

VILLAGE RADICALS AND PEASANT IMMIGRANTS:
THE SOCIAL ROOTS OF FACTIONALISM
AMONG UKRAINIAN IMMIGRANTS IN CANADA,
1896-1918

A Thesis
Presented To
The Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research
The University of Manitoba

In Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements for the Degree
Master of Arts

by

Orest T. Martynowych

1978

THE CANADIANIZATION OF THE UKRAINIAN IMMIGRANT

BY

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A dissertation submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies of
the University of Manitoba in partial fulfillment of the requirements
of the degree of

MASTER OF ARTS

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I am indebted to many people who have helped me in a variety of ways.

The librarians and archivists of the Provincial Library and the Provincial Archives of Manitoba, the National Library and Public Archives of Canada, the United Church Archives at Victoria College, Toronto, and the Slavic Collection at the Elizabeth Dafoe Library, University of Manitoba, were always courteous and helpful. Likewise, the librarians at the Ukrainian Cultural and Educational Centre (Oseredok), Winnipeg, the Ukrainian National Home, Winnipeg, the Ukrainian Reading Association "Prosvita", Winnipeg, and the staff at Trident Press, Winnipeg, were always anxious to be of assistance.

Mr. Roman Malanchuk of the New York City Public Library, as well as Dr. Mykhailo Marunchak, the Rt. Rev. Dr. S. Sawchuk, the late Rev. Ivan Robert Kovalevitch, and Mr. Mykola Zalozetsky, all of Winnipeg, were kind enough to provide me with source materials which I could not otherwise have obtained.

Professors J. E. Rea and O. W. Gerus jointly supervised the thesis, offered encouragement, and displayed extraordinary patience and endurance as they read and commented upon the various versions of the work. Dr. R. B. Klymasz was kind enough to read and comment upon that portion of the second chapter which deals with Ukrainian peasant immigrants.

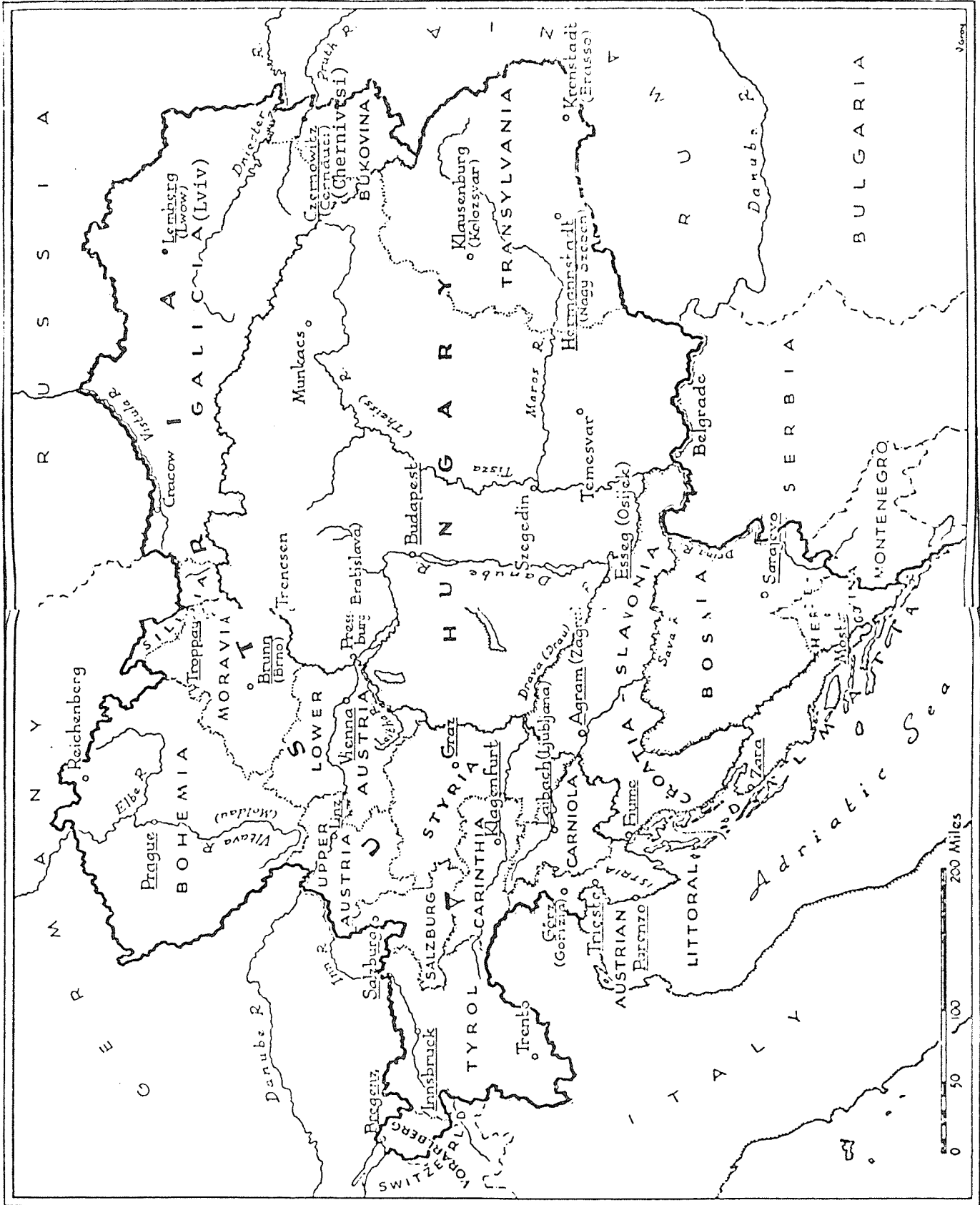
The research for this study was facilitated, in part, by a Canada Council Special M.A. Scholarship during the 1973-1974 academic year, and by a travel grant from the J. W. Ewart Memorial Fund in the autumn of 1975.

Needless to say, I alone am responsible for any faults in this work.

ABSTRACT

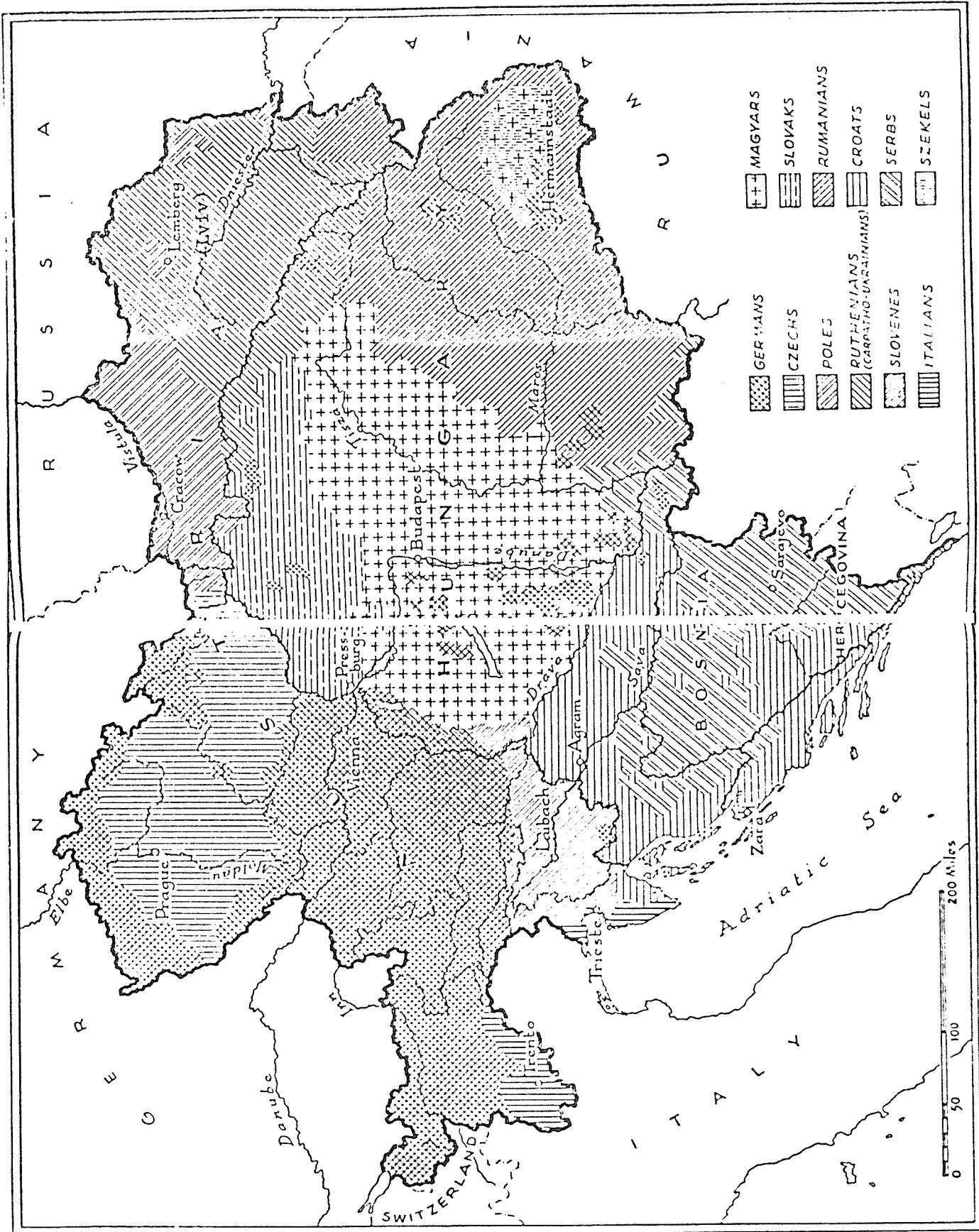
Between 1896 and 1918 the Ukrainian immigrant community in Canada became divided into four mutually antagonistic camps. Although the Greek Catholic clergy, which had exercised religious, social and cultural hegemony over the majority of Ukrainian peasant immigrants in their homeland, managed to retain the allegiance of most settlers, its leadership was challenged from within the immigrant community and its authority undermined by Ukrainian advocates of protestant, socialist and nationalist orientations. The religious, political and ideological divisions, which emerged within the Ukrainian immigrant community, traced their origins to developments within the Ukrainian community in Galicia and Bukovina, during the last two decades of the nineteenth century. In the two Habsburg provinces, especially in Galicia, members of the Ukrainian Radical Party had challenged the hegemony of the Catholic clergy. In Canada divisions first appeared within the immigrant community when members of the village intelligentsia, who had been influenced by the Radical movement, attempted to establish the life of the Ukrainian peasant immigrant masses on enlightened and rational foundations. In an effort to modernize the peasant immigrants' traditional perceptions, values and behaviour patterns, and in order to facilitate their integration into Canadian society on terms of equality, members of the village intelligentsia advocated evangelical protestantism, socialist working class solidarity, and the cultivation of a sense of Ukrainian national identity. Changes in the social composition of the Ukrainian immigrant community, Roman Catholic and Greek Catholic efforts to subordinate the immigrants to clerical authority, and Anglo-Celtic efforts to "Canadianize" Ukrainian immigrants through the Protestant Churches and the Public Schools, exacerbated differences among advocates of protestantism, socialism and nationalism, and created an unbridgeable gulf between the three factions and the Catholic clergy. By 1918 the Ukrainian community in Canada was in a state of turmoil, as Ukrainian Greek Catholic priests, Ukrainian Presbyterian ministers, Ukrainian Communists, and advocates of Ukrainian nationalism, who had established the Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church, struggled to retain or to capture the allegiance of the immigrant masses. This turbulent state of affairs, further complicated by the emergence of new factions during the inter-war period, lasted until 1940, when it was partially and inconclusively resolved by the creation of the Ukrainian Canadian Committee. The thesis seeks to throw some light on the origins of these religious, political and ideological divisions which first emerged within the Ukrainian immigrant community between 1896 and 1918.

AUSTRIA-HUNGARY, POLITICAL ORGANIZATION

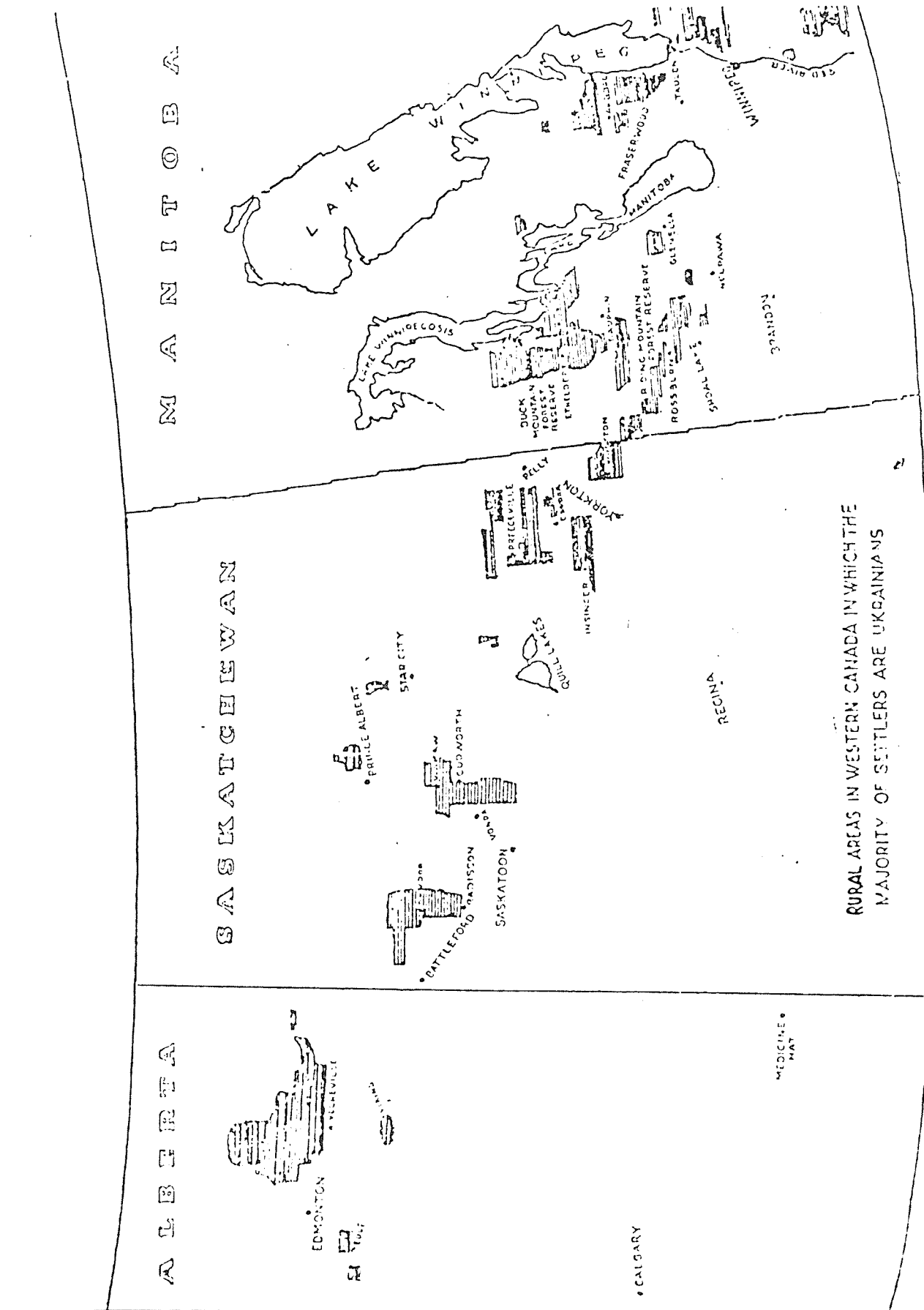


SOURCE: Robert A. Kann, THE MULTINATIONAL EMPIRE: NATIONALISM AND NATIONAL REFORM IN THE HABSBURG MONARCHY 1848-1918 (New York: Columbia University Press, 1950), I, 20-21.

AUSTRIA-HUNGARY, NATIONAL GROUPS: Only national groups representing more than 50 percent of the population in a given area are shown on map.



SOURCE: Robert A. Kann, THE MULTINATIONAL EMPIRE: NATIONALISM AND NATIONAL REFORM IN THE HABSBURG MONARCHY 1848-1918 (New York: Columbia University Press, 1950), I, 40-41.



SOURCE: Charles H. Young, THE UKRAINIAN CANADIANS: A STUDY IN ASSIMILATION (Toronto: Thomas Nelson & Sons, 1931), 72.

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INTRODUCTION

During the three decades preceding 1920 over 170,000 Ukrainians immigrated to Canada. This, the first phase of Ukrainian settlement in Canada, was characterized by intense social, intellectual and religious turmoil within the immigrant community. As a result, by the end of the Great War, four mutually antagonistic factions were discernible among Ukrainians in Canada. Although the Ukrainian Greek Catholic clergy, which had exercised religious, social and political hegemony over the majority of Ukrainian immigrants in their homeland, managed to retain the allegiance of most settlers, its leadership had been challenged from within the immigrant community and its authority undermined by lay advocates of protestant, socialist and nationalist orientations. By 1918 exponents of each orientation had already attempted to, or were in the process of establishing, their own institutions, which were free of the Catholic clergy's control.

According to standard accounts of the period, dissension and the emergence of new orientations within the Ukrainian community, which challenged the hegemony of the Catholic clergy, were due to a growing sense of "freedom and independence" among immigrants who had "absorbed the spirit of Canadian democracy".* Needless to say, explanations of this sort fail to withstand scrutiny. They reveal more about the ideological assumptions which color the writings of the historians who

*Paul Yuzyk, The Ukrainians in Manitoba: A Social History, (Toronto, 1953), and the same author's The Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church of Canada, 1918-1951, Unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Minnesota, 1958.

employ them, than they do about the historical processes involved. Consequently this thesis seeks to throw some light on the origins and development of factionalism within the Ukrainian immigrant community in Canada during the period from 1896 to 1918. It will be argued that:

(1) New religious and political orientations within the Ukrainian immigrant community in Canada, which challenged the hegemony of the Catholic clergy, were inspired by social conflict and intellectual ferment within the Ukrainian community in Galicia and Bukovyna, whence most of the immigrants emigrated.

(2) Protestant, socialist and nationalist orientations were articulated in Canada in an effort to rationalize or modernize the perceptions, beliefs and behaviour patterns of culturally neglected and economically exploited peasant immigrants — be it to facilitate their integration into Canadian society on terms of equality with other Canadians, or in order to mobilize them for the revolutionary transformation of that society.

(3) Attempts by the French-speaking Roman Catholic clergy and by the Ukrainian Greek Catholic clergy to subordinate the immigrants to their own authority, as well as attempts by representatives of the dominant Anglo-Celtic Protestant community to denationalize the immigrants and to control their political and socio-economic behaviour, exacerbated divisions within the immigrant community and led advocates of protestant, socialist and nationalist orientations to establish their own autonomous networks of cultural, educational, economic, political and religious institutions.

A few preliminary remarks are in order at the outset. First, it must be remembered that the Ukrainians who immigrated to Canada during the period under consideration were almost exclusively members of the peasant class. The vast majority emigrated from eastern Galicia and northern Bukovyna, Ukrainian-populated regions in two of the most economically backward and underdeveloped provinces of the Austro-Hungarian Empire. In Galicia and Bukovyna, where 93 percent of the Ukrainian population was engaged in agriculture as land hungry peasant cultivators or landless agrarian laborers, and where almost 80 percent of the Ukrainian population was illiterate, Ukrainian peasants had

constituted an economically exploited, socially oppressed, culturally neglected, colonized people, preyed upon by foreign landowners, bureaucrats and merchants, and frequently patronized and humiliated by more privileged members of their own nationality. Yet, for many of these Ukrainian peasants, immigration to Canada did not prove to be a liberating experience. Recruited to satisfy the demand for agricultural settlers and cheap, malleable labor, they settled in blocs along the northern fringe of the Prairie frontier and were employed as frontier workers on railroad construction, in the mines and in the forests. There, they were expected to cultivate lands of marginal quality and to perform the type of menial and unremunerative labor which members of the dominant group eschewed. Moreover, they were isolated from modern sectors of Canadian society, from centres of political power and cultural life, and, they were often left without basic social services such as schools and medical facilities. Life continued to be no less hazardous and insecure than it had been in the Old World.

Under these circumstances a noticeable proportion of the peasant immigrants displayed perceptions, values and behaviour patterns, which threatened to impede their integration into Canadian society on terms of equality with its other members. These perceptions, values and behaviour patterns, it must be stressed, were not national traits, which were peculiar to Ukrainian peasants. Rather, they were attitudes which were peculiar to a socio-economic class — the peasantry. They were attitudes of the type noticed by cultural anthropologists in most peasant societies — the result of economic deprivation and cultural neglect. Thus, as long as peasant immigrants remained culturally isolated, at the mercy of the elements, and exposed to the constant threat of

illness and death, superstition and fatalism continued to flourish in Canada. Where lands of poor quality and economic scarcity complicated the immigrants' efforts to establish themselves, many continued to perceive their environment as one in which all the desired and necessary things in life were limited or in short supply. This in turn often bred suspicion, envy and mistrust, thereby encouraging economic individualism and inhibiting cooperation. Discrimination and humiliation by social superiors tended to fortify these attitudes and to inculcate feelings of inferiority and self-contempt. Only the realization that men could be conscious agents of change and progress would eradicate these lingering perceptions and behaviour patterns. Prior to 1920, however, in more than one district, progress was slow, and there was little evidence of man's ability to better his condition or to shape his own destiny.

Second, it is important to realize that leadership within the immigrant community throughout the period from 1896 to 1918 was provided almost exclusively by members of the village intelligentsia. Although the social structure in Galicia and Bukovyna had been traditional — composed of aristocrats, burghers and peasants — the aristocrats and burghers had been, as a rule, foreigners. Ukrainian society had consisted of peasants, priests, and a very small middle class composed of teachers, lawyers and petty bureaucrats. While isolated clergymen and some members of the middle class had encouraged and assisted land hungry peasants to immigrate to Canada, very few representatives of these social strata accompanied the peasant immigrants on the long trek to the new world. In the absence of representatives of these two strata, especially in the almost total absence of the clergy,

leadership was assumed by the village intelligentsia. This stratum of rural Ukrainian society was comprised of literate, fairly articulate peasants — or their offspring — who had at least some education. Usually members of the village intelligentsia were village school teachers or petty government officials. In Canada a large proportion would become bilingual school teachers. Above all, members of the village intelligentsia were distinguished from other villagers by their interest in controversial political, social and religious issues, and by the fact that they were free of the cultural fetters imposed on the individual in traditional peasant societies. They realized that men could shape their own destiny. Conscientious members of the village intelligentsia displayed a concern with society at large and were anxious to work on its behalf. They hoped to "enlighten and elevate" their economically exploited and culturally neglected countrymen. In fact this sense of social consciousness and moral commitment, rather than education or social origin, was understood to be the mark of a true intelligent.

Those members of the village intelligentsia who articulated protestant, socialist and nationalist orientations in Canada derived their inspiration from the Ukrainian Radical movement. Attempts to transform Ukrainian peasants into self-reliant, enlightened and active agents of their own social emancipation and national liberation had been initiated by exponents of Radicalism in Galicia and Bukovyna late in the nineteenth century. Because the higher clergy in Galicia (Greek Catholic) and in Bukovyna (Greek Orthodox) acted as the instrument of foreign ruling classes, while most members of the lower clergy remained indifferent to the plight of the peasantry, the Radicals articulated a

social and political orientation based on anti-clerical, socialist and populist principles. Drawing their recruits from the ranks of alienated young intellectuals and politically conscious peasants, the Radicals embraced liberal free-thinkers, democratic nationalists and social democrats. By 1900 the movement had given birth to three Ukrainian political parties. In addition to the militantly anti-clerical Radical Party, Social Democratic and National Democratic parties had been founded by former Radicals. All three continued to oppose the hegemony of the Catholic clergy.

In Canada members of the village intelligentsia continued to keep in touch with the Radical movement in Galicia, and attempted — in their own way — to put its principles into practice. They endeavoured to "enlighten and elevate" their exploited and neglected countrymen. The persistence of obsolete attitudes among some of the peasant immigrants, social differentiation among the immigrants and the intelligentsia, and the confrontation between members of the intelligentsia and representatives of the Old and the New World, resulted in the articulation of three different orientations — protestant, socialist and nationalist. Thus, advocates of protestantism, the first orientation to emerge from within the ranks of the intelligentsia, believed that conversion to protestantism would foster self-reliance and self-esteem among peasant immigrants by dispensing with clerical tutelage and by minimizing social distinctions between laity and clergy. Similarly, by inveighing against moral lapses rather than against the failure to comply with customary observances, protestantism would root out superstition and instill virtues such as charity, honesty, sobriety and self-mastery, thereby encouraging cooperation and conscious

self-improvement. Advocates of socialism, who feared that the immigrants' fatalism, self-abnegation and deference to authority facilitated their exploitation, sought to foster conscious opposition to capitalist exploitation by encouraging working class solidarity. The emergence of the socialist orientation reflected the growing number of Ukrainian frontier and urban laborers in Canada. Advocates of nationalism believed that the cultivation of Ukrainian national identity, pride and solidarity, would instill a sense of personal self-respect and human dignity among their demoralized countrymen. A sense of Ukrainian national solidarity, they assumed, could overcome the peasant immigrants' traditional individualism and suspiciousness, their inability or unwillingness to cooperate with one another. The nationalists' moderate program, which stressed bilingual education, reflected the very high proportion of teachers in the nationalist camp, and appealed primarily to those settlers who were materially comfortable enough to ignore socialist appeals for social upheaval, yet resentful at efforts by representatives of the Anglo-Celtic community to enforce cultural homogeneity.

Third, throughout the period under consideration, in addition to debating the merits of their own orientations, members of the village intelligentsia were also engaged in a struggle with the French-speaking Roman Catholic and the Ukrainian Greek Catholic clergy on the one hand, and with Anglo-Celtic Protestant advocates of Canadianization on the other hand. Unlike those representatives of the village intelligentsia who hoped to "enlighten and elevate" the immigrants by rationalizing and modernizing their perceptions, values and behaviour patterns, members of the Catholic clergy were, as a rule, prepared to subordinate

everything to the task of preserving the immigrants' allegiance to the Catholic Church, while proponents of Canadianization sought to denationalize the immigrants and to control their political and socio-economic behaviour in accordance with their own interests. This confrontation with the Catholic clergy and with advocates of Canadianization not only raised hostilities between the intelligentsia and these two groups to a fever pitch, it also exacerbated divisions within the ranks of the intelligentsia and culminated in efforts by protestants, socialists and nationalists to establish their own autonomous institutions, thereby formalizing the disintegration of the Ukrainian immigrant community. Thus, in response to efforts by the French-speaking Roman Catholic clergy to subordinate Ukrainian immigrants to its own authority, advocates of the protestant orientation established the Independent Greek Church with assistance from the Presbyterian Church of Canada. When, more than a decade later, the Ukrainian Greek Catholic clergy continued to pursue an authoritarian and narrowly denominational course, advocates of the nationalist orientation — who were cognizant of Presbyterian efforts to use the Independent Greek Church for their own ends and wary of stepped up efforts to denationalize the immigrants through the agency of the Public School — established the Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church. Although the Ukrainian Social Democratic Federation was established primarily in response to socio-economic injustices and inequalities, members of the Federation and of its successor, the Ukrainian Social Democratic Party, consistently criticized Catholic clericalism and denounced "English chauvinism".

Finally, a word about the parameters of this thesis. It focuses

on the village intelligentsia, specifically on the emergence of the three different orientations among members of the group, and on their strategies for helping their culturally neglected and economically underprivileged countrymen. Consequently I have delimited the thesis chronologically by the years 1896 to 1918 — the former signifying the year that the first members of the village intelligentsia began to arrive in Canada, the latter signifying the year divisions within the Ukrainian immigrant community were finalized. Although there are serious gaps in documentation, a study of the intelligentsia nevertheless remains the most feasible approach to an understanding of the Ukrainian immigrant community in Canada during the first two decades of the century and provides the key to understanding subsequent developments. Most of the newspapers, almanacs and memoirs published during the period, or relevant to it, served as organs of the various factions and reflected their concerns and objectives. They also provide fleeting glimpses of life among the immigrant masses. By the same token, it must be remembered that our knowledge of the quality of daily life and personal relations among these peasant immigrant masses during this period remains very unsatisfactory. A formidable amount of research will have to be done if this much neglected but crucial dimension of the immigrant experience is to be understood. Consequently, those parts of the thesis which deal with some of the perceptions, values and behaviour patterns observed among peasant immigrants in districts where economic scarcity continued to prevail, should by no stretch of the imagination be regarded as a comprehensive sketch of Ukrainian peasant immigrant culture. They simply indicate the kind of perceptions and behaviour patterns — bred by centuries of oppression and deprivation — which stirred the village intelligentsia into action.

CHAPTER ONE

THE ROOTS OF UKRAINIAN RADICALISM IN GALICIA AND BUKOVYNA

The origins of ideological factionalism within the Ukrainian immigrant community in Canada, during the period from 1896 to 1918, may be traced to developments within the Ukrainian community in the Habsburg Empire prior to the turn of the century. Throughout the nineteenth century, Ukrainians in the Habsburg Empire constituted an economically exploited, socially oppressed, culturally neglected and nationally colonized people. As a result of centuries of rule by foreign conquerors, the Ukrainian population consisted of two social classes; a numerically small, relatively privileged clergy, and an oppressed and exploited peasantry which constituted over 90 percent of the Ukrainian population. A secular intelligentsia, members of which were concentrated in the bureaucratic, legal and teaching professions, began to emerge only in the last quarter of the century and did not assume leadership within the community until just before the turn of the century. Since the higher clergy acted as an instrument of the foreign ruling classes and most members of the lower clergy remained indifferent to the plight of the peasantry, a radical orientation which challenged clerical hegemony was articulated by a small group of young intellectuals. The result was the formation, in 1890, of the Radical Party. By the turn of the century the Radical Party and its two offspring, the National Democratic Party and the Social Democratic Party, were struggling to transform the Ukrainian peasantry into enlightened,

self-reliant and active agents of their own social emancipation and national liberation. Although relations between the three parties and broadening segments of the lower clergy were becoming increasingly amicable, relations with the ecclesiastical hierarchy remained strained. These tensions would also emerge in the Ukrainian immigrant community in Canada.

I

On the eve of the first world war approximately 4,100,000 Ukrainians were living within the borders of the Habsburg Empire. Of these over 3,350,000 were settled in the eastern half of the province of Galicia and another 300,000 in the northern half of Bukovyna.¹ Since no less than 93.2 percent of the Ukrainians in the Empire were engaged in agriculture an examination of agrarian relations, and economic, social and political conditions in the two provinces, is in order at the outset.

According to the Austro-Hungarian census of 1902, 3895 pomishchyky (landowners holding at least 100 hectares), who constituted 0.6 percent of all eastern Galician landowners, held 2,100,000 hectares of land, or, 41 percent of the entire surface area of eastern Galicia.² Thus, the average pomishchyk held 540 hectares of land. In Bukovyna 585 pomishchyky, who constituted 0.4 percent of all Bukovynian landowners, held 201,000 hectares or 20 percent of the surface area of the entire province. Here the average pomishchyk's landholding amounted to 345 hectares.

Most of the pomishchyky were foreign members of the hereditary aristocracy. In eastern Galicia they included representatives of such illustrious Polish magnate families as the princes Lubomirski and

Poniatowski and the counts Potocki and Goluchowski, as well as representatives of Polonized Lithuanian aristocratic families such as the princes Sapieha and Radziwill. Twenty-five of these families, some of whom were simultaneously subjects of the Habsburgs, Romanovs and Hohenzollerns, held over 20 percent of the surface area of Galicia. Besides the Polish magnates, Germans and Czechs, mostly members of the service aristocracy and government officials, held 227,000 hectares in all of Galicia. The Bukovynian pomishchyky, predominantly German and Rumanian, tended to fall into this category. Ukrainians also figured among the pomishchyky although very insignificantly. In eastern Galicia 47 Ukrainian pomishchyky controlled a total 44,000 hectares. This constituted 2.2 percent of all pomishchyk lands, or, 0.85 percent of all the land in eastern Galicia. The largest landholdings belonging to a Ukrainian family in the empire were located in Bukovyna, where Baron Vasylo's family held 33,200 hectares. The fastest rising stratum of landlords in Galicia and Bukovyna consisted of Jewish pomishchyky who sprang from the urban Jewish financial, merchant and industrial bourgeoisie. First granted the right to buy lands from the aristocracy in 1860, by 1890, 577 Jewish pomishchyky held 336,190 hectares in all of Galicia. According to recent Soviet studies, by 1900 as much as 35 percent of all the land in eastern Galicia, including small peasant plots of land, may have been owned by Jewish pomishchyky.³

Ecclesiastical landholdings occupied an intermediate position between those of the pomishchyky and the peasantry. In all of Galicia the Roman Catholic and Greek Catholic Churches held a total of 129,000 hectares or 1.65 percent of the total surface area of the province.

Of this total 85,000 hectares belonged to the Greek Catholic Church. Since its holdings were concentrated in eastern Galicia, it would appear that the Church held 1.64 percent of the total surface area of eastern Galicia. In Bukovyna the Greek Orthodox Church held 286,000 hectares or 25.7 percent of the total surface area of the entire province. Arable land, pastures and meadows covered 60,000 hectares; the remaining 226,000 hectares were covered by forests and amounted to 50.4 percent of Bukovyna's forest lands. The 85,000 hectares of land held by the Greek Catholic Church in eastern Galicia were distributed among 1676 parishes occupied by 2026 clerical families.⁴ Thus the average landholding per parish amounted to 50.64 hectares. While this was considerably less than the average pomishchyk's landholding, it compared very favorably with the average peasant holding, as will be seen. In addition, members of the clergy received cash subsidies from the state (konhrua), and were entitled to collect certain dues and services from their peasant parishioners. These included dues in domestic products (kanonii), dues in raw goods (skipshchyna), fees for baptisms, weddings and funerals (treby), and in a few parishes, wage free labor services. At the turn of the century it was estimated that an average eastern Galician parish contributed 700 gulden annually in dues and/or treby to the income of its parish priest(s). As a result, the clergy constituted a distinct intermediate stratum of landholders in Galician and Bukovynian society.

Lowest on the social scale were the peasants and agrarian laborers. With the abolition of serfdom in 1848, the peasants had received title to the plots of land they occupied, and all feudal dues and services owing to the pomishchyky had been cancelled. However, the pomishchyky

had exacted a tremendous price for these concessions and the burden had fallen squarely on the shoulders of the peasantry. The patent abolishing serfdom had not only guaranteed generous monetary compensation for the pomishchyky, it also required the peasants to pay dues for the use of forests, fields and pastures which had previously been common lands, and, it reasserted the pomishchyk's right to monopolize the production and sale of alcohol on their domains. Thus, between 1858 and 1898, the peasants of Galicia paid their former landlords a total indemnity of 121,000,000 gulden in compensation for the "freedom" granted to them. Between 1848 and 1896 Galician pomishchyky appropriated 2,073,000 hectares of forests, pastures and fields, which had previously been regarded as common lands. Henceforth peasants who availed themselves of these lands were required to make cash payments or to perform wage free labor. Such was the extent of the peasantry's dependence on the pomishchyky — who controlled 90 percent of all forests and 25 percent of all pastures and non-arable fields — that at the turn of the century almost half of the labor performed on the estates of the pomishchyky continued to be wage free. Finally, the legacy of the alcohol monopoly was revealed by the following statistics, compiled in 1876, when the pomishchyky consented to surrender this privilege (in exchange for additional monetary compensation). Galicia boasted 23,269 taverns, or, one tavern for every 233 persons. Ten to twenty taverns in a village, strategically located beside places of work, worship and leisure, were not an unusual phenomenon. The annual per capita consumption of 50 percent proof alcohol in Galicia was 26 litres; this compared with 10.9 litres in France and 9.4 in Germany.⁵ At the turn of the century 40 percent of all Austro-Hungarian distilleries were located in Galicia.

By 1900 just over 3,000,000 hectares of land were distributed among 650,000 peasant households in eastern Galicia, while in all of Bukovyna 477,000 hectares were distributed among 110,000 peasant households.⁶ While these figures suggest that the average peasant household held 4.75 hectares of land in Galicia, and 4.35 hectares in Bukovyna, most peasant households held about 2.5 hectares. In eastern Galicia 42.7 percent of peasant landholdings amounted to less than 2 hectares, and 80 percent amounted to less than 5 hectares. In Bukovyna 56 percent of peasant households held less than 2 hectares, and 85 percent held less than 5 hectares. Since a holding of less than 3 hectares could not provide even the barest subsistence for the smallest of households, almost half of all Ukrainian peasant households (including 75 percent of those with less than 5 hectares of land) hired out at least one member of the family to work on the estates of the pomishchyky or on the lands of wealthy peasants. Only 4.9 percent of the landholdings in eastern Galicia and 4.6 percent in Bukovyna exceeded 10 hectares, thereby indicating that their owners were wealthy peasants.

The scarcity of land was aggravated by an abysmally low level of agricultural technology. Scattered, dwarf-sized holdings rendered agricultural technology impractical even where it was financially feasible. Almost everywhere land continued to be cultivated with wooden hoes and ox-drawn ploughs; grain was sown by hand, cut with a scythe and threshed with flails; and, sophisticated methods of crop rotation were unknown. In eastern Galicia 75 percent of the households with less than 2 hectares had no horses and 25 percent had no cows; those with 2 to 5 hectares averaged a horse and cow per household. In Bukovyna at least 45 percent of the households had no horses and 11 percent had

no cows. In all of Galicia 1,150,000 peasant households with less than 10 hectares owned a grand total of 34 sowers and 58 harvesting machines.

The standard of living among the mass of the peasantry was very low. The per capita income of the Galician population was one-tenth that of the rest of Austria. Cramped and unventilated housing, unhygienic living conditions, inadequate clothing during the winter months, and a monotonous, unvariegated diet of primitively prepared food, deficient in nutritional value, characterized the peasants' day to day existence. The consumption of staples such as meat, grain, and potatoes in Galicia was about one-half of that in western Europe. In all of Galicia 55,000 people died of starvation annually. High rates of infant mortality and death, and susceptibility to disease, were also typical. The infant mortality rate in eastern Galicia was 20.1 percent for children one year of age and under. The death rate in Galicia was 36/1000, the highest in the Habsburg Empire at the turn of the century. What was even more significant, was the fact that while the western (Polish) half had a death rate of about 28/1000, in a number of eastern (Ukrainian) Galician districts it hovered between 40 and 48/1000.⁷ Diseases such as smallpox, typhoid, tuberculosis, trachoma, and occasionally cholera, ravaged the countryside. Yet, in 1900 there were only 87 public and 58 private hospitals in Galicia with a total bed capacity of 5300. Bukovyna boasted 9 hospitals, 30 pharmacies and 141 practicing physicians in 1906.

Because they were at the mercy of absentee and rentier landlords, Galicia and Bukovyna remained internal colonies of the industrialized inner core regions of Austria. In the Ukrainian sections of Galicia

and Bukovyna the colonial status of the economy was complemented by policies of political, national and cultural colonialism, pursued by foreign upper classes in agreement with the dynasty and the central government.

Within the Austro-Hungarian economy Galicia and Bukovyna served as exporters of raw materials, agricultural products, and cheap labor. At the turn of the century northern Bukovyna had no industrial sector; primary industry relating to forest products and lumbering was beginning to develop in the south. Galicia was comparatively more advanced although well behind the rest of Austria. Whereas 36.7 percent of the Austrian population was engaged in industry, the proportion in Galicia was only 5.7 percent. In eastern Galicia only 150,000 full-time workers were employed in industries such as textiles, matchstick making, salt-mining, lumbering, transportation, and petroleum extraction. The last, the most advanced sector of eastern Galician industry, accounted for 5.5 percent of global output in 1909, and was controlled by Austrian, British, French, German, Belgian and American concerns. Further evidence of the low level of industrial development in eastern Galicia was provided by the almost total absence of metallurgical and mechanical industries, and by the fact that in 1902, 90 percent of all industrial enterprises employed 5 or fewer workers. In eastern Galicia 54 percent of the industrial working class was Polish, 24 percent Ukrainian, 20 percent Jewish and 2 percent German.⁸

The participation of Ukrainians in this very modest growth was all but non-existent. Few Ukrainians could generate the capital required for investment in industry. No less than 97 percent of the Ukrainian

population consisted of peasants, agrarian laborers, servants, domestics and urban laborers. Of the remaining 3 percent roughly one-half were members of clerical families, the other half, teachers, students, lawyers and government employees. Although there were eleven cities with a population of over 10,000 in eastern Galicia, Ukrainians constituted only 15 percent of the urban population, including 16.2 percent of the population of Lviv, and 17.9 percent of the population of Chernivtsi. Poles, Jews and Germans outnumbered Ukrainians in all urban centres, while the Jews, who comprised 11 percent of the Galician population, controlled 88 percent of Galician trade and commerce in 1900.⁹ Thus, besides three joint-stock companies with interests in the petroleum industry, a number of small mining concerns, and a few brick-making plants, Ukrainian-owned industrial enterprises were scarce.

From 1861 until 1907, when universal male suffrage was introduced, elections to the central and provincial assemblies were held on the basis of the curia system. Under the system four groups — the pomishchyky, the chambers of commerce, the towns, and the villages — were allowed representation in the provincial Diets and in the imperial Diet (Reichsrat). Property qualifications eliminated most peasants from voting in the curia of villages. Consequently, in 1900, of 5,800,000 peasants in all of Galicia only 13 percent held the franchise, while only 10 percent of 520,000 peasants in Bukovyna enjoyed this privilege. While one member of the Reichsrat elected from the curia of landlords in Galicia represented 7247 persons, one member elected from the curia of villages represented 207,942 persons. Similarly, one member of the Galician provincial Diet elected from the curia of landlords represented 3294 persons and was elected by 51

voters; one member representing the villages represented 75,891 persons and was elected by 7269 voters. Even after the reform of 1907, one German representative in the Reichsrat represented 40,000 persons; one Polish representative represented 52,000 persons; and one Ukrainian representative represented 102,000 persons.

Fully in control of the wealth and political institutions in the regions settled by Ukrainians, the foreign ruling classes had firm control over the cultural and national development of the Ukrainian masses. In Galicia the Polish elite, with the complicity of the central government, kept Ukrainians in a state of cultural neglect by controlling key administrative organs. Although by 1910 there were 2457 Ukrainian elementary schools in Galicia, most were one or two room structures offering instruction on a grade one and two level. In 1905 over 250,000 children (25 percent) in all of Galicia, between 7 and 13 years of age, were not attending school.¹⁰ Up to 40 percent of Ukrainian children fell into this category. Although Ukrainians constituted at least 42 percent of the population of the entire province of Galicia, prior to 1909 they comprised only 26 percent of the students in teachers' seminaries, 19 percent of high school students, 13 percent of law students, 13 percent of philosophy students, 7 percent of medical students, and 6 percent of technical students. In 1911 the proportion of Ukrainian students at the University of Lviv was 21.7 percent and at the Lviv Polytechnical Institute it was 5.4 percent. Only 10 of 409 university instructors were Ukrainians, while none of the 129 instructors at the Polytechnical Institute were Ukrainians.

In Bukovyna, where Rumanian and German influences were strong, Ukrainian access to educational institutions was not much greater.

By 1911, 216 of 531 elementary schools were Ukrainian, and another 15 offered instruction in the Ukrainian language. About 40,000 of 113,000 or 35.3 percent of the children enrolled in the elementary schools were Ukrainian. Over 40 percent of the Ukrainian elementary schools, however, had only one grade. Only 201 of 539 teachers' seminary students, 1194 of 5600 high school students, and 71 of 700 technical students, were Ukrainian. Likewise, only 13.6 percent of the students at the University of Chernivtsi, in 1910, were Ukrainian.

The high incidence of illiteracy which resulted was one of the greatest obstacles to material and cultural progress among the peasantry. Although the rate of literacy was rising among young people, in 1900, 79.8 percent of all Ukrainian speaking persons in Galicia were still illiterate. As most literate Ukrainians were concentrated in urban areas, the rate of illiteracy was considerably higher in the villages, and the population of certain remote highland regions may have been totally illiterate. By all accounts conditions in Bukovyna were no better. Not only did illiteracy breed helplessness and fatalism, it also complicated efforts to organize the peasantry and to make it conscious of its own most pressing interests. These, at any rate, were not forthcoming until the last few decades of the nineteenth century, and even then they reached only a very small minority of the peasantry.

II

Galicia and Bukovyna had been incorporated into the Austrian half of the Habsburg Empire since 1772 and 1774 respectively. Because the native Ukrainian nobility had been assimilated by the Polish and Rumanian upper classes during the preceding four centuries of Polish, Rumanian and Turkish occupation, Ukrainian society in both provinces

consisted of two social groups — the peasantry and the clergy. In eastern Galicia, where the Polish Crown and the szlachta had ruled since 1340, the Ukrainian population, originally Greek Orthodox, had adhered to the Uniate Church since 1708.¹¹ In northern Bukovyna, where Rumanian boyars and Turkish sultans had ruled since the fourteenth and sixteenth centuries, and where the Counter-reformation had failed to penetrate, the Greek Orthodox Church — dominated by a Rumanian hierarchy — continued to command the allegiance of the Ukrainian population.

After annexing the two provinces the Austrian government sought to consolidate its authority. In the absence of a native Ukrainian nobility it turned to the clergy. The government focussed its attention on the Uniate clergy in eastern Galicia because most Ukrainians were concentrated there. Moreover, the predominance of Rumanians among the Greek Orthodox clergy in Bukovyna prevented Austrian officials from recognizing that the peasantry in northern Bukovyna, like the peasantry in eastern Galicia, was Ukrainian. Thus, by the middle of the nineteenth century, a socially distinct, privileged Ukrainian clerical class, which was loyal to the dynasty, and which had assumed the prerogative of speaking on behalf of the Ukrainian population, was firmly entrenched in eastern Galicia.

The rise of the Uniate clergy to pre-eminence within the Ukrainian community was facilitated by a series of reforms undertaken by the Austrian government shortly after annexation. As a result of these reforms the Uniate Church and clergy were granted legal and economic equality with the Roman Catholic Church and clergy.¹² In order to emphasize its newly decreed parity with the Roman Catholic Church, the

central government also insisted that the Uniate Church should henceforth be referred to as the Greek Catholic Church. In this manner a loyal, privileged clerical elite, which mediated between the central government and the aristocracy on the one hand, and the Ukrainian peasant masses on the other hand, was elevated to a pre-eminent position within the Ukrainian community.

At the summit of the clerical elite stood the metropolitan — "the Prince of the Church" — and the higher clergy. The metropolitan's jurisdiction extended over the entire Metropolitan See of Halycz (eastern Galicia) and encompassed three dioceses: the archdiocese of Lviv and the two dioceses of Peremyshl and Stanyslaviv (the last created only in 1885), each with a bishop of its own. The metropolitan and both bishops had seats in the Galician provincial Diet, and, more than one metropolitan served as a confidential advisor to the Emperor. A consistory composed of trusted members of the clergy assisted each of the three hierarchs in the administration of their dioceses. Greek Catholic professors of theology, rectors of theological seminaries, and abbots of Basilian monasteries completed the roster of those who belonged to the higher clergy.

The higher clergy, which moved in upper class circles and remained susceptible to foreign cultural and linguistic influences, adopted the values and manners of the ruling class, and had little direct contact with the peasantry.¹³ Although they strenuously defended the rights and privileges of the Greek Catholic rite and clergy, members of the hierarchy tended to regard the Ukrainian vernacular as a "common", "peasant language" until well into the second half of the nineteenth century, and they ignored the socio-economic interests of the peasantry

with alarming regularity. Thus, when a group of theology students inspired by populist sentiments published an almanac in the Ukrainian vernacular in 1837, Metropolitan Mykhailo Cardinal Levytsky (1816-58), who was notorious for his defence of aristocratic privilege, and who was described by members of his own clergy as a "proud and vicious man" concerned only with "personal enrichment", confiscated all copies of the almanac and severely reprimanded its authors. Such was the hierarchy's loyalty to the Habsburgs and to the central government that during the revolutions of 1848-49 Ukrainians came to be known as the Viennese regime's "loyal Tyroleans of the east". A decade later Metropolitan Spiridon Lytvynovych (1863-69) lived by the motto "we need do nothing because the government will take care of us" and ordered the clergy to use the Ukrainian language because the central government favored such a policy at the time. In fact, throughout the better part of the century, the hierarchy, in conjunction with the central government, perpetuated the notion that the "Ruthenian" population in eastern Galicia constituted a separate Catholic nationality under the benevolent protectorship of the Emperor. Not only were the "Ruthenians" distinct from the Poles, it was also asserted that they were unrelated to the "Little Russians" (Ukrainians) in the Russian Empire.

During the second half of the nineteenth century the lower ranks of the clerical elite were comprised of approximately 2200 secular priests distributed among some 1700 parishes across all of eastern Galicia. Because members of the Greek Catholic clergy retained the eastern rite option of marrying prior to ordination, by the late 1860s they constituted an almost closed group similar to a hereditary

caste. Most clergymen were themselves the offspring of clerical families, as were most members of the nascent Ukrainian secular intelligentsia, and, it was considered dishonorable for members of clerical families to marry outside these social circles.

The domestic life of the clergy resembled the life of a provincial squirearchy.¹⁴ It combined the charm and idyllic quality of a traditional pastoral existence with the urbanity and comforts of city life. Prior to the 1880s few clergymen, and few members of the secular intelligentsia, seriously concerned themselves with the plight of their peasant parishioners. While the advent of a market economy prompted a small fraction of the wealthiest clergymen to throw themselves into a variety of economic enterprises, most were content to convert part of the parish lands to market farming. By the 1870s brick parsonages furnished with the latest accoutrements of "European culture" and staffed with hired help from the village, were springing up in many parishes. On festive occasions clerical families entertained members of their own social group sumptuously. Usually fifty, sometimes as many as one hundred guests attended these gatherings, among them local officials, members of the intelligentsia, and occasionally a local member of the petty gentry. Hospitality was always extended to travellers and on rare occasions the priest opened his doors to all his parishioners providing them with food and entertainment in true aristocratic style. The Greek Catholic clergy tried to live nobly; many priests attempted to emulate the lifestyle of the Polish gentry in order to prove that they themselves were no less genteel. Indeed, more than a small minority of clerical families spoke Polish rather than Ukrainian until well into the 1870s.

Social relations between the clergy and the peasantry often reflected the sharp differences in social status and the conflicting interests which existed between the two groups. Not only were members of the clergy entitled to collect a variety of dues and services from their peasant parishioners, peasants who hunted or trapped in the parish forest, or allowed their cattle to graze in the parish pasture, without the priest's permission, provoked the wrath or more than one irate cleric and often had their cattle impounded. Priests who did not enforce the collection of dues and services, or who charged nominal fees for religious services (treby) inevitably met with criticism from neighboring clergymen. Moreover, many priests considered themselves to be sovereigns within their parish. Meetings, cultural events, entertainments, political activities, all had to be sanctioned by the clergyman. Although many reading halls had been established by priests, they were often held under tight surveillance. "Subversive" literature was confiscated and if radically inclined peasants became influential in these institutions many clergymen did everything in their power to destroy the organization. Secular organizations not under the control or influence of the clergy were rarely tolerated and it was not unusual for members of the clergy to influence the political opinions and voting preferences of peasant electors. Prior to the 1890s it was only the exceptional clergyman who treated his peasant parishioners as equals and took an active part in educating and encouraging them to struggle for the attainment of a better way of life.¹⁵

Nevertheless the creation of a Greek Catholic clerical elite was not without benefits for the Ukrainian population in the long run. A rejuvenated Greek Catholic Church served to differentiate the Ukrainian

peasantry from the Roman Catholic Polish peasantry and thereby acted as a formidable barrier against Polonization. Likewise, the clergy constituted the only educated group among Ukrainians in the Habsburg Empire prior to the 1870s. Because of their dominant position within the Ukrainian community, and because they came to consider themselves the social equals of the Polish middle class and lesser gentry, the clergy saw themselves as legitimate contenders for political power and leadership in eastern Galicia. Consequently, they began to champion Ruthenian (Ukrainian) national rights, although initially they failed to distinguish these from their own clerical class interests. Finally, clerical families provided the Ukrainian community with most of its secular intelligentsia. Although not entirely capable of understanding the pressing needs of the peasantry, the intelligentsia defended the national interests of the Ukrainian population, and by the turn of the century took an increasingly active interest in raising cultural and economic standards among the peasantry.

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Prior to the outbreak of the first world war the lower clergy and members of the secular intelligentsia espoused two cultural/political orientations — Russophilism and Ukrainophilism. Although both orientations emerged in opposition to the growing political and cultural hegemony of the Polish aristocracy, initially they had little else in common. By the turn of the century the Russophile movement was a spent force, while the Ukrainophile movement, after having compromised itself in the early 1890s, had been rejuvenated and was beginning to encompass all strata of Ukrainian society.¹⁶

The Russophile movement originated among ultra-loyal members of the clergy who felt betrayed by the Habsburgs when the dynasty reached a rapprochement with the Polish aristocracy in 1867 after twenty years of discord. Drawing their support from clerical families who were especially prone to putting on aristocratic airs, Russophilism was a reactionary movement led by a group of influential clerics. Anxious to demonstrate their gentility by using a language that was no less refined than Polish, the Russophiles concluded that literary Russian should be adopted by the "Ruthenian" population, although in practice they used a macaronic dialect (iazychie) derived from Church Slavonic, Russian and Ukrainian. Refusing to acknowledge the existence of a distinct Ukrainian language and/or nationality, they asserted the cultural and ethnic unity of one indivisible "Russian" nation stretching "from the Carpathians to the Urals", suggested that "Ruthenians" and Russians should have one common written language, and insisted that Polish cultural incursions could be resisted by preserving formal attributes of "Ruthenian" identity such as the Cyrillic alphabet, the Julian calendar and the Byzantine liturgy.

Their pseudo-aristocratic, conservative prejudices attracted the Russophiles to the Tsarist Monarchy and drew them into contact with the Russian Pan-Slavists, from whose Moscow and St. Petersburg Slavic Committees they received annual subsidies. The movement received a near fatal blow when a number of its leaders were tried for treason in 1882. Although they were ultimately acquitted, evidence presented at the trial suggested that they had pinned their hopes for liberation from the Poles on the Tsarist Monarchy. After the trial some of the most influential leaders emigrated to Russia. Thereafter, Russophilism

existed as a marginal movement limited to the more conservative clergy and to propagandists subsidized by the Russian government. Ironically enough, this hardcore survived because of tacit toleration extended to it by the Polish aristocratic party, which perceived an ally in the socially conservative movement which opposed the extension of Ukrainian cultural and linguistic rights.

The Ukrainophile movement drew most of its support from members of the Galician secular intelligentsia — primarily from sons of the secular clergy — although it also attracted a sizeable proportion of the lower clergy. Asserting their ethnic and cultural identity with the Ukrainians in the Russian Empire, and vowing to champion the interests of the peasantry in accordance with the poet Shevchenko's testament, the Ukrainophiles hoped to enlighten the peasantry and to develop the Ukrainian vernacular into a literary language. Unlike the Russophiles, the Ukrainophiles described themselves as liberals and populists, and condemned the Tsarist autocracy (although they professed loyalty to the Austrian Empire). They organized literary circles among university and high school students, studied the newest works of Ukrainian literature, and in 1868 founded Prosvita (Enlightenment), an institution devoted to adult education, which was to establish reading halls in villages and publish pamphlets for the peasantry. Efforts to launch Ukrainophile periodicals failed in the 1870s, but in 1873, with assistance from Ukrainians in the Russian Empire, the Shevchenko Scientific Society was founded, and in 1880 Dilo (The Deed), the first successful Ukrainophile daily was established.

With the passing of time the Ukrainophiles became more conservative, less democratic and increasingly conformist as a result of their

efforts to appeal to broader segments of the clergy, and because of the growing dependence of the Ukrainian intelligentsia — especially those engaged in the teaching profession — on government circles. Starting in the late 1870s, and throughout the 1880s, the Ukrainophiles tried to make populism "respectable". The result of these efforts was a narrow, provincial, opportunistic program which lost sight of the pressing material needs of the peasantry and failed to reach beyond tame requests for minor linguistic and cultural concessions. While the Ukrainophiles stated that their objective was "... the defence of our language, or our people's right to national development, and of our constitutional rights and liberties", they did not shrink from celebrating Austria as an "eldorado of constitutionalism" where Ukrainians had ample opportunity for cultural and economic development.¹⁷ Exhorting the intelligentsia to "work for reconciliation and unity among all Ruthenians", prominent Ukrainophiles nevertheless tended to locate the cause of poverty among the peasantry in that group's "immaturity", "laziness" and "drunkenness", rather than in the inequitable socio-economic organization of Austrian society. While one Ukrainophile was heard to imply that the average peasant would lie down under a pear tree and refuse to work if he was given more land, the Ukrainophile Pravda suggested, in 1878, that the impoverished worker "... should not blame the capitalist or his low wages, but rather, his own bad habits which lead him to waste all his surplus earnings".¹⁸ In the 1870s Rev. Stepan Kachala, a Ukrainophile member of the Reichsrat, voted against direct universal suffrage, on the grounds that "our people are immature", while a prominent Ukrainophile insisted a few years later, that only after educating the

the peasantry ". . . for another one hundred years will it be possible to preach liberty and equality".¹⁹ "We are not a rebellious but a quiet people who do not want to . . . perplex the state", a prominent Ukrainophile cleric stated in 1877, enlarging upon an opinion shared by some Ukrainophiles, which stated that ". . . socialism . . . has no attraction for our people, because [in our society] the social question is not an urgent issue".²⁰

Prior to the 1890s Ukrainophile (not to mention Russophile) circles impressed visitors from eastern (Russian) Ukraine with their provincialism, opportunism and intolerance. "Nowhere did I feel so cut off from the intellectual world as in Lviv", observed the scholar and publicist Mykhailo Drahomanov. "Cliquish fanaticism, dishonest polemics, and the amoral ease with which people change party allegiance", as well as a singular proclivity "to avoid issues, to extricate oneself with a sophism or a formality", also made a lasting impression. During the 1870s even members of the secular intelligentsia might be outraged by criticism of the Papacy. Drahomanov lamented that he was not allowed ". . . to express sympathy with the Italian struggle for liberty and unity or antipathy for the Syllabus of Pope Pius IX!" The Ukrainophile press even stated that ". . . the Orthodox clergy in Russia may be satirized but our Galician [Uniate] clergy presents an entirely different matter". It should therefore come as no surprise that both lay and clerical Ukrainophiles had difficulty reconciling themselves with the social radicalism and anti-clericalism of Shevchenko's poetry, and that they tried to make him more respectable by publishing bowdlerized and incomplete editions of his poetry. Drahomanov summed up the proto-typical member of the Galician intelligentsia as being

"narrow-minded", "reactionary" and a "lackey-careerist".²¹

The nationalist ideology articulated in Ukrainophile circles betrayed the narrow political and social vision of its exponents. It was not founded on a commitment to rational, cosmopolitan principles such as the concept of personal liberty and the rights of man, nor did it project visions of a community of nations co-existing harmoniously in a world where equality, democracy and justice would be triumphant. Rather, the Ukrainophiles' nationalism was irrational; it celebrated national self-sufficiency and exclusivity, extolled national peculiarities and archaic traditions, insisted on maintaining the purity of the "national spirit", and appealed to a sense of national dignity for moral justification. The "cult of sacred national traits", which characterized Ukrainophile circles in the 1880s, revealed its inherent irrationalism. Most Ukrainophiles expressed their patriotism by devoting themselves to the preservation and cultivation of a variety of popular customs and usages which were believed to be innate and unalterable indices of Ukrainian national identity. A ceremonial and ritualistic reverence for the "national" peasant costume, adherence to the Julian calendar, the use of the Cyrillic alphabet, the recognition of the Greek Catholic Church as a "national" church, and loud declamatory statements describing the sterling qualities of the Ukrainian language became the sole criteria for displaying one's patriotism and devotion to the Ukrainian nation. Simultaneously the fundamental needs of living human beings were lost sight of as would-be patriots exhausted themselves in empty polemics and in the service of cultural forms. Although their loyalties differed, the Ukrainophiles began to resemble the Russophiles in their choice of priorities.²²

Events leading up to the "pact", concluded by a group of prominent Ukrainophiles in 1890 with the Polish aristocratic party, revealed the opportunism and irrationalism inherent in nationalism bereft of universal human concerns. In the early 1880s prominent Ukrainophiles had considered offering socio-economic concessions to Polonized scions of the old Ruthenian-Lithuanian aristocracy — to members of the Sapieha, Zholkowski, and Czartoryski families — in order to convert these "prodigal sons" to Ukrainophilism, thereby adding status and prestige to the Ukrainian national movement. Then, in the late 1880s, in conjunction with eastern Ukrainians anxious to make Galicia into a sanctuary for their scholarly and cultural activities, the Ukrainophiles concluded a "pact" (uhoda) with the Polish aristocratic party in the provincial Diet. In exchange for cultural concessions (which included financial subsidies for certain Ukrainian cultural institutions, two new Ukrainian secondary schools, a chair of Ukrainian history at the University in Lviv, and Ukrainian inscriptions on government institutions, railways, streets and mailboxes), the Ukrainophiles declared their loyalty to the Austrian state and to the Habsburg dynasty, recognized the Greek Catholic Metropolitan as their natural and rightful leader, and repudiated cooperation with other Ukrainian parties which opposed the Polish aristocratic party. In effect, the struggle for political liberty, and opposition to social injustices, was abandoned in the name of nationalism. Although a chair of Ukrainian history was established at the University, few other concessions were granted, and shortly thereafter an unprecedented reign of political oppression was inaugurated by the Poles, which lasted with few intervals, until the first world war. The Ukrainophile movement suffered a serious setback

from which it did not recover until the turn of the century when it was rejuvenated by a new generation reared on Ukrainian Radicalism.²³

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If the lower clergy and the secular intelligentsia failed to appreciate the plight of the peasantry and to do anything concrete about it, the hierarchy was allowing itself to be used as an instrument of the Polish aristocracy. Two developments in particular created this impression: the hierarchy's failure to combat efforts to "latinize" the Greek Catholic rite (i.e., to bring the Church Union to its logical conclusion by obliterating all distinctions between the Greek Catholic rite and the Roman Catholic rite), and its collaboration with the Polish aristocratic party in politics.

