

**THE UKRAINIAN UNITED CHURCH
IN WINNIPEG, MANITOBA, 1903-1961:
THE HISTORY OF A
UNIQUE CANADIAN RELIGIOUS EXPERIENCE**

BY

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

MASTER OF ARTS

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The Ukrainian United Church in Winnipeg, Manitoba, 1903-1961:

The History of a Unique Canadian Religious Experience

BY

Geraldine Carol Russin

**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

Master of Arts

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ABSTRACT

The existence of a Ukrainian United Church in Winnipeg represented the Ukrainian Canadian population's experience with a Ukrainian form of Protestantism between 1903 and 1961. The geographic focus of the thesis was Winnipeg. There were a number of distinct stages in this church's growth and dissolution.

This experience began in 1903 with the founding by Ukrainians of the semi-autonomous Independent Greek Church. The existence of this church was assisted by the Presbyterian Church in Canada.

The founding of the Independent Greek Church in Winnipeg evoked two divergent views as to its purpose. The initiator of this church, John Bodrug, regarded this church as one that was Ukrainian, independent of the two ancestral churches, which was to be a bridge from their traditional way of worship to a Ukrainian form of a reformed evangelical Protestant Church. This new church was to evolve at the pace necessary for Ukrainians to become adjusted to this non-traditional way of worshipping.

The Presbyterian Church regarded the Independent Greek Church as an assimilatory vehicle to Canadianize and Christianize Ukrainians, which meant to Anglicize and Protestantize Ukrainians to the proper Presbyterian model as quickly as possible.

The Independent Greek Church was incorporated into the Presbyterian Church of Canada in 1913. The Winnipeg church became a Ukrainian Presbyterian congregation.

When the United Church of Canada was formed in June 1925, the Ukrainian

Presbyterian congregation became the Ukrainian United Church, but continued to worship at their separate original location.

The entire history of the Ukrainian experience with Canadian Protestantism was founded on a long held assumption of the Protestant establishment made throughout this period. The fact that the Presbyterian Church, and later the United Church of Canada, equated their religious convictions to that of the primary example of an ideal “Canadian” citizen fuelled their assimilatory project throughout. It is this aim which tempered many of the significant events in the life of the Ukrainian congregation, such as their physical move to Robertson Memorial United Church in 1933. The two sides involved in this relationship often had competing ends and goals which ultimately led to the unceremonious dissolution of the Ukrainian United Church in 1961.

This is a unique all-encompassing piece of Canadian Ukrainian Protestant history outlining the entire life and elimination of this new form of Ukrainian Protestantism. The founding of this church in 1903 set the stage. The growth and eventual disbandment of the Ukrainian United Church in Winnipeg in 1961, by the United Church of Canada, closed this chapter of a distinct and special Canadian institution.

PREFACE

The Ukrainian immigrants arriving in Canada at the end of the nineteenth and beginning of the twentieth century referred to themselves as “Rusyny” in their homeland and this term was translated into English as “Ruthenians.” The Ruthenian immigrants were also referred to as Galicians and Bukovinians from the names of the provinces from which they came. The modern term “Ukrainian” was becoming more widely used so that after World War I Ukrainian became the correct name of these people. The term Ukrainian is used in this thesis except in direct quotation where reference is made to the previous terms of Ruthenian, Galician or Bukovinian.

Transliteration of Ukrainian language sources has been done in accordance with the modified Library of Congress system.

All translations of Ukrainian language material have been done by the author.

Ukrainian language newspaper titles have been shortened in the text as follows:

Kanadyiskyi Farmer - K. Farmer; Ukrayinskyi Holos - U. Holos; Kanadyiskyi Rusyn - K. Rusyn; Kanadiyskyi Ukrainets - K. Ukrainets; Kanadiyskyi Ranok - K. Ranok.

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INTRODUCTION

In the history of Ukrainians in Canada very little has been written about Protestantism amongst Ukrainians. Protestantism was almost foreign to the Ukrainian community. To this day, the fact that there had been a Ukrainian United Church has not been widely known in the Ukrainian community. Consequently I set out to examine in a systematic way the Ukrainian United Church congregation in Winnipeg, and its forerunner, the Presbyterian Church, because that is where a Ukrainian form of Protestantism was begun by Ukrainian immigrants.

The purpose of this thesis is to document the creation, existence and disbanding of the Ukrainian United Church congregation in Winnipeg through its different forms from 1903 to 1961, concurrently with the continuous compliant relationship of this congregation to the authority of the Presbyterian Church in Canada and after 1925 the United Church of Canada.

Concentrating on the city of Winnipeg, the thesis examines the interaction between the religious proselytizing of the Presbyterian Church in Canada and the United Church of Canada among Ukrainians, and the reactions of Ukrainians themselves.

In 1896 when the large mass of Ukrainian immigrants began arriving in Winnipeg as the stopover city before moving out west to homesteads, the immigrants who remained in Winnipeg settled in an established, flourishing city. Winnipeg had the necessary institutions of a stable society such as public schools, a university and colleges, general hospital, daily newspapers, police force, the Methodist All Peoples' Mission in the North

End, and so on.

The first Ukrainians who settled in Winnipeg proved their willingness to participate in Canadian institutions by sending their children to the public schools even though public school attendance was not compulsory. It was reported that Ukrainian school children participated in the schools' Celebration of Her Majesty's Diamond Jubilee held at Government House on June 22, 1897. Loyal Addresses were presented by school children in ten different languages including "the mixed Dialect spoken by the Galicians."¹

The public schools were available and were the primary assimilatory institution for children. What was not available were Ukrainian churches. The Canadian setting of separation of church and state, and freedom of religion, left the responsibility of establishing churches to the immigrants. The Ukrainians were baptized Christians of the Greek Catholic and Greek Orthodox traditional Ukrainian faiths. No priests of either faiths accompanied them nor were there priests of their faiths in Canada.

The Presbyterian Church in Canada was well established in Winnipeg and regarded itself as the correct model and defender of Canadianism. They were aware of the large Ukrainian immigration and were perplexed as to the strategy to use on what they regarded as an inferior people, so that they would become proper Canadians on the Presbyterian model.

The Presbyterian/United churches were the largest Canadian Protestant churches representing Canadianism—powerful and wealthy. The Ukrainians had to establish themselves from the basic level and solve their religious situation. There was a group that desired an independent Ukrainian church but did not have the financial means to support

it. They needed help and in 1903 the Presbyterians were willing to give conditional help. The Ukrainian church leadership did not fully understand the motives of this Presbyterian help, and the masses believed this was an independent Ukrainian church. There was no agreement drawn up as to what the goals were on both sides nor on what basis the relationship was to exist. From this setting the inter-relationship carried on through various phases until 1961.

The two groups began their relationship as separate entities with a wide gap between them. Over the years the gap continued to be narrowed until the Ukrainian congregation was completely overtaken by the United Church of Canada. Both the Presbyterian and United Churches regarded the Ukrainian congregation as the vehicle for assimilation.

Together with the desire for an independent Ukrainian church, the Ukrainians had a strong sense of Ukrainianness. Some of them founded the first Independent Greek Church in Canada in Winnipeg in 1903, which was to unify the Orthodox with the evangelical. It was unclear how this was to be done. This was a Ukrainian church organized by the immigrants. The Ukrainianness of the Ukrainians was not understood by the Presbyterian/United churches and was regarded as detrimental to the necessary quick Canadianization process. There was a setting for conflict here.

Right from the beginning of the Presbyterian association with Ukrainians the former had ideals that were to be imposed such as their form of Christianization, Canadianization and assimilation. Next to the importance of educating Ukrainian Presbyterian missionaries, the *Kanadiyskyi Ranok* (originally *Ranok*) newspaper

supported by the Presbyterian/United churches was considered vital to this work. All in all, the Presbyterian/United Churches had many links to other assimilatory organizations.

A vital Canadianizing and Christianizing agency in Winnipeg was the Presbyterian Robertson Memorial Church and Robertson House opened in November 1911 in the neighbourhood of the Independent Greek Church location. The influence of these two institutions on the Ukrainian congregation at the Independent Greek Church location increased and became more influential still at the time of church union in 1925. After this the relationship became increasingly intertwined.

The interrelationships of these two diverse people are examined through all the phases until 1961, including the development of the Canadianizing assimilatory processes of the Presbyterian Church and the attitudes and methods of the United Church itself with respect to Ukrainian immigrants and successive generations of Canadians of Ukrainian origin. The thesis is divided into five chapters and a conclusion.

Chapter One deals with the period 1896-1903, the arrival of Ukrainian immigrants. This is the meeting of the two worlds. The two streams were becoming acquainted with their very different circumstances. The immigrants were thrust into Canadian life realizing that there were no churches of their faith to fill their religious needs. The Presbyterian Church began its religious work amongst Ukrainians in Winnipeg. Of necessity this chapter gives information also on the background of the Ukrainians and of the Presbyterian Church in Manitoba.

Chapter Two deals with the period 1903-1913, the period of the establishment in Winnipeg and disbandment of the Independent Greek Church. This was the first form

taken by the church I am studying. Other means of proselytizing the Ukrainians were the newspaper *Ranok* and the opening of Robertson Memorial Church and House. An important factor in this period was the publication of the novel *The Foreigner: A Tale of Saskatchewan*.

Chapter Three addresses the period 1913-1925. Here the focus is formation of the Ukrainian Presbyterian Church at the Independent Greek Church location in Winnipeg. This was the second form taken by the church I am studying. Presbyterian work continued amongst the Ukrainian population; Robertson House was active and Robertson Memorial Church reopened: the *Ranok* paper becomes *Kanadiyskyi Ranok*, and was influenced strongly by its editor Dr. A. J. Hunter. Nevertheless the evangelical movement among Ukrainians in Canada seemed to be stagnating.

Chapter Four covers the years 1925-1933. This is the period that saw the formation in 1925 of the United Church of Canada and the Ukrainian Presbyterian Church was taken into the United Church. This congregation was now the Ukrainian United Church located at the Independent Greek Church location in Winnipeg. This was the third form taken by the church I am studying. The United Church carried on the same kind of work as the Presbyterian Church amongst the Ukrainian population.

Chapter Five, 1933-1961, is the period the Winnipeg Ukrainian United Church transferred its operations to Robertson Memorial Church and co-existed as a semi-autonomous congregation here until it was disbanded in 1961.

This chapter discusses the activities of the Ukrainian congregation and the Robertson Memorial United Church, and the extent of control by Robertson Memorial

and the United Church over the Ukrainian United Church. United Church work amongst Ukrainians continued until 1961.

The development of a Ukrainian Protestant denomination in Canada was genuinely a Canadian development. Therefore, this study about Ukrainians, who are the largest Slavic group of people in Canada, together with the fact that this is about one of the largest Protestant denominations, speaks for the importance of this study. This will illuminate the unknown historical experience of a quite large grouping of people, as there is no definitive history written yet with respect to the relationship of the United Church of Canada and Ukrainians.

The conclusion contains reflections on the interrelationships of the Ukrainian evangelical congregation in Winnipeg with the Presbyterian and United Churches. The latter's attempts to assimilate Ukrainians into British Canadian society, instead of assisting their integration into it, proved in Winnipeg to be counterproductive. In effect, the United Church destroyed the possibility of creating an ongoing Protestant evangelical experience for Ukrainians in Canada.

Notes

¹Minutes of the Regular meeting Winnipeg School Board, July 13, 1897, p. 73.

CHAPTER 1

Acclimatization to Canada: A Religious Vacuum

At the end of the nineteenth century and into the twentieth century, in response to the Canadian government's advertising, large numbers of agricultural immigrants were pouring through Winnipeg to destinations in Manitoba and Western Canada to take up homesteads. The largest Slavic group to emigrate to Canada were Ukrainians. The first Ukrainians came to Canada in 1891, but large-scale emigration to Canada began in 1896. From 1896 until 1914, inclusive, about 200,000 Ukrainians entered Canada.¹

In 1895, unexpectedly, Canada received an answer to the perplexing question as to who would settle the west, in the form of a letter of inquiry about agriculturists settling in Canada from Dr. Joseph Oleskow, of Lviv, Galicia, Austria. In the letter he suggested there was a "possibility" of a "mass migration of Ukrainian (Ruthenian) farmers to Canada."² This inquiry by the noted Ukrainian chemist, soils expert and professor, to the Department of the Interior in Ottawa, resulted in an exchange of information and Dr. Oleskow visiting London, England. During this visit Sir Charles Tupper, the High Commissioner for Canada, personally discussed details with Dr. Oleskow of the projected Ukrainian immigration to the Canadian Northwest. From London, Dr. Oleskow visited Canada from August to October 1895.³ During his stopover in Winnipeg in mid-August, he met the "ten Ruthenian families" who "live in Winnipeg...for three to four years"⁴ and were doing well. Dr. Oleskow was interested in the agricultural capabilities of Manitoba and the Northwest.

Just as Dr. Oleskow was embarking on his Canadian voyage, his booklet entitled *Pro vilni zemli* (About Free Lands), in which he devoted a chapter to Canada, was published in July 1895.⁵ Returning to Lviv inspired by his educational Canadian tour, he penned a second booklet *O Emigratsii* (On Emigration), which was published December 1895,⁶ extolling the particulars of Canada as the suitable country for emigration. Oleskow described his findings to influential Ukrainians from Lviv and other districts at a conference on November 14, 1895,⁷ motivating them “to form a permanent Emigrants’ Aid Committee”.⁸ Dr. Oleskow’s findings were widely disseminated in Galicia and were the spark to ignite the desire in the peasantry to emigrate to Canada in masses. They would take Canada up on its offer of free lands when Canada made the announcement.

The initiator of Canada’s very attractive offer of free lands that was announced in Europe was Clifford Sifton, who joined the newly-elected Liberal government of Prime Minister Laurier in November 1897, as Minister of the Interior.⁹ His prime concern was to obtain suitable agricultural settlers for the west and he devised settlement regulations that would entice immigrants and keep them on the land. He was already favourably disposed to the Ukrainian immigrants.

While immigrants from Britain, United States, Germany and Scandinavia were desired, the various circumstances for emigration from these countries were such that large numbers could not be expected to respond.¹⁰ Austria-Hungary was still heavily agricultural and Sifton pursued agriculturists aggressively there. The result was that the numbers of Slavic immigrants from Austria increased immensely, among whom the Ukrainians were the largest Slavic group.

The large numbers of Ukrainian immigrants created a reaction in the Canadian Anglo-Saxon population. Sifton defended the Ukrainian immigrants when confronted by queries of their unsuitability. An indication of the unsubstantiated rhetoric about the quality of these immigrants was the argument presented in the House of Commons in 1899 by Mr. E. G. Prior, MP for Victoria, B.C. He admonished Sifton to stop the “class of immigrants now coming in,” because “the end will be disastrous to the posterity of the North-west and Manitoba...’.”¹¹ He had been “told by men whom I can trust that these people are wanting in all principles of loyalty, patriotism, cleanliness...all principles that go to fit them for citizenship...’.”¹² The Minister of Interior replied that, “Our experience of these people teaches us’...’ that they are industrious, careful and law abiding and their strongest desire is to assimilate with Canadians’....” Sifton went on to say “they are people who lived in poverty. That is no crime on their part. I venture to say that the ancestors of many prominent citizens of Canada were poor in the country whence they came, and nobody thinks less of them on that account. They are people of good intellectual capacity and they are moral and welliving people...’.”¹³

Sifton believed that Ukrainian settlers, besides opening the west, would be a great economic boon and berated opponents of these immigrants for “exciting racial prejudice.”¹⁴

There was an uninformed image imposed on Ukrainian immigrants, which Anglo-Saxons carried over from their anti-Catholic attitudes resulting from issues of disagreements with French Canadian Roman Catholics. The unfortunate part of this was that the Anglo-Saxons did not make an effort to find out what a Greek Catholic was, and

the immigrants, most of whom were of this denomination, were not able to express themselves adequately in English.

