, JOIN THE ARMED FORCES!” (Kirkconnell 1944, 51-57).

THE ISSUE INTERNATIONALIZED

The opportunism also extended to Western governments, who sometimes did not regret seeing Germany turn its attention eastward. However, the issue of a Ukrainian state suddenly took on a new prominence and became common currency in the Western press after the concept of a Greater Ukraine was discussed in German circles in November 1938 (Zlepko 1994, 249-51). The German foreign office instructed two researchers to analyse the issue of Carpatho-Ukraine. They recommended making the territory into a “mecca of Ukrainianism,” or, in other words, a Piedmont and

rallying-point for Ukrainian national consciousness through the creation of a strong publishing and educational centre (ibid. 252). This would produce, they said, an intelligentsia favourable to Germany. The work of the Piedmont was to be directed against the USSR. European diplomats were aware that these discussions were taking place among German leaders. Some British and French diplomats were convinced that creating a Greater Ukraine was part of Hitler's long-term planning (ibid. 254, 263). A strong diplomatic response came from Poland, Romania, and the USSR, which all had large Ukrainian populations. The Poles were adamantly opposed to the existence of a Carpatho-Ukrainian state in any form, fearing the effect of an irredentist movement on their Ukrainian population, which is generally calculated at seven million. They lobbied Germany for the establishment of a common Polish-Hungarian frontier, which would eliminate Carpatho-Ukraine. Poland held talks with Germany about extending its pact, at which time the Polish foreign minister made it clear that his country was interested in gaining control of Right Bank Ukraine up to Kyiv and obtaining access to the Black Sea (ibid. 264, 267). Warsaw was concerned that hundreds of Ukrainians were illegally making their way from Poland to join the Carpathian Sich, the militia that the OUN had organized in the autonomous territory. Many nationalists were pushing for outright independence and numerous mass demonstrations in support of this cause were held throughout Galicia. Poland organized a sabotage force called Łom which cooperated with the Hungarians in rupturing the territory's telecommunications infrastructure, attacking border guards and police. Groups of "revolutionaries," each eighty-strong, were sent into the country. They destroyed a railway bridge, twelve road bridges, a reservoir, a central telephone exchange, and twenty-seven telephone lines. According to one estimate, twenty-seven people were killed, fifteen injured, and twenty-five taken prisoner (Potocki 2003, 193-94).

As a Greater Ukraine was discussed in diplomatic corridors and the press, the concept took on a life of its own. It was "Europeanized" and internationalized (Zlepko 1994, 253). The press reported that 150 high-ranking Soviet Ukrainian military officers had been arrested for plotting with a foreign power to create an "independent Greater Ukraine" (*Toronto Daily Star*, 8 Dec. 1938). Readers were informed of "increasing indications Germany is supporting Ukrainian demands for creation of an independent Ukrainian nation from territory now part of Poland, the Soviet Union, Roumania, and Czechoslovakia" (*Toronto Daily Star*, 16 Dec. 1938). Another report stated: "The German-backed manoeuvring of the Ukrainians in Poland for 'autonomy' of Ukrainian Poland—as part of a broad schema for a greater Ukraine—which might take in parts of Poland, Roumania and Russia, along with the sub-Carpathian region in Czechoslovakia (Ruthenia), has thoroughly worried the Poles" (*Toronto Daily Star*, 23 Dec. 1938). In a lead editorial entitled "Ukraine in the Front," published on December 22, 1938, the *Toronto Daily Star* wrote:

The year 1939, unless all the signs are misleading, will bring the Ukraine prominently before the world. Most of the fifty million Ukrainian people are to be found in Russia (the Ukrainian Soviet Republic), but some six or eight millions are in Poland, more than a million in Roumania, half a million in Carpathia and another half million in the Crimea. Ukrainians form a fairly solid community, but they have never been all together under one flag, which is the ideal that is cherished by many of them. Today they are divided by national boundaries and also by economic and political views. Soviet Russia, Poland and Germany are vitally interested in the determination of the Ukrainian question, and so, in a lesser degree, is Roumania. The peace of every part of the world may be jeopardized by developments in that part of Europe during the next few months.

Ironically, already in November, 1938, Hitler had dropped both the idea of Carpatho-Ukraine as a Piedmont, and the concept of a Greater Ukraine. He soon began to prepare the complete destabilization of Czechoslovakia, working in secret with a selected group of advisers. The two figures, who had the most positive attitude toward the creation of a Ukrainian state, Alfred Rosenberg, Hitler's specialist on East European affairs, and Admiral Canaris, the head of the Abwehr (German military intelligence) were excluded from the inner circle. It is now clear that Hitler had no intention of helping Carpatho-Ukraine. After the territory's southern area had been removed following the decision of the Vienna arbitration, its main lines of communication, including the railway line, passed through Hungary, which was, therefore, able to prevent goods being exported from Carpatho-Ukraine, especially the timber and salt on which the government in Khust relied to earn foreign currency. Economic disaster loomed for the autonomous state. Germany, the main purchaser of imports, offered, but failed to provide, economic and political help. Hitler wanted Hungary as an ally in its potential eastern expansion and so allowed the latter to strangle Carpatho-Ukraine's economy. The government in Khust had no allies and few options. It continually appealed to Germany for help, and instituted a single-party system (which included representation from minorities), no doubt to please Berlin. In the election of February 12, 1939, over 92% of the ballots cast were for the Ukrainian National Union (*Ukrains'ke Natsional'ne Obiednannia*); 6.7% were against; 3.8% were spoiled (Małkiewicz 2001, 119).

THE ROLE OF THE OUN

How did Ukrainians react to these events? Democratic nationalists had few cards to play. Western governments, although aware of Germany's growing military strength and aggressive intentions, were allowing Hitler a free hand in the region and had no interest in supporting Ukrainian independence. Many Ukrainians hoped that Carpatho-Ukraine would receive enough political and economic support from

Germany to survive. Some considered the possibility that a German invasion of the Soviet Union would lead to the creation of a Ukrainian state, but remained deeply apprehensive about Hitler's intentions in the East.

The OUN became an important player at this time and was increasingly mentioned in Canadian news reports. These often made no distinction between democratic nationalists (the broad national liberation movement) and the OUN.³ Thus, for example, on March 19, 1938, the *Toronto Daily Star* wrote: "Egged on by the Nazis, Ukrainian groups in many countries, including Canada, are agitating in favour of complete Ukrainian independence..." The press tended to describe any call for independence as radical nationalism and to relate this to the OUN. A *Toronto Daily Star* editorial of December 22, 1938, wrote that Hitler had won Chamberlain to his side by involving the principle of self-determination, even though the outcome put hundreds of thousands of Czechs under German rule:

Hitler is about to invoke the same principle in the Ukraine, by giving the signal for Ukrainian nationalistic clamor in the Ukrainian republic and the Ukrainian districts of Poland and Roumania. [...] Meanwhile Hitler's Ukrainian agents tour America to line up the Ukrainians on this side of the Atlantic in favour of a united Ukrainian nation.

The OUN had severed its contacts with Germany in 1935, when the latter signed a non-aggression treaty with Poland. At this time the Germans arrested and handed over several leaders of the OUN, including Mykola Lebed, to Polish authorities. In 1938-39 contacts with the Abwehr were revived. When Carpatho-Ukraine was established, pro-German sympathies began to grow among OUN supporters. Many moved to the autonomous territory, seeing it as the embryo of an independent state that would eventually comprise all Ukrainian territories. The OUN made radio broadcasts from Vienna in which it suggested German plans for the invasion of the Soviet Union and the creation of a Ukrainian state, and a number of Nationalist periodicals expressed faith in Hitler's protection. The Canadian *Novyi shliakh* (New Pathway) stated on October 12, 1938, that Germany would not allow Hungary to overrun the autonomous republic. Other commentators argued that Ukraine's abundant natural resources would tempt Hitler to first drive out the Bolsheviks from Soviet Ukraine and then make a deal with the Nationalists concerning a future state.

However, those who believed that Carpatho-Ukraine would be protected by Germany were deceived. At the same moment he entered Prague, Hitler allowed Hungary, with Poland's support, to occupy Carpatho-Ukraine. The territory declared independence on March 14 and its parliament ratified this act on the following day. Voloshyn telephoned Prague to explain that he was forced to declare independence. At the end of the conversation he thanked all Czechs for twenty years of cooperative work, a gesture made by no other minority (Małkiewicz 2001, 119).

Conflicts broke out when the Czech army refused to release weapons to the Carpathian Sich, which by then had grown to over 10,000. Some arms were seized from the army and the Sich fought the invading Hungarians during March 15-18. It has been estimated that a hundred men died in combat, but that as many as five thousand were captured and executed by Hungarian and Polish forces (Kentii 2005, 145; Smolii 2002, 554). It became clear that the support for self-determination Hitler had proclaimed at the time of the Munich Agreement applied to the Sudeten Germans and the Slovaks (who were allowed to form a state), but that the OUN (and Ukrainians as a whole) were viewed by him as merely potentially useful in destabilizing the region. The German leader's unwillingness to consider Ukraine's independence, even in the form of a puppet state, was not understood at the time. Many had counted on Germany's support. Yevhen Stakhiv recalls that on January 22, 1939, the day on which the 1918 declaration of independence was commemorated in Khust, the capital of Carpatho-Ukraine, some in the large crowd naively sang: "We'll get help from Uncle Hitler and Father Voloshyn to fight the Czechs ..." (Stakhiv 1995, 56). However, as has been indicated, the Canadian press also carried stories of Hitler refusing to support Hungarian demands for the territory. The lead editorial of the *Toronto Daily Star* on December 5, 1938, stated: "Germany refuses to support Hungary's claim to Ruthenia, or any change that would give Hungary and Poland a common frontier. She does not want her way eastward barred by neutral nations nor to make it easy for Poland and Hungary to support one another in the future."

Diplomatic correspondence indicates that after the Hungarians invaded, Voloshyn's government tried to avoid bloodshed and retain as much political and cultural autonomy as possible (Pahiria 2009, 49-70; Mandryk 2009, 22-85). Voloshyn's appeals to Germany to protect the territory fell on deaf ears.⁴ The OUN's émigré leadership appears to have issued orders for its members to leave Carpatho-Ukraine, evidently realizing that Germany would not support the state (Mirchuk 1968, 549-50). However, political realism was not the strong suit of those who dreamed of independence. Many young men from Galicia and other territories disobeyed these orders and organized resistance. An indication of the venture's quixotic nature can be gauged from an article written in the aftermath of events by Oleh Olzhych, who headed the OUN's effort in the territory. He indicates that the militia had been equipped almost exclusively with money from the Ukrainian emigration. Ten rifles had been received from the Czech Guard and the militia had acquired "in secret from various sources 200 revolvers, mainly calibre 6.35, and three machine guns with a small amount of ammunition" (Kandyba 1939, 41). Although the Sich had experienced military instructors and enthusiastic recruits in almost every village, the lack of weapons was a painful problem. In the end only about 2,000 men in the Sich could be armed.⁵

LESSONS DRAWN OR IGNORED BY THE OUN

The symbolic value of Carpatho-Ukraine's autonomy and its declaration of independence was, nonetheless, enormous: it resonated throughout Europe and North America, and served notice of the Ukrainian desire for statehood. After the Hungarian invasion, the OUN, in particular, became even more obsessed with relying on its own forces and with forming and arming its own military.

The OUN's attitude toward Germany was more complicated. A younger generation had grown up in Galicia feeling that the émigré leadership (in Rome, Vienna, Berlin, and Prague) had betrayed the principle of relying on one's own forces and had failed to provide Carpatho-Ukraine with the required support. According to some accounts, these younger cadres accused the émigré leadership of sacrificing the state because it was counting on the creation of an independent Galicia at a later date and was, therefore, unwilling to antagonize Germany (Mirchuk 1968, 551, 560, 585). The émigré leadership may have been persuaded by the Germans that the concession to Hungary, though inevitable, did not signal a resignation from the eventual creation of an independent Ukrainian state (Motyka 2006, 68). This was not good enough for the young leaders in Galicia, who insisted on an uncompromising politics that furthered the national liberation struggle throughout all Ukrainian lands, and were prepared to detonate a revolutionary partisan struggle and a mass uprising. Andrii Melnyk and the émigré leadership saw such a strategy as doomed to failure and too costly in human lives. They followed a more cautious line that placed greater hopes in the opportunities that would be provided by the unfolding international conflict. The disagreement over strategy and tactics resurfaced in 1939, when Hitler and Stalin occupied and divided Poland, and it played a role in the organization's split into a Melnyk (OUN-M) and Bandera (OUN-B) wing, which was formalized in February, 1940.

In the late thirties the Polish government made mass arrests and filled the concentration camp at Bereza-Kartuzka with Ukrainians. It conducted an intensive Polonization campaign and even prepared plans in 1938-39 to remove Ukrainians from the south-eastern territories (Iliushyn 2000, 15). In spite of this, when Germany invaded Poland, Ukrainian leaders in the democratic nationalist camp called on the population to support Poland in the war (*ibid.*). Many, in fact, fought in the Polish army. This opening to better relations was not grasped. Even after Poland's defeat, its government in exile refused to consider any revision of its prewar borders or the possibility of Ukrainian statehood on its prewar territories (*ibid.* 18).

Germany wanted intelligence from the OUN, which the latter traded for military training. But the OUN maintained an independent political line and preserved its organizational integrity. This manoeuvring between "collaboration" and "resis-

tance” became a pattern in the OUN’s politics throughout the period 1938-43. The attempted balancing act can be traced in a number of documents already produced by the émigré leadership of the OUN during the existence of Carpatho-Ukraine. An instruction on how to behave at this time insisted that the state would not be a buffer zone or serve the interests of neighbouring countries. It would fight against Czech and Hungarian attempts to assimilate and swallow it. It would develop its own viable economy, as had other small nations such as Luxemburg and Monaco. Self-determination “is the only organic principle for the organization of life” (Seleshko, OUN B3(c) B4 (a) Ea-4-8, 4). Carpatho-Ukraine had to be viewed “only and uniquely from the view of a United Ukrainian State of 45 million people, a Ukrainian great state.” This view, the document said, “has to be accepted by all peoples and states of the world, in particular England, France, Italy, Germany” (ibid. 4). In other words, the ultimate goal remained an independent Ukraine incorporating all territories on which Ukrainians were a majority. Western powers would have to recognize such a state: “If Hungary thinks that it will grow by virtue of acquiring one or two counties of Transcarpathia, it forgets that a 45 million-strong Ukrainian great state will not quietly watch the little landlocked state of Budapest” (ibid. 5). England, France, and Italy should not fear the rise of another great power that defends the self-determination of nations. A great Ukrainian state would have as its goal the destruction of Bolshevism and the reduction of Russia, Poland, Romania, and Czechoslovakia to their ethnographic territories. Czechoslovakia would only be able to deal with the German threat when it bordered with a Ukrainian great state, “because only then could it manoeuvre between Germany and Ukraine” (ibid. 6).

Hitler was to sell out the Ukrainian Nationalists two more times. Six months after the crushing of Carpatho-Ukraine came the dismemberment of Poland. The Nationalists, who hoped for the creation of an independent Galician state, were again disappointed. News of the Nazi-Soviet alliance caused confusion among the OUN’s leaders. As issues of the Nationalist Press Service (*Natsionalistychna Presova Sluzhba*) show, the leadership criticized Germany and cast about for other allies (Seleshko, OUN B4(b) Ea-4-9, *Natsionalistychna Presova Sluzhba*, 1940). Issue 3 from January 18, 1940, contains an article by Yevhen Onats’kyi, “*Umovyny myru*” (Conditions of war), in which he writes:

For Germany from the moment that it went into a monstrous alliance with Bolshevism, in the political sphere the Ukrainian question ceased to exist. It became the internal affair of the Bolshevik empire. However, we are astonished that both England and France, which proclaim lofty slogans of struggle against all force in international relations and which invite the Ukrainian emigration to do its duty concerning the country that has given them protection and work, are completely silent on the Ukrainian question in all official and even unofficial declarations of the future conditions of peace (ibid. 1).

Issue 4 from May 25, 1940, contains an article by M. Stsibors'ky entitled "Viina i nashi pozytsii" (The war and our positions). It states:

Ideological principles alone will not define ahead of time real circumstances and national interests. Theoretically speaking, one could imagine that a "fascist" Ukraine might be forced to join democratic states against the "fascists" or the opposite—that as a democratic state it would show solidarity with fascist states against the democratic ones. This will be the case if realistic politicians (in the positive meaning of the word) lead it, and not scholastic figures who are mesmerized by paper dogmas (ibid. 2).

These statements show the leadership manoeuvring between different possibilities in an unclear world of rapidly-changing alliances. Ultimately, they chose to "go to the dance" with Germany. In the weeks preceding the Nazi-Soviet war, both wings of the OUN activated their military cooperation with the Abwehr in order to obtain military training (Iliushyn 2000, 39-41). The instructions they produced at this time for their members were similar to those produced on the eve of the German invasion of Poland: to try and form a Ukrainian administration, but to retreat before brute German force.

The third sell-out and final confrontation with German authorities would come in the fall of 1941 and early in 1942, when the Gestapo conducted widespread arrests of the OUN members of both wings. The OUN-B had gone underground in August, 1941. A turning point for the OUN-M came in December, 1941, when Ivan Rohach, the editor of *Ukrainske slovo* (Ukrainian word)—the newspaper set up in Kyiv by the organization—refused to print a photo of Hitler or what he called "horror propaganda." The editors were removed, interrogated, and their residences searched. Plans were found for organizing networks for women, propaganda, and the press. It also became clear that Rohach had taken funds from the newspaper to pay for political work and used the newspaper's press and paper to print the organization's leaflets. Many leaders, including Yaroslav and Daria Chemerynsky, Ivan Rohach and his sister Anna, Petro Oliinyk, Olena Teliha and her husband, were executed (Seleshko, U.M.O OUN B3(b) Ea-4-9, Roman Sushko file, letter by Iu. S. from July 8, 1943). From that moment active OUN leaders of both factions were hunted down and often killed.

This generation was not naively pro-German. It had witnessed the growth of authoritarian movements throughout Europe and the coming to power of communist and fascist regimes. It lived with the fear of being swallowed up by other states and nations. If a reminder of the existential threat was required, one needed only to read the relevant passages of Hitler's *Mein Kampf*, recall the Great Famine of 1932-33, or the Polonization campaign of the thirties. In *Mein Kampf* Hitler had described the German nation as responsible for civilization's most important achievements and the Slavs as subhuman. The "living space" he required was to be conquered and

the local population enslaved. The danger to national survival was real and urgent. Ukrainians, therefore, had to reflect upon the threat of slavery and the promise of independence in a potential new order. Nationalism's hopes and anxieties were a product of this situation; they produced a schizophrenic politics.

On the eve of the German-Soviet war, the strategy of the Nationalists was to demonstrate to the Germans that no administration could be organized without their participation and without the support of the Ukrainian population. They hoped that circumstances and popular resistance (passive or active) would force Germany to recognize this fact. Many hoped that, in a reorganized Eastern Europe, Germany would be too weak to control the enormous area and would be compelled to deal with Ukraine. This view has not been "entirely mistaken," says one OUN-M document from 1943. Germany "for the time being sees itself as capable of organizing Eastern Europe without the alliance of Ukrainians and is attempting to make 'colonies'—as these are commonly called—out of the Ukrainian black earth regions" (Seleshko, U.M.O OUN B3(b) Ea-4-91, OUN *Politychni statti*, 1 of 3 parts, 1943, *Zapyska*, 1). However, continues the document, the Germans should not be supported simply because they are the enemy of our enemy. If the Germans "with our help succeed in destroying the Bolsheviks and realize their plans in the east (subjugating Ukraine), history will relegate us to those who helped the Germans to place a German yoke on Ukraine!" (ibid. 2.). The goal is to create a Ukrainian state. The Germans have a maximum and minimum program. The first aims at grasping the fertile lands of the European east; the second aims at destroying the Russian empire, if necessary by breaking it up into smaller states. The document indicates that the OUN-M leadership thought that the Nazi party held to the maximum policy, while circles in the army held to the minimum. In the expected split between the party and army, it hoped that the latter would win. In the meantime, Ukrainian independentists had to resist forced requisitioning, the sending of workers to the Reich, and so on:

we should act so that the Germans do not receive support from us and in general have as little help as possible, even though we announce that we want to give them support, because the less help they have from our side, the more the Germans will need it and the stronger will be the pressure from supporters of the minimum program on official policy to make political concessions to Ukrainians (ibid. 5).

In the meantime the task was to preserve and organize the intelligentsia, to win concessions in terms of schools, institutes, the Ukrainianization of towns, and so on (ibid. 6). Even in 1943, therefore, some hope was still being expressed for a change in German policy toward Ukrainians.

It was at the time of Carpatho-Ukraine's existence that the OUN aligned itself with Germany and began the kind of manoeuvring described above. The transcripts

of the OUN broadcasts from Vienna, which began on September 29, 1938, and ended on August 5, 1939, were a concession to the OUN by the German military intelligence, which was aware that a war with Poland or the Soviet Union might occur and wanted to have some influence over the OUN. They contained an antisemitic component, for example, using formulaic phrases such as “Moscow-Jewish riff-raff” with regularity. This shift was a concession to Nazi ideology. The OUN leadership likely considered the fiercely anti-Jewish line as “payment” to the Germans, a “return” for continued radio broadcasts, military training, and the promise of future support.

It should, however, be noted that the years 1937-39 saw an intensification of anti-Jewish persecution throughout Europe. In 1937 the Polish foreign minister Józef Beck suggested forcibly relocating the country’s three million Jews to Madagascar. In the same year the French Colonial Minister Marius Moutet spoke of sending his country’s Jews to the French colonies, Madagascar among them. The Polish government passed laws restricting the mobility of Jews, excluding them from professions and discriminating against their religious practices. Nineteen thirty-eight was also the year in which the Italian government passed race laws preventing Italians from marrying Jews.

Nonetheless, the OUN’s attitude toward Germany remained ambivalent, especially after the collapse of the Carpatho-Ukrainian state. The inevitability of a clash with Germany was accepted more quickly within the OUN-B organization which began to warn its members in August, 1941, of mass arrests. It published anti-German leaflets in 1942 and clashes with German forces began to develop in 1942. In this context the Carpatho-Ukrainian episode can be seen as a first temptation offered to the Nationalists by the German leaders, one that drew them into a dance of collaboration and resistance over the next three years. This episode was also the first indication that the German promise of statehood would not be fulfilled.

NOTES

1. When it became part of Czechoslovakia in 1919, the territory was called Subcarpathian Rus’ (*Pidkarpats’ka Rus’*; in Czech, *Podkarpatska Rus*). It became known as Carpathian Ukraine after gaining autonomy, but in English-language publications is generally referred to as Carpatho-Ukraine.

2. The territory was left with eleven thousand square km. (from the earlier 12,639), and a population of 552,000.

3. Supporters of the OUN are identified in this article with a capital “N.” The much broader phenomenon of Ukrainian nationalism, which included liberal and democratic groups, is identified with a small “n.” The liberal-democratic nationalists also demanded an independent or, in the case of Galicia, an autonomous territory, representation in political bodies, schools, and churches, and the right to use the Ukrainian language in public. Unlike the OUN, they did not embrace violent tactics or authoritarianism.

4. On March 16, Voloshyn escaped to Romania and eventually made his way through Yugoslavia to Prague, where he became rector of the Ukrainian University. He was arrested in May, 1945, by Soviet authorities and died shortly afterwards in Moscow’s Lefortovo prison.

5. OUN supporters were in the leadership of the Sich. It has been estimated that the inner organization of OUN supporters numbered around 300. However, the larger organization functioned as a regular militia and was often outside the OUN’s control (Zlepko 1994, 260-62). The tension between the clandestine OUN within the Sich and the

broader membership caused problems. So did tensions with the Voloshyn government, which, for example, censored some issues of the OUN journal *Nastup* (ibid. 262).

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OREST T. MARTYNOWYCH

A Ukrainian Canadian in London: Vladimir J. (Kaye) Kysilewsky and the Ukrainian Bureau, 1931-40

Abstract

This paper examines a crucial and formative decade in the life of Vladimir J. (Kaye) Kysilewsky (1896-1976), a Ukrainian-Canadian newspaper editor, lobbyist, university professor, and historian, who is most familiar to Canadian researchers as the federal civil servant responsible for liaison with ethnic groups and the ethnic press during the early years of the Cold War. It argues that the attitudes and methods (Kaye) Kysilewsky brought to his job as a liaison officer were shaped by his experience as director of the Ukrainian Bureau in London. There, during the 1930s, he met and was counselled by a number of British parliamentarians, academics, and journalists, as he attempted to bring to public attention the murderous famine in Soviet Ukraine (which was denied by the Stalinist regime) and as he tried to contend with the Bureau's obstreperous Ukrainian émigré rivals, in particular the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN).

Résumé

Cet article porte sur une décennie cruciale et formative dans la vie de Vladimir J. (Kaye) Kysilewsky (1896-1976) qui fut rédacteur en chef de journal, lobbyiste, professeur d'université et historien, et que les chercheurs canadiens connaissent surtout en tant que fonctionnaire fédéral responsable de la liaison avec les groupes et la presse ethniques au cours des premières années de la guerre froide. L'article montre comment l'attitude et les méthodes que (Kaye) Kysilewsky a employées dans son travail d'officier de liaison ont été modelées par son expérience de directeur du Bureau ukrainien à Londres. Là-bas, dans les années 1930, il a rencontré un certain nombre de parlementaires britanniques, d'universitaires et de journalistes et a été conseillé par eux, alors qu'il s'efforçait d'attirer l'attention du public sur la famine meurtrière qui sévissait dans l'Ukraine soviétique (et qui était niée par le régime stalinien) et qu'il essayait de composer avec des rivaux du Bureau, émigrés ukrainiens turbulents, dont particulièrement l'Organisation des Ukrainiens nationalistes (OUN).



INTRODUCTION

Vladimir Julian Kysilewsky (V. J. Kaye) was not a typical Ukrainian-Canadian immigrant. A descendant of a distinguished Western Ukrainian family, he was highly educated, fluent in several European languages including English, and keenly interested in history and international relations. During the Second World War he played a pivotal role in mediating the formation of the Ukrainian Canadian Committee and per-

suading his countrymen to back the Allies. Kysilewsky was also one of the first Ukrainian-Canadian civil servants and academics. He worked for the Departments of National War Services (1941-45), Secretary of State (1945-50), and Citizenship and Immigration (1950-62), lectured at the University of Ottawa (1948-58), co-founded and served as the first president of the Canadian Association of Slavists (1954), and researched and wrote the first scholarly history of Ukrainian immigration and settlement in Canada (Kaye 1964).

In recent years Kysilewsky's work as a liaison officer responsible for ethnic groups and the ethnic press has caught the attention of scholars writing about post-war immigration to Canada. A left-leaning feminist historian has described Kysilewsky as a "committed Cold Warrior" and an "active leader within the nationalist, anti-Communist Ukrainian-Canadian community" who worked with anti-Communist ethnic editors and leaders to manipulate and undermine the ethnic left in Canada (Iacovetta 2006, 12, 51-82). In sharp contrast, a political geographer sympathetic to the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN) has referred to Kysilewsky as a "tool of the [Canadian] state" who did all in his power to stymie politically active, anti-Soviet nationalists within the Ukrainian-Canadian community (Luciuk 2000, 242-54, 271-72). While each of these apparently contradictory assessments contains some truth—Kysilewsky was hostile to pro-Soviet apologists and very suspicious of extremists within the Ukrainian nationalist camp—neither contextualizes or probes the genesis of Kysilewsky's views.

This paper attempts to provide insight into Kysilewsky's postwar civil service career by examining the evolution of his attitude toward Soviet Communism and Ukrainian Nationalism during the 1930s when he served as director of the Ukrainian Bureau, a lobbying and information agency established in London by a wealthy Ukrainian American. It is based on Kysilewsky's voluminous unpublished Ukrainian-language London diaries (LD 1931-1939) and his personal correspondence during these years, and it also draws on recent studies of Ukrainian lobbying activity in interwar London published by Polish (Zięba 2010) and Ukrainian (Syrota 2000, 2003, 2004-05) historians. While this paper provides some background information on the London Bureau, the focus is on Kysilewsky and the formation of his attitude toward Communists and Nationalists. It will be argued that the Soviet regime's ability to manipulate and influence the Western media and public opinion, particularly during the Ukrainian famine of 1932-33, and the authoritarianism, violent tactics, and inflated rhetoric of Nationalist extremists alienated Kysilewsky and made him critical of both groups.

KYSILEWSKY'S BACKGROUND

Vladimir Kysilewsky was born in 1896 in Kolomyia, a small and picturesque town on

the southeastern slopes of the Carpathian Mountains, in Austrian Eastern Galicia (now in Ukraine). His father, Julian Kysilewsky, was a lawyer employed by the Austrian civil service; his mother, Olena Simenowych-Kysilewska, was a teacher, a journalist, a founding member of the Western Ukrainian women's movement, and, during the interwar years, a prominent leader of the moderate Ukrainian National Democratic Alliance (UNDO) and the first Ukrainian woman elected to the Polish Senate (1928-35). Both parents were the offspring of Ukrainian (Ruthenian) Greek Catholic (or Uniate) clerical families, which had traditionally supplied Western Ukrainians with their political and intellectual elite. Like many members of the Ukrainian Greek Catholic clergy prior to 1900, Kysilewsky's clerical ancestors were descendants of the old impoverished Ukrainian (Ruthenian) nobility, who had never been enserfed and who cherished traditions of status, learning, and leadership. Having served the Church for generations, they constituted a semi-hereditary caste whose way of life resembled that of the lower gentry. Although politically conservative, many Ukrainian Greek Catholic priests and their families combined respect for established authority and a high regard for law and order with a genuine desire to ameliorate the social, economic, and cultural lifestyle of their less privileged countrymen through education and legal and parliamentary methods of struggle (Rudnytsky 1987, 100).

In 1914 Vladimir Kysilewsky graduated from the German classical gymnasium in the city of Chernivtsi, in nearby Bukovyna, where, unlike most educated Ukrainians, he had an opportunity to study English for three years. During the First World War he served with the Ukrainian Sich Riflemen, a volunteer Ukrainian division in the Austrian army, and then joined the Ukrainian Galician Army (Ukrains'ka Halyts'ka Armiia, henceforth referred to as UHA), which fought against the Poles and the Red Army during the struggle for Ukrainian independence in 1918-20. In 1919 his knowledge of English allowed Kysilewsky to serve as the UHA liaison officer at the British military mission in Odesa. After the war, Kysilewsky studied history at the University of Vienna where, in 1924, he was awarded a doctorate for a thesis on the seventeenth century Ukrainian nobility. He also spent time in Paris improving his knowledge of French.

His family background and his research interests drew the young Kysilewsky into conservative Ukrainian émigré circles in Central Europe. Although he became a sympathizer of the Hetmanite movement, led by General Paul Skoropadsky, who had ruled Ukraine with the backing of the German military in 1918, it was not the General who attracted Kysilewsky to the movement. Rather, Kysilewsky, like many Ukrainian conservative intellectuals, was attracted to the Hetmanite movement by its leading ideologist, the brilliant Polish-Ukrainian, Roman Catholic historian and political thinker Viacheslav Lypynsky (born Waclaw Lipiński). Lypynsky believed

that the Ukrainian national movement suffered from a surplus of “progressive and destructive forces” and a deficit of “restraining and constructive forces,” and he called for the reintegration of the educated, politically experienced, economically powerful, but assimilated (Polonized or Russified) upper classes into a Ukrainian nation united by a territorial patriotism that transcended class, faith, and ethnicity (Rudnytsky 1987, 437-62). When Lypynsky broke with the Hetman in 1930 and died a few months later, Kysilewsky lost interest in the Hetmanite movement. Indeed, he would have good reason to become very critical of the Hetman and his entourage during his years in London.

Kysilewsky immigrated to Canada in 1925. He worked briefly as an agrarian labourer and attended summer courses at the Universities of Manitoba and Toronto, and he served briefly on the Winnipeg-based national executive of the Ukrainian Sporting Sitch Association of Canada, a mass organization established by Skoropadsky's Canadian followers. In 1928-30 he edited *Ukrains'ki visti* (*The Ukrainian News*), an Edmonton weekly, and became a naturalized Canadian. Following a trip to Europe in 1930 Kysilewsky moved to Chicago to join his uncle, Dr. Volodymyr Simenovych (Wladimir Simenowycz), a physician who had immigrated to the United States before the Great War and whose unsentimental, common-sense approach to Ukrainian issues would leave a mark on his nephew. For several months Kysilewsky helped to edit a local Ukrainian newspaper, studied journalism at St. Paul University, and learned to operate a linotype machine. Then, in April 1931, his career took a new turn when Kysilewsky, who was fluent in six European languages and personally acquainted with many prominent Ukrainian politicians and community activists on both sides of the Atlantic, was appointed director of the newly established Ukrainian Bureau in London (LD 28 April 1931).

THE UKRAINIAN BUREAU IN LONDON

The Ukrainian Bureau in London was established by Jacob Makohin, a Galician-born Ukrainian who had immigrated to North America in 1903 and relocated to Detroit after one year in Winnipeg. There he enlisted in the United States Marine Corps, served overseas during the Great War, and married Susan (Fallon) Shiels, a wealthy and socially and politically well-connected Boston widow.¹ In the fall of 1930, while Makohin and his wife were vacationing in the spa town of Karlovy Vary (Karlsbad), Czechoslovakia, the Polish government responded to the latest round of radical Ukrainian nationalist sabotage and terror by carrying out a brutal and indiscriminate ‘pacification’ policy in about a quarter of the sixty counties (*powiaty*) of the former Eastern Galicia. Determined to bring the floggings, arrests, and destruction of Ukrainian property that ensued to public attention, the Makohins decided to

pour some of the substantial financial resources at their disposal into lobbying and publicity for the Ukrainian cause.

The decision to establish an independent Ukrainian Bureau that would disseminate information and lobby in a rational and professional manner was long overdue. After the war, the Entente powers had acquiesced in the division of Ukrainian lands by the Soviet Union, Poland, Romania, and Czechoslovakia. As a result, more than twenty-three of thirty million Ukrainians lived in the Soviet Union during the interwar years. Temporary economic concessions to peasant smallholders and a policy of political and cultural 'Ukrainization' during the 1920s were followed by forced collectivization, the requisitioning of grain by armed party and police brigades, famine, and a wholesale purge of the Soviet Ukrainian cultural and political elite during the 1930s (Snyder 2010, 21-58). In Poland, where as many as five to six million Ukrainians resided by the 1930s, they had been promised equality before the law, the right to use the Ukrainian language in public life, and Ukrainian language schools in accordance with the Minorities Treaty signed by Polish statesmen in Paris after the war. The new Polish government had also indicated that autonomy would be granted to predominantly Ukrainian Eastern Galicia. Ultimately, most of these promises were not honoured because the new Polish state opted to assimilate and marginalize Ukrainians and other minorities. The expansion of Ukrainian cultural and educational institutions was hindered, access to higher education and public careers was restricted, electoral constituencies were gerrymandered, and when the great estates were partitioned, most land in Ukrainian territories was distributed among Polish colonists. While the Ukrainian establishment, represented by the Ukrainian National Democratic Alliance (UNDO), placed its trust in parliamentary politics and socioeconomic progress through the cooperative movement, disillusioned nationalist war veterans established the Ukrainian Military Organization (UVO) and turned to assassinations, sabotage, and armed expropriations in the hope of destabilizing the Polish state and winning international publicity for the cause of Ukrainian independence. The Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN), established in 1929 by representatives of the UVO and radical student and émigré groups, inherited these tactics (Yekelchuk 2007, 121-28).² The OUN envisioned a one-party state, claimed to be the only legitimate voice of the Ukrainian people, attempted to mobilize the Ukrainian diaspora, circulated provocative petitions addressed to the League of Nations, and published tendentious and poorly translated pamphlets in support of its demands (Zięba 2010, 388-98, 405-07).

When the Ukrainian Bureau opened its doors at 40 Grosvenor Place in the posh Knightsbridge-Belgravia district on 25 March 1931, London was still the most important global capital and the epicenter of power and enlightened opinion.³ The absence of close political ties between London, on the one hand, and Warsaw,

Bucharest and Moscow, on the other, and the British elite's paternalistic concern with national minority issues in the new Eastern European states, also made the city attractive to the Bureau's founders. As conceived by Makohin and put into practice by Kysilewsky, the Bureau was to be an independent institution serving the interests of all Ukrainians, rather than those of a particular party, group, or individual. Its primary goal was to rationalize and professionalize lobbying and propaganda activity on the international stage by establishing political priorities that would be recognized by all groups committed to the cause of Ukrainian independence. Its chief tasks included monitoring developments in the Ukrainian lands under Polish, Soviet, Romanian, and Czechoslovakian rule; lobbying British and English-speaking politicians and opinion-makers about violations of political, civil, and minority rights in these states; informing Western Ukrainian leaders about British and Western attitudes to developments in East Central Europe; and serving as a liaison between Western Ukrainian leaders and sympathetic British politicians, journalists, and academics.

To establish contacts with powerful and influential people and to help Kysilewsky adjust to life in London, Makohin hired Colonel Cecil L'Estrange Malone to work as a special consultant to the Ukrainian Bureau. A patrician "better endowed with lineage than land," Malone had a colourful and controversial past (Cannadine 1990, 543). During the Great War he had been a pioneer naval aviator, received the OBE, and was elected to the House of Commons as a Coalition Liberal. Then, after visiting Soviet Russia in 1919, Malone joined the British Socialist Party, became a founding member of the Communist Party of Great Britain and the first Communist in Parliament, and spent six months in prison for making a seditious speech in 1920. By 1930 his 'Bolshevik' past was long forgotten, and Malone was completing a term as the Labour MP for Northampton. He had also developed a special interest in Poland's minority problem through his contacts with the German Left, and was aware of the Ukrainian issue long before he met Makohin, having studied several Ukrainian petitions to the League of Nations and interviewed prominent Ukrainian community leaders during an April 1930 tour of Eastern Galicia. In December 1930, in response to the 'pacification' of Eastern Galicia, Malone had prepared and submitted a petition signed by more than sixty British parliamentarians, all but two of them Labourites, urging the League of Nations to investigate the violation of Ukrainian minority rights in Poland (Zięba 2010, 427-38).

Malone understood that successful lobbying involved more than the circulation of petitions and the publication and distribution of bulletins and propaganda pamphlets. To bring the Ukrainian issue to public attention Malone introduced Kysilewsky to influential people and helped him to establish personal relations with politicians, journalists, academics, and Foreign Office staff (LD 20 May 1931). In

September 1931, three months after Kysilewsky arrived in London, Malone and the renowned historian R. W. Seton-Watson recommended him for membership in the Royal Institute of International Affairs (RIIA) (LD 14 September 1931). An independent research institute located at Chatham House and established in 1920 for the purpose of preventing another global conflict by studying and informing the public about international relations, the RIIA was governed by a council of thirty members drawn from Britain's political and academic establishments. It sponsored lectures by British and foreign politicians, journalists, and policy makers; organized study groups; encouraged research; and sponsored several periodicals, including the quarterly *International Affairs*, which published selected RIIA lectures. Lectures, receptions, and banquets at Chatham House provided Kysilewsky with an excellent opportunity to meet and socialize with the right people, British and foreign. To establish even closer ties with scholars who had played a significant role in the making of interwar Eastern Europe, Kysilewsky also enrolled at the University of London's School of Slavonic and East European Studies (SSEES), where he worked on a doctoral dissertation under Seton-Watson's supervision.⁴

With Malone's network of political connections at its disposal, the Ukrainian Bureau relied on a number of British political activists, parliamentarians, academics, and journalists for assistance.⁵ Many of the activists and politicians at the core of this group were idealists and pacifists who belonged to the Union of Democratic Control (UDC), a pressure group that campaigned for democratic control over foreign policy; the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom (WILPF); and the League of Nations Union (LNU), which promoted the League and its agenda of maintaining peace and checking aggression through the application of moral and economic sanctions (Cortright 2008, 53, 59-60, 70). They believed the First World War had been caused by secret diplomacy in which all of the Great Powers had been implicated, and they rejected the Versailles Treaty as an unjust act of vengeance against Germany that would culminate in another European war. Convinced that the greatest threat to peace in Europe came from unjust borders drawn up in Paris, which left millions of Germans (not to mention Ukrainians and Hungarians) in states ruled and dominated by other nationalities, they took an interest in the protection of national minority rights and contemplated the revision of East Central European frontiers. The Bureau's first allies, brought on board by Malone, included Mary Sheepshanks, a social reformer and feminist active in the WILPF; Dorothy Woodman, a prominent WILPF and UDC activist and journalist; and Blanche Dugdale, the niece of former Prime Minister Arthur Balfour and a cousin of Lord Robert Cecil, who served as director of intelligence for the LNU and was a dedicated champion of the Zionist cause (Zięba 2010, 436, 441, 564-66). Parliamentarians who worked with the Bureau included several members of the House of Lords (Noel

Edward Noel-Buxton, Willoughby Hyett Dickinson, Robert Cecil) and the House of Commons (Rhys J. Davies, James Barr, Rennie Smith, Josiah C. Wedgewood, Geoffrey Mander). Most were affiliated with the Labour Party, although Mander was a Liberal and Lord Cecil a Conservative. Noel-Buxton, the Bureau's closest and most frequent ally in the upper chamber, was the grandson of a leading nineteenth-century British abolitionist and prison reformer; he had served as minister of agriculture in Ramsay MacDonald's Labour administration, and presided over the charitable Save the Children Fund.

