

UKRAINIAN CANADIAN LITERATURE IN WINNIPEG:
A SOCIO-HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE,
1908-1991

BY

ALEXANDRA ANNA PAWLOWSKY

A Thesis
Submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies
in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements
for the Degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

Interdisciplinary Program
University of Manitoba
Winnipeg, Manitoba

(c) July, 1997



**National Library
of Canada**

**Acquisitions and
Bibliographic Services**

**395 Wellington Street
Ottawa ON K1A 0N4
Canada**

**Bibliothèque nationale
du Canada**

**Acquisitions et
services bibliographiques**

**395, rue Wellington
Ottawa ON K1A 0N4
Canada**

Your file Votre référence

Our file Notre référence

The author has granted a non-exclusive licence allowing the National Library of Canada to reproduce, loan, distribute or sell copies of this thesis in microform, paper or electronic formats.

The author retains ownership of the copyright in this thesis. Neither the thesis nor substantial extracts from it may be printed or otherwise reproduced without the author's permission.

L'auteur a accordé une licence non exclusive permettant à la Bibliothèque nationale du Canada de reproduire, prêter, distribuer ou vendre des copies de cette thèse sous la forme de microfiche/film, de reproduction sur papier ou sur format électronique.

L'auteur conserve la propriété du droit d'auteur qui protège cette thèse. Ni la thèse ni des extraits substantiels de celle-ci ne doivent être imprimés ou autrement reproduits sans son autorisation.

0-612-32887-2

**THE UNIVERSITY OF MANITOBA
FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES

COPYRIGHT PERMISSION PAGE**

**UKRAINIAN CANADIAN LITERATURE IN WINNIPEG:
A SOCIO-HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE,
1908 - 1991**

BY

ALEXANDRA ANNA PAWLOWSKY

**A Thesis/Practicum submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies of The University
of Manitoba in partial fulfillment of the requirements of the degree
of
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY**

Alexandra Anna Pawlowsky 1997 (c)

**Permission has been granted to the Library of The University of Manitoba to lend or sell
copies of this thesis/practicum, to the National Library of Canada to microfilm this thesis
and to lend or sell copies of the film, and to Dissertations Abstracts International to publish
an abstract of this thesis/practicum.**

**The author reserves other publication rights, and neither this thesis/practicum nor
extensive extracts from it may be printed or otherwise reproduced without the author's
written permission.**

Abstract

This is a study of the development of Ukrainian Canadian literature in Winnipeg in relation to its socio-historical context, from 1908 to 1991. For the purposes of this study “Ukrainian Canadian literature” is defined as literature -- prose fiction, poetry and drama - - written in Ukrainian or English by writers of Ukrainian origin living in Canada. The Canadian locale is restricted to Winnipeg and includes writers living in Winnipeg when they wrote and/or published their works and writers born in Winnipeg but living elsewhere when they wrote and/or published their works.

The literature is studied in three distinct periods, 1908-1917, 1918-1946, 1947-1991, roughly analogous to the three waves of Ukrainian immigration to Canada.

In the initial period of immigration the Ukrainians established themselves and their community life in Winnipeg’s North End. The literature of the period was characterized by nostalgia for what was left behind in the old country and fear of what was awaiting them in the new. Important writers were Fedyk (Songs about Canada and Austria) and Crath (the first utopian novel in Ukrainian).

In the second period the Ukrainian community in Winnipeg was revitalized by the influx of new immigrants who established a more diverse array of organizations. The literature of this period evidenced the development of the Ukrainian literary heritage in Canada. New themes centred on the life of Ukrainians in Canada. Significant writers were Irchan, Ewach (The Call of the Land) and Petrivsky (the first Canadian novel in Ukrainian).

In the third period Winnipeg began to wane in significance as Ukrainian émigrés chose to live elsewhere. Ukrainian Canadian writers divided into two groups, émigrés, writing in Ukrainian on themes relating to Ukraine (e.g., Mandryka, Hay-Holowko) and the Canadian-born, writing in English on Canadian and more universal themes (e.g., Lysenko, Haas, Galay).

Beginning with early folkloristic “songs,” a Ukrainian Canadian literary heritage developed. Eventually elements of it entered the Canadian literary mainstream. The price that was exacted included the loss of the Ukrainian language, increased assimilation and loss of the Ukrainian identity and the decline in the importance of the traditional Ukrainian and Ukrainian Canadian institutions and organizations.

Acknowledgements

I am particularly indebted to my Advisor, Dr. Natalia Aponiuk, for her concern, guidance and counsel which were so valuable to me at each step of the way in the preparation and writing of this thesis. I would also like to thank the other members of the Committee, Dr. Oleh Gerus and Dr. Leo Driedger, for their input and assistance, as well as Dr. Yar Slavutych, Professor Emeritus, University of Alberta and Dr. Bohdan Budurowycz, Professor Emeritus, University of Toronto. I also very much appreciated the interest and support of my work of Dr. Kenneth Hughes, Dean, Faculty of Graduate Studies. As well, I am indebted to my husband and family for their continual support and encouragement. I also wish to acknowledge the financial support of the Centre for Ukrainian Canadian Studies, the Faculty of Graduate Studies at the University of Manitoba and the Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies, which was of significant assistance to me in this undertaking..

Table of Contents

Abstract	ii
Acknowledgements	iv
Table of Contents	v
Preface	vii
INTRODUCTION	ix
CHAPTER I. NOSTALGIA FOR THE OLD AND FEAR OF THE NEW, 1908-1917	1
1. The Fledgling Ukrainian Community in Winnipeg	1
2. The Fledgling Literature: Fedyk's <u>Songs about Canada and Austria</u>	24
3. Literature as a Vehicle of Socialization: Maidanyk and Others	48
4. Building Socialism through Literature: Paul Crath	74
5. Aesthetic and Other Themes	85
Notes	91
Appendix A: Ukrainian Language Original of Prose Passages Translated in the Text	105
Appendix B: English Language Translation of Prose Passages Cited in Ukrainian in the Text	108
CHAPTER II. THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE UKRAINIAN HERITAGE IN CANADA, 1918-1946	109
1. The Development of the Ukrainian Community in Winnipeg	109
2. The "Centrist" Writers	131
3. The Radical Socialists: Myroslav Irchan	163
4. Michael Petrivsky and the Emergence of the Ukrainian Canadian Novel	172

5. Honore Ewach and <u>The Call of the Land</u>	182
Notes	190
Appendix: Ukrainian Language Original of Prose Passages Translated in the Text	203
CHAPTER III. MOVING INTO THE MAINSTREAM, 1947-1991	209
1. Ukrainians Come into Their Own	209
2. Ukrainian “Émigré” Writers	230
3. Moving into Mainstream Canadian Literature	260
Notes	299
CHAPTER IV. CONCLUSION	310
BIBLIOGRAPHY	324

Preface

In general, in matters of style the *MLA Handbook for Writers of Research Papers* (4th edition) is followed. In matters relating to Ukrainian language usage, the *Manual of Style* published by the Canadian Institute for Ukrainian Studies, Andrij Hornjatkevyc's *Stylistychnyy dovidnyk* and the *University of Toronto Slavic Languages and Literatures Guide* were followed. For example, Ukrainian poetry is quoted in the original and followed by a prose translation in the text. Ukrainian prose is provided in translation in the text and the original is quoted at the end of each chapter.

Standard Ukrainian orthography is adhered to throughout. The transliteration system that is used is given below. With regard to names, when there is a generally accepted spelling of a Ukrainian name (e.g., Honore Ewach), it is used in the text. The correct transliteration of the name follows in brackets when the name is first used (e.g., Onufriy Ivakh). The transliterated name is also used in the notes and bibliography with all Ukrainian names and titles of works. Dates of publication follow the title in brackets.

Transliteration Table

а - a	к - k	ш - sh
б - b	л - l	щ - shch
в - v	м - m	ю - yu
г - h	н - n	я - ya
г - g	о - o	ь - '
д - d	п - p	
е - e	р - r	
е - ye	с - s	
ж - zh	т - t	
з - z	у - u	
и - y	ф - f	
і - l	х - kh	
ї - yi	ц - ts	
й - y	ч - ch	

Introduction

This is a study of the development of Ukrainian Canadian literature in Winnipeg in relation to its socio-historical context, spanning the period from 1908 to 1991. Although various definitions of what constitutes Ukrainian Canadian literature have been postulated,¹ for the purposes of this study “Ukrainian Canadian literature” is defined as literature -- prose fiction, poetry and drama -- written in either Ukrainian or English by writers of Ukrainian origin living in Canada (whether native-born or émigrés) at the time of writing. The Canadian locale has been restricted to Winnipeg and includes writers living in Winnipeg when they wrote and/or published their work(s) and writers born in Winnipeg but living elsewhere when they wrote and/or published their work(s). The study was restricted to Winnipeg because there was such an abundance of works published that it would not have been possible to make a study of the development of Ukrainian Canadian literature on a national scale a feasible one. However, the quantity of literature produced in Winnipeg was such that it was more than adequate for a study such as this one. For the most part, the literature studied was published in monographs (either as books or parts of books). This is not to say that literary works published in the press did not have an impact on the public for they certainly did as there were large numbers of subscribers to the Ukrainian press. This study would have been too broad, however, if these publications were included. In the case of Ukrainian leftist writers, literary works published in the press (newspapers and journals) were also studied because for these writers, with the notable exception of Myroslav Irchan, the leftist press was the only vehicle for publication. The “socio-historical context” is defined as the social processes

and influences and historical events that affected and to some degree influenced the development of the literature that was produced and in a significant number of cases were reflected as themes in the literature.

The study begins in 1908 because this was the year in which the first two literary works by Ukrainians in Winnipeg, Teodor Fedyk's Pisni pro Kanadu i Avstriyu (Songs about Canada and Austria)² and Dmytro Rarahovs'kyi's Robitnychi pisni (Workers' songs),³ were published. Fedyk's Songs about Canada and Austria was an especially significant work in that it is said to have been published in six editions and sold 50,000 copies in North America and Ukraine.⁴ The study ends in 1991 for this year marked the hundredth anniversary of Ukrainian settlement in Canada and the year in which the independence of Ukraine, after centuries of subjugation to foreign masters, was regained. The latter event instilled in Ukrainian Canadians a feeling of pride in having an independent homeland, no matter how distant and remote. These two events were emblematic of the maturation of Ukrainians nationally and internationally.

Winnipeg was chosen as the focal point of this study because it has historically been the centre of Ukrainian Canadian literary, socio-cultural, religious and educational life in Canada. It also served as the "gateway" to the West of immigration depot for the first two waves of immigration and many Ukrainians instead of going further West simply settled in Winnipeg. Thus, it became the first major urban Ukrainian centre in Canada. For most of the period, between 1908 and 1991, particularly its first half, the majority of Ukrainian Canadian literature and arguably the best literature was being written and published in Winnipeg. This was probably because it was the first and largest urban

Ukrainian settlement in Canada, where church centres as well as centres of organizations were established and, therefore, the environment was the most conducive to the development of a fledgling literature.

The present work is significant because it is the first to study the development of Ukrainian Canadian literature in Winnipeg, and it is also the first to examine the literary works in a socio-historical context. The present work is also significant because it is one of the few in-depth studies devoted to Ukrainian Canadian literature.

Despite its long history, the quantity and quality of the work produced, and the number of writers engaged in its production, Ukrainian Canadian literature has not been studied to any great extent. Among the standard reference works Mykyta Ivanovych Mandryka's English-language study of Ukrainian Canadian literature (1968) is not without its shortcomings.⁵ Although it is titled History of Ukrainian Literature in Canada, the book does not discuss the literature in detail and is really limited to biographies of writers (and many non-writers), useful though they are, with very brief descriptions of their works. Mandryka also published an article dealing with Ukrainian literature in Canada but it is a fairly cursory study.⁶ Yar Slavutych published a survey of Ukrainian Canadian poetry in 1976, which is a useful guide to the poetry.⁷ Its usefulness stems from the fact that it not only provides previously lacking information on Ukrainian Canadian poets, particularly those of the pre-World War I and interwar periods, it also includes a particularly useful bibliography of Ukrainian Canadian poetry. Slavutych also published other articles and a book of articles on Ukrainian Canadian literature.⁸ Useful as they are, they do not provide the breadth and depth that book-length study would. A number of bibliographies of

Ukrainian Canadian literature have also been published to date. Slavutych's annotated bibliography, An Annotated Bibliography of Ukrainian Literature in Canada: Canadian Book Publications, 1908-1983⁹ is a pioneering work. Other bibliographies have also been published by Andrew Gregorovich, Alexander Malucky et al, and Halyna Myroniuk and Christine Worobec.¹⁰ Jars Balan's brief entry on Ukrainian Canadian literature in The Oxford Companion to Canadian Literature¹¹ is something of a breakthrough for this is the first time that Ukrainian Canadian literature has been treated as a component of Canadian literature. Omitted, however, are entries on such Ukrainian writers as Vera Lysenko and Ulas Samchuk, who, although important to Ukrainian Canadian literature and are included in the "Ukrainian Writing" entry, are apparently not considered significant enough to Canadian literature to warrant separate entries. Much earlier, Watson Kirkconnell, who did much to popularize Ukrainian matters in the dominant Anglo-Celtic world, published one short article on the topic of Ukrainian literature in Canada¹² and a slightly longer one on Ukrainian literature in Manitoba.¹³ Neither deals with the subject matter in an in-depth manner and many writers are omitted.

Critical works on Ukrainian Canadian literature published in Ukrainian include Oleksa Hay-Holowko's (Hay-Holovko) study of twenty writers of the pioneer period of Ukrainian settlement in Canada.¹⁴ This work was intended as the first volume of a multi-volume series, but further volumes have not appeared. Honore Ewach (Onufriy Ivakh), himself a writer of the interwar period published an overview of Ukrainian Canadian literature, but it is short and thus deals with the subject cursorily.¹⁵ Semen Kovbel' documented the development of Ukrainian Canadian literature according to its various

genres up to 1949.¹⁶ Besides the fact that it stops at 1949, his examination also suffers from the fact that it is not detailed enough. Peter Krawchuk's (Petro Kravchuk) studies of Ukrainian Canadian literature¹⁷ were limited to leftist writers, but they are quite valuable because no one else devotes much attention to leftist writers.

Two historians have also dealt with Ukrainian Canadian literature. Mykhaylo Marunchak's surveys of the three chronological periods in the development of Ukrainian Canadian literature are also not in-depth studies,¹⁸ although they are useful guides to further research. His Biohrafichnyy dovidnyk do istoriyi ukrayintsiv Kanady (Biographical reference book pertaining to the history of Ukrainians in Canada)¹⁹ provides biographical data on many writers, although it contains some errors. The more recently published five-volume Encyclopedia of Ukraine²⁰ also provides biographical information on Ukrainian Canadian writers. Like Marunchak, Paul Yuzyk devotes a chapter of his larger, historical work to Ukrainian Canadian literature, but like the others, this too, is not an in-depth study.²¹

Many works of criticism, generally articles, have appeared on specific themes relating to Ukrainian Canadian literature. Bohdan Budurowycz, Peter Krawchuk and Frances Swyripa examined how Ukrainian Canadians were portrayed in English-language literature, although in Swyripa's case the title of this work is misleading because it is really a historical work.²² Natalia Aponiuk also deals with this theme in articles on the depiction of Ukrainians in Canadian literature.²³ The depiction of Ukrainian Canadians is also dealt with by Mary Kirtz²⁴ and Sonia Mycak.²⁵ Alexandra Kruchka-Glynn has written on Vera Lysenko, as has Beverly Rasporich.²⁶ Tatiana Nazarenko has examined Ukrainian

Canadian visual poetry.²⁷ Tamara Palmer Seiler examines the female immigrant story.²⁸ Bohdan Rubchak and Danylo Struk have written on Ukrainian emigre poetry.²⁹ Some aspects of Ukrainian literature have also been studied in Master's theses, for example, Dimitrij Farkavec wrote on Jacob Maidanyk's (Yakiv Maydanyk) contribution to Ukrainian Canadian literature.³⁰ B. Hiritsch and Iroida L. Wynnyckyj wrote on the topic of Ukrainian Canadian theatre.³¹ Maryana Nikoula wrote on Petro Karmans'ky's feuillets.³²

The same problem, that is, the fact that they are largely understudied, exists with other ethnic Canadian literatures. George Bisztray's Hungarian-Canadian Literature³³ is a survey of that literature. Although Bisztray discusses the whole of the literature, beginning in the early part of this century, his main emphasis is on literature written after 1956, the year of the Hungarian Revolution, which saw a major influx of Hungarians to Canada. His work follows the bibliography of Hungarian-Canadian literature compiled by John Miska in his Ethnic and Native Canadian Literature, 1850-1979.³⁴ Jagna Nemetz's Master's thesis, "Polish Poets in Canada: A Comparative Study,"³⁵ is a study of one genre of Polish-Canadian literature. Jewish-Canadian literature is studied in Michael Greenstein's Third Solitudes: Tradition and Discontinuity in Jewish-Canadian Literature.³⁶ Italian literature is studied in Writers in Transition: The Proceedings of the First National Conference of Italian-Canadian Writers.³⁷ Canadian-Mennonite literature is studied in Harry Loewen's "Leaving Home: Canadian-Mennonite Literature in the 1980s"³⁸ and his "Canadian-Mennonite Literature Longing for a Lost Homeland."³⁹ A special issue of the Canadian Review of Comparative Literature under the title Literatures of Lesser Diffusion

includes Inuit, Native, Black, Haitian, Arabic, Finnish, Chinese, South Asian, Polish, Hungarian, Italian and Chilean writing in Canada.⁴⁰ Jars Balan's and Robert Klymasz's articles on Ukrainian writing in Canada are also included.⁴¹ Jars Balan edited a work Identifications: Ethnicity and the Writer in Canada which, in addition to articles by Yar Slavutych, Jars Balan and Danylo Struk⁴² on Ukrainian-Canadian literature, includes articles on Hungarian-Canadian, Icelandic-Canadian, and Yiddish-Canadian literature.⁴³ The Oxford Companion to Canadian Literature, though it includes the previously mentioned entry on Ukrainian writing by Jars Balan, does not include many entries pertaining to other ethnic literatures. Two it does include are "Inuit Literature"⁴⁴ and "Yiddish Literature."⁴⁵ It also includes some entries on writers representative of specific ethnic groups, such as the German Canadian writer Henry Kriesel⁴⁶ and the Polish Canadian Waclaw Iwaniuk.⁴⁷ But what is omitted are literatures of such Canadian ethnic groups as the Germans, Hungarians and Poles.

Starting in the early 1960s Ukrainian literature began to be translated into English thus making it accessible to both a wider readership and critical scrutiny. Translation into English also gave Ukrainian Canadian literature entree into mainstream Canadian literature. In 1963 C.H. Andrusyshen and Watson Kirkconnell published The Ukrainian Poets, 1189-1962,⁴⁸ an anthology of selected poetic works translated into English. It included selected works by such Ukrainian Canadian poets as Yar Slavutych, Oleh Zujewskyj, Stefan Semchuk, Mykyta I. Mandryka and Honore Ewach. Perhaps under the influence of the Canadian Multiculturalism Policy which provided financial support for multicultural endeavours, such as publications, in the 1980s, Jars Balan and Yuri Klynovy

published Yarmarok: Ukrainian Writing in Canada since the Second World War,⁴⁹ a collection of writing in all genres by Ukrainian Canadian writers. Writers, such as Oleksa Hay-Holowko and Bohdan Mazepa, whose works were originally written and published in Ukrainian were translated into English for inclusion in this collection. Other writers, already writing in English, such as Ted Galay and Janice Kulyk Keefer, were published in the original. Ukrainian Canadian writers are now published quite widely in monographs and collections, for example, Candace Adamson Burstow's collection of poetry, Pale Lady,⁵⁰ John Dolinsky's novella, The Resurrected Niece,⁵¹ Maara Haas' short story, "A Way Out of the Forest,"⁵² Nick Mitchell's "The Cat."⁵³ The same is true of other ethnic writers, such as the Icelandic-Canadian writer David Arnason,⁵⁴ the German-Canadian writer Henry Kreisel,⁵⁵ and the Mennonite-Canadian writer Patrick Friesen, among others.⁵⁶

.

The present study is divided into three sections, paralleling the traditional division of Ukrainian immigration to Canada into three 'waves,' 1891-1917, 1918-1946 and 1947-1991. This division of Ukrainian Canadian literature has been used by Mandryka, History of Ukrainian Literature in Canada⁵⁷; Slavutych, Ukrayins'ka poeziya v Kanadi (Ukrainian poetry in Canada)⁵⁸; and Marunchak, The Ukrainian Canadians: A History.⁵⁹ Only Kovbel' and Doroshenko's Propamyatna knyha Ukrayins'koho narodnoho domu u Vynypegu (Memorial book of the Ukrainian National Home in Winnipeg)⁶⁰ divides the

literature into genres, poetry, drama, short stories and novels, but they deal with each genre chronologically. The division of literature, like the division of immigration, into three quite distinct groupings has much to recommend it since each period in the literature and of the immigration has its own specific characteristics.

The first wave of immigration -- 1891-1917 -- consisted mainly of peasant farmers who emigrated to Canada for economic reasons and were generally either illiterate or poorly educated. John-Paul Himka agrees that they were generally illiterate,⁶¹ although Stella Hryniuk maintains that some were better educated than previously thought.⁶² In Canada they settled in the rural areas of the three prairie provinces. Their settlement pattern stretched along a belt "north from southeastern Manitoba to east of Winnipeg, and from there to Edmonton along the line of the Canadian National Railway."⁶³ They tended to settle in "block"-type settlements, that is, in areas or communities where other Ukrainians had already settled before them. This type of settlement pattern allowed the Ukrainians to develop and maintain a support system that eased their existence in and integration into Canadian society. In Winnipeg the rural "block"-type settlement was translated into the North End where the vast majority of the Ukrainians settled. It was also here that the centres of Ukrainian organizational and church life were established.

Those individuals, although by far in the minority, who settled in urban centres, tended to work as unskilled labourers. There was, however, even among the members of this group, a small number of better educated individuals, who saw to it that organizational life developed almost at the outset of their settlement in Winnipeg and Canada. They also spearheaded the development of literature in Canada, often seeing the

need for literature to act as a vehicle of socialization for the reading public. The literature of the first wave tended to deal with themes pertaining to nostalgia for the “old” and fear of the “new,” that is, nostalgia for all that had been left behind in the homeland, specifically, family, friends and the general way of life, and fear of what was awaiting the immigrants in the new land, specifically the new way of life, the socialization process and the ability to devote time to the concerns that were dear to them in the homeland, such as politics. Works were published in all genres during this period but poetry predominated. As previously mentioned, the most popular and probably the most significant and influential work of the period was Fedyk’s Songs about Canada and Austria which encompassed these primary themes. Another important work was Jacob Maidanyk’s (Yakiv Maydanyk) play Manigrula, particularly in that it was intended not only to amuse, but also to act a vehicle of socialization.⁶⁴ Winnipeg also had a relatively small number of publishers publishing Ukrainian Canadian literature during this period. One of the more prolific ones was Rus’ka knyharnya which published both the works cited above.

The second wave of immigration encompassed 1918-46. The members of this group tended to be better educated than the immigrants of the first wave. It still consisted largely of agricultural settlers, although this group also included political émigrés, largely veterans of Ukraine’s liberation struggle, who left Ukraine for political reasons. Most of this group once again settled in rural, western Canada, but a larger number opted for urban settlement than in the first wave. The city with the largest urban settlement was still Winnipeg. During this period, too, Winnipeg’s Ukrainian population increased

significantly. In 1921, for example, the Ukrainian population in the city stood at 7,001 and by 1941 it had quadrupled to 28,162.⁶⁵

Most Ukrainians residing in Canadian cities still tended to be employed in the unskilled labour sector. During this period, however, Ukrainians began to graduate from Canadian colleges and universities and to be employed in increasing numbers in the professional and business sectors of Canadian society, although still not in significant numbers. Organizational life both in Winnipeg, specifically, and Canada, as a whole, expanded considerably during this period, with many organizations spreading nationally. Winnipeg was the centre and headquarters from which organizational life grew. It also was the centre for both Ukrainian traditional churches, the Ukrainian Catholic and the Ukrainian Orthodox. The number of organizations, both secular and religious, that developed in Winnipeg and Canada was inordinately large and succeeded in factionalizing the community to an extent.

Winnipeg grew in terms of its Ukrainian population and as a cultural and intellectual centre, and this was reflected in an increase in the amount and variety of its literary production. During this period the first Ukrainian novel in Canada was written and published in Winnipeg. This was Michael Petrivsky (Mykhaylo Petrivs'ky) Magichne misto (The magical city) published in 1929.⁶⁶ This attested to the fact that more complex literature was being written by Ukrainian Canadian writers, particularly those in Winnipeg. Honore Ewach (Onufriy Ivakh) published his Holos zemli (The call of the land),⁶⁷ a novella depicting the Ukrainian pioneer experience in Canada. The publication of this work indicated that the pioneer phase of Ukrainian settlement in Canada was slowly being

relegated to the historical past. Poetry was also being published during this period, for example, Myroslav Ichnyans'kyy's (Ivan Yefymovych-Kmeta) collection Lira emigranta, liryka (The immigrant's lyre, lyrical poetry)⁶⁸ which is a collection of lyrical poetry on various themes pertaining to the life of an immigrant. However, it was drama that came to the literary forefront at this time. During the first period of settlement, Ukrainian Canadians relied on dramas written and published in Ukraine for staging in Canada. But as the political situation in Ukraine deteriorated, it became more difficult to obtain literary works from Ukraine. As well, live theatre became increasingly more popular during the 1920s as an entertainment vehicle. This was because people were gathering socially and culturally and they began to put on their own "entertainment."

The themes reflected in the literature written in Winnipeg was varied. Leftist writer Myroslav Irchan focused on workers' rights; others, such as Petrivs'ky and Ivakh, dealt with themes taken from Ukrainian life in North America. Still other writers, such as Semen Kovbel', also dealt with these themes and others, such as, assimilation, prejudice, discrimination, and religion. Some, such as playwright Dmytro Hun'kevych, focused on the political situation in Ukraine. What the literature of the period was attempting to do in a broad sense was to preserve the Ukrainian heritage in Canada. This was particularly true as a very real fear of assimilation into the Canadian "mainstream" grew among the Ukrainian Canadians, and they became concerned with preserving what they could of their ethno-cultural heritage. Overall the number of Ukrainian publishing houses in Winnipeg increased during this period in response to the larger number of works being published.

The most prolific of the publishers were Promin', Ukrayins'kyy holos and Ukrayins'ka knyhar'nia.

The third wave of immigration encompassed the period between 1947-91. It consisted largely of political émigrés forced to flee Ukraine due to the exigencies of World War II. The majority of this group arrived in Canada in the late 1940s and early 1950s. After this time there continued to be some Ukrainian emigration to Canada, but it was insignificant since the Communists in power in Ukraine did not permit their citizens to emigrate. This third group included some agricultural settlers but a much larger proportion was made up of skilled labourers and a significant proportion consisted of professionals (e.g., doctors, lawyers, teachers). Most of this group preferred urban settlement and settled primarily in the heavily industrialized regions of southeastern Ontario decreasing the importance of Winnipeg as a “gateway” to the West. This period saw Winnipeg “downgraded” in significance as a centre of Ukrainian literary, intellectual, cultural, religious and organizational life as Edmonton and Toronto grew in significance. Organizational life factionalized even further, particularly with the establishment of highly nationalistic (that is, concerned with issues relevant to Ukraine) organizations and professional and educational organizations.

By this period the Ukrainians as an ethnic group were firmly entrenched in Winnipeg and Canada as a whole. In literature as in the Ukrainian Canadian community overall, there was a definite movement toward the “mainstream” and away from strictly ethnocentric concerns. This period saw the emergence of a new group of writers -- those who were Canadian-born and wrote in English. These writers included William Paluk,

Vera Lysenko and Maara Haas. Paluk's Canadian Cossacks⁶⁹ was, in fact, written slightly earlier, 1943; it is perhaps the earliest English language collection of essays, articles and short stories. The Ukrainian language continued to be used in writing primarily by émigré writers. Another difference between émigré and non-émigré writers was that emigres tended to write on traditional themes using traditional forms, for example, Ukrainian history was dealt with by Mandryka in the epic poem Mazepa, poema (Mazepa: a poem)⁷⁰; the political situation by Hay-Holowko in the novel Duel with the Devil.⁷¹ Non-émigrés, on the other hand, wrote on diverse themes, for example, Vera Lysenko's Yellow Boots⁷² has a Canadian theme, while others wrote on more universal themes, such as feminism, e.g., some of Maara Haas' vignettes in On Stage with Maara Haas.⁷³ Although they tended to utilize standard forms, there was some evidence of modernism breaking through. As in the previous period there were several publishing houses in Winnipeg which predominated. For Ukrainian-language writing, Trident/Tryzub was a prolific publisher. For English-language writing, Turnstone Press did a great deal of publishing work. As early as the mid-1950s Vera Lysenko had her two novels Yellow Boots and Westerly Wild⁷⁴ published by a major mainstream publisher -- Ryerson Press. This indicates that English language literature written by Ukrainian writers was beginning to enter mainstream literature.

Approximately ninety-seven writers are discussed in this study. These were not the only ones surveyed, but a critical selection had to be made since not all writers could be included in this study

.

Most of the research for this study was conducted at various repositories in Winnipeg. The libraries at the University of Manitoba (Elizabeth Dafoe, St. Andrew's College and St. John's College) and the Ukrainian Cultural and Educational Centre provided the majority of the primary sources. These primary sources consisted largely of literature published in book form either as monographs or collections. The Ivan Franko Library was researched for materials written by leftist writers, both in book form and in periodicals. Also researched were the Ukrainian National Home, Canadian Ukrainian Institute Prosvita and Ukrainian National Federation libraries, although these repositories had few primary source materials which had not already been located in the other repositories. The libraries and archives at the last three repositories are either uncatalogued or only roughly catalogued, consequently, materials were difficult to locate. Outside Winnipeg the Immigration History Research Centre at the University of Minnesota was most helpful since it contained several rare primary source materials which could not be located elsewhere. Also extremely helpful were the early newspaper collections, especially Svoboda, and the various compendiums to it.⁷⁵ Also researched were the Robarts Library at the University of Toronto and St. Vladimir Institute Library, Toronto, both of which revealed materials which had already been located elsewhere. It proved impossible to locate each and every work that is known to have been written and/or published in Winnipeg, particularly during the pre-World War I period because these materials have not been well preserved. This is because during the early part of this

century the number of copies of a given work that was published was relatively small and therefore a copy or copies did not always survive. However, there did prove to be in existence hundreds of works written and published by Winnipeg writers for by the 1930s Ukrainian Canadian literary works began to be published in larger numbers and were more widely circulated. Therefore, works from the 1930s on tended to be relatively easy to locate at repositories.

This study is not wholly chronological in its order of works. To put the literary works and authors in a historical context, date of publication of the works and the authors dates of birth and death are given. The dates of publication are given because there are no sources available for the dates of writing. Biographical data on writers is provided only when necessary for a better understanding of the work in question. It might be noted that for approximately 40 percent of the writers there is a total absence of documentation, other than their published works.

Notes

¹Danylo Husar Struk in his "Ukrainian Émigré Literature in Canada," Identifications: Ethnicity and the Writer in Canada (Edmonton: Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies, 1982) 88-103, postulates that only eight writers constitute Ukrainian-Canadian literature, while Mykyta Ivanovych Mandryka in his History of Ukrainian Literature in Canada (Winnipeg-Ottawa: Ukrainian Free Academy of Sciences, 1968) postulates that 118 writers constitute it. Natalia Aponiuk in her "'Ethnic Literature,' 'Minority Writing,' 'Literature in Other Languages,' 'Hyphenated-Canadian Literature' -- Will It Ever Be 'Canadian'?" Canadian Ethnic Studies 28.1 (1996): 2 questions, as the title suggests, when all these "minority" literatures will be considered an integral part of mainstream Canadian literature.

²Teodor Fedyk, Pisni pro Kanadu i Avstriyu (Winnipeg: Rus'ka knyharhnyia, 1908).

³Dmytro Rarahovs'kyi, Robitnychi pisni (Winnipeg: n.p., 1908).

⁴Yar Slavutych, "Ukrainian Literature in Canada," A Heritage in Transition: Essays in the History of Ukrainians in Canada, ed. Manoly R. Lupul (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1982) 297.

⁵Mykyta Ivanovych Mandryka, History of Ukrainian Literature in Canada (Winnipeg: Ukrainian Academy of Arts and Sciences in Canada, 1968).

⁶Mandryka, "Kharakter i zmist ukrayins'koho pys'menstva v Kanadi," Jubilee Collection of the Ukrainian Free Academy of Arts and Sciences in Canada, ed. O.W. Gerus, O. Baran and Ya. Rozumnyj (Winnipeg: Ukrainian Academy of Arts and Sciences in Canada, 1976) 632-46.

⁷Slavutych, Ukrayins'ka poeziya v Kanadi (Edmonton: Slavuta, 1976).

⁸Slavutych, "Early Ukrainian Literature in Canada," Identifications: Ethnicity and the Writer in Canada, ed. Jars Balan (Edmonton: Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies, 1982) 14-21; "Slavic Literatures in Canada," Slavs in Canada, vol. 1, Proceedings of the first National Conference on Canadian Slavs (Edmonton: Inter-University Committee on Canadian Slavs, 1966) 92-108; "Ukrainian Literature in Canada," A Heritage in Transition: Essays in the History of Ukrainians in Canada, ed. Manoly R. Lupul (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1982) 296-309; Ukrayins'ka literatura v Kanadi: vybrani doslidzhennya, statti i retzenziyi (Edmonton: Slavuta, 1992).

⁹Slavutych, An Annotated Bibliography of Ukrainian Literature in Canada: Canadian Book Publications, 1908-1983 (Edmonton: Slavuta, 1984).

¹⁰ Andrew Gregorovich, Ukraine and Ukrainian Canadians: Books for High School, College and Public Libraries (Toronto: Ucrainica Research Institute, 1979); Gregorovich, Canadian Ethnic Groups Bibliography (Toronto: Department of the Provincial Secretary and Citizenship of Ontario, 1972); Gregorovich, Ukrainian Canadiana: 1904-1979 (Toronto: U of Toronto Library, 1970); Alexander Malycky, "A Preliminary Check List of Studies on Ukrainian-Canadian Creative Literature: Part I. General Studies," Canadian Ethnic Studies 1.1 (1969): 161-3; Malycky, "Ukrainian-Canadian Periodical Publications: A Preliminary Check List," Canadian Ethnic Studies 1.1 (1969): 77-142; Malycky, "University Research on Ukrainian-Canadians: A Preliminary Check List of Dissertations and Theses," Canadian Ethnic Studies 1.1 (1969): 72-6; Malycky, "University Research on Ukrainian-Canadians: First Supplement," Canadian Ethnic Studies 2.1 (1970):193-4; Malycky and Elaine Verchomin Harasymiw, "A Preliminary Check List of Imprints," Canadian Ethnic Studies 2.1 (1970):205-28; Malycky and Harasymiw, "A Preliminary Check List of Studies on Ukrainian-Canadian Creative Literature: Part II. Specific Studies," Canadian Ethnic Studies 2.1 (1970): 229-44; O.L. Prokopiw, A. Royick and A. Malycky, "Ukrainian-Canadian Creative Literature: A Preliminary Check List of Authors and Pseudonyms," Canadian Ethnic Studies 1.1 (1969): 143-60; Halyna Myroniuk and Christine Worobec, Ukrainians in North America: A Select Bibliography (St. Paul, Minnesota: Immigration History Research Centre and Toronto: Multicultural History Society of Ontario, 1981).

¹¹ Jars Balan, "Ukrainian Writing," The Oxford Companion to Canadian Literature, ed. William Toye (Toronto: Oxford UP, 1983) 807-10.

¹² Watson Kirkconnell, "Ukrainian Literature in Canada," The Ukrainian Year Book, 1953-54, comp. F.A. Macrouch (Winnipeg: n.p., 1954) 44-6.

¹³ Watson Kirkconnell, "Ukrainian Literature in Manitoba," Jubilee Collection of the Ukrainian Free Academy of Arts and Sciences in Canada 622-31.

¹⁴ Oleksa Hay-Holovko, Ukrayins'ki pys'mennyky v Kanadi, literaturno-krytychni narysy, vol. 1 (Winnipeg: Volyn', 1980).

¹⁵ Onufriy Ivakh, "Ukrayins'ko-kanadiys'ke pys'menstvo," Yuvileynny al'manakh dlya 50-littyi pratsi "Ukrayins'koho holosu," 1910-1960 (Winnipeg: Tryzub, n.d.) 156-65.

¹⁶ Semen Kovbel', "Dramatychni tvory ta yikh avtory," Propamyatna knyha Ukrayins'koho narodnoho domu u Vynypegu, ed. D. Doroshenko and S. Kovbel' (Winnipeg: Ukrainian National Home in Winnipeg, 1949) 618-22; Kovbel', "Pochatky ukrayins'koyi literatury v Kanadi," Propamyatna knyha Ukrayins'koho narodnoho domu u Vynypegu, 603-05; Kovbel', "Poeziya i yiyi tvortsi," Propamyatna knyha Ukrayins'koho narodnoho domu u Vynypegu, 605-14; Kovbel', "Povisty i opovidannya ta yikh avtory," Propamyatna knyha Ukrayins'koho narodnoho domu u Vynypegu, 614-18.

¹⁷ Petro Kravchuk, ed., Nasha stsena (Toronto: Kobzar, 1981); Krawchuk, Poety Kanady (Kyiv: Radyans'kyi pys'mennyk, 1958); Krawchuk, Ukrayins'ka literatura v Kanadi (Kyiv: Dnipro, 1964); Krawchuk, ed., Ukrayins'ki kanads'ki pys'mennyky (L'viv: Kamenyar, 1971).

¹⁸ Mykhaylo Marunchak, "Literatura," Studiya do istoriyi ukrayintsiv Kanady, vol. 3 (Winnipeg: Ukrainian Academy of Arts and Sciences in Canada, 1969-80) 97-204; "Literatura," The Ukrainian Canadians: A History, 2nd ed. (Winnipeg: Ukrainian Academy of Arts and Sciences in Canada, 1982) 499-536; "Literature of the Pioneers," The Ukrainian Canadians: A History, 2nd ed. (Winnipeg: Ukrainian Academy of Arts and Sciences in Canada, 1982) 297-308; "Poets and Writers," The Ukrainian Canadians: A History, 2nd ed. (Winnipeg; Ukrainian Academy of Arts and Sciences in Canada, 1982) 664-70.

¹⁹ Mykhaylo Marunchak, Biohrafichnyy dovidnyk do istoriyi ukrayintsiv Kanady (Winnipeg: Ukrayins'ka vil'na akademiya nauk v Kanadi, 1986).

²⁰ Encyclopedia of Ukraine, 5 vols. (Toronto: U of Toronto P, 1993).

²¹ Paul Yuzyk, The Ukrainians in Manitoba: A Social History (Toronto: U of Toronto P, 1953).

²² Bohdan Budurowycz, "The Changing Image of Ukrainians in English-Canadian Fiction," Journal of Ukrainian Studies 14 (1989): 143-57; Petro Kravchuk [Peter Krawchuk], Ukrayintsi v kanads'kiy literaturi (Kyiv: Ukrayina, 1990); Frances Swyripa, Ukrainian Canadians: A Survey of Their Portrayal in English-Language Works (Edmonton: U of Alberta P, 1978).

²³ Natalia Aponiuk, "Images of Ukrainian Women in Canadian Literature," Proceedings of the Linguistic Circle of Manitoba and North Dakota 21. 30-31 Oct. 1981. [Grand Forks, ND: University of North Dakota], 1981. 5-6; "The Problem of Identity: The Depiction of Ukrainians in Canadian Literature," Ethnicity and Canadian Literature, ed. Robert Kroetsch, Tamara Palmer, and Beverly Rasporich, special issue of Canadian Ethnic Studies 14.1 (1982):50-61; "Some Images of Ukrainian Women in Canadian Literature," Journal of Ukrainian Studies 8.1 (1983): 39-50; "Ukrainian Names in Canadian English-Language Literature," Proceedings of the XVth International Congress of Onomastic Sciences, 13-17 August 1984, ed. Ernst Eichler, Elke Sass and Hans Walther, vol. 1 (Leipzig, GDR: Karl Marx University, 1985) 1-4; "Ukrainian Names in Recent English-Language Fiction," Proceedings of the XVIIth International Congress of Onomastic Sciences, ed. Eeva Maria Narhi, vol. I (Helsinki, Finland: University of Helsinki and the Finnish Research Centre for Domestic Languages, 1990) 152-6; "The Use of Ukrainian Names by Three Contemporary Canadian Writers," The Ukrainian Experience in Canada: Reflections, ed. Oleh W. Gerus, Iraidia Gerus-Tarnawecky and Stephan Jarmus (Winnipeg: Ukrainian Academy of Arts and Sciences in Canada, 1994) 301-11; "Ethnic Literature,' 'Minority Writing,' 'Literature in Other

Languages,' 'Hyphenated-Canadian Literature' -- Will It Ever Be 'Canadian?'" Canadian Ethnic Studies 28.1 (1996): 1-7; "Vera Lysenko and Lilli Landash: The Creation of a Persona through the Use of Names." Proceedings of the XIXth International Congress of Onomastic Sciences, ed. W.F.H. Nicolaisen. (Aberdeen, Scotland: University of Aberdeen, forthcoming).

²⁴ Mary Kirtz, "'I am become a name': The Representation of Ukrainians in Ross, Lawrence, Ryga and Atwood," Canadian Ethnic Studies 24.2 (1992): 35-45.

²⁵ Sonia Mycak, "'A Different Story': The Pioneer Myth Revisited," Canadian Ethnic Studies 28.1 (1996): 72-94.

²⁶ Alexandra Kruchka-Glynn, Introduction, Yellow Boots, by Vera Lysenko (Edmonton: NeWest, 1992) xi-xxiii; Alexandra Kruchka-Glynn, "Reintroducing Vera Lysenko -- Ukrainian Canadian Author," Journal of Ukrainian Studies 27 (1990): 53-70; Beverly Rasporich, "Retelling Vera Lysenko: A Feminist and Ethnic Writer," Canadian Ethnic Studies 21.2 (1989): 38-52.

²⁷ Tatiana Nazarenko, "Ukrainian-Canadian Visual Poetry: Traditions and Innovations," Canadian Ethnic Studies 28.1 (1996): 95-110.

²⁸ Tamara Palmer Seiler, "Including the Female Immigrant Story: A Comparative Look at Narrative Strategies," Canadian Ethnic Studies 28.1 (1996): 40-56.

²⁹ Bohdan Rubchak, "Homes as Shells: Ukrainian Emigre Poetry," New Soil -- Old Roots: The Ukrainian Experience in Canada, ed. J. Rozumnyj, O.W. Gerus and M.H. Marunchak (Winnipeg: Ukrainian Academy of Arts and Sciences in Canada, 1983) 87-123; Danylo Struk, "Ukrainian Emigre Literature in Canada," Identifications: Ethnicity and the Writer in Canada, ed. Jars Balan (Edmonton: Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies, 1982) 88-103.

³⁰ Dimitrij Farkavec, "J. Maydanyk's Contribution to Ukrainian Canadian Literature," Master's thesis, U of Manitoba, 1983.

³¹ B. Hiritsch, "The Development of Ukrainian Theatre and Its Role in Canada," Master's thesis, U of Montreal, 1962; Iroida L. Wynnykyj, "Ukrainian Canadian Drama from the Beginnings of Immigration to 1942," Master's thesis, U of Waterloo, 1976.

³² Maryana Nikoula, "Analysis of a Canadian Literary Scandal: Petro Karmansky's Monkey's Mirror," Master's thesis, U of Manitoba, 1996.

³³ George Bisztray, Hungarian-Canadian Literature (Toronto: U of Toronto P, 1987).

³⁴ John Miska, Ethnic and Native Canadian Literature, 1850-1979 (Lethbridge: Microfilm Biblio, 1980).

³⁵ Jagna Nemetz, "Polish Poets in Canada: A Comparative Study," Master's thesis, U of British Columbia, 1974.

³⁶ Michael Greenstein, Third Solitudes: Tradition and Discontinuity in Jewish-Canadian Literature (Kingston, Ontario: McGill-Queen's UP, 1989).

³⁷ Dino Minni and Anna Foschi Ciampolini, eds., Writers in Transition: The Proceedings of the First National Conference of Italian-Canadian Writers (Montreal: Guernica, 1990).

³⁸ Harry Loewen, "Leaving Home: Canadian-Mennonite Literature in the 1980s" (Winnipeg: U of Winnipeg, 1988).

³⁹ Harry Loewen, "Canadian-Mennonite Literature Longing for a Lost Homeland" (Winnipeg: U of Winnipeg, 1982).

⁴⁰ Robin McGrath, "Inuit Literature in the South," Literatures of Lesser Diffusion, ed. Joseph Pivato, Steven Totosy de Zepetnek and Milav Dimic, special issue of Canadian Review of Comparative Literature (1989):700-06; Beverly Rasporich, "Native Voices in English-Canadian Literature: Ancient and Contemporary," Literatures of Lesser Diffusion: 707-20; Lorris Elliot, "Black Writing in Canada: The Problem of Anthologizing and Documenting," Literatures of Lesser Diffusion: 721-27; Max Dorsinville, "La Litterature haïtienne-canadienne: naissance d'un nouvel espace littéraire?" Literatures of Lesser Diffusion: 728-36; Nasrin Rahimieh, "Naim Kattan, le discours arabe, and Empty Words," Literatures of Lesser Diffusion: 737-44; ⁴⁶ Nancy Mattson, "Forging an Identity: Finnish-Canadian Perspectives in English-Canadian Literature," Literatures of Lesser Diffusion: 770-91; Sheng-Tai Chang, "Literary Language and Ethnic Sensibility: A Case Study in Chinese-Canadian Fiction," Literatures of Lesser Diffusion: 792-800; M.G. Vassenji, "South Asian Literature in Canada," Literatures of Lesser Diffusion: 801-08; Edward Mozejko, "Ethnic or National (?): Polish Literature in Canada," Literatures of Lesser Diffusion: 809-25; George Bisztray, "Language and Literary Institution: Hungarian-Canadian Examples," Literatures of Lesser Diffusion: 826-38; Joseph Pivato, "Italian-Canadian Writing: A Polysystem," Literatures of Lesser Diffusion: 839-51; Jorge Etcheverry, "Chilean Poetry in Canada: Avant-garde, Nostalgia and Commitment," Literatures of Lesser Diffusion: 852-65.

⁴¹ Jars Balan, "Some Notes Towards the Writing of the Ukrainian Literary Institution in Canada," Literatures of Lesser Diffusion, 745-62; Robert Klymasz, "Art of Intrusion: Macaronicism in Ukrainian-Canadian Literature," Literatures of Lesser Diffusion, 763-69.

⁴² Yar Slavutych, "Early Ukrainian Literature in Canada," 1-13; Jars Balan, "Ukrainian Influences in George Ryga's Work," 36-52; "Ukrainian Emigre Literature in Canada," 88-103, Identifications: Ethnicity and the Writer in Canada.

⁴³ George Bisztray, "Canadian Hungarian Literature," Identifications: Ethnicity and the Writer in Canada, 14-21; David Arnason, "Icelandic Canadian Literature," Identifications: Ethnicity and the Writer in Canada, 53-66; Seymour Levitan, "Canadian Yiddish Writers," Identifications: Ethnicity and the Writer in Canada, 116-34.

⁴⁴ "Inuit Literature," The Oxford Companion to Canadian Literature, 390-1.

⁴⁵ "Yiddish Literature," The Oxford Companion to Canadian Literature, 840-1.

⁴⁶ "Henry Kriesel," The Oxford Companion to Canadian Literature, 417-18.

⁴⁷ "Waclaw Iwaniuk," The Oxford Companion to Canadian Literature, 391-2.

⁴⁸ C.H. Andrusyshen and Watson Kirkconnell, The Ukrainian Poets, 1189-1962 (Toronto: U of Toronto P, 1963).

⁴⁹ Jars Balan and Yuri Klynovy, eds., Yarmarok: Ukrainian Writing in Canada since the Second World War (Edmonton: Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies, 1987).

⁵⁰ Candace Adamson Burstow, Pale Lady (Fredericton: Fiddlehead Poetry Books, 1980).

⁵¹ John Dolinsky, The Resurrected Niece (Winnipeg: By the Author, 1989).

⁵² Maara Haas, "A Way Out of the Forest," Winnipeg Stories, ed. Joan Parr (Winnipeg: Queenston House, 1974) 119-24.

⁵³ Nick Mitchell, "The Cat," Puzzle: A Multicultural Anthology for Young Readers (Winnipeg: Peguis, 1986) 75-85.

⁵⁴ See David Arnason, Fifty Stories and a Piece of Advice (Winnipeg: Turnstone Press, 1982).

⁵⁵ See Henry Kriesel, The Almost Meeting (Edmonton: NeWest Press, 1981).

⁵⁶ Patrick Friesen, "The Shunning," New Works I (Toronto: Playwrights Canada, 1987) 12-73.

⁵⁷ Mandryka, History of Ukrainian Literature in Canada.

⁵⁸ Slavutych, Ukrayins'ka poeziya v Kanadi.

⁵⁹ Marunchak, The Ukrainian Canadians: A History.

⁶⁰ Kovbel' and Doroshenko, Propamyatna knyha Ukrayins'koho narodnoho domu u Vynypegu.

⁶¹ See John-Paul Himka, "The Background to Emigration," A Heritage in Transition: Essays in the History of Ukrainians in Canada, ed. Manoly R. Lupul (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1982) 11-31.

⁶² See Stella Hryniuk, "A Peasant Society in Transition: Ukrainian Peasants in Five East Galician Counties," diss., U of Manitoba, 1985.

⁶³ C.H. Young, The Ukrainian Canadians: A Study in Assimilation (Toronto: Thomas Nelson and Sons, 1931) 58.

⁶⁴ Yakiv Maydanyk (Jacob Maidanyk), Manigrula: komediya v odniy diyi z spivamy i tantsyamy (Winnipeg: Rus'ka knyharnya, 1915).

⁶⁵ William Darcovich and Paul Yuzyk, eds., A Statistical Compendium on the Ukrainians in Canada, 1891-1971 (Ottawa: U of Ottawa P, 1980) 66.

⁶⁶ Mykhaylo Petrivs'kyy, Magichne misto (Winnipeg: Ukrayins'kyy holos, 1929).

⁶⁷ Onufriy Ivakh, Holos zemli (Winnipeg: Ukrayins'ka vydavnycha spilka v Kanadi, 1937).

⁶⁸ Myroslav Ichnyans'kyy, Lira emigranta, liryka (Winnipeg: Ukrayins'ka knyharnya, 1936).

⁶⁹ William Paluk, Canadian Cossacks: Essays, Articles and Stories on Ukrainian-Canadian Life (Winnipeg: Canadian Ukrainian Review Publishing Company, 1943).

⁷⁰ Mandryka, Mazepa, poema (Winnipeg: Tryzub, 1960).

⁷¹ Oleksa Hay-Holowko, Duel With the Devil (Winnipeg: Communigraphics Printers Aid Group, 1986).

⁷² Vera Lysenko, Yellow Boots (Toronto: Ryerson, 1954).

⁷³ Maara Haas, On Stage with Maara Haas (Winnipeg: Lilith, 1986).

⁷⁴ Lysenko, Yellow Boots; Lysenko, Westerly Wild (Toronto: Ryerson, 1956).

⁷⁵ Walter Anastas and Maria Woroby, comp., A Select Index to "Svoboda,"
Volume One: 1893-1899 (St. Paul, MN: Immigration History Research Center, 1990);
Walter Anastazievsky and Roman Stepchuk, comp., A Select Index to Svoboda, Volume
Two: 1900 to 1907 (St. Paul, MN: Immigration History Research Center, 1991); Frances
A. Swyripa and Andrij Makuch, comp., Ukrainian Canadian Content in the Newspaper
Svoboda, 1893-1904.

Chapter I

Nostalgia for the Old and Fear of the New, 1908-1917

This chapter will deal with the Ukrainian literature written and/or published in Winnipeg in the period between 1908 and 1917. It will do so within the context of the socio-historical development of the Ukrainian community in Winnipeg during this period. This initial period of the Ukrainian community's establishment in Winnipeg saw the city's Ukrainian urban population grow to the largest in Canada and the establishment of the city as the centre of Ukrainian social, cultural and political life. The literary activity of the community members also began during this period. This chapter will trace how the establishment of the fledgling community and its concerns were reflected in the literature that its members produced.

1. The Fledgling Ukrainian Community in Winnipeg

Winnipeg's "North End"

For those Ukrainians who chose to settle in urban areas, Winnipeg, the country's "gateway to the West," which also served as the central immigration depot for most incoming immigrants, was a popular location in which to settle. Within a relatively short period of time the Ukrainians established a sizable community in the "North End" of the city.

The earliest statistical data regarding the Ukrainian population in Winnipeg are for the census year 1911. The two major sources on Winnipeg census data, Artibise and

Darcovich and Yuzyk,¹ give different figures on the number of Ukrainians living there in 1911. The former states there were 900 Ukrainians residing in Winnipeg making up 0.7 percent of the city's population of 136,035; the latter give the figure 3,599 or 2.6 percent of the city's population. The discrepancy in statistics can probably be attributed to the fact that Artibise did not identify the Ukrainians among those residents who reported themselves to be Austro-Hungarian, Russian and Polish, while Darcovich and Yuzyk did.

In rural areas of the Canadian prairies the Ukrainian immigrants were known to prefer "block" type settlement patterns, which facilitated adjustment to the new environment by providing the security of membership in one's own ethnic group and familiar institutions. The same type of settlement pattern repeated itself in Winnipeg for the same reasons.

Upon initial settlement in Winnipeg the Ukrainians chose to live in the Point Douglas area of the city which was located in the city's "North End." Point Douglas had originally been a "good" area of the city, but as people prospered they moved out. The "North End," as its name implies, encompassed the northern part of the city which was largely separated from the rest of the city by the main Canadian Pacific railway yards, located just north of the downtown area. Later, the construction of two bridges and two underpasses did not substantially improve access to or from other areas of the city. Such segregation impeded social interaction between residents of the North End and residents of other areas of the city. Geographical segregation from the rest of the city allowed the North End to remain relatively free of assimilationist forces that might otherwise have made themselves more acutely felt. The negative aspect was that the people lived in a

ghetto and were, therefore, not able to take advantage of opportunities (including learning the English language) available elsewhere. Artibise, in his study of Winnipeg, states “the North End was a synonym for the ‘Foreign Quarter,’ ‘New Jerusalem’ and ‘CPR Town,’”² and that the area’s distinctiveness was at least partly a device to keep the immigrants in a “ghetto.”³

The North End, particularly its Point Douglas area, was one of the oldest parts of the city. Housing forty-three percent of the city’s residents, the majority of them working class, in a relatively small area, it is no wonder that the area soon deteriorated. The pre-1914 North End was characterized by “overcrowded houses and tenements, lack of sanitary installations, dirty back-yards, muddy, foul-smelling streets, and poor lighting conditions”⁴ These substandard, even squalid, living conditions can be blamed partially on the area’s over-population and the immigrants’ ignorance of proper hygiene. A good part of the blame, however, must also be shouldered by the civic leaders, who virtually neglected the area.

The North End primarily served as home for the working class, and the Ukrainian immigrants who chose to settle in Winnipeg were primarily of this social class. Data provided by Orest T. Martynowych states that of the 110,000 Ukrainians who came to Canada between 1905 and 1914, over 79,000 were males and over half of them, 44,000, categorized themselves as labourers.⁵ A significant portion of these labourers initially settled in urban areas where work was available to them. Others found seasonal work outside the city, but would return to the city to spend the winter once the work season was over.

Life in Canada was filled with many hardships for the Ukrainian immigrants. This was true regardless of whether they settled in cities or on farms. On the farm, the work involved clearing the land and planting the first crops, generally without the implements required for this arduous task. Those who chose not to farm usually had to perform menial, physical labour in order to earn a living. The harshest conditions were encountered by those who worked in mines, lumber camps and on railroad and road construction gangs.

Before the husband left for Canada the plan usually was either for him to emigrate permanently and send for his family once he was financially able to do so, or to return after he had earned enough money to secure his family financially in the homeland. In either case, until they were reunited, he was to regularly send money to his family to provide for their interim needs. Circumstances in the new land did not always allow these plans to be carried to fruition. In some instances, once in Canada, the men shirked their familial obligations, becoming seemingly oblivious to the fact that their families were suffering at home. Sometimes, however, the husband was unable to meet his financial obligations to his family because he simply could not afford to do so, or, in more extreme instances, because he had died as the result of a work-related accident in Canada.

Almost from the outset the Ukrainian Canadian community in Winnipeg was rife with social problems. Due to the fact that a significant proportion of the community was single men, who often had a great deal of spare time on their hands due to their seasonal employment, drinking, brawling, card and pool playing, as well as carousing with women, often occupied their time.

Even though this was the pioneering generation of Ukrainian immigrants to Canada, there was already a tendency toward native language loss among the Ukrainian Canadians. This heralded the fact that, persistent old country practices and prejudices aside, the assimilation of the Ukrainians into the Canadian mainstream was already beginning. There were, therefore, the beginnings of a very real fear that the Ukrainian Canadian community would not be able to sustain its separate ethnic identity in Canada. Alan B. Anderson defines the principal components of ethnic identity as ethnic origin, mother tongue, ethnic-oriented religion, and folkways.⁶ Since the retention of the mother tongue is generally considered to be the most important of these components, the fear of loss of ethnic identity appears to have been justified.

Illiteracy was a major problem facing the Ukrainian community in Canada for in Ukraine “the great majority of Ukrainian peasants remained illiterate into the twentieth century.”⁷ The community leaders in Canada were aware of the fact that literacy would improve the quality of life for Ukrainians. Literacy and education would, for example, enable Ukrainians to look after their personal affairs without as great a risk of being taken advantage of and would enable them to form enlightened opinions and become actively involved in politics and government. In other words, possibilities would open up for the Ukrainian Canadians that had previously been closed to them.

In addition to the problems they encountered in the new land, questions centring on the homeland were near and dear to the members of the Ukrainian Canadian community because, almost exclusively immigrants, their ties with the homeland were still very strong. In terms of actual assistance to the homeland, fundraising, for example, was

always being carried out for a cause, such as assistance to victims of war and revolution, the poor and invalids. In 1911, Dr. Semen Demedchuk visited Winnipeg to raise funds for aid to the Ridna shkola (Native school) in Galicia. Later that same year the Committee for the Liberation of Ukraine was established and a collection for the Liberation Fund started.⁸ A particularly popular cause among the Ukrainians, both in Ukraine and North America, was that of Myroslav Sichyns'kyy. The "Sichyns'kyy affair" erupted in 1908 when a student, Myroslav Sichyns'kyy, assassinated Count Andrew Potocki, the Polish Governor of Galicia. The assassination, Sichyns'kyy's arrest and subsequent incarceration by Austrian authorities attracted the attention of Ukrainians everywhere. In Canada both socialist and non-socialist groups lobbied for Sichyns'kyy's release. The socialists, however, exerted the most effort on his behalf and waged a highly successful fundraising campaign aimed at assisting him to gain his freedom. Sichyns'kyy's escape from jail and later his arrival in America were largely viewed as being due to the efforts of the socialists. The extent of the interest in the affair is reflected in the number of literary works that were written on the topic.

Ukrainian Organizational Life in Winnipeg

Ukrainian organizational life began to establish itself shortly after the Ukrainians started to settle permanently in Winnipeg. Because Winnipeg, from the outset, had the largest Ukrainian urban population in Canada, it is natural that organizations developed there. Not surprisingly, the earliest organizations established resembled those that had existed in the old country. Shortly after the turn of the century the community divided

itself into several factions: the socialists, led by such men as Paul Crath (Pavlo Krat) and Myroslav Stechishin (Stechyshyn), and the nationalists, led by Taras Ferley and the graduates of the Ruthenian Training School, established in Winnipeg in 1905. Here “socialists” are defined as adherents to the Socialist Party and others holding socialist sentiments, although not necessarily adherents to the Party as such. “Nationalists” are defined as those individuals not aligned with the socialists who worked toward the ultimate establishment of an independent Ukraine with a democratic system of government. The nationalist group can well be considered the intelligentsia of the period, consisting as it did of “. . . teachers, small businessmen, university students and the first Ukrainian professionals.”⁹ Each of these factions soon established its own institutions that not only served the needs of its established membership but also sought to attract others to its fold.

Political ideologies of the homeland, particularly radical socialism, were popular among the first Ukrainian immigrants in Winnipeg because among them were many who had been active in or at least exposed to the Radical, Social Democratic and National Democratic Parties in Ukraine. The Canadian brand of socialism was a hybrid form, however, that combined “. . . old world politics and new world conditions.”¹⁰

The Ukrainian socialist movement in Canada is generally viewed as beginning in Winnipeg in 1899 with the establishment of the Shevchenko Reading Association, membership in which was not restricted to Ukrainians. The Association survived for only a year, but it was revived in 1903 as the Shevchenko Reading Society. Both organizations accepted members of both nationalist and socialist orientations. In 1906 a

segment of the Society, led by such individuals as Stechishin and Crath, began to direct it exclusively toward socialism, which resulted later in the same year in the formation of the Ukrainian Free Thought Federation and in the establishment of a Ukrainian branch of the Socialist Party of Canada (SPC) in 1907. This branch joined together with other branches of the SPC to form the Federation of Ukrainian Social Democrats in Canada in 1909. The Federation broke away from the SPC in 1910 and became a part of the Social Democratic Party of Canada. In 1914 the Federation adopted the name the Ukrainian Social Democratic Party in Canada.

The Ukrainian immigrants, regardless of whether or not they were involved in the socialist movement, already possessed a certain degree of working class consciousness as a result of their exposure to mutual aid societies and in some instances through involvement in trade union activity in the heavy industry sector in the homeland. This factor notwithstanding, the socialists primarily aimed their efforts at raising the class and social consciousness of the workers and farmers, urging them to support leftist candidates in elections at all government levels, and they were also actively involved in social and cultural affairs, “collect[ing] funds for political and educational causes, sponsor[ing] lectures on controversial social issues, and participat[ing] in a number of drama circles, especially in Winnipeg.”¹¹

The socialists experienced internal problems. For example, Crath was expelled in 1910 for “. . . the scheming and intrigues he initiated in Western Canada.”¹² After his reinstatement a year later, Crath continued to cause problems for this faction. This did not, however, preclude his continuing to publish his articles in the socialist newspaper

Robochyy narod (Working People). In addition to its internal problems, the socialist group was also faced with opposition from the Ukrainian nationalist camp, which waged a war of words primarily through the newspaper Kanadyys'kyy farmer (Canadian Farmer).

Despite their troubles, the socialists actively worked at spreading propaganda beneficial to their cause and organizing the Ukrainian working class. By 1911, for example, the socialists had managed to establish twenty-six branches of the Party, which boasted a membership of 600.¹³ During this period, however, the Ukrainian socialists were only peripherally involved in the radical labour movement in Winnipeg. But perhaps due to both socialist agitation and to their previous experiences in this regard, Ukrainian workers are known to have participated in organized labour demonstrations in Winnipeg in 1908 and 1915, and in 1917 they took part in a strike involving unskilled construction workers.¹⁴

This early period also saw the establishment of a plethora of cultural organizations, some of which were associated with religious groups. Among the first non-socialist oriented organizations established in Winnipeg were the St. Nicholas Brotherhood, the Holy Trinity Women's Association and the St. Olga's Girls' Association. These were founded in 1901 under the auspices of the first Ukrainian Greek Catholic church, named after St. Nicholas.¹⁵ They existed only until the church was taken over by Basilian priests in 1902. By 1911, however, the same church was supporting other organizations -- the Apostleship of Prayer, the Confraternity of St. Barbara and the Sodality of St. John the Almsgiver.¹⁶ Also affiliated with this parish was the St. Nicholas Mutual Benefit Association, established in 1905.

The Chytal'nya Prosvita (Ukrainian Reading "Enlightenment" Association), a cultural and educational organization, was also established in 1905. It was founded by a Ukrainian Greek Catholic priest of the Basilian Order, Father Matey Hura, who served the parish of St. Nicholas.¹⁷ From 1910 the Reading Association also housed the Mariya Zankovets'ka Choir and Drama Circle, an orchestra and a library and was actively involved in the staging of plays, concerts and literary evenings. The Association ceased to exist for a time between 1912-13, but was re-established in 1913. It maintained its ties with the church until the 1920s.

The Ukrayins'ka Zorya (Ukrainian Star) Reading Association (later the Kanadyys'ka Zorya, Canadian Star) was affiliated with the Independent Greek Church, which was largely under the financial control of the Presbyterian Church, which backed the assimilation of Ukrainians into the Canadian mainstream. The Ukrainian Presbyterian Church, established after the demise of the Independent Greek Church, which also supported assimilation, also sponsored English language classes for adults and established the Ivan Franko Reading Club. The Russian Orthodox Mission established the Brotherhood of the Holy Trinity, which fostered allegiance to Russia.

The Ukrainian teachers founded the Ukrainian Teachers' Association in 1907 as a coordinating body for teachers in Manitoba's bilingual schools. The establishment of this organization was something of a milestone for the Ukrainian community in Winnipeg as it was "... the first Ukrainian-Canadian organization with distinctly Canadian roots."¹⁸ The Association was actively involved in all educational affairs pertaining to the Ukrainian community.

In 1910 the nationalists established the Zaporiz'ka Sich (Zaporozhian Cossack settlement) Association. The membership consisted of parishioners of the two Ukrainian Greek Catholic churches then existing in Winnipeg, St. Nicholas and Sts. Vladimir and Olga, and former adherents to the socialist group. The activities of this organization have been described as follows:

Members met at Jastremsky's hall, established a small library, sponsored weekly or biweekly lectures and debates during the fall and winter, offered special literacy classes and on Friday evening, cultivated the fin de siècle passion for physical exercise and gymnastics. In 1911 the society's leaders also participated in a series of Sunday afternoon "Free School" lectures, apparently sponsored jointly with the local socialists.¹⁹

The Sich was also instrumental in the establishment of a non-denominational bursa (student residence), which enabled Ukrainian secondary and post-secondary students to live in Winnipeg while studying.

In 1912 the Sich was replaced by the Ukrainian National Home, the establishment of which was something that the Sich had been working towards since its founding. The Ukrainian National Home Association was incorporated in 1913, but its roots extended back to 1905, when the pastor of St. Nicholas Church established the shortlived National Home. The Ukrainian National Home Association was a non-denominational organization in which memberships were sold in the form of ten dollar shares and whose first members, in addition to the former members of the Sich Association, included members of the three Ukrainian choral and dramatic ensembles, Mariya Zan'kovets'ka, Vynnychenko and

Boyan, housed there.²⁰ This was in keeping with the Association's aim of directing the educational and cultural life of the Ukrainians in Canada and housing various Ukrainian Canadian organizations. Once the Ukrainian National Home purchased a building in 1916 at the southeast corner of Burrows Avenue and MacGregor Street in the North End²¹ (where it is still housed), it began to host lectures, dances, serve as a rehearsal hall for its member dramatic and choral ensembles, provide music and handicraft lessons, maintain a lending library, sponsor evening and summer schools for children, provide a meeting hall and hold student club activities. For a year of the short span of its existence (1915-19) the Adam Kotsko bursa, established by the Ukrainian nationalists, was housed in the Ukrainian National Home. The Ukrainian National Home Association soon became the leading Ukrainian community organization in Winnipeg.

Since the Home's first headquarters on Selkirk Avenue did not have a concert stage, performances were given at such locations as the Queen's theatre, the Grand Opera and the Royal Theatre, all in the city's North End.²² It was at the initiative of the three ensembles housed at the Ukrainian National Home that the Ukrainian community in Winnipeg and from surrounding areas, including all of the organizations, both religious and secular, undertook to observe in Winnipeg in May, 1914, the hundredth anniversary of the birth of Taras Shevchenko. Ultimately, this celebration did not prove to be a united effort for the Greek Catholic contingent broke away during the planning stages and decided to observe the anniversary separately.²³ This separate undertaking was symbolic of the factionalization that existed within the Ukrainian community in Winnipeg.

The Ukrainian Greek Catholic parishes felt the need to compete with the secular organizations, and in 1916 Sts. Vladimir and Olga parish established the Bandurist Society, which also maintained a library, an orchestra and a dramatic ensemble, the Ivan Kotlyarevs'kyi Association. The Catholics also founded the Metropolitan Andrey Sheptyts'kyi bursa in 1915, which was to close in 1924.²⁴

Educational Concerns

Education, like socio-political concerns, was of paramount importance to the Ukrainians. The school system which they found in Manitoba was highly centralized with the provincial Department of Education in charge of such things as curriculum development, textbooks and teacher education. In the cities, school districts and schools were already in place and immigrants had only to enroll their children in a nearby school. In the unsettled or sparsely settled rural areas, the Ukrainian pioneers were faced with the unfamiliar and challenging task of establishing school districts, building schools and procuring teachers. The school districts, as a result, were established slowly, and often the Ukrainians were blamed for not valuing education because of the length of time that it took them to establish school districts. That several libraries and reading associations, albeit with modest holdings, were established in Canada by the Ukrainian immigrants by 1900 would attest to a definite interest in education among the immigrants.²⁵

Manitoba's language act of 1897 allowed for the establishment of bilingual schools "when ten of the pupils in the school speak the French language, or any language other than English as their native language"²⁶ Ukrainians Canadians thus had an

opportunity, when numbers warranted it, to educate their children in Ukrainian. However, bilingual education posed several problems, the first of which was the need for qualified Ukrainian teachers. Towards this end the Ruthenian Training School for teachers was established in Winnipeg in 1905. (It was transferred to Brandon in 1907.) Some 200 students were trained as teachers in the Ruthenian Training School between 1907 and 1916.²⁷ Not all teachers who taught in the bilingual schools were graduates of the Ruthenian Training School. Because the bilingual schools were in existence before the Training School's first students graduated, Dr. Robert Fletcher, Chief Clerk of Education in R.P. Roblin's Conservative government, not only issued teaching permits to Ukrainian teachers with European qualifications, he also issued such permits to those who only had some gymnasium education but were not qualified teachers.²⁸

While the immigrants were dissatisfied with some of the teachers whom they suspected of incompetence, they were dissatisfied with others because of their political convictions. The Ukrainian teachers quickly aligned themselves with one of the two major Canadian political parties, Liberal or Conservative.²⁹ Most also belonged to the Ukrainian nationalist faction and others, like Michael Stechishin, were socialists.

The Ukrainian teachers formed the aforementioned Ukrainian Teachers' Association in 1907, and the Association proved to be a positive influence on the community, lobbying for bilingual textbooks, promoting both child and adult education and trying to raise the national consciousness by promoting the use of the term Ukrainian rather than Ruthenian.³⁰ The Association also sought to involve the community in matters pertaining to education. In 1908, for example, the Association organized a national

Ukrainian mass meeting in Winnipeg to address such issues as the establishment of new school districts and the hiring of a second school organizer.³¹

A second problem was the lack of suitable textbooks. Textbooks from Ukraine did not lend themselves to the teaching of children who were being raised in Canada. Through the lobbying efforts of the Ukrainian Teachers' Association, in 1913 the Manitoba Department of Education published the two-volume bilingual Manitoba Ruthenian-English Readers. Another textbook was later published for use in Manitoba Ukrainian bilingual schools, but only 169 copies were distributed to pupils and the rest were burned when the bilingual school system was dissolved in 1916.³²

There was also a lack of any kind of suitable reading material for children which had Ukrainian Canadian content. The appearance, during this time, of several books of children's stories by Ukrainian Canadian authors indicates that there may have been a movement to try and remedy this situation. These works included P. Vasyliv's Persha lastivka ukrayins'kykh pisen' dlya ukrayins'koyi molodizhy v Kanadi (The First Swallow of Ukrainian songs for Ukrainian Youth in Canada) and Onufriy Hykavyy's Opovidannya dlya ditey (Stories for Children) and Zbirnyk bayok (Collection of Fables).³³

The bilingual school system was strongly opposed by some politicians, the English language press, and some segments of society, who subscribed to the then popular Anglo-conformity theory, which proposed that all minorities conform to the language and ways of the Anglo-Celtic majority as quickly as possible. The Ukrainians, particularly those in Winnipeg, lobbied the provincial government to retain bilingual schools, sending a delegation of leading Ukrainian community representatives to meet with Premier T.C.

Norris. When this Ukrainian group did not meet with much success, the Ukrainians established the Ukrainian Central Committee for Defense of the Bilingual School System, which organized a rally of over 1,000 people and a petition with more than 6,000 signatures.³⁴ Nevertheless, on 8 March 1916 the Manitoba legislature passed the bill that abolished bilingual education in the province and with it the Ruthenian Training School in Brandon.

Although bilingual schooling was officially abolished, in some schools Ukrainian teachers continued to teach the Ukrainian language after regular school hours. This practice was usually carried out covertly for fear of being caught by school inspectors. But these efforts did not bring about the expected results for, as stated by Marunchak, “. . . all this was being done for the most part in a most unsystematic manner”³⁵

At the same time as the bilingual school system was operating in Manitoba, the Presbyterian Church was establishing Presbyterian schools and school homes where students could reside while attending public schools. In both, the Presbyterians worked at instilling their own beliefs in their charges. Teachers for these schools were trained in Winnipeg at Manitoba College, of which the first two Ukrainian graduates (in 1900) were Ivan Negrych and Ivan Bodrug. A school home for boys was established in Teulon in 1912 by Reverend Alexander J. Hunter, who had established there a Presbyterian mission (1902) and a hospital (1904).³⁶ The aim of this school home was “. . . to train leaders to challenge the grip of Ukrainian ‘nationalists,’”³⁷ whom Hunter blamed for the decline and failure of Protestant work.

Methodist missions also established hospitals and school homes to serve Ukrainian immigrants, concentrating on northcentral Alberta, but they were not as successful in attracting Ukrainians as the Presbyterians were.

The Roman Catholic Church became involved in the education of rural Ukrainian youth as a reaction to the Protestant activities. Ukrainian boys, for example, were taught by priests of the Redemptorist order. But as these priests were either French or Belgian, they met with only limited success in counteracting the efforts of the Presbyterians. The Roman Catholics, however, did not give up, and in 1912 a boys' school, St. Josaphat's Missionary School, was established in Sifton, Manitoba. It, too, met with little success, existing only until 1916.³⁸

The early private day schools were all affiliated with religious orders. The first such school to teach a complete public school curriculum was St. Nicholas School, established in Winnipeg in 1905 by the Sister Servants of the Immaculate Heart of Mary. By 1906 this school had an enrollment of 160 students.³⁹

Organized Religion

Another issue which occupied the minds of the immigrants was religion. Religion was of fundamental importance because the church was a basic Ukrainian institution. Since the vast majority of the Ukrainian immigrants had come from Galicia, they belonged to the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church. In Canada it was difficult to re-establish the type of religious life that the Ukrainians had been accustomed to in their homeland. The worst

obstacle was the shortage of priests. In 1903, for example, there were fewer than ten Ukrainian Greek Catholic priests in Canada.⁴⁰

Besides the shortage of priests, an additional problem facing the Ukrainian Greek Catholics in Canada was the question of jurisdiction. At the outset, Ukrainian Greek Catholic priests in North America fell under the jurisdiction of Roman Catholic bishops, who were often ignorant about the Byzantine rite, and who did not allow married clergy as did the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church in Galicia. Thus these priests were effectively blocked from immigrating to Canada.

In 1897, Father Nestor Dmytriv of Pennsylvania was the first Ukrainian Greek Catholic priest to visit Canada, and he spent almost two years among the Ukrainians in the colonies of western Canada. With the arrival of Father Damaskyn Polivka, a Basilian priest, in Winnipeg in 1899, the Ukrainians in Winnipeg who were worshipping in the Roman Catholic Church of the Holy Ghost, to which they had been designated by Archbishop Langevin, the Roman Catholic Archbishop of St. Boniface, established their own parish in 1899 and built their first church in 1900, The Ruthenian Greek Catholic Church of St. Nicholas.⁴¹

The first Ukrainian Greek Catholic clergymen to settle permanently in Canada were three priests of the Basilian order who arrived in 1902, accompanied by four Sister Servants of the Immaculate Heart of Mary. With the arrival of additional priests, not all of the Basilian order, a second parish, named Saints Vladimir and Olga, was established in Winnipeg in 1907.⁴² It called itself a “Nationally-Catholic-Independent Church,” and was opposed by the Basilians because it refused to accept Roman Catholic authority.⁴³

Following his tour of Canada in 1910,⁴⁴ the spiritual head of the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church in Galicia, Metropolitan Andrey Sheptyts'kyi set about establishing a separate ecclesiastical province for the Canadian Greek Catholic Church. This was accomplished in 1912, and Father Nykyta Budka was named its first bishop, establishing his chancellery in Winnipeg and naming the Sts. Vladimir and Olga church the "Pro-Cathedral of the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church."⁴⁵ All the Ukrainian Greek Catholic priesthood, which by that time included priests of both the Basilian and Redemptorist orders as well as secular priests, and the Sister Servants of the Immaculate Heart of Mary fell under his jurisdiction.

Under Bishop Budka's direction more churches were built throughout Canada, Ukrainian Canadians were trained for the priesthood, additional priests were brought over from Ukraine, and several Ukrainian Greek Catholic schools were established. Bishop Budka also saw to it that all of the parishes were incorporated provincially, and the episcopal charter was ratified by the Canadian parliament. In 1913 the first synod of the Ukrainian Greek Catholic clergy was convened and ratified the rules and regulations of the Ruthenian Catholic Church in Canada, as the Church was officially called.⁴⁶ During World War I several more Ukrainian Greek Catholic parishes were established in Winnipeg.⁴⁷

While the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church was undergoing the difficult process of establishing itself in Canada, the members of the Ukrainian Canadian community were often forced to turn to other faiths to service their spiritual needs. Each of these churches, in turn, sought to win the conversion of Ukrainians to their faith. The result was a

splintering of the Ukrainian community into various religious groups and the creation of completely new Ukrainian churches.

In 1903, the All-Russian Patriarchal Orthodox Church, also called the Seraphimite Church, was established in Winnipeg by a former Russian Greek Orthodox monk named Stefan Ustvol's'kyy. He was invited to Winnipeg by members of the radical community, who were interested in establishing a Ukrainian church that was not affiliated with either the Roman Catholic or Russian Orthodox churches. In a short period of time, he is said to have ordained more than fifty priests and deacons, many of whom were not in the least qualified for these roles.⁴⁸ Unhappy with the haphazard way that Ustvol's'kyy was running the affairs of the church, the same radicals who invited him to Winnipeg ousted him as Bishop in 1904 and, with the financial assistance of the Presbyterian Church, established the Independent Greek Church, which soon developed a strong following. However, the Independent Greek Church lost some of its membership to the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church after the installation of Budka as the first Canadian bishop. Dwindling membership and the inability of the Presbyterian Church to continue to fund its activities, led to the dissolution of the Independent Greek Church in 1912.

The Presbyterians exerted an influence on the Ukrainian Canadians not only through the Independent Greek Church, but also through their missions and missionaries. Their objective was not only to convert them to the Presbyterian faith but also to “. . . anglicize them and channel them into social roles and economic activities deemed appropriate to them.”⁴⁹

The Presbyterian mission work among and with the Ukrainian Canadians included the establishment of hospitals, schools and school homes in Manitoba in Ethelbert, Teulon and Sifton, and Reading Camp Associations in remote work camps, where “. . . instructors taught English to the ‘foreigners’ and attempted to provide them with an ‘intelligent conception of Canadian citizenship’ and to neutralize social unrest among frontier labourers.”⁵⁰

The Methodist influence on the Ukrainian immigrants was less significant than that of the Presbyterians because the Methodists did not concentrate specifically on the Ukrainian Canadians as the Presbyterians did and the efforts of the Methodist missionaries were not nearly as well planned and executed as those of the Presbyterians.

Russian Orthodox missionaries were also making their influence felt among the immigrants. They were well organized in their missionary work, and there were several reasons why the Russian Orthodox Church appealed to the Ukrainian immigrants: the Russian church believed that all of North America fell under its jurisdiction because it was the first there; parishes did not require incorporation; the liturgy was similar to that of the Ukrainian churches and sung in Old Church Slavonic; also the church was subsidized by the Holy Synod in St. Petersburg.⁵¹ Furthermore, the unworldly immigrants were easily led to believe that the words rusyn (Ruthenian) and rus'kyy (Russian) were really one and the same and that, therefore, this was indeed the church to which they rightfully belonged.

The Russian Orthodox Church attracted a sizable following among the Ukrainians. In Winnipeg, for example, a Russian Orthodox parish, named Holy Trinity, was founded in 1905. With the Russian Revolution of 1917, however, financial assistance from Russia

ceased, and the church's influence upon Ukrainians soon waned significantly. Also, during World War I a group of Bukovynian immigrants left the Russian Orthodox parish and established an Independent Ukrainian Orthodox church, St. Michael's, in the Point Douglas area of the city's North End.⁵²

The Development of a Ukrainian Canadian Press

The Ukrainian press was relatively quick to develop in Winnipeg. Each press organ, if not created to serve the needs of a given organization or faction, soon aligned itself with one and espoused its viewpoints. Most of the press used the Ukrainian language exclusively. Each of the press organs that were established in Winnipeg also served as vehicles for the publication of literary works by Ukrainian writers. This was true of both the non-leftist and the leftist press.

Although the first Ukrainian newspapers in North America -- Svoboda (Liberty) established in 1893 and the shortlived Ameryka (America), established in 1896 -- were both published in the northeastern United States,⁵⁴ they were widely read by Ukrainians in Canada. However, the Ukrainian community in Winnipeg felt the absence of a Ukrainian press organ that would reflect its own particular interests and concerns. In order to amend this situation a number of community leaders, most notably K. Genyk, I. Negrych, I. Bodrug, T. Stefanyk and J. Dyma, assumed the directorship of Winnipeg's first Ukrainian newspaper, Kanadyys'kyy farmer (Canadian Farmer) established in 1903.⁵⁵

Since the newspaper's first four editors were adherents of the Independent Greek Church, for a while at least it reflected this Church's viewpoint. In 1905, however, the

Independent Greek Church established its own newspaper, and the Canadian Farmer became a secular newspaper. It was assisted in its publication by financial contributions from the Canadian Liberal Party and, therefore, tended to take a Liberal stance in political matters.

Slovo (Word), a newspaper which had financial assistance from the Conservative Party and, therefore, espoused a Conservative viewpoint, existed in Winnipeg between 1904-05. It backed both the Ukrainian Greek Catholic and Ukrainian Greek-Orthodox churches and publicly opposed the Canadian Farmer's pro-Seraphimite stance.

Ranok (Morning), established in Winnipeg in 1905, functioned as the press organ of the Independent Greek Church. It, like the Church itself, was supported by the Presbyterian Church, and, like the Canadian Farmer, it maintained a Liberal stance. This newspaper was particularly vibrant and benefited from the input of a variety of competent contributors, among them P. Bozhyk, P. Crath, A. Maksymchuk, O. Sushko and Dr. G. Bryce.⁵⁶ Morning existed throughout the period, merging in 1920 with the Edmonton-based and Methodist-backed Kanadyyets' (Canadian) to form Kanadyys'kyy ranok (Canadian Morning).

The socialists also began to publish their own newspaper, Chervonyy prapor (Red Banner), which existed in 1907-08 under the editorship of Paul Crath. This newspaper took up the cause of the working class on all fronts and was harshly anti-clerical in sentiment. The Red Banner was succeeded by the Robochyy narod (Working People) in 1909. Like its predecessor, this newspaper also assumed a firm, leftist viewpoint.