Who were these people, in reality? The Ukrainian Greek Catholics were not versed in Roman Catholic doctrine but knew that the Roman Catholic rite and custom was different from their own Byzantine rite. Roman Catholic and Greek Catholic were not interchangeable. Coming from Galicia where Polish Roman Catholics dominated the government and held the power in municipal affairs, it was offensive to them to be labeled as "Catholic", implying that they were Roman Catholic like the French or Polish.

There were other differences, an important one being that married priests were the norm for Greek Catholics. Many Galician peasants had already been members of the secular Prosvita (Enlightenment) societies, and had been exposed to different views pertaining to the place and power of the Greek Catholic Church including that of the village priest in their society. Dr. Oleskow tried to explain to Canadian authorities the relationship between the Greek Catholic and Roman Catholic churches in Galicia.

In his letter of September 6, 1896, to the Department of the Interior, Ottawa, he stated "The difference between these two religions is very great, even the liturgy is not in latin [*sic*] language as with Roman Catholic, but in a Slav. language, and in this country are these two Churches in a state of struggle."¹⁵ He also stated in this letter that "the Ruthenians (an old culturell [*sic*] but depressed nation) have since many centuries no own political existence, and therefore no national ambitions, and will become so sooner than other nations true Canadian patriots."¹⁶ Thus Dr. Oleskow tried to give some clarification of the differences between Roman Catholic and Greek Catholic churches,

and was confident also that the immigrants would become patriotic Canadians. His affirmations of the suitability of Ukrainians as settlers for Canada were lost in the increasing criticisms of the immigrants.

The Ukrainians arriving in Canada up to World War I were emigrants from the Austrian crownlands of eastern Galicia and northern Bukovyna. These Ukrainian regions were part of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy where other national groups, Poles and Romanians respectively, formed the politically dominant upper class as owners of the great estates. In 1900, 95 per cent¹⁷ of the Ukrainian population of Galicia and Bukovyna were peasants living in the countryside and working the land.

The fact that many writers have described the first Ukrainian immigrants as illiterate and backward has been refuted by Dr. S. Hryniuk in her dissertation "A Peasant Society in Transition: Ukrainian Peasants in Five East Galician Counties, 1880-1900."¹⁸ Her original research discloses that in the five counties she studied, and from where a significant proportion of the Ukrainian settlers came, there were an increasing number of public elementary schools, children in attendance, teachers and other educational improvements.¹⁹ Dr. Hryniuk pointed out that there were adults from before 1880 who were illiterate and survived long into the period of improved schooling, thus increasing the illiteracy statistics. But there was improved and expanded public schooling, and therefore literacy had definitely increased.²⁰

With respect to the "accepted fact" that the first Ukrainian immigrants were all illiterate, this view was based on the impressions of different Canadian people in authority. It is probable that the literacy levels of the Bukovynians were similar to those

of the Galicians, although no research has been done to determine this more accurately. Illiteracy was thus not as widespread as portrayed by Canadian writers and literacy was increasing, though the Ukrainian immigrants were illiterate in the English language.

No priests from either denomination came with the immigrants. To go across the ocean and settle in a strange land without priests was an unprecedented experience for the immigrants whose daily lives had revolved around the teaching of their village churches, the celebration of Divine Liturgy on holy days, and the practices of inherited religious traditions. In Galicia the priests were members of the top social strata of the village and visible leaders and organizers, founding institutions like credit unions or reading clubs. They participated in political activities, attended public meetings and were involved in various activities of the village and county.²¹ The priests gave their blessings to the villagers embarking on this expedition but at the same time seemed not to empathize with these emigrants as to how they were to survive in a strange country and world, without the ministrations of their own priests in the happenings of the human life cycle. The emigrants were on their own.

The society in which Sifton operated was a product of many factors. During the nineteenth century in Canada, Protestants, including Presbyterians, were hostile towards the Catholic Church because of their perception of "Roman Catholic power" in Canada.²² This fear was based on their understanding or misunderstanding of Catholic beliefs, forms of worship and governance,²³ and on distrust stemming back to the Reformation of the sixteenth century. Specific issues that produced antagonism were the 1870 "dogma of papal infallibility,"²⁴ the influence of ultramontaniam in Quebec,²⁵ and the settlement

reached in 1888 by the Quebec government regarding the dispute over the wealth of the Jesuit estates.²⁶ This dispute rekindled the Presbyterian Church's stand on absolute "separation of church and state."²⁷ Therefore, resolutions to this effect were passed at the General Assembly of 1890.²⁸ Regarding themselves "as patriotic Canadians," these Protestants were "deeply interested in everything that impedes the progress of the Dominion, and entitled, in legitimate ways, to seek its removal."²⁹

Canada-wide Protestant anti-Catholic rhetoric was further stirred up by the Manitoba Schools Question that arose in 1889.³⁰ The Manitoba government abolished the "dual system of schools" in 1890³¹ and in the process "revealed the Anti-French and anti-Catholic animus which lay behind the decision."³² The Manitoba government regarded the School Question resolved. The Catholic case to repeal this law kept the matter alive for six years. Across Canada, "It was known that the province had abolished separate schools and had brought in a system of non-sectarian national schools, and that its legal right to do this had been affirmed by the highest court in the realm. It was also known that the hierarchy of the Roman Catholic Church had publicly called upon the Dominion Government to intervene and destroy this law."³³

A compromise was arrived at and the "Schools Act was amended in accord with the Laurier-Greenway compromise".³⁴ The Public Schools Act which came into effect August, 1897, was composed of twelve clauses, of which eight pertained to the allowed religious teaching in Manitoba public schools during school hours. The religious teaching was to "be conducted by any Christian clergyman whose charge includes any portion of the school district, or by any person duly authorized by such clergyman or by a teacher

when so authorized.”³⁵

This clause was not widely known by Ukrainians. Although the Ukrainians arrived without priests, authorization for the religious instruction could have been given by both faiths, especially by the more numerous itinerant Greek Catholic priests from the U.S.A., as well as the American-based Russian Orthodox priests. The Roman Catholic Church, endeavouring to provide ministrations to Ukrainians, either neglected this clause or suppressed it in respect of the Ukrainians, because this could encourage the majority to maintain their Ukrainian Catholic faith. To the Presbyterians, it seemed that where the Ukrainians were concerned no religion at all would have been better.

Clause 10 of the Schools Act created the right to bilingual education. It stated:

When ten of the pupils in any school speak the French language, or any language other than English, as their native language, the teaching of such pupils shall be conducted in French, or such other language, and English upon the bilingual system.³⁶

Bilingual schools were established in Ukrainian rural settlements in Manitoba.

Bilingual instruction was not allowed in Winnipeg schools, which action could be considered as against the Schools Act and infringement of Ukrainian settlers' education rights for their children. In 1916 bilingual schools were discontinued in Manitoba thanks in no small part to the Presbyterian prominence in the debates surrounding that issue.³⁷

Consequently the Ukrainian immigrants, the large majority of whom were Greek Catholic, arrived in large numbers in the wake of the anti-Catholic sentiments generated in Canada, and by the Manitoba Public Schools Question. These two issues would lead to controversies concerning the Ukrainians.

At the time the Ukrainian immigrants came to Canada the British denominations such as Presbyterians, Methodists, and Anglicans were in a majority. However the Roman Catholic Church, predominantly French, was also strong, though the Protestant plurality was growing. The following illustrates the numbers of the Canadian population belonging to these and other denominations as shown in the 1901 and 1911 censuses.³⁸

TABLE I

	Whole of Canada	
	1901	1911
1. Roman Catholics	2,229,000	2,833,041
2. Presbyterians	842,442	1,115,324
3. Methodists	916,886	1,079,892
4. Anglicans	681,494	1,043,017
5. Baptists	318,005	382,666
6. Lutherans	92,514	229,864
7. Greek Church	15,630	88,507
8. Jews	16,401	74,564
9. Mennonites	31,797	44,611
10. Congregationalists	28,293	34,054
11. Protestants	11,612	30,265
12. *Eastern Religions	15,570	28,418
13. Salvation Army	10,308	18,834
14. Mormons	6,891	15,971
15. Adventists	8,058	10,406
16. All others	102,582	144,719
17. Unspecified	43,222	32,490
Populations	<u>5,371,315</u>	<u>7,206,643</u>

*These include Confucians, Buddhists, Mohammedans, Shintos, Sikhs, and Hindoos

A peculiar denomination named in the document was the "Greek Church", which was not clearly defined. The national church of Greece was the Greek Orthodox, but the Greek Church was not listed this way. In 1901 the census showed that there were 291

Greeks in Canada, and in 1911 there were 3,614.³⁹ But the large numbers in the category “Greek Church” suggests that Ukrainian Greek Catholic and Greek Orthodox members were included in these numbers. Definition of this category was confusing and resulted in confused census data.

If the puzzling religious identity of the Ukrainian immigrants created a new situation for the Protestant Anglo-Saxon majority, the Orthodox and Greek Catholic (Uniate) churches were not unknown to the Anglican church. While the Presbyterians and Methodists narrowly defined Christian church history from the Reformation, they were discussing the re-unification of the Canadian Protestant churches from the late 1800's. The Anglicans were invited to unite with them but this never came to fruition. Anglicans speaking of church union referred to something entirely different. The schism which split the Christian church “between its eastern and western branches” in 1054 had seen the Orthodox and Roman Catholics going their separate ways.⁴⁰ Knowledge of this decisive historical event was important to the understanding of the Ukrainian church setting.

Anglicans were aware of how the Greek Catholic church had been created. One Church of England history of the Holy Eastern Orthodox church, entitled *Mother of All Churches*, written in England in 1908, states that after the failed attempt at reunion of the churches at the Council of Florence in 1439, Rome changed her tactics in order to found Uniate Eastern churches. Although the Anglican church was one of the large Protestant denominations in Canada, it was tolerant of the Ukrainian churches:

These Uniats are allowed to retain their Eastern usages and services almost

in their entirety on the condition of making a declaration of submission to the Pope as the head of the Church.

This policy was successful in Poland and Western Russia, for at one time an alliance with the West suited the Government of the day....Moreover, ceaseless attempts are made to minimize the Eastern element of their services, and whenever possible to draw them closer to the Western usages.⁴¹

The Anglican church consequently followed from the early 1900's a fundamentally different policy from the Presbyterian/United churches in respect of religious matters of the Ukrainian immigrants. The members of the clergy and leadership of the Church of England, such as Archdeacon Fortin of Winnipeg, expressed concern in 1902 and again in 1905, at their General Synods, about the 35,000 Galicians in the West who were without religious services.⁴² The General Synod, however, was very reluctant to intervene, for it believed that the Galicians belonged to the Greek Church with which the Church of England was in communion, and so permission would have to be obtained from the Greek church before any action was taken.⁴³

In 1905 the Anglican Synod confirmed that their church would not be involved in the religious matters of the Ukrainians:

His Grace Archbishop Matheson said that the...Galicians and other foreigners were being ministered to by their own clergy, and he wished to ask if they were to go in and proselytize among these people. The Archbishop's inquiry was received with loud cries of "No" by the members.⁴⁴

As Marilyn Barber concluded, "it was not considered proper to proselytize among the Galicians and other continental European immigrants who already belonged to a Christian church."⁴⁵

Confederation in 1867 was a political accomplishment that made Canada a large country with the expectation in its founders that it would be prosperous. The existing Christian churches of that time had no input into the Confederation agreements, thus there were no set “standards of conduct” nor “structure of values”⁴⁶ established for the citizens. Therefore, as one author says of the religious leaders, “Determining these intangibles was a role the churches readily accepted for themselves.”⁴⁷ The Presbyterian Church, the church of the largest Protestant denomination, believed it was its divine mission to set the moral and religious standards for Canada, with the Canadian west as the field of urgency.

The Presbyterian Home Missions were the prime agency for this twofold purpose in the west: 1) the religious purpose, “For the army of the Lord in Canada”,⁴⁸ and 2) the patriotic. Questions arose regarding the kind of society the future west would be. When one author asked, “What is to be the character of our civic and national ideals and what influences are to give shape to our civic and national institutions?”,⁴⁹ there was “only one answer: Religion and morality must be built into the framework of our Canadian nationality.”⁵⁰

The Methodists also pursued mission work in the west. In places where there was overlap with the Presbyterians, the churches were learning to work together and not duplicate each other’s efforts.

Immigration from Ontario changed the ethnic and religious composition of Manitoba after its establishment as a province in 1870. These settlers plus a small number of British immigrants were “almost wholly Protestant”, with a majority of Ontarians being Presbyterian.⁵¹

Winnipeg, the capital of Manitoba, kept growing as a “commercial and industrial city”⁵² and as the rest of the province, the population of Winnipeg was predominantly British-Ontarian with a minority of varied nationalities.⁵³ Winnipeg was the largest city in Western Canada until 1931.⁵⁴ The Anglicans were the largest Protestant denomination in Winnipeg, with the Presbyterians second, until 1921 when the Presbyterians become the largest denomination.⁵⁵ The commercial elite of Winnipeg was “Of Anglo-Saxon background, Protestant religion” who “shared the firm belief that the future of their community was boundless.”⁵⁶ The majority in fact were Presbyterian, and soon established their major structures in Winnipeg. The Presbytery of Manitoba was organized on June 16, 1870, and was considered a Home Mission rather than a foreign mission field;⁵⁷ Knox Church was founded⁵⁸ and the Presbyterian Manitoba College was established in Winnipeg in 1874.⁵⁹ The three colleges Manitoba (Presbyterian), St. Boniface (Roman Catholic), and St. John’s (Anglican) were united in 1877 to form the University of Manitoba.⁶⁰ A larger Manitoba College was built in 1881 in close proximity to the new Wesley College (Methodist).⁶¹

Rev. James Robertson of Norwich, Ontario, served in Winnipeg as the new minister of Knox Church from 1874 to 1881.⁶² In that year Robertson was appointed Superintendent of Missions of the North-West. He was the “Great Superintendent” until his death early in January 1902.⁶³ The Rev. Charles W. Gordon, a faithful disciple of Rev. James Robertson, described Robertson’s mission as “The work to which he...devoted his great physical, intellectual and spiritual powers was laying broad and deep the educational, social and religious foundations of the nation’s life.”⁶⁴

The Presbyterian church was growing in Winnipeg both in membership and influence. Charles W. Gordon, born in Glengarry county of Ontario in 1860, was the first minister of St. Stephen's Presbyterian Church in Winnipeg from 1894 until 1924,⁶⁵ during which time St. Stephen's grew in significance.⁶⁶ Gordon himself also came to be very influential in other ways than as minister of a church.

Both Robertson and Gordon were transplanted easterners who were important in the Presbyterian Church's work in Manitoba involving Ukrainian immigrants. They believed that the immigrants should be imbued with the Anglo-Saxon Protestant values of the first British Ontarian settlers who preceded the east European immigrants. This new life from "Older Canada" would be easily transplanted, they thought, because

"...Older political, social and religious ideals are so essentially inherent in the character, that, like hardy seeds...they reproduce in the new environment fruit similar in quality to that which was found in their former home." "Manitoba," "...is a duplicate of Ontario." The educationists, missionaries, and settlers from the east had indelibly stamped upon the west the Canadian character, that is, the character of the Maritimes and Ontario, and consequently immigrants and their children had standards to which they could accommodate themselves and values and institutions which would present them with "Canadianism."⁶⁷

The Ukrainian immigrants on their way to settle on the lands in western Canada came on the Canadian Pacific Railway from eastern Canada to Winnipeg where they disembarked and their settlement was further processed by immigration officers. This stopover in Winnipeg was for varying lengths of time in the immigration buildings provided to house immigrants before decisions were made as to where to settle. Some immigrants decided to settle in Winnipeg. In 1897 there were about 200 Ukrainians settled in Winnipeg,⁶⁸ in 1901 there were 230 Ukrainians, and 3,411 in 1911.⁶⁹

The Ukrainians settled in the North End where the working class foreign immigrants lived. They lived in cheap, poorly constructed housing. Some families lived together because of a shortage of money and unemployment, and likewise some took in many boarders out of mutual necessity. The persons who took in boarders needed the income to pay rent or taxes, and the immigrant boarders needed a place to stay before they got steady employment or when unemployed. Much overcrowding did take place but this resulted often from immigrants helping each other in desperate situations.