The Bureau's most prominent academic collaborators included the retired colonial administrator and jurist Sir Walter Napier, an expert on national minorities and stateless persons, and R. W. Seton-Watson, the Masaryk Professor of Central European History at the SSEES, whose writings and influence had contributed significantly to the emergence of an independent Czechoslovakia in 1918. Less frequently, Kysilewsky spoke with Sir Bernard Pares, C. A. Macartney, and W. J. Rose about Russian, Hungarian, and Polish affairs. He also had several meetings with Lewis Namier, who had spent his childhood and youth in Eastern Galicia and championed the interests of Ukrainian peasants when he worked as a Foreign Office expert on Eastern Europe (Hunczak 1977; Baker 1998). Unlike the political activists and politicians, the Bureau's academic consultants, particularly Seton-Watson, expressed few moral scruples about the injustice and harshness of the Versailles Treaty and the possible consequences of German grievances. Seton-Watson blamed Germany and the Central Powers for the outbreak of the First World War, and he saw German great-power ambitions as the primary threat to peace during the interwar years (Cline 1988, 53, 56). Pares and Namier were also alarmed by German militarism and regarded the Soviet Union as a vital counterweight and potential ally—the former with the enthusiasm of a life-long Russophile (LD 8 December 1934), the latter with the hopefulness of a Jewish Zionist who saw in the Soviet state a powerful challenge to Nazism (Ng 2005, 634-35).

Journalists and writers who used the Ukrainian Bureau's reference library of books, periodicals, documents, and clippings, and tackled Ukrainian issues in their publications included Malcolm Muggerridge and Gareth Jones, who would publish the first eyewitness accounts of the 1933 famine in Soviet Ukraine (LD 25 May 1931, 15 January 1932); Hugh Hessell Tiltman, a political correspondent whose books would include chapters on Ukrainian minorities in East Central Europe (Zięba 2010, 582; LD 4 August 1932); Lancelot Lawton, who had worked as a foreign correspondent for *The Times* and published several books on Soviet Russia (LD 16 January 1934); the Catholic journalist Hugo Yardley (LD 3 October 1935); and Charles Milnes Gaskell, who completed an impressive but unpublished manuscript on Ukraine shortly before the war (LD 17 June 1938; Prymak 1988, 146-7). On the eve of the

Second World War the Bureau's most active British sympathizer was the pedigree and well-connected James Erasmus Tracy Philipps, a former colonial administrator, intelligence agent, anthropologist, and political correspondent (LD 7 April 1938).⁶

In addition to issuing press releases and publishing an irregular *Bulletin* that was sent to major urban newspapers in Britain, the United States, Italy, Germany, Bulgaria, and Lithuania (Zięba 2010, 542-3), the Bureau helped to finance fact-finding tours and publications which presented issues from the Ukrainian perspective. The Bureau published Mary Sheepshanks' report on the 'pacification' of Eastern Galicia, with a preface by Malone, in the spring of 1931, and then proceeded to send Labour MP Rhys Davies on a fact-finding tour in April. In August Davies was sent on a second tour accompanied by James Barr. Reports of both tours were then written or edited by Malone (Zięba 2010, 513, 569-72). In 1933 Makohin helped to finance, and Kysilewsky helped to research and edit, Hessel-Tiltman's *Peasant Europe* (LD 16 February and 21 April 1934). Bureau staff, who at various times included Malone's Oxford-educated wife Leah (Kay) Malone, Lancelot Lawton, and Hugo Yardley, also wrote letters to major British dailies challenging information disseminated by Polish and Soviet spokespeople and news services. With input from Kysilewsky, Seton-Watson chose several Ukrainian speakers to participate in the RIIA's lecture series and approached Ukrainian scholars for contributions to the *Slavonic and East European Review*. Noel-Buxton and Napier published articles on the Ukrainian minority in Poland in the *Contemporary Review* and in *International Affairs*. On 15 June 1932 Noel-Buxton also addressed the upper house on the Ukrainian issue in Poland, insisting that it was a British concern because Ukrainians were the third largest ethnic group in Canada (Ukrainian Bureau 1932). Simultaneously, seventy-four prominent British parliamentarians, academics and public figures signed a petition to the League of Nations, drafted by Malone and Kysilewsky, calling on Poland to grant autonomy to Eastern Galicia (LAC, MG 30 D212, vol. 14, file 3).⁷ Malone and Kysilewsky also prepared dossiers and memoranda on Ukrainian issues and drafted questions for British parliamentarians that were raised in the Lords and Commons. In 1934 Poland's refusal to cooperate with the international organizations that monitored the Minorities Treaty (LD 15 September, 15 November 1934) and developments in Soviet Ukraine (LD 13 November 1934) were addressed in the Commons. Four years later, in 1938, MPs who worked with the Bureau asked the government to comment on the campaign against Ukrainian schools in Romania, the dissolution of the Ukrainian Women's Union, the confiscation and destruction of Orthodox Church property in Poland, and the status of post-Munich Carpatho-Ukraine (LD 14, 23, 29 November, 1 December 1938). Kysilewsky, accompanied by Malone or Philipps, followed up these exchanges in Parliament with visits to the Foreign Office, where they spoke with

Laurence Collier, head of the Northern Department, which was responsible for Eastern Europe; Gladwyn Jebb, secretary to Sir Alexander Cadogan, the Undersecretary of Foreign Affairs; and William Strang, Chief of the Central European Department (LD 11, 24 October, 25 November 1938). Immediately after the spring and autumn crises of 1938 and the British guarantee to Poland in spring 1939, Philipps, armed with briefs prepared by Kysilewsky and vetted by Seton-Watson, had lengthy conversations about the Ukrainian issue with Foreign Secretary Lord Halifax (LD 7, 12 April, 3, 15 October 1938 and 28, 31 March, 4 April 1939).

Seton-Watson also played a prominent role in one of the Bureau's more ambitious outreach initiatives. In the fall of 1934, after the Polish-German rapprochement and the Polish government's repudiation of the Minorities Treaty, Seton-Watson advised the Bureau to seize the opportunity by establishing an Anglo-Ukrainian Committee (AUC) (LD 19 and 23 October 1934). Formally launched in April 1935 at a reception at the Savoy Hotel, the AUC was composed of the Bureau's prominent British collaborators and a few new recruits. During the next year it sponsored several public lectures, published a pamphlet on the international importance of the Ukrainian question, reached out to Britain's Jewish community, and contemplated establishing a Chair of Ukrainian Studies at the SSEES.⁸ Ultimately, disagreement on several contentious issues appears to have rendered the AUC ineffective, and by 1937 it had become dormant. One of the divisive issues was British policy toward Germany. While all AUC members deplored the terror, violence, and aggression unleashed by the Nazi regime, several, most notably the pacifists Lord Noel-Buxton, Lord Dickinson, and Professor G. P. Gooch, editor of the *Contemporary Review*, believed Nazism was the result of the unjust Versailles settlement, and maintained that only Anglo-German cooperation and mutual disarmament could undermine and defeat Hitler and his followers (LD 7 May 1935).⁹ Their opponents, including Seton-Watson, who opposed all manifestations of appeasement, rejected this view. Another source of internal discord concerned the Soviet Union. Some members, including Mary Sheepshanks, Blanche Dugdale, and F. Ashe Lincoln were willing to endorse famine relief and Eastern Galician autonomy, but not Ukrainian independence. The right-wing journalist Lancelot Lawton accused them of being pro-Soviet (LD 20 and 22 March 1935) and urged the AUC to call for Ukrainian independence (LD 8 and 9 May 1935). To complicate matters, Lawton proposed an energetic press campaign in *The National*, a periodical published and edited by the fascist fellow-travellers Sir Warden Chilcott and Colonel Norman Thwaites, both of whom were held in contempt by Malone (LD 21 May 1935).¹⁰ Lawton's adversaries, supported by Lewis Namier, who was not a member of the AUC, urged Ukrainians to line up with the Soviet Union, France, and the Little Entente against Nazi Germany (LD 18 and 20 July 1935).¹¹ Seton-Watson was less

sanguine about the Soviet Union but he believed Ukrainian independence was only attainable within the context of foreign intervention and war, and that was a scenario that he was not prepared to endorse (LD 15 October 1934).¹²

COMMUNISTS AND NATIONALISTS

Of the many issues that Kysilewsky confronted during his nine-year sojourn in London, two in particular—the 1932-33 famine in Soviet Ukraine and his relations with Ukrainian émigré extremists—stood out. The Soviet regime's ability to deny and conceal the famine and to manipulate and influence the media with the aid of Western apologists would colour his attitude to the pro-Soviet "ethnic left" and its mass organizations during the early Cold War years. The political intrigues, intolerance, violent tactics, and opportunistic and dubious political alliances of extremist groups like the OUN would have a similar effect on his attitude to militant anti-Soviet refugees and immigrants who followed in their footsteps.

While his attitude to communists and the Soviet Union was negative long before he moved to London, the famine and purges which coincided with his years at the Bureau reinforced Kysilewsky's opposition and convinced him that the Stalinist regime in the Soviet Union was the primary enemy of the Ukrainian people. In 1932-33 Stalin's efforts to achieve rapid industrialization by herding peasant smallholders into collective farms, setting excessively high grain procurement targets to pay for imported machinery, and confiscating every scrap of food from Ukrainian peasants who resisted or could not meet their quotas culminated in a terrible famine that took the lives of more than three million Ukrainians and about 300,000 Russian, Polish, German, and Jewish rural inhabitants in Soviet Ukraine (Snyder 2010, 53). More than any other experience, the Ukrainian Bureau's efforts to bring the famine to public attention and to elicit an effective response left Kysilewsky feeling angry, helpless, and defeated.

The first reports of peasants crossing the Soviet-Romanian border to escape terror and hunger in Soviet Ukraine began to reach the West in the spring of 1932. Commander Oliver Locker-Lampson, an acquaintance of Jacob Makohin's, raised the issue in the House of Commons on 13 April 1932 (LD 18 April 1932), and the Ukrainian Bureau began to issue press releases based on information obtained from Ukrainian newspapers published in Poland. In November 1932 Makohin and Kysilewsky spoke about assistance for famine victims with Lord Noel-Buxton, whose Save the Children Fund International (SCFI) had raised and distributed £700,000 in Russia's Saratov region during the famine of 1921-22 (LD 23-24 November 1932; Carynnyk et al. 1988, 287). However, the full extent of the tragedy in Soviet Ukraine only became apparent in late March 1933, when Malcolm Muggeridge and Gareth

Jones published eyewitness accounts in the *Manchester Guardian* and *London Evening Standard*, and Jones delivered a lecture on the topic at an RIIA meeting chaired by Malone (LD 30 March 1933).

Attempts to organize famine relief were launched in the summer of 1933. In July Ukrainian parliamentarians in Poland and Romania established a Ukraine Relief Committee (*Ukrains'kyi hromads'kyi komitet riatunku Ukrainy*) in Lviv. The Committee's public appeal struck Kysilewsky as bombastic and lacking in substance. Although he translated it into English, he did not think it would have much credibility in the English-speaking world (LD 14 August 1933). When the Committee's representatives took the matter to Geneva, they were told that the League's charter did not permit involvement in the internal affairs of any state or discussion of issues that concerned non-members like the Soviet Union, and they were referred to the International Red Cross (Carynnyk 1986a, 125). In London, the SCFI took an interest in famine relief in mid-August, two or three weeks before Malone approached Noel-Buxton with a proposal to establish a coordinated British humanitarian famine relief effort. Malone also contacted representatives of the Federation of Jewish Organizations (FJO) to discuss what was being done to help starving Jews in Ukraine. Then, in late September, after conferring with Dr. Volodymyr Zalozetsky and Iurii Serbyniuk, Ukrainian parliamentarians from Romania who were visiting London, Malone and Kysilewsky decided to call a meeting of British humanitarian groups in the hope of obtaining Soviet permission to send a delegate to famine stricken areas of the USSR (LD 13-26 September 1933). Chaired by Malone and held in his home on 29 September 1933, the meeting was attended by Noel-Buxton and L. B. Golden (SCFI), M. Schalit and A. M. Kaizer (FJO), Alice Nike and Ethel Christie (Society of Friends), and several private individuals including Noel-Buxton's secretary, T. P. Conwell-Evans, Zalozetzky, Serbyniuk, Makohin, and Kysilewsky (Carynnyk et al. 1988, 329-31; LD 29 September 1933). In December 1933 after several more meetings at which appeals for donations and strategies for delivering food to famine victims were discussed, the SCFI, FJO, and Society of Friends announced the formation of the United British Appeal (UBA). The new organization stated that it would work "for the immediate relief of the starving in Russia, irrespective of nationality or creed," by raising money for the purchase and distribution of food through Torgsin, the network of Soviet state-run stores that delivered goods to individual Soviet citizens upon receipt of payment in gold or foreign hard currency (ibid., 1988, 350-52).

The UBA's efforts to provide famine relief by purchasing food supplies from Torgsin struck Kysilewsky as a quixotic venture and led him to consider other strategies. While in Vienna during the 1933-4 Christmas break, he met with representatives of the Inter-confessional and International Relief Committee for the Famine

Areas in the Soviet Union, including Cardinal Theodor Innitzer, the Committee's honorary chairman; Dr. Ewald Ammende, its secretary general; Rev. Dr. M. Hornykewytsh, its Ukrainian representative; and Rabbi Dr. David Feuchtwang, who represented Austrian Jews (LD 1 November, 15-22 December 1933, 3-10 January 1934). Kysilewsky found the Committee's strategy more congenial because Ammende downplayed fund-raising for famine relief and stressed propaganda to enlighten and arouse European and North American public opinion and exert pressure on the Soviet government until it admitted relief missions into the country or alleviated conditions on its own. In particular, Ammende urged the British to make the Soviet Union's admission into the League of Nations contingent on the cessation of grain exports and on assurances that famine conditions would be alleviated (Carynyk et al. 1988, 443-6; LD 21 June 1934). Although Ammende's political strategy appealed to several British religious leaders, was championed by the Duchess of Atholl, and stimulated some discussion of the famine in the Lords and in the Commons in the summer and fall of 1934, ultimately it was no more successful than the humanitarian program of the UBA.

Both strategies failed because the Stalinist regime obstructed efforts to focus public opinion on the tragedy or provide relief for the starving victims. Stalin and his cronies consistently denied that there was famine in Ukraine, the North Caucasus, and the Lower Volga; they refused entry to fact-finding delegations from the West, and they rejected all offers of foreign aid. The famine was not reported in the Soviet media, which insisted that famine reports were the work of fascists, anti-Soviet émigrés, and foreign capitalists eager to hoodwink their own workers and justify an impending invasion and partition of the Soviet Union. When the first famine relief committees were established in the West, the Soviet press and pro-Soviet newspapers throughout the world, including several published in Winnipeg (Kolasky 1990, 193-95, 221-24) reacted with indignation and published countless resolutions allegedly adopted by collective farm workers denying there was famine in the land. Foreign correspondents were denied access to Ukraine and the North Caucasus during the spring and summer of 1933 when the famine was at its worst. When they were finally given access, self-serving Western journalists like Walter Duranty of the *New York Times*, who had already dismissed Gareth Jones as a purveyor of a "big scare story," endorsed the official Soviet line by trivializing and denying famine reports (Carynyk 1986b). Between 26 August and 11 September 1933, Soviet officials gave Édouard Herriot, a former French prime minister and the current chair of the foreign affairs committee of the French Chamber of Deputies, a guided and stage-managed tour of Ukraine and Russia. On the Ukrainian leg of the tour, which included Odesa, Kyiv, Zaporizhia (Dniprostroï), and Kharkiv, he was shown a bakery, a well-equipped model collective farm, tractor and aluminum factories, an

orphanage, historical sites, and museums. British consular officials reported that everywhere “rigorous steps were taken to keep all undesirable elements far removed from the streets and the railway stations through which M. Herriot passed, and ... extra rations of food, taken from the army reserve, and even clothes were issued to the townspeople.” After he left the Soviet Union, Herriot told journalists that reports of famine in Ukraine “were gross libels” and “part of Hitler’s propaganda for the establishment of an independent Ukraine” (Carynnyk et al. 1988, 297-302, 357). Within days of his departure, the British press, including the *Manchester Guardian*, was full of letters denying famine in Soviet Ukraine. At that point, Kysilewsky could only lament that the Lviv committee had sent absolutely no information and he had no data with which to refute the attacks (LD 18 September 1933). A month later, there was still no new information from the Lviv committee, which was now simply relaying information culled from foreign newspapers. “More propaganda than real help,” Kysilewsky noted in his diary (LD 16 October 1933).

The Stalinist regime’s ability to discredit eyewitness reports and brush aside the death of millions was a bitter pill to swallow. The response of the British Foreign Office, which knew all about the famine, was also disheartening. Foreign Office personnel, including Laurence Collier, were not inclined to challenge Moscow because the Soviet Union was a market for British industrial exports and a source of cheap grain, and because it was perceived as a potential ally against the growing menace posed by Nazi Germany, where Hitler had already crushed all opposition parties and the trade union movement, launched the persecution of German Jews, withdrawn from disarmament talks, and taken Germany out of the League of Nations. When representatives of various committees and relief agencies, including the UBA, inquired if the British government would ask Moscow to permit relief missions into Ukraine, the Foreign Office replied that as long as the Soviet government denied there was famine and did not ask for assistance, the British government could do nothing because any initiative on its part would be viewed as interference in the Soviet Union’s internal affairs (Carynnyk et al. 1988, 321, 343). Appeals to the British government to exert political pressure on the Soviet Union were rejected even more strenuously on the grounds that such pressure could disrupt the “normal relations” that existed between London and Moscow. As far as the Foreign Office was concerned, efforts “to relieve individual suffering” through Soviet state agencies like Torgsin, however inadequate, were acceptable; attempts to publicize the famine and exert political pressure on the Soviet regime could not be endorsed “because the Soviet Government would resent it and our relations with them would be prejudiced” (ibid., 397-8).

There can be little doubt that the success of Soviet propaganda and the regime’s ability to neutralize and silence its domestic and foreign critics, including

Kysilewsky's friend Gareth Jones, who died under mysterious circumstances near the Soviet-Manchurian frontier in 1935 (LD 16 August 1935), left an indelible mark on the Ukrainian Bureau's director and strengthened his resolve to challenge Soviet apologists and propagandists during the Cold War Years.

Kysilewsky's relations with Ukrainian nationalists were a much more complicated matter. Throughout the 1930s the Bureau enjoyed the support of moderate, liberal, and democratic groups like the Ukrainian National Democratic Alliance (UNDO) in Poland, the Ukrainian National Party in Romania, the émigré Ukrainian Radical Democratic Party in Paris, and the Ukrainian Self-Reliance League (USRL) in Canada. Members of these organizations provided the Bureau with information about Ukrainian life in their countries while Kysilewsky reciprocated by arranging meetings with the Bureau's British friends, providing letters of introduction, organizing receptions, and even taking Western Ukrainian and Ukrainian-Canadian parliamentarians, churchmen, and community activists who visited London on guided tours of the city.¹³ His relations with authoritarian and radical émigré groups, on the other hand, were much more acrimonious. The sordid political intrigues and alliances, belligerent rhetoric, violent tactics, and increasingly pro-German sympathies of Skoropadsky's followers and the OUN struck Makohin and Kysilewsky as counterproductive. They only alienated potential allies and helped to sustain the stereotype of Ukrainians as a people deeply divided, politically immature, and unprepared for statehood that was quite prevalent in British Foreign Office circles.

When the Ukrainian Bureau opened its doors in London, Hetman Skoropadsky already had a representative in the city. Vladimir Korostovets (Wladimir de Korostowetz), a veteran of the Imperial Russian Ministry of Foreign Affairs and a postwar convert to the Hetman's cause, was driven by hostility to Bolshevism, rather than by a commitment to Ukrainian independence. Initially, Korostovets relied on the *Whitehall Gazette and St. James Review* to generate publicity and raise funds for the Hetman. A glossy, conservative, right-wing monthly that blamed Jews for the triumph of communism in Russia and its growing influence in the United Kingdom, it was published and edited by Arthur Maundy Gregory until he was exposed as an influence peddler and extortionist, jailed and pensioned off to France by powerful British clients (Cannadine 1990, 316, 323; Zięba 2010, 304-09). The resourceful Korostovets, who was always in need of money to support a wife in Berlin, a mistress in Paris, and a penchant for fast cars and women of easy virtue, managed to secure other sources of funding (LD 14 October 1935).¹⁴ Aided by British sympathizers, including Sir Michael O'Dwyer, who had been Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab at the time of the 1919 Amritsar Massacre, Korostovets established a new periodical, the *Investigator*, in November 1932. A Ukraine freed from Communist control and ruled by the Hetman, editorials in the new tabloid suggested, would be advantageous

to British interests and a guarantee of peace in Eastern Europe. Articles sympathetic to Nazi Germany, mirroring views expressed by Korostovets in letters to the mainstream press, were also published (LD 24 May 1935). In a memorandum to the Foreign Office, Malone observed that the *Investigator* was “more pro-German, anti-Jew, and anti-Soviet than pro-Ukraine” (Carynyk et al. 1988, 373). Although Korostovets managed to raise £12,000 for the Hetmanite cause by promising wealthy Britons economic privileges and lucrative investment opportunities in a Ukrainian state ruled by the Hetman, the *Investigator* collapsed in early 1934, a victim of Korostovets’s extravagant spending and the high costs of publication. Hetmanite fund-raising methods would come to public attention in October 1935 when the *Investigator*’s British manager sued the Hetman and Korostovets for wrongful dismissal (Syrota 2000). In the meantime, to deflect attention from the periodical’s failure and to undermine the credibility of the Ukrainian Bureau, which he perceived as a rival, Korostovets continued to circulate rumours that the Bureau was financed by Soviet agents (LD 13 November 1933, 29 January and 14 December 1935).

Hetmanite activity worried the Ukrainian Bureau’s British friends. When Malone visited the Foreign Office, Laurence Collier dismissed rumours that the Ukrainian Bureau was financed by the Soviets; he thought the Hetmanite movement was a German intrigue and believed it had no popular support. Collier also told Malone that Ukrainian émigrés hated one another with such passion that they routinely denounced their rivals as “Bolshevik agents” (Zelenko 1974, 897-8). On more than one occasion, Seton-Watson warned Kysilewsky that Korostovets was clouding British perceptions of the Ukrainian issue by identifying it with Skoropadsky’s agenda. He also believed that Korostovets was alienating potential British support from the Anglo-Ukrainian Committee and discrediting the Ukrainian cause by associating with disreputable characters like Maundy Gregory and by taking money from wealthy Britons under false pretenses (LD 24 November 1933, 7 June 1934). Shortly after the Hetmanites’ unsavoury fundraising practices came to light in the fall of 1935, Seton-Watson even considered asking the Home Office to investigate and deport Korostovets (LD 26 and 28 October 1935).

Kysilewsky’s attitude toward the OUN was more ambivalent. Like the Bureau’s moderate Western Ukrainian and Ukrainian-Canadian allies, Kysilewsky found OUN tactics—particularly sabotage, armed expropriations and assassinations—morally reprehensible and politically counterproductive. That their tactics were ineffective was clear by January 1932 when the League of Nations finally responded to hundreds of Ukrainian petitions protesting Poland’s 1930 ‘pacification’ campaign. After admonishing the Polish authorities for failing to compensate innocent victims, the League concluded that the Polish government’s actions were not an attempt to destroy Ukrainian institutions and culture, as the Nationalists had maintained, but

a response to sabotage by Ukrainian terrorists. Makohin and Kysilewsky interpreted the verdict as a defeat for the Ukrainian cause and blamed it on the OUN. To neutralize OUN demagoguery, the Ukrainian Bureau published a pamphlet by the central Ukrainian émigré democrat Vasyl Koroliv-Staryi, mocking the notion that terror could be used for propaganda purposes (Petryshyn 1932). The OUN responded by spreading rumours that Makohin financed the Bureau's work from the sale of arms and opium (Zięba 2010, 616, 636-38).

Meetings with Ukrainian moderates in the homeland reinforced Kysilewsky's growing conviction that OUN tactics and pretensions to speak for all Ukrainians had to be resisted. In January 1933, while in Lviv, Kysilewsky heard UNDO leader Vasyl Mudry refer to the OUN as "Irish gunmen" who were intimidating and terrorizing the Ukrainian public. Mudry revealed that he was obliged to carry a revolver because the radical Nationalists had threatened to assassinate him in retaliation for editorials criticizing the recent rash of armed expropriations that had culminated in gun fights, the murder of a Polish postal worker, and the execution of two young OUN activists. During the same visit, Ukrainian Greek Catholic Archbishop Andrei Sheptytsky told Kysilewsky that he was very troubled by the OUN's efforts to exploit the idealism of young Ukrainians (LD 13 January 1933). A year later, when the OUN assassinated Bronislaw Pieracki, the Polish minister of internal affairs, and then gunned down Ivan Babii, a highly regarded director of a prestigious Ukrainian gymnasium, after he obstructed terrorist efforts to recruit his students, Sheptytsky characterized OUN leaders as neo-pagans, who made an idol of the nation by elevating it above God, and as madmen who were leading Ukrainian youth into "the dead end of crime" (Krawchuk 1997, 134-47).

The Bureau's British friends also made it clear that OUN tactics brought little credit to the Ukrainian cause. Particularly disturbing from their point of view was the OUN's refusal to seek remedies for concrete grievances and the Nationalist's efforts to prevent all negotiations with Warsaw. After the August 1931 assassination of Tadeusz Holówko, a prominent Polish parliamentarian and a proponent of dialogue and compromise with Ukrainians, Malone told Kysilewsky that the murder had made a terrible impression on British public opinion and he indicated that he was thinking of leaving the Bureau. Noel-Buxton's secretary, T.P. Conwell-Evans, who thought 'pacification' operations had been needlessly harsh and that Poland had reduced its Ukrainian territories to the status of a colony, feared "that band of hot-blooded youths" would transform Eastern Galicia into another "Ireland" (Zięba 2010, 582, 673). Seton-Watson, who was usually eager to meet Ukrainian politicians, told Kysilewsky that under no circumstances would he speak with terrorists (LD 2 May 1933). In October 1933, several days after a member of the OUN assassinated Soviet consular official Aleksei Mailov in Lviv, Laurence Collier told Malone that

such acts of vengeance could only hinder British efforts to raise the famine issue with Soviet representatives (LD 26 October 1933). And in 1935, Malone advised Kysilewsky that OUN leader Colonel Yevhen Konovalets, who was searching for new allies after Nazi Germany concluded a non-aggression pact with Poland, should postpone a planned British visit because the ongoing and widely publicized trial of OUN members accused in the Pieracki assassination had made a very bad impression in the British Foreign Office and government circles (LD 4 October 1935).

Because Makohin hoped to curb OUN extremism, the Ukrainian Bureau was prepared to work with but not under the direction of the Nationalists. As a result, Kysilewsky frequently met with a number of prominent OUN leaders. He was most comfortable in the company of Dmytro Andrievsky, the OUN's moderate representative in Brussels, who urged a complete break with terrorism (Zięba 2010, 639) and least at ease in the company of the OUN militants in Berlin, especially Riko Jary and Sydir Czuczman (LD 14 January 1933). When Makar Kushnir, director of the OUN press bureau and foreign-language service in Geneva, was apprehended peeping through the Ukrainian Bureau's keyhole in July 1933, Kisilewsky invited the embarrassed Nationalist inside, criticized OUN terrorist actions in Eastern Galicia, and pointed out that the British refused to deal with Ukrainian terrorists (LD 18 July 1933).

Between 1934 and 1938, when the thaw in German-Polish relations forced OUN strategists to temporarily rethink their pro-German orientation, Kysilewsky and the Ukrainian Bureau pursued a *modus vivendi* with the radical Nationalists. During this interlude, two young English-speaking, North American-educated OUN members were dispatched to London. Eugene Lachowitch, an American-educated immigrant, had been prepared for his mission by Konovalets, and came to London in late 1933, escorted by Wilhelm von Habsburg-Lotharingen (Vasyl Vyshyvany), the Ukrainophile Austrian archduke who had commanded Ukrainian troops during the First World War and was personally acquainted with OUN leaders (LD 22 November 1933).¹⁵ Stephen Davidovich, Canadian-born and American-educated, was assigned to London in 1937 after spending several months with Konovalets. Kysilewsky tried to moderate the views of both young men. He introduced them to Bureau staff, gave them access to the Bureau's reference library, shared information about recent developments in Ukrainian lands, introduced them to British journalists, encouraged them to write articles, helped arrange meetings with Foreign Office staff, and introduced them to Makohin, who discussed tactics and criticized OUN actions "very sharply, but very politely" (LD 13 March and 29 April 1935). Kysilewsky paid particular attention to the better-educated and more moderate Davidovich, inviting him for Sunday dinner at his British fiancée's home, attending the opera, and going out to dinner with Davidovich and Dmytro Andrievsky (LD 24 August 1938).¹⁶ He also introduced the young Nationalist to the small circle of Ukrainian-Canadian artists

and musicians who lived in London at the time, and noted in his diary that Davidovich brought Gabrielle Roy, a French-Canadian drama student and aspiring writer from St. Boniface, Manitoba, to one of their social gatherings (LD 2 October 1938).¹⁷ There is reason to believe that Kysilewsky managed to modify the views of both men. Lachowitch, who arrived vowing to destroy UNDO because it was “poisoning” the Ukrainian public, left London a more tolerant man who appreciated and respected the views of the OUN’s critics (Liakhovych 1974, 883-906). Davidovich praised Kysilewsky in his letters to Konovalts and argued that in Britain it would be a mistake to identify the Ukrainian cause with Berlin and Rome (UCECA, Konovalts fonds, 31 March and 25 April 1938).¹⁸ Even after the OUN established a separate Ukrainian National Information Service in London in early 1939, Davidovich continued to cooperate with Kysilewsky and confined himself to producing articles, commentaries, and opinion pieces on Ukrainian history, culture, and current affairs that were palatable to British readers (LD 7 and 14 February 1939).

In 1938 relations between the Ukrainian Bureau and the OUN took a turn for the worse. Makohin and Kysilewsky were alarmed when the OUN endorsed the German annexation of Austria, supported the progressive dismemberment of Czechoslovakia, and openly pinned its hopes for Ukrainian independence on the Berlin-Rome-Tokyo Axis. OUN activity in Carpatho-Ukraine (Carpatho-Ruthenia), which was granted autonomy after the Munich accord, created an ever-widening chasm between the Ukrainian Bureau and the radical Nationalists. During the ensuing months, the Ukrainian Bureau took issue with OUN efforts to take control of Carpatho-Ukraine’s government and volunteer militia, the belligerent editorials published in the Nationalist press, and Nationalist radio broadcasts from Vienna that extolled German foreign policy and railed incessantly against Czechoslovakia (LD 23 and 31 October 1938, 25 February 1939). Like Seton-Watson, Makohin and Kysilewsky understood that Carpatho-Ukraine had no future as an independent state and that it could only survive as an autonomous province of Czechoslovakia, a state they had always respected for its adherence to democratic principles and relatively enlightened national minorities policy (LD 7 October, 18 and 22 December 1938).

When the inevitable happened and Carpatho-Ukraine was annexed by Hungary with Hitler’s blessings on the same day that the Germans marched into Prague, Makohin cursed and disavowed the OUN (LAC, MG31 D69, vol. 10, file 9, 16 March 1939). The Ukrainian Bureau’s determination to neutralize OUN influence grew in the summer of 1939 as the Nationalists issued death threats and tried to intimidate Ukrainian friends of the Bureau, including Father Stephan Reshetylo, a Basilian priest who had criticized OUN policies on Carpatho-Ukraine. Rumours that the Germans were training a Ukrainian volunteer detachment composed primarily of OUN enthusiasts added to the Bureau’s resolve.¹⁹ The military unit, Makohin and

Kysilewsky feared, would be used to destabilize the Polish state and then promptly disbanded after having compromised the cause of Ukrainian independence in the eyes of Britain and the Western democracies. "Without any reservations, without any diplomatic subtleties," Makohin repeatedly wrote Kysilewsky, "we must strike at the 'nationalist' leadership and the followers of Skoropadsky, or they will lead us into another catastrophe" (LAC, MG31 D69, vol. 10, file 9, 29 July 1939).

By the spring of 1939, Kisilewsky was advising the Bureau's Ukrainian-Canadian allies to be wary of the Nationalists who were intent on monopolizing the Ukrainian cause overseas and in North America. He urged the USRL to establish a Ukrainian information bureau in Ottawa and cultivate desperately needed contacts with Anglo-Canadian politicians, government officials, and media representatives (LAC, MG31 D69, vol. 18, file 34, 10 November 1938).²⁰ He also cautioned League officials not to become involved in Nationalist campaigns calling for the dismemberment of Czechoslovakia and Poland, but to confine themselves to appeals for Ukrainian autonomy in both states (LAC, MG 30 D212, vol. 3, file 59, 19 and 20 April 1939). Above all, he warned the Bureau's Canadian supporters that the OUN and the supporters of Hetman Skoropadsky, who had been mobilizing Ukrainian Canadians since the 1920s (Martynowych 2011), had compromised themselves by endorsing various aspects of Nazi Germany's foreign and domestic policy in their press. In Canada, neither Ukrainian National Federation (UNF) nor United Hetman Organization (UHO) representatives had the moral right to submit demands to the Canadian government concerning the Ukrainian issue because the headquarters of their parent organizations were located in Nazi Germany. The USRL, unaffiliated with any of the pro-German émigré organizations, would have to assume that responsibility (LAC, MG31 D69, vol. 18, file 34, 10 May 1939). When the war silenced the Ukrainian press in Poland and in European émigré centres, Kisilewsky wrote that henceforth the Ukrainian-Canadian press would have to address "the world" instead of confining itself to Ukrainian-Canadian farmers. Irresponsible actions and statements like the UNF's proposal "to create a 25,000 man Ukrainian Army in Canada" were a transparent "bluff" that was already undermining Ukrainian-Canadian credibility at the Foreign Office. Although Kysilewsky believed that Ukrainian Nationalists who rejected authoritarianism and a pro-Axis orientation might yet make a positive contribution, they would have "to strike themselves in the chest and admit they sinned" (LAC, MG31 D69, vol. 18, file 34, 25 October 1939).

In May 1940, after having prepared several Ukrainian-language radio broadcasts for the British Ministry of Information, Kysilewsky left London and returned to Canada. By the spring of 1940 there was little reason to remain in Britain. The Bureau's Western Ukrainian supporters (UNDO) had been dispersed after the Red Army occupied Poland's Ukrainian and Belarusian territories in September 1939.

Early in the New Year, Makohin, who had been residing in Alassio, Italy, since 1937, instructed Kysilewsky to close the London Bureau by the end of March. The Bureau's enigmatic American benefactor, whose intense hostility toward Nazi Germany did not preclude an attraction to Fascist Italy, was incensed by the indifference of British policy makers to the Ukrainian issue, and frustrated by his inability to obtain a British visa (LAC, MG 31 D 69, vol. 10, file 6, 8 January 1940).²¹ Although the Ukrainian question briefly caught the attention of Foreign Office strategists during the Russo-Finnish War, it waned at the conclusion of that conflict in March 1940, and was relegated to the back burner when German armies blitzed through Norway, Denmark and the Low Countries in April and May, and then occupied northern France in June. At this point Kysilewsky returned to Canada to help mediate disagreements within the Ukrainian-Canadian community. In Canada, he would work with the USRL for the formation of a Ukrainian Canadian Committee in which liberals and democrats would participate on an equal footing with and exert a moderating influence on more extreme Nationalist (UNF) and Hetmanite (UHO) elements. Ukrainian-Canadian organizations, Kysilewsky believed, had to distance themselves from overseas Ukrainian extremists and work in unison on behalf of the Allied war effort. Only then would they have the credibility and opportunity to raise the Ukrainian issue effectively in London and other Western capitals.

CONCLUSION

Kysilewsky's efforts to bring the famine in Soviet Ukraine and the violation of Ukrainian minority rights in Poland to public attention, taught him two valuable lessons: first, that the Soviet regime's brutality, its insidious propaganda, and its ability to influence and manipulate the news media at home and abroad made the Soviet Union and the Communist parties that were beholden to it, dangerous enemies of the Ukrainian people and of Western societies in general; second, that the intrigues, belligerent rhetoric, violent tactics, and dubious political alliances of anti-communist Ukrainian émigrés, who followed Hetman Paul Skoropadsky or the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists, were morally reprehensible, abhorrent to potential allies in the West, and absolutely counterproductive insofar as the cause of Ukrainian independence was concerned.

During the Cold War years, when Kysilewsky became the Citizenship Branch's chief ethnic liaison officer, Canadian pro-Soviet ethnic mass organizations and their press functioned primarily as instruments of Soviet propaganda, promoting an irrational veneration of the Soviet Union and its Communist leaders, and churning out apologies for the crimes of Stalinism. Pro-Soviet Ukrainian-Canadian mass organizations, for example, hosted receptions for visiting Soviet delegations at which their

leaders eulogized “the great genius,” Joseph Stalin. Their newspapers abounded with articles (many of them reprinted from Soviet sources) asserting that Soviet Ukraine was “a Ukrainian national state, a socialist worker-peasant country...without oppressors or oppressed, without exploiters or exploited.” They also celebrated Soviet Ukraine’s expanding “sovereignty,” “flourishing” language and culture, and contented collective farm workers. They prophesied that the Soviet Union would soon “achieve the highest standard of living in the world”; glorified Soviet achievements in science and technology, and inferred that critics who minimized the Soviet Union’s “great achievements” were themselves or had been influenced by war criminals and Nazi collaborators (Kolasky 1990, 258, 302-03, 311-20, 369-70). Since reasoning and arguing with the true-believers who led the “ethnic left” did not seem to be a feasible option, Kysilewsky worked to neutralize and undermine the influence of pro-Soviet organizations.