In 1909 leading Ukrainian nationalists in Winnipeg, men such as Orest Zherebko, Taras Ferley and J.W. Arsenych, united to establish a newspaper that would provide “. . . national leadership, maintain equilibrium and espouse and support the aspirations of the Ukrainian citizenry.”⁵⁷ To carry out these aims they undertook the publication of Ukrainian Voice (Ukrayins’kyy holos), whose first issue came out on 14 March 1910.⁵⁸ This newspaper was nationalistic and religious to an extent backing the premise of an independent church.

The Ukrainian Greek Catholics, too, decided, to have a press organ which would provide a forum for their concerns. The establishment of such a newspaper was aided by the financial assistance of Archbishop Langevin. The first issue of this newspaper, Kanadyys’kyy rusyn (Canadian Ruthenian), appeared in May, 1911.⁵⁹ The newspaper was religiously oriented and pro-nationalist. At the same time, it wholeheartedly opposed the Protestants, the Independent Greek Church and the socialists. The Russian Orthodox Church also published the shortlived (1915-16) Kanadiys’kaya Pravoslavnyaya Rus’ (Canadian Orthodox Ruthenia), which was printed bilingually in Russian and Ukrainian.

2. The Fledgling Literature: Fedyk’s Pisni pro Kanadu i Avstriyu

During this formative period of Ukrainian settlement and the establishment of a Ukrainian community in Winnipeg, Ukrainian Canadian literature began to develop. Most of the early writers were part of the leadership of Winnipeg’s Ukrainian community. They included clergymen like Vasyl’ Kudryk and Ivan Bodrug and political activists like Vasyl’ Holovats’kyi, Myroslav Stechishin, Dmytro Rarahovs’kyi and Paul Crath. Immigrants

themselves, they shared, in general, the same experiences as the Ukrainian Canadian community at large.

The literature that was produced represented all genres: drama, poetry and prose. Poetry, however, predominated. Few plays were written because of the abundance and popularity of plays from Ukraine. The writing itself was largely simplistic and folkloristic in style and theme. The themes that were dealt with tended to centre around nostalgia for what they had left behind in the homeland and a fear of the new, that is, of the unknown, of what was awaiting them in the new land. These early works were published both as monographs and in the Ukrainian Canadian press. Only the leftist press is surveyed here because it was almost the only outlet for “leftist” literature, whereas the “non-leftist” literature was able to be published in monographs. Indeed, some non-leftist newspapers, most notably the Ukrainian Voice also published monographs.

If one were to consider literary works not published in a monograph, the first poem by a Ukrainian Canadian living in Winnipeg was published in the Ukrainian language American daily newspaper Svoboda 15 March 1900. This was Sava Chernets'kyi's “Z zil'nyka Kanady” (From the Herbarium of Canada).⁵⁹ This poem thus pre-dates Chernets'kyi's poem “Perekhytryv” (Outwitted) that Frances A. Swyrypa and Andrii Makuch list as published in Svoboda 10 May 1900⁶⁰ and Chernets'kyi's “Z hlybyny propasty” (From the Depth of the Abyss) which Yar Slavutych considers the first poem by a Ukrainian Winnipegger and which appeared in Svoboda of the same date.⁶¹

In the Canada-wide context, the first published poem written by a Ukrainian Canadian was Yuriy Syrotyuk's “Do bratov halychan” (To Brothers Galicians)⁶² published

in Svoboda 27 May 1897. This poem thus predates the poem which up to now has been cited by literary critics such as Yar Slavutych as the first poem to be written by a Ukrainian Canadian writer, Ivan Zbura's "Kanadiys'ki emigranty" (Canadian Emigrants) which was published in Svoboda 2 February 1899.⁶³

Fedyk's Pisni pro Kanadu i Avstriyu

One of the two first works⁶⁴ published in monograph form in Winnipeg, both published in 1908, was Teodor Fedyk's (1873-1949) Pisni pro Kanadu i Avstriyu (Songs about Canada and Austria). This book was important for Winnipeg not only because it was one of the first two published monographs, but also because it responded to a "need" in the people or to their own emotions as attested to by the large number of editions and sales. As the title indicates, the book was a collection of "songs" -- poems written in a folkloristic kolomyjka style. Fedyk probably called them "songs" because they were so rhythmic that they could be sung.

The book was extremely popular both in Canada and Ukraine. Its popularity is attested to by the fact that after its initial publication in 1908, it was republished in five later editions, the last in 1927. In total it sold 50,000 copies.⁶⁵ The various editions were published by the Rus'ka knyharnya (later changed to Ukrayins'ka knyharnya). In the introduction to the third edition published in 1911, the publishers state that they purchased the publication rights to this collection from Teodor Fedyk and are publishing it themselves. This statement is included in the later editions so apparently the publishing rights never reverted to Fedyk. The editions range in size from 139 pages (1927 edition)

to 190 pages (1914 edition). This is because not all of the editions contain the same number of “songs.” The songs are largely numbered, the minority in each edition are actually given titles rather than numbers. The 1911 edition has thirty-three “songs,” the 1914 edition has forty “songs” and the 1927 edition has thirty-two “songs” all of varying lengths. In each edition there are thirty numbered songs, the rest have titles. There are more “songs” about Canada than about Austria in these works, although, in general, the songs about Canada and Austria alternate. The 1914 edition, the fifth and the longest, includes a section on Myroslav Sichyns’kyy, a prominent anarchist who became a folk hero to Ukrainians in both Ukraine and North America. That these poems were included in this collection attest to the fact that Fedyk’s collection did indeed reflect the concerns of the Ukrainian Canadians of the time.

Fedyk is listed on both the cover and the title page as the compiler of the collection, but he is also credited as the author of many of the songs. Fedyk’s work may not all be original, however. Slavutych states, for example, that Fedyk modified the text of Symon Palamaryuk’s “Pisn’ pro Kanadu” (Song about Canada) and republished it as his “Pisnya dvanaytsyata” (Twelfth Song),⁶⁶ which bears his name. Except for Dmytro Makohon and D. Rarahovs’kyy, the rest of the contributors - D. Kibzyy, N. Hakman, Syl’vester Yarychevs’kyy, Vasyl’ Karachko, Hryts’ Zahorenko, Ya. D. Kravets’, Hr. Burak, I. Denys, Ivan Kozak, Chalyy, Y. Kravets’, Petro Shcherba, R. D. Chorneyko, N. Tomashevs’kyy, D. Yavir, Prokip Yats, I. Fendrykevych, A. Onufrenko, Fred Khomut, Tymko Mylyeshchuk - were unknown writers. Makohon was a writer of some note in Ukraine and Rarahovs’kyy was a social activist and the compiler of the other Ukrainian

Canadian work, Workers' Songs, that was published in Winnipeg in the same year as Fedyk's collection. One writer chose to write under the pseudonym Susid, which means "neighbour" in Ukrainian, implying that these are the views of the reader's neighbour and should be taken seriously.

As the title states, the songs alternate between Canada and Austria. Canada is associated with the "new," that is, life in the new land, Austria with the "old," that is, life in the then Austrian colony Ukraine. Later editions of the collection were published under the title Pisni pro staryy i novyy kray (Songs about the old and new country)⁶⁷ and Pisni imigrantiv pro staryy i novyy kray (Songs of the immigrants about the old and new country).⁶⁸ The language that is used in the songs is largely dialectal Ukrainian. This work was compiled at a time when there was no standard orthography of the Ukrainian language, so spelling conventions differed among writers. Furthermore and perhaps more importantly, not all of the contributors to this work, including Fedyk, himself, could be considered well educated and may not have been overly familiar with Ukrainian literary usage.

The songs are typically lyrical and, as stated above, are written in the folkloristic kolomyyka style. The kolomyyka is a "folk ditty" made up of ". . . two rhyming lines with a set rhythmic pattern: a 14-syllable line with feminine ending and a caesura after the eighth syllable."⁶⁹ The kolomyyka also deals with themes pertinent to the everyday life of the people in a humorous style.⁷⁰

This collection of songs was a seminal work in Ukrainian Canadian literature of this period, as it brought out the main ideas that were "in the air," themes that were in the

hearts and minds and responded to the needs of the pioneering group of immigrants. Thematically, the collection, although it alternates between Austria and Canada, centres on three main areas which run through the entire collection: nostalgia for the old, that is nostalgia for the homeland and nostalgia over the separation of families; fear of the new, that is, the new and often harsh life and work environment in the new country; and the problems of social adjustment to a new land. The collection was thus a kind of guide indicating why Ukrainians may have wanted to leave the old country and also what they might experience should they choose to emigrate.⁷¹ The collection was thus probably aimed not only at a Ukrainian Canadian readership but also at readers in Ukraine.

Fedyk's "Pisnya persha" (First song) describes the pain of parting with everyone and everything that the Ukrainian peasant holds dear as he prepares to emigrate from his homeland:

Як лишав я рідне село
 Було мені тяженько;
 Я прашав ся з ріднов землев,
 З моєю ріднов неньков.

Будь здорова родинонько,
 Ви мої сусіди;

...

Будь здорова рідна церкво,

...⁷²

As I was leaving my native village / My heart was heavy; / I bade farewell to

my native land, / To my mother. / Keep well, my dear family, / And you, my
neighbours, / / Keep well, my native church, / /

This simple poem describes not only the pain of departure -- a pain that was so sharp that the prospective emigrant was ready to forsake his planned journey -- but also goes on to describe the difficulties associated with gaining passage, particularly the hospital stay required if one did not pass the physical examination prior to boarding the ship, the arduous passage on a cattle boat where the passengers were plagued with seasickness, and the hardships of pioneer settlement when they finally reached the wilds of the Canadian prairie. Although the entire experience is a negative one, the immigrant writes to his brother stating that his life in Canada is excellent. In this way he fools his brother into joining him in Canada, where the unsuspecting brother quickly learns the truth.

Other poems also deal with similar sentiments. In “Pisnya druha” (Second song), for example, an immigrant expresses a wish on Easter Sunday to return to his family in the homeland:

Тай коби то крильця мав

То би я полинув,

Відвідав бим сиротина

Всю свою родину.⁷³

If only I had little wings / Then I would fly, / I, an orphan, would visit / My entire
family. /

“Pisnya chetverta” (Fourth song)⁷⁴ deals with the pain of parting with one’s native land, but states that the emigrant has no other choice because the circumstances of life have been made intolerable by the Polish occupiers. Furthermore, life is good in Canada

because it is a bountiful land. “Pisnya os’ma” (Eighth song)⁷⁵ deals with longing for the homeland where everyone was happy and Sundays and holy days were observed, not like in Canada where everyone is a Socialist. Fedyk’s “Eighth Song” also speaks out against socialism when it points out the reason for the happy frame of mind that the Ukrainian people shared in the old country and the unhappiness that they experience in Canada:

Веселі ходили
І за Бога знали,
Сьвята сьвяткували.

Тутки того нема;
Всі соціялісти,
Далій вже не стане
Для них хліба їсти.⁷⁶

Happily they walked about / And knew about God, / And observed holy days /
That does not happen here; / Everyone is a socialist, / In the future there will not
be enough / Bread for them to eat. /

Other songs, such as “Pisnya shesta,” (Sixth song),⁷⁷ “Pisnya tryнайtsyata” (Thirteenth song),⁷⁸ “Pisnya visimнайtsyata” (Eighteenth song)⁷⁹ and “Dumka emigranta” (An emigrant’s thought)⁸⁰ deal with the difficulty of parting with one’s loved ones.

Fedyk’s collection also recalls the harsh circumstances of life at the hands of foreign occupiers. I. Denys’s “Pisnya dvaytsyat’-sema” (Twenty-seventh song) laments the treatment of Ukrainians at the hands of the Poles, saying:

Хотячи Україну
Зі світа змести.

Гадають бідняги

Польщу завести.⁸¹

Wanting to sweep Ukraine / From the earth. / The poor wretches plan / To
establish Poland. /

Similarly, Fedyk's "Pisnya simnaytsyata" (Seventeenth song)⁸² deals with the author's (that is, Fedyk's) deep love for Ukraine, but states that it is impossible to live there now because the country has been ruined, first by the Tartars and later by the Poles. His "Pisnya dvaytsyata" (Twentieth song) describes a young man's negative experiences as a recruit in the Austro-Hungarian army, experiences which ultimately led him to Canada:

Ой служив я цїсарови

Три роки в гонорі

В пятьдесятім регіменті

В чвартім батальоні.

Дослужив ся я такого

Малом не загинув

Мусїв втічи до Канади

Рідний край покинув.⁸³

Oh, I served the kaiser / Three years honourably / In the fiftieth regiment / In the
fourth battalion. / I served to the point / That I almost died / I had to escape to
Canada / Forsake my native land./

Fedyk also deals with the sorrow of the men who had left their wives and children in Ukraine. His "Pisn' dvanaytsyata" (Twelfth song) relates a man's typical sentiments:

Ой Канадо, Канадочко

Яка ти зрадлива, --
 Не одногось чоловіка
 З жінок розлучила.

Розлучулась мене з жінок
 Всиротилась діти
 А я пішов до Канади
 Гаразду глядіти.⁸⁴

Oh Canada, dear Canada / How treacherous you are, -- / More than one man /
 You have separated from his wife. / You have separated me from my wife /
 Orphaned my children / And I went to Canada / To see to our well-being. /

Fedyk characterizes immigrant life in general in “Second Song.” Here he states:

Ой Канадо Канадочко
 Тай ти Манітобо,
 Жиє в тобі руський нарід
 Як тая худоба.⁸⁵

Oh Canada, dear Canada / And you Manitoba, / The Ruthenian people live in you /
 Like those cattle. /

Fedyk was not alone in expressing these sentiments for similar sentiments are also expressed in Prokip Yats’s poem “Pro zamors’ku dolyu” (About destiny beyond the sea)⁸⁶ which was included in the 1914 edition of Songs about Canada and Austria.

The working conditions were not only harsh, they could also be life-threatening. Loss of life was not uncommon, and this theme appears repeatedly in the literature. Susid’s poem “Pisnya desyata” (Tenth song) and D. Kibzyy’s poem “Pisnya shisnaytsyata”

(Sixteenth song) deal with death in mining accidents. Susid's poem begins with a general introduction which states that work-related death is not uncommon in Canada:

Послушайте люди добрі

Що народу пропадає

У тім милім вільнім краю

При роботах погибає.⁸⁷

Listen good people / How many people disappear / In that dear free land / They die at work. /

In his song Kibzyu compares coal miners to those searching for money in his statement about frequent mining-related deaths:

Ой багато наших людей

За грішми шукають,

Ой багато наших людей

В майнах пропадають.⁸⁸

O many of our people / Search for money, / O many of our people / Disappear in mines. /

Susid's "Tenth Song" ironically describes the miners as digging for dollars rather than for ore. The circumstances of life in the new country were such that it was not unusual for the immigrants to face them with some trepidation. Living conditions were, as noted earlier, often substandard and the work was low paying, menial, physically demanding and even dangerous. Furthermore, the way of life was also different from that to which the immigrants were used. Fear of this new life which they were in the process of encountering was, therefore, a very real sentiment.

In Dmytro Makohon's (1881-1961) "Pisnya devyata" (Ninth song), a wife and children, living in abject poverty in Ukraine because they sold their land and livestock to finance the husband's trip to Canada, wonder why they have not heard from him in some time. They finally receive a letter from someone in Canada, who knows of his fate:

Не пишть вже листів

І не нарікайте

За душу Івана

Панотцеве дайте.

Ваш Іван вже дев'ять

Місяців у гробі,

Глина го забила

В Клінтон, Манітобі.⁸⁹

Do not write any more letters / And do not complain / Pay the priest / [To pray]

For Ivan's soul. / Your Ivan has been / In his grave for nine months, / He was

killed by [a cave in of] clay / In Clinton, Manitoba. /

Poverty was a way of life for the peasant in Ukraine and initially proved to be the same for many of the Ukrainian immigrants in Canada. In his "Pisnya dvaytsyat' druha" (Twenty-second song) Fedyk describes the average immigrant's financial status in the following manner:

Не ма гроший у кишени

Мусить бідувати

Мусить тиждень іти пішки

Роботи шукати.⁹⁰

Not having any money in his pocket / He must suffer, / He must go about on foot
for a week / Looking for work. /

The threat of extreme poverty motivated the immigrants to work at whatever jobs
were available to them. Not all jobs were life-threatening, but all of them were arduous.
The immigrant had to work hard simply to keep his job. As Rarahovs'kyy (1878-1957)
states in his "Pisnya chotyrnaytsyata" (Fourteenth song):

А тут роби як чорний віл
Від ночі до ночі,
Як не зможеш, дасть бас тайм
Тай йди куди хочеш.⁹¹

And here work like a black ox / From night to night, / If you cannot, then
the boss will give you time [your timecard] / And you can go wherever you want. /

As the "Fourteenth Song" continues, when a man no longer has the physical strength to
endure hard labour, he loses all hope:

Поки була сила,
Робило ся, а не стало
Пропавав як билина.⁹²

While there was strength, / It was possible to work, but once it was gone / He
perished like a blade of grass. /

Life for the Ukrainian immigrant farmer or labourer in Canada was made even
more difficult by the environment, for example, by the incessant onslaught of mosquitoes
during the summer months, which Fedyk describes in his "Second Song:"

Комарі ми стяли шию,

Як бурак червона.

Комарі ми стяли шию,

Аж ми шия спухла,

. . . .⁹³

Mosquitoes have ravaged my neck, / It is red as a beet. / Mosquitoes have
ravaged my neck, / So that my neck is swollen, / . . . /

The women and children who have come to Canada are also threatened by death as they are left alone on the homesteads without sufficient provisions to last until the men return home with the money they have earned. In Fedyk's "Pisnya trynaytsyata" (Thirteenth song) a man returns from working outside his homestead to the following scenario:

Не застав же жінку з дітьми

Лиш гнилії трупи.⁹⁴

He did not find his wife and children / Only rotting corpses. /

The wives who had been left behind were also miserable for they were usually left in a precarious situation, taking care of their land and livestock, paying their debts, and feeding and clothing the children and themselves. A wife's typical lament occurs in Petro Shcherba's "Pisnya odynaytsyata" (Eleventh song):

Ой поїхав мій Микольцьо

В чужину за море,

Полишив мя з діточками

На нещасне горе.

Полишив мя з діточками

Тай ще й молодую,

Щоб я собі насушила

Головоньку свою.⁹⁵

Oh, my Mykol'ts'o went / To the foreign land across the sea, / He left me
with young children / To suffer hopeless grief. / He left me with young children
/ And I am still young, / So that I might worry / My head off. /

The conscientious man, who wanted to help his family from his meagre earnings, is depicted in “Pisnya dvaytsyat' persha” (Twenty-first song) as torn by indecision as to what to do with his wages:

За ту нещасливу пейду

Тре щастє купити

І до штору тра віддати

Довги поплатити.

Жінка з краю знов лист пише

Мужу мій хороший

Чом ти мені мужу милий

Не пришлеш ще грошей.⁹⁶

With that unfortunate pay / It is necessary to buy happiness / And the store must
be repaid / And debts paid. / The wife in the old country writes another letter / My
fine husband / Why do not you my dear husband / Send me some more money. /

One wife, instead of paying her debts, behaved less than conscientiously with the money that she received from her husband in Canada:

Перше хоче за ті гроші
Файненько ся вбрати.

І вона собі знов замовить
Чобітки хороші,
Бо надію вона має,
Що знов придуть гроші.⁹⁷

First for that money she wants / To dress herself nicely. / And she will again
order / Fine boots, / Because she has hope, / That money will arrive again. /

Some wives probably behaved in this manner simply because they could not comprehend just how hard their husbands worked to earn money in Canada.

If indeed Fedyk's collection of poetry was read in Ukraine, its description of the harsh life awaiting the immigrants in Canada discouraged at least some Ukrainians from leaving the homeland. Some works in Fedyk's collection do, however, praise life in the new country. In his "Fourth Song," for example, he urges Ukrainians to forsake Austria and come to Canada for the following reasons:

Бо Канада є край ситий,
Є де красно жити;
І бідному народови
Є де заробити.⁹⁸

Because Canada is a well-fed country, / There is room to live well; / And poor
people / Have room to earn money. /

In "Pisnya pyatnaytsyata" (Fifteenth song), although he states that the farm that he bought in Gimli, Manitoba is swampy and rocky, Fedyk admits the following:

Три літа вже тому
 Як ми фарму взяли
 І ми на тій фармі
 Біди не зазнали.⁹⁹

It's already three years ago / That we took our farm / And we, on that farm /
 have not known misfortune. /

The conclusion is that despite everything, Canada is a great country, the land of hope and promise, and he (the immigrant) knows he made the right choice in coming to Canada. As N. Hakman states in “Pisnya dvaytsyat’-treta” (Twenty-third song):

Ту безкрайний степ широкий,
 Ту свобода, братя!
 Будьте чесні і розумні
 А знайдете щасте! . . .¹⁰⁰

Here is an infinitely wide steppe, / Here is freedom, brothers! / Be virtuous and
 intelligent / And you will find happiness! . . . /

There were various problems of adjustment facing the Ukrainian immigrant, including social problems associated with life styles that included drinking, brawling, card and pool playing and carousing with women. All of the works that dealt with this topic were aimed at pointing out the folly of such behaviour as a means of deterring it in the future. For example, R.D. Chorneyko’s “Pisnya sema (dolya Ivana v Kanadi)” (Seventh song [Ivan’s fate in Canada]) depicts a man, Ivan, who comes to Canada because of the miserable conditions of life under Polish rule in Galicia. He leaves behind his wife and children, promising to send money to pay off their debts and planning to return home

when he has enough money to live well. In Canada, Ivan works all summer and earns a great deal of money. He realizes that he should send some money to his wife, but he does not do so. Instead, he becomes addicted to pool playing and spends the entire winter in the pool hall where he squanders all his money. Next spring realizing the foolishness of his behaviour, Ivan vows to earn more money and return home with it. The moral is that others should learn from Ivan's experience:

Погадаймо і ми братя
 Як се нам здаєть ся?
 А між нами таких Йванів
 Чи мало знайдеться?¹⁰¹

Let us, brothers, consider / How this seems to us? / And will we not find among us
 / More than a few such Ivans? /

Like Chorneyko's song, Fedyk's "Eighth Song"¹⁰² also depicts the folly of losing money at pool playing while a man's wife and children could make good use of the money in the old country.

It was not only men who exhibited such "immoral" behaviour. Fedyk attributes the sexual immorality of some Ukrainian women in Canada to the fact that Canada had laws forbidding wife-beating. In his "Pisnya treta" (Third song), for example, he underscores this point by presenting the following scenario, the result of a verbal altercation between a husband and wife:

Скажи слово, жінка не так
 Вже сидить в Англіка,
 А муж бідний з діточками

Плаче на публіку.

Она сидить, єї добре,

Каву попиває . .

А за кілька там місяців

Вже й дитину має.¹⁰³

Say a word, your wife disagrees / And she's off to live with an Englishman, /

And her poor husband with his children / Cries in shame. / She lives

with him, life is good for her, / She sips coffee . . / And after

a few months / She even has a child. /

There were also social problems facing the community as whole, such as loss of the mother tongue and consequent assimilation into the Canadian mainstream and the high rate of illiteracy among the immigrants. Language loss is the only assimilating factor that is dealt with in the literature. It seems that as early as 1911 the question of Ukrainian language loss was already a realistic concern. Hr. Burak in his "Pisnya dvyatsyat' os'ma" (Twenty-eighth song), for example, warns against forsaking the mother tongue:

Тут Канада -- земля вільна,

В ній вільнії люди,

Своєї мови не цуратись

А добре нам буде!¹⁰⁴

This is Canada -- a free land, / In it are free people. / If we do not renounce our

own language / Everything will be fine for us! /

Ivan Kozak's "Pisnya dvaytsyat'-shesta" (Twenty-sixth song) discusses the importance of education to free Galicia from the grasp of Polish tyranny, and serves as a cry to the masses to heed this warning:

До книжки берім ся
 Та покиньмо старий звичай
 На людей дивім ся.

Годі вже нам у темноті
 Цілі віки жити,
 Час вже і нам бути мудрим
 Та краще дивитись.¹⁰⁵

Let us take to a book / Let us forsake the old tradition / Let us look at other
 people. / It is enough for us to have lived in ignorance entire centuries /
 It is time even for us to be intelligent / And to look at things better. /

Burak's "Twenty-eighth Song" perceives education and enlightenment as a means of easing the arguments and misunderstandings that tear the Ukrainian community apart, doing away with drunkenness, and allowing Ukrainians not to sell themselves short in the labour market. It also points out that through education Ukrainians will come to realize the importance of co-existence with each other:

Треба вчитись на цій волі:
 Всі ми Українці,
 Уніяти, православні,
 Й римо католики.¹⁰⁶

We must learn in this free land: / That we are all Ukrainians, / Uniates, Orthodox, /

And Roman Catholics. /

As stated above a number of the poems in this collection speak out against Polish tyranny. Ukrainians also considered themselves to be at the mercy of at least one other ethnic group and that was the Jews. Songs about Canada and Austria, however, displays little evidence of anti-Semitism. One of the rare examples is “Third Song” which criticizes election tampering by the Jews in the new country, saying:

Наситились они добре

Тутка при виборах.

Як та риба, котра жие

В середземних морах.¹⁰⁷

They are sated well / Here at elections / Like that fish, that lives / In inland seas. /

Several other works contemporaneous to Songs about Canada and Austria echo themes from that work. For example, Apolinariy Novak’s (1885-1955) two short stories ironically titled “Taky postavyv ho na nohy” (He really put him on his feet)¹⁰⁸ and “Pershyy den’ zarobitku” (The first day of earning a salary),¹⁰⁹ which were published in 1910 (?), deal with job related deaths. “He Really Put Him on His Feet” deals with death in a mining accident, specifically the death of a young worker who is killed when the oven in which nickel ore is being melted explodes. In “The First Day of Earning a Salary” a labourer is killed by falling rock on his first day on the job. Novak’s summation is that Ukrainian labourers, such as the ones he describes who died building a railway in Ontario, died helping to build Canada. The immigrant labourers had no choice but to work under such conditions because they were faced with a desperate need for money. The money

that the miners earn is often urgently needed to provide for the needs of their families. In Novak's "He Really Put Him on His Feet" it is to help a ne'er-do-well father in Ukraine, whereas in his "The First Day of Earning a Salary" it is for a wife and child who are living in poverty in Ukraine.

Songs about Canada and Austria also touch on contemporary international events, for example, the coming war. Ya. D. Kravets' "Pisnya dvaytsyat devyata" (Twenty-ninth song) in Fedyk's collection states that the war's initiators should be the ones to go into battle rather than anyone else. Furthermore, Kravets' also questions what sense there is in war, since:

Жебраків каліків

По війні прибуде,

Який з того хосен

Для держави буде?¹¹⁰

Beggars invalids / Will appear after the war, / What kind of benefit / Will this be
for the state? /

Whereas the blame for initiating war is placed on the tsars, the blame for encouraging people to participate in it is placed on the priests. The latter, especially, are criticized for the contradictions that they preach:

Попи нас хрестили,

Над нами читали,

Щоб ми з Богом жили,

Так нас научали.

А навпаки друга

До війни присяга

Йти людей стріляти!

Чиж то Богу слава?¹¹¹

Priests baptized us, / They read over us, / That we should live with God, /

That is what they taught us. / And on the contrary there is a second / Oath to war /

To go shoot people! / Is that glory to God? /

Nothing is known about the author of this poem but his opinions echo the socialist view.

Several poems echo Songs about Canada and Austria in promoting the Ukrainian Canadian community's support of the causes of the homeland. For example, two works published in a 1913(?) collection deal with this theme. Nykola Shmyrdyak's "Pro shlyakhtu (kolyada)" (About the nobility [a carol])¹¹² calls for financial support of Galician schools. Dmytro Rarahovs'kyi's "Kolyada pro M. Sichyns'koho" (A carol about M. Sichyns'kyi)¹¹³ is an appeal for donations to the survivors of victims of Polish tyranny.

A specific event in Ukraine that is dealt with in literary works in Canada is the so-called Sichyns'kyi affair referred to earlier. Of the works surveyed, all of those dealing with this topic are poetic and are similar in that they all praise Sichyns'kyi for his act of defiance, e.g., N. Tomashevs'kyi's "Pisnya pro M. Sichyns'koho" (A song about M. Sichyns'kyi),¹¹⁴ M.S.K.'s "Khoto to ye?" (Who is that?)¹¹⁵ and Petro Kuzyk's "Pisnya pro M. Sichyns'koho" (A song about M. Sichyns'kyi, 1913?).¹¹⁶ There are only a few poems praising Sichyns'kyi in Fedyk's collection. Tomashevs'kyi's is representative of the group stating as it does:

Гей, Ви, братя, Українці!

Подякуйте Богу.

Що наш герой Мирослав

Забив ту тревогу.¹¹⁷

Hey, You, brothers, Ukrainians! / Thank God. / That our hero Myroslav /

Has killed that danger. /

At least one of the poems about Sichyns'kyu depicts a dying Potocki, who, in the face of death, is remorseful for all of the injustices that he brought upon the Ukrainian people, saying:

Все що зробив я літами,

Стало враз перед очами,

Ті, що плачуть день і в ночі,

Стали мені перед очі.

Ось їх плачі тут лунають,

Моє серце розривають.¹¹⁸

Everything that I did over the years, / Suddenly appeared before my eyes, / Those, who cry during the day and at night, / Appeared before my eyes. / Their cries resound here, / They tear my heart asunder. /

Vasyl' Kudryk (1880-1963) dedicated his poem "Revolutsioner (M. Sichyns'komu)" (The revolutionary [for M. Sichyns'kyu], 1911) to Myroslav Sichyns'kyu. This poem describes in positive terms the difficult role of a revolutionary. The role is a righteous one because it is motivated by ideals. But he admits that the role of the revolutionary is a difficult one saying:

Тяжко, друже

Брать на свою душу

Закон судді . . . -- я ж не хочу

Судити, а мушу!¹¹⁹

It is difficult, friend / To take on to one's soul / The law of the judge . . . - I do not
want / To judge, but I must! /

3. Literature as a Vehicle of Socialization: Maidanyk and Others

As Others Perceived the Ukrainian Immigrants

The Ukrainian immigrants were forced to contend with prejudicial attitudes and discriminatory practices against them on the part of the Canadian Anglo-Celtic majority. The Ukrainians, who were settling in block settlements in rural areas and in urban ghettos, retaining old country dress and habits as well as their ancestral language, were proving difficult to assimilate at the rate that the Anglo-Celtic majority might have liked.

Throughout this period of initial Ukrainian settlement in Canada, editorial opinion was often divided on the issue of the Ukrainian immigrants. Editorial comment is important since it both influenced and reflected popular sentiments. In their study of editorials in Winnipeg's three major newspapers, the Manitoba Free Press, the Winnipeg Tribune, and the Nor'Wester/Winnipeg Telegram, for the period between 1896 - 1905, John C. Lehr and Wayne Moodie found that the Telegram was most negative to the Ukrainian immigrants, the Manitoba Free Press was most positive, and the Tribune, although predominately negative, was the least involved in the debate on this issue.¹²⁰ The debate primarily centred upon such points as " . . . the assimilative qualities of the Ukrainian settler, his agricultural abilities, health and hygiene, character traits, educational

attributes and citizenship potential,” with the most heated debate surrounding character traits.¹²¹

An editorial in the Telegram of 7 March 1899, speaks out vociferously against the expected influx that year of at least 6,000 Galician immigrants to Canada. The term “Galician” was used since the vast majority of Ukrainian immigrants came from the Western province under Austro-Hungarian control. This editorial terms them “poor,” “filthy,” and of “disgraceful” moral character.¹²² Another editorial by the president of the Trades and Labour Council protests against “the importation of dangerous foreigners who are lowering labouring men’s wages.”¹²³ In an editorial of 20 February 1900 the Galicians are accused of being “a lawless and vicious class of people.”¹²⁴ This slur is backed up by the example of a story taken from the Shoal Lake Star that accuses Galicians of “brutal murders” that have taken place in the Galician colony there.¹²⁵

Indeed, Ukrainians did seem to be guilty of committing murder. An editorial entitled “Another Ukrainian Tragedy” refers to the murder of a woman in Brandon by a Galician immigrant as “another horrible crime . . . committed by the foreign ruffians whom Mr. Sifton is rushing into this country.”¹²⁶ From this editorial it also appears that two Galicians, who were responsible for earlier murders in the Stuartburn area, a crime that the Telegram terms “wholesale . . . butchery,” had been recently hanged. This editorial goes on to blame Clifford Sifton, then Liberal Minister of the Interior (1895-1905) and part owner of the Manitoba Free Press, for promoting the immigration of “this ignorant and vicious foreign scum” because he wants their votes to keep the Liberal Party in power.¹²⁷

In contrast, the Manitoba Free Press, which in an editorial of 3 August 1897, welcomes the Galicians and describes them as seeming “to possess the qualities of industry, patience and willingness to till the ground for their living.” The editorial admits that the Galicians are primitive and uneducated, but states that contact with the host society will enable them to acquire “the graces of life,” particularly since “the Anglo-Saxon race has great assimilating powers.”¹²⁸ An editorial of 15 July 1898 also positively assesses the Galician immigrants.¹²⁹ However, a Tribune editorial dated 17 February 1903, while neither praising nor deriding the Galicians for their specific character traits, criticizes their block settlement patterns which are barriers to the assimilation process.¹³⁰

The attitudes of the press did reflect popular sentiment. The arrival and settlement of Ukrainians in Canada was opposed by many of the Canadian Anglo-Celtic majority, and, as a result, Ukrainians were often berated, shown little or no respect, and even in times of relative prosperity, either given the most menial jobs or refused jobs altogether simply because of their ethnic background. And it was not Ukrainians alone who were afforded this type of treatment, for other immigrants from continental Europe were also treated in the same manner. Others greeted the immigrants with open arms. Politicians like Clifford Sifton saw immigration as a means of populating the vast stretches of prairie wilderness; leaders of industry, particularly of the mining and railway industries, were also happy to have them in Canada because the Ukrainians provided them with cheap labour.

The fact that Ukrainians were subjected to prejudiced and discriminatory treatment forced them to retreat even further into the relative security of their own communities. This, in turn, strengthened these communities for the Ukrainians were forced to establish

not only social, cultural and political institutions, but also to establish their own stores, co-operatives, wheat pools and other associations to meet the community's ever-diversifying needs.

Perhaps to some extent Ukrainians or some segment of them may have earned the negative criticism that they received. For example, in 1897 Father Nestor Dmytriv, following his tour of Ukrainian immigrant colonies in Manitoba, Saskatchewan and Alberta, published his observations in Svoboda and later in a book, Kanadiys'ka rus', podorozhni spomyny (Canadian Ruthenia, a traveler's memoirs).¹³¹ Dmytriv is highly critical of the Ukrainian immigrants, largely because of their personal hygiene, lack of cleanliness in their surroundings, and their old country habits and dress. He is thus not surprised that Ukrainians are looked down upon by Anglo-Celts.¹³² He praises the girls of the Ukrainian colonies for the fact that they, working as domestics in cities and town, quickly adopt Anglo-Celtic manners and dress and learn the English language.¹³³ He sees the Ukrainians' slovenly habits and adherence to traditional dress as the result of the fact that the Ukrainians in Galicia and Bukovyna were largely ignorant because of the social processes at work in their homeland, which was under the occupation of foreign powers. These processes, he believes, were aimed at keeping the masses unenlightened and subservient. The changes that Dmytriv proposes, however, should not be viewed as a push towards assimilation into the Canadian mainstream. Instead, they should be understood as a means of acquiring a respectable level of cultural refinement which would raise the Ukrainian immigrants to a socially acceptable level in Canada. It is his opinion

that the Ukrainians can only attain this goal if they are guided by representatives of their own intelligentsia and clergymen, of whom there were almost none in Canada.

The situation between the Ukrainians and the Anglo-Celts was further exacerbated by the fact that, as previously stated, much of the Ukrainian population in Canada was composed of married and single men, who had emigrated to Canada alone. In Canada the lack of the stabilizing effect of family life combined with the instability of often seasonal employment proved to have a negative effect on the lifestyle of many of the men. Their work often took them away from the city for extended periods of time. Upon their return to the city, their pockets filled with the money that they had earned, they searched for amusement. Alcoholism and violent behaviour were particularly prevalent. This not only gave the non-Ukrainians just cause to be critical of Ukrainians, it also caused significant social problems for the fledgling community to deal with.

The prejudice and discrimination against the Ukrainians were greatly intensified with the approach of World War I, when it appeared that Canada and Austria would be on opposite sides of the impending conflict. A significant portion of the Ukrainian immigrants who had arrived prior to World War I had become naturalized Canadian citizens. This was especially true of the farmers and homesteaders who came with the intention of staying in Canada permanently. But there were also some Ukrainians in Canada who had no intention of making it their permanent home. These and others, who perhaps had simply not gotten around to applying for their naturalization papers, were still, in effect, Austrian citizens. These persons were put into the awkward position of being classified as "enemy aliens" both by Canadian authorities and the general public. As

the threat of war intensified, the feelings of suspicion on the part of the general public spread to include naturalized Ukrainian citizens of Canada. Thus all Ukrainians were put into a position where their allegiance to Canada was highly suspect.

For Ukrainian Canadians the situation was worsened by the publication in the Canadian Ruthenian of a pastoral letter from Bishop Nykyta Budka, head of the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church in Canada, dated 27 July 1914. Budka urged all Austrian subjects to return to the homeland and be prepared to fight on the side of Austria; those who chose to remain in Canada were urged to participate in some way on behalf of Austrian victory.¹³⁴ Budka was of the opinion that Ukraine would ultimately fare better with Austria as a victor than with Russia. His letter was damaging to the Ukrainian Canadians for it insinuated that they should take an anti-British stance. With Britain's official entry into the war on 6 August 1914, Bishop Budka quickly retracted his earlier stance in a second pastoral letter dated the same day and once again published on the pages of the Canadian Ruthenian.¹³⁵ In this letter Budka now called upon Ukrainians in Canada to express their loyalty to their new homeland and enlist in the Canadian armed forces and defend their families and property. He added that his earlier pastoral letter was to be disregarded since it was written at a time when only Austria and Serbia were at war and Britain had not yet entered the fray. Regardless of his change of mind, Bishop Budka's first pastoral letter had negative repercussions for the Ukrainians for the duration of the war.

On 15 August 1914 the Canadian government declared that all subjects of enemy countries were liable to arrest and detention.¹³⁶ In October, 1914 Canada, which had

several months earlier begun to send troops to Europe, began to require that all enemy aliens register at civilian registrars' offices set up for this task and report there on a monthly basis thereafter. Also, restrictions were placed on their mobility within Canada. Those who did not register were to be treated as prisoners of war and interned in camps established for this purpose.

A total of twenty-four internment camps and receiving stations existed between 1914 and 1920.¹³⁷ Of the approximately 80,000 enemy aliens that were registered and 8,579 that were interned Ukrainians constituted the largest ethnic group as they formed the majority of the 6,000 Austro-Hungarians interned.¹³⁸

John Herd Thompson states that "the treatment afforded enemy-alien minority groups had little or no relationship to their supposed threat to Canada or to their behavior during the war," but resulted from "prewar nativism legitimized by an atmosphere charged with patriotism." The most important "cleavage factor" within Canadian society, he states, has been historically what our grandfathers called "race" and we call "ethnicity."¹³⁹

The Winnipeg press continued to voice anti-Ukrainian sentiments. In 1916, for example, the Manitoba Free Press questioned the loyalty of the Ukrainian Canadian community leaders and even accused them of personally carrying out subversive activities. This newspaper also pointed an accusatory finger at the federal government for allowing the community leaders to remain at large while interning innocent victims.¹⁴⁰

The Ukrainian Canadian community was not oblivious to the internment situation. There was, for example, some effort made to ease the existence of the internees by raising funds for them and making other donations to them. As well, the community established

two organizations, the Ukrainian Canadian Citizens' Committee in 1918 and the Ukrainian National Council in 1919, which, among their other activities, lobbied the federal government in an attempt to gain the release of the internees.¹⁴¹

Ukrainian Canadians did, however, prove their allegiance to Canada during the war. Besides such activities as investing in war bonds and otherwise helping with the war effort on the home front, many Ukrainian young men enlisted in the Canadian armed forces. Exact enlistment figures are unavailable primarily due to the haphazard way in which this data was recorded, but it is estimated that 10,000 Ukrainians volunteered, although this number also included 2,000 volunteers from Russian Ukraine.¹⁴²

Jacob Maidanyk as Social Critic

Jacob Maidanyk (Yakiv Maydanyk, 1891-1984) had settled in Winnipeg in 1911. Unable to continue his art studies in Europe he had graduated from the Ruthenian Training School, taught for several years and, eventually, established Providence Church Goods, while painting icons and decorating churches. He was actively involved in the Ukrainian community, and, combining his talents in art and writing, he expressed his views in his cartoons which were serialized in the newspaper Novyny (News) which was published in Edmonton. The cartoons featured Maidanyk's somewhat derivative creation Vuyko Shtif Tabachnyuk.¹⁴³

Shtif Tabachnyuk was a caricature of the typical Ukrainian immigrant. When he worked, although he preferred to escape work as much as possible; he worked hard, drank heavily, thumbed his nose at authority and was quick to pick a fight with anyone he

disagreed with, including his wife. His name reveals a great deal about him. “Vuyko” means “uncle,” but it is also applied to a ne’er-do-well who is not respectable enough to be addressed as “Mister.” Shtif is a mispronounced version of “Steve” -- symbolic of the probably illiterate immigrant’s attempt to unsuccessfully adopt an “English” name.

“Tabachnyuk” immediately identifies him as Ukrainian. In one of Maidanyk’s cartoons “Shtif kanadiyen azh do smerty” (Shtif is a Canadian until he dies),¹⁴⁴ Shtif meets up with a robber. In this story the tables are turned when the erstwhile robber, realizing that Shtif has no money, because he foolishly quit his job before he had earned anything, gives him a dollar instead of holding him up. Shtif then praises life in Canada saying that in the old country the robber would kill his victim first and only then check if he had money. In “Shtif був спортom pry roboti” (Shtif was a sport at work),¹⁴⁵ he picks a fight with an Irishman sent by the boss to work with him. But when the boss fires him for picking a fight Shtif shows no remorse, saying that there is a lot of work available in Canada. In “Vesilya” (Wedding)¹⁴⁶ Shtif and his wife attend a wedding, where Shtif has a particularly good time.

The Shtif Tabachnyuk stories were written as humorous pieces and they allowed the Ukrainian Canadians to laugh at themselves. Although these stories might have been an over-exaggeration of reality, they were based on reality and, therefore, allowed their readers a chance at critical self-examination. The message is clear from the outset that such behaviour is to be frowned upon. Indeed, the latter reason -- that Ukrainians see how they should not be -- was Maidanyk’s main reason for creating Shtif and his cohorts.¹⁴⁷ As Maidanyk himself explained why he created Vuyko Shtif: “On the one hand,

they [the Ukrainian Canadians] laughed at him, on the other hand, they tried not to be like him. They wanted to be better.”¹⁴⁸

In his play Manigrula,¹⁴⁹ (1915) Maidanyk deals with many of the social problems afflicting the Ukrainian Canadian community of the time in a manner similar to that in his Vuyko Shtif cartoons. A Shtif Pyrih is one of the central characters in the play and he is a carbon copy of Vuyko Shtif Tabachnyuk. In fact, in the list of characters at the beginning of the play Shtif Pyrih is called “a typical Canadian vuyko.”¹⁵⁰ The choice of the surname Pyrih - the simple Ukrainian dish known by its “Canadianized” name perogy - immediately identifies both Shtif’s social standing, commonality, and that he is a figure of fun. In the play he is a card playing, hard drinking, braggart. Shtif is, in fact, a manigrula -- a word derived obviously from manigrant, a “Ukrainianianized” version of “immigrant,” but altered by Maidanyk to give it a coarse, brutal character.

In Manigrula affinity for alcohol embraces everyone, men, women and even children, as do irresponsible behaviour, card and pool playing, fighting and laziness. The only person with any decent sense of morals and possessed of a work ethic is the more refined Petro Hapiychuk. He reacts negatively to such behaviour, which he cleverly terms “dzhekomakhiya.” This is a term derived from the name “Jack,” which is not only the common anglicization of the Ukrainian masculine name “Yakiv,” but is also the name that Anglo-Celtic bosses often called foreign labourers in the belief that their real given names were too difficult to pronounce. “Keyda,” on the other hand, was the name often given to women. This, in turn, is derived from the name “Kate,” which is the common anglicization of the feminine name “Kateryna.” It is important to note, however, that in

Ukrainian “Keyda” is augmentative, that is, it is not a pretty or flattering name. In the play “Dzhek” and “Keyda” are presented as typical young Ukrainian immigrants. Petro describes their behaviour in the following manner:

Such Jacks bring shame to our people. For him it is a matter of pride when a policeman leads him along And little girls such as this can also be found. She much prefers the one who plays cards or pool well, who fights well at a wedding or hall with a bottle. He, in her opinion, will make a good husband. But it was not a stupid man who said: similar types will always find one another. Jacks and Keydas and Keydas and Jacks.¹⁵¹

In Petro’s opinion, it is behaviour of these types that brings dishonour to all Ukrainian Canadians. Petro provides a definition of proper, moral behaviour:

A decent boy or a decent girl will never go among that bunch, where people break each other’s heads open, where various demoralizing activities take place, but rather, will go to or sign up with some organization, take part in educational or political life. In a word, becomes a part of the community¹⁵²

Petro’s reward for his highminded attitude and opinions is to be beaten up by the men who gather or live at the boarding house where he, himself, is a tenant. But by the end of the play it appears that Shtif and his cohorts seem to have been somewhat convinced by Petro’s arguments and are beginning to see the error of their ways. Maidanyk has thus not only made fun of the error of his characters’ ways, but he has also made them begin to mend their ways.

Besides his concern with the social mores of Ukrainian immigrants, Maidanyk was also concerned with questions such as assimilation which he associated with loss of one's native language. One of the first symptoms of language loss is the infiltration of the new language into the mother tongue. English words and phrases were, in fact, quickly adopted for use by the Ukrainian immigrants in their spoken language. Maidanyk satirizes this phenomenon in Manigrula as well as in other works. Words such as manigrula, manigrant and Manipeg (Winnipeg), parody the incorrect English words that Ukrainian immigrants incorporated into their speech by "Ukrainianizing" them. In Manigrula this "hybrid" mixture of both languages is especially well reflected in Dzhek's pattern of speech; as for example (the "Ukrainianized" English words are underlined):

Скажіть так сами, Штіф, чи не Фрид мене перший зачіпив? Чому він мене не дозволявся чи можна брати мою Кейду в танець? Але то ті, санамаган, не досить, що взяв її в танець, але ще зачав її кісувати в танци, -- Ю дем райт жи правда! Він вже давно шукав собі зачіпки. Якось то водив її на сьов, а на галі купив її айскрім . . . Я вже давно старався `го пофіксувати.¹⁵³

Two collections of Maidanyk's works detailing the escapades of Vuyko Shtif Tabachnyuk were republished after World War II. The aim of Vuykova knyha: richnyk Vuyka Shtifa v rysunkakh Ya. Maydanyka (Uncle's book: Uncle Shtif's yearbook through the drawings of J. Maidanyk, 1974)¹⁵⁴ is to reacquaint a new generation with ". . . the artistic and literary heritage of the Ukrainian-Canadian community" and ". . . to pay special tribute to the unique contribution of J. Maidanyk to our literary heritage."¹⁵⁵ In other words, Vuyko Shtif had by then been relegated to the category of historical interest,

indicating that the social issues Maidanyk had raised in his work were no longer a significant concern for Ukrainian Canadians.

This was already borne out in 1959 with the publication of Maidanyk's other collection of short stories and cartoons, Vuyko Sh. Tabachnyuk i 20-ynshi novi, korotki opovidannya (Uncle Sh. Tabachnyuk and 20-other new, short stories).¹⁵⁶ In this collection we see a new Shtif Tabachnyuk. He has come of age in Canada, much in the same way as the Ukrainians had by this time. He is often a businessman, usually successful, e.g., in "Vuyko Shtif rozkazuye pro svoiy biznesy" (Uncle Shtif tells about his businesses), "Informatsiyno-matrymoniyal'ne byuro Shtifa Tabachnyuka" (Shtif Tabachnyuk's informational-matrimonial bureau), "Shtif klinuye sviy ruming-havz vid ohydy" (Shtif cleans his rooming house of vermin) and "Barber z farmiv" (Barber from the farms).¹⁵⁷ Other stories, e.g., "Yak Shtif dyplomatychno pomyryv molodykh lyudey" (How Shtif diplomatically made peace between two young people) and "Skoro bohach" (Quickly a rich man),¹⁵⁸ see Shtif successfully solve other people's problems. Still another story "Shtif pryslukhuvavsya rozpravi v sudi" (Shtif listened to a court case)¹⁵⁹ depicts Shtif and his wife attending the trial of some Ukrainian Canadian thieves. Shtif's wife comments that she is glad that their family name has never been sullied by any criminal activity. This indicates just how much Shtif's character has changed for the old Vuyko Shtif had spent time in jail, although presumably only for brawling and not for any larcenous activity.

Maidanyk also wrote on other themes. Economic recessions in 1907-08 and 1915-16 brought with them dissension and unrest in the labour field and their ramifications were felt particularly strongly in the Ukrainian community. Still regarded as foreigners and

working at the most menial jobs, Ukrainian immigrants were often the first to be laid off and among the last to find employment during these times. Maidanyk's short story "Vechir na farmakh" (Evening on the farms, 1916)¹⁶⁰ discusses the effects of the economic recession of 1915-16 that reduced many Ukrainian and non-Ukrainians to extreme poverty:

Today there are hundreds wandering blindly around Canada, looking for the possibility of earning enough for a piece of bread. And instead of that bread, they find even more dire poverty. They idle about with their wives and children barefoot, in tatters, spend the night on the raw earth, under the bare sky.¹⁶¹

"Evening on the Farms" also takes a pacifist view on the question of war. This short story is written in a somewhat lighter vein, the issue of war is not its primary theme. There is, however, some discussion concerning the possibility of war being waged on Canadian soil. One Ukrainian Canadian farm labourer speaks out vehemently against the possibility of his own participation in the armed forces. He is adamant that if he were conscripted he would leave his family and hide in the forest where he is certain that the authorities would never find him.

Maidanyk's irreverence to religion is illustrated in his short story "Ks'ondz" (Priest, 1915),¹⁶² which satirizes the practice of ordaining unqualified men as priests and deacons, as was done by Bishop Ustvol's'kyy of the Independent Greek Church (see above). It consists of the reminiscences of an illiterate, former clergyman ordained by Ustvol's'kyy, who now makes light of his involvement with the church. From the

description of his priestly duties, it appears that he was more preoccupied with drinking than performing sacramental services. To further underscore just how incompetent he was as a priest, when asked how he was able to conduct liturgical services when he could not read, the man responds, "I conducted the services by memory -- what I knew, out loud, and what I did not know, I quietly whispered under my nose."¹⁶³

Other Writers as Social Critics

Other writers, besides Jacob Maidanyk saw in literature a means of socializing their Ukrainian readership and aiding their adaptation into the Canadian mainstream, while preserving their Ukrainian heritage. Ivan Bodrug's short story "Nashi" (Ours, 1911)¹⁶⁴ is a case in point, pertaining as it does to the drinking habits of the immigrants. The story is set at an okazyya or festive gathering of Ukrainian Canadians. At the okazyya the beer is plentiful and when one guest refuses to drink any more, pleading that his head is already spinning, the host takes this as a personal affront to his hospitality saying, "Drink or I will pour it under your collar! Let all of Canada know that Ivan is having an okazyya"¹⁶⁵ Bodrug was thus criticizing the socially acceptable custom in some Ukrainian Canadian circles of everyone, including women, drinking at social gatherings until they were completely drunk, coupled with the view that a host would be shirking his responsibilities unless everyone did get drunk.

Alcoholism was fairly widespread within the community. A number of literary works attempted to address this issue, mostly from a highly moralistic standpoint. P.I. Bozhyk's (1879-1944) "Lyst shynkarya do chorta" (A letter from the tavernkeeper to the

devil, n.d.),¹⁶⁶ for example, points out the folly of alcoholic consumption since it has no benefit for the consumer but only for the tavernkeeper and the devil. It depicts the tavernkeeper making a deal with Lucifer to undermine youth, the foundation of mankind, through the use of alcohol and associated vices. The behaviour of the young people, in turn, is of such serious concern for their parents that they, too, turn to alcohol for solace and also lose interest in all virtuous activity. Both the tavernkeeper and Lucifer stand to benefit from this agreement, for the former will become rich while the latter will increase his fold. Other works, such as Bozhyk's "Do choho dovelo Hrytsya pyanstvo" (To what drinking led Hryts', n.d.)¹⁶⁷ and "Rozluka z charkoyu" (Parting with the shot glass, n.d.)¹⁶⁸ and Martyn Hrynyshyn's Rozмова tverezoho piyaka Vasylya z horivkoyu (The conversation of the sober alcoholic, Vasyl', with whiskey, n.d.)¹⁶⁹ deal with the remorse of reformed alcoholics over their former waywardness. The consensus in these works is that alcohol completely ruins the individual.

There were other problems affecting the Ukrainian community. Although wife beating may have been unacceptable in Canada at that time, it does not seem to have been completely eradicated among the Ukrainian Canadians. It is evident in many of Maidanyk's Shtif Tabachnyuk stories and cartoons and in other works of the period. Shtif's wife does fight back, however. Stefan Fodchuk's (1888-1967) short story "Tarkata" (The spotted one, 1916),¹⁷⁰ for example, is ostensibly about a man's cruelty to his wife's hen, which she so obviously cherishes. From his mistreatment of the hen (he maliciously breaks one of its legs because the hungry hen is pecking at the wall of the house), one can see that senseless cruelty is characteristic of this fellow's nature. It is,

therefore, not surprising that his wife wisely escapes his wrath, fearing that otherwise he might also break her legs.

Not only was spousal abuse not uncommon among Ukrainian Canadians, women were often considered socially inferior to men. Novak's short story "Potverdylly" (They ratified it, 1916),¹⁷¹ for example, provides a commentary on the attitude of some Ukrainian Canadian men in Canada to women, in this instance as it pertains to their emancipation. This was particularly relevant at the time because Manitoba granted women the right to vote in 1915. In this story, old Mykhaylo Parnyk cannot come to terms with the fact that women have been given the right to vote. He believes that the provincial government is too intelligent to have done this of its own accord and is convinced that either the tsar or the devil had some part in this decision. His neighbour, Martyn Polenivka, however, symbolizes more enlightened opinion on this question. He disagrees with Mykhaylo, understanding that women deserve equal rights with men.

If these social problems affected only a segment of the Ukrainian Canadian community, there were larger issues that affected the very existence of the group as a whole. As Maidanyk had pointed out in Manigrula the process of assimilation was already beginning. One work that address the topic of assimilation straightforwardly is Fodchuk's aptly titled short story "Assymilyatsiya" (Assimilation, 1912).¹⁷² The story is set in Winnipeg. The fact that the story is set at a lecture on assimilation seems to indicate that lectures on such topics were taking place there at the time. In the story Shtif, newly arrived in Canada, attends a public meeting where the guest speaker warns the Ukrainian

Canadians against assimilation and the dire consequences for them should assimilation take place:

My brothers, fellow Christians, protect yourselves against assimilation.

Do not let your tongues be twisted upside down, because you will die out in Canada, just like naked mice! You will scatter like orphans, like lost sheep, you will be dispersed! Even a dog will not bark after you! . . . ¹⁷³

As mentioned earlier, there is at least one critic who considers Fodchuk to have created the cartoon character Vuyko Shtif Tabachnyuk. The title character in this short story written by Fodchuk is named Shtif, but his surname is not given, and he is not referred to as vuyko. Written in 1912, at the same time as the “Vuyko Shtif” cartoons were appearing in print, this story cannot be considered indicative of the fact that Fodchuk may have created the “Vuyko Shtif Tabachnyuk” character, rather than Maidanyk.

In Fodchuk’s short story, Shtif is unfamiliar with the meaning of the term “assimilation.” He believes it to be some sort of disease that affects the tongue. The humour of the story lies in this misconception. Shtif’s concern is that his aunt, Kateryna, who has been in Canada for some time, may have already contracted the disease. It appears that his concern is justified for when he arrives at her home she is no longer Kateryna but “Keydi.” Furthermore, her spoken language consists almost entirely of Ukrainianized anglicisms, such as vatsumery (what’s the matter) and sharep (shut-up).

Tied to the issue of assimilation was the question of bilingual schools for they promoted Ukrainian language retention among the youth. Although, as stated above, the bilingual school system was not without its faults, with its abolition the Ukrainian

Canadians believed that they had suffered a tremendous loss. Apolinariy Novak captures the sense of loss and provides rather astute observations on the reasons for the program's abolition in his short story "Svit otvorenniy" (The world opened up, 1916).¹⁷⁴ The story is set in the general store in the fictional community of Horpyna, Manitoba. "Horpyna" is a Ukrainian name, indicating that the original inhabitants were and the majority, probably are of Ukrainian origin. The storekeeper's wife, Mrs. Cummings, has so many Ukrainian-speaking customers that she, herself, has learned to speak Ukrainian, albeit falteringly, in order to communicate with them. The Ukrainians appreciate her efforts at speaking their language. They also call her Misys Kumykha. This is not only a humorous Ukrainianization of her name, but a means of affording Mrs. Cummings a measure of respect since the titles kum (for men) and kuma (for women) are used among Ukrainians who have been united through baptism, i.e., between the parents of the baptized child and the persons, male and female, who are its godparents. The titles imply a close, respectful relationship among them. In the end, Mrs. Cummings stands out as an example of how knowing more than one language can benefit people.

In the story the Ukrainian men gathered at the Cummings' store lament the loss of Ukrainian language education in the public schools. They reason that bilingual schooling has been abolished because the Anglo-Canadians are threatened by the presence of such large numbers of Ukrainians in the province and are, therefore, trying to eradicate all traces of the Ukrainian identity. Furthermore, they are also convinced that the Anglo-Canadians fear the prospect of having Ukrainian children grow up with the knowledge of more than one language. The Ukrainians believe that such knowledge carries with it the

power of “opening up the world” for each individual. In other words, it can expand their children’s intellectual horizons and make them more likely to eventually surpass the Anglo-Canadians in intellectual achievement.

Petro Karmans’kyy (1878-1956) was another writer who reacted in some of his literary work to events and situations that affected the Ukrainian community in Winnipeg at the time. Karmans’kyy was a poet and satirist who, while in Canada, also worked as an instructor of Ukrainian language and literature at the Ruthenian Training School. Between 1913 and 1914 he wrote a series of feuilletons that featured political and social satire entitled “Malpyache zerkalo” (Monkey mirror)¹⁷⁵ for the Ukrainian language newspaper Kanada (Canada).

Karmans’kyy had shown interest in language in his very first feuilleton in which he describes how Ukrainian girls serving as waitresses in hotel restaurants were not allowed to speak Ukrainian.¹⁷⁶ The implication is that the “Ruthenian” language, as the Ukrainian language was popularly called at the time, was not fit to be spoken publicly. Karmans’kyy is a purist when it comes to the Ukrainian language and negatively assesses the fact that Ukrainians have allowed anglicisms into their spoken language.¹⁷⁷ Other issues with which he dealt included alcoholism, criticizing Ukrainians in the city’s North End for drinking away \$2,920,000 annually in bars, an amount for which he says they could buy “all of Galicia from the Zbruch [River] to the Syan [River]!”¹⁷⁸ In another feuilleton he is critical of the religious factionalization within the Ukrainian Canadian community and is particularly critical of the Independent Church for the manner in which it recruits and ordains its priests.¹⁷⁹ In still another one of his feuilletons, Karmans’kyy criticizes

Ukrainian Canadian journalism for writing only on sensationalist themes, e.g., murders, fights and deportations, instead of the cultural and national life of the people.¹⁸⁰ He was particularly critical of the Ukrainian Voice¹⁸¹ and even reacted to being criticized himself in the newspapers that he criticized.¹⁸²

Themes Related to Religious Life

Although religious life was being formatively established during this period, religious themes or themes pertaining to religious issues do not figure very prominently in the literature. There are only a few poetic works that deal exclusively with religion. For example, Ivan Mulyarchuk's "Psal'ma" (Psalm, 1916)¹⁸³ and "Z nahody Rizdva" (On the occasion of Christmas, 1916)¹⁸⁴ are prayers and his "Do molytvy" (To prayer, 1916)¹⁸⁵ is about the importance of prayer, whereas his "V tyazhkykh khvylynakh" (In difficult moments, 1916)¹⁸⁶ is a call to prayer.

There are, however, several short stories that do deal with specific religious issues. Two of Ivan Bodrug's short stories promote the tenets of the Independent Greek Church. This is not surprising since Bodrug was instrumental in the movement to establish the Independent Greek Church and served as its Bishop until the Church's dissolution. His short story "Delyegaty" (Delegates, 1911?)¹⁸⁷ set in Winnipeg, depicts two delegates from a rural community in Manitoba, who are sent to Winnipeg to find a priest to conduct the Easter service in their newly erected church. In Winnipeg, they meet other Ukrainians, who tell them about the various churches that they can approach, specifically, the Greek Catholic, Russian Orthodox and the Independent Greek Church. One of the delegates is

against going to the Catholic Church because it backs ownership of all church property. He prefers the idea of the property remaining in the hands of the parishioners, a belief shared by the Independent Greek Church. The delegates disagree on this matter to the extent that they engage in a physical altercation over it and, as a result, end up in jail. Regardless of the trouble that his convictions have caused him, however, the anti-Catholic delegate stays firm in his convictions.

Bodrug's short story "Nashi" (Ours, 1911?)¹⁸⁸ portrays a group of Ukrainian immigrants discussing the traditional practices of the Ukrainian Catholic Church in Galicia. As did many Ukrainians in Canada, this particular group has become alienated by these practices, which make the faithful observe a myriad of feast days, forcing them to give up time which could otherwise be spent more usefully, i.e., working their land and thereby ensuring that their families have enough to eat. The story also reflects a certain degree of anti-clericalism since the immigrants in this story are critical of the Catholic clergy to whom the faithful kowtow in order to get them to perform sacramental services. Pany (privileged class) and Jews are also criticized, the former because the peasants must also kowtow to them because they are the upper or privileged class, and the latter because the peasants must kowtow to them to borrow the money to procure those items that are required to fittingly observe feast days and rite of passage ceremonies, i.e., births, marriages, deaths. The author's contention is that the church's backing of such activity promotes nothing more than misery among the people. In Canada, however, the Ukrainians are glad to be free of the yoke of bondage:

-- Here everything is different!

-- Oh yes. Both the gentleman and Ivan say, "Hello!"

-- And there are no pilgrimages or feast days.¹⁸⁹

In other words, in Canada everyone is equal and all the traditional practices are not observed. This story's implication is that for this reason life is better in Canada. In this way Bodrug backs both more democratic church practices and the doing away with the observance of its traditional rites, both views also backed by the Independent Greek Church.

Anti-clericalism was a popular sentiment among the Ukrainian peasants both in the old country and the new. It was a common belief that the Greek Catholic clergy took unfair advantage of the faithful. Whereas in "Ours" one of the criticisms of the Ukrainian Greek Catholic clergy is that it took unfair financial advantage of the Ukrainians in return for providing sacramental services, in the poem by Shrit (pseudonym of Ivan Bodrug) "Yak nich mya pokryye (plach zakonnyka ksyendza Dury)" (When night covers me [the lament of the monk, priest Dura], published 1913),¹⁹⁰ they are also accused of taking other types of unfair advantage of the people, particularly women. The poem is set in Winnipeg and tells the story of a Ukrainian Greek Catholic priest, who takes a young Ukrainian girl as his cook. She becomes pregnant by him, in the naive belief that what she does with a priest is not a sin. When she becomes ill, however, he deserts her and their child. However, the poet indicates that the Ukrainian people are realizing that the same moral code applies to everyone and that the clergy can no longer consider themselves above the moral code:

Люд ся просвічає,

мені докучає --

кричить: Собако! Щось зробив?

дитя не годуеш

і дальше попуеш

хоч душу Юльки ти згубив?¹⁹¹

The people are becoming enlightened, / They are bothering me -- / They yell:

You dog! What have you done? / You are not feeding the child / And are

you still a priest / Even though you have condemned Yul'ka's soul? /

Old Country Prejudices

Ukrainians in Canada may have been discriminated against by the members of the Canadian mainstream, but they themselves were not necessarily free of prejudice against other ethnic groups. Anti-Semitism, for example, was prevalent among them. This was a deeply rooted sentiment that many immigrants brought with them from the homeland. In Western Ukraine, the little money that the Ukrainian peasants were able to earn often proved insufficient to meet their needs. As a result, when the need for cash arose, they were often forced to turn to the primarily Jewish tavernkeepers, who also doubled as money-lenders and charged exorbitant interest rates. The Jews leased the right to own taverns from the nobility, who until 1889 had a monopoly over alcohol production and sales. Many Ukrainian peasants were forced into bankruptcy because they could not repay their loans. As a result, the peasants held the Jews in contempt for what they perceived as unethical tactics, and anti-Semitism was rampant among them.

In one of the poems published in a 1913 collection fittingly titled Novi pisni z starym kintsem (New songs with an old ending), Hryts' Shchypavka provided new words to the Ukrainian folksong "Boday sya kohut znudyv" (May the rooster become weary). The poem relates how a Ukrainian peasant becomes ever-increasingly indebted to the Jewish money-lender:

Причини жиде сотку,
на годину коротку,
причини ще й другу
то віддам і тамтую.

Казала мені мати
в жидів не позичати,
а я дурний бик з нудьги
все глибше лізу в довги.¹⁹²

Contribute, Jew, a hundred, / for a short hour, / contribute still another one, /
then I will return the first, too. / My mother told me / not to borrow from
Jews, / and I, a stupid ox, because of misery / am always crawling deeper
into debt. /

The problem was that the Ukrainian peasant, rather naively, did not realize that it was his own actions that put him into this situation in the first place. If he had not borrowed the money or if he had borrowed an amount that he could realistically repay, or if he had not gotten into debt because of his drinking, he would not be faced with this problem. In the

above work the peasant is oblivious to this fact. He sees only one alternative, and he does not perceive it as an unreasonable one:

колись як раз ся уплю --

на жиді все відібю!¹⁹³

some time when I get drunk -- / I will beat all this out on the Jew! /

Shchypavka's poem "Verkhovynu s'vitku ty nash" (Verkhovyna, our little world, 1913), which is also a variation on a Ukrainian folksong, admits that the Ukrainian peasant will not be safe from the Jews even in Canada:

бо ти дурний і без жида не даш собі ради.¹⁹⁴

because you are stupid and cannot make do for yourself without a Jew. /

This poem also points out how Ukrainian peasants can realistically free themselves from the hold that the Jews have over them in Ukraine:

Як хлоп візьме торг у руки і сьвенту

коршмину,

аж тогди я бідний жидок з голоду загину.¹⁹⁵

When the common man takes trade and the holy tavern into his own hands, / only then will I, a poor Jew, die of hunger. /

Still other works present Jews in a derisive manner but from what is ostensibly intended to be a humorous standpoint. In such stories as Bozhyk's "Mudryy viyt" (The intelligent reeve, n.d.)¹⁹⁶ and the collection of short stories *Kazky za zhydiv* (Fables about Jews, 1910),¹⁹⁷ for example, Jews are always tricked or made to look foolish in one way or another by Ukrainians, be they simple peasants, Cossacks, or even children. In the short story "Zhydivs'kyy kotel" (The Jewish kettle, 1910)¹⁹⁸ the Ukrainian, Ivanko, steals

a copper kettle from the Jewish tavernkeeper for whom he works. The Jew, however, does not realize that Ivanko stole it because Ivanko manages to trick the Jew into telling him how the kettle could be cut up, put into a sack and carried off to the city without anyone suspecting what was in the sack. There are also stories dealing with pogroms, e.g., “Zhyd Vasyliyanynom” (The Jew as a Basilian, 1910)¹⁹⁹ in which the indiscriminate killing of Jews is presented as a positive act.

Ivan Bodrug’s Ubiynyky (Murderers, n.d.)²⁰⁰ sheds a more positive light on Jewish people. It points out that although a Jew is willing to cheat and steal, even he draws the line when asked to commit murder. From this one can conclude that, in Bodrug’s view, although Jews have their faults, they also have a moral code by which they live.

4. Building Socialism through Literature: Paul Crath

One of the leading writers espousing socialism in his literary work was Paul Crath (1882-1952), whose socialist viewpoint developed while he was still a student in Eastern Ukraine. He was one of the leading members of the socialist movement in Winnipeg and through his various political activities and his writing, he was one of the primary builders of socialism among Ukrainian Canadians in Winnipeg. It also bears noting that in 1917 he was ordained a Presbyterian minister, and after that time his socialist stance began to tone down.

Crath firmly backed the premise of workers’ rights as postulated by the socialists. In his Vizyta “chervonoyi druzhyny” (The visit of the “red brigade,” 1912),²⁰¹ for example, the narrator is one of a group of four “free labourers,” who, because they dared

to revolt against the Canadian Pacific Railroad Company (CPR), have been chased out of Winnipeg by the CPR's strikebreakers.

In his works Crath also stressed the political situation in the homeland. Like other writers of the period, Crath wrote about Sichyns'kyy, whom he considered the leader of the people in exacting revenge against the Polish tyrants, whose behaviour Crath characterizes as extremely depraved:

У злотооччених шатах,
 На мармурових ліжках, килимах
 З блискучого едвабу, в куряві пахучім,
 Милуючись невольниць голою красою
 Могутні тирани гуляли, бавились,
 Сьпіви, вина, музика райська та розпуста
 Через жите здавалось не минуться.²⁰²

In golden vestments, / On marble beds, carpets / Of glistening charm, amidst
 aromatic dust, / Feasting on the naked beauty of the female slaves / The mighty
 tyrants danced, amused themselves, / Singing, wines, the music of paradise and
 debauchery / It seemed would not end in their lifetime. /

Crath was extremely concerned about the political fate of eastern Ukraine, of which he was a native, and which at the time in question was under the political control of Tsarist Russia. His The Visit of the "Red Brigade"²⁰³ touches upon workers' rights, but it deals primarily with the theme of overthrowing the tsarist regime by means of revolution. This theme was also in keeping with his socialist sentiments, for socialists firmly backed the notion of revolutionary activity as a means of attaining one's goals. This work

describes revolutionary events in the Poltava region of Ukraine during the summer of 1906, following the failed revolution of 1905. Out of the now disarrayed revolutionary forces arises a new, albeit ragtag, band of revolutionaries, who call themselves Chervona druzhyna (Red brigade). The brigade's aim is to destroy the pany. The only revolutionary feats carried out by the brigade, however, are the burning of a wealthy landowner's grain field and the opening of another's storehouses to the local peasants, to whom its contents are said to rightfully belong. However, this work provides an example of how even small groups of revolutionaries can work toward achieving the ultimate goal of a successful revolution against the tsarist regime. The idea put forward is that if enough such groups existed, then the revolution would be certain to succeed.

Crath's collection of poetry Za zemlyu i volyu (For land and freedom)²⁰⁴ was published in 1914 and encompasses works written between 1901 and 1914. Crath did not arrive in Canada until 1907 so some of the works were still written in Ukraine. It, like the earlier work, reflects Crath's political ideology. A number of the poems included in this collection are in the style of the dumy ("lyrico-epic works of folk origin about events in the Cossack period of the 16th-17th century"²⁰⁵). Crath's use of this literary device draws the inevitable comparison between the dumy spread among the people of the countryside in an earlier time by the kobzari (itinerant players of the musical instrument called a kobza who sang or recited the dumy) and his own works which he presumably wished dispersed in a similar way.. A prominent theme in this collection, once again, is the abolition of tsarist tyranny through revolutionary means. As he states in the poem "Za Ukrayinu" (For Ukraine):

Гей, не вагаймося, до бою рушаймо,

Вдармо в останній ще раз,
 Царські корони, трони поламаймо,
 Долю в ворожій крові іскупаймо,
 Вдармо в останній ще раз!²⁰⁶

Hey, let us not hesitate, let us move into battle, / Let us deal a blow one last time, /
 Let us smash the tsarist crowns and thrones, / Let us bathe our fate in the enemy's
 blood, / Let us deal a blow one last time! /

Perhaps Crath's deepest regret was the unsuccessful revolution of 1905. But he was consistent in his hope for a future, successful one, as he states in the poem "1905 r." (The year 1905):

До вас, до голодних, знуждених братів,
 Ми кличемо: "Слухайте ради,
 Кінчайте роботу, що ми почали,
 Упавші зведіть барикади!"²⁰⁷

To you, to my hungry, destitute brothers, / We call out: "Listen to our advice, /
 Finish the work that we began, / Raise the fallen barricades!"

Similar sentiments are echoed in Krat's The Visit of the "Red Brigade" and Boh u Moskvshchyni (God in the Moscow region)²⁰⁸ and in Vasyl' Kudryk's poem "Vidhomin podiy 1905 i 1906 roku" (Echo of the events of the years 1905 and 1906, 1911).²⁰⁹

Crath not only appeals to the masses to renew revolutionary activity, but also chastises them about how the revolution of 1905 was waged in the first place. In his novella God in the Moscow Region, for example, a revolutionary student, who befriends

God, not only blames the tsarist forces for putting down the revolution in Moscow, but also puts part of the blame on the revolutionary forces themselves:

“The detachment should have been sent into those mountains before the army occupied them And the Kremlin should have been captured and put into the people’s hands.” They turned to face the Kremlin, and the student explained to God how the insurgents could have expediently repelled the army’s assault from the walls and windows of that stone building.²¹⁰

Crath’s outlook on revolutionary action seemed to evolve from 1901 to 1914. At first he preached armed revolution, as in the poem “Idit’ sobi proroky! (z moskovs’koyi) (Go, you prophets [From a Muscovite poem]):

Пришов вже час счипитись з ворогами
Не рабським словом, а мечами
В останній, люті боротьбі.²¹¹

The time has come to enter into battle with the enemies / Not with a serflike word,
but with swords / In a last, fierce battle. /

Later, in the same collection, however, he comes to view words as even more powerful revolutionary tools:

Не з мечами, а з словами
У бій виступають
І найбільші царства в світі
В нівець обертають.

. . .
 Та те "слово" стане, нене,
 Й в твоїй обороні,
 Запалають в твоїх дітях
 Огняні язики, - -
 Повалять ся царства злоби
 І їхні владики!²¹²

Not with swords, but with words / They enter into battle / And the greatest
 kingdoms on earth / Are reduced to nothing. / . . . / And that "word" will stand up,
 mother, / In your defense, / Fiery tongues / Will take fire in your children, -- / The
 kingdoms of evil will crumble / As will their sovereigns! /

In order to ensure that the Ukrainian immigrants did not forget the harsh
 circumstances of life in the homeland, Crath also depicted these in his works. His "Duma
 pro khersons'ki zarobitky" (Ballad about working in the Kherson region),²¹³ for example,
 deals with the circumstances of Ukrainian men and women who leave home to hire
 themselves out as labourers in far away places, such as the Kherson region of Ukraine
 where they could find employment in the textile manufacturing industry. Their dreams of
 financial gain, however, are never realized.

Crath's collection of short stories Koly lekshe bude i inshi opovidannya (When
 will it be easier and other short stories, 1912),²¹⁴ depicts realistically various scenes taken
 from life in Ukraine. "Koly lekshe bude?" (When will it be easier?)²¹⁵ deals with a
 peasant's concern as to when his life will improve. "Dity" (Children)²¹⁶ describes the

extreme anguish of a man who is forcibly called into military service. “Zhertva” (Sacrifice)²¹⁷ deals with the death of two political escapees, who were trying to cross the Zbruch River into Galicia from Eastern Ukraine.

On the question of the coming war, Crath takes the socialist viewpoint and voices great disdain for it. His arguments are based on the fact that the masses would have to form the majority of the fighting forces and, therefore, suffer the most casualties. In his “Yak povynna vyhlyadaty viyna” (What war should look like, 1914),²¹⁸ for example, he proposes that the war’s initiators, i.e., the tsar and the kaiser, should be the ones who go into battle and no one else.

Not typically for this era, Crath does not display any overt signs of anti-Semitism. In fact, he believes that the roots of the pogroms lie within the privileged class, including the tsar himself. In his “Zhydivs’ki pohromy (monol’og tsarya)” (The Jewish pogroms [the tsar’s monologue], 1914), for example, the tsar admits to wrongly attributing the injustices committed against the Ukrainian people to the Jews, thereby incurring the Ukrainians’ wrath against them:

А щоб наш народ не пізнав, хто то лупить,
Ми кажем: -- `Причина біди
Твоєї наш люде, отті недовірки,
Пархаті, пейсаті Жиди.”²¹⁹

And in order that our people not recognize, who is flaying them, / We say:
“The reason for your wretchedness, / Our people, are those infidels, / The
scabby, side-burned Jews.” /

The socialists were known for their anti-clerical and, in fact, anti-religious stance. Crath exhibits just such a position in several of his works, e.g., “Na Ukrayini” (In Ukraine, 1914),²²⁰ “Vesnyanka” (Spring song, 1914),²²¹ “Mriya uniyats’koho popa (satyra)” (The dream of the Uniate priest [a satire], 1914)²²² and God in the Moscow Region.²²³ The Ukrainian clergy of both major faiths, the Catholic and the Orthodox, are depicted as a bloodthirsty lot, each wanting to exert the powers of its faith over the entire Ukrainian nation, regardless of the cost. In God in the Moscow Region, besides denigrating the clergy, Christianity as it is practiced in real life is also denigrated:

Take a priest -- he calls himself a Christian; the policeman, bureaucrat, factory worker, minister, executioner -- they all call themselves Christians, Orthodox . . . They are the tax-collectors of darkness and slavery, they are the ones who rinse themselves everyday in the blood of the innocent people; they call themselves Christians! Christianity -- this is brotherhood, equality and love; but according to them, Christianity is slavery, darkness, suffering, gallows for people, debauchery, profligacy, lies, murder, this is what it is for them -- the tsars of the earth²²⁴

The new and only “true” Christians are the socialists, who “want to lead us where there would be no rich, no poor, where everyone would be equal, where there would no longer be heard on earth either groans, or cries, or poverty or toil”²²⁵ Interestingly enough, in this work, God, Himself, agrees with this assessment of the socialists.

In keeping with his socialist views, Crath depicted a future perfect world. His Koly ziyshlo sontse, opovidanye z 2000 roku (When the sun rose, a story from the year

2000)²²⁶ is a utopian novella. Published in 1918, it predate by some ten years Volodymyr Vynnychenko's novel Sonyashna mashyna (Solar machine, 1928)), which is generally considered to be the first work of this genre in Ukrainian literature. Crath's novella, which should be considered a hallmark in Ukrainian literature, is little known, if at all.

The work, as the title suggests, provides a detailed description of the utopian society that humankind will inhabit in 2000. In 1918 Petro Ivanchuk, the novella's central character, is frozen in a sleep-like state by Dr. Gibson of Vancouver University, according to a method developed by Professor Bakhmatiyev of Bulgaria, with the agreement that he would be "awakened" at 10:00 a.m., May 1, 2000 A.D. May 1 is a significant date here. It is the date of the annual Soviet "May Day." Ivanchuk has volunteered himself as an experimental subject because he is heartbroken over a failed love affair. Coincidentally, Gladys, the physician who "awakens" him is the granddaughter of his former beloved.

At first Petro is taken with the healthy and "intelligent" appearance of the people he initially sees in the year 2000. He is also amazed by the fact that they call each other "comrade." Vancouver has changed tremendously since he first lived there. He expects to see a concrete jungle on Hasting Street; what he really sees are houses scattered about, separated from each other by orchards. He is told that all cities look like this now. Only London and New York and several other cities remain as they once were and serve as historical monuments.

This utopian society has evolved in the decades after the Russian Revolution of 1917, following which the whole world was engulfed by revolution. The final result was that from 1950 onward collectivism overtook the globe. There is no longer private

ownership of land or manufacturing. Countries and governments have ceased to exist. The world is divided into five continents and four agricultural zones. Instead of parliaments, annual universal conventions are held, but there are no longer any ministers, judges, police or armed forces. All economic matters are taken care of by committees struck at various levels, “street,” “city,” “district,” “continent” and “world.” But these committees do not replace or mimic governments, for they base their decisions strictly on statistical information. Crime has been eradicated as a result of there no longer being any politicians, ““people having become enlightened and the schools having educated a new generation with the ideas of brotherhood and collective work.””²²⁷ Even wild animals, such as bears and cougars, have been domesticated and do their share of work.

Schools resemble parks with school buildings scattered throughout. The aim of the schools is ““. . . to develop in children humaneness based on mutual love.””²²⁸ In the schools, as in the homes, books are obsolete; instead “bibliophones” are used, and writing is done by means of keyboards and dictaphones.

Goods and, one presumes, services are obtained without the use of money, but by using something akin to a credit card. These cards credit their bearer for the time he/she has put in working and debit his “purchases” against this. It is primarily meals that are obtained in this way, and all the people are vegetarians. Everyone, including children and some beasts, must work physically at least two hours per day. “Intellectual” work, such as that of physicians, teachers, researchers, is done after these two hours of physical labour have been completed. There are no class distinctions in this society for all people are workers and all people are farmers.

Transportation is by means of air travel. People commute by either attaching flapping wings to their bodies, in small aircrafts, for which they have landing pads on their roofs or by means of large airplanes which are also used for cargo. Their aircrafts, like all their factories and machinery, are “heliocratic,” that is, solar powered. Fake suns are employed at night to speed up the growing process in the agricultural zones.

Marriage continues to exist, although courting is different. A couple meets, falls in love and then is taken into the family home by one of the sets of parents. In that home the couple’s love is allowed to evolve into a “lasting” type of love. Because marriage is based on such a love there are few divorces. Although, marriages take place throughout the year, a large communal ceremony is held annually in June, and Petro and Gladys marry each other at one such ceremony.

Religion has also changed. All traditional religions have ceased to exist. There are no longer any places of worship or prayer as such. The concept of God is viewed as “a generally condensed idea of all [their] ideals.”²²⁹ Sundays, now simply called “the seventh day,” are days of rest, and public philosophical meetings take place on this day.

A type of ethnic diversity is maintained through the use of separate languages. Children learn several languages at school, and exchange programs between families of various countries also exist. Even Gladys spent three years of her childhood living with a Ukrainian family in Kyiv and, therefore, speaks Ukrainian.

The point of this novella is that a utopian society can work, and the people living in it can live happily. Even the newcomer to the society, Petro, is happy with this system

as he discovers it and how it works. Essentially, this novella presents Crath's idealized vision of what life under socialism could and will be.

Other writers also dealt with socialist themes. For example, Stechishin (1883-1947) in his Smert' za 8-hodynnyy den' pratsi (Death for an eight hour work day, 1910)²³⁰ and Kudryk in his Pimsta robotnyka (The worker's revenge, 1910)²³¹ both backed workers' rights. As evident from its title, the former work calls upon workers to join forces in order to achieve an eight-hour workday. The latter work details a Ukrainian worker's revenge against an Anglo-Celtic farmer, who has cheated his workers out of their rightful wages. In The Worker's Revenge the Ukrainian hero is an idealist with anarchist tendencies, who takes the initiative to exact revenge on behalf of the workers' collective. Still another work, Petro Kazan's "Shchastya" (Happiness, 1910)²³² also backs workers' rights.