The Anglo-Saxon business people and leaders living in the South End were obsessed with the need for Winnipeg's growth and were not willing to give financial support for improvement of the social problems that were being encountered in the North End. They were the ones who were responsible for the cheaply built dwellings on small lots in the North End. "Fewer than half" of these "were connected with the city's waterworks system"⁷⁰ resulting in the highest infant mortality rates of the city. City council and politicians had no concern for decent housing, wages, and quality of life for North End working class people and blamed the foreign-born immigrants for their problems because of their "ignorance, laziness and immorality" when in fact the city leaders made very little attempt to make improvements in the immigrants' lives.⁷¹ Up to the 1920's, "Winnipeg remained one of the continent's most unhealthy cities, especially for the poor" living in the North End.⁷²

Many North Enders worked for the Canadian Pacific Railway which dominated the area, as well as in other industries. The Ukrainians were unskilled workers who provided the cheap, malleable labour that industrialists required. They worked at

whatever jobs they could find.

There was a “floating population” of unemployed Ukrainian immigrant men who would try their luck out west, whether as farm help, in mining or railway construction, or as seasonal workers. When the work ended, they would come back to Winnipeg, and try to find work again, because “Winnipeg served as the main recruiting centre for railway and bush contractors, farmers and manufacturers”.⁷³

But the presence of the Ukrainian workers in Winnipeg was resented and denounced by Anglo-Saxon workers.

...when the first Ukrainian immigrants settled in Winnipeg a trade union movement with a fairly large membership already existed. These were almost exclusively Anglo-Saxon with a chauvinistic, hostile attitude to immigrants from the European continent, and particularly toward the Galician settlers, whom they saw as “cheap labour” and a danger to themselves as competition on the labour market.⁷⁴

Ukrainian immigrant girls worked long hours as maids in the private homes of the wealthy Anglo-Saxons. Women and girls, who were also unskilled workers, worked in laundries, as waitresses in restaurants, and as hotel maids.⁷⁵

The presence of Ukrainians in Winnipeg did not escape the notice of prominent Presbyterians. Dr. Robertson, in reply to questions about the character of the foreigners, in his Report of the Home Mission Committee for the years 1899-1900, stressed that because the foreigners in Manitoba differed “from Canadians in language, manners, customs, ethical and religious opinions,...every effort should be made to evangelize, educate and assimilate them.”⁷⁶ This work was to be “vigorously prosecuted”, even though the missions were not established yet, “[i]n the interests of patriotism as well as

religion". He was most complimentary at that time of the Ukrainian character, reporting:

The Galicians...Men and women are not afraid of hard work; they are helping to solve the "servant girl" problem and the problem of cheap labour. They have much to learn yet, but they are apt pupils, and because of their industry and thrift, and their inexpensive mode of living, they are sure to prosper in worldly matters.⁷⁷

Different visions emerged in the Winnipeg elite as to how the immigrants could be managed and uplifted in a controlled setting while maintaining the status quo. One such plan was put forward by W. F. McCreary, Mayor of Winnipeg and Commissioner of Immigration in 1897. The Ukrainians would be sent to large established farms in Manitoba, "where a house, a half an acre of land for a garden, and a small salary would be given each family in return for the labor provided to the farmer," thus benefitting the farmer with their "cheap labor."⁷⁸ The Ukrainians would not be living with their own people and therefore the "English schools" would thoroughly Canadianize and socialize their children. McCreary envisaged that "These boys and girls will be the wealth of the country, for under such a method...they would be brought up farm servants thoroughly competent men without greed for wealth."⁷⁹ One could say that if such a scheme had been realized the Ukrainian immigrants would have had the opportunity to relive in Canada the serfdom that was abolished in Austria in 1848.

In the new Canadian environment, the absence of the church which had been the central institution in the Ukrainian immigrants lives was evident immediately. After their settlement on homesteads or in Winnipeg, the lack of their own priests and churches was of vital importance to their well-being. No priests from the ancestral churches nor members of the intelligentsia accompanied the immigrants. Together, the pioneer setting

and the absence of familiar Ukrainian church organizations, left the immigrants to deal on their own with their religious matters.

Stepping into this void was John Bodrug, who had arrived in Canada from Austrian Galicia in May 1897, together with his countryman John Negrych. Together they visited Rev. C. W. Gordon in 1898, who besides other positions, was in 1897 both “secretary of the British Canadian Missions” and acting assistant to Superintendent Robertson “in his Western work,”⁸⁰ with the request “that something might be done for the education and the religious care of their people.”⁸¹ The great significance of this request was not lost on that clergyman. They were immediately placed in classes at Manitoba College at the expense of the Presbyterians.

Their countryman Cyril Genik, the first Ukrainian interpreter with the Immigration Department in Winnipeg, advised Bodrug he had been approached by the four largest churches with the offer of free admittance to their colleges in Winnipeg for young Ukrainians who had “completed middle school in Europe”.⁸² This “opportunity for free higher learning” would enable them “to become leaders” of their people in Canada.⁸³ Acting on Genik’s advice, they both attended Anglican, Methodist and Presbyterian church services. They had no desire to be Roman Catholic missionaries. The service at Knox Presbyterian Church as well as the conduct of the worshipers impressed them the most, therefore they eagerly agreed to attend the college of this church.⁸⁴

At this time in Canada these three men were the only ones from Galicia with higher education. Bodrug and Negrych had completed lower gymnasium (equivalent to

junior high school in Canada) and the Teacher's Seminary, graduating as qualified teachers. Bodrug had taught in a village school in 1896.⁸⁵

The request of John Bodrug and John Negrych for educational and religious assistance for their people was the opportunity the Presbyterians were awaiting to gain a foothold for their work amongst Ukrainian immigrants.⁸⁶ Superintendent of Missions Dr. Robertson, in an interview given to the *Manitoba Morning Free Press* in November 1898, stated with respect to "active missionary work among Galician settlers in Manitoba", that they "have approached us on the matter".⁸⁷ The Presbyterian Church was contemplating what should be done as soon as possible because "The influence of the church would be a powerful factor in assisting to assimilate these people."⁸⁸ In the interest of the state, and to make Ukrainians into Canadians,

They should be put into the great Anglo-Saxon mill and be ground up, in the grinding they lose their foreign prejudices and characteristics.⁸⁹

The assimilating agents that would Canadianize Ukrainians would be "education, religion and inter-marriage".⁹⁰

Thus did Dr. Robertson set the agenda for Presbyterian efforts among the immigrants. He was impressed with the physical attributes of Ukrainians, their being hard-working and frugal in order to make a good life. He described the two young men who had just begun their studies at Manitoba College (Bodrug and Negrych) as "shrewd and intelligent and eager to learn"; this kind of Ukrainian immigrant would be beneficial to Canada. Many Ukrainians were trying to conform to Canadian customs, and as for those who had already "disclaimed their nationality" and said they were Canadians, he

believed “it would be a great pity if we did not encourage them.”⁹¹ He had no doubt that Ukrainians would become Canadians equal to other assimilated foreigners.

Nevertheless, despite Dr. Robertson’s favourable impression of Ukrainian immigrants, he kept up his guard and was on the alert regarding the actions of Ukrainians. He regarded as a “challenge and menace to Canadian Christianity” the large Ukrainian colonies in Western Canada, with no church “making adequate provision” for their religious care.⁹² No doubt his concern was justified as the Ukrainians themselves were feeling abandoned.

At this time it was easier to view the activities of Ukrainians settled on homesteads in colonies or areas of block settlement, such as Sifton and Dauphin. This influenced the host society’s leaders because in Winnipeg there were not a large number yet. The Presbyterian judgment of Ukrainians in their block settlements was transferred to all Ukrainians.⁹³

Therefore, Dr. Robertson speaking on behalf of the Church, became determined to control the religious life of the Ukrainian immigrants, and decided they were to come under the jurisdiction or sway of the Presbyterian church. In a letter written to a fellow missionary in the North-West, his confidante Rev. D. G. McQueen, in 1899, he revealed his apprehension and his prejudice:

Watch the Galician settlements and tell me what can be done to meet the wants of the people. Until we can get some of their own people trained, can anything be done thro’ interpreters? We must not leave large lumps of undigested foreigners in the stomach politic else there is trouble ahead, nor can we afford to have the religious views of the Greek Church, any more than the Roman, influencing the religious tone of the country, else religion will decline. And since many of the Galician women are sure to become

the mothers of no small part of the next generation, the homes should be Christian...⁹⁴

The disparaging attitude of Dr. Robertson in this letter towards the Ukrainian churches, specifically that the “religious view” of the Greek Church as well as the Roman must not influence the religious characteristics of the country or else religion would deteriorate, reveals a stereotypical preconceived dislike of these religions. While the Presbyterians had a long-standing animosity to the Roman Catholic Church, it is questionable on what basis Dr. Robertson would suggest that the Greek Orthodox religion would lead to the decline of religion in Canada, when the Orthodox denomination had not been very visible nor did it have at this time substantial numbers of adherents in Canada. Prejudice is also revealed in the intimation that Ukrainian homes were scarcely Christian. This hostility of the Presbyterians towards the Ukrainian faiths was to set the tone for Anglicizing and Presbyterianizing Ukrainians for long years to come.

Co-existence in Canada of Presbyterians with the large French Roman Catholic Church and the Catholic Church in general was a continuous thorny issue for the Presbyterians. They believed they had the authority to evangelize the Catholics. At the same time the Presbyterians admitted that a Roman Catholic could “undoubtedly” find salvation in his own church, “if he search deeply enough. His Church believes in Christ and His salvation, and these are the fundamental truths of Christianity.”⁹⁵ To confirm that the Catholic Church believed in the “fundamental truths of Christianity” was to bring into question the Presbyterian anti-Catholic stand. But they maintained their righteousness by asserting that in the Roman Catholic Church,

the doctrines of grace are covered over with such a mass of superstitious rubbish that many never reach them. The adoration of saints and images, the worship of the Virgin, the mass and the host, the confessional and papal infallibility, fill the minds of their devotees to the exclusion of almost everything else....multitudes of devout Roman Catholics have no personal experience of saving grace. Our Church's duty is, therefore, to bring the Gospel in its purity to those bound by superstition, as well as to those who lie in heathen darkness.⁹⁶

Implementation of the Robertson plan to evangelize Ukrainian immigrants, even if such ministrations were not invited, was hindered by the insufficient numbers of Presbyterian ministers. Dr. Robertson pointed out a possible solution. Perhaps a Ukrainian and German speaking professor at Manitoba College would solve the problem of Canadian-trained missionaries for Western Canada.⁹⁷ This solution was never attempted by the Presbyterians.

The increasing numbers of Ukrainian immigrants without their own spiritual leadership was seen by the French Catholic and Russian Orthodox leadership as a challenge to them also. They saw an opportunity of including the immigrants in their own ecclesiastical jurisdictions. The Roman Catholic Church in the Canadian west was headed by Adelard Langevin, Archbishop of the Diocese of St. Boniface, whose goal was to bring all newly arrived Catholics into the fold of the Roman Catholic Church in Canada.⁹⁸ The Russian Orthodox missionaries in the United States, subsidized by the Tsar of Russia, made trips into Canada to attempt to minister to Orthodox and other Ukrainians with the intention of swallowing up the Ukrainians into the Russian Church.⁹⁹ Both of these situations were a continuation of the Ukrainian religious experiences in Europe. The Roman Catholic Church in Galicia, and the Greek Oriental (i.e., Romanian Orthodox) Church in Bukovina were the dominant churches in those provinces. The

Ukrainians in Eastern Galicia from where the people came were Greek Catholic (Uniate). The church was well organized into parishes, deaneries and eparchies. By 1885 there were three eparchies, Lviv, Przemyśl and Stanyslaviv.¹⁰⁰ Ukrainians from Bukovina were mainly Orthodox. There was an Orthodox metropolitanate in Chernivtsi after 1873. The metropolitanate of Chernivtsi was divided into sections called protopriestdoms of which there were twelve in 1895.¹⁰¹ The Russian Orthodox Church had jurisdiction over Slavic Orthodox in North America. In Canada, the possibility of being integrated into the Roman Catholic or Russian Orthodox churches was unacceptable to Ukrainians.

An attempt to establish a Ukrainian church independent of the Roman Catholic and Russian Orthodox Churches was unsuccessful. A few Ukrainian intellectuals, led by a bishop with questionable credentials, Serafym (Stefan Ustvol'sky) from the United States, had organized just such a church in 1903 in Winnipeg. Bishop Serafym of the "All-Russian Patriarchal Orthodox Church," commonly called the "Serafymite Church"¹⁰² ordained indiscriminately into the priesthood cantors, and basically anyone who could read or pay the fee. This "church" was short-lived because this was not an organized church with a governing body. There were no church buildings (except for the peculiar scrap-iron cathedral in Winnipeg),¹⁰³ and Serafym conducted services in the Winnipeg Immigration Hall or anywhere else, such as a mill in Sifton, Man.¹⁰⁴ When Serafym left for Russia in 1904 to obtain recognition from the Holy Synod and to get money for his mission in Canada, he returned with neither. This led to the dissolution of his "churches".¹⁰⁵ He excommunicated from his Church the priests he ordained, by proclaiming anathema on them. His followers decreased and he returned to Russia in

1908.¹⁰⁶ But in a sense, his work went on.

The meeting of the two worlds, the Ukrainian immigrants and the Canadian Presbyterian establishment and French Roman Catholic Church, placed the Ukrainian immigrants at the centre of a power struggle for influence and control by these two denominations. Without any religious leadership which they had relied on in the old world, a beginning was made by the Ukrainians to satisfy their religious needs. It was upon this uncertain foundation that the evangelical Protestant Ukrainian experience in Canada would take root.

Notes

¹Paul Yuzyk, *The Ukrainians in Manitoba: A Social History* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press for Historical and Scientific Society of Manitoba, 1953), 31.

²Vladimir J. Kaye, *Early Ukrainian Settlements in Canada, 1895-1900: Dr. Josef Oleskow's Role in the Settlement of the Canadian Northwest*, Canadian Centennial Series, vol. 1 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press for Ukrainian Canadian Research Foundation, 1964), 3.

³Ibid., 20, 39.

⁴Ibid., 28, 29.

⁵Ibid., 12.

⁶Orest T. Martynowych, *Ukrainians in Canada: The Formative Period, 1891-1924* (Edmonton: Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies Press, 1991), 63.

⁷Kaye, *Early Ukrainian Settlements in Canada*, 43.

⁸Ibid., 44.

⁹John W. Dafoe, *Clifford Sifton: In Relation to his Times* (Toronto: Macmillan Company of Canada, 1931), 96.

¹⁰Ibid., 141.

¹¹V. J. Kaye, "Participation of Ukrainians in the Political Life of Canada," in *Almanakh zolotoho iuvileiu, 1905-1955 (Golden Jubilee Almanac, 1905-1955)*, ed. Ukrainian Mutual Benefit Association of St. Nicholas of Canada (Winnipeg: Ukrainian Mutual Benefit Association of St. Nicholas of Canada, 1957), p. 115; Hansard: July 7, 1899: pp. 6841-3.

¹²Ibid.

¹³Ibid. Hansard: July 7, 1899: p. 6859.

¹⁴Dafoe, *Clifford Sifton in Relation to His Times*, 142.

¹⁵Kaye, *Early Ukrainian Settlements*, 80, 82.

¹⁶Ibid., 81.

¹⁷Martynowych, *Ukrainians in Canada*, 5.