At the same time, just as he had done in London during the 1930s, Kysilewsky attempted to moderate the views and defuse the influence of newcomers who clung to extremist nationalist positions. An influential minority of the Ukrainian refugees who immigrated to Canada after the war belonged to the radical Banderite wing of the OUN that had emerged in Europe after 1940 and took their marching orders from leaders headquartered in Munich. By 1949 they had established a nation-wide network of “revolutionary nationalist” cells, and for the next decade liberating the homeland from the Soviet regime remained an obsession that took precedence over adapting to life in Canada. Anticipating a new war in Europe and the resumption of the struggle for Ukrainian independence, they planned the creation of military cadres that could be sent to the homeland to participate in a war of liberation, and they promoted the ritualistic celebration of OUN leaders and heroes to attract youthful recruits. Their militant tactics, which included the infiltration and takeover of existing Ukrainian-Canadian institutions, produced tensions and infighting within the mainstream nationalist community, and culminated in violent confrontations with pro-Soviet adversaries on several occasions (Luciuk 2000, 219-44). Kysilewsky responded by meeting personally with influential leaders, especially newspaper editors, and counseling them to promote a greater appreciation of liberal and democratic values, the rule of law, and political pluralism. Whether he succeeded is debatable and a thorough evaluation of his efforts must be left to his future biographer. In the meantime, it seems quite clear that totalitarian organizations and ideologies, on the left and on the right, that glorified “revolutionary” parties and their infallible leaders, and made idols out of the “workers’ and peasants’ state” or “the nation,” were equally objectionable in Kysilewsky’s opinion.

NOTES

1. The best and only published account of the lives of Jacob Makohin and Susan (Fallon) Shiels prior to 1930 may be found in the first volume of Andrzej Zięba's magisterial study of Ukrainian lobbying efforts during the interwar years (Zięba 2010, 181-207) which draws on the archives of the Ukrainian Bureau housed at the Polish Institute and Sikorski Museum in London. Makohin (1880-1956) graduated from a teachers' college in Eastern Galicia. To embellish his social status after marrying Susan, he claimed to be a descendant of Hetman Kirill Razumovsky (1728-1803), the last ruler of the Ukrainian Hetman State, a ruse that few people took seriously. Susan (Fallon) Shiels (1891-1976), who may have been the daughter of Irish immigrants, often referred to Frances Payne (Bingham) Bolton (1885-1977), the noted philanthropist, healthcare pioneer, congresswoman, and grand-niece of billionaire Oliver Hazard Payne (1839-1917), who co-founded Standard Oil with the Rockefellers, as her "sister" (LD 29 September 1933), although that was not the case. Zięba suggests the Makohins benefitted not only socially and politically from Susan's friendship with Frances Bolton and her husband, Congressman Chester Bolton, but that the Boltons also helped to finance the work of the Ukrainian Bureau (Zięba 2010, 201).

2. The UVO and OUN are known to have attempted at least sixty assassinations during the interwar years. Most of these targeted Polish officials or Ukrainians who opposed OUN tactics (Motyl 1985, 45-55).

3. The Ukrainian Bureau moved to 27 Grosvenor Place on 21 March 1934 (LD 21 March 1934).

4. In his spare time, Kysilewsky spent almost four years (October 1932-May 1936) researching and writing a dissertation entitled "The Ukrainian National Revival in Austria, 1772-1848." Although he was optimistic about the prospects of a successful defense (LD 3 December 1935), a committee composed of Professors R. W. Seton-Watson, W.J. Rose, and Lewis Namier (LD 19 May 1936) rejected the dissertation. As Seton-Watson informed a curious Watson Kirkconnell several years later, the dissertation "was an excellent piece of work so far as it went," but Kysilewsky was "considerably handicapped by limitations of research in London, and political reasons had made it difficult for him to fill in the gaps in his studies in Lwow and elsewhere..." (Syrota 2004-05, 166-7). Although the examiners sent the dissertation "back for revision," Kysilewsky abandoned the project altogether even after the Manitoba-born W. J. Rose, who would become SSEES director in 1939, encouraged him to rewrite and resubmit it in order to be eligible for an anticipated appointment at the SSEES (LD 22 March 1938).

5. Biographies of many of those mentioned below can be found in Matthew and Harrison (2004), and in the regularly updated ODNB online edition <http://www.oxforddnb.com/public/index.html>.

6. For a very interesting if somewhat speculative account of Philipps's career prior to and during the Second World War, see "Characterizations of Tracy Philipps" (Kristmanson 2003, 1-48).

7. The signatories included six peers, twenty-six serving and six former MPs, and a number of prominent academics including Dr. Hilda Clark, Dr. G.P. Gooch, Prof. Harold Laski, Mr. C. S. Macartney, Prof. Gilbert Murray and Prof. R. W. Seton-Watson.

8. Before the AUC was launched, Malone and Kysilewsky, who believed Jews would "play a very big role in the future Ukrainian state," and consequently thought it prudent to "speak to them in advance," addressed several Jewish groups (LD 26 February 1935). The AUC elected as its secretary F. Ashe Lincoln (1907-97), an Oxford-educated lawyer who was active in the Jewish community, while Blanche Dugdale and Col. Josiah Wedgwood, although not Jewish, were prominent supporters of the Zionist cause. At the AUC launch in April, many representatives of the Jewish press were present (LD 16 April 1935). In July the AUC organized a special reception at which Dr. Arnold Margolin, a Kyiv-born and -educated Washington attorney who had served as Secretary of Nationality and Jewish Affairs in the Ukrainian Central Rada in 1917, met with prominent British Jews, reassuring them that Nazism and anti-Semitism would not take root in Ukraine if Britain supported democratic elements in that country (LD 4 July 1935).

9. During the mid-1930s Noel-Buxton and Dickinson delivered speeches in the House of Lords on several occasions, deploring the anti-German attitudes and policies of the Commons and the government (Griffiths 1983, 146-55, 200). Noel-Buxton's views on Nazi Germany are also mentioned in a recent study of Lord Londonderry (Kershaw 2004, 300, 309-13).

10. The extent to which Lawton was connected with right-wing extremist groups, including the rabidly anti-Semitic Right Club, Sir Oswald Mosley's British Union of Fascists, and other pro-Nazi extremist groups would not become fully apparent until after the outbreak of war in 1939 and culminate in his internment (Griffiths 1998, 219-24, 236-7, 267-8). The Bureau had severed its relations with Lawton by the summer of 1939. Hugo Yardley, who was marginally involved with the Bureau until October 1939, when he was assigned to the Red Cross, had joined the new British People's Party, a far-right, anti-war organization patterned after Doriot's Parti Populaire Français and led by former Labour MP John Beckett (LD 10 July and 2 October 1939; Griffiths 1998, 328-9, 352-3).

11. After meeting with Malone and Namier on 18 July 1935, Kysilewsky recorded in his diary that Namier had been a critic of the Poles and a defender of the Ukrainian minority at the time of the Paris Peace Conference, "... [b]ut he does not recognize the separateness (*osibnist*) of the Ukrainian nation and argues that Ukrainians in Galicia, and in Poland in general, should not oppose the Russians, be they White or Bolshevik, but unite (*zluchytysia spilno*) with them."

Namier stated he was prepared to work on behalf of minorities in Poland, "... but if the Ukrainians continue 'their extremely foolish politics of war on all fronts,' he won't raise a finger. In his opinion, Ukrainians should make sound political decisions and understand that they will never win if they fight on all fronts and against all of their neighbours. They must decide to stand on the side of Russia or on the side of Germany. He advises standing on the side of Russia" (LD 18 and 20 July 1935).

12. In early 1939, as Hitler prepared to dismember Czechoslovakia, Seton-Watson adopted a more positive attitude toward the Soviet Union, arguing that "the only real challenge" to the European order came from Nazi Germany and Fascist Italy, and maintaining that "Russia and Britain...each has a definite interest in maintaining the territorial integrity of the other" (Seton-Watson 1939, 167).

13. Ironically, the only two high-profile Ukrainian Canadians to visit London at the Bureau's invitation were a disappointment. Michael Luchkovich, the first Ukrainian-Canadian Member of Parliament (Vegreville, 1926-35), struck Makohin and his wife as an immature, self-satisfied, and arrogant young man of little learning who was poorly versed in international relations and did not know how to behave in polite society (Zięba 2010, 598-603). Peter J. Lazarowich, a lawyer and prominent USRL activist, who was invited to speak at the RIIA in July 1933, read his lecture on "Ukraine through the eyes of a Ukrainian Canadian" very quickly and had to be saved from embarrassment during the question period by Leah Malone and Seton-Watson. "I almost jumped out of my skin," Kysilewsky wrote in his diary, "... [t]he speaker was not prepared as he should have been" (LD 6 July 1933).

14. According to Kysilewsky, Korostovets's mistress was the Russian ballerina Tatiana Krasavina (AUCAW, Bishop Basil Ladyka file, 7 December 1935).

15. Wilhelm von Habsburg-Lothringen (1895-1948), cousin of the Archduke Otto, pretender to the Austrian throne, and of King Alfonso XIII of Spain, had ambitions of becoming a Ukrainian monarch. During the Great War his comrades in arms included OUN leaders Yevhen Konovalts and Andrii Melnyk, and in 1933 he was trying to return to Ukrainian politics. One year later, after Wilhelm's involvement in a sordid financial scandal became front-page news in Europe, Konovalts pronounced Wilhelm a "political corpse" who must never again play any role in Ukrainian politics (LD 17 and 21 December 1934, 26 January, 18 February, 28 July 1935; Snyder 2008, 167-68, 172-88).

16. Kysilewsky met his fiancée, Grace Neave, a civil servant employed by the Department of Labour, in 1934 (LD 20 May 1934, 24 August 1938, 15 December 1939); they were married in London on 16 May 1940.

17. Gabrielle Roy (1909-83), whose first novel *Bonheur d'occasion* (1945) [Eng. trans. *The Tin Flute*, 1946] was awarded the French Prix Fémina and the Canadian Governor General's Award, became one of Canada's most celebrated novelists. According to Stephen Pawluk and George Luckyj, who were in London in 1938-39, "Davidovich found the time to engage in an amorous affair with the young Gabrielle Roy" (Prymak 1988, 155). Roy writes about her brief but significant relationship with Stephen in her memoirs without mentioning his surname (Roy 1987, 275-400).

18. After Konovalts was assassinated in Rotterdam by NKVD agent Pavel Sudoplatov on 23 May 1938, Davidovich visited the city several times, posing as a journalist, and met with the OUN leader's closest associates and with his widow (LD 29 May, 23 and 27 June 1938).

19. This was the secret National Military Detachment, made up of six hundred veterans of the defeated Carpatho-Ukrainian militia and OUN members who had made their way to Germany after Hungary annexed the region in March 1939. Located in Wiener-Neustadt, Austria, the detachment "was to act as an auxiliary to the Wehrmacht in its approaching attack on Poland and to provide an armed nucleus for an uprising which the OUN hoped would lead to independence for the Ukrainians in that country." Though the unit marched toward Galicia in September 1939, it was disbanded when the Soviet Union, Nazi Germany's ally at the time, decided to annex Eastern Galicia (Armstrong 1990, 28).

20. On 29 November 1939, the USRL designated Kysilewsky as its representative in Great Britain (LD 12 December 1939).

21. Makohin's pro-Italian sympathies were nurtured by Dr. Enrico Insabato, an authority on the Middle East and Islam, and a veteran Italian intelligence agent, who had been cultivating Ukrainian contacts since the early 1920s (Zięba 2010, 91-92). A senior counselor in the Foreign Ministry in Rome, Insabato met Makohin in the fall of 1930 and visited him in Geneva and London after Poland and Germany signed a non-aggression pact in 1934. Insabato assured Makohin that Italy and Britain could reach an agreement on Eastern Europe that would prevent Poland and Germany from dividing the "Ukrainian Manchuria" in the future (LD 15 December 1934, 17 June 1935). Makohin, in turn, hoped the anti-Soviet Italians would establish and train a Ukrainian Legion, and he believed that Italy was ready to support Ukrainian anti-Soviet aspirations, although Malone and Kysilewsky were skeptical (LD 31 July, 22 and 27 August, 31 October 1935). Kristmanson's suggestion that allegations published in 1942 in *The Hour*, a New York news sheet produced by the communist fellow-traveller and Soviet apologist Albert E. Kahn, characterizing Tracy Philipps, Makohin, and Kysilewsky as fascist agents, were "for the most part true, if exaggerated" betrays a lack of judgement. Although he exonerates Philipps, Kristmanson, who knows nothing about Makohin and Kysilewsky, accepts the *The Hour's* misinformation concerning the two Ukrainians at face value and even offers a photograph of Makohin "and his American wife Lee" (sic) with Italian General Rossi, taken by Kysilewsky in June 1938, as supporting evidence (2003, 25-27). He does not mention that an Anglo-Italian agreement had been concluded two months earlier, on 16 April 1938. Nor is he aware of the fact that Kysilewsky's decision not to relocate to Italy was resented by the Makohins and that their parting was quite acrimonious (LAC, MG 31 D 69, vol. 10, file 10, 14 and 15 March and 3 May 1940). The Makohins returned to the United States in 1941 (Jacob Makohin's letter, *Time Magazine*, 8 December 1941) bereft of all illusions concerning Fascist Italy.

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The Alberta Press on Ukrainians in Canada during World War II: Two Case Studies

Abstract

This paper discusses the coverage given to Ukrainian Canadian topics in two Alberta newspapers, the *Edmonton Journal* and the *Edmonton Bulletin*, during the World War II years. Examples of the subjects included in the essay are Ukrainian Canadian participation in the war effort through enlistments in the Canadian armed forces and other ways, the banning of the Ukrainian Labour-Farmer Temple Association, the formation of the Ukrainian Canadian Committee, the raising of the matter of Ukrainian independence, and the Canadian conscription plebiscite of 27 April 1942. The two newspapers published in the provincial capital accorded significant attention to Ukrainian Canadian issues, a coverage that was paralleled by the many stories that related to Ukraine, a major battleground in the war.

Résumé

Cet article porte sur la couverture donnée à des sujets concernant les Canadiens ukrainiens dans deux journaux albertains, le *Edmonton Journal* et le *Edmonton Bulletin*, pendant la deuxième guerre mondiale. Y sont inclus par exemple: leur participation à l'effort de guerre en s'engageant dans les forces armées canadiennes et autrement, la proscription de l'Ukrainian Labour-Farmer Temple Association et la formation du Ukrainian Canadian Committee, la question de l'indépendance ukrainienne et le plébiscite du 27 avril 1942 sur la conscription au Canada. Les deux journaux, publiés dans la capitale provinciale, ont porté une très grande attention à tout ce qui touche les Canadiens ukrainiens. Ils leur accordèrent une couverture équivalente à celle des nombreux reportages sur l'Ukraine, un champ de bataille majeur pendant la guerre.



The Second World War has been considered a turning point in the history of Ukrainians in Canada. Among many other things, it was during the war years that the Ukrainian Labour-Farmer Temple Association (ULFTA), a pro-Soviet organization with thousands of members, was banned and the Ukrainian Canadian Committee, an umbrella organization which included groups that were not pro-Soviet, was formed. In an essay on Alberta's Ukrainians during the Second World War, Peter Melnycky pointed out that this large ethnocultural group was subjected to a scrutiny reminiscent of that which it experienced at the time of the Great War of 1914–18.¹ Indeed, the World War II years were characterized by public declarations of loyalty to Canada by different Ukrainian organizations. They were also distinguished by acts of support for the Canadian war effort. In commenting on

Ukrainian participation in the war effort through enlistments in the Canadian forces, Michael Luchkovich, Canada's first member of Parliament of Ukrainian origin, quoted the *Winnipeg Free Press*, which noted that Ukrainians were now "first class citizens, thoroughly imbued with Canadian ideals."² In his book on Ukrainian Canadians during the Second World War, Thomas Prymak remarked that veterans, proud of the part they played in the war, "fully expected to be accorded an honourable place in the mosaic of Canadian society."³

The war also affected Ukrainians in Canada in another way. The boundaries of Ukraine, which before the outbreak of war were governed by four jurisdictions—namely, Soviet, Polish, Romanian, and Czechoslovakian—shifted several times. After the war, Ukrainian territories formerly in Poland, Romania, and Czechoslovakia were merged with lands further east to form a reconstituted Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic within the Soviet Union. The majority of Canada's Ukrainians had roots in the western regions of Ukraine (especially the territories under interwar Poland and Romania). Members of pro-Soviet organizations in Canada were sympathetic to Soviet claims to western Ukrainian territories. In the first years of the war, the territories formerly under Poland and Romania came under Soviet rule, only to fall to Germany or Romania after the Nazi invasion of the USSR on 22 June 1941. Although these territories were regained by the Soviet Union toward the end of the war, Ukrainian groups in Canada which were not pro-Soviet had hoped that the war would provide an opportunity for an independent Ukraine, free of Soviet rule, and that the Canadian government would support that aspiration. That sentiment was voiced in the House of Commons by Canada's lone member of Parliament of Ukrainian origin, Anthony Hlynka, who represented the Alberta riding of Vegreville as a member of the Social Credit Party in 1940–49.

According to the Canadian census of 1941, there were 71,868 Ukrainians in Alberta, who ranked second in the province (behind the Germans, who numbered 77,721) among the groups who were not of English, Scottish, or Irish descent.⁴ That number constituted nearly one in ten of the province's population, though Ukrainians were especially numerous in districts in the east-central part of Alberta with Vegreville and Edmonton being two of the major urban centres of Ukrainian community life. Nationwide, there were 305,929 persons of Ukrainian origin in Canada,⁵ many of whom maintained parishes of the Ukrainian Greek Catholic, Ukrainian Greek Orthodox, and other Churches, and/or belonged to secular organizations which had branches across Canada.

In his preface to the translated memoirs and diary of Anthony Hlynka, Oleh Gerus noted that the member for Vegreville and Ukrainian issues attracted a good deal of media attention.⁶ This paper provides examples of the coverage given to Ukrainian Canadian themes during the war by two daily newspapers published in Edmonton: the *Edmonton Journal* and the *Edmonton Bulletin*.⁷

In the days just prior to and following the declaration of war on Germany after its invasion of Poland on 1 September 1939, Edmonton newspaper coverage included such stories as the breaking up of a meeting of communists in the wake of the Nazi-Soviet Pact and a pledge of loyalty to Canada by the ULFTA. According to the *Edmonton Journal* on 5 September 1939, a statement issued by the ULFTA at its provincial headquarters at 10628–96 Street declared that its “members would take their place with the people of Canada and the British Commonwealth of Nations to defeat German aggression.” The organization said it represented “close to 3,000 Albertans.”⁸

Just two days later, the same newspaper reported a Ukrainian Canadian offer to raise a force of 25,000 to be deployed for service in Canada or overseas. That offer came not from the ULFTA, but from another group the newspaper described as the Ukrainian National Council. The newspaper article provided no details about which organizations formed the Council and who the key individuals were, but it did say that “[c]ommand of the force has been accepted by” Volodymyr Sikevych, a former brigadier general in the Army of the Ukrainian National Republic.⁹ The Ukrainian National Republic had a brief existence as an independent state between 1917 and 1921. After its defeat by the Bolsheviks, many of its leaders and supporters went into exile, including Sikevych, who settled in Canada in 1924. Sikevych, who was born on 5 September 1870, was sixty-nine years old at the time that the offer was made. Quite possibly the council saw in the war an opportunity for an independent Ukraine, much as had happened toward the end of World War I when the Ukrainian National Republic was formed and an army created.¹⁰ In any event, no such force was ever raised as the very concept as proposed lacked government support.¹¹

By 1939 the majority of people of Ukrainian origin in the Dominion had been born in Canada. However, a large number were born outside the country: many had come as part of a smaller, albeit significant, second wave of immigration during the 1920s and 1930s. The majority of the tens of thousands of Ukrainian immigrants of the second wave came to Canada as bearers of Polish passports. Occasional reports in the Edmonton newspapers alluded to the matter of naturalized Canadians serving in non-Canadian armies. One article noted that the Canadian government had allowed men who came from Poland, Norway, the Netherlands, Belgium, or Czechoslovakia, and now were naturalized Canadians, to join forces being raised in Canada by recognized governments of their native lands. It had refused in the past to allow such naturalized people to enlist in foreign forces since it “would interfere with their assimilation as Canadians when they returned after the war.”¹² Among the forces being raised was the one by the Polish government-in-exile, whose recruitment efforts extended to immigrants who had come to Canada from Poland. Its representative in Canada was Victor Podoski, who was born in Ukraine.¹³

Any efforts to recruit Ukrainians who had emigrated from Poland would likely not have found much support among the anti-Soviet or pro-Soviet Ukrainian organizations in Canada. As far as the former were concerned, any such recruitment would have interfered with aspirations to raise a Ukrainian force in Canada. Indeed, even before the war began, there was talk of Ukrainians not only in Canada, but also those in the United States, Brazil, and Argentina raising an army “of 200,000 Ukrainian men ... to fight on Britain’s side if she were to engage in a European war.” The claim that such an army could be raised was attributed to W. Dorosh, who spoke at a meeting of the Ukrainian National Federation in Edmonton’s Memorial Hall in March 1939. According to the *Edmonton Bulletin*, Dorosh said that the “Ukrainians would be willing to fight ... in the hope that a redistribution of borders in Europe would leave the Ukrainians an independent country.”¹⁴ The Ukrainian National Federation, a nationalist organization with branches across Canada, was founded in 1932. Anthony Hlynka was “a former ... executive officer” of the Federation.¹⁵

To many of the immigrants who had come to Canada from Poland in the 1920s and 1930s, war was not something new. A story in the *Edmonton Bulletin* about patients in the Military Ward of the University of Alberta hospital mentioned a veteran who had served in the Polish and Ukrainian armies.¹⁶ Another, in the *Edmonton Journal*, focused on Mike Zaetz, a farmer west of Rimbey, who was “born in Poland” and came to Canada in 1929. Having witnessed the First World War and the devastation that resulted from it, in 1941 Zaetz was getting ready to experience the Second World War as a member of the Canadian armed forces. “Now Mike Zaetz has given up his farm, for which he has toiled and sweated, and is going to fight ... Hitler and all he stands for,” said the *Edmonton Journal*. The author of the article, Viola Macdonald, quoted Zaetz on why he enlisted in the Canadian army: “Why shouldn’t I fight for Canada? ... It has given me a home where I could be free and happy. I have worked like everything for 15 years, but I will give everything to beat Hitler.”¹⁷

As can be inferred from many articles in both the *Edmonton Bulletin* and *Edmonton Journal*, Ukrainian organizations urged members of the community to get behind the war effort by either enlisting or buying victory bonds. Names of the people who enlisted can be found in the compilations titled “These Volunteer to Serve Country” that were regularly featured in the *Edmonton Journal*. That information can also be culled from the section titled “District News” in the *Edmonton Journal*, and the one titled “Provincial Briefs” in the *Edmonton Bulletin*. Both newspapers also included death notices and there, too, a reference or two might be made to a son or daughter of the deceased serving in some capacity in the forces. Then there were the stories about Ukrainian Canadians who paid the supreme sacrifice or were reported missing.¹⁸ And there were announcements of Canadians of Ukrainian origin who received military awards.¹⁹

In the announcements in both newspapers about marriages, it may well have been the case that the groom himself was in the forces. In fact, in September 1939 the *Edmonton Journal* reported a spike in the number of marriages, linking the rush of marriages with the outbreak of war.²⁰ In June 1942 it reported that there had been a substantial increase in marriages over 1938.²¹ During the war years people from other parts of Canada came to Alberta for a temporary stay, and there was also an increased presence of Americans in the province. That presence once or twice was reflected in announcements of the marriage or engagement of a local Ukrainian Canadian to an American.

By September 1942 there was already a significant number of Albertans of Ukrainian origin serving in Canada's forces. In fact, in the opinion of Michael Luchkovich, who in 1926–35 had represented in Parliament the district of Vegreville, they were enlisting more than other groups. In a letter to the editor of the *Edmonton Journal* published that month, Luchkovich began by drawing attention to the August 1942 issue of the *Canadian Geographical Journal*, where, he said, J. F. C. Wright had noted that more Ukrainian Canadians from Saskatchewan in proportion to their population had joined the forces than any other national group, including the British. And what about Alberta? Luchkovich asked. Based on several lists of volunteers that had been published in the *Edmonton Journal*, Luchkovich concluded that of 173 persons named, 29 were of Ukrainian extraction—a proportion that was greater, he said, than the percentage of the Albertan population that was of Ukrainian background. By way of explaining this participation, Luchkovich referred to the *Winnipeg Free Press*, which, he said “suggested that the Ukrainians had now finally arrived as first class citizens, thoroughly imbued with Canadian ideals.”

Luchkovich then took the opportunity to appeal to everyone associated with the volunteers to do their bit to supply them through the purchase of War Stamps, Certificates, and Bonds.²²

It is possible that when Luchkovich wrote his letter to the editor he was still using the 1931 Canada census as his guide for the number of Ukrainians in Alberta. Toward the end of 1942, an *Edmonton Journal* editorial titled the “Racial Origins of Albertans” mentioned that in 1941 there were 71,868 Ukrainians, nearly 16,000 more than in 1931.²³

In 1944 nearly two years after Luchkovich's letter appeared in the *Edmonton Journal*, the *Edmonton Bulletin* covered a speech made by Maj.-Gen. Léo Richer La Flèche, Canada's Minister of National War Services, in which he acknowledged the presence of Ukrainians in the armed forces. The speech was prepared for delivery before the Dominion convention of the Canadian Legion and noted that 62,000 persons had become naturalized Canadians since the outbreak of war, and that many of them were from Slavic countries. La Flèche is quoted as having said: “I wonder

would it surprise you to know that we could assemble perhaps more than a division of our armed forces who speak a Slav language fluently, and about 12,000 of these speak Ukrainian.... We have over 9,000 speaking German, and nearly 2,800 speaking Polish, despite Polish army enlistments.”²⁴ Earlier, in November 1941, the *Edmonton Bulletin* referred to an entire reserve unit composed of Ukrainians. Attached to the Second Battalion of the Edmonton Regiment, the *Edmonton Bulletin* noted that it was honoured at a banquet held in the Ukrainian National Federation Hall.²⁵ In January 1942 the *Edmonton Bulletin* mentioned a Julian-calendar Christmas gathering at the Ukrainian National Hall in Edmonton on 96 Street and 106 Avenue—formerly, it seems, the provincial headquarters of the rival ULFTA (see above)²⁶—during which an estimate of 35,000 Ukrainians serving in the Canadian armed forces was presented. Attending the gathering were thirty members of the Second Battalion, Edmonton Regiment (R)CA, and twenty members of the RCAF, as well as “General V. Zukievich [Sikevych], Ukrainian hero of the First Great War, and now stationed in Toronto.” The general offered a toast “to the soldier guests of honor and to the 35,000 Ukrainians in the different armed forces across Canada,” and a tribute “was paid to the many Ukrainian boys listed in the honor roll of the defence of Hong Kong.”²⁷

Teachers and doctors were among the people who enlisted for service in Canada’s armed forces, ultimately leading to a shortage of both groups in some parts of the province. In October 1942 the *Edmonton Journal* reported that twenty teachers from the Two Hills area had enlisted for service in the RCAF and in the army.²⁸ Less than four months later the same newspaper noted that eleven schoolrooms in the Two Hills School Division had to be closed for lack of teachers.²⁹

A similar situation arose with doctors in the province. In December 1942 the *Edmonton Journal* announced that Dr. Edward E. Tomashewsky of Two Hills had joined the Canadian Army Medical Corp and would be going to the Pacific coast for training. His departure, it said, had reduced the staff of the Two Hills health unit to two people, that is, to two nurses.³⁰ The following month, the newspaper noted that the “[e]nlistment of doctors in the armed forces has caused a shortage in the province.”³¹

During the war years there was recognition in the press that Ukrainians had already been in the country for about five decades. The fiftieth anniversary of Ukrainians in Canada commemorated in Mundare and elsewhere in 1941 and 1942 received good coverage.³²

And there was a reminder during those years, too, that the aspirations of a large segment of the community was for an independent Ukrainian state separate from the Soviet Union. The organizations representing those aspirations were strengthened by the Government of Canada’s decision to declare illegal such associations as

the ULFTA under the Defence of Canada Regulations. That decision was announced by the *Edmonton Bulletin* on 5 June 1940, which also noted, a day later, that a planned nationwide tour of ULFTA's string orchestra might be called off as a result of the decision.³³ After Nazi Germany invaded the Soviet Union (June 1941) and the USSR became an ally of Canada, the two Edmonton newspapers contained stories on the efforts directed at lifting the ban on the ULFTA and securing the release from internment camps of a number of its leading members.³⁴ Although on 5 September 1939 the *Edmonton Journal* had publicized an ULFTA statement of loyalty, as Jaroslav Petryshyn has noted, the Canadian government (during the war years, the Liberal Party under William Lyon Mackenzie King was in power) was wary of Communist sympathizers who had stayed "faithful to the Comintern after the Nazi-Soviet Pact." On 17 September 1939 the Soviet Union moved into eastern Poland and then annexed Western Ukraine and Western Belarus. Pro-Communists "launched a campaign calling for Canada to withdraw from the 'imperialist' conflict." Subsequently, the Communist Party of Canada "was again declared illegal; so was the ULFTA, along with various other pro-Communist organizations." ULFTA leaders were "apprehended and interned, and its numerous properties were confiscated—and in many cases sold to Ukrainian nationalists and church organizations at extremely low prices."³⁵

Later in 1940 an *Edmonton Journal* editorial welcomed the news of the creation of the Ukrainian Canadian Committee on 7 November 1940 in Winnipeg. A "movement to put an end to the dissensions has met with much success," the editorial said on 22 November 1940, which went on to say that "[t]he spirit thus displayed is a fine one and many good wishes will be extended to the committee by the Canadians of other racial origins as it enters upon its tasks."³⁶ The founding members of the Ukrainian Canadian Committee were the Ukrainian Catholic Brotherhood, the Ukrainian Self-Reliance League (a lay organization of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church), the Ukrainian National Federation, the United Hetman Organization, and the League of Ukrainian Organizations.³⁷

Readers of the *Edmonton Journal* soon learned that the organizations that made up the Ukrainian Canadian Committee advocated an independent Ukrainian state. On 23 May 1941 the newspaper reported that the Committee had sent a letter to Prime Minister Mackenzie King asking that claims for an independent Ukrainian state not be disregarded when Europe was to be reconstructed.³⁸ It was more difficult to make the case in Canada for an independent Ukrainian state after Nazi Germany invaded the USSR and the Soviet Union subsequently became a Canadian ally in the war. That is what Anthony Hlynka found when he raised the matter of Ukrainian independence in the House of Commons.

Hlynka, like Luchkovich some time before him, represented the federal riding of

Vegreville. That district in Alberta was the only one in the province in which a majority voted “no” in a national plebiscite held on 27 April 1942 that asked the following question: “Are you in favour of releasing the Government from any obligations arising out of any past commitments restricting the methods of raising men for military service?”

A number of explanations have been presented by scholars to account for the large “no” vote in the Vegreville riding. Melnycky noted that while the ULFTA, which had reappeared as the Ukrainian Association to Aid the Fatherland (later, in June 1942, it changed its name to the Association of Canadian Ukrainians³⁹), was officially in favour of a “yes” vote, “there was nevertheless a substantial community of interest among the Ukrainians of Alberta that had reason to vote No as a protest over specific losses suffered at the hands of the Liberal government.”⁴⁰ As noted, ULFTA leaders were interned and properties had been confiscated. Melnycky also noted that on both the provincial and federal levels “the Social Credit party took a non-committal attitude towards the plebiscite, which many interpreted as a whisper campaign against a Yes vote.” Hlynka, he continued, called for conscription not only of manpower but also of wealth and industry, and in declaring himself in the “yes” camp did so by presenting reasons that were “very pragmatic.”⁴¹

In his discussion on the plebiscite, Bohdan Kordan noted the Ukrainian Canadian Committee’s response to *Winnipeg Free Press* criticism about Ukrainians and the “no” vote. In a private meeting with the editor of the newspaper, the reasons presented by members of the committee’s executive for a “no” vote among Ukrainians in Canada included a perceived close co-operation between the Liberal government and leftists, the government’s silence on the Ukrainian question in Europe, claims that a “yes” vote was a vote for the Liberal party, and that conscription could lead to economic ruin of the farm.⁴²

The conscription plebiscite of 1942 is the subject of an entire chapter in Prymak’s study on Ukrainian Canadians during the war. Among the conclusions he reached was that the results were a “real shock to Ukrainian political leaders,” and a surprise for the government, too, for as Prymak noted, it was expected that “English-speaking Canada would vote yes in the plebiscite and that French-speaking Canada would vote no.”⁴³

The result in the Vegreville riding was quite exceptional and the subject merits further exploration and more discussion than can be afforded here. Neither the *Edmonton Journal* nor the *Edmonton Bulletin* offer much in the way of clues for the large “no” vote in the Vegreville riding. Prymak noted that that riding was one of three prairie constituencies which registered a “no” majority. The other two were Provencher, Manitoba (which he described as “an important French and Mennonite population centre”), and Rosthern, Saskatchewan (“a Mennonite and German-speaking area”).⁴⁴ However, as the votes in the plebiscite were still being counted it

briefly seemed that the Vegreville riding might not be alone in the “no” camp in Alberta. On 28 April the *Edmonton Bulletin* reported that results from 2,094 of the 2,531 polls in the province gave 169,619 “yes” votes compared with 63,639 “no” votes. The newspaper noted that the Vegreville riding “showed a majority of ‘no’ votes and in Athabaska [sic] the vote was about even.” In the former, it added, the “margin for the ‘No’ vote was 3-2,” while in the Athabasca riding the “‘No’ has a six vote lead out of more than 8,000 ballots.”⁴⁵ More details were given about the results nationwide, and in the province specifically, elsewhere in the 28 April 1942 issue of the newspaper and in the edition published the next day. The figures revealed that the following ridings on the prairies had a majority “no” vote:

| | |
|--------------------------------|--------------------------------|
| Athabasca (123 of 176 polls): | 4,981 “no” versus 4,963 “yes.” |
| Vegreville (111 of 121 polls): | 8,290 “no” versus 5,144 “yes.” |
| Provencher (Manitoba): | 4,117 “no” versus 3,041 “yes.” |

At that time, the riding of Rosthern in Saskatchewan was reporting slightly more “yes” votes (3,331) over the number who voted “no” (3,259).⁴⁶ Ultimately, the number of “yes” votes in Athabasca slightly surpassed the “no” votes,⁴⁷ making the Vegreville riding the exception in Alberta.

Both the *Edmonton Bulletin* and the *Edmonton Journal* were aware that Ukrainian community leaders had worked hard to try to get a “yes” vote in the plebiscite. A March 1942 *Edmonton Journal* report about a gathering in the village of Andrew, north of Vegreville, mentioned such efforts. The report began by noting that pictures were shown under the auspices of the National Film Board and the Department of Public Information. Some 325 children and more than 200 adults attended the showing. The person chairing the meeting, A. Woroschuk, spoke about the production of war materials and “referred appreciatively to the support of this district in the recent Victory Loan campaign, the quota having been reached.” The report closed by mentioning that L. L. Kostash urged support for a forthcoming Red Cross drive and “asked for a ‘yes’ vote on the plebiscite.”⁴⁸

Another, published the following month, focused on Willingdon (north of Vegreville) and bore the title “Willingdon District Plans for Yes Vote.” The report said that a number of “cooperating bodies”—namely, the village of Willingdon, Eagle municipality, school district, Home and School Association, Daughters of the Empire, Catholic Women’s League, Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church, and the Ukrainian Association for the Aid to the Fatherland—were planning a public meeting for 20 April as part of a campaign to get a strong affirmative vote in the 27 April plebiscite. The report continued that meetings would be arranged in points outside the village in such places as Desjarlais, Shandro, Pruth, and Boian. It then added that “[e]very meeting held here by any society or club before voting day is to be addressed

for five minutes by some speaker on the plebiscite, urging [the] importance of a 'yes' vote."⁴⁹ The *Edmonton Bulletin* ran a similar article, which was published later, on 20 April, the day of the meeting.⁵⁰

Both the *Edmonton Journal* and the *Edmonton Bulletin*, a day apart from each other, mentioned the efforts of the Ukrainian Self-Reliance League in urging support for an affirmative result in the plebiscite. The Edmonton branch of that organization prepared circulars in Ukrainian and English which were mailed to "thousands of Ukrainian Canadian residents of Alberta." The text of the circular explained that by voting "yes," the government would be given full freedom to use methods of increasing the war effort as deemed necessary. It also stated that the many people who were serving in the army expected the support of those at home. And that a "yes" vote was a reaffirmation of faith in the ideals for which democracies were fighting.⁵¹

The *Edmonton Bulletin* also documented the efforts of leaders of the pro-Soviet camp to secure a positive vote in the plebiscite. On 19 April 1942 about a thousand people packed into the Empire Theatre in Edmonton to hear speakers appeal for an affirmative vote in the plebiscite. The rally, which included a musical program, was sponsored by the Edmonton Affirmative Vote Committee (chaired by Alderman H. D. Ainlay) and organized under the auspices of the Ukrainian Association to Aid the Fatherland and allied groups. The speakers included Alderman Sydney Parsons, L. Y. Cairns, K. C., and N. Alexievich.⁵² Later in the year, in August 1942, the *Edmonton Journal* ran a story about a concert that the Association of Canadian Ukrainians was putting on at Edmonton's Imperial Hall. The purpose was to celebrate the first anniversary of the Association, which had recently been renamed from the Ukrainian Association to Aid the Fatherland. According to the report, the Association had been organized to "mobilize the strength and energy of Ukrainian Canadians for a total war effort." During the past year, it said, the national organization had collected \$133,000 for medical aid to the USSR, assisted in the Victory Loan campaign, promoted recruitment for the Canadian armed forces, and "worked with the affirmative vote committee during the plebiscite."⁵³

Perhaps in acknowledgement of such efforts, neither the *Edmonton Journal* nor the *Edmonton Bulletin* reacted negatively to the large "no" vote in the Vegreville riding. In fact, in contrast to the *Winnipeg Free Press* further east, the *Edmonton Bulletin* put a positive spin on the plebiscite and the part played by the foreign-born element in Alberta. In an editorial, it emphasized the large number of affirmatives in Alberta and Saskatchewan where many immigrants had settled. "The vote should suggest something to critics in other provinces who have thought it the part of patriotism to sneer at the 'foreigners' in Alberta and Saskatchewan," the editorial said. "The 'yes' vote in Alberta," the editorial continued, "was way above the Dominion average; in Saskatchewan even more so."⁵⁴

That interpretation was not shared by A. Lockton of Myrnam, Alberta, who challenged the editorial. “Do I take it you mean to infer that the so called ‘foreign’ vote had an influence in producing the favorable ‘yes’ vote of about 72 per cent in this province?” he asked in a letter to the newspaper. If that was the *Edmonton Bulletin’s* intention, Lockton continued, then “my opinion is that your [*sic*] are very mistaken or purposely false. The negative constituencies in Alberta are almost solidly non-English and non-French.”⁵⁵

In June 1943 a columnist writing for the *Calgary Herald*, Richard J. Needham, also mentioned the plebiscite, claiming that “the anti-Russian Ukrainians living in Canada” voted “no” in that referendum. He wrote thus:

[W]e believe a good many people in Canada are getting tired of the hyphenated groups which always seem to be living in a dim fog of European politics. In this connection, we see by the papers that the Ukrainian-Canadian organization is going to hold a meeting in Winnipeg later this month ‘to discuss and pass upon resolutions dealing with Ukrainian problems in Europe.’ (For the record, it should be stated that this organization represents the anti-Russian Ukrainians living in Canada, who voted ‘no’ in Mr. King’s famous plebiscite. Their ‘resolutions’ at the Winnipeg meeting will doubtless be a reiteration of their previous demands for detachment of the Ukraine from Soviet Russia, and its establishment as an independent state.)⁵⁶

A year later, a letter to the editor appeared in the *Edmonton Bulletin* about the Canadian war effort, which also mentioned Vegreville. The letter writer, who identified himself/herself as “Native Canadian” from Red Deer, took exception to a statement that had been made that the many so-called Europeans who were said to be “walking our streets in civies” were engaged in essential jobs. The letter from Red Deer then continued:

It would be interesting to learn the amounts of Victory Bonds being held by these people of foreign origin who are holders of big pay essential jobs. Is it true that in the last Victory Loan drive, the Central European district of Vegreville, purchased \$220,000 worth of bonds, exceeding their quota by about \$130,000. A remarkable record indeed and a highly commendable one. But were the total sales to Central Europeans in this community, recognized as a Central European centre by at least 75 per cent, only a mere \$14,000?⁵⁷

That letter was challenged by two individuals identified as George and Paul, who pointed out that Canadians of British birth were foreigners, too, as this was, after all, Canada and not Great Britain.⁵⁸ Nothing was said about the Victory Loan drive, but from other material published in both the *Edmonton Bulletin* and the *Edmonton Journal* it is clear that there was significant support among Ukrainians for such campaigns. A story told to the *Edmonton Journal* in May 1942 by A. W. Fraser, who was

canvassing in the Vegreville area, provided insight into the campaign in that district. The newspaper said:

Mrs. Zaparozen is a widow living four miles from Vegreville. She has three children, one cow, and a few chickens. The owner of the house allows her 15 acres for the pasture of her cow.