5. Aesthetic and Other Themes

Although in the minority, there were also some works in this period, mainly poetry, which devoted themselves to purely aesthetic themes. Mulyarchuk's collections Na filyakh lyubovy (On the waves of love, 1916)²³³ and Zhnyva dos'pily (The harvest is ripe, 1916)²³⁴ and particularly Kudryk's collection Vesna (Spring, 1911)²³⁵ stand out. Kudryk's title poem "Vesna" (Spring), for example, is a highly lyrical ode to the enchantment of springtime, as illustrated by the following stanzas:

Глянь! Весна на дворі!
Ллється чар по землі,
Ллється думка твоя,

По просторі гуля.

Тихо серце тремтить

Тихше гадка летить,

На мрійних крилах сна

Весь простір обійма.

Ніжно в серця пита:

Звідки чари життя?

Звідки сьвіт, звідки май?

Звідки тихий сей рай?²³⁶

Look! Spring is outside! / Enchantment is pouring out on the earth, / Your thoughts are pouring forth, / Dancing along the open spaces. / Quietly the heart trembles / Even more quietly a thought flies, / On the dreamy wings of sleep / Embracing all the open spaces. / Tenderly it asks the heart: / From where do the charms of life come? / From where the earth from, from the decorative boughs? / From where this quiet paradise? /

As a Ukrainian Greek Orthodox priest, Kudryk answers that all this beauty comes from God.

Kudryk's collection of poems deals with a diversity of themes, although not all are strictly aesthetic. Included are such themes as peace, love, friendship, brotherly love, religion, the politics of the homeland, and a poet's nature. Kudryk's poems are more complex, sophisticated and stylistically superior to those of his contemporaries.

Although somewhat inferior to Kudryk's poems, Mulyarchuk's poems also encompass a diversity of themes that are not all strictly devoted to aesthetics. They include the beauty of nature, virtue, love friendship, religion, nostalgia for the homeland, patriotism, national heroes and politics.

A number of prose works also deal with diverse themes not related to Ukrainian Canadian concerns and experiences. These can be considered examples of Ukrainian Canadian popular fiction of the time. Some are based on legends or fables, e.g., Oleksa Bulka's O dvanaytsyaty tablytsyakh, opovidanya pislya narodnykh kazok (About twelve tablets, a story based on folk tales, n.d.)²³⁷ and Mulyarchuk's "Opyr (halyts'ka lyegenda)" (Vampire [A Galician legend], 1916).²³⁸ Some are purely humorous, e.g., Pro chuda s'vyatykh Damaziya i Pankratiya (About the miracles of Saints Damazyi and Pankratiy, 1910)²³⁹ and Novak's "Skonka" (Skunk, n.d.).²⁴⁰ Some are pure fantasy, e.g., Rytsar i smert' (The knight and death, 1910)²⁴¹ and Istoriya pro harnu Magel'onu i hrafa Petra z sribnymy klyuchamy (A story about beautiful Magel'ona and Count Petro with the silver keys, 1911).²⁴² For the purposes of this study, these works, as purely imaginative ones, are considered secondary to those dealt with at length. They are also much smaller in number than those dealt with at length.

.

The initial period of settlement, 1908-1917, was also the formative period of economic development and social adjustment of the Ukrainians in Canada. In Winnipeg the Ukrainian community rooted itself in a “block”-type settlement in the city’s North End. There it established a socio-cultural, political, educational and religious life and institutions that reflected its needs and concerns.

Ukrainian literature in Winnipeg began to develop almost at the outset of settlement. The works encompassed all genres, drama, poetry and prose, but poetry prevailed. The works tended to be simple, even simplistic, and folkloristic in style and theme. The themes pertained primarily to nostalgia for the “old” and fear of the “new.” Nostalgia for the old encompassed the longing for the family, friends and way of life of the homeland and an abiding concern for its socio-political situation and causes. Fear of the new country initially encompassed social adjustment and the whole socialization process. The writers, as a group, were not professional writers, rather, they tended to be community leaders and activists, many of whom felt it their duty to socialize their readership through their works.

The most significant work of the early part of the 1908-1917 period and the one best exemplifying the nostalgia for the old and the fear of the new was Fedyk’s Songs about Canada and Austria, a collection of largely folkloristic poetry which tended to convey what was in the hearts and minds of the pioneering group of Ukrainian immigrants. It served as kind of a guide as to what prospective emigrants could expect to experience from the time of their decision to emigrate to the time when they actually settled in the new country. Thus, it included such themes as parting with everyone and everything that

was dear to the emigrant, the arduous ship passage, the hardships of pioneer settlement and adjustment to the mores of the new society. There was also some interest in the politics of the homeland as several editions of this collection included poems devoted to the folk hero Myroslav Sichyns'kyy.

As the years progressed and the Ukrainian Canadians overcame their fear of the new land and began to establish a community, their socialization included involvement in education and coping with discrimination and injustice (e.g., internment during World War I). However, because they were poorly educated and generally unworldly, it was difficult for the immigrants to cope with the new set of life circumstances that they found in Canada. The process of socialization was reflected in the literature. Writers such as Jacob Maidanyk wrote his works with the intention of changing the behaviour and attitudes of his fellow Ukrainian Canadians. In the case of Maidanyk it was largely through his Vuyko Shtif Tabachnyuk cartoons and his play Manigrula. Other writers who did the same were Ivan Bodrug, Stefan Fodchuk, Apolinariy Novak, Panteleymon Bozhyk and Petro Karmans'kyy. They did so through both serious and humourous works, which pointed out what they considered to be proper behaviour for the Ukrainian immigrants in Canada. Some old country prejudices, such as anti-Semitism, which continued to exist even after the Ukrainians were transplanted in Canada were also reflected in the literary works.

Because a number of the leading activists in the budding Ukrainian Canadian community were socialist, their views were reflected in the literature they produced. A number of works dealt with the revolutionary Sichyns'kyy, for example. Maidanyk and Petrivsky had used literature as a means of socializing the Ukrainian Canadians. Paul

Crath and the other writers incorporated their socialist views into the literature they produced.

Crath wrote on such themes as the abolition of tsarist tyranny through revolutionary means. Although he backed revolutionary means he also saw the merit of fighting tsarist tyranny with words rather than weapons. A number of Crath's works also deal with the harsh realities of life for the peasant under the tsarist regime. Although he backed revolutionary activity, Crath opposed war because the masses would have had to form the majority of the fighting forces and, therefore, suffer the most casualties in war. Although he himself became a man of the cloth after these works were written, at least initially he also voiced anti-clerical and anti-religious sentiments. Perhaps most significantly, Crath was the author of a utopian novella depicting a world under socialism in the year 2000. This was the first utopian work written in Ukrainian, predating by about ten years the work normally thus designated, Vynnychenko's Solar Machine. A large part of the more important literature which was written by the Ukrainian Canadian intelligentsia which tended to hold socialist views was probably reflective of the views of a minority of the Ukrainian Canadians, the majority of which tended to hold more traditional and conservative views.

Notes

¹ Alan J. Artibise, Winnipeg: A Social History of Urban Growth, 1874-1914 (Montreal: McGill-Queen's UP, 1975) 142; William Darcovich and Paul Yuzyk, eds., A Statistical Compendium on the Ukrainians in Canada, 1891-1976 (Ottawa, U of Ottawa P, 1980) 500.

² Artibise 158.

³ Artibise 160-1.

⁴ Artibise 165.

⁵ Orest T. Martynowych, Ukrainians in Canada: The Formative Period, 1891-1924 (Edmonton: Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies, 1991) 252.

⁶ Alan B. Anderson, Ethnicity in Canada: Theoretical Perspectives (Toronto: Buttersworth, 1981) 37.

⁷ John-Paul Himka, "The Background to Emigration: Ukrainians of Galicia and Bukovyna, 1848-1914," A Heritage in Transition: Essays in the History of Ukrainians in Canada, ed. Manoly R. Lupul (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1982) 22. Also see Stella Hryniuk, "A Peasant Society in Transition: Ukrainian Peasants in Five East Galician Counties, 1880-1900" (Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Manitoba, 1985) 150-4 and "Sifton's Pets': Who Were They?" Canada's Ukrainians: Negotiating an Identity, ed. Lubomyr Luciuk and Stella Hryniuk (Toronto: U of Toronto P, 1991) 5-10. Hryniuk basically agrees that as of 1900 illiteracy rates were very high in Galicia. In her study of five eastern Galician counties, however, she finds that by 1900 literacy rates were climbing substantially over the levels that they were at in 1880. She also reports that Austrian census data for 1910 indicates that one-half of Ukrainians over the age of ten reported themselves to be literate. Thus advances were being made in the area of literacy and although it is not known what exact percentage of Ukrainian immigrants to Canada were literate, one can assume that they must have approximated the national average and stood at fifty percent.

⁸ Semen Kovbel' and D. Doroshenko, eds., Propamyatna knyha Ukrayins'koho narodnoho domu u Vynypegu (Winnipeg: Ukrainian National Home in Winnipeg, 1949) 124.

⁹ Martynowych 269.

¹⁰ Jaroslav Petryshyn, Peasants in the Promised Land: Canada and the Ukrainians, 1891-1914 (Toronto: James Lorimar, 1985) 163.

¹¹ Ol'ha Woycenko, "Community Organizations," A Heritage in Transition 174-5.

¹² Peter Krawchuk, The Ukrainian Socialist Movement in Canada (1907-1918) (Toronto: Kobzar, 1979) 16.

¹³ M.H. Marunchak, The Ukrainian Canadians: A History (Winnipeg: Ukrainian Academy of Arts and Sciences, 1982) 226.

¹⁴ Krawchuk 8; Donald Avery, "Dangerous Foreigners": European Immigrant Workers and Labour Relations in Canada, 1896-1932 (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1979) 70, 72.

¹⁵ Marunchak 164.

¹⁶ Martynowych 267.

¹⁷ Martynowych 267.

¹⁸ Woycenko 175.

¹⁹ Martynowych 269.

²⁰ Kovbel' and Doroshenko 124.

²¹ Kovbel' and Doroshenko 130.

²² Kovbel' and Doroshenko 175.

²³ Kovbel' and Doroshenko 134-5.

²⁴ Woycenko 177.

²⁵ Manoly R. Lupul, "Ukrainian Language Education in Canada's Public Schools," A Heritage in Transition 216.

²⁶ Lupul 216.

²⁷ Marunchak 121.

²⁸ Michael Ewanchuk, "Development of Education among the Early Ukrainian Settlers in Manitoba: 1896-1924," Jubilee Collection of the Ukrainian Free Academy of Sciences in Canada, ed. O.W. Gerus, O. Baran and J. Rozumnyj (Winnipeg: Ukrainian Academy of Arts and Sciences in Canada, 1976) 385, 386.

²⁹ Ewanchuk 391.

³⁰ Marunchak 118-19

³¹ Marunchak 119, 118.

³² Marunchak 144-5.

³³ See P. Vasylyv, comp., Persha lastivka ukrayins'kykh pisen' dlya ukrayins'koyi molodizhy v Kanadi (Winnipeg: Ukrayins'ka vydavnycha spilka, 1917); Onufriy Hykavyy, Oповідання ддя дитей (Winnipeg: Rus'ka knyharnya, 1910); Hykavyy, Zbirnyk bayok (Winnipeg: Rus'ka knyharnya, [1911?]).

³⁴ Marunchak 147.

³⁵ Marunchak 149.

³⁶ Swyripa, "The Ukrainians and Private Education," A Heritage in Transition 246.

³⁷ Swyripa 246.

³⁸ Marunchak 153.

³⁹ Marunchak 152.

⁴⁰ Petryshyn 132.

⁴¹ Martynowych 266; Marunchak 103.

⁴² Martynowych 267.

⁴³ Marunchak 107.

⁴⁴ Yuzyk, "Religious Life," A Heritage in Transition 150.

⁴⁵ Marunchak 109.

⁴⁶ Yuzyk, "Religious Life" 150.

⁴⁷ Martynowych 267.

⁴⁸ Marunchak 105.

⁴⁹ Martynowych, "'Canadianizing the Foreigners': Presbyterian Missionaries and Ukrainian Immigrants," New Soil - Old Roots: The Ukrainian Experience in Canada, ed.

Jaroslav Rozumnyj, O.W. Gerus and Mykhailo H. Marunchak (Winnipeg: Ukrainian Academy of Arts and Sciences in Canada, 1983) 37.

⁵⁰ Martynowych 48.

⁵¹ Yuzyk, "Religious Life" 150.

⁵² Martynowych, Ukrainians 266-7.

⁵³ Marunchak 238.

⁵⁴ Marunchak 261.

⁵⁵ Marunchak 263-4.

⁵⁶ Marunchak 268.

⁵⁷ Marunchak 268.

⁵⁸ Martynowych, Ukrainians 205.

⁵⁹ Frances A. Swyrypa and Andrij Makuch, comp., Ukrainian Canadian Content in the Newspaper Svoboda: 1893-1904. Research Report No. 7 (Edmonton: Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies, 1985) 43.

⁶⁰ Swyrypa and Makuch, comp., Ukrainian Canadian Content in the Newspaper Svoboda: 1893-1904.

⁶¹ Yar Slavutych, "Ukrainian Literature in Canada," A Heritage in Transition 303.

⁶² Swyrypa and Makuch, comp., Ukrainian Canadian Content in the Newspaper Svoboda: 1893-1904 26.

⁶³ Yar Slavutych, "Ukrayins'ka poeziya v Kanadi (krytychnyy ohlyad)" Ukrayins'ka literatura v Kanadi, vybrani doslidzhennya, statti i retsenziyi, ed. Yar Slavutych (Edmonton: Slavuta, 1992) 34.

⁶⁴ Teodor Fedyk, comp., Pisni pro Kanadu i Avstriyu (Winnipeg: Rus'ka knyhnarnya, 1908); Dmytro Rarahovs'kyy, Robitnychi pisni (Winnipeg: n.p., 1908).

⁶⁵ Slavutych, "Ukrainian Literature in Canada," A Heritage in Transition 297.

⁶⁶ Slavutych, ed., Antolohiya ukrayins'koyi poeziyi v Kanadi (Edmonton: Slovo, 1975) 11. Cf. Symon Palamaryuk, "Pisn' pro Kanadu (uryvok)," Antolohiya ukrayins'koyi poeziyi v Kanadi 11.

⁶⁷ Fedyk, comp., Pisni pro staryy i novyy kray (Winnipeg: n.p., 1911).

⁶⁸ Fedyk, comp., Pisni imigrantiv pro staryy i novyy kray (Winnipeg: Ukrayins'ka knyharnya, 1927).

⁶⁹ "Kolomyika," Encyclopedia of Ukraine, 5 vols., 1984-93.

⁷⁰ "Kolomyika," Encyclopedia of Ukraine.

⁷¹ Fedyk, comp., Pisni pro Kanadu i Avstriyu z dodatkom: pisni ta dumky pro Myroslava Sichyns'koho (Winnipeg: Rus'ka knyharnya, 1914).

⁷² Fedyk, "Pisnya persha," Pisni pro Kanadu i Avstriyu (Winnipeg: Rus'ka knyharnya, 1911) 5-10. The 1911 edition is cited because the first (1908) edition could not be located at any of the local repositories, at the Library of Congress, New York City Public Library, University of Alberta Library or the University of Minnesota Immigration History Research Centre, and is, therefore, presumed not to be in existence any longer.

⁷³ Fedyk, "Pisnya druha," Pisni (1911) 12.

⁷⁴ Fedyk, "Pisnya chetverta," Pisni (1911) 23-30.

⁷⁵ Fedyk, "Pisnya os'ma," Pisni (1911) 48-54.

⁷⁶ Fedyk 49.

⁷⁷ Fedyk, "Pisnya shesta," Pisni (1911) 37-40.

⁷⁸ Fedyk, "Pisnya trynaytsyata," Pisni (1911) 71-5.

⁷⁹ Fedyk, "Pisnya visimnaytsyata," Pisni (1911) 88-96.

⁸⁰ Fedyk, "Dumka emigranta," Pisni (1927) 122-36.

⁸¹ I. Denys, "Pisnya dvaytsyat'-sema," Pisni (1911) 126.

⁸² Fedyk, "Pisnya simnaytsyata," Pisni (1911) 88-96.

⁸³ Fedyk, "Pisnya dvaytsyata," Pisni (1911) 106.

⁸⁴ Fedyk, "Pisnya dvanaytsyata," Pisni (1911) 68.

⁸⁵ Fedyk, "Pisnya druha," Pisni (1911)12.

- ⁸⁶ Prokip Yats, "Pro zamors'ku dolyu," Pisni (1914) 143-53.
- ⁸⁷ Susid, "Pisnya desyata," Pisni (1911) 58.
- ⁸⁸ D. Kibzyy, "Pisnya shisnaytsyata," Pisni (1911) 85.
- ⁸⁹ Dmytro Makohon, "Pisnya devyata," Pisni (1911) 57.
- ⁹⁰ Fedyk, "Pisnya dvaytsyat' druha," Pisni (1911) 112.
- ⁹¹ Rarahovs'kyi, "Pisnya chotymaytsyata," Pisni (1911) 77.
- ⁹² Rarahovs'kyi 77.
- ⁹³ Fedyk, "Pisnya druha," Pisni (1911) 15.
- ⁹⁴ Fedyk, "Pisnya trynaytsyata," Pisni (1911) 75.
- ⁹⁵ Petro Shcherba, "Pisnya odynaytsyata," Pisni (1911) 62.
- ⁹⁶ Fedyk, "Pisnya dvaytsyat' persha," Pisni (1911) 108.
- ⁹⁷ Fedyk, 110.
- ⁹⁸ Fedyk, "Pisnya chetverta," Pisni (1911) 29.
- ⁹⁹ Fedyk, "Pisnya pyatnyatsyata," Pisni (1911) 83.
- ¹⁰⁰ Fedyk, "Pisnya dvaytsyat'-treta," Pisni (1911) 119.
- ¹⁰¹ R.D. Chorneyko, "Pisnya sema (dolya Ivana v Kanadi)," Pisni (1911) 47.
- ¹⁰² Fedyk, "Pisnya os'ma," Pisni (1911) 48-54.
- ¹⁰³ Fedyk, "Pisnya treta," Pisni (1911) 20.
- ¹⁰⁴ Hr. Burak, "Pisnya dvaytsyat' os'ma," Pisni (1911) 130.
- ¹⁰⁵ Ivan Kozak, "Pisnya dvaytsyat'-shesta," Pisni (1911) 123.
- ¹⁰⁶ Burak, "Pisnya dvaytsyat' os'ma," Pisni (1911) 130.
- ¹⁰⁷ Fedyk, "Pisnya treta," Pisni (1911) 17-23.
- ¹⁰⁸ Apolinary Novak, "Taky postavyv na nohy," Kanadyyski opovidanya

(Winnipeg: Rus'ka knyharnya Ya. N. Kreta, [1910?]) 27-48.

¹⁰⁹ Novak, "Pershyy den' zarobitku," Kanadyyski 5-15.

¹¹⁰ D. Kravets', "Pisnya dvaytsyat' devyata," Pisni 132.

¹¹¹ Kravets' 132.

¹¹² Nykola Shmyrdyak, "Pro shlyakhtu (kolyada)," Sichyns'kyy na voly, zbirka statey i pisen' (Winnipeg: Ya. N. Kret, [1913?]) 28.

¹¹³ Rarahovs'kyy, "Kolyada pro M. Sichyns'koho," Sichyns'kyy 27.

¹¹⁴ N. Tomashevs'kyy, "Pisnya pro M. Sichyns'koho," Pisni (1914) 166-7.

¹¹⁵ M.S.K., "Kheto to ye?" Pisni (1914) 168.

¹¹⁶ Petro Kuzyk, "Pisnya pro M. Sichyns'koho," Sichyns'kyy 13-15.

¹¹⁷ Tomashevs'kyy, "Pisnya pro M. Sichyns'koho," Pisni (1914) 166.

¹¹⁸ D. Yavir, "Dumka pro Sichyns'koho i Potots'koho," Pisni (1911) 176.

¹¹⁹ Vasyi' Kudryk, "Revolutsioner (M. Sichyns'komu)," Vesna, zbirka poezyyi (Winnipeg: Ukrayins'kyy holos, 1911) 19.

¹²⁰ John C. Lehr and D. Wayne Moodie, "The Polemics of Pioneer Settlement: Ukrainian Immigration and the Winnipeg Press," Canadian Ethnic Studies 2 (1980): 88-101.

¹²¹ Lehr and Moodie 91.

¹²² Telegram, 7 March 1899.

¹²³ Telegram, 7 July 1899.

¹²⁴ Telegram, 20 February 1900.

¹²⁵ Telegram, 20 February 1900.

¹²⁶ Telegram, 7 July 1899.

¹²⁷ See Lehr and Moodie, "The Polemics" 92-3.

¹²⁸ Manitoba Free Press, 3 August 1897.

¹²⁹ Manitoba Free Press, 15 July 1896.

¹³⁰ Tribune, 17 February 1903.

¹³¹ See Nestor Dmytriv, Kanadiys'ka Rus', podorozhni spomyny (Winnipeg: Ukrainian Free Academy of Sciences, 1972).

¹³² Dmytriv 4.

¹³³ Dmytriv 7.

¹³⁴ Kanadyys'kyy rusyn, 1 August 1914.

¹³⁵ Kanadyys'kyy rusyn, 8 August 1914.

¹³⁶ Peter Melnycky, "The Internment of Ukrainians in Canada," Loyalties in Conflict: Ukrainians in Canada during the Great War, ed. Frances Swyripa and John Herd Thompson (Toronto: U of Toronto P, 1983) 2.

¹³⁷ Melnycky, "The Internment of Ukrainians in Canada" 2-3.

¹³⁸ Melnycky 1.

¹³⁹ John Herd Thompson, "The Enemy Alien and the Canadian Election of 1917," Loyalties in Conflict 26.

¹⁴⁰ Manitoba Free Press, 29 November 1916; Manitoba Free Press, 3 April 1916; Manitoba Free Press, 16 February 1916; Manitoba Free Press, 20 June 1916.

¹⁴¹ Melnycky, "The Internment of Ukrainians in Canada" 13.

¹⁴² Frances Swyripa, "The Ukrainian Image: Loyal Citizen or Disloyal Alien," Loyalties in Conflict 58.

¹⁴³ The Shtif Tabachnyuk stories appear to have been written by both Jacob Maidanyk and Stefan Fodchuk. There is some divergence of opinion, however, as to who actually created the character of Shtif Tabachnyuk or Vuyko Shtif. D. Farkawec in his "J. Maydanyk's Contribution to Ukrainian Canadian Literature," (M.A. Thesis, University of Manitoba, 1983) 4; M.H. Marunchak in his The Ukrainian Canadians: A History 306; O. Hay-Holovko in his Ukrayins'ki pys'mennyky v Kanadi: literaturno-krytychni narysy, vol. 1 (Winnipeg: Volyn', 1980) 80; and Halya Kuchmij in her film Laughter in My Soul, National Film Board of Canada, 1983, attribute his creation to Maidanyk. A. Il'nyts'kyy, in his introduction to Fodchuk's collection Dyvni pryhody Shtifa Tabachnyuka (Vancouver: Novyy shlyakh, 1958) 3, on the other hand, attributes the creation to

Fodchuk. There is also some evidence that although the character was new to Ukrainian Canadian literature, it was derived from other literary sources.

¹⁴⁴ Yakiv Maydanyk, "Shtif kanadiyen azh do smerty," Vuyko Sh. Tabachnyuk i 20-ynshi novi, korotki opovidannya (Winnipeg: New Pathway, 1959) 11-16.

¹⁴⁵ Maydanyk, "Shtif buv sportom pry roboti," Vuyko Sh. Tabachnyuk 20-5.

¹⁴⁶ Maydanyk, "Vesilya," Vuyko Sh. Tabachnyuk 81-6.

¹⁴⁷ Laughter in My Soul, dir. Halya Kuchmij, National Film Board of Canada, 1983.

¹⁴⁸ Laughter in My Soul.

¹⁴⁹ Yakiv Maydanyk, Manigrula, komediya v odniy diyi z spivamy i tantsyamy, 2nd edition, (Winnipeg: Ukrayins'ka knyhnarnya, 1926). The 1926 edition of this work, which was originally published in 1915, was used as a reference because the 1915 edition could not be located anywhere.

¹⁵⁰ Maydanyk 3.

¹⁵¹ Maydanyk, Manigrula, komediya v odniy diyi z spivamy i tantsyamy 10.

¹⁵² Maydanyk 10.

¹⁵³ Maydanyk 5. This passage has been left in its original Ukrainian form in the text because otherwise the anglicized pattern of speech which it illustrates would be lost. The English translation of this passage appears in the appendix.

¹⁵⁴ Yakiv Maydanyk, Vuykova knyha, richnyk Vuyka Shtifa v rysunkakh Ya. Maydanyka (Saskatoon: Ukrainian Canadian Historical Publications, 1974).

¹⁵⁵ Maydanyk, Vuykova knyha 1.

¹⁵⁶ Yakiv Maydanyk, Vuyko Sh. Tabachnyuk i 20-ynshi novi, korotki opovidannya (Winnipeg: New Pathway, 1959).

¹⁵⁷ Maydanyk, "Vuyko Shtif rozkazuye pro svoiy biznesy," Vuyko Sh. Tabachnyuk 61-3; Maydanyk, "Informatsiyno-matrymoniyal'ne byuro Shtifa Tabachnyuka," Vuyko Sh. Tabachnyuk 64-7; Maydanyk, "Shtif klinuye sviy ruming havz vid ohydy," Vuyko Sh. Tabachnyuk 68-71; Maydanyk, "Barber z farmiv," Vuyko Sh. Tabachnyuk 74-6.

¹⁵⁸ Maydanyk, "Yak Shtif dyplomatychno pomyriv molodykh lyudey," Vuyko Sh. Tabachnyuk 77-80; Maydanyk, "Skoro bohach," Vuyko Sh. Tabachnyuk 101-05.

¹⁵⁹ Maydanyk, "Shtif pryslukhuvavsya rozpravi v sudi," Vuyko Sh. Tabachnyuk 116-18.

¹⁶⁰ Maydanyk, "Vechir na farmakh," Velykyy ilyustrovanyy kalyendar "Kanadyys'koho rusyna" na zvyhaynyy rik 1917-yy (Winnipeg: Ukrayins'ka vydavnycha spilka, 1916) 103-05.

¹⁶¹ Maydanyk 105.

¹⁶² Maydanyk, "Ks'ondz," in Kalyendar "Kanadyys'koho rusyna" na perestupnyy rik 1916-yy (Winnipeg: Ukrayins'ka vydavnycha spilka, 1915) 74-6.

¹⁶³ Maydanyk 76.

¹⁶⁴ Shrit, "Nashi," Hostynets' z Kanady, 1. "Nashi," 2. "Delyegaty" (Winnipeg: Rus'ka knyharnya Ya. N. Kreta, [1911?]) 1-2.

¹⁶⁵ Shrit 1.

¹⁶⁶ P.I. Bozhyk, "Lyst shynkarya do chorta," Lyst shynkarya do chorta z vidpovidyu i yn'shi opovidanya (Winnipeg: Kanadyys'kyy farmer, [n.d.]) 5-13.

¹⁶⁷ Bozhyk, "Do choho dovelo Hrytsya pyanstvo," Lyst shynkarya do chorta z vidpovidyu i yn'shi opovidanya 13-16.

¹⁶⁸ Bozhyk, "Rozluka z charkoyu," Lyst shynkarya do chorta z vidpovidyu i yn'shi opovidanya 16-19.

¹⁶⁹ Martyn Hrynyshyn, Rozмова tverezoho piyaka Vasylya z horivkoyu (Winnipeg: Rus'ka knyharnya, [n.d.]).

¹⁷⁰ Stefan Fodchuk, "Tarkata," Velykyy ilyustrovanyy kalyendar "Kanadyys'koho rusyna" na zvyhaynyy rik 1917-yy (Winnipeg: Ukrayins'ka vydavnycha spilka, 1916) 126.

¹⁷¹ Novak, "Potverdylly," Apolinariy Novak, Khan i yoho syn abo ukrayinka-branka i druhi opovidannya (Winnipeg: Ukrayins'ka vydavnycha spilka, 1916) 23-7.

¹⁷² Fodchuk, "Asymilyatsiya" Dyvni pryhody Shtifa Tabachnyuka 26-9. It should be noted that although Fodchuk's collection was published in 1958, it included Shtif Tabachnyuk stories written and originally published between 1912 and 1956. Il'nyts'kyy's introduction to the collection states that this story, in particular, was first written in 1912 and it would therefore fit into this time period (see pages 3, 5). Farkawec, in his "J. Maidanyk's Contribution to Ukrainian Canadian Literature," however, disagrees with the

information provided by Il'nyts'kyi. He states that this story was probably written in 1915 (see p.3). Either way, however, it nonetheless belongs in this time period.

¹⁷³ Fodchuk 26.

¹⁷⁴ Novak, "Svit otvorennyy," Khan i yoho syn.

¹⁷⁵ Petro Karmans'kyi, "Malpyache zerkalo," Kanada 16 September 1913 - 24 September 1914.

¹⁷⁶ Karmans'kyi, "Malpyache zerkalo (lysty z Kanady i pro Kanadu), moyi pershi kroky na kanadyys'kiy zemli," Kanada, 16 September 1913.

¹⁷⁷ Karmans'kyi, "Malpyache zerkalo (lysty z Kanady i pro Kanadu), amerykans'ka ukrayins'ka mova," Kanada, 4 November 1913.

¹⁷⁸ Karmans'kyi, "Malpyache zerkalo (lysty z Kanady i pro Kanadu do "Kanady"), vstupni zamitky," Kanada, 30 September 1913.

¹⁷⁹ Karmans'kyi, "Malpyache zerkalo (lysty z Kanady i pro Kanadu do "Kanady"), pid znakom byka," Kanada, 7 October 1913.

¹⁸⁰ Karmans'kyi, "Malpyache zerkalo (Lysty z Kanady i pro Kanadu do "Kanady"), hori imiyem sertsya," Kanada, 11 November 1913.

¹⁸¹ See Karmans'kyi, "Tymchasovi dopovnenya do malpyachoho zerkala, vydanye 1. (lysty z Kanady i pro Kanadu do "Kanady"), "Ukrayins'kyi holos" maye chas . . .," Kanada, 9 December 1913; Karmans'kyi, "Malpyache zerkalo - vydanye druhe, khodeniye Hykuna po mukam (Hykiyada chast' II)," Kanada, 10 February 1914; Karmans'kyi, "Malpyache zerkalo -vydanye druhe, taka sobi hazeta - splyuvachka," Kanada, 17 February 1914.

¹⁸² Karmans'kyi, "Tymchasove dopovnenya do malpyachoho zerkala, vydanye 1 (lysty z Kanady i pro Kanadu do "Kanady"), cherez pokhybky nabuvayemo nauku," Kanada, 16 December 1913.

¹⁸³ Ivan Mulyarchuk, "Psal'ma," Zhnyva dos'pily, poezyyi (Winnipeg: Kanadyys'kyi farmer, 1916) 6-7.

¹⁸⁴ Mulyarchuk, "Z nahody Rizdva," Na fylyakh lyubovy (poezyyi) 5.

¹⁸⁵ Mulyarchuk, "Do molytvy," Na fylyakh lyubovy (Winnipeg: n.p., 1916) 6.

¹⁸⁶ Mulyarchuk, "V tyazhkykh khvylynakh," Na fylyakh lyubovy 6.

- ¹⁸⁷ Shrit, "Delyegaty," Hostynets' z Kanady 3-6.
- ¹⁸⁸ Shrit, "Nashi," Hostynets' z Kanady 1-2.
- ¹⁸⁹ Shrit 2.
- ¹⁹⁰ Hryts' Shchypavka, "Yak nich mya pokryye (plach zakonnyka ksyendza Dury)," Novi pisni z starym kintsem, perespivy Shchypavky i Drapavky z dodatkom narodnykh pisen' (Winnipeg: n.p. [1913]) 66-7.
- ¹⁹¹ Shchypavka 67.
- ¹⁹² Shchypavka, "Boday sya kohut znudyv," Novi pisni z starym kintsem 55.
- ¹⁹³ Shchypavka 55.
- ¹⁹⁴ Shchypavka, "Verkhovyno s'vitku ty nash," Novi pisni z starym kintsem 32.
- ¹⁹⁵ Shchypavka 32.
- ¹⁹⁶ Bozhyk, "Mudryy viyt," Lyst shynkarya do chorta z vidpovidyu i yn'shi opovidanya 29-32.
- ¹⁹⁷ Kazky za zhydiv (Winnipeg: Rus'ka knyharnya, 1910).
- ¹⁹⁸ "Zhydivs'kyy kotel," Kazky 3-6.
- ¹⁹⁹ "Zhyd Vasyliyanynom," Kazky 16-17.
- ²⁰⁰ Ivan Bodrug, Ubiynyky, mel'odrama v pyaty diyakh a odynaytsyat vidslonakh (Winnipeg: Ukrayins'ka knyharnya, n.d.).
- ²⁰¹ Pavlo Krat, Vizyta "Chervonoyi druzhyny", obraz z revolyutsiynykh rozrukhiv na Poltavshchyni v liti 1906 roku (Winnipeg: Chervonyy prapor, 1912).
- ²⁰² Krat, "Myroslavu Sichyns'komu," Za zemlyu i volyu (Winnipeg: Kanadyys'kyy ranok, 1914) 55.
- ²⁰³ Krat, Vizyta "Chervonoyi druzhyny", obraz revolyutsiynykh rozrukhiv na Poltavshchyni v liti 1906 roku.
- ²⁰⁴ Krat, Za zemlyu i volyu (Winnipeg: Kanadyys'kyy ranok, 1914).
- ²⁰⁵ "Dumy," Encyclopedia of Ukraine, 5 vols. 1984-93).

- ²⁰⁶ Krat, "Za Ukrayinu," Za zemlyu i volyu 6.
- ²⁰⁷ Krat, "1905 r.," Za zemlyu i volyu 31.
- ²⁰⁸ Pavlo Krat, Boh u Moskvshchyni Part I of Poslidne khozhdeniye Boha po zemli abo Boh na revolyutsiyi: humorystychna povist' (Winnipeg: Robochyy narod, 1915).
- ²⁰⁹ Kudryk, "Vidhomin podiy 1905 i 1906 roku," Vesna 65-87.
- ²¹⁰ Krat, Boh u Moskvshchyni 121-2.
- ²¹¹ Krat, "Idit' sobi, proroky! (z moskovs'koyi)," Za zemlyu i volyu 17.
- ²¹² Krat, "Psalom," Za zemlyu i volyu 5.
- ²¹³ Krat, "Duma pro khersons'ki zarobitky," Za zemlyu i volyu 9-11.
- ²¹⁴ Pavlo Krat, Koly lekshe bude i inshi opovidannya (Winnipeg: Emil Holubovych, 1912).
- ²¹⁵ Krat, "Koly lekshe bude," Koly lekshe bude i inshi opovidannya 3-6.
- ²¹⁶ Krat, "Dity (z mobilizatsiynykh vypadkiv)," Koly lekshe bude i inshi opovidannya 7-11.
- ²¹⁷ Krat, "Zhertva," Koly lekshe bude i inshi opovidannya 12-14.
- ²¹⁸ Krat, "Yak povynna vyhlyadaty viyna," Za zemlyu i volyu 38.
- ²¹⁹ Krat, "Zhydivs'ki pohromy (monol'og tsarya)," Za zemlyu i volyu 31-2.
- ²²⁰ Krat, "Na Ukrayini," Za zemlyu i volyu 7.
- ²²¹ Krat, "Vesnyanka," Za zemlyu i volyu 8-9.
- ²²² Krat, "Mriya uniyats'koho popa (satyra)," Za zemlyu i volyu 53-4.
- ²²³ Krat, Boh u Moskvshchyni.
- ²²⁴ Krat 99.
- ²²⁵ Krat 99.

- ²²⁶ Pavlo Krat, Koly ziyshlo sontse, opovidanye z 2000 roku (Toronto: Robitnyche slovo, 1918).
- ²²⁷ Krat 10.
- ²²⁸ Krat 12.
- ²²⁹ Krat 59.
- ²³⁰ Myroslav Stechyshyn, Smert' za 8-hodynnyy den' pratsi (Winnipeg: n.p., 1910).
- ²³¹ V[asyl'] K[udryk], Pimsta robitnyka, opovidanye z kanadyys'koho zhytya (Winnipeg: Ukrayins'kyy holos, 1911).
- ²³² Petro Kazan, "Shchastya," Novak et al, Kanadyyski opovidanya 19-24.
- ²³³ Mulyarchuk, Na fylyakh lyubovy (poeziyi).
- ²³⁴ Mulyarchuk, Zhnyva dos'pily: poezyi.
- ²³⁵ Kudryk Vesna.
- ²³⁶ Kudryk, "Vesna," Vesna 3.
- ²³⁷ Oleksa Bulka, O dvanaytsyaty tablytsyakh, opovidanya pislya narodnykh kazok (Winnipeg: Rus'ka knyharnya, [n.d.]).
- ²³⁸ Mulyarchuk, "Opyr (halyts'ka lyegenda)," Na fylyakh lyubovy (poeziyi) 23-9.
- ²³⁹ Pro chuda svyatykh Damaziya i Pankratiya (Winnipeg: Rus'ka knyharnya, 1910).
- ²⁴⁰ Apolinary Novak, "Skonka," in Oleksa Hay-Holovko, Ukrayins'ki pys'mennyky v Kanadi, literaturno krytychni narysy (Winnipeg: Volyn', 1980) 67-9.
- ²⁴¹ Rytsar i smert' (Winnipeg: Rus'ka knyharnya, 1910).
- ²⁴² Istoriya pro harnu Magel'onu i hrafa Petra z sribnymy klyuchamy (Winnipeg: Rus'ka knyharnya, 1911).

Appendix A

Ukrainian Language Original of Prose Passages Translated in the Text:

167. Такі Джеки приносять ганьбу для нашого народу. Він має то за гонор, коли його полісман провадить . . . -- А дівчатка також такі знаходяться. Її скоріше подобається той, що добре грає в карти чи в кулі. На весіллю чи в галі зручно "файтується" батлею, то це на її гадку буде добрий газда. Але не дурний вигадав: Свій свогого все здибле. Джеки з Кейдами а Кейди з Джеками.
168. Порядний хлопець чи порядна дівчина ніколи не піде межи ту зграю, що розвалює собі голови, де провадяться різні деморалізації, а радше піде чи запишеться до якого товариства. Бере участь в життю просвітнім і політичним. Словом: стає в ряди суспільности
177. Вже нині сотками блукають на осліп по Канаді, шукаючи можности заробити на кусник хліба. І замість того хліба знаходять ще страшнішу нужду. Тиняють ся з жінками і дітьми босі, обдерті, ночують на сирій землі, під голим небом.
179. Я правив на память, що знаю голосно, а котре не знав то по тихонько шептав собі під носом.

181. "Пийте бо лю за вобшивку! Хай знає ціла Канада, що Василь "оказию" робить

....."

189. Братія мої, христіяни, сокотіт си симіляції. Най вам не відкручує їзики догори ногами, бо вігините в ці Канаді, ек голі миши! Розсиплите си, як сироти, як блудні вівці, розлетите си! Ані пес за вами не гавкне! . . .

194. . . . всю Галичину від Збруча по Сян!

205. -- А ту вже всьо інакше!

-- Ая. І пан і Іван: галов!

-- І відпустів нема ні храмів

215. Я прийшов до переконання, що дружити з панами не варто.

216. Зажди. Ще трохи і вони зрозуміють. Треба тільки про це більше говорити і писати.

237. Треба було післати дружину на ті гори раніш ніж їх посіло військо . . . Тай Кремль треба було захопити в народні руки. Повернулись лицями до Кремля, і студент доводив Богови як би можна було добре повстанцям відбивати штурм війська з мурів та вікон того камяного кублища.

256. Візьміть попа -- він себе зве христіянином; поліцай, урядник, фабрикант, міністер, кат -- вони всі себе звать христіянами, православними . . . Вони, побірники тьми та неволі, вони що полушуть ся що дня в крові неповинного люду, вони себе звать христіянами! Христіянство -- це братерство, рівність і любов; а по їхньому христіянство -- це неволя, тьма, муки, шибениці народови, гуланє, розпушта, неправда, душоубство їм -- царям земним
257. хочуть допровадити до того, щоб не було ні богатих, ні вбогих, щоб усі були рівні, щоб не було більше чути на землі ні стогну, ні плачу, ні нужди та злиднів
259. "нарід осьвідомлено, а школи виховали нове поколіє в ідеях братерства та спільної праці."
260. "розвинути в дітях людяність основану на взаємнім любленю."
261. "загально сконденсовану ідею усіх наших ідеалів."

Appendix B

English Language Translation of Prose Passages Cited in Ukrainian in the Text:

169. Tell me yourself, Shtif, didn't Fryd provoke me first? Why didn't he ask for my permission to dance with Keyda? But, son of a gun, it wasn't enough that he danced with her, but he also started kissing her while they were dancing. -- You damn right that it's the truth! He has been looking to provoke me for a long time. Once he took her to a show and bought her an ice-cream at the hall . . . I have been trying to fix him for a long time.

Chapter II

The Development of the Ukrainian Heritage in Canada

1918-1946

The period 1918-1946 of Ukrainian settlement in Winnipeg saw the influx of more immigrants from Ukraine and the establishment of even more organizations, both religious and secular, ensuring that Winnipeg retained its prominence as the centre of Ukrainian social, cultural and political life in Canada. The literary activity of the community flourished during this period. This chapter will trace how the further evolution of the community and its concerns related to and were reflected in the literature that the Ukrainian Canadians in Winnipeg produced.

1. The Development of the Ukrainian Community in Winnipeg

Ukrainian Settlement in Canada and Winnipeg

The make-up of the second wave of Ukrainian immigrants to Canada, which spanned the years 1918-46, was somewhat different from that of the first. The immigrants once again came from Ukraine's western regions, primarily Galicia, Bukovyna, Volhynia and Carpatho-Ukraine. The first post-World War I group numbering 1,503, arrived between 1920-4.¹ The group consisted mainly of war refugees, political refugees who had fought for the short-lived independent Ukraine, and relatives of Ukrainians who were already Canadian citizens. Between 1925-34, 59,891 Ukrainians emigrated to Canada.² This was the largest number during the interwar period. The numbers of Ukrainian

immigrants dropped significantly in the 1930s due primarily to the economic crisis caused by the Depression, which effectively curtailed immigration. Over the entire period some 67,578 Ukrainians immigrated to Canada.³

Most of the immigrants who made up this wave were either peasant farmers or unskilled labourers, who, like their counterparts of the first wave, opted to leave Ukraine due to the poor economic conditions, which could not supply them with either the land or the jobs that they required. A significant proportion were also Ukrainian army veterans, who had participated in the war against Poland and the Bolsheviks. Once the Ukrainian National Republic collapsed in 1920 many of them made their way to Czechoslovakia and eventually arrived in Canada as sponsored immigrants.

St. Raphael's Ukrainian Immigrants' Welfare Association of Canada (which is discussed in greater detail below) was established in Winnipeg in 1924 to assist Ukrainians with the immigration process, from their departure from Ukraine to their arrival and settlement in Canada, and also assisted in the reunification of separated families. In 1925 the Ukrainian Emigrants' Aid Society was established in L'viv with largely the same aims as St. Raphael's, and the two groups co-operated with each other.

At that time Canada still required immigrant agricultural workers. St. Raphael's encouraged Ukrainian Canadian farmers to offer employment to prospective and new immigrants. Canadian immigration regulations of the time required all prospective immigrants to be between the ages of fifteen and fifty, and they had to pledge that they would spend at least a year in Canada working as farm labourers or farm domestics.

Individuals with other qualifications, e.g., tradespeople, merchants, and the like, were not encouraged to apply, but there is no doubt that there was some falsification of occupations in order to fulfill immigration requirements.⁴

During the 1920s families were preferred as immigrants over single men because it was generally agreed that the social adjustment of new immigrants to Canada greatly benefited from the stabilizing effect of family life. However, many Ukrainian men still emigrated alone as they had in the pioneer period. As a group, the immigrants of the second wave tended to be better educated, financially better off and more worldly than the pioneer group of immigrants who comprised the first wave.

More of the second wave's number were interested in settling in urban areas than the previous wave's. Greater numbers also chose to settle in eastern Canada than had previously. Toronto's Ukrainian population, for example, which was 1,247 in 1921, increased to 5,138 in 1931 and 12,313 in 1941.⁵ Ontario's overall Ukrainian population during the period grew from 8,307 in 1921 to 24,426 in 1931 and 48,158 in 1941.⁶ However, the majority of the second wave settled in the west, primarily in the prairie provinces, with Manitoba receiving the bulk of their number. Manitoba's Ukrainian population grew from 44,129 in 1921, to 73,606 in 1931 and 89,762 in 1941.⁷ Winnipeg's Ukrainian population increased substantially as well. In 1921 it stood at 7,001; by 1931 it tripled to 21,459, and by 1941 it increased by almost one-third to 28,162.⁸ Thus the city's most significant population growth occurred in the 1920s. This coincided with the time, specifically the years 1925-9, of the greatest influx of Ukrainian

emigrants into Canada during the interwar period. Winnipeg continued to be the Canadian urban centre with the largest Ukrainian population, largely due to both immigration and migration settlement patterns. Its Ukrainian community, still primarily situated in the North End, continued to thrive. Winnipeg remained the centre of Ukrainian Canadian literary activity.

The Development of Ukrainian Organizational Life in Winnipeg

During the interwar period organizational life continued to grow and diversify. Of the almost 70,000 Ukrainians who immigrated to Canada during this time, significantly more were politically aware than is true of the pre-World War I immigrants. This was largely due to the fact that many of the more recent group had participated in Ukraine's independence struggle. Thus, when they arrived in Canada, they soon became dissatisfied with the type of organizational life which they found because it did not focus on political issues as such. Instead, in the opinion of the new immigrants, it centred around what they considered to be concerns of lesser importance, such as language and culture, and involved itself in religious squabbles. The organizations that the new immigrants established were, as a result, politically oriented and monarchist or Ukrainian nationalist in their orientation. These organizations better suited the interests of the new immigrants, and a number of the organizations expanded to the national level. This does not mean that pioneer organizations ceased to exist. Many, such as the Ukrainian National Home Association, Chytal'nya Prosvita (The enlightenment reading association), and the Canadian Ukrainian Institute Prosvita (enlightenment), continued to exist and flourish. In

fact, generally speaking, their numbers grew because interwar immigrants joined their ranks as well.

One of the pioneer organizations that remained particularly strong and was the first to take on a national scope during the period was the now pro-Soviet Ukrainian Labour-Farmer Temple Association (ULFTA). Its headquarters still remained in Winnipeg and its activities flourished. It was, for example, a founding force behind the Communist Party of Canada.⁹ The erecting of an impressive building to house the ULFTA headquarters was undertaken in Winnipeg's North End in 1918 and completed in 1919.¹⁰ The building was named the Ukrainian Labour Temple. The Ukrainian Labour Temple became the centre of the leftist community's activities, including public lectures, meetings, concerts, live theatre, and classes for adults and children. It also housed a lending library for its membership and supported a dramatic ensemble, choirs, orchestras and dance troupes.

The ULFTA, like its socialist predecessor, continued to concern itself with issues relevant to the labour and agricultural sectors, issues which were not directly addressed by other Ukrainian Canadian community organizations. Also, the Ukrainization process taking place in Soviet Ukraine in the 1920s, which saw a flowering of Ukrainian arts and culture, instilled in some Ukrainian Canadians the belief that the Soviet system might be good for Ukraine. These factors, combined with the various activities that the ULFTA sponsored, succeeded in attracting a sizeable following. By 1929, for example, there were 185 branches and approximately 5,438 members.¹¹ By 1939 its national membership totalled 10,000. Banned for a short time at the beginning of World War II, by 1946, the

year in which its name was changed to the Association of United Ukrainian Canadians, the organization had 13,000 members.¹²

Non-socialist organizational life also flourished among the Ukrainian Canadians. Two national organizations, the Ukrainian Canadian Citizens' Committee (UCCC) and the Ukrainian National Council (UNC), whose aims were to assist in the liberation of Ukraine, came into existence after World War I.¹³ The former had ties with the Ukrainian Greek Orthodox and Protestant churches and the latter with the Ukrainian Greek Catholic church. Since both of these organizations had the same aims there was some friction between them.

In 1920 Professor Ivan Bobers'kyy arrived in Winnipeg as a representative of the Western Ukrainian (Galician) National Republic.¹⁴ His aims were to have Canada recognize the Republic's right to self-determination and also to raise funds for Ukraine's political endeavours and for the Ukrainian Red Cross. The Ukrainian Red Cross was already in existence in Canada at this time but was affiliated with the UCCC. In 1921, due to the efforts of Bobers'kyy, the Executive of the Red Cross was established in Winnipeg and named the Central Committee (CC).¹⁵

The CC gradually replaced the UCCC and the UNC. In two years the CC raised over 50,000 dollars for the Ukrainian Red Cross. The CC also appealed to the Canadian federal government to condemn Polish tyranny in Western Ukraine. On April 22, 1922 a massive protest march against Polish tyranny was held in Winnipeg. Similar protests were held in other major Canadian centres. The protests brought public attention to the plight

of the Ukrainians and even evoked a sympathetic response from Canadian Prime Minister MacKenzie King.¹⁶ At a national convention held on May 7, 1922 the Central Committee of the Ukrainian Red Cross was renamed the Ukrainian Central Committee and simultaneously empowered to represent all Ukrainians in Canada. It continued to exist until the late 1930s and was the forerunner of the later Ukrainian Canadian Committee (now the Ukrainian Canadian Congress).

In 1925 Canada was visited by Dr. Volodymyr Bachyns'kyi, secretary of L'viv's Ukrainian Emigrants' Aid Committee. He toured Canada with the aim of surveying the conditions that existed there for Ukrainian émigrés and his group organized branches of the St. Raphael's Ukrainian Immigrants' Welfare Association throughout western Canada. As a result of discussions Bachyns'kyi had with the federal government in July, 1925, W.J. Eggan, Deputy Minister of Immigration, signed an agreement as to the terms under which Canada would welcome Ukrainian immigrants.¹⁷ Canada was still primarily interested in agricultural immigrants and, upon their arrival in Canada, wanted St. Raphael's to guarantee that the immigrants would find work in the agricultural area. St. Raphael's undertook to comply with these terms. Although St. Raphael's was founded by the Ukrainian Catholic group, it soon gained the support of all Ukrainian Canadians in its activities.

The year 1930 proved to be pivotal for St. Raphael's. Canada's economic crisis led to a restriction on the number of immigrants allowed into Canada. St. Raphael's activities turned from questions of immigration and settlement to cultural, ideological and

political ones. Its activities in these areas, however, were limited. Nonetheless, the association continued to exist until 1939.¹⁸

The Ukrainian National Home Association (UNH) continued to exist and to flourish during this period. It was at the initiative of the UNH that the First Educational-Economic Congress of Ukrainians in Canada took place in December, 1923. The Congress addressed issues relevant to all Ukrainian Canadians. The Congress also passed a resolution to create a Ukrainian Central Committee through the venue of the UNH. This caused some friction between the UNH and the already existing Ukrainian Central Committee and effectively disrupted the original Ukrainian Central Committee's function as a unifying force in the community.¹⁹ Furthermore, the Congress completely excluded the participation of the Ukrainian Catholics.

In addition, the Congress passed a resolution stating that an immigration committee be established.²⁰ Towards this end the Ukrainian Immigration and Colonization Bureau was established. The Bureau existed for only a short time. It was replaced by the Ukrainian Settlers' Aid Association. Although there was some friction between these two groups and St. Raphael's, they managed to work together most of the time.

Although the UNH remained in existence throughout the interwar period, by the late 1920s it needed revitalization as many of its now Ukrainian Greek Orthodox members left to join Orthodox organizations.²¹ The UNH was somewhat revitalized by the arrival of Mykyta Mandryka, a representative of the Ukrainian Party of Socialist Revolutionaries, who was sent to Canada to organize émigré North American Ukrainians to support his

party's cause. He organized the UNH's cultural and educational programs. His efforts met with some initial success but it was not sustained, and the UNH did not expand further.

The Ukrainian War Veterans' Association (UWVA) was established in Winnipeg in 1928 and expanded throughout the prairies and Ontario.²² It was established by veterans of the Ukrainian Sich Riflemen (named after the Zaporizhian Cossack settlements) and the Ukrainian Galician Army, who were interwar immigrants to Canada. In 1931 it established a women's branch known as the Ol'ha Basarab organization. The UWVA's primary objective was to work for the liberation of Ukraine. For example, it founded the Ukrainian Defence Committee, which worked to assist Ukrainian political prisoners in Polish prisons and collected funds for the building of the Home for Ukrainian Invalids in L'viv. There was some friction between the UWVA and the Ukrainian Self-Reliance League (USRL) because the USRL opposed the UWVA's exclusively pro-Ukrainian nationalistic stance. The USRL believed that both Ukrainian and Canadian concerns should be addressed in equal measure.

A pivotal year for the UWVA was 1932, when, at its third national convention, it was decided to establish a broad nationalistic organization that would not only include veterans in its membership but also other members of the Ukrainian community. The result was that in 1932 the Ukrainian National Federation (UNF) was founded. The UNF expanded to encompass a women's organization, the Ukrainian Women's Organization of Canada (UWOC), and a youth organization, the Young Ukrainian Nationalists. By World

War II there were fifty branches of UNF throughout the country. The UWVA still continued to exist, however, and by that time had nineteen branches.

The semi-military, monarchist-oriented Sich organization was established in Toronto in 1924.²³ This group supported the ascension of the Skoropads'kyy family to the throne of an independent Ukraine. In 1934 it changed its name to the United Hetman (cossack commander-in-chief) Organization (UHO) and had more than fifty branches across Canada. It also had a women's affiliate called the Women's Committee.

A major organization that was established in the interwar period was the Ukrainian Self-Reliance League, founded in 1927.²⁴ Although this organization was established largely by pre-war immigrants, the majority of its membership was made up of interwar immigrants, and it soon expanded nationally. The USRL was intended as a secular organization but because of its founders' (including William Swystun, Jaroslav Arsenych and the Stechishin brothers, Myroslaw, Michael and Julian) close ties to the Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church of Canada, it was tied to the church as well. Its objectives were to promote the welfare of Canada and Ukraine without actually backing any specific political party, although it sympathized with the Liberal Party in Canada.²⁵ Headquartered in Winnipeg, the USRL encompassed a number of different organizations. These included the Ukrainian Self-Reliance Association; the Ukrainian Women's Association of Canada (UWAC); the Union of Ukrainian Community Centres, which was a superstructure for prosvity (enlightenment societies) and narodni domy (national homes); the Canadian Ukrainian Youth Association; and the Mohyla Institute, the Hrushevs'kyy Institute and St. Vladimir's Institute.²⁶

In 1932 in Saskatoon, the Ukrainian Catholics established a lay organization known as the Ukrainian Catholic Brotherhood (UCB). It soon expanded, and by World War II there sixty branches across Canada, with their headquarters in Winnipeg.²⁷ Affiliated with it were the Ukrainian Catholic Women's League of Canada (UCWL), the Ukrainian Catholic Youth and the Sheptyts'kyi Institute in Saskatoon. The UCB concerned itself with a number of issues, including Catholicism, Ukrainian culture and the Canadian state.

At the same time as individual organizations were developing, some effort was being exerted by the most prominent members of the Ukrainian community in Winnipeg to achieve unity in the community once and for all. These individuals represented national organizations that were largely established during the interwar period. Involved in the negotiations were Reverend Dr. W. Kushnir, representing the UCB; T. Datskiv, representing the UHO; and J.W. Arsenych, T. Ferley and M. Stechishin, representing the USRL.²⁸ The representatives could not reach an agreement, however, and the UHO and the USRL dropped out of further discussions. This led the UCB to align itself with the UNF, and together they created the Representative Committee of Ukrainian Canadians (RCUC), originally established in Saskatoon in December, 1938, but re-established in Winnipeg in February, 1940 with Rev. Dr. Kushnir as its president.

The RCUC could not bring all of the Ukrainian organizations into its fold. Those that chose not to join it, namely, the USRL, the UHO and the League of Ukrainian Organizations established their own central committee, the Ukrainian Central Committee

of Canada (UCCC).²⁹ It was established in Winnipeg in May, 1940. There was a great deal of debate between the RCUC and the UCCC, which the more moderate members of the community viewed as detrimental to the unity and well-being of the entire community. This view was also shared by the Canadian government which was now particularly interested in the Ukrainians in Canada. Its interest arose out of the belief that the large Ukrainian population base, if properly organized, could be beneficial to the war effort.

It was through the intervention of the National War Services department of the federal government that Professor Watson Kirkconnell, Professor George Simpson and the English diplomat, Tracy Phillips, were brought in to serve as mediators for the two groups. Although their task was a difficult one, over time, their intervention succeeded in unifying the community, for on November 7, 1940, the two committees joined forces to create one committee -- the Ukrainian Canadian Committee (UCC, since 1990 renamed the Ukrainian Canadian Congress).³⁰

The UCC was designed to be a non-political coordinating body for all Ukrainian non-Communist organizations in Canada and its membership was open only to such organizations. The functioning of the UCC was, at the outset, to have been only temporary and its primary aims were war-related. The first president of the UCC became Rev. Dr. Kushnir. Soon there was widespread support for the UCC among the Ukrainians in Canada, and branches of the UCC were established in various Canadian centres. It quickly became a force to be reckoned with; by 1943 it represented over 1,200 separate Ukrainian organizations in Canada³¹ In 1944 its membership was increased by the formation of the Ukrainian Canadian Women's Committee that encompassed four national

women's organizations, the UWAC, the UWOC, the UCWL and the Women's Committee of the UHO.

The first Congress of the UCC was convened in Winnipeg under the slogan "Victory and Freedom." It dealt with the issue of Ukraine's independence, voiced opposition against the ULFTA and stressed its role as the representative body for the Ukrainians in Canada.³² The success of this Congress was such that it was decided to hold Congresses in the future.

The UCC was effective in carrying out its aims for it was successful in bolstering the participation of the Ukrainians in Canada's war effort, through military service, the purchasing of war bonds, and the like. As well, it satisfied the Ukrainians because they now believed themselves to be represented by a unified front that would best represent their interests both in Canada and abroad during the war. Furthermore, the UCC succeeded in raising the profile of the Ukrainian community in Canada and enhanced its collective self-image abroad during the war.

The outbreak of war on September 1, 1939 posed special problems for the Ukrainian Canadian community. In order not to put themselves into the enemy alien situation of World War I, even before war was officially declared, the Ukrainian Canadians began to express their loyalty both to Canada and the British Empire through their various press organs.³³ The ULFTA was the only faction that openly opposed Canada's involvement in the war. The Soviet-Finnish war, waged between 1939-40 served to divide the Ukrainian Canadian community even further. The Ukrainian Canadian nationalists

supported Finland in what they believed to be a Finnish war of independence, whereas the ULFTA supported the Soviets.

In 1940 Denmark, Norway, Holland, Belgium and France fell to the Nazis, thus making Canada Britain's closest ally.³⁴ Canada then decided to tighten war measures at home. An order-in-council passed on June 4, 1940 repressed fascist organizations and effectively banned the Canadian Communist Party and its related organizations, among them the ULFTA. It also confiscated the ULFTA's properties. On August 27 the ULFTA's press organs were also banned.

On June 22, 1941 the Nazis invaded the Soviet Union. The British quickly allied themselves with the USSR and thus Canada also became its ally. This caused some consternation among the Ukrainian nationalist factions, who could not reconcile themselves to being allied with an historical enemy. The Ukrainian Communists, on the other hand, suddenly began to back the war effort. On July 26, 1941 the Ukrainian Canadian pro-Soviet faction reorganized itself into the Ukrainian Association to Aid the Fatherland and established new press organs.³⁵ They continued their slander of the Ukrainian nationalist organizations in the public mind and now their accusations carried more clout. As a result, for example, the RCMP began to more closely scrutinize the activities of the UHO and UNF. Throughout the war the Ukrainian Canadian Communists and nationalists waged a war of words.

As the war drew to a close several important issues faced the Ukrainian Canadian community. The first was Ukrainian representation in the soon to be established United

Nations. The UCC joined forces with the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America in achieving this end. The second issue was the question of Ukrainian war refugees. The nationalists backed the notion of Canada and other countries accepting them. The Ukrainian Communists, however, opposed the nationalists, accusing the war refugees of being war criminals.

Ukrainian Canadians participated in the Canadian armed forces during both wars. During World War I, the estimated number of Ukrainians serving in the Canadian armed forces was 10,000, 13.2 percent of the Ukrainian Canadian population, which in 1911 stood at 75,432.³⁶ During the same war 609,636 Canadians served in the Canadian armed forces,³⁷ 8.6 percent of the Canadian population, which in 1911 stood at 7,206,643.³⁸ During World War II between 35,000-50,000 Ukrainian Canadians enlisted in the Canadian armed forces; even at the lowest number, this was 11.4 percent of the Ukrainian Canadian population, which in 1941 stood at 305,929.³⁹ Nearly three-quarters of a million Canadian men and women served in Canada's armed forces during World War II,⁴⁰ this was 6.5 percent of the total Canadian population, which in 1941 stood at 11,506,655.⁴¹ Thus, proportionately speaking, the Ukrainians participated in both wars in larger numbers than did the overall Canadian population. Furthermore, during both wars the Ukrainian Canadian community, in general, also participated in the war effort in other ways, for example, by supporting the activities of the Red Cross and fundraising activities such as the Canadian Patriotic Fund, Victory Loan bonds and War Savings Certificates.

Religious Life

Not only did organizational life grow during this period but so did religious life. The establishment of the Ukrainian Greek-Orthodox Church of Canada in Saskatoon in 1918 brought an important addition to the already established religious life of the community. The creation of an independent, national church came about because a significant segment of the Ukrainian population, particularly the intelligentsia, was highly critical of the practices of the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church. The number of faithful in the Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church grew steadily, and by 1941, its members numbered 88,874, while at the same time Ukrainian Catholics numbered 152,907.⁴² There was some animosity between the two major faiths, and a rift developed as Ukrainian Canadians divided themselves into two spiritual camps. The two churches were “headquartered” in Winnipeg.

Both major Ukrainian churches faced the problem of a shortage of priests. The Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church named its first Archbishop, Ivan Teodorovych, in 1924 and undertook the education of its own clergy in a seminary established in Winnipeg in 1932.⁴³ At the start of the interwar period most of the Ukrainian Greek Catholic clergy, headed by the Ukrainian Bishop Budka, were non-Ukrainians. Bishop Budka was succeeded by Bishop Ladyka in 1929.⁴⁴ Bishop Ladyka sought to remedy the situation and in this way more firmly establish the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church in Canada by seeing to it that many more Catholic priests were sent to Canada from Ukraine.

While the majority of Ukrainian Canadians continued to belong to the two major denominations, increasing numbers of Ukrainians were joining the various Protestant churches. In 1941, for example, Ukrainian membership in the United Church stood at 9,241, in the Anglican Church at 3,131, in the Presbyterian Church at 2,919 and in the Baptist Church at 2,439.⁴⁵

The Ukrainian Press in Winnipeg

The Ukrainian press in Winnipeg continued to flourish during the interwar period. Once again, as in the pre-World War I period, the major press organs were affiliated with religious and secular institutions, and most circulated nationally. The press also served an important function as far as Ukrainian Canadian literature was concerned in that it was a vehicle for the publication of literary works on its pages.

The pro-Soviet ULFTA was affiliated with the largest number of press organs, including Ukrayins'ki robotnychi visti (Ukrainian Labour News), Farmers'ke zhyttya (Farmers' Life), Holos robotnytsi (Voice of the Working Woman), Boyova molod' (Militant Youth) and Svit molodi (World of Youth). In 1940 all pro-Soviet publications were banned in Canada because they ideologically opposed Canada's wartime stance against Nazi Germany, which was then allied with the Soviet Union. Once the Soviet Union went over to the Allied side, the pro-Soviet press organs resumed publication. Ukrayins'ke zhyttya (Ukrainian Life) started publication in 1941 in Toronto and Ukrayins'ke slovo (Ukrainian Word) in 1943 in Winnipeg.⁴⁶

Non-leftist, generally pro-Ukrainian, nationalist press organs were also numerous. Press organs of the pioneer period, such as Ukrayins'kyy holos (Ukrainian Voice), Kanadyys'kyy farmer (Canadian Farmer), Kanadyys'kyy rusyn (Canadian Ruthenian), which was now renamed Kanadyys'kyy ukrainets' (Canadian Ukrainian), and Ranok (Morning), which was now renamed Kanadyys'kyy ranok (Canadian Morning), continued to be published in Winnipeg.

The Ukrainian Voice backed the Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church of Canada and USRL in the Ukrainian Canadian community and the Liberal Party on the federal level. The Canadian Ukrainian backed the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church and monarchist organizations, such as the Canadian Sich and the UHO.⁴⁷ The two organs often engaged in heated debates over their opposing allegiances. They began to co-operate to a certain extent, however, during the 1930s as Ukraine's political situation worsened. Once the Canadian Ukrainian was taken over by the National Press Company in 1927, it ceased to act as the press organ of the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church. After that the Church's official press organ became Ukrayins'ki visti (Ukrainian News) published in Edmonton. Also affiliated with this church were two monthlies Holos spasytelya (Redeemer's Voice) and Holos (Voice).

The Canadian Farmer continued to be published by a private individual, Frank Dojacek, and tried to stay away from any allegiances.⁴⁸ Even so, it tended to support the Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church, the Ukrainian nationalist movement and the Liberal Party.

Canadian Morning backed the United Church (the new amalgamation of the Presbyterian and Methodist Churches) and the Baptist Church. Despite the fact that its circulation progressively diminished throughout the interwar period, it, nonetheless, was an important voice of the Ukrainian Protestant community.⁴⁹

In 1928 Kanadiys'ka sich (Canadian Sich) began publication as the official organ of the Het'man movement.⁵⁰ It ceased publication in 1930. In 1929 the weekly newspaper Pravda i volya (Truth and Liberty) started publication.⁵¹ It took a definite nationalist-socialist stance. It was the press organ of the UNH Association in Winnipeg. It continued publication for approximately two years. Both of these newspapers were forced to close due to the economic depression of the 1930s.

Strilets'ki visti (Veteran's News), which existed between 1930-2, was the press organ of the UWVA.⁵² It backed the Ukrainian nationalist movement in Europe and the activities of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists in Ukraine. In 1930 Novyy shlyakh (New Pathway) was established in Edmonton, and the Veterans' News soon amalgamated with it. In 1933 its head offices moved to Saskatoon and in 1941 to Winnipeg. This newspaper devoted itself to the same cause as the Veterans' News had. Although it purported to be tolerant of all other organizations, it entered into debates with the press organs of other organizations, which it believed did not support the notion of Ukrainian independence sufficiently.

The Question of Education

The Ukrainian Canadian community in Winnipeg had more to be wary of than organizational and religious factionalization. It had to face the very real fact that the rate of assimilation of the Ukrainians into the Canadian mainstream was steadily increasing. As in the earlier period, community leaders feared assimilation for it would spell the demise of a separate Ukrainian ethnocultural identity in Canada. Census data for 1932, 1936 and 1951 proves interesting on this point. 1951 is included here for comparison since data for 1941 is unavailable. The data that is available provides totals for all urban centres in Manitoba; data on Winnipeg alone is unavailable. Nonetheless, the data should be indicative of the trends in Winnipeg at the time. Data for 1931 indicates that out of a total of 22,984 persons of Ukrainian origin living in urban centres in Manitoba, 20,771 or 90.4 percent reported Ukrainian as their mother tongue, while only 627 or 2.7 percent reported English as their mother tongue. Data for 1936 indicates that out of a total of 28,628 Ukrainians reporting, 26,574 or 92.8 percent reported Ukrainian as their mother tongue, while 1,125 or 3.9 percent reported English as their mother tongue. By 1951, however, out of a total of 49,347 Ukrainians reporting, 38,640 or 78.3 percent reported Ukrainian as their mother tongue and 10,000 or 20.3 percent reported English as their mother tongue.⁵³ Utilizing the criteria of mother tongue as an indicator of assimilation, in the interwar period assimilation did not yet appear to be occurring at an alarming rate. By 1951, however, a significant proportion, slightly over one-fifth, of the urban population in Manitoba could be said to have been assimilated. These statistics indicate that the fears regarding assimilation were warranted.

One of the major ways of warding off language loss and subsequent assimilation was believed to be through the ridna shkola (the literal translation is “native school” but they are now known as “Ukrainian language supplementary schools”) system. Private schools were established by various churches and organizations in Winnipeg. Classes generally met either in the evenings or on Saturdays. The programs consisted of Ukrainian grammar, literature, history, religion and the like, and were conducted in Ukrainian.

In 1923 the Ukrainian school teachers in Winnipeg founded the Association of Ukrainian Teachers of Canada to replace the old Ukrainian Teachers’ Association, and in 1932 they founded the Society of Ukrainian Vernacular School Teachers of Canada. Statistics published by the Society in 1933 indicate that there were twenty-nine teachers and 1,419 students in the supplementary schools of the prairie provinces and northwestern Ontario.⁵⁴ This is an extremely low figure considering that the Ukrainian population in Canada in 1931 was 225,113 and that the largest concentration of Ukrainians in Canada was in these regions.⁵⁵ It is, therefore, obvious that the majority of Ukrainian parents were not sending their children to these schools. It is true that in many rural communities the Ukrainian population was too small to support a supplementary school, and it is also true that home instruction may have been practiced by some. These factors notwithstanding, however, one is forced to agree with Marunchak that many parents simply did not bother to send their children to Ukrainian supplementary schools in the belief that their “Canadianization” was inevitable.⁵⁶

At the same time the Ukrainians were becoming better educated largely through the efforts of the public school system. Although still completely removed from the Canadian norm in terms of occupational involvement, census data indicates that Ukrainian Canadians were on the road toward approximating the norm. According to this data Ukrainians were still predominantly involved in primary occupations, such as farming, fishing, forestry and mining, and in the sector designated as “all other” occupations, including transportation, communication, construction, manufacturing and unspecified types of work.⁵⁷ In 1921, for example, 92 percent of the Ukrainian Canadian labour force was involved in these sectors. In 1931, 88 percent and in 1941, 81 percent of the labour force was involved in them.⁵⁸ At the same time the more skilled categories, which include owner, managerial, professional, technical, clerical, sales, and service sectors were growing as well. For example, in 1921, the owner-manager category stood at 174 individuals, in 1931 at 299 and by 1941 it grew to 762; the professional-technical category stood at 304 in 1921, at 1,124 in 1931 and grew to 2,383 by 1941; the clerical category stood at 158 in 1921, at 355 in 1931, and grew to 1,796 by 1941; the sales category stood at 853 in 1921, at 1,873 in 1931 and grew to 4,564 by 1941; and the service category stood at 1,194 in 1921, at 5,703 in 1931 and grew to 12,423 by 1941.⁵⁹ These data also indicate that the economic depression of the 1930s, notwithstanding, the circumstances of life for Ukrainians in Canada were constantly improving throughout the period.

2. The “Centrist” Writers

The majority of the writers of the time were once again community leaders. Among them were clergymen, including Taras Volokhatyuk, Ivan Bodrug, Ivan Yefymovych Kmeta (who wrote under the pseudonym Myroslav Ichnyans'kyy), Semen Sawchuk (Savchuk), and Vasyl' Kudryk; editors of newspapers and journals, including Ivan Danyl'chuk, Honore Ewach, Stepan Doroshchuk, and Michael Petrivsky; social activists, such as Semen Kovbel' and Myroslav Irchan (pseudonym of Andriy Babyuk); and teachers, like Andriy Gospodyn, Petro Chaykivs'kyy, and Yurko Shkvarok.

The writers were a diverse group. Some, such as Ivan Novosad, Mykhaylo Kumka, Semen Kovbel', and Ivan Bodrug, had immigrated to Canada as young adults prior to the war and, in the case of the latter two, wrote and published works in both the pre-war and interwar periods. Some, such as Andriy Gospodyn, Viktor Tulevitriy, Ivan Yefymovych Kmeta and Myroslav Irchan, came to Canada as adults in the 1920s. Others, such as Dmytro Hun'kevych, Petro Chaykivs'kyy, Michael Petrivsky and Honore Ewach, although born in Ukraine, were raised and educated in Canada. Most of these writers still wrote exclusively in Ukrainian.

On the whole these differences in the background of the writers did not translate into a difference in themes. In other words, the themes that they dealt with cannot be differentiated on the basis of the differences in the backgrounds of the writers. The writers of the interwar period were all fairly well educated individuals, and this was

reflected in the fact that the language the writers of this period used in their writing tended to be the literary Ukrainian language. This was radically different from the writing of the pre-war period, which relied heavily on dialectal Ukrainian. At least one writer, Honore Ewach, began to write in English.

Thematically what is most evident in the works written during this period is that the writers were not as deeply concerned with sentimental yearnings for the homeland as the writers of the previous period had been. They were, in fact, more interested in the politics of Ukraine and Ukrainian Canadian themes.

The Emergence of Ukrainian Canadian Theatre

The majority of the individual works written and published during this period were plays. Theatrical productions were extremely popular within the Ukrainian community prior to the war and continued to be throughout the 1920s. They were an inexpensive and easily accessible means of entertainment. Winnipeg's three main dramatic ensembles, the Mariya Zan'kovets'ka, the "Boyan" and the Ivan Kotlyarevs'kyy, continued to be housed in and associated with the UNH. The three groups amalgamated in 1922, creating the drama section of the UNH. There were some 300 active members and over 500 passive members in the amalgamated group.⁶⁰ Plays were staged in halls throughout North End Winnipeg. Particularly popular was the new Canadian Ukrainian Institute Prosvita (Enlightenment) hall which seated over a 1,000 people. It is also interesting to note that Winnipeg's Ukrainian community boasted two semi-professional dramatic ensembles, the

Prosvita Rusalka (Nymph) Theatre and the Ukrainian National Federation Travelling Stock Theatre.⁶¹

The plays that were staged were, at first, predominantly written in Ukraine and popular there as well. These were plays written by such writers as Staryts'kyi, Kropyvnyts'kyi and Tobilevych primarily in the latter half of the 19th century. In some instances the same play was staged numerous times. The general public, however, began to be bored with the repertoire. Furthermore, the political situation in Ukraine was not conducive to the creation of literature, and those works that were being written were not of interest to the Ukrainian Canadian audience. Therefore, it is not surprising that more and more plays began to be written by Ukrainian Canadian writers and subsequently staged for the Ukrainian Canadian public. In Winnipeg, in particular, playwrights abounded and included such individuals as Dmytro Hun'kevych, Semen Kovbel', Myroslav Irchan, Vasyl' Kazanivs'kyi and P. Pylypenko.

The ULFTA also encompassed a dramatic ensemble, the Drama-Choral Circle of the Ukrainian Labour Temple. This ensemble mainly staged plays written in Ukraine because the ULFTA's ties with Ukraine remained strong, and, furthermore, the ULFTA was not ideologically opposed to the themes dealt with by Soviet Ukrainian writers as were the nationalist Ukrainian Canadians. However, the ensemble's repertoire did include plays written by Myroslav Irchan, a Ukrainian writer of some note, who was a Marxist⁶² and upon his arrival in Canada, became an integral part of the leftist community. The Labour Temple theatre had a seating capacity of 1,000. Therefore, it was unnecessary for

the ULFTA's dramatic ensemble to perform elsewhere. In fact, until the erection of the equally spacious Institute Prosvita concert hall, the various non-leftist dramatic ensembles at times used this hall for their stage productions as well.

By the 1930s the popularity of live theatre was steadily declining among the Ukrainian Canadian public due in part to its changing tastes in entertainment, which now favoured American films. Concerts, however, continued to be staged regularly, as often as once a week, and these continued to attract the public. Often included in the concert programs were one-act plays, some only skits, and most highly farcical in nature, whose primary aim was to amuse the audience. Because of the need for such one-act plays, many were written during the period. Such works included Semen Kremin's Neporozuminnya (Misunderstanding, 1928),⁶³ Pomichnyky (Helpers, 1940)⁶⁴ and Vuykova pomylka (Uncle's mistake, 1940),⁶⁵ M. Kripenko's "Heroy" v mishku ("Hero" in a sack, 1931),⁶⁶ M. and P. Kripenko's Troye zaruchyn (Three engagements, 1930),⁶⁷ and Mykhaylo Krypyakevych's Yak kum kuma lichyv (How a friend cured a friend, 1938).⁶⁸ These works are stylistically simple and they have little literary value.

Kremin's Misunderstanding deals with the Bilyy family which is expecting the arrival of a suitor for their daughter and a new manservant on the same day. Since Mr. Bilyy has never met either, he mistakes one for the other with humourous results. Kremin's Helpers deals with a young man trying to deceive his uncle into believing he is married with a family in order to receive his inheritance. The deception does not quite work out because all three of his servants (one of them, a man) pretend to be his wife and all three produce fake children (one of them, a Negro child). In the end his uncle forgives

him for the deception because he is convinced by one of the servants that his nephew is a good man. Kremin's Uncle's Mistake involves an uncle's misunderstanding as to who his nephew's secret beloved really is. He mistakes the girl's aunt for the girl and professes his nephew's love for her. He mistakes the girl for her aunt and professes his own love for her. Once the mistaken identity has been straightened out, the uncle and aunt and nephew and niece finally pair up correctly.

M. Kripenko's "Hero" In a Sack tells the story of a group of friends who do not want a braggart in their group. They are able to finally exclude him by fooling him into hiding in a potato sack and then throwing him around like a sack of potatoes. M. and P. Kripenko's Three Engagements describes how a man unwittingly proposes marriage to three different girls who have responded to his matrimonial newspaper advertisement. He is expecting only one girl to arrive, but all three do. Each, however, is met separately either by him or one of his two roommates. Each fellow ends up engaged to the girl that he met. In Krypyakevych's How a Friend Cured a Friend, a drunken man becomes ill because he mistakes dirty dishwater and a dishrag for borshch and meat and eats them. Then he mistakes gasoline for whiskey which he drinks to ease his stomach pain. While his wife runs to get the doctor, his friend arrives; and because his friend has forgotten his glasses, he mistakes a remedy to ease cramping in horses for a human remedy with humorous results. The remedy involves galloping around and receiving a rubdown. Once the doctor arrives he declares the man cured because all the movement helped him digest what he ate. Other dramatic works, which are of more significant literary merit, are discussed below.

The Emergence of Ukrainian Canadian Themes

By the time of the interwar period the Ukrainian Canadians seemed to have come to terms with the fact that Canada was now their permanent home, and this was probably the reason why there was no longer much evidence of nostalgia for the homeland in the literature of the period. Viktor Tulevitriv's (1886- ?) lyrical poem "Tuha" (Longing, 1932) was one of the few literary works that reflected this sentiment:

Ох, деж той Край

Де я зростав,

Де в юніх літ

Я втіху мав?

Ох, де ж ті співи

Соловія . . .

Невже тих спів

Не вчую я?

Ох, де ж той рай --

Невже пропав?

Невже нерідним

Мені став? . . .

Скажи ме,

Земле моя!

Чи поверну

До тебе я?⁶⁹

Oh, where is the Land / Where I grew up, / Where in my youth / I
experienced joy? / Oh, where are those songs / Of the nightingale . . . / Can it
be / That I will not hear their song again? / Oh, where is that paradise -- / Can it be
truly lost? . . . / Can it have become a stranger / To me? . . . / Tell me, / My land! /
Will I return -- / To you? /

In another lyrical poem “Ne lyuba . . .” (Not loved, 1939) Tulevitiv not only
expresses a sentimental longing for Ukraine, he criticizes those who forsake it in search of
a better life for themselves:

Така твоя доля

Нещасна Україно:

Цурається, встидається

Рідная дитина.

Каже, що не любя

І не хоче знати

Тай пішла собі безумна

Кращую шукати.⁷⁰

This is your fate / Unfortunate Ukraine: / Your own child / Forsakes you, is
embarrassed by you. / It says that you are not loved / And it does not want to
know you / And it went madly / Searching for a better one. /

He goes on to warn against searching for paradise as it does not exist anywhere. Instead, he recommends:

Дбайте про Україну,

Будуйте свій Край.

Там будете мати

Без раю . . . Свій рай.⁷¹

Care for Ukraine, / Build your own Land. / There you will have / Without
paradise . . . Your own paradise. /

Uniquely Canadian themes were emerging and becoming predominant in the literature. These themes centered on the life of Ukrainians in Canada and concerned organizational life, assimilation, the economic depression of the 1930s, religious life. As well, Ukrainian Canadian literature began to react to the Ukrainian Canadian communist faction. Literary works also dealt with the situation in Ukraine.

Organizational factionalism within the centrist community was dealt with in some works. In Panteleymon Bozhyk's (1879-1944) play "Pokhoron ukrayins'koyi nezhody" (The funeral of Ukrainian discord, 1939),⁷² for example, Ksenofont, a wise man and student of Socrates, arrives in Winnipeg and meets with the heads of the various Ukrainian organizations, both religious and secular. He does so at the invitation of the head of the Canadian Ukrainian Institute Prosvita. To each of them Ksenofont preaches unity of all of the community's various factions:

"I am telling you that if you wish to be strong, then you must be as one body, one spirit, one heart in all sectors of life. Do not fool yourselves that you are

strong or will be strong someday when you do not practice self-discipline and factionalize. Whosoever teaches you anything different from what I am telling you is an ignoramus or your enemy.”⁷³

Ksenofont’s argument readily convinces the organizational leaders that his position is the correct one to take. The various organizations join forces and create one unified entity. Erased are all traces of political and religious differences. There are now common goals and only one religion, as stated in the new motto: “One God, one Catholic faith, one Ukrainian people and a single Ukrainian effort directed at our sovereignty.”⁷⁴ Since Bozhyk was a Ukrainian Greek Catholic priest,⁷⁵ it is not surprising that he should postulate unity under the Catholic faith.

Tulevitriiv’s poem “Do al’bomu rizhnym taboram” (Various camps to the album, 1939) acknowledges the community’s factionalization and addresses some of the major organizations, e.g., the UNF, the USRL, the ULFTA and the UHO. This is a lighthearted tribute to each of them based on their aims and affiliations with certain religious groups and press organs. For example, the address to the USRL states:

СУС-ам і їх “Голосів”.
 Ми всі демократи,
 У нас одна мати --
 Кефальна церква
 В свій “голос” один . . .
 Не вступим з дороги,
 Як ті круторогі,

Хоч би з нас зістався

Лише один . . . ⁷⁶

To the members of the U[krainian] S[elf] R[eliance] L[eague] and their “Voice”
[the newspaper Ukrainian Voice]. / We are all democrats, / We have one
mother -- / The [Auto]cephalous church / In a single “voice” . . . / We will not
stray off the road, / Like those with twisted horns do, / Even if only one of us /
Were left . . . /

Certainly not all Ukrainians in Winnipeg took an active part in the organizational life of the community. Petro Khomlyak’s Na rozdorizhzi (At the crossroads, 1946)⁷⁷ deals with the dilemma faced by many Ukrainian Canadians. It depicts a man, Semen, who is at a crossroads in his life. He does not know whether he belongs in gambling dens and dance halls or in a cultural organization such as the Ukrainian National Home. His dilemma is never resolved, and the reader does not know what choice he ultimately makes. The point of this work is that Semen’s dilemma is exactly the same as the one faced by the Ukrainian Canadian community at large, which is also torn between frivolity and culture.

Dmytro Hun’kevych’s (1893-1953) Klyub sufrazhystok (The suffragettes’ club, 1925)⁷⁸ takes a different look at organizational life in Canada. In 1918 women’s suffrage was granted by the Canadian government. The play concerns the organization of a suffragist club in an unnamed North American city and is a lighthearted and somewhat humorous work. The club is established by a conman, who is not in the least interested in women’s rights, but only in his own financial gain. The frivolous and foolish Suzanna is easily taken in by him. Her more sensible and intelligent friend, Klavdiya, however,

refuses to join a club, which, as depicted here, only promotes misunderstanding between husbands and wives. She would rather belong to an educational organization for the following reason:

“I belong to an educational organization where men go together with their wives, and with girls, and I tell you that I feel very comfortable in the company of nice young people and honourable men; this is really the joy of my life.”⁷⁹

The message that this work conveys is that women’s organizations are not a necessary phenomenon. Men and women, old and young, can all co-exist in educational organizations.