Latinization first became an issue during Metropolitan Joseph Sembratovych's (1870-82) term in office. On the advice of the Polish Cardinal Mieczyslaw Count Liedechowski, the Resurrectionists (Zmartwychwstancy), a Polish Roman Catholic monastic order, were permitted to establish missions in eastern Galicia among the Greek Catholic population and empowered to carry out a reform of the eastern rite Basilian order of monks. In spite of opposition from the Greek Catholic secular clergy and Ukrainian representatives in the Galician Diet, the Polish majority in the Diet voted to subsidize the missions. Although the Basilians were in dire need of reform²⁴ the Resurrectionists' objectives extended far beyond the reform of the order. This became only too apparent when Rev. Valeri Kalinka, superior of the Polish missionaries, praised the Church Union for ". . . consolidating Poland where she previously had no natural basis [for existence]".²⁵ Devotional societies established among Ukrainians propagated practices

and usages foreign to the eastern rite, attempted to dispel memories of the privileges enjoyed by sixteenth and seventeenth century Ukrainian Orthodox lay Brotherhoods²⁶ in Galicia, and tried to create a climate of opinion hospitable to compulsory clerical celibacy. In 1891 a Synod of the Greek Catholic Church in Galicia was actually held for the purpose of introducing compulsory clerical celibacy among the secular clergy. It was widely believed that by eliminating a married clergy the Polish ruling classes were trying to break the nascent Ukrainian movement by depriving the Ukrainian population of the one social group which produced the greatest proportion of leaders, political activists and members of the intelligentsia. Suspicions were aroused by the fact that the clergy were not allowed to elect their delegates (they were selected by the bishops), by the fact that the Synod was closed to the laity and by the fact that the Latin report of the Synod, printed in Rome, stated that the clergy had agreed to the introduction of compulsory celibacy, when in fact celibacy had been rejected.²⁷ The introduction of celibacy became a burning point of contention between the hierarchy on one side, and the lower secular clergy and the laity on the other side.

Cooperation between the Greek Catholic hierarchy and the Polish aristocratic party in the realm of politics became especially pronounced during Sylvester Cardinal Sembratovych's (1882-98) term in office. Greek Catholic clerical papers such as Rus (Ruthenia), which spoke for the hierarchy, called upon Ukrainians to ". . . moderate their patriotism and live in peace with the Poles [i.e., the aristocracy] since they are Catholics", and to ". . . unconditionally submit themselves to the szlachta which governs Galicia."²⁸ They also implied that no injustices were being suffered by Ukrainians, and that all

demands for greater equality and liberty were the work of a few self-serving Ukrainian leaders. On another occasion the metropolitan's organ suggested the formation of a strong clerical organization which would assume control of all village reading societies for the purpose of censoring their library holdings. Members of the lower clergy and theology students who were prone to express liberal views were harassed, while literate peasants and village school teachers suspected of holding liberal views were reported to the metropolitan's consistory. In 1885, two months before elections to the Reichsrat, Sembratovych established a clerical paper Myr (Peace) in collaboration with Count Alfred Potocki, for the purpose of defeating the Ukrainophiles. The paper's objective was to rally support for a new Ukrainian party which would ". . . renounce the clamorous banner of populism and place in positions of leadership men of gentle disposition who were amicably disposed toward the central government and the Poles [i.e., the aristocracy]". After figuring prominently in the negotiations leading up to the "pact" of 1890, Sembratovych forbade the clergy and the laity to read publications issued by the newly organized Radical Party. In 1896, in the midst of shocking electoral abuses perpetrated by Count Badeni, the governor of Galicia, and by the Polish aristocratic party, Sembratovych spoke out against manifestations of Ukrainian patriotism, which distracted the people from "God and salvation".²⁹ Finally, before elections to the Reichsrat in 1897, while Ukrainian peasants were being denied the right of assembly and intimidated by the civil authorities, Sembratovych again tried to create a clerical party on the principles outlined in 1885. On this occasion, however, even members of the higher clergy refused to cooperate

with the Metropolitan.

Relations between the hierarchy and the lower clergy and intelligentsia became somewhat more cordial after the turn of the century when Andrei Count Sheptycky (1901-44) was appointed metropolitan. As bishop of Stanyslaviv (1896-1901) he had established amicable relations with the lower clergy, personally undertaken missions to remote highland districts, and initiated the practice of issuing pastoral letters in Ukrainian. As metropolitan he became a leading patron of Ukrainian arts and letters and a generous philanthropist. Moreover, on a number of occasions his support of Ukrainian cultural interests went against the wishes of the Polish aristocracy. He supported efforts to establish a Ukrainian University in Lviv — addressing the Upper Chamber of the Reichsrat to that effect — and protested against the arrest of Ukrainian student demonstrators. Of even greater consequence was his role as mediator in discussions which finally led to the reform of the Galician provincial statute early in 1914. The reformed statute broke the monopoly of political power held by the Poles and took control of Ukrainian elementary and secondary education out of Polish hands. Regrettably, before the provisions of the new statute could be implemented the war had broken out.³⁰

Nevertheless, relations between Sheptycky and the Ukrainian community were not free of tension. Suspicions concerning his motives flourished. His father, a Polonized Ukrainian aristocrat, had been a supporter of the Polish aristocratic party. His older brother Stanislaw, who considered himself a Pole, had married Princess Maryna Sapieha — the daughter of Prince Lew Sapieha, one of the leading architects of the 1890 "pact" — and was pursuing a military career.

And, in spite of his personally ascetic regimen, Sheptycky continued to turn in social circles which included prominent representatives of the Polish aristocratic party. Nor were all of his public statements calculated to win the confidence of the Ukrainian community. At the height of an agrarian strike, in which over 200,000 Ukrainians participated in 1902, Sheptycky insisted that priests should keep out of politics and devote themselves to spiritual concerns, condemned the fact that radical "young leaders" were determining the course of Ukrainian politics, and disapproved of strikes.³¹

During the campaign for electoral reform and universal male suffrage in 1906, Sheptycky issued another controversial pastoral letter. On this occasion he asserted, ". . . we, the clergy, whose office it is to stand on the side of faith and God's law, [must] retain in our hands that influence over public affairs which is our rightful prerogative". He went on to elaborate by stating:

...We must protect our people from political injury and injustice and prevent them from harboring political, partisan hatred for adversaries. We must jointly regard the incitement of any passions and jealousies against the possessing classes, of any anger and covetousness directed against the property of others, as evil and immoral...

Consequently, an article in the leading Ukrainian journal of the day accused the Metropolitan of sharing all the biases and prejudices of the propertied upper classes.³² Again, in July, 1908, Sheptycky issued an order forbidding priests to interfere in parishes other than their own: they were not to organize cooperatives, reading halls or meetings. The order was aimed at a number of "radical" young priests who had incurred the wrath of landowners and conservative (Russophile) clergymen. Finally, in the fall of 1908, Sheptycky's unequivocal

condemnation of Myroslav Sichynsky, the assassin of Count Alfred Potocki, created widespread indignation. Sichynsky, a university student, became a national hero in 1908, after assassinating the despised governor of Galicia, who had instituted repressive measures against politically active Ukrainian peasants and students.³³

Sheptycky condemned the assassination as an "abominable crime" and an act of "godless politics", and delivered a sermon in which he lamented the fact that Sichynsky had murdered the "representative of the highest secular authority", "spilled the blood of an innocent man", and "caused a widow and orphans to weep".³⁴ As a result, it was not until the very eve of the first world war that relations between the Greek Catholic hierarchy and the Ukrainian community became more or less cordial.

III

The reactionary politics of the Greek Catholic hierarchy and the social apathy of the lower clergy and the secular intelligentsia were challenged by exponents of Radicalism.³⁵ Radical ideas were first introduced into the Austro-Ukrainian milieu by Mykhailo Drahomanov, an eastern Ukrainian scholar, publicist and political emigré from the Russian Empire, who articulated a political and social orientation based on libertarian, socialist, populist, and anti-clerical principles.³⁶ In his correspondence with his most prominent Galician disciples — Mykhailo Pavlyk, a publicist, and Ivan Franko, a social critic, literary scholar, poet and novelist — Drahomanov suggested the creation of a party founded on a platform of radical democracy, economic equality, solidarity with the Polish and Jewish working

classes, religious non-denominationalism, and recognition of the unity and identity of interests existing between the Ukrainian masses in the Habsburg and Romanov Empires. Although Radicalism first became a factor within the Galician Ukrainian community in 1876, the Radical Party, which began to mobilize the peasantry for political action in defence of its socio-economic and national interests, was not founded until 1890. Enjoying its greatest support among the younger intelligentsia and among the literate, educated peasantry during the 1890s, Radicalism continued to exert its influence until the outbreak of the war.

Drahomanov, who was an admirer of John Stuart Mill, also referred to himself as the "last Proudhonist". Like the French anarchist, Drahomanov and the Radicals were uncompromising adversaries of all forms of authoritarianism and compulsion — be it in the name of the state, society, or religion. Positing the freedom, worth and dignity of the individual human being as the highest value, Drahomanov believed that

...Mankind's aim, which is completely unlike present-day states, is a condition where both larger and smaller social bodies will be composed of free men united voluntarily for common work and mutual aid. This goal is called anarchy, i.e., the autonomy of each individual and the free cooperation of men and groups.

Although neither Drahomanov, nor any leading Radicals, believed that anarchist ideals could be totally realized, they accepted them as "indicators of the direction in which progress should be made".³⁷

To limit the power of the state, however, was not enough to guarantee true civic freedom. Political self-determination could only be exercised by those individuals whose socio-economic conditions

permitted it:

...Welfare and freedom are impossible unless individuals receive the products of their own labour. And this again is impossible unless all have equal access to raw materials such as soil, and to the means of production such as machines with which to cultivate and to refine these [raw materials].

Socialism was thus an obvious corollary of Radical libertarianism.³⁸

The Radicals were ethical socialists. They did not appeal to the laws of history, but believed that socialism would be the result of the universalization of reason and the refinement of morals. Unlike Social Democrats, they were opposed to the growth of the state and of centralized power, and did not think in terms of utilizing the state apparatus in order to hasten the advent of a collective society. Although the maximum economic program of the Radical Party proclaimed the collective use of property as one of its objectives, the Radicals were inclined to favor some form of guild socialism or mutualism rather than centralized state socialism. For the present, Drahomanov advised concentration on practical and attainable reforms such as ". . . the length of working hours, standardization of wages, [and] social insurance for the workers", and the creation of ". . . the political and cultural conditions necessary for socialist policy, such as the general franchise [and] technical education".³⁹ As a result, the Radical Party became the first Ukrainian party to demand freedom of the press, universal equal suffrage and agrarian and tax reforms.

Libertarian and socialist principles involved the Radicals in polemics with the Ukrainophiles. Drahomanow, who believed that ". . . by itself the national idea cannot bring men to greater freedom and truth", suggested that the "guiding and controlling ideas" on

which the Ukrainian movement should be based were "scientifically established truths [about human needs and human nature] and international, universal human interests". Convinced that among the educated classes genuine Ukrainianism (Ukrainstvo) must involve ". . . the transmission of the results of world civilization" to the peasant masses, and a commitment ". . . to serve the common people, to work for their moral, political and socio-economic interests, with the objective of stamping out ignorance, depravity and exploitation",⁴⁰ he pointed out the dangers inherent in nationalism based on notions as irrational as the "cult of sacred national traits". The recognition of inviolable, unalterable, innately national traits was reactionary because

. . . it implies that we should not alter the existing, outdated methods of production, or repudiate the servility before despots to which our people have . . . grown accustomed, . . . because it discourages our patriots from undertaking urgent work among the people which is not very romantic in nature, and because it undermines the root of a specifically Ukrainian national consciousness . . .⁴¹

Certain "sacred national traits", especially those associated with the worship of past epochs of power and martial glory encouraged ". . . a sort of aristocratism, which refuses to believe in the strength of the Galician peasantry", and obscured the fact that Ukrainians were a "plebian nation" with specific needs and interests arising out of that condition.

From the moment he first came into contact with Ukrainians in the Habsburg Empire, Drahomanov suggested that the Ukrainophiles eschew their narrow, irrational nationalism and substitute for it a populism which recognized the principle of nationality but based itself on

rational, universal human interests such as political liberty, democracy, social equality and economic abundance for all. His Galician disciples accepted these views. Pavlyk defined patriotism as

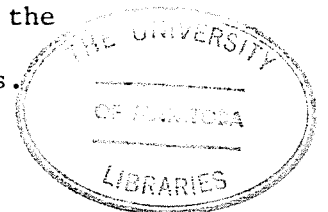
" . . . the love of the hungry, tattered beggar-laborer: to help him, to speak to him about any branch of knowledge in a language which he understands, to lift him materially and morally, means to love him, means to be a patriot". In 1889 Franko gave the following succinct definition of the Radical stand on the issue of nationality:

...Far be it from us to underestimate the gravity of the national question, i.e., of the development of nationality in all its typical forms (language, customs, etc.); nevertheless we must never forget that the development of nationality is only one manifestation of the development of any nation — a manifestation of equal gravity with its economic, social and educational development, etc. Of course, the development of nationality is closely interwoven with all these manifestations of [national] development; but, for this very reason it is impossible to regard it as something cardinal, of the greatest importance, . . . The development of nationality, without the development of the living people — their welfare, enlightenment, social equality and civil rights is either an empty dream or doctrine, or, an artificial hothouse creation. A national literature, theatre, etc., must be a consequence of the living needs of a nation and must satisfy these needs. A nation which is dying of hunger, in which 90 percent of the people can neither read nor write, and which de facto has no political freedom — a nation such as this requires bread, an alphabet and a constitution; theatres, concerts,⁴² "national" novels and poetry are of very little service...

When it was founded in 1890, the Radical Party became a populist party par excellence. It placed the fundamental interests of living human beings — pressing economic, political and cultural needs of the peasantry and laborers — ahead of formal "national" concerns.

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* * *

Because clerical hegemony presented a formidable barrier to the realization of the Radicals' objectives, rationalism and anti-clericalism



figured prominently in the Radical outlook.

Drahomanov criticized Christianity on the grounds that it was detrimental to the emergence of a sense of human dignity. Its otherworldliness, asceticism, and the principle of non-resistance, denied life and the validity of earthly human concerns, encouraged a-social attitudes and lifestyles based on contempt for human nature, and discouraged human efforts to improve earthly existence. It thereby not only denied that men, thinking and working by themselves, could be conscious agents of social progress, but also became a barrier to that progress.⁴³

Catholicism in particular acted as a barrier to social and cultural progress. It was based, Drahomanov observed, on the authoritarian principles of centralization, hierarchy, and aristocracy, and supported the notion of the union of Church and State. It submerged the individual's conscience in a plethora of rituals and superstitions, and attempted to dictate morality by issuing papal bulls and conciliar edicts. Posing as the ultimate truth, it was the unmitigated enemy of reason, free thought, and scientific enquiry. Moreover, it represented the principle of enforced cultural uniformity: after the tenth century only Latin was recognized as the language of the liturgy and scholarship.⁴⁴

Protestantism on the other hand, was based on the more liberal principles of decentralization (including autonomy for national churches), self-government, the democratic and egalitarian notion of the priesthood of all believers, and it usually opposed the union of Church and State. It recognized the freedom of conscience — the right of people to ". . . turn to God directly without the intercession of ecclesiastical

rituals and intermediaries" — and it ". . . acknowledge[d] progress even in matters of faith, because for many years now [it had] recognized the right of every person to interpret the scriptures for himself. Because of this it [was] not difficult for [protestantism] to acknowledge freedom of enquiry and progress".⁴⁵ Finally, protestantism represented the principle of cultural and linguistic pluralism: the Cathari, the Lollards, the Hussites, and the Lutherans, Calvinists and Baptists, all translated the Scriptures into the vernacular and used it in their services. They thereby provided the stimulus to transform west European vernacular dialects into literary languages. While ". . . the free church movement against the Roman Church . . . became instrumental in sanctifying a variety of languages and nationalities", Drahomanov observed that

...our national language did not free itself from the influence of Church Slavonic and Old Bulgarian because our country did not firmly adhere to the all-European protestant movement. In this manner a sad state of affairs became dominant throughout our land, in both the Orthodox and Uniate sections: every Sunday, or actually every day, in the church, which our people were taught to respect as the highest arbiter in spiritual matters, a disrespect for our people's language manifested itself; it appeared that our language was not worthy of becoming a medium of communication between god and the people.⁴⁶

Because he was convinced that ". . . there is a close connection between men's conceptions of political and social matters, and their religious ideas", Drahomanov took great interest in the religious traditions of the Ukrainian people. Democratic, egalitarian, autonomistic and other "protestant" principles had been acknowledged and put into practice by Orthodox lay church brotherhoods in Galicia and Ukraine during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Before a widespread protestant movement could emerge the brotherhoods were, on

the one hand, crushed by the Polish Counter-reformation which created the Uniate Church, and on the other hand, they were destroyed by the Russian Orthodox Church. In the second half of the nineteenth century, however, evangelical movements emerged among the peasantry. In eastern Ukraine, the Stundists maintained a discipline similar to the western German Baptist sects which the Stundists emulated. Near Lviv an entire village converted to Protestantism from Greek Catholicism. In the Galician village of Tuchapy a number of peasant householders declared themselves "non-denominational", while in Uzhhorod a group of Ukrainian Pietists emerged. There were also instances of peasants refusing to pay taxes for the support of the clergy and refusing to vote for clerical parliamentary candidates.⁴⁷ Drahomanow believed that popular democratic and egalitarian religious traditions, which survived among the peasantry during the eighteenth century, were beginning to surface. The future cultural and national development of the Ukrainian people depended on whether the intelligentsia would be able to grasp the threads of these latent dissenting traditions and fuse them with contemporary social and political currents. He therefore advised that it was ". . . necessary to assist all anti-ecclesiastical movements among the people, be they protestant-pietist sects, or circles of free-thinkers . . . [and] to support those communities which are still close to the hierarchic churches by awakening movements similar to the old brotherhoods, in which the secular elements strove to subordinate the clergy, and instituted the election of priests by the laity, and of bishops by special synods of laymen and clergy".⁴⁸

Drahomanov and the founders of the Radical movement did not limit themselves to a theoretical critique of Catholicism. They also

addressed themselves to specific issues which were relevant to Ukrainians in the Habsburg Empire. Clericalism and efforts to "latinize" the Greek Catholic rite were especially disturbing from the Radicals' point of view. Drahomanov, who believed that ". . . the identification of any nationality with a religion is an absurdity in principle and in practice" and that "the Polish clergy and Rome regard the Union as a stepping stone to pure Roman Catholicism", rejected Greek Catholic clericalism. He insisted that

...Galician clericalism would inevitably become part of Austrian clericalism, and the latter has become part and parcel of the Ultramontanism [of the] ecclessia militantis Romanae which, in addition to its well known global politics is striving, especially in Galicia, to fuse the Uniates with Catholicism and the Ruthenians with the Poles.

Clericalism, he insisted, would lead inevitably ". . . to denationalization . . . [and] to a kind of Galician separatism from Bukovynians, and to an even greater extent from [eastern] Ukrainians".⁴⁹ Reaching the same conclusions, Franko, who appreciated the objective importance of the married secular Greek Catholic clergy more than either Drahomanov or Pavlyk, suggested that as a result of compulsory celibacy ". . . a significant percentage of the intelligentsia recruited from clerical households would disappear . . . the number of advocates of morality and progress among the people would decline rapidly and . . . the general tempo of our as yet youthful process of national development would . . . become much slower".⁵⁰

As a result of his correspondence with Pavlyk in 1892, Drahomanov learned of the emergence of a tiny group of religious dissenters among the Galician peasantry. He suggested Pavlyk advise the dissenters to ". . . formally establish something like a Stundist community . . .

[and] declare before the government that they are leaving the Uniate Church and establishing a new Ruthenian Brotherhood". In 1892 he began to correspond with John Clifford the British non-conformist minister and social reformer. He aroused Clifford's interest in the Stundists and in the possibility of starting a Stundist movement in Galicia. According to Drahomanov's correspondence with Franko, the British Baptist Union was to send an accredited observer to Galicia in the fall of 1892 to determine the feasibility of such a project.⁵¹ In the meantime Drahomanov projected a series of pamphlets and articles on progressive Protestant sects, as well as short biographies of famous religious dissenters who had distinguished themselves by their "practical Christianity, humanitarianism and socialism". A biography of Roger Williams and the Rhode Island colony, which had been founded on the principle of religious toleration, was to be the first pamphlet in the series.⁵²

The platform of the Radical Party reflected its anti-clerical sentiments. The party desired the separation of Church and State and believed that men of many religious and philosophical outlooks could work together for political and social reform. At a number of mass meetings during the 1890s, representatives of the peasantry introduced a number of resolutions which were later included in the platform. In 1891, in the town of Rozdolia, the following two resolutions were accepted: "Abolition of the right of patronage (whereby landlords, regardless of their faith, have the right to appoint parish priests)", and, "Complete self-government for the Greek Catholic Church and the expulsion of the Jesuits [Resurrectionists] from the Basilian monasteries". That same year in Kolomyia, a mass meeting of the peasantry resolved that

the members of each parish should be granted the right to control church property. A similar resolution was accepted in Sniatyn. The seventh congress of the party (1898) unanimously resolved to oust clergymen from Radical societies and conferences, to destroy their influence in all secular societies and associations, to publish books and brochures which would examine religion in the light of modern science, to petition the government so that it would set limits on dues (treby) charged by clergymen, and to stimulate public discussion of these issues. The resolution was passed because clerical intrigues had prevented Franko's election to the Galician Diet and to the Riechsrat in 1895 and 1897.⁵³

Pavlyk, who with his sister Anna and a number of followers in the Kolomyia-Sniatyn region, was perhaps the most anti-clerical of all the leading Radicals, was increasingly optimistic about the possibility of breaking clerical hegemony during the 1890s. Late in 1892 he informed Drahomanov that

...There is a great war going on among us now on account of the Greek Catholic clergy. It is now possible to break its power and the fatal influence it exerts on the peasantry and on Ruthenian politics in general... as far as I can see this is the breaking point which will lead to more favorable developments — let the Greek Catholic clergy be Latinized: the people will become Protestant and secularism will triumph.⁵⁴

Pavlyk's anti-clericalism seems to have led him to ignore other problems such as the agrarian issue and the issue of universal suffrage. Although Drahomanov reprimanded him for this, he envisaged a similar end to the conflict between the clergy and the peasantry.

...in Galicia the clergy is narrowly educated, while the hierarchy is an overt instrument of the Polish aristocratic party...therefore, any understanding between Catholicism and Radicalism is greatly complicated, although the national and social

relations in eastern Galicia are completely similar to those in Ireland, and it would seem these should prompt the Galician-Ruthenian clergy to imitate the Irish Catholic clergy.

Thus, as the conditions of life increasingly push the Galician-Ruthenian peasantry and townsmen onto the path toward a radical political and social movement, and as the majority of the Galician-Ruthenian clergymen simultaneously proclaim themselves bitter opponents of this movement, while the Galician Church hierarchy takes an openly anti-national direction... and openly pursues policies opposed to the interests of the people, it is not unlikely that today's strained relations will come to a breaking point, resulting in the separation of a significant portion of Ruthenian Galicians from the Uniate Church and the creation of independent confessional communities, more or less protestant in character.

There was prophetic insight in this statement.⁵⁵

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* *

On the eve of the first world war the tempo of cultural and economic activity being carried on for the benefit of the peasantry was considerably brisker than it had been prior to the 1890s. Largely, although not exclusively as a result of the moral stimulus provided by Radicalism, growing social concern permeated ever broadening sections of the lower clergy and the intelligentsia. In northern Bukovyna, which trailed behind eastern Galicia and often depended on Galician initiative, there were over 160 Ukrainian economic cooperatives, 590 branches of various Ukrainian societies, and ten branches, 190 reading halls, and 13,000 members of Ruska Besida (an organization similar to the Galician Prosvita). The statistics for eastern Galicia were more impressive. Between 1877 and 1914 Prosvita published 305 booklets for the peasantry in over two and one-half million copies. The society encompassed 78 branches, 36,500 full members, 2949 reading halls, and 197,000 reading hall

members. This meant that 75 percent of all villages, towns, and cities populated by Ukrainians boasted reading halls and that 20 percent of the adult Ukrainian male population availed itself of the facilities provided by the society. The Ukrainian cooperative movement also made rapid advances. Prosvita alone operated 540 small cooperative stores and 257 small loan banks. In addition to these, there were, in 1914, over 370 Ukrainian credit unions with a combined membership of over 180,000; 80 cooperative dairies; about 100 cooperative societies for the marketing of agricultural products, and a network of cooperative stores organized on Rochdale principles.⁵⁶

Regrettably the majority of peasants failed to benefit from these developments. Between 1901 and 1910, 18,600 landholdings were auctioned off annually in all of Galicia, and 15,300 in all of Bukovyna, for failure to pay taxes. Ukrainian efforts to participate in the "parcellization" (breaking up among smallholders) of latifundia which were being sold or auctioned off, were also largely unsuccessful because Polish officials began to colonize eastern Galicia with Polish settlers from western Galicia. Thus, between 1852 and 1912, Ukrainians managed to buy up only 38,000 hectares of land in eastern Galicia, while Polish settlers secured 237,000 hectares.⁵⁷ As a result emigration became an attractive option for many peasants. Between 1900 and 1910 over 34,000 Ukrainians left Bukovyna legally — and probably as many illegally — while about 114,000 left eastern Galicia legally during the same period. Another 300,000 seasonal emigrants, Polish and Ukrainian, left Galicia for work in Germany between 1907 and 1911.⁵⁸

As for the Radical Party, it had dissolved into three factions by 1900. In addition to the Radical Party, National Democratic and

Social Democratic parties had constituted themselves. In northern Bukovyna the same political alignment was in evidence by 1906.⁵⁹ The National Democratic Party was a broad coalition which included philosophical anarchists, agrarian radicals, progressive Greek Catholic priests and moderate members of the old Ukrainophile party who remained excessively loyal to the Habsburgs. Its platform rested on the principles of democratic nationalism and social reform, while its program stated that the party's ultimate objectives were the attainment of cultural, economic and political independence for all Ukrainians, and the political unification of the entire Ukrainian nation. The National Democrats were the most popular Ukrainian party prior to the war. Its members were particularly active in the cooperative movement. The Social Democrats included the youngest generation of Radicals, who had been educated on German Social Democratic theory. They anticipated industrialization and inevitable proletarianization for broad segments of the Ukrainian peasantry. Members of the party were active in the trade union movement, and were the first to suggest the tactic of mass general strikes by agrarian laborers. They played a visible role in 1902 when 400 village communities in 20 east Galician districts went out on strike. Like the National Democrats, the Radicals posited Ukrainian independence as an objective, believing that national liberation was one of the prerequisites of socio-economic emancipation. Unlike the National Democrats, the Radicals (who were especially powerful in the Kolomyia-Sniatyn region where a large proportion of Russophile clergymen still survived) continued their militant anti-clericalism. Kyrylo Trylovsky, an energetic organizer and parliamentarian, established Sich — a

gymnastic organization for the peasantry — on "democratic, progressive and anti-clerical" principles, in order to teach the peasantry to "think and act independently". The Radicals also continued to press for radical agrarian reform.

In spite of the differences which existed between the three parties, all three — including many members of the lower clergy — remained suspicious of the Greek Catholic hierarchy until the first world war. All three parties were also highly critical of the small clerical Christian Social Party and its patron, Bishop Hryhorii Khomyshyn, a champion of compulsory clerical celibacy. This ongoing conflict between the Greek Catholic Church and the intelligentsia, inspired by Radical ideals, had serious repercussions for Ukrainian immigrant life in Canada. A large number of the literate, educated peasant immigrants, who assumed leading positions in the Ukrainian community in Canada, had been adherents of the Radical movement prior to their departure. Consequently the struggle between the Catholic Church and exponents of Radical ideas was resumed on the Canadian Prairies. As a result of the socio-economic circumstances in which the immigrants found themselves, and under cultural and political pressure applied by Anglo-Celtic Protestant circles, the divisions already visible within the Radical camp overseas, surfaced, and divided the immigrant community into protestant, socialist and nationalist camps. In Canada, as in the old world, all three factions would continue to oppose the hegemony of the Catholic Church.

FOOTNOTES: CHAPTER ONE

¹Ukrainians constituted roughly 63 percent of the population of eastern Galicia and 65 percent of the population of northern Bukovyna. Overall they constituted 42.5 percent of the population of the entire province of Galicia and 39 percent of the entire province of Bukovyna. Poles made up 47 percent of the Galician population, while 11 percent of the population was Jewish. In Bukovyna, Rumanians (35 percent), Jews (13 percent), and Germans (8 percent) were the leading minorities. Another 470,000 Ukrainians were settled in Transcarpathia (Carpatho-Ruthenia), which was situated immediately south of Galicia and west of Bukovyna, and which had been an integral part of Hungary since 1015. Ukrainian emigration from Transcarpathia to the United States had commenced in 1876. Few Ukrainians immigrated to Canada from Transcarpathia. For an examination of the distribution of Ukrainian population in Austria-Hungary see Myron Korduba, Terytoriiia i naseleennia Ukrainy, (Vienna, 1918).

²The statistical data presented in this chapter have been culled from the following sources unless indicated otherwise: Viacheslav Budzynovsky, "Ahrarni vidnosyny Halychyny", ZNTSh, (Lviv, 1894) and Khlopska posilist (Lviv, 1901); Zenon Kuzelia, "Prychynky do studii nad nashoiu emigratsieiu", ZNTSh, (Lviv, 1907); relevant articles in Entsyklopedia Ukrainoznavstva vol. I (Munich, 1949); Denys Kvitkovsky (ed.) Bukovyna: Ii Mynule i Suchasne (Paris, 1956); Illia Vytanovych, Istoria Ukrainskoho Ko-operatyvnoho Rukhu (New York, 1964); M.P. Herasymenko, Ahrarni vidnosyny v Halychyni v period kryzy panshchynnoho gospodarstva (Kiev, 1959); A. M. Shlepakov, Ukrainska Trudova Emihratsiia v S.Sh.A. i Kanadi (Kiev, 1960); I.I. Kompaniets Stanovyshche i Borotba Trudiashchykh Mas Halychyny, Bukovyny ta Zakarpattia na pochatku XX stolittia (Kiev, 1960); V.A. Diadychenko et al, Istoria Selianstva Ukrainskoi RSR, vol. I (Kiev, 1967); Oszkar Jaszi, The Dissolution of the Habsburg Monarchy (Chicago, 1961); Johann Chmelar, "The Austrian Emigration, 1900-1914", Perspectives in American History vol. VII (Harvard, 1973).

³V. Makaev, Robitnychi Klas Halychyny v ostanni tretyni XIX stolittia (Lviv, 1968), p. 28.

⁴The land was distributed in the following manner:

Number of parishes	Amount of land (hectares)
4	- 2.85
3	2.85 - 5.70
80	5.70 - 14.20
322	14.20 - 28.40
355	28.40 - 42.60
363	42.60 - 56.80
381	56.80 - 85.20
130	85.20 - 113.60
21	113.60 - 142.00
7	142.00 - 170.50
8	170.50 - 227.30
1	227.30 - 255.70
1	255.70 340.00

Source: Viacheslav Budzynovsky "Ahrarni vidnosyny Halychyny" ZNTSh, (Lviv, 1894).

⁵Osyp Navrotsky, "Pianstvo i Propinatsia v Halychyni" Hromada vol. V (Geneva, 1882). Navrotskyi also notes that high rates of suicide (6.15/100,000 annually) and murder (3.45/100,000 annually) were just some of the consequences of high alcohol consumption.

⁶Land was distributed in the following manner:

Size of landholding	eastern Galicia				Bukovyna	
	Households		Land		Households	
	Total	%	Total	%	Total	%
-2 hec.	278,991	42.7	371,400	7.2	61,830	56
2-5 hec.	242,727	37.2	1,035,400	20.0	31,205	29
5-10 hec.	94,843	14.6	866,800	16.7	10,267	10
10-100 hec.	31,848	4.9	820,963	15.8	5,225	4.6
+100 hec.	3,895	0.6	2,089,000	40.3	585	0.4

It should also be noted that there were 1,650,000 landless individuals in eastern Galicia and 116,000 in Bukovyna.

⁷Volodymyr Okhrymovych, "Pro smertelnist v Halychyni i ii prychyny" Narod (Kolomyia) 22 October 1892, and Teofil Hvozdetzky, "Smertnist ditei v nashim kraiu", Pershyi Ukrainskyi Prosvitno-Ekonomichnyi Kongres, Protokoly i Referaty (Lviv, 1910).

⁸H.I. Kovalchak, "Deiaki pytannia rozvytku kapitalistychnykh vidnosyn u promyslovosti skhidnoi halychyny v kintsi XIX i na pochatku XX stolittia", Ukrainskyi Istorychnyi Zhurnal (Kiev, 1959); P. Ia. Syroid, "Inozemnyi Kapital v Economitsi Skhidnoi Halychyny", Ukrainskyi Istorychnyi Zhurnal (Kiev, 1962).

⁹Raphael Mahler, "The Economic Background of Jewish Emigration from Galicia to the United States", YIVO Annual of Jewish Social Science vol. VII (New York, 1952), p. 257. Also see Anton G. Rabinbach, "The migration of Galician Jews to Vienna, 1857-1880", Austrian History Yearbook, vol. XI (Rice University, 1975).

¹⁰In 1900 only 64.3 percent of Greek Catholic (Ukrainian) children were enrolled in school, as compared with 82.9 percent of Jewish children and 86.9 percent of Roman Catholic (Polish) children. Among Ukrainians the following rate of illiteracy was observed within the age groups listed below:

Age	Illiterate Males	Illiterate Females
8 - 11	58.0%	67.4%
11 - 21	57.7%	69.7%
21 - 31	61.8%	81.1%

Source: T. Bilensky, "Nehramotnist a narodna shkola" in Pershyi Ukrainskyi Prosvitno-Ekonomichnyi Kongres (Lviv, 1910).

¹¹The Uniate Church initially came into being in 1596 when the union of the Roman Catholic and Greek Orthodox Churches in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth was proclaimed at the Council of Bereste (Brest-Litovsk). The last remnants of Greek Orthodoxy in Galicia were not obliterated until 1786, however. For a survey of events leading up to the Union in 1596 and its subsequent enforcement in Galicia see Michael Hrushevsky, A History of Ukraine, (Yale University Press, 1941), especially pp. 205-16, 422-27. Other surveys of Ukrainian history include W.E.D. Allen, The Ukraine: A History, (Cambridge University Press, 1940), and Dmytro Doroshenko, A Survey of Ukrainian History, (Winnipeg, 1975).

¹²Uniate priests could no longer be forced to perform servile labor by their aristocratic overlords; the landholdings of Uniate parishes were regulated; and the clergy received the right to collect a variety of dues and services from their peasant parishioners. In 1782 monastic lands which had been controlled by Polish Roman Catholic abbots were secularized and a "religious fund" was created out of the revenues obtained from the lands. The fund provided guaranteed minimum income for the secular parish clergy and financed the work of consistories established to assist the Uniate bishops of Lviv and Peremyshl in the administration of their dioceses. Simultaneously the government guaranteed the education of the Uniate clergy at the state's expense. Theological seminaries were established in Vienna, Rome and Lviv, and in 1787 a department of theology was created at the newly founded university in Lviv. As a crowning touch the bishop of Lviv was elevated to the rank of metropolitan in 1808.

¹³See Iakiv Holovatsky "Perezhitoe i perestraddannoe" in Pysmennyky Zakhidnoi Ukrainy 30-50 kh rokiv XIX stolittia (Kiev, 1965); Ivan Zanevych "Literaturni stremlinnia halytskyky rusyniv vid 1772 do 1872", Zhyttie i Slovo vol. I-IV (Lviv, 1893-95); Mykhailo Vozniak, Iak probudylosia ukrainske narodne zhyttia v Halychyni za Avstrii, (Lviv, 1924); H. Iu. Herbilsky, Rozvytok Prohresyvnykh Idei v Halychyni u Pershii Polovyni XIX stolittia, (Lviv, 1964); Peter Brock "Ivan Vahylevych (1811-1866) and the Ukrainian National Identity", Canadian Slavonic Papers, vol. XIV, 1972; Irynei Nazarko, Kyivski i halytski mytropolyty, (Rome, 1962); Vasyl Kudryk, Malovidome z Istorii Hreko-Katolytskoi Tserkvy, vol. I (Winnipeg, 1955); Julian Okhrymovych, Rozvytok Ukrainskoi Natsionalno-Politychnoi Dumky (Lviv, 1922); Kost Levytsky Istoria Politychnoi Dumky Halytskykh Ukraintsiu, 1848-1914; Na Pidstavii Spomyniv (Lviv, 1926).

¹⁴For glimpses of life among the lower clergy prior to the turn of the century see Oleksander Barvinsky, Spomyny z moho zhyttia, vol. I (Lviv, 1912), passim; Ievhen Olesnytsky, Storinky z moho zhyttia, (Lviv, 1935), vol. I, pp. 18-28, 120-26, and vol. II, pp. 6-9, 12-14, 21; Tyt Voinarovsky, "Spohady z moho zhyttia", Istorychni postatti Halychyny XIX-XX stolittia, (New York, 1961); and the following articles by Ivan Franko: "Krytychni Pysma pro halytsku inteligentsiu" in Ivan Franko: Publitsystyka, H.K. Sydorenko

(ed.), (Kiev, 1953); "Shcho se za inteligentsia halytski popy" and "Popy i ekonomichne polozhenie ukrainskoho narodu v Halychyni", both in Mykhailo Vozniak, "Do publitsystychnoi dialnosti Ivana Franka v rokakh 1879-1883", Za Sto Lit, vol. IV (Kiev, 1929).

¹⁵Notable exceptions to the rule included Rev. S. Hryhorovych, Rev. J. Kobrynsky, Rev. D. Taniachkevych, Rev. S. Kachala, Rev. I. Dzhulynskiy and others, who labored to spread literacy and to establish cooperative economic organizations. If few Greek Catholic priests worked for the benefit of the masses, it must be admitted that the few educated Ukrainians who did in fact share such a commitment prior to the 1880s were, as often as not, members of the Greek Catholic clergy.

¹⁶The best brief account of the Ukrainian national movement prior to the first world war is Ivan L. Rudnytsky, "The Ukrainians in Galicia under Austrian Rule", Austrian History Yearbook, vol. III, part 3, (Rice University, 1967).

¹⁷Oleksii I. Dei, Ukrainska Revoliutsiino-Demokratychna Zhurnalistyka, (Kiev, 1959), p. 186.

¹⁸Mykhailo Drahomanov, "Avstro-Ruski Spomyny", in O.I. Dei (ed.), Mykhailo Petrovych Drahomanov: Literaturno-Publitsystychni Pratsi, vol. II (Kiev, 1970) p. 249; O.I. Dei, Ukrainska Revoliutsiino Demokratychna Dumka, p. 323.

¹⁹O.I. Dei, op. cit., p. 116.

²⁰O.I. Dei, op. cit., p. 187.

²¹Drahomanov, op. cit., pp. 194, 171, 166.

²²See Drahomanov's "Literatura rosiiska, velykoruska, ukrainska i halytska" in Literaturno-Publitsystychni Pratsi (Kiev, 1970) and "Chudatski dumky pro ukrainsku natsionalnu spravu" in M.P. Drahomanov: Vybrani Tvory (Prague, 1939).

²³See Ivan Franko, "Z ostatnikh desiatylit XIX viku", LNV, (Lviv, 1901); Mykhailo Vozniak, "Drahomanov v vidnovleni 'Pravdi'", Za Sto Lit, vol. V (Kiev, 1930); Myron Korduba, "Zviazky V. Antonovycha z Halychynoiu", Ukraina, 1928, vol. V (30); Doroshenko, A Survey of Ukrainian History, p. 580.

²⁴See Ievhen Olesnytsky Storinky z moho zhyttia vol. I (Lviv, 1935), pp. 176-78.

²⁵Quoted in Ivan Franko's "Voskresinnia chy Pohrebinnia", Ivan Franko: Publitsystyka (Kiev, 1953) p. 73.

²⁶The Brotherhoods had been established in the second half of the sixteenth century by Ukrainian Orthodox burghers and aristocrats. Their objective was to guarantee the autonomy of the Orthodox Church in the

Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, and to reform the Church peacefully from below. By the 1580s the Brotherhoods were sponsoring schools, maintaining hospitals, providing scholarships for impecunious students, and publishing books. In 1586, Joachim, Patriarch of Antioch, authorized the Lviv Brotherhood and its affiliates to oversee the behaviour of Orthodox laymen, priests, and of members of the hierarchy, in order to assure that it was in strict compliance with the tenets of Christianity. The Brotherhood was even allowed to oppose the authority of bishops who refused to heed its warnings. Three years later, Jeremiah II, Patriarch of Constantinople, reaffirmed these privileges. The emancipation of the Brotherhoods from episcopal jurisdiction and the extension, to them, of powers which rivalled those of the hierarchy, was resented by many Ukrainian Orthodox bishops, who became more favorably disposed to Church Union with Rome. See Taras Hunczak, "The Politics of Religion: The Union of Brest 1596", Ukrainskyi Istoryk, vol. IX, no. 35-36, 1972; Mykhailo Hrushevsky, Kulturno-Natsionalnyi Rukh na Ukraini v XVI-XVII vitsi, (Vienna, 1919).

²⁷Vasyl Kudryk, Malovidome z Istorii Hreko-Katolytskoi Tserkvy, vol. I (Winnipeg, 1952), pp. 217-36.

²⁸Ivan Franko, "ukrainski Partii v Halychyni", M.S. Vozniak (ed.), Z zhyttia i Tvorchosty Ivana Franka (Kiev, 1955) p. 139.

²⁹Quoted by Volodymyr Doroshenko in Velykyi Mytropolyt, (Yorkton, 1958), p. 14.

³⁰See Volodymyr Doroshenko, Velykyi Mytropolyt, (Yorkton, 1958) and Stepan Baran, Mytropolyt Andrei Sheptycky: Zhyttia i Dialnist, (Munich, 1947).

³¹Kost Levytsky, Istoria Politychnoi dumky Halytskykh Ukraintsiv, 1848-1914, (Lviv, 1926), p. 371.

³²Mykhailo Lozynsky, "Teokratychni Zmahannia na Nashim Grunti", LNV, 1909, pp. 123-25. Also see the same author's Dukhovenstvo i natsionalna kultura, (Lviv, 1912).

³³In addition to actively opposing the growth of Ukrainian cultural and economic institutions, Potocki instituted draconian measures against political activists. In 1905 in the village of Ladski gendarmes killed a number of peasants who had been active in the struggle for universal suffrage. In 1907 hundreds of University students were imprisoned for demonstrating. Prior to the 1907 elections a number of Ukrainian peasants received letters threatening them with death if they voted for Ukrainian candidates. Marko Kahanets, a peasant, was shot and killed after publicly protesting against this form of intimidation. Sichynskyi assassinated Potocki in April 1908, shortly after Kahanets had been killed.

³⁴Vasyl Kudryk, Malovidome...., vol. II, p. 45, for the text of the sermon.

³⁵ For the intellectual origins of Radicalism in eastern Galicia see Mykhailo Hrushevsky, Z Pochyniv Ukrainskoho Sotsialistychnoho Rukhu: M. Drahomanov i Zhenevskiyi sotsialistychnyi hurtok, (Vienna, 1922); Oleksii I. Dei, Ukrainska Revoliutsiino-Demokratychna Dumka, (Kiev, 1959). Also see Ivan Franko "Z ostatnikh desiatylyt XIX v." LNV (Lviv, 1901).

³⁶ The following collections of Drahomanov's writings and correspondence are rich in material pertaining to eastern Galicia: Politiesheskiiia Sochineniia M.P. Dragomanova, ed. B. Kistiakovsky, (Moscow, 1908); M.P. Drahomanov: Vybrani Tvory, ed. P. Bohatsky, (Prague, 1939); M.P. Drahomanov: Literaturno-Publitsystychni Pratsi, 2 vol., ed. O.I. Dei, (Kiev, 1970); Pysma do Ivana Franka i inshykh, 2 vol. (Lviv, 1960-08); Perepyska M. Drahomanova z M. Pavlykom, 6 vol. (Chernivtsi, 1900). Articles and monographs dealing with Drahomanov's life and thought include, D. Zaslavsky, M.P. Dragomanov: Kritiko-biograficheskyi ocherk, (Kiev, 1924); Ivan L. Rudnytsky, "Drahomanov as Political Theorist", in Mykhailo Drahomanov: A Symposium and Selected Writings, (New York, 1952); Raisa P. Ivanova, Mykhailo Drahomanov u suspilno-politychnomu rusi Rosii ta Ukrainy, (Kiev, 1971); Ivan Franko, "Suspilno-politychni pohliady M. Drahomanova", LNV, 1906; Yaroslav Bilinsky, "Mykhailo Drahomanov, Ivan Franko and Relations between the Dnieper Ukraine and Galicia in the last Quarter of the Nineteenth Century", Annals of the Ukrainian Academy of Arts and Sciences in the U.S.A., (New York, 1959). There are also a number of articles and research notes dealing with contacts between Drahomanov and Ukrainians in eastern Galicia in the journal Ukraina (Kiev, 1924-30).

³⁷ Drahomanov, "Perednie Slovo do Hromady", Hromada, vol. I, (Geneva, 1878); also, Ivan L. Rudnytsky, "Drahomanov as Political Theorist", pp. 73-74.

³⁸ Drahomanov, "Perednie Slovo do Hromady".

³⁹ Drahomanov, "Avstro-Ruski Spomyny", quoted by Ivan L. Rudnytsky, op. cit., pp. 92-93.

⁴⁰ Drahomanov, "Chudatski Dumky pro Ukrainsku Natsionalnu Spravu", quoted by Rudnytsky, op. cit., pp. 89-90; Drahomanov, "Druhyi lyst do redaktsii Druha", Literaturno-Publitsystychni Pratsi, vol. I, (Kiev, 1970), p. 408.

⁴¹ Drahomanov, "Chudatski Dumky...", Literaturno-Publitsystychni Pratsi, vol. II, (Kiev, 1970), p. 362.

⁴² Pavlyk, quoted by O.I. Dei. Ukrainska Revoliutsiino-Demokratychna Dumka, p. 86; Franko, "Formalny i realnyi natsionalizm", Publitsystyka, (Kiev, 1953), pp. 81-91.

⁴³ Drahomanov, Rai i Postup.

⁴⁴ Drahomanov, "Chudatski Dumky...", in P. Bohatsky, ed., M.P. Drahomanov: Vybrani Tvory, (Prague, 1939), p. 264 ff.

⁴⁵ Drahomanov, Ievanhelska Vira v Starii Anhlii, and Rai i Postup.

⁴⁶ Drahomanov, "Chudatski Dumky...", Vybrani Tvory, (Prague, 1939), p. 278.

⁴⁷ Drahomanov, Pysma do Ivana Franka i inshykh, vol. II, p. 239; "Literaturno-obshchestvenniia partii v Galitsii", in Politicheskiiia Sochineniia, (Moscow, 1908), pp. 447-48.

⁴⁸ Drahomanov, "Lyst do halytskoho narodovtsia", Pysma do Ivana Franka i inshykh, vol. II, pp. 395-96.

⁴⁹ Drahomanov, "Avstro-Ruski Spomyny", Literaturno-Publitsystychni Pratsi, (Kiev, 1970), p. 196.

⁵⁰ Franko, "Voskresinnia chy pohrebinnia", Publitsystyka, (Kiev, 1953), p. 69-70.

⁵¹ Perepyska M. Drahomanova z M. Pavlykom, vol. VI, pp. 186, 287-88; Pysma do Ivana Franka i inshykh, vol. II, pp. 214-15.

⁵² Although he worked on the Williams pamphlet until his death in 1895, Drahomanov did not complete it. However, he did manage to complete a number of other pamphlets for the peasantry: Religion and Politics, Six Hundred Years of the Swiss Confederation, The Baptist Brotherhoods in Ukraine, Tales of Jealous Gods, Paradise and Progress, and Evangelicalism in Old England, were all concerned with the propagation of democratic, egalitarian and non-conformist ideas. He also prepared introductions for popular translations of Morris Vern's studies in Biblical criticism, and planned pamphlets about the Ukrainian Orthodox lay brotherhoods of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. In 1898 and 1904, Pavlyk published his own translation of J.W. Draper's History of the Conflict Between Religion and Science. All of these were extremely popular and reached broad sections of the literate peasantry.

⁵³ Drahomanov, "Noviia dvizheniia sredi ruskikh galichan", Politicheskiiia Sochineniia, Moscow, 1908), pp. 474-76; Perepyska M.P. Drahomanova z M. Pavlykom, vol. VII, pp. 9-10; M. Vozniak, "Ivan Franko v dobi Radykalizmu", Ukraina, (Kiev, 1926) vol. VI (20) p. 135.

⁵⁴ Perepyska M.P. Drahomanova z M. Pavlykom, vol. VII, pp. 111-112.

⁵⁵ Drahomanov, "Noviia dvizheniia sredi ruskikh galichan", p. 480.

⁵⁶ Entsyklopedia Ukrainoznavstva, vol. I, part 3, pp. 928-33, 118-20. Stepan Perskyi, Populiarna Istoria Tovarystva 'Prosvita' u Lvovi, (Lviv, 1932), p. 129.

⁵⁷ Entsyklopedia Ukrainoznavstva, vol. I, part 3, p. 1047.

⁵⁸ A.M. Shlepakov, Ukrainska Trudova Emihratsiia v S.Sh.A. i Kanadi, (Kiev, 1960).

⁵⁹ On the Radical Party see, Ivan Makuch, Na Narodnii Sluzhbi, (Detroit, 1958), and Kyrylo Trylovsky, "Z moho zhyttia...", Hei tam na Hori Sich ide, (Edmonton, 1965). On the National Democrats see Kost Levytsky, Ukrainski Polityky, 2 vols. (Lviv, 1936-37). On the Social Democrats see Volodymyr Levynsky, "Nacherk istorii USDP Halychyny i Bukovyny do 1911 roku" in Robotchyi Narod (Winnipeg), 21 November, 1917 — 2 January, 1918.

CHAPTER TWO

THE ROOTS OF FACTIONALISM IN CANADA:

PEASANT IMMIGRANTS AND THE VILLAGE INTELLIGENTSIA

The initiative to direct land hungry Ukrainian peasants from Galicia and Bukovyna to Canada originated in circles close to the Radical Party. Because, at the outset, members of the Greek Catholic (and Greek Orthodox) clergy did not accompany the immigrants on their trek to the New World, members of the village intelligentsia — educated and articulate peasants, school teachers, and students, who were often familiar with Radical tenets — assumed leadership within the Ukrainian immigrant community in Canada. In response to the exploitive socio-economic circumstances in which many immigrants found themselves, and, in an effort to purge the immigrants of those traditional peasant perceptions, values and behaviour patterns which threatened to impede their integration into Canadian society on terms of equality, members of the village intelligentsia began to articulate protestant, socialist and nationalist orientations.

I

Although the first group of Ukrainians to settle in Canada left eastern Galicia in 1891, large scale migration to Canada did not begin until 1896. By 1919 there were approximately 200,000 Ukrainians in the Dominion.¹ The overwhelming majority were peasants from Galicia and Bukovyna and their Canadian-born children. Most were settled in the three prairie provinces, where they constituted about 10 percent

of the population.

The Prairies had been incorporated into the Dominion in order to meet the needs of eastern Canadian interests. The Montreal-based Canadian commercial-capitalist elite, which had traditionally intermediated the flow of goods between Britain and the North American hinterland decided to annex the Prairies because it needed a new hinterland to offset its loss of access to the American Mid-West.² Annexation of the Prairies seemed to promise a potential hinterland which was even more lucrative than the American Mid-West. Incorporation of the region also appealed to land hungry Ontario farmers, to the small group of Canadian industrialists who anticipated a potential market for their manufactures, and to British financiers who had invested in eastern and central Canadian transportation systems. Once the purchase of the region from the Hudson's Bay Company had been completed and the lands wrested by force and deception from the indigenous Indian and Metis population,³ the creation of a "northern nation" stretching from "ocean to ocean", was undertaken in earnest by the Canadian commercial elite.

The policy devised to integrate the Prairies into the Canadian economy came to be known as the National Policy. A protective tariff system, the construction of a transcontinental railroad, and immigration policies to promote agricultural settlement and to secure a reservoir of cheap labor, were the three pillars on which the National Policy rested. The tariff was not designed to prevent foreign capital from entering Canada. Rather, it was intended to encourage industrialization within the established eastern regions of the country and to prevent the entry of American manufactured goods. Its basic objective was

to promote an inter-provincial trading system by creating an east-west (rather than north-south) trade nexus which would force traffic onto the railroad and thereby serve the interests of the commercial elite. The transcontinental — the Canadian Pacific Railway — was constructed to drain the western hinterland of its staples and to facilitate their movement to markets abroad. By 1914 there were three transcontinentals. Agricultural settlement and immigration were, however, the key to the success of the National Policy. Without an agricultural staple-producing population in the Prairies, and without a constant supply of cheap labor, it would be impossible to produce export commodities, provide a market for eastern manufacturers, and to expand the transport and communications infrastructure required for such an enterprise. While agricultural settlers of British origin were most eagerly sought after, immigrants from continental Europe — including peasants from southern and eastern Europe — were also recruited. Although members of the last group — especially Ukrainians — were actively recruited as agricultural settlers prior to 1905, it was primarily as a result of the demand for cheap labor that these immigrants were recruited in large numbers. When federal restrictions were placed on Oriental immigration in 1907 railroad and mining interests became the most active supporters of southern and east European immigration to Canada.⁴

Whether settled on "free homesteads" of marginal quality, or recruited directly for work on the railroads and in the mines, Ukrainian peasant immigrants continued to occupy the bottom rung of the social ladder just as they had in Galicia and Bukovyna. Gradually, however, they were undergoing a process of social differentiation that would be reflected in ideological factionalism among the intelligentsia.

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When the migration of Ukrainian immigrants to Canada got under way, only lands of marginal quality were available to homesteaders who lacked cash resources. There had initially been approximately 130 million acres of good farmland in the three prairie provinces. Of these, 61.25 million acres, or 47.2 percent of the farmland, had been alienated by the government. While the Hudson's Bay Company was granted over 7 million acres of the best agricultural land, railroad companies had received no less than 31.8 million acres. In fact, the 61.25 million acres of land alienated by the government surpassed the amount alienated as "free homestead" land between 1870 and 1928 (58.25 million acres) by over 3 million acres.⁵

Other factors were also responsible for the poor quality of land on which many Ukrainian settlers found themselves. Not the least of these was the immigrants' own preference for parkland and forested country.⁶ On the other hand it would be difficult to deny that Ukrainian immigrants were often settled on land which was known to be of inferior quality, by land agents, by indifferent government officials, and by representatives of railroad interests.⁷ Even the federal government's desire to quicken assimilation by preventing the concentration of Ukrainian immigrants in east-central Alberta, and by channelling them into a number of "settlement nodes"⁸ around which smaller block settlements could be established, may have contributed to this state of affairs. Consequently Ukrainians were settled on lands, which, roughly speaking, stretched in a north-westerly direction from south eastern Manitoba to central Alberta, and which coincided with the aspen parkland vegetation belt and with the route of the Canadian National

Railway. Although those who settled in western Saskatchewan and east-central Alberta often secured good land and attained a degree of prosperity within a decade or two, others were not as fortunate. This was particularly true of those immigrants who were settled in the eastern and Inter-lake regions of Manitoba. Only decades of material poverty, seasonal labor, and odd occupations such as harvesting cordwood, collecting seneca roots, picking cranberries, subsistence gardening and rabbit hunting prevented starvation in these districts. Whereas the average prairie farm amounted to 335.4 acres in 1921, rising to 389 acres in Saskatchewan by 1926, Ukrainian settlers remained well below this standard.⁹ While by the late 1920s, in parts of western Saskatchewan and Alberta, up to 250 acres of land had been cleared on an average Ukrainian farm and grain farming predominated, in the south-eastern (Stuartburn) and Inter-lake (Kreuzberg) regions of Manitoba, as few as 50 and 18 acres of land respectively had been cleared on the average Ukrainian farm and market gardening, cordwood harvesting and dairying predominated.¹⁰

Material progress and living conditions among rural settlers varied from region to region largely in relation to the quality of the land. Prior to 1914 agricultural technology in most settlements was primitive. Scythes, hand-rakes, flails and ox-drawn plows and carts were standard equipment. Horses replaced oxen in most districts only on the eve of the war and tractors did not become common for another two decades.¹¹ General mechanization of agriculture occurred only after the wheat boom of 1917-19 carried those settlers who had good land to economic stability and prosperity. As the price of a bushel of wheat tripled between 1913 and 1917 agricultural

progress was accompanied by the construction of frame houses, by the purchase of automobiles and by electrification.

Material progress and prosperity were limited to a minority, however. In 1916, 10 percent of rural settlers lived in one room huts and another 56 percent lived in two room straw-thatched, white-washed, mud-log houses, with or without wooden floors. A survey conducted in northern Saskatchewan in 1922-23 revealed that most of these structures housed at least 7 persons, while quite a few housed as many as 10 to 15 persons. More significantly, it demonstrated that a number of settlers led lives which were utterly impoverished both materially and culturally.¹² In 1929, after an extensive survey of rural settlements a sociologist insisted that in spite of material progress in some districts it was very important not ". . . to lose sight of the fact that the vast majority [of rural Ukrainians] do no more than make ends meet, nor again that very many of them who are on poor land in all the districts pass their days in hovels and end them prematurely as a result of gradual starvation".¹³

During these years Ukrainian rural settlers were left without a number of basic social services, which would have facilitated a meaningful and beneficial process of integration into Canadian society.

Medical services in rural settlements were very poor if not non-existent. Settlers who lived near larger centres had recourse to municipal hospitals; others had to rely on services provided by charitable institutions. The Presbyterian and Methodist Churches provided the only medical services of importance in rural Ukrainian settlements.¹⁴ In 1900 and 1902 medical dispensaries were established in Sifton, Ethelbert, and Teulon, Manitoba, by the Presbyterian Church.