As her children explained to her the purpose of our visit [,] their faces lit up as they went on to say their mother told them they must give all they could to the Red Cross to help the little children in England.

They gave \$1 in pennies and nickels and I hated to take it, knowing it was all their savings, tucked away in their little bank. But they said I must take it to help other little children. And they were delighted to think they were giving assistance to someone less fortunate than themselves.

At another stop I spoke to Fred Podealiuk. After telling him what the campaign is for, he went into the small house to see his wife about a contribution. He came out with 20 50-cent pieces and gave them to me with a smile. He said he was sorry he couldn't do more.

According to the *Edmonton Journal*, to Fraser, that gift of \$1.00 “meant more than others which were in greater amounts.”⁵⁹

CONCLUSION

As can be inferred from the foregoing discussion, the two major newspapers published in Alberta's capital, the *Edmonton Journal* and the more left-leaning *Edmonton Bulletin*, gave considerable coverage to Ukrainian Canadian issues during the war years. Although that coverage may have overlapped on more than one occasion, the degree of attention was such that it served as a reminder that the Ukrainian community was a demographic force in Alberta and in Canada as a whole. Articles about the commemoration of the fiftieth anniversary of Ukrainian settlement in Canada helped in creating public awareness that the community was an established one in the young province and in the country as a whole. Evidence that it was a community with organizational experience behind it came in the many articles about the different Ukrainian organizations that were active in Alberta and elsewhere in Canada. Such stories would suggest that Alberta branches of Ukrainian organizations headquartered in cities outside the province were not disengaged in the development of relations with the local media. District stories in the newspaper would necessarily include some Ukrainian content because in certain localities of east-central Alberta, people of Ukrainian descent formed the majority of the population. It was still there

that a good portion of the Ukrainians in Alberta was concentrated. For although the number of Ukrainians inhabiting Edmonton had been increasing over the decades, the figure (there were 6,070 people of Ukrainian origin in the provincial capital, according to the 1941 census) represented only less than a tenth of the nearly 72,000 Ukrainians in the province.⁶⁰

Indeed, it was from the riding of Vegreville that Canada's first MP of Ukrainian origin, Michael Luchkovich, was elected—and Canada's second MP of Ukrainian background, Anthony Hlynka, too. Even though they served at different times, both their names appeared in the Edmonton newspapers during the war years. Hlynka was the member of Parliament for Vegreville during the April 1942 plebiscite. If doubts were raised about Ukrainians' loyalty because of the results in that riding, they were not expressed in either newspaper, except in the manner shown above in the discussion of letters to the editor. There were sufficient examples presented that the community was actively participating in the war effort. And that in spite of differences in the viewpoints held, some groups could come together behind a single cause as the example of Willingdon showed of the co-operating bodies for the 20 April 1942 public meeting.

In 1942 Luchkovich had emphasized the degree of support for the Canadian war effort through enrolments in the armed forces. About a year earlier, Michael Petrowsky, described in the *Edmonton Bulletin* as an Ottawa writer, had made a similar point about enlistments. "My people and I want to be real Canadians, even if we pronounce 'with' 'wit,'" he told participants at a convention of the Canadian Authors' Association. He went on to add that "[t]heir allegiance to Canada was shown by their enlistments in both the First Great War and the present war."⁶¹

Alongside the many stories on Ukrainian Canadian-related topics in the two Edmonton newspapers, there were many others that referred to what was happening in the war in places such as Ukraine. And on occasion an article linked Ukrainians in Canada with that eastern European region, which had become a major battlefield. The two became linked when Hlynka suggested in late March 1945 that members of anti-Soviet Ukrainian organizations in Canada and the U.S. be invited to the April San Francisco conference on world security in order to present the case of Ukraine, a proposal which the *Edmonton Journal* described as "outrageous"—a characterization which, in turn, prompted Hlynka to respond with a letter to the editor.⁶² In 1942 the *Edmonton Journal* had linked Canada, Ukrainians, and the USSR in another way, through the person of Constantine Olynyk, described as "a Ukrainian by birth, now serving with a Toronto regiment of the Canadian forces in England." The newspaper noted that he had "seven brothers fighting with the Red Army" in the USSR.⁶³ In 1943 it showed pictures depicting four women under the title "These Royal Canadian Air Force Girls Work to Free Nazi-Held Homelands." Two of the women

were Jenny Ozipko of Holden, Alberta, and Elizabeth Anne Oleschuk of Winnipeg Beach, Manitoba, both of whom, the newspaper said, were “born in the Ukraine of Austrian parents.”⁶⁴ And the December 1942 *Edmonton Journal* article that was titled “2 Million Ukraine Civilians Slaughtered by Nazi Army” brought home to readers the colossal human losses suffered to date in that part of Europe and by the Soviet peoples generally. Readers were urged to donate to the Canadian Aid to Russia Fund, which would send medical supplies, blankets, and other items overseas.⁶⁵

Indeed, at times readers of the *Edmonton Journal* and *Edmonton Bulletin* may have read as much about Ukraine as they did about Ukrainians in Canada. A question that may be posed is the extent to which such reading enhanced understanding of that ethnocultural community and the ancestral homeland.

NOTES

1. Peter Melnycky, “Tears in the Garden: Alberta’s Ukrainians during the Second World War,” in *For King and Country: Alberta in the Second World War*, ed. K.W. Tingley (Edmonton: Provincial Museum of Alberta), 327.

2. Michael Luchkovich, “Ukrainians and the War,” *Edmonton Journal*, 3 September 1942, 4.

3. Thomas M. Prymak, *Maple Leaf and Trident: The Ukrainian Canadians during the Second World War* (Toronto: Multicultural History Society of Ontario, 1988), 130.

4. N.J. Hunchak, *Canadians of Ukrainian Origin* (Winnipeg: Ukrainian Canadian Committee, 1945), 57. In addition to the 71,868 Albertans listed as Ukrainian by origin, another 19,316 people in Alberta declared their ancestry to be Russian (*ibid.*, 47).

5. “Distribution of the Population, by Ethnic Group, Census Years 1941, 1951 and 1961,” *Statistics Canada*, http://www65.statcan.gc.ca/acyb02/1967/acyb02_19670197014-eng.htm.

6. Oleh W. Gerus and Denis Hlynka, eds. *The Honourable Member for Vegreville: The Memoirs and Diary of Anthony Hlynka, MP*. Introduction by Oleh W. Gerus (Winnipeg: Centre for Ukrainian Canadian Studies, University of Manitoba, 2005), xxvii.

7. The *Edmonton Bulletin* was published until 1951.

8. “Ukrainians Here Declare Loyalty,” *Edmonton Journal*, 5 September 1939, 11.

9. “Ukrainians Offer Raise 25,000 Men,” *Edmonton Journal*, 7 September 1939, 2.

10. For a brief biography of Sikevych, see *Iuvileina pamiatka z nahody piatydesyatoj richmytsi viis’kovoï sluzhby ta dvadtsyaty litn’oi pratsi dlia ukraïns’koï derzhavnosti ioho ekstselientsïi general-khorunzhoho Volodymyra Sikevycha* (Toronto: Lieutenant-General Sikevich Fiftieth Anniversary Committee, 1937), 9–10.

11. See, for example, the discussion in Bohdan S. Kordan, *Canada and the Ukrainian Question, 1939–1945: A Study in Statecraft* (Montreal-Kingston: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 2001), 23–25.

12. “Allow Enlistment in ‘Foreign’ Forces,” *Edmonton Journal*, 5 February 1942, 17.

13. “Pole Plans Speak in City May 26,” *Edmonton Journal*, 8 May 1942, 13.

14. “Ukrainians Ready to Help Britain, Speaker Declares,” *Edmonton Bulletin*, 28 March 1939, 11, and *Edmonton Bulletin*, 29 March 1939, 9.

15. Kordan, *Canada and the Ukrainian Question, 1939–1945*, 70. See also Gerus and Hlynka, *The Honourable Member for Vegreville*, 12. For more on the Ukrainian National Federation, see Prymak, *Maple Leaf and Trident, passim*. See also Orest T. Martynowych, “Sympathy for the Devil: The Attitude of Ukrainian War Veterans in Canada to Nazi Germany and the Jews, 1933–1939,” in *Re-Imagining Ukrainian-Canadians: History, Politics, and Identity*, ed. Rhonda L. Hinder and Jim Mochoruk (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2011), 173–220.

16. “Veterans Made Merrier by Not Forgotten Fund: Benefits Distributed,” *Edmonton Bulletin*, 26 December 1940, 1, 2.

17. “Mike Zaetz Leaves Farm to Help Put Hitler Down,” *Edmonton Journal*, 26 November 1941, 8.

18. For example, *Edmonton Journal*, 28 April 1942, 9 (picture of Capt. Nick E. Nykiforuk, Royal Canadian Medical Corps, who died in England). See also, “Funeral Is Held for City Soldier Joseph Adamchuk,” *Edmonton Bulletin*, 26 September 1941, 11. Flt-Sgt. Michael Sawry, who went overseas in November, 1943, was among those who were reported missing. See “Missing,” *Edmonton Bulletin*, 26 October 1944, 9. Melnycky (“Tears in the Garden,” 333) cited a 1946

almanac which listed 168 Albertans of Ukrainian origin killed in action, another 252 wounded in action, 68 missing in action, and 16 prisoners of war. For more on Ukrainian Canadian fatal casualties, see *Prymak, Maple Leaf and Trident*, 116–17.

19. Examples include Sgt. Edison Gowda, who was awarded the British Empire Medal (see “Mother, Daughter of Airman to See Presentation of Medal at Ottawa,” *Edmonton Journal*, 27 November 1942, 1, and the “Air Force Supplement” to the *Edmonton Journal*, 31 March 1943, 16); Flight-Sgt. William Walter Bigoray, who was awarded the Distinguished Flying Medal (see his picture in *Edmonton Journal*, 15 April 1943, 1); Acting Ft. Lt. W. J. Klufas, a recipient of the Distinguished Flying Cross (see “Alberta Airmen Receive Awards,” *Edmonton Journal*, 23 November 1943, 5); Peter Olynyk, Distinguished Flying Cross (“Ukrainians Aim Take Big Part in Nation’s Life,” *Edmonton Bulletin*, 4 May 1944, 16); Sqdn.-Ldr. Russell Bannock, Distinguished Flying Cross (see “Two Edmonton Airmen Decorated with DFC,” *Edmonton Bulletin*, 6 October 1944, 1 and “Edmonton Airman Leads Squadron,” *Edmonton Bulletin*, 31 October 1944, 1). On Bigoray, see also “Canadian Place Names of Ukrainian Origin,” *Ukrainian Weekly*, 21 May 1950, 2. That article noted that a study by Prof. J. B. Rudnycky showed that a river in Alberta was renamed from the Mosceg River to the Bigoray River, “in honor of a Ukrainian Canadian World War II hero, flight officer (P/OW) W. Bigoray DFM of Redwater, Alberta, who saw service with the Canadians on all fronts and finally was killed during a raid over Germany.” For more on individual profiles of Canadians of Ukrainian origin in the forces, see Melnycky, “Tears in the Garden,” 334–38. In a paper presented at the conference “Becoming Canadian: Ukrainian Canadians and the Second World War” (Ukrainian Cultural and Educational Centre, Winnipeg, 2011), Melnycky included among others the story of Russell Bannock, “born Slawko Bahniuk in Edmonton in 1919.” See “Winnipeg Hosts Conference on Ukrainians in Canada during WWII,” *Novyi shliakh/New Pathway*, 29 December 2011, 6.

20. “Rush of Marriages Still Continuing,” *Edmonton Journal*, 8 September 1939, 14.

21. “More Weddings Mean More Homes,” *Edmonton Journal*, 10 June 1942, 4.

22. “Ukrainians and the War,” *Edmonton Journal*, 3 September 1942, 4.

23. “Racial Origins of Albertans,” *Edmonton Journal*, 3 December 1942, 4.

24. “Foreign-Born Draw Praise on War Work,” *Edmonton Bulletin*, 8 June 1944, 16.

25. “Ukrainians in Army Honored,” *Edmonton Bulletin*, 4 November 1941, 3.

26. After its ban, ULFTA property sometimes ended up in the hands of rival groups. For an example of the process of such transfer, see “Order Police Probe of Ukrainian Body,” *Edmonton Journal*, 17 January 1941, 19.

27. “300 Ukrainians Fete Yuletide Tradition,” *Edmonton Bulletin*, 7 January 1942, 9 and 16. The event was sponsored jointly by the Ukrainian National Federation and the Ukrainian War Veterans Association of Canada. Michael Luchkovich, Anthony Hlynka, Andrew Zmurko (veteran and member of the reserve unit), and Cpl. L. Golds, RCAF, Calgary, were among the speakers.

28. “Two Hills,” *Edmonton Journal*, 9 October 1942, 9.

29. “Two Hills Schools Hit by Enlistments,” *Edmonton Journal*, 30 January 1943, 10.

30. “Two Hills Doctor Leaves for War,” *Edmonton Journal*, 11 December 1942, 19.

31. “Doctor Shortage Still is Serious,” *Edmonton Journal*, 4 January 1943, 9.

32. “Ukraine Fete Mundare Area Draws 3,000,” *Edmonton Journal*, 4 August 1941, 9, 13; “Celebrate Jubilee First Ukrainians,” *Edmonton Journal*, 4 August 1942, 8.

33. “Subversive Societies to be Outlawed,” *Edmonton Bulletin*, 5 June 1940, 1; “Ukrainian Red Orchestra May Call Off Tour,” *Edmonton Bulletin*, 6 June 1940, 15. According to the latter article, the ULFTA was one of sixteen organizations which were to be declared illegal in amendments to the Defence of Canada Regulations.

34. See, for example, “Ask Removal Ban on 3 Organizations,” *Edmonton Journal*, 9 May 1942, 8, which discussed a meeting at the Imperial Hall in Edmonton where the three hundred people gathered passed a resolution to urge the lifting of the ban on the ULFTA and other associations and the release of interned Ukrainian Canadians. See also “Ask Restore Labor Temple Property Here,” *Edmonton Bulletin*, 10 October 1944, 16.

35. Jaroslav Petryshyn, “The ‘Ethnic Question’ Personified: Ukrainian Canadians and Canadian-Soviet Relations, 1917–1991,” in *Re-Imagining Ukrainian-Canadians: History, Politics, and Identity*, ed. Rhonda L. Hinthner and Jim Mochoruk (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2011), 223–256. For more on the Ukrainian pro-Soviet movement in Canada, see John Kolasky, *The Shattered Illusion: The History of Ukrainian Pro-Communist Organizations in Canada* (Toronto: PMA Books, 1979).

36. “Ukrainian Canadian Committee,” *Edmonton Journal*, 22 November 1940, 4.

37. Gerus and Hlynka, *The Honourable Member for Vegreville*, 384 n. 28. On the background to the formation of the Ukrainian Canadian Committee (today, the Ukrainian Canadian Congress), see Oleh W. Gerus, “The Ukrainian Canadian Committee,” in *A Heritage in Transition: Essays in the History of Ukrainians in Canada*, ed. Manoly R. Lupul (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart), 195–214. See also Kordan, *Canada and the Ukrainian Question, 1939–1945, passim*.

38. “Ukrainians Want Independent State,” *Edmonton Journal*, 23 May 1941, 25.

39. Peter Krawchuk, *Our History: The Ukrainian Labour-Farmer Movement in Canada, 1907–1991* (Toronto: Lulus, 1996), 75.

40. Melnycky, “Tears in the Garden,” 330. Quite possibly, pacifist sentiments among ULFTA sympathizers in the

Vegreville riding may also have had an effect on the vote. As shown in interviews and other material collected by Myrna Kostash, such sentiment dated back to earlier years, but may have been hardened by resentment to the ULFTA's ban. See Myrna Kostash, *All of Baba's Children* 4th ed. (Edmonton: NeWest Press, 1992), 323–30.

41. Melnycky, "Tears in the Garden," 331. Melnycky quoted Hlynka as follows: "If it is shown after the vote that Ukrainians in the Vegreville riding voted negatively, then some circles and individuals will ascribe to Ukrainians' opposition to military service beyond the borders of Canada [and] sentiments in some circles would be against Ukrainian Canadians. For this reason I personally will be voting 'Yes.'" In February, 1941, Frank Flaherty of the Canadian Press, in an article concerning debates about the plebiscite in the House of Commons, commented that mention of the plebiscite was absent in a speech Hlynka made about Ukrainian independence: "Anthony Hlynka (N. D. Vegreville) made no reference to conscription or the plebiscite in a speech devoted to a plan for Canadian support for the independence of the Ukraine after the war." See "Policy of Big Army is Called 'Purely Lunacy,'" *Edmonton Bulletin*, 3 February 1942, 8.

42. Kordan, *Canada and the Ukrainian Question, 1939–1945*, 223–24 n. 46.

43. Prymak, *Maple Leaf and Trident*, 80.

44. *Ibid.*, 72. For the Ukrainian share of the population of municipalities in Saskatchewan and Manitoba, see Hunchak, *Canadians of Ukrainian Origin*, 88–94 and 110–13.

45. "73 Per Cent Albertans Vote for Plebiscite," *Edmonton Bulletin*, 28 April 1942, 1.

46. See "Vote by Constituencies," *Edmonton Bulletin*, 28 April 1942, 2 and "Plebiscite Results in Alberta Ridings," *Edmonton Bulletin*, 29 April 1942, 1. "Vote by Constituencies" gave the following results for Winnipeg North Centre: 3,490 "no" versus 2,064 "yes." But that was an error, for the total "yes" vote in the riding exceeded twenty thousand.

47. The slight edge was reported in "Le Vote en Alberta," *La Survivance*, 29 April 1942, 1. The full results were published in the *Canada Gazette*, 23 June 1942, 1–5. The final tally for the Athabasca riding was as follows: 6,234 "yes" votes versus 6,187 "no" votes. Number of rejected ballot papers: 150. Total number of votes cast: 12,571. Number of names on the voters' list: 22,187. For Vegreville: 5,471 "yes" votes versus 9,041 "no" votes. (Number of rejected ballot papers: 122. Total number of votes cast: 14,034. Number of names on the voters' list: 21,076.) The riding of Rosthern, Saskatchewan, had 3,527 votes in the affirmative versus 3,958 in the negative. See *ibid.*, 5.

48. "Returned Thanks on Victory Quota," *Edmonton Journal*, 18 March 1942, 8. L.L. Kostash was the president of the local branch of the Red Cross Society. See "Andrew," *Edmonton Bulletin*, 2 October 1940, 5.

49. "Willingdon District Plans for Yes Vote," *Edmonton Journal*, 14 April 1942, 10.

50. "Willingdon Asks Affirmative Vote," *Edmonton Bulletin*, 20 April 1942, 5.

51. "Ukrainians are Urged to Vote 'Yes' April 27," *Edmonton Bulletin*, 20 April 1942, 13 and "Urge Ukrainians Record Yes Vote," *Edmonton Journal*, 21 April 1942, 10. For examples of activities of Ukrainian Catholic organizations in Edmonton during the war years, see Serge Cipko, *St. Josaphat Ukrainian Catholic Cathedral, Edmonton: A History (1902–2002)* (Edmonton: St. Josaphat Ukrainian Catholic Cathedral, 2009), 83–92.

52. "Mass Meeting Called to Aid in Plebiscite," *Edmonton Bulletin*, 13 April 1942, 13; "Sunday Rally to Favor Plebiscite," *Edmonton Bulletin*, 18 April 1942, 3; and "'Yes' Votes Will Show Dominion Government People Want Total War." *Edmonton Bulletin*, 20 April 1942, 9.

53. "To Mark Founding Ukrainian Group," *Edmonton Journal*, 13 August 1942, 13.

54. *Edmonton Bulletin*, 30 April 1942, 4.

55. "Foreign Vote," *Edmonton Bulletin*, 11 May 1942, 4.

56. "One Man's Opinion," *Calgary Herald*, 9 June 1943, 4.

57. "Immigration," *Edmonton Bulletin*, 6 September 1944, 4. In June 1941 the *Edmonton Bulletin* quoted H.M.E. Evans, northern Alberta chair of the Victory Loan campaign, as expressing disappointment "in the response from our Ukrainian friends" to the campaign, in spite of letters having gone out in English and Ukrainian concerning it. See "Chairman is Disappointed on Loan Plea," *Edmonton Bulletin*, 11 June 1941, 9. The next day, Evans clarified his statement, noting that it referred to only one or two districts. He then went on to say: "I deeply deplore the impression that may be gathered from the article—that the Ukrainians as a whole are not doing their share. As a matter of fact, the results in other units which also have large Ukrainian element show the contrary to be the case such as: Innisfree, 195 per cent, Vegreville, 130.2 per cent, Two Hills, 73.4 per cent, Mundare, 73 per cent, Waskatenau, 72.1 per cent; Lamont, 63 per cent." "Large Section of Ukrainians Buy War Bonds," *Edmonton Bulletin*, 12 June 1941, 11. Just over a week later, a story appeared about Michael Pullishiy, 86, of Star, who came to Alberta with his family in 1896 and together with his son Fred bought "Victory Bonds to the limit of their ability and declared they wish they could purchase more to assist Canada and Britain to win the war." The article noted that Fred Pullishiy "was a volunteer for military service in the first Great War." See "Pioneer Galician Bond Purchaser," *Edmonton Bulletin*, 20 June 1941, 5.

58. "Hyphenates," *Edmonton Bulletin*, 9 September 1944, 4.

59. "Widow's Mite' is Aid to Fund," *Edmonton Journal*, 22 May 1942, 15.

60. Hunchak, *Canadians of Ukrainian Origin*, 57.

61. "Ukrainians of Dominion Make Good Citizens," *Edmonton Bulletin*, 23 August 1941, 3. Prymak, *Maple Leaf and Trident*, 30, noted that Petrowsky was an RCMP agent.

62. The *Edmonton Journal* argued that any such move would offend an ally that had made vast sacrifices and would

cause the conference to be a failure. It also expressed doubt that there was dissension among people in Ukraine, asserting that such discord seemed to exist among Ukrainians outside its boundaries, in places such as Canada. In his letter to the editor, published on 12 April 1945, Hlynka wrote that during a recent debate on Soviet-Polish relations several members on both sides of the House had pleaded the Polish case, and no one had suggested that their speeches would endanger the outcome of the conference. The same principle, he suggested, could be applied to the Ukrainians who were a people distinct from the Russians. The Ukrainian people, Hlynka went on to say, were under a totalitarian government and therefore not free to plead their own case. See "Hlynka Worries about Ukraine," *Edmonton Journal*, 27 March 1945, 3, "Mr. Hlynka's Outrageous Proposal," *Edmonton Journal*, 28 March 1945, 4, and "Mr. Hlynka Replies," *Edmonton Journal*, 12 April 1945, 4.

63. Caption to a picture in the *Edmonton Journal*, 2 October 1942, 9. The newspaper added that Olynyk had "already seen considerable fighting while serving with the international brigade during the Spanish war." He likely was close to the pro-Soviet Association of Canadian Ukrainians.

64. *Edmonton Journal*, 30 September 1943, 16.

65. "2 Million Ukraine Civilians Slaughtered by Nazi Army," *Edmonton Journal*, 17 December 1942, 1. In 1945 the *Edmonton Journal* featured an article by Maurice Hindus (a correspondent for the *New York Herald Tribune*) which bore the title "15,000,000 Dead Only Part Russia's Price for Victory." Hindus estimated that Ukraine's share of the total Soviet war dead was between 4 and 8 million. See "15,000,000 Dead Only Part Russia's Price for Victory," *Edmonton Journal*, 21 February 1945, 1, 2.

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The Ukrainian Canadian Chaplaincy during World War Two

Abstract

This paper discusses the creation, development, and significance of the office of Ukrainian chaplaincy in the Canadian military forces during World War II. Seven Ukrainian chaplains—three from the Ukrainian Catholic Church of Canada and four from the Ukrainian Orthodox Church of Canada—served the approximately 32,000–35,000 military personnel. Of these, three chaplains served in England and two in Europe. The work of the chaplains is discussed as is the role of their superiors in Canada and abroad. The paper evaluates the significance of the Ukrainian chaplaincy in the military effort, as well as in the development of the post-WWII Ukrainian Canadian community.

Résumé

Cet article présente la création, le développement et l'importance du bureau de l'aumônerie ukrainienne dans les forces militaires canadiennes pendant la seconde guerre mondiale. Sept aumôniers ukrainiens – appartenant aux Églises ukrainiennes du Canada, dont trois catholiques et quatre orthodoxes – ont œuvré auprès d'environ 32,000–35,000 officiers et soldats. Parmi eux, trois ont servi en Angleterre et deux sur le continent européen. Nous étudions ici le travail de ces aumôniers, ainsi que le rôle de leurs supérieurs au Canada et outremer. Nous y évaluons aussi l'importance du rôle de l'aumônerie ukrainienne dans l'effort militaire, ainsi que dans le développement de la communauté canadienne ukrainienne d'après la seconde guerre mondiale.



INTRODUCTION

The Ukrainian Canadian chaplaincy, both the Ukrainian Orthodox and the Ukrainian Catholic, played a very significant role during World War II in pastorally working with and mentoring Canadian servicemen of Ukrainian ethnicity in Canada, as well as in England and on the continent, mainly in Holland, Belgium, France, and Germany. The leading role was played by the seven official military chaplains—four Ukrainian Orthodox and three Ukrainian Catholic. Of these, three went overseas to England and two were sent to the continent to perform their military pastoral duties.

The Ukrainian chaplaincy, as well as that of the Jewish faith, broke the long-standing tradition of Roman Catholic and Protestant chaplaincy services and

opened the door for a more holistic multicultural and multi-faith delivery of chaplaincy services.

ATTAINING AND MAINTAINING A UKRAINIAN CANADIAN CHAPLAINCY

Almost from the beginning of WWII, the Canadian military was slowly enrolling small numbers of Ukrainian Canadian men and some women, but beginning in mid-1941 and until the end of the war, the numbers of Ukrainian Canadians, especially from the three prairie provinces, became quite significant. Approximately 32,000-35,000 Ukrainian Canadians were in the three armed forces during WWII. In the 1941 census, Canada's Ukrainian population was listed as 305,929; thus some 12% of Ukrainian Canadians took part in Canada's military effort. In the 1941 census (all census data from *Aids to Census of Canada*, 1941), some 65.17% of Ukrainian Canadian men were Canadian born, and this proportion was probably higher for those that signed up for the Canadian military.

Canada's military contingent from 1939-1945 included some 1,086,343 personnel (*The Oxford Companion to the Second World War* 1995), but ethnic identity was not surveyed. However, in a sample of 551,273 military personnel (slightly over 50% of all those enlisted) Occupational History Forms record that 12,389 claimed to speak Ukrainian (Prymak 1988, 131-132). There were 2,276 (18%) from Ontario, 3,446 (28%) from Manitoba, 3,105 (25%) from Saskatchewan, 2,265 (18%) from Alberta and 1,297 (10%) from the rest of Canada. This would account for approximately 24,389 Ukrainian Canadian personnel. However, to this number must be added those with anglicized surnames, those who did not speak Ukrainian, and those who did not admit to their Ukrainian ancestry. Thus, the number of Ukrainian Canadian personnel could be in the vicinity of 32,000-35,000 as claimed by Myron Momryk (2009, 11). Some researchers claim that up to 35,000-40,000 Ukrainian Canadians served in the Canadian military forces (Prymak 1988, 108).

The total Ukrainian Canadian military personnel represented approximately 3.1% of the entire Canadian military. In 1941, of a Canadian population of 11,506,655, some 305,929 (approximately 2.66%) claimed Ukrainian ancestry. Thus the Ukrainian Canadians had a somewhat higher percentage of participants in the war than the Canadian average (i.e., approximately 9.44% of Canada's population registered as military personnel during WWII, while the percentage for the Ukrainian Canadian population was around 11.1%).

In the 1941 census, of the 305,929 Ukrainian Canadians, 152,907, or approximately 50%, were Ukrainian Catholic, while 88,874 or 29% were Ukrainian Orthodox; another 64,148 were listed as "other." If these same percentages were reflected in the military, there were five Ukrainian Catholics for every three Ukrainian Orthodox, and two registered as "other."

Father M. Horoshko kept a card list of the military personnel that he encountered—986 in total, i.e., roughly 3% of all of the Ukrainian Canadian military personnel (Library and Archives Canada, Horoshko Fond). Their religious affiliations were as follows:

| | | |
|--|-----|---------|
| Greek-Catholic ¹ [i.e., Ukrainian Catholic] | 664 | (67.4%) |
| Greek-Orthodox [i.e., Ukrainian Orthodox] | 126 | (12.8%) |
| Unknown or no religion | 128 | (13.0%) |
| Roman Catholic | 50 | (5.1%) |
| Church of England and Protestant | 16 | (1.6%) |
| <i>Russkii</i> (probably Russian Orthodox) | 2 | (0.2%) |

By province the personnel in Father Horoshko's card catalogue came from the following provinces (the percentages are similar to those in the Occupational History Forms, see above):

| | | |
|------------------|-----|------|
| Manitoba | 308 | 32% |
| Saskatchewan | 226 | 23% |
| Alberta | 160 | 16% |
| Ontario | 149 | 15% |
| British Columbia | 53 | 5% |
| Quebec | 22 | 2% |
| Nova Scotia | 5 | 0.5% |
| Unknown | 63 | 6% |

Of the 986 Ukrainian Canadian military personnel, some 140 (14.2%) were married and 846 (85.8%) were single. Regarding participation in confession, some 497 (50.4%) declared that they had participated in the rite in the past six months.

In the military the chaplaincy was modeled on the British system and unofficially there was one chaplain for every 1000 servicemen in Canada; when overseas there would be one for every 500 (*Aids to Census of Canada, 1941, 1944*). Part-time chaplains could be appointed in Canada according to the formula of one day salary per week for 100-250 soldiers, two days salary for those with 250-375, and three days salary for 375-500.

The Canadian chaplaincy service initially included three categories for identification and registration purposes: RC for Roman Catholic, P for the various Protestant denominations, and OD for all the personnel of other denominations. This last category included all others, including Jews and all Orthodox Christians, the largest group comprised of the Greek Orthodox Ukrainians (the official title of the church was the Ukrainian-Greek Orthodox Church of Canada). The Ukrainian Catholics were known mostly by their old designation of Greek Catholics or the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church; this resulted in some confusion because the Head

Chaplain's Office (in Ottawa) of the Roman Catholic Church included them in their rubric ("since they acknowledged the Holy office of the Pope"). The leadership of the Ukrainian Catholic Church initially accepted this, but beginning in 1941 it began to petition for the creation of a separate category for their ecclesial Greek rite. In some cases personnel who were Greek Catholic registered as OD (other) on the official forms and did not accept the Roman Catholic designation. Jewish personnel in Canada received their first rabbi in the spring of 1941, about a year before the Ukrainians, and thus were dropped from the OD designation.

THE UKRAINIAN CHAPLAINCY IN CANADA

From the onset of the war, the Ukrainian Catholic bishop in Canada, Bishop Vasyly Ladyka, was always part of the communication-public relations system of the Roman Catholic chaplaincy headed by Bishop Nelligen, since Bishop Ladyka was a component bishop of the Catholic Bishops' Conference of Canada (the first document found in UCAWA is dated August 8, 1939).

Even when the Ukrainian Catholics received their unique designation in the spring of 1942, they still remained under the authority of the Head Chaplain's office of the Roman Catholic Church. Meanwhile the Ukrainian Orthodox Church through its administrator, Father S.W. Sawchuk, was in constant correspondence with the General Protestant Chaplain in Ottawa. It appears that those with the OD designation were organized under the Protestant Head Chaplain.

Beginning in the spring of 1940 a number of Ukrainian Canadian military personnel began complaining to their two respective Churches about the lack of sensitivity to their faith and traditions. For example, some of the Ukrainian Orthodox and Ukrainian Catholics complained that by having been registered as OD, they would be attended to not by a priest but by a non-Eucharistic minister (i.e., a person not able to give communion). Sometimes Ukrainian Catholics mentioned dissatisfaction in being attended to by a Roman Catholic chaplain of the Latin rite. (See various letters to Ladyka in UCAWA, WWII Fond).

Beginning in the summer of 1940 both the Ukrainian Orthodox and Ukrainian Catholic Churches began writing letters and petitions to Ottawa to have their own respective clerics as chaplains. These were sent to the Canadian government, particularly to the Department of National Defence, as well as to the Canadian armed services branches. Both Churches found themselves in a difficult predicament because there was a shortage of priests and each Church wanted to keep as many priests as possible at their local parishes. In the Ukrainian Catholic Church, according to the archives, at least twelve Ukrainian Catholic priests volunteered to be military chaplains; it is not known how many Ukrainian Orthodox priests volunteered.

The response from Ottawa was that there were not enough soldiers to warrant separate chaplains.

After two years of requests, in November 1941 Father Sawchuk prepared a strongly worded four-page eight-point "Memorandum on Ukrainian Orthodox Chaplain Service" on behalf of the Consistory of the Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church of Canada to the federal government (LAC, RG 26, Vol. 6, 34 - S -1, Sawchuk, Rev. S. W.), with a copy to Professor G.W. Simpson, Director of the Office of Public Information. This Memorandum provided the historical background to the request, beginning with the initial requests of January 1940, and provided a series of strong arguments for the introduction of Ukrainian chaplains. Father Sawchuk recalled his various communications with Col. G.A. Wells, principal Protestant Chaplain in Ottawa, as well as a meeting with Wells in Ottawa on March 26, 1941. The government position was that the numbers of Ukrainian military personnel were very low and they did not warrant an appointment of separate Ukrainian chaplains.

The Memorandum blamed the low numbers on the mismanagement of and indifference in registering the personnel, as well as discrimination towards Ukrainian volunteers. Father Sawchuk stated that the number of enlisted Ukrainian Canadians was very high, in fact higher than the Canadian average. He also argued that Ukrainian Catholics were often grouped under the Roman Catholic chaplains, and this was their prerogative since they were under the Pope, but "the Ukrainian Orthodox have no intercommunion with any other denomination." He then wrote about the benefits of having Ukrainian Orthodox chaplains "to provide comfort to parents and spouses about spiritual guidance and ministrations to Ukrainian Canadian servicemen"; "to remove hurtful feelings and discrimination against soldiers of Ukrainian racial origin"; that it would add to the enlistment of Ukrainian Canadians and thus "preserve and strengthen the morale of all Canadian people, including servicemen." He ended his Memorandum with three suggestions on the creation of a Ukrainian Orthodox Chaplain service: attach it to the Protestant Chaplaincy Service or create an independent unit; in conjunction with the governing body of the Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church, choose the first chaplain to visit military camps in Canada where there were considerable numbers of adherents; and, if more chaplains were needed, they could be appointed later, with the first chaplain becoming the senior chaplain.

In the addendum to the Memorandum ("The Observations re: Enlistments with an Additional Appendix," AUOCC, Sawchuk Font, box 1, file 9), Father Sawchuk provided statistics that indicated that Ukrainian Canadians had higher enlistments in the military than the Canadian average and significantly more than many other ethnic groups. Canada as a whole had a percentage of 3.7% in the forces (409,000 military personnel out of a population of 11 million in early 1942).

Unfortunately, the Canadian government did not have official statistics on ethnicity on military registration forms and thus no formal calculations existed. However, from internal private sources, Father Sawchuk believed that the Ukrainian Canadian numbers were higher. For example, in Military District #10, he believed 6% were of the Ukrainian Orthodox faith and in Military District #12, it was 11.46%. By way of military units, Father Sawchuk found 13.8% Ukrainian surnames among all the soldiers of the Fort Garry Barracks, 13% Ukrainians and 8.7% Ukrainian Orthodox in the Moose Jaw Barracks, 5.1% Ukrainians in the Winnipeg Grenadiers, and 5.8% Ukrainians in the Red Deer Alberta Barracks. He also stated that “many Ukrainian boys tried to join the RCAF but were refused and discriminated against.” Finally, he wrote that it was well known to the Churches and the Ukrainian Canadian Committee that certain Ukrainian settlement areas in Canada, especially on the prairies, had very high enlistment numbers, including in Manitoba (Stony Mountain, Teulon, Sandy Lake, and certain parts of Winnipeg—areas where there were Ukrainian churches, such as St. Mary the Protectress Ukrainian Orthodox Cathedral, and schools with a high Ukrainian Canadian enrollment (he singled out Isaac Newton School)—Saskatchewan (Sheho, Meacham, Canora, and Vonda), and Alberta (Edmonton and Camrose). Finally, in January 1942 the two Ukrainian Churches with the help of the Ukrainian Canadian Congress (headed by two priests, one from each denomination—Father V. Kushnir of the Ukrainian Catholic Church, president, and Father Sawchuk of the Ukrainian Orthodox, vice-president), and with the assistance of Professor G.W. Simpson, received a positive reply from Ottawa (AUOCC, Fyk Fond, mentioned in letter 16280 and AUOCC, Sawchuk Fond, box 2, file 8).

On January 20, 1942, both church leaders—Bishop Ladyka and Father Sawchuk (AUOCC, Sawchuk Fond, box 2, file 8) received the news. Father Sawchuk also received a letter from Professor Simpson on January 21, 1942, stating “that the decision to appoint a Greek Orthodox and a Greek Catholic chaplain was made easier by the knowledge that the Ukrainian Canadian Congress was strongly in favour of such a development” (AUOCC, Sawchuk fond, box 2, file 8).

Ottawa subsequently requested that one candidate be chosen from a list of three nominated clerics from the Ukrainian Catholic Church. The request to the Ukrainian Orthodox Church was to choose one, which was done by the Consistory of the Church in late January 1942. The first two chaplains were Father Sawchuk and, a month later, the Ukrainian Catholic cleric, Father Michael Pelech of Saskatoon. Both were forty-seven years of age, had been ordained in North America, and had over two decades of experience as priests in Canada. Both were appointed to the Central Canadian Command, which included the three prairie provinces and north-western Ontario. Both were to be stationed in Canada.

Within a year, due to the significant number of military personnel and because

of the great distance across the Rockies, two additional chaplains, both parish priests in Vancouver, were named to the Pacific Command—Father Michael Fyk of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church and Father Theophilus Dopko of the Ukrainian Catholic Church. After a year, Father Fyk was not able to continue for medical reasons; he was replaced in the late spring of 1944 by Father Michael Symchych.

The chaplaincy for Eastern Canada developed somewhat late and only one chaplain was ever appointed: Father Toma Kowalishen of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church was appointed in the fall of 1944. He was based in Toronto and worked in Ontario, Quebec, and the Maritime provinces until early 1946. No documents could be found as to the reason that the Ukrainian Catholic Church did not have a chaplain in the Eastern Canadian Command.

THE UKRAINIAN CANADIAN CHAPLAINCY IN ENGLAND

Early in 1943 more and more Ukrainian Canadian military personnel were being sent to Europe. Both Churches soon realized that they also needed chaplains. Both Churches again began communicating with Ottawa and the Department of National Defence. Bishop Ladyka was in regular contact with the Principal Chaplain, Bishop Nelligen of the Roman Catholic Church. Father Sawchuk wrote to Ottawa to request at least one chaplain from each Church for the Canadian central military base in Aldershot, England. However, no approval was forthcoming.