Khomlyak’s At the Crossroads⁸⁰ points out the folly of a wayward lifestyle that consists of drinking and gambling and praises the more morally and socially proper lifestyle associated with belonging to a socio-cultural organization. P. Pylypenko’s (1898-1965) Slovo yak horobets’ (A word like a sparrow, 1932)⁸¹ and Vasyl’ Stavnichka’s Chudo professor (Miracle professor, 1946)⁸² are purely moralistic in tone. The former deals with the folly of cursing by depicting what misfortunes befall an individual when all of his curses come true. The latter is a parable wherein a talking pig teaches the people of a town what they should know about proper behaviour.

In another play, P. Pylypenko (1898-1965) discusses the attitudes of Ukrainians to each other. His one-act play Sviy do svoho (One of our own to one of our own, 1936)⁸³ points out how Ukrainians, despite being warned against it, prefer to give their patronage to Jews rather than to other Ukrainians. This is true even though the Ukrainians are at

least as competent as their Jewish counterparts and do not take advantage of other Ukrainians as Jews do. Furthermore, Ukrainians, when they do patronize other Ukrainians, expect to obtain their services for next to nothing, or even for free, whereas they are willing to pay Jews. In the play *Budyuk*, a Ukrainian lawyer, and his wife, Lesya, discuss such Ukrainian attitudes. Lesya is convinced that more enlightened Ukrainians do not behave in such a manner but is proven wrong. When Prokip, the example of a more enlightened individual, is asked why he went to a Jewish lawyer and not a Ukrainian one, he answers, “I came to the conclusion that it’s not worth fraternizing with aristocrats.”⁸⁴ In other words, Ukrainians, once they become “somebody” behave as though they are superior to other Ukrainians. Lesya, convinced that things will change, says to her husband, “Wait. Just a little more time and they [i.e., the Ukrainians] will understand. We just have to talk and write about this more.”⁸⁵

M. Kripenko’s (pseudonym of Mykhaylo Krypyakevych, 1897-1968) *Na vakatsiyakh* (On vacation, 1927) is a children’s play that deals with assimilation. Here, one pupil, Semen, wants to become an “Englishman.” He does not want to study any subjects that are Ukrainian -- like Ukrainian grammar and history -- which Ukrainian teachers make him do, because, as he says, “I have said this more than once, and even father says it, what do we need that Ukrainian for. If I could learn some more English then I could go among the English people and be an Englishman.”⁸⁶ But the point of the story is that it is important to become a good Ukrainian Canadian, as one student says:

“ . . . learn as much as you can about your own and be a sincere Ukrainian.

Also learn as much as you can about other people’s for you cannot get along

without this knowledge here. But always remember what is your own and cherish it as you would holy things.”⁸⁷

Fearing the loss of their language and becoming assimilated, some Ukrainian Canadians realized that there was a need for suitable reading materials for children in order to preserve the language among the young. The subject matter dealt with in many of the children’s works indicates that the writers also realized the importance of writing on themes that the Ukrainian Canadian young people could relate to. A large number of children’s plays were written at the time, all suitable for staging at concerts.

A predominant theme in some of the children’s plays is the importance of learning Ukrainian subject matter, such as Ukrainian language, literature, history, geography and so on, as for example, in Kripenko’s play On Vacation⁸⁸ and Hun’kevych’s play Rozhdestvens’ka nich (Christmas night, 1924).⁸⁹ In the former, it is apparent that in some rural public schools in Canada Ukrainian teachers would teach in addition to the required curriculum, Ukrainian subject matter, usually after school hours. In the play some of the schoolchildren prefer English teachers to Ukrainian ones because Ukrainian teachers teach until four and five o’clock due to the additional subject matter. In fact, from the following comments made by one of the children it appears that in fiction, at least, Ukrainian teachers were generally more responsible in carrying out their duties than their English counterparts:

“At one time it was good when there still weren’t any Ukrainian teachers.

I remembered when English teachers still taught, then it was good. They

never taught longer than four o'clock. And sometimes in the afternoon at recess when we began to play baseball, we would play until four and then go home."⁹⁰

In the foreword to Christmas Night, Hun'kevych states he wrote the play because of a lack of subject matter that Ukrainian children in North America could relate to. The play describes a Ukrainian school that is in danger of closing because the community can no longer afford to maintain it. The children value the school so much that they raise the funds to save it by themselves. In both of these plays the children's behaviour is intended as an example for other Ukrainian children to try and follow.

Some works, like Hun'kevych's Christmas Night and Semen Kovbel's (1877-1966) Svyatvy Mykolay v Kanadi (Saint Nicholas in Canada, 1938?),⁹¹ were written for special occasions, such as Christmas. Another work along this line is M. Borysyk's Na rizdvo khryst[o]ve (On the occasion of Christ's birth, 1927).⁹² Mykhaylo Kumka's (1893-1967) Monol'ogy i diyal'ogy dlya ditey (Monologues and dialogues for children, 1935)⁹³ and his three volume Snip (Sheaf, 1937-40)⁹⁴ are intended for use at concerts commemorating Christmas, New Year's, Mother's day, and the anniversaries of Taras Shevchenko and Ivan Franko. The former consists of prose works and the latter of poems, only some of which are written by Winnipeggers, such as Kumka himself and Semen Kovbel'.

S.M. Doroshchuk's (1894-1945) Dlya ridnykh ditey (For one's own children, 1929)⁹⁵ is intended as a reader. This is a collection of poems, which stress appropriate

behaviour and values in children. Another work deserving of attention is Molodyy vik, opovidannya dlya molodizhy, knyzhka persha (Young age, stories for young people, book one, 1918).⁹⁶ This is a reader intended for home use by those children not attending Ukrainian supplementary school. It begins with an introduction to the Ukrainian alphabet and sound system and includes stories and poems by various authors, including Winnipeggers, such as, Doroshchuk and Kovbel'. O.T. Darkovych's play Olesya⁹⁷ (1927), a slightly modified version of Borys Hrinchenko's children's story of the same title, relates the tale of how a young girl named Olesya saves her native village from a Tartar attack, but gives up her life in the process. The intent is to teach children the importance of patriotism and selflessness. Still other works were simply intended as entertaining reading material for children, such as Petrivsky's (1897-1982) Dyakouchytel' u shkoli (The deacon-teacher in school, 1939).⁹⁸ This last work is a humorous piece which relates how students take advantage of their deacon-teacher.

The economic depression of the 1930s, which was very much a reality for the Ukrainian Canadians is the subject of Tulevitriiv's four stanza lyrical poem "Pisnya bezrobitnoho v Kanadi" (Song of an unemployed man in Canada), which states in part:

Чому літа трачу,

Чого я сумую,

Чого я у цій Канаді

Без діла дармую.⁹⁹

Why am I wasting my years, / Why am I sad, / Why am I in this Canada / Wasting my time without anything to do. /

The unemployed man even considers returning to Ukraine for he believes that it might be preferable to fight for the freedom of his homeland than to keep searching for work in Canada.

Pylypenko's play Svyshchemo na krizu (We are whistling at the crisis, n.d.)¹⁰⁰ takes a lighthearted view of the Depression era. Even though the work's two heroes, Oleksa and Stepan, are unemployed and penniless, they bet on a horse race and ultimately lose the money that Oleksa got from his rich girlfriend. As a result Oleksa's girlfriend forsakes him. Oleksa and Stepan fare well, however, for in the end they decide to marry the two sisters whom they really love and who have conveniently inherited 5,000 dollars each. With the inheritance the men plan to go into business making makitry (earthenware mixing bowls) and makohony (pestles). These utensils were frequently used in Ukrainian kitchens but were not available in Canada. Because of the large Ukrainian Canadian market for them, they anticipate making a lot of money selling them.

The rift between the two major churches was dealt with in literary works to a minimal extent. The primary example is Mykhaylo T. Darkovych's "Kyyiv i Rym" (Kiev and Rome, 1929).¹⁰¹ In the foreword to this poem the author states that he is against sectarianism in the Ukrainian community and that is why he has written this work.¹⁰² His aim is to direct the Ukrainians down the proper religious road, which, though he does not state it explicitly, is Greek-Orthodoxy, the religion that is independent of Moscow, Warsaw and Rome. The work is also very obviously anti-Catholic. It depicts a conflict between the narodovtsi (nationalists) and the Ukrainian Catholics over whether the Ukrainian hall in Dauphin, Manitoba should be affiliated with Rome, i.e., the Ukrainian

Greek Catholics, or with the nationalists. The nationalists appear to be former Catholics as evidenced by their words to the Catholic priest:

“Але, свенти папе ксьондзе,
Вже ті дні пропали,
Коли ми вам руки й ноги
Мов дурні лизали!

Вже спала з очей наших
Сліпая полуда,
Вже почули правду вірну
Наші міцні груди! --¹⁰³

“But holy father, / Those days are over, / When we licked your hands and feet /
Like idiots! / Gone from our eyes / Is the blind cataract, / Our strong breasts /
Have heard the faithful truth!” /

When speaking to the Catholic priest the nationalists address him in Polish as svyenty papye ks'ondze (holy father priest). Polish is probably used as a means of accusing the Greek Catholic clergy of being either highly polonized or of being of Polish origin themselves. Furthermore, the nationalists have absolutely no respect for these priests, they say:

Ксьондзам не вір! Вони-не ми!
Вони лиш правдою торгують!
Вони, як чорні ті кроти,
Що міцний корінь плоду псують!¹⁰⁴

Do not believe the priests! They are not us! / They only barter in truth! / They are like those black moles, / That spoil the strong root of the fruit! /

The poem also states that the people can liberate Ukraine only after they are independent from the influence of Rome. This argument is said to be based on historical fact:

Козацька, вільна Україна
Хіба любила Рим коли?
Таж Запорожці гірше пекла
Папістів з Римцями кляли.

Вони не хтіли знати Риму!
Для них був Рим пекельний вал,
Який топтав гнилих Вкраїнців
Смердючий, яничарський кал.¹⁰⁵

The free Cossack Ukraine / Did it ever love Rome? -- / Why the Zaporozhians cursed / The papists and the Romans more than hell itself. / They did not want to know Rome! / For them Rome was the hellish bulwark, / Which trampled rotten Ukrainians / The stinking, traitorous excrement. /

M. Kripenko's humourous sketch "Liniment" (1929)¹⁰⁶ mentions the religious fragmentation of the community, very cursorily, saying only that it occurred.

Religious and biblical themes are also reflected in literary works. Semen Savchuk's (1895-1983) Opovidannya z zhyttya Isusa Khrysta (Stories from the life of Jesus Christ, 1930)¹⁰⁷ deals with biblical themes exclusively. Two sections of Myroslav

Ichnyans'kyu's (1901- ?) Lira emigranta (The emigrant's lyre, 1936)¹⁰⁸ are also devoted to religious themes. The poems are largely lyrical. His lyrical poem "Rizdvyane radio" (Christmas radio, 1936), for example, addresses the issue of conveying the message that Christ, the Saviour of the world, is born:

Різдвяна радість розлилася,
 Мов море ніччю з берегів,
 Лондон . . . Бомбей . . . Берлін озвався,
 Привіти пахнуть. Ріки співів.

Пожаром радіо крилате
 Розносить слово! -- Він родивсь!
 Христос у яслах . . . Діва-Мати
 Його сповила там колись.

Для нас, Учителя ясного,
 -- Христос прийшов для вас, для вас!
 Надіймось, вірймо! -- Бо нікого
 Нема, хто б світ проклятий спас.¹⁰⁹

Christmas joy has flowed, / Like the sea by night from the shores. / London . . .
 Bombay . . . Berlin has responded, / The welcomes waft. Rivers of song. / Like
 a fire the winged radio / Disperses the word -- He is born! / Christ is in the manger
 . . . The Virgin Mother / Swaddled him there at one time. / For us, bright
 Teacher / -- Christ has come for you, for you! / Let us hope, let us believe! -- For
 there is no one / Who could save the damned world. /

Ivan Danyl'chuk (1901-1942) showed interest in uniquely Canadian themes. For example, in his poem "Kanadi" (To Canada, 1929) he provides a lyrical tribute to his adopted homeland:

Канадо!
 У стіп Твоїх я бю Поклін
 Сердечний він і щирий він . . .¹¹⁰
 Canada! / I bow at your feet, / In a heartfelt and sincere tribute . . . /

The tribute is made in the name of everyone to whom Canada has provided a secure haven:

Тобі Канадо, цей поклін!
 Від гостей всіх з усіх сторін,
 Котрих гонила доля зла,
 Котрі втікали зпід ярма
 Й відвічних мук.¹¹¹

For you, Canada, is this tribute! / From all of your guests from all directions, /
 Who were driven by cruel fate, / Who escaped from under a yoke / And eternal
 suffering. /

His poem "Vinnipeg" (Winnipeg, 1929) presents, in part, a lyrical physical description of the city:

Асинибой з рікою Ред
 Обнялися й пливуть вперед,
 Пригадують в спокійнім сні
 Недавні ще минулі дні.

На берегах, немов садок,

Безліч малих рядків хаток; . . . ¹¹²

The Assiniboine and the Red River, / Have embraced and are flowing onwards; /

They recall in a peaceful dream/ the days of the recent past. / On the shores, like an

orchard, / Are countless rows of houses; . . . /

The poem also deals with the sense of security that the city provides for the future:

І тихо шепче ріка Ред:

“Ходи, мій братіку, вперед;

І руку свою дай мені,

Стрінем бо бурю на весні!”¹¹³

And the Red River quietly whispers: / “Come, my brother, onward with me; / And

give me your hand, / Together we shall meet the storm in spring!” /

Ichnyans'kyu's The Emigrant's Lyre¹¹⁴ is a collection of lyrical poems. It incorporates various themes such as Ukrainian immigration to Canada, religion and pure fantasy. He also incorporates Canadiana. His “Osin' kanadiys'ka” (Canadian autumn, 1936), for example, is dedicated to the beauty of a Canadian autumn:

Запалила пожежі осінь,

Роздирають золоте вбрання

Каштани, осики. Голосить

Вітер до півночі зранку.

Осінь косить . . . Листя шепочуть.

Наче: Вітре не тронь! Вічний . . .

Жити любо . . . Жити ще хочем, . . .

Моляться. Падають. Мліють.¹¹⁵

Autumn has lit the fires, / Renting their golden clothing / are the chestnuts and the
poplars. / The wind wails from morning until midnight. /Autumn is mowing . . .

The leaves are whispering. / As if: Wind do not topple us! O, eternal one . . . /

To live is a joy . . . We want to keep living, -- / They pray. They fall. They faint. /

One of the more prominent writers of the time was Semen Kovbel'. As mentioned previously he was a social activist and a leading member of the UNH. In fact, together with Dmytro Doroshenko he co-authored the history and development of the UNH in their Propamyatna knyha Ukrayins'koho narodnoho domu u Vynypegu (Memorial book of the Ukrainian National Home in Winnipeg),¹¹⁶ which remains a valuable source of information on the organization and the formative years of the Ukrainian Canadian community.

To an extent, in his fiction, Kovbel' concerned himself with issues relevant to the times. His novella, Parubochi mrii (zaklyata hora) (A young man's dreams [enchanted mountain], 1942),¹¹⁷ for example, is interesting in that it implies that once a Ukrainian becomes financially secure in Canada, he is assimilated. Here assimilation is defined as changing one's name, presumably to an Anglo-Saxon one, and severing all ties with the Ukrainian Canadian community. The hero of the novella, Oleksa, is motivated to assimilate by the fact that he will now no longer have to donate money to any of the Ukrainian community's many causes. Interestingly enough this work also indicates that Canadian themes outside the purely Ukrainian were beginning to permeate the literature for it includes native Indian characters and depicts native beliefs.

Like writers before him, Kovbel' also felt the need to impart a sense of socially "acceptable" forms of behaviour to his readers. The plots of his novellas A Young Man's Dreams (Enchanted Mountain)¹¹⁸ and Divochi mriyi (Girls' dreams, 1918)¹¹⁹ are developed in such a way that at the end of each work the hero or heroine wakes up to find that the events that transpired were in fact a dream. The former conveys the message that greed, thoughtlessness and egotism are profoundly negative qualities in the individual. In this work the hero, Oleksa, is a gold miner whom an Indian maiden, who is in love with him, leads to a gold supply at the "Zaklyata hora" (Enchanted mountain), an Indian holy site. Oleksa mines this gold and becomes a wealthy businessman. In the process he forsakes Ira, the Indian maiden and falls in love with Ada, who, in turn, betrays him because she wants to usurp his holdings. He is rescued by Ira, but their reunion is shortlived because she is inadvertently killed in a fight between Oleksa and her Indian suitor. After he wakes up from this dream, Oleksa really does strike gold at an Indian holy site, but agrees not to mine it so as not to commit a sacrilege. But he will be rewarded by the government for discovering an important historical site. Girls' Dreams conveys the message that girls should not try to reach above their social station in choosing a mate for this will only bring them despair. True marital happiness will only be found with someone of one's own social class. In this work Orysya is attracted to a panych (a petty aristocrat) rather than to the blacksmith who wants to marry her. She falls asleep and dreams of falling in love with the aristocrat, of his treating her badly and her running away pregnant and afraid, having forsaken her parents. She ends up working for Jews, who mistreat her because she is homeless. Kovbel' contradicts himself in his Virna sestra to zoloto (A

faithful sister is gold, 1930?)¹²⁰ in which he supports the marriage between two people of different social classes. In this work, the mother of a young woman who is a physician is tricked into allowing her daughter to marry a young farmer, whom the mother initially believes to be socially unfit to marry her daughter.

As the Ukrainian Canadian community became increasingly factionalized during the interwar period, the friction between organizations competing with each other for members was depicted in fictional works. For example, in Kovbel's St. Nicholas in Canada, a children's play, a group of children is visited by the devil. From his introduction of himself to the children, one may conclude that the devil is a representative of the ULFTA: "I come from Winnipeg itself, from Pritchard."¹²¹ (The ULFTA headquarters were on Pritchard Avenue in Winnipeg.) The devil further proves his leftist connection by laughing at the Ten Commandments and saying that his only allegiance is to the Five Year Plan. Although one would expect the devil to be the personification of evil, his only truly bad deed is persuading the boys to smoke. Although this play ostensibly warns children against involvement in the ULFTA, it also points out that children are the only hope for Ukraine's future. The implication is that this is why they must be taught appropriate behaviour.

This same play also provides some evidence of assimilation, as when the family is embarrassed to put up a didukh (a sheaf of straw brought into the house on Christmas eve) in the house fearing that "[i]f someone came into the house and saw it full of straw, they would laugh."¹²² The fact that these Ukrainians are not willing to practice their traditions in Canada indicates that they are attempting to conform to the mainstream.

Mykhaylo Darkovych's poem, "Yanychary" (Traitors, 1929) speaks out against the leftist faction, labelling the Canadian Bolsheviks "traitors." The suggested treatment of these traitors, however, is not the harsh one usually afforded treasonous activity.

Instead, it is the rather lenient punishment of being summarily paddled:

Гей каліки ви нездалі,
 Всіх до жовтого вас дому,
 Поскидати з вас штанята
 Та учити по одному!
 І то так вас тра учити,
 Щоб до смерти памятали,
 Щоб тим місцем що сідають
 Ви ніколи не сиділи!¹²³

Hey, you good-for-nothing cripples, / You should be sent to the yellow building, /
 Your shorts should be taken off / And one by one you should be taught [a
 lesson]! / And you should be taught in such a manner, / That you would remember
 until you die, / That on the part of the body that people sit on / You are never
 able to sit down! /

Bozhyk's short story "Dva shvagry" (Two brothers-in-law, 1941)¹²⁴ deals with what happens to an individual, who cherishes the ideals of Communism above all else. In this short story Petro Hnida's adherence to Bolshevism causes him to forsake his family in the homeland and roam Canada, bedraggled, with all of his worldly possessions in one small satchel. He explains his reason for doing so, "I am fighting for an idea, that people should be equal, that the wings of the rich should be clipped, so that they would not be

able to fly high or far, -- I am a communist, I am involved in politics”¹²⁵ Hnida’s brother-in-law, Ivan Lebid’, is derisive of what Bolshevism has done to Hnida. He believes familial responsibility to be the foremost obligation of Ukrainians in Canada. Hnida does not pay any attention to his brother-in-law’s advice. He remains faithful to Communism, dies alone and is given a pauper’s funeral by the municipal authorities. When Lebid’ learns of Hnida’s death, his epitaph for him is as follows, “Well, brother-in-law, you poor fellow, this is how you benefited from Bolshevism, you not only ruined yourself, but also your wife and children.”¹²⁶ In other words, not only does Bolshevism have the power to destroy an individual, the fact that it preaches adherence to its ideals first and foremost over all other obligation can lead to the destruction of the entire family.

In Tulevitiv’s poem “Rozмова bol’shevyka z demokratom” (A conversation between a Bolshevik and a democrat, 1939) a Bolshevik praises life under the Soviet regime in Ukraine. He states that everyone has enough to eat, that new technological innovations are being made in agriculture and that education is accessible to everyone. In fact, life is good!

От якби у цілім світі

Завести подібний лад!

Нема куди правди діти:

Був би всяк і кождий рад¹²⁷

If only in the whole world / A similar order were introduced! / The truth cannot be hidden: / Each and everyone would be happy . . . /

The democrat hears him out patiently but asks in amazement:

“Коли б справді в Московії

Ріки молоком текли,

Невже тоді б “добродії”

Большевицькі тут жили?”¹²⁸

If it were really true that in Moscovy / The rivers flowed with milk, / Then would
the “gentlemen” / Bolsheviks live here? /

In other words, if life is so good in Soviet Ukraine, then why not live there, instead of living in Canada where the Soviet system is not in force.

Themes Relating to Ukraine

The people in Canada were fighting the Communists partly because of the situation in Ukraine. The concern of the Ukrainian Canadians with the fate of their homeland was reflected in the literature to a fairly large extent. For example, a number of the poems in Tulevitriiv's Ballads and Songs,¹²⁹ Danyl'chuk's Svytaye den' (The day is dawning, 1929)¹³⁰ and Dmytro Zakharchuk's Na chuzhyni (In a foreign land, 1934)¹³¹ deal with a variety of themes relating to Ukraine. These include references to the glory of the Ukrainian Riflemen of the Sich in Tulevitriiv's poem “Strilets'kyi prapor” (The flag of the Riflemen of the Sich)¹³²; a call to fight for the Ukrainian cause in Tulevitriiv's poems “Ne sydit' zhe . . . “ (Do not sit any longer . . .)¹³³ and “Ukrayins'komu natsionalistu” (To the Ukrainian nationalist)¹³⁴; political events occurring in Ukraine in Tulevitriiv's poems “V lystopadi” (In November)¹³⁵ and “Na spomyn (prysvyata molodym heroyam polyahlym pid Krutamy)” (In remembrance [dedicated to the young heroes who perished at Kruty])¹³⁶

and Danyl'chuk's poem "Polayhlym bortsyam za volyu sobornoyi Ukrayiny" (To the fighters who perished for the freedom of a united Ukraine);¹³⁷ education as a means of gaining liberty for Ukraine in Zakharchuk's poems "Do svitla, znannya i dil" (To light, knowledge and deeds)¹³⁸ and "Lysh nauka odna" (Only education alone)¹³⁹; and opposition to Polish and Bolshevik oppressors in Zakharchuk's poems "Pid teperishnyu khvylyu" (At the present time)¹⁴⁰ and "Na dosviti" (At dawn).¹⁴¹

The themes of Polish and Bolshevik oppression are also dealt with in S. Kuryliv's Proklin materi (A mother's curse, 1936)¹⁴² and P. Pylypenko's Halychyna v ohni (patsyfikatsiya) (Galicia on fire [pacification], n.d.).¹⁴³ Kuryliv's novella takes a negative stand on Bolshevik oppression. It deals with a man, Petro Kobel', who sides with the Bolsheviks in the Ukrainian liberation struggle much to the dismay of his mother, who is a righteous and nationalistic woman. The novella ends with Petro dying as his Red Army battalion is attacked by the forces of nationalist General Symon Petlyura, and his mother's curse comes true. Pylypenko's drama describes the atrocities committed against the Ukrainians by the Poles in Galicia. These atrocities are designed to keep the peasants subservient to the Poles, but the residents of one village decide that they can no longer endure such an existence, and they rise up against the Poles. These villagers thus symbolize how Ukrainians in Galicia must behave in the face of Polish oppression.

At least one work, Pylypenko's comedic farce Sovyets'kyi rozvid (Soviet divorce, 1932)¹⁴⁴ describes conditions of life under the Soviet regime. It is primarily a putdown of the immorality of the Soviet system which allows the individual to obtain a divorce from a

spouse on the flimsiest grounds. This type of system, therefore, does not promote the development of normal family life. As the hero, Hanchenko, states, when his wife plans to divorce him because he has failed to buy her a pair of shoes that she wanted, “I would like those lawmakers to get a divorce every week so that they could feel on their own skins the stupid law, which gives the right to tear apart family life because of a pair of shoes or a hat.”¹⁴⁵ Although Hanchenko and his wife eventually reunite, they have no plans to remarry since they are convinced that marriage can only cause problems. The inference is that even the institution of marriage will soon become obsolete in Soviet Ukraine, and that this is a sorry state of affairs.

Particularly interesting are Tulevitriiv's Taka yiyi dolya (Such is her fate, 1941)¹⁴⁶ and Hun'kevych's Sered hradu kul' abo neustrashyma heroyinya (Amid the hail of bullets or the intrepid heroine, n.d.)¹⁴⁷ because they introduce new themes into Ukrainian Canadian literature. Both works have heroes, who, having immigrated to Canada and accepted Canada as their new home or having been born in Canada, return to Ukraine, for a time, to fight for the cause of Ukrainian independence. In Tulevitriiv's work the hero, Yakiv, a Ukrainian emigrant to Canada, believes that it is his “national duty” to return to his native Carpatho-Ukraine to take part in its liberation struggle in 1939. His Canadian-born daughter, Nadiya, follows suit. This is something of a surprise to Yakiv, who had until that time believed that Ukrainians born in Canada could not possibly be as concerned about the homeland as were their Ukrainian-born counterparts. He becomes disenchanted about Ukrainian-born Canadians, however, when he realizes that his friend, Trokhym Semenovych, a Ukrainian war veteran (that is a veteran of fighting in Ukraine) like

himself, does not share his desire to return and fight for the homeland. Yakiv assesses Trokhym's behaviour in the following manner:

“Here our people, having fallen in love with Canadian freedom, have become lazy and not patriots and soldiers. For example, take my friend, Trokhym Semenovych. He is a former Ukrainian hero of the air . . . Our famous aviator during the time of the liberation struggle . . . Who destroyed more than one enemy plane in air battle And now what? Having become drunk on Canadian freedom, he has become apathetic . . . He doesn't care and he has become neither this, nor that”¹⁴⁸

His daughter's involvement in the war convinces Yakiv that a genuine Ukrainian spirit is impermeable to all external forces:

“Through her deed Nadiya has convinced me that regardless of where our young people were born, and no matter how foreigners might try to assimilate them, their soul will be Ukrainian all the same and at an appropriate time it will display its patriotism and will exhibit what it did at Kruty during the time of the great revolution in the eastern Ukrainian lands, and later in the Carpathian Mountains, which caused the enemy, which was a hundred times more numerous, to break more than one tooth against the national consciousness of our Ukrainian young people.”¹⁴⁹

Hun'kevych's novella Amid the Hail of Bullets or the Intrepid Heroine¹⁵⁰ deals with events pertaining to World War I. It depicts the heroic deeds of a pair of star-

crossed lovers, who, although born and raised in Canada, assist in Ukraine's war effort. The heroine joins the Ukrainian Red Cross and goes to Ukraine to help care for the war wounded. Not knowing that she is in Ukraine, the hero, a medical doctor, serves his term with the Canadian armed forces and then also goes to Ukraine for the same reason. There they meet, and their love is rekindled.

The interest in writing on themes pertinent to Ukraine also led to interest in writing on historical themes. For example, three works are set in the Cossack era, M. Komar's novella, Antin Holovatyy (1935),¹⁵¹ N. Manyliv's drama Halya (1934)¹⁵² and K. Kyrstyuk's drama, Dorohoyu bat'kiv (Along the road of our fathers, (1934)).¹⁵³

Komar's Antin Holovatyy, set in the eighteenth century, deals with the exploits of the title character, a Zaporizhian Cossack who represents the Cossacks as a diplomatic emissary to the tsarist court. As such, he is involved in relocating the Cossacks from their seat in the Zaporizhzhya region to the Kuban' region of Ukraine. Also detailed is his rise in rank from Cossack secretary to being named a leader of the Cossack Sich by Tsar Pavlo I, although he is unable to fulfill this last function due to his untimely death.

Manyliv's Halya, set in seventeenth-century Ukraine, describes how Halya, the daughter of the fictional aristocratic Zolotnyts'ky family, falls in love with a poor Ukrainian Cossack, Petro Yurchenko, although her Polish mother (her father is Ukrainian) wants her to marry a Polish nobleman, Stas' Lukoms'ky. Lukoms'ky shoots and wounds Petro, but Petro is rescued from death by an old Cossack, Prokip. When Halya runs away from home, Prokip rescues her from capture by a Tartar. She and Petro are reunited, and her parents are led to believe that she has drowned. Her mother, Yadvyha,

and Stas' pledge their love for each other and plan to have the local drunk shoot and kill her husband, Halya's father. The murder plot goes awry. Petro, Halya and a group of cossacks arrive. The hired killer admits to the plot, Stas' shoots himself, and Yadvyha drowns herself. Zolotnyts'kyi is accepted by the cossacks and forgiven for acting like an aristocrat.

Kyrstyuk's Along the Road of Our Fathers is set in the seventeenth century, the Cossack era, but centres on the nation's division into two faiths, Orthodox and Catholic. Danylo Lyps'kyi is an Orthodox Ukrainian and his wife is a recently converted Catholic. When Lyps'kyi dies, he leaves his estate to his daughter, Mariyka, with the stipulation that she not convert to Catholicism. Mariyka is in love with Pavlo Kryms'kyi, a Cossack, who spends two years fighting with Khmel'nyts'kyi's Cossack forces against the Poles (the implication being that they are to blame for Catholicizing Ukrainians). When Pavlo returns, Mariyka has already converted to Catholicism, and she tries to convert him as well. While nursing a seemingly mortally ill Pavlo back to health, Mariyka realizes that she has erred in steering away from the religion of her forefathers. This occurs largely because the Catholic Prior refuses to hear Pavlo's "deathbed" confession unless he converts to Catholicism. Once her mother realizes that the Prior is only interested in the Lyps'kyi estate rather than their spiritual well-being, she too comes to the conclusion that she has erred. At the end Pavlo and Mariyka are set to marry and plan to build a monastery on her estate, while her mother vows to become a nun.

3. The Radical Socialists: Myroslav Irchan

In 1924 the leftist literary community in Winnipeg was augmented by the arrival of a writer of some note, Myroslav Irchan (1897-1937). Irchan, whose real name was Andriy Babyuk, was not a typical immigrant from Ukraine. He was already a much published writer in Ukraine, and once in Canada, Irchan immediately became integrally involved in leftist activities. He served as editor of the journals Working Woman from 1924 and World of Youth from 1927. As a journalist he contributed to various leftist publications both in Canada and abroad; as a community activist and organizer he worked among the people in an attempt to instil in them Communist ideals and bring them into the Party fold. Irchan was also an organizer of the leftist literary community. In August, 1924, together with Ivan Kulyk, who was at that time the Soviet Consul in Canada, Irchan established a Canadian branch of the Soviet Ukrainian revolutionary literary organization Hart,¹⁵⁴ which existed in Canada under the name Overseas Hart. The group was small. Besides Irchan and Kulyk, it included Kulyk's wife, Lyutsiyana Pyontek, Matviy Popovych, Matviy Shatul's'kyk, who wrote under the pseudonym M. Volynets', and a writer, who wrote under the pseudonym M. Syn'oooverholets'.¹⁵⁵ Overseas Hart's activities ceased with Irchan's return to Ukraine in 1929.

In his relatively short stay in Winnipeg, Irchan wrote a number of literary works that were published in newspapers and journals and as books. As mentioned above, Irchan was active in the literary field while still overseas, both in Ukraine and in Prague, where he lived for a time prior to emigrating to Canada. In the literary field he is perhaps

best known as a playwright, although he wrote in all genres. While in Canada he published the plays Nezhdanyy hist' (The unexpected guest 1923),¹⁵⁶ Pidzemna Halychyna (Underground Galicia, 1926),¹⁵⁷ Rodyna shchitkariv (The family of brush makers, 1924),¹⁵⁸ Yikh bil' (Their pain, 1923),¹⁵⁹ Dvanaytsyat' (The twelve, 1923)¹⁶⁰ and Bezrobitnyy (The unemployed man, 1923),¹⁶¹ as well as several novellas including Karpats'ka nich (Carpathian night, 1924),¹⁶² and Apostoly (The apostles, 1927),¹⁶³ a number of short stories, including "Beybi" (Baby, 1924)¹⁶⁴ and "Bila malpa" (The white monkey, 1926),¹⁶⁵ and a number of poems, including "Lyst materi" (A letter to mother, 1923)¹⁶⁶ and "Na farmi" (On the farm, 1924).¹⁶⁷

None of Irchan's literary works reflects the specific events taking place in Winnipeg's leftist community, such as the building and opening of the ULFTA headquarters, which was to symbolize the firmness of the ULFTA's foothold within the Ukrainian Canadian community. Nor did he deal with the circumstances which spurred the rapid growth of the Association. Instead, what he chose to write about were Ukrainian politics and Ukrainian history, emphasizing revolutionary ideals in all his works, and he wrote in all three genres, prose, drama and poetry. The sheer presence of a man of Irchan's stature in Winnipeg, however, is indicative of just how powerful the ULFTA was during this period. The fact that he chose to emphasize revolutionary ideals indicates that he was fulfilling his obligations as a leftist community activist and organizer.

Revolutionary idealism permeates all of Irchan's literary works with most heroes depicted as ideal revolutionary types unwavering in their convictions. A device Irchan

employs in many of his works is to establish a dramatic conflict between revolutionary and non-revolutionary ideals, with the former presenting a stronger and more convincing argument than the latter. For example, in his Their Pain¹⁶⁸ the conflict existing between a father and son is exemplified by the son's criticizing his father for writing a play about love instead of about revolutionary events. Irchan makes the son's argument by far the more convincing.

In Irchan's The Unemployed Man¹⁶⁹ the conflict depicted is one between the upper class and the working class, which arises out of the fact that the upper class benefits financially from the exploitation of the working class. Another prominent theme in this work, and one that is repeated in other works, is that of unity among the members of the working class. The main hero, Nevidomyy (The unknown man), is instrumental in the organization of the unemployed masses into a united force. He is able to do so because he convinces them of the strength of unity:

“There are hundreds of millions of you, while there are only a few thousand little gods. All the same, you are their slaves until hunger unites your hundreds of millions into one movement and one shout.”¹⁷⁰

In the story the unemployed achieve unity by organizing themselves based on their common goals of adequate food and employment.

Irchan's The Family of Brush Makers,¹⁷¹ like The Unemployed Man, depicts a conflict between workers and capitalists. Also, like The Unemployed Man it deals with unified, mass struggle for workers' rights. The blindness of the members of the family of

brush makers serves as a metaphor for the blindness of those individuals, who do not realize how they can better their existence. Once the working class unites in a mass struggle, the brush makers realize that because of their unity, other workers will serve as their eyes and look after their other needs as well. As the blind son, Ivan, states, “There are workers and red banners on the streets! These are our eyes, which see far into the distance . . . We shall live. We will not be forgotten.”¹⁷²

Still others of Irchan’s works, e.g., Underground Galicia,¹⁷³ espouse devotion to the cause of the revolution. The Unexpected Guest¹⁷⁴ depicts revolutionary events in eastern Ukraine in 1917. The Twelve¹⁷⁵ depicts the heroic escapades of real-life Galician Communist rebels, who opposed the Polish authorities. This poem is somewhat reminiscent of Alexander Blok’s The Twelve. Written in 1918, Blok’s poem depicts twelve revolutionary soldiers marching steadfastly forward as the old order collapses. Irchan’s poem does not see the old order collapsing, but it is the hope of the twelve revolutionaries to see it collapse. As with Blok’s revolutionaries, a comparison of Irchan’s to the twelve apostles is almost inevitable. In Irchan’s poem, the rebel leaders, Mel’nychuk, Sheremeta and Tsepko, are ultimately shot because of their deeds. On the real-life anniversary of their death he published “Bezsmertnym halyts’kym buntaryam” (To the immortal Galician rebels, 1923).¹⁷⁶ In it he praises their heroic deaths for the revolutionary cause.

In at least one work, his “Robitnychi dity” (Working-class children, 1925),¹⁷⁷ Irchan is blatantly anti-clerical and anti-religious. In this poem, the children of workers

follow people into a church and laugh at the priest. They show respect only when they mistakenly take icons of St. Illya and St. Nicholas to be portraits of Lenin and Marx, of whom they have portraits hanging in their own homes.

A particularly tragic figure is Irchan's Matviy Shavala in the novella, Carpathian night.¹⁷⁸ Shavala endures many hardships while serving on the front lines in the Carpathian Mountain region of Ukraine. Upon his return home he is forced to forsake his family and go to North America in search of work. In North America, however, his spirit is crushed even more than it had been in the homeland. Shavala is a faithful Christian and accepts all of his misfortune as the will of God. In this way he symbolizes the typical unenlightened peasant of his time. Working to enlighten him is a Lithuanian worker, Yanas, a socialist, who explains to Shavala the existence of the class system and the necessity for class struggle:

He [Yanas] explained to him that people were divided into classes, into workers and parasites, that the upper class was currently lording it over the working class and that the workers would continue to suffer for as long as the upper class was allowed to lord it over them, as long as people were divided into the poor and the rich. It was necessary for everyone to be equal, for everyone to be the same¹⁷⁹

In response to Shavala's question as to what workers could do to better their position, Yanas responds: " 'It is necessary for us to band together into organizations, to unite, to read books and newspapers ' "¹⁸⁰

Devotion to the revolutionary cause was intended to be paramount above all else including one's family. This sentiment is true of Irchan's poem "A Letter to Mother,"¹⁸¹ which deals with a man forsaking his mother for his ideals.

Although Ukrainian women may not have been very involved in politics, they were very active in community affairs as evidenced by the women's organizations that existed during the period and there was, among them, concern for women's issues, which were of particular concern to the leftist faction. Irchan's poem "Yikh sotni tysyach" (There are hundreds of thousands of them, 1927),¹⁸² for example, written in honour of the International Women's Day of 1927, states that women have always been treated as slaves by men, but that the situation is changing for women workers, at least, are becoming increasingly more enlightened. His short story "White Monkey,"¹⁸³ on the other hand, deals with the depravity of women in North America, who readily sell their bodies in order to buy nice clothes. But he says that this is only what can be expected in a land ruled by the dollar.

Other Leftist Writing

Besides Irchan, the other leftist writers were not a large group nor were they as skilled or prolific as Irchan. Most of the literary works written by leftist writers during this time were poems and short stories published in the leftist press and periodicals. The most prolific writers of poems and short stories were M. Volynets' and M. Syn'oooverholets'. Like Irchan's writing, theirs was primarily concerned with inculcating their readers with Communist and revolutionary ideals. Workers' rights, for example, was a theme that

constantly repeated itself, e.g., in M.S.'s "V chasi strayku" (At the time of the strike, 1923),¹⁸⁴ in Syn'overholets' "Leydof" (Laid off, 1924),¹⁸⁵ in M. Volynets's "Zabuti" (Forgotten, 1924),¹⁸⁶ in Tymchak's "Our Call!" (1935),¹⁸⁷ and in V. Holovats'kyi's "Za vichnu zhodu" (For eternal harmony, 1939).¹⁸⁸ Another theme was the importance of class struggle to the working class, e.g., Syn'overholets's "Zhyttya strakh" (Life - fear, 1925)¹⁸⁹ and "Zlochyntsi" (Criminals, 1925).¹⁹⁰ Like Irchan, Syn'overholets' has a work espousing the revolutionary cause above all else, including family. Syn'overholets's short story "Zvyrodniv" (He degenerated, 1926)¹⁹¹ deals with a man coming to Canada and losing touch with his family for over twenty years. When he finally starts writing to them again, his mother criticizes him for becoming a socialist. When his mother dies, he does not cry. He explains that this is the result of the fact that they were separated, both physically and spiritually, for a twenty-year span. The death of Lenin, however, does evoke tears in him because he is tied to Lenin and his principles.

One of the relatively small number of literary works published in book form by leftist writers other than Irchan was Ye. I. Lisovy's Naymyt (Servant, 1928).¹⁹² This drama is set in Ukraine, with Acts I and II set during the tsarist regime and Act III during the Soviet regime. The play promotes the idea that the egalitarian and anti-religious tenets of Communism are to be defended at all costs and that anti-Communist behaviour deserves to be punished even if it means punishing members of one's own family. The hero of this work is a servant named Maksym. By the third act he has become a revolutionary, proud of having worked for the revolutionary cause and its ideals. As he states to his beloved's formerly bourgeois parents:

“Truth is on my side, the side of the servant. Neither your riches nor your trying to force your own daughter [into marriage] helped you in any way. The shackles of the old traditions have been broken. Parents can no longer lord it over their children. The wife has been liberated from her husband It is for this that I sold myself”¹⁹³

Several of the works by leftist writers deal with themes taken from actual events that were occurring within or affecting the community at the time. Skoropad’s “Vsi yak odyn holosuyte lysh na komunistiv” (All as one, vote for the Communists, 1935),¹⁹⁴ for example, is, as the title states, a call for the readership to vote for Communist Party candidates in the federal election slated for the fall of 1935. M. Yavot’s poem “Vstavayte vsi v lavu i idim na Ottavu” (Everyone stand in a line and let’s march on Ottawa, 1935)¹⁹⁵ calls on all “slaves”, i.e., the jobless and the poor, to march on Ottawa in order to scare the government into action by showing their “muscle power.”

Robitnyk’s “Tym shcho navazhylysy znyshchyty RZT” (To those who dared to ruin the RZT, 1934)¹⁹⁶ is a poem which speaks out against the anti-leftist faction in Winnipeg’s Ukrainian community, naming among its leaders Jaroslav Arsenych and Wasyl Swystun.¹⁹⁷ First of all, however, it should be noted that the word “robitnyk,” this author’s pseudonym, means “worker.” Thus from his name, alone, it can be presumed that he sees himself as a voice of the workers. The poem derides Arsenych and Swystun by referring to the former as arsenik (arsenic) and to the latter as svystunok (little whistle) as contrasted to svystun (whistler). Furthermore, the poem warns workers to beware of

these pany (petty aristocrats) for they might try to take advantage of them. It concludes with the belief that the “aristocrats” are finally beginning to realize that if they are not careful, the workers just might have to teach them a lesson by beating them up.

An anonymous poem, titled “Pryvitannya hurtom usim lobayam v al’bom, vid samitnykh bezrobotnykh -- lyudey shchyrykh, ne ambitnykh” (A mass greeting to all the Lobays to put in their album, from the single, unemployed -- people who are sincere, not ambitious, 1936)¹⁹⁸ addresses their “former comrade” Danylo Lobay. It accuses his newly founded newspaper, Pravda (Truth), of being full of lies and fit only to be hung in an outhouse. It also speaks out against Stepan Khvaliboha, Toma Kibzey and Mykhaylo Smityukh for siding with Lobay. Danylo Lobay was shunned by the ULFTA members because he defected from their ranks at the Fifteenth Convention held in 1935. He did so over the question of the treatment of dissident intellectuals in Soviet Ukraine. He and other dissenters, largely those individuals named in this poem, then formed the Ukrainian Workers’ League and started their own newspaper, the abovenoted Truth, in 1936.

4. Michael Petrivsky and the Emergence of the Ukrainian Canadian Novel

Michael Petrivsky (Mykhaylo Petrivs'kyy, 1897-1982) came to Canada with his parents as a fifteen year old in 1912. He received a university degree from the University of Ottawa and worked for the RCMP for many years. He was also a prolific Ukrainian writer of relatively high calibre.

In his earlier works, Petrivsky harks back to an earlier literary tradition in Ukrainian literature in Canada -- that of turning literature into a vehicle of socialization. For example, Petrivsky's play Kanadyys'kyy zhenykh (Canadian suitor, 1922)¹⁹⁹ has a great deal in common with Maidanyk's Manigrula which was published seven years earlier. Petrivsky's play is set in a large, unnamed Canadian city not unlike the Winnipeg of Maidanyk's play. The specific setting is a run-down rooming house not unlike the rooming house of Maidanyk's play. The cast of characters is composed of poor Ukrainian immigrants not unlike the characters in Maidanyk's play. Like the Pereyma family in Maidanyk's play which rents out rooms, the Kostur family in Canadian Suitor has a roomer. In Petrivsky's play, the Ukrainian immigrants around whom the action centres have moved from the farm to the city, where they are having a very difficult time financially. The only family member who seems to be employed is the daughter. In order to ease their financial burden the parents decide to marry her off to a rich man, who is abusive, drinks heavily and makes his money gambling. The daughter, Yuliya, does not

want to marry him because she is in love with Oleksander, a student, who is a tenant in their home. Regardless of her objections, however, the wedding takes place. However, after some period of time Yuliya's husband proves to be a bigamist and, therefore, his "marriage" to Yuliya is no marriage at all. The parents see the error of their ways and Yuliya is happily reunited with Oleksander. This drama is directed against parents who place too high a value on a prospective suitor's financial status without paying close attention to his moral character.

Important, as well, is the fact that the play serves to depict the effect of the urban environment on young people. Once off the farm and in the city, young men and women become amoral quite quickly. Young women are the more susceptible:

" . . . There is no reason to take a girl to the city because she becomes capricious right away; she still smells of the farm, but she wants you to buy her hats, to buy her some sort of dresses or silk stockings. And then when she begins to powder herself, to pour flour on her face -- well, well, -- and to go to shows, phooie! That's what becomes of a girl in that Canada."²⁰⁰

Petrivsky also repeats Maidanyk's observation in Manigrula that the girls seem to be interested only in going to dances and giving their hard-earned money to ne'er-do-well boyfriends. Ukrainian young men do not behave responsibly towards Ukrainian young women nor do they treat them with any sense of respect. As one young woman says to a Ukrainian young man, who is flirting with her, "You only know how to seduce a girl and then point your finger at her, and yell: --there she is, the sinner! There she is -- the so-

and-so!’”²⁰¹ Also, many of the young men date non-Ukrainians, such as French and Negro girls, preferring them to their own, as Maidanyk also notes in his play.²⁰²

Petrivsky's play is ostensibly a humorous work, but also like Maidanyk's Manigrula, it is intended not only to amuse but by amusing to allow Ukrainian Canadians to take a critical look at themselves. Petrivsky's play depicts the average Ukrainian Canadian as uncouth and totally self-absorbed. The characters are, for the most part, well on their way toward assimilation as evidenced by their language. The men, for example, mainly go by English first names, e.g., Mike, Steve, Jack, and so on. Furthermore, the dialectal type of Ukrainian language that they speak is liberally interspersed with anglicisms, such as “oright” (all right) and “detsit” (that's it).²⁰³

Through critical observation, therefore, it would be possible for the Ukrainian Canadian audience to realize that the type of behaviour described in the play is negative and should not be condoned nor practiced. As in Maidanyk's play, the only decent person in Petrivsky's is a student. Like Petro in Manigrula, Oleksander in Canadian Suitor is an ideal type, one who sets the standard for the way that the typical Ukrainian Canadian should behave. For example, he is refined, and morally righteous, an individual who does not gamble and carouse like everyone else around him. He is not only educated himself, but he also tries to educate others. In fact, he considers it to be his obligation to shape an individual into someone who is conscious of his Ukrainian heritage.

Petrivsky deals with other subjects that were directly relevant to the lives of Ukrainian Canadians. His play Canadian Suitor and his short story “Mriyi divochi, sl'ozy zhinochi” (A girl's dreams, a woman's tears, 1977)²⁰⁴ both describe situations which attest

to the need for more rights for Ukrainian Canadian women. In the story, as in the play, a young Ukrainian Canadian woman is forced into a loveless marriage by her parents largely because the marriage will mean financial gain for the parents. In the latter, the situation is more tragic because the young woman has no way out of her marriage. In the former, however, the marriage ceases to exist once the young woman finds out that the man she married is a bigamist. Her true love, Oleksander, is an enlightened individual, who, despite the plight of his beloved, believes, that Canadian society affords women a greater degree of dignity than in the homeland:

“Here women stand on a higher level than in the old country, in the villages. Here women are given priority and respect always and in everything. Because that is fitting for women. It is only in the old country that women are treated so coarsely and inhumanely, and they are truly slaves of their masters.”²⁰⁵

Petrivsky's short story, “Povist' bez pochatku i kintsya” (A novel without a beginning and an end, 1977)²⁰⁶ deals with assimilation. The education of a gifted young Ukrainian, named Volodymyr Tsebryns'kyy, is being partially funded by the members of the National Home Association to which he and his family belong. The Association does this in the hope that once he becomes a doctor, Volodymyr will return to the community and work among them. Once he graduates, however, Volodymyr changes his name to Walter de Sebrienne, forsakes his Ukrainian girlfriend, who goes mad as a result, marries a rich French girl and departs for Europe to further his education, instead of returning to his

community. It is interesting to note that Volodymyr does not adopt an Anglo-Celtic surname, but a French one, evidently indicating that being French was just as superior to being Ukrainian as was being Anglo-Celtic. By the end of the story Volodymyr has turned into exactly the type of assimilated person that the Ukrainian school teacher, Mr. Baran, warned against in his speech at Volodymyr's farewell dinner:

“ While a student, a boy is as good as gold, but having attained his goal -- he is lost to his people, he languishes, whines and mires himself in his own lair and cares only about himself. Material success has warped the outlook of more than one individual, easily attained dollars corrupt young ideals. Having grown fat, these individuals forget the hard times; of course, they are ashamed even to admit that their father did manual labour in a factory and that their mother still wears a kerchief on her head and cannot sign her own name. They are ashamed of their parents, their own people. They won't show themselves among their own people. In order to completely break his ties with his people, such a person will even change his surname to a foreign one, and if he marries a foreign girl -- then you can really consider him dead.”²⁰⁷

Petrivsky's short story, “Bida bidi ne rivna’ (Misfortune is not equal to misfortune, 1977) deals with the Depression and the creation of the CCF Party. In this work three brothers, all farmers, voice their displeasure with R.B. Bennett's Conservative government, which was in power at the time, in the following manner:

The young Petruks, painfully feeling the effects of the Great Depression, blamed B. Bennett, the prime minister of Canada, and his Conservative government for their helplessness and inability to defeat the economic crisis through better means than the repression of the hungry and desperate sector of the people or the luring of single unemployed men to the camps of northern Canada for the building of the Trans-Canada highway in return for meals and meagre wages because they returned to the cities to fill the ranks of the revolutionary elements, embittered and transformed by agitators and their literature in the above mentioned camps.²⁰⁸

As a result of their displeasure, the brothers vow to vote CCF in the next general election. Their father, Tanas, however, is angry at his sons for complaining about life in Canada. He believes that for them life is good regardless of the Depression. They are all well fed, have nice homes and cars and are not unemployed. Tanas theorizes that his sons should just be patient and wait out the hard times, which will inevitably pass, just as the hard times of the pioneer period passed for him. It should be noted, however, that the prosperity of the Petruk family was unusual especially during the Depression.

An anti-socialist stance is evident in the short story "Koleso doli" (Circle of fate, 1977).²⁰⁹ The work is set in Winnipeg during the early interwar period. It deals with the misfortunes of Maksym Rybak, who, upon immigrating to Canada, manages to work only sporadically and, therefore, cannot send much money to his family in the homeland. He is persuaded to join the ULFTA and goes to work for them as an agitator at public meetings. He feels secure in this position for he has been assured that the ULFTA lawyers will not

let anything happen to him. But when he is arrested, his leftist comrades desert him. As the story ends, he is being deported and, as a result, all of his dreams are lost. Petrivsky's message is that the ULFTA does not keep the promises that it makes to its members and should not be trusted.

Petrivsky was the only writer to deal to a significant degree with involvement in organizational life. His "Pizni Ivany" (Late Ivans, 1977),²¹⁰ for example, points out that life for Ukrainians in Canada should consist of a combination of personal, economic and cultural concerns. But the cultural aspect, which consists of involvement with one or more cultural organizations, is often neglected because it detracts from the time that the individual would otherwise spend with his/her family. In this story Ivan Kuybida, the former president of the Ukrainian National Home Association, is the central character. He understands the importance of cultural involvement. In fact, he is such a dedicated member of the Association that his wife threatens not to let him sleep with her anymore if he takes the presidency upon himself one more time. Ivan arrives late at the Association's general meeting to find that he has been elected president even though he was absent, since no one present wanted the position. He believes that he has no alternative but to accept this great honour regardless of the personal consequences.

Another short story "Chudotvorna mashyna" (Miracle-working machine, 1977)²¹¹ deals with the alienation which results when organizations make too many requests for money. A bootlegger, Prots' Halushka, donates one hundred dollars to the Liberation Fund. He chooses to make his donation anonymously, believing that he will thus ensure that other organizations will not find out about his donation and approach him as well.

In his short story, “Vystup pered anhlietsyamy” (A performance before English people, 1977),²¹² Petrivsky pokes fun at a Ukrainian organization’s first attempt to perform before the delegates to a Moose Lodge convention. Everything that could conceivably go wrong does. The choir members do not want to rehearse because of the summer heat, the two operatic soloists are inept, the night of the concert the performers arrive at the theatre late and without their costumes, and the choir director loses his notes and baton. The choir ends up singing Christmas carols and a bawdy folksong. The operatic segment is a flop because the tenor is drunk. Only the dancers perform well.

Petrivsky’s “I pokhovaly mamu pid biloyu berezoyu” (And they buried mother under the white birch tree, 1977).²¹³ This short story is set on a homestead in Alberta during the interwar period. When a Ukrainian farmer’s wife dies, he is very upset by the fact that there is no priest in the vicinity to conduct the funeral. The funeral service is conducted by a neighbour, who was a deacon in the old country. Until that time the farmer had considered the civil authorities in Ukraine above reproach, but after the death of his wife he is very bitter at them for creating such adverse living conditions in the homeland that thousands were forced to emigrate into the unknown. As important, however, is the fact that he is also bitter with the religious authorities “ . . . for their [i.e., the religious authorities’] negligence of the fact that masses of immigrants were left without the spiritual guidance of priests”²¹⁴

From the perspective of literary history, Petrivsky’s most significant work is Magichne misto (The magical city),²¹⁵ the first Ukrainian novel written and published in Canada. The novel was published in 1929. Resembling, as it does, popular fiction and

Hollywood films popular at the time, its literary merits are not that high nor is its format very broad for it only encompasses 153 pages. However, it is well written and polished when compared to some of the other works being written at the time. The plot revolves around the a well-to-do Ukrainian American family, the Bodnars, who move from Chicago to Miami, Florida during the Prohibition era in search of the “good life,” and their misadventures there. The fact that the Bodnars’ and their daughter’s suitor, Modest Maydan, are all Ukrainians is not significant since the author could just as easily have chosen any ethnic group or groups to represent for ethnic origin has no bearing on the novel.

Petrivsky himself realized that his choice of characters and setting might seem odd. In his foreword to the novel Petrivsky poses this question: “. . . why Florida, why those unusual types, when one could have made more realistic drawings of the life of our workers in Pittsburgh, cooks and waiters in New York, or even the farmers from the prairies of Canada?”²¹⁶ His answer is:

Here, fate threw me into the land of eternal summer, there I acquired impressions and experience, returned to Canada, and after a year under the pressure of an invincible desire for self-expression -- one day I took up a pen and on the basis of what I had seen, understood and experienced, wrote the sketch of the future novel.²¹⁷

It seems doubtful that Petrivsky could have experienced the sensational happenings that he writes about in this novel, firsthand. It seems more likely that this novel is written on the basis of certain things that he observed and experienced but that his imagination played a

major role in the creation of this novel, which is the first example of escapist popular fiction in Ukrainian Canadian literature.

Despite their wealth, the family is relatively unworldly and is easily taken in by the villain, Mr. Van Days, and his cohort, Gladys. Mr. Van Days involves Mr. Bodnar in what seems to be a lucrative financial scheme, but one that is orchestrated by Van Days to steal Bodnar's money. Van Days is also involved in gambling and the illegal running of liquor. He takes a fancy to the Bodnars' daughter, Nadiya, and kidnaps her aboard his "pirate" ship and succeeds in almost raping her. Nadiya, however, is rescued by her erstwhile suitor, Modest Maydan, a former university student and victim of a failed romance. Modest, when he first meets Nadiya, has been reduced to being a "hobo," but by the end of the work is a successful poet in the making. The novel more or less centres around the romance between Nadiya and Modest. The romance, however, does not go smoothly. At first Nadiya is put off by the fact that Modest did not admit to being a "hobo" and later by the fact that he tries to warn her about Van Days' sordid nature and finally, even after he rescues her from Van Days' grasp, she still seems to hesitate in admitting her love for Modest. Nadiya allows herself to be betrothed to a man she hates, the aristocrat Baron Zhitar'ov. It is only on her wedding day that she comes to her senses and flees the family home. However, bad luck leads her straight into the eye of a hurricane raging outside. Modest conveniently rescues her again, this time after she has been pinned down by a wall that has fallen in the storm. He nurses her back to health, they admit their love to each other and at the end of the novel they marry. Things turn out well for the Bodnars as well, for at the novel's end Mr. Bodnar's business ventures are once again on the upturn. The

only lasting damage that has been done is that the Bodnar's son, Gus, has run off with Gladys, Van Days' partner in crime.

5. Honore Ewach and Holos zemli

Honore Ewach (1900-1964) was born in Ukraine but was brought to Canada at the age of nine. Like other prominent writers of the time, he wrote only on a part-time basis, but he had jobs that were not too far removed from the literary scene. For example, he taught school in rural Manitoba and served as an instructor at the Petro Mohyla Institute in Saskatoon and its affiliate in Winnipeg. He also worked as an editor for the Ukrainian Voice newspaper. Also, like Petrivsky, he was a university graduate, which was perhaps reflected in a more sophisticated approach to literature. He was also among the first, if not actually the first, to write in English.²¹⁸ His Cavalry of Ukraine was published in 1923. This may indicate that as early as the first half of the 1920s he was interested in appealing to an audience beyond the Ukrainian Canadian one.

Ewach's novel Holos zemli (The call of the land)²¹⁹ brought together several literary trends. Published in 1937, The Call of the Land is, like The Magical City, a relatively short novel (96 pages). Like The Magical City, The Call of the Land is set in fairly recent times and recognizable locales. The Magical City's setting in 1920s Chicago and Miami may have seemed exotic to the Ukrainian Canadian reader, but The Call of the Land, set primarily in rural Manitoba with some references to Winnipeg was something which Ewach's readers could immediately recognize and relate to. The exact rural setting is said to be to the northwest of Dauphin between Lake Winnipegosis and the Duck

Mountains.²²⁰ The themes in The Call of the Land are those that were emerging and would dominate the literature of this period -- themes relating to the lives of Ukrainians in Canada and how Ukrainian Canadians were to relate to contemporary events in Ukraine. The Call of the Land was a seminal work. On the surface it appears to be a realistic rendering of the recent immigrant past, but even though less than fifty years had passed since the Ukrainian immigrants had arrived in Canada, that past was already being romanticized and in the process of becoming a myth.²²¹ The Call of the Land would be echoed a short two years later in the first volume of Illya Kyriyak's trilogy Syny zemli (Sons of the soil).²²²

The story centres around the Klym family, a pioneer Ukrainian family, settled in rural Manitoba. The Klym family is made up of the parents and three children, two grown daughters and a son who grows up as the story unfolds. The Klym family, although not prosperous, is doing well and is far removed from the kinds of immigrants Fedyk and Maidanyk described. Canada is their home; they are not "foreigners," but the hardships of their lives are not at all described. Their community seems to be in place and a school district with its own school board has already been established and mention is made of a local church, so presumably they have the services of a priest as well.

The elder Klyms have not assimilated to any significant extent. But old Klym is proud to have adopted Canadian farming methods for they have changed him. As he states after learning how to operate a mechanized reaper:

-- Hey, hey, -- laughed Klym thinly, feeling pride in the fact that even he was now no longer a simple peasant, but a farmer, who knew how to work his farm with machines.²²³

Of the Klym's three children, only the eldest daughter, Kateryna, is not tied to the land. Kateryna is married to a Ukrainian but not wanting to live on a farm, they move to the city (Winnipeg?) and the threat of assimilation is evident here. Malanka is courted by the local schoolteacher, Anatol' Nazarko, as well as Marko Kozak. Through the efforts of Nazarko Malanka becomes very well-read and thereby improves herself significantly. Even though the teacher is handsome, well educated and well paid, she tells her very surprised sister, Kateryna, that she would not even consider marrying him. The implication, although not explicitly stated, is that she would rather marry Marko, because he represents what is dearest to her and that is the land. The further implication is that when Marko and Malanka marry they are not going to be assimilated. They will continue to carry on the Ukrainian traditions, culture and language.

The Klyms' youngest, their son, Maksym gets an education in the city. He is given the opportunity to remain in the city but he forsakes city life and returns to the area he grew up in, dedicating himself to working toward the betterment of his community. This is symbolic of the belief among Ukrainians that education is necessary to "improve" oneself and one's people. Thereby the image of the second generation that is presented in this novel is one of an educated, be it formally or otherwise, and consequently worldly group, who know where their priorities lie.

An interesting phenomenon in this novel is the striking example of reverse assimilation. This is in the person of Ada Brown, the daughter of the railroad foreman. Having grown up among the Ukrainians, she speaks Ukrainian fluently, plays the heroine in a Ukrainian language play and seems set to marry a Ukrainian boy. She is described as having “learned their language and customs to such an extent that it was as if she became one of the Ukrainian girls herself.”²²⁴

The outside world intrudes on the idyllic world of the Klyms in the form of World War I. Both of Malanka’s suitors, Marko Kozak and Anatol’ Nazarko, join the Canadian armed forces. Nazarko is killed in battle. In reality, as stated above, Ukrainians volunteered for service in larger numbers than the national average. Like the Ukrainian pioneers who are depicted in earlier stories as dying building Canada, Ewach makes a point of showing that Ukrainians Canadians earned a right to be Canadians through their service in this war, not just by serving in it, but in “laying down their lives” for Canada.

Another of the new themes used in the novel is the concern with contemporary events in Ukraine. Ewach is arguably the first Ukrainian Canadian writer to deal with the issue of the relationship of the Ukrainian Canadians to the now distant homeland. (See above for Tulevitiv’s and Hun’kevych’s later treatment of the subject.) Following service in Europe, Marko decides to go to Ukraine, the country he left as either an adolescent or a very young man, to fight for its independence. He is a young idealist, whose acute sense of Ukrainian nationalism would not allow him to behave otherwise. He has signed up for service in the Canadian armed forces of his own free will because it is his duty to defend

his new homeland. However, he does consider remaining in Ukraine, but Canada and Malanka win out, thus symbolizing the final break of the Ukrainian immigrants with their homeland. They have now definitely decided that their home is Canada. At the end of the novel when Malanka questions why Marko returned to his farm in Canada, having had the opportunity to remain in his Ukrainian homeland, Marko describes not only his love for Malanka as drawing him back but also states that he heard “. . . the call of the free Canadian soil, which is just begging to become a field and to cover itself with golden wheat.”²²⁵

In addition to The Call of the Land Ewach wrote poetry, short stories and dramas. These include Cavalry of Ukraine: Drama (1923), Boyova surma Ukrayiny, poeziyi (The battle trumpet of Ukraine, 1931), Toy koho svit lovyv. ta ne spiy mav (He who the world tried to catch, but could not grasp, 1932), Tsikavi opovidannya z davn'oyi istoriyi Kanady (Interesting stories from Canada's ancient history, 1944), Ukrayins'kyy mudrets', poema pro slavnoho ukrayins'koho filosofa-mistyka Hryhoriya Skovorodu (Ukrainian wise man, a poem about the famous Ukrainian philosopher-mystic Hryhoriy Skovoroda, 1945) and Vidlet zhuravlya, drama (The flying away of the crane, 1923)²²⁶

Whereas The Call of the Land displays both major themes, the Ukrainians in Canada and interest in Ukraine, Ewach also published a collection of poetic works largely concerned only with Ukraine under the title The Battle Trumpet of Ukraine. In his poem “Nashe viruyu” (Our creed), for example, he points out that there are many ways of displaying sentiments that express Ukrainian nationalism and all are equally significant:

Лиш той хто служить Україні:

Той нам найблищий друг!

Чи то перо у нього з криці,

Чи меч , чи вірний плуг!²²⁷

Only he, who serves Ukraine: / He is our closest friend! / Whether he holds a pen
made of steel, / A sword, or a faithful plough! /

Ewach also turned to philosophical ideas. In his He Who the World Tried To
Catch But Could Not Grasp and Ukrainian Wise Man, A Poem About the Famous
Ukrainian Philosopher-Mystic Hryhoriy Skovoroda, for example, he provides a rendition
of the philosophical thought of Ukraine's most famous philosopher, Hryhoriy Skovoroda.

.

During the period 1918-1946 Winnipeg continued to be the centre of Ukrainian
life in Canada. Organizational life, both religious and secular, diversified to a greater
extent during the period, particularly as the new immigrants were dissatisfied with the
organizational life that they found in place upon their arrival and created new, more
Ukrainian nationalistic organizations. A particularly important event of the time was the
establishment of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church and related secular organizations.
Another extremely significant event was the establishment of the Ukrainian Canadian
Committee which unified the entire non-Communist affiliated Ukrainian Canadian
community. The Communists, now known under the name Ukrainian Farmer-Labour
Temple Association continued to exist and grow stronger than ever.

Internationally, the Ukrainian Canadians participated in World War II, as they had
in World War I, in greater numbers than the national average. Among many Ukrainian

Canadians this was seen as a “coming of age” -- further “proof” that Ukrainians had earned the right to be Canadians by laying down their lives for the country.

The writers during this period still tended to be community leaders and activists. The writers who had immigrated were now being joined by a new generation composed of writers who had come to Canada as children or were born in Canada. The most prominent in this group were Michael Petrivsky, Honore Ewach, Semen Kovbel', Dmytro Hun'kevych and Ivan Danyl'chuk. This young group was better educated than the previous group. Some, like Ewach and Petrivsky, had university educations. As a result, their writing tended to be more sophisticated than earlier -- in terms of plot, character development, and language. The Ukrainian language, in which by far the majority of literature was written, was more literary than the dialectal formerly evident. English was also used for the first time by Canadian writers of Ukrainian origin, for example, by Ewach, but this was still a minor phenomenon.

The literature produced during this period was characterized by a greater diversity of genres and themes and a growing complexity of styles. Writers were no longer deeply preoccupied with sentimental yearnings for the homeland and they also moved beyond using literature as an instrument of socialization. The new themes that were emerging centered on the life of Ukrainians in Canada, including organizational life, assimilation, economic conditions, and religious life. Some works that exemplify this are “The Funeral of Ukrainian Discord,” A Young Man's Dreams (Enchanted Mountain) and “A Novel Without a Beginning and an End.” The second major theme was the situation in Ukraine and the Ukrainian Canadians response to it. In this regard, Ewach's The Call of the Land

may be typical. Ewach's hero goes to fight for Ukrainian independence, but given the choice of remaining in Ukraine or returning to Canada, he chooses Canada, his true homeland for he has also fought. Important playwrights were Michael Petrivsky who wrote Canadian Suitor and Myroslav Irchan who wrote a number of important plays including The Family of Brush Makers. In terms of the number of works published, plays predominated during this period. This period also saw the emergence of the Ukrainian Canadian novel. Petrivsky's The Magical City, published in 1929 a novel based on sensationalist fiction and film popular in North America at that time. The plot included nefarious villains and ideal heroes and unrequited love. Ewach's novel, The Call of the Land, published in 1937 was a seminal work. It appeared, on the surface, to be a realistic rendering of the recent immigrant past but, fewer than fifty years after the arrival of the Ukrainian immigrants in Canada, that past was already being romanticized and in the process of becoming a myth.

Arguably the best writer of the period was Myroslav Irchan, who during his brief stay of six years in Winnipeg, in addition to his work on leftist newspapers and journals, and the organization of the literary group known as the Overseas Hart, wrote numerous plays, short stories and poems. His works all espoused leftist ideals, particularly workers' rights. They all presented a distinctly tendentious leftist point of view, but their literary quality almost overcomes this tendentiousness.

Notes

¹ Vladimir J. Kaye (Kysilewsky) and Frances Swyripa, "Settlement and Colonization," A Heritage in Transition: Essays in the History of Ukrainians in Canada, ed. Manoly R. Lupul (Toronto: MacClelland and Stewart, 1982) 23.

² Kaye and Swyripa 33.

³ Kaye and Swyripa 33.

⁴ Kaye and Swyripa 50-1.

⁵ William Darcovich and Paul Yuzyk, eds., A Statistical Compendium on the Ukrainians in Canada: 1891-1971 (Ottawa, U of Ottawa P, 1980) 66.

⁶ Darcovich and Yuzyk 33.

⁷ Darcovich and Yuzyk 35.

⁸ Darcovich and Yuzyk 66.

⁹ Ol'ha Woycenko, "Community Organizations," A Heritage in Transition 179.

¹⁰ Petro Kravchuk, Ukrayintsi v istoriyi Vynnypeha (Toronto: Kobzar, 1974) 95-6.

¹¹ Donald Avery, "Dangerous Foreigners:" European Immigrant Workers and Labour Radicalism in Canada, 1896-1932 (Toronto, MacClelland and Stewart, 1979) 121.

¹² Woycenko, "Community Organizations" 180.

¹³ M.H. Marunchak, The Ukrainian Canadians: A History (Winnipeg: Ukrainian Academy of Arts and Sciences, 1982) 331-7.

¹⁴ Orest T. Martynowych, The Ukrainians in Canada: The Formative Years, 1891-1924 (Edmonton: Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies, 1991) 471.

¹⁵ Marunchak, The Ukrainian Canadians 374.

¹⁶ Marunchak 375.

¹⁷ Marunchak 363.

¹⁸ Marunchak 368.

- ¹⁹ Marunchak 393.
- ²⁰ Marunchak 369.
- ²¹ Woycenko, "Community Organizations" 183.
- ²² Woycenko 183.
- ²³ Woycenko 182.
- ²⁴ Marunchak, The Ukrainian Canadians 395.
- ²⁵ Woycenko, "Community Organizations" 181.
- ²⁶ Marunchak, The Ukrainian Canadians 402.
- ²⁷ Marunchak 401.
- ²⁸ Oleh W. Gerus, "The Ukrainian Canadian Committee," A Heritage in Transition 196.
- ²⁹ Gerus 197.
- ³⁰ Woycenko, "Ukrainian Canadian Committee," The Ukrainians in Canada (Winnipeg: By the Author, 1968) 209.
- ³¹ Marunchak, The Ukrainian Canadians 552.
- ³² Watson Kirkconnell, Our Ukrainian Loyalists (The Ukrainian Canadian Committee) (Winnipeg: Ukrainian Canadian Committee, [1943]) n.p.
- ³³ Thomas M. Prymak, Maple Leaf and Trident: The Ukrainian Canadians during the Second World War (Toronto: Multicultural History Society of Canada, 1988) 35.
- ³⁴ Prymak 42.
- ³⁵ Marunchak, The Ukrainian Canadians 608.
- ³⁶ Data re Ukrainian Canadian participation in World War I from William Buryanyk, "Ukrainian Canadians in the First World War," Jubilee Almanac of the Ukrainian Voice (Winnipeg: Ukrayins'kyy holos, 1960) 114; Data re Ukrainian Canadian population in 1911 from Darcovich and Yuzyk, A Statistical Compendium on the Ukrainians in Canada 26.
- ³⁷ Valour Remembered: Canada and the First World War (Ottawa: n.p., 1982) 27.

41. ³⁸ Darcovich and Yuzyk, A Statistical Compendium on the Ukrainians in Canada
- ³⁹ Darcovich and Yuzyk 26.
- ⁴⁰ “World War I,” Canadian Encyclopedia.
26. ⁴¹ Darcovich and Yuzyk, A Statistical Compendium on the Ukrainians in Canada
- ⁴² Darcovich and Yuzyk 177.
- ⁴³ Paul Yuzyk, “Religious Life,” A Heritage in Transition 154.
- ⁴⁴ Yuzyk 157
- ⁴⁵ Darcovich and Yuzyk 177.
- ⁴⁶ Yuri Daschko, “The Ukrainian Press in Canada,” A Heritage in Transition 267.
- ⁴⁷ Marunchak, The Ukrainian Canadians 471.
- ⁴⁸ Marunchak 472.
- ⁴⁹ Daschko, “The Ukrainian Press in Canada” 270.
- ⁵⁰ Marunchak, The Ukrainian Canadians 475.
- ⁵¹ Marunchak 475.
- ⁵² Marunchak 476.
- ⁵³ Population data from Darcovich and Yuzyk, A Statistical Compendium on the Ukrainians in Canada 223.
- ⁵⁴ Marunchak, The Ukrainian Canadians 445.
26. ⁵⁵ Darcovich and Yuzyk, A Statistical Compendium on the Ukrainians in Canada
- ⁵⁶ Marunchak, The Ukrainian Canadians 441.
392. ⁵⁷ Darcovich and Yuzyk, A Statistical Compendium on the Ukrainians in Canada

⁵⁸ Based on data from Darcovich and Yuzyk, 392.

⁵⁹ Darcovich and Yuzyk, 392.

⁶⁰ Kovbel' and Doroshenko, eds., Propamyatna knyha Ukrayins'koho narodnoho domu u Vynypegu 161.

⁶¹ Iroida Lebid-Wynnyckyj, "Ukrainian Drama from the Beginnings of Immigration to 1942," Master's thesis, University of Waterloo, 1976, 41-2.

⁶² M.H. Marunchak, The Ukrainian Canadians 533.

⁶³ Semen Kremin', Neporozuminnya, zhart na odnu diyu (Winnipeg: Ukrayins'kyy holos, 1928).

⁶⁴ Kremin', Pomichnyky, zhart v odniy diyi (Winnipeg: Ukrayins'kyy holos, 1940).

⁶⁵ Kremin', Vuykova pomylka, zhart na odnu diyu (Winnipeg: Ukrayins'kyy holos, 1940).

⁶⁶ Kripenko, "Heroy" v mishku, zhart na odnu diyu (Winnipeg: Step, 1931).

⁶⁷ M. and P. Kripenko, Troye zaruchyn, zhart na odnu diyu (Winnipeg: Step, 1930).

⁶⁸ Mykhaylo Krypyakevych, Yak kum kuma lichyv, zhart na odnu diyu, 2nd ed. (Winnipeg: Populyarne vydavnytstvo, 1938). The English language translation of this title reads: How a friend cured a friend. The Ukrainian word "kum" refers to the relationship that exists between the parents of a child and its godparents. The meaning is difficult to convey in English. Thus the word "kum" has been loosely translated as "friend."

⁶⁹ Viktor Tulevitriv, "Tuha," Dumy i pisni, zbirnyk dum i pisen' napysanykh v Kanadi (Toronto: n.p., 1939) 24.

⁷⁰ Tulevitriv, "Ne lyuba . . . ," Dumy i pisni 14.

⁷¹ Tulevitriv 14.

⁷² Panteleymon Bozhyk, "Pokhoron ukrayins'koyi nezhody," Kalyendar Holosu Spasytelya i Al'manakh yuvileyu khreshchennya Ukrayiny na 1939 rik 121-33.

⁷³ Bozhyk 127.

⁷⁴ Bozhyk 130.

- ⁷⁵ Swyrypa, "A Survey of Ukrainian Historiography," A Heritage in Transition 315.
- ⁷⁶ Tulevitriv, "Do al'bomu rizhnym taboram," Dumy i pisni 73-4.
- ⁷⁷ Petro Khomlyak, Na rozdorizhzi, komediya v trokh diyakh z kanadiys'ko-ukrayins'koho zhyttya (Winnipeg: Kul'tura i osvita, 1946).
- ⁷⁸ Dmytro Hun'kevych, Klyub sufrazhystok, komediya v 5-ty diyakh z amerykans'koho zhyttya (Winnipeg: Rozvaha, 1925).
- ⁷⁹ Hun'kevych 16.
- ⁸⁰ Khomlyak, Na rozdorizhzi.
- ⁸¹ P. Pylypenko, Slovo yak horobets', tragi-komediya na odnu diyu (Winnipeg: Promin', 1932).
- ⁸² Vasyl' Stavnychka, Chudo profesor (Winnipeg: By the Author, 1946).
- ⁸³ P. Pylypenko, Sviy do svoho, komediya na odnu diyu ([Winnipeg?]: n.p., 1936).
- ⁸⁴ Pylypenko 18.
- ⁸⁵ Pylypenko 18.
- ⁸⁶ M. Kripenko, Na vakatsiyakh: ditocha kartyna z kanadiys'koho zhyttya na try diy (Winnipeg: Promin', 1927) 7.
- ⁸⁷ Kripenko 28-9.
- ⁸⁸ Kripenko, Na vakatsiyakh.
- ⁸⁹ Hun'kevych, Rozhdestvens'ka nich, ditocha operetka na 2 diy (Winnipeg: MARS, 1924).
- ⁹⁰ Kripenko, Na vakatsiyakh 7.
- ⁹¹ Semen Kovbel', Svyatyy Mykolay v Kanadi, ditocha kartyna dlya ukrayins'kykh ridnykh shkil v tr'okh vidslonakh (Winnipeg: People's Publishing Co. [1938?]).
- ⁹² M. Borysyk, Na rizdvo khryst[o]ve, ditocha kartyna v odnii vidsloni (Winnipeg: Promin', 1927).

- ⁹³ Mykhaylo Kumka, Monol'ogy i diyal'ogy dlya ditey i molodi (Winnipeg: Ukrayins'kyy holos, 1935).
- ⁹⁴ Mykhaylo Kumka, Snip, ukrayins'kyy deklyamator dlya ditey i molodi (Winnipeg: Ukrayins'kyy holos, 1937-40).
- ⁹⁵ S.M. Doroshchuk, Dlya ridnykh ditey, virshi (Winnipeg: By the Author, 1925).
- ⁹⁶ Molodyy vik, opovidannya dlya ditey, knyzhka persha (Winnipeg: Ukrayins'ka vydavnycha spilka, 1918).
- ⁹⁷ O.T. Darkovych, Olesya, ditocha pyesa na 2 diyi z prolohom (Winnipeg: Promin', 1927).
- ⁹⁸ Michael Petrivsky [Mykhaylo Petrivs'kyy], Dyakouchytel' u shkoli, komediya v odniy diyi z zhyttya shkolyariv tak-zvanoyi "dyakouchytel's'koyi shkoly" v Kanadi i Amerytsi (Winnipeg: Promin', 1927).
- ⁹⁹ Tulevitriv, "Pisnya bezrobitnoho v Kanadi," Dumy i pisni 61.
- ¹⁰⁰ Pylypenko. Svyshchemo na krizu, komediya na odnu diyu, diyet'sya v kanadiys'komu misti pidchas krizy (Edmonton: Ukrayins'ka knyharnya, n.d.).
- ¹⁰¹ Darkovych, "Kyyiv i Rym," "Kyyiv i Rym," "Yanychary," "Chort": Poema (Winnipeg: T. Zolotukha, 1929) 9-56.
- ¹⁰² Darkovych 3.
- ¹⁰³ Darkovych 40.
- ¹⁰⁴ Darkovych 55.
- ¹⁰⁵ Darkovych 55-6.
- ¹⁰⁶ Kripenko, "Liniment," Naynovishi diyal'ogy, vol. 1 (Winnipeg: Step, 1929).
- ¹⁰⁷ S. Savchuk, Opovidannya z zhyttya Isusa Khrysta (Winnipeg: Vistnyk, 1930).
- ¹⁰⁸ Myroslav Ichnyans'kyy, Lira emigranta, liryka (Winnipeg: Ukrayins'ka knyharnya, 1936).
- ¹⁰⁹ Ichnyans'kyy, "Rizdvyane radio," Lira emigranta 83.
- ¹¹⁰ Ivan Danyl'chuk, "Kanadi," Svytaye den' (Winnipeg: By the Author, 1929) 11.

- ¹¹¹ Danyl'chuk 11.
- ¹¹² Danyl'chuk, "Vinnipeg," Svytaye den' 14-15.
- ¹¹³ Danyl'chuk 15.
- ¹¹⁴ Ichnyans'kyk Lira emigranta.
- ¹¹⁵ Ichnyans'kyk, "Osin' kanadiys'ka," Lira emigranta 27.
- ¹¹⁶ Semen Kovbel' and D. Doroshenko, eds., Propamyatna knyha Ukrayins'koho narodnoho domu u Vynypegu (Winnipeg: Ukrainian National Home in Winnipeg, 1949).
- ¹¹⁷ Kovbel', Parubochi mriyi (zaklyata hora), fantaziya-drama v 4-okh diyakh (Winnipeg: By the Author, 1942).
- ¹¹⁸ Kovbel', Parubochi mriyi (zaklyata hora).
- ¹¹⁹ Kovbel', Divochi mriyi, tragi-komediya v 6-okh vidslonakh (Winnipeg: A. Yonker, 1918).
- ¹²⁰ Kovbel', Virna sestra to zoloto, komediya na odnu diyu, diyet'sya v Kanadi na koloniyi u teperishnyy chas (Winnipeg: By the Author, [1930]).
- ¹²¹ Kovbel', Svyatyy Mykolay v Kanadi 13.
- ¹²² Kovbel' 13.
- ¹²³ Darkovych, "Yanychary," "Kyyiv i Rym," "Yanychary," "Chort," poema 58.
- ¹²⁴ Bozhyk, "Dva shvagry," Kalyendar Holosu Spasytelya na 1941 rik 122-5.
- ¹²⁵ Bozhyk 124.
- ¹²⁶ Bozhyk 125.
- ¹²⁷ Tulevitriv, "Rozmova bol'shevyka z demokratom," Dumy i pisni 45.
- ¹²⁸ Tulevitriv 46.
- ¹²⁹ Tulevitriv, Dumy i pisni.
- ¹³⁰ Danyl'chuk, Svytaye den'.