¹⁸Stella M. Hryniuk, "A Peasant Society in Transition: Ukrainian Peasants in Five East Galician Counties, 1880-1900" (Ph.D. diss., University of Manitoba, 1985).

¹⁹*Ibid.*, 150.

²⁰*Ibid.*, 150, 152, 153.

²¹Stella Hryniuk, *Peasants with Promise: Ukrainians in Southeastern Galicia 1880-1900* (Edmonton: Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies Press, 1991), 195-196.

²²John S. Moir, *Enduring Witness: A History of the Presbyterian Church in Canada* (n.p.: Bryant Press, 1975), 144.

²³J. R. Miller, "Anti-Catholic Thought in Victorian Canada," *Canadian Historical Review* 66, no. 1 (1985): 474-494.

²⁴*Ibid.*, 476

²⁵*Ibid.*

²⁶W. L. Morton, *Manitoba: A History*, 2d ed. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1967), 241.

²⁷Moir, *Enduring Witness*, 254.

²⁸*Ibid.*

²⁹Miller, "Anti-Catholic Thought in Victorian Canada", 482

³⁰Morton, *Manitoba: A History*, 244.

³¹*Ibid.*, 247.

³²*Ibid.*, 244.

³³Dafoe, *Sifton*, 64.

³⁴Morton, *Manitoba: A History*, 271. For the text see Borislav Nicholas Bilash, "Bilingual Public Schools in Manitoba, 1897-1916" (M.Ed. thesis, University of Manitoba, 1960), 129-130.

³⁵Bilash, "Bilingual Public Schools in Manitoba, 1897-1916", 129.

³⁶*Ibid.*, 130.

³⁷*Acts and Proceedings of the Thirtieth Synod of Manitoba and North-West Territories, of the Presbyterian Church in Canada*, p. 14. (Hereafter, *Synod*). Stella M. Hryniuk and Neil G. McDonald, "The Schooling Experience of Ukrainians in Manitoba, 1896-1916," in *Schools in the West: Essays in Canadian Educational History*, ed. Nancy M. Sheehan, J. Donald Wilson, and David C. Jones (Calgary: Detselig Enterprises, 1986), 155-173.

³⁸George Bryce, *A Short History of the Canadian People*, new and rev. ed. (London: Sampson Low, Marston & Co. Ltd., 1914), 563.

³⁹George D. Vlassis, *The Greeks in Canada*, 2d ed. (Ottawa: n.p., 1953), 34.

⁴⁰James Carmichael, *Organic Union of Canadian Churches: With a Comparison of Authorised Standards* (Montreal: Dawson Brothers, Publishers, 1887), 12, 13.

⁴¹F. G. Cole, *Mother of All Churches: A Brief and Comprehensive Handbook of the Holy Eastern Orthodox Church* (London: Skeffington & Son, 1908), 33-34. The Uniate Church was the result of the Union of Brest in 1596.

⁴²Marilyn Barber, "Nationalism, Nativism and the Social Gospel: The Protestant Church Response to Foreign Immigrants in Western Canada, 1897-1914," in *The Social Gospel in Canada: Papers of the Interdisciplinary Conference on the Social Gospel in Canada, March 21-24, 1973, at the University of Regina*, ed. Richard Allen, Mercury Series (Ottawa: National Museum of Man, History Division for National Museums of Canada, 1975), 206.

⁴³Quoted in *Ibid.* footnote 33, from *The Canadian Churchman*, Sept. 18, 1902.

⁴⁴Quoted in *Ibid.* p. 207 footnote 34, from *The Canadian Churchman*, Sept. 21, 1905.

⁴⁵*Ibid.*, pp. 206-207.

⁴⁶John Webster Grant, *The Church in the Canadian Era: The First Century of Confederation*, ed. John Webster Grant, *A History of the Christian Church in Canada*, vol. 3 (Toronto: McGraw-Hill Ryerson, 1972). Reprint, John Webster Grant, *The Church in the Canadian Era* (Burlington, Ontario: Welch Publishing, 1988), 68 (page citations are to the reprint edition).

⁴⁷*Ibid.*

⁴⁸W. S. McTavish, ed. *Reapers in Many Fields: A Survey of Canadian Presbyterian Missions* (Toronto: Westminster Company, 1904), 43.

⁴⁹*Ibid.*, 43.

⁵⁰Ibid.

⁵¹Morton, *Manitoba: A History*, 159, 179, and 187.

⁵²Ibid., 194.

⁵³Ibid., 171.

⁵⁴Alan Artibise, *Winnipeg: An Illustrated History*, ed. Alan Artibise and D. A. Muise, *The History of Canadian Cities* (Toronto: James Lorimer & Company and National Museums of Canada, National Museum of Man, 1977), Appendix, p. 201. Table IV, Population Growth in Major Western Cities, 1901-1971 (Source: *Censuses of Canada, 1901-1971*).

⁵⁵Ibid., p. [204].

⁵⁶Ibid., 28.

⁵⁷Charles W. Gordon (Ralph Connor), *The Life of James Robertson: Missionary Superintendent in the Northwest Territories* (New York: Fleming H. Revell, 1908), 90.

⁵⁸Ibid., 91.

⁵⁹Committee of the Executive of the "Twentieth Century Fund", ed. *Historic Sketches of the Pioneer Work and the Missionary, Educational and Benevolent Agencies of the Presbyterian Church in Canada* (Toronto: Murray Printing, 1903), 92.

⁶⁰Morton, *Manitoba: A History*, 192.

⁶¹*Historic Sketches*, 92.

⁶²Gordon, *The Life of James Robertson*, 92, 97.

⁶³Ibid., 402.

⁶⁴Charles Gordon, *Postscript to Adventure: The Autobiography of Ralph Connor* (Charles W. Gordon) (n.p.: Farrar and Rinehart, 1938). Reprint, Charles Gordon, *Postscript to Adventure: The Autobiography of Ralph Connor*, ed. Clara Thomas, Heritage Books, vol. 1 (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1975), 109 (page citations are to the reprint edition).

⁶⁵Ibid., p. 29 and Maura Taylor Pennington and Susan Bellay, comps. *For God, King, Pen and Country: The Papers of Charles William Gordon [Ralph Connor], 1860-1937* (Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Libraries, Department of Archives and Special Collections, 1990), 3, 4.

⁶⁶Gordon, *Postscript to Adventure*, pp. 139-142.

⁶⁷Carl Berger, *The Sense of Power: Studies in the Ideas of Canadian Imperialism, 1867-1914* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1970), 150.

⁶⁸Michael H. Marunchak, *The Ukrainian Canadians: A History* (Winnipeg: Ukrainian Free Academy of Sciences, 1970), pp. 39-40.

⁶⁹Artibise, *Winnipeg: An Illustrated History*, Appendix, p. [204]. Table IX, Major Religious Affiliations of Winnipeg's Population, 1881-1971 (Source: *Censuses of Canada, 1881-1971*).

⁷⁰*Ibid.*, 66.

⁷¹*Ibid.*

⁷²*Ibid.*, 104.

⁷³*Ibid.*, 44.

⁷⁴Peter Krawchuk, *The Ukrainians in Winnipeg's First Century* (n.p., [1974]), 25.

⁷⁵Krawchuk, *The Ukrainians in Winnipeg's First Century*, 6.

⁷⁶*The Acts and Proceedings of the Twenty-Sixth General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in Canada* (1900). Dr. J. Robertson, "Report of Home Mission Committee Western Section 1899-1900, Missions Among Foreigners", p. 10. (Hereafter, *Acts*).

⁷⁷*Ibid.*, 11.

⁷⁸Richard N. Henley, "The Compulsory Education Issue and the Socialization Process in Manitoba's Schools: 1897-1916" (M.Ed. thesis, University of Manitoba, 1978), 25.

⁷⁹Quoted in *Ibid.*

⁸⁰Gordon, *The Life of James Robertson*, 344, 345.

⁸¹Charles W. Gordon, "The Presbyterian Church and Its Missions," in *The Dominion Missions; Arts and Letters, Part I*, ed. Adam Shortt and Arthur G. Doughty, *Canada and its Provinces: A History of the Canadian People and Their Institutions by One Hundred Associates* (Toronto: Edinburgh University Press for Publishers' Association of Canada, 1913), 292. See also Edward Bodrug, *John Bodrug: Ukrainian Pioneer Preacher, Educator, Editor, in the Canadian West, 1897-1913* (n. p., n.d.), p. 36. (Hereafter, *Preacher*).

⁸²John Bodrug, *Independent Orthodox Church: Memoirs Pertaining to the History of a Ukrainian Canadian Church in the Years 1903 to 1913*, ed. John Gregorovich, trans. Edward Bodrug and Lydia Biddle (Toronto: Ukrainian Canadian Research Foundation, 1982), 9. (Hereafter, *Memoirs*).

⁸³*Ibid.*

⁸⁴*Ibid.*, 9-11.

⁸⁵*Ibid.*, 8, 129.

⁸⁶Gordon, *The Life of James Robertson*, 317.

⁸⁷“Galicians in College. The Young Men Join The Classes at Manitoba. Eager to be Educated.” *Manitoba Morning Free Press*, November 15, 1898. p. 3.

⁸⁸*Ibid.*

⁸⁹*Ibid.*

⁹⁰*Ibid.*

⁹¹*Ibid.*

⁹²Gordon, *The Life of James Robertson*, 317.

⁹³Dr. J. T. Reid, Presbyterian Medical Missionary, Sifton, sent in progress reports to Dr. Robertson. In 1901, regarding low attendance at schools, he wrote about the Ukrainians, “Indifference to education, of people half child, half animal.” University of Manitoba, Department of Archives and Special Collections (hereafter DASC:UM) Charles William Gordon Papers, Box 37, Fd. 2. J. Robertson.

⁹⁴DASC:UM Gordon Papers, Box 37, Fd. 2.

⁹⁵McTavish, *Reapers in Many Fields*, 97.

⁹⁶*Ibid.*, 97-98.

⁹⁷*Acts* (1899). Dr. J. Robertson, “Missions Among Foreigners”, p. 18.

⁹⁸Stella Hryniuk and Roman Yereniuk, “Building the New Jerusalem on the Prairies: The Ukrainian Experience,” in *Visions of the New Jerusalem: Religious Settlement on the Prairies*, ed. Benjamin G. Smillie (Edmonton: NeWest Publishers, 1983), 145. See Stella Hryniuk, “Pioneer Bishop, Pioneer Times: Nykyta Budka in Canada,” *Canadian Catholic Historical Association, Historical Studies*, no. 55 (1988): 21-41.

⁹⁹Alexander Dombrowsky, *Narys istorii ukrainskoho yevanhelsko-reformovanoho rukhu (Outline of the History of the Ukrainian Evangelical-Reformed Movement)* (New York: Ukrainian Evangelical Alliance of N.A., 1979), 120. (Hereafter, *Narys*).

¹⁰⁰John-Paul Himka, *Galicja and Bukovina: A Research Handbook About Western Ukraine, Late 19th and 20th Centuries*, Occasional Paper No. 20, March 1990 (Alberta: Alberta Culture & Multiculturalism, Historical Resources Division for Historic Sites Service, 1990), 17.

¹⁰¹*Ibid.*, 17-23.

¹⁰²Hryniuk and Yereniuk, "Building the New Jerusalem", 147.

¹⁰³Yuzyk, *Ukrainians in Manitoba*, 72.

¹⁰⁴Bodrug, *Memoirs*, 34, 46.

¹⁰⁵*Ibid.*, 81.

¹⁰⁶Yuzyk, *Ukrainians in Manitoba*, 73.

CHAPTER 2

The Independent Greek Church and the Presbyterians: Divergent Visions

In 1903, John Bodrug, together with his countryman John Negrych, both students of the Presbyterian Theology Faculty of Manitoba College and both of whom had been ordained by Serafym, drew up a plan and constitution for the establishment of the “Ruthenian Independent Greek Orthodox Church of Canada.”¹ This church they thought would be a bridge between Orthodoxy and an evangelical church that would develop into a Ukrainian reformed, evangelical Protestant church with leanings toward Calvinism. They viewed this as evolving from the Ukrainian soul transplanted to Canada. It would be independent of Rome and independent of the Russian Patriarch. This would be the first opportunity for Ukrainians to experience freedom of religion, religious tolerance and evangelical Christianity, in their opinion.² But they needed assistance to bring their ideal to fruition.

They went for moral and financial help to the Presbyterian Church, with which they were associated. Dr. William Patrick, Principal of Manitoba College, was in favour of their plan for the future, of what he called the “Independent Reformed Greek Church in Canada.”³

At the special meeting of professors, theologians and presbyters of the Presbyterian Church in Winnipeg in May 1903 to discuss the formation of this new Ukrainian church, Bodrug read the Constitution, which gave the name of the church as the Ruthenian Independent Greek Orthodox Church of Canada. However, Bodrug was

advised “not to give our Church a nationalistic name, since no Church in Canada carried the name of its country, save the Anglican (Episcopal Church). So the name Independent Greek Church of Canada was accepted.”⁴

Seemingly without discussion or question Bodrug and Negrych respectfully accepted the renaming of their Church. Being still new to Canada and Winnipeg, they were not familiar with Canadian customs. Otherwise they might have known that there were churches with nationalistic names in Winnipeg, such as the Icelandic Lutheran Church,⁵ German Baptist⁶ and Scandinavian.⁷

There were Presbyterian churches named after saints, such as St. Stephen’s, whose pastor was Charles Gordon, who was on the committee discussing the organizing of the Independent Greek Church.⁸ Churches named in honor of saints were very common amongst Ukrainians. These options were apparently not suggested to Bodrug and Negrych.

The inclusion of “Greek” in the church name raised an interesting dilemma. This was a nationalistic name because there was a Greek nation in Europe. In Presbyterian literature reference was made to “Independent Greeks”.⁹ But these latter people were not independent Greeks from Greece. It could not be known from the Church name that this was a Ukrainian church. Perhaps the term Greek was supposed to mean Byzantine rites and ritual but one cannot be sure what was meant. The Presbyterians changed the name of this Church and gave it a false identity at the same time contradicting their own advice to the Ukrainians.

The Manitoba Synod of the Presbyterian Church in Canada gave approval to the

proposed plan and constitution, and their jurists prepared the constitution of the Independent Greek Church of Canada, as it was now to be called. Bodrug and Negrych had no lawyer nor counsel of any kind regarding the approval of the constitution and terms of financial support, such as might have prevented misunderstandings, considering their knowledge of the English language was not on par with that of the Presbyterians.

The request for moral and financial support from the Presbyterians as well as their approval of the Independent Greek Church constitution were done in secret. Bodrug then went public, deciding that the mission of the future Independent Greek Church would begin in Winnipeg. He called a meeting of interested Ukrainian residents in Winnipeg in July 1903, to discuss the building of a church where the followers could meet and worship. Bodrug, "As the initiator of that whole movement"¹⁰ explained the necessity to those present of a Ukrainian Independent Orthodox Church in Canada that would be independent of Rome and of Orthodox patriarchs. This independent church would be "based on the Word of God, evangelical and national, and in which only believers would have the right to administer their own Church matters as in the reformed churches".¹¹ The abbreviated version of the constitution of the new church read by John Negrych was accepted unanimously; a church committee and trustees were elected; twenty-seven people signed up as members; and \$300.00 was collected. With this money three lots were bought on the corner of McGregor Street and Pritchard Avenue, and by the fall of 1903 a "not large, frame building-hall" was constructed where the congregation could worship until a larger church could be built.¹² Different Serafym-ordained priests preached here while Bodrug and his father-in-law, Alexander Bachinsky, went to preach

in Ukrainian rural colonies in western Canada.