The next major development occurred at the first national Congress of the Ukrainian Canadian Committee² (UCC) in Winnipeg, June 22-24, 1943—some three years after the formation of the UCC. It was attended by 715 delegates and guests who represented 452 immediate family members who were serving in the war—a ratio of 63% (Ukrainian Canadian Committee 1943, 174). The Congress heard various reports and addressed a number of concerns pertaining to the war, including the issue of the overseas chaplaincy.

On the first day of the Congress, all five major speeches addressed the Ukrainian Canadian participation in the war effort, including such issues as the large number of Ukrainian Canadian recruits serving in the military (higher than the Canadian average and higher than other ethnic groups); involvement and service with the Red Cross; the purchase of war bonds and savings certificates in large numbers by Ukrainian Canadians; and volunteerism in important Ukrainian settlements in Canada. In his speech, “Ukrainian Canadians in Canada’s War Effort,” W. Kossar of the UCC noted the four chaplains who were in the Canadian forces, three of whom were present at the assembly—Fathers Sawchuk (Winnipeg), Pelech (Saskatoon) and Dobko (Vancouver). The evening Victory Mass Rally was co-chaired by two chaplains—Fathers (and now Captains) Sawchuk and Pelech. Father Sawchuk noted in

his introductory remarks the major accomplishments of Ukrainian Canadians in WWII, including the appointment of the first four chaplains, and added “that the number of our boys stationed there [overseas] would seem to warrant the appointment of at least two chaplains for overseas service, and it is hoped that these appointments will not remain long overdue” (*ibid.*). Father Pelech, in his closing speech, reiterated the tremendous work done by Ukrainian Canadians on the war front, as well as at home. On the last day of the Congress, of the eleven resolutions, seven were geared towards Canada’s war effort. The final one was on the issue of an overseas chaplaincy:

Whereas there is a large number of our sons serving in the Canadian armed forces, and Whereas the Ukrainian Canadians adhere as a rule to two main church bodies, that is to say, Greek Catholic and Greek Orthodox; and Whereas there are only two chaplains of Greek Catholic and two of Greek Orthodox faith serving the members of the armed forces of these denominations in Canada only, and there are none serving overseas; Now therefore be it resolved that it would be highly desirable that further appointments of chaplains of Greek Catholic and Greek Orthodox denominations be made and especially for the purpose of serving men in the armed forces now stationed overseas, and Be it further resolved that a copy of this resolution be sent to the Department of National Defence for due consideration and immediate action (*ibid.*).

This resolution was then referred to the Executive Committee of the UCC to be acted upon. Several weeks after the Congress, the UCC executive forwarded a letter together with the resolution to the Department of National Defence. However, the response was again very slow. Several other letters and briefs were written, but there was still no response.

Finally, almost a year later, in the spring of 1944, after much lobbying, the Department of National Defence recommended that each major Ukrainian Church provide the name of a prominent cleric or existing Canadian chaplain for overseas duty. The Ukrainian Orthodox Church responded quickly and provided the name of Father Sawchuk for a short stint of several months; since he was the administrator of the church, a longer leave was probably not possible. He went overseas on August 20, 1944. Father Sawchuk was forty-nine and over the forty-six-year age limit and he did not have medical clearance for overseas service, but somehow these two issues were overlooked or ignored.

The Ukrainian Catholic Church received its letter regarding the appointment of an overseas chaplain on May 17, 1944 (UCAWA, WWII Font, doc. 11.10.192) from the Roman Catholic Chaplain R.C. MacGillivray, assistant to Bishop Nelligen. The letter stated “that the overseas appointee was to be a rallying point, a source of inspiration and a spiritual guide to the Ukrainian soldiers in our Armed Forces.” The letter mentioned that, unfortunately, the current chaplain, Father Pelech, was too old

to go overseas (as noted above, the cutoff was forty-six years of age and he was forty-nine, like Father Sawchuk). The letter recommended that Father Dobko go overseas as soon as a replacement was found for the Vancouver position. Bishop Ladyka, in his reply of June 1, 1944 (*ibid.*, doc. 11.10.193), thanked the government for the overseas position, stating “that the idea of an overseas chaplain brings me much satisfaction.” He added that Father Dobko would not be sent overseas because the approval of his superior in the Order of Basilians could not be obtained in time and because he was a prominent and superior priest who was needed in the Vancouver community. Bishop Ladyka recommended that Father Michael Horoshko (from rural Saskatchewan) be the first overseas Ukrainian Catholic chaplain. Bishop Ladyka also provided the full registration application form for the chaplain and a character reference. He described Father Horoshko as young, energetic, very interested in youth organizations, and acquainted with the young Ukrainian Canadian Catholic servicemen. He was a British subject by naturalization and spoke English and three other languages. Within three days of receiving the application, the office of the Head of the Roman Catholic Chaplaincy replied positively (*ibid.*, doc. 11.10.194) and outlined the need for Father Horoshko to get his medical and registration papers and attend the four-week officer training school in Brockville, Ontario.

Bishop Ladyka informed Father Horoshko (*ibid.*, doc. 11.10.195) of the process and stated that he was happy “that the ‘Swystunites’ [i.e., the Ukrainian Orthodox Church] were not getting an overseas chaplain and that there would be only one overseas chaplain and that one would belong to the Ukrainian Catholic Church.” Apparently he was not aware that the Ukrainian Orthodox Church was also to receive a chaplaincy.

Father Horoshko completed all the documentation, including the medical which he passed on June 23, 1944, in Regina (telegram of June 23, 1944 in *ibid.*, doc. 11.10.198-9). However, he could not make the deadline for the month-long training session in Brockville and had to postpone this for a month until July 26, 1944 (letter to Bishop Ladyka, June 27, 1944, *ibid.*, doc. 11.10.201-2). On July 13, 1944 (letter to Bishop Ladyka, *ibid.*, doc. 11.10.203-04), Father Horoshko informed his superior that he had received his chaplaincy kit in Regina and commented that he would exchange the two vestment pieces (*chasubles*) for a single one that was being prepared by the Ukrainian Catholic Order of Sister Servants in Toronto, which would be a single piece and reversible—a bright color (gold or silver) on one side and black on the other [required for certain services such as funerals] so as not to carry two separate ones. In addition, he stated that he would not be carrying the altar stone or tablet (a component of the Latin liturgical tradition), but would serve the liturgy on his own missionary *antimension* (liturgical altar cloth), given to him by Bishop Ladyka in 1937 when he first arrived in Canada.

Father Horoshko was pleased with his training in Brockville (*ibid.*, docs. 11.10.206-207 and 208) as evidenced by two letters to Bishop Ladyka. However, his departure for England was postponed for six weeks. In the meantime, he travelled to Toronto and Ottawa (to visit the office of the principal Roman Catholic Chaplain), to Winnipeg (to meet with his bishop), and returned to Saskatchewan (for further church work, especially with the Ukrainian Catholic Youth and Brotherhood of Ukrainian Catholics) and to prepare for the trip to Great Britain. He departed from Halifax on October 13, 1944, and on October 21, 1944, was at his military base in Aldershot to begin fifteen months of servicing Ukrainian Catholic and, generally, Ukrainian military personnel. He arrived in England two months to the day after the arrival of the Ukrainian Orthodox chaplain, Father Sawchuk.

The Ukrainian Catholic Church, along with its Bishop, was very concerned about the timing of the appointment of its chaplain and demonstrated some competitiveness with the Ukrainian Orthodox Church. For example, in a letter of August 3, 1944, Chaplain Pelech writes, "O, yes, Sawchuk has gone over as of now for three months.... [I]t's strange that the people in Ottawa get fooled so easily by the Orthodox" (LAC, Horoshko File MG 31, F15, vol. 2, file 5). In a similar vein, Bishop Ladyka, in a letter to Father Horoshko, August 4, 1944, states: "I heard that Sawchuk is no longer in Winnipeg, maybe he has gone overseas for a short time.... [H]e has created some serious problems; however, you will be able to correct everything since your overseas appointment is a permanent one" (*ibid.*). However, when Father Horoshko finally met Father Sawchuk in London on October 27, 1944, the meeting was quite cordial, and the next day Father Sawchuk was present for Father Horoshko's first liturgy in London at the Ukrainian Canadian Servicemen's Association Club.

THE UKRAINIAN CANADIAN CHAPLAINCY IN EUROPE

The third issue relating to the chaplaincy was that of getting the chaplains to travel to the major bases in Holland, Belgium, Germany, and France. This occurred a year after their arrival in London, in September 1945, after V-E Day. Both Fathers Horoshko and Symchych were granted permission to do major stints. Father Symchych spent four months there, from September 15, 1945 to January 16, 1946 and Father Horoshko was there from September 20 to November 3, 1945 (six weeks).

The idea was initiated by the president of the Ukrainian Canadian Servicemen's Association, Bohdan Panchuk, in a letter (from Holland where he was stationed) to Father Horoshko on February 10, 1945. Panchuk asked, "Do you have intentions to visit the continent?" and then recommended that both Fathers Horoshko and Symchych go; Panchuk then asked, "Do we have your OK on this?" (LAC, UCSA

Fond, MG 28, v.119, vol. 3, file 15, doc. 5). The reply from the two London-based chaplains was positive; however, permission took another half a year. On August 2, 1945, Panchuk wrote a letter to the Principal Roman Catholic Chaplain in England, formally requesting to have the chaplains travel to the continent (*ibid.*, doc. 8). Permission was granted, and in September both chaplains went to the continent. Both travelled to the various countries where there were Canadian bases, and assisted with the repatriation of soldiers to Canada, which demanded considerable paperwork. The chaplains also witnessed the destruction resulting from the war. They also encountered hundreds of thousands of Ukrainian displaced persons in Western Europe, who were seeking permanent asylum in the West, and also encountered the issue of the forced repatriation of Eastern Ukrainians to the Soviet Union.

THE SEVEN UKRAINIAN CANADIAN CHAPLAINS

Father Semen W. Sawchuk (1895–1983)

Father Sawchuk was born in Volkivtsi, Galicia (Western Ukraine) and came to Saskatchewan with his family as a young child. He enrolled at the University of Saskatchewan, residing at the Petro Mohyla Institute in Saskatoon. When the Ukrainian Orthodox Church movement was inaugurated in 1918, he volunteered with two colleagues to study theology in Minneapolis and later to be ordained (in 1920) as a priest of the newly founded Church in Canada. Very quickly after this he became one of the leading clerics of the Church and took over the position of administrator and later chair of the Presidium³ of the Ukrainian Greek-Orthodox Church of Canada (UOCC). For close to two decades his name and the Ukrainian Orthodox Church were closely identified. For Father Sawchuk the military chaplaincy for Ukrainian Canadian military personnel was also a chance to investigate four other issues: to review the work of the Ukrainian Canadian Servicemen's Association (UCSA) in London which the Ukrainian Canadian Committee (UCC) was financially assisting; to review for the UCC the issue of the displaced persons (*skytal'tsi*); to seek possible candidates for bishops for the Ukrainian Orthodox Church in the Displaced Persons camps (DP); to learn more about some of the inter-jurisdictional strife among the Ukrainian Orthodox during WWII; and to seek out potential priests for the Ukrainian Orthodox Church in the DP camps, as well as potential professors for possible engagement in Canada (e.g., St. Andrew's College in Winnipeg was to open in the fall of 1946 and needed professors and staff). Father Sawchuk met the noted historian and political figure Dmytro Doroshenko, potential lecturer D. Martynowski of Oxford, and others.

Father Sawchuk joined the military service as a chaplain on February 16, 1942 (LAC, Personnel File—Military: Sawchuk, Samuel Wladimir), and served primarily

in Canada for approximately two and a half years. Initially, he found very low numbers of Ukrainian Canadian military personnel and many who did not identify with their church or culture (AUOCC, Fyk Fond). Father Sawchuk began by identifying for Ukrainian Canadian military personnel their religious tradition. He worked exclusively in Manitoba and Western Ontario (Winnipeg, Camp Shilo, Fort Garry, Brandon, Portage la Prairie, and Fort William), but by April-May, he began to visit Regina, Moose Jaw, Calgary, and Edmonton. Later he made regular visits throughout the Prairie Command and even ventured into British Columbia. He also devoted more time to his chaplaincy work during the summer months when he was somewhat more free from his work as the administrator of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church.

Initially, the numbers of Ukrainian Orthodox military personnel were quite low, but they increased in 1943 and were higher still in 1944. In the first half of 1944, Father Sawchuk also began to work closely with the Ukrainian Canadian Committee in Winnipeg (as a member of the executive), with the newly founded Ukrainian Canadian Servicemen's Association in London and its president, Bohdan Panchuk, especially with letter writing, contacting family members of military personnel, fulfilling various requests, and other duties. Panchuk also requested that Father Sawchuk (from Canada) assist the ethnic Ukrainian soldiers in the Polish forces that were in Great Britain. This request was carried out by Father Sawchuk through the Orthodox Bishop and General Chaplain Sava of the Polish military. For example, Bishop Sava needed prayer books (some fifty) for his soldiers and these were delivered with the assistance of Father Sawchuk in Canada and Panchuk in London (LAC, UCSA Fond, MG 28, v. 119, vol 3. file 13, docs. 3 and 5).

Father Sawchuk's trip overseas was initiated with the assistance of Panchuk and Principal Protestant Chaplain Flemington in England (communiqués of July 7 and 14, 1944 (*ibid.*, docs. 4 and 7)). Father Sawchuk left Winnipeg on July 25, 1944, and arrived in Windsor, Nova Scotia on July 28. He left for Halifax on August 4 and arrived in Liverpool on August 10. He settled into his base in Aldershot on August 11, 1944, for what he considered would be "a two month stint" (he had taken a leave of absence from his administrative position in the Ukrainian Orthodox Church and had entrusted the administration to Father Vasyl Kudryk). He visited London and the UCSA on August 12-14, 1944, and celebrated his first liturgy there on August 14, 1944 (*ibid.*, docs. 9, 10, and 11), while his second visit to and liturgy in London was on August 25-28, 1944.

Father Sawchuk began to write a series of twenty-five newspaper letters (*Lysty za more*—Letters from abroad) that were published mainly in the *Ukrainian Voice*. His first letter was dated October 25, 1944 and provided information about his early experience in England, including visits to three hospitals and a weekend visit to Manchester to meet members of the Ukrainian Club, mostly post-WWI Ukrainian Catholic émi-

grés (apparently he did not celebrate a liturgy here since there were so few Ukrainian Orthodox faithful, but he did deliver a lengthy speech to the community).

In a letter dated October 9, 1944 (*ibid.*, doc. 18) to his colleague Petro H. Woycenko at the *Ukrainian Voice*, Father Sawchuk stated that he had, in his first six weeks in England, made a complete round of all the army and air force units, visited all of the military hospitals, and was now on his way to the Canadian headquarters to determine his future, since his three-month stay was to end on October 18, 1944. Father Sawchuk stayed on for another three months, and his tasks increased. On October 31, 1944 (*ibid.*, doc. 18), Panchuk wrote from Holland that he was empowering Father Sawchuk to take on additional responsibilities in the Club, including letter writing (for example, writing to the UCC thanking them for the donated books by Doroshenko) and editing/translating (for example, the English text of newsletter no. 17 into a one-page Ukrainian version). This was in addition to his regular military work which was mostly outside London.

On November 10, 1944, Father Sawchuk, in a letter to the UCC (*ibid.*, doc. 28), stated that he and Father Horoshko had decided to create a “Cultural-Educational Course” for military personnel which would begin on November 26, 1944. The course would be held on Sunday afternoons; classes would be in Ukrainian and include subjects such as Ukrainian history (instructed by Father Sawchuk), Ukrainian geography and culture (Father Horoshko), Ukrainian literature (A. Yaremovych), rehabilitation and career orientation (P. Worobec), Ukrainian organizational life in Canada (A. Yaremovych), Canadian general matters (group discussion), and learned excursions (in and around London). This course lasted approximately six months and was very popular with the London UCSA and the military personnel on leave as well as those who were stationed close to the capital. Fathers Sawchuk and Horoshko requested that the UCC supply some textbooks and brochures, which were forwarded in due course (*ibid.*, file 13, doc. 35, 39).

Father Sawchuk left England on February 14, 1945, after a six-month stint that originally was to have been a two- to three-month visit. In a three-page report, Father Sawchuk provided the following information on his stay in England from August 11, 1944 to January 31, 1945 (AUOCC, Sawchuk Fond, box 3, file 6):

- Army soldiers visited on 8 bases - 250
- Airmen in RCAF visited at 4 stations – 97
- Divine Liturgy celebrated at UCSA – 19 with attendance of 882
- Hospital visits – 6 different hospitals – 705 wounded
- Padre hours – 11
- Interviews on family matters – 69
- Letters written for soldiers – 207
- Major cases discussed, mostly with the Red Cross – 10
- Cemeteries visited – 3 different cemeteries in England for a total of 4 visits

Father Sawchuk arrived in Halifax on February 22 and, after three days, left for Ottawa to meet the major Protestant chaplain, and finally arrived in Winnipeg on March 1, 1945. After his return to Canada, Father Sawchuk continued with his Prairie Command District 10 chaplaincy, mostly in Manitoba, Saskatchewan, Alberta, and northwestern Ontario, for over a year, and was especially involved with the decommissioning of the military personnel after V-E Day. He was discharged in Winnipeg on March 5, 1946, but remained in the Supplementary Reserve until February 14, 1955. He was the longest serving Ukrainian chaplain in military service, having served exactly forty-nine months.

Father Michael Fyk (1907-1988)

Father Michael Fyk was born in Garland, Manitoba, and studied at the Agricultural College in Winnipeg for a year and at St. John's College for two years. He also had a short stint at the Ukrainian Orthodox Seminary in Winnipeg, married, and was ordained in 1936. After a seven-year period as a parish priest in Saskatchewan (two years) and Alberta (five years), he became the second Ukrainian Orthodox chaplain to volunteer for the Canadian forces with the blessing of the Consistory of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church which had identified him in early 1942.

On February 5, 1942, in a letter from Father Sawchuk to Father Fyk (AUOCC, Symchych Fond, letter 16280), he was informed of the difficult two-year process in attaining permission for chaplains for the Ukrainian Canadian military personnel and that the government had finally relented, not only for the Ukrainian Orthodox, but also for the Ukrainian Catholics. The Department of National Defence had requested that potential chaplains be between thirty and fifty and in good health. The Consistory had identified several potential candidates, one of whom was Father Fyk. It was proposed that he be a full-time or part-time chaplain, yet the final decision rested with the government. At the same time, Father Sawchuk mentioned that there was still, in fact, a shortage of priests in the Ukrainian Orthodox Church.

Father Fyk replied on February 10, 1942 (AUOCC, Fyk Fond), and asked about the obligations of the position and whether service was to be only in Canada or overseas also. Father Sawchuk replied on February 23, 1942, informing him that of the three candidates proposed, the Department of National Defence only chose one, himself, and that the other two were put on hold until further needs were identified. Father Sawchuk also informed him that Ottawa had decided to try this out as a pilot project for six months, and upon a successful chaplain's report and a perceived need for further chaplaincy, perhaps additional positions would be added for both Churches. He also told Father Fyk that his name was being retained on the list as a potential second chaplain.

In a letter dated July 9, 1942, Father Fyk notified Father Sawchuk about his work as a parish priest with soldiers in Alberta and inquired whether there were any fur-

ther plans for a second chaplain. He also informed Father Sawchuk that some military personnel had raised the issue of a need for prayer books for the Ukrainian Orthodox military personnel and wanted to know how to change their faith registration forms from RC, P, or OD to the designation of Greek Orthodox (*ibid.*). In January 1943 Father Fyk asked Father Sawchuk whether a second chaplain designation was eminent (*ibid.*). Father Sawchuk replied on January 25, 1943 (*ibid.*), that there was no change, but that there were rumours that the Ukrainian Catholic chaplain, Father Pelech, was getting an additional chaplain. He mentioned that this was in line with the military protocol because the Ukrainian Catholic Church had more servicemen, and the Roman Catholic Head Military Chaplain in Ottawa had his “unique plans.” More importantly, he informed Father Fyk that he had written a report on the issue to Ottawa and received a diplomatic reply with two key points: for a full-time chaplain, 500 Ukrainian Orthodox military personnel were needed, especially in each base or at least in each province; for a part-time chaplain, 125 military personnel were needed, but the pay was very low (one day’s salary per week), but if there were 250 military personnel, the pay was increased to two days’ salary per week. Father Sawchuk also added that he believed that the Church should have full-time chaplains (to help offset the low parish honorariums) and that the numbers would eventually increase. He noted that in November 1942, in all of Alberta, there were only 176 Ukrainian Orthodox military personnel. Here the matter rested, and no second Ukrainian Orthodox chaplain was to be appointed.

Finally, on May 14, 1943, the Department of National Defence (LAC, Personnel Files—Fyk, Michael) and Father Sawchuk officially informed Father Fyk about his imminent appointment to the Pacific Command in Vancouver (in another source the date is March 24, 1943; AUOCC, Sawchuk Fond, Box 3, File 2)). After his medical and the short one-month training period, he moved to Vancouver to begin his chaplaincy. His work proceeded well at the bases in Vancouver, Vancouver Island, Chilliwack, Vernon, Prince George, Mountain Warfare School, and Prince Rupert. For over a year, Father Fyk ministered to and prepared them for their eventual overseas duties.

A year after his appointment, Father Fyk informed Father Sawchuk on April 22, 1944 (AUOCC, Fyk Fond), that the Pacific Command Colonel was not happy with the state of his health and that, after being referred to a surgical specialist regarding his knees, it was decided that he was unfit for duty. Father Fyk explained that he attempted to appeal this decision, but the appeal was rejected. Furthermore, in writing to Father Sawchuk on June 8, 1944, Father Fyk stated that “although he had asked for a deferment until the end of June, Ottawa rejected it, and he was now out of the military as of June 3, 1944.” (*ibid.*).

A week later, Father Sawchuk accepted the news in a letter of June 15, 1944

(*ibid.*), and stated that he had three potential candidates for this position, including Fathers Stephen Symchych, Frank Kernisky, and Toma Kowalishen. Father Kernisky turned down the offer. In this letter, Father Sawchuk also commented on a problem with the Russian Orthodox mission which was demanding its own chaplain, a problem with a so-called Bishop Urbanovych, and about his own imminent departure for London to serve for a minimum of two months.

Father Stephan P. Symchych (1912-1983)

Father Stephan Symchych was born in Dauphin, Manitoba, was orphaned, completed high school, and then studied theology in 1934-36 at the Ukrainian Orthodox Theological School in Winnipeg. Upon graduation, he married and was ordained a priest in 1936. He worked in rural parishes in Manitoba for four years and for four years in rural Alberta (Willingdon mission district). He was then asked by the Consistory of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church to volunteer for the military chaplaincy, since the second chaplain, Father Fyk, had to be replaced. He accepted the new position of chaplain in a telegram on June 15, and the Consistory confirmed this on June 18, 1944 (Archives UOCC, Symchych Fond). He passed his medical on July 28, 1944, and the formal month-long training in Brockville, Ontario. In his letter of appointment, Father Sawchuk mentioned to Father Symchych that the Russian Orthodox mission in Canada was complaining about the Ukrainian Orthodox Church not being the representative church of Orthodoxy and was demanding its own chaplaincy. In addition, the "Uniates" (Ukrainian Catholic Church) still had not sent any chaplains overseas. It was at this time that Father Sawchuk was preparing to leave for Europe. He mentioned that a fourth chaplain was being considered for the Eastern Command in the person of Father Toma Kowalishen.

Father Symchych, as of August 2, 1944 (LAC, Personnel File—Military: Symchych, Stephan Paul), was based in Vancouver and ministered to the military personnel at the various bases there. He still managed to devote some time to the local Ukrainian Orthodox parish. After a six-month stint in Vancouver, Father Symchych did go to serve in England on January 12, 1945, as the second Ukrainian Orthodox chaplain (here he met, and, after several weeks, replaced Father Sawchuk) and the third Ukrainian chaplain in Great Britain. Father Symchych inherited a well-organized Ukrainian Orthodox chaplaincy from Father Sawchuk and worked closely with his Ukrainian Catholic counterpart, Father M. Horoshko, especially in matters relating to the UCSA and its president Bohdan Panchuk. For example, Panchuk, writing from Holland, February 18, 1945 (LAC, UCSA Fond, MG 28, v 119, vol. 3, file 13, doc. 46), welcomed Father Symchych to England and enlisted him in the UCSA Club. He especially encouraged Father Symchych to provide assistance in letter-writing and editing of the bulletin, and helping the "girls in Paddington" (Helen Kozicky, Ann Crapelev,

Ann Cherniawsky—future wife of Bohdan Panchuk—and others) during his absence. This was expected of the new chaplain especially since the first two chaplains had provided such assistance. Panchuk mentioned a connection to Father Symchych, writing that his sister had visited Father Symchych in connection with the Canadian Ukrainian Youth Association when he was a parish priest in Andrew, Alberta.

Father Symchych continued Father Sawchuk's work at the base, visiting hospitals and cemeteries, celebrating liturgies, UCSA duties, and so on. On August 2, 1945, Panchuk wrote a letter (*ibid.*, doc. 48) to the Senior Protestant Chaplain requesting that Father Symchych be given permission to travel to the continent. Panchuk said that many military personnel had never seen their own chaplain; many had not been ministered to in their own faith since leaving Canada; and units with Ukrainian Canadian military personnel were fairly concentrated. He also added that Father Symchych had participated in military personnel reunions in London and now there was a need for a "get-together" on the continent. He added that Father Symchych was also needed for work on the repatriation of Ukrainian displaced persons. A month later, on September 5, 1945 (*ibid.*, doc. 48), the Senior Protestant Chaplain allowed Father Symchych to tour the continent.

Within several weeks Father Symchych was on the continent, visiting not only the bases in Holland, Belgium, France, and Germany, but also spending time in the various DP camps with sizeable Ukrainian populations such as Hanover and Heidenau (near Hamburg). Father Symchych provided a lengthy report on his work on the continent in a letter to Panchuk on December 22, 1945 (*ibid.*, doc. 51), especially his impression of the Ukrainians in several DP camps. In a letter to Father Symchych on January 2, 1946, Panchuk provided high praise for the assistance Father Symchych had provided to Father Kushnir, president of the Ukrainian Canadian Congress, who was on an official visit to survey the DP camps. Father Symchych was also informed that he and Father Horoshko would be repatriated to Canada by the end of January or early February, 1946. In addition, Panchuk thanked Father Symchych for defending the DPs from Eastern Ukraine, who the Soviets were demanding be forcibly repatriated to the USSR without taking into consideration the human right of free choice for individuals who were stateless in Europe. In Europe, Father Symchych also met and celebrated a liturgy with Bishop Polikarp Sikorsky, an émigré bishop whom the Ukrainian Orthodox Church was considering for an episcopal position in Canada.

Father Symchych returned to England on January 16, 1946 (*ibid.*, doc. 52), and spent a month there before returning to Canada on February 16, 1946. He was officially discharged two months later on April 5, 1946, in Vancouver, but continued to serve in the Supplementary Reserves until March 6, 1967.

Father Toma Kowalishen (1916–1967)

Father Kowalishen was the fourth Ukrainian Orthodox chaplain; he was chosen because of his leadership background and his availability. He was born in Rama, Saskatchewan, on April 17, 1916, and completed high school there; he then attended theological studies in Winnipeg at the Ukrainian Orthodox Seminary, 1937-40. He was married on June 15, 1940, and ordained a priest on August 7, 1940. He ministered in the Sandy Lake, Manitoba, mission district for four years and then was called up for active military chaplaincy duties.

Initially Father Kowalishen was informed by Father Sawchuk on June 1, 1944 (AUOCC, Kowalishen Fond), that he had been chosen as one of two replacements (the other being Father Symchych) for Father Fyk, who had to leave military service on May 31, 1944, due to health problems. In addition, Father Sawchuk informed him that the Russian Orthodox mission in Canada was declaring to the Department of National Defence that their bishop and Church represented all the Orthodox faithful in Canada.

Father Kowalishen accepted the position of chaplain on June 28, 1944, in a letter to the Ottawa office of the Principal Protestant Chaplain, Major Walter Stephens, in which he stated “that he was willing to co-operate with all the Protestant chaplains in His Majesty’s service” (*ibid.*). However, Father Kowalishen did not receive the Pacific Command, to which Father Symchych was appointed, but he was later appointed to the Eastern Canadian Command in Toronto to work among the increasing numbers of Ukrainian Canadian military personnel of the Ukrainian Orthodox faith.

On August 9, 1944, Father Kowalishen received formal notification from Major Stevens that he was recommended for the Eastern Canadian Command Chaplaincy pool (*ibid.*). He went soon after to Brockville, Ontario, passed his medical on August 31, and was enrolled in the four-week compulsory training program. On October 24, 1944, he began his first major tour of Eastern Canadian bases. In a letter to the Consistory of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church on November 5, 1944 (AUOCC, Symchych Fond) he stated that he was quickly learning the ropes of base camp visits. He said that he had 288 Orthodox military personnel in MD 2 (Niagara Falls) and had visited MD 1 (London) and MD 3 (Kingston), as well as Camp Borden. He also mentioned that within four weeks he might leave for England where there are many Ukrainian Orthodox military personnel, but also noted that Father Symchych was being considered for the post. He also stated that “our soldiers were behaving better than the other soldiers and that the English soldiers had many scandals whereas he had heard of none among Ukrainians.”

A month and a half later, on December 27, 1944 (AUOCC, Kowalishen Fond), Father Kowalishen informed the Consistory of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church that

the military command had decided to send Father Symchych overseas and that he (Kowalishen) might be transferred to the Pacific Command in Vancouver. He mentioned that at Camp Borden he had met 100 of “our boys who were embarking on their posting overseas.” Father Kowalishen was not transferred to the Pacific Command and remained, to the end of the war, in the Eastern Command.

Half a year later, in a communication from Father Sawchuk and the Consistory to Father Kowalishen (*ibid.*), it is mentioned that Father Pelech and the Ukrainian Catholics on the prairies were constantly copying the Ukrainian Orthodox and concluded “that really the Greek Catholics should thank us that they have chaplains because if the Greek Orthodox had not been accepted first and pioneered the Ukrainian chaplaincy service, then the Ukrainian Catholics would not have had any chaplains.” Apparently, the polemical debates between the two Churches did not stop during the war.

In his May 28, 1945, letter to the Consistory (*ibid.*), Father Kowalishen informed the Consistory about his military swing through Eastern Canada, ending in Halifax. He mentioned his meeting there with over 200 of “our boys” who participated in a parade and sang the Divine Liturgy “better than expected.” He also mentioned that “the boys” were informed in several of his talks about the services provided by the UCSA in London.

When the war ended, many of the military personnel were preparing to be demobilized and often taking leaves on the weekend. This resulted in fewer and fewer military personnel at the Sunday liturgies. In October and November, 1945, Father Kowalishen also informed Father Sawchuk (*ibid.*) that he was assisting the Ukrainian community in Toronto, through the offices of the UCC, in organizing a banquet for the returning Ukrainian Canadian military personnel, and was expecting a turnout of some fifty veterans. However, he also complained that the Ukrainian National Federation (UNF) (a constituent organization of the UCC) was not cooperating. Apparently, the UNF was not happy with an all-Ukrainian Canadian War Veterans’ Association being established and believed that it should be along individual Ukrainian organizational lines. To this end, the UNF began to organize a separate meeting in Toronto to organize their military personnel as the Ukrainian Canadian Legion. Apparently this was also repeated by the UNF in Montreal. However, this move by the UNF was not successful and, in the end, a united Ukrainian Canadian Veterans’ Association was formed under the banner of the UCC. Within a short time, there were over 200 veterans in the Toronto area, and branches sprang up in six Canadian cities. There was a similar situation in the Ukrainian Catholic Church. Apparently, Bishop Ladyka, in communicating with Father Horoshko in late 1945, also proposed a veterans’ association in Canada exclusively for the Ukrainian Canadian Catholic military personnel. Father Horoshko,

sensing the emphasis on unity of Ukrainian Canadian military personnel, especially through the important work done by the UCSA in London, advised Bishop Ladyka against this, and was a force for a united Ukrainian Canadian Veterans' Association under the auspices of the Ukrainian Canadian Committee.

In his last few months, Father Kowalishen was busy with the discharge of the military personnel and the preparation of Clearance Sheets. In a letter of November 2, 1945, to Father Sawchuk (*ibid.*), he mentioned that, in Toronto itself, there were some 500 Canadians discharged per day. In addition, he prepared letters to his Ukrainian Orthodox brother priests announcing the long-awaited arrival home of Ukrainian Orthodox veterans. In Waterford, he also did some missionary work and had a married Ukrainian Canadian, a member of the Church of England, return to the Ukrainian Orthodox Church. From January 1 to January 12, 1946, Father Kowalishen received a furlough so that he could travel to Insinger, Saskatchewan, to be with his family for the Ukrainian Christmas holidays. Upon his return to Toronto, he continued with the documentation of the discharges and met Fathers Symchych and Horoshko who returned from England in February, 1946. In a letter from Father Sawchuk to Father Kowalishen of February, 1946 (*ibid.*), he joked that both he and Father Pelech were just over fifty (actually fifty-one) and still labouring in the military as chaplains (the legal retirement age at that time was fifty).

On February 15, 1946, Father Kowalishen, in writing to Father Sawchuk (*ibid.*), thought he still had another two to three months in the military, but he was discharged as of March 9, 1946, and returned to Winnipeg. Father Kowalishen would eventually be elected chair of the Presidium of the Consistory of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church.

Father Mykhailo Pelech (1895-1962)

Father Mykhailo Pelech was born in 1895 in Horodyshe, Sokal region, Galicia (then part of the Austro-Hungarian Empire). He came to Canada in 1904, completed high school, and then became a teacher. He taught for a short time. Between 1916 and 1919, he completed theology at Laval University and was ordained in Winnipeg by Bishop Budka on July 12, 1919. He ministered in Manitoba to five parishes—Winnipeg Holy Eucharist, two years; Stuartburn, one year; Winnipeg Cathedral, one year; Beausejour, two years; and Sifton-Dauphin, ten years; and one in Saskatchewan (St. George's in Saskatoon, 1937-42)—before becoming a chaplain in 1942. While at St. George's parish in Saskatoon, he had taken an interest in the military personnel stationed in and around Saskatoon and began a cordial relationship with the District Chaplain, Major M. F. Daley (LAC, RG 26, vol. 6, file 34-P-1—Pelech, Chaplain Michael). For example, in 1941 he was invited to Camp Dundurn to meet the Ukrainian military personnel and to provide liturgical services as well as

confession. He enlisted on November 15, 1941, without informing his bishop in Winnipeg. An example of his close work with the military personnel was his receiving permission (letter of December 29, 1941) for the Ukrainian military personnel to celebrate Christmas in his parish on January 7, 1942, and then to be invited to the homes of parishioners.

On January 29, 1942, Bishop Ladyka of Winnipeg, in a letter to G. W. Simpson, promoted two potential candidates for chaplain: Father Pelech and Father John Preyma (born in 1909), and a priest in Fisher Branch, MB (UCAWA, WWII Fond 11.10.083). Several weeks later, Father Pelech was selected as the first Ukrainian Catholic chaplain in the Canadian armed forces. In a letter to him from Simpson (January 21, 1942), it was stated that the Adjutant General Chaplain B. Browne, with the agreement of the Minister of War, was going ahead with his appointment as a Ukrainian Greek Catholic chaplain for assignment later in 1942 (LAC, RG 26, vol. 6, File 34-P-1-Pelech, Rev. Michael and *ibid.*, 097). Thus, on March 10, 1942, Father Pelech was officially accepted as a chaplain, and on March 24, 1942, he passed his medical (*ibid.*). Father Pelech was then to travel to Ottawa, but delayed his departure until April 7, 1942 (telegram in *ibid.*, 113). On his return to Saskatoon, he visited Winnipeg where the *Free Press* ran a story about his appointment (*ibid.*, 114). Then he began four years of service as a chaplain in the three prairie provinces (Central Canadian Command).

Father Pelech did much to identify Ukrainian Catholic military personnel. The newspaper *Ukrain'ski visti (Ukrainian News)* published articles about him and photos of him in Camrose, Red Deer, Calgary, Edmonton (XV.34), Maple Creek, Saskatchewan (XV.41), Winnipeg (XVI.26), Prince Albert (XVI.47), Fort Garry (XVII.1), Edmonton (XVII.24), and Saskatoon (XVII.30-31). He also visited bases in Dundurn, Portage la Prairie, Camp Shilo, and Brandon. While in Saskatchewan, he served approximately 259 military personnel at seven bases (as reported in April 1943; UCAWA, WWII Fond, 11.10.159).

At the First UCC Congress in June, 1943, in Winnipeg, he co-chaired with Father Sawchuk the evening Victory Mass Rally and gave the closing remarks. He also assisted with the recommendation of Resolution 11 to have Ukrainian chaplains stationed in England and overseas.

Father Pelech was one of the oldest chaplains when he entered the service, and he was the second-longest serving Ukrainian chaplain in the Canadian military (three and a half years). He served as a priest for another decade in Ontario and Saskatchewan and was on sick leave for the last decade of his life before he died in 1962.

Father Teodosiy Dobko (1908-1953)

Father Dobko was born in Beaverdale, Saskatchewan in 1908. After completing his secondary schooling in Saskatchewan, he entered theological and Basilian monastic

studies in Mundare, Alberta, and upon completion was ordained a Basilian priest by Bishop Ladyka on October 2, 1932. He was a parish priest in Mundare (two years), Calgary (one year), Peace River (four years), Edmonton (two years), and Vancouver (1940-47), where he was also the Canadian military chaplain. On November 19, 1942, Bishop Ladyka wrote a letter to the Major Chaplain Bishop Nelligen requesting the appointment of a chaplain for British Columbia and strongly recommended Father Dobko, a thirty-four-year-old with ten years of experience as a priest (*ibid.*, 131). Three months later, on February 16, 1943, Bishop Nelligen replied that Father Dobko was acceptable because he was bi-ritual; otherwise, he would need special permission from the Department of National Defence (*ibid.*, 143). He added that he would prefer a full-time chaplain and not a part-time one. Bishop Ladyka replied that he would prefer Father Dobko be a part-time chaplain since there was a shortage of clerics in Vancouver (*ibid.*).

Subsequently, Father Dobko informed Bishop Ladyka that as of March 15, 1943, he was appointed a chaplain in the Pacific Command and requested prayer books and literature for his military personnel (*ibid.*, 144). A day later, Bishop Nelligen formally informed Bishop Ladyka about the full-time appointment of Father Dobko (*ibid.*, 145) and asked Father Ladyka about potential assistance in the chaplaincy overseas (the requirements were that the incumbent be willing to travel widely, be under forty-six, and in good health). However, nothing came of this request.

Father Dobko travelled to at least seven bases throughout the Pacific Command over the three-year period (see, for example, *Ukrain'ski visti*, XVII.25 for a photo of Father Dobko and a group of Ukrainian military personnel in British Columbia). In June, 1943, he attended the first UCC Congress and is in many photos with other clergy and delegates.

Father Dobko also continued to assist in the Ukrainian Catholic parish in Vancouver. Here he encountered some problems with the local parish priest and, after the war, he left British Columbia for Alberta. He served in the Radway parish and then, for his final five years, was the provincial superior for Canada of the Order of St. Basil the Great (OSBM). He was the only monk of the seven chaplains.

Father Michael Horoshko (1912-2002)

Information about Father Horoshko is extensive because he wrote two autobiographies (in typed form only, in Library and Archives Canada)—*Korotkii ohliad o. M. Horoshka v Kanadiis'kii Armii v Dryhii Svitovii Viini* [A short review of Father Horoshko in the Canadian Army during the Second World War, two versions, each twenty-nine pages long with sixteen pages of documents, written in 1946 and replicated, although not exactly, in 1955] and *Spomyny ukrains'koho viskovoho kapeliana v Kanads'ki Armii* [Reminiscences of a Ukrainian military chaplain in the Canadian

Army, one version only, fifteen pages long, written in May 1988; (LAC, Horoshko Fond, MG 31, F 15, vol. 2, file 5).