- ¹³¹ Dmytro Zakharchuk, Na chuzhyni, poeziyi (Winnipeg: Promin', 1934).
- ¹³² Tulevitriv, "Strilets'kyy prapor," Dumy i pisni 31.
- ¹³³ Tulevitriv, "Ne sydit' zhe," Dumy i pisni 22-3.
- ¹³⁴ Tulevitriv, "Ukrayins'komu natsionalistovi," Dumy i pisni 40.
- ¹³⁵ Tulevitriv, "V lystopadi," Dumy i pisni 19-20.
- ¹³⁶ Tulevitriv, "Na spomyn (prysvyata molodym heroyam polyahlym pid Krutamy)," Dumy i pisni 77-8.
- ¹³⁷ Danyl'chuk, "Polyahlym bortsyam za volyu sobornoyi Ukrayiny," Svytaye den' 18.
- ¹³⁸ Zakharchuk, "Do svitla znannya i dil," Na chuzhyni 6-7.
- ¹³⁹ Zakharchuk, "Lysh nauka odna," Na chuzhyni 7.
- ¹⁴⁰ Zakharchuk, "Pid teperishnyu khvylyu," Na chuzhyni 9-10.
- ¹⁴¹ Zakharchuk, "Na dosviti," Na chuzhyni 11.
- ¹⁴² S. Kuryliv, "Proklin materi," povist' (Winnipeg, 1936).
- ¹⁴³ P. Pylypenko, Halychyna v ohni (patsyfikatsiya), drama na 4 diyi (Winnipeg: Ukrayins'ka knyharhna, n.d.).
- ¹⁴⁴ P. Pylypenko, Sovyets'kyy rozvid, komediya na odnu diyu (Winnipeg: Promin', 1932).
- ¹⁴⁵ Pylypenko 8.
- ¹⁴⁶ Tulevitriv, Taka yiyi dolya, drama z chasiv vyzvol'nykh zmahan' na Karpats'ki Ukrayini v 1939 r. v 4-okh diyakh (Hamilton: n.p., 1941).
- ¹⁴⁷ Dmytro Hun'kevych, Sered hradu kul' abo neustrashyma heroyinya, tragediya v 4-okh diyakh v 5-okh vidslonakh zi spivamy z zhyttya i borot'by za volyu ukrayins'koho naroda v chasi vsesvitnoyi viyny v r.r. 1914-1920 (Winnipeg: Ukrayins'ka knyharhna, n.d.).
- ¹⁴⁸ Tulevitriv, Taka yiyi dolya 12.

¹⁴⁹ Tulevitriv 27. The battles at Kruty and in the Carpathian Mountains were battles that sought to free Ukraine from bondage at the expense of many Ukrainian lives.

¹⁵⁰ Hun'kevych, Sered hradu kul' abo neustrashyma heroyinya.

¹⁵¹ K. Kyrstyuk, Dorohoyu bat'kiv, drama v tr'okh diyakh, syuzhet vzyatyy zi slavnoyi istorychnoyi povisty V. Budzynovs'koho "Do viry bat'kiv" (Winnipeg: Vistnyk, 1934).

¹⁵² M. Komar, Antin Holovatyy, istorychne opovidannya (Winnipeg: Ukrayins'kyy holos, 1935).

¹⁵³ M. Manyliv, Halya, drama na pyat' diy, syuzhet vzyatyy z opovidannya Dmytra Tyahnyhore "Kozats'ke sertse" (Winnipeg: Ukrayins'kyy holos, 1934).

¹⁵⁴ Marunchak, The Ukrainian Canadians 534.

¹⁵⁵ On page 543 of his The Ukrainian Canadians: A History, Marunchak states that M. Syn'oooverholets' was the pseudonym of a writer named M. Semanciw. This writer, however, was informed by Mr. Mykola Chachkovskyy, librarian at the Ivan Franko Library, Winnipeg, Manitoba, a longtime member and activist of the Association of United Ukrainian Canadians, and a contemporary of the leftist group of writers during the interwar period, that this was the pseudonym of Mykhaylo Smityukh, also known as Michael Smith, an ULFTA member and activist during the period in question.

¹⁵⁶ Myroslav Irchan, Nezhdanny hist', dramatychnyy etyud z revolyutsiyi 1917 r. (Winnipeg: Ukrayins'ki robitnychi visti, 1923).

¹⁵⁷ Myroslav Irchan, Pidzemna Halychyna, drama na 5 diy (Winnipeg: Robitnychofarmers'ke vydavnyche tovarystvo, 1926).

¹⁵⁸ Myroslav Irchan, Rodyna Shchitkariv, drama na 4 diy (Winnipeg: Robitnychofarmers'ke vydavnyche tovarystvo, 1924).

¹⁵⁹ Myroslav Irchan, Yikh bil', dramatychnyy etyud (Winnipeg: Ukrayins'ki robitnychi visti, 1923).

¹⁶⁰ Myroslav Irchan, Dvanaytsyat', drama v 5-okh diyakh z zhyttya povstanchoyi vatahy v Skhidniy Halychyni v misyatsi zhovtni-lystopadi 1922 roku (Winnipeg: Ukrayins'ki robitnychi visti, 1923).

¹⁶¹ Myroslav Irchan, Bezrobitnyy, drama v tr'okh diyakh (Winnipeg: n.p., 1923).

- ¹⁶² Myroslav Irchan, Karpats'ka nich, opovidannya (Winnipeg: Robitnycho-farmers'ke vydavnyche tovarystvo, 1924).
- ¹⁶³ Irchan, Apostoly, opovidannya (Winnipeg: n.p., 1927).
- ¹⁶⁴ Irchan, "Beybi," Ukrayins'ki robitnychi visti, 21 October - 6 November, 1924,
- ¹⁶⁵ Irchan, "Bila malpa," Robitnytsya, 15 September 1926: 10-14.
- ¹⁶⁶ Irchan, "Lyst materi," Holos robitnytsi, July, 1923: 8.
- ¹⁶⁷ Irchan, "Na farmi," Robitnytsya, 1 October 1924: 6.
- ¹⁶⁸ Irchan, Yikh bil'.
- ¹⁶⁹ Irchan, Bezrobotnyy.
- ¹⁷⁰ Irchan, Bezrobotnyy 13.
- ¹⁷¹ Irchan, Rodyna shchitkariv.
- ¹⁷² Irchan, Rodyna shchitkariv 75.
- ¹⁷³ Irchan, Pidzemna Halychyna.
- ¹⁷⁴ Irchan, Nezhdanny hist'.
- ¹⁷⁵ Irchan, Dvanaytsyat'.
- ¹⁷⁶ Myroslav Irchan, "Bezsmertnym halyts'kym buntaryam," Ukrayins'ki robitnychi visti, 10 November 1923: 3.
- ¹⁷⁷ Myroslav Irchan, "Robitnychi dity," Robitnytsya, 15 January 1925: 8.
- ¹⁷⁸ Irchan, Karpats'ka nich.
- ¹⁷⁹ Irchan, Karpats'ka nich 123.
- ¹⁸⁰ Irchan, Karpats'ka nich 124.
- ¹⁸¹ Irchan, "Lyst do materi."
- ¹⁸² Myroslav Irchan, "Yikh sotni tysyach," Robitnytsya, 1 March 1927: 13.

- ¹⁸³ Irchan, "Bila malpa."
- ¹⁸⁴ M.S. "V chasi strayku," Holos robitnytsi, January-February, 1923: 5-6.
- ¹⁸⁵ Syn'ooverholets', "Leydof," Holos robitnytsi, february-March 1924: 12-13.
- ¹⁸⁶ M. Volynets', "Zabuti," Robitnytsya, 1 August 1924: 16-17.
- ¹⁸⁷ Tymchak, "Our Call!" Ukrayins'ki robitnychi visti, 5 June 1935: 3. This poem was printed English.
- ¹⁸⁸ V. Holovats'kyi, "Za vichnu zhadu," Narodna hazeta, 10 July 1939: 4.
- ¹⁸⁹ Syn'ooverholets', "Zhyttya strakh," Robitnytsya, 1 April 1925: 9-10.
- ¹⁹⁰ Syn'ooverholets', "Zlochyntsi," Robitnytsya, 15 July 1925: 8-11.
- ¹⁹¹ Syn'ooverholets', "Zvyrodniv," Robitnytsya, 15 June 1926: 9-10.
- ¹⁹² Ye. I. Lisovyy, Naymyt, p'yesa na 4 diyi (Winnipeg: Robitnycho-farmers'ke vydavnyche tovarystvo, 1928).
- ¹⁹³ Lisovyy 32.
- ¹⁹⁴ Skoropad, "Vsi yak ody holosuyte lysh na komunistiv," Ukrayins'ki robitnychi visti, 8 October 1935: 3.
- ¹⁹⁵ M. Yavot, "Vstavayte vsi v lavu i idim na Ottavu," Ukrayins'ki robitnychi visti, 10 July 1935: 3.
- ¹⁹⁶ Robitnyk, "Tym, shcho navazhylysy znyshchyty RZT," Ukrayins'ki robitnychi visti, 23 January 1934: 3.
- ¹⁹⁷ Jaroslav Arsenych and Wasyl Swystun were leaders of the non-leftist Ukrainian Canadian community. Both, for example, were instrumental in the establishment of the Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church of Canada and the Ukrainian Self-Reliance League.
- ¹⁹⁸ "Pryvitannya hurtom usim lobayam v al'bom, vid samitnykh bezrobitnykh -- lyudey shchirykh ne ambitnykh," Ukrayins'ki robitnychi visti, 20 May 1936: 4.
- ¹⁹⁹ Michael Petrivsky, Kanadyys'kyi zhenykh, drama u 4-okh diyakh z zhytya ukrayins'kykh poselentsiv v Kanadi (Winnipeg: Ukrayins'ka knyharnea, 1922).
- ²⁰⁰ Petrivsky 4.

²⁰¹ Petrivsky 35.

²⁰² Ya. Maidanyk, Manigrula: komediya v odniy diy z spivamy i tantsyamy, 2nd ed. (Winnipeg: Ukrayins'ka knyhnarnya, 1926).

²⁰³ Petrivsky, Kanadyys'kyk zhenykh 15.

²⁰⁴ Michael Petrivsky, "Mriyi divochi, sl'ozy zhinochi," Mriyi sl'ozamy oblyti, opovidannya z zhyttya ukrayins'kykh pioneriv i imihrantiv v Kanadi, 2nd ed. (Toronto, 1977) 15-78. Although the first edition of this collection was published in 1973, the short stories therein were written during the interwar period and all themes pertain to the Ukrainian Canadian experience during that time period. Therefore, this collection has been included in this period.

²⁰⁵ Petrivsky, Kanadyys'kyk zhenykh 10.

²⁰⁶ Petrivsky, "Povist' bez pochatku i kintsya," Mriyi sl'ozamy oblyti 118-157.

²⁰⁷ Petrivsky 143.

²⁰⁸ Petrivsky, "Bida bidi ne rivna," Mriyi sl'ozamy oblyti 86-7.

²⁰⁹ Petrivsky, "Koleso doli," Mriyi sl'ozamy oblyti 189-205.

²¹⁰ Michael Petrivsky, "Pizni Ivany," Oy Kanado, Kanadon'ko . . . opovidannya z zhyttya ukrayins'kykh pioneriv i imihrantiv v Kanadi (Winnipeg: n.p., 1974) 115-28.

²¹¹ Petrivsky, "Chudotvorna mashyna," Oy Kanado, Kanadon'ko 9-42.

²¹² Petrivsky, "Vystup pered anhliytamy," Oy Kanado, Kanadon'ko 129-40.

²¹³ Petrivsky, "I pokhovaly mamu pid biloyu berezoyu," Mriyi sl'ozamy oblyti 173-88.

²¹⁴ Petrivsky 176.

²¹⁵ Michael Petrivsky, Magichne misto, novelya z zhyttya ukrayins'kykh pereselentsiv v Amerytsi (Winnipeg: By the Author, 1929).

²¹⁶ Petrivsky, "Peredmovna," Magichne misto 7.

²¹⁷ Petrivsky 7.

²¹⁸ Ewach, Cavalry of Ukraine: Drama ([Winnipeg?]: n.p., 1923).

²¹⁹ Honore Ewach, Holos zemli, korotka povist' z zhyttya v Kanadi. 2nd ed. (Winnipeg: Trident Press, 1973). Holos zemli was published in English under the title The Call of the Land, and for that reason this title will be used throughout this work, even though the more correct translation is The Voice of the Land.

²²⁰ Ewach 11.

²²¹ Frances Swyripa, in her book Wedded to the Cause: Ukrainian-Canadian Women and Ethnic Identity, 1891-1991 (Toronto: U of Toronto P, 1993), discusses the mythology of the Ukrainian immigrant past, 215-56.

²²² Illya Kyriyak, Syny zemli, povist' z ukrayins'koho zhyttya v Kanadi, vol. 1 (Edmonton, By the Author, 1939).

²²³ Honore Ewach, Cavalry of Ukraine: Drama ([Winnipeg?]: n.p., 1923) 75.

²²⁴ Ewach 24.

²²⁵ Ewach 96.

²²⁶ Ewach, Cavalry of Ukraine: Drama; Boyova surma Ukrayiny, poeziyi (Winnipeg: By the Author, 1931); Toy koho svit lovyv ta ne spiymav (Winnipeg: By the Author, 1932); Tsikavi opovidannya z davn'oyi istoriyi Kanady (Winnipeg: Kul'tura i osvita, 1944); Ukrayins'kyi mudrets', poema pro slavnoho ukrayins'koho filosofa-mistyka Hryhoriya Skovorodu (Winnipeg: Ukrainian Cultural and Educational Centre, 1945); Vidlet zhuravlya, drama ([Winnipeg?]: n.p., 1923). Ewach's drama's Cavalry of Ukraine, Vidlet zhuravlya and his collection of short stories Tsikavi opovidannya z davn'oyi istoriyi Kanady could not be located at any repositories. The latter two are mentioned in "Tvory O. Ivakha," Honorius Ewach, Ukrayins'ke yevshan-zillya v Kanadi: yuvileyna zbirka tvoriv O. Ivakha v 40-littya yoho pratsi perom, 1920-1960 (Winnipeg: Trident Press, 1960) 26, 27. All three are mentioned in Yar Slavutych's An Annotated Bibliography of Ukrainian Literature in Canada: Canadian Book Publications, 1908-1985, 2nd ed. (Edmonton: Slavuta, 1986) 91, 136 but are also indicated as being unavailable for the author to examine firsthand.

²²⁷ Ewach, "Nashe viruyu," Boyova surma Ukrayiny, poeziyi 6.

Appendix

Ukrainian Language Original of Prose Passages Translated in the Text

67. "Кажу вам, що коли хочете бути сильними, то мусите на всіх ділянках життя бути одно тіло, один дух, одно серце! Не дуріть себе, що в вас сила, або буде колись сила коли не здисциплінуєте себе й розбиваєтеся. Хто вас інакше вчить, як отсе вам говорю то він напевно темняк, або вам ворог."
68. "Один Бог, одна католицька віра, один український нарід і одні українські змагання щодо нашої суверенности."
75. "Я належу до просвітного товариства, де ходять разом чоловіки із своїми жінками, з дівчатами, і я вам кажу, що я дуже добре почуваю себе в товаристві гарних молодих, та чесних муштин, се прямо насолода мого життя."
80. "Я вже не раз то казав, тай тато кажуть нащо нам того українського. Я коби ще трохи навчився по-англійськи, піду між Англійців і буду Англійцем."
81. ". . . . вчися як найбільше свого рідного і будь щирим Українцем. Чужого також вчися як найбільше, бо без сего тут тяжко обійтися, але все памятай за своє рідне і дорожи ним як святими річами."
84. "Колись то було добре, як ще не було тих українських учителів. Я памятав як ще учили англійські, то тоді було добре. Тамті ніколи не вчили довше як

до четвертої. А часом по полудні на павзу як зачнемо грати "бейзбол," то граємо аж до четвертої, і тоді йдемо до дому."

121. "Я з самого Вінніпегу, з Прічард."

122. "Якби так хто увійшов до хати і побачив повні соломи, то ще сміявбися."

126. "Я борюся за ідею, щоб люде були рівні, щоб тим богачам обрізати крила, щоб високо і далеко не летіли -- я рахувати комуніст, займаюся політиком"

127. "Ну, швагре, але ж, небоже, вийшов ти на тім большевизмі, сам ти змарнував себе, а також свою жінку і діти!"

147. "Я хотівби, щоб ті законодавці мали що тижня розвід, щоб вони на свої шкірі відчули той дурний закон, який дає право розірвати родинне життя через черевики або капелюх."

150. "Тут наші люде, закохавшись в канадійську свободу стали лінюхами а не патріотами і вояками. Ось приміром мій приятель Трохим Семенович. Це ж колишній український герой повітря. . . . Наш славний авіатор в часи визвольних змагань Який неодного ворожого літака знищив в повітряних боях А тепер що? Упившись тут канадійською свободою він зняковів Збайдужнів й витворилось з него, ні те, не се"

151. "Бо Надія своїм вчинком переконала мене, що де б не була роджена наша молодь, і як би не старалися чужинці асимілювати її, все ж таки її душа буде українська, яка при відповідній нагоді проявить свій патріотизм і докаже те, що сталося під Крутами в часи великої революції на Східних Українських Землях, а пізніше на Карпатських горах, де в сотеро чисельнійший ворог не одного зуба поломав собі на національній свідомості нашої української молоді."
181. "Вас сотні мільйонів, а божків кільканайцять тисяч. Все ж таки ви їх раби так довго, доки голод не об'єднає ваші сотні мільйонів в один рух і один крик."
183. "На вулицях робітники, червоні прапори! Це наші очі, що бачуть далеко . . . Ми будемо жити. Нас не забудуть."
190. Він розказав йому, що людство ділиться на кляси, на працюючих і дармоїдів, що зараз панує кляса панів над працюючими і що так довго робітники будуть бідувати, доки пани пануватимуть над ними, доки людство ділитиметься на бідних і багатих. Треба, щоби всі були рівні, всі однакові
191. "-- Треба нам гуртуватися в товариства, треба єднатися разом, читати книжки й газети"
204. "Правда стала по моїй, наймицькій стороні. Не помогли вам ні багатство, ні насильство ваше проти рідної дочки. Порвались пута старих звичаїв. Годі верховодити батькам над дітьми. Розкріпостилась жінка від чоловіка

Так ось за що я запродав себе”

211. “ . . . дівки до міста нема що забирати, бо вона згедзгаєсь зараз; ще фармою не вивітрієсь, а вже купуй її капелюхи, купуй якісь “дреси” чи то шовкові панчохи. А до того ще як почне “пудруватись,” на твар муку сипати -- мой, це мой, -- ще й по “шовах” ходити, тьфу! От і всьо що маєш з дівки у тій Канаді.”
212. “Ви лиш знаєте як дівчину звести, а потім пальцем не ню показувати, тай кричати: --ось грішниця! Ось вона, сяка-така! . . .”
216. “Тут жінки стоять на вищій степені як в старім краю, на селі. Тут жінкам даєсь першенство і повагу у всім і все. Бо жінкам так годить ся. То лиш у старім краю так по простацьки і неполюдськи трактують женщин, котрі є справдішними невірльницями своїх газдів.”
218. “За студента хлопець, як золото, а здобувши свою мету -- пропадає для народу, скисне, заскїтїть ся і запорпаєть ся у своє кублице тай дбає тільки про себе. Матеріальний успіх не одному викривить світогляд, легко придбані доляри нівечать молоді ідеали. Поріши в сало, такі забувають часи своїх злиднів, звичайно соромно і признаватись, що батько у фабриці чорну роботу виконував і що матір досі хустку на голові носить і підписатись не вміє. Цурають ся своїх батьків, свого рідного народу, між своїх людей не покажуть ся. Щоб до решти порвати зв’язки з рідним народом, такий навіть змінить своє прїзвище не чуже, а ще як оженить ся з чужиною, ----

можна вже й хрестика на нього поставити.”

220. Болюче відчуваючи наслідки Великої Депресії особисто, молоді Петруки винували Б. Беннета, прем'єра Канади та його консервативний уряд за безрадість і неспроможність побороти економічну кризу кращими заходами, як шляхом репресій голодуючої та відчайної частини народу або вербуванням самітних безробітних до таборів північної Канади на будову Транс-канадського шляху за харч і в'язничну плату, бо ці згодом верталися до міст доповнювати ряди революційних елементів, огірчені та перетворені агітаторами і їх літературою у згаданих таборах.
213. . . . за її недбальство до того, щоб маси імігрантів не залишились без духовної опіки священиків --
228. . . . пощо тут Флорида, пощо ті небуденні типи, коли можна було зняти реальніші образки із життя наших робітників у Питсбургу, кухарів і кельнерів у Нью Йорку, або таки фермерів із прерій Канади?
229. От, кинула судьба мною у край вічного літа, набрався там вражінь і досвіду, вернув у Канаду і аж по рокови під напором непоборимого бажання самовираження -- одного дня взяв за перо і на основі того, що бачив, що розумів і переживав, написав шкіц будучої новелі.
235. -- Ге-ге, -- дрібно засміявся Клим, відчуваючи гордість, що й він, мовляв, тепер вже не звичайний собі селюх, але фермер, що й машинами

вміє на фермі робити.

236. Ейда Бравн заговорила зовсім чистою українською мовою, і то так, що ніхто не міг навіть підозрівати, що вона англічанка. Змаленьку зросла вона в цьому окрузі, товаришувала з місцевими дівчатами, і так навчилася їхньої мови та звичаїв, що стала наче одна з українських дівчат.
237. “... голос вільної канадійської землі, що аж проситься стати полем та вкритись золотою пшеницею.”

Chapter III

Moving into the Mainstream,

1947-1991

The period of Ukrainian settlement in Winnipeg between 1947 and 1991 saw the influx of more immigrants from Ukraine and even further organizational factionalization taking place as a result. Winnipeg waned in stature as the centre of Ukrainian life in Canada, vying for this role with Edmonton and Toronto. The literary activity of the Ukrainian Canadian community waned somewhat as well with fewer literary works being written and published in Winnipeg than elsewhere and arguably better literary works were being written elsewhere as well. However, this period also saw the emergence of a new group of Ukrainian Canadian writers who chose to write in English. As formerly, this chapter will trace how the development of the community and its concerns were reflected in the literature that Ukrainian Canadian writers in Winnipeg were producing.

1. Ukrainians Come into Their Own

Ukrainian Settlement in Canada and Winnipeg

The third wave of Ukrainian immigration to Canada began in 1947. The largest number, 33,017, arrived in Canada between 1947 and 1953. Only 4,422 Ukrainians arrived between 1954 and 1967.¹ After 1967 the number of Ukrainian immigrants arriving in Canada was reduced to a mere trickle.

The bulk of the immediate post-war immigration was made up of war refugees, commonly referred to as “displaced persons.” The fact that a significant number of Ukrainian displaced persons were allowed to emigrate to Canada can be attributed largely to the lobbying efforts of the Ukrainian Canadian Committee (UCC). The UCC was also instrumental in the establishment of the Ukrainian Canadian Relief Fund in 1944 to look after the welfare, financial aid and ultimate resettlement of as many Ukrainian war refugees as possible. That the UCC was able to independently establish and maintain the activities of this type of organization is indicative of the fact that the Ukrainian Canadian community had, by this time, already firmly entrenched itself as an entity in Canada and was secure enough in its status to undertake such a formidable project.

The social make-up of the third wave was different from that of the previous two waves. The third wave was composed mainly of war refugees, who considered themselves “political émigrés.” and included a significantly smaller number of peasant farmers and a much more significant number of skilled labourers and professionals. This group almost exclusively favoured urban settlement over rural. Whereas the first two waves had been made up almost entirely of immigrants from Galicia and Bukovyna, the third wave was made up of immigrants from all of the various regions of Ukraine, including for the first time a large number from Eastern Ukraine. The settlement pattern of the third wave also differed from that of the previous two. The majority of the third wave settled in Ontario and the four western provinces. Most of the group, however, chose Ontario, favouring its highly industrialized southeastern region.

According to census data Winnipeg's Ukrainian population during the period grew to 41,997 in 1951, and continued to grow to 53,918 in 1961 and 64,306 in 1971.²

According to 1981 census data, which tabulated ethnic origin differently from earlier censuses and now provided for mixed parentage as well as single ethnic origin, 58,970 residents indicated being of Ukrainian origin and 20,380 of mixed, Ukrainian and other ethnic group or groups, origin.³

During the post-war period Winnipeg waned somewhat in status as the centre of Ukrainian socio-cultural life in Canada. Although it retained its overall supremacy, it vied for this position with Edmonton and Toronto. In 1951, for example, Edmonton had a Ukrainian population of 19,111; in 1961 it grew to 38,164, and in 1971 it stood at 62,655. Toronto's Ukrainian population stood at 30,366 in 1951; 46,650 in 1961, and 60,755 in 1971.⁴ According to 1981 census data Edmonton had 63,120 residents of Ukrainian origin and 21,445 residents of mixed Ukrainian and other ethnic group or groups origin; Toronto had 50,705 residents of Ukrainian origin and 21,025 residents of mixed Ukrainian and other ethnic group or groups origin.⁵ Thus by 1981, the Ukrainian population in Edmonton was larger than that of Winnipeg and Toronto's Ukrainian population was not far behind Winnipeg's. Also, the demographics were changing within Winnipeg itself. Ukrainians living there no longer felt the need to live in a block type settlement in the city's North End. By this time they were living in all areas of the city, although admittedly their institutions tended to remain in the North End.

It was after World War II that Ukrainians truly came into their own in mainstream Canadian society. In Winnipeg, long known as a city in the hands of the Anglo-Celtic

elite, which looked down on the “foreign element,” a culminating point for the Ukrainian Canadians living there was the election of a Canadian-born Ukrainian mayor, Steve Juba. Juba served a record seven terms as mayor, spanning 1957-77. Also prominent in civic politics were city councillors Slaw Rebchuk, who also served as Deputy Mayor and after whom a major bridge leading into the city’s North End was named in the 1980s, Harry Lazarenko and John Prystanski. Numerous Ukrainians also served as longtime school trustees, e.g., Mary Kardash and Helen Mayba.

Ukrainian Winnipeggers also became active in provincial and federal politics. Mark Smerchanski, for example, was elected to the House of Commons. William Wall (Wolochatiuk) was the first Ukrainian member of the Senate; he was succeeded by Paul Yuzyk; both served for many years. In Manitoba provincial politics, Nicholas Bachynsky, although not actually a Winnipegger, served as a longtime MLA and held the prestigious position of Speaker of the House. Other Winnipeg Ukrainians who served as MLAs included Dave Chomiak, Ben Hanuschak and Mark Minenko. Manitoba’s Premier from May, 1988, Gary Filmon, is of mixed Ukrainian descent.

The establishment of the Ukrainian Cultural and Educational Centre in Winnipeg in 1944 was a significant milestone for the Ukrainian community. It houses a museum, library, art gallery and archives devoted to the preservation of the Ukrainian heritage and since its inception has continued to expand its holdings. The extent of the professionalism of this facility was attested to by the appointment of Dr. Robert Klymasz, a respected folklorist and museologist, as its Executive Director in 1975. He served until 1977.

The Ukrainian Free Academy of Sciences (now the Ukrainian Academy of Arts and Sciences in Canada) was established in Winnipeg in 1949. Its aim is to continue the educational, research and publishing activities of the original Ukrainian Academy of Sciences established in Ukraine in 1918.

As to education, advances were made in the field of Ukrainian studies. In 1962 Manitoba's public schools started to offer the Ukrainian language as a course of instruction in grades nine through twelve. Since 1979 the English-Ukrainian Bilingual Program of study, where subjects are taught in the Ukrainian language for up to fifty percent of the school day, for grades kindergarten through twelve has been in place. In 1949 the University of Manitoba, under pressure from the Ukrainian Canadian community, established the Department of Slavic Studies. Courses taught included language, literature, civilization and culture. The Department's longtime head was the noted scholar Dr. J.B. Rudnycky. Since the 1940s Ukrainians have made inroads at the University of Manitoba. In 1946 Dr. Peter Kondra was appointed the first Ukrainian Canadian full-time professor at the University in the Faculty of Agriculture. By the mid-1950s there were between thirty and forty Ukrainian professors working in all fields there.

St. Andrew's College, a theological seminary of the Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church, was established in Winnipeg in 1946. From humble beginnings, it expanded to the extent that it re-located to the campus of the University of Manitoba, where its own facility was erected in 1965. From the outset it offered courses both in theology and Ukrainian studies. In 1981 through an affiliation agreement between St. Andrew's College and the University of Manitoba, the Centre for Ukrainian Canadian Studies was

established at the university. In a program which is unique in Canada, the Centre offers an interdisciplinary program of studies leading towards an undergraduate degree in Ukrainian Canadian Heritage Studies and graduate programs of study. The Centre's director, since its inception, has been Dr. Natalia Aponiuk.

Ukrainians were not only making inroads in politics and academia, they were active in all facets of professional life. Many became doctors, dentists, lawyers and even judges and accountants. Further indications that they had "made" it in mainstream society were the "Spirit of Ukraine" exhibit at the Winnipeg Art Gallery in 1991, which featured artwork from Ukraine by Ukrainian artists, the Alexander Koshetz choir performing in concert with the Winnipeg Symphony Orchestra on numerous occasions, the Winnipeg Symphony Orchestra performing Ukrainian musical compositions in concert as part of the Ukrainian Canadian Committee's triennial Congresses and on other occasions, and the Rusalka Ukrainian Dance Ensemble performing traditional Ukrainian dances and contemporary pieces throughout the world. Leo Mol (Molodoshanin), a Ukrainian Canadian sculptor of world renown, was not only commissioned to do sculptures of famous Ukrainians, such as Taras Shevchenko, and mainstream figures, such as former Prime Minister John Diefenbaker, but his rich legacy of sculpture was allocated its own space, the Leo Mol Sculpture Garden, in Winnipeg's Assiniboine Park. All of these individuals and groups made inroads into the mainstream because they either worked, performed or created for non-Ukrainians, as well as Ukrainians, and their abilities were appreciated by both.

Something that greatly assisted the Ukrainian Canadians, as it did all other ethnic groups, was the enactment on October 8, 1971 by the Canadian government of the Multiculturalism Act which backed the policy of a multicultural, multiethnic, bilingual Canadian society. This resulted in government support for all ethnic groups and the development of “ethnic pride.” Federal funds became available to support ethnic educational, cultural and arts groups, many of which flourished. In Winnipeg this sense of “ethnic pride” had culminated in the establishment of Folklorama in 1970, a multicultural folk arts festival in which many of Winnipeg’s diverse ethnic groups participate by featuring their own “pavilions” over a two-week period every summer. It not only serves as a vehicle whereby the individual ethnic groups can display their ethnic pride, it also attracts many tourists to the city and is thus beneficial to the local economy.

The Continued Development of Ukrainian Organizational Life

In the post-war period Ukrainian Canadian life continued to flourish and expand. The newcomers once again, as during the previous period, were not necessarily satisfied with the organizational life that they found upon their arrival in Canada. They, therefore, established new organizations to suit their needs. Furthermore, as community life evolved and needs changed, other new organizations were established as well. Many of the new organizations were national in scope and their headquarters were not always in Winnipeg, although branches of these organizations were also established in Winnipeg.

The new immigrants were largely better educated, more politically conscious and more nationalistic in their orientation towards Ukraine, than their predecessors. Many, for example, had been members of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN) or the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UIA). The Ukrainian nationalists, who were members of the OUN, were divided into several factions, the Banderivtsi, followers of Stepan Bandera, who formed the Foreign Branch of the OUN and were the largest and most right-wing of the factions; the Mel'nykivtsi, followers of Andriy Mel'nyk, who formed the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists and were the second largest of the factions with a more liberal outlook than the Banderivtsi; and the Dviykari ("twosome," so named because it had two founders, Z. Matla and L. Rebet), who formed the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists Abroad and were the smallest and the most liberal of the three factions.⁶

In Canada, the Mel'nykivtsi joined the already existing Ukrainian National Federation, whose aims suited their needs. The Banderivtsi, however, did not find the organizations already in existence suitable to their needs. Therefore, in 1949, they founded the Canadian League for the Liberation of Ukraine (LLU), a Canada-wide organization, headquartered in Toronto, whose main aim was to support the struggle for Ukraine's liberation and to make the public, both Ukrainian and non-Ukrainian, aware of the threat Communism posed to the world. The LLU soon had a women's branch, the Women's Association of the Canadian League for the Liberation of Ukraine, established in 1951, and a youth branch, the Ukrainian Youth Association of Canada. The LLU was the largest of the organizations created in the post-war period.

Established in 1950, by post-war immigrants as well, the Ukrainian National Democratic League (UNDL) had as its aim the elevation of the political consciousness of Ukrainians in Canada. In 1951, the Dviykari founded the rather small Canadian Friends of the Liberation of Ukraine, which did not organize on a national level. The Ukrainian Association of Victims of Russian Terror was established by people who had firsthand experience of Soviet atrocities. Ideologically it was closely tied to the Ukrainian National Democratic League.

The Ukrainian Canadian Veterans' Association (UCVA) was established in England in 1942. In 1945 the first Canadian branch was established in Winnipeg and soon there were twenty-six branches throughout Canada.⁷ It quickly allied itself with the Canadian Legion. The UCVA published a bulletin and the journal Opinion. Its headquarters were located in Winnipeg until 1950. Its efforts were geared towards documenting the participation of Ukrainian Canadians in Canada's wars, sponsoring Air Cadet squadrons and the like.

Other war veterans' organizations also existed during the period, e.g., the Ukrainian War Veterans' Association, the Ukrainian Sich War Veterans and the Brotherhood of the Carpathian Sich were established prior to World War II. Following World War II, the Veterans of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army of the Second World War and the Society of Veterans of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army were established and then merged to form the Brotherhood of Former War Veterans of the Ukrainian Division.

Besides the youth organizations which came into existence in the interwar period, namely, the Canadian Ukrainian Youth Association of Canada, the Ukrainian Catholic Youth and the Ukrainian National Youth Federation, the members of the third wave established several other youth organizations: the Ukrainian Youth Association - PLAST, the previously mentioned Ukrainian Youth Association of Canada, and the Ukrainian Democratic Youth Association. These new organizations were generally highly nationalistic, in terms of Ukrainian nationalism, and among their activities was working to preserve the Ukrainian culture and traditions. All of these organizations combined their efforts in the establishment of the Ukrainian Canadian Youth Council in 1953. The aims of this umbrella group were to ensure that Ukrainian Canadian youth participated to the fullest extent in Canadian society and to foster the cohesiveness of Ukrainian Canadian community life.

The pro-Communist faction also continued to exist in the post-war period. The popularity of the Association of United Ukrainian Canadians (AUUC), as it was now renamed, which, as mentioned in the previous chapter, had peaked at 13,000 in 1946, declined dramatically throughout the 1950s and 60s and even more so in the 1970s and 80s. This was due to several factors. First, many of the post-war immigrants had themselves experienced life under Communism and spread negative opinion throughout the community. Second, the systematic policy of Russification that was being carried out in Ukraine was widely known and opposed within both the non-Communist and pro-Communist communities.

The types of organizations that Ukrainian Canadians were beginning to create was also influenced by their educational levels or occupations. Census data for 1981 indicate that out of a total of 459,520 respondents of Ukrainian origin, 308,380 or 67.1 percent had elementary-secondary education only, 80,690 or 17.6 percent had other non-university education, 35,515 or 7.7 percent had attended or were attending university but had not obtained a degree and 34,935 or 7.6 percent had attended a university and obtained a degree.⁸ The data indicate that with regard to educational levels Ukrainian Canadians were almost equal to the national average. As to breakdowns by occupations, it is difficult to differentiate professional from non-professional (or white collar from blue collar) occupations because the census data is only broken down by job sector, e.g., agriculture, food, beverage, trade, health and welfare services. What can be said is that Ukrainians continued to be overrepresented in the agriculture category in that they stood at 17,445 or 9.8 percent of the population, whereas only 5.2 percent of the total Canadian population was employed there. As to income level, Ukrainians in most income categories, particularly those above \$20,000, stood proportionately higher than the overall Canadian income levels.⁹

As more Ukrainian Canadians began to attend university there developed a need for Ukrainian students' organizations. The Ukrainian Canadian Students' Union (UCSU), established in 1953, was the umbrella group of post-secondary students' organizations. It encompassed such member groups as Alpha Omega, Gamma Rho Kappa - Obnova, the Ilarion Society, the Ukrainian Students' Association of Mikhnovs'kyk and the Ukrainian

Academic Association "Zarevo." The UCSU also closely co-operated with the Ukrainian Canadian Youth Council.

According to Marunchak, the Ukrainian Professional and Business Club (formerly known as the Ukrainian Professional and Businessmen's Club) dates back to the 1930s.¹⁰ Through the time period in question, however, the club expanded and thrived. Branches were established in most larger Canadian urban centres, including Winnipeg. The aims of the clubs, which are coordinated under the auspices of the Ukrainian Professional and Business Federation (formerly known as the Federation of the Ukrainian Professional and Businessmen's Clubs), are not only to promote the professional and business interests of their membership, but also to generate interest among the general public in matters pertaining to professional and business activities, as well as to promote educational and cultural interests.

Another organization that came into existence during this period was the Alpha Omega Women's Alumnae. This was an organization of women university graduates of Ukrainian descent that fosters socio-cultural and educational activities. The fact that the numbers of Ukrainian women university graduates warranted the creation of such an organization is in itself a milestone for Ukrainian Canadians.

With regard to religion the post-war immigrants generally joined the established Ukrainian Canadian churches, Ukrainian Catholic, Ukrainian Greek Orthodox and Protestant and their affiliate secular organizations, such as the UCB and the USRL. New church-related organizations, as such, were not established by the immigrants of the third

wave. The church hierarchies were also strengthened by the significant number of clergymen who were among the immigrants. The consistories of both traditional Ukrainian churches, the Ukrainian Catholic and the Ukrainian Greek Orthodox, were still located in Winnipeg, and, therefore, the centre of both churches' activities continued to be Winnipeg.

Some friction between the two major Ukrainian religious groups continued to manifest itself. However, concerted efforts toward co-operation were made by the church leaders. One of the first attempts was a joint prayer service co-celebrated by the Metropolitans of the two churches on the occasion of the unveiling of a statue in honour of the Ukrainian poet Taras Shevchenko on the Legislative grounds in Winnipeg in 1961; other attempts have followed.¹¹

Those organizations discussed above were generally bound together within the framework of the Ukrainian Canadian Committee. Although originally established on a temporary basis, at the end of World War II it became evident that the further existence of the UCC was required to assist with the resettlement of returning Ukrainian servicemen and the settlement of incoming war refugees. Once these matters were done with, the UCC was perceived as being necessary because of its positive input into Ukrainian Canadian life. Thus there was no question of the UCC ceasing to exist. It continued in its work and the number of member organizations continued to grow.

By the mid-1950s the UCC's new aims and objectives were to include acting as a spokesperson for the Ukrainian Canadian community at large and as coordinator of its

activities; fostering the participation of Ukrainian Canadians in Canadian social and cultural life; backing Ukraine's aspirations for independence and self-determination and, since the declaration of an independent Ukraine in 1991, backing its economic and social development.

At the outset, the executive of the UCC consisted only of the five founding member organizations mentioned in the previous chapter. After World War II, however, the structure of the executive changed somewhat to include the Ukrainian Canadian War Veteran's Association, the Canadian League for Ukraine's Liberation and the Canadian Professional and Business Club. At the same time, two of the founding organizations, the United Hetman Organization and the Ukrainian Labour Organization disbanded and, therefore, no longer formed a part of the executive.

Currently, the power rests in the hands of the three remaining founding organizations, the Ukrainian Catholic Brotherhood, the Ukrainian Self-Reliance League and the Ukrainian National Federation and the three post-war additions to the executive, the League for the Liberation of Ukraine, the Ukrainian Canadian Veterans' Association and the Ukrainian Canadian Professional and Business Federation. There have also been other changes in the make-up of the executive. The presidium is now made up of two representatives from each of the six major organizations and one representative from each of the member organizations. The executive board is made up of fifteen members, twelve of whom represent the six major organizations. Although the balance of power rests in the hands of the six major organizations, each member of the presidium has veto power.¹²

The executive is headed by the president, who is elected at the triennial Congresses for a three-year term. The president for the longest period was Rev. Dr. V. Kushnir, who served for over twenty-five years, 1940-71. His tenure was interrupted in 1953 and 1955 by the election of A. Yaremovich and in 1956 by the election of Rev. S.W. Sawchuk to the presidency. Other presidents have included Dr. P. Kondra, 1971-74, Dr. S. Radchuk, 1974-80, J. Nowosad, 1980-86, Dr. D. Cipywnyk, 1986-92 and O. Romaniw, 1992 to the present. The daily affairs of the UCC are managed by the Executive Director and an office staff.

The number of overall member organizations is now over thirty; however, not all of these organizations are Canada-wide. There are provincial councils in Manitoba, Ontario, Saskatchewan and Alberta. There are also thirty local councils throughout Canada.¹³ The local and provincial councils have the right to send delegates to the UCC's Congresses which take place at intervals of every three years. All member organizations, as well as the provincial and local councils, pay annual fees to the UCC. It is these fees that support the UCC in all of its endeavours.

The triennial Congresses are "the highest legislative authority"¹⁴ of the UCC. Historically the Congresses have concerned themselves with ethnic and political issues. The decisions of the Congress are binding for the next three years. The Congresses are the most important venue for the organized community. They allow the delegates to voice their concerns and take part in the direction of community life.

The UCC has done much to enhance the socio-cultural life of the Ukrainian Canadian community. It has done so, in part, through its steadfast backing of Canada's multicultural policy. In 1965, for example, the UCC submitted a brief to the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism outlining the Ukrainian community's stand on these questions. Primarily, its position opposed bilingualism and biculturalism and backed equality for all ethnic groups in Canada.¹⁵ Its efforts in this regard were not in vain. According to Gerus, "although the bilingual and bicultural concept ultimately prevailed, the combined ethnic agitation obliged the government to concede the multicultural principle."¹⁶ That is, multiculturalism, although not prevailing, was officially backed by the federal government.

The Ukrainian language question has always been of paramount importance to the UCC. In the same brief to the Royal Commission the question of allowing for education in the Ukrainian language was also brought up. Later, in 1968, the UCC submitted a "White Paper Concerning the Report of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism" to the Constitutional Conference of Provincial Ministers convened in Ottawa regarding this matter.

The UCC has also sought to improve the Ukrainian language supplementary school system, which is largely in the hands of Ukrainian organizations and churches. Towards this end, in 1971, it established the previously mentioned Ukrainian National Educational Council of Canada to act as a coordinating body for the supplementary school system. Also in the field of education, the UCC was instrumental in establishing the

Conference on Ukrainian Studies which met for the first time in Winnipeg in 1974. The Conference exists as a branch of the Canadian Association of Slavists, concerns itself with Ukrainian scholarship and meets annually as part of the national Learned Societies conference. The UCC also engaged in publishing activities. Most of its publications are educational, and many are in the English language.

The UCC has worked toward the establishment of a number of other significant groups. The World Congress of Free Ukrainians was convened largely through the efforts of the UCC in 1967. The Congress's aim is to unite all Ukrainians in the free world and act on their behalf. The UCC also established the Taras Shevchenko Foundation in Winnipeg in 1964. The Foundation's main aim is to foster the development of Ukrainian culture in Canada. With a fund that is somewhere in excess of one and a half million dollars, the Foundation has done much to promote research in the cultural field. Another organ, the Ukrainian Canadian Social Service, evolved out of the Central Ukrainian Relief Bureau in the post-war period. The Ukrainian Canadian Social Service is a charitable organization whose aim is to serve the charitable needs of Ukrainians throughout the world. Another, more recent achievement of the UCC was the establishment, in 1987, of its Information Bureau in Ottawa to act as a liaison with the federal government.

The Ukrainian Press in Winnipeg

Many of the new and existing organizations continued to be either affiliated with or publish their own press organs. Some press organs established in the earlier periods,

e.g., Ukrainian Voice, Canadian Farmer, New Pathway and Evangelical Morning (formerly Canadian Morning), continued to exist and be published in Winnipeg and continued to maintain the allegiances that they had during the previous period. Among those press organs newly established in Winnipeg during this period were the following: the bilingual weekly Postup (Progress), affiliated with the Ukrainian Canadian Catholic Church; the journals Zhinochyy svit (Women's World), affiliated with the Ukrainian Women's Organization, and Promin' (Ray), affiliated with the Ukrainian Women's Association of Canada; Miy pryvatel' (My Friend), a bilingual children's magazine; and Ukrayins'ke slovo (Ukrainian Word), affiliated with the pro-Communist faction, which was published in Winnipeg until it merged with the Toronto-based Ukrayins'ke zhyttya (Ukrainian Life) in 1965 to create Zhyttya i slovo (Life and Word) with the editorial offices in Toronto.

Many other newspapers, journals, bulletins and the like were published elsewhere in Canada during this period. The overall number of Ukrainian press organs in existence in Canada peaked at this time. Many of the publications were now bilingual or published in the English language exclusively to suit the changed needs of their readership, many of whom could no longer read the Ukrainian language.

Education as a Bulwark against Assimilation

During this period the Ukrainians were not only successfully integrating into Canadian society, they were becoming ever-increasingly assimilated into the mainstream.

Language loss data will, as in the previous periods, serve as an indicator of assimilation. Census data for 1951, 1961, 1971 and 1981 provide significant information on Ukrainian language loss. The data available for 1951, 1961 and 1971 provide totals for all urban centres in Manitoba, not Winnipeg exclusively. It should, however, be indicative of the trends in Winnipeg at the time as well. 1951 data indicate that out of a total of 49,347 Ukrainians reporting, 38,640 or 78.3 percent reported Ukrainian as their mother tongue, while 10,000 or 20.3 percent reported English as their mother tongue. 1961 data indicate that out of a total of 64,233 persons of Ukrainian origin reporting, 40,721 or 63.4 percent reported Ukrainian as their mother tongue, while 22,725 or 35.4 percent reported English as their mother tongue. In 1971 out of a total of 78,740 reporting, 41,580 or 52.8 percent reported Ukrainian as their mother tongue and 35,795 or 45.5 percent reported English as their mother tongue.¹⁷ According to 1981 census data there were 71,125 Ukrainians residing in urban centres in Manitoba.¹⁸ Of that number, 38,705 or 54.4 percent reported Ukrainian as their mother tongue.¹⁹ Data are not available as to how many reported English as their mother tongue, but one can assume that the majority of those who did not report Ukrainian would have reported English as their mother tongue, as was true of the earlier reporting years.

The data indicate that by 1971 almost one-half of the Ukrainian urban population in Manitoba was reporting English as its mother tongue. Interestingly enough, although the Ukrainian urban population in Manitoba declined over the period 1971-81, the proportion of Ukrainians reporting Ukrainian as their mother tongue actually grew from 52.8 percent to 54.4 percent. Future census data will indicate whether or not this is

indicative of a reversal in the rate of language loss or merely a fluctuation. For the sake of this examination, therefore, the data will be interpreted as indicating that by 1971 almost one-half of the entire urban population in Manitoba had assimilated and that this number stayed relatively constant over the next decade.

Considering the high rate of assimilation evidenced during this period it is not surprising that there existed some concern over Ukrainian language loss among young people. As in the previous period, programs of Ukrainian language learning were once again determined to be an important means of counteracting assimilation.

The Ukrainian language was being taught in the public school system and at the University of Manitoba but enrollment levels were low. According to 1981 census data in Manitoba 10,635 or 12 percent of the Ukrainians reported having either some university education or a university degree. For all origins 124,200 or 16 percent out of a total of 775,940 people reported having either some university education or a university degree.²⁰ Thus, Ukrainians were underrepresented in this category and this might somewhat account for the fact that there were not significant numbers of Ukrainians enrolled in Ukrainian language courses at the University of Manitoba. Statistics available for the 1981-2 school year indicate, for example, that there were only 2,755 students enrolled in Ukrainian language programs at the public school level in Manitoba and that this was 223 students fewer than in the 1979-80 school year.²¹ Thus, these programs were not achieving as significant goals as might have been expected considering the large Ukrainian population base in Manitoba.

The ridna shkola (Ukrainian language supplementary school) system of education continued to exist during this period. It flourished in the 1950s and early 1960s, buoyed by the enrollment of the children of the third wave immigrants. By the late 1960s, however, the numbers of children attending began to decline steadily. According to Swyripa, “approximately 8,000 of an estimated Ukrainian-Canadian youth population of 125,000 attend the ridna shkola,”²² i.e., only 6.4 percent of the population. Furthermore, Swyripa states that in 1975-76 a total of 114 supplementary schools operated in the four western provinces, Ontario and Quebec.²³ Of this number Manitoba had twenty-five schools with approximately 1,505 students. These were generally located in urban centres.²⁴ The decline can probably be attributed to increasing assimilation of Ukrainians into the Canadian mainstream. It was also at least partially due to a lack of qualified teaching personnel, programs of study that were inappropriate for non-Ukrainian speakers, and the generally poor quality of instructional materials.

Educational organizations continued to exist for the benefit of the programs which they supported. The English-Ukrainian Bilingual Program was supported by the Manitoba Parents for Ukrainian Education which also had a fundraising arm, the Osvita (education) Foundation and a publishing arm, Dzvin (bell) Publishers. The supplementary school programs were supported locally by the provincial Educational Council, composed of Ukrainian schoolteachers, which was a component of the UCC’s Ukrainian National Educational Council. Also coming into existence at this time were the previously mentioned post-secondary organizations, although these were composed of the students themselves rather than their parents or teachers.

2. Ukrainian “Émigré” Writers

Winnipeg’s Ukrainian literary community continued to be active, although not on as large a scale as in the previous period. The Winnipeg writers once again included community leaders and activists, such as Mykyta Mandryka, editor and social activist; Oleksa Hay-Holowko, community activist; Rev. Stefan Semchuk, editor, founder of the Ukrainian Catholic Brotherhood and a Ukrainian Catholic priest; Metropolitan Ilarion (Dr. Ivan Ohiyenko), Metropolitan of the Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church of Canada; Rev. Semen Izyk, a Ukrainian Catholic priest, editor and political activist, Rev. Michael Podworniak (Mykhaylo Podvornyak), Baptist minister; and Tetyana Koshetz (Koshyts’), folklorist and cultural worker. What unites this group of writers, who wrote in Ukrainian almost exclusively, in addition to their language of writing, is that they were all émigrés, who emigrated to Canada as mature adults. As well, they tended to write on themes that may be broadly characterized as “Ukrainian,” for example, the Ukrainian political situation and historical events.

A significantly large group of Canadian-born Ukrainian writers also emerged at this time. They were involved to varying degrees in the Ukrainian organizational life of Winnipeg, but none were community leaders as such. Most, if not all, of them also chose to write in the English language exclusively. This group included William Paluk, Vera Lysenko and Maara Haas, all born prior to World War II, and Nick Mitchell, Candace Cael Carman (pseudonym of Candace Litchie, who formerly wrote under the name

Candace Adamson Burstow), Ray Serwylo, Mary Horodyski and others, all born in the post-war period. John Dolinsky was a kind of transitional figure. Born in Canada, he wrote primarily in English, but also published some works in Ukrainian. This Canadian-born group also wrote on a variety of themes but generally, they dealt with subjects of interest to Ukrainian Canadians as members of an ethnic group or to Canadians generally.

What characterizes the writers of this period as a group is the fact that their writing, be it prose, poetry or drama, is much more sophisticated than the writing of the previous two periods. In works written in Ukrainian, the literary language is used throughout; dialecticisms and Canadianisms are used only for literary effect. Their level of literacy and the level of the literature that they produced was so much higher than that of the previous era that the Ukrainian language works were not bought in large numbers. Furthermore, works tend to be more complex and varied both stylistically and thematically. All genres are utilized by these writers, with dramas being among the least prevalent. Although most writers adhere to traditional literary forms, and this is particularly true of those writers writing in the Ukrainian language, there is some evidence of modernism in the literature of the period.

Even though a number of the main writers of this period had jobs or callings, writers from both groups are characterized by their devotion and dedication to the craft of writing. The most important of the writers produced a sufficiently large body of work to be judged individually on its merit.

Mykyta Mandryka

The majority of writers, who chose to write on Ukrainian nationalistic themes were post-war immigrants. One of the few exceptions was Mykyta Mandryka (1886-1979). Mandryka had longtime ties to the Ukrainian Party of Socialist Revolutionaries and was a staunch Ukrainian nationalist. He came to Canada in 1928 and worked as an organizer for the Ukrainian National Home. He also served as president of the Ukrainian Cultural and Educational Centre, helped established the Ukrainian Academy of Arts and Sciences in Canada and the Ukrainian Canadian Committee. He started his literary career while still in Ukraine and continued his writing in Canada. He wrote poetry almost exclusively, and many of his poems were lyrical on themes relating to philosophy and aesthetics. His works were perhaps the best of the period, in terms of Ukrainian language writing.

In Mandryka's collection of poetry Miy sad, poeziyi (My orchard, poetry, 1941)²⁵ the untitled poems in the chapters "Z knyhy hnivu" (From the book of wrath)²⁶ and "V ohni borot'by" (In the fire of battle)²⁷ all deal with Ukraine's war of independence. The poems in this collection are all lyrical and melodic, belying the seriousness of the message that is being conveyed. In one of his poems, for example, Mandryka is largely critical of war because of its effect on the common people:

Бідні люде, сполохані
 Страшенною війною,
 Везуть лихо з собою;
 Од свого доброго втікають,
 На роздоріжжах чужих ховають

Своїх рідних

І йдуть далі, бідні.²⁸

Poor people, frightened / By the horrific war, / Carry their misfortune with them; /

They run away from their own well-being, / At foreign crossroads they bury /

Their loved ones / And they go on, poor people. /

At the same time, however, Mandryka is convinced that his people will rise up against their oppressors, as in a poem in which he compares Ukraine's strength to that of mighty rivers:

І ріки оживуть,

І ріки потечуть,

Могутні, вічномолоді ріки . . .

І ви загинати на віки,

Як те сміття, що вітри розгубили,

А ріки полонили.²⁹

And the rivers shall come to life, / And the rivers shall flow, / Mighty, eternally

youthful rivers . . . / And you shall perish for eternity, / Like that rubbish, that the

winds have lost, / And the rivers have taken captive. /

Mandryka is also disenchanted with how eastern Ukraine's struggle for independence from Russia is being waged. He blames this on the nature of the freedom fighters themselves, who do not yet possess the required amount of "anger" to fight effectively. He is convinced, however, that once they do develop the "anger" they will enter the fray with the appropriate attitude:

І хоч орлами не взлітете, --

Нема в вас смілости орлів, --

То за орлами ви підете:

Вас поведе одчай і гнів!³⁰

And even though you will not soar like eagles, -- / You do not have the boldness
of eagles, -- / You will nonetheless follow the eagles: / Desperation and anger will
lead you. /

Regardless of the defeats that the freedom fighters might suffer, Mandryka believes that
they will ultimately be victorious:

І як в нерівній боротьбі

Сьогодні й крильма розібешся,

Так завтра вище ще здіймешся

І світ весь вклониться тобі!³¹

And even if in unequal battle / Today you perish by your own wings, / Tomorrow
you will soar even higher, / And the entire world will bow before you! /

After the freedom fighters have been soundly defeated, Mandryka blames their inaction for
their defeat and Ukraine's return to subservience to a foreign master:

І спинився ти край дороги,

Мов не знав куди піти,

Поки руки тобі й ноги

Не скували знов кати . . .³²

And you stopped by the side of the road, / As if you did not know which way to
go, / Until your hand and feet / Were bound again by the executioners . . . /

Most of the poems in Mandryka's collection My Orchard, Poetry are largely lyrical ones that are particularly pleasing and melodic as, for example, his untitled poem about autumn:

Люблю я осінь, як летить
 З дерева листя помарніле,
 І на полях широких, опустілих
 Сем'я ворон, кружляючи, кричить.
 Щось рідне є з моєю в ній душою,
 Щось любе є для серця в ній мого --
 Вона корить печальною красою
 І тихим смутком убрання свого.³³

I love the autumn, when fly / The withered leaves from the trees, / And on the
 broad and deserted fields, / A family of crows, circling, screams. / There is
 something in it that is native to my soul, / Something in it that is dear to my heart
 -- / It conquers with its sorrowful beauty / And the peaceful sadness of its attire. /

Even in the post-World War II period, at a time when most other second wave Ukrainian Canadian writers were no longer voicing nationalistic concerns in their writing or even not writing at all, Mandryka continued to write. His epic poem Vik Petlyura (The age of Petlyura, 1966),³⁴ for example, recounts the events of General Symon Petlyura's time, detailing the exploits and ultimate death of the supreme commander of the Ukrainian National Republic army and president of the Directory of the Ukrainian National Republic.

Mandryka also dealt with historical themes. His epic poem "Ukrayina, povist' vremennykh i nevremennykh lit" (Ukraine, a story of ancient and not so ancient times,

1961)³⁵ recounts the history of Ukraine from prehistoric times to the present. Another of his epic poems Mazepa, poema (Mazepa, a poem, 1960)³⁶ deals with the depiction of the personal history of Ivan Mazepa. It differs from the later work by Metropolitan Ilarion work on this theme in that the Metropolitan's work only deals with Mazepa's last days, while Mandryka's deals with his entire career. Although Mandryka does discuss Mazepa's negative side, the poem puts Mazepa forward in a largely positive light, as a political and cultural activist and strategist. Mazepa's path to becoming a Cossack leader, for example, is said to have been a difficult one but, nevertheless, one he was seemingly destined to achieve:

Як бачиш, друже мій коханий,
 Читаючи оці рядки,
 До трону княжого гетьмана
 Був шлях нерівний і тяжкий.
 Не в грі чарівних сил містичних,
 /Як написав колись Вольтер /,
 Герой поезій романтичних,
 Балад, трагедій і химер,
 Іван Мазепа йшов до слави, -
 А мужа й воїна трудом,
 Старої княжої держави
 Віками вказаним шляхом.³⁷

As you can see, my beloved friend, / Reading these lines, / To the princely throne
 of hetman / The road was uneven and difficult. / Not in a game of magical,
 mystical powers, / (As Voltaire once wrote), / As a hero of romantic poems, /

Ballads, tragedies and fiction, / Did Ivan Mazepa go to glory, - / But with the
labour of a statesman and a warrior / Of an ancient princely state / Upon a road
pointed out for centuries. /

Mazepa, however, is criticized for his expedient alliance with Sweden's Karl XII, which
had dire consequences both for Mazepa and Ukraine as a whole:

Коли б не був так легковажний
Нащадок Густава в війні,
То майорів би стяг звитяжний
Мазепи в рідній стороні
На всі віки . . . Боїв Полтави
Не знали б люди, ні Петра,
І Україна в щасті й славі
Цвіла б державою добра.
Тоді і всі діла Мазепи
У книгу світових вождів
Вписали б не лише поети
А й золоте перо віків.³⁸

If the descendant of Gustav / Had not been so thoughtless in war, / Then the
banner of Mazepa's majors / Would be flying in his native land / For all eternity . . .
Neither the battles of Poltava / Nor Peter would be known by the people, / And
Ukraine, in happiness and glory / Would bloom as a nation of good, / Then all of
Mazepa's deeds / Would be entered into the book of world leaders / Not only by
poets, / But also by the golden pen of the ages. /

Like other émigré writers writing at this time, Mandryka also incorporated Canadian themes into his works. Another of his epic poems Kanada, poema (Canada, a poem, 1961)³⁹ deals with a broad depiction of Canada, its history, geography and the diverse groups that have made it their home. The chapter titled “Winnipeg” (Winnipeg), for example, depicts Winnipeg as a city which provides a home for people of various ethnic backgrounds and has been particularly good for Ukrainians, who have played a prominent role in Canadian political life. In the following excerpt Mandryka mentions both Steve Juba, the longtime Ukrainian mayor of the city, and Nicholas Bachynsky, member of the Manitoba Legislative Assembly and Speaker of the House for many years:

У перше наш парламентарій
 Засів тут з всіми нарівні,
 І вперше наші в твоїй раді
 З'явилися радники по нім.
 І от тепер твій мейор справний -
 Українських піонерів син,
 Наступник мейорів преславних
 І голова міських старшин.
 І знана львина чуприна
 Обранця - батька фармарів,
 Бачинського, що безупину
 Послом багато був років,
 І став в палаті головою,
 Державну мантию носив,
 Як лорди давньою добою,

Найстарший із усіх послів.⁴⁰

For the first time our parliamentarian / Took his place here as an equal to everyone
else, / And for the first time in your council / Our councillors appeared after him. /
And now your skillful mayor - / The son of Ukrainian pioneers, / The successor of
glorious mayors / And the head of the city elders. / And the known leonine head /
Of the elected one - father of the farmers, / Bachynsky, who without interruption /
Was a member of the Legislative Assembly for many years, / And in the
Legislature became the head, / He wore the state mantle, / As did the lords in an
ancient age, / The most senior of all members. /

In another of his poems “Do stolittya Kanady, barvinok” (To the Centennial of
Canada, Periwinkle, 1970),⁴¹ Mandryka describes how periwinkle brought to the new land
by Ukrainian immigrants flourished just like the country and the immigrants did. In his
poetry Mandryka expresses gratitude at having been given the opportunity to live in
Canada. Mandryka says the following in relation to Winnipeg, but these sentiments could
be expanded to encompass Canada as a whole:

Заступив ти

Мій Київ любий в чужині,

Мені дав жити і творити

У вільній, дружній стороні.⁴²

You have replaced / My beloved Kyiv in a foreign land, / You gave me the
opportunity to live and create / In a free, friendly land. /

Mandryka's later poems, both written and published in Winnipeg, revealed that he was constantly striving to further develop his aesthetical sense. As is evidenced, for example, in the following excerpt from his poem "Zavershennya lita" (The Culmination of Summer, 1975) which is filled with sexual imagery:

То було вже завершення літа,
Коли сонце розкрилось крильми
І вода, до розкоші загріта,
Припадала до пляжів грудьми.

Піски білі кидались в обійми
У ритмічних приливах жаги,
А під співи вітрів мелодійні
Розстелялись шовки-береги.

І ходили хлопці і дівчата,
Юнаки й юначки молоді,
Майже в тому, в чім родила мати,
Пригасали снагу у воді.

Та вода, гаряча, як їх тіло,
Не гасила пристрасті вогнів,
І коліна угинались, мліли,
Щоб лягти на шовках берегів.

То було вже завершення літа,

Не жадалось сповіді в гріхах,
 І Земля лежала вся розкрита,
 Як нага вакханка в подушках.⁴³

It was the culmination of summer, / When the sun spread its wings to uncover itself
 / And the water, luxuriously warm, / Fell to the beaches with its breasts. / The
 white sands threw themselves into embraces / In rhythmical flows of craving, / And
 to the melodic songs of the winds / The silky shores stretched out. / And boys
 and girls walked, / Young lads and maidens, / Dressed almost in what their mother
 bore them, / They extinguished their energy in the water. / That water, as hot as
 their bodies, / Did not extinguish the passion of the fires, / And knees were
 bending, fainting, / In order to lie down on the silks of the shores. / It was the
 culmination of summer, / A confession of sins was not requested, / And the Earth
 lay uncovered, / Like a naked bacchus amidst her pillows. /

Mandryka also wrote on philosophical themes. His “Buty khlopchykom” (To be a small boy, 1970) is a philosophical poem that deals with the importance of remaining a child at heart regardless of what other, more conservative people might think:

Люди небоги,
 Люди збирають в сіні голки,
 Люди дивляться не в сонце, а в ноги.
 Люди складають на плечі свої роки,
 Щоб з ним впасти серед дороги.⁴⁴

People are poor, / People gather needles in the straw. / People do not look at the sun, but at their feet. / People pile their years on their backs, / In order to fall with them in the middle of the road. /

He vows that he and others like him will pay no heed to what other people think.

Love themes are also incorporated into Mandryka's works. An entire chapter of his collection Radist' (Happiness, 1959), also titled "Radist'" (Happiness),⁴⁵ is devoted to it. His poem "Mynaye vse, tvoyi obiymy" (Everything passes, your embraces), for example, deals with the memory of love, as he states in the first two stanzas:

Минає все: твої обійми,
Слова пахучі, дотик щок,
Та їх печати не відійме
З мого серця вже ніщо.

Не прибіжиш - жалю немає,
Минулим серце буде жить,
Бо все, що стане, знов минає
А в серці вічний дух горить.⁴⁶

Everything passes: your embraces, / Scented words, the touch of your cheeks, /
But their imprint will not be removed / From my heart by anything. / You will not
run up to me - there is no sorrow, / My heart will live with what has been, /
Because everything that happens passes again, / But in my heart an eternal spirit
burns. /

In other words, everything, including love, must pass, but the memory of love will remain forever.

Mandryka also concerned himself with other themes. His Mandrivnyk, poema (Wanderer, a poem, 1965),⁴⁷ for example, is an imaginary odyssey around the world. Mandryka also translated Longfellow's "Hiawatha," an excerpt from which, "Z perekladu Hayavaty" (From the translation of Hiawatha), is included in his collection Zolota osin' (Golden autumn, 1958).⁴⁸

Oleksa Hay-Holowko

Oleksa Hay-Holowko's (Hay-Holovko, 1910 -) came to Canada and settled in Winnipeg in 1949. He worked for a time in the editorial offices of Ukrainian Voice. He began his literary career in Ukraine. He wrote primarily in the genres of poetry and prose fiction. His themes tend to reflect an intense concern for Ukrainian nationalistic issues.

Hay-Holowko's Smertel'noyu dorohoyu, podiyi nashoho chasu (Along the road of death, events of our time, 1979-83)⁴⁹ and his Duel with the Devil (1986) which was originally published in Ukrainian in 1950 in two volumes under the title Poyedynok z dyavolom, fil'my nashykh chasiv (Duel with the Devil, films of our times)⁵⁰ are semi-autobiographical works. They deal with Hay-Holowko's experiences in pre-World War II Soviet Eastern Ukraine, although he documents his wartime and immediate post-war activities as well. It is primarily the political events leading up to World War II and the persecution he faced as the son of a Ukrainian priest that are detailed in these works. These books are a good example of life under Soviet authorities. The English-language

translation, Duel with the Devil, was published with the assistance of the Department of Multiculturalism, an example of a policy which gave Ukrainian Canadian writers the possibility of an audience extending beyond those who read Ukrainian.

Ukrainian nationalistic themes are also dealt with in other works by Hay-Holowko. His poem Son (Dream, 1984),⁵¹ for example, is a satirical reflection on the subjugation of the Ukrainian people, first under the tsarist regime and later under the Soviet one. This poem is similar to Taras Shevchenko's poem of the same title in that it deals with the oppression of the Ukrainian people at the hands of tyrants and in that both utilize the literary device of a dream to relay their message. In fact, Shevchenko even figures as a central character in Hay-Holowko's work. Hay-Holowko's Dream blames national disunity for the subjugation of the Ukrainian nation and sees national unity as necessary for effective revolutionary struggle on the part of the Ukrainian nation against its oppressors. As he warns the Ukrainian people:

Обдумайте, не тягніте
Отрути із чаші
Московської. Москва хоче
Комуною скути
Вас у тюрмах і каторгах
І катами бути
В нашій хаті.

Послухайте

Ворона старого,
Згуртуйтеся, станьте разом
На ворога злого,

На ворога червоного
 Від людської крові,
 Бо інакше і цього разу
 Не буде обнови
 В Україні.⁵²

Think it through, do not pull / Poison from the chalice / Of Moscow. Moscow
 wants / To chain you through the commune / In its prisons and labour camps /
 And to be the executioners / In our house. / Listen / To an old crow, / Unite, stand
 together / Against the evil enemy, / Against the enemy red / From people's blood, /
 For otherwise this time also / There will not be a revival / In Ukraine. /

Among the poems in Hay-Holowko's Poetychni tvory v tr'okh tomakh, tom
 druhyy (1948-1977) (Poetic works in three volumes, volume two [1948-1977], 1978)⁵³
 there are a number of works that also reflect nationalistic themes. The poem "Kolyskova"
 (Lullaby), for example, a lullaby a mother sings to her child, emphasizes the need to fight
 for the cause of the homeland, an idea that should be nurtured from infancy. In the lullaby
 the mother tells her child the following:

Як північну стрінеш ти орду,
 Будь у битві у першому ряду.
 За вітчизну до загину стій . . .
 Люлі, люлі, соколоньку мій.⁵⁴

When you meet the northern horde, / Be in the first row of battle. / Stand for your
 homeland until death . . . / Lullaby, lullaby, my dear little falcon. /

Although the poet possesses a deep-seated longing for Ukraine, he is so devastated by the political situation there that he characterizes himself as a lost soul, a man without a homeland:

Вітер клена колихає

У зеленім жупані . . .

День і ніч себе шукаю

В безконечній чужині.

Обнімаються смереки,

Розсипає ніжність май . . .

В чужині оцій далекій

Завжди сню про рідний край.

Полетять з чужого краю

В дім гостинний журавлі . . .

Полетів би я . . . не маю

Рідної землі.⁵⁵

The wind rocks the maple tree / Dressed in a green Cossack cloak . . . / Day
and night I search for myself / In the endless foreign land. / The pine trees
embrace each other, / The decorative boughs scatter their tenderness . . . / In this
faraway foreign land / I always dream of my native land. / The cranes will fly in
from a foreign land / To an inviting home . . . / I would fly also . . . but I do not
have / A native land. /

In another poem “Lyubov” (Love) the poet admits that regardless of the pain that Ukraine’s political situation may cause him, he still loves it deeply, but he also admits to having accepted Canada as his new homeland. His love for Canada is, however, different from that of his love for Ukraine. As he states in an address to Ukraine:

Та це інша любов, бо ти ж рідная мати,
А Канада лише наречена моя.⁵⁶

This is a different type of love, because you are my own mother, / But Canada is only my betrothed. /

Reverend Stefan Semchuk

Reverend Stefan Semchuk (sometimes Stepan Semczuk, 1899-1984) was an interwar immigrant to Canada. He was a Ukrainian Catholic priest and one of the founders of the UCB. He was already a published writer in Ukraine before coming to Canada. In Canada, besides his priestly duties, he also worked as a writer and editor. Most of his writing was poetry and many of his themes, like those of Metropolitan Ilarion, were biblical, mystical and meditative, particularly many of those in his collections Miy molytvennyk (My prayer book 1974),⁵⁷ Navkola svita, liryka (Around the world, lyrical poetry, 1971),⁵⁸ Poemy, poeziyi knyzhka sema (Poems, the seventh book of poetry, 1967),⁵⁹ Reflyeksiyi, poeziyi knyzhka pyata (Reflections: The fifth book of poetry, 1965),⁶⁰ and Sotvorenniya, poeziyi knyzhka vos'ma (Creation, the eighth book of poetry, 1968).⁶¹ Like Mandryka’s, Semchuk’s poetry tended to be lyrical with many themes pertaining to philosophy and beauty.

Some of his works, however, also reflected some of the realities of contemporary religious life. Probably as a reaction to growing public indifference in the matter of church attendance, Semchuk's short story "Kolyby vin був khodyv do tserkvy!" (If only he had gone to church!, 1959)⁶² deals with the importance of attending church in the development of virtuous character traits. Another of his short stories "Yak v Al'veni povstav Parokhiyal'nyy dim prosvity?" (How did the Parish Prosvita Home come to be established in Alvena?, 1959)⁶³ details what appears to be the true story of how, in the face of adversity, the Ukrainian Catholic community in Alvena, Saskatchewan managed to raise enough money to erect a parish hall.

As in the previous period émigré writers, among them Semchuk, continued to show some interest in Ukraine's historical past. The poems that make up the "Litopys" (Chronicle) section of Semchuk's larger collection Creation, The Eighth Book of Poetry, for example, deal with historical figures from Ukraine's Era of the Grand Princes, such as Volodymyr, Svyatopolk, Ol'ha, Yaroslav, Os'momysl' and Yaroslavna. These poems largely praise these personages and glorify their deeds and achievements, as in the poem "Ol'ha":

Вона до себе тулить онука,
 буде для світ велит, наука -
 вона будує думу, державу,
 божу святиню всім нам на славу -
 гомоном щастя прадідних дій,
 радій, радій!

Ольго святая, Ольго безгрішна!
 Ти величава, мудра, розкішна!
 Як Тебе звати і величати,
 щоби про Тебе пісню співати?
 Ти наша гордість, сонце всіх мрій -
 радій, радій!⁶⁴

She cuddles her grandson to her, / he will be greatness for the world, learning - /
 she builds a parliament, a state, / a temple to God for the glory of us all - / with a
 murmur of joy for our ancestors' deeds, / rejoice, rejoice! / Oh, saintly Ol'ha,
 virtuous Ol'ha! / You are great, wise, magnificent! / How may we address You
 and glorify You? / in order to sing a song about you? / You are our pride, the sun
 of our dreams - / rejoice, rejoice! /

Semchuk also chose to glorify Canada, its natural beauty and its places and people
 in his works. The chapter titled "Pisnya Kanady" (A song of Canada) of his larger
 collection Poemy, poeziyi knyzhka sema (Poems, a seventh book of poetry),⁶⁵ for
 example, includes such poems as "Mydlend" (Midland), "Ozero Vaskeziyu" (Lake
 Waskesieu), "Ozero Iri" (Lake Erie), "Chervona rika" (Red River), "Saskachevan"
 (Saskatchewan), "Khliboroby" (Farmers) and "Kalgari" (Calgary).⁶⁶ In "Farmers," for
 example, he praises the Canadian grain farmer for his toil, which results in a significant
 contribution to the well-being of the people of the world:

Хоч опорошені пилом, хоч ості звисають із вії,
 всі хлібороби Канади основа людських надій, -
 голодні бідняги світа, з Індії, Єгипту і Хін,

чують це торохкотіння, спасення для них відгомін.⁶⁷

Even though covered with dust, even though thistles hang from their lashes, / all of the farmers of Canada form the basis of human hope, - / the hungry poor of the world, from India, Egypt and China, / hear this clatter, an echo of salvation for them. /

In his two stanza poem “Kanada” (Canada) Semchuk calls for all Ukrainians to love Canada:

Любім її серцем цілим,
любім її словом ніжним,
і піснею-мрією мами,
і Божим небом над нами,
зітханням щирим молитви,
і трудом праці, і битви,
і жертвою ночий і днів,
щоби наш нарід тут цвів,
і знав, що це наша країна -
Канада, найкраща, єдина.⁶⁸

Let's love her with all of our hearts, / let's love her with a tender word, / and a mother's song-dream, / and God's heaven above us, / with the sigh of a sincere prayer, / and the effort of work and battle, / and the sacrifice of nights and days, / so that our people can bloom here, / and know that this is our country - / Canada, the most beautiful, the only one. /

Ukrainian Canadian concerns also occupied Semchuk's attention. His four-stanza, poem "V 50-littyta nashoho poselennya v Kanadi" (In honour of the fiftieth anniversary of our settlement in Canada, 1959)⁶⁹ pays tribute to the efforts of the pioneer settlers. In another of his works "Plach ukrayins'koyi movy" (The lament of the Ukrainian language, 1959),⁷⁰ he opposes assimilation. This poem laments the loss of the Ukrainian language among Ukrainians in Canada and wonders if the seventy-fifth anniversary of Ukrainian settlement in Canada will be a wake for the language's demise or a celebration of its flourishing among Ukrainian Canadians.

Metropolitan Ilarion

Metropolitan Ilarion (Dr. Ivan Ohiyenko, 1882-1972) was a leader of the Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church of Canada and a renowned scholar. He had a distinguished academic and political career in Ukraine prior to emigrating. He started his extremely prolific literary activity in Ukraine primarily writing in the field of non-fiction on such themes as church history, canon law, linguistics, and the like. His legacy of writings included a number of works of fiction. Some of them, for example, Narodzhennya lyudyny, filosofs'ka misteriya u p'yaty diyakh (The birth of man, a philosophical passion-play in five acts, 1948),⁷¹ Smerk hrets'kykh bohiv, poema (The twilight of the Greek gods, a poem, 1948),⁷² and Zhertva vechirnya, Isus i Varavva (The evening sacrifice, Jesus and Barabbas, 1949),⁷³ dealt with biblical, mystical and meditative themes. His Nash biy za derzhavnist', istorychna epopeya (Our battle for statehood, an historical epic, 1966)⁷⁴ was

a Ukrainian nationalistic work which documented Ukraine's historical struggle for freedom.

Of Metropolitan Ilarion's nationalistic works "Rozp'yatyy Mazepa," istorychna drama na p'yat' diy ("Crucified Mazepa," an historical drama in five acts, 1961)⁷⁵ stands out. This drama in verse depicts the Cossack leader Mazepa's final days, from the time of his exile in Turkey after his army's defeat at Poltava on 27 June 1709 to his death on 22 September 1709. During this time Mazepa experiences misgivings as to his former political strategies, e.g., his alliance with Muscovy, his subsequent break with it and his later alliance with Sweden, and this alliance's defeat at the battle at Poltava. But as Mazepa confesses to God on his deathbed, everything he did, he did for what he believed to be a valid reason:

Всечесний Отче, поспішаю,

Свої провини розповім:

Щоб прихилить Україні Раю,

Було найбільш гріхом моїм . . .

Цей гріх родив собою сотні,

Бо легко ж Волі не дістать:

Гріхи невільні і охотні

Нераз чинив я, як той тать . . .

Без ліку всі мої провини,

Немов тих зірочок на Небі:

Та всі вони - для України,
Усі вони були в потребі . . .

Служив народу я своєму,
А тим служив і Господеві,
У всьому каюсь Трисвятому,
Мойому Богові й Творцеві . . . ⁷⁶

Reverend Father, I am hurrying, / I will describe my sins: / To bring Eden closer
to Ukraine, / Was my biggest sin . . . / This sin gave birth to hundreds of others, /
Because it is not easy to attain Freedom: / Involuntary and voluntary sin / I
committed more than once, like that thief . . . / All of my sins are countless, /
Like the stars in Heaven: / But all of them - were for Ukraine, / All of them were
necessary . . . / I served my nation, / And in that way I also served God, / For
everything I am repentant to the Most Holy, / My God and Creator . . . /

Other “Emigre” Writers

A number of other writers are worthy of some mention. Ivan Loboda’s (1918-1988) Vony pryshly znovu: roman z finlyands’ko-bol’shevyts’koyi viyny (They have come again, a novel from the Finnish-Bolshevik war, 1953)⁷⁷ is semi-autobiographical. It deals with Loboda’s experiences in the Bolshevik army ranks into which he was drafted against his wishes and which changed his life completely. This was a negative experience for the author, and he views the period critically.

Rev. Fr. Semen Izyk (Izhyk) (1913-1995) was a staunch Ukrainian nationalist, integrally involved in Ukrainian nationalistic organizational life and the Anti-Bolshevik Block of Nations. He only wrote one fictional piece, the play Khay zhyve UPA! P'yesa v tr'okh diyakh (Long live the UPA! A play in three acts, n.d.).⁷⁸ It is set in the Turchans'kyi region of Western Ukraine at the time of the second Bolshevik invasion and is based on actual events that took place there. It attempts to depict the heroism of the Ukrainian people, in particular the members of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army. Both of the works cited above, like some of Hay-Holowko's prose works, provide an interesting insight into the life and events of the time depicted by participants in the events.

During this period there was a significant increase in the amount of children's literature being published in Canada; however, relatively little of it originated in Winnipeg. One of the few such works published in Winnipeg was Michael Stechishin's (Stechyshyn) (1888-1964) Bayky, chastyna persha (Fables, part one, 1959).⁷⁹ This is a collection of fables written during the early part of this century, when the author taught school in Manitoba and Saskatchewan and needed materials suitable for school concert performances. He published them as a collection in 1959 because he believed that there was still a need for such materials in the Ukrainian supplementary schools. The fables tend to be based on others, some of which can be attributed to Aesop, Hlibiv, Tolstoy, and the like. One of them, for example, is Aesop's well known fable about the grasshopper and the ant, titled appropriately "Tsvirkun i murashka" (The Grasshopper and the Ant). It tells the story of the hardworking ant, who gathers and stores food all summer in preparation for the long winter to come, while the carefree grasshopper spends the whole summer just

singing his songs. When winter comes, the unprepared grasshopper comes to the ant begging for food, but she turns him away saying that he should have known better. The moral of the story is stated as follows:

Це тяжкий закон життя -

Суворі науки:

Хто лиш нинішнім живе, -

Завтра терпить муки.⁸⁰

This is the hard law of life - / A grim lesson: / He who only lives for today, - /

Suffers torment tomorrow. /

Tetyana Koshetz (Koshyts', 1892-1966) wrote a one-act play intended for staging by Ukrainian youth groups at Christmas concerts. It is titled Rizdvyanyy vechir, pobutova kartyna na 1 diyu (Christmas evening, a picture of life in one act, 1949).⁸¹ This work was aimed at informing Ukrainian Canadian young people about Ukrainian folk customs, which might otherwise be forgotten.

Michael Podworniak (Mykhaylo Podvornyak, 1911-1994), a Ukrainian Baptist minister, was an extremely prolific writer. His works are largely simplistic with little literary significance. For the most part they espouse Christian ethics and moral values. They include the following collections of short stories: Bozhyy spokiy, zbirka opovidan' (God's peace, a collection of short stories, 1966)⁸² and Vidpavshi, opovidannya (Those who have fallen away, short stories, 1968),⁸³ and the novel Kvity na kameni, povist' (Flowers on the rock, a novel, 1976).⁸⁴

A significant amount of the poetry written in this period was lyrical poetry and similar to the poetry written by Mandryka and Semchuk with themes pertaining to philosophy and beauty. Some other poets, e.g., Tetyana Shevchuk (Tetiana Shevchuk) (1904 -) in her Na prestil maybutnykh dniv, poeziyi (On the altar of future days, poetry, 1964),⁸⁵ John Dolinsky (1922 -) in Luna z preriy (Echo from the prairies, 1983),⁸⁶ and Ivan Kmeta-Ichnyans'kyi (Ivan Yefymovych-Kmeta, 1901 -) in his Chasha zolota, vybrana liryka (The golden chalice, selected lyrical poetry, 1964),⁸⁷ also deal with some such themes but with lesser expertise. Kmeta-Ichnyans'kyi also translated into Ukrainian poems by Robert Frost, Emily Dickinson, Carl Sandberg, Watson Kirkconnell and others.⁸⁸

The Leftist Writers

In the previous period the literature of the pro-Communist faction had flourished largely due to the work and influence of Myroslav Irchan. Now, the literature, like the membership and activities, went downhill. The bulk of the literature produced by pro-Communist writers was very simplistic, lyrical poetry published on the pages of Communist newspapers.

Some of the poems written by pro-Communist writers praised life in Ukraine, which was, in their opinion, fully liberated as a result of all of its lands belonging to the Soviet Union, e.g., Transkonets' (pseudonym meaning "someone living in Transcona)," if not the best of the leftist writers of this time, certainly the most prolific, wrote "Vil'na Ukrayina" (A Free Ukraine, 1962) and "Rodymy krayu, selo rodyme . . ." (Oh, native

land, native village . . . , 1956).⁸⁹ Vasyl' K. Hutsulyak wrote "Tarasovi Shevchenku" (To Taras Shevchenko, 1961).⁹⁰ V. Pidval'nyy's poem "Zustrich" (Meeting, 1956)⁹¹ urges Ukrainians in Canada to return to Ukraine for a better way of life than that which they have in Canada. In Canada they must work very hard to get ahead whereas in Ukraine they would not have to. An interesting poem is Transkonets's "Kolomyyka pro Ukrayinu i Kanadu" (A kolomyyka about Ukraine and Canada, 1960).⁹² It is dedicated to a trio of female Ukrainian bandura players to whom the federal government refused entry into Canada for a proposed concert tour. The poem praises life in Soviet Ukraine where everyone is now equal and suggests that Canada could learn from this example and be a friend to all. Some poems speak out against war, e.g., Anna Kukharchuk's "Poshana materyam" (Respect for mothers, 1960)⁹³ and Toma Boychuk's "Pisnya za myr, volyu i dobrobut" (A Song about peace, freedom and well-being, 1959).⁹⁴ Numerous poems urge Ukrainians to read the Ukrainian press, among them Petro Dzhala's "Presu svoyu my chytaymo, u vsim yiyi pomahaymo" (Let us read our press, help it in everything, 1955)⁹⁵ and Transkonets's "My i nasha presa" (We and our press, 1958).⁹⁶ Some poems praise the work of the AUUC and its affiliates in Winnipeg and in other parts of Canada, e.g., Transkonets's "Pro Transkonu, pro sekretarya Provkomu" (About Transcona, about the secretary of the Provkom, 1958; Provkom is an abbreviation of Providnyy komitet which can be translated as "Guiding Committee")⁹⁷ and Lyubomyra Chaykivs'ka "Mizh horamy vysokymy" (Between the high mountains, 1958).⁹⁸ There are also some poems that pay tribute to the Association's activists, e.g., Transkonets's "Slovo pro nashykh 3-okh providnykh tovaryshiv (pro Matviya Popovycha, Matviya Shatul's'koho ta pro Ivana

Navizivs'koho)" (A word about our three leading comrades [about Matthew Popovych, Matthew Shatulsky (Shatul's'kyy) and about John Nawiziwsky (Navizivs'kyy)], 1963).⁹⁹

Organizational issues as such were dealt with only to a limited extent during this period, and these works emanated from the pro-Communist faction. They are largely simple, short, lyrical poems which appeared in the pro-Communist press. One such work is Anna Tarasenko's "Pryyikhaly banderivtsi u nashu Kanadu" (The Banderivtsi have arrived in our Canada, 1949),¹⁰⁰ which speaks out against the arrival of this right-wing nationalistic group in Canada. The Banderivtsi are accused of having sided with the Nazis against their own brothers. Furthermore, in Canada, they take away jobs from other Canadians, who have more right to them than do the new immigrants. Tarasenko expresses the conviction that all workers will unite against them. Her poem "Pochynaymo fond zbyraty! -- fond i peredplaty" (Let's begin to gather a fund! -- A fund and subscriptions, 1949)¹⁰¹ suggests a fund be started for the Ukrainian Canadian pro-Communist newspaper Ukrainian Word to show the Banderivtsi their strength. The title of V. Pidval'nyy's "Kukivs'kyy memorandum, feyleton" (The KUK's memorandum, a feuilleton, 1956)¹⁰² is somewhat a play on words since KUK, the Ukrainian acronym for the Ukrainian Canadian Committee, can also be viewed as an abbreviation for "cuckoo" in both Ukrainian and English. This poem speaks out against the Ukrainian Canadian Committee, the Ukrainian American Committee and the Banderivtsi, branding them all liars and calling them immoral, saying that they want Ukraine for themselves because they wish to be dictators there. Similarly his "Lyudyna han'by" (A person of shame, 1956)¹⁰³ labels all Ukrainian nationalists in Canada as Nazis, traitors and liars.