Upon his return Bodrug was instrumental in the founding of the *Kanadiyskyi Farmer (Canadian Farmer)* newspaper in Winnipeg in November 1903.¹³ This was to become a print media connection for the new church. The Independent church idea promoted by John Bodrug amongst Ukrainians in Canada had an outlet in the *K. Farmer*, the first Ukrainian newspaper in Canada. One page was to be devoted to church matters and the other seven pages to husbandry and political matters. It was financially supported by the Liberal party.¹⁴ The first editors were members of the Independent Greek Church. The *K. Farmer* newspaper served this church for two years,¹⁵ but because of complaints from Catholic readers *K. Farmer* agreed to print other items.¹⁶ The paper did not want to appear to be supporting the Independent Greek Church alone.

While the establishment of the *K. Farmer* paper would definitely benefit the Independent Greek Church movement, the matter of suitable preachers and support from adherents was crucial. Therefore, a four-day church assembly of “the better of Seraphim’s priests” as well as one delegate from each independent congregation took place in the Winnipeg church building in 1904. The full version of the constitution of the Independent Greek Church drafted by the Presbyterians was approved. Deliberations on ways to reform the Orthodox dogma and how soon reform should be made, were the agenda of the meeting. It was resolved that “In reforming church dogma and customs and formats, to be cautious and ‘not demolish the old house, before the new one has been built.’”¹⁷ The consistory was empowered to ordain clergymen. The newly-elected consistory “appointed” Bodrug “Superintendent (Bishop), in the meaning of the New

Testament, and also missionary-organizer and editor of the future newspaper *Ranok*.”¹⁸

Bodrug did not waste any time in putting together plans to produce preachers for the church. He arranged with the Presbyterians to establish courses at Manitoba College for educating future Ukrainian preachers as well as to get their financial support for the students. Each student was advanced \$14.00 monthly “for his keep” through Bodrug, who obtained “promissory notes” from the students for repayment of these loans.¹⁹ Courses began in the fall of 1904 and continued until 1911.²⁰

An integral part of evangelical worship were hymns. Such music was not available in Ukrainian as yet. To solve this problem Bodrug authored the 40-page *Christian Catechism* that appeared in 1904.²¹ It contained psalms and hymns translated from the “English Presbyterian Book of Praise” and “from the Ukrainian Orthodox Church’s ritual,”²² and others.

The need for a newspaper other than the *K. Farmer* as a means of communication between congregations and to spread the church’s evangelical beliefs was regarded as essential by John Bodrug. Therefore, with the approval of the consistory of his church, Bodrug began printing the *Ranok* (Morning) newspaper himself in 1905, till 1908 on a printing press and in a building that he owned in Winnipeg.²³ At the beginning the four-page paper was published monthly, and then bi-weekly in a eight-page format.²⁴ The Presbyterian Church supported this paper and its religious message financially. The paper’s political outlook was Liberal.²⁵

Missionary work was carried out under very primitive conditions amongst Ukrainians on homesteads in Western Canada. Bodrug and his Serafymite colleagues

who had accepted the evangelical position preached in twenty-eight colonies.²⁶ This resulted in less hostility towards Presbyterian missionary work that was separate from the missionary work of the Independent Church.

The growth of the Independent Greek Church together with the enthusiastic support of its Ukrainian followers in Canada, inspired the Manitoba Synod to make the following statement in 1906:

The Synod...especially rejoiced at the remarkable progress being made by the Independent Greek Church in rapid Canadianizing of their people, in their preaching the Word in all portions of the west, in the carrying on of the Galician work...in the arrangements made for the publication of their religious paper-The *Ranok*- and of the monthly sermon pamphlet to be issued.²⁷

By 1907 the Independent Church comprised 30 priests with a following of about 30,000 to 40,000 faithful.²⁸

In Winnipeg the Church appeared to be expanding. The first church building was the visible proof that the Independent Greek Church was established. Although this building was to be temporarily used for church services of the new congregation, the shape of the building indicated that they were retaining an influence of church structure from their homeland. This was similar to a Byzantine church style called Ternopil' nave style which was "essentially a plain rectangular structure with a gable roof"²⁹ but without the customary dome in the centre. While this was a simple frame building there was a small modified dome on the front of the building that added a distinctive Ukrainian church identity to this building. This was an acceptable style for a Ukrainian church when funds were scarce.

The second building of the Independent Greek Church was a more traditional Ukrainian church structure. It was built by the congregation and could accommodate about 100 people. The blessing of this second church took place Sunday, November 10, 1907.³⁰ The style of the church has been described as one that “has the typical cruciform plan and an octagonal tent-frame roof over the dome...a decorative baroque bulb surmounted the dome, a feature of some nineteenth-century Hutsul churches.”³¹

The second Independent Greek Church was solidly built, finished with siding, and had a large centre dome with an Orthodox three-bar cross³² on top, as well as crosses on the small domes on the four gables. The church building faced east in the ritually correct direction (as had the first building). “The tradition of Eastern Christianity...based on the Byzantine liturgical rite” requires that the sanctuary be “in the eastern part of the building, which itself faces east.”³³

It seems that there was a conscious decision to build this church in the historical Ukrainian church tradition and therefore keep alive this tradition in Canada. Although this congregation had been linked with the Presbyterians for a few years, they were not prepared to quickly throw off their Ukrainian church tradition even if it was to be retained just in the structural form of the church building. Because the Independent Greek Church was to be the bridge from Orthodoxy to evangelism, the opportunity was there to build a church in the reformed evangelical style. Yet the congregation decided they wanted a traditional Ukrainian church building.

At the time, this was the most architecturally impressive Ukrainian church in Winnipeg. However, it did not compare in size to the two other Catholic churches already

built to serve Ukrainians on McGregor Street and Stella Avenue, three blocks away.³⁴

The physical statement made by this church was that it was Ukrainian, Orthodox, and permanent. This was in keeping with the vital importance Dr. Robertson placed on the necessity of physical church buildings. These would give “visibility and permanence”³⁵ to the cause of Presbyterianism. In the case of the Independent Greek Church, it would stand as the symbol of Ukrainian evangelical beginnings in Canada.

John Bodrug together with the church members believed their Independent Greek Church was to be permanent and they were prepared to maintain the church and its surroundings. They would conduct the affairs of their church in their own way in their own church building.

The stability of this church was confirmed by the title to the property. The Certificate of Title dated December 28, 1907, under the “The Real Property Act” of Manitoba, showed that the three lots were registered in the names of “Wasył Novak John Bodrug and Andrew Ostapowicz, all of the City of Winnipeg in Manitoba, Trustees of the Congregation of the Independent Greek Church of our Saviour, in Winnipeg”. Part of the legal description stated that these were “Lots Seven hundred and fifty seven...fifty eight ... and fifty nine.”³⁶ While Bodrug stated that the building committee bought three lots in 1903, the first title to this property was actually registered on December 28, 1907.

What is revealing from the title is that the name of the church was “Independent Greek Church of our Saviour” and not just Independent Greek Church as it was referred to in the Presbyterian literature for years. Two authors have claimed that this church was the “Holy Ghost” Independent Greek Church, but they do not give documented proof

supporting that name. In another source it is called “Holy Transfiguration Independent Greek Church”.³⁷ Therefore, the registered name on the title would be the correct name. The number of names given to it over the years might suggest that the original name, was lost in the ensuing decades, as the church transformed from one phase to another.

Bodrug and Negrych, the main actors in the founding of the Independent Greek Church with the aid of Genik, the immigration officer, were all Greek Catholics from Galicia. They were united in their stand about the effect of the Catholic Church on peoples’ thinking. They believed that this church was making people subservient, and kept the people uneducated, ignorant and superstitious.

By naming the church “Independent” they were continuing in this vein and making clear that they would not be influenced by the Catholic Church. It is interesting to note, however, that they themselves became dependent on the Presbyterian Church while calling their new church “Independent”.

If the land title document is brief, there is much more information with respect to the construction of the church. The building permit was applied for in 1903 but the church was built in 1907 at the address of 193 McGregor Street. The architect of the church was a Rev. L. Stefanik. The church was built by day labour at a cost of \$800.00.³⁸ In his memoirs, Bodrug stated that “for two years our congregation gathered for worship”³⁹ in the first structure. This would suggest that the church was built in 1905, when actually it was built in 1907.⁴⁰ Nonetheless, the congregation of the Independent Greek Church in Winnipeg was well established in 1907 with a new church for worship and a hall for other church activities.

While the setting up of the Independent Greek Church was promising, with the essential components established, now all that was necessary was for the work to develop and expand. Instead dissension and deterioration set in. Some adherents were apprehensive about the future of the Church without sufficient leaders. Opponents regarded this Church as traitorous to the Ukrainian nationality. A new group of ministers wanted the Church completely reformed right away.

At the forefront for complete reform was Sigmund Bychinsky, younger than Bodrug, who had studied philosophy at Lviv University and continued his studies at the Presbyterian Seminary at Pittsburgh. He was newly arrived in Winnipeg, attending Manitoba College. At first Bodrug welcomed Bychinsky because pastors with higher education were sorely needed for the Independent Church. But Bychinsky went against Bodrug, and voiced his opinions “before the Presbyterian Home Mission Committee in November 1907,” saying “it was ‘his mission here to reform the church’”. He declared

...that he had joined the Independent Greek Church on the understanding that the church was really the same as the Presbyterian; that he finds that there is little difference between the Independent Greek church and the Roman Catholic church, so that he cannot stay in it. Not only is the liturgy used but the preaching gets a low place and is not such as is calculated to lead to the Protestant faith.⁴¹

Bychinsky was able to convince Superintendent Carmichael that because Bodrug was a Ukrainian nationalist he “was not being sincere toward them, nor towards Canada”.⁴² He said that the Presbyterians were wasting their money in assisting the Independent Greek Church while Bodrug was the leader, “while what was needed in Canada was assimilation.”⁴³

Bodrug's position was a "temporary compromise between evangelism and Ukrainian church traditionalism",⁴⁴ arrived at progressively. He believed that "Ukrainians should not dress themselves in 'Scottish and English sheepskin coats, not sewn for Ukrainians'."⁴⁵ Bodrug sensed that Dr. Carmichael together with the Presbyterians preferred Bychinsky's advice, which he disagreed with, as Bychinsky was not considering the soul of the Ukrainian people.⁴⁶ As Bodrug's plan was being ignored, together with "too much intrigue" against him from "our intelligentsia",⁴⁷ Bodrug accepted an offer with a good salary to organize an independent church in Newark, New Jersey, and left shortly thereafter in 1908.⁴⁸

The Presbyterian intentions were becoming more obvious. They exerted control of the Independent Church by restricting the power of the Independent Greek Church consistory. At the General Assembly in 1907, it was confirmed that the consistory in carrying out their affairs would have to get consent from the Presbyterian Synodical Home Missions Committee in Winnipeg.⁴⁹ Thus, "the English speaking Presbyterian Church could over-rule any decision of the Ukrainian Church, there-fore [*sic*] they were not an Independent Ukrainian Church."⁵⁰

When Bodrug had moved away he had an agreement with the Winnipeg Presbyterians that he would publish *Ranok* in New York, send the paper to them in packs to be addressed and mailed out from Winnipeg. This arrangement continued to 1910, when Bodrug returned to Winnipeg.

Bodrug continued to be involved with the Independent Greek Church congregation in Winnipeg as well. We know this from a second Certificate of Title under The Real

Property Act which was issued dated November 16th, 1908. It contained the names of “John Bodrug; John Wasley and Nicolas Kozachenko, all of the City of Winnipeg in manitoba [sic] Trustees of the Congregation of the Independent Greek Church of Our Saviour, in the City of Winnipeg in Manitoba”. There was one change in the legal description of the property stating “Lots seven hundred and fifty seven to Seven hundred and sixty, both inclusive,” which would indicate that a fourth lot, had been acquired since the first title in 1907.⁵¹

A month later a third Certificate of Title under the “The Real Property Act” was issued in the same names as the second title, “Nicholas Kozachenka, John Bodrug and John Wesley, all of the City of Winnipeg in Manitoba, Trustees of the Congregation of the Independent Greek Church of our Saviour in Winnipeg.” dated December 19th, 1908. Curiously, the legal description of the lots was the same as in the first title of December 28, 1907,⁵² which indicates that the one lot named in the November 16, 1908, title had somehow been removed from the church’s ownership.

Mission work amongst Ukrainians in Winnipeg needed more than a building. In October 1904, a class was begun for the ministers of the Independent Greek Church in Manitoba College, taught by Principal Patrick. The Scottish Presbyterian Free Church Catechism, newly translated into Ukrainian, was used in Manitoba College as the text book for the class of Ukrainian boys.⁵³ It is interesting that the translation and use of that Catechism were part of this missionizing.

In Scotland there had been the “great Disruption” in the Established Church of Scotland in 1843, resulting in the founding of the Free Church of Scotland. That church

had withdrawn from the Established Church because of patronage issues and to be free from state intervention.⁵⁴ In Canada at the turn of the century, recently arrived Ukrainian immigrant students growing up Greek Catholic or Orthodox were just newly exposed to Canadian freedom of religion, Presbyterianism and learning English. Bodrug and the students were probably not aware of the source of what was being taught to them.

Presbyterian work in the rural areas proceeded also. In 1904 eleven Ukrainian colporteurs visited Ukrainian districts. They sold Bibles and Catechisms, and held services which, it was claimed, appeared to be attended by almost all the Ukrainians in the districts.⁵⁵

By 1905 fifteen ministers of the Independent Greek Church were employed as colporteurs for all the Ukrainian colonies. The results claimed were that “about 25,000 identified with this movement” and another 39,000 attended some services and showed some interest.⁵⁶ The greatest need was for large numbers of able men to conduct the work of this movement vigorously. The ministers attending the three-week course held in the fall of 1905 were the answer to this need. Growing in the knowledge of “Evangelical doctrine” and clearly grasping the Presbyterian “great Cardinal doctrines” of “faith, justification, sanctification and repentance,”⁵⁷ they served the growing number of Ukrainians in western Canada in their own fashion.

Bodrug’s report to the Synod of 1905 pertaining to the progress of the Independent Greek Church resulted in the Synod agreeing to assist the Ukrainian students studying in Manitoba College. On the motion of Rev. Gordon, \$1,000.00 was to be raised in shares of \$25.00 for this purpose.⁵⁸

The Presbyterians were constantly watchful of the increased numbers of Ukrainian immigrants and had the continual problem of putting into practice their ideals and theories when there was insufficient money and workers. But they preached, expounding their ideals “for the moral and spiritual elevation of the Galicians”, the “safeguarding” of Anglo-Saxon “institutions, and so far guaranteeing, along right lines, the future of the West.”⁵⁹ Being the powerful force that they were, they were able to influence the different levels of government and their agencies, and to influence organizations, companies and various institutions. These were university educated preachers trained and skilled in the method of bringing people around to their interpretation of Scripture and how to put into practice their ideals.

The Ukrainian population was increasing and evolving in Winnipeg. In 1911 there were 3,599, which was 2.6% of Winnipeg’s population.⁶⁰ Besides building churches, the Ukrainians were forming organizations for enlightenment, recreation and self-help. Beginning in 1899 a short-lived reading and discussion group named “Shevchenko Reading Association”⁶¹ met at Cyril Genik’s home on Euclid Avenue in Winnipeg.⁶² Another “Shevchenko Reading Society” existed by 1903.⁶³ These groupings were the forerunners of the founding of the Ukrainian Reading Association “Prosvita” (Chyitalnia Prosvita) in 1905 in Winnipeg,⁶⁴ by people who believed Canada as a new country gave wide freedom for cultural development. At this time the Association was tied in with the Greek Catholic Church, and the purpose of the organization was enlightenment. Besides having a library and various newspapers, cultural work, such as dramas and choirs were started, and social activities such as dinners and picnics were

organized by this group. The objective was the enlightenment of its members through informal adult education and according to their documents the members were to be of good character, sober, honest, dignified, so as to give a good example to others.⁶⁵

Also in 1905, the St. Nicholas Brotherhood which met at the Catholic church hall was founded under the direction of the few Greek Catholic priests who had by now arrived in Canada. The purpose of this group was to provide moral and financial help for members in need, especially in the event of sickness or death of a member.⁶⁶ This was the first Ukrainian fraternal organization in Canada.