By 1908 the Church had also established medical missions and hospitals in Teulon, in Wakaw, Saskatchewan, and in Vegreville, Alberta. The last Presbyterian medical mission was established in Canora, Saskatchewan in 1914, when a hospital with facilities for 60 patients was constructed. The Methodists established three medical missions in the Ukrainian settlement in east-central Alberta. In 1907 a hospital was constructed in Pakan, where a medical mission had been in existence since 1901. Five years later, in 1912, a second hospital was constructed in Lamont, near Chipman. At Wahstao and Kolokreeka, north of Pakan, medical dispensaries were established in 1904 and 1909.¹⁵

By the mid 1920s 8 hospitals, 14 doctors, and 250 beds, provided by the United Church, remained the major medical facilities in remote rural settlements. This was a critical state of affairs because poverty, hardship, and ignorance continued to spawn disease and illness. Dwellings were not only congested, they were unventilated, and lacked facilities for washing and bathing. Malnutrition was not uncommon and many young mothers were ignorant of proper infant care methods. In newly settled areas, cooking and the preparation of food remained primitive and diets unvariegated, thereby lowering resistance to disease. Tuberculosis afflicted a high proportion of the settlers; rheumatism, tonsillitis, eczema, and tooth and gum diseases were common; and, epidemics of measles and chicken pox continued to sweep through entire communities. Diseases of the gastro-intestinal tract were common and many women suffered from diseases due to untreated pelvic disorders. Few precautions were taken before and after childbirth and obstetrical services were provided by old women. Consequently the rate of infant mortality among Ukrainians in 1925 was 11.24 percent;

among "Austrians" it was 13.76 percent.¹⁶

Educational facilities in rural Ukrainian settlements were also inadequate. The absence of roads in many districts, the unwillingness of municipal councils to approve the construction of new schools, lack of financial support from provincial governments, and the fact that it was almost impossible to get qualified English-speaking teachers to go into "Galician" settlements, were just some of the reasons for this state of affairs. In order to provide teachers for rural non-English settlements, special training schools for "foreigners" were established in each of the three prairie provinces. The first of these was established in 1905 in Manitoba, where the Laurier-Greenway Compromise permitted instruction in French — or any other language — and English, upon the bilingual system, in any school where ten of the pupils spoke French — or any other language — as their native language. Ukrainian bilingual teachers were trained in Winnipeg, and after 1907, in Brandon. While there were no statutory provisions for bilingual instruction in Saskatchewan, the School Act permitted instruction in foreign languages between three and four o'clock in the afternoon provided that a competent instructor could be found and financed by the parents of those pupils who desired such instruction. Consequently the provincial government established a Training School for Teachers of Foreign Speaking Communities, in Regina, in 1909. Although the Alberta School Act made provisions similar to those in Saskatchewan, the province had appointed Robert Fletcher Supervisor of Schools among Foreigners in 1906 with the result that those schools in Ukrainian districts which obtained teachers had to be satisfied with unilingual English instructors. Nevertheless, the demand for

teachers mounted while the supply diminished. In February 1913, the English School for Foreigners was opened in Vegreville. These provisions notwithstanding, the supply of teachers did not meet the growing demand in rural areas.¹⁷

Bilingual schools and training schools for "foreigners" were tolerated during the prewar period for reasons of political expediency. Not only could the "foreign" vote be obtained by extending these privileges, political parties also tried to exploit bilingual school organizers and teachers in non-English speaking districts for political ends. This was especially apparent in Manitoba, where Ukrainian and Polish school organizers, appointed by the Conservative government of R.P. Roblin, were also party "heelers". They agitated in favor of Conservative candidates, received generous "travel" subsidies prior to elections, edited newspapers such as the notorious Kanada (Canada), which were subsidized by the Conservative party, and in some instances helped party agents to distribute alcoholic beverages during election campaigns. While there is no evidence to suggest that bilingual teachers were engaged in this kind of activity, patronage often determined who was admitted to the Brandon Training School and who retained his teaching post.¹⁸ In Saskatchewan, where the Liberals were in office, the first Ukrainian school organizers were two Ukrainian Liberals — both former editors of Kanadyiskyi Farmer (The Canadian Farmer), the Liberal Party's Ukrainian language organ. In Alberta, the Vegreville training school was established only because its Ukrainian advocates had worked on behalf of John Boyle, Minister of Education, during a 1912 by-election.¹⁹ As subsequent developments in that province would demonstrate, Ukrainian teachers were expected

to support the Liberal Party or perish.

In the absence of adequate educational facilities the education obtained by the first generation of school aged Ukrainian Canadians was rudimentary at best. As early as in 1912, J.S. Woodsworth had lamented the fact that the availability of educational facilities among immigrants on the Prairies did not match that in Austria.²⁰ In 1916 the Woodsworth Survey revealed that 34 percent of rural Ukrainian children in the prairie provinces (under the age of 14) were not attending school and 61 percent could neither read nor write. It also revealed that 52 percent of rural Ukrainian settlers, including 48 percent of the men and 70 percent of the women, were illiterate, and that 56 percent of the households had no books whatsoever, while 50 percent did not subscribe to any newspaper. When bilingual schools were abolished in Manitoba, in 1916, it was learned that only 4 percent of the pupils in Polish and Ukrainian schools had gone beyond the fourth grade.²¹ Similar results were obtained in Saskatchewan in 1918.²² Five years later, when only unilingual English schools operated, a survey of 26 districts populated by Ukrainians in Saskatchewan revealed that only 14 percent had reached the fifth grade.²³ As late as in 1931, 12 percent of Ukrainians between the age of 20 and 24, 25 percent of those between 30 and 39, and 62 percent of those between 50 and 64, living in the prairie provinces, were illiterate.²⁴

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A significant proportion of the Ukrainians who arrived in Canada prior to the first world war did not settle on the land. Of 67,274 Ukrainians admitted at Canadian ocean ports between 1910 and 1914, 48,898 or 72.6 percent were adult males, many of them single and

destined for non-agricultural pursuits. Another 3,896 Ukrainian women were admitted as "houseworkers".²⁵ In the prairie provinces alone, well over 20 percent of Ukrainians remained in urban centres, while almost all Ukrainians who settled outside the prairies remained in towns and cities. Together with the over 50 percent of all Ukrainian agricultural settlers who spent years as wage-laborers before they were able to establish themselves on the land, these urban dwellers constituted a proletariat of seasonal laborers and unskilled workers.

Living conditions in urban districts where Ukrainians congregated were characterized by a total absence of the most basic amenities. Wedged in between expanding business districts and working class residential areas, the immigrants lived in overcrowded, unhygienic, disease-ridden tenements, where the rent was low. The lack of any reasonably priced accommodation for casual and seasonal laborers in the cities obliged these men to share accommodation with 5 to 10 and even as many as 30 of their compatriots, in one-family homes, at "nickel-a-night" rates.²⁶ When combined with unsanitary open sewage systems and poor medical facilities it is hardly surprising that the infant mortality rate in Winnipeg stood at 19.95 percent in 1912, while in the city's "foreign" populated Ward 5 it reached the figure of 28.2 percent.²⁷ Even after the war, as some laborers moved into working class residential districts, infant mortality in Winnipeg's Point Douglas district stood at 14.6 percent, and at 16.4 percent in the North End. Likewise the incidence of tuberculosis in these two districts stood at 3.8/1000 and 3.0/1000, the highest in Winnipeg in 1918.²⁸

The Ukrainian urban population consisted of unskilled resident laborers and a larger fluctuating group of seasonal laborers. Resident laborers were generally employed as railway yard men, unskilled construction workers, sugar refinery laborers, and city works laborers. In 1918, 95 percent of those living in Winnipeg earned less than \$100.00 monthly.²⁹ Young girls from rural colonies also congregated in urban centres, where they worked as domestics, or in restaurants and packing plants. Just before the war, domestics earned \$10-\$15 monthly plus room and board; dishwashers, often 12 year old girls, earned \$6 monthly plus room and board; and restaurant cooks could earn \$25 monthly plus board.³⁰ Seasonal laborers who were engaged as bush-workers earned \$30 monthly plus board and lodging, although there were instances when they were paid only \$10 monthly. Prior to the war agrarian laborers earned \$15-\$20 monthly plus room and board, although at harvest time they earned up to \$30 monthly.³¹

Work on the railroads and in the mines, was however, the most typical form of non-agricultural employment during the first two decades of the century. Between 1900 and 1918 the length of Canadian railway mileage increased from 18,000 to 38,880 miles.³² Most of the new track was laid after 1907 when federal restrictions on Oriental immigration prompted Canadian railroad interests to turn to southern and eastern Europe for their "coolie labor".³³ Italian laborers were preferred but Ukrainians and other groups of settler-immigrants were also recruited. By the early 1920s Ukrainians, who comprised about 13 percent of all "navvies", constituted the single most numerous national group employed on railroad construction.³⁴ Working conditions on the railroads were deplorable. In 1912, a foreign consul familiar

with conditions in Europe and South American stated that he knew ". . . of no other country where the rights of workmen have been so flagrantly abused as on railway construction in Canada." A Canadian observer noted that ". . . prisoners who comprised the convict gangs . . . were better housed, had shorter hours, and were as well fed as were the navvies . . ." Conditions in the frontier camps, the same observer alleged, approximated "lesser forms of serfdom" and "peonage".³⁵

According to official data, the total number of persons killed on Canadian railways between 1901 and 1918 was 12,816; another 99,668 persons were injured.³⁶ A great many of these were Ukrainian immigrants. Those who survived had to endure intolerable working conditions and exploitative wages. The average working day lasted 10 to 12 hours at 15¢ to 20¢ an hour. However it was not unusual for navvies to work 16, 18, and 20 hours daily, while on "extra-gangs" a ten hour day earned only \$1.35. In addition, \$4.50 to \$7.00 was deducted weekly for food and lodgings and \$1.25 monthly for medical services which were rarely provided. After the first month of work most navvies were still without net wages.³⁷

Unlike seasonal employment on railroad construction, mining was a permanent year-round occupation. Skilled Anglo-Saxon laborers comprised the largest proportion of miners, although almost half of those employed in the industry were "foreigners". Unskilled southern and east European immigrants were recruited because they were perceived to be a malleable, non-unionized source of cheap labor. By 1914 Finns (3.5 percent), Italians (8 percent) and Slavs (11 percent) were the largest minorities among miners.³⁸ The Slavs were particularly numerous in the Crow's Nest Pass district and in northern Ontario.

As more "foreigners" were recruited management took an increasingly callous approach to safety precautions. The death rate in Western Canadian coal mines was two and a half times greater than it was in American or Eastern Canadian mines.³⁹ Many Ukrainians died as a result of mining disasters.⁴⁰ The miner's working day lasted 10 to 12 hours, occasionally 16 hours. Most miners grossed up to \$100 monthly. After deductions for food, quarters and equipment, however, most were left with net earnings of \$40 monthly.⁴¹

On railroad construction and in the mines an ethnic caste system existed. In the mines most skilled mechanics, certified miners and supervisors were Anglo-Saxons and Scandinavians. Slavs and Italians were employed as underground laborers, miner's helpers and surface laborers.⁴² On railroad construction Anglo-Saxons and Scandinavians were employed as machine operators, mechanics, repairmen, and skilled rock blasters, as well as walking bosses, inspectors and camp foremen. Slavs and Italians worked with shovels, hoes and barrows as "muckers" and ditch-diggers, and on railroad maintenance.⁴³ A semi-racial demarcation, which attributed specific characteristics to the various national groups, provided ideological justification for this caste system. Workers it was believed, belonged to one of two groups: "whites" and "foreigners". Anglo-Saxons, Scandinavians, and French-Canadians belonged to the former; Slavs, Italians, and Orientals belonged to the latter. The "whites", it was alleged, were distinguished from the "foreigners" by their superior intelligence, by their skill as workers and by their "sheer native ability". They were believed to be virile, clear-headed, quick-thinking and self-reliant; the "foreigners", especially the Slavs, were believed to be "slow and

immobile, lacking initiative . . . with but limited mechanical ability . . . easily brow-beaten . . . just plodders in the day's work . . ." Nevertheless, their "quiet strength", "unpretending courage", "perseverance" and "staunchness" guaranteed that " . . . the Slav can and does succeed even as a railway navvy".⁴⁴

If the conditions of labor failed to destroy the immigrant's illusions about the "legendary liberty and prosperity" which he expected to find in Canada, the economic recession which reached serious proportions in 1913, and the outbreak of war in 1914 with its attendant consequences, did the job. When the economy went into recession the immigrant was the first to feel the effects of unemployment. Between 1913 and 1915, 54,000 railroad employees were laid off.⁴⁵ By the summer of 1913 thousands of unemployed Ukrainians were beginning to congregate in urban centers, especially in western Canada. While some were arrested for loitering, a number were deported. Ukrainian Canadian newspapers began to advise prospective immigrants in Galicia and Bukovyna to stay at home.⁴⁶ On May 26, 1914, 2000 unemployed workers, mostly Ukrainians, marched through the streets of Winnipeg with shovels demanding "work and bread". When police attempted to arrest a Joseph Dudar who was addressing the workers, the demonstrators proceeded to beat the policemen off with shovels.⁴⁷ By the time war broke out, thousands of unemployed workers, including great numbers of Ukrainians, who often ate at 48 hour intervals, were wandering in groups from city to city in search of work.

War aggravated an already grave situation. Large numbers of "enemy aliens", immigrants from non-Allied countries, were dismissed from their jobs. In Fernie, Mitchell and Nanaimo, as well as in

Hillcrest, over 500 Ukrainian miners lost their jobs.⁴⁸ The loss of employment was particularly devastating for those immigrants who sent a portion of their earnings home to Galicia or Bukovyna. A number of mass demonstrations by non-unionized "foreigners" occurred in Winnipeg in 1915. On April 19, a gathering of 5000, which demanded "bread and work" and asserted that it represented people who were not "enemies", was dispersed by club swinging police. Three days later, 15,000 demonstrated. On May 14, hundreds of unemployed "foreigners" left Winnipeg for the United States in search of work, and, because they feared persecution as "enemy aliens". About 200 of the marchers were arrested at the American border and placed in Canadian internment camps.

In August 1914, Parliament passed the War Measures Act which permitted the government to make decisions by orders-in-council. "Enemy aliens" were ordered to report or register monthly with the police. Those who failed to report, or who were deemed a threat to national security were interned in one of 24 internment camps. A total of 8579 "enemy aliens" were interned during the war, among them 5954 "Austro-Hungarians" most of whom were Ukrainians.⁴⁹ A Press Censorship Board was established in June 1915 to monitor the "alien" foreign language press in Canada. Finally, in September 1917, the Wartime Elections Act disfranchised all naturalized citizens born in enemy countries and naturalized after 1902.

By 1917 the Canadian economy had suffered heavy losses of manpower as a result of the war. In spite of the fact that they had been deprived of their civil rights, the labor services of the "aliens" were required to stem the growing labor shortage. Consequently all persons above the age of 16 were required to register with the

Canadian Registration Board. An "anti-loafing law" was enacted in April 1918 and required all male residents of Canada to be "regularly engaged in some useful occupation".⁵⁰ In September 1918, as a result of growing fears that labor unrest among "alien" workers was somehow connected with Bolshevism, two orders-in-council were passed: all foreign language publications were suppressed and a number of left wing organizations were outlawed. A month later the Public Safety Branch was set up to enforce this legislation. Many Ukrainian immigrants personally experienced the full weight of these enactments, while the whole community, especially in urban centres, was exposed to outbursts of nativist hostility and intimidation by private individuals and citizens' groups. The final blow came in 1919 when growing labor unrest and the presence of unemployed war veterans, resulted in more lay-offs and ultimately led to amendments to the Immigration Act, which brought Canada's "open door" immigration policy to an end.

II

A small, fairly prosperous stratum of farmers, and a somewhat larger stratum of propertyless urban and frontier laborers, had emerged within the Ukrainian immigrant community by 1919. While the emergence of these two strata accelerated the process of ideological differentiation within the community, the initial stimulus came from elsewhere. Throughout the period under consideration most immigrants were neither prosperous farmers nor propertyless proletarians. They remained subsistence cultivators and marginal participants in the market economy, who were isolated from political and cultural centres, exploited, and humiliated by social superiors. Scarcity, insecurity

and the struggle for survival continued to be the basic facts of immigrant life. Consequently a noticeable proportion of the peasant immigrants — although it is impossible to estimate just how many — retained perceptions, behaviour patterns and biases peculiar to traditional peasant societies.⁵¹ The retention of these habits and perceptions threatened to impede those immigrants' integration into Canadian society. Ideological factionalism within the Ukrainian immigrant community — the emergence of protestant, socialist and nationalist orientations — was initially precipitated by efforts to articulate a solution to this problem. It was the result of attempts to provide a formula for modernizing the peasant immigrants' perceptions and behaviour patterns.⁵²

In Canada as in Galicia and Bukovyna, familial relationships among peasant immigrants continued to be subordinated to economic exigencies. The family remained the basic economic unit, and it was dominated by an authoritarian father/husband. Marriages were contracted for pragmatic, economic reasons, and women occupied a subordinate position in the family. Children were expected to contribute to the material support of the family.

As in most peasant societies, the fate of Ukrainian women was particularly unenviable. In the old world, wives had often been regarded as a source of labor necessary to run a household. According to one proverb, any man who wished to become prosperous had to get married first (Khto khoche dorobytysia, musyt ozhenytysia).⁵³ So onerous were the chores performed by women that another proverb stated that mills, boats and women had to be repaired very often (Mlyn, korabel i zhinku, treba chasto napravliaty). In the highlands,

husbands had the right to beat their wives if they failed to "respect" them, or if they were unfaithful, and women always walked a few paces behind their spouse. A Bukovynian proverb asserted that an unbeaten wife was like an unsharpened scythe (Zhinka ne byta, to kosa ne klepana).⁵⁴ A woman's most important function, however, was to bear children. In 1890 an ethnographer stated that in the village of Senechiv, in the Carpathians, he was often told

...that a woman's greatest obligation is to give birth, to have children, regardless of whether they are legitimate or illegitimate, and that if any woman manages not to have any children, or if she has fewer children than she could have had, then she has committed a great sin (velykyi hrikh) and will have to do a great amount of penance in the next world.

While this view was not typical, it reflected the harsh realities of peasant existence.⁵⁵ Genuine friendship or affection between husband and wife was rare, and even domestic decision-making was not shared. Husbands were hesitant to confer with their wives or to confide their problems to them lest they thereby reveal their weakness and lose respect. Only in exceptional cases did husbands make provisions for the support of their widows; property was usually left to sons and it was not uncommon for widows to be neglected and despised by their relatives, who resented having a useless human burden foisted upon themselves. Old men often found themselves in the same predicament.⁵⁶

Hardship and poverty ensured that the fate of many women in rural Ukrainian Canadian settlements remained just as unenviable. Marriages were often arranged by parents for purely economic reasons, and occasionally, 14 year old girls were married off to men two or three times their age. Love and affection were not prerequisites to marriage. "A man marries a wife frequently because he needs one to plaster his house

for him, to milk the cows, [or] to get in the hay while he goes to work on the railroad", a Methodist missionary observed.⁵⁷ While one man ". . . buried one wife and married another in the same day . . . to save the expense of two visits from the priest", another, after being turned down by a girl of 17, asked if she would marry his son instead.⁵⁸ One of Klymasz's female informants described her courtship and marriage in the following terms:⁵⁹

...the fellow came for me on Saturday and on Sunday he married me . . . and I didn't even know his name. A girl came to see me and said, "I heard you got married?!" "I did". "Whom did you marry?" "Do you think I know whom I married? Some fellow!"

After they were married women remained subservient to their husbands. Most performed more work than an average hired man, enjoyed little if any social life, rarely travelled beyond the confines of their settlement, and were described as being in a "broken down condition" by doctors. Their confinement to the home bred superstition, timidity, and extreme conservatism.⁶⁰

The lot of children was no less onerous than that of women. Child care methods were virtually unknown,⁶¹ and the high rate of infant mortality meant that parents rarely developed an emotional attachment to infants and remained relatively unaffected by their deaths (Koly umre dytyna to mala dolyna, a iak umre mama to velyka iama). Those who survived were expected to help with the work (Dai Bozhe dytynu, nai khoch vidpochynu). Sons were preferred to daughters, who had to be provided with doweries (Syny do khaty pryne sut, a dochky i uhly roznesut/ Syn — polatai khata, a dochka-obdery khata). Yet, relations between brothers, who were insecure about their inheritance, were often hostile (Brat bratom, a bryndzia za hroshi/ Nema brata koly strata/

Khoch my sobi brattia, ale nashi kysheni ne sestry).

In Canada children worked beside their parents as soon as they were able. Schoolteachers complained that children were "repressed and listless", and that they did not know "how to play".⁶² Writing about the small daughters of peasant immigrants, Rev. J.W. MacMillan stated that they ". . . look too much like miniature women, which they are not, and too little like little girls, which they are."⁶³ Florence Randall Livesay, who taught school in Brokenhead, Manitoba, lamented that Ukrainian children knew none of the songs, tales or legends of their people, had vocabularies which rarely exceeded 400 words, and were completely isolated from all outside cultural influences.⁶⁴ In fact, at the turn of the century, some peasant immigrants were hostile to the idea of schooling for their children. "In Canada", an immigrant told Toma Jastremsky⁶⁵

...there is plenty of land; there are no estates on which one is forced to work for the landlord's benefit and thereby prevented from making a good living for himself . . . If we manage to raise our children and work our farms, our homesteads will look just like the landlords' estates. If we start feeding free-loaders who play with our children [i.e., teachers] we will never make our fortune here.

Referring to early efforts to organize schools, Mykhailo Stechishin insisted that "90 percent of our farmers opposed the organization of school districts", and he added that ". . . today [1915] they fear the two room school. As far as our farmers are concerned there is no more frightening evil than the consolidated school. They refer to it as nothing less than the imposition of serfdom."⁶⁶ Vasyl Mihaychuk complained that it was not unusual for Ukrainian school trustees to

close schools for a large part of the year in order to keep operating costs down, or to forbid parents to send children over 15 years of age to school.⁶⁷ Extra-curricular school functions such as concerts, were regarded as a useless waste of time in certain districts and a Ukrainian teacher was accused of "drinking our very lifeblood and living at our expense" by some less enlightened settlers. By 1915, in many districts, Canadian-born children had little if any desire to obtain an education and dreamt only of going out to work — thereby alarming the better educated immigrants, who feared that Ukrainians were doomed to remain "hewers of wood and drawers of water".⁶⁸

* * *

Social attitudes and inter-personal relations peculiar to peasant societies had flourished in Galicia and Bukovyna. Like their counterparts the world over, many Ukrainian peasants succumbed to feelings of inferiority, suspected everyone, and ultimately resigned themselves to their fate. Referred to as "rubes" (mudi) and "cattle" (khudoba) by merchants and officials, peasants were embarrassed, dis-oriented and often obsequious in the presence of social superiors. Internalizing these evaluations, they became conditioned to see themselves as "common people" (prosti liudy) or as "dark peasants" (temni khlopy) who were accustomed to every outrage imaginable (Muzhyk do vsioho pryvyk). Peasant proverbs suggest that outsiders and social superiors were not trusted. They warned that lawyers were swindlers (Kozhen advokat krutii) and liars (Tilko advokatovi vilno v sudi brekhaty), insisted that doctors populated cemeteries with their patients (Shcho novyi likar, to novyi tsvyntar), suggested that priests were extortioners (Pip dere, bere i vtikaie), labelled all

artisans as liars (Kozhen remisnyk musyt brekhaty), and claimed that the educated were responsible for confusing the common people (Cherez ti ucheni, khodiat liudy iak krucheni). Scarcity and insecurity also colored the peasant's relations with his fellow villagers. Inter-personal relations were fraught with suspicion, envy, mistrust, and vigilance in order to ensure that everyone received his proper share of land, wealth, respect or honor. Proverbs warned that the wealthy were greedy (Tomu bahatyi bo svynuvatyi), thievish (Khto ne zlodiikuvatyi, toi ne bude nikoly bahatyi), responsible for the misfortunes of others (Bahatstvo odnoho ie ruinoiu desiatiokh), and that they enjoyed the patronage of the devil (Za bahachem sam chort z kolachem). Neighbors, guests and friends were suspected of coveting the peasant's wealth, of trying to dishonor him, and even of trying to bewitch him with the "evil eye". Proverbs warned the peasant that his neighbors were aware of all his faults (Znaiut susidy tvoi obidy), that guests who paid even the briefest visits were quick to take stock of all his belongings (Hist pryide na khvyliu, a bachyt na myliu), that other people's advice was not necessarily to be heeded (Liudei radsia, a svii rozum mai), and, that precautions should be taken against friends (Znym druzhy, a kamin za pazukhoiu derzhy) since they often turned out to be worse than enemies (Borony mene Bozhy vid pryiateliv bo z vorohom ia sobi dam radu). Litigation was common among peasants, who repeatedly accused one another of over-ploughing (pereoraty) and of over-cropping (perekosyty), while in the highlands peasants who were not treated with the respect (viddaty chest, viddaty honir) to which they believed themselves entitled from their counterparts, occasionally exacted a bloody

vengeance.⁶⁹ Fatalism and resignation, however, were the most serious consequences of scarcity and insecurity. Ukrainians (Ruthenians), a peasant proverb stated, were created by God to suffer misfortune and poverty (Rusyna Pan Bih sotvoryv na bidu ta na nuzhdu). Nothing could be done to change things: as God ordains, so it shall be (Tak bude iak Boh dast). Man's life and his destiny were bitter because such was the will of God (Hirke zhyttia i hirka dolia, nych ne vdiesh Bozha volia). Fate asked no questions (Dolia ne pytaie: shcho khoche te i daie) and no one could hope to know what it had in store for him (Nikhto ne zhaie, shcho koho chekaie). Misery was universal (Bez lykha v sviti ne buvaie), pain was the natural attribute of life (De nema boliu, tam nema i zhyttia), and misfortunes were sure to follow one after another (Bida bidu perebude, odna myne druha bude). Alcohol, which temporarily anaesthetized the peasant against the strains of daily life, seemed to offer the only escape. The tavern was more popular than the church according to proverbs (Do korshmy hostynets butyi, a do tserkvy travoiu vkrytyi). But, proverbs also warned that brawling (Kolo horilky ne obiidetsia bez biiky) and wife-beating (Khto horilku pie, toi zhinku bie) were the inevitable results of drinking.

Where scarcity, insecurity, poverty and hardship continued to predominate, and where the immigrant met with exploitation and abusive treatment, Ukrainian peasant settlers in Canada remained resigned and prone to seek relief in escapist solutions. A sense of hopelessness and resignation was noted by a number of observers. Nestor Dmytriw a radical Greek Catholic priest, observed that "It should also be noted that our peasant places himself at the mercy of God with complete

resignation. Positioning himself beside his home and supporting that tiny hovel with his lazy [sic] body, he will proceed to stand that way all day long, saying that as God wills it so it shall be".⁷⁰ While the Rev. A.J. Hunter, medical missionary at Teulon, feared that a "state of stagnation and hopelessness" would engulf immigrants settled on poor land, Rev. R.G. Scott of Sifton observed that because of the great amount of sickness among the Galicians ". . . the sick invariably are neglected. If they recover all is well, if they die, God wants them. This view is characteristic, and signifies a disregard of the needs of the sick, which Canadians can hardly realize".⁷¹ A Methodist missionary in Alberta reported that a woman "broke the quarantine regulations in a diphtheria case, saying 'God will punish whom He will' and in consequence lost five children".⁷²

Where scarcity prevailed and years of labor failed to produce improvement, suspicion, envy and jealousy characterized inter-personal relations. "In his ignorance our impoverished peasant is extremely malignant and unkind toward his brother", observed Dmytriw, and proceeded to cite instances where peasants threatened to chop each other up with axes or to go to court if their neighbor's cattle strayed on to their property.⁷³ Hunter observed that in the Inter-lake region

...the Galicians are often narrow, suspicious, wrong-headed, trusting where they should not trust and not trusting where they should...

Their cooperative power is very small and they are not as helpful to one another as they should be. The brutal struggle for life among the European peasantry has dulled their finer feelings. Where Canadian farmers will readily make a "bee" to help some neighbor in raising a barn, or to put in the crop for some fellow who is sick, the Galician will seldom do anything for his neighbor unless he is paid. Yet this is not due to lack of natural kindness of disposition but solely to the hard school in which they have been trained.

School children, he observed " . . . [had] no capacity for cooperation."⁷⁴

In 1916 a Canadian journalist wrote that

...One element which in the early days of the colony, helped to retard progress somewhat was the fact that if one man happened to very far outdistance his neighbors they at once began to look upon him with suspicion . . . The man who succeeded . . . must have some look in somewhere that they did not have. Immediately he was treated . . . with suspicion, and more than likely boycotted.⁷⁵

Litigation was common among Ukrainian immigrants, and where hardship and poverty were extreme, theft, especially wheat stealing, was common. As reports of the North West Mounted Police indicate, murder also was not unknown in rural settlements and in frontier camps.⁷⁶ In 1931 Young concluded that ". . . the Ukrainians fight with no one so well or so often as they do among themselves . . . Fist fights are always the order of the day though oxen neck yokes are not uncommonly used. At other times they have resorted to tearing each others' fences or burning churches and fighting over them in courts".⁷⁷

The high consumption of alcohol noticed among Ukrainian immigrants must be seen as a response to incessant hardship and hopelessness. Referring to frontier laborers, an Anglican missionary admitted that when ". . . you see the conditions under which these men live, you could hardly be surprised if the outlook which many of them have on life is little better than a beast's. They work like horses, eat like pigs, and sleep like logs. Is it to be wondered at that after months of this they go wild when they reach the lights and glare of a city . . . ".⁷⁸ A disproportionate number of Ukrainian seasonal laborers were arrested for drunkenness and assault, often in

the aftermath of social or religious celebrations. "Galician" weddings often were "calamities" which degenerated into "a carouse" and ended in tragedy. Gambling, pool-rooms, beverage-rooms, brothels and dance halls also attracted many seasonal laborers who desired a temporary reprieve from the monotony and stress of their daily existence. In rural areas Hunter observed that ". . . the worst disturbances occur at wedding festivals, when it is thought right and proper to furnish all kinds of liquor by the gallon and keg. I have heard of poor families spending over a hundred dollars on liquor for a wedding".⁷⁹ At a wedding ". . . it is a point of honour that every guest shall drink as much as he wishes", noted J.S. Woodsworth.⁸⁰ Such were the consequences of a life of "unremitting hard work".

The peasant's individualism and sporadic self-indulgence were tempered by his weakly developed sense of personal identity. Metropolitan Sheptycky, who was familiar with the life of the peasantry, observed with some justification, that Ukrainian peasants ". . . behave like one mass, and individuals are rarely able to have any thoughts or take any action which differs from the thoughts and actions of the mass . . . The community (hromada), according to our people, encompasses the inhabitants of one village . . . [who] conform in everything to such an extent that this social and moral uniformity may be compared to the discipline of a military formation".⁸¹ Forms of dress and conduct prescribed by custom regulated village life, while ridicule and moral censure inhibited the growth of individuality. Married women, for example, were obliged to wear a head cloth (ochipka) beneath their shawl whenever they appeared in public. Failure to comply with this regulation, even while working in one's

own garden, could provoke instant ridicule (vziaty na smikh) and bring dishonor to the family. Men who appeared ungirded (nepidperezanyi) in public ran the same risk. Any villager who presumed to discard the traditional costume and dress in city clothes would automatically lose respect and dishonor his family. The tendency toward cultural uniformity also manifested itself in Canada. When Nestor Dmytriw approached a peasant couple from Galicia in Winnipeg, and suggested that they exchange their peasant attire for city clothes, the husband protested that they would "lose their faith" if they changed their clothes while the wife threatened to drown or hang herself if her husband cut off his shoulder length hair.⁸² Bukovynian women often imported clothes directly from their native village during the first two decades of the century, and, as late as in 1931, Young observed, with respect to rural Ukrainian settlements, that

...Here are not only "old world traits transplanted", but old world communities taken up wholesale and set down on the soil of our Prairie Provinces . . . They have a common background not only of cultural tradition but of family gossip . . . Not only is their language spoken, but their customs persist and these differ even in their headdress, as did those of the housewives of the different villages in the homeland.⁸³

Scenes such as the one described by Hunter in 1914, when a young bride ". . . threw off her kerchief and ordered all the other young girls to do the same", were rare and of a revolutionary nature during the pioneer years.⁸⁴

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* * *

In preliterate societies, peasants tend to believe that all harm is perpetrated by the activity of natural or supernatural spirits. Their pathetic response to the precarious conditions of life is recourse

to magic.⁸⁵ Although magical beliefs and practices were generally in decline by the turn of the century, in Bukovyna, in the Galician highlands, and in remote lowland villages, they continued to persist.

Peasants believed that all things in the natural world — animal, vegetable, and mineral — were living beings with a personality and individuality of their own; all these beings had a capacity to understand act, and retaliate if they were mistreated. Storcks' nests were not to be disturbed unless one wanted the birds to burn his house. If a swallow or a frog was killed the guilty person's parents would die. Spitting on a fire would cause one's lips to burn. Even stones, which were being made into lye, had to be given a name before they were thrown into the flame, so as not to offend them and cause them to explode in the fireplace.⁸⁶

Infinitely more dangerous were the practitioners of black magic — human servants of the Devil — and the legions of evil supernatural spirits which they could invoke.⁸⁷ Female witches (vidmy) and male wizards (opyri) were the most powerful and dangerous among the human servants of the Devil. The Devil (didko, chort) was the most fearsome of the supernatural beings. So powerful was he that to mention him by name was to blaspheme and to commit a serious sin. Hail and whirlwinds, floods and droughts, suicides and murders, illness and disease, were all believed to be perpetrated by the Devil and his cohorts. Vampires (opyri, opyrytsi), water nymphs (rusalky), forest nymphs (mawky), and a score of other evil spirits, who usually congregated in impure places (nchysti mistsia), were among the most malignant of these.

Although personal ailments and natural calamities caused by evil spirits could sometimes be counteracted by ordinary peasants, who were

familiar with white magic, when the peasant's magic was not strong enough, specialists in the magical arts were consulted.⁸⁸ Female sorceresses (charivnytsi) and soothsayers (prymyunytsi) predicted the future and performed love magic. Male hail-men (hradiwnyky) and rain-men (khmarnyky), turned aside hail clouds and ended droughts. Benevolent specialists in the art of medical healing were called zhakhori or likari. They treated their patients with incantations or with concoctions made from herbs and waters with therapeutic qualities. Malfari, medical specialists who allegedly had good and evil powers lived in the mountains, and were believed to engage each other in magical contests. In the Carpathians, in the south-eastern part of Galicia (Hutsulshchyna), popular belief in magic and sorcery was not seriously shaken until 1899, when Andrei Count Sheptycky, then Bishop of Stanyslaviw, toured the highlands: "The first instances of the Hucul masses attempting to consult doctors date back to that year . . . and before forty years had passed, aged eyewitnesses would tell tales of magic contests between the Holy Visitor [Sheptycky] . . . and the chief of the malfary in the Hucul land, Prot Daraduda from Douhopol . . ."89

Magical beliefs and superstitions continued to thrive in Canada. After the execution of an elderly settler convicted of murdering his wife with an axe, settlers near Mundare, Alberta, refused to provide N.W.M.P. constables with any further information because ". . . it was claimed by some of them that the absence of badly needed rain was due to the execution of Zebhley, and if any more persons were punished the further consequences would be disastrous".⁹⁰ In 1914 the body of a woman was exhumed near Pine River, Manitoba, because her death was believed to be the cause of drought.⁹¹ In 1916, in east-central Alberta,

a half built barn was " . . . taken down and removed because the displeasure of the evil spirits over the first choice of site had resulted in the serious illness of the owner's wife".⁹² In 1913 Onufrii Kostinuk of Stenen, Saskatchewan " . . . wanted his wife to swear on the muzzle of a loaded shot gun that she was not immoral, as he said if she was the gun would go off, but if she was a good woman it would not go off".⁹³ Fortunately a neighbor who did not believe in this superstition saved Mrs. Kostinuk. The wife of Stepan Zaharniuk of Winnipeg was less fortunate. Suspecting her of infidelity Zaharniuk poured gasoline over the woman and set her on fire believing that if she was innocent she would not burn. She died.⁹⁴

Because of their limited contact with the outside world, women retained a stronger attachment to magical beliefs and practices, especially to those associated with healing. While some of these practices were not without therapeutic value,⁹⁵ they inevitably impressed outsiders with their eccentric nature. Thus, in 1914, Rev. Hunter, who noted that " . . . disease is everywhere rampant, and . . . death gathers a large harvest!", recorded the following superstitions: He observed that mothers " . . . believe that the top of a baby's head should never be washed or the child might suffer with headache all its life: neither must they wash behind its ears for fear of it becoming sleepless". When eczema developed " . . . the mother . . . covers it [the baby's head] with a cabbage leaf and ties its head shawl on again". Mothers also feared that unwaddled babies dressed in "English clothes" would "break". When an unwaddled infant died " . . . the mother-in-law blamed the English clothes for killing it". Hunter also saw women trying to treat burns by applying mud and

ink to them; a mother applying "brandy poultices to the inflamed eyelids of a five weeks old baby"; and "a mother trying to revive her boy who was fainting by spitting on him". In Wakaw, Saskatchewan, the following example of sympathetic magic was noted: "A Ruthenian woman . . . stooped over the bed in which her dead husband lay, and placing one of his fingers in her mouth rubbed her gums with it. This she did to prevent her ever having toothache".⁹⁶ In the 1920s illnesses were still being diagnosed by pouring molten wax into a bowl of water and interpreting the pattern it assumed. Belief in the medical efficacy of "cupping" and "blood-letting" persisted, and leeches were sometimes smuggled into hospitals to "cure" confined relatives. Zhakhorky and prymunytsi continued to ply their trade throughout the period.⁹⁷

The Galician and Bukovynian peasant's religious outlook was syncretic — a mixture of traditional folk beliefs and Christianity. Although a purely Christian orientation was dominant by the late nineteenth century, elements of the pre-Christian religious orientation continued to persist. It is beyond the compass of this discussion to evaluate the relative weight of these two orientations. Rather, certain lingering superstitions will be noted, in order to provide an insight into the Ukrainian peasant's religious outlook.

Ukrainian peasants were not particularly concerned with Christian dogma or ethics. Their concerns were those of a people engaged in the brutal and relentless struggle for survival. Ritualism — the correct manner of appeasing the deity and securing its favor — was central to peasant religiosity. Proverbs compared "goodness" with "foolishness" (Dobryi durnomu brat), and insisted that only children and fools told

the truth (Dity i durni hovoriat pravdu). The concept of sin was not necessarily associated with moral transgression, although often it included transgressions against customary observances. Thus, in some parts it was believed that drinking a glass of whiskey to the very bottom was a sin because demons were supposed to reside at the bottom of whiskey glasses; to swing a door backward and forward for no apparent reason was a sin because it amused the devil; to whistle inside a house was a sin because it offended the holy icons; in the central highlands (Boikivshchyna), peasants believed that failure to observe a fast day was the greatest sin imaginable. In a number of villages it was believed that meat could be eaten only on Easter Sunday: gendarmes had to be brought into one village where typhoid had broken out in order to force its inhabitants to eat meat and thereby build up immunity to the disease.⁹⁸ Notwithstanding the serious consequences certain sins were believed to entail, peasants believed that the performance of certain rituals, or, in extreme cases divine intercession, could wipe the slate clean and assure them of salvation. Anyone who fasted on twelve specially prescribed Fridays during the year would be forgiven all of his sins after he died. It was also believed that on certain occasions the heavens opened up and illuminated the earth with intense light. Anyone who witnessed this phenomenon could ask for and receive absolutely anything, including personal salvation. Even sinners who were already in hell retained a hope of being saved: on the day before the Last Judgement the Mother of God (Maty Bozha) would cast an enormous net into hell three times in an effort to rescue as many sinners as possible. In 1906 in a village near Lviv, an old woman made a trade out of assuming responsibility for sins committed by her fellow villagers

— fees being determined by the gravity of the sin. She was discovered when one of her clients, who had been brought to trial for stealing chickens, claimed that she was no longer guilty of the offence and insisted that the old woman in question should be held responsible.⁹⁹

There was a widespread belief among peasants that objects consecrated by priests could be used as amulets, and it was not uncommon for peasants to regard priests as "sorcerers" who received their power from God. Thus, a drink of holy water and some consecrated Easter bread protected cows from evil spirits. Control over hail could be obtained by stealing a piece of wood from a church and then having a priest say twelve Masses over it unknowingly. Consecrated Easter bread buried in the four corners of a field would protect the field from hail. Special herbs consecrated at nine consecutive Matins protected their owners from all illnesses; the dehydrated white of a consecrated egg cured cataracts; and jaundice could be cured by looking into a golden communion chalice in church prior to a Mass. A piece of chalk consecrated at nine consecutive evening Masses could protect men and cattle from evil spirits, and could be diluted in water to cure epilepsy.

The efficacy of an amulet was usually believed to depend on the power of the priest who consecrated it. Although threatening clouds could be diverted by ringing specially consecrated church bells until the danger passed away, not all priests had the requisite power to consecrate them properly, and consequently not all church bells worked. Priests were also suspected of incompetence in the late 1870s and 1880s when the potato crop failed. Because the potato failure coincided

with a temperance movement sponsored by the clergy, the peasantry concluded that by "cursing" the alcohol, the clergy had also accidentally placed a curse on the potatoes from which the alcohol was made. Other magical powers believed to be possessed by priests included the ability to cure people by means of special Masses, prayers (strashna molytva), and by consecration with holy water. Ethnographers working in Bukovyna even reported that ". . . the priest . . . sometimes takes the place of the sorcerer by holding a special midnight Mass, the chorna sluzhba (black service) at the instigation of a person who wishes to harm an enemy. At other times he acts as a medicine man, e.g., by stepping over the back of an ailing parishioner in order to relieve his backache".¹⁰⁰

The clergy labored to destroy these beliefs, but if proverbs and folk beliefs offer any evidence, many peasants failed to regard the priest as a spiritual father responsible for guiding their souls to heaven. Social distinctions between priests and peasants in Galicia and Bukovyna had bred mistrust. Dreaming about a priest or having a priest cross one's path were considered bad omens. Proverbs described priests as comfortable (Nikomu tak ne dobre iak popovy i kotovy do-nothings (Ne robyv pip na khlib i ne bude), who were envious (Zazdryi iak popivske oko) and insatiably greedy (Ne hoden popa nasytyty, iak diriavoho mikha). They were believed to be unprincipled (Pip kazhe slukhai moikh sliv a ne pylnoi moikh dil), untrustworthy (Ne vir popovi iak psovi), deceitful (U vladyky dva iazyky) and hypocritical individuals (Pip z Bohom hovory, a na chorta sia dyvy), who were always arguing among themselves (Aby lyshe dva popy na sviti buly, to shche by im tisno bulo). The Rev. T. Voinarovsky noted that around 1890, in

the village of Balyntsi near Kolomyia, the peasants' hostility toward the Church knew no bounds. Thus, ". . . a parishioner who had paid for a Mass had his house set on fire by the peasants, another had his roof torn off his house, a third one had all the windows in his house broken in the middle of winter, a fourth one was beaten up . . .". In the village of Piadyky, the same clergyman observed, many peasants had not been to confession for over thirty years.¹⁰¹

Religious attitudes among many Ukrainian immigrants were of the variety peculiar to peasant societies. In 1898 Ivan Bodrug, an educated immigrant, was approached by a number of his countrymen and asked to perform the functions of a priest — to read the gospels and to confess them. When they subsequently overheard him criticizing church rituals they threatened to kill him.¹⁰² Before retiring for the night pious householders were observed making signs of the cross on doors, windows and other apertures, in order to guard against entrance by evil spirits.¹⁰³ Holy water was believed to be a potent remedy for illness. When an immigrant woman had a tooth pulled in Sifton, in 1905, she refused to rinse her mouth with ordinary water and produced a bottle of holy water for the occasion so that the wound might heal more rapidly.¹⁰⁴ Ukrainian settlers near Pakan observed the seven week Lenten Fast in 1903 with such strictness that during the last week a number had to receive medical help.¹⁰⁵ Also in Alberta "an elderly woman . . . admitted that she had never known the meaning of a prayer that she had made every day [while] an educated Ruthenian said that he had come across instances where a form of prayer taught by father to son for four generations did not, at the end of that time, contain a single intelligible Ruthenian word".¹⁰⁶ Rows of icons could be found

close to the ceiling along the east wall of many immigrant homes, and sometimes, on the outside protected by the awnings. In Bruno, Saskatchewan, a woman actually purchased a painting of a man from a German settler because she had "nothing else to pray to".¹⁰⁷ During storms and other natural disturbances Bukovynian immigrants often lit candles and prayed to St. Nicholas "the protector" to avert the danger. Other saints were believed to have other specialized functions. When an immigrant concluded that saints had been ordinary men, his wife " . . . got no sleep . . . fearing her husband had committed a great sin".¹⁰⁸

Superstitions continued to surround the sacraments. If a baby's eyes were closed at the moment of baptism, it was widely believed that the child would die in infancy. In 1907, a woman lamented that her child's soul would not be saved because the child "had no candle" when it died. There were even reports of the deceased being buried with money and liquor to make their journey to the after-world pleasurable. Books, especially Bibles, were often feared by immigrants who suspected that they would become Protestants the moment they bought a Bible, thereby imperilling the salvation of their souls.¹⁰⁹

So important was the role of the church rite in the immigrants' life that it often determined their sense of collective identity. When asked to identify their nationality some Ukrainian immigrants said they were Christians or Greek Catholics. The small minority of Roman Catholic Ukrainians were convinced that they were Poles in spite of the fact that they neither spoke nor understood Polish. Russian Orthodox priests could convince Greek Catholic Galicians and Greek Orthodox Bukovynians that they were Russians. Among those immigrants

who converted to Protestantism some insisted that they "no longer had any nationality (narodnist)" or that they had become "the same" as the English.¹¹⁰

Nor were all immigrants awed by the clergy. While devout Catholics identified "atheism" with opposition to the clergy, many colonies refused to provide financial support for clergymen. The fact that the priest's salary had been paid by the state in Austria-Hungary accounted for this state of affairs in most instances. Yet, there were other causes. When a priest lauded Rome and the Papacy as the only source of salvation, some of his parishioners in Radisson, Saskatchewan, protested by "blowing their noses" and the service broke up because of a fight.¹¹¹ A priest who tried to collect money during a church service after referring to his parishioners in less than flattering terms, was advised by a young parishioner to buy a rope with the offerings and hang himself.¹¹² In Canada, where many peasant immigrants were exposed to the spectacle of celibate priests for the first time, a number of priests were suspected and accused of making improper advances to women. Priests who acquired a reputation as "ladies' men" were often hooted out of celebrations, although as a Methodist missionary observed, the Orthodox immigrants ". . . spoke of their priests as lovers of money and unclean of life, but said that, as they were invested with the authority of the Church their services were efficacious for salvation . . ." The same missionary observed that the immigrants believed in charms and noted that ". . . if I would only pray to Mary and the saints they would have me for their priest".¹¹³ Reporting for the 1916 Woodsworth Survey, Vasyl Swystun stated that Ukrainian immigrants ". . . attend the church with little thought of trying to understand the religion or apply it in

their daily life. The church rites are regarded by them as important."¹¹⁴

III

The initiative to direct the mass emigration of Ukrainian peasants from Galicia and Bukovyna to Canada emerged in circles sympathetic to the Radical Party. The Radicals supported emigration because it diminished the supply of cheap agrarian labor in Galicia and because it offered the only hope many destitute peasants had of ever attaining a measure of human dignity. Canada was selected as the most appropriate destination for emigrants in 1895, after Dr. Joseph Oleskow, a man of radical views and a close acquaintance of leading Radicals, visited the country and concluded that agricultural settlement on the prairies offered a positive alternative to employment in the Pennsylvania coal mines or to agrarian labor on Brazilian plantations. When Dr. Oleskow reported his findings at a conference in Lviv attended by progressive members of the intelligentsia and clergy, including a number of very prominent Radicals, his proposals were accepted enthusiastically, and soon a steady stream of Ukrainian immigrants began to flow into the prairies.¹¹⁵

Members of the clergy did not figure prominently in this exodus. Few clergymen were anxious to endure life under pioneer conditions and they feared demographic Polonization of eastern Galicia would be the result of mass emigration. Emigration was often described as the "calamity of our land", while emigrants were accused of committing "an unforgivable sin" and were referred to as "prodigal sons" and "degenerate offspring".¹¹⁶ Moreover, Catholic regulations prevented married Greek Catholic priests from coming to North America. Only

after countless petitions inundated the Metropolitan's chancellery were Basilian monks dispatched to Canada. Yet, in 1912, when the first Greek Catholic bishop was appointed, and when the Ukrainian population in Canada stood at about 150,000, of whom 80 percent were Greek Catholics, there were only seven Ukrainian Greek Catholic priests in the Dominion.

A number of the immigrants who came to Canada prior to 1905, especially the guides — usually members of the village intelligentsia — were "radicals" from the Kolomyia district. Nestor Dmytriw, the missionary who visited Canada during these years, noted that ". . . the best educated people, the most accessible to culture, are those from the Kolomyia district, a fact which is doubtlessly attributable to the merits of the Radical Party . . ." ¹¹⁷ Unlike the vast majority of Ukrainian settler-immigrants, many of these came from families of smallholders and some were descended from a stratum of the lower gentry. Although by the later nineteenth century their material conditions of life rarely distinguished members of this stratum from the ordinary peasantry, ". . . traditions of status, learning and leadership", as well as ". . . the consciousness that they had never been serfs of the lords of the manors", still lingered among members of this group. ¹¹⁸ The Radical Party's efforts to transform the Ukrainian peasantry in Galicia and Bukovyna into an independent, conscious and active agent of its own liberation appealed to them. After coming to Canada they continued to keep in touch with the Radical movement in their homeland, subscribed and contributed to Radical Party organs, read, discussed and distributed pamphlets written by Drahomanov, and gradually assumed leading positions in the Ukrainian immigrant community.

By the turn of the century a number of fairly well educated representatives of the village intelligentsia had settled in Canada. In Winnipeg they established an informal reading society, where those who resided in the environs of the city, or, who were passing through, met and tried to come to grips with the problem of organizing the rapidly growing Ukrainian community in Canada. The first Ukrainian spokesman in Canada was Kyrylo Genik, who came from the free village of Bereziw-Nyzhnyi near Kolomyia. Genik had a high school education, had qualified as a teacher and as a civil servant in Galicia, spoke several European languages, and had been a close acquaintance of Ivan Franko and other prominent Radicals since the late 1870s when he had been implicated in the first socialist trials in Galicia. He had attended the 1895 Lviv conference, led the second group of immigrants dispatched by Dr. Oleskow, and in 1897 was appointed a federal immigration officer in Winnipeg.¹¹⁹ Two other much younger school teachers from the same village, Ivan Bodrug and Ivan Negrich, the former notorious for his "inveterate radicalism" and "godless socialism", also guided a group of immigrants sent by Dr. Oleskow to Canada in 1897. These three men constituted the nucleus of the radical village intelligentsia in Canada. During the next few years they were joined by a number of educated, articulate immigrants with Radical connections.¹²⁰ While some members of the intelligentsia settled down in the vicinity of Edmonton, most remained in Winnipeg. They established the first Ukrainian cultural and social institutions in Canada and agitated for the creation of special teacher training facilities. In subsequent years the ranks of the intelligentsia were swelled by immigrants from eastern (Russian) Ukraine, who arrived

after the revolution of 1905; by younger immigrants who had been active in Radical and Social Democratic circles in Galicia and Bukovyna; and by the first generation of Canadian educated Ukrainians — graduates of the teacher training schools, high schools, and universities.

From the outset the somewhat ambiguous heritage of Radicalism divided the intelligentsia in Canada. Literate, articulate, educated in towns and cities, aware of controversial social, political and religious issues, and above all, free from the fetters imposed on the individual in traditional peasant society, members of the intelligentsia sought to establish the life of the Ukrainian immigrants in the new world on rational foundations. Although all members of the intelligentsia rejected the authority of the clergy and criticized socio-economic conditions in Canada, they wavered between evangelical protestantism, socialism, and nationalism as the best solution to the obstacles which stood in the way of the immigrants' moral and material progress. An attempt in 1902-03 — with assistance from a group of Galician Radicals which included Anna Pavlyk — to organize a utopian community revealed this dilemma. The community, called the Ukrainian Brotherhood, was established near Hayward, California. It failed because some members attempted ". . . to live a real Christian life in accordance with the principles of Lev Tolstoi", others thought of the community as a "cooperative" or as a "commune", while still others sought to recapture the national and democratic traditions of the Ukrainian Cossacks.¹²¹ After the experiment failed most of those involved returned to Winnipeg, where they began to articulate the three orientations developed by the intelligentsia — protestantism, socialism and nationalism — and then

became prominent figures in the movements which crystallized around these orientations.

The protestant orientation was the first to emerge and antedated the experiment in California. Its advocates were appalled by the lack of moral and ethical guidelines among many of their culturally neglected countrymen, by the purely ritualistic quality of their religious practices, and by the persistence of superstitions and traditional folk beliefs. In May 1899, a few months after two immigrants had murdered a father and four children near Stuartburn for fifty dollars, Genik stated that

...We received a very faulty religious upbringing. Our religion is entirely concerned with forms and it has not even occurred to us to live according to its precepts. We must completely change our behaviour and realize once and forever that religion without deeds is empty bluster...
 ...let our hearts become the dwelling places of the Lord. Let them be filled with truth!...for God's sake brothers, does God expect you to tear your neighbor's eyes out in order to erect churches which are beyond your means?...
 Each individual can provide a dwelling place for God if our hearts rather than gold-plated walls serve as the Lord's temple...Instead of spending money on churches we should spend it on the support of the needy, and only then will we begin to erect a living church in our hearts... 122

While Genik advised immigrants to avoid Roman Catholic and Russian Orthodox missionaries and to turn to Protestant missionaries when they required the services of a clergyman, Iurko Syrotiuk and Ivan Danylchuk became colporteurs for the British Bible Society and distributed Ukrainian translations of the Bible. On Genik's advice, Bodrug and Negrich took the most decisive step. After attending Anglican, Methodist, and Presbyterian church services, the two decided to seek admission to Manitoba College, a Presbyterian institution. Because the "rational, ethical, and intellectual" quality of

Presbyterianism, which distinguished it from Anglican "ritualism" and Methodist "fanaticism", impressed Bodrug and Negrich favorably, they approached prominent Presbyterian divines and were admitted to the college in September, 1898. Although their education was interrupted in 1899, when they helped register Doukhobor settlers and then settled Ukrainians in the Shoal Lake district, the interlude allowed them to become familiar with the religious views of Lev Tolstoi and to meet a German-Russian Baptist preacher by the name of Burghardt. After returning to the college in 1900, Bodrug and Negrich became the first Ukrainian school teachers in Canada, when the Rev. James Robertson asked them to teach in schools financed by the Presbyterian Church in the Ethelbert district. By 1902 members of the protestant intelligentsia had earned the lasting enmity of Catholic missionaries and a reputation as "atheists" among the more superstitious immigrants.¹²³ In subsequent years they would establish the Independent Greek Church and draw closer to the Presbyterians.¹²⁴

While some members of the intelligentsia continued to espouse a protestant orientation after the failure of the Ukrainian Brotherhood in California, other members of the commune became active in the Shevchenko Educational Society in Winnipeg's North End. Here, members of the intelligentsia met and discussed popular works by Drahomanov, Franko, Draper, Bakunin, Kropotkin, Reclus, Darwin and Marx.¹²⁵ Members of the Society comprised the nucleus of the socialist and nationalist groups which emerged during the next few years. Myroslav Stechishin and Taras Ferley, recently returned from California, became the first to articulate these orientations in Canada.

Ukrainian socialists in Canada remained without any formal

organization until 1907 when Stechishin, Pavlo Krat (Paul Crath), and Vasyl Holowacky organized a Ukrainian branch of the Socialist Party of Canada. After returning from California by way of Vancouver, and work on the railroad, Stechishin began to profess Social Democracy. Krat, who came to Canada in 1907, was a former member of the Revolutionary Ukrainian Party, founded near Poltava in Russian Ukraine, and one of the founders of the Ukrainian Social Democratic Union (Spilka). The son of a landowner and professor descended from the Ukrainian Cossack gentry, he had participated in provincial disturbances during the revolution of 1905, and then, after emigrating to Galicia, had led a violent student demonstration at the University in Lviv.¹²⁶ Little is known about Holowacky other than the fact that he delivered lectures on Draper's History of the Conflict Between Religion and Science and Drahomanov's Rai i Postup (Paradise and Progress), and distributed copies of Hromadskiyi Holos (The Community Voice), the organ of the Radical Party. Toma Tomashevsky became the most active Ukrainian socialist organizer in Alberta and British Columbia during this early formative period. Two weeklies, Chervonyi Prapor (The Red Banner) and Robotchyi Narod (The Working People) were published to articulate the interests of the Ukrainian proletariat which began to grow rapidly after 1907.

Although Ukrainian socialists in Canada affiliated themselves with the Socialist Party of Canada and later helped establish the Social Democratic Party of Canada,¹²⁷ they also retained close ties with the Ukrainian Social Democratic Party of Galicia and Bukovyna, and kept informed about developments among Ukrainian Social Democrats in the Russian Empire and in Europe. Resolution of disputes between

members of the party were referred to tribunals composed of leading members of the party in Galicia, and in 1913 an appeal was made to overseas Ukrainian Social Democratic organizations to send an editor for Robotchyi Narod. Ties between the socialist intelligentsia in Canada and the Radical Party in Galicia also survived in spite of growing differences. Robotchyi Narod lauded Mykhailo Pavlyk ". . . for introducing the spirit of Drahomanov into Galicia, for struggling against the Ruthenian clergy, for introducing the spirit of resistance and protest into the Galician village . . .",¹²⁸ took up collections for the ailing Radical leader, and printed letters from him on its pages. A number of fairly prominent Galician "peasant politicians", who had organized for the Radical Party and represented it in elections, aligned themselves with the socialist intelligentsia when they came to Canada.¹²⁹

Because in Winnipeg the Ukrainian branch of the Socialist Party of Canada established its headquarters on the premises of the Shevchenko Educational Society, a rivalry developed between Krat and Taras Ferley. In 1907 a correspondent complained in Kanadyiskyi Farmer (The Canadian Farmer) that members of the Society were becoming too concerned with ". . . socialism and the spirit of Russian revolutionism They have little or nothing to say about our national movement, our history, and our future . . . Marx, Bakunin and other utopians are represented as the only 'heroes' of the working people". While the correspondent was not opposed to socialist principles, he insisted that if the Society was to be of any service to most immigrants it had to provide ". . . something more appropriate to the cultural and spiritual level of the average Ukrainian-Ruthenian immigrant in Canada:

. . . [teach the people] how to read and write . . . [familiarize them] with the laws and peculiarities of this country, awaken an inclination and fondness for work among them . . ."¹³⁰ Like the correspondent, Ferley believed that the immigrants should be organized on national rather than on class principles, and that the cultivation of national rather than working class solidarity should be the objective of the intelligentsia. Consequently a breach developed within the Society, it dissolved in 1909, and advocates of nationalism, mostly students and graduates of the Brandon Training School, grouped themselves around Ferley and others who were becoming alienated from the socialist faction.

Although the nucleus of the nationalist faction was comprised of men with a "radical" background, the rank and file consisted of young immigrants who had received most of their education in Canada, primarily in the teacher training schools. While some of these young men were familiar with Radical principles, the majority had very tenuous ties with the Radical movement. In 1910 Ukrainskyi Holos (The Ukrainian Voice) was established as the official organ of the Ukrainian Teacher's Association and became the mouthpiece of the nationalists. The first issue of the paper asserted that the majority of Ukrainians in Canada were not being proletarianized, but were becoming independent farmers and small businessmen. Consequently the paper became a middle class forum for the opinions of teachers, businessmen, and literate, articulate, fairly prosperous farmers, who tended to be conservative and tradition oriented. Even the label "nationalists" (which was popularized by the English-language press) was a generalization applied to an amorphous group, members of which identified themselves

as "progressives" (postupovtsi), "populists" (narodovtsi), and "independents" (samostiinyky). The religious question brought the contradictions within the nationalist camp into focus. While the editors of Ukrainskyi Holos insisted that ". . . with respect to religion the newspaper will adhere to a rational-scientific position", claimed to adhere to ". . . the most recent advances in scholarship rather than [to] opinions held thousands of years ago", urged readers to study books about ". . . religion that are based on scientific study", and asserted that "faith is the private affair of every individual", rural correspondents asked for priests who displayed "a greater interest . . . in their sacred national relics" and suggested a return to the "real ancestral faith . . . Orthodoxy".¹³¹

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On the eve of the first world war, the Prairie Provinces were covered by a network of Ukrainian institutions, which had been established almost exclusively by members of the village intelligentsia and by immigrants who sympathized with them. By 1912 more than 100 local societies, including national homes, dramatic and choral groups, and reading societies had been organized.¹³² Three years later there were nearly 100 Ukrainian bilingual public school teachers in Manitoba and about 80 Ukrainian public school teachers in Saskatchewan. Sixteen Ukrainian language weeklies had already appeared, and of these nine, including two published in the United States, circulated on a regular basis. By 1918 the Ukrainian Social Democratic Party had been established in 26 different locations and numbered over 2000 members. Moreover, Ukrainians were becoming active in politics on municipal,

provincial and federal levels.