Father Horoshko was thirty-two when he volunteered for the Canadian military. He was born in 1912 in Drozdovychi, Sokal' region of Galicia, and graduated from the Lviv Theological Academy in 1937. Six weeks after ordination (May 30, 1937), he volunteered with five other priests to come to Canada as missionaries at the invitation of Bishop Ladyka. He arrived in Montreal on July 12, 1937. He first assisted in the multi-parish district of Hafford, Saskatchewan. In 1939, in Saskatoon, he founded the Ukrainian Catholic Youth (UCY, *Ukrains'ke Katolyts'ke Iunatstvo*)—an organization for young members of the Church, and he later became the national president. Between 1939 and 1941, he served in Prince Albert, Saskatchewan, and in northern parishes. Then, for two years, he was in Toronto where he improved his English at St. Michael's College, assisted local clergy, and continued to organize UCY branches in Ontario. He then returned to Saskatoon and continued his studies at the University of Saskatchewan, ministered locally—especially with the youth—and was a lecturer at the Markian Shashkevych Institute.

Bishop Ladyka chose Father Horoshko as the overseas chaplain. Father Horoshko accepted the position on May 31, 1944, and on June 22, 1944, he was in Regina for his medical and registration. He returned to Saskatoon and spoke at the convention of the Ukrainian Catholic Youth Association (July 22-24, 1944), and he then travelled to Brockville for the one-month officer's training school, which he completed on August 26, 1944. On July 5 and again on July 24, 1944, he was questioned by the Department of National Defence on his views on communism and whether Ukrainian Canadian military personnel were influenced by communist propaganda (*ibid.*, Horoshko Fond, MG 31, F 15, vol. 2, file 5). He answered that Ukrainians were democratically minded and that the horrors and collectivization of the 1930's was appalling to most Ukrainian Canadians. He also added that he believed that the Ukrainian Canadian soldiers were not in favour of the communist political system.

In late September, 1944, Father Horoshko was already stationed in Sydney, Nova Scotia, and from there he travelled to Halifax. Two weeks later (October 21, 1944) he was in England and at the Canadian military base in Aldershot—the Queen Victoria Barracks, Canada's army base in England during WWII. Within a week, he was in London, performing various functions, including a Sunday liturgy at the Ukrainian Canadian Servicemen's Association.

Father Horoshko spent fifteen months overseas, including six weeks on the continent. He provided a detailed listing of his activities on a weekly basis to the military officials and from time to time to the Ukrainian Canadian Servicemen's Association (*ibid.*, file 1). For example, in a report on his two-day activities of

December 5 and 6, 1944, he noted that he celebrated three liturgies, visited thirty persons, interviewed fifteen, and wrote nine letters for the servicemen. A month later, January 13-14, 1945, he reported that he celebrated one liturgy and had a parade of sixty-five personnel, had eighteen interviews and five conferences, wrote five letters, and visited thirty-five infirm military personnel (*ibid.*).

He also wrote extensively and fairly regularly to his bishop in Canada about his work in England, beginning on August 21, 1944 (UCAWA, World War II Fond, 11.10, 210). At least fifteen such letters provide excellent background information on the work of a Ukrainian Canadian Catholic chaplain. On January 14, 1945, he provided a lengthy report about the January 5-7, 1945, Christmas celebrations in London, wrote about the newly-elected UCSA executive (he was proud that three of the seven were Ukrainian Canadian Catholics), and complained that Ukrainian Orthodox parishes in Canada had sent fourteen parcels during the past two weeks and only one was sent by Ukrainian Catholics. He asked that something be done about this in the Ukrainian Catholic parishes in Canada (*ibid.*, 218-219). On January 17, 1945, he complained that the faithful and organizations of the Ukrainian Orthodox parishes were writing many letters to the military personnel and that the Ukrainian Catholics had none (*ibid.*, 220-221). Two days later he complained that no priests were writing to him, that he had very good and diplomatic relations with Chaplain Sawchuk, and again requested that notifications about aid for the military personnel (letters, parcels, cigarettes) be placed in Ukrainian Canadian newspapers with his address in London (*ibid.*, 222-223).

A month later, Father Horoshko informed Bishop Ladyka that Father Sawchuk had finally left Europe and “that this would allow him to take more care of business at the UCSA Club,” that he was able to contact Father Peridon in Brussels on the plight of the DPs (he forwarded some pictures for the Ukrainian newspapers), requested more prayer books and 200 prayer beads, and asked for more cooperation and assistance from the UCY (*ibid.*, 226-227). On March 24, 1945, Father Horoshko wrote (*ibid.*, 228-229) that he had traveled to many of the bases in England, had met 2,150 Ukrainian Canadian military personnel in the three forces, and had attended a retreat given by the Franciscans (March 20-23, 1945), where he was well received and gave a talk about the fate of the Ukrainian Catholic Church under the Soviets. On UCSA work, he added that he had a liturgy every second Sunday (alternating with the Orthodox chaplain) and provided a lesson on Taras Shevchenko during the weekly Padre’s Hour. He complimented the excellent work done by Helen Kozickyi, secretary of the UCSA and a Ukrainian Catholic. Finally, Father Horoshko complained “that Panchuk was becoming too much of a hero” but, apparently, over some minor issue, had decided to diplomatically resign. However, the resignation was not accepted by the Executive, so he returned to the presidency. Father Horoshko sup-

ported the anti-Panchuk faction at the UCSA; tensions between the two lasted for close to a year (Panchuk 1983, 73).

Two months later, Father Horoshko wrote two letters to Bishop Ladyka. In the first, on June 13, 1945, he mentioned that he might be going to the continent with the military and that he had been informed that there were some 2,500 DPs in the camp in Regensburg, including fifty Ukrainian Catholic priests. He also ordered 100 copies of a book by James F. Coughlin entitled *Ukrainians, Their Rite, History and Religious Destiny* (1945) that were needed for courses, and informed his bishop that Helen Kozickyi would be returning to Canada soon, and that she would deliver a small package to the chancellery in Winnipeg. In the second letter (June 29, 1945), Father Horoshko again mentioned the very good work done by Kozickyi, ordered 100 copies of Father Panteleimon Bozyk's *Korotka istoriia Ukrainy* (Short History of Ukraine) for his classes, mentioned his Ukrainian Catholic retreat preparations (planned for the end of July, 1945), and stated that he was not mixing any more into Ukrainian politics at the UCSA since he was a Greek Catholic chaplain and clergyman (UCAWA, WWII Fond, 11.10, 237-238). It seems that again there were tensions in the leadership of the London club.

Travel to the continent was something that Father Horoshko had for some time been preparing himself for, but it was only eleven months after his arrival that he obtained official permission to travel abroad (September 20, 1945). In the short span of six weeks, he travelled some 4000 kms. and visited four countries—Holland, Belgium, Germany, and France. Here he ministered to the Ukrainian Canadian military personnel on the numerous bases and visited cemeteries. In a report (LAC, Horoshko Font, MG 31, F15, vol. 2, file 2) he provided the following statistics for the period September 20-October 30, 1945:

| | |
|------------------------|---|
| September 22-October 1 | Visit to the Fourth Canadian Armoured Division— 9 units -93 interviews, 7 letters, and 3 marriage discussions |
| October 2-8 | Visit to the Eighth Canadian General Hospital -67 sick servicemen visited, 46 interviews, and 6 letters |
| October 9-30 | Visit to 25 military units -367 Ukrainian Canadian soldiers visited - 318 were Ukrainian Catholics of whom 256 attended, 4 liturgies, 16 letters were written, and 2 marriage discussions were held |

Father Horoshko also witnessed the flood of DPs into Western Europe, many from his native Galicia, including clergy (see Father Horoshko's letters in UCAWA, WWII Fond, 11.10.257-263). Many of the DPs told him about the difficult fate of the

Ukrainian Catholic Church at the hands of the Bolsheviks and the early plans of the Initiative Group to join the Russian Orthodox Church and destroy the Ukrainian Catholic Church, which would lead eventually to the artificial Lviv Union Council of 1946. When Father Horoshko visited the DP camp in Bergdorf, he finally learned about the death of his parents with whom he had lost contact five years earlier. He stated that he cried and prayed for an hour when he was informed at one of the DP barracks about their demise (LAC, Horoshko Fond, MG 31, F15, vol. 2, file 6).

On November 3, 1945, Father Horoshko returned to England (see his report on the continent in UCAWA, Horoshko Fond, doc. 84) and spent the last three months there, preparing the military personnel for their return to Canada after the war, gathering information about the DP camps and Ukrainian refugees, and gathering data on the plight of the Ukrainian Catholic Church in Ukraine.

In November, 1945, Father Horoshko became involved in a problem that included the UCSA, the UCC, the Brotherhood of Ukrainian Catholics (BUK) and its newspaper on the issue of providing assistance to the DPs. In a letter to Bishop Ladyka, November 7, 1945, Father Horoshko provided a pastoral overview of his work on the continent (UCAWA, WWII, Fond 11.10.259) However, he attacked Father Semchuk, editor of the BUK newspaper *Buduchnist' natsii* (The future of the nation), for criticizing the UCC (see the article "UCC Turned Down Aid for Ukrainians in Belgium and Paris," in *Buduchnist' natsii*, XIII, 21) and stated "that he [Horoshko] was attacked and put in a bad light." Two days later, on November 9, 1945, Father Horoshko, writing to Father Semchuk and copying Bishop Ladyka (UCAWA, WWII Fond, 11.10.261-262), again raised the issue of Father Semchuk's editorial and the fact that he was mentioned as "a one-man Aid Agency." He defended himself by stating that he consistently and always worked together with the UCSA in its benevolent work, especially through its newly-created successor organization, the Central Ukrainian Relief Bureau (CURB). Nonetheless, there are at least three instances where Father Horoshko used his own personal military address for aid or promoted the addresses of the Brussels and Paris communities instead of the CURB office in London (see, for example, *Buduchnist' natsii*, XIII, 17 and the article *Pomozhit' ukrains'kym skytal'tsiam* [Help the Ukrainian displaced persons]).

A week later, in still another letter (*ibid.*, 257-258), Father Horoshko added that Father Semchuk should stop attacking the UCC because "the leftist communists in Canada will use this information to their advantage." He also asked how Father Kushnir was reacting to this editorial since he was the long-time head of the Brotherhood of Ukrainian Catholics and the present president of the Ukrainian Canadian Committee.

Father Horoshko also wrote to the editor of *Buduchnist' natsii* in Yorkton on November 11, 1945 (*ibid.*, 263), that he never wrote a "memorandum or open letter

to the UCC” (dated October 14, 1945), of which he had been accused, and that this was done against him. The letter apparently encouraged aid for the DPs to be delivered directly to agencies in Brussels and Paris and not through London and CURB, as was suggested by the UCC and the UCSA. He added that he and Panchuk did not always agree on all matters but, nevertheless, had cordial relations. He then raised three arguments in defence of himself and why he could not have written the “open letter”: he always had (and here he refers to the UCC Congress of June 1943 and his statements in the minutes) and now still considers the UCC to be “the representative body of all Ukrainians in Canada”; he has total confidences in the president of the UCC—Father Kushnir; and, as a Ukrainian Canadian chaplain, he had always supported, encouraged, and “gave faithful service and care” for the financial support granted to the UCSA by the UCC in its annual budget.

Bishop Ladyka had the final word. In a letter of November 28, 1945, to Father Horoshko (*ibid.*, 260-261), he softened and deflated the situation by accepting Father Horoshko’s defence and also informing him that the editorial in *Buduchnist’ natsii* was not written by Father Semchuk but by someone else. However, it seems, from the tone of the letter, that Father Horoshko’s stay in England would soon be ending. Bishop Ladyka still needed Father Horoshko to do some “Ukrainian Catholic work” on the fate of the Church in Ukraine and requested that he visit Rome, especially to see Bishop Buchko, if he could get permission. He also wanted Father Horoshko to pass on information about the Initiative Group in Lviv that, due to Soviet politics and under the influence of the secret police, wanted to destroy the Greek Catholic Church in Western Ukraine. He also informed Father Horoshko that Father Kushnir, president of the UCC, had finally received his passport and was coming to Europe in January, 1946. With regard to the DPs, Bishop Ladyka stated that some of his parishes were doing excellent work (one parish had collected 500 kgs. of clothing), that parishes were doing a letter-writing campaign to Ottawa in support of the refugees, and that he personally wanted to bring to Canada several dozen intellectuals from the DP camps.

The last three months of Father Horoshko’s stay in Europe involved planning for the future, especially for the period when his chaplaincy work would be over. What Father Horoshko saw in the DP camps influenced his thinking about his future. He wrote to both Bishop Ladyka in Winnipeg and to Bishop Constantine Bohachevsky in the USA about what he called the *pekucha sprava ukrains’kykh sky-tal’tsiv* [the pressing issue of the Ukrainian DPs] (LAC, Horoshko Fond, MG 31, F15, vol. 2, file 6). In addition, on November 28, 1945, he appealed to CURB to write to the Canadian and American Ukrainian Catholic bishops to issue an Epistle about the difficult fate of the DPs (UCAWA, Horoshko Fond, doc. 85). In still another letter to Bishop Ladyka on December 16, 1945, he mentioned his desire to meet the Roman

Catholic bishops of Manchester and London and the Senior Roman Catholic Chaplain to discuss the issue of the DPs in Western Europe (*ibid.*, doc. 88). He thus became an unofficial emissary for the cause of the DPs during much of his last months as a chaplain in England. Also, in January 1946, when Father Kushnir came to England on his exploratory tour of Europe and the DP camps, Father Horoshko offered him much assistance in London and other parts of England, but was not given permission to travel to the continent.

Having been called to be a missionary in Canada in 1937, Father Horoshko now wanted to become one in Europe to assist the DPs, and thus he started to build a case for himself. However, he had to do this through official hierarchical channels. He wrote to Bishop Ladyka, offering to stay in Europe and work with the DPs after his discharge. He even suggested, somewhat boldly, to his bishop, that the bishop initiate this process, and explained that a Ukrainian Catholic parish in Manchester and one in London could be established so that the Ukrainian Catholic Church would have a representative closer to the DPs to assist with the eventual repatriation of Ukrainian refugees to Canada and the USA. He even extended his own Canadian military chaplaincy registration for an additional two years in late 1945, so that he would be provided for by his military stipend.

However, this ended abruptly when Father Horoshko was informed in January, 1946, by the Head Military Roman Catholic Chaplain that his Bishop in Canada had asked that he return to Canada, where there was a need for additional clergy to serve the large and expanding Ukrainian Catholic Church. This he accepted, but with some sorrow.

Father Horoshko traveled to Liverpool, caught the ship *Mauritania* on January 17, 1946, and was in Halifax and then in Montreal by January 27. However, instead of travelling directly to Winnipeg, Father Horoshko decided to take a side trip to the USA and visited New York, Philadelphia, and Stamford, where he met with Ukrainian Church leaders (for example, Bishop Constantine Bohachevskiy, February 1-3, 1946) and secular organizations and their leaders (e.g., the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America, January 31, 1946—the American counterpart of the UCC—and the American Catholic Welfare Society). He presented several speeches about the plight of the Ukrainian DPs and was very well received as an eyewitness to the events of the last year.

In mid-February, 1946, he returned to Montreal and then travelled to Winnipeg to report and consult with Bishop Ladyka. He spent several days providing personal information on the war, the DPs, and the fate of his Church. In his memoirs, Father Horoshko stated that Bishop Ladyka on February 14, 1946, asked him to promote the creation of a Ukrainian Catholic Veterans Association in Canada, since he knew so many of the veterans. However, Father Horoshko turned this offer down, stating,

“Bishop, I would not agree to do so.... [W]hen on the other side of the Atlantic, all of us Ukrainians were in one organization [UCSA], why, in Canada, cannot we also belong to one organization of veterans. However we must do everything possible so that in this unified organization, *nashi veterany* [our veterans] must play an important role within it’s leadership!” (LAC, Horoshko Fond, MG 31, F 15, vol. 2, file 6.) Bishop Ladyka was disappointed by this quick response, but knew that Father Horoshko was greatly influenced by his work in Europe and especially within the UCSA, which had also created a successor organization—the Ukrainian Canadian Veterans Association (UCVA), already initiated as of June 14, 1945, in Winnipeg and eventually a component organization of the UCC.

Father Horoshko made his way to Calgary on February 22, 1946, and on March 3, was officially demobilized. He returned to secular status and continued to be a missionary lay priest and was soon appointed to the Sudbury Ukrainian Catholic parish, arriving there on March 25, 1946, for his first liturgy (UCAWA, Horoshko Fond, doc. 102). For another four decades, Father Horoshko served parishes in Canada and the USA and then assisted well into his later years. Father Horoshko died in 2002 at the age of 90 and was the last chaplain to die.

CONCLUSION

The work of the seven chaplains in Canada, in England, and on the continent was a genuine success story. There are at least five major outcomes from this short episode in Ukrainian Canadian history.

Strengthening bonds among Ukrainian Canadians

All the chaplains developed strong relationships with their military personnel and worked with them both in Canada and in Europe. Ukrainian Canadian military personnel from the various provinces bonded and became a fraternal family. These military personnel would retain the bonds in Canada after the war (formally in the Ukrainian Canadian Veterans’ Association) and in the Ukrainian Canadian Committee and its constituent organizations. In his autobiography, Father Horoshko mentions that he personally met approximately 5,000 Ukrainian Canadian military and that the UCSA serviced a similar number of military personnel during its history (LAC, Horoshko Fond, MG 31, F 15, vol. 2, file 5-8).

Leadership development

The generation of military personnel that the chaplains mentored and served spiritually, personally and through the efforts of the UCSA (and the work of Bohdan Panchuk and the executive) helped to develop the next generation of leaders of the

Ukrainian Canadian community, with many leaders in the 1940s through the 1960s coming from the veterans of WWII.

Enhancement of the religious life of the two Ukrainian Churches

Due to the committed work of the chaplains with military personnel, the returnees would enhance the religious life of Ukrainians in Canada. In Canada they would help to build new churches and to establish new parishes. The generally cordial relations among the chaplains may also have resulted in a closer relationship between the two Churches.

Early witnesses to the plight of the DPs

The chaplains and many of the military were witnesses to the Ukrainian refugee question in Western Europe. They would work towards Canada's acceptance of the "third wave" of Ukrainian immigrants. They also witnessed the repatriation of Ukrainians from Eastern Ukraine to the Soviet Union.

Early witnesses to the fate of the Ukrainian Catholic and Ukrainian Orthodox Churches in Ukraine

The chaplains and the Ukrainian Canadian military provided much information, especially from the refugees and DPs, about Soviet attacks against ecclesiastical institutions in Ukraine, especially for the period 1944-1946. Many of the leaders of the two Churches in Ukraine found new homes in the diaspora, including Canada.

Some of the military wrote about the many-faceted work of the chaplains. For example, in a letter to Father Sawchuk in 1945, a mother, Evdokia Burianyuk, wrote that two of her three sons (all members of SUMK (Canadian Ukrainian Youth Association)) in the military, Vasyl and Yaroslaw, had written "that Father Sawchuk was like a true father [*tak yak diisnyi ridnyi bat'ko*]; it was rare to meet someone so committed to the war effort and to our Ukrainian Canadian servicemen!!" (LAC, UCSA Fond, MG 28, v 119, vol. 3, file 13, doc. 37.)

In his book, entitled *Z voiat'skykh spomuniv* (From the military reminiscences of a veteran), Mykhailo Sulymka provides "a very high evaluation of the great leader, chaplain and pastor during WWII in the European field of duty named Chaplain Father Michael Horoshko" (LAC, Horoshko Fond, MG 31, F 15, vol. 2, file 8).

In 1957 Father Sawchuk, on a visit to Flin Flon, Manitoba, met a Ukrainian Canadian veteran who related to him that when he entered the military, he was apathetic to all religions. Chaplain Sawchuk had found him because of his surname and regularly visited him in a hospital in England where he was recuperating from his wounds. The veteran then told Sawchuk that when he arrived back in Canada, his first task was to join a Ukrainian Church. This story was published in the *Winnipeg*

Tribune (May 9, 1957) under the title “Ex-Chaplain Heads Church.” The writer concluded that “this is what Dr. S. W. Sawchuk considered his highest reward for being a chaplain in the Canadian forces overseas” (May 9, 1957), doing the pastoral and spiritual work of WWII, with “a Ukrainian faith and culture twist [sic].”

NOTES

1. The Ukrainian Greek-Orthodox Church of Canada (as it was known since 1919) officially became the Ukrainian Orthodox Church of Canada in 1980. The Greek Catholic Ruthenian Church became the Ruthenian Greek Catholic Church in 1913, and in 1951, the Ukrainian Catholic Church of Canada. The churches will henceforth be referred to respectively as the Ukrainian Orthodox Church and the Ukrainian Catholic Church.

2. The Ukrainian Canadian Committee (now the Ukrainian Canadian Congress) was formed in 1941 to serve as an umbrella group for the major Ukrainian Canadian organizations, but excluding the communist-oriented ones.

3. The reference is to Father Sawchuk’s position as chair of the Presidium of the Consistory of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church [of Canada], i.e., the chief administrator of the Church.

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MARY K. KIRTZ

Murder, Mayhem, and Melodrama: Mining for Material in a Painful Pioneer Past

Shandi Mitchell. *Under This Unbroken Sky*. Toronto: Viking Press, 2009. 320 pp. \$32.00 hc; \$20.00 sc; \$12.99 ePub.

Barbara Sapergia. *Blood and Salt*. Richmond, BC: Coteau Books, 2012. 423 pp. \$21.95 sc.

When the propagation of Canadian multiculturalism first took off in the 1970s, most Canadians of Ukrainian descent appeared reluctant to look at the casually cruel treatment often experienced by their pioneering forebears. While the public celebrated various Ukrainian customs that had entered the mainstream of Canadian culture, few writers tackled the hard truths that had led to those celebrations. Some Anglo-Canadian writers (most notably Sinclair Ross in *As For Me and My House* and Margaret Laurence in *A Jest of God*) had alluded to the scorn with which these “bohunks” were held, but only George Ryga, starting in the 1960s, wrote frankly and at length about the prejudice and hardships Ukrainian immigrants encountered after settling on the prairies. Now, several decades later, writers have begun to unearth some of the uglier aspects of the Ukrainian Canadians’ entry into Canadian life, and the two novels discussed here hang their plots on the scaffold of this unhappy history.

Barbara Sapergia begins her wide-ranging saga before World War One and ends it in 1960, providing a panoramic view of the experiences of two families and a number of their friends, both in Ukraine and across the Canadian West. Shandi Mitchell takes the opposite approach, with the main action taking place in one setting during one fateful year, 1938. Here, the focus is entirely on a single family: a brother and sister, their spouses and children. The differences in space and time highlight a sharp difference in tone, with the latter novel emitting an atmosphere of harsh and unrelieved intensity and the former, a more equable discursiveness as it meanders through the years.

In *Under This Unbroken Sky*, Mitchell forecasts her plot on the first page, describing a photograph taken in 1933 of an unnamed family: husband, wife, three girls, one boy, and a baby (presumably their children) in front of a farmhouse. Telegraphing their dire poverty, she notes that, although dressed in summer clothes, the four older ones are standing in four inches of snow. “Within three years this farm will be foreclosed. Two years later, one will die. Two others, of whom there is no photograph, will be murdered” (3). The statement deftly pulls the reader into a story primarily about betrayal, whether by one’s own character flaws, by one’s family, by the elements, by an established group that sees the immigrants as “not quite white,” or by a set of bureaucratic procedures that adhere strictly to the letter of the law, however unjust the outcome.

The novel is written in the unrelenting naturalist mode of Emile Zola, particularly *Germinal*, his novel about French miners who spiral ever downward no matter how hard they try to claw their way towards a place of dignity and reward. Like them, Theodor Mikolayenko strives to create a decent life for his family, only to be thwarted time and again by prejudice, by greed, by weather, by the incomprehensible bureaucracy that gives him land twice, only to take it away both times. Taking place in the harsh 1930s, the story of the Mikolayenko family represents the second wave of Ukrainian immigration to Canada, specifically those escaping the Stalinist-induced starvation in Soviet-controlled eastern Ukraine.

The awful irony, of course, is that they come to the Prairies only to experience similar conditions. Each time they manage to emerge from a particular calamity, they are felled by another, until they arrive at the very tragic denouement when all seems lost. In this final section, however, one does see a glimmer of hope as Maria Mikolayenko gathers her brood one more time to light out for yet further territory, carrying a hidden packet of seeds to sow in yet another new parcel of land. As a symbol of rebirth, the seed again recalls the main theme of *Germinal*: as in that earlier novel, one senses that the destruction of these people’s hope carries, deep within the soil, its own redemption, germinating in its own time. From the very fact that Ukrainian immigrants did survive under such—historically accurate—conditions, a reader may also assume that success will come for at least some of the children in that photograph, if not for their parents. That is indeed the reader’s hope, given the depths to which this family descends.

Blood and Salt, Barbara Sapergia’s novel, deals with the first wave of Ukrainian immigration to the Prairies. It interweaves the tales of two families from the same Ukrainian village who arrive in Saskatchewan just before the outbreak of World War One. Beginning *in media res*, the novel alternates between episodes set in Ukraine and in various Canadian locales, as Sapergia fills in the history of both Ukraine and its people for the reader. The device she uses to recount this history is a clever one.

The main protagonist, Taras Kalyna, is interred in a “work camp” because he lived in the part of Ukraine under Austro-Hungarian rule; having arrived on an Austrian passport, he is declared an “enemy alien” after war breaks out. When the book opens, Taras is on a train bound for the Canadian Rockies where the camp prisoners (there is no other word for this) are building a road to Lake Louise and its grand hotel, a picturesque contrast to the scruffy woods and rough quarters of the men building it.

Sapergia’s effort to make the camp episodes both interesting and memorable is largely successful, even if the group around Taras reminds one of the kinds of platoons seen in war movies, with each demographic represented by one of the characters. This motley crew of fellow inmates keeps up morale by telling one another stories about their differing backgrounds. For those unfamiliar with the ways in which Ukrainians, at that point a people without a nation, remained ethnically intact even as they were divided among two empires (Austria-Hungary, Russia) and a neighboring nation (Poland), the men’s stories provide a fairly good background. Sapergia heightens the realism of this part of the novel by using actual photographs taken at a Banff internment camp and incorporating their content into the story. As one looks at the pictures, one cannot help pondering the fact that over eight thousand men of Ukrainian origin—variously called Ruthenians, Bukovinians, and the ubiquitous “bohunks”—were incarcerated by the Canadian government for over three years, trading their subjugation under European rulers for another under their North American compatriots. This infamous episode in Canadian history, repeated during World War Two when Japanese Canadians were similarly interred, is generally glossed over in present-day Canada.

Unfortunately, Sapergia undercuts the realism of these camp scenes by framing them within a romance about star-crossed lovers. That tale plays itself out in mostly urban settings like Edmonton, showing the kinds of obstacles facing Ukrainians as they slowly became integrated into the larger Canadian society. At its heart, we have a plucky heroine who overcomes an overbearing father, a self-absorbed millionaire, his indulgent mother, bullying classmates, and a system that won’t hire her because of her origins, rather than consider her skills. This melodramatic plotline undercuts the authenticity of the sections dealing with camp life and its aftermath, culminating in a final reunion of the principle characters about a decade after the end of the war. The novel concludes with an epilogue summarizing the next several decades in the characters’ lives. Rather than allowing readers to speculate on what the future holds, as Mitchell did, Sapergia’s careful knotting together of all the disparate threads suggests an over-determined insistence on leaving readers with only one interpretation to draw upon. In what might seem like a postmodern turn, the book ends with the presentation of a book written by one of the characters. The book appears to be a memoir that starts with exactly the same sentence beginning the very novel we

have been reading, an effort to return the story to a realistic, historically-based framework. In this symbolic closing of the circle, however, art imitates art rather than life.

Perhaps the greatest weakness in both novels is most characters' lack of three-dimensionality. Stock characters abound, lending a cartoonish quality to the historical events being portrayed. Determined to bring this history to light, the authors have allowed the didactic imperative underlying both novels to sacrifice character development in the service of the plot and theme. This is unfortunate since the point both authors make about the obstacles put in the way of the first and second waves of Ukrainian immigrants to Canada is both valid and powerful. Mitchell and Sapergia are several generations removed from the pioneers and have only tenuous ties to the ethnic group about which they have written so sympathetically. That they have excavated the traumatic past in order to bring some redress to those afflicted by past injustices is reason enough for these novels to have been published.

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The Disappearing Sickness: The Representation of Ukrainians and Ukraine in Fiction from Canada, the United States, and Ukraine

Janice Kulyk Keefer. *The Green Library*. Toronto: HarperCollins, 1996. 272 pp. \$26.00 sc.

Irene Zabytko. *The Sky Unwashed*. Chapel Hill: Algonquin Books, 2000. 262 pp. \$22.95 sc.

Askold Melnyczuk. *Ambassador of the Dead*. Washington: Counterpoint Press, 2001. 256 pp. \$37.95 hc.

Janice Kulyk Keefer and Solomea Pavlychko. *Two Lands, New Visions: Stories from Canada and Ukraine*. Ed. Marco Carynnyk. Trans. Marta Horban. Regina: Coteau Books, 1998. 312 pp. \$15.95 sc.

Early in his novel *Ambassador of the Dead*, Askold Melnyczuk describes a bizarre disease called the “disappearing sickness” in which one’s “skin would begin turning transparent until it seemed to have evaporated, leaving only a pulsing heap of vessels, muscles, and burgundy organs” (42). Only screaming keeps the ill person from disappearing altogether. The doctor explains that this is the organism’s way of adapting to the world and that, eventually, the disease cures itself. One day, Melnyczuk tells us, the patient’s “screams turned into words” (43) and he was healed. To one degree or another, all of the books under review here portray versions of the disappearing sickness, a metaphorical representation of the plight of Ukraine and its people throughout much of its history.

Problems with its sense of national identity began early for Ukraine: tracing its emergence as a nation to Rus’ and its ancient capital city, Kyiv. Ukraine kept the location and the city, but lost the name to the soon dominant Russians, who trace their ancestry to the same source and began to view the Ukrainians left behind (“on the border’s edge,” as the name “Ukraine” suggests) as less important versions of themselves. Continuously divided among various warring conquerors throughout the

early modern era, Ukraine, as a country and as a people, has been constantly submerged within these larger imperial identities. Poland, Russia, and the Austro-Hungarian Empire each held significant portions of this land, and in the twentieth century, the fluidity of the borders in this region was particularly dizzying. A person born before World War One in what is now Lviv, Ukraine, for example, would have been an Austro-Hungarian citizen born in Lemberg with German serving as the language of the elite; between the World Wars, that person would have been a Polish citizen born in the city of Lwów and educated in Polish; during World War Two, the birth would have once again taken place in Lemberg, now part of the Greater German Reich; and from 1945-1990, the person would have been a citizen of the Russian-controlled Soviet Ukraine, the birth town called Lvov, and the favored language would have been Russian. Only in the final decade of the twentieth century, with the exception of a few years after the first World War, has Ukraine been recognized as a truly independent nation, and even that was hard to come by, with foreign leaders like the first President Bush urging Ukrainians not to break away from their “brothers” to the north.

The Ukrainians of the diaspora have had similar problems of identity in their adopted new homelands, particularly in North America. Like most white ethnic groups in the United States, Ukrainians became “assimilated” into the great melting pot of whiteness. In the United States, the term “multicultural” tends to refer to what in Canada were called “visible minorities,” and are often limited to explorations of color rather than of national origin. And national origin was particularly problematic for Ukrainians in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Often identified by the provinces from which they came, rather than by their ethnic nationality, these immigrants to the new world were known, not as Ukrainians, but as Galicians, Bukovinians, Ruthenians, and, perhaps most of all, as “bohunks,” a derogatory term suggesting a kind of national mongrelization.¹ So little were they recognized as a distinct group that Ukrainian immigrants to Canada who were born in the Austro-Hungarian Empire were herded into camps as “enemy aliens” by the country that had courted them so assiduously before World War One. Even that particular courtship had ended up giving them the contemptuous label of “Sifton’s Sheepskins,” named after the government official who had brought whole villages from Ukraine to populate and colonize the Canadian prairies. Perhaps one of the greatest ironies of Ukrainian history resides in the fact that, when Ukraine gained its most recent independence in the 1990s, it sought out the descendents of these immigrants to restore Ukraine’s culture to itself. The Soviet regime had worked so hard to destroy the cultural artifacts clearly differentiating Ukrainians from Russians that whole regions of Ukraine retained little experience of their distinct heritage. In Canada, however, Ukrainian culture had survived and, once the Multiculturalism

Act went into effect, even flourished, gaining for itself some recognition at last as a distinct ethnic contributor to the Canadian mosaic.

Yet even now, national sovereignty remains tenuous, given the split in Ukraine itself between the more thoroughly “Russified” eastern half and the more “Westernized” western portion. The former had been in the Russian orbit since before the Russian Revolution and remains a relative stronghold of Russian sympathies, while the latter prefers its memories of being part of a more modern Europe, even if those memories include being subordinated within the Austro-Hungarian Empire. Continued economic dependence on Russia creates the fear of assimilation from without and corruption at home threatens implosion from within. At least one man elected president learned Ukrainian as an adult, having been raised a Russian speaker. What does it mean to be Ukrainian or to be of Ukrainian descent in a region whose sense of itself remains so tenuous?

Reading these books together reveals considerable differences in theme and narrative approaches between Ukrainians writing in Ukraine and those who view the newly emerging nation and their own ties to it from the faraway shores of the North American continent. Yet all seem to have this in common: a belief that unless Ukraine finds the words that will replace its screams of national agony, the country remains in danger of disappearing, leaving nothing behind but a pulsing heap of cultural artifacts that, without the protection of national boundaries, have little hope of surviving on their own. Each of the writers seems to be hoping that these written words will stifle the screams and help a wounded nation to heal.

Published in 1996, *The Green Library* is perhaps the most didactic in its approach to the problem of giving Ukraine a voice. Written during the first, heady years of Ukraine’s independence, the book purports to introduce those in the Canadian diaspora to that country’s immediate past and present. As such, it also exemplifies the political agenda of Canada’s multicultural policy, having been nominated for the Governor-General’s Award, as have many contemporary nominees, primarily for its depiction of ethnic recuperation, rather than for literary excellence. Its fictional construct is often workmanlike at best, all too readily revealing the scaffolding on which its characters hang. Tied tightly to the story’s underlying purpose, the characters themselves often appear merely to represent particular positions, rather than to occupy a fully realized fictional world.

The novel depicts the protagonist’s discovery of her, hitherto unknown, Ukrainian paternity. Raised as the daughter of the Chown family, the epitome of “WASPishness,” the teenage Eva finds herself disconcertingly drawn to the son of the household maid in whom her mother takes an uncommon interest. The adult Eva eventually discovers that her biological father was, in fact, a displaced person of Ukrainian origin and, thus, she begins a search for her roots, a search that takes her

back to Ukraine and to Alex, her teenage crush. She not only finds Alex, but she also discovers that her paternal grandmother was a gifted Ukrainian poet and resistance fighter; her father, too, was an anti-communist freedom fighter before coming to Canada as a World War Two refugee. Meanwhile, the Jewish man with whom she had been living back in Canada, upon finding out that Eva is half-Ukrainian, abruptly leaves her because he cannot live with someone who comes from a country whose citizens were so often connected to the Holocaust. Alex's sister, who had remained in Canada, now uses the English equivalent of her family name, discarding the ethnic "Moroz" for "Frost." (The coldness she displays also suggests an allegorical turn to the name, implying that cutting herself off from her authentic roots has deadened her.) Although Eva and Alex are drawn to each other, he cannot abandon his estranged wife and daughter, ill from the effects of the Chernobyl disaster. No matter what the future holds, however, the two have clearly formed a lasting bond with each other. Eva returns to Canada to find her former Jewish lover happily involved with a more suitable, Jewish partner, exonerating her of any guilt she might have harbored about their relationship.

These narrative events are used by Kulyk Keefer to make several points about Ukraine and Ukrainians, and she is to be commended for her effort to raise awareness of Ukraine as something more than a land of wheat-harvesting peasants. It is not widely known in the larger world that Ukraine has a strong literary heritage forged in the face of determined political opposition to it and often created out of the blood and tears of writers like Taras Shevchenko, imprisoned for writing in his mother tongue. Eva's paternal inheritance is a deeply intellectual one, with her grandmother in particular achieving a voice denied her during her lifetime. Yet the almost singular focus on the high intellectual achievement of the various Ukrainian characters, especially that of Eva's immediate ancestors but also including the icy Dr. Frost, gives the appearance that there is a certain amount of shame attached to Ukrainians being primarily caretakers of Europe's breadbasket. The effort to redress the balance only tips it in an equally erroneous direction. Like every country, Ukraine has its intelligentsia and its peasants. In Kulyk Keefer's world, the latter are virtually non-existent.

This overemphasis on intellectual characters is related to other elements of Kulyk Keefer's novel that one finds troubling. The effort to deal with the question of Ukrainian complicity in the Holocaust is handled rather clumsily: her lover's rejection of Eva simply because she is half-Ukrainian (and therefore complicit in the murder of Jews) is both unconvincing and duplicitous in its—perhaps subconscious—shift of blame to the Jew for his lack of understanding and forgiveness. Having Eva be part "WASP" also suggests that Ukrainians need the imprimatur of the ruling class in order to gain legitimacy within Canada. In all of this, there is a whiff of hierarchical snobbery that undermines Kulyk Keefer's effort to show the

important connections that remain between Ukraine and those who have long since left its borders. As history, this fiction is too fanciful; as fiction, its simple solutions to complex problems fail to create a convincing world.

The world created by Irene Zabytko in *The Sky Unwashed* is all too frighteningly real, especially to Americans suddenly caught up in terrorist scares. It also presents a reverse mirror image to Keefer's world, as it is populated almost entirely by uneducated peasants living in a village near the nuclear plant at Chernobyl (Chornobyl' in Ukrainian, meaning "wormwood"). The title comes from a poem by Taras Shevchenko, which serves as a frontispiece to the novel along with a passage from the Book of Revelation describing a star called Wormwood falling from the heavens, causing men to die in great numbers. The story is simple: it describes the complete devastation of the land and people who are within the contaminated radius of the plant explosion, focusing particularly on the disintegration of one woman's family. The narrative is fleshed out with details describing the substandard (by Western standards) living conditions of the typical Ukrainian household under the Soviets, with three generations crammed into tiny rooms, drinking ersatz coffee and washing with lye soap.

At the center is Marusia Petrenko, a typical Ukrainian *baba* (grandmother), caring for her son, Yurko, her two grandchildren, Katia and Tarasyk, and her son's unfaithful wife, Zosia. After Yurko is fatally injured in the blast, the family, along with innumerable villagers in the area, is evacuated to the east. The ways in which the facts are withheld from the people most in need of them is painful to read, and as each family member begins to exhibit the effects of radiation poisoning, the true proportions of the tragedy are devastating to realize. In spite of their displacement and losses, the old women of Marusia's village continuously try to improve their situation. After two years, some of them return to their village and write a letter to Gorbachev, explaining the simple needs of each of the displaced villagers: they need a cow, chicken, pig or goat; they would like to receive mail and their pensions; and they need transportation so they can buy supplies and trade with other villages. The woman most fluent in Russian writes the letter in that language. As one of them explains, "It's too easy for us to make a mistake and put in one tiny Ukrainian word and spoil the whole document" (207). The letter has only minimal effect, and while some effort is eventually made to restore their land, goods, and money, most of the villagers die and others simply disappear. Marusia, left behind after Zosia departed with her children for Moscow, dies without knowing whether any of them survived. The final chapter shows Zosia, riddled with infections, both her children sick with radiation poisoning, talking to a British reporter in Moscow, a reporter who takes down the story for a documentary to be shown to the rest of the world. Taking the pound notes offered by the reporter, Zosia is able to leave with her children for

Tbilisi, Georgia. Before boarding the plane, she writes a letter to her mother-in-law, a letter Marusia, now dead, will never read.