Even at the Independent Greek Church location a reading society, "The Ukrainian Star", was organized in 1907. It was renamed "Canadian Star" in 1908.⁶⁷ The president was S. Bychinsky and there were 35 members.⁶⁸

These were signs that the Ukrainian immigrants were adapting to the Canadian setting and establishing organizations to enrich their lives. There was more to life than work. In the establishment of the St. Nicholas Brotherhood they were also practicing self-help because there was no other security in the event of sickness for immigrant Ukrainians at this time. Curiously, while the Presbyterians were constantly preaching that the answer to Canadian Ukrainian problems was evangelism and the Bible, they had nothing to offer to the Ukrainian immigrants in time of sickness, or for recreation. Their assistance in time of need was to provide bundles of used clothing, and little else.

The hard working conditions for Ukrainian workers in Winnipeg, unemployment, discrimination and poor housing added the extra fuel needed for those who were socialistically inclined to form workers' organizations. Among the first immigrants from

Galicia were a small number of Social Democrats who formed the Ukrainian Social Democratic Party in Winnipeg in 1907.⁶⁹ They were a section of the Social Democratic Party of Canada. There already were some labor-oriented groups such as the Winnipeg Trades and Labour Congress since 1897, and the Social Democratic Party and the Socialist Party of Canada had been established in 1904 in Winnipeg.⁷⁰ They espoused the ideology of defending the interests of the working class.

There was also a strong Methodist influence in Winnipeg. Both the Methodists and Presbyterians advertised services in eighteen Winnipeg congregations each in the Winnipeg newspapers.⁷¹ The Methodists were part of the powerful influential business and political Anglo-Saxon elite of Winnipeg, among whom was the millionaire James Henry Ashdown, Mayor of Winnipeg for the years 1907-1908.⁷² The Methodists showed themselves to have more of a social conscience towards immigrants, and were not just preaching to and criticising them. The Methodist laboratory of practical Christianity was All Peoples' Mission in North End Winnipeg. It had its beginning in 1889 as a Sunday School class in the North End, increasing in numbers and charitable work, as a "private mission...supported by the Methodist churches in Winnipeg."⁷³

All Peoples' was made a Methodist mission in 1899. A church was purchased on Maple Street, close to the C.P.R. station and immigration buildings. Another building called Bethlehem Slavic⁷⁴ was built on Stella Avenue and Powers Street in 1904 by the Missionary Society. There were no specific programs for Ukrainian immigrants at All Peoples' Mission. They had a varied daily program where every immigrant was welcome. Stella Avenue Institute was built here shortly thereafter, and this institution was popularly

called Stella Mission. This Institute was in close proximity to Aberdeen public school.

The attempts made to approach immigrants from Bethlehem Slavic by workers who could speak a European language (none spoke Ukrainian) were not producing lasting gains. The people who attended the mission were not receptive to evangelical Methodism and were also very transient. One colporteur, "Austrian Protestant" Frank Dojacek, was hired in 1905. Ordained by "'special ordination'",⁷⁵ he advised his mentors that the people did not like it when he directly mentioned "'their personal need of salvation' and that they replied that they had a religion and would 'keep my own religion'."⁷⁶ In 1907 the two missions, Maple Street and Bethlehem Slavic were united under the superintendency of Rev. J. S. Woodsworth, and the name "'All People's'" would now apply to Bethlehem Slavic as well.⁷⁷

Woodsworth began his work with the belief that immigrants from south-eastern Europe needed moral, cultural and religious uplifting. But "he was convinced that attempts to Protestantize the immigrant population in its entirety were doomed to failure."⁷⁸ As an expression of the reality of the work conducted at All Peoples' Mission, Woodsworth wrote *Strangers Within Our Gates or Coming Canadians*, which was published in 1909 by the Young People's Forward Movement Department of the Methodist Church. Some sections were written by other writers. The book reflects the somewhat different stance of the Methodists regarding the immigrants.

The introduction by J. W. Sparling, principal of Wesley College, described the immensity of the problem of assimilating the immigrants, the "great national danger". In addition, he stated that "We must see to it that the civilization and ideals of Southeastern

Europe are not transplanted to and perpetuated on our virgin soil.”⁷⁹ In the Preface Woodsworth stated that his book “has no literary pretensions; its aim is entirely practical.”⁸⁰ In producing the book, he helped to bring more attention to their problems.

The book is heavily influenced by American attitudes. It is racist in its description of the various immigrants, ranking them in order of his preference. A certain Anglo-Saxon arrogance does come through, even if Woodsworth appears to be sincerely concerned with what kind of nation Canada was to be, what was to become of British-Canadian ideals, and what was to happen to immigrant humanity that was suffering much degradation. Something had to be done!

The book drew on American experiences with immigrants and quoted American sources. Woodsworth considered the effects of immigration were “essentially the same for the United States and Canada.”⁸¹ These effects were “racial, economic, social and political.”⁸² The Slavic mine worker in the United States was not regarded as having the “mental quality, to look elsewhere for work”.⁸³ He quoted three American tables regarding illiteracy and poverty of European immigrants.⁸⁴ One table lists the immigrant groups as Southern Italians, Ruthenians, Syrians, Poles, Germans and British. The highest per cent of illiterates were the Southern Italians with 46.56, bringing the lowest amount per capita of \$8.79. The second highest per cent of illiterates were the Ruthenians with 45.83, with the amount of money brought per capita as \$9.53.⁸⁵ This kind of information would have a profound influence in western Canada regarding Ukrainians as Woodsworth concludes:

The more illiterate the less money. It should be remembered that the

foreigners coming to us in the largest numbers are the Southern Italians and Ruthenians, or, as the latter are commonly called, Galicians.⁸⁶

This American correlation between the high percentage of illiteracy of Ukrainians and the low amount of money they brought would provide a stereotype of the undesirability of Ukrainian immigrants for many years to come. On the other hand, Woodsworth admitted that “The immigration to Canada has been so recent that here, again we have no statistics on which to base conclusions of any value.”⁸⁷

A. R. Ford of the *Winnipeg Telegram* wrote the section on the “Ruthenians” noting that, “In so low an estimation are they held that the word Galician is almost a term of reproach.”⁸⁸ He further explained that the necessary hard unskilled labour required in the western cities and laying track on the prairies was done by the “despised Galician.”⁸⁹

Woodsworth was impressed with and agreed with the Presbyterian mission work amongst Ukrainians including the creation of the Independent Greek Church. “The Presbyterian Church has done by far the greatest work, and to them belongs the honor of initiating one of the most remarkable movements in church history...But their most important work has been in connection with the Independent Greek Church of Canada.”⁹⁰

With respect to assimilating the Ukrainians by evangelizing, the attitudes of the Methodists were the same as the Presbyterians. They worked together, co-operated, and respected each other’s territory so there would not be wasteful overlapping of missionary services and agencies, like churches, hospitals.⁹¹

Reflecting the attitudes of his time, Woodsworth described the Roman or Greek Catholics from Austria and Russia as illiterate, superstitious peasants, “some of them

bigoted fanatics, some of them poor, dumb, driven cattle, some intensely patriotic, some embittered by years of wrong and oppression, some anarchists—the sworn enemies alike of Church and State.”⁹² As if to underscore the sweeping unreliable generalisations in describing the immigrants from Austria, who included Ukrainians, he admitted the ignorance and problems of the Methodists and Presbyterians by saying: “At present, with no accurate knowledge and no trained workers and no definite policy, we cannot but blunder.”⁹³

If one reads the literature by two prominent writers of the time, one a Methodist and one a Presbyterian, some clear differences regarding their views on race and assimilation emerge. It has been said there was a wide range of opinion in both Methodist and Presbyterian denominations on race and assimilation. But to this author the Methodists seemed more gentle racists and assimilators than the Presbyterians. The Methodists were more determined to help than to convert Ukrainians. This difference comes from their historic origins; the Presbyterians derived from the Scots and the Methodists derived from the English.

For their part, Presbyterians analysed the Ukrainian immigrants, their religions, their attitudes, their recreation, and their customs, and saw these as characteristics of an inferior people, who needed to be evangelized urgently. Through the preaching of the Bible, and the acceptance by the Ukrainians of the Bible truths, the Ukrainians and Canada would be saved from ruin.

There was a steady flow of Ukrainian immigrants, and this kept reinforcing the Presbyterian beliefs that the only solution to the perceived dangers these immigrants

would bring to Canada, to the Anglo-Saxon people and to themselves, was Presbyterianizing through the Gospel. The Presbyterians as the evangelizers saw the Ukrainians as a downtrodden, ignorant, immoral people, and the Presbyterians were their saviours.

As preachers, the Presbyterians could select the most demeaning situations to prove their effect on Ukrainians. They showed the stark contrast of “before” and “after” Presbyterian influences on Ukrainians to support the claim, that right from the time of contact with Presbyterianizing through the Bible there was a marked change for the better in the Ukrainians.

As preachers, the Presbyterians could develop their sermons and interpretations as suited their inclination and intention. The interpretations were various. The Presbyterians saw Ukrainians—their unsavory habits, the almost pagan Catholic and Orthodox religions, their willingness to do hard work almost like animals, and their desire to retain the Ukrainian language and culture - and could whip these up into a frenzied evangelical sermon, speech or article at any time depending on the emphasis required in a particular setting.

Any improvement in or better understanding of Canadian life by Ukrainians was attributed to association with and influences of the Presbyterians or the Independent Greek Church. That Presbyterians credited themselves for the successes of Ukrainians was very presumptuous on their part.

It did not matter if some claims were unsubstantiated, or if these were impressions only, or if these were carefully selected individual misfortunes. The Presbyterians told

the truth as they understood it. The truth of the Ukrainian immigrants was inconsequential; therefore, Ukrainians who were not evangelicals, which would be the majority, were all painted with the same brush, and were revealed as having the same faults.

One clever way of spreading opinions and preconceived ideas about Ukrainian immigrants was to write a novel like *The Foreigner: A Tale of Saskatchewan*, as the Presbyterian Reverend Charles W. Gordon did in 1909. Under the pseudonym Ralph Connor and in the guise of a novel, Gordon postulated the beliefs and attitudes held by the Presbyterian Church without concern for accountability or balance. Gordon's novels sold millions of copies throughout the English-speaking world and he was regarded as the best-selling Canadian novelist at the time. As a result his ideas influenced large populations. The derogatory portrayal of Ukrainians in *The Foreigner* was accepted by many Anglo-Saxons as valid for as long as twenty years after the novel was written, perhaps longer.⁹⁴

Gordon wrote *The Foreigner* from extensive knowledge of the Ukrainian immigrants because of his Presbyterian leadership position but he did not have person-to-person dealings with them. By 1909 Gordon had served on the Galician Education Committee, he was a member of the General Assembly, Presbytery of Winnipeg, and had attended the General Assemblies of the Presbyterian Church in Canada held in Montreal, 1898, in Hamilton, 1899, and in Ottawa, 1901.⁹⁵ At each of these meetings there were reports and discussion regarding the work and progress of the missions among the Ukrainians. Gordon knew the term "Ukranian"⁹⁶ [*sic*] and used it in the novel when it

was not yet widely known by Anglo-Saxons that Galicians were Ukrainians.

Although the novel mentions different Slavic nationalities quite interchangeably under the collective nationality “Galician”,⁹⁷ the novel is about Ukrainian immigrants.⁹⁸

The purpose of the novel was to present the immigrant problem as perceived by Anglo-Saxon evangelical Protestant citizens. The Slavic immigrants, especially the Ukrainians, were barbaric and inferior to them in every way and would have to be assimilated and converted entirely to suit Anglo-Saxon criteria. The process of assimilation would be through the following agencies: Presbyterian religion, Presbyterian hospital, public school, prohibition, British justice, use of the English language only, and “barren and forbidding”⁹⁹ rural living though not in block settlements. The assimilation process was to take place as fast as possible before Canada disintegrated into a heathen, immoral quagmire, according to Connor.

The novel is set in North End Winnipeg in 1884¹⁰⁰ and begins with the Galician wedding celebration in the house of Paulina Koval, an immoral woman who had taken in many boarders. Michael Kalmar, a Russian nobleman and nihilist who had escaped imprisonment in Siberia, came to Canada to settle old political scores and attempted the murder of a Bukovinian named Rosenblatt. Kalmar’s motherless children, son Kalman and daughter Irma, were in the care of the slow-witted Paulina and these children were transformed into Canadians. Kalman, although Russian, becomes the leader of the Galicians. Connor is critical of the Galician moral character and their superstitious church. The negative portrayal of the Galicians reflected Connor’s belief that they were a grave threat to Canada if they were not assimilated.

To understand what an unsurmountable problem the Anglo-Saxons felt they had with the Galician immigrants, Connor compares the moral and immoral behavior of both groups in this way:

Meantime, while respectable Winnipeg lay snugly asleep under snow-covered roofs and smoking chimneys, while belated revellers and travellers were making their way through white, silent streets...to homes where reigned love and peace and virtue, in the north end and in the foreign colony the festivities in connection with Anka's wedding were drawing to a close in sordid drunken dance and song and in sanguinary fighting....

In the basement below, foul and fetid, men stood packed close, drinking while they could. It was for the foreigner an hour of rare opportunity. The beer kegs stood open and there were plenty of tin mugs about....¹⁰¹

Rosenblatt...over and again he would shout, "Keep quiet, you fools. The police will be on us, and that will be the end of your beer, for they will put you in prison!"¹⁰²

The story progresses with little Margaret Ketzal, who learned the English language and Canadian ways at the Methodist mission and school, transforming her parents and Irma into Canadians. Also, Mrs. French, who works among the Galicians, who were "poor ignorant creatures," with "kind hearts"¹⁰³ sent thirteen-year old Kalman from the streets of Winnipeg to her brother-in-law Jack French's ranch in Saskatchewan.

On the road to the ranch, French's bronchos upset a Galician's load of hay, who immediately began cursing hatefully and swearing he would kill French with a stout stake. French gave the wrathful Galician his first lesson in the manly art of fighting the Anglo-Saxon way without club or knife.

While searching for a stray horse, French and Kalman came upon the Presbyterian Rev. Brown's camp, who intended to do work in the Galician colony. Brown states the

purpose of his work as: “...But my main line is the kiddies. I can teach them English...in short, do anything to make them good Christians and good Canadians, which is the same thing.”¹⁰⁴ For the good of the country, Brown believed that the Galicians “must be digested and absorbed into the body politic. They must be taught our ways of thinking and living, or it will be a mighty bad thing for us in Western Canada.”¹⁰⁵ Brown went on to say “they’ll run your country anyhow you put it, school or no school, and, therefore, you had better fit them for the job. You have got to make them Canadian.”¹⁰⁶

Brown further elaborates that the school and the Church are the agencies of Canadianization and give the “really big things” such as peoples’ ideas and ideals.¹⁰⁷ Therefore, the Presbyterian Church work amongst the Galicians was justified, because the Government was slow in establishing schools.

While Brown claimed his church did not proselytize, they were “in the business of making good citizens.” The Presbyterian missionary work was further justified because,

“We tried to get Greek Catholic priests from Europe to look after the religion and morals of these people. We absolutely failed to get a decent man to offer. Remember, I say decent man. We had offers, plenty of them, but we could not lay our hands on a single, clean, honest-minded man with the fear of God in his heart, and the desire to help these people.”¹⁰⁸

Although Jack French is an excessive drinker and swears, he together with the Presbyterian Rev. Dr. Brown influence Kalman in becoming a good Canadian Presbyterian man.