Because members of the intelligentsia were organizing the immigrant community on secular, non-denominational principles, and, because they were trying to cultivate a sense of Ukrainian national identity, or labouring to develop a sense of working class solidarity among the immigrants, they were confronted by representatives of the Roman and Greek Catholic clergy and by representatives of the dominant Anglo-Celtic group. The confrontation and subsequent interaction between members of the village intelligentsia and representatives of these two groups served to harden latent differences among advocates of protestantism, socialism, and nationalism, and ultimately created an unbridgeable gulf between the three factions and the Greek Catholic Church.

FOOTNOTES: CHAPTER TWO

¹The Census of Canada, 1921, does not give a figure for the number of Ukrainians in the Dominion; Austrians, Bukovynians, Galicians, Hungarians, Russians, Ruthenians, Ukrainians, Bohemians, Moravians, Serbo-Croatians, Lithuanians, Letts, and Laplanders are listed under "Other European Races" and total 342,742. Subsequent Census reports give the number of Ukrainians in Canada in 1921 as 106,721, a figure that has been widely disputed as being too low. Ivan J. Tesla estimates that between 1891 and 1919, 171,530 Ukrainians entered Canada. While some of these were seasonal laborers who returned to Galicia and Bukovyna, it is probably quite accurate to assume that with the natural increase among those who remained, there were about 200,000 Ukrainians in the Dominion in 1920. The 1931 Census reports that there were 225,113 Ukrainians in Canada. See Ivan J. Tesla, "The Ukrainian Canadian in 1971", in O.W. Gerus et al (eds.), The Jubilee Collection of the Ukrainian Free Academy of Sciences in Canada (Winnipeg, 1976), pp. 481-521.

²See H.G.J. Aitken "Defensive Expansionism: The State and Economic Growth in Canada" in W.T. Easterbrook and M.H. Watkins (eds.) Approaches to Canadian Economic History (Toronto, 1971); Wallace Clement, "Socio-Economic Forces, Institutions and Elites in Canada's Development" [chapter 2] The Canadian Corporate Elite: An Analysis of Economic Power (Toronto, 1975); Donald Creighton, The Empire of the St. Lawrence 1760-1850 (Toronto, 1956); Tom Naylor "The Rise of Fall of the Third Commercial Empire of the St. Lawrence" in Gary Teeple (ed.) Capitalism and the National Question in Canada (Toronto, 1972), and The History of Canadian Business, 1867-1914 (Toronto, 1975); Paul Phillips, "The National Policy and the development of the Western Canadian Labor Market" in A.W. Rasporich (ed.) Prairie Perspectives 2 (Toronto, 1973).

³On the purchase of Rupertsland from the Hudson's Bay Company see John S. Galbraith, "The Hudson's Bay Land Controversy, 1863-69", Mississippi Valley Historical Review, vol. XXXVI, 1949, and "Land Policies of the Hudson's Bay Company, 1870-1913", C.H.R., vol. XXXIII, 1951 For the conquest of the Prairies and the dispossession of the Indian and Metis population see J. Gresko, "White 'Rites' and Indian 'Rites': Indian Education and Native Responses in the West, 1870-1910" in A.W. Rasporich (ed.) Western Canada: Past and Present (Calgary, 1975); Harold Hickerson, "Fur Trade Colonialism and the North American Indians", Journal of Ethnic Studies, vol. I. 1973; S.W. Horrall, "Sir John A. Macdonald and the Mounted Police Force for the Northwest Territories", C.H.R. vol. LIII, 1972; R.C. Macleod, "Canadianizing the West: The North-West Mounted Police as Agents of the National Policy, 1873-1905", in L.H. Thomas (ed.) Essays on Western History in Honour of L.G. Thomas (Edmonton, 1976), and The North-West Mounted Police and Law Enforcement, 1873-1905, (Toronto, 1976); E.P. Patterson, The Canadian Indians: A History Since 1500, (Don Mills, 1972); Arthur J. Ray Indians in the Fur Trade (Toronto, 1974); G.F.G. Stanley, The Birth of Western Canada: A History of the Riel Rebellions (Toronto, 1961).

⁴The best study of Canadian immigration policy during this period is D.H. Avery, "Canadian Immigration Policy and the Alien Question, 1896-1919: The Anglo-Canadian Perspective", Unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Western Ontario, 1973.

As a result of this immigration policy, the Prairies had a heterogeneous population, as the following table reveals:

Origins of the Prairie Population, 1881-1921

	1881	1891	1901	1911	1921
British ^a	41,158 34.7%		239,236 57.0%	710,201 53.5%	1,103,228 56.4%
South-East Eur. ^b	83 0.0%		39,650 9.5%	184,386 13.9%	365,043 18.7%
West European ^c	10,270 8.7%		67,417 16.1%	234,895 17.7%	316,036 16.2%
French	12,846 10.8%		23,166 5.5%	73,995 5.6%	113,703 5.8%
Indian	56,239 47.4%		47,436 11.3%	36,358 2.7%	40,709 2.1%
Asian	4		500	4,291	9,309

^aincludes English, Scottish, Irish, Welsh.

^bincludes Ukrainian, Ruthenian, Bukovynian, Galician, Austrian, Russian, Polish, Hungarian, Bohemian, Moravian, Serbian, Croatian, Rumanian, Bulgarian, Greek, Hebrew, Italian, Finnish, Lithuanian, Lettish.

^cincludes Belgian, Dutch, Danish, German, Icelandic, Norwegian, Swedish, Swiss.

⁵Chester Martin, "Dominion Lands" Policy, (Toronto, 1973), p.229.

⁶John C. Lehr, "The Rural Settlement Behaviour of Ukrainian Pioneers in Western Canada, 1891-1914", in B. Barr (ed.) Western Canadian Research in Geography: The Lethbridge Papers, (Vancouver, 1975).

⁷See C.A. Dawson and Eva R. Younge, Pioneering in the Prairie Provinces: The Social Side of the Settlement Process (Toronto, 1940), p. 36; Charles H. Young, The Ukrainian Canadians: A Study in Assimilation (Toronto, 1931), pp. 47-59.

⁸John C. Lehr, "The Government and the Immigrant: Perspectives on Ukrainian Block Settlement in the Canadian West" in Canadian Ethnic Studies, vol. 9 no. 2. 1977.

⁹Cited in John H. Thompson, "'Permanently Wasteful but Immediately Profitable': Prairie Agriculture and the Great War", Canadian Historical Association: Historical Papers 1976, p. 199, and, in Chester Martin, "Dominion Lands" Policy, (Toronto, 1973), p. 230.

¹⁰See C.H. Young, op. cit., pp. 65-66.

Distribution of farms according to size

Size of farm	1901		1911		1921	
	Total No.	%	Total No.	%	Total No.	%
1-4 acres	551	1.0%	2,481	1.2%	1,320	0.5%
5-10 acres	352	0.6%	1,122	0.6%	1,407	0.5%
11-50 acres	806	1.5%	1,919	1.0%	2,702	1.0%
51-100 acres	1,480	2.7%	3,448	1.7%	4,612	1.8%
101-200 acres	29,012	53.0%	100,376	50.4%	95,033	37.2%
201 + acres	22,975	41.6%	89,856	45.1%	150,083	58.7%

¹¹For a description of living conditions among Ukrainian rural settlers see J.S. Woodsworth, Ukrainian Rural Communities (Winnipeg, 1917), MS. (P.A.C.).

¹²Robert England, The Central European Immigrant in Canada, (Toronto, 1929).

¹³C.H. Young, op. cit., p. 100.

¹⁴See Women's Missionary Society of the Presbyterian Church in Canada, The Story of Our Missions, (Toronto, 1915); Marilyn Barber, "Nationalism, Nativism, and the Social Gospel: The Protestant Church Response to Foreign Immigrants in Western Canada, 1897-1914", in Richard Allen (ed.) The Social Gospel in Canada: Papers of the Inter-Disciplinary Conference on the Social Gospel in Canada, (Ottawa, 1975); A. Becker, "The Lake Geneva Mission, Wakaw, Saskatchewan", Saskatchewan History, vol. XXIX, 1976; G.N. Emery, "Methodist Missions Among Ukrainians", Alberta Historical Review, vol. 19, no. 2, 1971.

¹⁵Reports made by the medical missionaries provide a clear idea of the precarious quality of life in pioneer districts. See reports by the Rev. Dr. A.J. Hunter and R.G. Scott in The Presbyterian 10 January 1903, 2 November, 1905; by Mrs. C.H. Monro in The Westminster October 1905; and, by the Rev. Dr. C.H. Lawford in Missionary Bulletin vol. I, 1903, vol. IX, 1913.

¹⁶C.H. Young, op. cit., p. 212. For Ukrainian immigrant house-styles see John C. Lehr, "Ukrainian Houses in Alberta", Alberta History vol. 21, no. 4, 1973, and "Changing Ukrainian House Styles", Alberta History, vol. 23, no. 1, 1975.

¹⁷C.J. Jaenen, "Ruthenian Schools in Western Canada, 1897-1919", Paedagogica Historica, 1970; M.P. Toombs, "A Saskatchewan Experiment in Teacher Education, 1907-1917", Saskatchewan History, vol. XVII, 1964.

¹⁸When Michael Drabiniasty, a graduate of the Brandon Training School, was reported to have "a library full of Liberal material", Deputy Minister of Education Robert Fletcher dispatched inspector Fallis to verify things and stated "...these teachers have been trained at a considerable expense to the Government...and it is up to them to return in kind". When it was discovered that the man who recommended a student to the Training School was working for the Liberal Party, Fletcher informed Mr. Cressey, the teacher at the school, that as far as the student was concerned, "We may have to declare that he is too weak in English. Kindly say nothing whatsoever of this". On the other hand, a man who spoke no English was given a permit to teach on (school organizer) John Baderski's recommendation because he had worked on behalf of Glen Campbell, M.P., during the 1908 federal election. When it was discovered that Myroslav Stechishin was a frequent contributor to the socialist press, Fletcher informed Cressey that "If he has been doing much of this we may find it necessary to ask him to settle his account and retire". See Robert Fletcher Letter Book 1905-1911, MS. (P.A.M.), pp. 273, 276, 373-74, 525, 586, 625, 809, 921.

¹⁹See Chapter Four for further discussion of this point.

²⁰See "Untaught Children in Manitoba", Editorial, M.F.P., 2 August 1912.

²¹C.K. Newcombe, Special Report on Bilingual Schools in Manitoba, (Winnipeg, 1916).

²²H.W. Foght, A Survey of Education in the Province of Saskatchewan, (Regina, 1918).

²³Robert England, The Central European Immigrant in Canada, (Toronto, 1929), p. 114.

²⁴C.A. Dawson, op. cit., p. 192.

²⁵C.H. Young, op. cit., p. 46

²⁶J.S. Woodsworth, My Neighbor (1911), (Toronto, 1972), pp. 63, 136-38.

²⁷M.F.P. 27 May, 1913.

²⁸City of Winnipeg Health Department, Report on Housing Survey of Certain Selected Areas: May-December 1918, (Winnipeg, 1919).

²⁹Ibid.

³⁰Mykhailo Ivanchuk (Ewanchuk), Istoriia Ukrainskoho Poselennia v Okolytsi Gimli, (Winnipeg, 1975), pp. 85-87; also see Alan Artibise, Winnipeg: A Social History of Urban Growth, 1874-1914, (Montreal, 1975), for social conditions in Winnipeg.

- ³¹C.H. Young, op. cit., p. 116.
- ³²The Canada Yearbook 1921, (Ottawa, 1922), p. 532.
- ³³D.H. Avery, "Canadian Immigration Policy and the 'Foreign' Navvy, 1896-1914", Canadian Historical Association: Historical Papers 1972, p. 141.
- ³⁴The figure was calculated from information provided in E.W. Bradwin, The Bunkhouse Man: A Study of Work and Play in the Camps of Canada, 1903-1914 (1928), (Toronto, 1972), p. 249.
- ³⁵Ibid., pp. 212, 8, 75. For a description of the manner in which navvies were transported to construction sites, see p. 60.
- ³⁶Calculated on the basis of data in The Canada Yearbook 1921, p. 532. In 1903 the number of passengers killed/million carried on Canadian railroads was 2.39, and the number injured/million carried was 11.65. This made Canadian railroads the unsafest in the world. See The Statistical Yearbook of Canada 1903, (Ottawa, 1904), p. 458.
- ³⁷See Bradwin, op. cit., pp. 54-90. The Frontier College Papers, (P.A.C.), provide behind the scenes glimpses of life in frontier camps.
- ³⁸D.H. Avery, Dissertation, op. cit., Chapter Five. Ukrainian miners were concentrated in Canmore and Lethbridge, Alberta; Hillcrest, Hosmer, Fernie and Mitchell, British Columbia; Sudbury, Cobalt, Coppercliff and Timmins, Ontario; and, Val d'Or and Rouyn, Quebec.
- ³⁹D.J. Bercuson, "Labour Radicalism and the Western Industrial Frontier: 1897-1919", C.H.R., vol. LVIII, no. 2, 1977, p. 169.
- ⁴⁰Ukrainian miners were among those killed in mining disasters in Coalhurst and Belleview. In June 1914, 30 Ukrainian miners were among the 190 casualties of the Hillcrest mining disaster. In Ontario and Quebec mines the lung disease silicosis was widespread among Ukrainian miners. See Robotchyi Narod 19 June, 1914; Ranok 28 June, 1914.
- ⁴¹Kanadyiskyi Farmer 31 August, 1910; A.M. Shlepakov, Ukrainska Trudova Emihratsiia v S.Sh.A. i Kanadi, (Kiev, 1960), p. 122.
- ⁴²D.H. Avery, "Continental European Immigrant Workers in Canada, 1896-1919: from 'stalwart peasants' to radical proletariat" Canadian Review of Sociology and Anthropology, February, 1975, p. 57.
- ⁴³E.W. Bradwin, op. cit., pp. 91-112.
- ⁴⁴Ibid., p. 105. Also see Anne B. Woywitka, "Strike at Waterways", Alberta Historical Review, vol. 20, no. 4, 1972; "Drumheller Strike of 1919", Alberta Historical Review, vol. 21, no. 1, 1973; "Recollections of a Union Man", Alberta Historical Review, vol. 23, no. 4, 1975.

⁴⁵The Canada Yearbook 1921, (Ottawa, 1922), p. 629.

⁴⁶Kanadyiskyi Rusyn 5 July 1913; Ranok 15 July 1914. During this period Ukrainian immigrants were jailed for eating out of garbage cans, in order to prevent starvation. See Ranok 21 January 1914. The ravages of unemployment had been experienced by Ukrainian workers on numerous occasions before 1913. In May 1908 there was hunger in the North End. A number of deaths, suicides and faintings from hunger were reported. See Ranok 15 May, 1908; Kanadyiskyi Farmer 29 May 1908.

⁴⁷Ranok, 28 May 1914.

⁴⁸Shlepakov, op. cit., p. 183.

⁴⁹Sir William Otter, Internment Operations 1914-1920 (Ottawa, 1921) p. 6. Ukrainians were concentrated in camps at Brandon (800), Kapuskasing (500) and Spirit Lake (800). See Robotchy Narod 28 October 1915; Kanadyiskyi Rusyn 3 November 1915; Also see J.A. Boudreau, "Western Canada's 'Enemy Aliens' in World War One", Alberta History, vol. 12, no. 1, 1964, and Desmond Morton, "Sir William Otter and Internment Operations in Canada during the First World War", C.H.R., vol. LV., no. 1, 1974.

⁵⁰Canadian Annual Review 1918, p. 491.

⁵¹For peasant society and behaviour patterns see: E.C. Banfield, The Moral Basis of a Backward Society, (Chicago, 1958); Jerome Blum, "The Internal Structure and Polity of the European Village Community from the Fifteenth to the Nineteenth Century", Journal of Modern History, vol. 43, 1971; Kazimierz Dobrowolski, "Peasant Traditional Culture" in Teodor Shanin (ed.) Peasants and Peasant Societies (London, 1971); George M. Foster, "Interpersonal Relations in a Peasant Society", Human Organization, vol. 19, 1960-61; as well as "What is a Peasant?" and "Peasant Society and the Image of Limited Good", in his Peasant Society: A Reader (Boston, 1974); F.G. Friedmann, "The world of 'La Miseria'" in Peasant Society; Oscar Handlin, The Uprooted, (New York, 1951); E.J. Hobsbawm, Primitive Rebels, (New York, 1959); Bandits, (London, 1969); "Peasants and Politics", Journal of Peasant Studies, vol. I, no. 1, 1973; Oscar Lewis, "Some of My Best Friends are Peasants", Human Organization, vol. 19, 1960-61; Joseph Lopreato, "Interpersonal relations in peasant society: the peasants view", Human Organization, vol. 21, 1962; Julian Pitt-Rivers "Interpersonal Relations in Peasant Society: A Comment", Human Organization, vol. 19, 1960-61; Robert Redfield, Peasant Society and Culture, (Chicago, 1971); Teodor Shanin, "Peasantry as a Political Factor" in Peasants and Peasant Societies; Keith Thomas, "Work and Leisure", Past and Present, no. 29, 1964; E.R. Wolf, Peasants, (Englewood Cliffs, 1966).

⁵²For a comparative perspective on life among peasants and peasant immigrants see: Phillippe Aries Centuries of Childhood: A Social History of Family Life, (New York, 1962), *passim*; R.M. Bell, "The Transformation of a Rural Village: Istria, 1870-1972", Journal of Social History, vol. 7, 1974; John Bodnar, "Materialism and

Morality: Slavic American Immigrants and Education, 1890-1940", Journal of Ethnic Studies, vol. 3, 1976, and "Immigration and Modernization: The Case of Slavic Peasants in Industrial America", Journal of Ethnic Studies, vol. 3, 1976, and "Immigration and Modernization: The Case of Slavic Peasants in Industrial America", Journal of Social History, vol. 10, no. 1, 1976; Fernand Braudel, Capitalism and Material Life, 1400-1800, (New York, 1973); Virginia Yans McLaughlin, "Patterns of Work and Family Organization: Buffalo's Italians", Journal of Interdisciplinary History, vol. 2, 1971, and, "A Flexible Tradition: South Italian Immigrants Confront a New Work Experience", Journal of Social History, vol. 7, 1974; Lloyd de Mause (ed.) The History of Childhood, (New York, 1974); M.R. Olneck and M. Lazerson, "The School Achievement of Immigrant Children: 1900-1930", History of Education Quarterly, vol. 15, 1975; Richard Pipes, "The Peasantry" [chapter 6] in his Russia Under the Old Regime, (London, 1977); M.S. Sellar, "Beyond the Stereotype: A New Look at the Immigrant Woman, 1880-1924", Journal of Ethnic Studies, vol. 3, 1975, Edward Shorter, The Making of the Modern Family, (New York, 1977); Keith Thomas, Religion and the Decline of Magic: Studies in Popular Beliefs in Sixteenth and Seventeenth Century England, (London, 1973); W.I. Thomas and Florian Znaniecki, The Polish Peasant in Europe and America, (Boston, 1918); Louise A. Tilly et al, "Women's Work and the Family in Nineteenth Century Europe", Comparative Studies in Society and History, vol. 17, 1975, and, "Women's Work and European Fertility Patterns", Journal of Interdisciplinary History, vol. 6, 1976; R.J. Vecoli, "Contadini in Chicago: A Critique of The Uprooted", Journal of American History, vol. 51, 1964-65, and "Prelates and Peasants: Italian Immigrants and the Catholic Church", Journal of Social History, vol. 2, 1969; Eugen Weber, Peasants into Frenchmen: The Modernization of Rural France, 1870-1914, (Stanford University Press, 1976).

⁵³Unless indicated otherwise all proverbs are from V.S. Plaviuk, Prypovidky (Edmonton, 1946). For a sympathetic and compassionate, yet realistic description of peasant life in Galicia and Bukovyna between 1890 and 1914, the novels and short stores of the following western Ukrainian authors may be consulted: Vasyl Stefanyk, Les Martovych, Tymofei Borduliak, Marko Cheremshyna, Osyp Makovei, and Olha Kobylinska. Some of the works of Ivan Franko and Mykhailo Kotsiubynskyi are also relevant. There are numerous Ukrainian editions. Only a selection of Stefanyk's novellas have been translated into English. See Vasyl Stefanyk, The Stone Cross, (Toronto: McLelland and Stewart, 1971).

⁵⁴Ievhenia Iaroshynska, "Iak vedesia nashym seliankam na Bukovyni kolo Vikna", Narod (Kolomyia) 15 May, 1890.

⁵⁵Volodymyr Okhrymovych, "Zhinocha dolia v Skilskykh horakh", Narod 15 September, 1890.

⁵⁶Iaroshynska, op. cit. For a description of village life, especially of the amount of labor performed by women, see Mykhailo Zubrytskyi, "Selo Kindrativ (turetskoho povitu)", Zhytie i Slovo 1897, vol. IV, pp. 225-26; also see Volodymyr Okhrymovych, "Zholudkovi

idei", Narod, 1 May, 1892, "Znadoby dlia piznannia narodnikh zvychaiv ta pohliadiv pravnykh", Zhytie i Slovo, 1896, vol. III, and, "Pro ostanky pervisnogo komunizmu u Boikiv-Verkhovyntsiv", ZNTSh, vol. XXXII.

⁵⁷ Edith A. Weeks, "Among the Russians [sic] in Northern Alberta", The Christian Guardian, September 25, 1907, pp. 8-9.

⁵⁸ Rev. C.H. Johnson, "Convention of Our Workers Among Ruthenians", (Methodist) Missionary Bulletin, vol. IX, 1913, p. 94; Rev. W.H. Pike "Letter — 3 April 1915", Missionary Bulletin, vol. XI, p. 388.

⁵⁹ Robert B. Klymasz, Folk Narrative Among Ukrainian-Canadians in Western Canada, (Ottawa, 1973), p. 25.

⁶⁰ "Pro pekuchu potrebu obrazovania zhinok", Ukrainskyi Holos, 17 July, 1912; also see Ukrainskyi Holos 18 January, 1911.

⁶¹ For a description of child neglect among the Hutsul highlanders see Volodymyr Shukhevych, Hutsulshchyna, (Lviv, 1902), vol. III. pp. 1-10.

⁶² Robert England, op. cit., p. 98.

⁶³ The Presbyterian, 24 March, 1910.

⁶⁴ F.R. Livesay, "Teaching Among Ruthenians", M.F.P., 3 July 1917.

⁶⁵ T.A. Jastremsky, Kanadyianizatsia: Politychnyi Rozvytok Kanadyiskykh Ukraintsiv za Poslidnykh 46 Rokiv Iknoho Pobutu v Kanadi, (Winnipeg, 1946), pp. 38-39.

⁶⁶ M. Stechishin, "Nashe Shkilnytstvo", Narodnyi Kaliendar Ukrainka Rodyna, (Winnipeg, 1915), pp. 150, 160.

⁶⁷ V. Mihaychuk, "Ukrainsko-Angliiske Uchytelstvo v Kanadi", Kaliendar Ukrainskoho Holosu (Winnipeg, 1915).

⁶⁸ M. Stechishin, "Stratyly Navchytelia", Narodnyi Kaliendar Ukrainka Rodyna, (Winnipeg, 1915); also see Vasyl Swystun, "Nashe Shkilnytstvo v Kanadi", Kaliendar Ukrainskoho Holosu, (Winnipeg, 1915).

⁶⁹ So intense was the passion for litigation that 721 out of every 10,000 inhabitants of Galicia were involved in petty lawsuits (with the sum in dispute being less than 100 crowns) in 1904. This compared with 366/10,000 in Lower Austria and 158/10,000 in Bohemia. Likewise, while only 2 to 5 / 10,000 inhabitants in the more advanced regions of the Habsburg Empire were involved in property damage suits in 1904, in Galicia the ratio was 26/10,000. See Zenon Kuzelia, "Prychynky do studii nad nashoiu emigratsieiu", ZNTSh, (Lviv, 1970-08).

⁷⁰ Nestor Dmytriv, Kanadyiska Rus, (1897), (Winnipeg, 1972), p. 19.

⁷¹ The Presbyterian 19 July 1906.

⁷²Missionary Bulletin vol. IX, p. 94.

⁷³Dmytriw, op. cit., pp. 28-29.

⁷⁴A.J. Hunter, "The Future of the Foreign Immigrant", Home Missionary Pioneer, vol. VI, 1909-10, p. 159.

⁷⁵Miriam Elston, "The Russian [sic] in Our Midst", The Westminster, June 1916.

⁷⁶See the NWMP Reports in the Sessional Papers, especially for the years 1907-1915.

⁷⁷C.H. Young, op. cit., p. 276.

⁷⁸J. Burgeon Bickersteth, The Land of Open Doors: Being Letters from Western Canada, 1911-13, (1914), (Toronto, 1976), pp. 181, 195.

⁷⁹Hunter, op. cit., p. 159.

⁸⁰J.S. Woodsworth, "Foreign Immigrants and Temperance", The Christian Guardian, 13 April 1910, p. 8.

⁸¹Andrei Sheptycky, "Address on the Ruthenian Question to their Lordships the Archbishops and Bishops of Canada", (1911) /my translation from Ukrainian text/.

⁸²Dmytriw, op. cit., p. 4.

⁸³C.H. Young, op. cit., p. 75.

⁸⁴Hunter, op. cit., p. 158.

⁸⁵Magic is the technique — an aggregate of rites, procedures and incantations — which allegedly enables men to control or at least appease these supernatural and natural forces. Practitioners of magic assume that the course of all things, both natural and supernatural, is determined by the operation of immutable laws acting mechanically. A strict adherence to form, an observance of the prescribed order or sequence of rites and formulae, is therefore crucial. To reverse the order of a magical rite by changing a formula, incantation or procedure in any way would displease the spirits being supplicated and could provoke retaliation. If the magical rite is performed in the prescribed fashion however, the desired result will occur: natural and supernatural forces obey such an invocation out of necessity. In traditional peasant society magical notions are often extended into the realm of everyday thought and action. Rejection of traditional methods of production or failure to adhere to traditional customs or ways of doing things is dreaded and regarded as a dangerous act which invites misfortune and disaster.

- ⁸⁶ For folk beliefs among Galician and Bukovynian peasants see Ivan Franko, "Liudovi viruvannia na pidhiriu" and Filiaret Kolessa, "Liudovi viruvannia na pidhuriu", both in Etnografichnyi Zbirnyk, vol. V. (Lviv, 1898).
- ⁸⁷ See Samuel Koenig, "Supernatural Beliefs Among the Galician Ukrainians", Folklore (London), vol. XLIX, 1937-38.
- ⁸⁸ See Samuel Koenig "Magical Beliefs and Practices Among the Galician Ukrainians", Folklore, vol. XLVIII, 1936-37.
- ⁸⁹ Dov Neuman, "Five Hucul Healing Incantations", Indiana Slavic Studies, vol. I, 1956, p. 194.
- ⁹⁰ NWMP Report, Sessional Papers, (1911), vol XLV, no. 19, p. 75.
- ⁹¹ Ranok, 15 July 1914.
- ⁹² Missionary Bulletin, vol. XII, pp. 691-92.
- ⁹³ NWMP Report, Sessional Papers, (1914), vol. XLVIII, no. 24, p.
- ⁹⁴ Ukrainskyi Holos 4 June 1913.
- ⁹⁵ See Osyp Berest, "Likuvalni zasoby v ukrainskii narodnii medytsyni", in Zbirnyk na Poshanu Zenona Kuzeli, ZNTSh vol. CLXIX, (Paris, 1962), pp. 156-63.
- ⁹⁶ A.J. Hunter, "Superstitions Among the Foreigners", The Missionary Messenger, vol. II, 1915, pp. 12-13.
- ⁹⁷ C.H. Young, op. cit., pp. 231-32; also see Robert B. Klymasz, "Ukrainian Folklore in Canada: An Immigrant Complex in Transition", Ph.D. Dissertation, Indiana University, 1971, Chapter Four.
- ⁹⁸ Viacheslav Budzynovsky, "Khlopska posilist v Halychyni i novochasni suspilno-reformatorski zmahannia", Narod, 1 October, 1894.
- ⁹⁹ Reported in Kanadyiskyi Farmer, 26 April 1906. Also see Samuel Koenig, "Beliefs Regarding the Soul and the Future World Among the Galician Ukrainians", Folklore, vol. XLIX, 1937-38.
- ¹⁰⁰ Koenig, Folklore, vol. XLVIII, p. 60.
- ¹⁰¹ Rev. T. Voinarovsky, "Spohady z moho zhyttia", Istorychni Postati Halychyny XIX-XX stolittia (New York, 1961), pp. 20-24.
- ¹⁰² Kanadyiskyi Ranok, 4 April, 1922.
- ¹⁰³ Missionary Bulletin vol. X, p. 790.

- 104 C.H. Monro, "The Galician at Home", The Westminster, October 1905, p. 238.
- 105 Missionary Bulletin vol. I. p. 453.
- 106 Missionary Bulletin vol. IX. p. 94.
- 107 Ranok 6 December 1911.
- 108 Missionary Bulletin vol. VIII, p. 1403.
- 109 C.H. Monro, op. cit., p. 237; Illiustrovanyi Kaliendar Russkoho Narodu 1918, pp. 153-64; Svoboda 30 May 1901.
- 110 Ukrainskyi Holos 6 July 1910; Kanadyiskyi Rusyn 24 February, 1912; 4 January 1913; 3 February 1915.
- 111 Ranok 14 June 1911.
- 112 Ukrainskyi Holos 24 January 1917.
- 113 Ranok 26 July 1911; also, Klymasz, (1973), op. cit., pp. 22-23, 80; C.H. Lawford, "The Religious System of the Austrians /sic / as Seen in Alberta", The Christian Guardian, 3 September, 1913, p. 8.
- 114 See Woodsworth (1917), op. cit., p. 118. The most interesting description of the profound attachment to ritual among the immigrants was made by Metropolitan Andrei Sheptycky: "...Our people take a greater interest in matters pertaining to rites and ceremonies than do people of the latin rite. They are familiar with the ceremonies and take offence when ritual forms are not observed accurately. I know of instances in Canada where the omission of one rubric proved to be sufficient reason for the people to abandon an independent pseudo-priest. I also witnessed a scene which characterizes the situation well. One independent calmly listened to the most grievous accusations against his clergyman made by our faithful, who were encouraged by my presence. They told him that there were Jews, thieves, former prisoners, in short, unworthy people among these pseudo-priests, that they were all liars, deceivers and so forth. He listened to all of this with perfect tranquility, occasionally added his own comments, laughed and joked. This demonstrated that this good fellow sympathized more with us than he did with his priest. Then, unexpectedly, a young man added, that he saw one of these pseudo-priests use two chalices during the Divine Liturgy. (Personally I think he was using a Russian chalice, the discus of which has a rather extended base, and therefore resembles a chalice.) This accusation drove the man with whom we were conversing to distraction. "Never — he exclaimed — never will I believe that our priest did that. You can repeat it a hundred times but I will not believe it, that is just too much." ...I will only remind you that among a neighboring people...the correction of liturgical texts, carried out in the seventeenth century led to a schism which separated almost 30 million faithful from the official Russian Church." See "Address on the Ruthenian Question..." /my translation/.

¹¹⁵ See V.J. Kaye, Early Ukrainian Settlements in Canada, 1895-1900, (Toronto, 1964), pp. 43-44. Among prominent Radicals who were present were Ivan Franko, Viacheslav Budzynovskyi, Dr. Teofil Okunevskyi and Pavlo Dumka.

¹¹⁶ Iuliiian Bachynskyi, Ukrainska Immigratsiia v Ziedynenykh Derzhavakh Ameryky, (Lviv, 1914), p. 474. Also see Kyrylo Genik's article in Svoboda 15 June 1899.

¹¹⁷ Dmytriv, op. cit., p. 27.

¹¹⁸ V.J. Kaye, op. cit., p. xiv, and, "The Descendants of the Boyars of Halych on the Prairies of the Canadian West", in O.W. Gerus et al (eds.) The Jubilee Collection of the Ukrainian Free Academy of Science (Winnipeg, 1976), pp. 361-78.

¹¹⁹ The free village of Bereziw Nyzhnyi had a tradition of anti-clericalism and social banditry extending back into the seventeenth century. According to Volodymyr Hrabovetskyi it was one of eight villages with the highest incidence of "opryshkivstvo", a form of social banditry peculiar to the Carpathian foothills, during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. See his Borotba Karpatskoho Opryshkivstva XVI-XIX stolittia, (Lviv, 1966), p. 233.

¹²⁰ During the next few years they were joined by Ivan Danylchuk from Bukovyna; Iurko Syrotiuk from Kolomyia; Petro Svarich — who had met Trylovsky — from Sniatyn; Osyp Cherniawsky from Volchkyvtsi near Sniatyn where the Radicals were strong; Toma Tomashevsky from Sniatyn; Dmytro Solianych, a close acquaintance of Trylovsky and a Sich organizer; and, somewhat later, by Oleksa and Mykhailo Bachynsky, Bodrug's in-laws, the latter of whom had worked with a group of radical priests in Pennsylvannia; Myroslav Stechishin; Hryhorii Kraikivskyi, and Taras Ferley, a young Radical from Kolomyia, who had attended the University in Lviv. For Genik's relations with prominent Radicals see Mykhailo Vozniak, "Ivan Franko v dobi radykalizmu", Ukraina (Kiev, 1926) vol. VI, (20), and O.I. Dei. Ukrainska Revoliutsiino-Demokratychna Zhurnalistyka, (Kiev, 1959), p. 272; For particulars about leading members of the intelligentsia, prior to 1905, see M.H. Marunchak, V Zustrich Z Ukrainskymy Pioneramy Alberty, (Winnipeg, 1964); Vasyl Chumer, Spohady (Edmonton, 1942); Propamiatna Knyha Ukrainskoho Narodnoho Domu v Vinnipegu, (Winnipeg, 1949); Ukrainians in Alberta (Edmonton, 1976); Petro Svarich, Spomyny, (Winnipeg, 1976).

¹²¹ For information about the Ukrainian Brotherhood see Teklia Danys, "Ukrainska Komuna v Kalifornii", Kaliendar Ukrainskoho Robitnychoho Soiuzu, 1936, pp. 52-57; Myroslav Stechishin, "Ukrainske Bratstvo v Kalifornii", Kaliendar Ukrainskoho Holosu, 1940, pp. 111-21; Mykhailo Marunchak, "A. Honcharenko i K. Genik ta Kanadski Ukraintsi", Studii do Istorii Ukraintsiv Kanady, vol. 4. (Winnipeg, 1973), pp. 162-87.

¹²² Svoboda 25 May 1899.

¹²³Ivan Bodrug, "Spomyny pastora Ivana Bodruga", Ievanhelska Pravda, vol. XVIII, nos. 11-12 (1957).

¹²⁴See Chapters Three and Five for details.

¹²⁵Kanadyiskyi Farmer 27 September 1907.

¹²⁶Krat was born in 1882 in Hadiach, near Poltava. His father was Principal of the Agricultural College in Poltava and later became a high ranking bureaucrat. Krat completed his post secondary education in 1903, spent 1904 on the Japanese front, and participated in disturbances in Lubni during the Revolution. As a result of his involvement in these, he moved to Lviv in 1906, and on January 23, 1907 gained notoriety for leading a student demonstration. After being arrested on orders issued by Count Andrzej Potocki, he fled to Vienna, where he may have helped members of Spilka establish Pravda, a paper which Leon Trotsky edited from October 1908 until 1912. From Vienna Krat journeyed to Winnipeg, via Switzerland and Liverpool. The adventurist streak so characteristic of his early years was reflected in the poetry and short stories which he published in Winnipeg during the next few years.

¹²⁷See Ernie Chisick, "The Development of Winnipeg's Socialist Movement, 1900 to 1915", unpublished M.A. Thesis, University of Manitoba, 1972; and, A. Ross McCormack, Reformers, Rebels, and Revolutionaries: The Western Canadian Radical Movement, 1899-1919 (Toronto, 1977), p. 74.

¹²⁸Robotchyi Narod 21 May 1913.

¹²⁹Hryhorii Tkachuk, a Ukrainian socialist organizer in western Canada in 1915, had been an active organizer for the Radical Party, while Mykola Korzh, who soon moved to the United States, had been nominated by the Radicals to run for a seat in the Galician Diet. See Robotchyi Narod 9 June, 25 November 1915.

¹³⁰Kanadyiskyi Farmer 16 August 1907.

¹³¹Ukrainskyi Holos 23 March, 20 April, 13 May, 15 June, 31 August 1910; 5 November 1913.

¹³²This is a rough estimate based on information provided by M.H. Marunchak in The Ukrainian Canadians: A History, (Winnipeg, 1970), p. 161 ff.

CHAPTER THREE

"PRESERVING THE FAITH":

THE CATHOLIC CHURCH AND THE VILLAGE INTELLIGENTSIA

The old world rivalry between the Catholic clergy and exponents of Radicalism for hegemony within the Ukrainian community was re-enacted in Canada. Because local Roman Catholic primates attempted to submit Ukrainian immigrants to their own authority at the turn of the century, while a decade later the Greek Catholic clergy limited itself to purely denominational concerns, opposed secular education, and appealed to peasant prejudices, Catholic clericalism re-emerged as an obstacle to civil and cultural progress, and to national solidarity within the immigrant community. As a result the village intelligentsia repudiated the Catholic clergy's claims to spiritual authority and secular leadership, and attempted to create progressive secular and ecclesiastical institutions, which would be better suited to the needs of the immigrant community.

I

Relations between Ukrainian immigrants, especially members of the intelligentsia, and the Catholic Church were strained from the outset as a result of developments in the United States during the last two decades of the nineteenth century. Rusyn (Carpatho-Ruthenian) immigrants from Transcarpathia, and Ukrainian immigrants from Galicia's Lemkivshchyna region, had been immigrating to the United States in

large numbers since 1877.¹ There, most had settled in Pennsylvania coal communities, which were also inhabited by the more numerous Poles and Slovaks.² At first Rusyn and Ukrainian Greek Catholic immigrants attended Roman Catholic services in Polish and Slovak parishes. Soon, however, they began to organize their own parishes. In 1884, after the inhabitants of Shenandoah, Pennsylvania, had petitioned Metropolitan Sylvester Sembratovych, the Rev. Ivan Voliansky, a progressive, young Ukrainian Greek Catholic priest was dispatched from Galicia. Although the married Voliansky was not granted jurisdiction by Archbishop John Patrick Ryan of Philadelphia, and although he was excommunicated at the instigation of the Polish clergy in Pennsylvania before he had celebrated his first Mass, Voliansky remained in the United States for five years.

Having been acquainted with members of the progressive and radical intelligentsia prior to his departure from Galicia, Voliansky did not limit himself to ministering to the religious needs of the immigrants. In addition to organizing nine Greek Catholic parishes, whose property was incorporated with lay boards of trustees, he established the first Ukrainian choir, reading room, library, and evening school in the United States, organized a fraternal organization and a number of cooperative stores, and published the first Ukrainian newspaper, the shortlived Ameryka. In 1888, Ivan Franko even considered the possibility of becoming the paper's editor. Moreover, Voliansky labored to ease tensions between Ukrainian immigrant laborers and Irish miners (including the Molly Maguires), cooperated with the Knights of Labor, and unlike Polish Roman Catholic clergymen, he supported the coalminers' strike of 1887 in Shenandoah. Needless to say, his political activity and missionary

work, which jeopardized the Polish Roman Catholic clergy's income and authority, ultimately led to Voliansky's recall in 1889.³

During the years immediately following Voliansky's departure a number of married Rusyn and celibate Ukrainian Greek Catholic clergymen immigrated to the United States. Because there was no precedent for dual episcopal jurisdiction in the Western Church, and because clerical celibacy was compulsory, the Vatican's efforts to regulate relations between the Greek Catholic laity and clergy and the Roman Catholic hierarchy in North America resulted in the violation of many traditional rights and privileges enjoyed by eastern rite Catholics. On October 1, 1890, John Cardinal Simeoni, Prefect of the Sacred Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith, ordered Greek Catholic bishops in Galicia and Transcarpathia to prevent married priests from immigrating to North America, thereby disqualifying over 90 percent of all Ukrainian Greek Catholic priests. Two years later, on May 10, 1892, the new Prefect, Count Mieczyslaw Cardinal Liedechowski, issued a decree forbidding married priests to have jurisdiction in the United States. On April 12, 1894, the Sacred Congregation placed all Greek Catholic priests in North America under the exclusive jurisdiction of Roman Catholic bishops; henceforth Greek Catholic priests were not permitted to come to North America unless requested by the Roman Catholic hierarchy. Finally, on May 1, 1897, a decree signed by Cardinal Liedechowski permitted Greek Catholics in North America to adhere to the Latin rite. It also ordered Roman Catholic bishops, whose diocese were populated by Greek Catholics, to appoint a qualified celibate Greek Catholic priest, or where one was unavailable a Roman Catholic priest, to supervise and administer the Greek Catholic clergy and laity

in accordance with the Roman Catholic bishop's ordinances. In subsequent years it was not uncommon for bishops to appoint Roman Catholic priests to this post even in dioceses where qualified, celibate Greek Catholic priests were present.⁴

As a result of these decrees Ukrainian Greek Catholic clergymen and their parishioners were often treated like pariahs by the Roman Catholic hierarchy. Priests were not allowed to minister to immigrants outside the parish to which they had been assigned, or in areas where a Roman Catholic parish existed unless they obtained permission from the local Roman Catholic priest. Those who refused to submit were often arrested. Moreover, most Roman Catholic bishops granted jurisdiction for very brief periods of time, thereby obliging Greek Catholic priests to make frequent and humiliating requests for permission to carry on their ministry. Greek Catholic priests were often refused the right to perform baptisms, marriages and funerals, and were ordered to hand over fees collected from Greek Catholics to the local Roman Catholic priest. During these years efforts were made to have all Greek Catholic properties incorporated with Roman Catholic bishops, Roman Catholic diocesan taxes were levied on Greek Catholics, the "catholicity" of the eastern rite was questioned, Greek Catholic priests were insulted and the validity of their ministrations was questioned. On one occasion a Roman Catholic bishop refused to participate in a liturgy until a Greek Catholic priest was removed from the altar.⁵

The decrees issued by the Sacred Congregation also had the effect of placing Ukrainian Greek Catholics in Canada under the jurisdiction of the local Roman Catholic hierarchy. Although the French-speaking Roman Catholic hierarchy in western Canada was considerably more courteous

and sympathetic than its Irish-American counterpart south of the border, it failed to win the immigrants' — especially the intelligentsia's — confidence. In spite of the fact that French Roman Catholic missionaries trained in the Ukrainian language ministered to the immigrants according to the eastern rite, and in spite of the fact that delegations were dispatched to Rome, Vienna and Lviv in order to secure Ukrainian Greek Catholic priests for the immigrants, the Roman Catholic hierarchy's objectives remained narrowly denominational. The hierarchy, especially Archbishop Adélarde Langevin of St. Boniface, dreamt of a "Catholic Empire" in the west. Although no personal sacrifice was spared to preserve the immigrants' allegiance to the Catholic Church, the Roman Catholic clergy remained indifferent to the national social and cultural concerns of the immigrants. Moreover, they refused to recognize traditional privileges of the Greek Catholic Church, attempted to have Greek Catholic property incorporated with Roman Catholic bishops, and opposed the appointment of a Ukrainian Greek Catholic bishop until the eleventh hour. Not unexpectedly, such an attitude did not appeal to traditionalist peasant immigrants or to members of the intelligentsia, who were wary of attempts to subordinate the Church and the immigrants to foreign control.

Initially Ukrainian Greek Catholic immigrants were placed under the jurisdiction of Polish Roman Catholic missionaries. While there may have been no alternative to this measure, the behaviour of the missionaries aggravated a situation which was explosive from the outset. In Winnipeg Archbishop Langevin appointed Waclaw and Albert Kulawy to minister to Austro-Hungarian immigrants, the majority of whom were Ukrainian Greek Catholics. The two brothers, who did not

speak Ukrainian, established Polish-language schools, slighted the eastern rite, advised Greek Catholics who married Roman Catholics to abandon their rite, told Ukrainian Roman Catholics that they were Poles, and met with some success in their efforts to Polonize Ukrainian immigrants. They insisted that Langevin would never permit the construction of a Greek Catholic Church in Winnipeg, ordered immigrants to stop reading Svoboda, the only Ukrainian newspaper in North America at the turn of the century, threatened those who read the Bible with damnation, forced Ukrainians to make donations for the construction of Roman Catholic churches, and often refused to minister to Greek Catholic parishes unincorporated with the Archbishop. In the Sifton district the Kulawy brothers were even accused of fabricating "miraculous appearances" of the Virgin Mary in order to secure adherents for their mission.⁶

Relations between the Roman Catholic hierarchy and the first Greek Catholic secular priests in Canada were less than cordial. They seemed to indicate that the Roman Catholic hierarchy intended to submit Ukrainian immigrants to its own authority. Nestor Dmytriw and Pavlo Tymkevych, two priests who visited Canada in 1897 and 1898, were not granted jurisdiction by Langevin and Bishop Legal of Saint Albert when they protested against the activity of the Kulawy brothers and demanded equality of status for Greek Catholics.⁷ While in Alberta in 1897, Dmytriw was told by Bishop Legal that "...it would be impossible to have two Catholic Churches in Canada..." and the following year the same bishop took steps to have land for the Greek Catholic church in Edna-Star vested in his own name without any authorization from the settlers.⁸ In 1899 and 1900 Damaskyn Polyvka and Ivan Zaklynsky were

dismissed when they advised Ukrainian immigrants in Winnipeg to establish their own parish and abandon the Polish Kulawy brothers. The two Ukrainian priests were not allowed to celebrate the liturgy, their ministrations were proclaimed to be without validity, immigrants who availed themselves of their services were threatened with damnation, and a campaign was started to defame Zaklynsky.⁹ In February 1903, Joseph Bernier, speaking on behalf of Langevin, introduced a bill in the Manitoba legislature "...praying for an act...conveying properties of the Greek Ruthenian Church in Communion with Rome into the control of corporations under control of the Church of Rome".¹⁰ Although the bill was withdrawn in response to Ukrainian protests, in 1907, Mykola Strutynsky, who ministered to the advocates of Greek Catholic autonomy, was not granted jurisdiction when he suggested that parish property should be controlled by parishioners. A number of other priests, who ministered to parishes which refused to submit to the authority of the Roman Catholic hierarchy, were not recognized by Metropolitan Sheptycky or by Langevin.¹¹ Even as late as in September 1910, Langevin declared that "...one thing is certain: the Ruthenians must prove themselves Catholics by turning property over to the church, and not like Protestants . . . to an individual or committee of laymen, independent of the priest or bishop . . . For Catholics the churches or church territory belong, first to the pope, and the bishops, Latin and Greek, are only administrators of this property. . . . It is an act of schism to put church property in the name of a lay committee".¹²

Convinced that the presence of secular Greek Catholic priests caused more harm than good,¹³ Langevin tried to recruit members of monastic missionary orders for work among the immigrants. In 1898 he

visited the Redemptorist monasteries in Belgium to recruit missionaries, and simultaneously began to encourage French-Canadian priests to turn their attention to the new missionary field in the west.¹⁴ The first Redemptorist, Rev. Achille Delaere, arrived in 1899, and by 1907 three additional members of the order were working in western Canada.¹⁵ Five French-Canadian missionaries, including Rev. Joseph Jean and the Rev. Dr. Adonais Sabourin, were also active among the immigrants by 1910.¹⁶ While the Belgian Redemptorists were stationed in Yorkton, Saskatchewan, the French-Canadians, predominantly Oblates, remained in Manitoba. All the missionaries studied Ukrainian in Basilian monasteries in Galicia prior to commencing their missionary work, and after 1906 they were permitted to adhere to the eastern rite for the duration of their term among the immigrants. In 1902, as a result of numerous petitions and delegations to Rome, Vienna, and Lviv, a contingent of Ukrainian Basilian monks and a group of Sisters Servants of Mary Immaculate arrived in Canada. By 1905, six Basilian monks and four sisters were active in Manitoba and in Alberta.¹⁷

The French-speaking missionaries, as well as the Ukrainian Basilians, were primarily concerned with preserving the immigrants' allegiance to the Catholic Church. The French-speaking missionaries had little sympathy for the traditional privileges of the Greek Catholic Church. They had an inadequate appreciation of the settlers' culture, and they could not come to terms with the burgeoning national sentiments among the more enlightened immigrants. Thus, there were complaints that certain missionaries referred to married Greek Catholic priests with contempt, tried to introduce the veneration of Roman Catholic saints, popularized latin usages, adorned churches according to latin specifications,

encouraged immigrants to attend Roman Catholic churches, and insisted that Greek Catholic parish property be incorporated with Roman Catholic bishops. French-speaking missionaries were also accused of fabricating "miraculous appearances" on at least one occasion, and of fostering religious fanaticism. Even the broken Ukrainian spoken by the missionaries provoked criticism when it caused outbursts of laughter during church services. Attempts to reprimand settlers who refused to submit to the Roman Catholic hierarchy and who persisted in reading newspapers such as Svoboda were also mentioned by indignant settlers.¹⁸

The arrival of the Basilians did little to stem widespread suspicions about the hierarchy's intentions. While they condemned the activity of the Polish Kulawy brothers, the Basilians subordinated themselves to the Roman Catholic hierarchy and advised immigrants to incorporate their church property with Roman Catholic bishops or with the order. Rev. Vasyl Zholdak, Metropolitan Sheptycky's secretary and a high ranking Basilian who led the first missionaries to Canada, told the immigrants not to avail themselves of the services of secular Ukrainian Greek Catholic priests from the United States, and referred to settlers who were critical of the Roman Catholic hierarchy as "gypsies" and "Indians". In 1905, with financial assistance from Langevin, the Basilians established the St. Nicholas parish in Winnipeg to neutralize the influence of those immigrants who demanded married secular priests and Greek Catholic autonomy. Shortly thereafter, the Basilians made an effort to subordinate Ukrainian secular institutions to clerical control. Membership in reading societies established by the order was limited to Catholics; the short lived Canadian Ruthenian National Association, established in Winnipeg on the progressive

non-denominational principles of an American counterpart, was condemned by the Rev. M. Hura, who exclaimed "without me, without God!"; and attempts were made to supervise reading society meetings. In 1912, for example, the Rev. A. Pylypiw of Winnipeg insisted that reading society meetings must be held between 3:00 P.M. and 6:00 P.M. on Sundays so that he could be present.¹⁹

The clergy's response to the bilingual schools issue provides an illustration of its readiness to subordinate everything to the task of preserving the immigrants' allegiance to the Catholic Church. Throughout the period under consideration Langevin and the Roman Catholic hierarchy supported the principle of bilingual Ukrainian-English instruction in schools established among the immigrants. Addressing the Catholic Club of Winnipeg on January 5, 1902, on the needs of the "Galician" population, he insisted

On doit...établir parmi eux des écoles où la langue anglaise sera enseignée selon les exigences de la loi, mais puisque cette même loi concède l'enseignement bilingue, c'est-à-dire l'enseignement d'une autre langue que l'anglais pour ceux qui ne parlent pas cette dernière, ces étrangers (les Galiciens) ont droit de faire instruire leurs enfants dans leur propre langue, et c'est là leur désir le plus ardent.²⁰

Referring to all arguments to the contrary as "une prétention exorbitante, injuste et dangereuse pour la paix de notre pays", the Archbishop went on to reveal his underlying motive for supporting bilingual instruction among "Galicians" by insisting that it was "le meilleur moyen de conserver leur foi."

Thus, although he petitioned the Manitoba government "to provide means to instruct and educate the [Galician] children...in their own idiom"²¹, the creation of a network of bilingual public schools staffed by graduates of the Brandon Training School incensed Langevin

and the clergy. In 1908, the Rev. Achille Delaere insisted that Ukrainian bilingual teachers were ". . . adversaries of priests [who] preach revolt and disobedience towards established religious authorities".²² The following year, speaking to the Cercle Lavérendrye in St. Boniface,²³ the Rev. Dr. Adonais Sabourin denounced the Brandon Training School because Principal Cressey was an "orangiste" while Taras Ferley, the Ukrainian language instructor, was ". . . un individu bien connu dans les cercles socialistes de Winnipeg . . . qui trouve moyen d'expliquer l'existence du monde sans avoir recours à l'hypothèse d'un Créateur". He also condemned Ukrainian bilingual teachers because "la majorité esquivent tout enseignement religieux dans les écoles et répond aux réclamations des parents en disant que c'est défendu par la loi, ou impossible à cause du mélange d'enfants de diverses croyances". After citing examples of teachers who argued that the priesthood was superfluous, that a knowledge of the Bible was sufficient for salvation, and that God was a myth, Sabourin singled out Yaroslav Arsenych, then a teacher at Dauphin. Arsenych had convoked "... une assemblée de ses compatriotes de la région de Dauphin pour y déclamer devant ces âmes simples contre le Souverain Pontife, contre l'épiscopat, contre le clergé tant séculier que régulier, des monstruositées que je ne pourrais répéter ici sans m'avilir et sans manquer au respect que je vous dois". The Basilians, especially Rev. Kryzhanovsky of Mundare, Alberta, also denounced Ukrainian teachers for their "socialism" and advised parents not to send their children to schools where non-Catholics taught.

In order to provide immigrant children with a proper Catholic education a number of Ukrainian Catholic private schools were established. The first of these, a Ukrainian Girls Night School, was established in Edmonton, in 1901, by the French-speaking Sisters Faithful Companions

of Jesus. During the next decade the Basilian Fathers and the Sisters Servants of Mary Immaculate established schools in Beaver Lake and Edmonton, Alberta, in Yorkton, Saskatchewan, and in Sifton and Winnipeg, Manitoba. St. Nicholas School in Winnipeg, was constructed in 1911 with funds donated by Archbishop Langevin, while the Sacred Heart Academy for girls in Yorkton was completed in 1916 with a loan obtained from the Sulpician Fathers of Montreal. The French-speaking missionaries, especially Rev. Joseph Jean and Rev. Sabourin played a prominent role in the creation of the Missionary School for Boys in Sifton in 1912, while the Redemptorists, with financial assistance from the Catholic Extension Society of Canada, helped to establish St. Joseph's College for Boys in Yorkton in 1919. In addition to religious instruction, all of these schools provided instruction in the English and Ukrainian languages as well as in all prescribed school subjects.²⁴

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* *

Ukrainian Greek Catholics — clergymen and laymen — responded to the decrees issued by the Vatican during the 1890s, and to subsequent attempts to subordinate them to the authority of the Roman Catholic hierarchy in the United States and Canada, either by turning to the Russian Orthodox Church in North America or by advocating the creation of an "independent Ruthenian Church".

The turn toward Russian Orthodoxy was the first to manifest itself. When Archbishop Ireland of St. Paul, Minnesota, would not recognize that monsignor Alexei Tovt, a married Greek Catholic priest from Transcarpathia was a Catholic, and refused to grant him jurisdiction, Tovt and his parishioners seceded from the Catholic Church in 1890 and

converted to Russian Orthodoxy. Tovt's example was followed by a number of other conservative Greek Catholic priests, who felt themselves affronted but whose sense of Ukrainian national consciousness was dormant. By 1911 over 20,000 Ukrainian and Rusyn Greek Catholics organized in 82 parishes, had converted to Russian Orthodoxy. As a result of these conversions the Russian Orthodox Church transferred its American headquarters from San Fransisco to New York and began dispatching its missionaries into Ukrainian communities with the hope of converting and Russifying Ukrainian immigrants.²⁵ Prior to 1917 the Russian Holy Synod contributed \$78,000.00 annually from the coffers of the Imperial treasury for the support of the Russian Orthodox Mission in America. By 1914, 43,000 of the 100,000 members of the Russian Orthodox Church in America were former Ukrainian or Rusyn Greek Catholics.²⁶

The lack of Greek Catholic priests in Canada and the dissatisfaction caused by the Roman Catholic missionaries provided fertile soil for Russian Orthodox missionaries. Because Russian Orthodox priests did not require the incorporation of parish property with their Church, because their salaries were paid by the Holy Synod, and because their services were not blemished by any latin usages, they were welcomed in a number of Galician Greek Catholic settlements and in most Bukovynian Greek Orthodox settlements. Where there was a lingering Russophile sentiment among the immigrants — as for example among those from the district of Brody in Galicia — the attraction of Russian Orthodoxy increased.

Most Russian Orthodox missionaries were dispatched by the Russian Orthodox Mission in the United States. Many Galician Greek Catholic Russophiles became the first Russian Orthodox missionaries in Canada

after converting and training at American seminaries. In Winnipeg they established the "Russian Greek Orthodox Holy Trinity" parish in 1904, although for the first few years parish business was conducted exclusively in the Ukrainian language.

The Russian Orthodox Mission in Canada met with its greatest success during the tenure of arch-priest Arsenii Chekhovtsev in Winnipeg, from 1905 until 1911. By 1910 there were 27 Russian Orthodox parishes in Manitoba, while by 1916 there may have been as many as 110 in all of western Canada. In 1908 Chekhovtsev began to publish Kanadyiskaia Nyva (The Canadian Field), a bi-monthly which featured a strong dose of Pan-Russian propaganda. The organ was soon transferred to Edmonton where it was published by a number of Galician Russophiles until 1911, when Chekhovtsev left Canada frustrated in his attempts to be named Canadian Bishop. A number of Russian Orthodox/Russophile weeklies continued to appear edited by Vasyl Cherniak in Edmonton and by Viktor Hladyk in Winnipeg. All of these were printed in the Ukrainian etymological script with a few words of Russian thrown in for good measure. They proclaimed the slogan "Russia One and Indivisible — One Russian Orthodox Nation!", and refused to recognize the existence of a Ukrainian people distinct from the Russians.²⁷

Of far greater bearing on future developments in Canada was the stand taken by eight young, radical Galician priests in the United States.²⁸ Influenced by Radical ideals, they had eschewed comfortable positions in Galicia, taken the vow of celibacy, and immigrated to the United States in the early 1890s. There they hoped not only to minister to the spiritual needs of the immigrants, but also to act as their legal

and economic advisors, teachers, and spokesmen. In 1896, Svoboda, a weekly edited by the radical priests warned immigrants: "Do not build any more chapels! . . . soon there will be more churches in America than there are Ruthenian families", and suggested democratization of Church government:

...God forbid that we ask for a bishop of our own. We have already seen how American bishops manage their affairs and that should be sufficient lesson and warning for us. At any rate our people are far too poor to shoulder such an enormous burden. The people and their priests should govern the church and its property by themselves".²⁹

In May 1900 the radical priests and lay delegates from 15 Ukrainian Greek Catholic parishes in the United States met in Shamoikin, Pennsylvania, and established the Society of Ruthenian Church Congregations in the United States and Canada. A General Council of three priests and three laymen was elected to govern the Society. Although Ukrainian immigrants in Canada corresponded with the Society, they did not participate in any of the Society's meetings.³⁰

The radical priests first openly declared their opposition to the Roman Catholic hierarchy in 1902. On February 13, Ivan Ardan, the editor of Svoboda, published an editorial in which he proclaimed the slogan "Away from Rome!". Ardan insisted that the Vatican had always been impatient with Greek Catholicism and he held Roman Catholicism responsible for the Polonization, Magyarization and Slovakization of Ukrainians in Austria-Hungary, as well as for attempts to destroy the national integrity of the Ukrainian community in North America. A convention which would address itself to a number of issues was proposed by Ardan:

...The convention should declare our secession from the Union with Rome and the abrogation of all relations with its representatives; the convention should protest against interference by latin rite bishops and priests in the affairs of

our faith and church, and enact specific measures to regulate our ecclesiastical affairs in accordance with the practise of the early Christians. Our priests should inform latin rite bishops that they have no right . . . to assert even nominal jurisdiction over us.

Finally, the convention should strive to obtain the services of honest patriotic Ruthenian priests from the old country who would defy prohibitions . . . and serve God by working for their people in America . . . ³¹

As a result of the editorial a convention of the Society of Ruthenian Church Congregations was held in Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, on March 26, 1902. At the convention speakers appealed to the democratic traditions of the sixteenth and seventeenth century Ukrainian Church³² and adopted resolutions to democratize and guarantee the autonomy of the Greek Catholic Church in the United States. The most important of these declared:

. . . Those assembled consider secession from Rome as necessary in principle for the welfare of the Ruthenian Church and people in America, nevertheless because of its gravity the resolution of this issue is postponed to enable all of the people to evaluate and resolve it for themselves at the next convention.