P.D. Transkonets's "Druzyam v Transkoni i okolysi" (To friends in Transcona and vicinity, 1956)¹⁰⁴ suggests that no one in the pro-Communist community should pay attention to what the Ukrainian nationalists are writing about them (presumably in articles appearing in the pro-Ukrainian nationalist press) because they are only trying to sow animosity among the pro-Communist ranks. His "Z istoriyi ukrayintsiv v Kanadi" (From the history of the Ukrainians in Canada, 1956)¹⁰⁵ traces the difficult years of Ukrainian pioneer settlement in Canada and juxtaposes them to the comparatively easy life that the post-World War II immigrants have. He points out that the post-World War II immigrants are Ukrainian nationalists, who want to destroy progressivists but that they should be prohibited from doing so. Ihor Chaykovs'kyi's "Shchyryy patriot" (A sincere patriot, 1960)¹⁰⁶ accuses Ukrainian nationalists of being deceptive about life in Ukraine, e.g., lying about people in Ukraine being sent to Siberia for receiving letters from overseas. The Ukrainian nationalists are said to be spreading such falsehoods because they do not want Ukrainians in Canada to write to their relatives in Ukraine for fear of the Ukrainian Canadians finding out how good life is there. Oleksa Vovchyna's "Rozdumy pidyachoho na pomynkakh" (The thoughts of a cantor at a wake, 1958)¹⁰⁷ lambastes the delegates to the Congress of the Ukrainian Canadian Committee for singing the funeral song "Vichnaya pam'yat'" (Eternal memory) to the memory of Ukraine at their most recent Congress. This the poet considers to have been extremely unnecessary since Ukraine is vibrant and alive as part of the Soviet Union.

Only two of the works surveyed dealt to any extent with the actual question of language loss among young people. Only two of the works surveyed dealt with this

theme. Both were simple lyrical poems published in the leftist press. Lyubomyra Chaykovs'ka's (pseudonym of Mykola Chachkovs'kyi) "Ukrayinka-kanadyanka" (A Ukrainian Canadian woman, 1959)¹⁰⁸ describes, in a very positive manner, a young Ukrainian woman, who can speak and read both English and Ukrainian. She seems to be presented as a role model for other young people. Transkonets's "Prymiri ukrayins'ki dity ta yikhni bat'ky" (Exemplary Ukrainian children and their parents, 1959)¹⁰⁹ similarly suggests that children should study well in school and learn both the Ukrainian language and culture as well.

3. Moving into Mainstream Canadian Literature

Those Ukrainian Canadian writers who chose to write in English are united as a group not only because they chose to write in English but because they are all Canadian-born. With this group of writers the thematic ties to Ukrainian literature, which were evident in the Ukrainian language works of all writers including those of this period, were broken, and the predominant interest was what concerned Ukrainians in Canada or related to Canadian and international literature written in English. In fact, a kind of cultural gap was emerging between the non-Canadian-born and the Canadian-born, symbolized by the language in which each group wrote.

The Ukrainian Canadian immigrant experience was one that intrigued a significant number of the writers of the post-World War II period, more the Canadian-born than

those born in Ukraine. This was probably because the immigrant experience for them had receded into the annals of history, which they could look back upon almost as romantic and mythical, while it remained a reality for the émigré writers. The émigré writers were still tied to Ukraine because most had been born there, grew up there and had their formative experiences there, even in this period. Canadian themes were creeping into the works of Ukrainian-born writers, but for the Canadian-born writers, these were the only themes with which they were concerned; in addition to the pioneer experience in Canada, they were interested in such themes as assimilation, intergenerational conflicts and personal identity.

Among the works published by a Canadian-born writer was Vera Lysenko's Yellow Boots (1954)¹¹⁰ is a very important work in terms of Ukrainian Canadian literature and also in Canadian literature. Arguably it is the first work on a Ukrainian theme since Ralph Connor's The Foreigner (1909) which was aimed at a mass market.

John Dolinsky

John Dolinsky (Ivan Dolyns'kyy) is a transitional figure since he is one of the few writers of this time to write in both English and Ukrainian. He also writes on themes relating to Ukraine and on themes that are more identified with Canadian-born writers. A farmer who farms just outside Winnipeg in the small community of Libau, Dolinsky began his writing career somewhat late in life. His works tend to be simplistic, almost folkloristic poems which harken back to the much earlier time pioneer period.

Dolinsky, like others of this period, deals with the Ukrainian pioneer experience in Canada. He devotes an entire section titled “Yak prybulu pionery v daleku Kanadu” (When the pioneers arrived in distant Canada) of his larger collection of poetry Luna z preriy (Echo from the prairies, 1983)¹¹¹ to the theme. His poem “Kanads’ki pionery” (Canadian pioneers),¹¹² is written in the kolmyyka style. Both through the use of this style and in the fact that it deals with the extreme hardships of pioneer settlement, it is highly reminiscent of works written during the first period of immigration by such writers as Teodor Fedyk:

Ой, засіли наші люди
 В нетрах, у пустині,
 Принесли дітей і речі
 На плечах в ряднині.

Перейшли всі разом пішки
 Крізь багна й мочари,
 І на дикому безлюдді
 Життя розпочали.

Нічку не один під небом
 Голим ночували,
 Поки там малу землянку
 Собі збудували.

Покривали цю землянку

Дерням і землю,
 Як лив дощ - сухого місця
 Не було під нею.¹¹³

Oh, our people settled / In thickets, in the wilderness, / They brought their children
 and things / Wrapped in burlap on their backs. / All together they crossed / The
 swamps and marshes, / And in the wild desolateness / Began their lives. / They
 spent more than one night / Under the bare sky, / Until they built a small mud-
 hut / For themselves. / They covered this mud-hut / With sod and earth, / When
 the rain poured down - there was not a dry place/ Beneath it. /

Through a series of lyrical poems that include “Slava Vasylevi Yelynyakovi”
 (Glory to Vasyl’ Yelynyak; Yelynyak is generally credited with being one of the first two
 Ukrainian immigrants to Canada), “Yunyy poselenets” (A young settler), “Yak buy
 molodyy ya” (When I was young), “My ne vcheni” (We are not educated) and “Zbizhevyy
 khliborob” (The grain farmer), all published in 1983,¹¹⁴ Dolinsky attempts to depict the
 other varied aspects of Ukrainian pioneer life in Canada.

Dolinsky deals with local history in his poetic tribute to a local hero, Tommy
 Prince, in a poem of the same title (1983).¹¹⁵ Tommy Prince, as the poem points out, was
 born in Scantebury, Manitoba, a descendent of Chief Peguis, and went on to become a
 valiant World War II hero. In the 1980s Winnipeg’s city fathers recognized Tommy
 Prince’s contribution to Canada and honoured him by naming a Winnipeg street in his
 memory. This poem was published in 1983 at about the same time as Winnipeg was
 honouring Tommy Prince. The poem’s message is the following:

We must not forget such a hero

Though he may be dead and gone;
 His glory will live forever
 And his spirit will carry on.¹¹⁶

The fact that native issues were coming to the forefront, combined with the growing realization that Canadian natives form an integral part of both Canada's historical past and its present, may have caused native themes to surface in the literature created by some Ukrainian Canadian writers.

Dolinsky, although Canadian-born, also displays a sentimental attitude towards Canada perhaps simply out of love and respect for the country, reminiscent of views expressed by earlier Ukrainian Canadian writers. In his poem "Canada"(1983), for example, he apologizes for himself and those other Canadians, who have not taken the opportunity to better acquaint themselves closely with such a beautiful and expansive country:

I have an apology to make, Canada;
 And I'm sure others do, too --
 That we've lived our entire lives here
 And saw so little of you.

With resources so vast
 And so much at stake,
 Our people look elsewhere

And their own they forsake.¹¹⁷

Other of his poems, e.g., “Northern Lights,” “The Wilderness,” “Indian Summer” (all published in 1983)¹¹⁸ and “The Canadian Northland,” “The Netley Marsh” and “Autumn in Manitoba” (all published in 1984),¹¹⁹ also glorify Canada’s natural beauty.

Dolinsky also showed some interest in translation and translated a Ukrainian classic, Taras Shevchenko’s “Zapovit” (Testament) into English. His translation appeared under the title “Shevchenko’s Last Will”(1984).¹²⁰

William Paluk

William Paluk’s (1914-1990) works, all tend to deal with Ukrainian Canadian themes, although in some of his works he deals with “older” themes like emigration. He was a Canadian-born Ukrainian writer who began his writing career during the interwar period. He was a prolific writer of prose. He wrote a number of plays for radio, some of which were broadcast on the CBC, and then converted the plays to short stories. He also wrote at least one play intended for the musical theatre. Paluk wrote only in English. He was not employed in the literary field but worked as a furniture manufacturer.

Paluk’s early short story “Ivan Goes to Winnipeg”¹²¹ (1943) very adeptly captures the true essence of the organizational factionalization that existed within the Ukrainian Canadian community. The story deals with the theme of rivalry between two fictitious Ukrainian Canadian organizations, the Ukrainian Liberation League and the National Brotherhood. The exact cause of the conflict between the two organizations is never specified. However, the conflict is such that it necessitates court settlement “ . . . at great expense to both parties, and accompanied with a bitter controversy in the respective

newspapers.”¹²² Ivan, a visitor to Winnipeg, is a member of the Ukrainian Liberation League, and the friend that he comes to visit is a member of the National Brotherhood. With many reservations Ivan attends a National Brotherhood meeting with his friend. Naturally it is assumed that he is a member. When he tries to speak out against the Brotherhood, the audience misunderstands, believing that he is attacking the Ukrainian Liberation League. As a result his speech meets with thunderous applause, and he is asked to sit at the head table with the other dignitaries. Thus, in Paluk’s view, regardless of the perceived differences between them, Ukrainian organizations are fundamentally the same and not particularly constructive.

“Ivan Goes To Winnipeg” appeared in Paluk’s book Canadian Cossacks: Essays Articles and Stories on Ukrainian Canadian Life, which is one of the first monographs published in English by a Ukrainian Canadian writer. As the title states it contains essays, articles and several short stories pertaining to Ukrainian Canadian life as perceived by the author.

Paluk’s “Back Door” (1974),¹²³ originally a radio play, but later written as a short story, describes how a Ukrainian immigrant mother must come to terms with her daughter’s marrying an Anglo-Celt. In this short story deals the Ukrainian Halia falls in love with the English university student Henry Smith. This causes much concern for her mother, Anna, who expected Halia to marry a Ukrainian boy, a baker, that she had been dating. Anna, deciding to meet her future in-laws, suffers a humiliating experience when she tries to visit Henry’s mother. At the Smith home, Mrs. Smith mistakes Anna for her new cleaning lady since she arrives at the back door instead of the front door (as was and

probably till is the habit for some people). Nonetheless, Anna comes to the realization that she cannot prevent her daughter from marrying Henry. Anna does so on the strength of the words in a long-lost letter which she received from her father on her own wedding day. The letter reads, in part: "At home, in mountains, are big horn sheep. Young mountain sheep go fast to very top of mountain, see green pasture far away, and lead whole flock to new grazing ground. But old sheep cannot climb high. Must stay in lower area, and then follow young."¹²⁴ From this it can be concluded that by marrying an Anglo-Celt, Halia will be moving into a new way of life. Paluk does not comment on the fact that since mixed marriages tend to lead to assimilation, by condoning their marriage, Anna is also condoning assimilation.

Paluk's Emigrate¹²⁵ is an unpublished manuscript for a musical theatre production, set both in Ukraine and Canada. The play is light and makes use of Ukrainian "traditions" for exotic effect. The plot concerns a daughter trying to avenge the death of her father. She is obliged to do so not only because it was her father's dying wish but also because, according to Paluk, this is a Cossack tradition. Prior to his death Andrey, the father, was making plans to emigrate to Canada so that he could establish a better life for himself and his family. The man who stabbed him to death, Balamut (the word means "mischief-maker"), was also on his way to Canada. Andrey's daughter, Nadia, decides to travel to Canada herself. She leaves behind her younger sister, Halia, in the care of her (Nadia's) fiance Gregory. On board ship she meets an immigration agent named Stefan Black, a fellow Ukrainian who has changed his surname for he says that way it is "easier to get ahead" in Canada.¹²⁶ Stefan is smitten with Nadia as soon as he meets her, and upon

arrival in Winnipeg he lets her see immigration documents from which she finds out that Balamut was murdered en route to Canada, but his son is still living. At first Nadia wants to kill his son, for according to “tradition” if one cannot kill the actual murderer than one of his kin should be killed. Stefan admits to being Balamut’s son, but claims his father deserted his family when Stefan was still small. Nadia comes to the realization that “killing [Stefan] won’t solve anything”¹²⁷ and admits her love for him. In Ukraine, Halia and Gregory realize that they, too, have fallen in love. Halia and Gregory travel to Canada, meet with Nadia and Stefan, and the two couples decide to marry.

Paluk also wrote some children’s stories. One of these was included in the multicultural anthology series entitled Pieces, Of the Jigsaw and Puzzle (a three volume anthology, 1986).¹²⁸ The story is called “A Thousand Dollars for John”¹²⁹ and features Ukrainian characters. It concerns Steve Yurkiw’s inability to pay the thousand dollars needed for his youngest son’s tuition at medical school. Steve even contemplates committing suicide so that his son can collect his insurance money. The situation seems hopeless until Steve’s older children and even his old nemesis, Potoski, unexpectedly chip in and cover the cost of the tuition.

Vera Lysenko

Vera Lysenko (pseudonym of Vera Lesik, 1910-1975) was a Ukrainian Canadian writer of some merit. She was born and raised in Winnipeg and graduated from the University of Manitoba. She worked at various jobs, including journalist and reporter for

several publications, all in eastern Canada. She wrote in English exclusively and wrote both fiction and non-fiction.

Lysenko's first major work was Men in Sheepskin Coats: A Study in Assimilation (1947).¹³⁰ Intended as a type of social history of the Ukrainian experience in Canada and perhaps the first history of Ukrainians in Canada to be written in English, it is as such a significant work. However, the book met with considerable controversy. Lysenko was accused of a pro-Communist bias, and the work was largely dismissed for lacking any significant historical or sociological value. The centrist Ukrainian Canadians were very conscious of their image in Canada and objected to the leftist bias from which the book was written. (This matter is discussed, for example, by Alexandra Kruchka-Glynn in her introduction to Yellow Boots and in her article "Reintroducing Vera Lysenko - Ukrainian Canadian Author."¹³¹) This work did reveal Lysenko's interest in Ukrainian history and culture, though her knowledge and research were not sufficient for such an undertaking.

Lysenko's novel Yellow Boots is written in English on a strictly Ukrainian Canadian theme. It was published by a major Canadian publishing house, Ryerson Press, ostensibly for the "best seller" market. It provides an interesting, although perhaps not always accurate, account of the pioneer immigrant's psyche and experiences in Canada. This work, too, continues Lysenko's interest in things Ukrainian, but the Ukrainian element also serves to add an exotic flavour to her work. Yellow Boots tells the story of Lilli Landash, the child of Ukrainian immigrants in Canada. Lysenko depicts Ukrainian immigrants as being inordinately cruel and hardhearted. This is reflected in Anton and Zenobia Landash's inhumane treatment of their daughter, Lilli. While she is still a small

child, they send her to a relative's home to act as a servant, allowing her to return home only because she is near death. The most striking feature of her parents' treatment of Lilli is that they cannot even remember what they named her at birth. She has no name until she is given one by the local schoolteacher when she attends his school, which she does only for a short time because her parents do not believe that girls, particularly Lilli, require any education.

As far as Lilli is concerned, her parents' ultimate insult is their attempt to marry her off to a wealthy widower, Zachary, whom she finds vulgar and offensive. Regardless of her protests, however, her father's mind is made up. She must marry Zachary for only then will Zachary give Anton Landash a choice piece of land which Anton desperately wants, for Anton is integrally tied to the land. His love for it supersedes all else. The depth of this love and Anton's disregard for his daughter's feelings are evident in the following conversation between them:

“But father,” said Lilli, trying to control her panic so she could reason with him. “A person is more important than a piece of land. Isn't that so?”

“No!” Her father pounded his fist on the table. “Land comes first, always. That is why I was born, that is why you were born -- to serve the land.”¹³²

Her parents' cruelty is explained not as an anomaly but as a normal characteristic of people who have had to endure both the hardships of life in the homeland and in pioneering in a new land. To an extent the theme of the importance of land above all else

is one that this work shares with Ewach's The Call of the Land except that in Lysenko's work, in contrast to Ewach's, this love of the land is a destructive force.

Lilli's first love is Vanni Karmeluke, a boy who lives in their vicinity, who becomes her soulmate. She realizes that her parents, in particular, her father, will never allow her to marry him, even though her older sister was allowed to marry the boy she loved, because she, Lilli, is not a favourite of her parents. After a conversation with the teacher, Mr. MacTavish, in which she learns that children do not have to listen to their parents unequivocally in Canada, Lilli runs away to Winnipeg to escape the loveless marriage that her parents have planned for her.

In Winnipeg Lilli first works as a domestic, then as a factory worker. While working in the factory she joins the factory choir which is under the direction of Matthew Reiner. Reiner takes her under his wing and develops her musical talent, which had been evident in her since she was a small child. While developing her musical talent he also molds her into a refined and genteel woman of style. Lilli and Reiner fall in love. Reiner, however, is Jewish.¹³³ This fact is significant because of the anti-Semitism evidenced by some Ukrainians. Lilli makes a daring choice, in the eyes of the Ukrainian Canadian community, except that she has no ties with that community after she leaves her parents' home. Over time Lilli leaves the factory and sets up her own dress designing salon where she meets with much success. Also successful is her musical career, and she tours the province giving concerts.

Lilli's parents' attitude toward her has changed significantly by the time she returns home after an absence of some years. Both parents regret their past actions. Her mother

also realizes that Lilli is the only one of her children who has not forsaken the old ways. For this reason Zenobia presents Lilli with her most cherished possession, a pair of yellow leather boots. To Zenobia the boots symbolize her happy youth in Ukraine. In the novel, however, they stand as symbols of the wealth of the cultural heritage of the Ukrainian people. Lilli, rather surprisingly, readily forgives her parents for all of the injustices that they committed against her and gladly accepts the boots.

Although what Lilli is preserving is probably symbolic to Lysenko, in fact, Lilli is not preserving any sizable portion of Ukraine's cultural heritage. Through dressmaking, she preserves her people's traditions of creating with one's hands and earning a living from the work of one's hands, through her singing she preserves the folksong genre, not even the Ukrainian folksong itself. Thus, in reality, what she is preserving is just a small bit of Ukraine's cultural heritage, and even that is not in its entirely pure form. As a result, she is only preserving broad, culturally non-specific traditions. In Lysenko's fictional community all other ethnic groups are preserving such culturally non-specific traditions as well. She sees all groups uniting, being molded into something new and this too is indicative of her leftist bias, where all workers unite into one culturally non-specific entity into which each individual provides what he or she is capable of providing.

An important feature of Lysenko's Yellow Boots is the fact that it provides an in-depth examination of Ukrainian folk customs. Those folk customs associated marriage, death, Christmas, Easter and St. John the Baptist day, for example, are exceptionally accurate. Where variations occur these may be ascribed either to the fact that regional variations were many and varied or to the fact that in a new land the Ukrainians may not

have had the means to practice them as accurately as they did in the homeland. Lysenko, who had been severely criticized for her pro-leftist stance, inaccuracies and omissions in her earlier social history Men in Sheepskin Coats, must have researched this work very well, although which sources she might have utilized in her research are unknown.¹³⁴

Lysenko's second published novel was Westerly Wild (1956).¹³⁵ This work differs from Yellow Boots in that there is nothing overtly Ukrainian in the theme or the characters; in other words, what Lysenko is trying to do is to write a "regular" novel with no Ukrainian element. The novel is derivative, for the plot is somewhat based on Jane Eyre. It tells the story of schoolteacher Julie LaCoste's experiences in a rural Saskatchewan community during the Depression. Julie meets with unprecedented success in the classroom, particularly in terms of fostering cultural understanding among a multi-ethnic group of students, just as Matthew Reiner in Yellow Boots fosters cultural understanding among a multi-ethnic group of workers who sing in his choir. Julie also organizes the community women into a sewing circle, which produces its own goods and sells them for a profit outside the community. In this way she instills within the women a certain degree of badly needed financial independence. The work, however, is basically a love story. Julie has two suitors, Tony Kovach and Marcus Haugen. Her romance with Kovach never really develops for her true love is Haugen. Haugen has a dark secret: he is still married but his wife has gone mad. This revelation ruins the romance between him and Julie for she cannot continue the romance knowing that he has a wife no matter what the extenuating circumstances.

Lysenko can best be described as a fledgling feminist. In both Yellow Boots and Westerly Wild, she attempts to depict her female central characters as strong-willed, independent women, who thrive in the face of all adversity. Lilli Landash, in Yellow Boots, for example, develops highly successful dual careers at a point when even one career was uncommon for the typical woman. Julie LaCoste, in Westerly Wild, altruistically gives up her dream of studying art in Paris to teach in a rural community in drought-ravaged Saskatchewan during the Depression. Julie also contributes significantly to the emancipation of the women in the community through the organization of a sewing circle.

Regardless of how independent Lysenko would like her heroines to be, they are, in fact, highly dependent on men for all of the emotional support which they require. Lilli, for example, first relies on her childhood suitor, Vanni Karmeluke, and the local schoolteacher, Ian MacTavish, and later upon the choir director, Matthew Reiner, whom he intends to marry at the novel's end. With Reiner she, in fact, shares a Pygmalion-type of relationship, and under his benign tutelage she develops into a cosmopolitan woman of the world. As she acknowledges to him, "All those years before I met you, I was living like in a little closed up room, and now I see big halls, full of things I never know of."¹³⁶ Julie, on the other hand, depends on two men, Marcus Haugen and Tony Kovach. Both are her suitors, although she herself only loves the dark and brooding Haugen. Although she loves him deeply, Julie is conventional enough not to live with him without the sanctity of marriage and, therefore, ultimately forsakes him.

Lysenko also tries to convey a sense of the prejudicial treatment afforded those women who do not comply to the “norm” by people who cannot comprehend their behaviour. In Yellow Boots the woman perceived to be a non-conformist is the so-called “witch woman,” Tamara. She is a highly creative individual, who is widely misunderstood and as a result is mistakenly believed to possess evil, supernatural powers. In fact, because of this she is ultimately lynched by an angry mob. In Westerly Wild the woman is Katie Cory, a sixteen-year-old pupil of Julie’s. Katie is beautiful and sensuous, but her harsh family life and undeserved bad reputation within the community make her existence almost unbearable. Despite Julie’s best efforts on her behalf, Katie decides that her only alternative is to leave the community. With no money or skills, her choices are limited, so Katie joins a gang of hoboes riding a train of boxcars to British Columbia. By doing so, Katie becomes the type of person that the gossip mongers always accused her of being: “The Katie that might be had vanished forever and in her place another Katie. . . . She was scornful, blunt in her speech, openly provocative to her companions.”¹³⁷

With the rate of assimilation steadily increasing, it is not surprising that assimilation played a thematic role in the literature of the period. What is surprising, however, is that several of the writers, who chose to deal with this theme apparently backed the concept. Foremost among them was Lysenko. From her novels Yellow Boots and Westerly Wild it is obvious that Lysenko subscribed to the “melting pot” theory of assimilation. The “melting pot” theory postulates that all ethnic groups should “melt” together to form a new, hybrid group that retains only the best or most outstanding characteristics of the individual member ethnic groups. The theory is most clearly

developed in Yellow Boots, and the melting pot manifests itself in the factory where Lilli works and its folk choir in which she sings. Lysenko based her melting pot theory on the thesis that there exist “common dreams of humanity.”¹³⁸ In other words, she believed that all people, regardless of ethnic origin, have the same basic desires and that this unifies them into one entity. The choir is Lilli’s example of the “ideal” society where all are equals and all are workers (in this case factory workers) who co-exist in a fluid, yet harmonious entity, as Lysenko states about the choir members: “the people in the hall, mostly factory workers, were gathered in groups, constantly shifting in an atmosphere of camaraderie, for all seemed to feel as if they belonged.”¹³⁹ In her second novel Westerly Wild Lysenko does not dwell as much on this theme, although it does manifest itself in Julie LaCoste’s classroom. Of particular note here is the school’s Christmas concert staged under Julie’s supervision, in which the pupils, dressed in their ethnic costumes, sing carols in various languages. The concert, rather surprisingly, has a profound effect on the audience: “It was a Christmas miracle, thought Julie, how her efforts at international co-operation had achieved, in this tiny portion of the universe, peace and goodwill among women; and among men, the satisfaction that one crop at least, that of their children’s minds, had not been a failure that year.”¹⁴⁰

Maara Haas

It was not only the pioneer experience that captured the fantasy of third wave writers. Maara Haas (Myroslava Lazechko, 1920 -) studied journalism in California, and she has largely been employed as a professional writer most of her adult life. She writes

only in English and her works attest to the high calibre of her writing abilities. She creates Ukrainian characters but this is not the important point in her works. The important point is that she is dealing, for example, with multiculturalism or at least assimilation as it affects everyone, not just Ukrainians, and she creates other characters of other ethnic groups including natives, Scots, and Poles.

Paluk and Lysenko wrote about people who could still be considered immigrants, Haas did also, but more often her “immigrants” were already well settled and acclimatized as well as they could be to Canada. Haas’s “Anton: Immigrant, 1935” (1986) depicts the harrowing life and work experiences of the immigrant of this time:

flesh scathed with open sore hand lifting

Jesus

to punch the time clock

thick boots seamed with clay

faces hard as feldspar profiled home

to double shanties housing uncles brides

lice-headed children stinking kerosene

six to a mattress sleeping on the floor.¹⁴¹

Her novel The Street Where I Live (1976)¹⁴² deals with the experiences of a varied group of immigrants, including Scots, Jews and Poles, with Ukrainians figuring the most prominently, set during the interwar period. Haas had grown up during the interwar

period on Selkirk Avenue in the North End where her father, a pharmacist, owned and operated a drug store. The people that she is writing about in this novel are all “residents” of a fictionalized Selkirk Avenue. The work is written as if observed by a precocious twelve-year-old girl and this explains some of the views expressed. This is a humorous work, which satirizes the everyday life and the behaviour of the people living on the street. Outstanding in this respect is the description of how Ukrainian wedding customs are adapted to serve Canadian needs:

Moishe reads from the book of Ukrainian
Wedding Rituals.

De two betrotheds bind each udder’s arm wit
embroidered linen scarfs.

Skip that, says Orest.

De fodder takes de wheat to de mill.

De mudder whitewashes de cottage.

De goil sews her princess shoit.

Skip that.

De mudder gives de goil a needle and silk tred to
sew a reet from de evergreen leaves of de
periwinkle barweenok on de last night of her
goilhood?

Skip that.

De bread for de wedding feast, made from de

water of seven wells and de flour of seven stacks
of wheat, is put in de stone oven.

Skip that.

Skip dat, skip dat, skip dat, says Moishe.

So what's left?

What's left, says Orest, is the three matchmakers
who go see Xenia's old man and get his
permission to take her to church.

Four o'clock, remember!?"¹⁴³

Although the residents of this street represent a variety of ethno-cultural groups, they do not allow their ethno-cultural differences to get in the way of their co-operation and co-existence. Mrs. Kolosky and Mrs. Weinstein, two neighbours, one Ukrainian and one Jewish, may not always get along, but their differences are not based on ethnic differences, but on differences of opinion. A type of "harmony" prevails among the people living on this street. Particularly striking is the annual June baseball game in which two teams, made up of male community residents, young and old, take part. One team is the "Virgin Mary Maple Leafs" and the other team is the "Star of David Ukrainian-Canadians." The latter team's uniforms are described in the following manner: "The Star of David Ukrainian-Canadians, except for the Rabbi who isn't a show-off, are wearing matching pants and jackets, blue and yellow satin -- a Ukrainian trident on the chest and a Star of David on the sleeve."¹⁴⁴ This is perhaps a kind of symbolic "antidote" to the anti-

Semitic attitudes of the Ukrainians, who felt that they were suffering at the hands of the Jews both in the “old country” and in Canada, that were underlined in a previous chapter.

Instead of the expected anglo-conformity that would have been more typical of the time, a type of Ukrainian-conformity exists on this street. This is probably because Ukrainians either predominate on the street or the young girl thinks that they do because she is most exposed to the Ukrainians. The MacDuff family, who are Scottish immigrants, have three sons, Angus, Borislav and Bruce. Angus and Bruce are typical Scottish names, while Borislav is a typical Ukrainian one. Haas does not explain how this one son came to be named Borislav, but she does not have to since the use of the name simply underscores the natural way in which cultural influences are at work. Furthermore, this family is also very well acquainted with the local Ukrainian priest, Father Mashik, who even joins them for their celebrations on Christmas day.

Most of the characters may well be fictional ones. Some other characters are obviously based on real-life people. Brains Slawchuk is a thinly veiled Slaw Rebchuk, the real-life city councillor and deputy mayor of Winnipeg. He is depicted as rather pompous and politically ambitious, not only active in civic politics but also a leader in the Ukrainian Canadian community. He is described at one point as being the “choirleader, drama director, prospective school trustee and local honey-dipper for outlying outhouses,”¹⁴⁵ and at another point as being the “chairman-president” of the “Free Fraternity of Ukrainian Intelligentsia,” an “honorary group of five members.”¹⁴⁶ A minor character is Blinky Kozienco, who is probably a parody of the famous Ukrainian hockey player Billy Mosienko.

Unlike Lysenko, who seems to back the concept of assimilation, Haas simply prefers to let nature take its course. In this respect her short story “The Green Roses Kerchief” (1986)¹⁴⁷ stands out. In the story Baba Podkova’s “hoity-toity” daughter, Anastasia, who is married to an Anglo-Saxon and lives in River Heights, an upscale Winnipeg neighbourhood, wants Baba Podkova to forsake her old attire, symbolized by the “green roses kerchief” which she always wears on her head, change her name, learn to play bridge and associate with “cultured people.” Baba Podkova is persuaded to move in with her daughter but is not able to fit in properly, as is evident from the following:

The River Heights bylaw stopped her from smoking garlic sausage in the back garage. When she hit the health inspector with the leg of a chair, her son-in-law, Corporal General Reginald Fortescue Brown, Esquire, threatened to drum her out of the district with a bloody show of artillery and the Union Jack in flying colours.¹⁴⁸

Baba Podkova is not happy living in River Heights, but the final straw comes when her daughter insists that she have her hair cut and permed. Baba runs away from her daughter’s home back to the North End where she can behave and dress in the manner in which she wants to.

Haas never actually questions her own ethno-cultural identity for any of the expected reasons. She admits to having some problem with identity, however, but it is the question of establishing what exactly the Canadian identity is as far as women writers are concerned. Her belief is that only in Canada does a woman need to be multicultural, that

is, have to identify herself as belonging to a specific ethnic group. Even then, however, she argues that Canada only presents a bilingual face to the world and does not give ethnic writers the credit which they deserve. She puts forward the following premise:

Premise: Multicultural Woman is illiterate or lacks any degree of literary talent or can't afford a typewriter or she's so pressured by ethnicity, the ingrown toenail of Canadian culture, she can't think/activate creatively outside her realm in a way that warrants universal acknowledgment/acceptance.¹⁴⁹

Haas further believes that one's own cultural identity is tenuous at best and, therefore, in Canada "[i]dentity is a cold germ, contagious at the slightest touch, everyone crazy to find the mysterious source, the fetal cord connecting them to any person who will verify their existence."¹⁵⁰

The contents of Haas's On Stage with Maara Haas are tied together with feminist short stories and asides by the author. She deals extensively with the topic of women's emancipation, as in her description of Evangeline Gower Smutnick Zabolotny, a mother of seven, who "... preceded Steinam by a period of a century in a bold move forerunning liberation that shook the church foundations of the pioneer Canadian West."¹⁵¹ Evangeline first works as a maid, and is turned down for work as an egg candler because the male foreman and male staff at the egg candling plant believed the position "... was beyond the intellectual prowess of a mere woman who would have to manage a complex machine called an incubator."¹⁵² She finally finds a job at a chocolate puff factory where she works

for a meagre wage. She is then struck down by a car and suffers a broken leg. When she comes home from the hospital with her leg in a cast, she finds her husband waiting for his supper. When he demands that she serve him sour cream to go with his borshch, she refuses and, taking the children, goes to live with her mother. She then finds work in a piece-work factory where, due to an accident, she loses the sight in one eye. Once her children finish school, they marry and leave her. She ends up spending her days baby-sitting for a married daughter, while her husband, it is suspected, is still sitting at the table waiting for Evangeline to bring him the sour cream. The story is obviously satirical, and the re-telling does not do justice to what is a hilarious piece of writing. Evangeline is faced with much adversity, but she is able to successfully overcome it all because she is a survivor. Although she may not be considered emancipated in the contemporary sense, for a woman of her time, Evangeline certainly does exhibit a significant degree of emancipation. In Haas' view, Evangeline did not need concepts like "emancipation" -- she, like all other women, just did what she had to do. This is also Haas' view on multiculturalism: what do you need all the slogans for? Just do what comes naturally and people will live in harmony.

In On Stage with Maara Haas she quotes from the 1981-3 statistics from the ACTRA National Committee on Women's Issues which serve to indicate that women still have a long way to go before they achieve equality with men when it comes to being given stage, screen or radio roles to play. They state in part:

Women in the majority of cases are cast as homemakers, office and service workers rather than professional, creative, skilled labour and law enforcement.

Women are less likely to occupy positions of authority in the workplaces, are seldom cast in the non-gender roles (as doctor, taxi driver, customs official).

Women seldom are voices of authority of voice overs and are seldom portrayed as experts.¹⁵³

It is her belief that women enter into unique relationships with each other: “Language barriers, social differences, the differences in age -- none are relevant in the often tender, often ridiculous cross-purpose relationships that can only exist between women through love/loyalty/necessity.”¹⁵⁴ It is perhaps the unity gained through such relationships which will enable women to achieve the equality that they are striving for.

Haas also reflects an interest in local Manitoba history in her works. Her narrative poem “The Ballad of Seven Oaks” (1986),¹⁵⁵ for example, details the battle in which twenty-one men died defending the Hudson Bay Company fort against an attack by members of the rival Northwest Company.¹⁵⁶ According to the introduction, this poem was extensively researched by the author and is said to be the first time that the names of those Hudson Bay men involved, besides Governor Semple, are documented in print.

One of her works, “A Way Out of the Forest” (1986),¹⁵⁷ deals with two native children, Rouga and Arnie, living on an Indian reservation or settlement near Grand Marais, Manitoba. This short story depicts the children’s lives as being fairly wretched

even though the children are too young to fully realize this fact. They decide to leave home and walk to the city, probably Winnipeg, where they believe, from stories told by their elders, that they can have their “. . . own pot of jam and all the sugar doughnuts you could eat.”¹⁵⁸ The author treats this story as a metaphor on the common assumption that their lives will somehow be improved if they forsake their homes for the city. What is implied is that many individuals, like these children, may expect to make their sojourn in the city a short one, but also like these children, they will be unable to find their way back because the pebbles with which they mark their path are scattered by the wind.

Haas's collection of poetry Why Isn't Everybody Dancing (1990)¹⁵⁹ is dedicated to the memory of her late daughter, Lani. This is yet another theme, setting and characters in her work. The collection reflects the author's grief over the loss of her daughter, which, in turn, makes her grieve over what she perceives to be social injustice, specifically, the social injustice pertaining to the historical and contemporary mistreatment of Blacks in Bermuda.

Ted Galay

Ted Galay (1941 -), a playwright, was born and raised in Beausejour, Manitoba and as an adult relocated to Vancouver where he teaches in a community college. He writes in English and his literary output consists primarily of plays dealing with contemporary situations, most often, the question of integrating one's ethnic origin and

the major culture of which one is a part in Canada. Often in Galay's plays details of the lives of his characters are similar to Galay's own life.

In "After Baba's Funeral" (1983)¹⁶⁰ Galay examines intergenerational conflict within a family as well as the significance of one's heritage in contemporary multicultural Canada. After the immigrant Baba's funeral, her daughter Netty, son-in-law Walter and grandson Ronnie return to Netty and Walter's home in a small town in Manitoba. Ronnie, unmarried, lives in Vancouver, where he has just completed his Ph.D., and will soon begin teaching at a college. The conflict arises because Ronnie does not want to take any memento from Baba's trunk. Netty, who admits to only having a grade five education cannot understand the way her son thinks, why he is not married and even his level of education and what he will be doing for a living puzzle her. And she is equally puzzled by the fact that her other son and his family are now in Bangladesh because his job as an engineer has taken them there. Netty could not ever bear to live far from her family and cannot understand what motivates her children to live the way they do.

Ronnie, a third generation Canadian, admits that there was a time that he was ashamed of Baba while he was growing up because she smelled and dressed in a strange manner. His connection to the first generation is tenuous at best. Netty, his mother, was completely devoted to Baba and took care of her even when the rest of her brothers and sisters wanted to place Baba in a nursing home. She believes that her children will not be there to look after her needs when she becomes ill or infirm and wonders what will become of her. She is resigned to having to spend her last days in a nursing home. This is because as Walter says to her, "Our children don't think like us."¹⁶¹ This is the crux of

the matter, the third generation no longer thinks like the second. They are not as tied to family by obligation and want to live their lives as they see fit.

When Ronnie remembers that he was ashamed of Baba because she wore valyanky (felt boots), he agrees to take them as well as the books of poetry by Taras Shevchenko and Ivan Franko. But it is the valyanky that are the most symbolic here. By the end of the play Ronnie has realized that indeed his roots are important and he does need something to remind him of them. This might just be a sentimental tie, but on the other hand, it might indicate that Ronnie is not as completely free of familial obligation or his Ukrainian heritage as he thought he was.

Galay's "Sweet and Sour Pickles" (1983)¹⁶² features the same Netty and her sister-in-law Olenka. Olenka is the widow of Netty's younger brother George. Netty is upset that Olenka is seeing another man so soon after her husband's death. According to Ukrainian custom it is expected that the first year should be a time of mourning by the surviving spouse. Olenka is aware that Netty does not approve and justifies her behaviour by saying that she has to live life her own way and cannot be dependent on Netty or anyone else for moral or practical support as she had been in the past. As Olenka explains her motivation, Netty slowly comes to the realization that she has a point. By the end of the play Netty has accepted Olenka's decision not only to date but to date a non-Ukrainian, and to try and live as independently as possible as being the right thing for her to do. These major realizations have occurred while the two women were making pickles, something every self-respecting Ukrainian Canadian housewife used to do.

As a representative of the second generation Netty is still firmly entrenched in the old ways. Ronnie, who is a member of the third generation, and Olenka, who is probably second generation also but somewhat younger than Netty, think differently from her. They are breaking from their Ukrainian Canadian backgrounds and structures and attempting to adjust to the contemporary Canadian mores. In the two plays it is evident that Netty can adjust.

Nick Mitchell

Nick Mitchell (1949 -) was born and raised in Winnipeg in a family of post-World War II immigrants. A graduate of the University of Manitoba, he works as a writer and writes in English, primarily prose and plays.

He is also a writer who is particularly interested in the Ukrainian experience in Canada. His fragment of a novel "A Place of Our Own" (1987)¹⁶³ introduces the experiences of third-wave Ukrainian immigrants to Canada. It deals specifically with the conflicts that arise between two brothers, one a second-wave immigrant and the other a third-wave one. The tables are turned in their relationship in that the more recent immigrant quickly becomes more affluent than the second-wave one and must help him, rather than the other way around, as might have been expected.

Mitchell has also written an interesting play (currently unpublished) titled "Behind Barbed Wire."¹⁶⁴ It deals with the experiences of Ukrainians imprisoned in a Canadian internment camp in Alberta. The main character, Pawluk, tries to pass himself off as an Anglo-Celtic Canadian and even works undercover for the Winnipeg police rounding up suspected enemy aliens. He ends up being interned in the camp as a result of mistaken

identity. While interned, Pawluk comes to the, for him, shocking realization that the other internees are in much the same position as he is. They have been interned without just cause for they are not subversives of any sort. Several important points pertaining to the attitudes of other, non-interned Ukrainian Canadians on the question of internment are raised in this play. The first is the suggestion that the Ukrainian Canadian majority complacently accepts this situation: “Ledko: The Canadian Ukrainians want nothing to do with recent immigrants like ourselves. This solves their problem!”¹⁶⁵

The second suggestion is that even family and friends seem not to care about the fate of the internees. Their behaviour is explained in the following manner:

Kirilo: It's dog eat dog in this land.

Ledko: When I first ran into relatives, from my own village back home, working here in Canada on the railroad, I was so happy. I thought, they'll help me get a job now. Instead, they just made fun of me! My own cousin, Stefan. Of the clothes I was wearing. Of how I looked!

Kirilo: This land does something. Changes people!¹⁶⁶

Mitchell's manuscript of his unpublished play “Tin Can Cathedral”¹⁶⁷ is a fictionalized account of the formation of the Independent Greek Church, which, as noted earlier, had a considerable following among the Ukrainians in Canada for a time shortly after the turn of the century. The plot centres on the formation of the church and the somewhat bizarre behaviour of the Bishop, Seraphim, and his servant Marchenko, who have been brought in by the founders of the Church to see to the spiritual needs of its faithful. The play is loosely based on historical fact, and the final draft is of a comedic

nature. This play was staged at the Prairie Theatre Exchange in Winnipeg in the fall of 1993.

Three of Mitchell's short stories, "The Jigsaw Puzzle," "The Cat" and "The Tree," were published in the previously mentioned multicultural anthology series Pieces, Of the Jigsaw and Puzzle (1986).¹⁶⁸ These stories, although not on Ukrainian themes, like Paluk's story "A Thousand Dollars for John" mentioned earlier, feature Ukrainian characters. Of Mitchell's stories, "The Tree" stands out. In this work a Ukrainian immigrant, old Vladimir, is nagged by his wife into cutting down an old apple tree, which no longer bears fruit. As he cuts down branches he reminisces about the people from whom he got grafts of the tree and realizes that they are all dead now. But instead of feeling sorrow over everything that has passed, he feels rather indifferent to it all. After finishing cutting down the tree, old Vladimir dies. It is as if the cutting down of the tree was the final preparation for his death.

George Morrissette

George Morrissette (1938 -) is yet a different kind of writer. He does not really identify with Ukrainian Canadians, though born one, but considers himself Metis. He is the only writer of this group who questions his ethnic identity but for a reason unique to himself. In his autobiographical poem Finding Mom at Eaton's (1981)¹⁶⁹ he describes the opportunity he had to meet his biological mother. It bears noting that Morrissette was

adopted as an infant by a Métis couple. He was fifteen years old when he found out that he was adopted. It took another seventeen years for him to gather up the inner strength to attempt to discover the identity and ethnic origin of his biological parents, who proved to be Ukrainians, but did not accept him as their own.

Morrisette, like other writers of this period, deals with native themes in his works. Morrisette had direct exposure to native culture, and it is undoubtedly more akin to him than the Ukrainian Canadian culture is. His short story "Cheer Up!" also published in the multicultural anthology Pieces, Of the Jigsaw and Puzzle,¹⁷⁰ tells the story of a Manitoba native, Cuckoo-gee, who builds an "anti-droop" device (although it is not clear from the story exactly what kind of device this is), out of an assortment of odd parts, in order to lift his waning spirits. His girlfriend Melody's son, Clement, tries it out on the lake but it breaks down after hitting a tree branch. Clement, however, becomes famous for this experiment, which he exaggeratedly claims cheered up all the residents of Manitoba.

Other Writers

Kathy Kolybaba's (1957 -) "Portrait" (1990)¹⁷¹ and Ruth Andrishak's (1943 -) "The Night the Rabbit Chewed My Hair Off" (1987)¹⁷² both depict the tragic side of Canadian native life. Kolybaba's short story deals with the social problems affecting native families. It centres around a prison employee's description of a native inmate from northern Manitoba, jailed because he killed his brother and his (the inmate's) girlfriend after finding the two in bed together. The crime seems brutal but becomes more

understandable when one realizes that the inmate came from a family where sexual and physical abuse were very common. What puzzles the prison employee, however, is how emotionally attached the inmate is to his mother, regardless of the fact that she abused him in the past and does not even come to visit him in prison.

Andrishak's short story about the harsh life of the people living in northcentral Alberta, with a special emphasis on the "half-breeds" who live there, highlights the prejudices against them. For example, the sentiment that "the only good Indian [is] a dead Indian"¹⁷³ is a popular one among the non-natives living in the area. The natives are depicted as being hard drinkers but good hunters and fishermen and generally hard workers. Both drinking and hazardous working conditions contribute to their untimely deaths.

Interestingly enough, from Andrishak's story it can be concluded that Ukrainians are not necessarily any better off than Indians in that area. "Dirty Liz," for example, is a Ukrainian woman, who for a time lives with a native man. She is a drunkard, slovenly and extremely ugly, and is described as having "bohunk slabs of flesh"¹⁷⁴ for feet. The following excerpt provides an explanation of why Dirty Liz drinks:

Who were you Dirty Liz when you ran so fast with the hard-brittle prairie cutting into your flesh? Leaping, flying, running, did your soul try to run out of that ugly body only the meanest of Gods would condemn anyone with? Were you free at last from the hassle of the cat-calls -- a child taken from you by the government -- were you at last one with

the land, sky and animals -- did you belong? No wonder you drink Dirty
Liz, and I'll try not to laugh anymore, Dirty Liz.¹⁷⁵

From this one can conclude that Dirty Liz's life has been at least as harsh as that of the
"half-breeds," and that is why she, like them, drinks.

It is not clear why these writers - Kolybaba and Andrishak - chose to write on
native themes. It might be that by the 1980s the public was becoming more aware of the
aboriginal community, its culture and its social problems. That is perhaps why writers
began to focus more attention on aboriginal themes in their literature.

Like Lysenko and Haas, Mary Horodyski (1961 -) also deals with feminist themes
but in a much more militant way than the first two. In her "The Fellatio Poem" (1986),¹⁷⁶
for example, she puts forward some militant feminist slogans, e.g., "Men are Pigs,"
"Castrate Rapists" and "Down with Patriarchy."¹⁷⁷ In her poem "When I Saw Susan"
(1986) she speaks out against pornography, saying in part:

but what I want to say now
is that this is what makes me sick
about pornography
that it makes ugly and shameful
lovemaking . . .¹⁷⁸

There are also several poets who write love poems. Candace Adamson Burstow
(who now writes under name Candace Cael Carman, 1952 -), for example, published two
collection of modernistic poetry, Pale Lady (1980) and The Songs of Bathsheba (1981).¹⁷⁹

A number of the poems in them deal with the theme of love. In her poem “*Lover*,”¹⁸⁰ for example, she invokes her lover to cut her up as if she were a butchered slab of meat:

my birthmark, arcane worm, scald-wound
of conception. my wrist is yours, lover.
I slide from Adam’s side, malignant rib,
mirror with no reflection; nude red meat.
I await your lovely cleaver, neither cruel;
nor indifferent. O love, cut away my heart,
now!
Eat!¹⁸¹

Other of her love poems include “*Pale Lady*,” “*Sapphire Stars*” and “*Man of Earth and Sky*” (1981).¹⁸² Some of her love poems combine love and sexual intimacy, e.g., “*Between the Deluge and the Dawn*” and “*Shells Upon the Sand*”¹⁸³ (all published in 1981).

Ray Serwylo’s (1953 -) made a significant contribution to Ukrainian Canadian literature by translating Honore Ewach’s *The Call of the Land*.¹⁸⁴ This translation allows those who may not be able to read or for that matter to understand Ukrainian to acquaint themselves with Ewach’s work about the Ukrainian pioneer experience in Canada. Serwylo’s short story “*The Son of the King of Brocade*” (1987)¹⁸⁵ deals with the theme of religion. It is a complex piece that tells the story of a young Ukrainian seminary student named Danny, who goes to India to meet his twin brother, Tom. Tom, a dropout from the

same seminary, has been in India for some time. The plot revolves around Danny's deception by a vendor into paying ahead of time for some Indian brocades that, in the end, are never delivered to him. In the process, however, Danny observes and compares Hindi religious beliefs with his own Ukrainian Catholic ones and compares himself with his somewhat unorthodox brother. The theme of the work is the personal significance of religious identity.

.

During the third period of Ukrainian immigration to Canada Winnipeg still remained the centre of Ukrainian activity in Canada, but it somewhat waned in stature as it vied for this position with Edmonton and Toronto. The reason for this was that Winnipeg did not, as it had in the previous periods, capture the bulk of new immigrants. Nor for that matter did it capture the bulk of émigré writers.

The Ukrainian community continued to factionalize during this period, resulting in the creation of still more organizations. The UCC, ostensibly created only for the duration of the war, continued to exist and played an important role not only in unifying the non-Communist organizations but also acting as their spokesperson and lobbying on their behalf on a national level. Together with increased organizational factionalization, more press organs were established, with many acting as the spokespersons for given organizations. Much of the press was now bilingual and some papers and journals were published only in the English language to suit the now changed needs of their readership.

As well, the two traditional churches and the Ukrainian Protestants also were strengthened considerably by the influx of new clergy and faithful. Specific organizational and religious issues, however, were not reflected in the literature.

Overall, the writing of the Ukrainians in Winnipeg during this period was sophisticated and complex, literary styles were polished and professional and themes were diverse. The writers themselves could be clearly divided into two main groups, the émigré writers who wrote primarily in Ukrainian and the non-émigré Canadian born writers who wrote in English. The most obvious reason for the division was the loss of Ukrainian language usage among the Canadian-born writers. They thus chose the language in which they could best express themselves, which was also the language in which they would find the larger readership.

The émigré writers chose to write mainly poetry. The émigrés tended to write on more traditional themes reflecting those of an earlier period, e.g., Ukrainian nationalism, themes relating to Ukraine's historical past, religious and philosophical questions, and some, also like their predecessors in an earlier period, glorified Canada and the Canadian way of life, largely out of a sense of gratitude to Canada for providing them with their new home. Their writing styles generally adhered to traditional forms as well, with lyrical and narrative poetry predominating. Foremost among the poets were Mykyta Mandryka, Oleksa Hay-Holowko, and Rev. Stefan Semchuk.

The non-émigrés wrote in all three genres, poetry, prose and drama. The non-émigré writers generally wrote on themes that were more closely related to and reflective

of their lives as Canadians of Ukrainian background, for example, assimilation, integration, and inter-marriage. They also dealt with Canadian history and multicultural and native issues in their writing. There was also some interest in broader social issues such as feminism. Their style of writing also relied heavily on traditional forms, but there was also some evidence of modernism breaking through, particularly in Candace Adamson Burstow's works. Foremost among the non-émigrés were Vera Lysenko, Maara Haas, William Paluk, and more recently Ted Galay. All four produced works which have entered to some extent mainstream Canadian literature - Lysenko's Yellow Boots, Haas's The Street Where I Live, Paluk's short story "Back Door" and Galay's plays.

Writers of both groups displayed some limited interest in writing works for children. Fewer works were written in Ukrainian than in English, and the English language ones did not deal with Ukrainian themes.

The writing of the pro-Communist faction, although certainly worthy of inclusion here, was not of much literary merit. The calibre of the writers like the membership and influence of the faction dwindled significantly during this period. The literary output of this group was limited to largely simplistic, short, lyrical poems for the most part praising the Soviet system and the activities of the AUUC and putting down Ukrainian nationalistic activity in Canada. One of the more prolific writers in this group was someone who wrote under the pseudonym "Transkonets'."

There were fewer works published during this period than there had been published during the interwar period. This was probably partially a result of the fact that

as older writers died, there were fewer writers to replace them as fewer émigré writers chose to settle in Winnipeg. Younger Canadian-born writers were more mobile in responding to opportunities in other parts of Canada, e.g., Ted Galay, or to greater publishing opportunities in Toronto. There were several other factors. There was, for example, no longer a need for play writing as stage productions were no longer a popular attraction in the Ukrainian community. Furthermore, a significant portion of the literature of the previous period had served a socialization function; now with the Ukrainians having come into their own in Canada, as a firmly entrenched ethnic group, and the comparatively well-educated and worldly make-up of its new immigrants, such a vehicle of socialization was no longer required.

Notes

¹ William Darcovich and Paul Yuzyk, ed., A Statistical Compendium on the Ukrainians in Canada, 1891-1971 (Ottawa: U of Ottawa P, 1980) 500.

² Darcovich and Yuzyk 66.

³ Bohdan S. Kordan, Ukrainians and the 1981 Canada Census: A Data Handbook, Research Report No. 9 (Edmonton: Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies, 1985) 45.

⁴ Darcovich and Yuzyk 66.

⁵ Kordan 45.

⁶ Ol'ha Woycenko, "Community Organizations," A Heritage in Transition: Essays in the History of Ukrainians in Canada, ed. Manoly R. Lupul (Toronto: MacClelland and Stewart Ltd., 1982) 187-8.

⁷ M.H. Marunchak, The Ukrainian Canadians: A History (Winnipeg: Ukrainian Academy of Arts and Sciences (UVAN), 1982) 594.

⁸ Kordan 82.

⁹ Kordan 180.

¹⁰ Marunchak 733.

¹¹ Paul Yuzyk, "Religious Life," A Heritage in Transition 165.

¹² Oleh W. Gerus, "The Ukrainian Canadian Committee," A Heritage in Transition 202.

¹³ Ukrainian Canadian Committee [Brochure] (Winnipeg: Ukrainian Canadian Committee [1987]).

¹⁴ Constitution of the Ukrainian Canadian Committee Adopted by the VI Ukrainian Canadian Congress, July 9-12, 1959 in Winnipeg, Manitoba.

¹⁵ Collection of Documentary Material Compiled on the Occasion of the 25th Anniversary of the Ukrainian Canadian Committee, 1940-1965 (Winnipeg: Ukrainian Canadian Committee, 1965) 117-18.

¹⁶ Gerus, "The Ukrainian Canadian Committee" 204.

¹⁷ Darcovich and Yuzyk 66.

¹⁸ Kordan 53.

¹⁹ Kordan 105.

²⁰ Kordan 143.

²¹ Statistics for 1981-2 from "Ukrainian Language Classes in Manitoba 1981-82," Official Statistics of the Education Department of the Province of Manitoba, 1981-82, comp. Stephania Yurkiwsky, as cited in M.H. Marunchak, The Ukrainian Canadians: A History (Winnipeg: Ukrainian Academy of Arts and Sciences (UVAN), 1982) 747; statistics for 1979-80 are taken from Marunchak 747.

²² Frances Swyripa, "The Ukrainians and Private Education," A Heritage in Transition 253.

²³ Swyripa, "The Ukrainians and Private Education" 253.

²⁴ Swyripa, "The Ukrainians and Private Education" 253.

²⁵ Mykyta Ivanovych Mandryka, Miy sad, poeziyi, vol. 2 (Winnipeg: Canadian Ukrainian Educational Association, 1941). The poems in this collection were all written prior to the author's arrival in Canada but were published in Winnipeg after his arrival there and are therefore discussed here.

²⁶ Mandryka, "Z knyhy hnyvu," Miy sad, poeziyi, vol. 2, 25-32.

²⁷ Mandryka, "V ohni borot'by," Miy sad, poeziyi, vol. 2, 45-64.

²⁸ Mandryka, "Obtyazhyls' toky skyrtamy, . . .," Miy sad, poeziyi, vol. 2, 27.

²⁹ Mandryka, "Vzhe rik yak nasha rich movchyt' . . .," Miy sad, poeziyi, vol. 2, 29.

³⁰ Mandryka, "O, ne kazhit', shch krov doshchi omyut' . . .," Miy sad, poeziyi, vol. 2, 51.

³¹ Mandryka, "Hekhay neset'sya rev zviriv, . . .," Miy sad, poeziyi, vol. 2, 56.

³² Mandryka, "My ne spaly, ne drimaly - . . .," Miy sad, poeziyi, vol. 2, 63.

³³ Mandryka, "Lyublyu ya osin' yak letyt' . . .," Miy sad, poeziyi, vol. 2, 14.

³⁴ Mandryka, Vik Petlyury, poema (Winnipeg: Trident Press, 1966).

- ³⁵ Mandryka, "Ukrayina, povist' vremennykh i nevremennykh lit," Symfoniya vikiv, poemy i liryka, vol. 3 (Winnipeg: Tryzub, 1961).
- ³⁶ Mykyta Mandryka, Mazepa, poema (Winnipeg: Tryzub, 1960).
- ³⁷ Mandryka 31.
- ³⁸ Mandryka 39.
- ³⁹ Mykyta Mandryka, Kanada, poema (Winnipeg: National Publishers Ltd., 1961).
- ⁴⁰ Mandryka 122-3.
- ⁴¹ Mandryka, "Do stolittya Manitoby, barvinok," Vyno zhyttya, vybrane dlya vybranykh z poeziyi za 1965-1969 roku, vol. 5 (Winnipeg: ARS, 1970) 7-8.
- ⁴² Mandryka, Kanada, poema 123.
- ⁴³ Mandryka, "Zavershennya lita," Zavershennya lita, poeziyi (1970-1974), vol. 6 (Winnipeg: n.p., 1975) 67.
- ⁴⁴ Mandryka, "Buty khlopchekom," Vyno zhyttya 171.
- ⁴⁵ Mandryka, "Radist'" Radist', vol. 2 (Winnipeg: Tryzub, 1959) 33-72.
- ⁴⁶ Mandryka, "Mynaye vse, tvoyi obiyemy," Radist' 39.
- ⁴⁷ Mykyta Mandryka, Mandrivnyk, poema (Winnipeg: Trident Press, 1965).
- ⁴⁸ Mykyta Mandryka, "Z perekladu "Hayavaty," Zolota osin', poeziyi (1905-1957) (Winnipeg: Tryzub, 1958) 161-4.
- ⁴⁹ Oleksa Hay-Holowko, Smertel'noyu dorohoyu, podiyi nashoho chasu, 2 vols. (Winnipeg: Tryzub, 1979-83).
- ⁵⁰ Hay-Holowko, Duel with the Devil (Winnipeg: Communigraphic Printers Aid Group, 1986); Oleksa Hay-Holovko, Poyedynok z dyavolom, fil'my nashykh dnyv, 2 vols. (Winnipeg: Ivan Tyktor, 1950).
- ⁵¹ Hay-Holowko, Son, poema (Winnipeg: By the Author, 1984).
- ⁵² Hay-Holowko 23.

⁵³ Hay-Holowko, Poetychni tvory v tr'okh tomakh, tom druhyy (1948-1977) (Winnipeg: Novi dni, 1978).

⁵⁴ Hay-Holowko, "Kolyskova" Poetychni tvory v tr'okh tomakh, tom druhyy (1948-1977) 20.

⁵⁵ Hay-Holowko, "Pisnya" Poetychni tvory v tr'okh tomakh, tom druhyy (1948-1977) 39.

⁵⁶ Hay-Holowko, "Lyubov" Poetychni tvory v tr'okh tomakh, tom druhyy (1948-1977) 99.

⁵⁷ Stefan Semchuk, Miy molytvennyk (Winnipeg: n.p., 1974).

⁵⁸ Stefan Semchuk, Navkola svita, liryka (Winnipeg: n.p., 1971).

⁵⁹ Stefan Semchuk, Poemy, poeziyi knyzhka sema (Winnipeg: n.p., 1967).

⁶⁰ Stefan Semchuk, Reflyeksiyi, poeziyi knyzhka pyata (Winnipeg: n.p., 1965).

⁶¹ Stefan Semchuk, Sotvorenniya, poeziyi knyzhka vos'ma (Winnipeg: n.p., 1968).

⁶² Stefan Semchuk, "Kolyby vin buv khodyv do tserkvy!" Kanadiys'ka rapsodiya, poeziya i proza (Winnipeg: n.p., 1959) 26-32.

⁶³ Stefan Semchuk, "Yak v Al'veni povstav Parokhiyal'nyy dim prosvity?" Kanadiys'ka rapsodiya 23-26.

⁶⁴ Semchuk, "Ol'ha," Sotvorenniya, poeziyi knyzhka vos'ma 15.

⁶⁵ Semchuk, Poemy, poeziyi knyzhka sema.

⁶⁶ Semchuk, "Mydlend," Poemy, poeziyi knyzhka sema 10; Semchuk, "Ozero Vaskeziyu," Poemy 12-13; Semchuk, "Ozero Iri," Poemy 13-14; Semchuk, "Chervona rika," Poemy, 17-19; Semchuk, "Saskachevan," Poemy 19-21; Semchuk, "Khliboroby," Poemy 22; Semchuk, "Kalgari," Poemy 25-6.

⁶⁷ Semchuk, "Khliboroby," Poemy 22.

⁶⁸ Semchuk, "Kanada," Poemy 65.

⁶⁹ Semchuk, "V 50-littya nashoho poselennya v Kanadi," Kanadiys'ka rapsodiya, poeziya i proza 74.

- ⁷⁰ Semchuk, “Plach ukrayins’koi movy” Kanadiys’ka rapsodiya 11-17.
- ⁷¹ Metropolitan Ilarion [Ivan Ohiyenko], Narodzhennya lyudyny, filosofs’ka misteriya v p’yaty diyakh (Winnipeg: Nasha kul’tura, 1948).
- ⁷² Ilarion, Smerk hrets’kykh bohiv, poema (Winnipeg: Nasha kul’tura, 1948).
- ⁷³ Ilarion, Zhertva vechirnaya, Isus i Varavva (Winnipeg: n.p., 1949).
- ⁷⁴ Ilarion, Nash biy za derzhavnist’, istorychna epopeya, tom tretiy. Chastyna persha (Winnipeg: n.p., 1962). Ilarion, Nash biy za derzhavnist’, istorychna epopeya, tom tretiy (Winnipeg: Nasha kul’tura, 1966).
- ⁷⁵ Ilarion, “Rozpyatyy Mazepa,” istorychna drama na p’yat’ diy (Winnipeg: Nasha kul’tura, 1961).
- ⁷⁶ Ilarion 86.
- ⁷⁷ Ivan Loboda, Vony pryshly zнову, roman z finlyands’ko- bol’shevyts’koyi viyny (Winnipeg: Ivan Tyktor, 1953).
- ⁷⁸ Semen Izhyk, Khay zhyve UPA! P’yesa v tr’okh diyakh (Winnipeg: n.p., n.d.).
- ⁷⁹ Mykhaylo Stechyshyn, Bayky, chastyna persha (Winnipeg: n.p., 1959).
- ⁸⁰ Stechyshyn, “Tsvirkun i murashka,” Bayky 84.
- ⁸¹ Tetyana Koshyts’, Rizdvyanyy vechir, pobutova kartyna na 1 diyu (Winnipeg: Kul’tura i Osvita, 1949).
- ⁸² Mykhaylo Podvornyak, Bozhyy spokiy, zbirka opovidan’ (Winnipeg: n.p., 1966).
- ⁸³ Mykhaylo Podvornyak, Vidpavshi, opovidannya (Winnipeg: Doroha pravdy, 1968);
- ⁸⁴ Mykhaylo Podvornyak, Kvity na kameni, povist’ (Winnipeg: Doroha pravdy, 1976).
- ⁸⁵ Tetyana Shevchuk, Na prestil maybutnikh dniv, poeziyi (Winnipeg: n.p., 1964).
- ⁸⁶ Ivan Dolyns’kyy, Luna z preriy (Winnipeg: By the Author, 1983).

- ⁸⁷ Ivan Kmeta-Ichnyans'kyi [Ivan Yefymovych-Kmeta, Chasha zolota, vybrane, liryka (Winnipeg: Doroha pravdy, 1964).
- ⁸⁸ Kmeta-Ichnyans'kyi, "Iz skarbiv chuzhykh," Chasha zolota 77-86.
- ⁸⁹ Transkonets', "Vil'na Ukraina," Ukrayins'ke slovo, 10 October 1962: 6; "Rodymy krayu, selo rodyme . . .," Ukrayins'ke slovo, 27 June 1956: 18.
- ⁹⁰ Vasyl' K. Hutsulyak, "Tarasovi Shevchenku," Ukrayins'ke slovo, 8 March 1961: 13.
- ⁹¹ V. Pidval'nyy, "Zustrich," Ukrayins'ke slovo, 4 April 1956: 8.
- ⁹² Transkonets', "Kolomyyka pro Ukrainu i Kanadu," Ukrayins'ke slovo, 21 December 1960: 16.
- ⁹³ Anna Kukharchuk, "Poshana materyam," Ukrayins'ke slovo, 18 May 1960: 16.
- ⁹⁴ Toma Boychuk, "Pisnya za myr, volyu i dobrobut," Ukrayins'ke slovo, 25 May 1959: 13.
- ⁹⁵ Petro Dzhala, "Presu svoyu my chytaymo, u vsim yiyi pomahaymo," Ukrayins'ke slovo, 23 November 1955: 13.
- ⁹⁶ Transkonets', "My i nasha presa," Ukrayins'ke slovo, 3 December 1958: 16.
- ⁹⁷ Transkonets', "Pro Transkonu, pro sekretarya Provkomu," Ukrayins'ke slovo, 14 May 1958: 16.
- ⁹⁸ Lyubomyra Chaykivs'ka, "Mizh horamy vysokymy," Ukrayins'ke slovo, 28 May 1958: 13.
- ⁹⁹ Transkonets', "Slovo pro nashykh 3-okh providnykh tovaryshiv (pro Matviya Popovycha, Matviya Shatul's'koho ta pro Ivana Navizivs'koho)," Ukrayins'ke slovo, 4 December 1963: 13.
- ¹⁰⁰ Anna Tarasenko, "Pryyikhaly banderivtsi u nashu Kanadu," Ukrayins'ke slovo, 9 November 1949: 16.
- ¹⁰¹ Tarasenko, "Pochynaymo fond zbyraty! -- fond i peredplaty," Ukrayins'ke slovo, 16 November 1949: 13.
- ¹⁰² V. Pidval'nyy, "Kukivs'kyi memorandum, feyleton," Ukrayins'ke slovo, 2 May 1956: 2.

- ¹⁰³ V. Pidval'nyy, "Lyudyna han'by," Ukrayins'ke slovo, 18 April 1956: 8.
- ¹⁰⁴ Transkonets', "Druzyam v Transkoni i okolytsi," Ukrayins'ke slovo, 8 August 1956: 3.
- ¹⁰⁵ Transkonets', "Z istoriyi ukrayintsiv v Kanadi," Ukrayins'ke slovo, 10 October 1956: 6.
- ¹⁰⁶ Ihor Chaykovs'ky, "Shchyryy patriot," Ukrayins'ke slovo, 18 May 1960: 13.
- ¹⁰⁷ Oleksa Vovchyna, "Rozdumy piddyachoho na pomynkakh," Ukrayins'ke slovo, 5 February 1958: 13.
- ¹⁰⁸ Lyubomyra Chaykivs'ka, "Ukrayinka-kanadyanka," Ukrayins'ke slovo, 28 August 1959: 14.
- ¹⁰⁹ Transkonets', "Prymirni ukrayins'ki dity ta yikhni bat'ky," Ukrayins'ke slovo, 11 November 1959: 13.
- ¹¹⁰ Vera Lysenko, Yellow Boots (Toronto: Ryerson Press, 1954).
- ¹¹¹ Dolyns'ky, Luna z preriy.
- ¹¹² Dolyns'ky, "Kanads'ki pionery," Luna z preriy 4.
- ¹¹³ Dolyns'ky 4.
- ¹¹⁴ Dolyns'ky, "Slava Vasylevi Yelynyakovi," Luna z preriy 1-3; Dolyns'ky "Yunyy poselenets'," Luna z preriy 11; Dolyns'ky, "Yak buv molodyy ya," Luna z preriy 17-18; Dolyns'ky, "My ne vcheni," Luna z preriy 26; Dolyns'ky, "Zbizhevyy khlivorob," Luna z preriy 28-33.
- ¹¹⁵ Dolinsky, "Tommy Prince," Echoes of the Prairies (Winnipeg: By the Author, 1983) 106-7.
- ¹¹⁶ Dolinsky 107.
- ¹¹⁷ Dolinsky, "Canada" Echoes of the Prairies 59.
- ¹¹⁸ Dolinsky, "Northern Lights," Echoes of the Prairies 3; Dolinsky, "The Wilderness," Echoes of the Prairies 13; Dolinsky, "Indian Summer," Echoes of the Prairies 29.

¹¹⁹ John Dolinsky, "The Canadian Northland," Winds of the West (Winnipeg: By the Author, 1984), 14; Dolinsky, "The Netley Marsh," Winds of the West 44; Dolinsky, "Autumn in Manitoba," Winds of the West 73.

¹²⁰ Dolinsky, "Shevchenko's Last Will," Winds of the West 80.

¹²¹ William Paluk, "Ivan Goes to Winnipeg" Canadian Cossacks: Essays, Articles and Stories on Ukrainian Canadian Life (Winnipeg: Canadian Ukrainian Review Publishing Company, 1943) 101-10.

¹²² Paluk 103.

¹²³ William Paluk, "Back Door," Winnipeg Stories, ed. Joan Parr (Winnipeg: Queenston House, 1974) 137-53.

¹²⁴ Paluk 152-3.

¹²⁵ William Paluk, "Emigrate! A Musical." (unpublished manuscript)

¹²⁶ Paluk 2-2-33.

¹²⁷ Paluk 3-7-67.

¹²⁸ Pieces: A Multicultural Anthology for Young Reader, vol. 1 (Winnipeg: Peguis Publishers Ltd., 1986). Of the Jigsaw: A Multicultural Anthology for Young Readers, vol. 2 (Winnipeg: Peguis Publishers Ltd., 1986); Puzzle: A Multicultural Anthology for Young Readers, vol.3 (Winnipeg: Peguis Publishers Ltd., 1986).

¹²⁹ Paluk, "A Thousand Dollars for John," Puzzle 147-64.

¹³⁰ Vera Lysenko, Men in Sheepskin Coats: A Study in Assimilation (Toronto: Ryerson Press, 1947).

¹³¹ Alexandra Kruchka-Glynn, "Introduction," Yellow Boots, by Vera Lysenko (Edmonton: NeWest, 1991) xi-xxiii; Alexandra Kruchka-Glynn, "Reintroducing Vera Lysenko - Ukrainian Canadian Author," Journal of Ukrainian Studies 7 (1990): 53-70.

¹³² Lysenko, Yellow Boots 195.

¹³³ Lysenko 326-7.

¹³⁴ Alexandra Pawlowsky, "Vera Lysenko's Adaptation of Ukrainian Folk Customs in Yellow Boots." Canada in Crisis, Canadian Ethnic Studies Biennial Conference, Gimli, MB, October, 1995.

- ¹³⁵ Vera Lysenko, Westerly Wild (Toronto: Ryerson Press, 1956).
- ¹³⁶ Lysenko, Yellow Boots 252.
- ¹³⁷ Lysenko, Westerly Wild 143.
- ¹³⁸ Lysenko, Yellow Boots 235.
- ¹³⁹ Lysenko 213.
- ¹⁴⁰ Lysenko, Westerly Wild 178.
- ¹⁴¹ Maara Haas, "Anton: Immigrant, 1936," On Stage with Maara Haas (Winnipeg: By the Author, 1986) 30.
- ¹⁴² Maara Haas, The Street Where I Live (Toronto: McGraw-Hill Ryerson, 1976).
- ¹⁴³ Haas 18-19.
- ¹⁴⁴ Haas 199.
- ¹⁴⁵ Haas 46.
- ¹⁴⁶ Haas 79.
- ¹⁴⁷ Haas, "The Green Roses Kerchief," On Stage with Maara Haas 112-15.
- ¹⁴⁸ Haas 114.
- ¹⁴⁹ Haas, On Stage with Maara Haas 31.
- ¹⁵⁰ Haas 34.
- ¹⁵¹ Haas 23.
- ¹⁵² Haas 23.
- ¹⁵³ Haas 155-6.
- ¹⁵⁴ Haas 35.
- ¹⁵⁵ Haas, "The Ballad of Seven Oaks," On Stage with Maara Haas (Winnipeg: Lilith Publications, 1986) 61-65.

¹⁵⁶ At the North Winnipeg cite of the Battle of Seven Oaks now stands a monument dedicated to the twenty-one men who died there defending the Hudson Bay Company against an attack by members of the rival Northwest Company.

¹⁵⁷ Haas, "A Way Out of the Forest," On Stage with Maara Haas 93-9.

¹⁵⁸ Haas 98.

¹⁵⁹ Maara Haas, Why Isn't Everybody Dancing (Winnipeg: Turnstone Press, 1990).

¹⁶⁰ Ted Galay, "After Baba's Funeral," "After Baba's Funeral" and "Sweet and Sour Pickles:" Two Plays by Ted Galay (Toronto: By the Author, 1983).

¹⁶¹ Galay, "After Baba's Funeral," "After Baba's Funeral" and "Sweet and Sour Pickles" 15.

¹⁶² Galay, "Sweet and Sour Pickles," "After Baba's Funeral" and "Sweet and Sour Pickles" 51-83.

¹⁶³ Nick Mitchell, "A Place of Our Own," Yarmarok: Ukrainian Writing in Canada since the Second World War, ed. Yars Balan and Yuri Klynovy (Edmonton: Canadian Institute for Ukrainian Studies, 1987) 146-57.

¹⁶⁴ Mitchell, "Behind Barbed Wire" (unpublished manuscript).

¹⁶⁵ Mitchell 39.

¹⁶⁶ Mitchell 70.

¹⁶⁷ Mitchell "Tin Can Cathedral" (unpublished manuscript).

¹⁶⁸ Mitchell, "The Jigsaw Puzzle," Puzzle 41-64; Mitchell, "The Cat," Puzzle 75-85; Mitchell, "The Tree," Puzzle 127-37.

¹⁶⁹ George Morrissette, Finding Mom at Eaton's (Winnipeg: Turnstone Press, 1981).

¹⁷⁰ George Morrissette, "Cheer Up!" Of the Jigsaw: A Multicultural Anthology for Young Readers (Winnipeg: Peguis Publishers Ltd., 1986) 78-96.

¹⁷¹ Kathy Kolybaba, "Portrait," Made in Manitoba: An Anthology of Short Fiction, ed. Wayne Tefs (Winnipeg: Turnstone Press, 1990) 175-82.

- ¹⁷² Ruth Andrishak, "The Night the Rabbit Chewed My Hair Off," Yarmarok: Ukrainian Writing in Canada since the Second World War 1-10.
- ¹⁷³ Andrishak, "The Night the Rabbit Chewed My Hair Off" 4.
- ¹⁷⁴ Andrishak 3.
- ¹⁷⁵ Andrishak 3.
- ¹⁷⁶ Mary Horodyski, "The Fellatio Poem," Mr. Spock Do You Read Me? (Winnipeg: Turnstone Press, 1986) 7-9.
- ¹⁷⁷ Horodyski 7-9.
- ¹⁷⁸ Horodyski, "When I Saw Susan," Mr. Spock 13.
- ¹⁷⁹ Candace Adamson Burstow, Pale Lady (Fredericton: Fiddlehead Poetry Books, 1980); Candace Adamson Burstow, The Songs of Bathsheba (Fredericton: Fiddlehead Poetry Books, 1981).
- ¹⁸⁰ Burstow, "Lover," Pale Lady 12.
- ¹⁸¹ Burstow 12.
- ¹⁸² Burstow, "Pale Lady," Pale Lady 7; Burstow, "Sapphire Stars," The Songs of Bathsheba 6; Burstow, "Man of Earth and Sky," The Songs of Bathsheba 7.
- ¹⁸³ Burstow, "Between the Deluge and the Dawn," The Songs of Bathsheba 8; Burstow, "Shells Upon the Sand," The Songs of Bathsheba 11.
- ¹⁸⁴ Honore Ewach, The Call of the Land: A Short Story of Life in Canada, trans. Ray Serwylo (Winnipeg: Trident Press, 1986).
- ¹⁸⁵ Ray Serwylo, "The Son of the King of Brocade," Yarmarok 239-46.

Chapter IV

Conclusion

This study examines Ukrainian Canadian literature in Winnipeg in its socio-historical context from 1908 to 1991. For the purposes of this study, “Ukrainian Canadian literature” is defined as literature - prose fiction, poetry and drama - written in Ukrainian or English by writers of Ukrainian origin living in Canada (whether émigrés or Canadian-born) at the time of writing. Most of the literature that was studied was published in monographic form. That which was included that had been published in serial format tended to be the literature of the political left since leftist newspapers and journals provided the only publishing outlets for leftist writers. The location is restricted to Winnipeg, and the writers who produced this literature were either living in Winnipeg when they wrote their works and/or published their works or were born in Winnipeg but were living elsewhere when they wrote and/or published their works. This time frame was chosen because 1908 was the year the first two literary works by Ukrainians in Winnipeg were published in book form. These were Fedyk’s Songs about Canada and Austria and Rarahovs’kyy’s Workers’ Songs. The year 1991 was chosen because it marked one hundred years of Ukrainian settlement in Canada and also because that was the year in which Ukraine regained its long-sought independence. This latter event affected Ukrainian Canadians, as well as Ukrainians, by increasing the self-esteem of Ukrainian Canadians as a result of their finally having their own independent country of origin.

Winnipeg was chosen for this study because for most, if not all, of the period in question it was the centre of Ukrainian literary, political, cultural and religious life in

Canada. Such organizations as the Ukrainian Farmer-Labour Temple Association, the Ukrainian Catholic Brotherhood and the Ukrainian Canadian Congress were headquartered here. In fact, organizations that were first established in Winnipeg spread nationally while their headquarters remained in Winnipeg. The city also served as the site for the consistories of the two traditional Ukrainian churches, the Ukrainian Catholic and the Ukrainian Orthodox. As well, major press organs, for example, Ukrainian Voice, Canadian Farmer and New Pathway were established here.

The literature of the entire period is studied in three distinct periods, roughly analogous to the three waves of immigration into which Ukrainian immigration is traditionally divided. The three waves, 1891-1917, 1918-1946, and 1947-1991, have their own distinct characteristics which distinguish each from the others. These characteristics of each wave of immigration also tend to characterize each period of literary production.

The first wave of immigration, 1891-1917, consisted largely of peasant farmers, who came to Canada for economic reasons. As agricultural immigrants the vast majority opted to settle agricultural land in the prairie west, as it was the sparsely populated prairie regions which the Canadian government was seeking to settle when it allowed the influx of large numbers of agricultural immigrants. Winnipeg served as the “immigration depot” or “gateway to the west” for these immigrants, whether they were Ukrainian or not. Some immigrants, however, instead of settling on farm lands, chose to stay in Winnipeg. Preferring “block”-type settlement patterns both in rural and urban environments, those Ukrainians who remained in Winnipeg settled in a “block”-type pattern in Winnipeg’s North End. It was in the North End that the Ukrainians soon established a vibrant

community life which included churches, schools and community organizations, religious, socio-cultural and political. However, the “block”-type settlement in the North End also resulted in the “ghettoization” of the community.

The Ukrainian immigrants of this period, the majority of whom were males, who were either single or came to Canada alone, tended to be either poorly educated or not educated at all. Those living in Winnipeg were usually employed at jobs in the unskilled labour sector. Among these immigrants, however, there was a small number of better educated individuals, who formed the intelligentsia. It was they, who led the way in the establishment of an organized Ukrainian community life in the city.

This early period saw the Ukrainian Catholic Church take root in Canada, receive its first bishop, Bishop Budka, and establish its consistory in Winnipeg. There was also some religious splintering during this period, as devoid of the traditional churches and clergy, the Ukrainian immigrants came under the influence of various other religions. A significant case in point was the Independent Greek Church established by some of the more progressive members of the Ukrainian community, who sought to align the Ukrainians with the more democratic (as compared to the Ukrainian Catholic Church) Presbyterian Church. This Church soon developed a strong following but collapsed when the Presbyterian Church withdrew its financial support.

Secular community organizations were varied. There were socio-cultural organizations, such as the Ukrainian National Home and the Canadian Ukrainian Institute Prosvita. There were also socialist organizations, such as the Ukrainian Social

Democratic Party in Canada, and populist organizations, such as the Ukrainian Teachers' Association.

Literature developed almost at the outset of Ukrainian settlement in Winnipeg with the first works being published during the late 1890s in the pages of the immensely popular Ukrainian language American daily newspaper Svoboda. The first poem by a Ukrainian Canadian living in Winnipeg was published in this newspaper. This was Sava Chernets'kyi's "From the Herbarium of Canada" published 15 March 1900. It predates both Chernets'kyi's "From the Depth of the Abyss" of 10 May 1900, which Yar Slavutych states was the first by a Ukrainian Winnipegger and Chernets'kyi's "Outwitted" also of 10 May 1900 which Frances A. Swyrypa and Andriy Makuch list as the first by a Ukrainian Winnipegger. Also, in a Canada-wide context, Yuriy Syrotyuk's "To Brothers Galicians" published in Svoboda 27 May 1897 predates the poem which up to now has been cited by literary critics, such as Slavutych, as the first poem to be written by a Ukrainian Canadian writer, Ivan Zbura's "Canadian Immigrants" published 2 February 1899.

The literature of this first period was written in all genres, drama, poetry and prose, with the largest number of works being poetry. The writers were all immigrants and they tended to be community leaders and activists. Many of them felt it their duty to socialize their readership through their works. Stylistically and thematically the works were simple, even simplistic, and folkloristic. The writing was done exclusively in Ukrainian, not in the literary language, but rather in dialectal variants of the language. This was because the writers were not well educated and also because at the time in

question there was no single orthography of the Ukrainian language. Themes tended to pertain to nostalgia for the “old” and fear of the “new.” Nostalgia for the old encompassed the longing for the family, friends and everything that had been left behind in the homeland and a deep concern for its socio-political situation and causes. Fear of the new land initially included social adjustment, as well as the entire socialization process.