All the main characters finally end up at Wakota, Saskatchewan. Rosenblatt is burned to death by Michael Kalmar’s revenge against him, and in turn Kalmar and

Paulina are shot to death. With these three immigrant characters removed, the Canadianizing of Kalman would be easier. Thus, the prairie, together with Anglo-Saxon direction transforms the Galicians into moral Canadians as seen in the following description:

The establishment of a Government school had relieved the missionary of an exacting and laborious department of his work...but the influence of Dr. Brown himself, and of his Home, and of his Hospital, was apparent in the life and character of the people, and especially of the younger generation. The old mud-plastered cabins were giving place to neat frame houses, each surrounded by its garden of vegetables and flowers. In dress, the sheep skin and the shawl were being exchanged for the ready-made suit and the hat of latest style. The Hospital, with its staff of trained nurses under the direction of the young matron, the charming Miss Irma, by its ministrations to the sick, and more by the spirit that breathed through its whole service, wrought in the Galician mind a new temper and a new ideal. In the Training Home fifty Galician girls were being indoctrinated into that most noble of all sciences, the science of home-making, and were gaining practical experience in all the cognate sciences and arts.¹⁰⁹

The novel ends with the Russian-born Kalman, who through the proper Anglo-Saxon influences, even though he did not attend public or any school, shedding all his Galician characteristics. He falls in love with Marjorie, the Scottish girl who speaks Gaelic sometimes. Marjorie had confided in Rev. Brown that she could never love one of those foreigners. But Rev. Brown helped Marjorie to conquer her aversion to the foreigner by showing her his many qualities. Kalman cannot believe that Marjorie could ever love a foreigner. Marjorie explains that he was not a foreigner to her, but he was her “Canadian foreigner.”¹¹⁰ This implies that Kalman is Canadian because he has taken on Anglo-Saxon characteristics, but because he is not of Anglo-Saxon origin he is still a foreigner. This intermarriage signifies complete assimilation.

Charles Gordon, the son of a Presbyterian minister, with his Ontario background was like the majority of the wealthy established Anglo-Saxon Protestant members of Winnipeg society who set their principles as the code for all citizens to follow in every aspect of life. *The Foreigner* written by the confident Charles Gordon was in sharp contrast to Woodsworth's *Stranger's Within our Gates*-even though both books were published in 1909. Both books depicted Ukrainians in a stereotypical way and described the importance of making Ukrainians good Christians and good Canadians in the Anglo-Saxon evangelical way. The difference between these books was that Woodsworth by writing non-fiction was not camouflaging his views or intentions as was Gordon in his novel.

The motives of Presbyterian pastor Connor for writing this novel about immigrants deserve some exploration. At this time immigrant life in Winnipeg was hard because the Province and the city were not prepared for the influx of immigrants, and necessary services were provided very slowly. The biggest problems were unemployment and shortage of housing, and drunkenness, gambling and brothels were common.¹¹¹ These factors were not specifically created by Ukrainian immigrants. This was the setting in which the immigrants were forced to live because they were not yet well established and lacked the political power to bring about improvements.

The Presbyterians were leaders in exposing vice in Winnipeg and the ineptitude of the police to control vice and enforce the criminal code. The General Assembly of 1911, reported as follows: "From the early days of Winnipeg's history, a segregated colony of criminal vice existed".¹¹² With Presbyterian leadership this colony was suppressed in

1904.

In April, 1909, the Board of Police Commissioners authorized the re-establishment of a segregated colony, hence those in the criminal business of vice were permitted to locate in Rachel and McFarlane Streets in the north end of the city, and their loathsome business thrived so well under the aegis of the law as locally applied, that within a year and a half there had grown up a colony of fifty houses with over two hundred inmates.¹¹³

A further report stated "That every one of these vice dens was also an illicit liquor dive, doing business freely all days of the week and all hours of day and night."¹¹⁴

Therefore, as Winnipeg was a city where vice was flourishing and in which social services appeared slowly, and given the reality of the North End Winnipeg immigrant experience of the time, it is impossible to understand why a Presbyterian minister would write this novel unless it really reflected his biased view of the Ukrainian immigrant.

Reactions to the book were swift. There were letters to the editor in the *Manitoba Free Press* criticizing the writing of *The Foreigner*. Dr. J. T. Reid, the Presbyterian medical missionary at the Ukrainian colony at Sifton, Manitoba, felt compelled to write in defence of the Galician people. He wrote that the novel would not serve any good purpose nor promote better understanding as Connor had never lived where he could study Galician life first-hand and had not based his novel on real knowledge.¹¹⁵

An editor of a German paper in Regina, Saskatchewan, wrote that because they too were "foreigners", the novel-writing preacher cast all foreigners into one pot and represented them all in his novel as bad, and men of an inferior class.¹¹⁶ A letter dated January 25, 1910, by W. J. Mihaychuk, Ruthenian Training School, Brandon, Manitoba, defended Ruthenians against Connor's depiction of them as uncouth and uncivilized.¹¹⁷

Other Ukrainians read *The Foreigner* and recognized that Connor was depicting them in a most despicable way. A few voiced strong objections in the *K. Farmer*. One letter dated January 19, 1910, stated that

...The Presbyterian pastor and writer Rev. Gordon sensationalized the Ruthenian stereotype in order to raise more money for the “civilizing” mission of the Presbyterians amongst the Canadian Ruthenians...It is sad that a man with such high intelligence as Pastor Gordon took such a chauvinistic and low stand with respect to foreigners and specifically the Ruthenians...

The main purpose of the author is seen that he wanted to show the Canadians, the low morality of the Ruthenians and the negative paralyzing effect on the “immaculate” Anglo-Saxon morals...

We Ruthenians from our side have to express our sorrow that a Christian minister-writer whose main thoughts should be to remember the words of Christ about loving your brother—instead he went to the low level way of untruthfully branding his brother, and with great sorrow we feel, he with determination further fanned the flames of racial hatred, which without him, there is so much of...¹¹⁸

Rev. Charles Gordon was a member of Canada’s elite Anglo-Saxon Protestant class that set the standards of Anglo-Saxon conformity to which Ukrainian immigrants had to be assimilated. The novel did not promote better understanding of the Ukrainians but rather reinforced the prejudices that were already popular.

In his autobiography Gordon stated that in his novels “Religion is here set forth in its true light as a synonym of all that is virile, straight, honorable and withal tender and gentle in true men and women.”¹¹⁹ In the case of *The Foreigner* he seemed to forget his obligation as a Presbyterian minister, to be fair and just to the Ukrainian immigrants.

The writing of *The Foreigner* appeared to serve two purposes. First, the main purpose of *The Foreigner* was to document for posterity the Presbyterian low estimation

of the Ukrainian immigrants, whom the Presbyterians would rescue from their backwardness. The second purpose was to pacify the hostility of the Anglo-Saxons towards Ukrainian immigrants and to convince them that the Presbyterians would be successful, through their own agencies, their direction, and similar agencies they approved of, such as the Methodist mission and government schools, in making the immigrants into good Canadian citizens. He wanted to assure the Anglo-Saxons the Ukrainians would be made malleable and would willingly conform to what was expected of them.

In writing *The Foreigner* Gordon did not mention the Independent Greek Church nor the assistance given to it by the Presbyterians. Gordon chose not to mention that Church which at this time was flourishing because he knew that in the Presbyterian Church's long range plan, it was a transitional church that would become incorporated eventually into the Presbyterian Church in Canada. As Gordon was in the committee approving the constitution of the Independent Greek Church he knew the confidential internal thinking of the leaders of the Presbyterian Church.

Yet this Church for Ukrainians was not widely known in the Anglo-Saxon community. The Independent Greek Church building in Winnipeg presented them as a Ukrainian church with no indication that the congregation was associated with the Presbyterians.

Therefore, as the Independent Greek Church was a temporary detour the Presbyterian Church had to tolerate and support in order to guarantee the assimilation of Ukrainians through Presbyterian direction, there was no need to leave documentation of

its existence for posterity. Further, ideally, all forms of Ukrainian identity were to be completely obliterated with the end result being a sanitized Ukrainian with no shred of otherness. Thus no documented record of Ukrainians becoming evangelized and assimilated through a transitional church needed to be acknowledged for posterity.

Gordon was an experienced writer who had already written thirteen novels and the biography of Rev. James Robertson in 1908, the year before *The Foreigner* was published. He claimed in his autobiography that of the early novels certain ones were written with a purpose, and although fiction, were truthful and the people were worth remembering. Clearly he wrote *The Foreigner* as an agent of the Presbyterian Church and used the vehicle of the novel to make his points.

The Presbyterian authorities made no comment on the novel; therefore it presumably was acceptable to them. *The Foreigner* stood, as written, as a harmful stereotypical document for posterity, given credibility because it was written by a highly educated, leading, influential minister of the Presbyterian/United Churches.

The importance of Gordon's novels as permanent statement was confirmed by Prime Minister Wilfred Laurier in a letter to Charles Gordon in 1912. In acknowledging a gift from Connor of one of his novels Laurier wrote that his books were "particularly attractive to me because they will preserve a special phase of our national history, and customs which are rapidly passing away."¹²⁰ *The Ukrayinskyi Holos (Ukrainian Voice)*, however, regarded the writing of *The Foreigner* as a "sin",¹²¹ though it mostly forgave Connor on account of his attendance at some important Ukrainian events in subsequent years.

Contrary to the opinions advocated by the Anglo-Saxons that Ukrainians had to be assimilated as quickly as possible, the Ukrainian bilingual public school teachers at their first convention in Winnipeg in 1907 resolved that Ukrainians in Canada had to have a voice of their own. They had to have their own national newspaper, that would stand on a common Ukrainian foundation and defend the interests of the Ukrainian community in Canada.¹²² This idea was fulfilled when the first issue of the *Ukrayinskyi Holos* (*Ukrainian Voice*) newspaper came out on March 16, 1910 in Winnipeg. Founded by the Ukrainian bilingual teachers and published in Winnipeg, this weekly boldly used the national name “Ukrainian”, in place of the old name “Ruthenian”. This independent paper was the first to be supported by Ukrainians only, which was a monumental undertaking considering the difficult financial situation the settlers were in.

The *U. Holos* was not a religious paper of a particular denomination nor was it the organ of a particular political party. The heading of the newspaper stated that it was an enlightenment, economic, political and progressive newspaper for the Ukrainian people in Canada.¹²³ The editorial on the front page set out the basis and purpose of the *U. Holos* as follows:

...When we consider that we are fulfilling those same obligations, and...are raising up and are making this country wealthy like other nationalities, therefore we are entitled to the same rights like everyone else. We should not be the laughing-stock nor hirelings for other nationalities, but we should live as a people like equals with equals.

...now other nationalities that have lived in this country are starting to pay attention to us more and more and although with contempt, are looking at us, nevertheless seeing such a large number everyone would eagerly want us grafted into their nationality. But we should honour our peoples' dignity and not be slaves of other nationalities but show ourselves that we

are a people...¹²⁴

As an independent, progressive newspaper, the mission of the *U. Holos* was the enlightenment and well-being of the Ukrainian people in Canada.

Superintendent J. A. Carmichael of the Home Mission Committee of the Presbyterian Church, put his own spin on the establishment of this newspaper: “The National leaders, under whose influence the Ruthenians in Winnipeg largely are, some time ago started a weekly paper, “Ukrainian Voice.”...Better testimonies to the success of...assimilating the people to our national life could not be had than the alarm of the nationalists and publishing of the “Ukrainian Voice” to arrest it.”¹²⁵

The Presbyterians believed that it was the “liberalizing” and “denationalizing” inroads of the Independent Greek Church¹²⁶ that had so alarmed the nationalists that they had to publish the *U. Holos*. In their view, the Presbyterian remedy to the unusual problem of turning large numbers of Ukrainian immigrants into Anglicized Canadians was producing the desired results. The founding of the *U. Holos* newspaper posed a real threat to the Presbyterian plans even though the Presbyterians appeared confident and were predicting that the *U. Holos* would not be a bother to them. Clearly what the Presbyterians did not want was for the Ukrainians to be enlightened by their own people.

The Presbyterian response to *U. Holos* was to bolster the Church-supported

Ranok:

They [Ruthenian ministers and laymen] are determined to make it [*Ranok*] superior to the “Ukrainian Voice.” In its new form it will have four departments—Current News; The Farm, Garden and Hygiene; Social and Moral Reform; and Religion. This paper has been a valuable medium through which the new movement was presented to the people.¹²⁷

This was another aspect of the Presbyterian Church's stand against any form of Ukrainianness, which it automatically interpreted as Ukrainian nationalism, and not to be tolerated. What they could not understand was that the majority of the Ukrainian community wanted to retain their Ukrainian identity as they had no problem with this retention and being loyal Canadians at the same time. That one could be proudly ethnically Ukrainian and at the same time Canadian was not comprehended.

In fact, the founders of the *U. Holos* were becoming more aware of the loss of independence of the Independent Greek Church. They saw that this loss of independence together with an undeveloped national consciousness would have made the Ukrainian settlers into denationalized fillers for the plans of assimilatory organizations. Therefore, the *U. Holos* newspaper was determined to mould the settlers into Ukrainian Canadians.

The *U. Holos* newspaper existed for long years based on the beliefs as set out in the first issue. The groups and organizations promoting the national consciousness and dignity of Ukrainians in Canada also continued for many years. Superintendent Carmichael was mistaken when he predicted in 1911 that "This movement [promoting the national consciousness of Ukrainians] has already shown signs of decay. It has reached high tide and has begun to ebb. In a few months it is thought its policy will be changed. The paper will likely continue, and the information given will likely be very much the same, but its aim will be different. The clearest minds see that a little Galicia in the West is neither desirable nor possible."¹²⁸

Carmichael's remark about "a little Galicia in the West", shows the misunderstanding, intolerance and inflexibility of the Presbyterians towards retention of a

heritage. The Ukrainian view of the retention of an ethnic national consciousness was stated as follows in the March 8, 1911, issue of *U. Holos*:

for us it is not an impediment to be good citizens of this country [Canada], and beyond that to love our own...to build a Ukraine in Canada is not even anyone's dream but to become equal among equals and to understand our situation.¹²⁹

The Presbyterian Church zealously believed that their missionary work amongst Ukrainians was progressing as they desired it to be. Depicting Ukrainians in Biblical terminology as searching for the “abundant”, “bread...for their hunger, light for their understanding, and water for their thirst”¹³⁰ in the involuntary Roman Catholic wilderness where they suffered abuses of their rights, the Presbyterians came gallantly to the rescue of the Ukrainians through the Independent Greek Church. Ukrainians “groped blindly and vainly for help, carrying with them their burden of unbridled passions and unsubdued dispositions which, under the influence of drink, so often finds expression in their festive gatherings.”¹³¹ Regarding Ukrainians as “devoutly religious, but not a highly ethical people”, the Independent Greek Church ministers were said to bring them “the thought of the most advanced, and an up-to-date interpretation of it”,¹³² resulting in a break with their past including the Catholic Church.

The Presbyterians were so determined that they would successfully convert and assimilate Ukrainians that much of their claimed success may have been an overreaction to what may have been merely curiosity or simple requests for information, from some Ukrainians. For example, evangelistic preaching, the trend in preaching that Charles Gordon called “the fire of Emotion”¹³³ was a new experience for Ukrainians. They were,

after all, baptized Christians, with a firm belief in God and Jesus Christ, as expressed in daily prayers and as a customary salutation to each other of “Glory to Jesus Christ”.

These people might attend evangelistic meetings respectfully and even want to hear what the “English” preachers, or the Independent Greek Church ministers that were educated by the “English”, were preaching, to become familiarized with life in Canada. They may have seen evangelistic meetings as legitimate contacts with Canadian representatives to whom they could turn to for information. There would be among them some who were accepting evangelization, but for the majority, evangelical gatherings were a matter of interest. The Presbyterians, however, saw what they wanted to see.