As these examples show, the role of language in determining who is heard resonates throughout this narrative. The village women's pathetic efforts to be heard by Gorbachev, Zosia's awareness that the reporter's fluent Russian easily dismisses her Ukrainian-accented words, and Zosia's futile attempt to communicate with Marusia all suggest that the disappearing sickness, here encased within the larger metaphor of radiation sickness, still eats at the body and soul of Ukraine, with no real hope for a cure.

In *Ambassador of the Dead*, Melnyczuk writes of the Ukrainian immigrant experience in the United States. A far smaller group than in Canada, and without any of the conditions that encouraged them to remain a distinct entity, these immigrants gained much less recognition within the melting pot of the United States than have their northern counterparts. His characters, vague about their ancestral origins, typify this difference. Recalling vacations in a northern New Jersey Ukrainian enclave during the 1950s, Nick Blud, the protagonist, notes that the "émigrés always talked about places none of us kids had ever seen, telling stories we couldn't quite imagine, in a language spoken, as far as we could tell, nowhere else on earth outside our homes" (15). When Alex Kruk ("What kind of a name is that?" asks the teacher, suggesting he show the country on the map.) points out Ukraine, she corrects him. "Not there," she said confidently. "That's Russia now" (46). When Anton, a Brit originally from Ukraine, visits the town to give a speech, he delivers it in English and urges the audience not to worry about losing themselves inside the new language. Yet he also gives Alex's mother, his old love, a story he's written about her family's life in Ukraine, called "Ambassador of the Dead," the title suggesting that he's resurrecting something which has long ceased to exist, here, the Ukraine of Anton and Ada's childhood.

Covering the period from the 1930s to the late 1940s, this story within the larger fictional framework serves as a microcosm of the displaced person's experience during this time. As first the Germans, then the Soviets overrun Ukraine, Ada loses her parents, hides some Jewish friends, shepherds her siblings into a refugee camp, and marries her husband more out of gratitude for his care than for love. Ada is astounded to see the story of her family in print, the words recreating the world she has lost. But her family in the world of the present is also doomed, and when her son, Alex, dies a suspicious death, Nick, now a doctor, does not believe the case will be pursued since "the Kruks were obscure people from an obscure country living shadowy lives" (259). That neither the country nor its people seem capable of resurrection, at least not in the United States, seems to be Melnyczuk's pessimistic conclusion.

In the short story collection, *Two Lands, Two Visions*, many of the Canadian writers of Ukrainian descent seem to agree with this conclusion. The majority of these stories have an elegiac quality, simultaneously focused on recapturing the lost

ancestral world but suspecting that such an effort can only end in failure. This is not surprising since most of these writers are one, two, or three generations removed from the immigrant experience, and several trace their Ukrainian ancestry to only one parent or grandparent. In Barbara Scott's "Oranges," the protagonist finds a photograph of her great-grandparents dressed "in traditional Ukrainian costume, which I have never seen on any of my relatives...the colour drained, the intricate patterns of the costumes barely discernible beneath the yellowing and cracking" (171-2). In Patricia Abrams' "Green Sundays," the protagonist does not discover that her father is from Ukraine until she is four or five, and although he sometimes speaks the language, he doesn't know how to read or write it, and he tells her the family's painful history only after it is too late for her to meet her grandparents. For the most part, the stories in this section are straightforward, realistic narratives of working class families whose roots in the Ukrainian community have been reduced to recalling vague family histories and whose language retention is limited to either curse words or prayers. All other traces of language and culture have disappeared. Although Myrna Kostash, in "Ways of Coping," draws on Ukrainian history and folk tales to portray the suffering of the nation, others, like Lida Somchinsky in her story, "The First Lady," indicate that other histories and legends are definitely making the "old country" disappear. It is the "new country" that holds their allegiance. This fact is most forcefully brought home in "Lunch Hour with a Soviet Citizen" by Kathy Kolybaba, the story ending the collection. A girl from Ukraine is visiting the protagonist and her family. The girl's sense of entitlement rankles the narrator, but what troubles, indeed angers, her is the girl's use of English, "the guttural sounds chopping the language I love...the syllables of English harsh on her tongue" (289). By the end, seething with resentment, she admits that the visitor "is from another country, but this earth beneath my fingers is the earth I love. This is my country.... All the harshness of my own ancestry falls like broken glass between the syllables on the foreign girl's tongue" (293-4). This bitter acknowledgement that being a Canadian of Ukrainian ancestry is not the same as being a Ukrainian from Ukraine painfully, clearly, and finally articulates what the earlier stories dared only to hint at.

The stories from Ukraine also confirm this bitter truth, but in distinctly different ways. Indeed, they are the most adventurous of all the works under consideration here in terms both of narrative structure and content. The first, "Father," by Yuri Izdryk, begins as a simple story, realistically told, but ends in a phantasmagorical realm worthy of Jerzy Kosinski, its violence catching the reader completely off guard. Another story beginning as a simple romance but ending in horror is Bohdan Zholdak's "Karma-Yoga." Here, people are seen in terms of the cars they drive, as if humanity and the soulless technology it has developed are interchangeable. Oles Ulianenko's "Orders" emphasizes the bestiality of war in graphic and unheroic detail.

A surreal, dystopian landscape laden with despair pervades Yevhenia Kononenko's allegorical tale, "An Elegy about Old Age," while Oksana Karchuk's satirical tale, "Always a Leader," is reminiscent of Yuri Olesha's 1926 novel, *Envy*, in terms of style and characterization. The leader is portrayed as a former communist on the make in the new post-Communist Ukraine. As he listens to a pop song sung in Ukrainian, he expresses his joy that "ukrainization is taking over the masses through show business" (51), although he had been surprised earlier to find himself "singing in Russian" (47) in the shower. All of this suggests that the new democracy is no better than the old communism—old wine in new bottles, tasting as bad as ever.

The influence of magic realism is evident in two entries, Yurii Vynnychuk's "The Day of the Angel" and Taras Prokhasko's "Necropolis." The first is an allegorical gloss on capitalism and communism in which the devil looks like an angel and vice versa, suggesting the impossibility of differentiating between the two systems. The second begins with the protagonist writing a novel, *Necropolis*, but soon the world of the novel takes on its own reality "in a world where there is nothing unreal at all, only various forms of reality" (111). Eventually, the novel disappears, only to be resurrected in different forms until it becomes part of "the genotexts of our being... a wasteland of wear and tear, openness, cleanliness, and waiting" (123). Again, we appear to be in a country of the dead—in spirit, if not in body. The final story is Oksana Zabuzhko's "I, Milena," a science fiction fantasy in which a television completely subsumes the essence of a TV personality. Again, soulless technology kills the human being.

The stories from Ukraine all have a nightmarish quality, as if one has awakened from one bad dream (Communism) only to be trapped in another (Capitalism). While those written in Canada deal mostly with the individual within the family, here, the relationship between the individual and society is paramount. Though both sets of stories rest upon a common ground of pessimism, those set in Canada seem insular and narrow, while the Ukrainian ones reflect deeper and larger concerns. Their experimental narrative forms radiate the sense of a work in progress, of a country in the middle of its making, still riddled with disease, and unsure of a cure. In *Ambassador of the Dead*, the baby Alex finally finds his voice, utters the words, and is healed. In these stories, voices are unheard, language is lost, and everything is in danger of disappearing. These fictional portrayals cover the entire spectrum of the disappearing sickness's effect on the nation. They articulate the tragic consequences of a people remaining inarticulate within—or misunderstood by—the larger world, and cry out for recognition. The world has not yet indicated that it is paying much attention.

1. Editor's note: *bohunk* is probably derived from Bohemian plus *Hunk*, which is derived by the shortening and alteration of *Hungarian*.

Exploring the Everyday: Three Books about the Objects and Practices of the Canadian Past

Fodchuk, Roman Paul. *Zhorna: Material Culture of the Ukrainian Pioneers.* Calgary: University of Calgary Press, 2006. 156 pp. Glossary, bibliography, index, color photos. \$34.95 sc.

Fleming, John A., and Michael Rowan; photographs, James A. Chambers. *Canadian Folk Art to 1950.* Edmonton: University of Alberta Press and Canadian Museum of Civilization, 2012. Reviewed in galley form. \$45.00 sc. \$75.00 hc.

Mucz, Michael. *Baba's Kitchen Medicines: Folk Remedies of Ukrainian Settlers in Western Canada.* Edmonton: University of Alberta Press, 2012. 265 pp. Glossary of plant names, transliteration table, selected readings, index. \$34.95 sc.

When I first came to Edmonton, I would gaze in wonder at the prairie sky, marveling at the pink, blue, and purple colours. I would look and look at cloud formations, amazed that I could see the bottoms of so many clouds. I would be astonished by midnight twilight and the fact that I could make out clouds at night. Time has passed and, while I still love Alberta skies, I do not notice them as I did when they were new and strange. This is what often happens with the things that surround us on a daily basis. They may be beautiful; they may be ingenious and marvelous, but we fail to notice them because of their familiarity. Attention to the objects and practices of daily life is a relatively new phenomenon in scholarship, and all of the books under review make their contribution to helping us appreciate the everyday. Sometimes even professionals need to distance themselves from the phenomenon they study in order to see it more clearly, and all three books look back in time, describing life gone by. Fodchuk draws our attention to the tools, especially the woodworking tools, of the Ukrainian pioneers. Fleming and Rowan provide photos of a wide variety of objects: tools, furniture, toys, and the sort of artwork that is typically displayed in the home rather than in museums. Mucz, also drawing on the experience of Ukrainians, shows us how substances in the environment—plants, honey, and even dirt—were once used for medicinal purposes.

Fodchuk's is the oldest of the three books. It is entitled *Zhorna*, or millstone,

precisely to help us better appreciate the aesthetics of the seemingly ordinary. A millstone is a utilitarian object, not typically associated with beauty. Yet, even if we look at it with fresh eyes, we can marvel at the skill required to make grooves in unyielding stone to just the right depth and at just the right intervals; we can admire the symmetry and the proportions of so weighty an item transformed by human hands. Although Fodchuk chose the millstone as his symbol of the aesthetics of pioneer material culture, his greatest admiration is for tools used in woodworking and tools made of wood. His description evokes the shape and the patina of planes, carding combs, spindles, churns, ladles, and a myriad of other objects. The descriptions are supplemented by marvelous drawings taken from the sketches he made while working as a district agriculturalist for the province of Alberta, and then rendered in professional form. We see page upon page of every conceivable type of carpenter's plane, washboard, oil press, churn, clamp, hinge, and so forth. Some illustrations give us the multiforms of a tool; others illustrate traditional work step-by-step. For the thatching process, Fodchuk shows us how the straw is combed, cut, tied, and placed upon the roof frame, and he shows us the results. One page consists of just the types of corner joints possible in log building construction. The drawings are supplemented by photographs, most made when old crafts were resurrected in the construction of the Ukrainian Heritage Village Museum outside Edmonton.

In addition to showing us tools, Fodchuk provides background information. He describes Ukrainian pioneers leaving their homeland and arriving in Canada. He gives settlement maps and charts that position the stores and services available in rapidly growing Ukrainian Canadian towns. There are descriptions of the clothing worn in Ukraine and descriptions and drawings of the ornate chests, or *skryni*, used to transport material goods to Canada. Some of the settlers were craftsmen, and Fodchuk singles out a woodworking shop as an example of craftspeople at work. Next comes coverage of house types. Fodchuk tells us about the very basic and not very comfortable *burdei*, a semi-underground sod hut used by settlers when they first arrived. He then describes log houses and, finally, the farm house or *khata*. For each, he details construction techniques, gives drawings and photos, and provides sketches of house layout. Tools, of course, receive special attention, and Fodchuk gives us the many varieties of saws, augurs, and awls. Fodchuk tells us about farming activities. He describes reaping hay and stacking sheaves, giving us drawings and photos. There is a section on threshing and one on gardening. Milling grains is detailed, as is pressing oil, along with the types of presses used, the oils produced, and their uses. Fodchuk describes fencing and shows us fence types. There is a section on weaving, along with pictures of spinning wheels and looms and descriptions of the proper preparation of flax and hemp. Food is not neglected, and there are details of seasonal and other celebrations and the foods that went with them.

Fodchuk enlivens his descriptions with reminiscences and quotes. He uses recollections from his boyhood, accounts of his experiences as an adult, searching for the material remains of the Ukrainian pioneer experience, and details from the construction of the Ukrainian Cultural Heritage Village in which he was actively involved. Fodchuk gives voice to others. He interviewed pioneers about their experiences and he quotes liberally from these interviews and from the recollections of family and friends. He also uses the written memoirs of pioneers, most notably Peter Svarich, along with archival materials and published articles and books.

Fleming and Rowan's *Canadian Folk Art* is much broader in scope than Fodchuk's work. While it concentrates on Atlantic Canada because that is where European settlement occurred earlier and where more objects are available, the book tries to include material from the entire country. Also, it includes all European groups, not just Ukrainians, and there are even a few Aboriginal objects, though most of the latter are selected from native art which shows European influence. The objects themselves are extremely varied, ranging from furniture, to tools, to paintings and sculptures, to textiles. As the authors point out, the material is arranged not by artist, since many are unknown, or by collector. Organizing principles used in other books such as medium or function are not used here. Rather, the authors group their materials according to "affinities."

The book begins with a lengthy acknowledgements section which thanks all of the people who either allowed objects in their possession to be photographed for this volume or helped locate objects. This is followed by a preface which seeks to define folk art and give the authors' methodology. Next is an introduction where the authors talk further about their understanding of what constitutes folk art. This is followed by a brief definition of affinities and then the affinities themselves. The first affinity, "Portraits of the People," includes paintings and also wood carvings and birth records. Some of the representations are formal and some are faces rendered on jugs and the heads of canes. "Literacy and the Landscape" includes primarily trade signs, some painted and some sculpted in the shape of the items offered for sale such as firearms. "Domestic Life" has quilts, furniture, match holders, bowls and other tableware, some animal sculptures, and paintings of homes. "Settlement Lands" presents pictures and sculptures of the settlement process and also boot scrapers, sculptures of animals, crockery and some household items. "Tools of the Trade" shows a wool winder, saws, storage boxes, pincushions, knife handles, and stirrers shaped like hands, among other objects. "Compass, Rule, and Scribe" is about decoration and shows the many decorative effects that can be achieved with these simple tools. "What's in a Box" mostly shows the various types of boxes themselves, including document boxes, wall boxes, a pencil holder, chests, and their miniatures. "Games and Leisure" has game boards, dancing figures, musical instru-

ments, paintings, and other images of people at play, and also various toys, notably rocking horses. “Hunters and Anglers” shows decoys used in hunting and carvings of animals used for decorative purposes, paintings of hunting and fishing, knives, and other hunting tools. “The Natural World” features drawings and carvings of various animals, animals used as decorative features in items such as butter prints, and animals portrayed in hooked rugs and other household items such as crockery. “Gardens” is about the natural world tamed and has everything from decorative items used in the garden to paintings of gardens and sculptured garden items such as apple trees. “Waterways” is mostly about shipping and has paintings and reliefs of various sorts of boats plus items used on boats such as cups, flasks, weather vanes, and stern boards. “Narrative Pieces” are items that tell a story, such as a cane that shows the steps of a hunt. In this section we again have everything from decorated boxes to dioramas. “Myth and Symbol” is about images that have particular emotional resonance: the Canadian maple leaf and the beaver, the heart as a symbol of emotion. The items pictured include various representations of the symbols just listed, plus sacred objects such as carved cherubim and angels, along with items associated with the Masons and other groups. In “Local Heroes” the authors point out that, in the past, a person could be important locally without being someone akin to media celebrities of today. This section shows sports figures, including animal as well as human champions, and also figures of wider renown such as Napoleon. “Delights of the Imagination” focuses on items that show particular ingenuity or play with form: face jugs, furniture with human, boot-clad legs, a glass hammer, a hanging bookshelf itself in the form of a book, and metamorphoses, images which change as their layers are opened or closed.

Each section has an introductory essay where the authors discuss the “affinity” in question and use this discussion to evoke the past and its aesthetics. In addition to the more general essays, there is a discussion of each image provided. The text gives the location and date or approximate date of each object. It talks about the maker of the object, where such information is available. Object size, medium, and technique are listed. The authors comment on the object itself, drawing the reader’s attention to its aesthetic qualities, and discuss the degree to which it is typical. Notes are provided at the end giving the source or sources of the information. There is also a bibliography.

Mucz’s *Baba’s Kitchen Medicines* is a different sort of book for it deals, not with objects, but with practices. Like Fodchuk’s book, it focuses on Ukrainians in Alberta, and we get maps of Ukrainian settlements in Alberta, the areas in Ukraine from which the settlers emigrated, and the topography of the Canadian prairies. The brief introduction to Ukrainian settlement is followed by a short history of healing practices, leading into Ukrainian folk medicine and the types of services available, such as bone-setting, herbal treatments, midwifery, and spiritual healing. We get discus-

sions of early life on the prairies and the types of health problems that people faced. This is followed by a list of healing resources: plants, mostly garden plants, though some gathered in the wild, animal products such as fat, and common household items such as kerosene. We learn that blood-letting, cupping, ear-candling, and various heat treatments were used by the pioneers. The chapter about healing preparations describes infusions, decoctions, tinctures, poultices, plasters, and salves. Next we are told about the conditions treated and the treatments used. Mucz lists what was done for injuries such as breaks and strains, for rashes, insect bites, for common diseases, for gastrointestinal problems, including food poisoning, and for conditions such as arthritis, kidney and bladder problems, and a host of other aches and pains. There is a limited amount of information on women's issues such as childbirth, contraception, and menstrual pain because, as Mucz notes, his female informants were reluctant to talk about such topics with a man. For each problem, there is a list of remedies with the most commonly used ones marked in bold. Photographs illustrate pioneer life and the various healing plants, substances, and techniques such as cupping. Quotes from the people whom Mucz interviewed in the process of gathering his information appear throughout the book. These provide accounts of real incidents and typically show how a folk treatment brought healing and relief in cases where biomedicine did not. Appendices list the names of wild plants and of domestic plants, giving their English, Latin, and Ukrainian variants. There is a transliteration chart, a list of selected readings, and an index.

This reviewer's reaction to the three books is mixed. Fodchuk's *Zhorna* is the least problematic. It is a pretty book printed on nice paper which could easily serve as a coffee table book. It could also simply be read as a source of information on the material culture of the Ukrainian pioneers. The author's first-hand experience and use of direct information from interviews and memoirs makes the book a reliable resource.

The *Canadian Folk Art* book put together by Fleming and Rowan is a gorgeous coffee table book. The objects selected for presentation are indeed aesthetically very pleasing. Michael Rowan, an antiques dealer in Green River, Ontario, has good taste. The photography is stunning and, as the authors point out, these are objects shown in print for the first time. Only objects which were not available in colour or otherwise inadequately reproduced have been rephotographed for this volume. The various items are shown in full, and close-ups of some are also provided. While I find this book a joy to look at, I am troubled by some of the statements made in the front matter and the conclusion. Fleming and Rowan say that artists of the past were self-taught and that this permitted a certain freedom and exuberance that cannot be found today. Some artists and craftsmen were indeed self-taught, but many apprenticed with masters and became acknowledged masters themselves, as the notes to the various objects pictured attest.

Perhaps the most troubling is the authors' insistence that folk art no longer exists. It is true that most of us no longer rely on hand-crafted furniture and that not as many people make quilts or hooked rugs as in the past. But folk art is by no means dead. If the authors looked around them, they would see people hooking rugs and painting scenes on jugs, shovels, pails, and other household items, just as the makers of the items shown in this book once did. In Alberta, Saskatchewan, and the other places where I have done fieldwork, people continue to paint scenes of their environment on paper and on canvas, and one of my graduate students will be writing her dissertation about such a person. People even chart their drawings of local flora and fauna and turn them into embroidered pictures. Today, as in the past, people use found items, much as Fleming and Rowan describe, and put them together to make whirligigs. It seems that the authors live in a narrow and isolated world of antiques where items come pre-selected by time and by other collecting enthusiasts. Pre-selection may be one of the reasons for the view expressed by the authors. I know from my own experience with folk art that only the finest items will be kept and cared for over long periods of time. Items that are less finely crafted or less aesthetically pleasing will be discarded or simply allowed to deteriorate. This gives the illusion that the art of the past was of superior quality. But it is an illusion.

The grouping by "affinities" is also questionable, at least as it is justified here. It does not give a sense of life in the past. We do not, for example, get a sense of what it was like to walk down a street in 1900, seeing shop signs. For one thing, the items selected are from a great range of time periods and not presented in chronological order. For another, they are, as often as not, unusual rather than typical objects, as the authors' own notes indicate. Many items could just as easily have appeared under an "affinity" different from the one in which they are placed. What we are getting is the authors' own sense of coherence or relationship. Since, as already noted, their aesthetic sense is good, the photographs are a pleasure to look at, regardless. In all probability, only reviewers like this one will read all of the text and worry about its arrangement. Most people will just enjoy the pretty pictures which are, indeed, a joy to behold. If they read anything it will probably be the text that accompanies the individual items. Since this is the most informative and least objectionable part of the book, most readers should find pleasure in *Canadian Folk Art*.

Mucz's *Baba's Kitchen Medicines* is the book that I like the least. I appreciate Mucz's efforts to bring attention to this much-neglected area of research. I agree with his goal of making us aware of the local and natural remedies readily available for our minor aches and pains. (The book, in fact, contains a number of disclaimers, presumably to discourage people from trying the more extreme treatments.) I also very much support his desire, expressed in interviews, to give credit to his sources. Unfortunately, the book often does the opposite of what the author wants to do.

Mucz perpetuates stereotypes. He trivializes his material. And he treats his informants, the folk, as some sort of amorphous and faceless mass rather than as the individuals that they are or were.

The book has a number of quotes from the people Mucz interviewed which give accounts of a particular incident and how it was cured by folk medicine. These are very valuable, and it is most unfortunate that the author decided to make them “cute” by inserting random words in Ukrainian. The words selected are not those referring to a particular plant or substance or preparation method where knowing the Ukrainian terminology might have been useful. Rather, they are everyday words like brother (*brat*), eggs (*iaitsi[sic]*), teeth (*zuby*), going outside (*na dvir*—meaning to relieve one’s self), milk (*moloko*) and so forth. This is supposed to capture the flavour of talking to a Ukrainian granny (*baba*—to follow Mucz’s pattern). Instead, it gives the unpleasant feeling of trivializing the information contained in the quotes and making the respondents seem like uneducated, semi-literate hicks.

The impression that respondents are not valuable sources of information is reinforced by the practice of giving only the initials of the people interviewed. My experience doing fieldwork is that people want to receive credit for the information they provide, and Mucz’s failure to fully credit the people he talked to comes across as a put-down. The photographs provided in the book follow the same pattern. For some reason, Mucz did not use the photographs of the people he interviewed. Rather, he drew images from the Provincial Archives of Alberta and Manitoba. These are excellent resources, but not the way that they are used here. The people in the photographs, even more than the people interviewed, are treated as some sort of mass, generic folk not worthy of being identified as individuals. I remember opening the book and seeing the picture with the caption “Mother was the family healer and community resource.” I assumed this was a picture of Mucz’s own mother. No, this is some generic woman selected from the Manitoba archives. In a similar vein, there is a picture of “grandfather and grandmother.” Whose? We are not told. To Mucz, any elderly couple will do. The people in the pictures, like the people interviewed, deserve to be recognized as individuals and not as representatives of some faceless “folk” mass. Continuing with the problem of stereotypes, that of the folk-as-faceless-mass is but one of the many presented in this book. We learn that women are more talkative and emotional than men. Men, on the other hand, are accused of being insensitive and less caring than women. Old people, according to Mucz’s broad generalization, are superstitious. These are statements which the editors should have spotted and removed. Other problems that should have been spotted by the editors include the fact that the book is quite repetitive. Perhaps more difficult to spot is a history of medicine written according to nineteenth-century standards. There are factual errors such as the claim that the interaction with the Aboriginal community

was limited and that Ukrainians did not learn from their native neighbours.

The *Kitchen Medicines* book is also sensationalistic. This last characteristic is probably not the author's fault. We are told several times about giving hemp infusion and poppy seed extract to infants to make them sleep, often for twenty-four hours, and sometimes with disastrous results, such as adulthood mental problems. I cannot count the number of times that Mucz mentioned the use of cow dung for everything from toothache to cleansing wounds. Cow dung comes up repeatedly both in the book and in the various interviews he has granted. Mucz even took a picture of a cow plop for inclusion in his book. The sensational, of course, attracts attention. And, as noted above, it may not be Mucz alone who was drawn to it. The people he interviewed may well have remembered only the most spectacular cases, like the healing of a puncture wound that even a doctor could not treat. Threats of amputation of damaged fingers or toes are much more likely to stay in the mind than bruises which heal easily. Children who die or suffer are more likely to be remembered than people who pass away in old age. Thus these may indeed be the cases that came up in interviews.

For all my dissatisfaction with Mucz's book, I would not advise against its purchase. This is not a coffee table book, not only because it has pictures of cow plops, but also because it is not printed on nice paper or heavily illustrated. But most readers will want it as a way to connect with an imagined past or perhaps an elderly relative. They will not read this book from cover to cover. As noted above, in the case of books like this, thorough reading is something that only reviewers do. Most people will probably look at a few treatments. They may well not encounter the prejudicial characterizations of women or men or old people because they will not read the text in which these are presented. They will not be annoyed by the repetitions. They may even manage to avoid reading about cow dung. I only hope that, in future books, Mucz is careful not to perpetuate stereotypes.

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Cossacks and Indians? *Métissage* in Action

In 1914 a sojourner in Winnipeg commented on the city's "Ukrainian Indians" to underline its seeming lack of European sophistication.¹ Some decades later, however, that pejorative connotation was no longer operational: the notion of a "Ukrainian Indian" living in Canada was now something to be celebrated. This dramatic turn-about came with the release in 2012 of a blockbuster "bio-pic" produced in Ukraine. The film ("Fire Crosser")² depicts the career of a Soviet Ukrainian hero-fighter pilot, allegedly killed in action during World War Two, but discovered years later alive and well as the Ukrainian-speaking chief of a band of Iroquois not far from Montreal. The decades that separated these two polarities offered many opportunities for ethno-cultural interaction, primarily on the Prairies where the harsh realities of pioneering forced Ukrainian settlers to borrow survival techniques from nearby Aborigines, who were invariably highly attuned to the vicissitudes of the very wilderness that the Ukrainians had come to conquer. Life stories from this initial period of Ukrainian settlement generally describe such early encounters as positive, amiable experiences.³ A rare exception is the deadly skirmish imagined by the Canadian poet Yar Slavutych.⁴ In some instances, however, their proximity to Ukrainian settlements worked against the Aborigines, who unwittingly became convenient scapegoats for criminal acts and missing children.⁵

After World War Two, with the "success" of Canada's Ukrainian pioneering experience firmly acknowledged, a new factor surfaced: a Ukrainian empathy for the perceived stagnation and plight of Canada's Aborigines. In actuality, this awareness had been initiated earlier by sojourning writers from Soviet Ukraine; their stories in Ukrainian dramatized the tragic fate of Canada's downtrodden Aboriginal peoples.⁶

With increasing frequency, the "Ukrainian empathy factor" popped up in the art and writings of such prominent figures as William Kurelek, George Ryga, Leo Mol, John Paskievich, Andrew Suskanski, Danny Schur, and others. The same factor highlighted the work of dedicated government bureaucrats and academics; their focus on the plight of Canada's distressed Aboriginal was largely informed by a similar sense of ethno-cultural oppression and victimhood.⁷ The reverse process (that is, Aboriginal intakes of Ukrainian culture) awaits serious investigation.⁸ While these processes were evolving in Canada, another version of the "Ukrainian empathy factor" had already taken root in Ukraine itself where Canada's "noble savage" titillated the popular imag-

ination, intrigued a coterie of academics, and, as noted earlier, most recently stimulated the production of a cinematic “blockbuster.” In other words, while these two versions of the empathy factor are obviously related, the two trends had evolved separately. And there was one important feature that distinguished one from the other: the Ukrainian community *in Canada* never cultivated the image of “the noble savage”—that transformation was left to distant countrymen in Ukraine itself.⁹

As evident from the foregoing, Ukrainian-Aboriginal cultural interrelations in Canada constitute a complex panorama composed of underlying basics, contrasts, and commonalities. These are expressed by the arts alone: political agendas do not play a role in this domain. Today, with the shift in Canada’s demographic realities, cultural interaction has joined with biological hybridization to form unions that are neither rare nor unusual. Although such blending is not uncommon, *métissage* with a Ukrainian flavour marks a phenomenon that still intrudes upon a political environment that remains governed by a fixed and well-established historicized narrative—a drawback that bars its recognition on both sides of the ethno-cultural equation. Further studies are needed and investigations continue.¹⁰

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NOTES

1. Pavlo Karmans'kyj, *Mavpiache dzerkalo/Monkey's Mirror* (Winnipeg: Ukrainian Academy of Arts and Sciences in Canada, n.d.), 50, 75.

2. “Fire Crosser” (Ukrainian title: “Toi, khto proishov kriz’ vohon”) was produced in Kyiv in 2011. For filmmaker Mykhailo Illienko, the film’s protagonist constitutes a modern hero. Although Canadians have yet to view this film, the worldwide-web offers many visuals and information relating to the production and reception of this work.

3. For example, in her personal experience narrative (“Lost in the Woods”), Mrs. M. Kotyk describes how a “kind-hearted Indian saved me from a disastrous end in that northern wilderness” (Harry Piniuta, *Land of Pain, Land of Promise: First Person Accounts by Ukrainian Pioneers 1891-1914* (Saskatoon: Western Producer Prairie Books, 1978), 84.

4. In “Spadschyna” [The inheritance], Slavutych depicts an aging Ukrainian farmer who, as an act of forgiveness, adopts an orphaned Aboriginal boy to serve as the heir to his fortune—a substitute for the farmer’s own son whose life was ended by “an arrow shot from bow” (Yar Slavutych, *The Conquerors of the Prairies/Zavoioivnyky prerii*, tr. R. H. Morrison [Edmonton: Slavuta Publishers, 1974], 28-29).

5. In 1899, for example, a Ukrainian farmer and his four children were brutally murdered in a robbery. Upon arrest, the three accused, all Ukrainians, agreed to blame the crime on Indians (from a newspaper report cited by John C. Lehr in his *Community and Frontier: A Ukrainian Settlement in the Canadian Parkland* [Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press, 2011], 153, 198, n.3.).

6. There were two such writers: Myroslav Irchan (1896-1937) and Ivan Kulyk (1897-1937). Both contemporaries were talented literati committed to an ideology driven by Communist precepts. Irchan worked for Winnipeg’s leftist Ukrainian community during the 1920’s and Ivan Kulyk served as a Soviet consul official based in Montreal, 1924-1926.

7. The major names in this connection are two government bureaucrats—Walter Rudnicki (1925-2011), who worked tirelessly in support of Canada’s First Nations, and anthropologist/archeologist Walter M. Hlady (1924-1986), who compiled and edited a “Cree-Ukrainian Dictionary” (1962). Dr. Anastasia A. Shkilnyk of Victoria, B.C., stands as a leading scholar known for her groundbreaking study published by Yale University Press in 1985: *A Poison Stronger than Love: The Destruction of an Ojibwa Community*.

8. Some anecdotal and speculative observations have surfaced regarding the impact of traditional Ukrainian cui-

sine and Eastern Christian iconography on Aboriginal art on the West Coast. More telling, perhaps, are the insights offered by the television series “Mixed Blessings,” aired by the Aboriginal Peoples Television Network (APTN). The sitcom features a “Uke-Cree-nanian” family headed by “Ukrainian plumber Hank Kowalchuk” and his “Cree waitress wife Josie Frasier.”

9. In the 1920s several scholars forged an academic interest in Canada’s “primitive cultures.” This development was driven by folklorist Kateryna Hrushevs’ka (1900-1943) and ethnomusicologist Klyment Kvitka (1880-1953). A more popular reflection of Ukraine’s cultic fascination with Canada’s “Indians” also stems from the 1920s; this trend continued well into the Soviet era as exemplified by the publication in 1996 of a Ukrainian translation of “legends of Canadian Indians” by the Mohawk-English writer Takahionwake (Pauline Johnson). The collection was released in a “run” of 10,000 copies.

10. For current perspectives relating to these issues, see John Ralston Saul’s *A Fair Country: Telling Truths about Canada* (Toronto: Viking Canada, 2008) and Jennifer Reid’s *Louis Riel and the Creation of Modern Canada: Mythic Discourse and the Post-Colonial State* (Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press, 2012).

REVIEWS/RECENSIONS

John C. Lehr. *Community and Frontier: A Ukrainian Settlement in the Canadian Parkland.* Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press. 2011. 216 pp. Notes. Bibliography. Index. \$27.95 sc.

Historical geographer John Lehr subscribes to French historian Marc Bloch's idea that "all history is local" (7). Lehr's book extends and builds on his related and substantial earlier work on Western Canadian settlement and on the region's Ukrainian rural immigrants in particular. The introduction and conclusion liberally canvass the secondary literature on frontier settlement with references to other Western Canadian rural local histories, and Lehr infuses his analysis in broader themes, especially colonialism. He acknowledges gender with material on the division of labour in the pioneering families and a reference to the gendered perceptions of space.

The frontier community of Stuartburn and its surrounding district in south-eastern Manitoba, which serves as the case study, is situated in the context of its hinterland connections to imperial Britain (Lehr cites Niall Ferguson's "Angloglobalization"), the economic heartland of eastern Canada (J. M. S. Careless's "metropolitanism"), and Winnipeg, the West's once premier city. Bordering Minnesota, the Stuartburn district was the most southerly of Western Canada's Ukrainian settlements. Oddly, Lehr does not offer population figures for the district, but it is probably a smaller community now; the rural municipality had barely 1,600 souls in the 2006 census. Essentially, his story is about a frontier settlement's beginnings and development, not its decline. Winnipeg, the destination for many Ukrainians, appears only once in the Index, although the body of the text refers to the city throughout, and its influence on Stuartburn's society and economy has always been substantial. Studying Stuartburn as a community on the periphery of international and domestic empires is logical, indeed vital, since Stuartburn's settlement—it was established in 1896—peaked around 1910 when Britannia ruled the waves, industrial Montreal and Toronto were burgeoning, and Winnipeg served as Canada's version of Chicago. It may surprise some then that Alan Artibise's *Winnipeg, A Social History of Urban Growth, 1874–1914* is absent from the excellent bibliography.

Lehr's book is the most recent and the sixth in the Studies and Immigration Series by the University of Manitoba Press. Chapter subjects include infrastructure and communications, health, education, and commerce. The chapter on order and

the law refers to the substantial quantities of homebrew produced, a tradition carried over from the old country. Students of ethnicity will be particularly interested in Lehr's story of inter-ethnic relations and the roles of religion and class, topics that mark historical, sociological, and political studies of Manitoba.

The chapter on religion, culture, and identity, titled "Colonizing Stuartburn," documents the deep fissures between the Galicians, the majority of whom were Greek Catholics, and the Greek Orthodox Bukovynians. The Ukrainian churches, so vital in Ukraine's cultural life, were noticeably absent in Canada until 1912. A shortage of celibate Greek Catholic priests, whom the Manitoba French Roman Catholic church—under whose jurisdiction the Greek Catholics fell—insisted upon, compounded the sometimes violent religious factionalism and inter-denominational rivalry that arose in the community.

There is a reference to the parallels in the peasant backgrounds of the Mennonites and the Ukrainians, although immigration policy separated the rural settlements of the ethnic groups. We learn, however, that a Mennonite miller owned Stuartburn's first car and Poles also appear here and there, particularly in Tolstoi, the small community adjacent to the American border. Everything plays out against the backdrop of the mores of Manitoba's then-dominant Anglo-Canadian community. Jews appear as the colony's pioneer merchants, reproducing the relationship of the Ukrainians and Jews in the Old World, where legal stricture precluded Jews from engaging in agriculture and where Ukrainians regarded commerce as an alien occupation. As Ukrainian nationalist feelings rose and as Jewish merchants left for Winnipeg so that their children could benefit from the cultural milieu of its substantial Jewish community—a point elaborated upon in Allan Levine's *Coming of Age: A History of the Jewish People of Manitoba* which is also absent from the Index—Ukrainian merchants filled the commercial void.

Notable are what Lehr's research assistants uncovered in scouring archival records and the translated excerpts he uses from Ukrainian-language newspapers such as *Ukrainskyi holos* (*Ukrainian Voice*) and *Kanadyiskiy farmer* (*Canadian Farmer*). Complementing the narrative are photos and figures, mainly excellent maps as befits a geographer, which graphically convey much information at a glance. Overall, the book is artfully constructed. Nevertheless, there are some nagging cases of unnecessary repetitiveness: on page 148, the reader is told how Protestant churches—in Stuartburn's case, the Methodists—saw the pioneering Ukrainian community as "fertile ground for proselytizing," only to be retold on page 149 that the Methodists considered it a "fertile field for proselytizing." Similarly, we learn that Congregationalists, Methodists, and Presbyterians "carved up the west into discrete spheres of operation" on p. 109 and reminded again on p. 150 that they "divided the west into spheres of influence."

This book will be of particular interest to geographers and students of Western Canadian local history and inter- and intra-cultural relations.

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Rhonda L. Hinthur and Jim Mochoruk, eds. *Re-imagining Ukrainian Canadians: History, Politics, and Identity*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2011. 481 pp. Notes. Index. \$35.00 sc.

Ukrainians, one of the largest ethnic groups to immigrate to Canada during the twentieth century, were, for much of that same century, primarily derided as “men in sheepskin coats” with unpronounceable names or praised as “stalwart peasants” who domesticated the harsh prairie lands of the Canadian West. In spite of the fact that they arrived in three separate waves of immigration, with distinct differences among these waves in terms of geography, education, and political leanings, Ukrainian Canadians have most often been placed within a monolithic, pop-culture construct rooted in the image of the illiterate prairie farmer and his *babushka*-wearing wife. This wide-ranging, interdisciplinary collection of essays successfully puts the lie to this myth, instead revealing Ukrainian Canadians as a people who grappled not only with unifying a trifurcated ethnic identity, but were also deeply engaged in establishing a political identity that reconciled old world allegiances with new world roots.

The editors have divided the essays into five distinct sections: “New Approaches to Old Questions,” “Leaders and Intellectuals,” “Diplomacy and International Concerns,” “Internal Strife on the Left,” and “Everyday People.” A solid introduction clearly explains the editors’ intent and provides the background against which the essays should be read. A shorter conclusion summarizes the material and also points out issues that need further exploration. Each section is itself introduced in a brief overview tying the essay topics in that section to others beyond it, teasing out connections and contrasts to be found among them. This “connective” material exemplifies the very thorough approach taken by the editors to ensure the relevance of the entire collection towards fulfilling an ambitious goal. They wish “to advance the discourse on Canadian immigration and ethnic history” (15) and broaden the discussion both among experts and students in a number of different disciplines and courses of study: social history, community studies, public history, family history, and particularly the history of Canadian radicalism. Indeed, it would be possible for a teacher in any of these areas to create an entire course syllabus around these essays; the framework is equally helpful to students and other novices as they navigate their

way through the collection and understand how these disparate parts reveal the complexity of the Ukrainian Canadian experience.

Perhaps the most innovative aspect of the collection is its very thorough analysis of the development and decline of radicalism within the Ukrainian Canadian community, particularly among those settlers in the first two immigration waves. The essays do not follow a straightforward chronological timeline—the very first essay begins in post-World War Two Toronto and the last primarily discusses two murders that took place before World War One. The essays thus form a mosaic, rather than a straight line, and the pattern becomes clear only after one examines the whole. The various essays assessing the rise and decline of the Left, in particular the Ukrainian Labour Farmer Temple Association (ULFTA), form the spine of the collection: six of the thirteen essays deal with this group and other leftist organizations. Two others, in the section on diplomacy, deal with the left's response to the Soviet Union. Only one essay is devoted to the interwar (1920s and '30s) immigrants who were supporters of Nazi Germany, while another briefly deals with the post-World War II 'displaced persons' as anti-Soviet refugees whose entry to Canada was opposed by the Ukrainian Canadian radical Left. This third immigrant wave, the smallest of the three, but also the most urban, educated, and professionally trained of the three, is scarcely mentioned in any of the other essays.