The most significant work of this period was Fedyk’s Songs about Canada and Austria. The work is a collection of poems written in the kolomyyka style by a variety of authors, but the greatest number are by Fedyk, who also compiled the collection. This work was published in several editions totalling 50,000 copies over a span of almost twenty years. As literature, Songs about Canada and Austria was both a seminal work and representative of the type of poetry being produced early in the period. Its extra-literary importance lies in its being almost a type of resource manual for prospective immigrants.

As the Ukrainian community established itself in Winnipeg it had to deal with discrimination and injustice, and some elements in the Ukrainian community had to be socialized. Some writers used literature to try to change the Ukrainian Canadians’ behaviour and attitudes. This was accomplished through works of both a serious and a humorous nature in which “proper” behaviour was provided as an example for the readers to follow. Most prominent in this regard were Jacob Maidanyk through his Vuyko Shtif, Michael Petrivsky in some of his plays, Petro Karmans’kyy in his feuilletons, as well as Ivan Bodrug, Apolinariy Novak and Panteleymon Bozhyk.

Since a number of the leading activists in the Ukrainian Canadian community were socialists, their views were reflected in the literature they produced. One of the leading writers propounding socialist ideals was Paul Crath. Crath's themes included the abolition of tsarist tyranny and, although he backed revolutionary actions, he also saw the merit of fighting with words. He also opposed war and initially voiced anti-clerical and anti-religious sentiments; ironically, he later became a minister. Most significantly, from a literary perspective, Crath wrote the first utopian novella in Ukrainian literature. Published in 1918, When the Sun Rose preceded Volodymyr Vynnychenko's utopian novel Solar Machine, generally considered the first of its kind in Ukrainian literature, by a period of some ten years.

The second wave of immigration, 1918-1946, was also made up largely of peasant farmers who once again opted for settlement in agricultural regions. But among this number was a sizeable proportion of political émigrés who had fought in the war for the liberation of Ukraine. Few in this second wave were illiterate, with most having at least some elementary education and some having even a post-secondary education. More of the second wave opted for urban settlement than had in the first wave, and the Ukrainian population of Winnipeg, as well as of other cities, grew. But it was Winnipeg that attracted the bulk of the urban settlers, and Winnipeg continued to maintain its dominant position as the centre of Ukrainian life in Canada. The Ukrainians living in Winnipeg, as in the overall Ukrainian Canadian population, still tended to be overrepresented in the unskilled labour sector, but it was during this period that Ukrainians were beginning to

enter post-secondary institutions and technical training, and, therefore, their numbers in the skilled labour and professional sectors began to increase significantly.

This second wave of immigration revitalized the community to an extent, for upon their arrival these new immigrants were generally dissatisfied with the type of organizational life already in existence. As a result, they established organizations which reflected their particular interests. It was during this period that the Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church, established in 1919 in Saskatoon, established its consistory in Winnipeg. It was also during this period that two major secular organizations affiliated to some extent with each of the two churches, namely, the Ukrainian Catholic Brotherhood and the Ukrainian Self-Reliance League, were established. The socialist faction reinvented itself as the pro-Soviet faction and, calling itself the Ukrainian Farmer-Labour Temple Association, attracted a sizeable following among the Ukrainian Canadians. The monarchists created the semi-military Sich organization, and the nationalists established the Ukrainian War Veterans' Association, which in 1932 re-established itself as the Ukrainian National Federation. Each of these major organizations tended to have women and youth sections and was affiliated with a Ukrainian language press organ through which its ideals were espoused.

On an international level, the Ukrainian Canadians participated in World War II, as they had in World War I, in greater numbers than the national average. Many Ukrainian Canadians saw fighting and dying for Canada as another example of the group's earning the right to be Canadian citizens.

During this period the writers were still predominately community leaders and activists, and few could be considered “professional” writers. Most were immigrants, but there were also some who were raised and educated in Canada, for example, Honore Ewach, Michael Petrivsky and Dmytro Hun’kevych. Ewach and Petrivsky had Canadian university educations. By far the vast majority of the works were written in Ukrainian, and by this period the language used in writing was primarily the standard literary form. A few writers, most notably Ewach, also began to write in English.

The most significant feature of the literature of this period is that it evidenced the development of the Ukrainian literary heritage in Canada. This was accomplished through a diverse array of themes and an increasing complexity in literary styles. Writers had moved beyond using literature as an instrument of socialization. Once again literature was written in all genres, but the writing and publication of plays predominated. This was a result of the popularity of live theatre primarily during the 1920s. Plays had always been popular avenues of entertainment for the people and prior to this period most of the plays produced were written in Ukrainian. But by this period the political situation in Ukraine was no longer conducive to literary exchange. Furthermore, the audiences began to demand themes that in some way reflected the realities of the Ukrainian Canadian experience. These factors combined to necessitate the writing of plays in Canada, in general, and in Winnipeg, specifically.

New themes were emerging centering on the life of Ukrainians in Canada, including organizational life, assimilation, economic conditions, and religious life. A few works exemplifying these themes include Bozhyk’s “The Funeral of Ukrainian Discord,”

Kovbel's A Young Man's Dreams (Enchanted Mountain) and Petrivsky's "A Novel without a Beginning and an End." A second major theme was the situation in Ukraine and the Ukrainian Canadians' response to it. In this regard, Ewach's The Call of the Land may be typical. Ewach's hero goes to fight for Ukrainian independence, but given the choice of remaining in Ukraine or returning to Canada, he chooses Canada, his true homeland for which he has also fought.

Ewach's novel, The Call of the Land, published in 1937 was a seminal work. It appeared, on the surface, to be a realistic rendering of the recent immigrant past but, fewer than fifty years after the arrival of the Ukrainian immigrants in Canada, that past was already being romanticized and in the process of becoming a myth.

This period saw the publication in 1929 of the first Ukrainian novel in Canada, namely Michael Petrivsky's The Magical City. This was a work that the Petrivsky based on sensationalist storylines popular in North American literature and film of the time, including stealing vast sums of money, kidnapping, gangsters, unrequited love, etc.

Arguably the best writer of the period was Myroslav Irchan, who, during his brief stay of six years in Winnipeg, in addition to his work on leftist newspapers and journals he wrote numerous plays, short stories and poems, and organized a branch of the literary group known as Hart. His works all backed leftist ideals, with primary emphasis being on workers' rights. All presented a distinctly tendentious leftist point of view, but their literary quality is so high as to almost overcome their tendentiousness.

The third wave of immigration, 1947-1991, was primarily made up of political émigrés, who were displaced from their homeland due to the exigencies of war. The bulk

of the Ukrainian immigration to Canada during this wave took place between 1947 and 1953 when the post-war immigrants arrived. By the mid-50s and through the 1960s, 70s and 80s the numbers of Ukrainian immigrants to Canada was negligible as Ukraine's Communist government did not allow for the emigration of its citizens. Upon their arrival in Canada the vast majority settled in urban areas, generally in the highly industrialized region of southeastern Ontario. This group tended to be well educated and included a significant number of professionals, doctors, lawyers, and the like.

Winnipeg waned in significance as the centre of Ukrainian Canadian life during this period. Although it continued to house the consistories of the two major Ukrainian Churches and the headquarters of some organizations, most importantly, the Ukrainian Canadian Congress, it had to compete for first place with Toronto and Edmonton.

Most of the immigrants of the third wave joined one of the two traditional Ukrainian Churches, both of which were strengthened significantly during this period by immigrant clergy. The Ukrainian Protestant Church grew at this time as well, although not to the extent of the traditional churches. The immigrants of this wave also tended to belong to one of the several factions of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists. The Mel'nykivtsi faction joined the already existing Ukrainian National Federation, whereas the Banderivtsi faction splintered the community even further by establishing their own highly nationalist organizations under the auspices of the Canadian League for the Liberation of Ukraine. Also established during this period, generally by Canadian-born Ukrainians, were non-partisan, non-denominational organizations, such as the Ukrainian Professional and Business Club, Alpha Omega Women's Alumnae and the Ukrainian

Students' Club, all of which reflected the changed social make-up of the Ukrainian community in Winnipeg, whose population now approximated the national average in terms of educational levels and occupational status. In this time the pro-Soviet faction had undergone another reincarnation and resurfaced as the Association of United Ukrainian Canadians. Its influence in the community, as well as its membership, declined drastically during this period, generally as the result of the fact that many of the new immigrants had experienced life under Communist rule firsthand and spread negative opinion throughout the Ukrainian Canadian community. Once again, all of the major organizations were affiliated with a press organ. But the Ukrainian Canadian press was also undergoing some changes during this period. This was particularly evidenced in the fact that most newspapers were beginning to include English language sections or publishing completely in English due to the changing demands of their readership.

By the third period Ukrainian literature in Winnipeg became more sophisticated and complex; literary styles became more polished and professional and themes were diverse. The need for literature to act as a vehicle of socialization had ceased to exist as the Ukrainians became firmly entrenched as an ethnic group in the multicultural mosaic of Canadian society. The writers could now be divided into two distinct categories, *émigré* and Canadian-born, with the *émigrés* writing primarily in Ukrainian and the Canadian-born writing primarily in English. The most obvious reason for this division was the loss of Ukrainian language usage among the Canadian-born writers. They thus chose the language in which they could best express themselves, which was also the language in which they would find the larger readership. The *émigrés* tended to write poetry, with

traditional forms and narrative and lyrical styles predominating. The émigrés also wrote on more traditional themes harkening back to an earlier period: Ukrainian nationalist, historical, religious and philosophical themes were all dealt with, as were themes that glorified Canada and the Canadian way of life, as an expression of gratitude to the country for providing them with their new home. Foremost among the poets were Mykyta Mandryka, Oleksa Hay-Holowko, and Rev. Stefan Semchuk. The Canadian-born wrote in all three genres and although traditional styles and form predominated there was also at least some slight tendency toward modernism, for example, in the works of Candace Adamson Burstow. The Canadian-born writers wrote on themes that they could best relate to, for example, assimilation, integration and inter-marriage, and they also dealt with such “universal” themes as Canadian history, feminist, multicultural and native issues. Prominent among the Canadian-born writers were Vera Lysenko, Maara Haas, William Paluk and, more recently, Ted Galay. All four produced works which have entered to some extent at least mainstream Canadian literature - Lysenko’s Yellow Boots, Haas’s The Street Where I Live, Paluk’s short story “Back Door” and Galay’s plays. There was also some interest in writing children’s works but these were written primarily in English by the Canadian-born writers.

The writing of the pro-Soviet faction vastly diminished in significance during this period. One of the more prolific writers in this group was someone who wrote under the pseudonym “Transkonets’.” But his works, like the majority, if not all, the writing of this group, were confined to the pages of the left-wing press where it had limited exposure. The themes and style of writing were once again simplistic. These poems generally

praised the activities of the AUUC and defamed the activities of the Ukrainian nationalists in Canada.

Fewer works were published during this period than had been during the previous period. This was probably due to the fact that, as older writers died there were fewer émigré writers to replace them as most chose not to settle in Winnipeg, for example, Yar Slavutych, Oleh Zujewsky, and Ulas Samchuk. Younger Canadian-born writers were now more mobile and did not always choose to remain in Winnipeg, for example, Ted Galay.

The literature written in Winnipeg in the period between 1908 and 1991 is thus characterized by a continuous development from the early simplistic and folkloristic “songs” which focused on nostalgia for the homeland and fear of the new life in Canada, through a didactic literature which sought to socialize the new immigrants to the Canadian way of life and even attempted to build socialism in Canada. As the literature developed, a Ukrainian literary heritage was being established in Canada. Significant works were being produced by writers such as Mandryka, Ewach, Petrivsky and Irchan. This Ukrainian literary heritage developed into the post-World War II period but it was now joined by another branch - Canadian-born writers of Ukrainian origin who wrote in English on themes that interested their Canadian readers. From a Ukrainian literary heritage, Ukrainian Canadian literature had evolved to the point where it was entering the mainstream. Ukrainian Canadian literature, just like the Ukrainian population in Winnipeg, was becoming a fully integrated part of mainstream Canadian society. However, the price that was paid included the loss of the Ukrainian language, increasing

assimilation and loss of the Ukrainian identity and the decline in importance of the traditional Ukrainian and Ukrainian Canadian institutions and organizations.

Bibliography

Primary Sources

- Amalyunha abo dochka depriv, zaymayuche opovidannya z chasiv boyiv mizh yevropeytsyamy i indiyanyamy v Pivnichni Amerytsi. Winnipeg: Rus'ka knyhar'nia, 1914.
- Andrishak, Ruth. "The Night the Rabbit Chewed My Hair Off." Yarmarok: Ukrainian Writing in Canada since the Second World War. Ed. Yars Balan and Yuri Klynovy. Edmonton: Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies, 1987. 1-10.
- Andrusyshen, C.H., and W. Kirkconnell, comps. and trans. The Ukrainian Poets, 1189-1962. Toronto: U of Toronto P, 1963.
- Antologiya ukrayins'koho pys'menstva v Kanadi. Vol. 1. Winnipeg: Canadian Ukrainian Educational Association, 1941.
- Arabs'ka, Anna. Lisovyy ohon', opovidannya z chasiv pionirstva nashoho narodu v Kanadi - pravdyvyy perekaz. Winnipeg: Promin', 1927.
- Babiyenko, Fedir. "Chornomors'ke uzberezhzhya Kavkazu." Ukrayins'ke slovo 14 April 1965: 10.
- . "Do 20-richchya peremohy nad hitlerizmom." Ukrayins'ke slovo 5 May 1965: 11.
- . "Duma na bat'kivshchyni (pidchas hostyuvannya u ridnykh na Ukrayini 1964 roku)." Ukrayins'ke slovo 6 January 1965: 13.
- . "Lyublyu Ukrayinu." Ukrayins'ke slovo 1 July 1964: 13.
- . "Nepopravnyy p'yanytsya." Ukrayins'ke slovo 20 February 1963: 12.
- . "Ridnomu seli." Ukrayins'ke slovo 10 April 1963: 13.
- . "Shchob bulo dobre zhyty vsim lyudyam v Kanadi." Ukrayins'ke slovo 28 July 1965: 13.
- . "Vesna." Ukrayins'ke slovo 3 June 1964: 7.
- . "Z pryvodu 50 rokiv zhyttya v Kanadi." Ukrayins'ke slovo 20 March 1963: 6.
- Babiyenko, T. "Chom ya virshi vzyavs' pysaty?" Ukrayins'ke slovo 27 October 1965: 11.

- Babiyenko, T.A. "Starshyna tserkovna." Kanadiys'kyi ranok 25 March 1924: 7.
- Babiyenko, V.V. I. Variyat z 1906 roku, opovidanye, II. Virsh, III. Mizh burlyvymy khvylyamy: drama na 4 diy i 5 odmin. Winnipeg: Ukrayins'kyi holos, 1918.
- Babiyenko, Vasyl'. Mizh burlyvymy fylamy, drama na 4 diy i 5 odmin. Winnipeg: n.p., 1918.
- Balan, Yars, and Yuri Klynovy, eds. Yarmarok: Ukrainian Writing in Canada since the Second World War. Edmonton: Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies, 1987.
- Barchuk, Ivan, and M. Podvornyak, comps. Rizdvyana zirka, zbirka rizdvyanykh virshiv i opovidan'. Winnipeg: Doroha pravdy, 1956.
- . Velykodniy ranok, zbirka velykodnikh opovidan' i virshiv. Winnipeg: Doroha pravdy, 1957.
- Bazhan, Kuz'ma. "Z zhyttya na farmakh v Manitobi (zamyist' kolyady)." Ukrayins'ke slovo 19 December 1956: 17.
- Bilyavs'kyi, Mykhaylo. Arendar v klopoti. Winnipeg: Ukrayins'ka knyharnya, [192?].
- Birchak, Volodymyr. Proty zakonu, istorychna povist' z knyazhykh chasiv. Winnipeg: Ivan Tyktor, 1953.
- Bodans'kyi, Ivan. Nevdalyi ispyt, tragikomediya na 1 diyu dlya ditey, pryhody zi starokrayevykh shkil. Winnipeg: Promin', 1927.
- Bodrug, Ivan. Ubiynyky, mel'odrama v pyaty diyakh a odyaytsyaty vidslonakh. Winnipeg: Ukrayins'ka knyharnya, n.d.
- Borysyk, Mykhaylo. Dyako uchytelem, komediya na odnu diyu. Winnipeg: Promin', 1927.
- . Na rizdvo Khrystve, ditocha kartyna v odniy vidsloni. Winnipeg: Promin', 1927.
- Boyчук, Bohdan, and Bohdan T. Rubchak, comps. and eds. Koordynaty, antolohiya suchasnoyi ukrayins'koyi poeziyi na zakhodi. New York: Suchasnist', 1969.
- Boyчук, Toma. "Pisnya za myr, volyu i dobrobut." Ukrayins'ke slovo 22 May 1957: 13.
- Bozhyk, P. "Dva shvagry." Kalyendar "Holosu Spasytelya" na 1941 rik. 122-5.

- . Kanadiys'ka muza. Winnipeg: n.p., 1935.
- . "Pokhoron ukrayins'koyi nezhody." Kalyendar "Holosu Spasytelya" i al'manakh yuvileyu khreshchennya Ukrainy na 1939 rik. 121-133.
- Bozhyk, P.I. Lyst shynkarya do chorta z vidpovidyyu i yn'shi opovidanya. Winnipeg: Kanadyys'ky farmer, n.d.
- Bulka, Oleksa. O dvanaytsyaty tablytsyakh, opovidanye pislya narodnykh kazok. Winnipeg: Rus'ka knyharnya, n.d.
- Burstow, Candace Adamson [currently writing under the name Candace Cael Carman]. Pale Lady. Fredericton: Fiddlehead Poetry Books, 1980.
- . The Songs of Bathsheba. Fredericton: Fiddlehead Poetry Books, 1981.
- Carman, Candace Cael [formerly wrote under the name Candace Adamson Burstow]. "Edges." Yarmarok: Ukrainian Writing in Canada since the Second World War. Ed. Yars Balan and Yuri Klynovy. Edmonton: Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies, 1987. 25.
- . "Katrina." Yarmarok: Ukrainian Writing in Canada since the Second World War. Ed. Yars Balan and Yuri Klynovy. Edmonton: Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies, 1987. 25.
- . "Legacy." Yarmarok: Ukrainian Writing in Canada since the Second World War. Ed. Yars Balan and Yuri Klynovy. Edmonton: Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies, 1987. 25.
- . "The Darkened Edge." Yarmarok: Ukrainian Writing in Canada since the Second World War. Ed. Yars Balan and Yuri Klynovy. Edmonton: Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies, 1987. 26-7.
- . "Winter Chant." Yarmarok: Ukrainian Writing in Canada since the Second World War. Ed. Yars Balan and Yuri Klynovy. Edmonton: Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies, 1987. 27.
- Ch., L. [Lyubomyra Chaykovs'ka]. "Lito vidkhodyt.'" Ukrayins'ke slovo 1 August 1959: 11.
- Chachkovs'ky, Mykola. "Mishanomu khorovi RZT imeny Matviya Popovycha." Zhyttya i slovo 11 September 1971: 9.

- . "Nasha pisnya." Novi obryi, 4 1974: 12. Rpt. from Zhyttya i slovo 12 February 1970.
- . "Svyato 35-richchya Robitnychoho zapomohovoho tovarystva." Ukrayins'ke slovo 29 November 1957: 13.
- . "Torontons'kyi zhinochyy khor 'Hahilka.'" Zhyttya i slovo 6 March 1972: 9.
- . "Vinnipehs'kyi zhinochyy khor 'Barvinok.'" Zhyttya i slovo 6 March 1972: 9.
- . "Zhinochyy khor 'Berizka' u Hemyltoni." Zhyttya i slovo 6 March 1972: 9.
- Chaykovs'ka, Lyubomyra [Mykola Chachkovs'kyi]. "Ansaml' 'Banduryst' v pratsi nad pisneyu." Ukrayins'ke slovo 28 September 1960: 11.
- . "A v Poynt Dohles novyna." Ukrayins'ke slovo 1 April 1959: 12.
- . "Bizhyt' osin' nashym mistom." Ukrayins'ke slovo 10 October 1956: n.p.
- . "Brytysh Kolumbiye, horystyy krayu!" Ukrayins'ke slovo 25 June 1958: 11.
- . "Festyval'na." Ukrayins'ke slovo 14 June 1961: 11.
- . "Khor 'Barvinok' pochynaye sezon." Ukrayins'ke slovo 21 September 1960: 12.
- . "Lysh v borot'bi pravdu dlya sebe zdobudem." Ukrayins'ke slovo 11 December 1957: 8.
- . "Mizh horamy vysokymy . . ." Ukrayins'ke slovo 28 May 1958: 13.
- . "Osin' i lyudyna." Ukrayins'ke slovo 17 October 1956: 6.
- . "Pered vsekrayovym festyvalem." Ukrayins'ke slovo 1 February 1961: 13.
- . "Spivay 'Vesnyanko'." Ukrayins'ke slovo 18 June 1958: 11.
- . "Tvorchykh shlyakhiv shukayu." Ukrayins'ke slovo 4 December 1957: 6.
- . "Ukrayinka-kanadiyanka." Ukrayins'ke slovo 26 August 1959: 14.
- . "Usim lyudyam i sobi myr zdobud'mo v borot'bi." Ukrayins'ke slovo 2 August 1958: 13.
- . "Vesela divocha pisnya." Ukrayins'ke slovo 25 May 1960: 13.

- . "Vesna ide . . ." Ukrayins'ke slovo 27 March 1957: 13.
- . "Vyshyval'nytsya." Ukrayins'ke slovo 31 August 1960: 13.
- . "Vyshyval'nytsi TOUK u Venkuveri." Ukrayins'ke slovo n.d.: n.p.
- . "Za vil'nyy svit." Ukrayins'ke slovo 12 December 1956: 9.
- . "Zdravnytsya RZT i TOUK v Husavyk." Ukrayins'ke slovo 9 July 1958: 11.
- Chaykivs'kyi, P.V. Horniatko kavy abo "Bl'ondynka dytynka". Winnipeg: Promin', 1932.
- Chaykovs'kyi, Ihor. "Shchyryy patriot." Ukrayins'ke slovo 18 May 1960: 13.
- . "Vpered idim!" Ukrayins'ke slovo 24 August 1960: 4.
- Cherkan, U. "I ya z vamy, stsenichnyy narys dlya ditey." Ukrayins'ki robitnychi visti 12 September 1936: 4.
- Chernyak, Kateryna [Mykola Chachkovs'kyi]. "Khodzhu ya v biblioteku pozychaty knyhy." Ukrayins'ke slovo 17 January 1962: 8.
- . "Pisen'ka." Ukrayins'ke slovo 5 August 1964, 14, 27 October 1965: 11.
- . "Shlyakhom do myru." Ukrayins'ke slovo 16 May 1962: 13.
- Danyl'chuk, Ivan. Svytaye den', poeziyi. Winnipeg: By the Author, 1929.
- Darkovych, M. Ataman v tsebrovy, odnovidslonova ditocha komediyka. Winnipeg: Promin', 1928.
- . Kostevi zbytky, ditocha komediyka v odnim akti. Winnipeg: Promin', 1928.
- . Kytsya-babka, stsenka dlya ditey, v odniy vidsloni. Winnipeg: Promin', 1927.
- Darkovych, Mykhaylo T. Kyyiv i Rym, yanychary, chort, poema. Winnipeg: T. Zolotukha, 1929.
- Darkovych, O.T. Olesya, ditocha pyesa na 2 diyi z prolohom. Winnipeg: Promin', 1927.
- . Oto raz! Ditocha komediyka. Winnipeg: Promin', [1929?].
- Dmytrenko, Taras [Taras Volokhatyuk]. Knyazenko zabavy, kazochka dlya ukrayins'kykh ditochok. Winnipeg: MARS, 1924.

- Dobryy, Hryhoriy. "Tam vin sydiv i plakav." Kanadiys'kyy ranok 1 May 1923: 8.
- Dolinsky, John [Ivan Dolyns'kyy]. Echoes of the Prairies. Winnipeg: By the Author, 1983.
- . The Resurrected Niece. Winnipeg: By the Author, 1989.
- . Winds of the West. Winnipeg: By the Author, 1984.
- Dolyns'kyy, Ivan. Luna z preriy. Winnipeg: By the Author, 1983.
- Doroshchuk, Stepan. Zhayvoronok, zbirnyk pisen' z notamy. 2nd ed. Winnipeg: Ukrayins'kyy holos, 1955.
- Doroshchuk, Stepan M. Dlya ridnykh ditey, virshi. Winnipeg: By the Author, 1925.
- Dubyna, Dmytro. "Po dvadtsyaty rokakh v Toronto." Ukrayins'ke slovo 6 March 1957: 13
- . "Slov'yans'ki narody v mynulomu i teper." Ukrayins'ke slovo 23 January 1957: 13.
- . "Viyni ne buty!" Ukrayins'ke slovo 5 June 1957: 13.
- . "V slavnim misti Vinnipeg." Ukrayins'ke slovo 16 January 1957: 16.
- D-ushyy, M. "Yunak." Robitnytsya 15 April 1928: 234.
- Dzhala, Petro. "Borimsya dali za myr." Ukrayins'ke slovo 1 February 1956: 17.
- . "Kanada -- na pershe mistse." Ukrayins'ke slovo 21 December 1955: 19.
- . "Presu svoyu my chytayemo y vsim yiyi pomahayemo." Ukrayins'ke slovo 23 November 1955: 13.
- Ewach, Honore [Onufriy Ivakh]. The Call of the Land: A Short Story of Life in Canada. Trans. Ray Serwylo. Winnipeg: Trident Press, 1986.
- . Cavalry of Ukraine: Drama. [Winnipeg ?]: n.p., 1923.
- , ed. and trans. Ukrainian Songs and Lyrics. Winnipeg: Ukrainian Publishing Co., 1933.
- Ewanchuk, Michael. Young Cossack. Winnipeg: Michael Ewanchuk Publishing, 1991.

- Fedyk, Teodor, comp. Pisni imigrantiv pro staryy i novyy kray (Pisni pro Kanadu i Avstriyu). Winnipeg: Ukrayins'ka knyharnya, 1927.
- , comp. Pisni pro Kanadu i Avstriyu, z dodatkom, pisni ta dumky pro Myroslava Sichyns'koho. Winnipeg: Rus'ka knyharnya, 1914.
- , comp. Pisni pro staryy i novyy kray. Winnipeg: [n.p.], 1911. Rpt. of Pisni pro Kanadu i Avstriyu, 1908.
- Fodchuk, Stefan. Dyvni pryhody Shtifa Tabachnyuka. Winnipeg: Novyy shlyakh, 1958.
- . "Tarkata." Velykyy ilyustrovanyy kalyendar "Kanadyys'koho rusyna" na zvyhaynyy rik 1917-yy. Winnipeg: Ukrayins'ka vydavnycha spilka, 1916. 106.
- Galay, Ted. "After Baba's Funeral" and "Sweet and Sour Pickles" Two Plays by Ted Galay. Toronto: By the Author, 1983.
- Gospodyn, Andriy. Shchaslyvyy den', akt v odniy diyi. Winnipeg: Promin', 1942.
- Haas, Maara. "A Way Out of the Forest." Winnipeg Stories. Ed. Joan Parr. Winnipeg: Queenston House, 1974. 119-124.
- . On Stage with Maara Haas. Winnipeg: Lilith, 1986.
- . The Street Where I Live. Toronto: McGraw-Hill Ryerson, 1976.
- . Why Isn't Everybody Dancing. Winnipeg: Turnstone, 1990.
- Havrachenko, Yosyp. Hostyna svyatoho Mykolaya, stsenichna kartyna v 2-okh diyakh. Winnipeg: Ukrayins'kyy holos, 1933.
- Havyn'chuk, N.V., comp. Rozмова z rusynom, rozkazy pro moskaliv. Winnipeg: Rus'ka knyharnya, n.d.
- Hay-Holovko [Hay-Holowko], Oleksa. Odchaydushni, opovidannya. Winnipeg: Muse, 1959.
- . Poetychni tvory v tr'okh tomakh. Tom druhyy (1948-1977). Winnipeg: Novi dni, 1978.
- . Poetychni tvory v tr'okh tomakh. Tom pershyy (1933-1947). Toronto: Novi dni, 1970.

- . Poyedynok z dyavolom, fil'my nashykh dnyv. 2 vols. Winnipeg: Ivan Tyktor, 1950.
- . Smertel'noyu dorohoyu, podiyi nashoho chasu. 2 vols. Winnipeg: Tryzub, 1979-1983.
- . Son, poema. Winnipeg, By the Author, 1984.
- Hay-Holowko [Hay-Holovko], Oleksa. Duel with the Devil. Winnipeg: Communigraphics Printers Aid Group, 1986.
- Holovats'kyi, V. "Khto viter siye - buryu zbyraye." Narodna hazeta 5 June 1939: 5.
- . "Za vichnu zhodu." Narodna hazeta 10 July 1939: 4.
- . "Za \$800 Hitlerovi hodynyk kupyly." Narodna hazeta 23 May 1939: 2.
- Holovats'kyi, Vasyl', comp. Robitnychi pisni. Winnipeg: Rus'ka knyharnya, 1915.
- Horodyski, Mary. "At 7." Section Lines: A Manitoba Anthology. Ed. Mark Duncan. Winnipeg: Turnstone, 1989. 93-6.
- . "Housecraft." Section Lines: A Manitoba Anthology. Ed. Mark Duncan. Winnipeg: Turnstone, 1989. 92-3.
- . Mr Spock Do You Read Me? Winnipeg: Turnstone, 1986.
- Hryhorovych, Mykola [Mykola Chachkovs'kyi]. "Budidnychym presy." Ukrayins'ke slovo 7 November 1956: 17.
- . "Shchaslyvoyi dorohy!" Ukrayins'ke slovo 9 July 1958: 15.
- . "Vinnipeh -- khoroshe misto." Ukrayins'ke slovo 17 October 1956: 7.
- . "Zhyttya v Kytayi na televiziyi." Ukrayins'ke slovo 31 October 1956: 7.
- Hrynshyn, Martyn. Rozmova tverezoho piyaka Vasylya z horivkoyu. Winnipeg: Rus'ka knyharnya, n.d.
- Hun'kevych, Dmytro. Klyub sufrazhystok, komediya v 5-ty diyakh z amerykans'koho zhyttya. Winnipeg: Rozvaha, 1925.
- . Kryvavi perly. Winnipeg: Mars, 1924.
- . Na khvylyakh lyubovy. Winnipeg: Kanadyys'kyi farmer, 1928.

- . Navchyt' bida vorozhyty. Winnipeg: Ukrayins'kyy holos, 1926.
 - . Ne zabuly, kartyna na 2 diyi. Winnipeg: Rozvaha, 1925.
 - . Potomky heroyiv abo zabava v istoriyu. Winnipeg: Promin', 1928.
 - . Rozhdestvens'ka nich, ditocha operetka na 2 diyi. Winnipeg: MARS, 1924.
 - . Sered hradu kul' abo neustrashyma heroyinya: tragediya v 4-okh diyakh v 5 vidslonakh zi spivamy z zhyttya i borot'by za volyu ukrayins'koho naroda v chasi Vsesvitnoyi viyny v r.r. 1914-1920. Winnipeg: Ukrayins'ka knyhamya, n.d.
 - . Slavko v tarapatakh, ditochy zhart-vodevil' v 1 akti. Winnipeg: Promin', 1927.
 - . V halyts'ki nevoli. Winnipeg: Ukrayins'ka knyhamya, 1921.
 - . Vytay vesno! Virshovana kartyna na 1 diyu. Winnipeg: Promin', [1928?].
 - . Zhertvy temnoty, drama na 5 diy zi spivamy i tantsyamy z zhyttya ukrayins'kykh pereselentsiv v Kanadi. Winnipeg: Rusalka, 1923.
- Hutsulyak, Vasyi' K. "Daleko za morem, tam ridna zemlya." Ukrayins'ke slovo 29 June 1960: 13.
- . "Tarasovi Shevchenku." Ukrayins'ke slovo 8 March 1961: 13.
 - . "Travnevyy vechir na Ukraini (perespiv za tvoramy ukrayins'kykh poetiv)." Ukrayins'ke slovo 12 August 1961: 15.
- Ichnyans'kyy, Myroslav [Ivan Yefymovych-Kmeta]. Lira emigrant, liryka. Winnipeg: Ukrayins'ka knyhamya, 1936.
- . "Oy zemle . . ." Kanadiys'kyy ranok 15 February 1955: 3.
- Ilarion, Metropolitan [Ivan Ohiyenko]. Narodzhennya lyudyny, filosofs'ka misteriya v p'yaty diyakh. Winnipeg: Nasha kul'tura, 1948.
- . Nash biy za derzhavnist', istorychna epopeya. Tom tretyi. Chastyna druha. Winnipeg: Nasha kul'tura, 1966.
 - . Nash biy za derzhavnist', istorychna epopeya. Tom tretyi. Chastyna persha. Winnipeg: n.p., 1962.

- . Prometey, smerk hrets'kykh bohiv, poema. Winnipeg: Nasha kul'tura, 1948.
 - . "Rozpyaty Mazepa," istorychna drama na p'yat' diy. Winnipeg: Nasha kul'tura, 1961.
 - . Tvory. 4 vols. Winnipeg: Nasha kul'tura, 1957-1966.
 - . Vikovi nashi rany, dramatychni poemy. Winnipeg: Trident Press, 1960.
 - . Zhertva vechirnya, Isus i Varavva. 3rd ed. Winnipeg: n.p., 1949.
- Irchan, Myroslav [Andriy Babyuk]. Apostoly, opovidannya. Winnipeg: n.p., 1927.
- . "Beybi (uryvky z shchodennyka moyoho nayblyshchoho pryatelya)." Ukrayins'ki robitnychi visti 21 October - 6 November, 1924: 3.
 - . Bezrobitniy, drama v 3 diyakh. Winnipeg: n.p., 1923.
 - . "Bezsmertnym halyts'kym buntaryam." Ukrayins'ki robitnychi visti 10 November 1923: 3.
 - . "Bila malpa." Robitnytsya 15 September 1926: 10-14.
 - . Dvanaytsyat, drama v 5-okh diyakh z zhyttya povstanchoyi vatahy v Skhidniy Halychyni v misyatsi zhovtni-lystopadi 1922 roku. Winnipeg: Ukrayins'ki robitnychi visti, 1923.
 - . Karpats'ka nich, opovidannya. Winnipeg: Robitnycho-farmers'ke vydavnyche tovarystvo, 1924.
 - . "Konferentsiya rozzbroyennya: proloh z p'yesy 'Platsdarm.'" Robitnytsya 15 February 1932: 17-20.
 - . "Lyst do brata." Robitnytsya 1 January 1926: 6.
 - . "Lyst materi." Holos robitnytsi June, 1923: 8.
 - . "Mamyn lyst." Robitnytsya 15 October 1924: 5-6.
 - . "Mriya." Holos robitnytsi September, 1923: 3-7. [IF]
 - . "Nadiyi." Robitnytsya 15 December 1927: 745-749. [IF]
 - . "Na farmi." Robitnytsya 1 October 1924: 6.

- . Nezhdanyy hist', dramatychnyy etyud z revolyutsiyi 1917 r. Winnipeg: Ukrayins'ki robitnychi visti, 1923.
- . "Osin' v dymakh." Robitnytsya 1 February 1931: 12-13.
- . "Pid rizdvyanu nich." Robitnytsya 1 January 1927: 39-43.
- . Pidzemna Halychyna, drama na 5 diy. Winnipeg: Robitnycho-farmers'ke vydavnyche tovarystvo, 1926.
- . "Prysmeryk mynuloho (iz tsyklyu "Fil'my revolyutsiyi")." Holos robitnytsi August, 1923: 9 -11.
- . "Robitnychi dity." Robitnytsya 15 January 1925: 8.
- . Rodyna shchitkariv, drama na 4 diy. Winnipeg: Robitnycho-farmers'ke vydavnyche tovarystvo, 1924.
- . "Svyato pratsi i nadiyi." Ukrayins'ki robitnychi visti 28 April 1923: 1; rpt. Robitnytsya May 1925: 8.
- . "Vony (opovidannya iz zbirky "Krovavyy boh")." Robitnytsya 15 June 1924: 8-12.
- . "V tramvaii." Robitnytsya 1 October 1926: 11.
- . Yikh bil', dramatychnyy etyud. Winnipeg: Ukrayins'ki robitnychi visti, 1923.
- . "Yikh sotni tysyach." Robitnytsya 1 March 1927: 138.
- . "Za krov (opovidannya z zhyttya ukrayins'kykh ditey v Halychyni)." Robitnytsya 1 May 1924: 12 -16.
- . "Zustrich z bezrobitnoyu." Robitnytsya 15 October 1924: 6.
- Istoriya o zolotokrylim lytsaryu. Winnipeg: Rus'ka knyharnya, [n.d.].
- Istoriya pro harnu Magel'onu i Hrafa Petra z Provansu! Z sribnymy klyuchamy. Winnipeg: Rus'ka knyharnya, 1911.
- Ivakh, Onufriy [Honore Ewach]. Boyova surma Ukrainy, poeziyi. Winnipeg: By the Author, 1931.
- . Holos zemli. 2nd ed. Winnipeg: Trident Press, 1973.
- . Toy, koho svit lovyv, ta ne spiymav. Winnipeg: By the Author, 1932.

- . Tsikavi opovidannya z davn'oyi istoriyi Kanady. Winnipeg: Kul'tura i osvita, 1944.
- . Ukrayins'kyi mudrets', poema pro slavnoho ukrayins'koho filosofa-mistyka Hryhoriya Skovorodu. Winnipeg: Ukrainian Cultural and Educational Centre, 1945.
- . Vidlet zhuravlya, drama. [Winnipeg ?]: n.p., 1923.
- Izhyk [Izyk], Semen. Khay zhyve UPA! P'yesa v tr'okh diyakh. Winnipeg: n.p., n.d.
- Karmans'kyi, Petro. "Malpyache zerkalo." Kanada, 16 September 1913- 24 September 1914.
- Karpins'kyi, V.A. My i vony, narodna drama v 2-okh diyakh. Winnipeg: Ukrayins'ki robitnychi visti, 1921.
- Kasper, Frances J. Deep Reflections in Poetry. Winnipeg: Authors International, 1988.
- Kazanivs'kyi, V.H. Pimsta za kryvdu, "Mykola Dzherya," drama v pyat'okh diyakh z epil'ogom, zi spivamy i tantsyamy, syuzhet vzyaty z povisty Iv. Nechuya-Levyts'koho "Mykola Dzhera." 2nd ed. Winnipeg: Ukrayins'kyi bazar, 1930.
- Kazky za zhydiv. Winnipeg: Rus'ka knyharnya, 1910.
- Kh. A. "Prysvyata pam'yati Matviya Shatul's'koho." Ukrayins'ke slovo, 28 January 1953.
- Khmil', Ivan. Homin Polissia, poeziyi. Winnipeg: By the Author, 1960.
- Khomlyak, Petro. Na rozdorizhzi, komediya v trokh diyakh z kanadiys'ko-ukrayins'koho zhyttya. Winnipeg: Kul'tura i osvita, 1946.
- Kivshenko, P. Bezbat'chenko, drama na 4 diyi. Winnipeg: Ukrayins'kyi bazar, 1927.
- Kmeta, I. [Ivan Yefymovych-Kmeta]. "Moyi osokory." Kanadiys'kyi ranok 1 November 1953: 4.
- Kohus'ka, Natalka L. Maty, opovidannya. Winnipeg: Ukrainian Publishing Company of Canada, 1941.
- . V poleti do voli, istorychna povist'. Winnipeg: By the Author, 1938.
- Kolesnykov, Ivan O. Ukrayins'ka arfa. Winnipeg: Svidok pravdy, n.d.

- Kolybaba, Kathy. "Portrait." Made in Manitoba: An Anthology of Short Fiction. Ed. Wayne Tefs. Winnipeg: Turnstone, 1990. 175-82.
- Komar, M. Antin Holovatyy, istorychne opovidannya. Winnipeg: Ukrayins'kyy holos, 1935.
- Korespondent. "Na kul'turno-osvitn'omu fronti v Ukr. rob. domi u Vinnipehu." Ukrayins'ke slovo 21 March 1956: 13.
- Koruna, P. "Dobri dila nashi." Ukrayins'ke slovo 25 June 1952: 11
- . "Pryvit z Kanady bratam na Ukrayini." Ukrayins'ke slovo 26 March 1952: 13.
- . "Ridna i prybrana bat'kivshchyna." Ukrayins'ke slovo 14 May 1952: 18.
- Koruna, Sofiya. "My khor sviy zhinochyy 'Barvinkom' nazvaly." Ukrayins'ke slovo 25 April 1962: 16.
- . "Tuha za druhom." Ukrayins'ke slovo 1 June 1955: 18.
- Koshyts' [Koshetz], T. Rizdvyanyy vechir, pobutova kartyna na 1 diyu. Winnipeg: Kul'tura i osvita, 1949.
- Kosovycheva, Mariya Ya. Horstka promeniv, vybrani poeziyi: 1939-1961. Winnipeg: By the Author, 1962.
- Kotyk, Stepan. Nad ozerom, opovidannya z amerykans'koho zhyttya. Winnipeg: By the Author, 1946.
- Kovbel', Semen. Delegatsiya do rayu. Winnipeg: People's Publishing Company, [1935?].
- . Divochi mriyi, tragi-komediya v 6-okh vidminakh. Winnipeg: A. Yonker, 1918.
- . Parubochi mriyi (zaklyata hora), fantaziya-drama v 4-okh diyakh. Winnipeg: By the Author, 1942.
- . "Shchedryy susid." Kanadyys'kyy Ukrayinets' 3 March 1920: 5.
- . Svyaty Mykolay v Kanadi, ditocha kartyna dlya ukrayins'kykh ridnykh shkil v Kanadi, v tr'okh vidslonakh. Winnipeg: People's Publishing Co., [1938?].
- . Virna sestra to zoloto, komediya na odnu diyu, diyet'sya v Kanadi na koloniyi u teperishnyy chas. Winnipeg: By the Author, [1930].

- Kozub, Anna. "Lyubov materi i nevdyachni dity." Ukrayins'ke slovo 5 June 1948: 18.
- Krat, Pavlo [Paul Crath]. Boh u Moskvishchyni. Part I of Poslidne khozhdeniye Boha po zemli abo Boh na revolyutsiyi, humorystychna povist'. Winnipeg: Robochyy narod, 1915.
- . Koly lekshe bude i inshi opovidannya. Winnipeg: Emil Holubovych, 1912.
- . Koly ziyshlo sontse, opovidannya 2000 roku. Toronto: Robitnyche slovo, 1918.
- . Krov za krov, opovidanye z zhytya na Kyvivshchyni. Winnipeg: Robochyy narod, 1910.
- . "Manifesto to the Ukrainian People in Canada," Canadian Ethnic Studies, 10.2 (1978): 99-100.
- . "Neyemiyenna molytva za narid (prysvyata nashym Di-Pi-stam)." Slovo April - May, 1952: 6.
- . "Perespiv desyatoyi psal'my, na potikhu skytal'nykam." Kanadiys'ky ranok 12 December 1947: 3.
- . Vizyta "Chervonoyi druzhyny," obraz z revolyutsiynykh rozrukhiv na Poltavshchyni v liti 1906 roku. Winnipeg: Chervonyy prapor, 1912.
- . Za zemlyu i volyu. Winnipeg: Kanadiys'ky ranok, 1914.
- Kremin', Semen. Neporozuminnya, zhart na odnu diyu. Winnipeg: Ukrayins'kyy holos, 1928.
- . Pomichnyky, zhart v odniy diyi. Winnipeg, 1940.
- . Vuykova pomylka, zhart na odnu diyu. Winnipeg: Ukrayins'kyy holos, 1940.
- Kripenko, M. [Mykhaylo Krypyakevych]. Diyal'ogy pro zhydiv. Winnipeg: Step, 1931.
- . "Heroy" v mishku, zhart na odnu diyu. Winnipeg: Step, 1931.
- . Naynovishi diyal'ogy. 4 vols. Winnipeg: Step, 1929.
- . Na vakatsiyakh, ditocha kartyna z kanadiys'koho zhyttya na try diyi. Winnipeg: Promin', 1927.
- and P. Kripenko. Troye zaruchyn, zhart na odnu diyu. Winnipeg: Step, 1930.

- Krypyakevych, Mykhaylo. Yak kum kuma lichyv, zhart na odnu diyu. 2nd ed. Winnipeg: Populyarne vydavnytstvo, 1938.
- Kudryk, Vasyl'. Pimsta robitnyka, opovidanye z kanadyys'koho zhytya. Winnipeg: Ukrayins'kyy holos, 1911.
- . Vesna, zbirka poezyyi. Winnipeg: Ukrayins'kyy holos, 1911.
- Kukhar, Ivan. "Lyst do ridnykh na Ukraini." Ukrayins'ke slovo 18 April 1962: 13.
- Kukharchuk, Anna. "Barvinok." Ukrayins'ke slovo 20 April 1960: 17.
- . "Materi (z pryvodu Dnya materi)." Ukrayins'ke slovo 20 May 1964: 6.
- . "Nasha vlasna presa i nashyy obov'yazok." Ukrayins'ke slovo 30 December 1959: 14.
- . "Poshana materyam." Ukrayins'ke slovo 18 May 1960: 16.
- . "Ukrayino, maty ridna! . . ." Ukrayins'ke slovo 27 December 1961: 17.
- . "Z novym rokom, bandurysty!" Ukrayins'ke slovo 11 January 1961: 18.
- Kulyk, Ivan. "Ispans'komu poetovi Rafayelyu Alberti." Ukrayins'ki robitnychi visti 7 November 1936: 5.
- . "Pisnya." Robitnytsya 1 June 1936:22.
- Kumka, Mykhaylo, comp. Monol'ogy i diyal'ogy dlya ditey i molodi. Winnipeg: Ukrayins'kyy holos, 1935.
- . comp. Naykrashchi zahadky i zabavky dlya starykh i malykh. Winnipeg: Ukrayins'kyy holos, 1931.
- . Shkil'nyy spivanyk u tr'okh chastyakh. Winnipeg: n.p., 1926.
- . Snip, ukrayins'kyy deklyamator dlya ditey i molodi. 2 vols. Winnipeg: Ukrayins'kyy holos, 1937-1940.
- Kurtseba, Mykola. Zamrachenyy svit, dramatychnyy obraz z zhytya nashoho naroda na chotyry diyi. Winnipeg: Knyharnya Pasichnyaka, [1918].
- Kuryliv, S. Proklin materi, povist'. Winnipeg: Ukrayins'ka vydavnycha spilka v Kanadi, 1936.

- Kyrstyuk, K. Dorohoyu bat'kiv, drama v tr'okh diyyakh, syuzhet vzyaty z slavnoyi istorychnoyi povisty V. Budzynovs'koho "Do viry bat'kiv." Winnipeg: Vistnyk, 1934.
- Lazarevs'kyy, Hlib. Molodist' Lesi Ukrayinky, biohrafichne opovidannya. Winnipeg: Ukrayins'kyy holos, 1943.
- Lisovyy, Ye. I. Naymyt, p'yesa na 4 diyi. Winnipeg: Robitnycho-farmers'ke vydavnyche tovarystvo, 1928.
- Lobay, T. "Za desyat' rokiv." Ukrayins'ki robitnychi visti 23 March 1929: 5.
- Loboda, Ivan. Vony pryshly znovu, roman z finlyands'ko-bol'shevyts'koyi viyny. Winnipeg: Ivan Tyktor, 1953.
- Lysenko, Vera. Westerly Wild. Toronto: Ryerson, 1956.
- . Yellow Boots. Toronto: Ryerson, 1954; 2nd ed. "Introduction." Alexandra Kryvoruchka [Kruchka-Glynn]. Edmonton: NeWest, 1992.
- Lysty z pekla (Antykhryst do Lyutsypera). II. Lyst shynkarya do chorta i ynshi opovidanya. Winnipeg: Rus'ka knyharnya, 1914.
- Mandryka, Mykyta Ivanovych. Kanada, poema. Winnipeg: National Publishers Ltd., 1961.
- . Mandrivnyk, poema. Winnipeg: Trident Press, 1965.
- . Mazepa, poema. Winnipeg: Tryzub, 1960.
- . Miy sad, poeziyi. Vol. 2. Winnipeg: Canadian Ukrainian Educational Assn., 1941.
- . Radist'. Vol. 2. Winnipeg: Tryzub, 1959.
- . Sontsetsvit, poeziyi. Vol. 4. Winnipeg: n.p., 1965.
- . Symfoniya vikiv, poemy i liryka. Vol. 3. Winnipeg: Tryzub, 1961.
- . Ukrayina, povist' vremennykh i nevremennykh lit, poema (symfoniya). Winnipeg: Trident Press, 1965.
- . Vik Petlyury, poema. Winnipeg: Trident Press, 1966.
- . Vyno zhyttya, vybrane dlya vybranykh z poeziyi za 1965-1969 roku. Vol. 5. Winnipeg: ARS, 1970.

- . Zavershennya lita, poeziyi (1970-1974). Vol. 6. Winnipeg: n.p., 1975.
- . Zolota osin', poeziyi (1905-1957). Winnipeg: Tryzub, 1958.
- Manyliv, N.M. Halya, drama na p'yat' diy (syuzhet vzyatyv z opovidannya Dmytra Tyahnyhore "Kozats'ke sertse"). Winnipeg: Ukrayins'kyy holos, 1934.
- Martsiniv, Teodor. Bat'ko, sumna istoryya pro nuzhdu zaribnyka. Winnipeg: Rus'ka knyhnarnya, 1911. Rpt. from journal Khata (Winnipeg) 1911.
- Matsiyevych, S. "Akh, yabluchka - satyra na odnu diyu." Narodna hazeta 4 January 1940: p. 6.
- Maydanyk, Yakiv [Jacob Maidanyk]. "Ks'ondz," in Kalyendar "Kanadyys'koho rusyna" na perestupnyy rik 1916-yy rik. Winnipeg: Ukrayins'kyy rusyn, 1915. 74-6.
- . Manigrula, komediya v odnyy diy i spivamy i tantsyamy. 2nd ed. Winnipeg: Ukrayins'ka knyhnarnya, 1926.
- . Vuyko Sh. Tabachnyuk i 20- ynshi novi, korotki opovidannya. Winnipeg: New Pathway, 1959.
- . Vuykova knyha, richnyk vuyka Shtifa v rysunkakh Ya. Maydanyka. Saskatoon: Ukrainian Canadian Historical Publications, 1974.
- Mel'nychuk, Petro. Bibliyni opovidannya staroho zapovitu. Winnipeg: n.p., 1951.
- Mezhyhirs'ka, Lesya [of Mykola Chachkovs'kyy]. "Ridni materi." Ukrayins'ke slovo 24 May 1961: n. p.
- . "Vesna moya! . . ." Ukrayins'ke slovo 7 June 1961: 13.
- . "Vesnyanka." Ukrayins'ke slovo 31 May 1961: n. p.
- . "Zaspivayu kolomyyku, yaku sklala vchora." Ukrayins'ke slovo 30 April 1961: n. p.
- Mitchell, Nick, "A Place of Our Own." Yarmarok: Ukrainian Writing in Canada since the Second World War. Ed. Yars Balan and Yuri Klynovy. Edmonton: Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies, 1987. 146-57.
- . "Behind Barbed Wire." Ms.
- . "Pamela, Pytro and Baba Parannia." Ms.

- . "The Cat." Puzzle: A Multicultural Anthology for Young Readers. Winnipeg: Peguis, 1986. 75-85.
- . "The Jigsaw Puzzle." Puzzle: A Multicultural Anthology for Young Readers. Winnipeg: Peguis, 1986. 41-64.
- . "The Tree." Puzzle: A Multicultural Anthology for Young Readers. Winnipeg: Peguis, 1986. 127-37.
- . "Tin Can Cathedral." Ms.
- "Molodshyy brat starshomu ('Ukr. rob. vistyam' vid 'Farmers'koho zhyttya')." Ukrayins'ki robitnychi visti 19 March 1929: 6.
- Molodyy vik, opovidannya dlya molodizhy, knyzhka persha. Winnipeg: Ukrayins'ka vydavnycha spilka, 1918.
- Monol'ogy. 3 vols. Winnipeg: Rus'ka knyharnya, 1920.
- Monol'ogy ta diyal'ogy. Winnipeg: Knyharnya Pasichnyaka, n.d.
- Morrisette, George. "A Boy's Wedding at the Prosvita Hall." Yarmarok, Ukrainian Writing in Canada since the Second World War. Ed. Yars Balan and Yuri Klynovy. Edmonton: Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies, 1987. 158-9.
- . "Cheer Up!" Of the Jigsaw: A Multicultural Anthology for Young Readers. Winnipeg: Peguis, 1986. 78-96.
- . Finding Mom at Eaton's. Winnipeg: Turnstone, 1981.
- . Prairie Howl. Edmonton: NeWest, 1977.
- . Three Legged Coyote and Up Against the Open Sky. Wood Mountain (Saskatchewan): Andrew Suknaski, 1980.
- . Two for Father. Wood Mountain (Saskatchewan): Sundog, 1978.
- Mulyarchuk, Ivan. Na fylyakh lyubovy (poeziyi), Opyr (halyts'ka lyegenda). Winnipeg: [n.p.], 1916.
- . Zhnyva dos'pily, poezyyi. Winnipeg: Kanadyys'ky farmer, 1916.
- Musiychuk, Stepan. Na krylakh v Ukrayinu, virshi. Winnipeg: By the author, 1946.

Na vechornytsyakh v seli Tyndyryndy, veseli virshi i opovidannya. Winnipeg: Tochylo Publishing Company, n.d.

Naydanyts'kyi, M. "Deshcho z istoriyi nashoho chasu." Ukrayins'ke slovo 1 May 1963: 16.

---. "Pobazhannya ob'yednaniy hazeti." Zhyttya i slovo 3 November 1965: 11.

[Novak, Apolinaryi, ed.]. Kanadyyski opovidanya, zbirka. Winnipeg: Rus'ka knyharnya Ya. N. Kreta, [1910?].

[---, ed.]. Khan i yoho syn abo ukrayinka-branka i druzhi opovidannya. Winnipeg: Ukrayins'ka vydavnycha spilka, 1916.

---. "Prosvita to bohatstvo." Kanadiys'kyi ranok 17 April 1923: 6.

---. "Visimdesyat' litnyy shkolyar." Kanadiys'kyi ranok 2 January 1923: 7.
[UCEC]

Odynadtsyat'. "Pryvitannya hurtom usim lobayam v al'bom, vid samitnykh bezrobitnykh - lyudey shchyrykh, ne ambitnykh." Ukrayins'ki robitnychi visti, 1936.

Ostapchuk, Volodymyr, ed. Prominnya, zbirka khrystyans'kykh poeziy. Winnipeg: Doroha pravdy, 1954.

Otlukavyn, Okhryp [Vasyl' Kudryk]. Persha pryhoda Nychypora Dovhochkuna, perepoviv Okhryp Otlukavyn. Winnipeg: By the Author, 1911.

P., N. Pershe holennya, ditocha stsenka. Winnipeg: Tochylo, 1941.

Paluk, William. "A Thousand Dollars for John." Puzzle: A Multicultural Anthology for Young Readers. Winnipeg: Peguis, 1986. 147-64.

---. "Back Door." Winnipeg Stories. Ed. Joan Parr. Winnipeg: Queenston House, 1974. 137-153.

---. Canadian Cossacks: Essays, Articles and Stories on Ukrainian-Canadian Life. Winnipeg: Canadian Ukrainian Review Publishing Company, 1943.

---. "Emigrate! A Musical." Ms.

Pasichnyk, Mytor. Kvity z Ukrayiny, opovidannya. Winnipeg: n.p., 1953.

Pavlychyn, Ivan. "Deshcho z istoriyi voyennykh rokiv." Ukrayins'ke slovo 4 September 1963: 11.

Peredplatnyk "Us." "Kolyada za myr." Ukrayins'ke slovo 22 December 1954: 8.

Petrivs'kyi, Mykhaylo [Michael Petrivsky]. Chym ya budu? Winnipeg: Promin', 1929.

---. Dyakouchytel' v shkoli, komediya v odnii diyi, z zhyttya shkolyariv, tak-zvanoyi "dyakovchytel's'koyi shkoly" v Kanadi i Amerytsi. Winnipeg: Promin', 1927.

---. Kanadiys'kyi zhenykh, drama u 4-okh diyakh z zhytya ukrayins'kykh poselentsiv v Kanadi. Winnipeg: Ukrayins'ka knyharnya, 1922.

---. Magichne misto, novelya z zhyttya ukrayins'kykh pereselentsiv v Amerytsi. Winnipeg: By the Author, 1929.

---. Mriyi sl'ozamy oblyti, opovidannya z zhyttya ukrayins'kykh pioneriv i imihrantiv v Kanadi. Winnipeg: n.p., 1973.

---. Oy, Kanado, Kanadon'ko. . . opovidannya z pobutovoho zhyttya ukrayins'kykh poselentsiv v Kanadi. Winnipeg: n.p., 1974.

---. "Za ridnyy kray, trahediya na IV diyi i 3 vidslony." Kanadiys'kyi ranok 8 May - 19 June, 1923.

Petro. "Pys'mo do tovarysha." Kanadiys'kyi ranok 11 September 1923: 2.

P-ets', M. "Robitnytsyam." Robitnytsya 1 April 1924: 24.

Pidval'nyy, V. "Kukivs'kyi memorandum, feyleton." Ukrayins'ke slovo 2 May 1956: 13.

---. "Lyudyna han'by." Ukrayins'ke slovo 18 April 1956: 8.

---. "Zustrich." Ukrayins'ke slovo 4 April 1956: 8.

Pidvysots'kyi, M.D. Son pid sudnyy den' "yom-kipur," komichna operetka u 4 diyakh i 5 kartynakh (syuzhet pozycheno u V. Korolenka). Winnipeg: Ukrayins'kyi bazar, 1929.

Pihichyn, Petro. Yanychary, statti i porady. Winnipeg: Osnova, 1967.

Podolyans'ka, Halyna. "Chytaymo, uchimsya, za pravdu borimsya." Ukrayins'ke slovo 12 March 1958: 8.

Podvornyak, Mykhaylo [Michael Podworniak]. "Bibliya." Kanadiys'kyy ranok 1 November 1952: 1.

- . "Blazhenni." Kanadiys'kyy ranok 1 - 15 August 1954: 2.
- . Bozhyy spokiy, zbirka opovidan'. Winnipeg: n.p., 1966.
- . Brat i sestra, povist'. Winnipeg: Doroha pravdy, 1979.
- . "Chekaye maty." Kanadiys'kyy ranok 1 May 1952: 2.
- . Daleki berehy, opovidannya. Winnipeg: Doroha pravdy, 1975.
- . Kvity na kameni, povist'. Winnipeg: Doroha pravdy, 1976.
- . "Lyuby blyzhn'oho." Kanadiys'kyy ranok 1 April 1952: 4.
- . "Meni ne zhal'" Kanadiys'kyy ranok 20 February 1948: 7.
- . "Narodzhennya." Kanadiys'kyy ranok 15 December 1958: 7.
- . Na shlyakhu zhyttya, zbirka khrystyvans'kykh virshiv i opovidan'. 2 vols. Winnipeg: Doroha pravdy, 1951-53.
- . Nebesnyy dim. Winnipeg: n.p., 1965.
- . Nedospivana pisnya, povist'. Winnipeg: Doroha pravdy, 1967.
- . Odnoho dnya, opovidannya. Winnipeg: Doroha pravdy, 1975.
- . "Osinye." Kanadiys'kyy ranok 1 October 1949: 2.
- . "Pizno." Kanadiys'kyy ranok 1 - 15 August 1951: 15.
- . "Ridna khata." Kanadiys'kyy ranok 2 April 1948: 6.
- . "Rizdvyanyy lyst." Kanadiys'kyy ranok 1 - 15 December 1949: 5.
- . "Shchaslyve rizdvo." Kanadiys'kyy ranok December 1960: 8-9.
- . "Shchaslyvyy svyat vechir." Kanadiys'kyy ranok 1 January 1952: 5.
- . "Smokivnytsya." Kanadiys'kyy ranok 6 February 1948: 7.
- . Stezhky i dorohy, opovidannya. Winnipeg: Doroha pravdy, 1981.

- . "Tin' materi." Kanadiys'kyy ranok 15 May 1954: 2.
- . "Vdova." Kanadiys'kyy ranok 1 - 15 December 1950: 6.
- . "Vesna." Kanadiys'kyy ranok April, 1961: 5.
- . "Vesnyane." Kanadiys'kyy ranok 16 April 1948: 5.
- . Vidpavshi, opovidannya. Winnipeg: Doroha pravdy, 1968.
- . "V ridnyy kray." Kanadiys'kyy ranok 15 August - 1 September 1952: 8-9.
- . "V sadu." Kanadiys'kyy ranok 15 August - 1 September 1952: 5.
- . "Ya lyublyu lito." Kanadiys'kyy ranok July, 1960: 1.
- . "Ya znayu krayi." Kanadiys'kyy ranok 9 June 1948: 5.
- . Zapashnist' polya, opovidannya. Winnipeg: Doroha pravdy, 1971.
- . Zelenyy hay, opovidannya. Winnipeg: Doroha pravdy, 1959.
- . Zolota osin', opovidannya. Winnipeg: Doroha pravdy, 1974.
- Popovych, Pavlo. "Obnovylas' Ukrayina." Ukrayins'ke slovo 6 May 1964: 16.
- . "Pioneram ansamblyu "Banduryst."" Ukrayins'ke slovo 15 May 1963: 12.
- . "Pryvit hostyam z Radyans'koho soyuzu." Ukrayins'ke slovo 10 July 1963: 5.
- . "Ruchayu." Ukrayins'ke slovo 2 September 1964: 11.
- . "Shevchenko v Kanadi." Ukrayins'ke slovo 19 February 1964: 18.
- . "Talanovytyy zhebrak." Ukrayins'ke slovo 20 May 1964: 6.
- . "Vkorinenyy i zamaskovanyy khabar." Ukrayins'ke slovo 3 June 1964: 7.
- . "Yak cholovik z zhinkoyu zbyralsia na vesillya." Ukrayins'ke slovo 8 April 1964: 8.
- . "Yak khlop pana perekhytryv (za narodnymy motyvamy)." Ukrayins'ke slovo 30 June 1965: 15.

- . "Yak zhinka korovu dohlyadala." Ukrayins'ke slovo 12 June 1963: 8.
- . "Zadryzhala zalya smikhom." Ukrayins'ke slovo 12 August 1964: 6.
- "Poslaniya vuyka Sh. Tabachnyuka." Velykyy ilyustrovanyy kalyendar "Kanadyys'koho rusyna" na zvychaynyy rik 1917-yy. Winnipeg: Ukrayins'ka vydavnycha spilka, 1916. 123-125.
- Pro chuda svyatykh Damaziya i Pankratiya; II. Dyvnyy son. Winnipeg: Rus'ka knyhamya, 1910.
- Prodav bat'ka i inshi opovidannya. Winnipeg: Tryzub, 1949.
- Prystash, D. "Doryvochni hadky (pislya vrazhin' khvyli pidchas Shestoho z'yizdu T.U.R.F.D.)." Robitnytsya 15 February 1925: 5-6.
- . "Vorobets' i orel (dorohomu prolyetars'komu pys'mennykovi M. Irchanovi v al'bom)." Robitnytsya 15 February 1925: 5.
- . "Zamists' retsenziyi (Affectionis Causae) (z pryvodu dramy M. Irchana 'Rodyna shchitkariv' na Z'yizdi T.U.R.F.D.)." Robitnytsya 15 February 1925: 5.
- Pryvitni hospodyni, komediyka v odni diyi; Khymery Slavka, komediyka v odniy diyi. Winnipeg: Ukrayins'kyy holos, 1940.
- Pylypenko, P. [Pylyp Ostapchuk]. Chudovyy zyat'. Winnipeg: Promin', 1932.
- . Halychyna v ohni (patsyfikatsiya), drama na 4 diyi. Winnipeg: Ukrayins'ka knyhamya, n.d.
- . Slovo yak horobets', tragi-komediyka na odnu diyu. Winnipeg: Promin', 1932.
- . Smert' komisara Skrypnyka abo Holod na Ukrayini, istorychna drama na 3 diyi. Winnipeg: Ukrayins'ka knyhamya, [1933?].
- . Sovjets'kyi rozvid, komediya na odnu diyu. Winnipeg: Promin', 1932.
- . "Sviy do svoho," komediya na odnu diyu. [Winnipeg ?]: P. Ostapchuk, 1936.
- . Svyshechmo na krizu, komediya na odnu diyu, diyet'sya v kanadiys'komu misti pidchas krizu. Edmonton: Ukrayins'ka knyhamya, n.d.
- . V pazurakh cheka abo krivava kvitka bol'shevyts'koho rayu, drama na 5 diyi. Winnipeg: By the Author, 1931.

- . Za zhenykhamy, komediya na odnu diyu. [Winnipeg ?]: P. Ostapchuk, 1936.
- Pyontek, L. "Balaklava." Robitnytsya 16 September 1924: 8-12.
- . "Bandytykha." Ukrayins'ki robitnychi visti 20 - 25 September 1924: 3.
- . "Holyandiya (kriz' vikno vagonu)." Robitnytsya 1 February 1927: 73.
- . "Kanada -- Port St. Dzhan." Robitnytsya 1 February 1927: 73.
- . "Kordon." Robitnytsya 15 December 1924: 5.
- . "London." Robitnytsya 1 February 1927: 73.
- . "Proshchannya." Robitnytsya 1 May 1924: 36.
- Rarahovs'kyi, Dmytro. Robitnychi pisni. Winnipeg: [n.p.], 1908.
- Revolutsiyni pisni. Winnipeg: Ukrayins'ki robitnychi visti, 1921.
- Robitnyk. "Tym shcho navazhalysya znyshchyty RZT." Ukrayins'ki robitnychi visti 23 January 1934: 5.
- Rozkazy pro syly pryrody, Chast' II: 1. Pro teplo ta kholod. 2. Pro magnitnu sylu elyekttryku (hromovynu). Winnipeg: Ukrayins'ki robitnychi visti, n.d.
- Rytsar i smert'. Winnipeg: Rus'ka knyharnya, 1910.
- S., M. [Mykhaylo Smityukh ?]. "V chasi strayku." Holos robitnytsi January-February, 1923: 5-6.
- Savchuk, Semen. Opovidannya z zhyttya Isusa Khrysta. Winnipeg: Vistnyk, 1930.
- Semchuk, Stefan. Kanadiys'ka rapsodiya, poeziya i proza. Winnipeg: n.p., 1959.
- . Miy molytvennyk. Winnipeg: n.p., 1974.
- . Navkola svita, liryka. Vol. 10. Winnipeg: n.p., 1971.
- . Poemy, poeziyi knyzhka sema. Winnipeg: n.p., 1967.
- . Poeziya i proza, knyzhka devyata. Winnipeg: n.p., 1969.
- . Reflyeksiyi, poeziyi knyzhka pyata. Winnipeg: n.p., 1965.

- . Sotvorenniya, poeziyi knyzhka vos'ma. Winnipeg: n.p., 1968.
- . Svitlist' dumky, poeziyi knyzhka desyata. Winnipeg: n.p., 1970.
- . Vinets'. Winnipeg: n.p., 1979.
- . Zherela, poeziyi knyzhka shesta. Winnipeg: n.p., 1966.
- Semchyshyn, Antin. "Bezridnyy." Ukrayins'ke slovo 27 April 1955: 13.
- . "Drabyna znannya," Ukrayins'ke slovo 6 April 1955: 18.
- Serwylo, Ray. Accordion Lessons. Vancouver: Pulp, 1982.
- Shcho stalosya z Rudol'fom abo tragediya na zamku Mayerling: zhytje i tayemnycha smert' avstriys'koho arkhknyazya Rudol'fa i yoho lyubky baronivky Vechery: tayni podiyi z zhyttya . . . Frantsa Yozyfa I, tsisarevoyi Elyzavety i zhinky Rudol'fa arkh. knyahyni Stefaniyi. Winnipeg: Rus'ka knyharnya, 1913.
- Shchypavka, Hryts' [Osyp Shpytko]. Novi pisni z starym kintsem, perespivy Shchypavky i Drapavky z dodatkom narodnykh pisen'. Winnipeg: [n.p.], [1913].
- Shevchuk, Tetyana [Tetiana]. Na prestil maybutnikh dnev, poeziyi. Winnipeg: n.p., 1964.
- Shkvarok, Yurko. Istoriya Ukrayiny-Rusy virshamy. Winnipeg: Kanadiys'kyy rusyn, 1918.
- Shrit [Ivan Bodrug]. Hostynets' z Kanady, I. "Nashi," 2. "Delyegaty". Winnipeg: Rus'ka knyharnya Ya. N. Kreta, 1911.
- Shtuky: Chast' I. MARS, 1928.
- Sichyns'kyy na voly, zbirka statey i pisen'. Winnipeg: Ya. N. Kret, 1911.
- Skoropad. "Vsi yak ody, holosuyte lysh na komunistiv." Ukrayins'ki robitnychi visti 8 October 1935: 3.
- Sl., M. U zarani slavy, podiyi z zhyttya ukrayins'kykh knyaziv Oleha i Ihorya i knyahyni Ol'hy. Winnipeg: Kanadiys'kyy farmer, 1917.
- Slavutych, Yar, comp. and ed. Antolohiya ukrayins'koyi poeziyi v Kanadi, 1898-1973. Edmonton: Slovo, 1975.
- Sluka, Hryhoriy. "Prolyetars'ka pisnya." Robitnytsya 1 December 1924: 17.

- Sokhats'kyy, M.I., and D.M. Il'chyshyn. Naynovishi stsenichni zharty. Winnipeg: Solovnyy shtab vuyka, 1925.
- Sokol's'ka, Mariya [Mykola Chachkovs'kyy]. "Khochu virsha napysaty . . ." Ukrayins'ke slovo 5 August 1964: 15.
- . "Kolyskova." Ukrayins'ke slovo 11 March 1964: 7.
- Solyanych, Dmytro. Sorokati shtany i inshi veseli opovidannya ta virshi. Winnipeg: Ukrayins'ka knyharnya, 1930.
- Stavnychka, Vasyl'. Chudo profesor. Winnipeg: By the Author, 1946.
- . Zavzatyty Yurko abo poshana do rodychiv. Winnipeg: Promin', n.d.
- Stechyshyn, Mykhaylo [Michael Stechishin]. Bayky, chastyna persha. Winnipeg: n.p., 1959.
- Surovtseva, Nadiya. "Ptashok z Milvoki." Robitnytsya 15 September 1924: 12-13.
- Sylenko, Lev. Maha vrata. Winnipeg: Oriyana, 1969.
- Syn'ooverholets', M. [Mykhaylo Smityukh, also known as Mike Smith]. "Chy nash?" Robitnytsya 1 April 1925: 8-9.
- . "Deportovanyy." Robitnytsya 15 September 1933: 19-20.
- . "Do brata." Robitnytsya 15 September 1928: 553-557.
- . "Farmer." Robitnytsya 15 October 1925: 13-14.
- . "Koly-b ne te . . ." Robitnytsya 1 July 1925: 7.
- . "Leydof." Holos robitnytsi February-March, 1924: 12-13.
- . "Leyd off, stsenichna kartyna z robitnychoho zhyttya na 1 diyu." Robitnytsya 15 November 1932: 20-22.
- . "Na farmakh (zapysky z litn'oho sezonu)." Robitnytsya 1 November 1926: 13-17.
- . "Nema nashoho Dedi." Svit molodi May, 1927: 6.
- . "Pid bramoyu fabryky." Robitnytsya 1 November 1924: 8-9.

- . "Soni," robitnycha p'yesa na 3 diyi, 4 vidslony. Winnipeg: Robitnyche zapomohove tovarystvo v Kanadi, 1935.
- . "Zhyttya -- strakh." Robitnytsya 1 April 1925: 9-10.
- . "Zlochyntsi." Robitnytsya 15 July 1925: 8-11.
- . "Zlodyyka." Robitnytsya 1 August 1924: 18-19.
- . "Zvyrodniv." Robitnytsya 15 June 1926: 9 -10.
- Tarasenko, Anna. "Pryyikhaly banderivtsi u nashu Kanadu." Ukrayins'ke slovo 9 November 1949: 16.
- . "Pochynaymo fond zbyraty! -- fond i peredplaty . . ." Ukrayins'ke slovo 16 November 1949: 16.
- Tarasyuk, Ilarion. Na krylakh viry, poeziyi. Winnipeg: Doroha pravdy, 1962.
- Torbyna s'mikhu ta mishok rehotu, vesela knyzhka dlya vsikh. Winnipeg: Rus'ka knyharnya, [n.d.]
- Transkonets', P.D. "Chytaymo svoyu presu, stavaymo chlenamy TOUK i RZT." Ukrayins'ke slovo 8 August 1959: 14.
- . "Do kolomyyok pro sela kolo Horodenky pomishchenykh v "US" vid 5-ho lystopada." Ukrayins'ke slovo 19 November 1958:17.
- . "Do storichchya narodzhennya Ivana Franka." Ukrayins'ke slovo 18 January 1956: 16.
- . "Druzyam v Transkoni i okolytsi." Ukrayins'ke slovo 8 August 1956: 11.
- . "Het' viynu." Ukrayins'ke slovo 21 September 1960: 12.
- . "Kanada hovoryt' (prysvyata ukrayins'kym pioneram v Kanadi)." Ukrayins'ke slovo 26 October 1955: 4.
- . "Kolomyyka pro mynule i suchasne." Ukrayins'ke slovo 9 September 1959: 11.
- . "Kolomyyka pro Ukrayinu i Kanadu." Ukrayins'ke slovo 21 December 1960: p. 16.
- . "Kolomyyky pro Hovyliv Velykyy kolo Khorostkova ta inshi sela." Ukrayins'ke slovo 10 September 1958: 11.

- . "Kolys' i teper." Ukrayins'ke slovo 2 January 1957: 16.
- . "Lito (za formoyu virshuvannya Oleny Hrabchuk)." Ukrayins'ke slovo 29 June 1960: 15.
- . "Lystopadovo-hrudnevi rytmy i rymy." Ukrayins'ke slovo 30 October 1963: 11.
- . "Mamo! . . ." Ukrayins'ke slovo 6 May 1964: 19.
- . "My i nasha presa." Ukrayins'ke slovo 3 December 1958: 16.
- . "Myrolyubni lyudy kazhut' . . ." Ukrayins'ke slovo 3 May 1961: 16.
- . "Na svyati I. Franka u Vinnipehu." Ukrayins'ke slovo 26 September 1956: 14.
- . "'Palomnyky,' shcho idut' krutorohymy na zakhid sontsya ponad desyat' roktiv." Ukrayins'ke slovo 1 June 1955: 13.
- . "Pam'yati P. Lysetsya i V. Holovacha." Ukrayins'ke slovo 23 September 1959: 15.
- . "Pisnya nashykh dnev." Ukrayins'ke slovo 24 July 1963: 15.
- . "Pravda nepravdu peremozhe." Ukrayins'ke slovo 26 April 1961: 13.
- . "Pro Horodenkivs'ki kolomyuky ta pro sela kolo Horodenky." Ukrayins'ke slovo 5 November 1958: 16.
- . "Pro Transkonu, pro sekretarya Provkomu." Ukrayins'ke slovo 14 May 1958: 16.
- . "Prymirni ukrayins'ki dity ta yikhni bat'ky." Ukrayins'ke slovo 11 November 1959: 13.
- . "Pryznannya budivnychym presy i orhanizatsiyi." Ukrayins'ke slovo 16 September 1959: 12.
- . "Rivnopravstvo zhinky i Lesya Ukrayinka," Ukrayins'ke slovo 9 July 1958: 4.
- . "Rodymy krayu, selo rodyme . . ." Ukrayins'ke slovo 27 June 1956: 18.
- . "Slovo pro mynule kolhospnoyi zemli v Ivanyu-Zolotim na Ternopil'shchyni." Ukrayins'ke slovo 12 October 1960: 13.

- . "Slovo pro nashykh 3-okh providnykh tovaryshiv (pro Matviya Popovycha, Matviya Shatul'skoho ta pro Ivana Navizivs'koho)." Ukrayins'ke slovo 4 December 1963: 13.
- . "Vidpovid' avtora kolomyyok." Ukrayins'ke slovo 17 December 1958: 13.
- . "Vil'na Ukraina." Ukrayins'ke slovo 10 October 1962: 6.
- . "V yuvilejne svyato nashoho TOUK." Ukrayins'ke slovo 26 November 1958: 17.
- . "Volyns'ki krasavytsi." Ukrayins'ke slovo 1 May 1963: 16.
- . "V pryznannya i prysvyatu lyudyni za yiyi smilu dumku i vyslovy." Ukrayins'ke slovo 14 May 1958: 17.
- . "Vsi ti, shcho berut'sya virshi ukladaty, povynni bahato knykh perechytaty." Ukrayins'ke slovo 13 June 1956: 17.
- . "Zemlyakovi Vasylenkovi za uvahu do kolomyyok pro Hovyliiv." Ukrayins'ke slovo 29 October 1958: 11.
- . "Z istoriyi ukrayintsiv v Kanadi." Ukrayins'ke slovo 10 October 1956: 6.
- . "Zlydni vyhnaly nas z ridnoho krayu." Ukrayins'ke slovo 26 March 1958: 19.
- . "Z pryvodu zolotoho yuvileyu odruzhennya nashykh druziv." Ukrayins'ke slovo 2 September 1964: 15.
- . "Z zhyttya Shevchenka v dytynstvi." Ukrayins'ke slovo 5 March 1958: 11.
- Tulevitriv, V. Dumy i pisni, zbirnyk dum i pisen' napysanykh v Kanadi. Toronto: n.p., 1929.
- . Shchaslyve i vesele zhyttya. Winnipeg: Promin', 1944.
- . Taka yiyi dolya, drama z chasiv vyzvol'nykh zmahan' na Karpats'ki Ukrayini v 4-okh diyakh. Hamilton, n.p., 1941.
- Tyahnyhore, Dmytro [Dmytro Sidlets'kyy]. Graf rozbiynyk i ynshi opovidannya. Winnipeg: Ukrayins'kyy holos, 1928.
- . Halya, drama, syuzhet vzyaty z opovidannya Dmytra Tyahnyhore "Kozats'ke sertse." zdramatyzuvav N.M. Manyliv. Winnipeg: Ukrayins'kyy holos, 1934.

---. Koroleva rozbiynykiv i inshi opovidannya. Winnipeg: Ukrayins'ka vydavnycha spilka, 1938.

---. Kozats'ke sertse i inshi opovidannya. Winnipeg: Ukrayins'ky holos, 1927.

---. Rozbiynyk Ivan Pushkar i inshi opovidannya. Winnipeg: Ukrayins'ka vydavnycha spilka, 1936.

Tykhonchuk, Yosafat [Andriy Babyuk]. Tovarystvo 'Pshyk,' komediya v tr'okh diyakh. Winnipeg: Tovarystvo ukrayins'koho robitnychoho domu, 1925.

Tymchak. "Our Call!" Ukrayins'ki robitnychi visti, 5 June 1935, p. 3.

Ukrayinets', Ivan. Za Ukrayinu, drama na try diy. Winnipeg: Nasha kul'tura, 1951.

Ukrayins'ky spivannyk, nove dopovnyne vydannya. Winnipeg: Ukrayins'ka knyharnya, [1924?]

Vasyl'chenko, Oksana [Mykola Chachkovs'ky]. "RZT svoje buduymo!" Ukrayins'ke slovo, 11 September 1963, n.p.

Vasyliv, P., comp. Persha lastivka ukrayins'kykh pisen' dlya ukrayins'koyi molodizhy v Kanadi. Winnipeg: Ukrayins'ka vydavnycha spilka, 1917.

Veretel'nyk, V. Vid'my, komediya v dvokh diyakh. Winnipeg, n.d.

---. V rodyimim krayu, drama v trekh aktakh i odniy vidsloni. Winnipeg: Ukrayins'ka knyharnya, n.d.

Volokhatyuk, Taras. Knyazenko zabavy. Winnipeg: MARS, 1925.

---. Shchyri ukrayintsi. Winnipeg: MARS, 1925.

Volynets', M. [Matviy Shatul's'ky]. "Dolya zaribnytsi." Holos robitnytsi April, 1923: 5-10.

---. "Yanson." Ukrayins'ki robitnychi visti 27 September - 4 October 1924: 3.

---. "Zabuti." Robitnytsya 1 August, 1924:16 -17.

Vovchyna, Oleksa. "Rozdumy pidtyachoho na pomynkakh." Ukrayins'ke slovo 5 February 1958: 13.

Yavot, M. "Vstavayte vsi v lavu i idim na Ottavu." Ukrayins'ki robitnychi visti 10 July 1935: 3.

- Yefymovych-Kmeta, Iv. “Brat’ Krupka.” Kanadiys’kyy ranok 9 November 1928: 5.
- . “Chayky.” Kanadiys’kyy ranok 15 March 1929: 2.
- . Chasha zolota, vybrane, liryka. Winnipeg: Doroha pravdy, 1964.
- . “Koly spav Vyfleyem.” Kanadiys’kyy ranok 1 December 1952: 2.
- . “Nashcho?” Kanadiys’kyy ranok 16 November 1928: 7.
- . “Panna Kanada.” Kanadiys’kyy ranok 5 February 1932 - 1 June 1932.
- . “Rozproduvalys’.” Kanadiys’kyy ranok 15 March 1929: 3.
- . “Sum.” Kanadiys’kyy ranok 1 January 1950: 2.
- . “Yuda (poema).” Kanadiys’kyy ranok 1 June 1928: 14.
- . Zapysky rozstrilyanoho, frahmenty i novely. Winnipeg: n.p., 1929.
- Yeremiv, M. I. Bez starshykh, komediya v dvokh diyakh, II. Mykol’tsiv podarunok, komediya v odniy diy. Winnipeg: Ukrayins’kyy holos, 1935.
- Z[ahariychuk], A[ndriy]. Cherha, komichna ditocha stsenka v odniy vidsloni. Winnipeg: Promin’, 1927.
- Zakharchuk, Dmytro. Na chuzhyni. Winnipeg: Promin’, 1934.
- Zbirka opovidan’ dlya ukrayins’koyi molodizhy. Winnipeg: Ukrayins’ka vydavnycha spilka v Kanadi, [1930?].

Secondary Sources

I. Literature: History and Criticism

- Anastas, Walter, and Maria Woroby, comp. A Select Index to *Svoboda*, Volume One: 1893-1899. St. Paul, MN: Immigration History Research Center, 1990.
- Anastazievsky, Walter and Roman Stepchuk, A Select Index to *Svoboda*, Volume Two, 1900 to 1907. St. Paul, MN: Immigration History Research Center, 1991.
- Aponiuk, Natalia. "'Ethnic Literature,' 'Minority Writing,' 'Literature in Other Languages,' 'Hyphenated-Canadian Literature' -- Will It Ever Be 'Canadian'?" Canadian Ethnic Studies 28.1 (1996): 1-7.
- . "Images of Ukrainian Women in Canadian Literature." Proceedings of the Linguistic Circle of Manitoba and North Dakota 21. 30-31 Oct. 1981. [Grand Forks, ND: University of North Dakota], 1981. 5-6.
- . "The Problem of Identity: The Depiction of Ukrainians in Canadian Literature." Canadian Ethnic Studies 14.1 (1982): 50-61.
- . "Some Images of Ukrainian Women in Canadian Literature." Journal of Ukrainian Studies 8.1 (1983): 39-50.
- . "Ukrainian Names in Canadian English-Language Literature." Proceedings of the XVth International Congress of Onomastic Sciences. 13-17 Aug. 1984. Ed. Ernst Eichler, Elke Sass and Hans Walther. Vol. I. Leipzig, GDR: Karl Marx University, 1985. 1-4.
- . "Ukrainian Names in Recent English-Language Fiction." Proceedings of the XVIIth International Congress of Onomastic Sciences. Ed. Eeva Maria Narhi. Vol. I. Helsinki, Finland: University of Helsinki and the Finnish Research Centre for Domestic Languages, 1990. 152-6.
- . "The Use of Ukrainian Names by Three Contemporary Canadian Writers." The Ukrainian Experience in Canada: Reflections. Ed. Oleh W. Gerus, Irida Gerus-Tarnawecky, and Stephan Jarmus. Winnipeg: Ukrainian Academy of Arts and Sciences in Canada, 1994. 301-11.
- . "Vera Lysenko and Lilli Landash: The Creation of a Persona through the Use of Names." Proceedings of the XIXth International Congress of Onomastic Sciences. Ed. W.F.H. Nicolaison. Aberdeen, Scot.: University of Aberdeen, forthcoming.