. . . The Convention decisively protests against the imposition of any religious authority over American Ruthenians without their consent and declares itself in favor of the ancient and well-established tradition of the Christian Church, especially of the Ruthenian Church, whereby the hierarchy was elected by the people themselves.³³

The "Harrisburg Resolutions" also demanded that all decrees issued by the Sacred Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith with respect to Ukrainian Greek Catholics in the United States be revoked; that Ukrainian Greek Catholics in the United States have a bishop of their own ". . . elected by the local clergy and people themselves", a bishop who ". . . would not be entitled to an enormous palace and pension, and [who] would reside in the larger parishes thereby freeing the parishioners of all special burdens"; that the Bishop be responsible

directly to the Pope rather than to the Sacred Congregation; and, that steps be taken to create a Ukrainian Greek Catholic Patriarchate which would oversee all Ukrainian Greek Catholic bishops in the old and new world.

Because the Vatican responded by sending an Apostolic Visitor who ignored the basic issues, and because Ardan was excommunicated, representatives of the Harisburg Convention began to correspond with representatives of the Orthodox Church. Appeals were sent to the Holy Synod in Petrograd and to the independent Greek Orthodox monastery on Mount Athos, inquiring whether a "Bishop of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church" independent of the Russian Orthodox Mission in the United States and elected by Ukrainian priests and laymen would be recognized. Needless to say, the Holy Synod refused to participate in such a venture. Mount Athos, as subsequent events in Canada suggest, was more obliging.

Developments in the United States provided the impetus for those members of the intelligentsia who advocated Protestantism to appeal for an independent Ukrainian church. In 1901 Ivan Malkovych from Bereziw Nyzhnyi insisted that it was time to ". . . stop asking and begin demanding that to which we are entitled and perhaps then we will accomplish our objectives. If this doesn't help and if Rome, or actually our (?) Metropolitan fails to send us priests, then we will have to turn away from them with disdain and fend for ourselves".³⁴ A month after Ardan proclaimed the slogan "Away from Rome!", Genik urged Ukrainian settlers in Canada to assert their independence from the Roman Catholic and Russian Orthodox Churches and to ". . . organize an independent Ruthenian people's church", which would be governed by the laity and lower clergy and would recognize the parishioners as the sole owners

of local churches and all parish properties.³⁵ A few months later another correspondent from Winnipeg urged Ukrainians to ". . . make a public statement that we are withdrawing from the Union of the Ruthenian Church with Rome and simultaneously establishing and organizing a Ruthenian people's church [narodnu tserkvu] with Jesus Christ as its Invisible Head".³⁶

The opportunity to establish an independent Ukrainian church presented itself in the spring of 1903 when Stefan Ustvol'sky, a monk from Mount Athos, arrived in Winnipeg and claimed to be Seraphym, "Bishop and Metropolitan of the Orthodox Russian Church for the whole of America". It seems that Ustvol'sky had initially come to New York in the autumn of 1902, probably in response to the appeal issued by the American radical priests after the Harrisburg Convention. His extremely pro-Tsarist orientation soon alienated the radical priests, and Ustvol'sky moved to Winnipeg where, in the almost complete absence of Ukrainian priests, he proceeded to ordain cantors, deacons, and anyone else who presented himself, into the priesthood of the "All-Russian Patriarchal Orthodox Church", or as it was commonly referred to, the "Seraphymite Church".

On Genik's advice Ivan Bodrug and Ivan Negrich presented themselves for ordination into the "Seraphymite Church" in April 1903.³⁷ Shortly thereafter, secretly, without Seraphym's knowledge, in collaboration with Presbyterian theologians at Manitoba College, they drafted a charter for the Independent Greek Church and obtained assurance of financial and moral assistance from the Presbyterians on the condition that they reform the Seraphymite movement in accordance with evangelical protestant principles. Although the Church's charter

permitted the retention of the external forms of the Greek rite for the time being, the Church was to be organized and administered democratically and its ministers were to espouse evangelical principles in their sermons. The Church was to be independent of all ties with the Vatican, the Russian Holy Synod and all eastern Christian patriarchs. It was to be governed democratically by a Synod (Sobor), comprised of clergymen and lay delegates from each congregation, which met at one to three year intervals in order to elect a Consistory. The Consistory was comprised of a chairman, secretary, treasurer, organizer, and a superintendent who presided over the body. In addition to serving as the executive organ of the Church, the Consistory was also charged with the duty of ordaining clergymen. Individual parishes were to be governed by their minister and three elected lay elders. Parishes could select and dismiss their ministers pending the approval of the Consistory, and elected trustees were to administer the church property of every parish.³⁸

After his ordination Bodrug began to recruit better educated men, including some with a "radical" background, into the ministry of the Seraphymite Church in anticipation of its forthcoming reformation. Among those recruited by Bodrug were Ivan Danylchuk, Mykhailo and Oleksa Bachynsky, Osyp Cherniawsky, Iefrem Perih, Oleksa Maksymchuk, and Andrii Vilchynsky. When Seraphym left Winnipeg in January 1904 in order to secure the recognition of the Holy Synod, Bodrug and his followers were able to call a convention of the Independent Greek Church, accept the charter prepared the previous year, and dissociate themselves from the Seraphymite Church. Although Seraphym anathematized and excommunicated the founders of the Independent Greek Church after he returned

empty-handed from Petrograd, most of the priests recruited by Seraphym, as well as those recruited by Bodrug, remained with the Independent Greek Church. While some acted in accordance with their convictions, others, especially those recruited by Seraphym, took this step because ministers of the new Church were guaranteed a steady income from the Home Mission Board of the Presbyterian Church.³⁹

During the first few years of its existence, the Independent Greek Church enjoyed esteem in Radical circles. The American Svoboda and the Galician Hromadskyi Holos supported the movement, while in 1904 Mykhailo Pavlyk offered encouragement to the founders of the movement and Kyrylo Trylovsky even considered the possibility of starting a similar movement in Galicia.⁴⁰ Bodrug, for his part, declared with the bravado of a village radical, that he hoped ". . . to show Rome that within three years he could destroy the Church Union which Rome and the Poles had been enforcing among Ukrainians for 300 years".⁴¹

During the early period of its existence the Independent Greek Church expanded rapidly. Between 1903 and 1905 Kanadyiskyi Farmer (The Canadian Farmer), the Ukrainian-language Liberal Party organ, supported the movement, while Ranok (The Morning) was established to serve as the Church's organ in 1905, and the Presbyterians were persuaded to establish classes at Manitoba College for Ukrainians who expressed a desire to become school teachers or Independent Greek Church ministers. Although some estimates claimed that the Church numbered 60,000 members and sympathizers by 1907-08, the Report of the Board of Home Missions of the Presbyterian Church in Canada revealed that in 1907, 2484 families in the three prairie provinces identified themselves as members of the Church and another 948 families sympathized

with the movement. There were 24 active ministers of the Church, 11 of whom worked full-time and received a salary of about \$480,000 annually from the Home Mission Board. The ministers were active in all major districts settled by Ukrainians. By 1911, there were 72 congregations of the Independent Greek Church, 40 church buildings had been erected, and 19 full-time ministers were employed.⁴²

II

In 1907, after more than two decades of inter-ecclesiastical strife, the Greek Catholic Church in North America was granted a measure of recognition, when Soter Ortynsky, a Basilian monk of aristocratic birth, was appointed bishop for Greek Catholics in the United States. The degree of autonomy granted to the Church was very modest. Ea Semper, the papal letter which announced Ortynsky's appointment, designated him titular Bishop of Daulia, and did not create a separate Greek Catholic diocese in the United States. While Ortynsky received his jurisdiction from Rome, the letter did not provide him with any diocesan powers and he was to exercise his authority as an auxiliary of Roman Catholic bishops in whose territories Greek Catholics resided. Moreover, Greek Catholic priests were not allowed to administer the sacrament of confirmation at baptism, and only celibate priests approved by the Sacred Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith could have jurisdiction in the republic. It was not until 1913 that Ortynsky was granted complete independence from the Roman Catholic hierarchy by the Vatican, and not until 1914 that steps were taken to guarantee the integrity of the eastern rite in the United States.⁴³

If Ortynsky's appointment raised hopes within the Ukrainian

immigrant community, these were soon dissipated. In 1907 the Ruthenian National Association (R.N.A.), the largest inter-denominational Ukrainian-American benevolent society, was placed under clerical supervision. The following year it was forced to alter its constitution in order to limit membership to all Slavs of Roman or Greek Catholic persuasion. Ukrainians of Orthodox and Protestant persuasion, as well as those of no religious affiliation, were excluded. In 1909 Svoboda, the R.N.A.'s organ, was forced to stop printing articles on controversial topics such as the natural sciences because ". . . these spread demoralization among unenlightened people and contradict the teachings of religion". Finally, in 1910, Ortynsky, an adherent of the reactionary clerical Christian Social Party, asked the R.N.A. to change its name to the Greek Catholic Ruthenian Association. When this request led to widespread dissatisfaction in the Association, the Bishop established his own purely Catholic benevolent association, Provedinnia (Providence), and launched a vicious campaign against the "godlessness" of the R.N.A. in his own organ, Ameryka.⁴⁴

The campaign to secure Greek Catholic autonomy in Canada commenced in earnest in October 1910, when Metropolitan Sheptycky took advantage of the Eucharistic Congress in Montreal to visit his flock in North America. Sheptycky would have come sooner had it not been for Count Mieczyslaw Cardinal Liedechowski's and the Sacred Congregation's unwillingness to grant him permission.⁴⁵ The Metropolitan was anxious to visit Canada because he was convinced that ". . . nowhere on earth has the salvation of the Ruthenian people been placed in such jeopardy as in Canada because nowhere are the enemies of our faith so persistent and so powerful".⁴⁶ He was particularly disturbed by the success of the

protestant intelligentsia and the Independent Greek Church and attributed this to the assistance received from the Radical Party.

The Radical Party in Galicia, which has been struggling against the clergy for years, and the Ukrainian Radical Party in the United States, have been of great assistance to them in securing their position. The godless Radicals, who have come to Canada from Galicia or the United States, join the Independents without giving it much thought and help them to attract young people who are the objects of their greatest attention and their fondest hope.⁴⁷

The reception provided for Sheptycky by the village intelligentsia was less than auspicious. Members of the intelligentsia were united in their belief that the Catholic Church was subservient to the interests of foreign aristocratic oppressors. While the nationalists admitted that since the turn of the century a new generation of the lower Greek Catholic clergy with a "zeal for the popular cause and a devotion to the interests of the proletariat" had emerged, they suspected that the proposed introduction of clerical celibacy was designed to undermine and neutralize this development.⁴⁸ The protestants also admitted that there were a number of ". . . honest priests who [were] conscious of oppression by the Polish [aristocracy] and the Austrian government and took part in the struggle for our rights and for a brighter future", but they insisted that most priests were ". . . haughty Russophiles . . . or meek populists who teach humility and loyalism and are essentially . . . gravediggers . . . who bury . . . the Ruthenian people in misery, darkness and under Austro-Polish political oppression".⁴⁹

When he came to Canada in 1910 Sheptycky's popularity was at its nadir. His ambivalent relations with the movement for social and political emancipation, and his unequivocal condemnation of Myroslav Sichynsky, the assassin of Count Andrzej Potocki, were the major causes

of popular dissatisfaction. The intelligentsia explained his behaviour in terms of his family and class loyalties. Not only was he descended from and related to prominent aristocratic families, the social circles in which the Metropolitan turned included the current governor of Galicia, count Michael Bobrzynski, count Stanislaw Badeni, brother of count Kazimir Badeni, the Polish archbishops Bilczewski and Bandurski who were notorious for their Ukrainophobia, and members of the Sapieha family.⁵⁰ Thus, the protestants lamented that bishops in ". . . silk vestments and expensive crowns adorned with precious stones, wearing gold rings, living in elegantly furnished palaces, [and] nourished in accordance with capricious tastes . . ." had forgotten the common people and referred to Sheptycky as a "Polish Count";⁵¹ the socialists believed that ". . . the Poles hope to cover up the movement for democracy with an aristocrat";⁵² and the nationalists concluded that Sheptycky ". . . has the blood and bones of a Pole".⁵³

While the masses were awed by the Metropolitan's regal bearing, members of the intelligentsia jeered Sheptycky, called him a traitor, and the socialists even pelted him with eggs at the train depot in Vancouver. Petitions asking for a Ukrainian Greek Catholic bishop and demanding married secular priests inundated the Metropolitan. One petition from Chatfield, Manitoba, demanded ". . . that the Count revoke his condemnation of Sichynsky and recognize him as a national hero . . . and that he personally say a requiem for the late Adam Kotsko [a Ukrainian university student killed in 1910 by Polish students who opposed the creation of a Ukrainian university in Lviv]".⁵⁴ During his stay in Winnipeg Sheptycky celebrated Mass in the Basilian church and in the Polish Roman Catholic Holy Ghost parish — where he extended

greetings from "Polish brethren" in the old country — but he refused to enter a Greek Catholic Church which did not recognize the authority of Archbishop Langevin. Members of the intelligentsia described Sheptycky's sermons as "childish", little more than "pious chatter", "lacking sincerity and empathy", and delivered as if he were speaking to "stable boys". It was suggested that the Metropolitan displayed sincerity and feeling only in the sermon delivered at Holy Ghost.⁵⁵

To stem the tide of religious non-conformity Sheptycky published a pamphlet entitled Kanadyiskym Rusynam (For Canadian Ruthenians) shortly after he returned to Galicia.⁵⁶ In the pamphlet he outlined "the teachings of our Holy Faith" for the benefit of the immigrants. Although he cautioned the immigrants against gambling, alcoholism and familial discord, the Metropolitan concentrated on discrediting the movements and refuting the ideas espoused by the intelligentsia. The appearance of Seraphym and the creation of the Independent Greek Church were dismissed as a Presbyterian plot hatched to denationalize the immigrants by depriving them of their faith and rite. "Those who placed their trust in and surrendered to the 'independents' have instantly lost the grace of God and their sacred faith", the Metropolitan insisted.⁵⁷ Because the Orthodox Church had severed itself from the Catholic Church and its infallible teachings, immigrants were warned to avoid Orthodox services. One could never know whether the word of God or a heresy was being preached in an Orthodox Church, Sheptycky warned. Efforts by laymen to manage parish affairs alone were based on erroneous "protestant principles" according to the Metropolitan: "The priest is the proprietor in the church and the bishop determines which priest is to be assigned and entrusted with the

management of the church. The community is not allowed to say that it accepts one priest and rejects another".⁵⁸ While encouraging the immigrants to pray for a Ukrainian Greek Catholic bishop, Sheptycky warned them that ". . . it does not become us to threaten [Christ's Vicar, the Pope], or to sunder ourselves from His superior authority if He should not provide us with a bishop, for he who disobeys Him sunders himself from the universal Church, from the Lord Jesus Christ Himself".⁵⁹ The immigrants were also warned to avoid socialist societies. These, the Metropolitan insisted, were responsible for ". . . spoiling wise and upright young men . . . under the pretext of opposing human injustices and feigning concern for the welfare of the poor and the wronged". In reality, ". . . the leaders, commanders, and organizers of the socialist movement [who] are Jews", were concerned "with severing as many people as they possibly can from the Holy Church and the faith", and wanted ". . . to achieve great power and influence and to organize an army which will submit and surrender itself to their dictates".⁶⁰ The Metropolitan also insisted that children were to be entrusted only to teachers "of our faith" lest they come out of school ". . . full of poisonous notions",⁶¹ and that books published by Protestants, especially by the Independent Greek Church, were to be avoided at all costs. He concluded his pamphlet by appealing to the immigrants to be "good citizens of Canada": "Dwell under the rule of the King of England and be his sincere and good subject . . . Take advantage of all the rights to which you are entitled as free citizens, and participate in the public and political life of the country".⁶²

In May 1911 Kanadyiskyi Rusyn (The Canadian Ruthenian), a Ukrainian Catholic weekly, was launched with financial assistance from

Archbishop Langevin to combat the heretical and atheistic ideas espoused by the intelligentsia. The weekly was established to ". . . propagate and defend the foundations of the Greek Catholic faith — the faith of our fathers, grandfathers and great-grandfathers".⁶³ The preservation of "sacred national relics" ["natsionalni sviatoshchi"] such as "the ancestral faith", "our beautiful rite", and "the national costume", was encouraged, and the editors exclaimed that ". . . all our enemies . . . are obliged to admit that Ruthenians have very beautiful rituals which deserve universal acclaim".⁶⁴ Only by preserving these, and by remaining faithful to the Greek Catholic Church, could Ukrainian immigrants retain their identity. "He who becomes indifferent to his rite and his faith, also becomes indifferent to his language and nationality," the editorial in the second issue of the weekly stated.⁶⁵ "Likewise, he who loathes his beautiful language and his poor nation, becomes indifferent to the Greek Catholic faith and the Ruthenian rite". Immigrants were warned that ". . . the young generation must be protected . . . from the ravenous Protestant and Schismatic wolves, lest they snatch away their souls, for the devil is bent on grinding them like wheat",⁶⁶ and cautioned not to buy books ". . . which are published by all sorts of foreigners, Jews, Czechs and Germans".⁶⁷ In 1914, as unemployment soared, an article entitled "Ten Commandments for Immigrants" suggested that

...Insulted [by your failure to attend Mass on Sunday]
 Jesus Christ denies you His blessings. Therefore you
 should not be surprised that your earnings are so small...⁶⁹

It went on to state that

...under no circumstances are you to break or fail to fulfill contractual obligations concluded with your masters because you are obliged to keep your word in

any just transaction just as if it had been given to God himself...⁷⁰

...You are stealing from your employer if you are performing your obligations indifferently. He who does not work, neither shall he eat, said St. Paul the Apostle. You must perform your work well and eagerly, then you will be praised and valued as workers.⁷¹

Although the paper consistently supported the principle of bilingual education, since "to cut off the native language from a people would be to cut off part of its soul",⁷² and although it asserted that instruction in the mother tongue was a "right" and not a "privilege",⁷³ it was highly critical of Ukrainian bilingual teachers. They were accused of displaying "a hostile attitude toward our beautiful, ancient Greek Catholic rite and religion",⁷⁴ while the fact that the Training Schools provided no instruction "about religion and the significance of the Church", was roundly condemned. When a lecturer at the 1914 convention of the Manitoba Ukrainian Teachers' Association discoursed on the views expressed in Drahomanov's Rai i Postup (Paradise and Progress), Kanadyiskyi Rusyn reacted with indignation.⁷⁵

In March 1911 Metropolitan Sheptycky prepared an "Address on the Ruthenian Question to their Lordships the Archbishops and Bishops of Canada", in which he presented the case for the creation of a separate Greek Catholic eparchy in Canada and for the appointment of a Greek Catholic bishop of Ukrainian nationality. After more than a decade of opposition to such a step the Roman Catholic hierarchy in Canada finally relented.⁷⁶ Yet, although the Rev. Dr. Nykyta Budka, prefect of studies at the Lviv Theological Seminary, was appointed to this position in September, 1912, fears persisted among the intelligentsia that the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church was still at the mercy of

foreign interests. A Ukrainian Greek Catholic diocese was not created and Budka was designated titular Bishop of Patara. The Papal letter issued in August, 1913, to regulate relations between Greek Catholics and Roman Catholics, and between the Greek Catholic laity and clergy, conclusively prohibited married priests, and widowed priests with children, from entering Canada.⁷⁷ To complicate matters, it was widely known that Budka, like Ortynsky in the United States, had once been in the service of the Princess Sapieha, where, according to rumours, he had distinguished himself by his sycophantic behaviour. Consequently the intelligentsia suspected that the Polonized Lithuanian magnates, the Sapiehi, were appointing bishops for Ukrainian Greek Catholics in North America — suspicions which seemed to be substantiated by the fact that the Sapiehi and the Sheptycky were related by marriage, and by the fact that Adam Sapieha, Princess Sapieha's brother-in-law, was a Papal assistant in Rome.⁷⁸

Relations with the French-speaking clergy and the activity of Ukrainian priests after Budka's arrival also failed to reassure the intelligentsia. It was widely known that the French speaking clergy was dissatisfied with Budka's appointment and it was even rumored that the French-Canadian faction had hoped to have the Rev. Dr. Adonais Sabourin appointed to the position. Tension between the new bishop and the French clergy surfaced late in 1913, when Mykola Syroidiw, the editor of Kanadyiskyi Rusyn, was dismissed. In an open letter published in the nationalist Ukrainskyi Holos, Syroidiw stated that Budka, who was financially dependent on the Roman Catholic hierarchy, felt compelled to dismiss him because of demands made by the French clergy.⁷⁹ Syroidiw insisted that he had incurred the wrath

of the French-speaking clergy by asking for the appointment of an instructor of Ukrainian literature and of the Greek Catholic rite at St. Boniface College, where twenty Ukrainian boys were attending classes; by revealing that the rector of St. Boniface College had prevented the boys from attending a Greek Catholic Church for six weeks; by criticising the Papal letter of August, 1913; by telling Budka about alleged improprieties committed by the Rev. Dr. Sabourin; by acting as secretary in the nationalist National Home Association; and, by criticizing Langevin's refusal, in 1912, to grant temporary jurisdiction to Rev. Konstantyn Rozdolsky, a married priest from Galicia, who was visiting Saskatchewan by himself.⁸⁰

Although the new editors of Kanadyiskyi Rusyn denied these accusations, suspicions were aroused and fresh evidence of French Roman Catholic clericalism was published in Ukrainskyi Holos. In Montreal, Rev. Desmarais was accused of telling Ukrainian Greek Catholics to avoid all social intercourse with members of the Orthodox faith,⁸¹ while the French-speaking missionary in Hazeldell, Saskatchewan, it was asserted, expected his parishioners to kiss his hand and claimed that refusal to obey Roman Catholic bishops was tantamount to disobeying God. He also refused to baptize children whose god-parents were Protestants, thereby causing animosity within the community.⁸² French missionaries were also accused of forbidding settlers to read Ukrainskyi Holos and books not approved by the Catholic Church, and of criticizing reading societies and national homes established on secular, non-denominational principles.⁸³

Similar accusations were levelled at a number of Ukrainian clergymen. During the Alberta provincial elections in April, 1913, five independent

Ukrainian candidates were opposed by the Basilians because they were known to be of protestant and nationalist sympathies. Rev. Kryzhanovsky of Mundare was accused of phoning some of his parishioners and ordering them to vote for English-speaking Catholic candidates.⁸⁴ Weeklies other than Kanadyiskyi Rusyn were also attacked by Ukrainian clergymen. In 1913, Rev. Krupa warned the members of the St. Vladymyr and Olga parish in Winnipeg: ". . . Do not read newspapers, because here in Canada one finds all kinds. All of them have fine names, but all of them are poison".⁸⁵ The following year, in Rainey, Saskatchewan, the same clergymen, allegedly advised a woman to leave her husband if he continued to read Ukrainskyi Holos.⁸⁶ By 1914 subscriptions to the weekly were being cancelled by intimidated Catholics.⁸⁷

Budka, for his part, envisioned his own role among the immigrants in grandiloquent terms:

...I feel I am the Moses and Aaron of the Canadian Ruthenians sent to them in response to their prayers to show them the way out of the desert of neglect, gather them in their misery, lead them, defend and protect them, be "all things for all men" in this foreign land, so that they might live as men should and achieve the end for which men are placed on this earth — the attainment of happiness in heaven...⁸⁸

In his first pastoral letter he asserted that ". . . The organization of Ruthenians in Canada as a single people cannot be imagined in any manner except through the Church . . . those who support their Greek Catholic Bishop . . . constitute the core of the nation . . . they alone are not a party but the nation".⁸⁹ Since only one of over 80 Greek Catholic parishes had incorporated its property with the Roman Catholic hierarchy and only ten more with the Basilians (prior to 1911), Budka asserted that ". . . incorporation of churches with the bishop is not to be treated as a favor to the bishop but as the obligation of all..."

and obtained a charter for the Ruthenian Greek-Catholic Episcopal Corporation. The first article of the Dominion charter stated that

The Right Reverend Nicetas Budka, Titular Bishop of Patara, deputed by the Holy Roman See as Bishop for the Ruthenian Greek Catholics of Canada in communion with Rome, and his successors in office, the Bishops appointed by the aforesaid See to hold jurisdiction over the Ruthenian Greek Catholics of Canada, of the same faith and rite and persevering in communion with the Roman Pontiff, are hereby constituted a corporation under the name of "The Ruthenian Greek Catholic Episcopal Corporation of Canada," hereinafter called "the Corporation", for the purposes of administering the property, business and other temporal⁹⁰ affairs connected with the said spiritual jurisdiction.

For some reason the Ukrainian translation of that portion of the article which provided for the succession of the Bishop was rendered as ". . . his successors in office . . . of the same rite and nationality".⁹¹ When the discrepancy in the English text was discovered, fears that the national integrity of the Church in Canada had not been guaranteed, added to the dissatisfaction with Bishop Budka.

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The appointment of Ortynsky and Budka, and the emergence of Ukrainian Greek Catholic clericalism, as distinct from Roman Catholic clericalism, provoked renewed opposition from the intelligentsia. In the United States, the transformation of Svoboda into a conservative organ, and Ortynsky's attempts to transform the Ruthenian National Association into an exclusively Catholic benevolent society, led to Ivan Ardan's resignation and resulted in the creation of the Ukrainskyi Robitnychyi Soiuz (Ukrainian Workingmen's Association), a non-denominational benevolent society. Narodna Volia (The People's Freedom), established in 1911, and edited by Ardan, became the new society's organ, and remained the only American weekly with a Radical orientation in the

years preceeding the first world war.⁹² In Canada the protestant intelligentsia and its organ Ranok became the most outspoken critics of Bishop Budka. By 1913 however, the appeal of the Independent Greek Church and protestantism was beginning to wane within the Ukrainian community. As a result socialist, and to an even greater extent nationalist critics of the Greek Catholic Church and clergy became Bishop Budka's major source of concern.

The socialist press, when it turned its attention to the Church, had traditionally accused that institution of perverting the teachings of Christ. In 1908, for example, Chervonyi Prapor had stated that

...Jesus wanted to overthrow the earthly masters and to give life and paradise to the enslaved and impoverished. He wanted men to live in brotherhood — to share their fields, mills, bread, clothing, and dwellings — so that all would be provided for, so that no one would suffer or hunger, so that all men would be free".⁹³

Although Robotchyi Narod, which replaced Chervonyi Prapor in 1909, expressed similiar sentiments and complained that ". . . nearly all contemporary priests have forgotten the apostolic, humanitarian duties introduced by Christ which comprise the essence of Christianity,"⁹⁴ the Greek Catholic clergy were confronted with a new problem when Kadylo (The Censer), a satirical, anti-clerical tabloid appeared in 1913. Published, edited and written by Pavlo Krat, the tabloid set "the eviction of all priests from Canada" as its objective.⁹⁵ Consisting of cartoons, satirical verse, and "editorials" by a fictitious amoral priest, the tabloid harped on two topics which it never bothered to substantiate: clerical complicity in attempts to exploit immigrant workers and the lecherous habits of celibate priests. Nevertheless, its simple, easy to read format made it popular in the frontier camps

and urban centres populated by Ukrainian laborers.

Of far greater concern to the Greek Catholic clergy were the activities of the nationalist intelligentsia. In 1908, Vasyl Kudryk, the future editor of Ukrainskyi Holos, had appealed for priests who were

...men of high ideals, men with compassion for their own people...who would share the fate and the misfortune of their people, stand up for their ideals and rights. We need men who would realize that it is not for us to remain with Rome, men who would establish a Greek Catholic national church in Canada.⁹⁶

The continued presence of French-speaking missionaries and Basilians among whom "...there isn't a drop of patriotism," of clergymen who refused "...to bother with Shevchenko, Sichynsky, Kahanets or Kotsko; with student residences, organizations or enlightenment, [and who] are only concerned with heaven,"⁹⁷ led the nationalists to articulate a secular orientation.

The basic assumption made by all nationalists was that in Canada, where Ukrainians of Greek Catholic, Greek Orthodox and Protestant persuasion lived side by side, the community would have to be organized on national rather than denominational principles. In 1911 the nationalists elected a committee, which included Taras Ferley and Vasyl Kudryk, to collect funds and prepare a constitution for a Ukrainian National Home in Winnipeg. On October 12, 1912, at a general meeting of all members of the Ukrainian National Home, the constitution was approved. The third article of the constitution stated that only Ukrainians "...regardless of their religious or political views" could become members, while the fourth article stipulated that property of the National Home "...shall never pass under the jurisdiction of any party or [religious] sect." The greatest controversy was caused by

article eight which stated that "...only laymen may be elected to the Executive".⁹⁸ During the next few years a significant number of National Homes established in rural communities adopted a constitution exactly like the one drawn up by the Winnipeg nationalists. Because the National Homes served as community centres, which coordinated the activities of a number of local member organizations, they emerged as a potential threat to the Greek Catholic Church's quest for hegemony within the Ukrainian community. Moreover, organizers of the Winnipeg National Home made no secret of the fact that they had included the controversial articles in the constitution in order to prevent the local clerical party from emulating Bishop Ortynsky's work in the United States. When Budka issued his first pastoral letter, Ukrainskvi Holos insisted that it was "harmful" and "erroneous" because it encouraged disunity and inter-denominational enmity by suggesting that Catholics alone were "not a party but the nation".⁹⁹ Henceforth the nationalists became the foremost adversaries of the Greek Catholic clergy.

Beside the clergy, the Bishop had no one to assist him in the struggle against the intelligentsia. Pavlo Gigeichuk and Teodor Stefanyk, two school organizers and both notorious Conservative Party "heelers", were the only prominent Catholic laymen. Neither enjoyed a great amount of esteem or popularity in the community, In July 1913, for example, following the infamous Gimli by-election, Orest Zherebko, a bilingual school teacher, the first Ukrainian to graduate from a Canadian university, and a leading member of the nationalist faction, described the demoralizing role played by Stefanyk and Gigeichuk on that occasion in a letter to the Free Press, and reiterated the condemnation of their work expressed at numerous conventions of the Ukrainian

Teachers' Association.¹⁰⁰ Consequently, Budka recruited additional priests in Galicia and invited a few members of the conservative intelligentsia to assist him in his work. Of the latter, two men in particular — Petro Karmansky and Dr. Alexander Sushko — deserve to be mentioned. Their activity, so reminiscent of the "cliquish fanaticism" and "dishonest polemics" described by Drahomanov in the 1870s, accelerated the final rupture between the intelligentsia — especially the nationalists — and the Greek Catholic Church.

Karmansky came to Winnipeg in July 1913 to teach summer courses in Ukrainian literature and history, but remained in Canada for almost a year.¹⁰¹ As Ukrainian language instructor at the Brandon Training School from September 1913 to May 1914, he became notorious for his articles in Kanada, a weekly financed by the Conservative Party and published by Stefanyk. In a series of articles called "The Monkey's Mirror" ["Malpiache Zerkalo"], Karmansky libeled the intelligentsia for its opposition to Budka and Catholicism. When the protestant Ranok took issue with Karmansky's apologetics and pointed out that the bylaws drawn up to govern Greek Catholic parishes were not democratic, the "professor" described the protestants as "enemies of the ancestral rite", "an English kennel", "an Augean Stable", "Presbyterian Apaches", and "an English refuse heap". He claimed that their "...temples...serve as saloons, brawl rooms and even as houses of ill-repute", that they "behave themselves like stable-boys and swine-merchants" and that their very existence reflected "the reign of dark spirits and ignoramuses". To make his sentiments perfectly clear, he used over twenty other derogatory epithets to describe members of this group.¹⁰² Nor did Karmansky's pathological effusions of calumny bypass

the nationalist intelligentsia, especially those who had dared to expose Stefanyk on the pages of the English-language press. They in turn were labelled a "gang" and called "wretches off the muddy streets of Canada", "patented jack-asses", "illiterate herdsmen", and "dull-witted patriotic black-mailers" among other things.¹⁰³ Had war not broken out while Karmansky was in Galicia during the summer of 1914, the list of epithets would doubtless have been much longer.

Alexander Sushko came to Winnipeg in January 1914 to become editor of Kanadyiskyi Rusyn.¹⁰⁴ In Galicia he had been a high school instructor and an adherent of the Christian Social Party. He commenced his career in Canada with an editorial in ten installments entitled "Treason". Although all members of the intelligentsia were calumniated, the nationalists, who posed the greatest threat to Catholic hegemony, were singled out for abuse. Sushko, whose editorials were even more insubstantial than Karmansky's, insisted that "...treason and lack of character [are] the mental illness of our intelligentsia...the most painful wound on our national organism in Canada...[which] covers our leaders with its hideous spittle". The intelligentsia was referred to as "trash", "a devil's brood", a "gang" of "atheists...spies...moral rotters... corruptors...swine-herds...stable-boys...religious renegades...hirelings and traitors...[and] debasers of our people", who were trying "...to make our sacred national relics appear abominable."¹⁰⁵ Sushko, who proclaimed that "...we will strengthen and rejuvenate our spirit at the vivifying draw-well of our own ancestral relics", insisted that leadership must rest with Budka, "...the most eminent of all Canadian Ruthenians" and with "priests who have a university education". Only thereby might Ukrainian Catholics "...create an unconquerable phalange

of Christ's warriors on Canadian soil under the wise and paternal leadership of our Dearest Bishop . . . a mighty force which even the gates of hell will not vanquish".¹⁰⁶ Needless to say, it was not long before Sushko was arrested for libel and obliged to print a public apology. In the meantime he managed to alienate even the most moderate nationalists.

It was during Sushko's tenure as editor and advisor to the Bishop that the controversial appeal for Austrian recruits was made immediately after the outbreak of the first world war. In Canada the Greek Catholic hierarchy, like the Roman Catholic hierarchy, continued to sing the praises of the Catholic Habsburgs. In 1908, for example, the English language Central Catholic and Northwest Review had referred to Emperor Franz Joseph as "A Great Catholic Monarch...than whom there is no more beloved ruler among the nations".¹⁰⁷ On the occasion of the Emperor's birthday in 1911, services were held at St. Boniface Cathedral for Austrian, Polish and Ukrainian priests, and Rev. Joseph Dugas, vicar of the Cathedral, had delivered a sermon on the subject "Render unto God what is due to God and unto Caesar what is due to Caesar".¹⁰⁸ In 1913 Kanadyiskyi Rusyn marked the same event by publishing a large photo of the Emperor on the front page. On July 6, 1914, after the assassination of Archduke Francis Ferdinand, Budka held a special requiem service in Winnipeg. Finally on July 28, after the outbreak of war in Europe, the Bishop issued the controversial pastoral letter.¹⁰⁹ He expressed a profound sense of loss as a result of Francis Ferdinand's death, which was especially tragic "...for Ruthenians who placed great and justified faith in him", lamented the fact that the "peaceloving", "dear old Emperor of Austria", who had "postponed and rendered impossible"

the outbreak of war, would be denied the privilege of a quiet and peaceful death, and he appealed to all Ukrainians to "...help our old Fatherland in any way we can". While such sentiments had some validity in Galicia, where invading Russian forces were striving to put an end to Ukrainian irredentism by annexing and Russifying eastern Galicia, they found no support in Canada.¹¹⁰

In the same issue of Kanadyiskyi Rusyn that carried the pastoral letter Sushko printed an editorial in which he claimed the war was "...a struggle between two cultures...between European civilization and Asiatic barbarism, a struggle of light against darkness..." in which Austria and Germany were "...illustrious representatives of European progress and culture", and Russia the bearer of barbarism. Ukrainians the world over, Sushko claimed "...hasten to take their positions beneath the triumphant banner of Austria — they hasten to manifest their loyalty to the marvellous Emperor of Austria...". Although within a week Budka had repudiated his pastoral letter and called upon all Ukrainians to remain loyal to Canada — "...the country which has embraced us, which has given us shelter beneath the banner of British Imperial liberty, where we have found bread and the opportunity for spiritual growth..." — the original appeal intensified nativist prejudices and had unfortunate consequences for many immigrants.¹¹¹

During the first two years of the war, when unemployment was endemic among Ukrainian frontier and urban laborers, the Church turned its attention to charitable work. In 1915, after noting that "...tens of thousands of Ukrainians have neither a piece of bread nor the opportunity of earning enough money to extinguish their hunger...", Kanadyiskyi Rusyn appealed to all parishes, especially to those in

rural areas, to establish Emergency Assistance Committees (Ratunkovi Komitety), which would collect cash, food and clothes for the urban poor.¹¹² Although food and clothing were distributed in Winnipeg, Regina and Edmonton during the summer, it is difficult to ascertain just how successful the committees were. Attempts were also made to establish mutual benefit societies (zapomohovi bratstva) and a few Ukrainian clergymen attempted to establish cooperative stores in rural areas.¹¹³ Again it is difficult to estimate just how successful these were. With the exception of the St. Nicholas Ukrainian Mutual Benefit Association, which had been established in Winnipeg in 1905, none seem to have met with any success.

Charitable work notwithstanding, the clergy remained primarily concerned with achieving and retaining leadership within the immigrant community. Efforts to establish a network of student residences which would permit Ukrainian high school and university students to live and learn in a Ukrainian cultural environment brought the Church into conflict with the nationalist intelligentsia. In 1915 the Adam Kotsko Residence was established in Winnipeg by the founders of the National Home, and the following year the Petro Mohyla Ukrainian Institute was established in Saskatoon after receiving the enthusiastic approval of 500 delegates at the First Ukrainian National Convention in Canada. Both residences were established on national rather than denominational principles. Ukrainian university and high school students, regardless of their religious views, were accepted, and a Greek Catholic chaplain was not appointed, although provisions for visits by clergymen of all denominations were made. Nor were the residences incorporated with the Episcopal Corporation.

Rev. Mykola Olenchuk, articulated the clergy's reaction to these developments when he stated that

...Greek Catholic priests must stand like soldiers on sentry duty, observing every pulse beat of our people's life, paying constant attention to all pernicious currents, examining all manifestations of public life with keen eyesight, raising a sonorous alarm and springing into action the moment we notice anything unhealthy and evil...¹¹⁴

The clergy rejected residences which were "...simply concerned with Ukrainism" because these were sure to become "...recruiting centres and agencies of godlessness". It claimed that "...an education without religion is impossible and incomplete", and demanded to know "...whether the residences are in agreement with the outlook of Greek Catholic Ukrainians, and whether they are founded on Catholic principles".¹¹⁵ Catholic residences such as the Metropolitan Sheptycky Bursa in Winnipeg were established, and Kanadyiskyi Rusyn asked the founders of the Mohyla Institute:

...will the principles of our faith be adhered to ... or will it be conducted in a pagan manner on the basis of no religious principles?...Why has the Ukrainian character of the residence been secured while its religious character remains undefined?"¹¹⁶

During the 1916-17 term, 23 Greek Catholic, 6 Protestant, 4 Orthodox, and 2 Roman Catholic students shared the facilities at the Mohyla Institute. Although Budka initially welcomed the creation of the Institute, in the spring of 1917 he demanded that its organizers — Mykhailo Stechishin and Vasyl Swystun — incorporate the residence with the Episcopal Corporation and limit admission to Catholic students. Budka, who had previously asked that the residence adhere to "Catholic principles", now insisted that it must be "exclusively Catholic", closed to all Orthodox and Protestant Ukrainians: these denominations, he

insisted, should take care of themselves.¹¹⁷ When Swystun and Stechishin refused and then publicized the fact that the Charter of the Episcopal Corporation provided the Bishop with unrestricted powers subject only to interference by Rome, and failed to guarantee the national integrity of the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church in Canada, a clerical campaign was launched against the Institute and its founders.¹¹⁸

Ukrainian Greek Catholic priests tried to seize control of secular reading societies and national homes in rural areas, denounced organizers of secular residences as "atheists", condemned all non-Catholic newspapers, and occasionally referred to insubmissive parishioners in a very uncharitable manner.¹¹⁹ Moreover, Greek Catholics were forbidden, often under the threat of being deprived of all the sacraments, to offer any assistance to the Institute. Because the French-speaking priests were the most zealous executors of these orders, it was widely assumed that the campaign against the Institute had been instigated at the command of Roman Catholic authorities. One French missionary in particular seems to have distinguished himself in this campaign. The Rev. A. Bosque became the most vigilant opponent of the nationalists. He cautioned immigrants to "place Rome before Kiev", claimed that Shevchenko had been a drunkard who wrote nothing of value and that Hrushevsky had falsified Ukrainian history, and insisted that Ukrainians did not need reading societies because they only required to know how to read and sign their names. Enlightenment would only make people forget God: "whatever the Church builds, the school ruins and the reading society destroys". Consequently, Bosque also claimed that it was a mortal sin to send children to Ukrainian summer schools taught

by nationalist teachers, and on one occasion even cautioned Ukrainian parents to baptize their children with the names of Roman Catholic saints so that they would have someone to intervene on their behalf in heaven.¹²⁰

In 1917, as clerical reprisals against supporters of the Mohyla Institute began to increase, Ukrainskyi Holos declared that Budka "...cannot propagate medieval Catholic notions about blind obedience to the clergy..." and commented that

...it is indeed strange and ridiculous, that now during the Great War, after the Russian revolution, when nations are throwing off the shackles of absolutism, Bishop Budka is attempting to become an absolute Prince of the Church among Ukrainians, a Turkish Sultan of sorts, and, be it noted, not only in ecclesiastical affairs, but also in all secular, cultural and political affairs.¹²¹

In spite of clerical intimidation, 700 supporters of the Institute met in Saskatoon in December 1917 at the Second Ukrainian National Convention and pledged \$14,000.00 to the Institute. The Convention also passed a resolution which condemned the fact that the Greek Catholic clergy, especially the Bishop and his organ, Kanadyiskyi Rusyn, "...unfairly attack all national work among the Ukrainian people in Canada... [in order] to destroy all educational and cultural work which is independent of the Episcopal Church Corporation".¹²²

The exposé of the Episcopal Corporation's charter and the enthusiasm generated by the Second Ukrainian National Convention provoked an extensive discussion on the pages of Ukrainskyi Holos and Kanadyiskyi Farmer concerning the possibility of establishing a new church. In the October 12, 1917, issue of Kanadyiskyi Farmer, Onufrii Hykawy, the editor, argued that Budka, as Titular Bishop of a non-existing diocese, had no authority. From December 1917 until July 1918, Ivan Kusy,

an independent priest,¹²³ wrote a series of articles in which he urged Ukrainians to establish a democratic Ukrainian National Church (Ukrainska Narodna Tserkva). Church property he suggested, should belong to the people; bishops and priests should be elected by the people and confirmed by a synod of laymen and clergy; the church ritual should be reformed in accordance with the precepts and practices of the Eastern Orthodox Church; and, priests should not attempt "...to frighten [parishioners] with demons, and to abuse them with vulgar and abject names", but should concentrate on the moral teachings of Christ.¹²⁴

In January 1918 the residents of Tolstoi, Manitoba, refused to incorporate their parish with the Bishop because of apprehensions caused by recent developments. When Swystun and Stechishin urged the parishioners to press for a revision of the Episcopal Corporation's charter, Budka and the clergy intensified their campaign against the Mohyla Institute. This campaign reached a climax in Yorkton on June 24, 1918, when the Bishop insisted that it was not he who was personally responsible for withholding the sacraments from supporters of the Institute, but rather, that "the principles of Christ" did not permit him to minister to them. He suggested that supporters of the Institute, who died without confession, could not be buried in consecrated ground and would have to be buried like "swine" beneath signs bearing the inscription "Here is a cemetery for swine".¹²⁵

Bishop Budka's tactless campaign finally led the nationalists to break with the Greek Catholic Church. On June 26, 1918, a closed meeting of 150 delegates from across western Canada was held in Saskatoon. The meeting had been endorsed and convoked by a "national-committee" of

30 prominent immigrants. These included 9 prosperous farmers, 5 teachers, 3 secretary-treasurers, 2 lawyers, 2 merchants, 2 editors, 2 law students, and one medical student, a municipal reeve, a banker, a provincial M.L.A., and an independent priest. A middle class group, it was composed of radicals, young professionals, and well established farmers.¹²⁶ The meeting adopted a number of resolutions which not only condemned Budka's intolerant behaviour and high-handed clericalism, but also declared that "...the present Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church is a result of a religious union forced upon the Ukrainian nation by Poland in 1596 and ...supported by Austria", protested the fact that "...Ukrainian Greek Catholic parishes and congregations are deprived of all rights to manage their own church finances", and declared that the "rights and privileges" of the Church had been violated by the introduction of clerical celibacy. Consequently the assembly established a Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Brotherhood which was to organize a Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church in Canada on the following principles: The Church was to accept the dogma and rites and enter into communion with the Eastern Orthodox Churches; priests were to marry before ordination; all congregations were to retain control of their property; priests were to be appointed and dismissed only with the consent of their congregation; and, bishops were to be elected by the clergy and lay delegates at a general synod (sobor) of the Church.¹²⁷ Five weeks after the meeting, on August 7, 1918, the Brotherhood published an "Appeal to the Ukrainian People in Canada", which called for the formation of a Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church, "...a truly democratic institution which will work for the glory of God and the welfare of the people".¹²⁸

As far as the nationalists could see, there was nothing paradoxical

about the fact that they were attempting to create a second Ukrainian Church. They were not precipitating a national schism within the Ukrainian community. Rather, they were restoring the traditional faith of the Ukrainian people, guaranteeing the national integrity of the Ukrainian Church, and encouraging self-reliance and self-esteem among the immigrants. Unlike the Greek Catholic (Uniate) Church, which had been imposed upon a small fragment of the Ukrainian nation by Polish and Austrian overlords during the last three centuries, Greek Orthodoxy had been voluntarily accepted almost one thousand years ago, and had played a decisive role in the emergence of Ukrainian national consciousness during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Moreover, the centralized and hierarchical structure of the Catholic Church — dominated as it was by non-Ukrainians — would continue to jeopardize the national integrity of the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church in Canada, just as it had done during the preceding two decades. The Greek Orthodox Church, on the other hand, tolerated a great deal of organizational diversity and national autonomy. Finally, the democratic or synodal form of government prevalent in the Orthodox Church, would facilitate extensive participation by the laity. It would foster self-reliance and cultivate self-esteem among the immigrants.

In order to fully appreciate why members of the nationalist intelligentsia were so anxious to insure the national integrity of student residences, and why they decided to establish a Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church, it is necessary to examine relations between the intelligentsia and Anglo-Celtic Protestant circles. Occurring concurrently, they had a significant bearing on this turn of events.

FOOTNOTES: CHAPTER THREE

¹See Bohdan P. Procko, "Pennsylvania: Focal Point of Ukrainian Immigration", and, Walter C. Warzeski, "The Rusin Community in Pennsylvania", both in John E. Bodnar (ed.), The Ethnic Experience in Pennsylvania, (Lewisburg, 1973).

²According to Warzeski, "By 1933 there were approximately 700,000 Ruthenian immigrants in the United States, who inhabited the anthracite areas near Scranton and Wilkes-Barre, the bituminous coal fields of Ohio, western Pennsylvania, and West Virginia, the steel mill towns near Pittsburgh, the iron ore regions of Michigan and Minnesota, the farm lands of the New England, Middle Atlantic, and Mid-West areas, and the industrialized region near Chicago." See Bodnar, op. cit., p. 176.

³On Voliansky see John Paul Himka, "Ivan Volianskyi: The Formative Years of the Ukrainian Community in America", in Ukrainskyi Istoryk, vol. XII, no. 47-49, (Munich, 1975), pp. 61-73. Also see Iuliiian Bachynsky, Ukrainska Immigratsiia v Ziedynenykh Derzhavakh, (Lviv, 1914), pp. 256 ff.

⁴Ivan Konstankevych and Antin Bonchevsky, Unia v Amerytsi: Vidpovid Andreievi hr. Sheptyckomu, (New York, 1902). Also see Bachynsky, op. cit., pp. 295-300.

⁵Bachynsky, op. cit., pp. 295-300.

⁶See Nestor Dmytriw, Kanadyiska Rus: Podorozhni Spomynty, (Mount Carmel, 1897), pp. 8, 20-21. Also see Svoboda 28 June 1900; 30 January 1902; 7 August 1902; 11 December 1902; Kanadyiskyi Farmer 10 January 1907; and, Mykhailo Marunchak, "Zmahannia za Nezalezhnist Tserkvy", in Studii do Istorii Ukraintsv Kanady, vol. II, (Winnipeg, 1966-67).

On June 5, 1902 Svoboda reported that the Polish language Gazeta Handlowo-Geograficzna (Lviv, no. 4, 1902) praised the work of Archbishop Langevin, the Kulawy brothers, and Rev. Achille Delaere — especially their efforts to provide Polish immigrants in the diocese of St. Boniface with Polish language schools. Because the article claimed there were 25,000 Polish immigrants in the diocese, and did not mention the presence of Greek Catholic Ukrainian immigrants at all, some immigrants suspected Latinization and Polonization. The majority of the 25,000 Catholic immigrants in St. Boniface were Ukrainian Greek Catholics.

⁷Marunchak, op. cit., p. 376. Also see Svoboda 24 February 1898; no. 23 1898; no. 29 1903.

⁸Ivan Bodrug, "Spomynty pastora Ivana Bodruga", Ievanhelska Pravda, vol. XVIII, 1957, no. 12, p. 6.

⁹Svoboda 19 October, 26 October 1899; 1 January 1900; 30 October 1901.

- ¹⁰ Winnipeg Tribune 25 February 1903.
- ¹¹ Kanadyiskyi Farmer 8 November 1907; 15 May 1908.
- ¹² Manitoba Free Press 2 September, 1910.
- ¹³ Gilbert-Louis Comeault, "Les rapports de Mgr. L.-P.-A. Langevin avec les groupes ethniques minoritaires et leurs répercussions sur le statut de la langue française au Manitoba, 1895-1916", Rapport de la Société Canadienne d'Histoire de l'Eglise Catholique, 1975, pp. 68-69. For the Roman Catholic hierarchy and the settlement of the West see A.I. Silver, "French Canada and the Prairie Frontier, 1870-1890", C.H.R., vol. L, 1969, pp. 11-36, and, Raymond J.A. Huel, "French-Speaking Bishops and the Cultural Mosaic in Western Canada", in Richard Allen (ed.) Religion and Society in the Prairie West, (Regina, 1974).
- ¹⁴ Joseph Jean O.S.B.M., "S.E. Mgr. Adélarde Langevin, Archevêque de St. Boniface, et les Ukrainiens", Rapport de la Société Canadienne d'Histoire de l'Eglise Catholique, 1944-45, pp. 101-110.
- ¹⁵ G.W. Simpson, "Father Delaere, Pioneer Missionary and Founder of Churches", Saskatchewan History, vol. III, 1950, pp. 1-16.
- ¹⁶ The first Belgian Redemptorist to arrive in 1899 was Achille Delaere, referred to by some immigrants as "Father Dollar". He was followed by Henrich Boels, Noel Marie Descamps, and Charles Tescher. The first French-Canadian missionaries were Joseph Jean, Joseph Gagnon, Arthur Desmarais, Adonais Sabourin and Desire Claveloux.
- ¹⁷ The first Basilians were Vasyl Zholdak, Platonid Filias, Sozont Dydyk, Antin Strotsky, Matei Hura, Navkrytii Kryzhanovsky, Atanasii Fylypiw and Ivan Tymochko. The Basilians chose Mundare, Alberta for their headquarters. Zholdak and Filias had both returned to Galicia by 1904. By 1915 the four Sisters Servants of Mary Immaculate had grown to number 38.
- ¹⁸ Svoboda 31 July 1902; 7 May 1903; Kanadyiskyi Farmer 31 January 1907; 6 August 1909; Ranok 15 January 1909; 15 August 1910.
- ¹⁹ Kanadyiskyi Farmer 10 January 1907; Ukrainskyi Holos 14 August, 30 October 1912.
- ²⁰ Les Cloches de Saint-Boniface no. 1, 1902, cited in Comeault and Jean, op. cit.
- ²¹ Langevin to R.P. Roblin, 28 January 1901, cited in Comeault, op. cit., p. 76.
- ²² A. Delaere, "Memorandum on the attempts of schism and heresy among the Ruthenians in the Canadian Northwest", (Winnipeg, 1909).

²³ Abbe J.-AD. Sabourin, "Les Catholiques Ruthènes au Manitoba" (St. Boniface, 1909), p. 8-11; also see his "L'Apostolat chez les Ruthènes au Manitoba", (Quebec, 1911).

²⁴ J. Skwarok, O.S.B.M., The Ukrainian Settlers in Canada and Their Schools, 1891-1921, (Edmonton, 1958).

²⁵ Oscar Handlin, The Uprooted, (New York, 1951), pp. 137-38; Bachynsky, op. cit., pp. 259, 276-82.

²⁶ See Procko, op. cit., p. 226.

²⁷ See Marunchak, op. cit., and Panteleimon Bozhyk, Tserkov Ukraintsiiv v Kanadi, (Winnipeg, 1927).

²⁸ The best source of information on the radical priests is Bachynsky, op. cit., p. 300 ff.

²⁹ Svoboda no. 10, no. 28, 1896.

³⁰ Svoboda 27 June 1901. Parishes in Sifton, Fishing River, Ethelbert, Terebowla, and Winnipeg were associated with the Society.

³¹ Svoboda 13 February 1902.

³² Thus, Ivan Konstankevych, a radical priest, stated: "...We know that in the past the Ruthenian Church was different from what it is now. The people had a not insignificant influence in ecclesiastical affairs, elected bishops, etc., and the Patriarch of Constantinople, who had jurisdiction over them, only confirmed and consecrated the bishops. The Union gradually revoked the Ruthenian people's rights and in their place the Polish aristocracy and kings began to appoint bishops...Today in the old country the people have no voice in the selection of bishops, who are appointed by the Polish aristocracy, by the governors, Emperors and Popes."

³³ The proceedings of the Harrisburg Convention were published in Svoboda 3, 10, 17, 24 April, 8, 15 May 1902. For a broader perspective on the problem of lay initiative and anti-clericalism in American immigrant religious life, see Timothy Smith, "Lay Initiative in the Religious Life of American Immigrants, 1880-1950", in Tamara K. Hareven (ed.) Anonymous Americans (Englewood Cliffs, 1971); Rudolph J. Vecoli, "Prelates and Peasants: Italian Immigrants and the Catholic Church", Journal of Social History, vol. II, 1969; and, Karel D. Bicha "Settling Accounts With an Old Adversary: The Decatholicization of Czech Immigrants in America", Histoire Sociale/Social History no. 8. November 1971.

³⁴ Svoboda 25 August 1901.

³⁵ Svoboda 20 March 1902.

³⁶ Svoboda 7 August 1902.

³⁷ Bodrug, op. cit., pp. 6-7.

³⁸ The Independent Greek Church retained the shortened version of the liturgy according to St. John Chrysostom, the Seven Sacraments, the Apostolic and Nicean Creeds, and the vestments of the eastern Christian priesthood. Mass confession was to replace individual auricular confession. See Paul Yuzyk, "The Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church of Canada, 1918-1951", Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Minnesota, 1958, p. 95.

³⁹ Of over 50 priests ordained by Seraphim between 1903 and 1907 only about 13 seem to have remained with him after the creation of the Independent Greek Church. After Seraphym left Canada in 1907, Makarii Marchenko (Monchalenko), a Russian Orthodox monk, proclaimed himself archbishop, and in 1908 Mykhailo Kachkowsky, a farmer ordained by Seraphym, did likewise. After 1905 the Seraphymite movement was reduced to a peripheral phenomenon, although the eccentric behaviour of its leaders and attempts to associate the Independent Greek Church with it brought a disproportionate amount of attention to the movement.

⁴⁰ Apparently early issues of Kanadyiskyi Farmer (Winnipeg, 1903-1905) contain proof of this. An editorial in the 25 November 1914 Ranok makes reference to the fact.

⁴¹ Petro Svarich, Spomyny 1877-1904 (Winnipeg, 1976), p. 217.

⁴² Acts and Proceedings of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in Canada, 1907, pp. 16-18; The Presbyterian Record, February 1911, p. 56.

⁴³ Bohdan P. Procko, "Soter Ortynsky: First Ruthenian Bishop in the United States, 1907-1916", The Catholic Historical Review, vol. LVIII, 1973.

⁴⁴ Bachynsky, op. cit., p. 320.

⁴⁵ Bohdan Kazymyra, "Metropolitan Andrew Sheptyckyj and the Ukrainians in Canada", Report of the Canadian Catholic Historical Association, 1957, pp. 79-81.

⁴⁶ Sheptycky, Kanadyiskym Rusynam.

⁴⁷ Sheptycky, "Address on the Ruthenian Question to their Lordships the Archbishops and Bishops of Canada".

⁴⁸ Kanadyiskyi Farmer 8 January 1909.

⁴⁹ Ranok 15 May 1908.

⁵⁰ Ukrainskyi Holos 7 September 1910; 10 January, 8 May 1912.

⁵¹ Ranok 18 October 1911.

- ⁵²Robotchyi Narod 8 January 1914.
- ⁵³Kanadyiskyi Farmer 30 July 1909.
- ⁵⁴Cited in Vasyl Kudryk, Malovidome z Istorii Hreko Katolytskoi Tserkvy, vol. II, (Winnipeg, 1955), p. 59.
- ⁵⁵Ukrainskyi Holos 12 October, 2 November 1910.
- ⁵⁶The pamphlet was serialized in Kanadyiskyi Rusyn from 23 September 1911 to 27 January 1912.
- ⁵⁷Kanadyiskyi Rusyn 14 October 1911.
- ⁵⁸Kanadyiskyi Rusyn 11 November 1911.
- ⁵⁹Kanadyiskyi Rusyn 11 November 1911.
- ⁶⁰Kanadyiskyi Rusyn 9 December 1911. It would be unjust to suspect Sheptycky of anti-semitism. He was appealing to peasant prejudices in order to dissuade them from joining socialist organizations. For Sheptycky's relations with the Jewish community during the Holocaust see Philip Friedman, "Ukrainian-Jewish Relations During the Nazi Occupation", YIVO Annual of Jewish Social Science, vol. XII, 1958-59, pp. 290 ff.
- ⁶¹Kanadyiskyi Rusyn 25 November 1911.
- ⁶²Kanadyiskyi Rusyn 27 January 1912.
- ⁶³Kanadyiskyi Rusyn 27 May 1911.
- ⁶⁴Kanadyiskyi Rusyn 22 June 1912.
- ⁶⁵Kanadyiskyi Rusyn 3 June 1911.
- ⁶⁶Kanadyiskyi Rusyn 20 January 1912.
- ⁶⁷Kanadyiskyi Rusyn 9 December 1911.
- ⁶⁹Kanadyiskyi Rusyn 20 June 1914.
- ⁷⁰Kanadyiskyi Rusyn 13 June 1914.
- ⁷¹Kanadyiskyi Rusyn 19 July 1914.
- ⁷²Kanadyiskyi Rusyn 5 July 1913.
- ⁷³Kanadyiskyi Rusyn 10 January 1915.
- ⁷⁴Kanadyiskyi Rusyn 5 July 1913.
- ⁷⁵Kanadyiskyi Rusyn 9 May 1914.

⁷⁶See Comeault, op. cit., p. 74.

⁷⁷See Kanadyiskyi Rusyn 13, 20 December 1913 for the text of the Papal letter.

⁷⁸See especially O. Kyryliw (A. Maksymchuk) "Kniazzi Sapihy z Bilcha Zolotoho", Ranok 30 August, 6 September 1916.

⁷⁹Ukrainskyi Holos 21 January 1914.

⁸⁰Ukrainskyi Holos 4 December 1912; 20 August, 3 September 1913; 11 February 1914.

⁸¹Ukrainskyi Holos 23 July 1913.

⁸²Ukrainskyi Holos 24 June 1914.

⁸³Ukrainskyi Holos 13 September 1916.

⁸⁴Ukrainskyi Holos 2 April, 30 April, 14 May 1913.

⁸⁵Ranok 26 November 1913.

⁸⁶Ukrainskyi Holos 18 March 1914.

⁸⁷Ukrainskyi Holos 18 March 1914.

⁸⁸Kanadyiskyi Rusyn 26 April 1913.

⁸⁹Kanadyiskyi Rusyn 26 April 1913.

⁹⁰"An Act to incorporate the Ruthenian Greek Catholic Episcopal Corporation of Canada", Statutes of Canada, vol. II, 1913, chapter 191, pp. 443-447.

⁹¹See Rev. S.V. Savchuk, "Iak Povstala Ukrainska Pravoslavna Tserkva v Kanadi", Pravoslavnyi Vistnyk, no. 5, (Winnipeg, 1924), p. 5.

⁹²Bachynsky, op. cit.