While this may seem to be an imbalance, it is actually a fair representation of the role of politics within the Ukrainian Canadian community. The oldest and largest wave of immigrants, variously called Ruthenians, Galicians, and Bukovinians (rather than Ukrainians) because their birthplaces were under the control of Russia, Poland, or the Austro-Hungarian Empire, were generally the most radicalized and saw in the Soviet Union the kind of political equity they themselves had never experienced in the "old country." Perhaps this volume's most valuable contribution is the depiction of the struggle between the Ukrainians' aspirations for a sense of nationhood and their desire for a political system that would free them from servitude. This dynamic is explored in various essays from different perspectives, whether by examining an old "Communist hall" in Ottawa, a "people's co-op" in Winnipeg, or through particular Canadians, like Paul Rudyk and Illia Kiriak, who embodied that struggle within their own lives. The editors themselves recognize this imbalance, noting in their conclusion that "the postwar [WWII] era is still vastly understudied. In particular...the increasing rates of assimilation.... Urban Ukrainians are remarkably understudied. So too are elements of Ukrainian family life and the roles and experiences of women and ordinary men within the family, the workplace, and the community" (466-7). I believe that Hinthor and Mochoruk are eminently suited to edit a new volume dealing with the very issues that have not been covered in this one.

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Vadim Kukushkin. *From Peasants to Labourers: Ukrainian and Belarusian Immigration from the Russian Empire to Canada.* Montreal-Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2007. 283 pp. Notes. Bibliography. Index. \$95.00 hc.

On the eve of the First World War, Ukrainian ethnographic territories were divided between the Austro-Hungarian and the Russian Empires. Even before these two solitudes were briefly united by the events of the Great War and its aftermath, in Canada eastern and western Ukrainian immigrants had come together to work in the mines of the Rockies and the industrial shops of Montreal, Toronto, and Winnipeg. While much has been written about the Ukrainians who arrived in Canada from the Austro-Hungarian Empire, especially those who settled on western homesteads, little attention has been directed to those who arrived from the Russian Empire. With regard to Belarusian migration to Canada, its history prior to World War II is largely unknown. The academic study of migration from the Russian Empire to Canada has been largely focused on Jewish, Mennonite, Hutterite, and Doukhobor immigrants, even though the largest numbers arriving between 1905 and 1914 were, in fact, Ukrainian and Belarusian peasants who came as temporary labour migrants, drawn by opportunities in the country's burgeoning resource and industrial sectors.

It is these latter migrants that historian Vadim Kukushkin addresses in his groundbreaking work. He outlines the European and North American contexts of this migration and examines the sojourning communities from the Russian Empire, largely male and highly transient, that were established across Canada as a result. He surveys the factors promoting migration from the western frontier of the Russian Empire, identifying the geographic sources, the chronology and logistics of the outflow, as well as the social backgrounds of the newcomers, including their ages, marital status, literacy rates, and religious affiliations. These migrants arrived from the least ethnically integrated region of the European part of the Russian Empire, which was incorporated in the late eighteenth century, namely the Belarusian provinces of "Grodno, Minsk, Vilna, Vitebsk, and Mogilev" and the Ukrainian provinces of "Podolia, Volhynia, Kiev, Chernigov, Poltava, Kharkov, Kherson, Taurida, and Ekaterinoslav," along with the "Khotin District of Bessarabia Province."

To illustrate who these migrants were in the old country and how their community life evolved in Canada, Kukushkin has mined the existing secondary literature, but more importantly, he has focused on relevant Russian- and Ukrainian-language periodicals as well as archival sources in Russia, the United States, and Canada. Especially revealing are collections such as the Alaskan Russian Church Archives held at the Library of Congress, which includes valuable material concerning the spread of the Russian Orthodox Church among Ukrainians and Belarusians from Nova Scotia to British Columbia. Even more informative is the Likacheff-Ragosine-

Mathers collection of over 11,000 Russian consular passport and identity documents held at Library and Archives Canada.

What emerges is a rich portrait of a community of transient labourers and sojourners coping with their first exposure to the often-crushing circumstances of low status, arduous, and basic wage jobs in unfamiliar frontier and urban settings, while at the same time attempting to construct a network of community newspapers, churches, and organizations. It is a multi-textured story complicated by internecine squabbles and the tumultuous events in both Canada and Europe brought on by the Great War.

As a pioneering study there are some sweeping suppositions that might be challenged. The claim that there was an absolutely rigid separation between Austro-Hungarian and Russian arrivals is undermined by Kukushkin's own references to the roles of such leaders as Pavlo Krat and Matthew Shatulsky within "Ukrainian" organizations, by the acknowledgment of growing Ukrainophile segments within the community, and the undermining of the Russian Orthodox Church in Canada through the secession of Ukrainians and other faithful. The notion that "the majority of Ukrainian and Belarusian immigrants who came from the Russian empire were thoroughly Russified in their religion, language, and cultural orientation" (5) and that "they usually retained a Russian cultural orientation until the end of their lives" (6) could probably be more nuanced and equivocal through a deeper analysis of the Ukrainian and Belarusian press and of church and organizational histories in Canada.

Similarly Kukushkin touches on the effects of the Russian revolution, stating that "the process of national awakening, which occurred in Soviet Ukraine and Belarus in the 1920s, had little effect on the pre-1914 generation of Ukrainian and Belarusian immigrants in North America, who largely remained 'frozen' at the pre-national stage" (6). There is no discussion of the concomitant Ukrainian revolution, which saw the emergence of the Ukrainian National Republic (1917-1921), prior to the entry in 1922 of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic into the USSR. It is almost inconceivable that such momentous events among their kinsmen in Europe did not resonate with Ukrainians from the Russian Empire living in Canada.

In spite of such observations, Kukushkin has produced an exceptional study, which illuminates a hitherto neglected aspect in the history of Ukrainian and Belarusian migration to Canada, a work from which further studies of these communities will benefit greatly. It will be of value to scholars of Canadian and migration history generally, historians of the two communities in particular, and especially to genealogists who will better understand the lives of those peasant sojourners whose descendants in Canada include hockey's "Great One," Wayne Gretzky.

Peter J. Melnycky
Alberta Culture and Tourism

Frances Swyripa. *Storied Landscapes: Ethno-Religious Identity and the Canadian Prairies*. Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press, 2010. 296 pp. Notes. Index. Illustrations. Maps. \$29.95 sc.

Storied Landscapes documents the narratives and memorials of several groups that settled on the Canadian prairies in the late nineteenth century. Including Ukrainians, Icelanders, Mennonites, Doukhobors, Jews, Poles, Germans, and other Scandinavians, the book compares the ways these groups have remembered their “pioneer” origins by marking the prairie landscape with cemeteries, centennials, jubilees, state-sponsored memorials, and more private observances. Beginning and ending the book with brief personal disclosures of her own engagement with telling stories of the landscape, historian Frances Swyripa largely focuses on comparisons of these groups as “ethno-religious” units. She considers their different approaches to crafting founding myths based on historically specific men and mostly idealized women, on religious narratives of martyrdom or exile, and on the “regional particularity” (40) of their sites of departure from the homeland and arrival on the prairies.

Overall, *Storied Landscapes* is a helpful overview of white ethnic diversity in the Prairies that recognizes how memorializing the past is an active and contested practice that brings both unity and divisiveness into particular groups. The book offers some of its strongest arguments and most interesting evidence when dealing specifically with the land and its cultural modifications by way of cemeteries and monuments. Chapter Two, “Possessing the Land”, is, in part, a fascinating reflection on how different burial practices among Catholics, the Russian Orthodox, Protestants, and Mennonites led to diverse approaches to the “Christianization of the landscape” (44); Jewish cemeteries extended this diversity beyond Christian modes. Close attention to how theological and ritual practices of specific groups had material and historical effects on the Prairie landscape made this chapter particularly rich.

With chapters on “founding fathers,” diasporic connections, and “symbols of prairie ethnicity,” Swyripa clearly demonstrates that for all of these groups (save for perhaps the Doukhobors), telling stories about the ways that they possessed and transformed the Prairies, turning them into “productive” farmland, was a concerted process of both distinction from and adherence to a “mainstream” narrative of Canadian nationhood. The tensions bred of claiming cultural distinctiveness, while also practicing “self-inclusion” (207) in a broadly Canadian narrative is at the heart of Swyripa’s book. Haunting this tension between distinctiveness and inclusion is the ongoing moral burden of what being pioneers in the possessing and Christianizing (or Judaizing) of the Prairies also entailed—the dispossession and desecration of First Nations lands and peoples. Swyripa points to a few examples of Prairie groups who came to recognize their own complicity in this dispossession (148), but more

sustained analysis of the power and violence deployed in layering “multicultural” pioneer narratives on top of the underlying stories of First Nations presence on the land would offer a more complex perspective on just what was at stake in telling new stories about the Prairie landscape.

Methodologically, Swyripa orients her research around “group” narratives, with less attention to face-to-face interactions within or between groups in question. She frequently draws her evidence from local historians or academics who have studied their own ethno-religious groups. Arguing that “multiculturalism” along group lines was effectively in practice in the Prairies already in the late nineteenth century, Swyripa makes the intriguing comment that “[r]ather than being erased or minimized, ethno-religious differences became more pronounced and ethno-religious diversity became legitimized as part of the physical landscape and western character” (7). The idea that landscape and regional “character” help to legitimize certain kinds of group difference is an insight worth further exploration by other scholars. How did the idea of landscape, and the correlating idea that certain regions produce certain kinds of “character”, render some kinds of group difference more legitimate than others? For example, difference calibrated along ethno-religious lines may have made both Ukrainian and Icelandic people into exemplary Canadian pioneers, but difference viewed along racialized lines has not seemed to provide the kind of legitimacy that could make Chinese settlers into pioneers. (Chinese and Japanese communities are not part of Swyripa’s study.) Similarly, Swyripa points to the difficulties that prairie Jews experienced in fully claiming their rural, land-tilling roots once they largely moved to the city. She demonstrates how largely urban Jewish communities continue to have conflicts about the significance of particular rural places for the memorializing of their prairie “heritage” (214).

Storied Landscapes demonstrates that telling stories is always a contested and interested practice. Offering a tantalizing admission of her own involvement as a historian who has helped Catholic groups mobilize to seek official state recognition of particular places as sites of “national historical significance” (247), Swyripa shows that one of the main forces behind layering stories onto the landscape is academic scholarship itself. By telling new (old) stories about how religious and ethnic diversity have played important roles in both inhabiting and narrating the Canadian landscape, scholars themselves participate in creating the very storied landscapes that they aim to analyze.

Pamela Klassen

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Jamie S. Scott, ed. *The Religions of Canada*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2012. 468 pp. Appendix. Index. \$46.95 sc.

Jozef de Vocht, CSSR. *Father Achiel Delaere (1868-1939): The First Eastern Rite Redemptorist and Canada's Ukrainian Catholic Church*. Yorkton, SK: Gravelbooks, 2005. 325 pp. Sources. Index. \$24.95 sc.

Religion, identity, immigration, and assimilation are certainly phenomena that are inextricably linked with the Canadian story. The two volumes under review deal with two historical periods where this linkage was particularly formative of Canada's history: de Vocht speaks to the late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century settlement of Ukrainians on the prairies and Scott's edited volume addresses the contemporary scene of Canada's religions, significantly affected by post-1960's immigration. This latter, complex perspective is the focus of Scott's academic volume: "*The Religions of Canada* attempts to trace the efforts of Canada's different spiritual constituencies to negotiate the often-rocky terrain between slavish perpetuation of the religious ways of 'over there' and 'back then' and creative adaptation of inherited beliefs and practices to the social and cultural demands of a new life in a new world" (xvi). The biography of Achiel Delaere (originally published in Flemish in 1954) admits no such understanding of questions of identity or cultural adaptation. Although claiming to be "neither hagiography nor an edifying story" (xxi), de Vocht's biography seldom goes beyond a hymn of praise to the man he accurately describes as having "exerted a decisive influence on the Ukrainian Catholic Church, especially in Canada" (xxi). Nonetheless, in different ways, both volumes do contribute to our understanding of how religion and religious institutions influence Canadians.

The Delaere biography is a narrative hailing the "hero." The author occasionally offers translations of archival documents (particularly from the chronicle of the Yorkton monastery); however, they are not always identified well or notated. The reader is often left trying to decipher the origin or dating of a particular citation. This problem could have been addressed by the editor, who made other corrections to the original (xix). Despite this difficulty and the hagiographic nature of the volume, it does offer insight into the period.

The story of Achiel Delaere is important in the early settlement period of Ukrainians because it reveals two realities faced by the settlers: the absence of their traditional religious environment in Canada, which created an immense vacuum in their community and personal lives; and this gap could not be filled by non-Ukrainian priests because the settlers' identity did not easily differentiate religious from ethnic identity. Scott's volume demonstrates how more recent immigrants have

not experienced the former as acutely, but certainly do continue to struggle with the latter question of differentiation of identity. Unfortunately, de Vocht's account demonstrates his own insensitivity to the issues. In fact, the book is indicative of some of the very problems with which the settlers had to struggle. Both Delaere and de Vocht regarded the settlers' dilemma as one of religion—to be resolved by a simple adherence to the Catholic Church. Both considered issues of ethnic identification either as intrusions into what was truly important (their Catholicism) or, worse still, as manifestations of "chauvinistic nationalism" (58). The editor, Paul Laverdure, warns the reader of de Vocht's "combative or controversial style" (xviii), but suggests that this is not reflective of Delaere himself ("De Vocht used Delaere as a stick to beat . . ." [xviii]). However, Delaere's words reveal that he believed he was surrounded by enemies who must be defeated: married Ukrainian priests, the Protestants, the Seraphimites, and, perhaps initially, the first Ukrainian bishop in Canada, Nykyta Budka (172). This world of imagined conflict precludes nuance in de Vocht's and Delaere's assessment of the Ukrainian immigrants. References to the Ukrainians as "culturally backward" and "unsophisticated" (44), as "fanatical peasants" (97), with only a few being "true Catholics" (63) abound. Further evidence of the cultural and religious denigration suffered by the Ukrainian community is reflected in Delaere and de Vocht's view that, ideally, the Ukrainian Catholics would be integrated into the Latin parishes (110), but short of that, a "Greek Slavic" liturgical ministry should be encouraged. Herein lies the true contribution of Delaere and the value of de Vocht's book. If the reader is aware of the context for Delaere's ministry—the constraints placed upon the Ukrainian Catholic community, the challenges of imposter priests and bishops like Seraphim, the cultural and political prejudices of the day, and the dominant Latin Catholic view that to be truly Catholic one should give up the traditions of the Eastern Church—then one can find elements of value in the Delaere narrative. His biography is, in fact, the story of a courageous and generous priest whose ministry was unfortunately constrained by both his own cultural and religious blinders and those of his age.

Scott's edited volume is a very different work. The text is geared to Canadian university students and to helping them understand the religious world in which they live. The volume is comprised of nine chapters written by different authors, and reflects upon larger traditions, e.g., Catholic Christians, Buddhists, and an "Afterword" which tries to briefly address a number of the New Religious Movements. There is no attempt to unite the chapters with a "single methodological or theological paradigm" or a dominant understanding of what constitutes a religion (xxi). Unity in the book comes from structure. Each chapter addresses the religion's heritage, the Canadian community, recent trends, and an afterword. Clearly underlying every chapter is the question of community and individual identity, as well as,

for most, the issue of relating to the white English majority. All chapters provide comprehensive overviews within the given framework.

The chapter on Aboriginal perspectives is most noteworthy as the author, Jordan Piper, adroitly presents the varied characteristics and history of Canada's First Nations. In order to "exemplify the diversity and continuity of Aboriginal Canadian religions" (11), he supplements his presentation of shared perspectives and rituals by focusing on four living traditions, which, taken together, cover most of the Canadian landmass from east to west: Haudenosaunee, Anishinaabek, Niitsitapi, and the Kwakwaka'wak.

The other chapters are valuable in that they present much of the rich diversity within the traditions that is overlooked by outsiders. This diversity is often as much a product of ethnic differences as it is of theological disputes. However, not all the chapters address questions of assimilatory trends or creative adaptations to life in Canada with an equally critical eye. For example, in discussing Hindus in Canada, the author mentions tensions regarding hierarchical practices, yet fails to provide insight into how the community is responding to the problem. Similarly, he notes that there has been a move to "ethnic temples" since the 1970s, but does not discuss the implications of this trend (which corresponds to the rapid increase in new immigrants especially since 1991) (245). A similar gap is evident in the discussion of the Muslim community, where he refers to the vibrancy of Muslim student life on university campuses (202-3) without explaining what has motivated the growth. Most chapters allude to interesting contemporary trends or issues, but shy away from examining how they are impacting the community's developing identity. There is no real attention given to issues like feminism or homosexuality, much less the question of gay marriage. In fact, at times, the reader would suspect that the authors have a rather objectified and traditional notion of their religious community. This may be a consequence of a more "insider" perspective of the author. This latter problem is most reflected in the two chapters on Christianity. McIntire's claim in discussing Protestants that, "[i]n spite of their historical dominance, they welcome invisibility, present an image of embarrassment, tolerate their belittlement by others, and quietly suffer neglect by scholars of religion" (76), is difficult to accept. Similarly, the absence of discussion of the impact of Asian Protestant immigration is surprising. Terence Fay's chapter on Catholics also betrays an all too "insider" perspective. To argue that already by the end of the first century the "centre of Christian worship shifted to Rome" (35) betrays a Rome-centric view of Christian history. This bias is reiterated in his questionable contention that in the fifth century Rome's dominance was generally accepted (36), avoiding discussion of Rome's complicity in the controversies which led to the creation of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church in 1918 (55), the Reformation (39-40), Quebec's Quiet Revolution (58-59), and the residential

schools controversy (47). Fay's discussion of Rome-Constantinople relations is also flawed: Pope Leo IX did not excommunicate Patriarch Cerularius; this was done by his legate Cardinal Humberto (Leo had died at this point). Similarly the "Great Schism" refers to the event of 1054 and not the destruction of Constantinople by the Crusaders in 1204 (not 1024 as proposed by Fay). These factual errors lead one to question the editor's decision not to include a chapter on Eastern Christians, who now constitute a larger demographic group than some of the religions highlighted in the volume's chapters. Having myself authored a chapter on these communities in another book (*Religion and Ethnicity in Canada*), I cannot agree with the editor's assertion that "the lack of scholarly research on smaller religious communities leaves them under-represented or not represented at all" (388) and justifies their exclusion.

The Religions of Canadians deserves attention, if only because there are few resources of this nature available. However, I would suggest that the volumes edited by Bramadat and Seljak (*Religion and Ethnicity in Canada*) are not only more comprehensive, but more scholarly in their analyses and more honest in their reflection of how some of Canada's burning social questions are impacting the religious communities.

Notwithstanding its drawbacks and my words of caution, the two volumes under review attest to the vibrancy both of ethnic identity and religious tradition in the formation of individual and community identity in Canada. Neither book allows the reader to presume that this nexus of ethnicity, religion, and settlement in a new land is anything less than dynamic, complex, but also revelatory both of the life and attitudes of the immigrant and of the receiving community.

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John Lehr and David McDowell. *Trailblazers: The Lives and Times of Michael Ewanchuk and Muriel (Smith) Ewanchuk.* Winnipeg: Carpathia Publishers, 2011. 226 pp. Notes. Appendixes. Illustrations. Partial Index. \$28.50 sc.

In some regards it is not quite fair to review a book such as this in the pages of a scholarly journal, for while co-written by an academic (Lehr) and a professional educational consultant (McDowell), *Trailblazers* is clearly intended for a much broader popular audience than the typical scholarly work. Thus, it does not come with the usual accoutrements of a university press produced tome. More to the point, the better known of the two subjects of this joint biography, Michael Ewanchuk, was a self-described "amateur" historian, who had little use for the typi-

cal conventions of scholarly publication and whose works were not only never peer-reviewed, but were almost always self-published. As a result, it really does not seem appropriate to utilize the normal conventions when approaching this book or its subjects.

In the broadest terms possible, *Trailblazers* needs to be read as a biography of two everyday people who ended up leading somewhat remarkable lives. The authors do not put it in these exact terms, but like E.P. Thompson, they are obviously seeking to rescue Michael and Muriel (although, in her case, to a much lesser extent) from “the enormous condescension of posterity.” But they are also using their life stories to show a non-academic audience how ethnicity, gender, time, and place—and, in some cases, the simple accidents of history—shape lives, but are themselves as changeable and as tentative as any other “boundaries” of society. In this case the boundaries most often in question are the social and cultural conventions of 20th century Manitoba.

It is in this regard that *Trailblazers* is most successful, for the authors are at their best showing the average reader the boundaries and borderlands that this couple transgressed. That Michael and Muriel would ever become a couple was highly improbable. She came from the fairly well-established settlement frontier of western Manitoba, where her family (briefly) prospered in the almost exclusively White, Anglo-Saxon Protestant community of Mather. He was the son of Galician immigrants who were barely able to scrape by on their homestead near Gimli. As any student of Canadian history knows, the social and cultural distance of the respective upbringings was far greater than the 300 kilometers physically separating these two future life partners. However, as the authors make clear in their family and personal histories of Michael and Muriel, the determining nature of gender and ethnicity, while certainly not completely overridden (especially in the case of gender) collided with the accidents of history and conspired to bring these two together in the 1930s after their lives had seemed to be set on very different trajectories. Once together as a married couple, Muriel’s life seems to fade into the background (the authors would argue that this was a function of gender roles and expectations then current), and the narrative becomes much more about Michael’s developing career—against all odds—as a successful educational administrator, and his second career as an amateur historian and documentarian of the Ukrainian pioneer experience in Manitoba.

For those not well versed in social and ethnic history, *Trailblazers* will serve as more than just an interesting joint biography, it is also a useful primer on Ukrainian Canadian history, the history of western Canadian settlement, and the nature of social mobility on a frontier. (Historians will be interested in the authors’ willingness to resurrect Fredrick Jackson Turner’s frontier thesis, but that is another matter.) For those who are more expert in ethnic history, *Trailblazers* will provide some useful

insights into the personal life of one of the great exemplars of ethnic group historical writing at the micro or local level. However, it must be said that those expert readers may also be disappointed by the lack of analysis in certain realms. For example, the Anglo-Celtic side of this dual history—that is to say, Muriel Smith's background—is nowhere near as well documented as the Ukrainian side of the equation. It is also the case that the authors were obviously far better acquainted with Michael's story than that of Muriel, and one would have liked to see more effort go into that part of this all too brief joint biography—simple references to gender norms at the time simply do not suffice if the goal is to tell this woman's life story. There is also a sense that the authors' clearly expressed personal admiration for Michael Ewanchuk sometimes caused them to pull some punches, or not follow up intriguing lines of inquiry. For example, a bit more digging on why he was dismissed as Principal of Happy Thought School after only one year might have told us much concerning the young administrator's personality—particularly when we know that this was an incident which he always refused to discuss, even 60 years after the fact. One also would have liked to see much more analysis of Ewanchuk's ties to the *Ukrainian Voice*, to the Ukrainian Greek-Orthodox Church of Canada, to the Conservative Party during the 1930s (implied by his patronage position in 1934-35), and to Ukrainian Canadian social and cultural organizations in the years before his retirement. Discussion of all of these matters would have been of great benefit in coming to a more profound understanding of a character whom the authors believe (and I would tend to agree) deserves more fulsome recognition for his very real achievements in recording and preserving the Ukrainian Canadian experience. Finally, a more thorough line edit would have been helpful; the prose fluctuates in quality from chapter to chapter, transitions are occasionally missing, as are a few words in some of the sentences—nothing huge, but just enough to detract from the overall quality of the book.

Still, at the end of the day, *Trailblazers* is a useful addition to the literature regarding Canadian ethnicity. Like all works it could have been better, but it is still useful and for a popular audience it will be broadly instructive—and it may just stimulate interest in, and sales of, Michael Ewanchuk's books. That would certainly have pleased the Michael Ewanchuk I knew!

Jim Mochoruk

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Annette Ogrodnik Corona. *The New Ukrainian Cookbook*. New York: Hippocrene Books. 2012. xvii+270 pp. Index. Illustrations by Laurette Kovary. \$29.95 hc.

The classic Ukrainian cookbook written in English has long been Savella Stechishin's *Traditional Ukrainian Cookery*, first published in 1957. This book was extremely popular and went through eighteen printings, selling 80,000 copies. But it has been out of print since 1995, and copies of it sell for over \$265 (U.S.) on Amazon.com. I belong to a number of Ukrainian online discussion groups and the topic of a new cookbook that would replace Stechishin's classic has come up again and again. I am happy to report that Ogrodnik Corona's *The New Ukrainian Cookbook* is the book that people have long been waiting for.

The New Ukrainian Cookbook book, like Stechishin's classic, presents more than recipes; it provides cultural information about Ukrainian foodways and about the use of food in custom and ritual. As Ogrodnik Corona tells us, her earliest and fondest memories are of her grandmother's kitchen where food was part of an entire culture. The author tries to recreate her own experience by putting her numerous recipes in cultural context and giving us a sense of Ukrainian life.

The book begins with maps and information about Ukraine, its foodways, and the importance of food in Ukrainian culture. Next come the recipes. These are given roughly in the order in which they would be served during a fancy, multi-course meal: first, the appetizers, then, the soups and salads, then, the various components of a main course such as vegetables and grains, meat and fish, breads and pasta. The main course section is followed by one on eggs and omelettes. The book concludes with a section on desserts and various flavoured alcoholic beverages. Each chapter begins with a discussion of how a particular food category is served and consumed. We learn about the appearance of various dishes, typical accompaniments to them, the etiquette that goes with the presentation and consumption of the foods discussed. For example, we are given five different ways of serving *kulesha*, a Hutsul cornmeal mush. We are also told that *horilka* (vodka) should not be sipped, but downed in one gulp and followed immediately by some sort of salty or savoury *zakuska*—food which might also be an appetizer. In addition to the information on the various dishes themselves, there is general cultural information about such events as potato-digging parties, where villagers take turns helping each other bring in the potato crop and then are treated to a meal. We learn what kinds of flowers to bring on which occasion and we are told never to bring an even number of flowers as a hostess gift since even numbers of flowers are appropriate only for funerals. The *rynok* or farmer's market, a wide-spread institution in Ukraine, is described. We learn about Crimean Tatars, ethnically different from Ukrainians but now citizens of Ukraine, and how their cuisine was adopted by the Ukrainian mainstream. Some Tatar foods have been accepted as is and others have been altered slightly, producing Tatar-Ukrainian fusion. The book tells us about fishing and hunting as Ukrainian pastimes. We learn how to make a proper Easter basket and how to prepare and pres-

ent a Christmas Eve Lenten meal. Each dish is given a descriptive name in English with its Ukrainian name in transliteration underneath. All in all, the book provides a treasure trove of information about Ukrainian foods, their preparation, and their ritual and customary uses.

The book presents its material well. The transliterations use a modified Library of Congress system. The background information is good. The author traveled to Ukraine and, although her observations describe the city more than the country, they do reflect contemporary life. This is one of the main differences between the book under review and Stechishin's classic: *The New Ukrainian Cookbook* truly is new in the sense that it reflects Ukraine as it is today. I disagree with some of the depictions of ritual practices, such as the description of the appearance and use of the wedding bread or *korovai*—but then Ukraine is a large country with much regional variation. The author, while privileging information from Western Ukraine, the region from which most Ukrainians residing in Canada and the United States come, is aware of variation and does give variants of a number of dishes. In the case of *borshch*, for example, she gives eight different types. I do not agree with all of the information that Ogrodnik Corona provides. For example, I object to statements about ancient Ukrainians and their practices. Such statements are in vogue at the moment, but without proper documentation, we cannot know what ancient peoples did or thought.

As for the recipes, they are excellent and varied. All of the basic dishes are here, from holiday fare to the more everyday *hrechana kasha* (buckwheat gruel), *holubtsi* (cabbage rolls), *pyrohy* (dumplings), and *borshch*. The descriptions of preparation techniques are clear and practical. The *borshch* section, for example, helped me understand the sour flavour found in some varieties. There are lots of practical hints, such as instructions for premaking and storing starter dough and preparing broths which then become components used in a variety of dishes. Possible substitutes are given for many recipes. One practical thing that I found missing was illustrations. There are no photographs except on the cover. There are drawings, but if one does not already know what a particular item should look like, the illustrations are not always helpful. Similarly, if one does not know a technique such a *pyrohy*-pinching or cabbage leaf rolling, the author's descriptions, as thorough as they are, can be inadequate. There are some illustrations of techniques, such as rolling a *makivnyk* (poppyseed cake), but more step-by-step drawings would be helpful.

Ogrodnik Corona is a farm girl. This is evidenced in recipes that call for chicken claws, pig's feet, pork heart, beef tongue, and other ingredients not typically found at the neighbourhood supermarket. This book is modern in the sense that it omits instructions for gutting and plucking birds found in Stechishin's guide. Still, skinning a beef tongue, which Ogrodnik Corona does describe, might be more than some people are willing to tackle. Many of the recipes are not for the casual cook and

require a foodie's dedication and a significant time commitment. This applies not only to home baking, but also to tracking down unusual ingredients, pitting one's own sour cherries, and making noodles from scratch. Many of the recipes are not likely to promote heart health. Ogrodnik Corona routinely calls for extra large eggs and heavy cream. Fats are used in large quantities and include goose fat, chicken fat, lard, and bacon drippings, along with the more usual butter and oil. There are even instructions for extracting goose and other fats and for making one's own pork cracklings and goose cracklings. By the same token, one does not need to use the exact ingredients listed. More conventional fats can be substituted for the ones the author recommends and the amount of shortening can be reduced. Ogrodnik Corona herself provides variations to her recipes and lists possible substitutions.

In sum, this is a book that is both interesting and useful. Foodies should find some exciting culinary adventures here. For people of Ukrainian heritage, this is the book they have been waiting for. Food is often associated with heritage and, because it is taken into the body, that association is of the most intimate kind; it is literally visceral. Many heritage Ukrainians want to make dishes that they feel should be part of their identity, but need guidance. For them this book should be a godsend. It provides both practical and cultural information. It feeds both body and soul.

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ARTICLES

Aponiuk, Natalia. "...No Longer Quite Ukrainian But Not Quite Canadian Either...": The Ukrainian Immigrant in Canadian English-Language Literature. 47.4-5 [42.2-3]: 49-65.

Aponiuk, Natalia. Introduction: Ukrainian Canadians, Canada, Ukraine, and the Popular Imagination. 47.4-5 [42.2-3]: 1-10.

Baffoe, Michael. The Social Reconstruction of "Home" among African Immigrants in Canada. 41-42.3-1: 157-173.

Baker, Marilyn. Framing Kurelek. 47.4-5 [42.2-3]: 11-48.

Balan, Jars. The Gathering Storm: The Mainstream Canadian Press Coverage of the Soviet Union in the Lead-up to Ukraine's Great Famine-*Holodomor*. 47.4-5 [42.2-3]: 205-243.

Black, Jerome H. The 2006 and 2008 Canadian Federal Elections and Minority MPs. 41-42.3-1: 27-48.

Byers, Michele. The Stuff of Legend: T/Selling the Story of Reena Virk. 41-42.3-1: 27-48.

Cipko, Serge. The Alberta Press on Ukrainians in Canada during World War II: Two Case Studies. 47.4-5 [42.2-3]: 289-306.

Freund, Alexander. Contesting the Meanings of Migration: German Women's Immigration to Canada in the 1950s. 41-42.3-1: 1-26.

Khanenko-Friesen, Natalia. "Letters from the Old Country": Exploring and Defining Ukrainian Canadian Vernacular Letter Writing. 47.4-5 [42.2-3]: 145-169.

Kononenko, Natalie. Collecting Ukrainian Heritage: Peter Orshinsky and Leonard Krawchuk. 47.4-5 [42.2-3]: 127-144.

- Ledohowski, Lindy.** “White Settler Guilt”: Contemporary Ukrainian Canadian Prairie Literature. 47.4-5 [42.2-3]: 67-83.
- Lee, Sharon M., and Barry Edmonston.** “Canadian” as National Ethnic Origin: Trends and Implications. 41-42.3-1: 77-108.
- Lehr, John C., and Serge Cipko.** The Ukrainian Cultural Landscape in Canada and Brazil: A Century of Change and Divergence. 47.4-5 [42.2-3]: 171-204.
- Lehr, John C., and Brian McGregor.** Did Your Mother Go to Bimbo School? Naming Schools, Power, and Politics in Canada’s Prairie West. 47.4-5 [42.2-3]: 111-126.
- Madibbo, Amal.** Pratiques identitaires et racialisation des immigrants africains francophones en Alberta. 41-42.3-1 : 175-189.
- Magnan, Marie-Odile.** Les frontières linguistiques à Québec : le rôle des interactions scolaires. 41-42.3-1 : 109-130.
- Makarova, Veronika, and Khrystyna Hudyma.** Ukrainian Ethnicity and Language Interactions in Saskatchewan. 47.4-5 [42.2-3]: 85-109.
- Martynowych, Orest T.** A Ukrainian Canadian in London: Vladimir J. (Kaye) Kysilewsky and the Ukrainian Bureau, 1931-40. 47.4-5 [42.2-3]: 263-288.
- Multris, Paulin et Malanga Georges Liboy.** La conciliation travail-études : défis et réalité pour les « enfants-parents » de Brooks. 41-42.3-1 : 191-205.
- Ng, Cheuk Fan, and Herbert C. Northcott.** The Ethnic and National Identity of South Asian Immigrant Seniors Living in Edmonton, Canada. 41-42.3-1: 133-156.
- Pravaz, Natasha.** The Well of Samba: On Playing Percussion and Feeling Good in Toronto. 41-42.3-1: 207-232.
- Shkandrij, Myroslav.** The Carpatho-Ukrainian Episode of 1938-39: Canadian and International Ramifications. 47.4-5 [42.2-3]: 245-261.
- Yan, Miu Chung, Shirley Chau, and Dave Sangha.** An Exploratory Study of How Multiculturalism Policies are Implemented at the Grassroots Level. 41-42.3-1: 49-75.
- Yereniuk, Roman.** The Ukrainian Canadian Chaplaincy during World War Two. 47.4-5 [42.2-3]: 307-338.

RESEARCH NOTES/NOTES DE RECHERCHE

- Gadalla, Tahany M.** Ethnicity and Seeking Treatment for Depression: A Canadian National Study. 41-42.3-1: 233-245.
- Lebrun, Lydie A.** Accès aux services de santé parmi les immigrants au Canada. 41-42.3-1 : 247-260.

 REVIEW ARTICLES/COMPTES RENDUS

- Blanchard, Jim.** Ethnicity in Canada's Prairie Cities. 41-42.3-1: 266-271.
- Kirtz, Mary K.** Murder, Mayhem, and Melodrama: Mining for Material in a Painful Pioneer Past. 47.4-5 [42.2-3]: 339-342.
- Kirtz, Mary K.** The Disappearing Sickness: The Representation of Ukrainians and Ukraine in Fiction from Canada, the United States, and Ukraine. 47.4-5 [42.2-3]: 343-350.
- Klymasz, Robert.** Cossacks and Indians? *Métissage* in Action. 47.4-5 [42.2-3]: 359-361.
- Kononenko, Natalie.** Exploring the Everyday: Three Books about the Objects and Practices of the Canadian Past. 47.4-5: 351-358.
- Wiseman, Nelson.** Cities and Immigrants. 41-42.3-1: 261-266.
- Wiseman, Nelson.** Trudeau: The Magnetic Enigma. 41-42.3-1: 227-231.

 REVIEWS/RECENSIONS

- Biles, John, Meyer Burstein, and James Frideres, eds.** *Immigration and Integration in Canada in the Twenty-First Century*. By Nelson Wiseman. 41-42.3-1: 283-285.
- de Vocht, Jozef, CSSR.** *Father Achiel Delaere (1868-1939): The First Eastern Rite Redemptorist and Canada's Ukrainian Catholic Church*. By Myroslaw Tataryn. 47.4-5 [42.2-3]: 371-374.
- DeVries, Larry, Don Baker, and Dan Overmyer, eds.** *Asian Religions in British Columbia*. By Patricia E. Roy. 41-42.3-1: 285-287.
- Hofer, Rebecca.** *Removing the Hutterite Kerchief*. By John C. Lehr. 41-42.3-1: 273-275.
- Hinther, Rhonda L., and Jim Morochuk, eds.** *Re-imagining Ukrainian Canadians: History, Politics and Identity*. By Mary K. Kirtz. 47.4-5 [42.2-3]: 365-366.
- James, Carl, David Este, Wanda Thomas Bernard, Akua Benjamin, Bethan Lloyd, and Tana Turner.** *Race and Well-being: The Lives, Hopes, and Activism of African Canadians*. By Susan Brigham. 41-42.3-1: 289-290.
- Kirby, Mary-Ann.** *I Am Hutterite*. By John C. Lehr. 41-42.3-1: 273-275.
- Kukushkin, Vadim.** *From Peasants to Labourers: Ukrainian and Belarusan Immigration from the Russian Empire to Canada*. By Peter J. Melnycky. 47.4-5 [42.2-3]: 367-368.
- Lehr, John C.** *Community and Frontier: A Ukrainian Settlement in the Canadian Parkland*. By Nelson Wiseman. 47.4-5 [42.2-3]: 363-365.

- Lehr, John, and David McDowell.** *Trailblazers: The Lives and Times of Michael Ewanchuk and Muriel (Smith) Ewanchuk.* By Jim Mochoruk. 47.4-5 [42.2-3]: 374-376.
- Levine, Allan.** *Coming of Age: A History of the Jewish People of Manitoba.* By Nelson Wiseman. 41-42.3-1: 275-277.
- Moghissi, Haideh, Saeed Rahnema, and Mark J. Goodman.** *Diaspora by Design: Muslim Immigrants in Canada and Beyond.* By Karim H. Karim. 41-42.3-1: 279-281.
- Ogrodnik Corona, Annette.** *The New Ukrainian Cookbook.* By Natalie Kononenko. 47.4-5 [42.2-3]: 376-379.
- Pilote, Annie et Silvio Marcus de Souza Correa, dir.** *Regard sur ... L'identité des jeunes en contexte minoritaire.* Par Diane Farmer. 41-42.3-1 : 287-289.
- Salaff, Janet W., Siu-Iun Wong, and Arent Greve.** *Hong Kong Movers and Stayers: Narratives of Family Migration.* By Shanti Fernando. 41-42.3-1: 291-292.
- Scott, Jamie S., ed.** *The Religions of Canada.* By Myroslaw Tataryn. 47.4-5 [42.2-3]: 371-374.
- Simon-Barouh, Ida.** *Juifs à Rennes. Étude ethnosociologique.* Par Danielle Juteau. 41-42.3-1 : 277-279.
- Sunley, Christina.** *The Tricking of Freya.* By Birna Bjarnadóttir. 41-42.3-1: 281-283.
- Swyrripa, Frances.** *Storied Landscapes: Ethno-Religious Identity and the Canadian Prairies.* By Pamela Klassen. 47.4-5 [42.2-3]: 369-370.
- Talpush, Orest.** *Rybalski's Son.* By Lindy Ledohowski. 41.1-2: 253-255.
- Thériault, Joseph Yvon, Anne Gilbert et Linda Cardinal, eds.** *L'espace francophone en milieu minoritaire au Canada : nouveaux enjeux, nouvelles mobilisations.* Par Martin Normand. 41.1-2 : 247-249.
- Zine, Jasmin.** *Canadian Islamic Schools: Unraveling the Politics of Faith, Gender, Knowledge, and Identity.* By Marie McAndrew. 41.1-2: 241-242.