- , ed. Ethnic Themes in Canadian Literature. Special Issue of Canadian Ethnic Studies 28.1 (1996).
- Arabs'ka, H. "Literatura v Kanadi i yiyi krytyky." Ukrayins'kyy robitnyk 7: 26.
- Atwood, Margaret. Survival: A Thematic Guide to Canadian Literature. Toronto: Anansi, 1972.
- Balan, Anna. "Early Canadian-Ukrainian Theatre." Novyy shlyakh. 25 March 1978.
- Balan, Jars. "A Losing Cause: Refighting the Revolution on the Ukrainian Canadian Stage." Slavic Drama: The Question of Innovation. Eds. Andrew Donskov et al. Ottawa: U of Ottawa, 1991. 226-34.
- . "Backdrop to an Era: The Ukrainian Canadian Stage in the Interwar Years." Journal of Ukrainian Studies 16 (1991): 89-113.
- . "Some Notes Towards the Writing of the Ukrainian Literary Institution in Canada." Special Issue: "Literatures of Lesser Diffusion." Eds. Joseph Pivato, Steven Totosy de Zepetnek and Milan V. Dimic. Canadian Review of Comparative Literature (September-December, 1989): 745-62.
- . "Ukrainian Theatre in Canada: Scenes from an Untold Story." Canadian Theatre Review 56 (Fall 1988): 35-9.
- . "Ukrainian Writing." The Oxford Companion to Canadian Literature. Ed. William Toye. Toronto: Oxford UP, 1983. 807-10.
- Bisztray, George. Hungarian-Canadian Literature. Toronto: U of Toronto P, 1987.
- Blodgett, E.D. "The Concept of the 'Prairie' in Canadian Fiction." Proceedings of the 7th Congress of the International Comparative Literature Association. Ed. M.V. Dimic and Juan Ferrte. Vol. 1. Stuttgart, Budapest, 1979. 121-6.
- . Configuration: Essays on the Canadian Literatures. Downsview: ECW P, 1982.
- "New Canadian Writes Play in Mother Tongue Dealing with Assimilation." Winnipeg Free Press 9 January 1932: 12.
- "Bozhyk, Panteleimon." Encyclopedia of Ukraine. 5 vols. Toronto: U of Toronto P, 1984-93.
- Bratun', Rostyslav Andriyovych. Kanads'ka knyha. Kyiv: Khudozhnya literatura, 1963.

- Budurowycz, Bohdan. "The Changing Image of Ukrainians in English-Canadian Fiction." Journal of Ukrainian Studies 14 (1989): 143-57.
- "Canada: Literature." Encyclopedia of Ukraine. 5 vols. Toronto: U of Toronto P, 1984-93.
- Connor, Ralph [Charles Gordon]. The Foreigner. Toronto: Westminster Press, 1909.
- Craig, Terrence. Racial Attitudes in English-Canadian Fiction: 1905-1980. Waterloo: Wilfrid Laurier U, 1987.
- "Doroshchuk, Stepan." Encyclopedia of Ukraine. 5 vols. Toronto: U of Toronto P, 1984-93.
- "Ewach, Honore." Encyclopedia of Ukraine. 5 vols. Toronto: U of Toronto P, 1984-93.
- Farkavec, Dimitrij. "J. Maydanyk's Contribution to Ukrainian Canadian Literature." Master's thesis U of Manitoba, 1983.
- "Fedyk, Teodor." Encyclopedia of Ukraine. 5 vols. Toronto: U of Toronto P, 1984-93.
- Friesen, Gerald. "Three Generations of Fiction: An Introduction to Prairie Cultural History." The Prairie West: Historical Readings. Ed. R. Douglas Francis and Howard Palmer. Edmonton: Pica Pica, 1985. 629-60.
- Frye, Northrop. The Bush Garden: Essays on the Canadian Imagination. Toronto: Anansi, 1971.
- "Galay, Theodore." Encyclopedia of Ukraine. 5 vols. Toronto: U of Toronto P, 1984-93.
- Gregorovich, Andrew. Ukraine and Ukrainian Canadians: Books for High School, College and Public Libraries. Toronto: Ucrainica Research Institute, 1979.
- . Canadian Ethnic Groups Bibliography. Toronto: Department of the Provincial Secretary and Citizenship of Ontario, 1972.
- . Ukrainian Canadiana: 1904-1979. Toronto: University of Toronto Library, 1979.
- "Haas, Maara." Encyclopedia of Ukraine. 5 vols. Toronto: U of Toronto P, 1984-93.
- Harrison, Dick. Unnamed Country: The Struggle for a Canadian Prairie Fiction. Edmonton: U of Alberta P, 1977.

- Haydey, Caroline. "Karmansky's Na mandrivtsi stolit (Wandering through the centuries): A Study of a Hitherto Unknown Manuscript." Master's thesis U of Manitoba, 1974.
- Hay-Holovko [Hay-Holowko], Oleksa. Ukrayins'ki pys'mennyky v Kanadi, literaturno-krytychni narysy. Vol. 1. Winnipeg: Volyn', 1980.
- Heidenreich, Rosmarin. The Postwar Novel in Canada: Narrative Patterns and Reader Response. Waterloo: Wilfrid Laurier U P, 1989.
- Hiritsch, B. "The Development of Ukrainian Theatre and Its Role in Canada." Master's Thesis U of Montreal, 1962.
- "Hunkevych, Dmytro." Encyclopedia of Ukraine. 5 vols. Toronto: U of Toronto P, 1984-93.
- "Hykavy, Onufrii." Encyclopedia of Ukraine. 5 vols. Toronto: U of Toronto P, 1984-93.
- "Ichniansky, Myroslav." Encyclopedia of Ukraine. 5 vols. Toronto: U of Toronto P, 1984-93.
- "Irchan, Myroslav." Encyclopedia of Ukraine. 5 vols. Toronto: U of Toronto P, 1984-93.
- Isayiv, I. "Yuviley P. Ostapchuka." Ukrayins'ki visti 1 December 1958.
- Ivakh, Onufriy [Honore Ewach]. "Ukrayins'ko-kanadiys'ke pys'menstvo." Yuvileyyny al'manakh dlya 50-littya pratsi "Ukrayins'koho holosu," 1910-1960. Winnipeg: Tryzub, n.d. 156-65.
- "Khto vony?" Vil'ne slovo 2 June 1962.
- Kiriak, Illya [Kyriyak, Illya]. Sons of the Soil. Toronto: Ryerson Press, 1959.
- Kirkconnell, Watson. "Canada's Unseen Literature." A Slice of Canada. Toronto: U of Toronto P, 1967.
- . "Ukrainian Canadian Literature." Opinion III.5 (Sept.-Oct. 1947): 3.
- . "Ukrainian Literature in Canada." The Ukrainian Year Book, 1953-54. Comp. F.A. Macrouch. Winnipeg: n.p., 1954. 44-46.
- . "Ukrainian Literature in Manitoba." Jubilee Collection of the Ukrainian Free Academy of Sciences in Canada. Ed. O.W. Gerus, O. Baran and Ya.Rozumnyj. Winnipeg: Ukrainian Academy of Arts and Sciences in Canada, 1976. 622-31.

- Kirtz, Mary K. "‘I am become a name’: The Representation of Ukrainians in Ross, Lawrence, Ryga and Atwood." Canadian Ethnic Studies 24.2 (1992): 35-45.
- Klymasz, Robert B. An Introduction to the Ukrainian-Canadian Immigrant Folksong Cycle. Ottawa: Queen’s Printer, 1971.
- . "Art of Intrusion: Macaronicism in Ukrainian-Canadian Literature." Special Issue: "Literatures of Lesser Diffusion." Ed. Joseph Pivato, Steven Totosy de Zepetnek and Milan V. Dimic. Canadian Review of Comparative Literature (September-December, 1989): 763-69.
- . Ukrainian Folklore in Canada. New York: Arno Press, 1980.
- "Knyha pro pisnyu, tanets’ i teatr ukrayintsiv Kanady." Postup 18-25 July 1965.
- Koohtow, P.W. "Ukrainian Theatre in Canada," Canadian Forum 10 (1930): 386.
- "Kovbel (Kowbel), Semen." Encyclopedia of Ukraine. 5 vols. Toronto: U of Toronto P, 1984-93.
- Kovbel’, Semen. "Dramatychni tvory ta yikh avtory." Propamyatna knyha Ukrayins’koho narodnoho domu u Vynypegu. Ed. D. Doroshenko and S. Kovbel’. Winnipeg: Ukrainian National Home in Winnipeg, 1949. 618-22.
- . "Pochatky ukrayins’koyi literatury v Kanadi." Propamyatna knyha Ukrayins’koho narodnoho domu u Vynypegu. Ed. D. Doroshenko and S. Kovbel’. Winnipeg: Ukrainian National Home in Winnipeg, 1949. 603-05.
- . "Poeziya i yiyi tvortsi." Propamyatna knyha Ukrayins’koho narodnoho domu u Vynypegu. Ed. D. Doroshenko and S. Kovbel’. Winnipeg: Ukrainian National Home in Winnipeg, 1949. 605-14.
- . "Povisty i opovidannya ta yikh avtory." Propamyatna knyha Ukrayins’koho narodnoho domu u Vynypegu. Ed. D. Doroshenko and S. Kovbel’. Winnipeg: Ukrainian National Home in Winnipeg, 1949. 614-18.
- "Krat, Pavlo." Encyclopedia of Ukraine. 5 vols. Toronto: U of Toronto P, 1984-93.
- Kravchuk, Petro [Peter Krawchuk]. Na noviy zemli, storinka z zhyttya, borot’by i tvorchoyi pratsi kanads’kykh ukrayintsiv. Toronto: Tovarystvo ob’yednanykh ukrayins’kykh kanadtsiv, 1958.
- . "Myroslav Irchan -- literaturnyy krytyk." Ukrayintsi v Kanadi, statti, narysy, pamflety. Kyiv: Dnipro, 1981, pp. 157-171.

- , ed. Nasha stsena. Toronto: Kobzar, 1981.
- . Poety Kanady. Kyiv: Radyans'kyi pys'mennyk, 1958.
- . Ukrayins'ka literatura v Kanadi. Kyiv: Dnipro, 1964.
- . Ukrayintsi v kanads'kiy literaturi. Kyiv: "Ukrayina," 1990.
- , ed. Ukrayins'ki kanads'ki pys'mennyky. L'viv: Kamenyar, 1971.
- Krawchuk, Peter [Petro Kravchuk]. "The Ukrainian Image in Canadian Literature." Tribute to Our Ukrainian Pioneers in Canada's First Century. Proceedings of a Special Convention of the Association of United Ukrainian Canadians and the Workers' Benevolent Association of Canada. March 23, 1966, Winnipeg, Manitoba. 28-42.
- Kreisel, Henry. "The "Ethnic" Writer in Canada." Identifications: Ethnicity and the Writer in Canada. Ed. Jars Balan. Edmonton: Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies, 1982. 1-13.
- . "The Prairie: A State of Mind." Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada 6.4 (1968): 171-80.
- Kroetsch, Robert. "The Grammar of Silence: Narrative Pattern in Ethnic Writing." Canadian Literature 106 (1985): 65-74.
- Kruchka-Glynn [Kryvoruchka], Alexandra. "Reintroducing Vera Lysenko - Ukrainian Canadian Author." Journal of Ukrainian Studies 27 (1990): 53-70.
- Kryvoruchka [Kruchka-Glynn], Alexandra. "Introduction." Yellow Boots. By Vera Lysenko. Edmonton: NeWest, 1992. xi-xxiii.
- "Kudryk, Vasyl." Encyclopedia of Ukraine. 5 vols. Toronto: U of Toronto P, 1993.
- Kyriyak, Illya. Syny zemli, povist' z ukrayins'koho zhyttya v Kanadi. 3 vols. Edmonton: By the Author, 1939-1945.
- Laughter in My Soul. Dir. Halya Kuchmij. National Film Board of Canada, 1983.
- "Lysenko, Vera." Encyclopedia of Ukraine. 5 vols. Toronto: U of Toronto P, 1984-93.
- "Maidanyk, Yakiv." Encyclopedia of Ukraine. 5 vols. Toronto: U of Toronto P, 1984-93.

- Malycky, Alexander. "A Preliminary Check List of Studies on Ukrainian-Canadian Creative Literature: Part I. General Studies." Canadian Ethnic Studies 1.1 (1969): 161-3.
- . "Ukrainian-Canadian Periodical Publications: A Preliminary Check List." Canadian Ethnic Studies 1.1 (1969): 77-142.
- . "University Research on Ukrainian-Canadians: A Preliminary Check List of Dissertations and Theses." Canadian Ethnic Studies 1.1 (1969): 72-6.
- . "University Research on Ukrainian-Canadians: First Supplement." Canadian Ethnic Studies 2.1 (1970): 193-4.
- Malycky, Alexander, and Elaine Verchomin Harasymiw. "A Preliminary Check List of Imprints." Canadian Ethnic Studies 2.1 (1970): 205-28.
- . "A Preliminary Check List of Studies on Ukrainian-Canadian Creative Literature: Part II. Specific Studies." Canadian Ethnic Studies 2.1 (1970): 229-44.
- Mandel, Eli. "Romance and Realism in Western Canadian Fiction." Prairie Perspectives 2. Ed. A.W. Rasporich and H.C. Klassen. Toronto: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1973. 197-211.
- . "The Ethnic Voice in Canadian Writing." Figures in a Ground. Ed. Diane Bessai and David Jackel. Saskatoon: Western Producer, 1978. 264-77.
- "Mandryka, Mykyta." Encyclopedia of Ukraine. 5 vols. Toronto: U of Toronto P, 1984-93.
- Mandryka, Mykyta Ivanovych. History of Ukrainian Literature in Canada. Winnipeg: Ukrainian Academy of Arts and Sciences in Canada, 1968.
- . "Kharakter i zmist ukrayins'koho pys'menstva v Kanadi." Jubilee collection of the Ukrainian Free Academy of Sciences in Canada. Ed. O.W. Gerus, O. Baran and Ya. Rozumnyj. Winnipeg: Ukrainian Academy of Arts and Sciences in Canada, 1976. 632-46.
- . "Ukrainian Canadian Literature." Proceedings of the 3rd Congress of the International Comparative Literature Association. The Hague: Mouton, 1962. 306.
- Marunchak, M.H. Biohrafichnyy dovidnyk do istoriyi ukrayintsiv Kanady. Winnipeg: Ukrayins'ka vil'na akademiya nauk v Kanadi, 1986.

- . "Literatura." Studiyi do istoriyi ukrayintsiv Kanady. Vol. 3. Winnipeg: Ukrainian Academy of Arts and Sciences in Canada, 1969-80. 97-204.
- . "Literature." The Ukrainian Canadians: A History. 2nd ed. Winnipeg: Ukrainian Academy of Arts and Sciences in Canada, 1982. 499-536.
- . "Literature of the Pioneers." The Ukrainian Canadians: A History. 2nd ed. Winnipeg: Ukrainian Academy of Arts and Sciences in Canada, 1982. 297-308.
- . "Poets and Writers." The Ukrainian Canadians: A History. 2nd ed. Winnipeg: Ukrainian Academy of Arts and Sciences in Canada, 1982. 664-70.
- McCourt, Edward A. The Canadian West in Fiction. Toronto: Ryerson Press, 1970.
- McKenzie, Ruth. "Life in a New Land: Notes on the Immigrant Theme in Canadian Fiction." Canadian Literature 7 (1961): 24-33.
- McLeod, Gordon Duncan. "A Descriptive Bibliography of the Canadian Prairie Novel, 1871-1970." Diss. U of Manitoba, 1974.
- Melnik, J.A. "A Typology of Ukrainian-Canadian Folklore." Master's thesis U of Manitoba, 1972.
- Mendel, Eli, ed. Contexts of Canadian Criticism. Chicago: U of Chicago P, 1971.
- Miska, John. Ethnic and Native Canadian Literature: A Bibliography. Toronto: U of Toronto P, 1990.
- Mycak, Sonia. "A Different Story: The Pioneer Myth Revisited." Canadian Ethnic Studies 28.1 (1996): 72-94.
- Myroniuk, Halyna, and Christine Worobec. Ukrainians in North America: A Select Bibliography. St. Paul, Minnesota: Immigration History Research Center and Toronto, Ontario: Multicultural History Society of Ontario, 1981.
- Nazarenko, Tatiana. "Ukrainian-Canadian Visual Poetry: Traditions and Innovations," Canadian Ethnic Studies 28.1 (1996): 95-110.
- Nikoula, Maryana. "Analysis of a Canadian Literary Scandal: Petro Karmansky's Monkey's Mirror." Master's thesis U of Manitoba, 1996.
- "Novak, Apolinarii." Encyclopedia of Ukraine. 5 vols. Toronto: U of Toronto P, 1984-93.

- "Ohiienko, Ivan." Encyclopedia of Ukraine. 5 vols. Toronto: U of Toronto P, 1984-93.
- "Oral History of Ukrainian Writers in Manitoba." Audiotape. Rec. 1987-88. Winnipeg: Manitoba Provincial Archives. Uncatalogued. 17 cassettes.
- Palmer, Tamara Jeffson. "Ethnic Character and Social Themes in Novels about Prairie Canada and the Period from 1900 to 1940." Master's thesis York, 1972.
- "Panel Discussion: 'Ethnicity and Identity: The Question of One's Literary Passport.'" Identifications: Ethnicity and the Writer in Canada. Ed. Jars Balan. Edmonton: Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies, 1982. 67-87.
- "Panel Discussion: 'Hyphenated Canadians: The Question Consciousness.'" Identifications: Ethnicity and the Writer in Canada. Ed. Jars Balan. Edmonton: Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies, 1982. 135-154.
- Pawlowsky, Alexandra. "Vera Lysenko's Adaptation of Ukrainian Folk Customs in Yellow Boots." Canada in Crisis, Canadian Ethnic Studies Biennial Conference, Gimli, Mb, October, 1995.
- . "Vidobrazhennya zhinok u romanakh Viry Lysenko." Ukrainian Voice/Canadian Farmer. 3 July - 7 August, 1989:7.
- . "Zobrazhennya ukrayins'koho imigranta v povistyakh Holos zemli O. Ivakha ta Syny zemli I. Kyriyaka." Ukrainian Voice/Canadian Farmer, 10-17 August, 1987: 5.
- "Petrivsky, Mykhailo." Encyclopedia of Ukraine. 5 vols. Toronto: U of Toronto P, 1993.
- "Podvorniak, Mykhailo." Encyclopedia of Ukraine. 5 vols. Toronto: U of Toronto P, 1984-93.
- Pritz, Alexandra. "Ukrainian Cultural Traditions in Canada: Theatre, Choral Music and Dance, 1891-1967." Master's thesis U of Ottawa, 1977.
- Prokopiw, O.L., A. Royick and A. Malycky. "Ukrainian-Canadian Creative Literature: A Preliminary Check List of Authors and Pseudonyms." Canadian Ethnic Studies 1.1 (1969): 143-60.
- Pyontek, Lutsiyana. "Ukrayins'ki pys'mennyky v Amerytsi." Molodnyak 1 (1928): 130-137.
- "Rarahovsky, Dmytro." Encyclopedia of Ukraine. 5 vols. Toronto: U of Toronto P, 1984-93.

- Rasporich, Beverly. "Retelling Vera Lysenko: A Feminist and Ethnic Writer." Canadian Ethnic Studies 21.2 (1989): 38-52.
- Redl, Carolyn Dorothy. "Representations of Ethnicity in Canadian Prairie Literature by Selected Women Writers." Diss. U of Alberta 1991.
- Romanenchuk, Bohdan. Bibliohrafiya vydan' ukrayins'koyi emigratsiynoyi literatury, 1945-1970. Philadelphia: Kyiv Publishing, 1974.
- Roslin. "Canada's Bolshevik Drama." Saturday Night 9 February 1929.
- Rubchak, Bohdan. "Homes as Shells: Ukrainian Emigre Poetry." New Soil - Old Roots: The Ukrainian Experience in Canada. Ed. J. Rozumnyj, O.W. Gerus and M.H. Marunchak. Winnipeg: Ukrainian Academy of Arts and Sciences in Canada, 1983. 87-123.
- Rudnyckyj, J.B. [Ya. B. Rudnyts'kyy]. "A Case of Literary Oscillation: Tradition and Originality in Ukrainian-Canadian Literature." Proceedings of the 12th Congress of the International Comparative Literature Association. The Hague: Mouton, 1966. 1359-62.
- , comp. and ed. Ukrainian-Canadian Folklore. Vol. III. Transl. Honore Ewach. Winnipeg: Ukrainian Free Academy of Sciences, 1960.
- Rudnyts'kyy, Ya. B. [J.B. Rudnyckyj] comp. and ed. Materiyaly do ukrayins'koyi-kanadiys'koyi folkl'orystyky i diyalektolohiyi. Vols. I, II, IV. Winnipeg: Ukrainian Free Academy of Sciences, 1956-63.
- "Semchuk, Stefan." Encyclopedia of Ukraine. 5 vols. Toronto: U of Toronto P, 1984-93.
- Skwarok, Josaphat. "A Brief Historical Survey of Ukrainian Literature in Canada." The Ukrainian Settlers in Canada and Their Schools with Reference to Government, French Canadian and Ukrainian Missionary Influences. Edmonton: Basilian Press, 1959. 141-51.
- Slavutych, Yar. An Annotated Bibliography of Ukrainian Literature in Canada: Canadian Book Publications, 1908-1983. Edmonton: Slavuta Publishers, 1984.
- . Anotovana bibliohrafiya ukrayins'koyi literatury v Kanadi, kanads'ki knyzhkovy vydannya, 1908-1985. 2nd ed. Edmonton: Slavuta Publishers, 1986.
- . Antolohiya ukrayins'koyi poeziyi v Kanadi: 1898-1973. Edmonton: Slovo, 1975.

- . "Expectations and Reality in Early Ukrainian Literature in Canada." Identifications: Ethnicity and the Writer in Canada. Ed. Jars Balan. Edmonton: Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies, 1982. 14-21.
- . "Slavic Literatures in Canada." Slavs in Canada. Vol. I. Proceedings of the First National Conference on Canadian Slavs. Edmonton: Inter-University Committee on Canadian Slavs, 1966. 92-108.
- . "Ukrainian Literature in Canada." A Heritage in Transition: Essays in the History of Ukrainians in Canada. Ed. Manoly R. Lupul. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1982. 296-309.
- . "Ukrainian Poetry in Canada: A Historical Account." Canadian Ethnic Studies, 3.1 (1971): 95-108.
- . "Ukrainian Writing in Canada." The Canadian Encyclopedia. 2nd ed. Edmonton: Hurtig, 1988. 2206.
- . Ukrayins'ka literatura v Kanadi, vybrani doslidzhennya, statti i retsenziyi. Edmonton: Slavuta, 1992.
- . Ukrayins'ka poeziya v Kanadi. Edmonton: Slavuta, 1976.
- "Stechishin, Michael." Encyclopedia of Ukraine. 5 vols. Toronto: U of Toronto P, 1984-93.
- Struk, Danylo. "Ukrainian Emigre Literature in Canada." Identifications: Ethnicity and the Writer in Canada. Ed. Jars Balan. Edmonton: Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies, 1982. 88-103.
- Swyrypa, Frances. Ukrainian Canadians: A Survey of their Portrayal in English-Language Works. Edmonton: U of Alberta P, 1978.
- Swyrypa, Frances A., and Andrij Makuch, comp. Ukrainian Canadian Content in the Newspaper Svoboda, 1893-1904. Research Report No. 7. Edmonton: Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies, 1985.
- Thompson, Eric. "Prairie Mosaic: The Immigrant Novel in the Canadian West." Studies in Canadian Literature 5.2 (1980): 517-32.
- "Tiahnyhore, Dmytro." Encyclopedia of Ukraine. 5 vols. Toronto: U of Toronto P, 1984-93.
- Toye, William, ed. The Oxford Companion to Canadian Literature. Toronto: Oxford U P, 1983.

- Turner, Gordon Philip. "The Protagonist's Initiatory Experiences in the Canadian Bildungsroman: 1908-1971." Diss. U of British Columbia, 1979.
- Vlasenko, O., and P. Kravchuk [Krawchuk]. Myroslav Irchan. Kyiv: Radyans'kyy pys'mennyk, 1960.
- Voytsenko, [Woycenko], Ol'ha. Napryamni ukrayins'koyi literatury u Kanadi. Winnipeg: n.p., 1963.
- W., K. "Korotkyy ohlyad ukrayins'koho pys'menstva v Kanadi." Kalendar Ukrayins'koho holosu, 1932.
- Woycenko [Voytsenko], Ol'ha. Slavic Literatures in Canada: Ukrainian-Canadian Letters. Winnipeg: Ukrainian Free Academy of Sciences, 1969.
- . "The Realm of Letters." The Ukrainians in Canada. Winnipeg: Trident Press, 1967. 125-43.
- Wynnyckyj, Iroida L. "Ukrainian Canadian Drama from the Beginnings of Immigration to 1942." Master's thesis U of Waterloo, 1976.
- Young, Judy. "The Unheard Voices." Identifications: Ethnicity and the Writer in Canada. Ed. Jars Balan. Edmonton: Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies, 1982. 104-15.
- Yuzyk, Paul. "Literary Achievements." Ukrainian Canadians: Their Place and Role in Canadian Life. Toronto: Ukrainian Canadian Business and Professional Federation, 1967.
- . "Ukrainian Literature." The Ukrainians in Manitoba: A Social History. Toronto: U of Toronto P, 1953. 127-43.
- Zhmurkevych, Stefaniya. "Ukrayins'ka kanadiys'ka poeziya, sproba okhoplennya zmistu." Diss. U of Ottawa, 1951.
- Zhulyns'kyy, Mykola. "Ukrayintsi v kanads'kiy literaturi," Literaturna Ukrayina. 30 April 1987.
- Zhyla, Volodymyr. "Zakhidnya Kanada v ukrayins'kiy literaturi." Zakhidn'okanads'kyy zbirnyk. Vol. 1. Comp. and ed. Yar Slavutych. Toronto: Shevchenko Scientific Society in Canada, 1973. 129-48.

II. General

Anderson, Alan B. Ethnicity in Canada. Toronto: Buttersworth, 1981.

Anderson, James T.M. The Education of the New Canadian: A Treatise on Canada's Greatest Educational Problem. London: J.M. Dent, 1918.

Artibise, Alan F.J. "Divided City: The Immigrant in Winnipeg Society, 1874-1921." The Canadian City: Essays in Urban and Social History. Ed. Gilbert A. Steller and Alan F.J. Artibise. Ottawa: Carleton U P, 1984. 360-391.

---, ed. Gateway City: Documents on the City of Winnipeg. Winnipeg: Manitoba Record Society in Association with the University of Manitoba Press, 1979.

---. "Patterns of Population Growth and Ethnic Relationships in Winnipeg, 1874-1974," Social History 9 (1976): 297-335.

---, ed. Town and City: Aspects of Western Canadian Urban Development. Regina: Canadian Plains Research Centre, U of Regina, 1981.

---. Winnipeg: An Illustrated History. Toronto: J. Lorimer, 1977.

---. Winnipeg: A Social History of Urban Growth, 1874-1914. Montreal: McGill-Queen's U P, 1975.

Avery, Donald. "Canadian Immigration Policy and Foreign Navvy, 1896-1914." The Canadian Historical Association, Historical Papers, 1972.

---. "Canadian Immigration Policy and the Alien Question, 1896-1919: The Anglo-Canadian Perspective." Diss. U of Western Ontario, 1973.

---. "Dangerous Foreigners": European Immigrant Workers and Labour Radicalism in Canada, 1896-1932. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1979.

---. "Divided Loyalties: The Ukrainian Left and the Canadian State." Canada's Ukrainians: Negotiating an Identity. Ed. Lubomyr Luciuk and Stella Hryniuk. Toronto: U of Toronto P, 1991. 271-87.

---. "The Radical Alien and the Winnipeg General Strike of 1919." The West and the Nation: Essays in Honour of W.L. Morton. Ed. C. Berger and R. Cook. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1976. 209-31.

- Balan, Jars. Salt and Braided Bread: Ukrainian Life in Canada. Toronto: Oxford U P, 1984.
- Baumgartner, F.W. "Central European Immigration," Queen's Quarterly 87 (1930): 183-92.
- Bercusson, D.J. Confrontation at Winnipeg: Labour, Industrial Relations and the General Strike. Montreal: McGill-Queen's U P, 1974.
- . "Education in the Bloc Settlements of Western Canada." Master's thesis McGill U, 1941.
- Bilash, Borislav N. "Bilingual Public Schools in Manitoba, 1897-1916." Master's thesis U of Manitoba, 1960.
- Bilets'kyi Leonid. Ukrayins'ki pionery v Kanadi, 1891-1951. Winnipeg: Ukrainian Canadian Committee, 1951.
- Black, N.F. "Western Canada's Greatest Problem: The Transformation of Aliens into Citizens." The Western School Journal 9 (1914).
- Bodrug, Edward. John Bodrug: Ukrainian Pioneer Preacher, Educator, Editor in the Canadian West, 1897-1913. Fenelon Falls, Ontario: By the Author, 1975.
- Bodrug, John. Independent Orthodox Church: Memoirs Pertaining to the History of a Ukrainian Canadian Church in the Years 1903-1913. Ed. J.B. Gregorovich. Toronto: Ukrainian Canadian Research Foundation, 1980.
- . "Why the Ruthenians (Galicians) are Poor." Home Mission Pioneer 4 (1907).
- Bone, J.R. "Canada's Problem in Assimilation." The Canadian Magazine 42 (1913-14).
- Borowyk, Michael. The Ukrainian Canadian Press and Its Significant Role in the Ukrainian Minority in Canada. Munich: Ukrainian Free University, 1977.
- Boudreau, J.A. "The Enemy Alien Problem in Canada, 1914-1921." Diss. U of California 1965.
- . "Western Canada's 'Enemy Aliens' in World War One," Alberta Historical Review 12 (1964): 1-10.
- Bozhyk, P. Istoriya ukrayins'koyi emigratsiyi v Kanadi: za chasiv vid 1890 do 1930 roku. 1930.
- . Tserkov ukrayintsiv Kanady. Winnipeg: Kanadyys'kyi ukrayinets', 1927.

- Bridgeman, Wellington. Breaking Prairie Sod. Toronto: Musson, 1920.
- Brooke, Rupert. Letters from America. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1916.
- Brown, R.C., and R. Cook. Canada 1896-1921: A Nation Transformed. Toronto: MacClelland and Stewart, 1974.
- Bryce, Peter H. The Value to Canada of the Continental Immigrant. Ottawa: n.p., 1928.
- Buryanyk, Vasyl'. Uchyteli-pionery. Winnipeg: St. Andrew's College, 1966.
- Cameron, Agnes D. The New North Being Some Account of a Woman's Journey through Canada to the Arctic. New York: D. Appleton, 1910.
- Canada. Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism. Bk. IV. The Cultural Contribution of the Other Ethnic Groups. Ottawa: Queen's Printer, 1970.
- Canuck, Janey [Emily Murphy]. "Communing with Ruthenians," Canadian Magazine 40 (November 1912 - April 1913): 403-410.
- Carmichael, J.A. "Ruthenian Ministers in the West." The Presbyterian Record, February, 1911.
- Carynyk, Marco. "Swallowing Stalinism: Pro-Communist Ukrainian Canadians and Soviet Ukraine in the 1930s." In Canada's Ukrainians: Negotiating an Identity. Ed. Lubomyr Luciuk and Stella Hryniuk. Toronto: U of Toronto P, 1991. 187-205.
- Chipman, George F. "Winnipeg: The Melting Pot." Canadian Magazine of Politics, Science, Art and Literature 33 (1909): 412-16.
- . "Winnipeg: The Refining Process." The Canadian Magazine (XXXIII) 1909.
- Chisick, Ernest. "The Development of Winnipeg's Socialist Movement, 1900 to 1915." Master's thesis U of Manitoba, 1972.
- Chumer, W.A. Spomyny pro perezhyvannya pershykh ukrayins'kykh pereselentsiv v Kanadi, 1891-1941. Winnipeg: By the Author, 1942.
- Colbert, Dave W. "The Ukrainians in Western Canada," Tema 9.4 (December 1978): 14-19.
- Cormie, John A. "A Night in a Galician House in the Northwest." The Presbyterian Record November, 1901.

- . Canada and the New Canadians. Toronto: Social Service Council of Canada, 1931.
- . "Galician Missions." The Presbyterian Record January, 1901.
- . "Some Northwest Problems." The Presbyterian Record May, 1901.
- . "The Problem of the Church in the West." The Presbyterian 27 May 1905.
- . "The Strangers within Our Gates." The Westminster May 1904.
- . "The War and Immigration." The Westminster February, 1916.
- Cujes, R. "The Involvement of Canadian Slavs in the Co-operative Movement in Canada," Slavs in Canada 3 (1971): 151-70.
- Czuboka, Michael. Ukrainian Canadian, Eh? The Ukrainians of Canada and Elsewhere as Perceived by Themselves and Others. Winnipeg: Communigraphics, 1983.
- Darcovich, William. Ukrainians in Canada: The Struggle to Retain Their Identity. Ottawa: Ukrainian Self-Reliance Association, 1967.
- , ed. Ukrainian Canadians and the 1981 Canada Census: A Supplement to the Statistical Compendium on Ukrainians in Canada, 1891-1976. Edmonton: Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies, 1988.
- , and P. Yuzyk, ed. A Statistical Compendium on the Ukrainians in Canada, 1891-1976. Ottawa: U of Ottawa P, 1980.
- Darlington, James W. "The Ukrainian Impression on the Canadian West." In Canada's Ukrainians: Negotiating an Identity. Ed. Lubomyr Luciuk and Stella Hryniuk. Toronto: U of Toronto P, 1991. 53-80.
- Daschko, Yuri. "The Ukrainian Press in Canada." A Heritage in Transition: Essays in the History of Ukrainians in Canada. Ed. Manoly R. Lupul. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1982. 263-280.
- Davidson, Gordon A. The Ukrainians in Canada: A Study in Canadian Immigration. Montreal: n.p., 1947.
- Dawson, C.A. Group Settlement: Ethnic Communities in Western Canada. vol. 7. Canadian Frontiers of Settlement. Ed. W.A. Mackintosh and W.L.G. Joerg. Toronto: MacMillan, 1936.

- , and E. R. Younge. Pioneering in the Prairie Provinces: The Social Side of the Settlement Process. Toronto: MacMillan, 1940.
- d'Easum, Basil C. "A Galician Wedding," Canadian Magazine, 13 (May - October 1899): 83-4.
- Delaere, Achille. Memorandum on the Attempts of Schism and Heresy among the Ruthenians in the Canadian Northwest. Winnipeg: n.p., 1909.
- Demczuk, Bohdan. "The Development of the Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church of Canada," Diakonia, 11. 2 (1976), 157-70.
- Deverell, Jessie M. "The Ukrainian Teacher as an Agent of Cultural Assimilation." Master's thesis U of Toronto 1941.
- Dickenson, Victoria. Canada's Multicultural Heritage: A Brief History of Immigration. Ottawa: National Museum of Man, 1975.
- Dmytriv, Nestor. Kanadiys'ka Rus', podorozhni spomyny... Winnipeg: Ukrayins'ka vil'na akademiya nauk, 1972.
- Doroshenko, D., and S. Kovbel', eds. Propamyatna knyha Ukrayins'koho narodnoho domu u Vynypegu. Winnipeg: Ukrainian National Home in Winnipeg, 1949.
- Driedger, Leo. Ethnic Canada: Identities and Inequalities. Toronto: Copp Clark Pittman, 1987.
- . The Ethnic Factor: Identity in Diversity. Toronto: McGraw-Hill Ryerson, 1989.
- . "Ukrainian Identity in Winnipeg." Ethnic Canadians: Culture and Education. Ed. Martin L. Kovacs. Regina: Canadian Plains Research Center, 1978. 147-66.
- Dreisziger, N. Fred. "Tracy Phillips and the Achievement of Ukrainian-Canadian Unity." Canada's Ukrainians: Negotiating an Identity. Ed. Lubomyr Luciuk and Stella Hryniuk. Toronto: U of Toronto P, 1991. 426-41.
- . "Watson Kirkconnell and the Cultural Credibility Gap between Immigrants and the Native-Born in Canada." Ethnic Canadians: Culture and Education. Ed. Martin L. Kovacs. Regina: Canadian Plains, 1978. 87-96.
- Echoes: Oakburn, Manitoba, 1870-1970. Oakburn, 1970.
- Elston, Miriam. "Our Own Slav Problem: Ukrainians in Canada." Graphic 9 August 1919.

- . "Ruthenians in Western Canada. I. Public Schools." Onward 12 April 1919.
 - . "Ruthenians in Western Canada. II. School Teaching Amongst the Russians." Onward 26 April 1919.
 - . "Ruthenians in Western Canada. III. Canadian Citizens from Russians." Onward 26 April 1919.
 - . "Ruthenians in Western Canada. IV. When Sickness Visits a Russian Home." Onward 3 May 1919.
 - . "The Russian in Our Midst." The Westminster June, 1916.
- Emery, G.N. "Methodist Missions among the Ukrainians." Alberta Historical Review, 19. 2 (1971): 8-20.
- England, Robert. The Central European Immigrant in Canada. Toronto: MacMillan, 1929.
- . The Colonization of Western Canada: A Study in Contemporary Land Settlement (1896-1934). London: P.S. King, 1936.
- Ewanchuk, Michael [Mykhaylo Ivanchuk]. Pioneer Profiles: Ukrainian Settlers in Manitoba. Winnipeg: By the Author, 1981.
- . Pioneer Settlers: Ukrainians in the Dauphin Area, 1896-1926. Winnipeg: By the Author, 1988.
 - . Reflections and Reminiscences: Ukrainians in Canada, 1892-1992. Winnipeg: By the Author, 1995.
 - . 75 Years on the Southern Slopes of the Riding Mountains: Reminiscences of a Ukrainian Octogenarian. Winnipeg: Curriculum Branch, Dept. of Education, 1975.
 - . Spruce, Swamp and Stone: A History of the Pioneer Ukrainian Settlements in the Gimli Area. Winnipeg: By the author, 1978.
 - . Vita: A Ukrainian Community. Winnipeg: By the Author, 1977.
- Ferguson, Barry. "British-Canadian Intellectuals, Ukrainian Immigrants, and Canadian National Identity." Canada's Ukrainians: Negotiating an Identity. Ed. Lubomyr Luciuk and Stella Hryniuk. 304-25.

- Foster, Kate A. Our Canadian Mosaic. Toronto: Dominion Council of the Y.W.C.A., 1926.
- Francis, Anne. "Canada's Slavic Seasoning," Geographical Magazine 26 (1953): 84-8.
- Francis, R. Douglas. Images of the West: Responses to the Canadian Prairies. Saskatoon: Western Producer, 1989.
- , and Howard Palmer, eds. The Prairie West: Historical Readings. Edmonton: Pica Pica, 1985.
- Fraser, Arnold. "Displaced Persons in Canada: A Problem of Re-education." Master's thesis McGill U, 1950.
- Fraser, John F. Canada as It Is. 2nd ed. Toronto: Cassell, 1911.
- Freedom Had a Price. Dir. Yurij Luhovy. La Maison de Montage Luhovy Inc. and the National Film Board of Canada, 1994.
- Friends in Need: The WBA Story, A Canadian Epic in Fraternalism. Ed. Anthony Bilecki, William Repka, Mitch Sago. Winnipeg: Workers' Benevolent Association of Canada, 1972.
- Friesen, Gerald. The Canadian Prairies: A History. Toronto: U of Toronto P, 1984.
- Fromson, Ronald D. "Acculturation or Assimilation: A Geographical Analysis of Residential Segregation of Selected Ethnic Groups: Metropolitan Winnipeg: 1951-1961." Master's thesis U of Manitoba, 1965.
- Fry, Olivia R. My Heritage from the Builders of Canada. New York: Carleton, 1967.
- Gerus, Oleh W. "Consolidating the Community: The Ukrainian Self-Reliance League." Canada's Ukrainians: Negotiating an Identity. Ed. Lubomyr Luciuk and Stella Hryniuk. Toronto: U of Toronto P, 1991. 157-86.
- . "The Ukrainian Canadian Committee." A Heritage in Transition: Essays in the History of Ukrainians in Canada. Ed. Manoly R. Lupul. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1982. 195-214.
- , A. Baran, and J. Rozumnyj, eds. Jubilee Collection of the Ukrainian Free Academy of Sciences in Canada. Winnipeg: Ukrainian Academy of Arts and Sciences in Canada, 1976.

- and J.E. Rea. "The Ukrainians in Canada." Canada's Ethnic Groups, Booklet No. 10. Ottawa: Canadian Historical Association, 1985.
- Gibbon, John Murray. "A Secular Bible for a New Canada," Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada, XXXVI, 3rd series, 1942, sec. ii (May 1942): 93-100.
- . Canadian Mosaic: The Making of a Northern Nation. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1938.
- . "European Seeds in the Canadian Garden," Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada, XXXVI, 3rd series, 1942, sec. ii (May 1942): 119-29.
- . New Color for the Canadian Mosaic: The Displaced Persons. 1951.
- . "The Foreign Born." Queen's Quarterly, 27 (April 1920): 331-51.
- Glazer, Nathan, and Daniel P. Moynihan, eds. Ethnicity: Theory and Experience. Cambridge: Harvard U P, 1975.
- Gordon, Milton M. Assimilation in American Life: The Role of Race, Religion, and National Origins. New York: Oxford U P, 1964.
- Gregorovich, A. Chronology of Ukrainian Canadian History. Toronto: Ukrainian Canadian Committee, 1974.
- , ed. Immigration: Ukrainian Canadian. [Papers and proceedings of the Immigration Conference 7 June 1975 held at St. Vladimir Institute, sponsored by the Ukrainian Canadian Committee - Ontario Council and the Canadian Ukrainian Immigrant Aid Society]. Toronto: Orelets Press, 1976.
- Grocholski, J.S.W., ed. Preliminary Survey on Integration of the Canadian Racial, Cultural and Nationality Groups from the Standpoint of Canadians of Various Origins other than British or French. Toronto: Canadians All Research Division, 1944.
- Gulka-Tiechko, M. "Inter-war Ukrainian Immigration to Canada, 1919-1939." Master's thesis U of Manitoba, 1983.
- Halli, Shiva S., Frank Trovato and Leo Driedger, eds. Ethnic Demography: Canadian Immigrant, Racial and Cultural Variations. Ottawa: Carleton UP, 1995.
- Hamilton, L. "Foreigners in the Canadian West." Dalhousie Review 7 (January, 1938): 448-59.

- Harasym, Rose T. "Ukrainians in Canadian Political Life, 1923-45." A Heritage in Transition: Essays in the History of Ukrainians in Canada. Ed. Manoly R. Lupul. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1982. 108-25.
- Harasymiw, Bohdan. "Looking for the Ukrainian Vote." Canada's Ukrainians: Negotiating an Identity. Ed. Lubomyr Luciuk and Stelle Hryniuk. Toronto: U of Toronto P, 1991. 362-76.
- . "Political Participation of Ukrainian Canadians since 1945." A Heritage in Transition: Essays in the History of Ukrainians in Canada. Ed. Manoly R. Lupul. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1982. 126-42.
- Hardwick, F.C., comp. To the Promised Land: Contributions of Ukrainian Immigrants and Their Descendants to Canadian Society. 1973.
- Harney, Robert, and Harold Troper. Immigrants: Portrait of the Urban Experience, 1890-1930. Toronto: Van Nostrand Reinhold, 1975.
- Hartmann, Norbert, and W.W. Isajiw. "Ethnicity and Occupation: An Assessment of the Occupational Structure of Ukrainian-Canadians in the 1960s," Canadian Ethnic Studies, 12.2 (1980): 55-73.
- Havrysh, Vasyl'. Moya Kanada i ya: spohady i rozpovidi pro ukrayins'kykh pioneriv u Kanadi. Edmonton: By the Author, 1974.
- Heap, F. "Ukrainians in Canada: An Estimate of the Presence, Ideals, Religion, Tendencies and Citizenship of Perhaps Three Hundred Thousand Ukrainians in Canada," Canadian Magazine of Politics, Science, Art and Literature, 53 (1919): 39-44.
- Hedges, James B. Building the Canadian West. New York: MacMillan, 1939.
- Himka, John-Paul. "The Background to Emigration: Ukrainians of Galicia and Bukovyna, 1848-1914." A Heritage in Transition: Essays in the History of Ukrainians in Canada. Ed. Manoly R. Lupul. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1982. 11-31.
- Hlynka, I. Graduates and the Ukrainian Community. 1964. (pamphlet).
- Hryniuk, Stella. "A Peasant Society in Transition: Ukrainian Peasants in Five East Galician Counties, 1880-1900." Diss. U of Manitoba, 1985.
- . "Sifton's Pets: Who Were They?" Canada's Ukrainians: Negotiating an Identity. Ed. Lubomyr Luciuk and Stella Hryniuk. Toronto: U of Toronto P, 1991. 3-16.

- Humeniuk, Peter. Hardships and Progress of Ukrainian Pioneers: Memoirs from Stuartburn Colony and Other Points. Steinbach, Manitoba: Derksen Printers, 1976.
- Hunchak, N.J. Canadians of Ukrainian Origin: Population. Winnipeg: Ukrainian Canadian Committee, 1945.
- Hunter, Alexander J. A Friendly Adventure: The Story of the United Church Mission among New Canadians at Teulon, Manitoba. Toronto: Board of Home Missions of the United Church of Canada, 1929.
- . "The Boys Residence at Teulon." Home Mission Pioneer 8 (1912-1913).
- . "The Crisis of the Independent Greek Church." The Presbyterian 25 July 1912.
- . "The Educational Problem in the West." The Presbyterian 13 February 1908.
- . "The Education of the Foreigner." Missionary Messenger 3 (1916).
- . "The Galician -- Physical, Social, Intellectual." Home Mission Pioneer 6 (1909-1910).
- . "Galicians in the Northwest." The Presbyterian Record November, 1905.
- . "Medical Work among Galicians." The Presbyterian 10 January 1903.
- . "The Ruthenian and His Education." Home Mission Pioneer 9 (1913-14).
- . The Story of the Ruthenians. N.p.: Board of Home Missions, Presbyterian Church in Canada, [between 1915-25].
- Hutchison, Bruce. "The Men in Sheepskin Coats." The Unknown Country: Canada and Her People. New York: Coward-McCann, 1942.
- Ignatiuk, Gerald. "Ukrainian Settlements in the Canadian West," Development of Agriculture on the Prairies. Regina: U of Regina, 1975.
- Ilyniak, Morris. "Still Coming to Terms: Ukrainians, Jews, and the Deschenes Commission." Canada's Ukrainians: Negotiating an Identity. Ed. Lubomyr Luciuk and Stella Hryniuk. Toronto: U of Toronto P, 1991. 377-90.
- Irchan, Myroslav. Kanads'ka Ukrayina. Kharkiv: Zakhidnya Ukrayina, 1930.

- Isajiw, Wsevolod W. "The Changing Community." Canada's Ukrainians: Negotiating an Identity. Ed. Lubomyr Luciuk and Stella Hryniuk. Toronto: U of Toronto P, 1991. 254-68.
- . "Occupational and Economic Development." A Heritage in Transition: Essays in the History of Ukrainians in Canada. Ed. Manoly R. Lupul. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1982. 59-85.
- , ed. Ukrainians in the Canadian City. Special Issue of Canadian Ethnic Studies, 12.2 (1980).
- , ed. Ukrayintsi v amerykans'komu ta kanads'komu suspil'stvakh, sotsiolohichnyy zbirnyk. Jersey City: M.P. Kots, 1976.
- , and Norbert J. Hartmann. "Changes in the Occupational Structure of Ukrainians in Canada: A Methodology for the Study of Changes in Ethnic Status." Social and Cultural Change in Canada. Ed. W.E. Mann. Vol. 1. Toronto: Copp Clark, 1970. 96-112.
- Istoriya ukrayins'koyi emigratsiyi v Kanadi: za chas vid 1890 do 1930 roku. Winnipeg: Narodna drukarnya, 1930.
- Ivanchuk, Mykhaylo. Pioners'ki poselennya, Ukrayintsi v Kanadi. Winnipeg: By the Author, 1993.
- Jaenen, Cornelius J. "Ruthenian Schools in Western Canada, 1897-1919." Paedagogica Historica [International Journal of the History of Education (Ghent, Belgium)] 10.3 (1970): 517-41.
- . Some Thoughts on the Manitoba Mosaic. 1964. (Pamphlet).
- Johnson, R. "The Importance and Results of Home Mission Work in Canada." The Presbyterian Record December, 1899.
- Kalbach, W.E. "Some Demographic Aspects of Ukrainian Population in Canada." Slavs in Canada. Vol. I. Edmonton: Inter-University Committee on Canadian Slavs, 1966. 54-68.
- Kaye, V.J. Early Ukrainian Settlement in Canada, 1895-1900: Dr. Josef Oleskow's Role in the Settlement of the Canadian Northwest. Toronto: U of Toronto P, 1964.
- . "Golden Jubilee of Participation of Ukrainians in Political Life of Canada." Ukrainian Quarterly 19 (1963): 167-70.

- . "Political Integration of Ethnic Groups: The Ukrainians." Revue de l'Universite d'Ottawa 27 (1957): 460-77.
- . "Three Phases of Ukrainian Immigration." Slavs in Canada II (1966): 263-72.
- . "Ukrainian Canadian Soldiers in the Boer War and World War I." Forum Ukrainian Review 33 (Fall 1976): 31.
- , ed. Ukrainian Canadians in Canada's Wars: Materials for Ukrainian Canadian History. Toronto: Ukrainian Canadian Research Foundation, 1983.
- (Kysilewsky), and Frances Swyripa. "Settlement and Colonization." A Heritage in Transition: Essays in the History of Ukrainians in Canada. Ed. Manoly R. Lupul. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1982. 32-58.
- Kazymyra, Bohdan. "Metropolitan Andrew Sheptyckyj and the Ukrainians in Canada," Canadian Catholic Historical Association Report, 1957. 75-85.
- Kazymyra, Nadia. "Aspects of Ukrainian Opinion in Manitoba during World War I." Forum Ukrainian Review 33 (Fall 1976): 31.
- . Relihiyno-hromads'ke zhyttya v Ukrayins'kiy katolyts'kiy metropoliyi v Kanadi. 1965.
- . "The Defiant Pavlo Krat and the Early Socialist Movement in Canada," Canadian Ethnic Studies 10. 2 (1978): 38-54.
- Kennedy, Howard A. New Canada and the New Canadians. London: Horace Marshall, 1907.
- Keywan, Zonia. Greater than Kings (Ukrainian Pioneer Settlement in Canada). Montreal: Harvest House, 1977.
- Kindrat, Peter. Ukrayins'kyy baptysts'kyy rukh v Kanadi, spohady pro pioners'ku dukhovnu pratsyu v Kanadi, 1972.
- Kirkconnell, Watson. Canada, Europe and Hitler. Toronto: Toronto U P, 1939.
- . Canadians All: A Primer of Canadian National Unity. Ottawa: Issued by the Director of Public Information under the authority of the Minister of National War Services, June, 1941.
- . Canadian Overtones. Winnipeg: Columbia, 1935.

- . "The European Canadians in their Press." Canadian Historical Association Report (1940): 85-92.
- . Our Communists and the Ukrainians, 1943. (pamphlet)
- . Our Ukrainian Loyalists: The Ukrainian Canadian Committee. Winnipeg: Ukrainian Canadian Committee, 1943.
- . The Ukrainian Canadians and the War. Toronto: Oxford U P, 1940.
- Klymasz, Robert B. "The Fine Arts." A Heritage in Transitions: Essays in the History of Ukrainians in Canada. Ed. Manoly R. Lupul. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1982. 281-95.
- Knysh, Irena. Patriotyzm Anny Yonker. Winnipeg: Ukrainian Canadian Women's Committee, Winnipeg Branch, 1964.
- Kohuska, N.L. Chvert' stolittya na hromads'ki nyvi, istoriya Soyuzu ukrayinok Kanady, 1925-1951. 1952.
- . Yuvileyna knyzhka Soyuzu ukrayins'koyi molodi 1931-1956. 1956.
- Kolasky, J. comp, ed., and transl. Prophets and Proletarians: Documents on the History of the Rise and Decline of Ukrainian Communism in Canada. Edmonton: Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies, 1990.
- . The Shattered Illusion: The History of Pro-Communist Organizations in Canada. Toronto: Peter Martin, 1979.
- Kondra, P.A. "Organizational Developments in the Ukrainian Canadian Community," Ukrainian Canadian Review 4 (1973): 25-53.
- . What Built the Ukrainian Community in Canada. Winnipeg: Ukrainian Self-Reliance League of Canada, 1985.
- Kordan, B.S. "Disunity and Unity: Ukrainian Canadians and the Second World War." Master's thesis Carlton U, 1981.
- . "The Intelligentsia and the Development of Ukrainian Ethnic Consciousness in Canada: A Prolegomenon to Research." Canadian Ethnic Studies 17.1 (1985): 22-33.
- . Ukrainians and the 1981 Census: A Data Handbook. Research Report No. 9 - 1985. Edmonton: Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies, 1985.

Kordan, B.S., and Lubomyr Y. Luciuk. A Delicate and Difficult Question: Documents in the History of Ukrainians in Canada, 1899-1962. Kingston: Limestone, 1986.

Kostash, Myrna. All of Baba's Children. Edmonton: Hurtig, 1977.

Kovacs, Martin L. Ethnic Canadians: Culture and Education. Regina: Canadian Plains, University of Regina, 1978.

Kravchuk, Petro [Peter Krawchuk]. Lysty z Kanady, statti, narysy ta pamflety. Kyiv: Radyans'kyy pys'mennyk, 1976.

---. Matviy Popovych, yoho mistse v istoriyi ukrayins'kykh kanadtsiv. Toronto: Kobzar, 1986.

---. Na noviy zemli, storinky z zhyttya, borot'by i tvorchoyi pratsi kanads'kykh ukrayintsiv. Toronto: Krayovyy vykonavchyy komitet Tovarystva Ob'yednanykh Ukrayins'kykh Kanadtsiv, 1958.

---. P'yatdesyat rokiv sluzhinnya narodu. Toronto: Ukrayins'ke zhyttya, 1957.

---. Ukrayins'kyy sotisyalistychnyy rukh u Kanadi: 1907-1918. Toronto: Kobzar, 1976.

---. Ukrayintsi v istoriyi Vinnipeha. Toronto: Kobzar, 1974.

---. Ukrayintsi v Kanadi, statti, narysy, pamflety. Kyiv: Dnipro, 1981.

Krawchuk, Andrii. "Between a Rock and a Hard Place: Francophone Missionaries among Ukrainian Catholics." Canada's Ukrainians: Negotiating an Identity. Ed. Lubomyr Luciuk and Stella Hryniuk. Toronto: U of Toronto P, 1991. 206-217.

Krawchuk, Peter [Petro Kravchuk]. "The Ukrainian Canadian Community Yesterday and Today." Our Commitment to the Future in a United Canada. Proceedings of the Special Joint Convention, Association of United Ukrainian Canadians and the Workers' Benevolent Association of Canada. May 19, 1978, Winnipeg, Manitoba, pp. 33-47.

Kuplowska, Olga M. "Profile of Canadian Ukrainians re Language Retention. Paper presented at seminar organized by the Toronto Branch of the Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies, March 23, 1977." Ukrainian Canadian Review 6 (May 1977): 11-15.

Lazarenko, Joseph M., ed. The Ukrainian Pioneers in Alberta, Canada. Edmonton: Alberta Printing Company (for the Ukrainian Pioneers Association), 1970.

Lazarowich, Peter J. "Ukrainian Pioneers in Western Canada." Alberta Historical Review 5 (Autumn 1957): 17-27.

Legacy to a New Land: A Celebration of Ukrainian Settlement in the West. National Film Board of Canada, 1991.

Lehr, John C. "Peopling the Prairies with Ukrainians." Canada's Ukrainians: Negotiating an Identity. Ed. Lubomyr Luciuk and Stella Hryniuk. Toronto: U of Toronto P, 1991. 30-52.

---. "The Government and the Immigrant: Perspectives on Ukrainian Block Settlement in the Canadian West." Canadian Ethnic Studies 9.2 (1977): 42-52.

---. "The Rural Settlement Behaviour of Ukrainian Pioneers in Western Canada, 1891-1914." Western Canadian Research in Geography: The Lethbridge Papers. Ed. B.M. Barr. Vancouver, 1975. (B.C. Geographical series, 21).

---. "Ukrainian Presence on the Prairies." Canadian Geographic 97 (1978): 28-33.

---, and D. Wayne Moodie. "The Polemics of Pioneer Settlement: Ukrainian Immigration and the Winnipeg Press." Canadian Ethnic Studies 12.2 (1980): 88-101.

Litopys ukrayins'ko-kanadyys'koho 60-littya. 1951. (pamphlet)

Lobay, D. "Ukrainian Press in Canada." Ukrainica Canadiana (1966): 17-32.

Lower, A.R.M. "Motherlands." Dalhousie Review 18 (1938): 143-8.

Luchkovich, Michael. A Ukrainian Canadian in Parliament: Memoirs of Michael Luchkovich. Toronto: Ukrainian Canadian Research Foundation, 1965.

Luciuk, Lubomyr. "'This Should Never Be Spoken or Quoted Publicly': Canada's Ukrainians and Their Encounter with the DPs." Canada's Ukrainians: Negotiating an Identity. Ed. Lubomyr Luciuk and Stella Hryniuk. Toronto: U of Toronto P, 1991, 103-22.

---. "Trouble All Around: Ukrainian Canadians and Their Encounter with the Ukrainian Refugees of Europe, 1943-1951." Canadian Ethnic Studies 21.3 (1989): 37-54.

Lukhovy, A. "The Ukrainian Catholic Immigrants in Canada," Migration News 11 (1962): 1-6.

---. "The Unorganized Ukrainians in Canada." Ukrainian Canadian Review (1974): 8-11.

- Lupul, Manoly R. "Ukrainian-language Education in Canada's Public Schools." A Heritage in Transition: Essays in the History of Ukrainians in Canada. Ed. Manoly R. Lupul. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1982. 215-43.
- Lysenko, Vera. Men in Sheepskin Coats: A Study in Assimilation. Toronto: The Ryerson Press, 1947.
- MacBeth, Roderick George. "The Immigration Problem." The Presbyterian 14 November 1907.
- Macejko, Bill. "Ukrainians and Prairie School Reform, 1896-1921: Ethnic and Domestic Ideologies in Modern State Formation." Canadian Ethnic Studies 22.2 (1990) 19-40.
- MacGregor, James G. Vilni Zemli/Free Lands: The Ukrainian Settlement of Alberta. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1969.
- Macrouch, F.A., comp. The Ukrainian Business Directory. 12 vols. 1944-55.
- , comp. Ukrainian Year Book and Ukrainians of Distinction. 1953-54.
- , comp. Ukrainian Year Book Commemorating 60 Years of Life in Canada, 1951-52.
- Makuch, Nestor. "The Influence of the Ukrainian Revolution on Ukrainians in Canada, 1917-22." Journal of Ukrainian Graduate Studies, 4.1 (1979): 42-61.
- Mandryka, Mykyta Ivanovych, ed. Pivstolittya pratsi Ukrayins'koho tovarystva chytal'ni prosvity v Vinnipeg. Winnipeg: Ukrayins'ke Tovarystvo Chytal'nya Prosvity, 1958.
- Manitoba Free Press 15 July 1896.
- Manitoba Free Press 3 August 1897.
- Manitoba Free Press 16 February 1916.
- Manitoba Free Press 3 April 1916.
- Manitoba Free Press 20 June 1916.
- Manitoba Free Press 29 November 1916.
- Martynowych, Orest T. "The Ukrainian Bloc Settlement in East Central Alberta, 1890-1930: A History." Historic Sites Service Occasional Paper No. 10. March, 1985.

- . "The Ukrainian Socialist Movement in Canada, 1900-1918," Journal of Ukrainian Graduate Studies, 1.1 (1976): 27-44; 1.1 (1977): 22-31.
- . Ukrainians in Canada: The Formative Period, 1891-1924. Edmonton: Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies, 1991.
- . "Village Radicals and Peasant Immigrants: The Social Roots of Factionalism among Ukrainian Immigrants in Canada, 1896-1918." Master's thesis U of Manitoba, 1978.
- , and Nadia Kazymyra. "Political Activity in Western Canada, 1896-1923." A Heritage in Transition: Essays in the History of Ukrainians in Canada. Ed. Manoly R. Lupul. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1982. 85-107.
- Marunchak, M.H. Petro Havrysyshyn, pioner-budivnychyy Shashkevychivs'koyi dil'nytsi (Point Dogles) v Vinnipeg. Winnipeg: Ukrainian Canadian Pioneer's Library, 1962-1963.
- . Studiyi do istoriyi ukrayintsiv Kanady. 5 vols. Winnipeg: Ukrainian Academy of Arts and Sciences in Canada, 1969-80.
- . The Ukrainian Canadians: A History. 2nd ed. Winnipeg: Ukrainian Academy of Arts and Sciences in Canada, 1982.
- Masters, D.C. The Winnipeg General Strike. Toronto: U of Toronto P, 1950.
- Matwijiw, Peter. "Ethnicity and Urban Residence, 1941-71," Canadian Geographer 23.1 (1979): 45-61.
- McAllister, John W. "The Rural School as a Community Centre: A Discussion Dealing with the Problem of the Assimilation of New Canadians in Western Canada." Master's thesis McGill, 1934.
- McEvoy, Bernard. "First Impressions of Winnipeg." From the Great Lakes to Wide West: Impressions of Tour Between Toronto and the Pacific. London: Sampson Low, Marston, 1902.
- McGowan, Mark G. "'A Portion for the Vanquished': Roman Catholics and the Ukrainian Catholic Church." Canada's Ukrainians: Negotiating an Identity. Ed. Lubomyr Luciuk and Stella Hryniuk. Toronto: U of Toronto P, 1991. 218-37.
- McLaren, E.D. "Our Work among the Ruthenians in Western Canada." The Presbyterian Record, February, 1911.

- . "The Perils of Immigration." The Presbyterian Record January, 1906.
- McNaught, Kenneth, and David J. Bercuson. The Winnipeg Strike, 1919. Don Mills, Ontario: Longman, 1974.
- Melnycky, P. "A Political History of the Ukrainian Community in Manitoba, 1899-1922." Master's thesis U of Manitoba, 1979.
- Mihaychuk, Vasyl'. "Ukrayins'ko-angliys'ke uchytel'stvo v Kanadi." Kalyendar "Ukrayins'koho holosu". Winnipeg, 1915.
- Mihaychuk, W.J. "Ruthenian Teachers Convention." The Western School Journal X (1915).
- . "The School and the Citizen." The Western School Journal 6 (1911).
- Migus, Paul, ed. Sounds Canadian. Toronto: P. Martin Associates, 1975.
- . "Ukrainian Canadian Youth: A History of Organizational Life in Canada, 1907-53." Master's thesis U of Ottawa, 1975.
- Millet, David. "The Orthodox Church: Ukrainian, Greek and Syrian." Immigrant Groups. Ed. Jean Leonard Elliot. Scarborough, Ontario: Prentice-Hall, 1971.
- Minenko, Mark. "Without Just Cause: Canada's First National Internment Operations." Canada's Ukrainians: Negotiating an Identity. Ed. Lubomyr Luciuk and Stella Hryniuk. Toronto: U of Toronto P, 1991. 288-303.
- Mitcham, Allison. "The Isolation of the Immigrant and Expatriate." The Lakehead University Review 5.2 (1972): 87-103.
- Morton, D. "Sir William Otter and Internment Operations in Canada during the First World War." Canadian Historical Review 55 (1974): 32-58.
- Morton, W.L. "Manitoba Schools and Canadian Nationality, 1890-1923." Canadian Historical Association: Historical Papers, 1951.
- . Manitoba: A History. Toronto: U of Toronto P, 1967.
- The Multilingual Press in Manitoba. Winnipeg: Canada Press Club, 1974.
- Mulyk-Lutsyk, Yuriy. Narys istoriyi Ukrayins'koyi Pravoslavnoyi Tserkvy. 2 vols. Winnipeg: St. Andrew's College, 1979.
- Munro, C. H. "The Galicians at Home." The Westminster VII. 4 (1905): 236.

- Murray, Walter. "Continental Europeans in Western Canada." Queen's University 38 (1931): 63-75.
- Nemetz [Boraks], Jagna. "Polish Poets in Canada: A Comparative Study." Master's thesis U of British Columbia, 1974.
- Olneck, M.R., and M. Lazerson. "The School Achievement of Immigrant Children: 1900-1930." History of Education Quarterly XV 1975.
- Oles'kiv, Osyp. Of Emigration. L'viv, 1895. Ottawa: Canadian Institute for Historical Microreproductions, 1984.
- . Pro vil'ni zemli ... Winnipeg: Ukrayins'ka Vil'na Akademiya Nauk, 1975.
- . Ukrayins'kyi sotsyalyistychnyy rukh u Kanadi, 1907-1918. Toronto: Kobzar, 1976.
- . Ukrayintsi v istoriyi Vinnipeha. Toronto: Kobzar, 1974.
- . Ukrayintsi v Kanadi, statti, narysy, pamflety. Kyiv: Dnipro, 1981.
- Orlikow, Lionel. "The Reform Movement in Manitoba, 1910-1915." Historical Essays on the Prairie Provinces. Ed. Donald Swainson. Toronto, 1970.
- Osborne, Brian. "'Non-Preferred' People: Interwar Ukrainian Immigration." Canada's Ukrainians: Negotiating an Identity. Ed. Lubomyr Luciuk and Stella Hryniuk. Toronto: U of Toronto P, 1991. 81-102.
- Pacey, Desmond. Immigration and the Rise of Multiculturalism. Toronto: Copp Clark, 1975.
- Panchuk, Gordon R.B. "Canadian Ukrainians in Seven Decades of Canadian History." Master's thesis U of Montreal, 1959.
- Panchuk, John. Bukowinian Settlements in Southern Manitoba (Gardenton Area). Battle Creek, Michigan: By the author, 1971.
- Peel, Bruce. A Bibliography of the Prairie Provinces to 1953 with Biographical Data. Toronto: U of Toronto P, 1973.
- Penner, Norman, ed. Winnipeg 1919: The Strikers' Own History of the Winnipeg General Strike. 2nd ed. Toronto: J. Lorimer, 1975.
- Peterson, T. "Ethnic and Class Politics in Manitoba." Canadian Provincial Politics. Ed. Martin Robin. Scarborough, Ont.: Prentice-Hall, 1972. 69-115.

- Petryshyn, Jaroslav. Peasants in the Promised Land: Canada and the Ukrainians, 1891-1914. Toronto: James Lorimer, 1985.
- . "Sifton's Immigration Policy." Canada's Ukrainians: Negotiating an Identity. Ed. Lubomyr Luciuk and Stella Hryniuk. Toronto: U of Toronto P, 1991. 17-29.
- Petryshyn, W. Roman, ed. Changing Realities: Social Trends among Ukrainian Canadians. Toronto: U of Toronto P, 1980.
- . "Social Trends among Ukrainian Canadians. Conference report," Canadian Ethnic Studies, 11.1 (1979): 141-47.
- . "The Ukrainian Canadians in Social Transition." Ukrainian Canadian Multiculturalism and Separatism: An Assessment. Ed. Manoly R. Lupul. Edmonton: U of Alberta P, 1978.
- Piniuta, H. [H. Pinyuta]. "Cultural Adjustment of the Ukrainians in Manitoba." B.Ed. thesis Uof Manitoba, n.d.
- . Land of Pain, Land of Promise: First Person Accounts by Ukrainian Pioneers, 1891-1914. Saskatoon: Western Producers Prairie Books, 1978.
- . "The Organizational Life of Ukrainian Canadians with Special Reference to the Ukrainian Canadian Committee." Master's thesis U of Ottawa, 1952.
- Pinyuta, H. "Sotsyal'no-ekonomichnyy rozvytok ukrayintsiv Kanady." Diss. Ukrainian Free University, 1971.
- Pohorecky, Z., and A. Royick. "Anglicization of Ukrainians in Canada between 1895 and 1970: A Case Study of Linguistic Crystallization." Canadian Ethnic Studies 1.2 (1969): 141-219.
- Ponich, M.H. "Wasył Eleniak: Father of Ukrainian Settlers in Canada," Alberta Historical Review 4 (1956): 17-18.
- Prokop, Dmytro. Ukrayintsi v zakhidniy Kanadi, do istoriyi yikhn'oho poselennya ta postupu, zbirnyk tsikavykh stattey i dopysiv dlya starshykh i molodi. Winnipeg: Trident Press, 1987.
- Prokop, P., W. Harasym, and M.J. Sago. Change and Challenge in the Ukrainian Ethnic Group. Toronto: Association of United Ukrainian Canadians, 1967.
- Propamyatna knyha poselennya ukrayins'koho narodu v Kanadi, 1891-1941. N.p., 1941.

- Prymak, Thomas M. Maple Leaf and Trident: The Ukrainian Canadians during the Second World War. Toronto: Multicultural History Society of Canada, 1988.
- Rea, J.E. The Winnipeg General Strike. Toronto: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1973.
- Reaman, G.E. "Canadianization of the Foreign-Born." The Canadian Magazine 59 (1922).
- Reitz, Jeffrey G., and Margaret A. Ashton. "Ukrainian Language and Identity Retention in Urban Canada." Canadian Ethnic Studies, 12.2 (1980): 33-53.
- Richmond, Anthony H. "The Green Paper -- Reflections on the Canadian Immigration and Population Study." Canadian Ethnic Studies 7.1 (1975): 5-21.
- Rozumnyj, Jaroslav, Oleh W. Gerus, and Mykhailo H. Marunchak, eds. New Soil - Old Roots: The Ukrainian Experience in Canada. Winnipeg: Ukrainian Academy of Arts and Sciences in Canada, 1983.
- Savchuk, Semen V., and Yuriy Mulyk-Lutsyk. Istoriya Ukrayins'koyi Hreko-Pravoslavnoyi Tserkvy v Kanadi. 3 vols. Winnipeg: Ecclesia, 1984-87.
- Scott, W.L. The Ukrainians: Our Most Pressing Problem. Toronto: Catholic Truth Society of Canada, 1931.
- Scott, R.G. "Some Needs of the Galician Work." The Presbyterian 19 July 1906.
- . "Work among the Galicians." The Presbyterian, 2 November 1905.
- Shearer, J.G. "The Strangers within Our Gates." The Presbyterian Record July, 1910.
- Sherbenin, Michael A.. "The Stranger Folk of Winnipeg." The Westminster 16 (June, 1910): 399-404.
- Shlepakov, A.M. Ukrayins'ka trudova emihratsiya v SSHA i Kanadi, kinets' XIX - pochatok XX st. Kyiv: AN URSSR, 1960.
- . Zhovtneva revolyutsiya i pidnesennya demokratychnoho rukhu sered ukrayins'koyi emihratsiyi v SSHA i Kanadi. Kyiv: AN URSSR, 1957.
- Shohan, Rudolf [Raymond A. Davies]. This is Our Land: Ukrainian Canadians against Hitler. Toronto: Progress Books, 1943.
- Sisler, W.J. Peaceful Invasion. Winnipeg: Ketchen Printing Co., 1944.
- Sissons, C.B. Bilingual Schools in Canada. London, n.p., 1917.

- Smith, William G. A Study in Canadian Immigration. Toronto: Ryerson, 1920.
- . Building the Nation: The Churches' Relation to the Immigrant. Toronto: Ryerson, 1922.
- Sorrel, Clement. "No More Strangers but Fellow Citizens." The Westminster 16.1 (January, 1910): 122-126.
- Stebelsky, Ihor. "The Resettlement of Ukrainian Refugees after the Second World War." Canada's Ukrainians: Negotiating an Identity. Ed. Lubomyr Luciuk and Stella Hryniuk. Toronto: U of Toronto P, 1991. 123-54.
- Stechyshyn [Stechishin], J. Istoriya poselennya ukrayintsiv u Kanadi. Edmonton: Ukrainian Self-Reliance League, 1976.
- . Mizh ukrayintsyamy v Kanadi. 1953. [pamphlet]
- . "Nashe shkil'nytstvo." Narodnyy kalyendar Ukrayins'ka rodyna. Winnipeg, 1915.
- . "Stratyly navchytelya." Narodnyy kalyendar Ukrayins'ka rodyna. Winnipeg, 1915.
- Stone, Daniel. "Winnipeg's Polish Language Newspapers and Their Attitude Towards Jews and Ukrainians between the Two World Wars." Canadian Ethnic Studies 21.2 (1989).
- Svystun, V. "Nashe shkil'nytstvo v Kanadi." Kalyendar "Ukrayins'koho Holosu". Winnipeg: 1915.
- . "Ukrayins'kyy patriotyzm" v Kanadi - Na slovakh i na dili. N.p., 1959.
- Swyrypa, Frances. "A Survey of Ukrainian-Canadian Historiography." A Heritage in Transition: Essays in the History of Ukrainians in Canada. Ed. Manoly R. Lupul. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1982. 310-26.
- . "The Ukrainians and Private Education." A Heritage in Transition: Essays in the History of Ukrainians in Canada. Ed. Manoly R. Lupul. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1982. 244-62.
- . "Wedded to the Cause: Ukrainian-Canadian Women." Canada's Ukrainians: Negotiating an Identity. Ed. Lubomyr Luciuk and Stella Hryniuk. Toronto: U of Toronto P, 1991. 238-53.
- . Wedded to the Cause: Ukrainian-Canadians Women and Ethnic Identity, 1891-1991. Toronto: U of Toronto P, 1993.

---, and J.H. Thompson. Loyalties in Conflict: Ukrainians in Canada during the Great War. Toronto: U of Toronto P, 1980.

Syrnick, J.H. "Community Builders: Early Ukrainian Teachers." Transactions of the Historical and Scientific Society of Manitoba 3 (1964-65): 25-34.

---. "The Ukrainian Canadian Committee: Its Significance in the Canadian Society," Slavs in Canada. Vol. II. Proceedings of the Second National Conference on Canadian Slavs. Ottawa: Inter-University Committee on Canadian Slavs, 1968. 67-77.

Telgram 7 March 1899.

Telegram 7 July 1899.

Telegram 20 February 1900.

Tesla, Ivan J. [Ivan Teslya]. The Ukrainian Canadians: Social and Cultural Evolution of Ukrainian Canadians. Ottawa: n.p.: [1978?].

Teslya, Ivan. Ukrayins'ke naseleння Kanady, poseleння i demohrafichna kharakterystyka. 1968. [pamphlet]

Teslya Ivan, i Pavlo Yuzyk. Ukrayintsi v Kanadi, yikh rozvytok i dosyahnennya. Munich: Ukrainian Technical Economic Institute, 1968.

Tribune 17 February 1903.

Tribute to Our Ukrainian Pioneers in Canada's First Century. Proceedings. Special Convention of the Association of United Ukrainian Canadians and the Workers' Benevolent Association of Canada, 1966.

Trofimenkoff, S.M. The Twenties in Western Canada. Ottawa: Mercury Series History Division, No. 1, 1972.

Trosky, Odarka S. "A Historical Study of the Development of the Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church of Canada and Its Role in the Field of Education (1918-1964)." Master's thesis U of Manitoba, 1965.

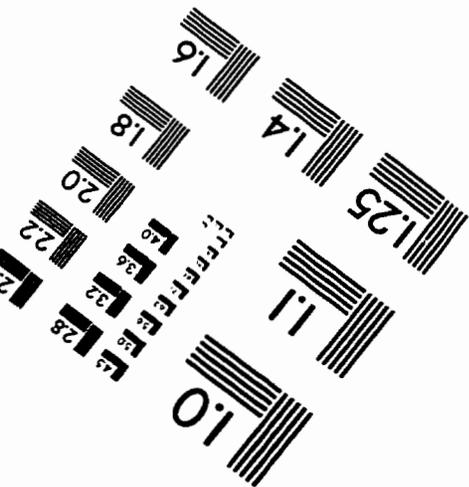
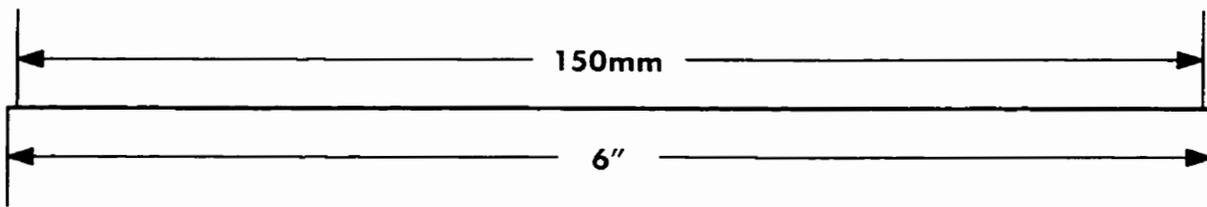
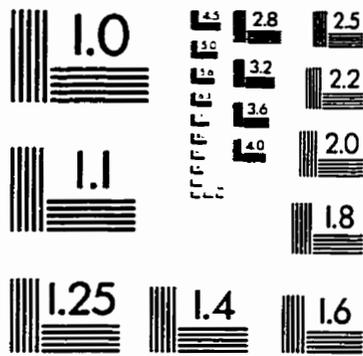
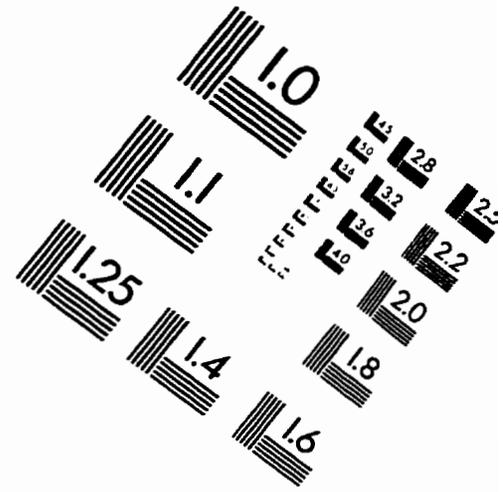
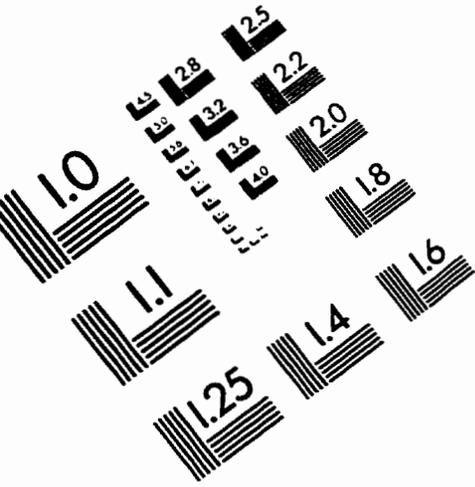
---. The Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church in Canada. Winnipeg: n.p., 1968.

The Ukrainian Pioneers in Alberta, Canada. Edmonton: Ukrainian Pioneers Association, 1970.

- Veryha, W. "The Ukrainian Canadian Committee: Its Origins and War Activity." Master's thesis U of Ottawa, 1967.
- Voytsenko [Woycenko], Ol'ha.. Litopys ukrayins'koho zhyttya v Kanadi. 6 vols. Winnipeg: Trident Press, 1961-82.
- Wangenheim, Elizabeth. "The Ukrainians: A Case Study of the 'Third Force'." Nationalism in Canada. 3rd ed. Ed. Peter Russell. Toronto: McGraw-Hill, 1972.
- Wiseman, Nelson. "Ukrainian-Canadian Politics." Canada's Ukrainians: Negotiating an Identity. Ed. Lubomyr Luciuk and Stella Hryniuk. Toronto: U of Toronto P, 1991. 342-61.
- Wiseman, Nelson, and K. Wayne Taylor. "Class and Ethnic Voting in Winnipeg During the Cold War," Canadian Review of Sociology and Anthropology 16.1 (1979): 60-76.
- Wolowyna, Oleh. "Significance of the Rural-Urban Shift in Linguistic Assimilation and Socio-economic Status of Ukrainians in Canada." Canadian Ethnic Studies, 12. 2 (1980): 17-32.
- Woodsworth, J.S. "Canadians of To-morrow." The Christian Guardian 5 May - 4 August 1915.
- . "Foreign Immigrants and Temperance." The Christian Guardian 13 April 1910.
- . "How to Help our European Immigrants." The Missionary Outlook (July, 1913).
- . "Our Citizens of Foreign Birth." The Western School Journal 7 (1912).
- . Strangers Within Our Gates: Or Coming Canadians. Toronto: U of Toronto P, 1972.
- . "The Community and the Immigrant." The Missionary Outlook (December, 1914).
- . "The School Teacher as Community Leader." The Western School Journal 9 (1914).
- Woycenko[Voytsenko], Ol'ha. Canada's Cultural Heritage: Ukrainian Contribution. N.p., 1964.
- . "Community Organizations." A Heritage in Transition: Essays in the History of Ukrainians in Canada. Ed. Manoly R. Lupul. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1982. 173-94.
- . The Ukrainians in Canada. Winnipeg: Trident Press, 1967.

- . "Ukrainians in the Manitoba Mosaic." Canadian Collector Antiques 6.8 (1971): 57-60.
- Yastremskyy, T.A. Kanadiyanizatsiya, politychnyy rozvytok kanadyys'kykh ukrayintsiv za poslidnykh 46 rokiy. Winnipeg, n.p., 1946.
- Yeigh, Frank. "New Canadians Making Good." The Canadian Magazine 59 (1922).
- . "The Foreigner in Canada." Through the Heart of Canada. Toronto: Henry Frowde, 1911.
- Young, Charles H. The Ukrainian Canadians: A Study in Assimilation. Toronto: Thomas Nelson, 1931.
- Yuzyk, Paul. "Religious Life." A Heritage in Transition: Essays in the History of Ukrainians in Canada. Ed. Manoly R. Lupul. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1982. 143-72.
- . "The First Ukrainians in Manitoba," Transactions of the Historical and Scientific Society of Manitoba, series III (8) 1953: 30-39.
- . "The History of the Ukrainian Greek Catholic (Uniate) Church in Canada." Master's thesis U of Saskatchewan 1948.
- . The Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church of Canada, 1918-1951. Ottawa: U of Ottawa P, 1981.
- . Ukrainian Canadians: Their Place and Role in Canadian Life. Toronto: Ukrainian Canadian Business and Professional Federation, 1967.
- . "Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church of Canada (1918-1951)." Diss. U of Minnesota, 1958.
- . The Ukrainians in Manitoba: A Social History. Toronto: U of Toronto P, 1953.

IMAGE EVALUATION TEST TARGET (QA-3)



APPLIED IMAGE, Inc
1653 East Main Street
Rochester, NY 14609 USA
Phone: 716/482-0300
Fax: 716/288-5989

© 1993, Applied Image, Inc., All Rights Reserved