⁹³Chervonyi Prapor 13 February 1908. In 1912, an article in Kanadyiskyi Rusyn [9 March] claimed that "...if one goes to a socialist meeting he won't hear about anything except those 'hateful' priests. According to socialist teachings, priests are responsible for all the evils in the world".

⁹⁴Robotchyi Narod 8 February 1914.

⁹⁵Kadylo, vol. I, no. 1, May 1913.

⁹⁶Kanadyiskyi Farmer 22 May 1908.

⁹⁷Ukrainskyi Holos 31 August 1910.

⁹⁸See Propamiatna Knyha Ukrainskoho Narodnoho Domu (Winnipeg, 1949), pp. 125-30, for the by-laws of the National Home.

⁹⁹Ukrainskyi Holos 14 May 1913.

¹⁰⁰Manitoba Free Press 16 July 1913.

¹⁰¹After studying literature and linguistics in Lviv, and theology in Rome, and acquiring command of a number of European languages, Karmansky had become a high school instructor in Galicia where he gained a reputation as a minor poet. The literary critic Serhii Iefremov described his poetry as a "desperate lament" which revealed the "harrassed countenance of a nervous twentieth century intellectual". A less flattering evaluation appeared in Svoboda, where it was observed that Karmansky was renowned for "...his weak and snivelling poetry and his annoying prefaces to that poetry". In the early 1920's Karmansky went to Brazil where he was critical of the local Basilian monks. In 1939, after the occupation of western Ukraine by the Red Army, Karmansky began to write paeans in honor of Stalin. He remained in the Soviet Union until his death in 1956 at the age of 77.

¹⁰²See Ranok 5 November 1913, for a complete list of epithets used with reference to the protestants.

¹⁰³See Ukrainskyi Holos 27 May 1914.

¹⁰⁴Sushko had studied history in Lviv and Vienna. In 1902 he published an article entitled "The Jesuits and the institution of the Church Union in Rus' in the era preceeding the Union of Brest". Reviewing the article, Ivan Franko observed that Sushko "...elevates the missionary activity of the Jesuits forcefully and with great enthusiasm but forgets to consider one point: whether in fact they 'carried on their great enterprise' in a country inhabited by pagans, idol-worshippers and cannibals...The characteristics of the Ruthenian clergy and people which he enumerates...suggest that prior to the Union, Ruthenian spiritual life hardly surpassed that of Hottentots... nor is there the slightest mention of what the Jesuits preached? What teachings did they carry to the savage Ruthenians..." See "Ultra-Montes", Literaturno-Naukovyi Vistnyk, 1902. During the campaign which preceded the August 1915 Manitoba provincial election Sushko committed certain improprieties which led to his dismissal from the post of editor. See Kanadyiskyi Rusyn 12 July 1916 for the paper's side of the controversy. In 1916 Sushko joined the staff of the protestant Ranok, where he began publishing a series of articles highly critical of the Catholic Church. In 1918 he joined the socialist camp and delivered lectures in which he disputed the existence of God. In 1923 Sushko was again briefly editor of Kanadyiskyi Rusyn.

¹⁰⁵Kanadyiskyi Rusyn (editorials) 31 January — 9 May 1914.

106. Kanadyiskyi Rusyn 24 January, 25 April 1914.
107. The Central Catholic and Northwest Review 13 June 1908.
108. Kanadyiskyi Rusyn 26 August 1911.
109. Kanadyiskyi Rusyn 1 August 1914.
110. When the war broke out all Ukrainian parties in Galicia considered Austria to be the lesser of two evils when compared to Russia. Conservative circles were even convinced that Austria and Germany were ready to create an autonomous if not independent, Ukrainian state to serve as a buffer against Russian expansionism. After the assassination at Sarajevo the National Democratic Dilo claimed that Francis Ferdinand "...had noble intentions of transforming Greater Austria into a genuine fatherland for all the peoples of the Trans-Danubian Monarchy..." After the outbreak of war a Supreme Ukrainian Council (Holovna Ukrainska Rada) was created by representatives of all Galician parties. The Council issued a manifesto to all Ukrainians appealing for united opposition to the Russian Empire and called for volunteers to join the Ukrainian Sich Riflemen (Ukrainski Sichovi Striltsi), two Ukrainian battallions in the Austrian Army. These were created less as a manifestation of loyalty to Austria than as a precautionary measure and as the nucleus of an independent military force to be used in case of political changes as a result of the World War. During the war conservative clerical circles courted Arch-duke Wilhelm Habsburg, who was allegedly being groomed to become the future Ukrainian Monarch.
111. Kanadyiskyi Rusyn 8 August 1914.
112. Kanadyiskyi Rusyn 30 June 1915.
113. Rev. Drohomyretsky established a cooperative store in Oakburn, Manitoba, while Rev. Krupa established one in Cooks Creek, Manitoba.
114. Kanadyiskyi Rusyn 2 August 1916.
115. Kanadyiskyi Rusyn 25 October, 15 November 1916.
116. Kanadyiskyi Rusyn 10 October 1917.
117. Ukrainskyi Holos 6 August 1917.
118. Ukrainskyi Holos 6 August 1917.
119. Ukrainskyi Holos 7 March, 21 March, 6 June, 8 August 1917.
120. Ukrainskyi Holos 13 September 1916; 24 January, 23 May, 8 August, 5 September, 26 September, 5 December 1917; 6 March, 5 June 1918.

121 Ukrainskyi Holos 6 August 1917.

122 Kanadyiskyi Farmer 25 January 1918.

123 Kusy was not a clergyman of the Independent Greek Church. He had been ordained by Bishop Paul Markiewicz of the Polish National Apostolic Catholic Church, in Winnipeg, in 1916, to work among Ukrainians.

124 Kanadyiskyi Farmer 21 December 1917; 12 April 1918.

125 Ukrainskyi Holos 31 July 1918.

126 For a list of the members of the "National Committee" see Odarka S. Trosky The Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church in Canada (Winnipeg, 1968), pp. 13-14.

127 Ibid., pp. 15-16.

128 Ukrainskyi Holos 7 August 1918.

CHAPTER FOUR

"CANADIANIZING THE FOREIGNER":

PRESBYTERIANS, THE PUBLIC SCHOOL, AND THE VILLAGE INTELLIGENTSIA

Prominent members of the Anglo-Celtic community assumed that Canada would be "the greater Britain beyond the seas", the Empire's new "centre of gravity". Although the massive influx of immigrants from central and eastern Europe threatened British dominance on the Prairies,¹ it was encouraged because the immigrants' labor was required. Initially members of the dominant group optimistically assumed that immigrants of diverse national origins could be moulded into a culturally homogeneous English-speaking people free of class and ethnic tensions. The Protestant Church and the Public School, it was believed, were the institutions which would eradicate "the idiocyncracies of race and speech" and "produce good citizens".

By the time the first world war broke out optimism had given way to nativist alarm. Ukrainians, the largest and most conspicuous group of "non-British" immigrants caused the greatest apprehension among members of the Anglo-Celtic community. Not only did they belong to the Catholic and Orthodox Churches, the activism displayed by the intelligentsia prompted members of the dominant group to become more aggressive in their efforts to "Canadianize" the immigrants. Social and political dislocation caused by the war only intensified these efforts. During the war it became apparent that the objective of Canadianization was to control the political and socio-economic behaviour of the immigrants by eliminating or neutralizing individuals

and institutions capable of cultivating a sense of national identity and class solidarity among the immigrants. The aggressive policy of Canadianization discredited and weakened the protestant orientation within the Ukrainian immigrant community and hardened the determination of those who advocated socialism and nationalism to resist Anglicization and social control.

I

Protestant missionary efforts to Canadianize Ukrainian immigrants were almost exclusively a Presbyterian undertaking.² Not only were the Presbyterians the single most numerous religious denomination in the Prairies, they had figured most prominently in the region's historical development. From the fur traders of the late seventeenth century to the railway tycoons of the early twentieth century, the men who had been instrumental in the conquest and subjugation of the Canadian Northwest had been Scotsmen and Presbyterians.³ Consequently the exigencies of "Empire-building" rather than charity and philanthropy provided the basic stimulus for Presbyterian missionary activity.⁴ Because the immigrants were perceived as "...part of the raw material from which our Canadian citizenship is to be built up"⁵ and because they were valued primarily in terms of the labor they performed, Presbyterian advocates of Canadianization were concerned with furthering cultural and linguistic Anglicization and with controlling the socio-economic behaviour of the immigrants. Addressing the Canadian Missionary Congress in 1909, the Rev. Dr. C.W. Gordon (Ralph Connor) of Winnipeg, a popular novelist and a prominent social-gospeler, bluntly stated, with reference to east Europeans, that

...we need them for our work. They do work for us that Canadians will not do. They do work for us that Americans will not do; and were it not for the Galicians and the Doukhobors and the foreign peoples in our country to-day we could not push our enterprises in railroad building and in lumbering and manufacturing to a finish. We must have them.⁶

According to his colleague, the Rev. Dr. George Bryce, the contribution expected from Slavic immigrants was to "...dig the sewers, build the streets, labor on the railways, [and] do the heavy work in the towns and cities..." while the Slavic women were to provide "...invaluable household workers in the cities and towns where domestics are scarce".⁷

The Presbyterians hoped to Anglicize and control the immigrants by isolating and socializing a loyal immigrant elite with the culture, values and ideology of the Anglo-Celtic Protestant majority, thereby transforming members of this elite into intermediaries between themselves and the immigrant masses.⁸ Originally they believed that Ukrainian advocates of protestantism — especially ministers of the Independent Greek Church — would constitute the nucleus of such an elite. However, since the influence of that institution was already waning by 1910, and since it became increasingly apparent that adult immigrants could not be easily Canadianized, the Presbyterians turned their attention to younger and more impressionable minds. Likewise, they also encouraged privileged, young English-speaking Canadians to become active missionaries of Canadianization.

The extent to which the Presbyterians tried and managed to transform Independent Greek Church ministers and members of the protestant intelligentsia into agents of cultural homogenization and social control remains difficult to determine. When the Independent Greek Church was formed Presbyterian advisors warned against the inclusion of the

word "Ruthenian" in the Church's name. In 1910 the Rev. Dr. J.A. Carmichael, Superintendent of Missions for the Synod of Manitoba and Saskatchewan expressed his apprehensions about the appearance of Ukrainskyi Holos, the nationalist organ, because

...Its policy is to keep before its readers what is best in Ruthenian art, literature, architecture, social and national life — the best achievements of the Ruthenian people — for the purpose mainly of preventing the assimilation of this people to our national standard.

The nationalists criticized "...the Independent Greek Church...not on account of its religious views", conceded Carmichael, "but on account of its...denationalizing power over their countrymen".⁸ Ukrainian students who attended special classes for foreigners at Manitoba College between 1904 and 1912 were allegedly warned against attending meetings of the Shevchenko Educational Society — while the classes, ostensibly created to prepare young men for the teaching profession and for the ministry, were criticized (by the nationalists) for providing little more than narrow denominational indoctrination. In one instance at least, a Ukrainian who had attended these classes refused to use the Ukrainian language while teaching in a bilingual school.⁹ The fact that some ministers of the Independent Greek Church anglicized their surnames was also greeted with misgivings within the immigrant community, as was the missionary activity of the Rev. H.A. Berlis, a Presbyterian missionary, who preached to Ukrainian settlers in English and in Russian, but not in Ukrainian.¹⁰

Referring to the relationship established between Presbyterian medical missionaries and Independent Greek Church ministers, the Rev. E.A. Henry stated in 1906 that "...the present policy is for the English doctor and missionary to keep in touch with these foreign leaders and

through advice to help keep before these people the religious and also the Anglo-Saxon idea of life".¹¹ Thus Ranok, which usually took a fairly progressive position on socio-economic issues, occasionally expressed opinions which could have only been inculcated by its Presbyterian mentors. In 1912, for example, the paper suggested that Home Rule would leave Ireland at the mercy of the Roman Catholic clergy, thereby reducing its inhabitants to poverty, and explained the lower standard of living in Quebec as a function of the Quebecois' inability to speak English, rather than as a consequence of conquest and colonization.¹²

More substantial evidence of the Presbyterians' ability to influence the protestant intelligentsia was provided by Ranok's failure to support the bilingual school system. In 1911 an editorial stated:

...In Canada children must know the English language better than any other language...If we were allowed to instruct our children in the rural settlements in Ruthenian it would only be a disadvantage because our patriotic teachers would teach more Ruthenian than English and thereby retard our children's progress.¹³

Yet it is doubtful whether Ukrainian protestants shared their Presbyterian mentors' zeal for cultural and linguistic homogenization. Their opposition to bilingualism seems to have been motivated by an antipathy for the nationalists, many of whom were bilingual teachers. While opposing bilingual instruction in the public schools, Ranok advised Ukrainian parents to assume personal responsibility for teaching their children the Ukrainian language and for introducing them to good Ukrainian literature. Prominent protestants believed that Ukrainian teachers with higher qualifications; the emergence of Ukrainian

writers, poets, and intellectuals; more Ukrainian translations of European classics; and the preparation of scholarly works in Ukrainian, would provide a stronger obstacle to denationalization than the bilingual school system.¹⁴

In spite of the Ukrainian protestants' susceptibility to Presbyterian influence, the English speaking Presbyterians did not seem to trust them. This became especially apparent after Bishop Budka's appointment and after the nationalists began to entertain suspicions that the Independent Greek Church was being used as an agency of denationalization. In the autumn of 1911 a student at Manitoba College had physically attacked Ivan Bodrug, the 'superintendent' of the Independent Greek Church, and accused him of acting as an instrument of denationalization. As a result the classes at Manitoba College were discontinued in 1912. When criticism of the Independent Greek Church began to mount Presbyterian divines concluded that

...the time has come when we as a Church must go at this work along distinctly Presbyterian lines and remove the unjust reproach of acting as Jesuits in this Independent [Greek] Church. The only way to remove the jealousy and bickerings from these Ruthenian workers is to put them all directly under some one other than any of their own race.¹⁵

Because a number of the ministers, including Illia Glowa, editor of Ranok, pressed for the immediate reformation of the Independent Greek Church, members of the Presbyterian Home Mission Board concluded that "...the sooner we get all these men directly under the Presbyteries, the better..."¹⁶ Thus, in June 1913, at the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church, the Independent Greek Church having been dissolved, twenty-one of its ministers and their congregations were admitted into the Presbyterian Church of Canada.¹⁷ By this time a new scheme had been devised to secure intermediaries who would mediate between the

Anglo-Celtic community and the immigrants.¹⁸

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In order to create an elite which would help to control the immigrants, the Presbyterians established a number of "school homes" or residences adjacent to large unilingual English public schools. According to the Rev. Dr. A.J. Hunter, the medical missionary at Teulon,

...If a fairly extensive scheme could be organized for securing young Galicians at the age of ten or twelve years...and giving them a good education, while not allowing them to forget altogether [sic] their own language, we should in this way develop a large body of good material for teachers and leaders among these people.¹⁹

By 1914 residences had been established in Vegreville, Ethelbert, Sifton and Teulon. The last, which was established on Hunter's initiative and provided room and board for thirty-five Ukrainian boys enrolled at the Teulon Consolidated High School, became the most successful.

Hunter was driven and sustained in his missionary endeavours by his apprehensions about the growing Ukrainian presence in the prairie provinces. It was his contention that

...there are two dangers ahead of the Ruthenian people in Canada. The one is that they may get under the control of a reactionary priesthood which will endeavour to hold them in ignorance and mental slavery. The other possibility is that they may break violently away from the old religion passing from the one extreme of superstition to the other extreme of utter worldliness and materialism.²⁰

Either way the consequences for Canadian society were omenous.

Although already prior to the war, Hunter had observed that the "...doctrines of materialistic socialism and atheism are running rampant among

them", he was alarmed primarily by the immigrants' desire to retain their Ukrainian identity:

...There is another thing that causes a great difficulty and that is their nationalism, their intense enthusiasm for their own nation, language, history and ideals...I regard this feeling of nationalism among them as a great danger unless it is wisely guided. The children attending public schools are not very dangerous, but away in the settlements many hear nothing but Ruthenian and hardly ever is an English word spoken. These will remain Ruthenians for years to come.²¹

Although he was encouraged by the fact that "...many of the younger people are changing their names for English ones and trying to forget their old relationships",²² Hunter feared that unlike immigrants from north western Europe, who "...are becoming English just as fast as they can", the Ukrainians, who clung to their identity "...may become very unwholesome and very dangerous. They may increase so fast that they will outnumber the English". "The battle for the future of Canada may yet turn on what is done for these people, on how and what they think...", he concluded.²³

Hunter feared that unless the Ukrainian immigrants were rapidly assimilated and denationalized, western Canada would become "another Quebec":

...the total number of French settled in Canada and Louisiana in 1812 was only 80,000; today there are at least 200,000 Ruthenians in Canada, or nearly three times as many as there were French a hundred years ago. Now, we can recognize the significance of this fact if we look at the unsatisfactory situation brought about by a divided nationality. Quebec differs in religion, in language and in ideals from other parts of the Dominion. Because of the policy of separation which has been carried out, there exist in that province a settled feeling of hostility, of suspicion, and of aloofness towards the rest of the country. Now, if the big Slavonic immigration of the present day is suffered to separate itself in the same way, retaining its own language, its own religion,

and customs peculiar to itself, a condition similar to that in Quebec will be brought about in many parts of Canada.²⁴

The outbreak of war confirmed Hunter in his belief that linguistic and religious heterogeneity, rather than economic exploitation and political domination, were the cause of conflict within and between nations, and consequently the major stimulus to separatism and war. While in the United States, where only one language was spoken, peace, harmony and progress were ubiquitous, in Europe, where a variety of languages were spoken, war and conflict were endemic and social and moral progress was grinding to a halt.²⁵ Referring to Ukrainian settlers of Catholic and Orthodox persuasion, Hunter stated that

...in Europe people with just such types of religion but of different nationalities [have] been living side by side for centuries, yet their faith [has] done nothing to check their national animosities; they [have] gone on cherishing age long hatreds against one another...²⁶

Regardless of how illogical and myopic Hunter's views were, the inference was clear: in the interests of Canadian nationhood and social stability the Ukrainian immigrant would have to be Anglicized and evangelized.

Hunter was also apprehensive about the growing desire among young Ukrainian immigrants — primarily bilingual school teachers — to attain a greater degree of social mobility:

...The ambition of the average young Ruthenian seeking an education is to find an easy way of making a living. The fathers have been hewers of wood and drawers of water and they wish their sons to be gentlemen. There is danger of the country being filled with half-educated young men looking for easy places in teaching or elsewhere. Such men will become a great political danger,²⁷ an army of incompetents looking for public employment.

Again the inference was clear. The Ukrainian immigrant would have to remain on the land, where he would be of the greatest utility to the

nation, and where he would remain isolated from the social and national ferment prevalent in urban areas.

The regimen at the Teulon Boys' Home, as well as in other Homes, reflected the Presbyterian objectives of evangelization, denationalization and social control. Although there was no concerted effort to convert residents of the Teulon Home to the Presbyterian faith, all were required to attend services at the local Independent Greek Church, and after 1913, at the Presbyterian Church, where they heard sermons in English and Ukrainian and where they were encouraged to become familiar with the principles of evangelical Protestantism. In the smaller Homes at Ethelbert and Sifton the missionaries appear to have been more aggressive in their proselytism. The Missionary Messenger reported that in both these Homes the pupils

...have prayers morning and night, Sunday school and all kinds of meetings, and so wonderful is the children's knowledge of the Bible, and so truly do they reverence it, and so earnestly do they study it that Dr. Gilbert stated that in a Bible contest the older children at Ethelbert would know more than the English speaking people.²⁸

At Vegreville, in Miss Stewart's Home, a correspondent of the same publication was highly impressed by "...two little lads on stools memorizing the 23rd Psalm, with the hope of getting 5¢ when it was done".²⁹

Just prior to the outbreak of the war, and more than a decade after commencing his work among Ukrainian settlers, Hunter was still unable to speak Ukrainian. He was only beginning to study the language. Hunter worked on the assumption that the immigrants would have to forfeit their language. Although he sympathized with their predicament he openly admitted that "...we demand of them...the sacrifice of their native tongue, of their customs and traditions. They must conform to

our institutions and painfully seek to fashion themselves to the pattern of our lives..."³⁰ Nevertheless he cautioned "...we must be careful about the use of the word 'assimilate'. It angers and infuriates the Ruthenians...We must rely on patience, faith and common sense".³¹

At the Teulon Boys' Home the Ukrainian language was deprecated subtly and covertly. While there was no effort to force the students to speak English rather than Ukrainian outside the classroom, and while students were permitted to receive Ukrainian language newspapers and books, Hunter tried to impress the students with the fact that "...they should not attach much importance to [their] native language because this was an Anglo-Saxon country".³² In 1913, during one of his regular Sunday afternoon talks with the boys, he inquired, "What is language?", and replied, "Language is only a medium of expression; a means to communication. The most useful language is the one spoken by a majority of the people".³³ A few years later, writing in Ranok, he stated that

...While it is true that the Ukrainian language has the rudiments of a literature, when compared with cultured languages of universal significance — English, French, German, Russian — these beginnings are very insignificant.

Acknowledging that Ukrainian poetry "...such as that of Shevchenko and Franko, will always have its value", he insisted that from a practical and scholarly point of view

...it will be much easier for Ukrainians to learn one of the well developed languages than to translate tens of thousands of important books into Ukrainian. I tell you bluntly, that the amount of scholarly works in the English language, when compared with those in the Ukrainian language, is like an Eaton's department store compared with one of the smallest rural stores you have ever seen.³⁴

It should come as no surprise that the library at the Boys' Home contained absolutely no Ukrainian language books or newspapers and that Kanadyiskyi Rusyn, the Catholic organ, reported that a request by Ukrainian protestants to have a Ukrainian language instructor appointed to the Boys' Home, had been vetoed by Hunter.³⁵

An effort to control the social options open to the immigrants was made by teaching "...the non-English-speaking population...some of the practical arts of life..." thereby impressing the children with "...the dignity of labour and the scientific and cultural possibilities of rural life". In addition to providing its students with the regular academic course, the Teulon Consolidated School sought to provide

...boys destined to become teachers...[with] practical instruction in mixed farming, in manual training, house-building, barn-building and other subjects having a close relation to the settlers' daily life. To the prospective girl teachers the school [gave] ...training in domestic economy, dairying, dressmaking and other tasks which fall to the lot of the woman.

In addition, residents of the Boys' Home were required "to do their share in the work of housekeeping". Hunter expressed his scorn for the "...occasional parent [who] may think such work rather beneath the dignity of a budding professional man".³⁶ When a student refused to wash dishes on the grounds that he was being punished unjustly he was obliged to leave the Home after Hunter issued the following ultimatum: "We don't want to have any young lawyers here N.....Either you submit and take your punishment or you will have to leave the Boys' Home".³⁷ In Sifton, likewise, girls were taught "...sewing, cooking, laundry, waiting on the table and general house management". The Missionary Messenger gave evidence of the "practical results" of this type of education by citing examples such as that of the Dauphin business-man

"...who, on different occasions, has had Home-trained girls as servants in his home. He speaks highly of such training. The distinction is marked and valuable, he says, for they make diligent and intelligent domestic help".³⁸

As the following statements made by the Rev. Dr. Bryce seem to suggest, most Presbyterians did not foresee a future for Canadian educated Ukrainian children, that was qualitatively different from that of their parents. In an article entitled "Our Happy Ruthenian People" Bryce insisted that

...Manitoba and Saskatchewan are giving all the boys and girls good training in the schools. They learn to do business, to get good positions in work in stores, in shops, or even in schools if they have learned enough to teach a school or keep books.³⁹

He later went on to suggest that

...boys and girls should remain at school till they are able to do what business they have to do in the store, or the bank, or the taxpayer's office, or in buying horses or cattle or sheep or swine, or reading a newspaper or magazine.⁴⁰

Apparently the objective of education as conceived by the Presbyterians was to channel Ukrainian children into the same occupations to which their parents had been assigned, rather than to develop their critical and intellectual capacities.

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Before concluding this section it may be worthwhile to mention the work of the Reading Camp Association (Frontier College) in order to obtain a deeper insight into the objectives shared by Presbyterian advocates of Canadianization. Founded in 1899 by the Rev. Alfred Fitzpatrick, a Presbyterian minister, the Reading Camp Association was an experimental venture in adult education, which attempted to extend

those services that were provided by missionaries and teachers into the remote frontier regions of Canada. Initially the Association was concerned with supplying lumberjacks, miners and railroad navvies with "carefully chosen" books (Fitzpatrick was especially fond of novels by Ralph Connor), newspapers, and periodicals, in order to provide them with an outlet for "wholesome" recreation. After the boom in railroad construction and during the war years Fitzpatrick increasingly turned his attention to the problem of Canadianization. Thereafter, in addition to teaching the rudiments of reading, writing and arithmetic, Reading Camp instructors taught English to the "foreigners", attempted to provide them with an "intelligent conception of Canadian citizenship", and endeavoured to neutralize social unrest among frontier laborers.

Fitzpatrick was a model Victorian rather than a progressive social reformer. He fervently believed that work was the very essence of life and that idleness was "the occasion of all evil". As the following statement suggests, Fitzpatrick was primarily concerned with preserving the sanctity of labour and with preventing idleness rather than with alleviating human suffering and ending exploitation. While he admitted that "...the long hours [of labour] are an evil", Fitzpatrick insisted that

...the greater evil is idleness when off work. The most urgent need is intellectual occupation and entertainment when not engaged in manual labour. It is the way our hours of leisure are spent, whether as a nation or as individuals, which determines our moral worth.

The very thought of "...a quarter of a million men...[spending] four hours per day in idleness, to say nothing of Sundays, public holidays and rainy days, an average of at least a million hours every day wasted in absence of occupation", was more than enough to outrage Fitzpatrick's

Victorian sensibilities.⁴¹ Not only did this state of affairs breed "recklessness" and a lust for "evanescent pleasure", "uneducated immigrants" left to themselves without proper guidance and leadership were becoming increasingly susceptible to "the seeds of revolutionary Socialism".⁴²

Fitzpatrick's solution to the social problems created by frontier labour conditions, the influx of "foreigners", and labour unrest, was patently Victorian in inspiration. He believed that Christian stewardship and the refinement of character rather than fundamental changes in socio-economic relations and the redistribution of property, held the key to all social ills. Although he realized that "...the day [was] past when a clergyman [could] hope by an hour's visit and a sermon to convert a gang of fire-eaters speaking 17 different languages and representing 29 different religions",⁴³ he clung to the Victorian belief that harmony between "masters and men" could be restored if members of the privileged classes realized that they had a Christian duty to perform. They had the obligation to act as stewards and to provide guidance and leadership for the working people. Convinced that the university, the bastion of privilege, was "...preeminently called to [the] high office of joining the hands of the downtrodden poor and the wealthy..."⁴⁴ he devised the scheme of sending "young men of culture and good common sense" into the frontier camps to live and work as labourers and act as instructors. He hoped that they would thereby "...redeem the privileged classes from the imputation...that they would do anything for the worker except get off his back".⁴⁵

By working with frontier laborers as equals among equals, by

holding their own, and by demonstrating how to be "more contented, happier and vastly better workmen",⁴⁶ Fitzpatrick believed that Reading Camp instructors would win the labourers' respect and be in a position to influence their social and political behaviour. "Is it not an advantage to the company", Fitzpatrick asked D.B. Hanna, President of the C.N.R. in 1920, "that illiterate foreign workers are brought under the influence of men, trained in the thought of the universities of Canada, rather than left to the machinations of their own leaders who are often breeders of discontent".⁴⁷ "The Frontier College [Reading Camp] representative acts as a guide, counsellor, friend and big brother, and is, we think, the best antidote for extreme forms of radicalism", a publicity pamphlet published in the 1920s stated. "There is no better cure for social unrest generally, and safeguard for our British institutions, than the placing in the bunkhouses of Canada the finest type of college men, as manual labourers and instructors..."⁴⁸

It should come as no surprise that Fitzpatrick turned to businessmen, industrialists and large corporate concerns, as well as to missionary societies and provincial departments of education, to finance the work of the Association. Whereas during the first few years of the century the Presbyterian and Methodist Churches and the Ontario Department of Education were Fitzpatrick's major supporters, by 1912 the financial support of prominent members of the Canadian business community and of the three transcontinental railway companies had been enlisted. The roster of patrons, officers and directors of the Association reflected the growing esteem enjoyed by Fitzpatrick in business circles. In 1910, for example, William Whyte, Second

Vice-President of the C.P.R. was Honorary President of the Reading Camp Association, while D.B. Hanna, Third Vice-President of the C.N.R. was First Vice-President of the Association. Directors of the Association included Charles M. Hayes, President of the Grand Trunk Pacific Railway, James Playfair, President of the Midland Navigation Company, and J.B. Miller, President of the Polson Iron Works and of the Parry Sound Lumber Company. As donations rose from less than \$1500 in 1901 to over \$22,000 in 1914, the number of Reading Camp instructors engaged during the summer months rose from five (all in Ontario) to seventy-one (in eight different provinces). Between 1906 and 1913 alone, 176 of the 273 instructors placed by Fitzpatrick, worked among railroad navvies, that is, among those frontier workers with the highest concentration of "foreigners". Between 1914 and 1920, the Association spent, by Fitzpatrick's own estimate, between \$30,000 and \$35,000 on work among railroad navvies alone.⁴⁹

Reports published by Fitzpatrick in the early 1920s reveal that over 30 percent of the frontier laborers who availed themselves of the services offered by the Reading Camp Association were Slavs. The majority of these, it may be safely assumed, were Ukrainians. Initially Fitzpatrick had expressed a desire to recruit Ukrainian instructors for work among those laborers who could not be reached by the English-speaking instructor. During the summer of 1908 and 1909 arrangements were made with the Rev. Dr. J.A. Carmichael to place four Ukrainians enrolled at Manitoba College among frontier laborers.⁵⁰ Thereafter efforts to recruit "Galician" instructors seem to have abated. The war, which "clarified" Fitzpatrick's

"national vision", put an end to these efforts. He became increasingly alarmed by the fact that immigrants were being allowed

...to live in settlements on the prairies or, what is worse to form colonies in large urban and industrial areas [where] their racial characteristics are continued and encouraged by native societies and leagues, forming unassimilated groups, which are a menace to Canadian unity.⁵¹

If Canadians were to "secure the well being and security of this Dominion and maintain a worthy place within the Empire", it was imperative to proceed with the task of Canadianizing the "foreigners", and this task, Fitzpatrick insisted, could be carried out only by "thorough Canadians". "Those who live and dwell in foreign settlements of their own race in Canada are not ready to be healthy Canadianizers".⁵²

As put into practice by Fitzpatrick and his associates, Canadianization involved the inculcation of habits, values and attitudes conducive to the perpetuation and success of the existing socio-economic and political system. W.E. Givens, a Reading Camp instructor stationed among Ukrainian navvies working on C.P.R. construction in Saskatchewan and Alberta, was singled out for praise by Fitzpatrick for the 'Stakhanov-like' feat of "outnavvying the navvies". As related by Fitzpatrick,

...Givens started to work...and soon set a new pace for a twelve-hour day. According to Henry Ford, an eight-hour day pace is faster than a ten-hour gait, and generally this is true, but Givens set an eight-hour pace for a twelve hour day and kept it up...⁵³

Instruction in the English language was encouraged because

...the demand upon Canada for years will be capacity production, which must be brought about by raising the producing power of the workmen. One of the most

important factors in this regard is a working vocabulary of English...[as a result of which] accidents are reduced, output is increased and many unnecessary differences are avoided.⁵⁴

Because immigrant laborers demonstrated a tendency "to cling tenaciously" to their native language press, Fitzpatrick suggested that it should be regulated by the government. Reading passages in the Handbook for New Canadians, prepared by Fitzpatrick in 1919 as an introductory English-language/Canadian-citizenship textbook, implied that naturalized citizens should anglicize their names and surnames, and defined the "good citizen" as one who "...Loves the Empire, Loves Canada...Works hard...[and] Does his work well". Canada was described as a country in which success depended exclusively on personal effort and application:

...On ourselves depends our success in Canada. We must rely on our own efforts; we must be industrious and sober; we must have energy and a determination to get along...Let us do our best each day and we shall succeed.⁵⁵

Instructors reinforced these lessons: Andrew E. MacKague reported in 1921 that he endeavoured "...to show men that the opportunity to succeed is in the man himself rather than in a better government". In "Socialistic questions", he tried "...to convince men that if they save [and] persevere, they will get ahead and that the capitalists are not keeping them in shovel". MacKague concluded his report by stating that after a summer in the frontier camps an instructor acquires "...knowledge [which] may be of value to him if he should someday become a capitalist".⁵⁶

The philosophy of the Reading Camp Association/Frontier College was clearly articulated by Fitzpatrick's right hand man and successor, E.W. Bradwin, when he wrote in the introduction to The Bunkhouse Man

that,

...Canada more than other lands must needs encourage individual success. Where is more necessary than in the wider spaces of the Dominion the man of enterprize and constructive capacity? Should we begrudge ample recompense for genuine initiative when the gains accruing are the result of character and ability? Whatever fruits be plucked in person, much greater benefits will enrich the country tardy in development. 57

Established to prevent idleness, the Reading Camp Association/Frontier College remained committed to the perpetuation of a socio-economic order founded on rugged individualism.

II

Presbyterian clergymen and laymen were consistently in the vanguard of those who advocated unilingual English instruction and optimistically assumed that a unilingual public school system would rapidly Canadianize the immigrant child. In 1900 at the eighteenth Synod of the Presbyterian Church in Manitoba, a resolution pertaining to the "foreign population" stated that "...it is the duty of the Government to make instant provision for their education by the erection of schools and the supply of teachers, the instruction to be given in the English language..."⁵⁸ On January 2, 1902, the Committee on the Education of Galician Children, composed of prominent Protestant divines and laymen met with representatives of the Manitoba government. While there was general consensus among all members of the Committee that bilingual instruction should not be extended into "Galician" districts, Presbyterian spokesmen dominated the discussions. Thus, the Rev. C.W. Gordon denied "...that the Galicians insist on being taught in their language", while the Rev. Dr. Reid added that

"...After a Galician child has learned English it says 'Me no Galician, now me English'". Mr. William Whyte of the C.P.R. "... said every Canadian must recognize the fact that if we hope to upbuild a nation on this half of the North American continent, there must be only one language spoken". When Premier Roblin pointed out that the bilingual system was the law in Manitoba, the Rev. Dr. Bryce said that "...he did not think there would be any difficulty" in having the law changed. He was seconded by Professor Hart, while Principal Patrick "...said that he thought the clause was one which should be repealed and he did not think the government should hamper itself by committing itself to any principle of sending in Galician teachers among them".⁵⁹

Writing in the Queen's Quarterly in 1905, Professor Hart, then Moderator of the Presbyterian Church in Manitoba and the Northwest, stated that "...the task of unifying...diverse races, and making them intelligent citizens, English in speech, Canadian in sentiment, and British in their loyalty to the Empire", was the basic objective of Manitoba's educational system. He was encouraged by the fact that Ukrainian settlers had as yet not claimed the right to bilingual instruction and spuriously insisted that "...the Galicians seem more desirous to learn English than to continue the use of their mother tongue".⁶⁰

By 1910, however, the vision of the public school as the major instrument of Canadianization had been shaken. Not only were English speaking teachers in such short supply that homogeneously English speaking districts often failed to secure the services of qualified professionals, native Canadian teachers were unwilling to isolate

themselves in "colonies" inhabited by "foreigners", while the immigrants, contrary to the expectations of the dominant group, were anxious to preserve their cultural and linguistic heritage. Under these circumstances provincial departments of education had created the special teacher training schools for "foreign" teachers, and consequently, in addition to English and French, Ukrainian, German and Polish were being used in prairie public schools, both as subjects of instruction and as a medium of teaching English. The existence of these arrangements — legally sanctioned in Manitoba and tolerated by the provincial government in Saskatchewan, and to a lesser degree in Alberta — precipitated a militant campaign of opposition.

Opponents of bilingual instruction insisted that the school system's major priority was to teach the English language. The existence of bilingual schools, which were often taught by individuals with an imperfect knowledge of English, they insisted, was neither in the best interests of Canadian nationhood, nor of the immigrants themselves. On the one hand, bilingual education tended to "segregate" both teachers and pupils of non-English speaking origin from the English speaking majority, thereby making it all the more difficult to Canadianize them. The Rev. Dr. Hunter believed that the bilingual system threatened "...to develop a serious peril to our national ideal and to become a great handicap to the English language and the English speaking people in the rural districts". Bilingual teachers were driving English speaking teachers out of mixed school districts with the result "...that the Canadian families will move out and leave the Galicians to themselves, which is the worst thing that could happen to

them".⁶¹ On the other hand, it was asserted, bilingualism prevented the immigrant child from acquiring fluency in English and thereby deprived the child of an equal opportunity for social advancement. Dr. N.F. Black of Regina argued that in localities where parents "...insist upon the teacher being able to speak the mother tongue of the beginners in English, it takes as a rule fully twice as long for the pupils to acquire a working knowledge of English as it requires in numberless good schools conducted by teachers ignorant of the vernacular".⁶² Inspector W.C. Hartley of Carmen insisted that "...children [who] must speak English...try, but if they feel that they can make you understand through their own language, they will not make the necessary effort to do so through English".⁶³ Writing to J.S. Woodsworth, Principal W.J. Sisler of Winnipeg even insisted that "...the main object [of Ukrainian bilingual schools] seems to be to teach the children enough Ruthenian that they may write to relatives in the old country as parents in most cases cannot read or write their own language".⁶⁴

English speaking opponents of bilingual education were only concerned with teaching English to the "foreigners". They expressed little if any concern about raising morale, cultivating enthusiasm for learning, or stimulating their pupils' ability to think critically. Consequently their professed concern for the immigrant child's social advancement rang hollow. While it would be unfair to deprecate the efforts of all English-speaking teachers who taught in Ukrainian settlements, a number could hardly be said to have benefitted the settlers. Many of these seem to have received their appointments as a result of political patronage. In 1909, for example, Robert Fletcher, Manitoba's

Deputy Minister of Education, wrote to W.H. Hastings M.L.A., about a certain W.H. Gray:

...This lad failed 29 marks in Spelling, 8 marks in Literature, and 26 marks in Grammar, in his examinations for a third class non-professional certificate. Under no circumstances could he have been given a permit to teach the school which had been offered him by a teacher's bureau. I believe he has some knowledge of the Ruthenian language. There are a number of schools among the Galicians employing English speaking teachers, and in most cases, these districts requiring an English teacher must take some one who is not fully qualified as a qualified teacher can get employment amid more congenial surroundings. If Mr. Gray were to secure a school among these people, we would have no hesitation in giving him a permit.⁶⁵

In 1912 parents in Ladywood, Manitoba, complained that the local school teacher was a Liberal party worker, who did little more than enrich their children's vocabulary with phrases of a rather ungentle variety.⁶⁶ A number of male English speaking teachers in the province were accused of drinking and sleeping during classes; female teachers allegedly made pillow cases and bed covers in school; and university students who taught in summer schools often boasted that they could do whatever they pleased in "Galician" colonies.⁶⁷ In Saskatchewan, children taught by an English-speaking teacher had memorized their primers but did not understand the English language, while in one Alberta school, which had been taught exclusively by English-speaking teachers for six years, not one of 35 pupils could speak English, read, divide or multiply.⁶⁸ Also in Alberta, one teacher taught second graders British history, while another closed his school a few weeks before the end of term and spent his time shooting pool in Vegreville.⁶⁹

Nor were the training schools for Ukrainian bilingual teachers equipped to turn out teachers of the highest calibre. In the first place

the three training schools did not have a uniform program nor were they set up for the same purpose. While the Brandon school provided its students with the equivalent of a Grade IX education and prepared them to pass the examination for a third class non-professional certificate, the Regina school prepared its students for Grade VIII examinations and subsequent entry into high school and Normal school, and the Vegreville School simply taught English to "foreigners" who hoped to enter the teaching profession or business.⁷⁰ Secondly, the quality of instruction left much to be desired. In Brandon, Principal J.T. Cressey, an Englishman, was described as a "well qualified, kindly and sympathetic man", and was rarely criticized for his pedagogical skills. On the other hand, in Regina, Principal Joseph Greer, a native of Ontario, with only a second class teaching certificate and without any experience in teacher training, was described as "a despot and dictator". He could not solve mathematical problems, could not explain his lessons clearly, and ordered students who requested additional explanations in class to leave the room. As he also made disparaging remarks about Ukrainians, the students went out on strike in 1914.⁷¹ A similiar demonstration occurred in Vegreville, in December 1913, because Principal W.A. Stickle, an intolerant and condescending disciplinarian, disparaged Ukrainians and insisted that the students attend Protestant church services on Sunday.⁷² Finally, the ultimate objective of the training schools was very narrow. According to Principal Cressey, the purpose of the schools was ". . . to instill into . . . [the prospective teachers'] minds the true Canadian sentiment, so that they will love their adopted country, love its laws and love our national flag . . . so that all the Citizens of Canada should have for their ideal the building up of a nation within

the Empire".⁷³

Closer examination of just what was believed to constitute a fitting education for immigrant children seems to confirm suspicions about the insincerity of those who opposed bilingual education. Canadianization was to be achieved by providing a "practical" education. In 1906, Sisler, who believed that children from central and eastern Europe were not only "very slow to acquire a new language", but also "...inferior in every department both of mental and physical activity, excepting where only slow mechanical movements are required", suggested that the "curriculum should be adapted to the needs of the children". He went on to elaborate by stating that "...there is music in the speaking voice under control of the speaker, there is art in the neatly laid table, and there is science in a sanitary home and in a properly cooked meal, all which are of first importance to children of this class". The problem confronting the public school was the assimilation of "...thousands who must be lifted from the depths of ignorance, filth and crime...[and] united as citizens of Canada, as citizens of the Empire".⁷⁴ In 1917 a letter in the Western School Journal stated that "...if anything at all is to be strongly emphasized it is the importance of teaching more English...in the non-English schools...[since] when they grow up very few will have to write anything more than an ordinary letter, but every one of them will come in contact with people who speak English, and then the knowledge of English will prove its value".⁷⁵ Ukrainian children were expected to "...become the future agriculturalists of this country". Referring to Ukrainian children in rural northern Saskatchewan, J.T.M. Anderson openly stated that "...most

of them would and should remain in that district all their lives. They would have to take the place of their parents as tillers of those broad sections and house keepers in those little homes".⁷⁶

* * *

In the final analysis it was neither the inability of bilingual teachers to teach English, nor concern for the immigrant child's social mobility, which led to the abolition of bilingual instruction and teaching of foreign languages in the prairie provinces. Rather, abolition was a reaction to the growing cultural and political activism displayed by the Ukrainian intelligentsia. As members of the intelligentsia became increasingly and openly critical of attempts to denationalize the immigrants, the notion — fostered by advocates of rapid Canadianization — that Ukrainian "nationalists" were conspiring to debase, undermine and subvert Canadian ideals and institutions, began to gain general acceptance.

The notion that Ukrainian nationalists were involved in a "conspiracy" first gained currency in the wake of the "Great Ruthenian School Revolt" of 1913 in Alberta. According to English language accounts, early in 1913 a number of public schools in the Ukrainian colony northeast of Edmonton "...were raided by a considerable band of teachers...from Manitoba, for the most part... very ignorant fellows, with a poor command of the English language, and in most cases with a very inferior education and no professional training". They were recruited, it was asserted, by an organization "composed of certain well known agitators who had ulterior motives to serve". Because they "agitated that Ruthenian be taught in our

Ruthenian schools and that unqualified Ruthenians be allowed to teach", the English language press concluded that "there was a definite outside organization behind these people determined to break up the educational system of the province in so far as the Ruthenian districts were concerned". Anticipating "the conduct of this organization", the Department of Education "immediately ruled that only qualified teachers, regardless of nationality be allowed to take charge of schools" in Ukrainian districts, and persuaded Ukrainian trustees "to dismiss unqualified Ruthenian [teachers]... and engage a qualified teacher". Where trustees resisted, Robert Fletcher, Supervisor of Schools among Foreigners, was appointed official trustee and empowered to hire "qualified" teachers. Although about a dozen Ukrainian teachers were dismissed, only three school districts offered serious resistance. In Bukovyna S.D., the trustees even proceeded to build a private school for the "unqualified" teacher and refused to allow their children to be instructed by a "qualified" English speaking teacher for six months. On one occasion the "qualified" teacher was "beaten unmercifully" and "mauled" by a group of Ukrainian women. By December 1913, however, order had been restored in the Ukrainian school districts. The Manitoba Free Press congratulated John R. Boyle, the Alberta Minister of Education, for his "...courage to stand up to certain factions of the foreign-born population and [to] refuse to allow the public school system to be demoralized".⁷⁷

Ukrainian accounts throw a different light on these developments and help to place them in perspective. According to these, Ukrainian teachers trained at the Brandon and Regina training schools, as well

as Ukrainian university students, had been coming to Alberta in small numbers since about 1910 and had been readily granted permits. This state of affairs suddenly changed in the spring of 1913 as a result of developments during the previous winter. On January 15, 1913, a mass meeting of Alberta Ukrainians in Vegreville elected the Provincial People's [National] Committee (Provincial People's [National] Committee). Composed of prominent advocates of protestant and nationalist orientations, who had traditionally supported the Liberal Party, the P.N.K. met with Premier A. Sifton and J.R. Boyle on January 21, 1913. At the meeting, members of the P.N.K. criticized the projected redistribution of provincial constituencies whereby the Ukrainian colony was to be divided in such a way as to deprive Ukrainians of a majority in all of the new constituencies. They suggested that constituencies with Ukrainian majorities should be carved out of the Ukrainian colony, and, as far as may be determined, lamented the absence of Ukrainian speaking teachers in Alberta. A Ukrainian translation of the Alberta School Act, and permission to prepare Ukrainian language textbooks were also demanded.

Because the government ignored these demands and foiled attempts to have Ukrainians nominated as Liberal candidates in constituencies heavily populated by Ukrainians, five members of the already defunct P.N.K. decided to run as Independent Ruthenian candidates in the April 1913 provincial elections. Pavlo Rudyk, Petro Svarich, Mykhailo Gowda, Hryhorii Mykhailyshyn and Hryhorii Kraikivsky ran in Whitford, Vegreville, Victoria, Sturgeon, and Vermillion respectively — the last two against Boyle and Sifton.

Although all five were defeated, less than a month after the

elections permits granted to Ukrainian teachers in Alberta were cancelled and some twelve teachers were forced to leave their schools. According to Ukrainian accounts those dismissed included three graduates of the Brandon Training School, three Alberta College students, and a number of Manitoba College students. They were dismissed because they had supported Independent Ruthenian candidates during the election. The "qualified" teachers appointed to replace them were appointed according to the rule, publicly stated by Boyle, that "we have many friends to whom we can give teaching permits". One of these, a Mr. W. Dykeman, appointed to replace Ivan Genik, a second year Arts student at Manitoba College, made sexual advances to three ten-year old girls in Kolomyia, Alberta, during his first week at the school, and was subsequently sentenced to a term at the penitentiary in Fort Saskatchewan.

Vasyl Chumer, the teacher at the center of the controversy in Bukovyna S.D., had been a teacher for five years, spoke four languages, and was the first permanent teacher in that school's nine years of existence. In March 1914 Judge Crawford of the Edmonton district court observed that Chumer "...could...speak the English language so as to qualify in that respect as a teacher in one of our district schools", described him as "...a man that impressed me very favorably ...bright, intelligent, and of an honest disposition", and stated flatly that "...for some reason or other, which I will not attempt even to guess it, the Department of Education refused to grant him a permit". However, because Chumer had taught at the unsupervised private school constructed by the immigrants, he was fined and obliged to vacate the school.

The "qualified" teacher who was "mauled" by Ukrainian women in that district, was attacked because two weeks earlier the settlers' horses had been expropriated when they refused to pay his salary. On that occasion a woman who refused to surrender her mare had been struck repeatedly by Fletcher and a local constable. To add insult to injury, while "unqualified" Ukrainian teachers were being expelled by a government anxious to provide "efficient education", the Vegreville School Board resolved to exclude from school the children of all foreigners living outside the municipal boundaries because of "overcrowding and other reasons". A few months later in 1914, in Borshchiw S.D., trustees who hired a Ukrainian teacher without Fletcher's permission (after waiting a number of months for Fletcher to appoint a teacher) were fined \$50.00. Although a number of Ukrainian schools in Alberta were allowed to remain without teachers until the end of the first World War, on March 30, 1915, the Alberta legislature unanimously carried the following resolution:

...That this House place itself on record as being opposed to Bilingualism in any form in the school system of Alberta, and as in favor of the English language being the only language permitted to be used as the medium of instruction in the schools of Alberta, subject to the provision of any law now in force in the Province in that effect.⁷⁸

The "Great Ruthenian School Revolt" had repercussions in Manitoba. There, opponents of bilingualism, led by the Manitoba Free Press and its editor, J.W. Dafoe, contrasted the "decisive stand" on "educational efficiency" taken by the Liberal government in Alberta, with the Manitoba Conservative government's readiness to tolerate and cultivate "inefficiency" and "inadequate instruction in the English language".⁷⁹ Although the Free Press crusade against bilingualism did not begin in

earnest until 1913, the Liberal organ had consistently espoused a narrow assimilationist orientation which was inimical to bilingual instruction and to the retention of a distinctive identity by non-English speaking immigrants. "Every sensible foreigner who comes to this country", a 1911 editorial stated, "must recognize that such place as his language may have in this country must of necessity, be merely a temporary place". By encouraging the retention of foreign languages the bilingual system was "...dotting Manitoba with hotbeds for the propagation of foreign racial prejudice".⁸⁰ In September 1912, an editorial flatly stated that

...The provision in the Manitoba School Act for bilingual instruction in the schools has been made impossible by the influx of immigrants from every country in Europe — not to mention Asia. It must come out of the statute book...If Manitoba does not act upon this question soon this province will be like Austria-Hungary — the home of a dozen races each adhering with desperation to its mother tongue.⁸¹

The climate generated by events in Alberta did, however, incline Liberal leaning reform groups such as the Moral and Social Reform Council of Manitoba, the Women's Christian Temperance Union, the Political Equality League, the Direct Legislation League, and even the traditionally Conservative-oriented Loyal Orange Order, to become adamant in their insistence upon "the prevalence of the Anglo-Saxon tongue" and unanimous in their condemnation of the bilingual system.

In Manitoba, as in Alberta, the bilingual system came under attack and was ultimately abolished, because representatives of the dominant Anglo-Celtic Protestant group feared the growing activism of the Ukrainian intelligentsia and its efforts to mobilize and

organize the immigrants for the purpose of preserving their cultural heritage and national identity. In September 1913, the appearance of Kanada (Canada), the Ukrainian language Conservative organ, which featured a series of highly impassioned articles by Petro Karmansky condemning Liberal actions in Alberta, provided the Free Press with an excellent opportunity to fan nativist fears. By quoting Karmansky out of context and without any reference to the actual sequence of events in Alberta, the Free Press was able to create the impression that Karmansky, the Ukrainian language instructor at the Brandon Training School, was a "racial firebrand", who "slurred Canadian institutions", propagated "racial war", opposed "efficient" and "adequate education in English", dreamed of "destroying Canadian citizenship and smashing Canadian nationhood", and hoped to establish an "independent Ruthenian nation" — "the Canadian Ukraine" — in the heart of Canada.⁸² Moreover, it was also possible to insinuate that Ukrainian demands for bilingual education were part of a "Roblin-Langevin-nationalist-Ruthenian combination". When a Ukrainian-Polish-German Election Committee endorsed a Ukrainian (Ferley) and German candidate for city council and a Polish candidate for school board during the Winnipeg Municipal elections of December 1914, and issued a statement urging the extension of public works programs into the North End, the Free Press claimed that the Committee was part of a conspiracy, promoted "by racial and religious factions" to "wreck" the Winnipeg public school system by forcing the extension of bilingual instruction into Manitoba's urban centres. Consequently, the Liberal organ stated "...that as far as Manitoba cities and towns are concerned the bilingual clause of the Public School Act should at once

be repealed, excepting where it is already in operation".⁸³

Opposition to the Ukrainian intelligentsia, especially to proponents of the nationalist orientation, became particularly apparent in 1915. When Ukrainskyi Holos called for the extension of bilingual privileges in Saskatchewan, and appealed for a strong organization of Ukrainian teachers and school trustees, the Free Press labelled the initiative as being "full of menace", and thundered:

...It is necessary that the Ukrainian Voice and those for whom it speaks be instructed that there is no future for the Ukrainians in Canada, except as Canadians. This is a bright enough future for any people.⁸⁴

When the Manitoba Ukrainian Teachers' Association announced its annual convention in June 1915 to discuss the organization of Ukrainian teachers and trustees on local, provincial and national levels; to review relations between teachers and the government; and, to explore the feasibility of projects such as supplementary courses for permit teachers, reform of the Brandon Training School, and lectures on Ukrainian history and literature at the University of Manitoba, the Free Press conjured up the bogey of "separatism": "What is demanded is a separate existence in Canada for the Ukrainian race". To prevent the public schools from becoming centres of "Ukrainian nationalist propaganda" which "if persisted in could...lead...to civil war" the paper urged that "...English speaking teachers imbued with the missionary spirit...should devote themselves to the foreign districts".⁸⁵

Free Press editorials became even more alarmist after the election of Taras Ferley, a "nationalist" and an advocate of bilingualism, to the Manitoba legislature in 1915. In response to an editorial in Ukrainskyi Holos, which warned its readers to be ready "for a very

hard fight" if they wished "...to retain [their] nationality in Canada and not become a mere appendage of Canadian civilization", the Free Press insisted that it was time "...to eradicate the notion that Manitoba is a convenient stamping ground for the perpetuation of non-English nationalities and for the upkeep of ancient European feuds[?]" . Arguing that Ukrainskyi Holos hoped to use the school system "for the promotion of non-Canadian propaganda", the Liberal organ declared on November 20, 1915, that "the time is ripe for the abolition of the bilingual clause".⁸⁶ "Ukrainians or others who look forward to leaving a hyphenated progeny on Canadian soil", the Free Press declared, "had better at once select some other country".⁸⁷

In order to provide the abolition of bilingual instruction with an air of legitimacy, a survey of conditions in the bilingual schools was conducted in November and December 1915, and released on January 21, 1916. The survey revealed that 16 percent of the pupils enrolled in the Manitoba public school system attended bilingual schools; that average daily attendance in bilingual schools was lower than that in unilingual schools; that in about one-third of the bilingual schools the admixture of nationalities was such that the arrival or departure of a single family could alter the linguistic status quo overnight; and, that progress in the acquisition of the English language was very inconsistent.⁸⁸ What the survey did not mention was the fact that attendance in bilingual schools was below the provincial standard because all bilingual schools were rural, and the fact that progress in the acquisition of English was limited because over 50 percent of the Ukrainian and Polish bilingual schools in pioneer districts had been in existence for less than two and one-half years. Moreover, the

official published report of the survey was highly selective and edited to create an unfavorable opinion about bilingual schools.⁸⁹

Ultimately the abolition of the bilingual system in Manitoba was rationalized in terms of "justice", "fair-play", and "progress". The victims — the non-English speaking minorities, who were deprived of the right to bilingual instruction — were represented as pawns, manipulated by selfish, ungrateful nationalist agitators, who were forcing the English speaking majority to endure "intolerable conditions". Speaking before the Legislature on January 12, 1916, R.S. Thornton, Minister of Education in the newly elected Liberal government, detailed the dangers inherent in the bilingual system. He warned that "...in almost every [school] district of mixed nationalities a prolonged and continuous struggle takes place to gain control of the trustee board". Providing little concrete evidence he went on to state that "...in most cases, as instanced, the English people are driven out of the settlement, and those who cannot afford to move have to stay and endure conditions". "During the last few months", Thornton claimed, "there has been a steady movement towards the elimination of teachers who have been teaching English entirely, whether of British nationality or otherwise". "Outlawing [sic] English in an English [sic] land", he insisted, was "giving the English a poor show in their own [sic] country".⁹⁰

In support of the position taken by the minister, the Free Press asserted that it would not be enough to abolish the bilingual system in Manitoba. The right to teach non-English languages would also have to be abolished. If, for example, "...the law of Alberta and Saskatchewan...should be applied to Manitoba", English settlers and the rights

of property would continue to be at the mercy of the "foreigners".

...The Ruthenians invade [sic] a settlement occupied by the English. Farming small areas they grow in numbers until they soon constitute a majority of the ratepayers, though in the aggregate they represent only a small percentage of the property holdings. Once the majority is assured the agitator [sic] — usually a priest — appears in the background; and there follows the putting into office of a board of Ruthenian school trustees, the dismissal of the English teacher, the engaging of a Ruthenian teacher, and the conversion of an English school into a so-called [sic] bilingual school. The exodus of the English then begins and keeps up until the settlement is almost solidly non-English. If we have on our Statute Book a law with the Saskatchewan provision this movement will continue. In order to secure a teacher of their own nationality, capable of giving the one hour's teaching in their own languages without additional cost to themselves, the Ruthenian or Polish majority will be urged to get possession of the School Board and dismiss the English teacher.

...The appearance of a [non-English bilingual] teacher in a district where there was a minority of English school children would be the signal for an exodus of English settlers to a district where it would be possible for them to secure proper education for their children. The English would continue to be pariahs and outcasts in their own land [sic].⁹¹

The reference to the role of "agitators" reflected the Free Press/ Liberal contention that the movement in support of bilingual schools was led by a clique of selfish, ungrateful "factionalists", who did not represent the wishes of the otherwise "contented" Ukrainian immigrant community, and who were somehow allied with those who would destroy Canada from without. During the debate on bilingual schools in the Legislature, the Free Press insisted that Ferley spoke only for himself and "for certain clerical [!] and political influences", and tried to insinuate that he was allied with forces trying "...to win over the million or so Ruthenians on this continent to the Teutonic

side".⁹² D.A. Ross (M.L.A. Springfield) even denounced Bishop Budka as an "Austrian Army reservist and not really a Bishop at all".⁹³ "If left alone", the Free Press insisted, "the Ruthenians would never have sought to take advantage of the bilingual clause of the School Act; and they will fall in with the Government's modification of the existing law if they are dealt with frankly and fearlessly".⁹⁴ On March 8, 1916, by a 35 to 8 majority, the Manitoba Legislature abolished the bilingual school system.

In Saskatchewan, as elsewhere, the outbreak of war heightened nativist fears and anxieties and led to the abolition of "foreign" language instruction. Legislation calling for "...the flying of the Union Jack outside of each school and the keeping of at least two flags within each school" was passed shortly after the outbreak of war. At the Saskatchewan School Trustees' Convention in March 1915, W.L. Ramsay, President of the Provincial Educational Association, lamented that "trustees and teachers were not always British subjects" and a motion declaring that "only the English language should be taught in Public or Separate schools during school hours" was introduced but rejected. A few months later the teachers of the Saskatoon Inspectorate urged that "every child in Canada be taught to speak, read and write the English language" and that maps of the British Empire be included in all geography texts. During debate on the School Act in June 1915, Conservative opposition members insisted that it was the province's duty to make "good Canadian citizens" of the "foreign people" by "first of all [teaching] them the English language", and suggested that only someone who spoke English exclusively and was of British birth could instil British ideals and

satisfactorily perform the duties of a school teacher.⁹⁵ One member even argued for the exclusive use of English in the school and suggested that "foreigners" should forget and break their ties with the lands of their origin.⁹⁶

In response to growing concern with the educational system, Premier Scott initiated the Better Schools Movement in the summer of 1915. As a result the Saskatchewan Public Education League was formed. In September, the Rev. Dr. E.H. Oliver, Principal, Presbyterian Theological College, in Saskatoon, addressed the League on the topic "The Country School in Non-English Speaking Communities in Saskatchewan". While the empirical data presented by Oliver was hotly disputed by Provincial School Inspectors, who suggested that his findings were based on two days research and interviews with unrepresentative individuals at a picnic, the address revealed that representatives of the dominant group were concerned primarily with political activity and organization among the immigrants. Anticipating a devastated Europe after the conclusion of the war, Oliver predicted that "an avalanche" of immigrants would cover the prairies immediately thereafter, and inquired, "Are we to be a homogeneous people on these plains or are we to repeat the tragic sufferings of polyglot Austria?" Oliver went on to state that

...One fact stands out with tremendous clearness — the Ruthenians have become a force. Not in this Province alone but throughout the prairies. They have control of school districts, they dictate [sic] the policy in more than one Rural Municipality, they have entered the Legislature of Manitoba, and are knocking at the doors of the Legislative Assemblies of other Provinces. As school trustees they frequently get the affairs of the school districts in a frightful mess, as Rural Councillors they have not exhibited any great administrative genius.

And yet they have an aptitude for political agitation [sic]. There is little doubt that there are potent forces in the west of a strongly nationalist character that stand ready to exploit the Ruthenians.

Noting that Ukrainians were anxious to preserve their language and identity, and that they were beginning to organize themselves along national lines, Oliver insisted that it "would be desirable to have the teacher in every Ruthenian school thoroughly Canadian". Referring to the Training School in Regina, and to Ukrainian permit teachers, he declared "...we cannot afford to have short cuts and special devices open to the non-English". A policy of "firmness" rather than "concessions" had to be adopted. Among other reforms Oliver recommended "...a strict enforcement of the regulations governing the teaching of non-English languages, the employment of the direct instead of the indirect method even in the primary grades...[and] the one dominating policy of making Canadian citizens here on the prairies".⁹⁷

In spite of the fact that French, German and Ukrainian, were taught in 80, 73 and 39 schools respectively — out of over 4,000 in the province — agitation for "English only" education grew between 1916 and 1918. The Grain Growers Association, the School Trustees' Association, the Rural Municipalities Association, the Soldiers' Wives and Mothers' League, the Great War Veterans, the Sons of England and the Loyal Orange Order, repeatedly demanded that no language but English be taught in the public schools, while the Rev. Murdoch MacKinnon, a Presbyterian, expressed concern that Saskatchewan would become "another Quebec". Consequently in December 1918, Premier Scott's successor, W.M. Martin, introduced a compromise language amendment to the School Act. English was made the sole language of instruction, but

provisions were made to retain French as the language of instruction in the first grade and as a subject of instruction for up to one hour daily where the school board requested it. No such provisions were made for instruction in "foreign" languages. To guarantee control of the schools in non-English speaking districts, J.T.M. Anderson, an outspoken critic of bilingualism, was appointed Director of Education among New Canadians.

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If the sequence of events leading up to the abolition of bilingualism left any doubt about the objectives which advocates of Canadianization sought to achieve, developments after abolition made these objectives abundantly clear. Advocates of Canadianization hoped to destroy the mechanisms of cultural production and transmission within the immigrant community in order to minimize the basis for national identity and group solidarity among the immigrants. Consequently the public schools were transformed into agencies of cultural domination, which propagated national stereotypes, distorted the immigrants' history and collective memory, produced attitudes of self-hatred and inferiority, indoctrinated loyalty to the Empire, and socialized values necessary for the survival of the existing social order. Ironically enough, in the public school system "reformed" by prairie "Liberals", the rights and interests of individuals and minorities were subordinated to those of the state.

Denationalization and the elimination of individuals and institutions capable of cultivating and sustaining a sense of Ukrainian (or any other "non-Canadian") national identity was the first objective

shared by militant opponents of bilingual education. In 1912 Principal W.J. Sisler had lamented the appearance of National Homes because "...the word national does not mean Canadian [and because]... a foreign language will be spoken there..." Suggesting that the public school serve as a community centre in the evening hours, thereby rendering the National Home redundant, he warned that "We must give our new citizens something concrete on which to base their knowledge of and their love of country. They will never get this in National Societies until the word National means Canadian".⁹⁸ Five years later a rural English speaking Manitoba teacher reiterated the dominant group's narrow assimilationist objectives when she stated that

...The Reading Hall is our rival as its purpose is educational as well as social, but is not conducted in our language nor does it teach our customs. "Speak no English" is the rule strictly enforced within its four walls. Evening classes in Ruthenian are taught there, though not well attended by our school children. Oh, that our school could have been the first in the field, and had the social gatherings within its Canadian atmosphere!⁹⁹

J.T.M. Anderson, who believed that the public school was "the great melting pot" destined to perform "the splendid work of racial unification", insisted that

...one of our greatest handicaps at the present time comes from the direction of those of certain foreign nationalities who lived and were educated in Europe and who quickly gained a knowledge of our language but who still are alien in their ideals and sympathies.¹⁰⁰

Addressing the annual convention of the Manitoba Educational Association in 1919, on the topic of "Canadianization", he urged his listeners to

...go earnestly and carefully about this matter of deportation. It need not be wholesale, but of the nationalistic agitators I think that if some two hundred men out of all

Canada were to be deported the foreign problem would be solved. Let us find out the ringleaders and rid the country of them.

"These people must have leaders", he concluded, "and the leaders must come from us".¹⁰¹ Anderson, who predicted that "before Canada has commemorated her hundredth anniversary of Confederation, a considerable number of those guiding her national destiny will bear the Anglicized forms" of Slavic names, provided the following illustration of Canadianization:

...A certain young Ruthenian who had seen service in France recently wrote to a countryman of his in the University, asking how he could change his name to an English form. The university man indignantly told him to keep his own name. "If anyone asks you who you are, tell him you are a Ukrainian who fought for Canada". That is commendable, you may think; but I see danger here. We don't want Ukrainians who fought for Canada. We want Canadians who fought for Canada!¹⁰²

Addressing the same gathering, Dr. R.S. Thornton, the Minister of Education, insisted that

...We have as much right to decide whom we wish to enter our [sic] country as to decide whom we wish to enter our homes. To those who come determined to be one-hundred percent Canadians, who come prepared to identify themselves with this country we bid welcome. But if they come determined to stay German, to stay Ruthenian we want them turned back.¹⁰³

The distortion and eradication of the immigrants' heritage and collective memory, the inculcation of attitudes of self-doubt and inferiority, and the indoctrination of imperial sentiment, constituted the second major objective of those who abolished the bilingual system. Prior to the outbreak of war a scheme "of naming the various schools [in Winnipeg's North End] after men of eminence", such as King Edward, Lord Aberdeen, Lord Selkirk, Cecil Rhodes, Lord Strathcona, and Mr. William Whyte of the C.P.R., was launched so that immigrant children

might "learn their significance".¹⁰⁴ While Anderson commended a school teacher who displayed "...maps of the province, the Dominion of Canada, and the British Empire [and] ...clearly pointed out to the pupils that the country from which their parents came to Canada was eighteen times smaller than Canada",¹⁰⁵ Inspector F.H. Belton of Roblin, Manitoba, provided the following illustration of successful Canadianization:

...Not long ago in Glenaden School, I was using a map of Europe before forty Ruthenian children. After pointing out the various countries in Eastern Europe which had contributed to immigration, I asked: "Now children, of what country are you?" and with one accord, they answered: "We are Canadians!"¹⁰⁶

Similarly, while Inspector S.E. Lang believed that the British Empire furnished the best "object in the study of government" because it was, among other things, "vaster", "more strikingly successful and in all probability far more durable" than all other Empires,¹⁰⁷ Inspector Willows of Winnipeg, asserted that in order to discharge their duties teachers

...must possess a true Canadian spirit, and they must impart this spirit to their pupils. They must not only state but they must feel that Canada is a great country, the greatest member of the greatest Empire the world has ever seen. They must KNOW, and know how to IMPART the reason why the Empire is the greatest the world has ever seen. Every child should leave school with this knowledge firmly impressed, so firmly that no outside influence will ever rob him or her of it.¹⁰⁸

Teachers relied on different strategies to inculcate love for Canada and to impress their pupils with the majesty of Empire. Mr. Lewis Inglott, a returned soldier who had been wounded in France, resorted to "firm control and discipline" and literally ran his school like a military barrack. Every morning after one of the older boys who

had been designated "Sargeant-Major" blew his whistle and assembled the pupils, they were expected to fall into line, number off, march around the school yard, perform a series of manual exercises, salute their teacher, and stand at attention while Inglott inspected them.¹⁰⁹ Other teachers simply relied on patriotic ceremonies — elaborate flag-raising rituals accompanied by a gramophone blaring songs such as "Tipperary", "God Save the King", or "British Troops Passing through Boulogne". In one rural Manitoba school children were rewarded with "Children of the Empire" buttons for reading ten books supplied and selected by the Imperial Order of the Daughters of the Empire, while in another school they were taught the following school yell:

Who are we? Who are we? Who are we?
 We're the NEW CANADIANS don't you see?
 Can we speak English? Well! I guess!
 Do we love Canada — Yes! Yes! Yes!¹¹⁰

The extent to which indoctrination was carried, was graphically illustrated by the following account written by an eleven year old girl from Ukraina, Manitoba. On Empire Day the pupils of Ferley School sang "We'll Never Let the Old Flag Down" and then

...marched past and saluted the flag. Then we went into the school for speeches, songs and recitations. Such songs as "The Maple Leaf Forever" were sung. Then some pupils recited patriotic pieces. These were the pieces: "Children of the Empire", "Union Jack", "The Flag" and "The Colors of the Flag".

...Then an old man unveiled the Queen's picture and the old woman the King's picture. When this was done everybody clapped hands and sang "God Save Our King"...¹¹¹

It should come as no surprise that officials of the Manitoba Department of Education could state that the fundamental aim of education was "the training of Canadian citizens" and that the "first question in certificating a teacher should not be with regard to his

scholarship and training but with regard to his character and loyalty".¹¹² Shortly before the end of his term in office Dr. R.S. Thornton even declared that "the greatest object of education is not to teach children to read and write, but to make good citizens of them".¹¹³ Statements of this kind, rather than the professed desire to increase the immigrant child's social mobility, or the results of trumped up reports on conditions in non-English speaking school districts, indicate why bilingual schools were abolished.

FOOTNOTES: CHAPTER FOUR

¹ See Table in note 4 Chapter Two.

² The Report of the Joint Committee on Cooperation in Home Mission Work, released in March 1911, revealed the following distribution of mission fields. Congregationalists: Swedes, Germans, Welsh; Methodists: Austrians [sic], Italians, Scandinavians, Poles, Syrians, [Amer-] Indians, Japanese, Chinese; Presbyterians: Ruthenians, Finns, Bohemians, Bulgarians, Italians, Jews, Chinese, [Amer-] Indians. See The Presbyterian: A Weekly Review of Canadian Church Life and Work 23 March, 1911, pp. 359-60. [hereafter cited as The Presbyterian].

For Methodist missionary activity among Ukrainian and European settlers in the West see the following: G.N. Emery, "Methodist Missions Among the Ukrainians", Alberta Historical Review, 1971, vol. 19; "The Methodist Church and the 'European Foreigners' of Winnipeg: The All People's Mission, 1889-1914", Transactions of the Historical Society of Manitoba, 1971-72, no. 28; and, "Methodism on the Canadian Prairies, 1896-1914, Ph.D. Dissertation, University of British Columbia, 1970; Marilyn Barber, "Nationalism, Nativism and the Social Gospel: The Protestant Church Response to Foreign Immigrants in Western Canada, 1897-1914", in Richard Allen (ed.), The Social Gospel in Canada: Papers of the Inter-Disciplinary Conference on the Social Gospel in Canada (Ottawa, 1975); and, Vivian Olender, "The Reaction of the Canadian Methodist Church towards Ukrainian Immigrants: Rural Missions as Agencies of Assimilation", M.A. Thesis, St. Michael's College, University of Toronto, 1976. On Canadian Methodism in general, at the turn of the century, see William H. Magney, "The Methodist Church and the National Gospel, 1884-1914", (The United Church) Bulletin, no. 20 (Toronto, 1968).

For general histories of the Presbyterian Church in Canada see E.A. Christie, "The Presbyterian Church in Canada and its Official Attitude Toward Public Affairs and Social Problems, 1875-1925", M.A. Thesis, University of Toronto, 1955; John S. Moir, Enduring Witness: A History of the Presbyterian Church in Canada (Toronto, 1975); Also see B. Kieseckamp, "Presbyterian and Methodist Divines: Their Case for a National Church in Canada, 1875-1900", and N.K. Clifford, "His Dominion: A Vision of Crisis", both in Studies in Religion, vol. II, 1973; and, Mary Vipond, "Canadian National Conscience and the Formation of the United Church of Canada", (The United Church) Bulletin, no. 24, (Toronto, 1975).

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Major Religious Denominations, Prairie Provinces

Denomination

Presbyterian	51,508	93,177	266,509	421,357
Roman Catholic ^a	33,579	68,787	226,474	350,168
Anglican	45,018	70,553	219,751	335,928
Methodist	36,417	72,089	208,581	261,774
Lutheran	9,221	28,639	132,189	191,003
Greek Church ^b	---	15,096	73,986	139,666

^a probably includes Roman Catholics and Greek Catholics

^b probably includes Greek Catholics and Greek Orthodox

Source: Compiled on the basis of Census of Canada 1921: Population — Principal Religions by Provinces, vol. II, Table 31, pp. 568-69.

For hagiographic accounts of the Scotsmen/Presbyterians who were prominent in the conquest and colonization of the Prairies see the works of George Bryce and Roderick MacBeth (both Presbyterian divines) listed in the bibliography. For an appreciation of the Presbyterians' position and role in Canadian economic life see: Gerald Tulchinsky, "The Montreal Business Community, 1837-1853", and T.W. Acheson, "The Social Origins of the Canadian Industrial Elite, 1880-1885," both in D.S. Macmillan (ed.) Canadian Business History: Selected Studies, 1497-1971 (Toronto, 1972); and, T.W. Acheson, "Changing Social Origins of the Canadian Industrial Elite, 1880-1910", in Business History Review, vol. XLVII, no. 2. 1973. Also see relevant articles in W. Stanford Reid (ed.) The Scottish Tradition in Canada (Toronto, 1976).

⁴ Thus, medical missions were established only when it became evident "that medical work offered the best means of approach", the easiest way to win the settlers' confidence and introduce them to "British ideals". According to the Rev. Dr. A.J. Hunter of Teulon, "I soon found that the people did not want theology, so I thought I would pass another way, and gave myself out as a doctor". Similarly, the Presbyterians built the first public schools in Ukrainian districts because they considered the public school to be an institution crucial "for the future unity and homogeneity of the nation". In the public school "...the idiosyncracies of race and speech will be lost and the children [will] imbibe the free spirit of Young Canada", stated the Rev. C. MacKinnon, while a correspondent of The Presbyterian insisted that "...the supreme object of a national education should be to produce good citizens". See The Presbyterian Record, 1909, pp. 87, 89-91; The Presbyterian, 2 March, 1911, pp. 265-66; The Missionary Messenger 1915, vol. II, pp. 200-02.

⁵ The Presbyterian 24 August 1905 p. 228.

⁶ Rev. C.W. Gordon, "Our Duty to the English Speaking and European Settlers", Canada's Missionary Congress 1909 (Toronto, 1910), p. 106. Gordon (1860-1937) was better known, under the pseudonym of Ralph Connor, as the author of 30 novels. His description of immigrant life in Winnipeg's North End — The Foreigner (New York, 1909) — is a typical "colonial novel" although the various published commentaries on his work have failed to note this. See for example, J.L. and J.H. Thompson, "Ralph Connor and the Canadian Identity", Queen's Quarterley vol. LXIX, 1972; M. Vipond, "Blessed are the peacemakers: The Labour Question in Canadian Social Gospel Fiction", Journal of Canadian Studies, vol. X. 1975; F.W. Watt, "Western Myth: The World of Ralph Connor". Canadian Literature, vol. I, no. 1, 1959.

⁷ George Bryce, "The Canadianization of Western Canada", (Presidential Address), Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada, series III, vol. IV, 1910.

⁸ Acts and Proceedings of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in Canada 1911, pp. 17-19.

⁹ Kanadyiskyi Farmer 21 August, 6 September, 13 September 1907.

¹⁰ Kanadyiskyi Rusyn 2 September 1911; 21 September 1912.

¹¹ The Presbyterian 26 July 1906 p. 99.

¹² Ranok 10 January, 25 September, 13 November 1912.

¹³ Ranok 7 July 1911.

¹⁴ Ranok 10 May 1916.

¹⁵ D.G. McQueen to J. Farquharson, 30 April 1912. General Correspondence of Dr. James Farquharson. Work Among the New Canadians. Presbyterian Church Board of Home Missions. (U.C.A.).

¹⁶ D.G. McQueen to J. Farquharson, 26 April 1912. Ibid.

¹⁷ When Ivan Bodrug was stationed in Montreal just prior to the first world war his son was disturbed "...to see the Presbyterian deaconess on the premises doing nothing but having her little tea parties with another couple and ever present at our affairs, doing nothing constructive. It seemed that we had a watchdog over us, and I'm sure many of the adults resented her presence because of the same thought". Edward Bodrug, "John Bodrug: Ukrainian Pioneer, Preacher, Educator, Editor, in the Canadian West, 1897-1913" TS. (U.C.A.), p. 96.

¹⁸ After the war C.G. Young, reporting on mission work in northern Saskatchewan observed that thousands of immigrants were "...becoming the prey of adventurers and so-called reformers of the Socialistic order", and stated that "...some of the men of Ukrainian birth now under the appointment of this Board are very unfitted to do the kind of constructive work that ought to be done". Acts and Proceedings of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in Canada 1920 p. 39.

¹⁹ The Presbyterian 13 February 1908 pp. 202-03.

²⁰ The Presbyterian Record 1910 pp. 182-83.

²¹ The Missionary Messenger 1915 vol. II pp. 200-02.

²² The Presbyterian Record 1911 p. 130.

- ²³ The Missionary Messenger, op. cit., pp. 200-02.
- ²⁴ The Home Missionary Pioneer 1913-14 vol. IX p. 70.
- ²⁵ Ranok 12 January 1916.
- ²⁶ A.J. Hunter, A Friendly Adventure, (Toronto, 1929), p. 8.
- ²⁷ The Missionary Messenger 1916 vol. III pp. 273-74.
- ²⁸ The Missionary Messenger 1918 vol. V p. 44.
- ²⁹ The Missionary Messenger 1918 vol. V p. 282-83.
- ³⁰ The Presbyterian Record 1909 pp. 89-91.
- ³¹ The Missionary Messenger 1915 vol. II pp. 200-02.
- ³² Interview with Mr. N. Zalozetsky, Winnipeg, November 27, 1977 (tape - Ukrainian).
- ³³ Ibid.
- ³⁴ Ranok 12 January 1916.
- ³⁵ Kanadyiskyi Rusyn 8 February 1913.
- ³⁶ The Missionary Messenger 1916 vol. III p. 12.
- ³⁷ Interview with Mr. Zalozetsky.
- ³⁸ The Missionary Messenger 1919 vol. VI pp. 116-17.
- ³⁹ Ranok 18 December 1918.
- ⁴⁰ Ranok 22 January 1919.
- ⁴¹ Alfred Fitzpatrick, The University in Overalls: A Plea For Part-Time Study, (Toronto, 1920), pp. 38, 44. For discussions of Victorian culture and social attitudes see Walter E. Houghton, The Victorian Frame of Mind (New Haven, 1957), and Carl Berger, The Sense of Power: Studies in the Ideas of Canadian Imperialism, 1867-1914 (Toronto, 1970).
- ⁴² Joseph Wearing, "The Frontier Problem", The Canadian Magazine, 1909-10, vol. XXXIV, p. 264.
- ⁴³ Alfred Fitzpatrick, The University in Overalls, p. 91.
- ⁴⁴ Eleventh Annual Report (Reading Camp Association, Toronto, 1911).

⁴⁵"Redeeming the Reputation of the Cultured Classes" TS., in Frontier College Papers, vol. 179, (P.A.C.).

⁴⁶Eleventh Annual Report, op. cit.

⁴⁷A. Fitzpatrick to D.B. Hanna, 18 December 1920, in Frontier College Papers, vol. 34.

⁴⁸Publicity TS., in Frontier College Papers, vol. 179.

⁴⁹A. Fitzpatrick to E.W. Beatty, 28 December 1920, in Frontier College Papers, vol. 34.

⁵⁰Fragments of Fitzpatrick's correspondence with Carmichael may be found in Frontier College Papers vols. 6, 7, 186, and in "Minutes of the Executive of the Home Mission Committee", Presbyterian Church in Canada, Synod of Manitoba and the Northwest Territories, MS., (U.C.A.).

⁵¹Alfred Fitzpatrick, Handbook for New Canadians (Toronto, 1919), p. 1.

⁵²Alfred Fitzpatrick, The University in Overalls, p. 136.

⁵³Alfred Fitzpatrick, "Outnavvying the Navvies", The Canadian Magazine, 1916, vol. XLVII, p. 23.

⁵⁴Alfred Fitzpatrick, The University in Overalls, p. 135.

⁵⁵Alfred Fitzpatrick, Handbook for New Canadians, pp. 56-57.

⁵⁶Instructors' Reports, Frontier College Papers, vol. 147.

⁵⁷Edmund Bradwin, The Bunkhouse Man (Toronto, 1972 reprint), pp. 8-9.

⁵⁸Acts and Proceedings of the Eighteenth Synod of Manitoba, 1900, p. 10.

⁵⁹Manitoba Free Press 3 January 1902.

⁶⁰Thomas Hart, "The Educational System of Manitoba", Queens' Quarterly 1905, p. 246.

⁶¹A.J. Hunter, "The Educational Problem in the West" The Presbyterian, 13 February 1908, pp. 202-03.

⁶²Dr. N.F. Black, "Western Canada's Greatest Problem: The Transformation of Aliens into Citizens", Western School Journal (1914), vol. IX, pp. 90-96.

⁶³See "The English Language and the 'Foreign Child'", Manitoba Free Press 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, June 1913.

⁶⁴W.J. Sisler to J.S. Woodsworth, 22 June 1909, Woodsworth Papers vol. 37, (P.A.C.).

⁶⁵Robert Fletcher Letterbook 1905-1911, p. 667 (P.A.M.).

⁶⁶Ukrainskyi Holos 8 May 1912.

⁶⁷Ukrainskyi Holos 26 February 1913.

⁶⁸Ukrainskyi Holos 19 March 1913; 4 March 1914.

⁶⁹Ukrainskyi Holos 4 March 1914; Petro Svarich, Spomyny 1877-1904, (Winnipeg, 1976) pp. 231-32.

⁷⁰M.P. Toombs, "A Saskatchewan Experiment in Teacher Education, 1907-1917", Saskatchewan History, vol. XVII, 1964; Cornelius J. Jaenen, "Ruthenian Schools in Western Canada, 1897-1919", Paedagogica Historica, vol. X, 1970.

⁷¹Living conditions in the school were likened to a C.P.R. bunk-house: 34 students were expected to sleep in one large dormitory on the top floor, while the basement was occupied by rabbits and guinea pigs. The food was substandard and Greer rationed milk and personally examined the students' coffee cups and plates after meals to determine which students failed to eat what they had been given. The atmosphere in the school, a student complained, was like that on a "South American plantation". Greer also mocked Ukrainian national heroes and claimed to be personally opposed to Ukrainian immigration into Canada. After numerous petitions to the Department of Education failed to set things right, the students went out on strike. The 46 strikers claimed that in addition to being incompetent and hostile to Ukrainians, Greer had referred to the students as "swine", "Jack-asses" and "sow's tails"; that he had suspended students who were not in bed by 10 P.M. for two days; and that he had forced a student caught speaking Ukrainian in his spare time to leave the school at 10:30 P.M. Although a committee of investigation appointed by the Department of Education exonerated Greer and recommended the expulsion of 6 students, the Deputy Minister of Education, who knew Greer better, forced him to resign and closed the school. Thereafter, for three years a special class for "foreigners" was conducted in the Provincial Normal School under the supervision of Inspectors W.E. Stevenson and H.A. Everts. See Ukrainskyi Holos 11 January, 1, 8, February 1911; 7 February, 27 November 1912; 5, 19 February 1913; 4 March 1914; 6 January, 10 November 1915.

⁷²On December 8, 1913 the students went out on strike. Its immediate cause was Stickle's insistence that the students attend Sunday services at the local Protestant Church and his refusal to serve meals to those students who boycotted these services. When the students protested, Stickle and his wife, armed with a revolver, expelled two of the student leaders, and proceeded to patrol the students' dormitories armed in this fashion. Stickle was exonerated and 3 students expelled as a result of an investigation which followed. See Ukrainskyi Holos 24 December 1913.

⁷³ Annual Report (Manitoba Department of Education) 1908 p. 482, 1910 p. 125.

⁷⁴ W.J. Sisler, "The Immigrant Child", Western School Journal (1906), vol. I, no. 3, pp. 4-6, no. 4, pp. 3-6.

⁷⁵ I.S., "The Non-English", Western School Journal (1917) vol. XII, p. 404.

⁷⁶ J.T.M. Anderson, The Education of the New Canadian: A Treatise on Canada's Greatest Educational Problem (Toronto, 1918), p. 146.

⁷⁷ See Annual Report (Alberta Department of Education, 1913) and the Edmonton Journal or the Manitoba Free Press 1913 *passim.*, for the "official" version of the controversy. Historians who have accepted this interpretation include J.W. Chambers, "Strangers in Our Midst", Alberta Historical Review, 1968, vol. 16, pp. 18-23, and J.G. MacGregor, Vilni Zemli (Free Lands): The Ukrainian Settlement of Alberta, (Toronto, 1969).

⁷⁸ For the Ukrainian perspective see Ukrainskyi Holos, Kanadyiskyi Rusyn, and Novyny (Edmonton) for 1913 *passim.*; also, Vasyl Chumer, Spomyny 1892-1942, (Edmonton, 1942); Petro Svarich, "Spomyny", Propamiatna Knyha Ukrainskoho Narodnoho Domu (Winnipeg, 1949); Dmytro Prokop, "Spomyny vchytelia-pionera" TS., n.d., n.p.

Ukrainian sources also suggest that Liberal hostility toward Ukrainian teachers in Alberta was intensified by the activity of a well-organized Russophile faction within the Alberta Liberal organization. When traditional Ukrainian Liberal supporters formed the P.N.K. and proceeded to make their demands, the party turned to Russophile Liberal "organizers" to help them secure the Ukrainian vote. The only Ukrainian to be officially nominated by the Liberal Party in 1913 was the Russophile Andrew Shandro. Shandro and his associates organized rallies condemning the use of Ukrainian in the public schools, and insisted that there was no Ukrainian language or nationality. As a result of Russophile influence within the Party, the translation of the Alberta School Act requested by the P.N.K. was published in the macaronic Ukrainian-Russian dialect favoured by the Russophiles; Boyle publicly referred to the Ukrainian language as "a dialect of Russian"; and Alberta Liberal newspapers insisted that Ukrainians should properly be referred to as "Little Russians" because they were a "branch of the great Muscovite nation". A Ukrainian teacher (E. Kozlovsky) who dared to express his disagreement with these statements at a rally organized by Shandro, was beaten by a number of Shandro's thugs.

⁷⁹ Manitoba Free Press 11, 18, 19, 27 September 1913. Previously, in January, February, and March 1913, the Free Press had published a series of 64 articles entitled "The Bilingual Schools of Manitoba". The first 30 articles dealt with Polish and Ukrainian bilingual schools. Written by Vernon Thomas, himself a recent immigrant from England, the articles were much more charitable, tolerant and sympathetic in spirit

than most Free Press pronouncements on the bilingual issue. Their purpose was to censure the Conservative Roblin government for failing to provide adequate educational facilities in many rural areas settled by non-English speaking minorities. Yet, these articles too, lamented the fact that bilingual teachers lacked "the assimilating touch of English-speaking teachers" and provided a narrow, biased view of the conditions in rural bilingual schools, if only because of the fact that they examined just three districts populated by Ukrainians and Poles — Teulon, Beausejour and Whitemouth.

⁸⁰ Manitoba Free Press 20 October 1911.

⁸¹ Manitoba Free Press 25 September 1912.

⁸² Manitoba Free Press (editorial pages) 27 December 1913; 5, 8, 14, 23, 30, 31 January, 7 February, 5 March, 17 April, 23 April, 13 May, 7 July 1914.

⁸³ Manitoba Free Press 14 December 1914.

⁸⁴ Manitoba Free Press 1 June 1915.

⁸⁵ Manitoba Free Press 16 June 1915.

⁸⁶ Manitoba Free Press 20 November 1915.

⁸⁷ Manitoba Free Press 2 December 1915.

⁸⁸ Since 100% of the bilingual schools were rural (compared with 61.2% of the provincial total) it is easy to understand why the average daily attendance in bilingual schools (55%) fell below the provincial average (67.4%).

The survey also revealed that in 85 school districts — 37 of which employed teachers of non-British origin — section 258 could legally have been invoked, but in fact was not being implemented. It also showed that in 36 schools instruction in two languages other than English could have been demanded, and that in 5 schools instruction in three languages in addition to English could have been demanded. As it happened, however, all 41 schools were taught in English only.

Of 93 Ukrainian and Polish schools included in the reports, 15 provided no instruction in Ukrainian or Polish whatsoever; 15 provided less than 3 hours instruction per week; 20 provided 1/2 hour or less daily; and, only 5 provided more than one hour daily. Otherwise, Ukrainian/Polish was used only to assist instruction in English. An examination of the original inspectors' reports reveals the following estimates, made by the inspectors, of the bilingual teachers' command of English, of the general progress made in bilingual schools, and of the pupils' ability to use the English language.

	Excel- lent	Very Good	Good	Fairly Good	Fair	Mediocre	Poor
Teacher's use of English (84 teachers)	7	16	27	14	11	5	4
General progress (80 schools)		6	15	11	23		25
Pupils' use of English (92 schools)			21	11	26	6	28

The original inspectors' reports are filed at the Public Archives of Manitoba. See Inspection Reports: Bilingual Schools, 1915.

⁸⁹ Compare the inspectors' reports with the official published report: C.K. Newcombe, Special Report on Bilingual Schools in Manitoba (Winnipeg, 1916), also published under the caption "Startling Lack of English Shown by Enquiry into Bilingual Schools", Manitoba Free Press 21 January 1916, p. 1. For the Ukrainian reaction to the report see Taras Ferley's speech in the Legislature on 28 February 1916. The complete text (in Ukrainian translation) may be found in Ukrainskyi Holos 8, 15, 22, 29 March 1916. Dissertations dealing with the abolition of bilingual schools in Manitoba include Borislav N. Bilash, "Bilingual Public Schools in Manitoba, 1897-1916", M.Ed. Thesis, University of Manitoba, 1960; Keith Wilson, "The Development of Education in Manitoba", Ph.D. Dissertation, Michigan State University, 1967, chapter VI; and, Morris K. Mott, "The 'Foreign Peril': Nativism in Winnipeg, 1916-23", M.A. Thesis, University of Manitoba, 1970, chapter IV. Also see J.E. Rea, "'My line is the kiddies...make them good Christians and good Canadians, which is the same thing'", in Wsevolod Isajiw (ed.) Identities: The Impact of Ethnicity on Canadian Society (Toronto, 1977).

⁹⁰ Manitoba Free Press 13 January 1916.

⁹¹ Manitoba Free Press 24 January, 19 February 1916.

⁹² Manitoba Free Press 18 February 1916.

⁹³ Canadian Annual Review 1916 p. 674.

⁹⁴ Manitoba Free Press 18 January 1916.

⁹⁵ Canadian Annual Review 1915, pp. 673-81.

⁹⁶ Ukrainskyi Holos 22 July 1914.

- 97 E.H. Oliver, "The Country School in Non-English Speaking Communities in Saskatchewan" (Saskatchewan Public Education League, 1915).
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CHAPTER FIVE
MOULDING "NEW MEN":
THREE STRATEGIES FOR CULTURAL MODERNIZATION

Unlike members of the Catholic clergy, who were primarily interested in preserving the Ukrainian immigrants' allegiance to the Catholic Church, and, unlike Anglo-Celtic proponents of Canadianization, who sought to denationalize the immigrants and to control their political and socio-economic behaviour, members of the village intelligentsia hoped to "enlighten and elevate" ("prosvityty ta pidnesty") the peasant immigrants. They hoped to rationalize and modernize the habits, perceptions and behaviour patterns of their culturally neglected countrymen. Although protestants, socialists and nationalists looked forward to the day when Ukrainian peasant immigrants in Canada would become self-respecting, self-reliant, critically thinking members of a pluralistic society, advocates of the three orientations disagreed on the methods whereby these ends were to be achieved. Ideological factionalism among the intelligentsia was the result of these differences.

I

The emigration of Ukrainian peasants from Galicia and Bukovyna to Canada had met with indifference bordering on hostility in conservative Ukrainian circles. "No one had a sincere word for our peasants who were left to fend for themselves and to make their way through a maze of agents, so that in the end, only those who were interested in

tearing away their last cent, took any interest in them", wrote Kyrylo Genik in 1898.¹ Unlike the homeland which they had abandoned — a harsh "step-mother" that neglected the peasantry — Canada seemed to promise economic security and civil rights guaranteed by the British constitution. Consequently the exponents of protestantism, the first representatives of the village intelligentsia in Canada, displayed a singular readiness to cooperate with and learn from those representatives of the dominant Anglo-Celtic group who offered to assist them.

From the turn of the century until the end of the war exponents of the protestant orientation consistently advocated "assimilation" and "Canadianization". Although it is difficult to ascertain the exact connotations that these terms carried for members of the Ukrainian protestant intelligentsia, the evidence at hand seems to indicate that as far as they were concerned, these terms implied neither denationalization, nor acquiescence in efforts to exploit the immigrants as a source of cheap labor. Rather, the terms seem to have implied cultural modernization: the casting-off of obsolete peasant perceptions and habits, and the unequivocal rejection of the "cult of sacred national relics". Collective memory could be strengthened and sustained by cultivating an appreciation for, and familiarity with, Ukrainian arts and letters, rather than by mechanically adhering to traditional folk usages and religious practices. Fearing that traditional folk usages and religious practices reinforced peasant perceptions, the protestants sought to differentiate peasant culture from Ukrainian culture, and to eradicate vestiges of the former.

An intimate familiarity with the life of the peasantry in Galicia and in Canada, convinced members of the Ukrainian intelligentsia that

the retention of perceptions, beliefs and behaviour patterns peculiar to the peasantry created the greatest obstacle to the immigrants' integration into Canadian society on terms of equality. Peasant conservatism, fatalism, individualism and irrationalism threatened to relegate the immigrants to perpetual dependence and social subservience. It was imperative that old world peasant perceptions, values and behaviour patterns, and the folk usages which helped to sustain these, be eradicated. The Ukrainian peasant immigrants' life in Canada was to be established on enlightened and rational principles, and protestantism seemed to be capable of performing this task.

Advocates of protestantism believed that conversion to evangelical Protestantism would contribute to the rationalization and modernization of the peasant immigrants' perceptions and habits. Because Protestant doctrine recognized Scripture as the only source of authority in matters of faith, because it recognized freedom of conscience, and because it subscribed to the democratic and egalitarian notion of the priesthood of all believers, its Ukrainian advocates believed that conversion to Protestantism would not only provide a stimulus for the acquisition of literacy, but that it would also foster self-reliance and self-esteem by dispensing with clerical tutelage and by minimizing social distinctions between laity and clergy. "I believe that only the Gospel will enable our people to be reborn just as it has enabled other peoples to be reborn", a correspondent asserted in Ranok. In protestant communities, he continued, ". . . the people are free and somehow conversation with them is more cheerful because equality exists among them . . . Ministers are not proud and self-important, they are equals among equals".² Similarly, by inveighing against moral lapses

rather than against the failure to comply with custom, Protestantism seemed to provide the personal discipline and the habits required by the peasant immigrant if he was to adapt to life in a modern society. Only when virtues such as honesty, thrift, sobriety and self-mastery were internalized, would cooperation and conscious self-improvement become possible. In 1912 Ranok declared

...We must strive to ensure that thousands of dollars earned by our people do not fall into the hands of hotel-keepers, we must...strive to raise the cultural level of our people...we must concentrate on [developing] our people's political consciousness, their sense of morality, self-reliance, and love, [we must introduce them] to decent clothing, to progressive methods of agriculture, to cooperatives stores...³

Only then might the demoralized, superstitious and fatalistic peasants be transformed into self-respecting, rational and active participants in the economic, political and social life of their adopted country.

Already, prior to the turn of the century, Genik had warned immigrants to consider ". . . the bad old country ways, and . . . to avoid reestablishing them in the new country . . . In the new country let us establish a new way of life".⁴ He was especially pleased that the Canadian homestead system obstructed the establishment of old world peasant villages. When a newcomer suggested that the immigrants continue to settle in traditional village-like clusters on the prairies, Genik insisted that if traditional villages were established

...the peasants will proceed to fight among themselves
...[If] you settle sixty-four families on one section of land they will split each other's heads quarrelling about their children, their pigs and their chickens.

A village, Genik continued,

...is not a convenience, it is hell, and we simply will not have any villages here; they will live a mile from one another and even then it will become too crowded for them...⁵

In order to help the peasant immigrants to adapt to conditions in the new world, and to protect them from sharks and speculators, Genik tried to encourage Ukrainians living in Pennsylvania, who spoke English, who were accustomed to the work discipline in the new world, and who had developed a greater capacity for cooperation, to immigrate to Canada.

Among the Catholic clergy, and to a lesser extent in nationalist circles, the protestants were regarded as renegades. The reason for this is not difficult to determine. According to the protestants, traditional peasant usages and religious observances, venerated as "sacred national relics" ("natsionalni sviatoshchi"), were obsolete manifestations of an irrationalism and conservatism bred by centuries of oppression and chronic scarcity. Bodrug referred to Greek Catholicism as a ". . . creation of the dark Middle Ages, when men envisaged God as a strict Lord, Whose aim it was to impose punishment and vengeance upon sinful mankind".⁶ Members of the protestant community commonly referred to Greek Catholicism as a "Babylonian ritual" which was trying to ". . . isolate Ruthenians from the demands of our era".⁷ Prior to the turn of the century Genik had believed that the ritual consumption and festivities which accompanied religious holy days would disappear once white bread, meat, eggs and butter became regular staples in the peasant immigrants' diet. The numerous religious feast days on which work was proscribed by custom — seventeen in the month of May alone in the highlands — led some protestants to assert that the "ancestral faith" had also contributed to poverty and destitution in the old country and threatened to do likewise in Canada.⁸ The peasants' traditional attire — the "national costume" (narodnyi strii) — was also spurned by the protestants. To Bodrug it remained a symbol of the

peasant's subservience because prior to the abolition of serfdom

...no man or woman was allowed to wear such clothing as the nobility did...[and no] woman was allowed to wear a skirt, but...[had to wear] a large blanket-like hemp cloth over a coarse hemp skirt.

The sooner this type of clothing was abandoned the better. "When you leave the homeland, leave your [traditional] attire behind also, because here you must be reborn, you must become new men", implored Genik in 1897.¹⁰ Conscious of the prejudice provoked by the peasants' attire, he told prospective immigrants that their traditional ". . . clothing is impractical and unbecoming. Women have an unseemly appearance in these garments, and the English, a highly civilized people, are disgusted by it".¹¹ Some protestants even referred to the traditional peasant costume as "our people's serf costume" (nash narodno panshchyzniannyi strii).

There is abundant evidence suggesting that Ukrainian advocates of protestantism repudiated enforced cultural homogenization and criticized economic exploitation of the immigrants. In 1898, Ivan Danylchuk argued

...we must cherish our own Ruthenian language schools. A child who begins to attend an English school soon becomes accustomed to what he or she hears. A Ruthenian child, who receives his or her education exclusively in English, and who learns nothing in Ruthenian, will surely develop an aversion to, and become ashamed of, the Ruthenian language, if in fact he or she doesn't refuse to speak the language altogether.¹²

Three years later Ivan Bodrug appealed to the settlers to "secure Ruthenian teachers and to learn the Ruthenian language" and stated that "we must not allow ourselves to be submerged in a foreign culture".¹³ In a number of articles published at the turn of the century Genik urged Ukrainian laborers to struggle against existing socio-economic injustices. He argued that

...workers [who] provide mankind with all its material goods and services are entitled to benefit from these themselves. They are entitled to have comfortable dwellings, good food, comfortable clothing and access to schools, theatres, and libraries.

The emergence of an international labor movement promised a brighter future for all men, according to Genik:

...Workers need no longer console themselves with the dream that perhaps some day things will get better — they should boldly and openly join the struggle against capitalism and exploitation by demanding absolute social justice, justice to which they are entitled as human beings.

Only "by forming associations of workingmen of all nationalities", Genik insisted, could these objectives be attained.¹⁴

During the first decade of the century advocates of the protestant orientation played an active and leading role in organizing the immigrant community. Genik established the first Ukrainian reading society and library in Canada. Bodrug and Negrich became the first Ukrainian school teachers in Canada prior to the turn of the century, and were later joined by Ivan Danylchuk. In 1903 Genik, Bodrug and Negrich founded the first Ukrainian language newspaper in Canada — Kanadyiskyi Farmer (The Canadian Farmer). Conceived as a "...Ruthenian people's newspaper, which would guard our rights and defend the interests of Canadian Ruthenians", it was established with financial assistance from the federal Liberal party — the only party which supported and encouraged Ukrainian immigration at the time. Although Genik insisted that once the paper became a self-sufficient enterprise "...we will take it away from the Liberals and assume control of it by ourselves",¹⁵ by 1906 the paper had passed squarely into the hands of the Liberal Party, becoming its Ukrainian-language organ for the next few decades. In 1905

Ranok was established by Bodrug, with financial assistance from the Presbyterians, to serve as the organ of the Independent Greek Church, and the Presbyterians were persuaded to open classes at Manitoba College for Ukrainians who expressed a desire to become school teachers or Independent Greek Church ministers. During the next seven years 193 Ukrainians attended these courses although only three became ministers. The classes were taught by Michael Sherbinin, an educated, upper class gentleman of Protestant persuasion, who had emigrated from the Russian Empire, while the Rev. Dr. William Patrick, Principal of Manitoba College, taught at special sessions designed to introduce ministers of the Independent Greek Church to the principles of evangelical Christianity.

The protestant intelligentsia's desire to help immigrants adapt to social conventions in Canada was reflected by the publication, in 1905, of the first Ukrainian language textbook for the study of the English language. Reading passages in the textbook, prepared by Bodrug and Sherbinin, tried to acquaint peasant immigrants with "the rules of good behaviour" in order that they would learn "how a fellow ought to behave among cultured people [so] that he might be taken for a gentleman". Thus, for example, immigrants were taught that

...when somebody happens to fall on the road or any other mishap should befall anybody, don't laugh like a brute, but run to help and give assistance.

Likewise, readers were warned:

...Don't make fun of other people, don't scorn. Don't tell false stories, don't contend, don't be quarrelsome, don't interrupt.

Above all, immigrants were told to live by the "one golden rule which is the head and the root of all the other rules of conduct . . . 'Do

to others as ye would be done by'".¹⁶

The founders of the Independent Greek Church hoped that the institution would become a vehicle of enlightenment. Bodrug envisioned the process whereby the Church would be converted to evangelical Protestantism as a long term enterprise lasting from 15 to 25 years and contingent on the acquisition of mass literacy and education by the immigrants. In order to further the attainment of these objectives he visited Ivan Ardan, the defrocked, former "radical priest", in New York in 1905, and asked him to recruit suitable candidates from among former students of Lviv University who were residing in the United States. Thus, in 1906-07 Ardan sent seven former university and normal school students from New York to Winnipeg. They were led by Maksym Berezynsky, and included Zygmunt Bychynsky, a personal colleague of Ardan's, who had studied law in Lviv and had just completed two years of theological studies at the Presbyterian seminary in Pittsburgh.¹⁷

Rather than consolidate the movement, the arrival of the "scholars" rent it asunder. While some of the educated newcomers considered themselves more qualified than Bodrug to assume leading positions within the movement, others, led by Bychynsky and Berezynsky, urged immediate reform of the Independent Greek Church and gained the confidence of the Presbyterian Home Mission Board. They were also supported by the Edmonton congregation, the most prosperous and most reformed congregation in the Church, which was anxious to gain admission into the Presbyterian Church. The majority of the ministers, however, stood for the retention of the Greek rite, either because of their own personal conservatism or because they believed that reform would alienate the tradition-oriented peasant immigrants. The most conservative

members even pressured Bodrug to visit Bishop Platon of the Russian Orthodox Church in New York. Nothing came of this visit, but Bodrug, Mykhailo and Oleksa Bachynsky, and Volodymyr Pyndykowsky, chose to remain in the United States. Early in 1908 they settled in Newark, New Jersey, and helped Osyp Kosovy, editor of the anti-clerical weekly Soiuz, organize an Independent Church in the United States. In Newark Bodrug and Kosovy edited Soiuz and Ranok jointly for two years and helped to further the spread of Protestantism among Ukrainians in the United States. Bodrug, who also prepared a Ukrainian translation of Bunyan's Pilgrim's Progress during this period, remained in Newark until 1910, when Zygmunt Bychynsky returned to the United States and admitted that his advocacy of reform had been premature. Nevertheless widespread disaffection had been generated among the Church's tradition-oriented faithful, internal strife among ministers of the Church was beginning to test the patience of its Presbyterian sponsors, and the consequences of indiscriminate recruiting and ordination of clergymen became apparent when a number of ministers had to be dismissed for misconduct. It was only a matter of time before the Independent Greek Church was dissolved and its active congregations and clergymen absorbed into the Presbyterian Church.¹⁸

Throughout the period under consideration and for some years thereafter, members of the protestant intelligentsia identified their objectives and their struggle with those of the Radical Party. The spread of Radicalism and Protestantism were believed to be related, complementary processes within the Ukrainian community. Both sought to liberate the Ukrainian masses from irrationalism, superstition and clerical tutelage.

...No one can deny that the people have finally attained consciousness as a result of Radicalism ...Neither the Russian Orthodox Church nor the Catholic, with its Polish Jesuits and Belgian priests in Canada, has been able to halt Radicalism. Nor will they halt Protestantism, reform, and freedom in religious affairs because the spirit of the times corrodes the hardest metal...¹⁹

When Karmansky accused the protestants of being "mercenaries" and "hirelings", Mykhailo Bachynsky retorted by appealing to Radical precedents for opposition to Catholicism:

...do you recognize the spiritual grandeur of men like Shevchenko, Drahomanov, Franko, Pavlyk, Hrushevsky...Who were they? Did they stand by the English kennel? Were they friends of the "ancestral rite"? Did they study history at Manitoba College? Were they also bankrupt of all idealism? Would you call them uneducated?...²⁰

He then described Karmansky (with remarkable foresight) as a typical member of the Galician intelligentsia, as a man ". . . who would kiss the Traditio Sancta today, the philosophy of Nietzsche tomorrow, and the Koran or the Protestant Bible the day after tomorrow if that would earn you a salary".²¹

The radical sympathies of the protestants were attested to by their amicable relations with the socialists prior to the war. "It is much easier for us to reach an understanding with the socialists than with people whose ideas are not founded on any principles", Ranok stated in 1912.²² After the remnants of the Independent Greek Church were absorbed into the Presbyterian Church a number of radicals and socialists entered the ministry of the Presbyterian Church to work among Ukrainian immigrants. Denys Perch, an old radical who had published letters in Narod in 1890, was ordained in 1916 and later became editor of Ranok; Ivan Kotsan, a former president of the Manitoba

Ukrainian Teachers' Association and an exponent of ethical socialism, was ordained in 1915; and, Pavlo Krat, a founder of the Ukrainian Social Democratic Federation, enrolled in theology at Manitoba College in 1914, graduated in 1916, and was promptly ordained. He edited Ranok from 1914 until 1917.²³

Krat's conversion to Presbyterianism was not sudden or theoretically unmotivated. As a socialist he had been notoriously anti-clerical and in 1910 had been instrumental in establishing the Society for the Liberation of Myroslav Sichynsky, the assassin of Count Potocki who had been condemned by Metropolitan Sheptycky. While organizing for the socialists in Alberta in 1913 he met Illia Glowa, the editor of Ranok. Shortly thereafter he began to publish Kadylo and entered Manitoba College while still a member of the Social Democratic Party and editor of Robotchyi Narod. Convinced that ". . . as it develops, capitalism destroys not only the feudal order, it also destroys old religious beliefs and replaces them with new ones appropriate to the democratization of human life",²⁴ Krat believed that a church organized on rational democratic principles was a prerequisite for the future socialist order — "the Kingdom of the working people, where men's most refined sentiments will reign triumphant".²⁵ His belief that a democratic church was a prerequisite for socialism was consistent with Radical tradition and doubtless received confirmation during his term at Manitoba College, where Krat heard lectures delivered by prominent Social Gospellers, including Salem Bland and John Walker Macmillan. In 1916 an article in Ranok insisted that ". . . the Kingdom of God on earth . . . not somewhere beyond the clouds" was the true objective of Christianity. The time had come for all sincere

Christians to abandon outdated religious institutions, superstitions and practices, and ". . . to hasten the advent of the earthly Kingdom" where all of mankind would live as ". . . one great, healthy, happy family on this earth, renewed in brotherhood".²⁶

Krat, like the original Ukrainian advocates of protestantism, believed that perceptions, beliefs, and behaviour patterns peculiar to the peasantry, created the greatest obstacle to the immigrants' integration into Canadian society. Writing in 1919, he concluded that

...the sufferings endured under serfdom have precipitated a black silt on the psyche of the Ukrainian peasant... which has bred...helplessness, lamentation, mendacity, cunning, mistrust and an inability to resist oppression.²⁷

Centuries of feudal servitude had forced the Ukrainian peasant to adapt to existing social relations by developing behaviour patterns which were ultimately damaging and retarding in their moral and practical consequences:

...Our forefathers had to play the hypocrite in their relations with the landlord. They had to feign gratitude when in reality, deep within their hearts, they harboured a secret desire for revenge against their oppressors. Consequently, mendacity and deceit have become second nature with our people.

...This mendacity and deceit is consuming us like a gangrene. We are never sure whether one or another of our people is speaking with sincerity or with the intention of deceiving someone.²⁸

In fact, according to Krat, the point had been reached where Ukrainian peasant immigrants no longer trusted anyone. The consequences of this suspiciousness and mistrust made progress of any kind impossible. "Our people cannot even conceive of cooperation between anyone except husband and wife".²⁹ In the new world, Krat insisted, ". . . this residue of serfdom destroys us and even prevents Ukrainians from getting together to organize petty enterprises such as cooperative stores".³⁰

He concluded that ". . . this is a tragic state of affairs! A nation whose members refuse to acknowledge any common ties and refuse to cooperate, cannot exist as an independent entity . . . the modern world demands cooperation".³¹

Krat also concluded that many of the customs and usages, as well as the perceptions and behaviour patterns, common among Ukrainian immigrants, constituted recessive mental propensities appropriate to "child and adolescent" peoples, whose psycho-social evolution had not passed beyond the stages of "savagery" and "barbarism".³² He argued that the peasant immigrant's veneration of "holy" statues and icons, to which they attributed supernatural qualities, paralleled the savage's veneration of man-made idols and the child's love of dolls. "How childish, how feeble must be the spirit of such a person", Krat lamented. "Such creatures can be manipulated and deceived as easily as children . . . or harnessed to work like oxen for the benefit of the unscrupulous".³³ Likewise, the Ukrainian obsession with the "national costume" — with the peasant's gaudy and colorful attire — paralleled the savage's fascination with shiny and colorful trinkets and his propensity for adorning and ornamenting himself. Finally, Ukrainian folk dances were, according to Krat, mating dances appropriate to lower stages of human development. Krat detected traces of behaviour appropriate to "barbarism" and adolescence in the peasants' "worship of brute strength", in their tendency to "believe that might is right". Thus, Ukrainian women were delighted to have men fight over them, while the ". . . wife and child beating, so deeply ingrained among our peasants", was, ". . . a remnant of barbarism, when men made women their slaves".³⁴ Even the survival of weddings, baptisms and wakes, characterized by

conspicuous consumption and insobriety, suggested that Ukrainians, like barbarians, clung tenaciously to tradition and were incapable of exercising self-restraint.

Although theories of biogenetic and psychological recapitulation had left their mark on Krat's thinking, he did not utilize them to justify the exploitation and socially underprivileged position of the immigrants, or to rationalize away their national aspirations. Even after his ordination Krat remained committed to the reconstruction of society on the principles of economic justice, social equality and mutual recognition and self-respect among men of all nationalities. In 1914 he had organized Samostiina Ukraina (Society for an Independent Ukraine) in western Canada. Although the Society, which called for a united front of all Ukrainians who supported an independent Ukrainian republic — regardless of their class and denominational affiliation — soon fell apart, Krat continued to support the Ukrainian struggle for independence in Europe.³⁵ Unlike the more conservative elements in the community, however, he believed that only a social revolution carried out by the Ukrainian masses themselves, could guarantee social emancipation, national liberation and unfettered cultural development. This probably explains Krat's willingness to work as a translator in the office of the Chief Press Censor during the War monitoring the Ukrainian language press. It seems that Krat was motivated primarily by a desire to extirpate all remnants of the naive Austrophilism which still lingered in some Ukrainian circles. He agreed to work with J.F.B. Livesay, the Press Censor for the West, because

...the Ukraine is a buffer state over which the armies

of Austria and Russia pour in turn; we have nothing to hope from either — least of all from Austria. We cannot love Russia, but because we love Canada, we will do as you ask, and say nothing that may hurt Russian susceptibilities.³⁶

Furthermore, Krat was prepared to cooperate with the Press Censor because by 1916 he was convinced that the war was ". . . working a silent regeneration from which a freer Russia — and in particular a freer Ukraine — will emerge".³⁷ During the same period Krat also helped Florence Randall Livesay prepare the first English language translation of Ukrainian folksongs to be published in Canada, and wrote the preface to the volume. Although his increasingly unorthodox activities led to his expulsion from the Ukrainian Social Democratic Party, Krat continued to profess socialist ideals and to contribute articles to the Ukrainian socialist press.

After the war Krat revealed his vision of the ideal society — an austere international socialist utopia — in a number of pamphlets and articles.³⁸ Because his vision of the future was markedly different from that shared by Anglo-Celtic Presbyterian divines, it merits special consideration. Unlike contemporary Canada, a country governed by "professional rascals", who maimed workers in their privately owned factories and demoralized school children by inculcating "militarism and myopic nationalism", Krat's utopian Kingdom of Reason and Brotherhood would be governed by a network of democratically elected councils and guided by the maxim "He who does not work, neither shall he eat". Schools would be charged with the task of "cultivating a sense of humanity" based on mutual love and with developing respect for the dignity of work and human endeavour. "Heroes" such as Wolfe and Nelson would no longer be celebrated in

school books:

...Our heroes are the men who forge the human spirit, the creators of life. The laborer with his sinewy arms who has laid the foundations of civilization in this country — he is our hero! Our heroes are all those whose ideas have pierced through the darkness of ignorance, who have permitted mankind to become conscious of itself, who have instilled in us that ray of humanity which encourages us to exert ourselves in the name of goodness and beauty.³⁹

While the Kingdom of Reason and Brotherhood would be an "international workers' state", all languages and cultures would enjoy equality of status. Because language was a medium of mutual understanding, children would learn a number of languages in school so that "... no one language would be honoured above any other".⁴⁰

Because he was convinced that national differences and peculiarities could not be transcended or erased by coercive methods, Krat projected his utopia into the distant future:

...Internationalism cannot be established by coercing individual nations...First all nations, including the smallest, must be liberated. [Then] fraternal relations must be established among them in order to foster mutual respect for each other's language and culture. Only then...can we expect the emergence of a single international psyche, the disappearance of individual nations, and the appearance of a united mankind.⁴¹

Religious distinctions would also become a thing of the past in Krat's utopian society. Catholicism "...a black mark on the mind of man . . . appropriate to feudalism", and Protestantism, "... a twisted form of ecclesiastical democracy, just as capitalism was a twisted form of democracy", would both disappear, as would all other faiths and denominations.⁴² In Krat's utopia "... [men would] study nature in order to act in accordance with her laws, and thus guarantee welfare and good fortune". They would only be "afraid to sin against nature".⁴³

Krat's utopian vision revealed the gulf which existed between men like himself, Bodrug, and some of the other original Ukrainian advocates of protestantism, and most Anglo-Celtic Protestants. Men like Krat and Bodrug were animated by a desire to transform demoralized peasants into self-respecting participants in a modern society. To this end, they were willing to try many strategies. By 1920, however, it was clear that in Canada protestant evangelization could not be dissociated from Anglicization. While some of the men who had been recruited and trained for the ministry by the Presbyterians, willingly accommodated themselves to this state of affairs, the founders of the movement — which retained only a handful of adherents — would continue to seek a solution to the dilemma.

II

Ukrainian Social Democrats, like other members of the intelligentsia, were aware of the difficulties created by the survival of traditional peasant perceptions among Ukrainian immigrants. They did not have to be reminded of Marx's dictum about the "idiocy of rural life" to realize that suspiciousness, envy, individualism, deference to authority, fatalism, helplessness, despair, and a profound lack of self-esteem continued to plague the peasant immigrant in Canada. In 1912 Robotchyi Narod pointed out that ". . . the spirit of servility still thrives among many of our unfortunate people", and concluded that ". . . the peasant simply doesn't know how to cope with his misfortunes".⁴⁴ Because there were many unenlightened Ukrainian immigrants, the socialist organ feared that ". . . they [will] not permit the ones who have attained a degree of consciousness to survive". The peasant immigrants'

extreme deference to authority, their humility, and their political naivete distressed the Social Democrats more than anything else:

. . . not only is he unaware of his destitution, not only does he fail to stand up for himself, our humble and "enduring" [vytryvalyi] Ruthenian actually calls himself a Conservative or a Liberal, because these are the parties of the "gentlemen" [pany] who have given him so much land. Can anything be more comical and simultaneously more excruciating than this sort of thinking? . . .⁴⁵

Thus, the cultivation of a sense of self-esteem and human dignity among the peasant immigrants remained a primary concern for the socialists.

Advocates of the socialist orientation believed that socialism held the solution to many of the problems faced by the peasant immigrant. Prior to the outbreak of the war it was not unusual for them to define socialism as a ". . . brotherhood . . . a bond of fraternal friendship among men . . . the gospel of love and truth."⁴⁶ These "utopian" elements believed that by internalizing socialist values, the peasant immigrants' deeply rooted individualism would yield to a sense of solidarity with all the "oppressed and downtrodden". Krat seems to have been the leading spokesman for this trend of thought although there were others. More orthodox Social Democrats, on the other hand, were primarily concerned with fostering militant and conscious opposition to social oppression and economic exploitation. Convinced that the Canadian wage laborer in general, and Ukrainian immigrants in particular, were "free white slaves" and "white niggers" [bili nehry],⁴⁷ who were being ". . . devoured one by one every hour by the capitalist order", they tried to impress the immigrants with the fact that they had absolutely no reason to be grateful to the Canadian government.

"Without us Canada would still be an unfertile desert", Robotchyi Narod declared. "Our sweat and our blood have more than compensated for any debt we may have owed Canada for permitting ourselves to be taken-in by her [immigration] agents".⁴⁸

Because Social Democracy rather than Ukrainian Radicalism shaped the outlook of most Ukrainian socialists, they concentrated on developing a sense of class consciousness and international working class solidarity among the Ukrainian immigrant laborers by urging them to unite with all members of the Canadian working class regardless of race, creed or colour. As Marxists they believed that capitalism was an inherently exploitative system of production which could not be reformed. They looked forward to the day when all workers "united under one red banner" would seize control of the state, socialize the means of production, and establish a just and equitable social order, where production would be carried on for the satisfaction of human needs rather than for the accumulation of profits. Ultimately, only social revolution could assure freedom from want, and as a consequence, cultural and moral progress for the working classes. In the meantime, like the Social Democratic Party of Canada, with which they were affiliated, Ukrainian Social Democrats advocated social reform through trade union and political activity.⁴⁹

The Ukrainian Social Democrats' commitment to international working class solidarity did not prevent them from taking an interest in Ukrainian cultural activities or in the retention of a distinctive Ukrainian identity. "Socialist internationalism is nothing other than the brotherhood of nations", Robotchyi Narod claimed, and insisted that ". . . the tendency among international socialists is: to create a

social order in which every nation can be independent and happy".⁵⁰

Likewise, they insisted that commitment to the workers' struggle was the only genuine expression of concern for one's nation:

. . . The class struggle refers to the animosity between the working class and the capitalist class, but it is also a national struggle. It is a class struggle because it is led by Social Democracy in the interests of the proletariat. But, since the proletariat constitutes the majority of every nation, the interests of the proletariat are also the interests of the nation . . .⁵¹

Since this was particularly true of Ukrainians in Europe and in North America, the Social Democrats insisted that ". . . only he who works for the emancipation of the enslaved masses is a true patriot".⁵²

In keeping with their commitment to the struggle for Ukrainian national liberation in Europe, and to the preservation of Ukrainian identity in Canada, the Social Democrats organized the Society for the Liberation of Myroslav Sichynsky in 1910; collected funds for Ukrainian schools in Galicia and Bukovyna together with protestants and nationalists; demanded autonomous status for themselves, first within the Socialist Party of Canada, then within the Social Democratic Party of Canada; and, they consistently supported the principle of bilingual education. With respect to bilingual schools Robotchyi Narod stated:

. . . We recognize the official language of the state but we insist that all parents who wish to educate their children in their native language, have the right to do so.⁵³

Canadian public schools only demoralized children by teaching them to worship the almighty dollar and by inculcating a very biased interpretation of history. History text books contained

... nothing except praise for all kinds of murderers, robbers, homicidal maniacs and national tyrants. They

mention nothing of the oppression endured by the people and of how these people have been forced to rise [in rebellion] in order to protect themselves from all these "benefactors of humanity".⁵⁴

One of the resolutions passed at the Manitoba-Saskatchewan regional conference of the Ukrainian Social Democratic Federation in 1913 demanded that the right to bilingual instruction in the public schools be recognized in both provinces.

Gradually, between 1912 and 1916, leadership within the socialist camp and control of Robotchyi Narod, passed out of the hands of the original founders of the Ukrainian Social Democratic Federation, into those of younger, more radical men. The realignment in Social Democratic circles was precipitated by a series of personality conflicts and power struggles within the movement. The most widely publicized of these pitted Krat and Ievhen Volodin, a Russian emigré, against Myroslav Stechishin and Vasyl Holowacky. Krat and Volodin claimed that Stechishin was attempting to impose a personal dictatorship over the party. They also insisted that funds collected by the Society for the Liberation of Myroslav Sichynsky could be appropriated for the benefit of the Social Democratic Federation. Stechishin, who believed that the Sichynsky fund should not be used for the benefit of anyone but Sichynsky — who had been freed in 1911 but still remained a fugitive — responded by accusing his opponents of adventurism and of tampering with community funds. In September 1912, after publishing a "Confession" in Ukrainskyi Holos⁵⁶ in which he rehearsed in detail various financial misappropriations committed by members of the socialist camp, Stechishin resigned from the movement he had helped to establish. Although Volodin was ultimately disciplined by the Federation, the

movement received its share of unfavorable publicity and membership tumbled.⁵⁷

Within the next two years the original founders of the Ukrainian socialist movement gravitated out of the socialist camp, into nationalist and protestant circles. Stechishin spent 1913-14 in Edmonton as editor of the short-lived Novyny (The News), and then moved to the United States, where he co-edited Narodna Volia with Ivan Ardan. He returned to Winnipeg in 1921 to become the editor of Ukrainskyi Holos, a post which he retained for the next quarter of a century. Krat became a Presbyterian minister. Vasyl Holowacky pursued an even more unexpected course. He became a Russelite (Jehovah's Witness) preacher in 1914, when members of the sect believed that a universal war between socialism and capitalism — which would inaugurate God's Kingdom by Christ — was imminent.⁵⁸ Russelite millenarianism found fertile soil among uprooted Ukrainian peasant immigrants during the war.⁵⁹

As a result of these departures leadership within the socialist camp passed into the hands of recent arrivals from overseas, who came to Canada after 1910. These newcomers seem to have been from a socially and economically more underprivileged stratum of Ukrainian rural society than their predecessors. Born in the early 1890s, and about ten years younger than the first representatives of the intelligentsia, the newcomers had personal recollections of events such as the 1902 agrarian strike in which over 200,000 Galician peasants and agrarian laborers had participated, and may have themselves participated in the struggle for electoral reforms. Unlike their predecessors they had had the opportunity to belong to organizations such as Sich and had been introduced to Social Democratic principles in student groups

and in the trade union movement where Ukrainian Social Democrats were active. Some had even been active and successful Radical and Social Democratic organizers in Galicia and Bukovyna.⁶⁰

Economic conditions in Canada and the outbreak of the war contributed to the crystallization of a more uncompromising, class-oriented, revolutionary internationalist outlook among the newcomers. It also made them increasingly impatient with the romantic adventurism and utopianism of protestants like Krat, and with the moderate liberalism of the nationalists. Relations between the Social Democrats and the other two factions of the intelligentsia, which had hitherto been strained and antagonistic but not openly hostile, were decisively ruptured. Krat's attempt to rally all Ukrainians, regardless of their class affiliation, around Samostiina Ukraina, prompted the Social Democrats to repudiate cooperation with any organizations which were not composed entirely of workers or farmers. Likewise, the nationalists' conciliatory stance led the Social Democrats to describe them as "spineless plebians" and fitting heirs of the "loyal Tyroleans of the East".⁶¹ Thus, in August 1917, at the Second National Congress of the U.S.D.P. held in Winnipeg, an amendment to the Party constitution was passed stating that "No branch [chast'] of the U.S.D.P. may cooperate with any group of people who do not recognize the class struggle and the necessity of abolishing the capitalist order".⁶²

After the outbreak of the war Ukrainian Social Democrats were increasingly influenced by the Bolsheviks. Even before the outbreak of the war many of their experienced organizers and speakers had travelled throughout the country and had often gone into the United States to organize Ukrainian and Russian workers. Between August 1912

and August 1916, when he became editor of Robotchyi Narod, Matvii Popovych had gone to New York on a number of occasions to organize Slavic workers for the American Socialist Party. While in New York, he had come into contact with the editors of the Russian Social Democratic Workers' Party's increasingly pro-Bolshevik organ Novyi Mir (The New World). After 1914 the editorial board of Novyi Mir resembled a "who's who" of the October revolution: Alexandra Kollontai, Volodymyr Volodarsky, Nikolai Bukharin and in 1917 Leon Trotsky, were all associated with this publication and resided in New York. Thus, in addition to articles by prominent Ukrainian socialists, and in addition to translations of pamphlets and articles by Marx and Engels and by leading European Social Democrats, Robotchyi Narod also began publishing articles by leading Bolsheviks.⁶³ By the spring of 1918, articles and speeches by Bukharin, Kollontai and Lenin — many of them highly critical of Russian Tsarist atrocities in Galicia and sympathetic to national self-determination — were appearing on a fairly regular basis.

Evidence of the growing intimacy between the editors of Robotchyi Narod and emigré Bolshevik circles came to light in April 1917. On that occasion Canadian officials in Vancouver detained Ivan Kulyk, a former associate of Novyi Mir and prevented him from entering Canada in order to become an editor of Robotchyi Narod.⁶⁴ Kulyk, who would become a Soviet Consul in Canada in the early 1920s and a high ranking official in the Soviet Writers' Union in the early 1930s, was obliged to return to Ukraine, whence he continued to write articles for Robotchyi Narod. His indictment of the democratic socialist Ukrainian Central Rada, which had emerged in Ukraine after the collapse of the

Tsarist regime, doubtlessly increased the Bolsheviks' appeal in Ukrainian Social Democratic circles in Canada.

The Ukrainian Social Democrats' exposure to Bolshevik views coincided with a drastic curtailment of civil liberties in Canada and with an unprecedented eruption of nativist hostility toward "foreigners" and "enemy aliens". By virtue of her imperial connection, Canada had become an ally of Tsarist Russia, whose armies were preparing to stamp out Ukrainian irredentism in Galicia and thereby put an end to Ukrainian "separatism" in the Romanov Empire. As a result, attempts to expose the crimes of the Russian autocracy were regarded as treasonous offences by Canadian authorities. Ukrainian and Russian papers, published in the United States, were banned in Canada because of their anti-Tsarist views. Immigrant workers who participated in labor demonstrations were branded "subversives", "enemies of the Empire", and interned. The campaign against bilingual instruction was reaching near hysterical proportions. And, the most elementary civil liberties were being curtailed. As the distinction between conditions in the "civilized" British Empire, and in the despotic Empires abandoned by the immigrants became increasingly blurred, Bolshevik declarations seemed to bear a curious relevance to the immediate experience of Ukrainians in Canada. Not only was it increasingly apparent that the war was being waged in the interests of capitalist imperialism, rather than in defence of freedom and liberty, after the Russian revolution Robotchyi Narod could conclude that ". . . in Russia equal rights have been granted to all nationalities, . . . [while] in Canada they are trying to deprive citizens of foreign birth of all their rights".⁶⁵

The increasing alienation experienced by many Ukrainian immigrant laborers was reflected in the increasingly militant and revolutionary tone of the editorials in Robotchyi Narod. When workers who had participated in the 1915 May Day parade were labelled "enemies of the Empire" the Social Democratic organ replied that ". . . the enemies of the Empire are the English chauvinists who set one part of the Canadian population against another".⁶⁶ In February 1916, prior to the abolition of the bilingual system in Manitoba, Robotchyi Narod insisted that

. . . The chauvinist Liberal party wants to deprive our young generation of access to cultures other than the English. Yet, we are all aware that the English culture is as one sided and incomplete as any other single culture, and that only an appreciation of a variety of cultures gives one a well rounded and integrated outlook . . . Whom do the Liberals want to short change? Why the children of the farmers and the workers, who will never receive more than an elementary education, while the children of the Liberal bourgeoisie will pursue their studies at college in a number of languages . . .⁶⁷

The executive of the U.S.D.P. also sent a letter of protest to R.A. Rigg, Social Democratic M.L.A. from Winnipeg North, condemning his support of the abolition of bilingual schools.

After the fall of the Tsarist regime in Russia Robotchyi Narod reminded its readers that conditions were not much better in Canada than they had been in the old world, and asked "Do you realize that Ukrainian workers occupy the lowest positions in this capitalist prison?"⁶⁸ When the federal conscription act was passed in 1917 Robotchyi Narod stated that more blood would be spilled ". . . in order to feed a handful of local capitalist jackals".⁶⁹ Prior to the December 1917 federal elections, R.L. Richardson, editor of the

Winnipeg Tribune and a Unionist candidate, suggested that "enemy aliens" be conscripted for labor. According to Robotchyi Narod, Richardson assured his listeners at an election rally that ". . . we won't need many guards. It will be easy enough when a few foreigners are shot; the others will work eagerly". In response Robotchyi Narod stated

. . . The Ukrainian immigrant did not flee from the Kaiser's knout in order to fall under another knout in Canada. He refuses to tolerate Kaiserism regardless of who tries to impose it. Now you can no longer intimidate him with your orders, at best you will encourage him to return to his native land, far away, to the quiet Ukraine, where, if we may be allowed to say so, liberty and democracy are held in higher esteem than here in Canada.⁷⁰

Letters from relatives in Ukraine praising the advent of an egalitarian and democratic order appeared on the pages of Robotchyi Narod and served to reinforce this impression.

The apparent triumph of the revolution in Russia and Ukraine, and growing labor unrest in Europe and North America sustained the Social Democrats' morale even under the most trying circumstances. By 1917 they were convinced that "History" was on their side. The inevitable collapse of the capitalist system seemed to be at hand:

. . . There can no longer be the slightest doubt that the present bloody carnage in which the nations of Europe have been engaged — so as to divide the world and control it — will not witness the realization of the hopes entertained by the imperialist bourgeoisie of the belligerent states, but will, on the contrary, administer the death blow and dig the grave of the present social order . . .⁷¹

. . . The Russian revolution is the prologue to the inevitable proletarian revolution which must sweep across the entire world destroying the present intolerable social order.

In fact, ". . . the collapse of the bourgeois-capitalist order and

the triumph of the working people in all spheres of human endeavour and organization" was already under way.⁷² It should come as no surprise that after C.H. Cahan's report on alien radicalism was tabled, Robotchyi Narod was suppressed and the Ukrainian Social Democratic Party outlawed. Within a year, however, the paper and the party would reappear in a new guise.

III

In spite of the fact that protestantism continued to attract isolated members of the intelligentsia, by the time the war broke out, it was a spent force within the Ukrainian immigrant community. Likewise, the growing appeal of socialism was limited to urban and industrial frontier regions. After 1910 most members of the intelligentsia espoused a nationalist orientation. Ukrainskyi Holos, the organ of the Ukrainian Teachers' Association, which was the first Ukrainian weekly in Canada to identify itself with the interests of "the Ukrainian people", rather than with those of a particular religious denomination, social class, or political party, articulated the nationalists' position.

At the outset it should be noted that the nationalists were middle class liberals, who were willing to assume a restrained and conciliatory posture in their relations with representatives of the Anglo-Celtic majority. The social composition of the nationalist camp accounted for their readiness to accept the socio-economic, if not the cultural status quo. Although the most prominent advocates of the nationalist orientation included Galician village radicals and disillusioned socialist emigrés from eastern Ukraine, the rank

and file was composed of the first Ukrainian Canadian high school and university graduates, and even more prominently of the first bilingual teachers in the three prairie provinces. Thus, most nationalists were articulate and possessed the potential for considerable social mobility. As a result they adopted a pragmatic program which appealed to those settlers who were unhappy with the dominant Anglo-Celtic group's efforts to enforce cultural homogeneity, yet, who were materially comfortable enough to ignore socialist appeals for class solidarity and social revolution. Convinced that most Ukrainian immigrants were destined to become prosperous farmers and small businessmen, they took their cue from Ukrainian National Democrats in Galicia and from the farmers' movements in North America, and became active proponents of social amelioration through the creation of cooperative enterprises and through education.

The nationalists expressed few reservations about fundamental values at the basis of the capitalist system, where production was carried on for profit rather than for the satisfaction of basic human needs. This was especially true of the nationalists in Edmonton and Vegreville, many of whom had attained a measure of commercial success by 1910. Thus, Petro Svarich, writing in one of the first issues of Ukrainskyi Holos, argued that it was time for Ukrainian immigrants to stop complaining about capitalists and time for them to start learning from them because ". . . it will be easier and more practical for us to take advantage of the existing order rather than to destroy it". Capitalism, he insisted, was responsible for the discoveries, technical advances and general improvements in living standards, which men now

enjoyed. Rejecting socialist arguments that only the direct producer created wealth, Svarich insisted that the capitalist who displayed entrepreneurial initiative and risked his investments, was entitled to reap his profits: ". . . the millions [of dollars] belong to individual capitalists, just as the grain belongs to the farmer". If the profit motive was removed, ". . . no one would exert himself and in place of gigantic enterprises, stagnation and apathy would reign. People would become indifferent, disinterested, and would live from day to day, without any ambitions, without any yearnings, without any progress".⁷³

While the editors of Ukrainskyi Holos were not fully in accord with Svarich, they did not question the profit motive. Like Svarich the Winnipeg nationalists organized short-lived cooperative enterprises, insisted that ". . . only through enlightenment can we hope to get up on our own two feet and achieve that condition of well being which is guaranteed to all . . . ", and suggested that ". . . we must first of all turn our attention to economic activity. We must organize economic co-operatives, educate the people to turn to trade and industry, [and] inculcate thrift, punctuality, and self-reliance".⁷⁴ Ultimately, as far as socio-economic relations were concerned, the nationalists were only concerned with breaking the Ukrainian immigrants' dependence on non-Ukrainian merchants and businessmen.

After the outbreak of war, when Ukrainians were constantly exposed to harassment and discrimination, the nationalists remained conciliatory and restrained. They declared their loyalty to the British flag and expressed their readiness "to stand up in its defence, whenever the occasion arises". In 1915 one of their leading spokesmen

naively declared that ". . . upon the completion of the present European war an independent Ukraine will arise and her liberator will be Great Britain, a nation which has always led the struggle for national liberation".⁷⁵ At the Ukrainian Teachers' Convention, those in attendance resolved ". . . to contribute to the Canadian Patriotic Fund not less than one dollar each, monthly, during war time. . ." and elected a committee to collect this money.⁷⁶ After becoming the first Ukrainian M.L.A. in Manitoba, in 1915, Taras Ferley supported the war effort, criticized opponents of registration and conscription in the Legislature, and encouraged Ukrainian seasonal laborers to accept agricultural jobs. In fact, the nationalists' "radicalism" was limited to their advocacy of bilingual education, and to their anti-clericalism.

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The nationalists believed that the cultivation of Ukrainian national identity, pride and solidarity, would instil a sense of personal self-respect and human dignity among their demoralized peasant compatriots. A sense of Ukrainian national solidarity, it was assumed, could overcome the peasant immigrants' traditional individualism and suspiciousness, their unwillingness or inability to cooperate with one another. By forging stronger bonds among the immigrants, it would raise their awareness of common socio-economic needs and cultural interests, and impress upon them the necessity of cooperation and collective action. While they understood that in modern, industrial societies ". . . popular mass organizations, cooperatives, and associations must be pitted against the might of

organized capital", the editors of Ukrainskyi Holos nevertheless realized that ". . . the unenlightened are not only unable to protect themselves . . . they are often themselves the source of their greatest problems".⁷⁷ This was especially true of Ukrainian immigrants in Canada, for as Ukrainskyi Holos insisted,

. . . a very common phenomenon among our people is the absence of any sense of solidarity or unity . . . an inability of one to stand up for all and all to stand up for one.

According to the nationalist organ, this was

. . . a consequence of our lack of national sentiment. Among us it is unusual to find a man who is concerned about his fellow man, especially about one of his own people . . . Yet if there was more national consciousness among us, then surely there would be a greater sense of common concern.⁷⁸

Consequently the editors of Ukrainskyi Holos stated that it was their intention ". . . to defend the interests of the Ukrainian people, to enlighten them in every possible way, and thereby raise them to a higher plateau of economic and cultural development so that they might become the equals of the other inhabitants of Canada".⁷⁹

Ukrainskyi Holos and the nationalists were the leading Ukrainian advocates of bilingual education on the prairies. A 1912 editorial stated

. . . We must insist upon . . . [the preservation] of our national distinctiveness . . . we must strive to understand our history, literature and culture. Otherwise we will become the soulless raw material out of which another people's nation will be built.⁸⁰

The nationalists believed that the system of bilingual, non-denominational, public schools provided by article 258 of the Manitoba Public School Act, and the right to foreign-language instruction provided by sections 177 and 135 of the Saskatchewan and Alberta School Acts, would

facilitate, rather than hinder, the integration of Ukrainian immigrants into Canadian society on terms of socio-economic and cultural equality.

On numerous occasions the nationalists openly expressed their dissatisfaction with what they believed to be the philistine and narrowly assimilationist objectives of most unilingual English public schools. Canadian schools, Ukrainskyi Holos stated, ". . . place primary emphasis on the inculcation of English patriotism and want to transform the child into an English fanatic, who recognizes nothing greater and holier than English traditions".⁸¹ The reason Canadian public schools failed to provide a broader education was due to the quality of instruction offered in the Normal Schools. Orest Zherebko, a bilingual teacher, and one of the most militant nationalists, insisted that

. . . The Canadian teacher receives a very mediocre education. Besides learning to calculate interest rates and to read English . . . what, in addition to a smattering of biased history do the Collegiates and Normal Schools teach? They provide training in pedagogy? The devil with their pedagogy, where everything is calculated to make profiteers, speculators and merchants, rather than people out of their pupils. Discipline and system — that is the summit of their pedagogy . . .

Because the normal schools failed to acquaint potential teachers with ". . . the world and with pressing social issues", Zherebko, a university graduate, advised Ukrainian bilingual teachers to apply themselves with zeal to "the quest for knowledge", so as to ". . . awaken an interest in learning, aesthetics, drama, and literature", and thereby "cultivate critical thought and develop a sense of individuality among their pupils".⁸²

More distressing from the nationalists' point of view was the fact that the unilingual English public school system's narrow assimilationist objectives only complicated and magnified problems which already beset a demoralized peasant people struggling for their very existence in a modern foreign society. While emphasizing the necessity and the benefits to be derived from a thorough command of the English language, the nationalists nevertheless insisted that it was above all imperative to cultivate respect for education and enthusiasm for learning among the immigrants and their children if the vicious circle of despair, self-abnegation and fatalism was to be broken. A school system staffed by unilingual, English-speaking teachers from an entirely different cultural milieu, the nationalists insisted, would not only encounter serious problems when it tried to impart English language instruction in homogeneously non-English districts, it would fail to stimulate intellectual development and to raise morale among immigrant children.

Writing in 1911, Vasyi Mihaychuk, a prominent bilingual teacher, argued that where unilingual English-speaking teachers were assigned to schools in non-English-speaking districts, the children were puzzled and discouraged. "Instead of getting the precept of the lesson, the children struggle to understand what the lesson is". In such schools, Mihaychuk stated, "the state of affairs is sinister". While they learned to draw, compute and write, children left school "without a desire to read in either language" because they had struggled ". . . to understand until their energy of desire [was] absorbed, and by [that] time they were . . . forced to leave the school with their faculties largely undeveloped". Mihaychuk also insisted that it was

imperative to make the immigrant child's education comprehensible and stimulating from the outset for two other reasons. On the one hand, if school work "is tedious and lacks interest" then

. . . the work puzzles the children and, this ends in dislike of it. The result is that parents noticing the unintelligible school work, think it would be better to have the children at work. They either keep them at home or send them out.

On the other hand, a teacher who could not readily communicate with his pupils could not instil those moral and ethical precepts that their parents — overworked and demoralized — could rarely provide.⁸³

Almost five years later, Mihaychuk articulated what was perhaps the most concise statement of nationalist apprehensions about the demoralizing influence of unilingual English instruction:

. . . a Ukrainian boy in an English school . . . reads only English narratives and stories, sees only an English world depicted in English terms, replete with sparkling homes and handsome people. He reads and knows nothing about the Ukrainian world and consequently is absolutely unaware that we have anything finer than that which he sees at home, where, as a result of poverty, his father is illiterate and restless, his mother bare-footed and poorly clothed, the house dirty and destitute . . . his friends poor and unclothed, as are the neighbors, and the rest of our people . . . It cannot be otherwise [he concludes].

The consequence of this is skepticism about his family and his people, and an aversion for everything which is native to him. He is ashamed of his home, his father, his mother, his relatives; he spurns his language because this, the only bit of knowledge which he treasures is unacceptable and worthless in the eyes of the refined [English] people. But what is most distressing, having grown up, he becomes ashamed of himself, lacks faith in his own powers, and does not believe in his own capacity to lift himself out of poverty and ignorance . . . He becomes a renegade [who] refuses to associate with or acknowledge his own people. Yet, the consciousness of being ashamed of himself, the feeling that he is inferior to, and somehow beneath, other members of his newly adopted nationality, gnaws on him, while his sense of shame and feelings of worthlessness, destroy all his noble drives and ambitions . . .⁸⁴

Self contempt, resignation, a sense of inferiority and despair, the traits which weighed heavily on the peasant psyche, were perpetuated rather than purged by an ethnocentric unilingual English education.

Unlike unilingual English instruction, bilingual instruction would stimulate the child's intellectual development from the outset: it would not postpone it for a year or two until the child learned English and would thereby avoid the risk of discouraging the child altogether. "In teaching the child there is a great pedagogical maxim — Awake the interest of the child for the subject", Zherebko wrote in 1911. "In order to awaken that interest the teacher must be conversant with the language of his pupils". He went on to argue the benefits of native language instruction by citing Comenius, Raticus, Humboldt and other authorities who had stated that "The child should first learn to read and write the mother-tongue" and that "all linguistic study should begin with that of the mother-tongue".⁸⁵ Because recent scholarship had suggested that there was ". . . an inseparable kinship between man's thought and his native language", Zherebko also argued that ". . . thought is more subtle in the native language and through the intermediacy of the native language one can master various concepts all the more readily". Consequently, under pioneer conditions, there was much to be said for bilingual education: even if children mastered only their native language during their first year in school the system would be justified because of its contribution to the child's intellectual development.⁸⁶

Mihaychuk pointed out the positive effects of bilingual

instruction in the following terms:

. . . our boys do not become animated at the mention of Lord Nelson's name, nor do our girls respond to "Darling". They remain indifferent to the heroic deeds of these characters. However, we observe an entirely different phenomenon when we tell them stories about the lives of Shevchenko and Pavlyk, or about our other heroic activists, and when we read them the short stories of Vera Lebediv. Their eyes shine and the heart rejoices when one sees their joy and alacrity of spirit as they read or listen to those Ukrainian stories. Such is the nature of the human spirit that it comes to life and acquires independence when one sees that people like oneself overcome obstacles, perform noble deeds and become heroes . . .

For this very reason, Mihaychuk concluded that even the mere presence of a bilingual Ukrainian teacher in a peasant immigrant settlement had a very positive impact on raising the children's morale. The bilingual teacher was "living proof" of the fact that they too could better themselves and strive for a way of life that may have previously seemed unattainable.⁸⁷

The nationalists advocated bilingualism because they believed that Canadian society should evolve in the direction of cultural pluralism if it was to achieve harmony among its disparate elements. Canada had never been, and certainly was no longer an "English" country. The English had seized the country from the native Indian population, and presently Canada "belonged" to those who were laboring to make it their homeland. All men, regardless of their national origins, were entitled to the same rights and privileges as far as the preservation of their cultural heritage was concerned. "Since we have willingly given the state everything that we possibly could", insisted Zherebko, "we have every right to demand the protection of our material and moral wealth in return".⁸⁸ He went on to argue that

. . . the acquisition of one's native language cannot be considered a special privilege because it is a natural requirement of life, just as walking on one's feet is not a privilege; life demands it. By demanding the right to learn our own native language we recognize that everyone has the same right.

If legal obstacles prevented the evolution of Canadian society in the direction of cultural pluralism, the law would simply have to be changed.⁸⁹

In a series of editorials printed in March 1915, when criticism of bilingual education was becoming increasingly intense, Ukrainskyi Holos insisted that opponents of bilingual education were

. . . really afraid of . . . broad minded people, that is, people who understand the aims and objectives of the English and retain their own convictions and point of view. They are not afraid of foreign languages, they are afraid of foreign ideas.⁹⁰

The abolition of bilingual education was not a prerequisite for the attainment of national unity, or for equality of opportunity, rather, it was in the interests of the ruling elite which hoped to control and exploit the immigrants:

. . . Every government, every ruling group or party wants its subjects to think and know only that which is in the interests of the rulers . . . Give a people only one language, provide them with tendencious newspapers and books, and the people will know nothing, will think nothing but what they are told to think and know. Such a people can be manipulated in every which way, anything can be done with them, and anything may be demanded of them. . .

Citing the example of Switzerland, where multilingualism and cultural hererogeneity contributed to a sense of national solidarity, Ukrainskyi Holos suggested that ". . . justice by all and for all will foster harmony and a sense of unity that will not be imperilled by a multiplicity of languages".

Initially the extent of bilingual instruction demanded by the

editors of Ukrainskyi Holos was very modest: the right to employ the Ukrainian language in order to explain English words and concepts, and the right to devote up to one hour daily to Ukrainian language instruction. As the controversy over bilingual instruction increased, Ukrainskyi Holos stated ". . . we also want our children to know their own history and literature in addition to English and Canadian history".⁹¹ By 1914, Zherebko, who tended to be more assertive than most nationalists argued that

. . . [we require] schools in which our language and our national [narodni] interests will stand on a par with the English language and the interests of the [Canadian] state . . . The schools will be ours when they are taught by our teachers and when our linguistic rights are equalized with those of the English language in the school. The French demand that all subjects taught in English should also be taught in French in their schools, and we must make the same demand, because only then will our national demands be fully satisfied.⁹²

By 1915 Ukrainskyi Holos had endorsed this point of view on at least one occasion. If bilingual education was to be more than mere tokenism, the non-English languages would have to be recognized as the medium of instruction for at least one-half of the school day.⁹³

In March 1916 bilingualism was abolished in Manitoba. The previous November Ukrainskyi Holos had accused opponents of bilingualism of being "English jingoes", who brandished "the German mailed fist" and wished "to use the schools as a means to our denationalization". At one point the nationalist organ suggested that the objective of Anglo-Canadian opponents of bilingualism was to have Ukrainians ". . . expire as a result of . . . unnatural and oppressive developments, just like the Indians . . ." ⁹⁴ It is within the context of fears and apprehensions such as these, generated by the campaign against bilingual

education, that the final confrontation between the nationalists and the Catholic clergy must be seen.

After the abolition of bilingual education and the closing of the Training Schools in Brandon, Regina and Vegreville, the residences (bursy) — especially the Mohyla Institute in Saskatoon and its affiliate, the Hrushevsky Institute, established in Edmonton in 1918 — assumed new significance. They were expected to fill the vacuum left by the recently dismantled bilingual system — to provide a supply of individuals who would devote themselves to the "enlightenment and elevation of their people", who would continue the work of ". . . breaking down the mountain of ignorance [and] awakening the somnolent . . ." which had been initiated by bilingual teachers.⁹⁵ The task of enlightening peasant immigrants was no less pressing than it had ever been.

According to Iulian Stechishin, writing in Kameniari (The Stone-breakers), a bi-monthly published by students at the Mohyla Institute, ignorance was still being "cultivated and tolerated" in many rural Ukrainian communities. As a result many peasant immigrants were still covetous, egotistical, intolerant and conceited wiseacres (zarozumili mudraheli), ever suspicious of one another and prone to consuming too much alcohol. The consequences were disastrous. Ukrainian institutions, especially National Homes, were rarely financially solvent because there was always someone within the community calumniating the organization. Municipalities populated almost exclusively by Ukrainians failed to elect Ukrainian officers because of petty jealousies and incessant animosity among the immigrants. Moreover, many immigrants still believed that "it is enough to know how to read and write a letter,

or that it is possible to dispense even with this [smattering of education] as did their ancestors". "While other nationalities organize themselves, struggle and plan for the future", lamented Stechishin, "we tell ourselves nonchalantly that there is enough to eat and drink and that at any rate, 'as God wills so it shall be'". Only by educating the immigrants, and by cultivating national sentiment and developing a sense of national consciousness among their children, would it be possible to bring the incessant round of "quarrels and dissension" ("svarky i rozdory") to an end.⁹⁶

As the residences were the only institutions capable of educating a Ukrainian elite and thereby performing this function after 1916, it should come as no surprise that members of the nationalist intelligentsia were so anxious to guarantee their national integrity and apprehensive about incorporating them with the Episcopal Corporation.

The creation of the Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church in Canada, by advocates of nationalism, should also be seen within the context of that group's efforts to enlighten and elevate peasant immigrants. The desire to raise moral, cultural and material standards of living among the immigrants was no less important to the nationalists than the wish to be rid of "foreign guardians" ("chuzhi opikuny"). As early as 1907, an Edmonton resident had stated that

. . . contemporary religion should be oriented toward human concerns, it should teach the unenlightened how to live in this world, it should offer assistance to the impoverished and the weak, it should provide the unenlightened with the true light of progress and knowledge . . .

The priest, he insisted, ". . . should be a man familiar with contemporary knowledge rather than simply with religious dogma".⁹⁷

Unfortunately neither the French speaking Roman Catholic missionaries, nor the Ukrainian Greek Catholic priests were willing or able to concern themselves with anything except the preservation of the immigrants' allegiance to the Catholic Church. Consequently, during the war Ukrainskyi Holos lamented that

. . . We fail to find among [the clergy] men with sincerely held views, men who would understand the people, especially people of such a low cultural level as ours. There is an absence of men who desire to work for the welfare of their people. . . ⁹⁸

Indifference, absence of a clear outlook concerning national issues and national obligations, and an absolute lack of ideals, were also attributed to the clergy.⁹⁹ In 1917 Ukrainskyi Holos asserted that ". . . very often our clergymen are people absolutely lacking ideals, insincere, egotistical, who take advantage of their position and influence for personal ends or for the benefit of their organization to the detriment of our people". A year later, on the eve of the new Church's formation, a correspondent from Kreuzeberg, Manitoba, appealed for a Church which would ". . . serve our national interests and needs, which would promote enlightenment [and] self esteem . . ." ¹⁰⁰

The most concise formulation of the nationalists' critique of the Catholic Church was made by Iaroslav Arsenych, a lawyer and former teacher, who observed that

. . . the Greek Catholic Church in Canada is not our church, it is not the people's church because it does not serve as a unifying or consolidating element among our people, but uses our national base for the purpose of furthering Jesuit propaganda . . .

Addressing himself to the Catholic clergy in 1917 Arsenych stated:

. . . It is uncomfortable for you when anyone dares examine your saintly hands . . . when communities have a voice in the appointment of priests . . . when

communities have jurisdiction over church property . . . when people read newspapers and books which are not written by you . . . when people belong to educational organizations which are not under your control . . . when our children are educated in an independent spirit . . . when people think. Hence this energetic campaign against everything which does not bear the stamp of Catholicism. Your Kingdom resides in darkness.¹⁰¹

Thus the Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church in Canada was established in 1918, in the interests of "enlightening and elevating" the immigrants. Yet, the emergence of the new Church would have been inconceivable without forty years of Radical ferment in Galicia, the United States and Canada. Although protestants declared that ". . . the golden words of Shevchenko, Drahomanov, Franko, Pavlyk and other eminent Ukrainians, who called for progress and learning have been forgotten", and cited passages which proved Drahomanov's preference for evangelical Protestantism and his antipathy for Orthodoxy,¹⁰² the creation of the new Church was not inconsistent with Radical traditions. Whether consciously or not, the founders of the new Church acted in accordance with advice offered by Drahomanov, when he urged Galician Ukrainophiles to ". . . support . . . those communities which are still close to the hierarchic churches by awakening movements similar to the old brotherhoods in which the secular elements strove to subordinate the clergy, instituted the election of priests by the laity, and of bishops by special synods of laymen and clergy".¹⁰³ Taking into consideration the attachment of the vast majority of tradition oriented Ukrainian immigrants to the eastern rite, a democratic lay-controlled Orthodox Church remained the only alternative to Catholicism.

This was especially true because of conditions in Canada. Members of the nationalist camp, who may have been intellectually disposed to

establish a new church on evangelical Protestant principles, feared that such a step might align them ". . . with a foreign group which does not wish us well", and believed that Anglo-Canadian Protestants would be well advised

. . . to hire ministers who would preach Christianity among those in Canada who so often steal the public wealth and exploit the working class at their pleasure, rather than to convert Ukrainians to Christianity. Not one day goes by without the press informing us of new thefts, frauds, embezzlements, misappropriations, investigations and so forth. That is the field for religious work.¹⁰⁴

Unlike the Independent Greek Church, the Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church in Canada survived, grew to challenge the hegemony of the Greek Catholic Church, and attracted most members of the Ukrainian Canadian intelligentsia in subsequent years.

FOOTNOTES: CHAPTER FIVE

- ¹Svoboda 15 December 1898.
- ²Ranok 1 July 1914.
- ³Ranok 20 March 1912.
- ⁴Svoboda 25 May 1899.
- ⁵Petro Svarich, Spomyny 1877-1904 (Winnipeg, 1976), pp. 97-102.
- ⁶Ranok 10 May 1916.
- ⁷Ranok 29 July 1914.
- ⁸Ranok 10 July 1912.
- ⁹The Home Mission Pioneer (1907), vol. IV, pp. 106-107.
- ¹⁰Svoboda 28 January 1897.
- ¹¹Ibid.
- ¹²Svoboda 21 April 1898.
- ¹³Svoboda 4 April 1901.
- ¹⁴Svoboda 8 March 1900; 2 January 1902.
- ¹⁵Svoboda no. 31 1906.
- ¹⁶See "Peter, Nicholas and a Clergyman on a Journey", in Michael A. Sherbinin and Ivan Bodrug, A Ruthenian-English Glossary or Dictionary: An English Manual for Ruthenians (Winnipeg, 1906), pp. 97-110.
- ¹⁷Maksym Berezynsky, Vasyl Piniansky, and Iulian Sytnyk were philosophy students, Symon Symotiuk was an engineering student, Onufrii Charambura and Volodymyr Pyndykowsky were teachers, while Iakiv Krett had been a Basilian novice.
- ¹⁸Ivan Bodrug, "Spomyny pastora Ivana Bodruga", Ievanhelska Pravda, XIX no. 3, 1958. According to the minutes of the Presbyterian Home Mission Committee, Iulian Bohonko, the missionary at Sifton was dismissed after running off with another man's wife. See Presbyterian Church in Canada, Synod of Manitoba and the Northwest Territories, Minutes of the Executive of the Home Mission Committee, MS., p. 48, 7 March 1908. The following Independent Greek Church ministers were examined by the Sub-Committee on Reception as Ministers and Missionaries of the Presbyterian Church on October 24 and 28, 1912: Ivan Bodrug, V. Pyndykowsky, M. Glowa, Iu. Popel,

T. Patserniuk, M. P. Berezynsky, I. Danylchuk, A. Baczynsky, E. Perih,
H. Tymczuk, N. Sikora, A. Vilchynsky, P. Uhryniuk, Th. Berezowsky,
E. Eustafiewicz, M. Baczynsky, J. Gregorash, M. Hutney, W. Plawiuk,
A. Maksymchuk, J. Zazulak, P. Melnychuk.

¹⁹Ranok 11 November 1914.

²⁰Ranok 19 November 1913.

²¹Ibid.

²²Ranok 28 February 1912.

²³For Kotsan's views see Ranok 8 July 1914.

²⁴Robotchyi Narod 24 December 1914, 2 January 1915.

²⁵Ranok 21 October 1914.

²⁶Ranok 19 April 1916.

²⁷Pavlo Krat, Vidzhytky v Liudskii Naturi (Toronto, 1920), pp. 39-40.

²⁸Ibid. p. 40.

²⁹Ibid. p. 33.

³⁰Ibid. p. 40.

³¹Ibid. p. 35.

³²Ibid. pp. 17-18.

³³Ibid. p. 27.

³⁴Ibid. pp. 29-30, 32.

³⁵Robotchyi Narod 9 September 1914, 15 October 1914.

³⁶Livesay to Chambers, 31 December 1915, Chief Press Censor's Papers, vol. 27, file 144-A-1.

³⁷Livesay to Boag, 7 April 1916, Chief Press Censor's Papers, vol. 43, file 196-1.

³⁸See Pavlo Krat, Koly Ziishlo Sontse (Toronto, 1918), and the anonymous "Sotsialna Revoliutsiia", in Kanadyiskyi Ranok, 14 February 1922.

³⁹Pavlo Krat, Koly Ziishlo Sontse, p. 15.

⁴⁰Ibid. p. 68.

- ⁴¹ Pavlo Krat, Vidzhytky v Liudskii Naturi, p. 36.
- ⁴² Pavlo Krat, Koly Ziishlo Sontse, p. 58.
- ⁴³ Ibid. p. 60.
- ⁴⁴ Robotchyi Narod 27 November 1912.
- ⁴⁵ Robotchyi Narod 8 January, 1 October 1913.
- ⁴⁶ Robotchyi Narod 15 May 1912.
- ⁴⁷ Robotchyi Narod 18 October 1913.
- ⁴⁸ Robotchyi Narod 8 December 1917.
- ⁴⁹ As the following excerpt from Robotchyi Narod suggests, however, their objectives were not always apparent to many peasant immigrants:
 ". . . The socialists will not take away anybody's clothes, nor will they take away the farmers' land and cattle. They only want the means [of production] which have enabled the possessing classes to accumulate their profits — that is, [they want] the mines, factories, machines, railroads, and everything else used by them to exploit workers — to become the property of all the people, [to become] collective property . . . Remember, the socialists do not want to take away your pig and divide it up among themselves, they want to transform the capitalists' private property into the collective property of the whole society. Robotchyi Narod 29 May 1912.
- ⁵⁰ Robotchyi Narod 19 June 1912.
- ⁵¹ Robotchyi Narod 15 October 1913.
- ⁵² Robotchyi Narod 18 February 1914.
- ⁵³ Robotchyi Narod 23 October 1912.
- ⁵⁴ Robotchyi Narod 30 October 1912.
- ⁵⁵ Robotchyi Narod 11 September 1912.
- ⁵⁶ Ukrainskyi Holos 25 September, 2 October 1912. Also see O. Reviuk, "Zaiava", Ukrainskyi Holos 24 September, 1, 8, 15 October 1913.
- ⁵⁷ Volodin seems to have been the guilty party. He was expelled from the party for giving funds to "conservatives". See Robotchyi Narod 28 February 1916.
- ⁵⁸ Robotchyi Narod 28 April 1914.
- ⁵⁹ Peasant millenarianism emerges when traditional peasant societies experience some forms of transition from one way of life to another. The onslaught of an urban culture with its impersonal commercial values, may

intensify doubts and feelings of inferiority among peasants as it subverts customary methods and institutions, and as it engenders new expectations, which cannot be satisfied by existing peasant institutions. Emigration has been known to have similar effects. Millenarianism expresses itself in a total rejection of the present iniquitous world and in a passionate longing for a transformed and better society. Millenarists believe that the transformation of the world — the millenium — will be total: the new world will not only be a better world, it will be a perfect world in which everything will be transformed. Because millenarists believe that the millenium is imminent and will be realized through the intervention of supernatural agencies, they do not consider themselves to be the vital active force in the transformation of society. See E. J. Hobsbawm, Primitive Rebels (New York, 1959); Yonina Talmon, "Millenarism" in Encyclopaedia of the Social Sciences vol. VIII, 1968; and, Bryan Wilson, "Millenialism in Comparative Perspective", Comparative Studies in Society and History, vol. IV, 1962.

⁶⁰The newcomers included such prominent future Ukrainian Canadian Communist leaders as Matvii Popovych, Ivan Navizivsky, Danylo Lobai, Ivan Stefanicky, Anton Dziola, Andrii Dmytryshyn, Hryhorii Tkachuk, Ivan Hnyda, Mykola Kniazevych, Vasyl Kolisnyk, Denys Moisiuk, Teodor Koreichuk, Matvii Shatulsky and Ivan Boichuk.

⁶¹Robotchyi Narod 2 June 1915.

⁶²Robotchyi Narod 29 August 1917.

⁶³The paper also reprinted articles by Levynsky, Iurkevych, Vynnychenko, Hrushevsky, Melenevsky and Dontsov, all Ukrainian socialists; by European Social Democrats such as Kautsky, Bernstein, Liebnicht, and Zetkin; by Russian Social Democrats, including Martov; and, by Bolsheviks such as Lunacharsky, Trotsky and Volodarsky.

⁶⁴Robotchyi Narod 11 April 1917.

⁶⁵Robotchyi Narod 2 May 1917.

⁶⁶Robotchyi Narod 5 May 1915.

⁶⁷Robotchyi Narod 28 February 1916.

⁶⁸Robotchyi Narod 6 April 1917.

⁶⁹Robotchyi Narod 11 July 1917.

⁷⁰Robotchyi Narod 12 December 1917.

⁷¹Robotchyi Narod 2 February 1918.

⁷²Robotchyi Narod 23 March 1918.

⁷³Ukrainskyi Holos 20, 27 April 1910.

⁷⁴Ukrainskyi Holos 27 September 1916. Svarich was one of the founders of the Ruthenian Trading Company (Ruska Narodna Torhovlia) in Vegreville. The Winnipeg nationalists organized the National Trading Company Limited (Ukraiinska Narodna Torhovlia) and the Ruthenian Farmers' Elevator Company (Ukraiinska Farmerska Elevatorska Spilka). The last functioned between 1917 and 1925. In 1919 it had 1200 shareholders and owned elevators in Ethelbert, Sifton, Oakburn, Menzies, Tolstoi, Fisher Branch and Elphinstone, Manitoba, and in Aran, Norquay, Mikado, Sheho, Goodeve, Jasmin and Krydor, Saskatchewan. Taras Ferley was the Company's president. See P. Svarich, "Pro Ko-operatyvu", Kaliendar Ukrainskoho Holosu 1916, pp. 113-21; and, Propamiatna Knyha Ukrainskoho Narodnoho Domu (Winnipeg, 1949), pp. 206-09, 640-60.

⁷⁵Robotchyi Narod 2 June 1915.

⁷⁶Western School Journal (1915), vol. X, p. 277.

⁷⁷Ukrainskyi Holos 7 September 1910.

⁷⁸Ibid.

⁷⁹Ukrainskyi Holos 16 March 1910.

⁸⁰Ukrainskyi Holos 24 April 1912.

⁸¹Ukrainskyi Holos 18 February 1914.

⁸²Ukrainskyi Holos 5 June 1912.

⁸³Western School Journal (1911), vol. VI, pp. 253-55, 364-66.

⁸⁴Ukrainskyi Holos 15, 29 March 1916.

⁸⁵Manitoba Free Press, "Letters to the Editor", 2 November 1911.

⁸⁶Ukrainskyi Holos 26 February, 13 March 1913.

⁸⁷Ukrainskyi Holos, 29 March 1916.

⁸⁸Ukrainskyi Holos 11 February 1914.

⁸⁹Ukrainskyi Holos 8 April 1914.

⁹⁰Ukrainskyi Holos 2 April 1913, 17, 24, 31 March, 7, 14 April 1915.

⁹¹Ukrainskyi Holos 28 January 1914.

⁹²Ukrainskyi Holos 11 February 1914.

⁹³Ukrainskyi Holos 14 April 1915.

⁹⁴Ukrainskyi Holos 17 November 1915.

- ⁹⁵ Iulian Stechishin, "Ne zvazhaimo" Kameniari vol. II, no. 1, (Saskatoon, 15 January 1919), pp. 18-20.
- ⁹⁶ Iulian Stechishin, "Radab Dusha do Raiu, Ale Hrikhy ne Puskaiut", Kameniari vol. II, no. 3, (Saskatoon, 15 February 1919), pp. 99-103.
- ⁹⁷ Kanadyiskyi Farmer 9, 16, 23 August 1907.
- ⁹⁸ Ukrainskyi Holos 23 May 1917.
- ⁹⁹ Ukrainskyi Holos 6 June 1917.
- ¹⁰⁰ Kanadyiskyi Farmer 18 January 1918.
- ¹⁰¹ Ukrainskyi Holos 15 August 1917.
- ¹⁰² Ranok 4 September 1918. Also see 25 April, 1 May 1918.
- ¹⁰³ Drahomanov, "Lyst do halytskoho narodovtsia", Pysma do Ivana Franka, vol. II, pp. 395-96.
- ¹⁰⁴ Ukrainskyi Holos 17 January, 31 January 1917.

CONCLUSION

When the first Ukrainian peasant immigrants — predominantly Greek Catholics from eastern Galicia and a small minority of Greek Orthodox faithful from northern Bukovyna — arrived in Canada, they were not accompanied by the clergymen who had traditionally exercised leadership in rural Ukrainian society. Since members of the Ukrainian middle class had been even less disposed to immigrate than were members of the clergy, leadership within the Ukrainian immigrant community had been assumed by members of the village intelligentsia, whose social values and political outlook had been moulded by contacts with the Radical Party. In Canada members of the village intelligentsia continued to profess Radical ideals and attempted — in their own way — to "enlighten and elevate" their economically exploited and culturally neglected country-men by articulating and propagating protestant, socialist, and nationalist orientations. Protestant moral discipline, socialist working class solidarity, and Ukrainian national consciousness, exponents of each orientation believed, would enable peasant immigrants to adjust to life in a modern society.

Members of the village intelligentsia had good reason to be concerned about the fate of their less fortunate countrymen. In the first place, Ukrainians had been encouraged to immigrate to Canada in order to satisfy the demand for agricultural settlers and cheap frontier labor. Having arrived, many were obliged to cultivate lands of marginal quality and to perform menial and unremunerative tasks eschewed by other settlers.

Since they were isolated from modern sectors of Canadian society and left without basic social services, life continued to be extremely hazardous and insecure. Consequently a noticeable number of those peasant immigrants who continued to experience scarcity, isolation and discrimination, displayed perceptions, values and behaviour patterns of the type observed by anthropologists in most peasant societies. Fatalism, superstition, envy, mistrust and feelings of inferiority and self-contempt continued to haunt peasant immigrants in more than one district during the early years. Not only did these attitudes threaten to impede the peasant immigrants' integration into the new society, they also made it relatively easy to exploit the immigrants. Secondly, representatives of the dominant Anglo-Celtic group in Canada, who regarded the immigrants as little more than a necessary source of cheap frontier labor, also sought to denationalize them and to influence and control their socio-economic and political behaviour. Canada, they believed, was to become "the greater Britain beyond the seas", a nation of people habituated to a life of steady application, in which "the idiosyncracies of race and speech" would disappear. Protestant missions and public schools attempted to realize these objectives. Finally, the virtual absence of the Ukrainian Greek Catholic clergy during the first one and one-half decades of settlement, was complicated by the activity of the local French-speaking Roman Catholic clergy, as well as by that of Russian Orthodox missionaries from the United States. While the former hoped to subordinate Greek Catholic immigrants to their own authority and concerned themselves primarily with preserving the immigrants' allegiance to the Papacy, the latter tried to instil Russophile

sentiments among Greek Orthodox immigrants. Moreover, when the Greek Catholic Church was granted recognition in Canada, the Ukrainian clergy, especially Bishop Budka, continued to pursue a narrow denominational course and sought to place spiritual and secular institutions under its own hegemony. By 1918, the village intelligentsia's efforts to grapple with these problems, had resulted in the emergence of three mutually antagonistic camps within the Ukrainian immigrant community, which challenged the traditional authority of the Catholic clergy.

The protestant orientation had been the first to emerge. The threat posed to the national integrity, as well as to the secular enlightenment of the immigrant community, by the Roman Catholic hierarchy and by the Russian Orthodox missionaries, prompted the first representatives of the village intelligentsia in Canada to begin advocating protestantism shortly after the turn of the century. From the outset the protestant orientation's prospects for survival were dim. Ukrainian advocates of protestantism were obliged to turn for assistance to local Anglo-Celtic Protestants. Although Presbyterianism impressed members of the intelligentsia as a "rational" faith, capable of helping Ukrainian peasant immigrants to adjust to life in a modern society, their objectives did not coincide with those of their Anglo-Celtic mentors. Those members of the village intelligentsia who advocated protestantism, believed that it would foster self-reliance and self-esteem among peasant immigrants by dispensing with clerical tutelage and by minimizing social distinctions between laity and clergy. Similarly, by inveighing against moral lapses, rather than against the failure to comply with customary observances, Protestantism was expected to root out superstition and

to instil virtues such as charity, honesty, sobriety and self-mastery, thereby encouraging cooperation and conscious self-improvement. Thus, when Ukrainian protestants advocated "assimilation", they had meant the casting off of traditional peasant perceptions, values, and behaviour patterns; the rejection of folk customs and usages which helped to sustain these; and, the acquisition of rational attitudes, habits and values, such as those encouraged by Protestantism, which were necessary for survival in a modern society. They did not espouse cultural and linguistic homogenization.

Their Anglo-Celtic Presbyterian mentors, on the other hand, had regarded conversion to Protestantism as the first step toward the creation of a loyal, culturally homogeneous, English-speaking Canadian people. When the Independent Greek Church, a transitional institution designed to prepare the way for Protestantism among Ukrainian peasant immigrants, failed to further Anglo-Celtic objectives after being subsidized for a decade, Ukrainian classes at Manitoba College were abolished, while the Church was dissolved and its remaining Ukrainian ministers and their congregations were absorbed into the Presbyterian Church of Canada. Although they provided some of the best (and only) medical facilities available to Ukrainian immigrants in remote rural districts, English-speaking Protestants, especially the Presbyterians, established School Homes in which they attempted to isolate and socialize a loyal immigrant elite with their own culture, values and ideology; endeavoured to neutralize social unrest among frontier laborers by inculcating gratitude and submission; and played a prominent role in the abolition of bilingual education. These tactics did not advance the protestant cause within the Ukrainian immigrant community.

By war's end protestantism was a marginal phenomenon in the Ukrainian community and even prominent Ukrainian Presbyterian ministers were beginning to have second thoughts. In 1920, when 16 Ukrainian ministers were still affiliated with the Presbyterian Church of Canada, only 11 Ukrainian congregations — with a total membership consisting of 136 single persons and 279 families — were still active.* To preserve their national distinctiveness within the North American Protestant community, Ukrainian Presbyterian ministers in Canada and the United States established the Ukrainian Evangelical Alliance (Ukrainske Ievanhelske Obiednannia) in 1922. The Alliance united Ukrainian Presbyterians in the United States and Canada, and Ukrainian members of the United Church of Canada. Although it never acquired any official recognition in the administration of any of these Churches, the Alliance pursued a number of policies. The most important of these was the effort to evangelize Ukrainians in Galicia, Bukovyna and Volynia. Although moderately successful, this overseas triumph only emphasized the protestant orientation's weakness in North America, especially in Canada. In 1931 only 5,400 Ukrainians belonged to the Presbyterian and United Churches in Canada, and few of these were members of Ukrainian congregations.

Socialism had emerged as a distinct trend of thought among members of the village intelligentsia in Canada by 1907. Its appeal reflected the growing number of Ukrainian immigrants recruited as frontier laborers after the enactment of federal restrictions on Oriental immigration.

* Calculated on the basis of information in the Appendices to Acts and Proceedings of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in Canada 1920.

Realizing that fatalism, self-abnegation and deference to authority facilitated the exploitation of Ukrainian peasant immigrants, Ukrainian Social Democrats had tried to foster working class solidarity and to encourage conscious opposition to exploitation, by acquainting immigrant workers with pressing political and economic issues, and by familiarizing them with the nature of capitalist society. Although they advocated social reform, as Marxists they believed that capitalism was an inherently exploitative system of production which could not be reformed. Consequently they anticipated the day when workers would seize control of the state, socialize the means of production, and establish a just and equitable social order. Ultimately, they believed, only social revolution could assure freedom from want, and as a consequence, bring cultural and moral progress for immigrant workers.

The pre-war depression, war, rising unemployment, internment of "enemy aliens", and nativist hysteria, contributed to the crystallization of a more uncompromising, class-oriented, revolutionary outlook among Ukrainian Social Democrats. These developments made the socialists impatient with the moderate and conciliatory stance assumed by advocates of protestantism and nationalism, and increasingly drew them closer to Bolshevik circles with which they had been in contact since the outbreak of war. After the October Revolution the Ukrainian Social Democrats assumed an openly pro-Soviet position, thereby cutting themselves off from the rest of the Ukrainian intelligentsia. However, party membership multiplied under the stimulus of the revolution, which seemed to herald social emancipation and national liberation at a time when the most elementary civil liberties were being curtailed in Canada. When the Ukrainian Social Democratic Party was outlawed in September, 1918, its

membership exceeded 2,000 and it claimed to have thousands of sympathizers. After the war prominent Ukrainian socialists would participate in the formation of the Communist Party of Canada, sit on its Politburo and tow the Comintern line. The 800 or more Ukrainians who belonged to the Party during 1920s constituted the second most numerous national group within the Party.

During the years between 1918 and 1933, the socialist, or as it came to be called, the communist camp, experienced a period of rapid growth and expansion. Prior to 1918 the socialist intelligentsia's influence had been limited almost exclusively to urban and frontier laborers. After the abolition of the Ukrainian Social Democratic Party, members of the communist intelligentsia created the Ukrainian Labor-Farmer Temple Association (Tovarystvo Ukrainskyi Robitnycho-Farmerskyi Dim), which not only took over all the old Party locals and sought to extend the communist intelligentsia's influence into rural areas, but also became the first Ukrainian organization to expand on a dominion-wide scale. The U.L.F.T.A.'s program combined communist political agitation with cultural and educational work designed to raise morale and living standards among Ukrainian immigrants. This was accomplished by appealing to the immigrants' national sympathies and to their socio-economic interests. By 1933 the U.L.F.T.A. encompassed over 6,000 members in some 200 men's, women's and youth locals, and boasted scores of orchestral, choral and dramatic groups. It was estimated that the communist press had 30,000 readers. The fact that the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, under pressure from prominent Ukrainian Communists, permitted Ukrainian cultural, scholarly and artistic life in the Ukrainian S.S.R. to develop in relative freedom throughout most of this period, contributed

to the success of the U.L.F.T.A. in Canada. The U.L.F.T.A.'s strength declined after 1933, when reports about Russification, about the excesses of collectivization, and about Stalinist atrocities began to circulate among Ukrainian immigrants.

The nationalist orientation was the last to emerge. After 1910 it was the most popular orientation among members of the intelligentsia and among those immigrants who were no longer totally absorbed in the struggle for survival. Advocates of nationalism believed that the cultivation of Ukrainian national identity, pride and solidarity, would instil a sense of personal self-respect and human dignity among their demoralized countrymen. A sense of Ukrainian national solidarity, they assumed, could overcome the peasant immigrants' traditional individualism and suspiciousness, their inability or unwillingness to cooperate with one another. The nationalists attempted to further these objectives by encouraging the immigrants to establish National Homes — community centres in which the immigrants' common cultural heritage could be reaffirmed and cultivated; by establishing student residences (bursy) in which Ukrainian high school and university students could be familiarized with the finer achievements of Ukrainian arts and letters and inducted into service for the underprivileged and unenlightened; and, by attempting to establish Ukrainian consumers' and producers' cooperatives. As for socio-economic relations in Canada, the nationalists were accommodating. They expressed few reservations about the capitalist system, where production was carried on for profit rather than for the satisfaction of basic human needs, and they encouraged the immigrants to adapt themselves to the system and to take advantage of it for their own benefit.

The nationalists' moderate program, which stressed self-reliance and

education, reflected the social composition of the nationalist intelligentsia and the presence of a stratum of fairly comfortable farmers among Ukrainian immigrants. Although the most prominent advocates of the orientation included radical members of the Galician village intelligentsia, the rank and file was composed of the first Ukrainian-Canadian high school and university graduates, and even more prominently of the first bilingual teachers in the prairie provinces. Thus, most nationalists were articulate and possessed the potential for considerable social mobility. Convinced as they were that most Ukrainian immigrants were destined to become prosperous farmers and small businessmen (rather than proletarians), they adopted a pragmatic liberal program which emphasized cultural pluralism, minority rights, and secularism. They thereby appealed to those settlers who were materially comfortable enough to ignore socialist appeals for class solidarity and social revolution, but who resented Catholic clericalism and Anglo-Celtic efforts to enforce cultural homogeneity. The prominent role played by the nationalist intelligentsia in the struggle for the retention of bilingual instruction, and in the creation of the democratic, lay-controlled Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church, attested to its liberal outlook. Dissatisfaction with Ukrainian Greek Catholic clericalism was certainly no less important a consideration in the creation of the Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church than concern for the national integrity of the Church and Ukrainian institutions.

In fact, the nationalist appellation had been a misnomer from the outset, a label applied by the English-language press to advocates of bilingual education, who preferred to refer to themselves as populists (narodovtsi). During the inter-war years the liberal, middle class character of the nationalist, or as it came to be called the Greek

Orthodox camp, became increasingly apparent. As the Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church expanded — there were 24 priests, over 100 parishes, and 55,000 faithful in 1931 — the intelligentsia began to organize a network of institutions to meet the secular needs of the Orthodox community. By 1930, men's, women's, youth and students' associations had been created. The Ukrainian Self Reliance League (Soiuz Ukraintsiv Samostiinykiv), an umbrella organization which embraced all these affiliate associations, and the second dominion-wide Ukrainian organization, became the secular arm of the Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church. Although the U.S.R.L. sought to render moral and material aid to the Ukrainian people in Europe in their struggle for national liberation, it opposed formal ties with non-Canadian Ukrainian political organizations, be they Communist or Nationalist. Proclaiming the motto "Self-respect, self-reliance, self-help", the U.S.R.L. pledged itself to fight communism and facism, encouraged Ukrainian-Canadians to regard Canada as their adopted homeland, and appealed to them to become active and responsible citizens. When post-war political emigrés — veterans of the Ukrainian wars of liberation — established the Ukrainian National Federation (Ukrainske Natsionalne Obiednannia), which was aligned with the militant and extremist overseas Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (O.U.N.), the U.S.R.L. reacted critically and took great pains to dissociate itself from the Nationalists.

After more than three decades of Ukrainian immigration to Canada a cohesive Ukrainian immigrant community had failed to emerge. During the 1920s the Ukrainian population in Canada was divided into four antagonistic camps. Greek Catholic priests, Presbyterian ministers, Communists, and nationalist champions of Greek Orthodoxy struggled to retain or to

capture the allegiance of the immigrant masses. A decade later the appearance of integral Nationalists and Monarchists — drawn from post-war immigrants — complicated the struggle. While the Greek Catholic Church retained the adherence of up to 130,000 Ukrainian Canadians (58 percent) in 1931, few Ukrainian or Canadian educated members of the intelligentsia aligned themselves with the clergy. Thus, Greek Catholics were the last to establish a dominion-wide secular organization in 1932, when the Ukrainian Catholic Brotherhood (Bratstvo Ukrainsiv Katolykiv) was founded. In the meantime the Ukrainian Greek Orthodox, the Communists, and on a much more modest scale the Protestants, had established their own autonomous institutions, thereby creating their own sectional communities.

Although the roots of factionalism were becoming increasingly indiscernible during the inter-war years, they could be traced to developments within the Ukrainian community in Galicia and Bukovyna during the last few decades of the nineteenth century. The articulation of protestant, socialist, and nationalist orientations by the village intelligentsia in Canada had been inspired by the anti-clericalism, egalitarianism and populism of the Ukrainian Radical movement. While they had disagreed on the methods whereby redundant peasant perceptions, values and behaviour patterns were to be modernized, protestants, socialists and nationalists had all looked forward to the day when Ukrainian peasant immigrants would become self-respecting and self-reliant members of a pluralistic society. If the rationale which informed their strategies could be questioned, the Radical lineage of these strategies was beyond dispute.

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