While the immediate and rapid growth of the Independent Greek Church was being acclaimed by Presbyterians, not everyone saw it this way. When John Bodrug returned to Winnipeg in May 1910,¹³⁴ he found that the Church setting had deteriorated. Some leaders of the consistory and some pastors were not very committed. Some pastors left the Church and went to the Russian Orthodox and the Baptists, and some people lost faith in the church.¹³⁵ Bodrug stated, “Among all the priests of the Independent Church in Canada, there was not one man on whom our people or the Presbyterians could depend.”¹³⁶ Nevertheless, Bodrug determinedly proceeded to bring order into the church. Two of his best pastors returned, the eighth church consistory conference was held in Winnipeg, and several new preachers were ordained by the consistory. Bodrug was placed as the pastor of the Winnipeg Church and was regarded as “one of the first and most capable of the Independent Greek ministers.”¹³⁷ The experience he gained in New York was “invaluable”¹³⁸ for extension work as well as carrying out proposed reforms.

The report of the Presbyterian General Assembly of 1911 dealt at length with the outstanding progress and promising future of the Independent Greek Church. This, together with the Ukrainians coming around to the Presbyterian way of thinking was regarded as unprecedented.

But the Presbyterians were not alone in ministering to the Ukrainians. Although not knowledgeable and even insensitive at times regarding the Greek Catholics, the Roman Catholics were concerned to provide the sacraments and other religious ordinances to these people. Pleas from the Roman Catholics to Lviv, Galicia, to the Greek Catholic hierarchy for priests resulted in the Greek Catholic Metropolitan Sheptitsky visiting Canada in 1910.¹³⁹ He visited the Ukrainian settlements to assess the matter first-hand. The Roman Catholics were determined to look after their own and the Greek Catholics, as part of their flock. While the assumed success of the Independent Greek Church intensified Catholic endeavours to retain the Ukrainians as Catholics, this was not the only reason. The Catholic Church had a duty to serve its Catholic followers.

The Presbyterians were certain that increased efforts by the Roman Catholics to minister to the religious needs of Ukrainians were solely a confirmation of the grip the Independent Greek Church had on the Ukrainians “and its possibility of future conquest”.¹⁴⁰ The Independent Greek Church ministers taught the people the Old and New Testaments, Salvation through Jesus Christ, and not submission to the Catholic Church as the “condition of Salvation”, as well as Presbyterian teachings that were in opposition to Catholic beliefs.¹⁴¹ These teachings aroused interest in people who were discovering “that the new Doctrines of the Independent Greek Church are the old doctrines of the

Scriptures.”¹⁴² Some people even contributed more money to support the movement because of this.

At the same time in the Winnipeg church, where the whole movement began, Ukrainians were retaining some of their ritual traditions within modified services. John Bodrug was ministering to the Independent Greek Church. His translation into Ukrainian of the *Pilgrims Progress* had just been published in 1910 and the lectures on this book together with “stereoptican views” were to be given first in the Winnipeg church.¹⁴³ If successful at this congregation then this would be done at other missions. Bodrug was also translating Ralph Connor’s *The Sky Pilot* which he felt would be beneficial to Ukrainians and well received.

During a week of instruction at Manitoba College the attending ministers from Saskatchewan and Manitoba suddenly made it known that they wanted changes in the services of the church. “From twenty-five to fifty per cent of the people are ready for this change.”¹⁴⁴ As a result a committee was appointed to revise and shorten the ritual “in the light of New Testament teaching”.¹⁴⁵ The Independent Greek Church was evolving into a new phase, it seemed.

Other change was afoot. The Winnipeg congregation was continually in flux. This congregation was constantly affected because families moved to the country and new members were either transients or newly arrived immigrants. Constant dissension arose between members who wanted to retain the old ways and those in favour of the new changes. Although the congregation was “difficult to minister to”,¹⁴⁶ the service was completely reformed. Interestingly, at the same time, the Church and Manse Building

Fund had approved a loan to this congregation of \$495.00.¹⁴⁷

In 1911 the Presbyterians confidently imposed reforms of the ritual on the Winnipeg congregation as stated by Superintendent J. A. Carmichael:

The new-comers will be introduced at once in Winnipeg to this new order of worship. If they do not like it they will have the privilege of worshipping elsewhere, but not of interfering with the form of worship. The change which has been called for is being introduced and has come to stay. Very soon there will be no opposition to the expurgated form of ritual in the congregations of the Independent Greek Church. The new movement is significant and clearly marks a stage of progress.¹⁴⁸

By 1910, the city of Winnipeg was developing into the bastion of Ukrainian life. The steady flow of Ukrainian immigrants added temporarily to the numbers of Ukrainians settling in Winnipeg. The numbers of Ukrainian institutions were increasing, as was the circulation of Ukrainian newspapers published in Winnipeg. In this setting the members of the Independent Greek Church congregation in Winnipeg were “dominated largely by the spirit of the Old Country”¹⁴⁹ because “the majority” of the Ukrainians associated with this church were mostly recently arrived immigrants.¹⁵⁰ The Presbyterians drew a distinction between rural Ukrainians and the Ukrainians in Winnipeg. They regarded the life of Ukrainians in Winnipeg as “indicative of the condition of things in Galicia rather than the Colonies.”¹⁵¹ This was a strange observation whose meaning is obscure, especially as the majority of Ukrainian immigrants from Galicia were not city dwellers.

Thus the Presbyterians proceeded with their plans to absorb the Ukrainians in Winnipeg. Another important agency working with them was the Methodist All Peoples' Mission. That was still the only evangelical church to be carrying on many charitable, social and religious work amongst immigrants and the poor on a large scale. J. S.

Woodsworth continued to direct this work. He wrote a second textbook, *My Neighbor*, in 1911, for the Methodist Young People's Forward Movement for Missions, which discussed the importance of the city, the social conditions and life in the city, citing conditions in Winnipeg and other Canadian cities from the perspective of the social worker.¹⁵²

Woodsworth discussed the obstacles to evangelizing and influencing the "non-English" immigrants.¹⁵³ He acknowledged that the immigrants had different organizations or groupings that were important in their community and provided facilities for their activities. Otherwise social life and recreation would have to be found "In the hotel, the theatre, the pool-room and the dance hall."¹⁵⁴ He pointed out to the Methodists that "Our church people have often assumed an attitude of uncompromising hostility to all such resorts, but what have they provided in their place?"¹⁵⁵ Woodsworth also made an effort to look for the good in immigrant customs. "Drinking customs and folk dances" that were "an integral part" of the immigrants' "national inheritance" should not just be "condemned"; but consideration should be given to see whether they could add "to the variety and richness of our social life."¹⁵⁶ The acknowledgment that the immigrant had national customs that could be included in Canadian life was a more positive acceptance of immigrants than just as an economic necessity, and differed from Presbyterians who were against Ukrainian efforts to retain these attributes.

Similar Presbyterian missionary and charity work to immigrants in the North End, specifically in the area north-west of the Canadian Pacific Railway tracks, began with a small mission on Dufferin Avenue and McGregor Street in 1901, one block away from

the first Ukrainian Catholic church in Winnipeg on McGregor Street and Stella Avenue. The Dufferin Avenue missionary work expanded into a congregation of 150 members in 1907 with a full time minister.¹⁵⁷

Further north, in October 1907, another small Presbyterian mission was opened, called the House of the Open Door, at 732 Alfred Avenue.¹⁵⁸ The work was under the direction of two deaconesses involving mothers', girls', and boys' clubs as well as a kindergarten. This work, like that of an institute, progressed and exceeded the capacity of the building. It appeared that the work would be more successful if it was put together with a church because "To produce only Iagos and Machiaveillis would not...tend to social uplifting and...some means had to be procured to balance the practical and material training of the institute."¹⁵⁹

As the work at Dufferin Avenue and Alfred Avenue had developed beyond what the two buildings could accommodate, the Presbyterian Church decided that the best way to conduct their assimilatory evangelical work amongst the increasingly heterogeneous immigrant population in this district was to amalgamate and move to another location.

In 1911, two solid brick and stone buildings were built in honour of Dr. James Robertson.¹⁶⁰ Robertson Memorial Church was "erected on the south-east corner of Burrows Avenue and McKenzie Street,"¹⁶¹ and Robertson Memorial Institute "was placed opposite on the south-west corner. Both occupy commanding positions, standing out in high relief against the surrounding residential property."¹⁶² Opening services for both institutions were held on November 19, 1911.¹⁶³

Established by Scottish immigrants to meet the demands of the rapidly increasing

Central European population, the aim of the work carried out at Robertson was “to develop Christian character and to make true Canadians out of all who may come within the scope of its influence regardless of race or creed.”¹⁶⁴ In this respect, in 1911 there already was a class for Ukrainian men from the Independent Greek Church that met twice a week in the Robertson House, conducted by a volunteer worker.¹⁶⁵ Robertson Church was the only Protestant and English-speaking church in the district.

Because the workers lived in a house close by and not in the building, the Institute was “practically a Settlement.”¹⁶⁶ With the goal of assimilation, the varied clubs and activities were aimed at children, young people, and adults, conducted by five paid workers¹⁶⁷ and large number of volunteers. Religious services were also conducted. The minister of Robertson Memorial church was the superintendent of the Institute as well.¹⁶⁸ The church services and religious programs involved a large membership and adherents.

Robertson Memorial Institute and Church had no specific programs targeted at Ukrainians, but would accommodate groups from the Independent Greek Church location when necessary. The intention of the Presbyterians was to be helpful and neighborly with the expectation that interaction at Robertson would draw Ukrainians away from Ukrainian churches and groupings.

While the Presbyterians and Methodists alike were intent on the Canadianization of immigrants according to their own social values, such as temperance and sabbath observance, the Methodists were aware of another kind of Canadianization that was all too possible. This was ably stated by a Winnipeg Methodist pastor, Rev. John C. Sibley:

There are elements in our civilization which are hardly exemplary. In

these things we hope they will NOT be Canadianized—the unscrupulous businessman who exploits their ignorance and credulity, the corrupt ward boss—at the very least these vices, even if not copied, leave the people hostile to our civilization and religion, and render futile our efforts to Canadianize them. In the midst of our normal English chauvinism, we must recognize that WE too have weaknesses.¹⁶⁹

The imposing buildings of Robertson Memorial Church and Institute were directly across the street from the Strathcona public school, which had opened in March, 1905.¹⁷⁰ This particular location of the Robertson Memorial buildings made obvious the presence of Anglo-Saxonism to the pupils of Strathcona School. Possibly out of curiosity or even at the suggestion of an Anglo-Saxon teacher, some pupils could make their way to Robertson Memorial. So there were here two Anglicizing institutions, the only difference being that the government public school was not openly evangelizing the pupils as the church was.

The first principal of Strathcona School, W. J. Sisler, was of the same thinking as the Winnipeg Anglo-Saxon leaders of the Presbyterian Church, and accepted the negative stereotype of Ukrainian immigrants held by them. He wrote a two-part article in *The Western School Journal* in March and April, 1906, entitled “The Immigrant Child.” In this article he expounded his racist views regarding the inferiority of the Galician immigrants as follows:

...They have no knowledge of self-government and little respect for law. They are professedly religious, but religion without education is not far removed from superstition. Lying and deceit are almost universal and a sense of honor is practically unknown. These statements I make deliberately and as the result of personal experience. They can be corroborated by lawyers, teachers and mission workers who have had opportunities to observe.

As for Ukrainian children, they

are inferior in every department both of mental and physical activity, excepting where only slow mechanical movements are required.¹⁷¹

It is not known what “personal experience” Sisler had with Ukrainians to be so adamant about his statements. Possibly his information was from Presbyterian missionaries with whom he was acquainted, for there were as yet very few Ukrainian children at his school. As principal of the new Strathcona School, Sisler was influential. His prejudicial views carried weight. Robertson Memorial Institute and Church together with Strathcona School under Sisler would complement each other in assimilating Ukrainian immigrant children to the mould dictated by the Anglo-Saxons.

In 1911 the Presbyterians believed the work among the Ukrainians was more promising than at any time in the past.¹⁷² The work of the Independent Greek Church was progressing to such an extent that the assistance the Home Mission Committee of the Presbyterian Church allotted for this purpose was becoming inadequate. The Independent ministers were requesting the Presbyterian Church to provide manses, churches and larger salaries.¹⁷³ Clearly, a response was needed to this success. With respect to giving increased financial assistance,

The Board declined to spend money on property not vested in the Presbyterian Church, and hesitated to guarantee salaries to workers not our own, and consequently not under the control of the Board.¹⁷⁴

Some ministers of the Independent Greek Church in 1911 requested admission as Presbyterian Church ministers. A special committee considered this request at a meeting in Winnipeg in August 1912 and it was decided

that the Board should withdraw from the support of the Independent Greek Church as such, and establish Presbyterian Missions in Ruthenian settlements and have the whole work under the supervision of Presbyteries. The report of this Committee was approved by the Board.¹⁷⁵

In 1912, Superintendent Grant advised the Independent Church leaders that there would be no further financial help from the Presbyterian Church because they had a half million dollar debt and too many expenses for Presbyterian missionary work.¹⁷⁶ The residence for the Independent Church students also would be closed. The only concession made by the Presbyterians was to allow the preachers of the Independent Church to attend theological lectures without charge at Manitoba College. To the Independent Greek Church preachers Grant thus stressed the financial aspect. It could also have been the “atmosphere of heated controversy”¹⁷⁷ about ritualism among the Independent Greek Church members themselves, as well as dissatisfaction among Presbyterians at the slow progress in ridding this evangelical church of its rituals, that brought about the decision to disband this Ukrainian church. However, Dr. A. Hunter the Presbyterian medical missionary in Teulon, noted that it was always problematical how long “old-fashioned Presbyterians, brought up to regard all rituals as the ‘mark of the Beast’, [would] continue to furnish money for the support of a ritualistic Church.”¹⁷⁸

The response of the final Assembly of the Independent Greek Church held in Winnipeg in 1912 to discuss the termination of the work of this church was not unusual, given what the Assembly had been told. Without funding, changes would need to be made. Therefore, in 1912, the majority of the twenty-four preachers of the Independent Church voted in favour of becoming ministers of the Presbyterian Church. A few voted

for union with the Russian Orthodox Church.¹⁷⁹ It was agreed to completely reform the Independent Church on the English reform order and rid the Church of the traditional Ukrainian customs, such as icons. Some young preachers wanted to bring in reform immediately, but “the altar and cross” would be left because “these were the symbols of the Christian religion.”¹⁸⁰

In the fall of 1912, a special committee of the Presbyterian Church examined individually each applicant from among the Independent Greek Church ministers. Winnipeg Presbytery was advised that applicants could be accepted as ministers of the Presbyterian Church or as missionaries.¹⁸¹

After the examination some preachers and a few members of the Winnipeg congregation took down the pictures from the walls and piled them under the choir loft. In response the non-reformist church members locked the church.¹⁸² Eventually, the church was re-opened and Presbyterian services conducted with the few people that were left. The church was completely changed and even the altar was discarded together with its furnishings - as it was reported in *Ranok*, “The Box Flew Out of the Church”.¹⁸³ It was decided between the pastor and a few old parishioners that it would be better for the pastor to serve God turned around facing “God’s pictures”, meaning the congregation, and it was believed that their church was now completely reformed because it had no altar. This congregation did not understand yet that reformed churches did have altars for celebrating the Eucharist.¹⁸⁴

The definitive take-over of the Independent Greek Church property in Winnipeg by the Presbyterian Church was done when a new Certificate of Title dated May 21,

1913, under The Real Property Act of Manitoba, was issued in the name of Hugh J. Robertson, of the City of Winnipeg, in Manitoba, Minister of the Gospel.¹⁸⁵ Rev. Hugh J. Robertson was a minister of the Presbyterian Church and was secretary-treasurer of some financial committees of the church.¹⁸⁶

The culmination of the complete dissolution of the Independent Greek Church and the acceptance of the ministers into the Presbyterian Church was naturally regarded as an accomplishment at the Pre-Assembly Congress held in Massey Hall, Toronto, from May 31 to June 4, 1913, attended by four thousand ministers, elders and church women.¹⁸⁷ At this Congress speakers expounded and reiterated the Presbyterian Church's policies, thus stimulating great confidence in church leaders to execute these policies in the whole of Canada to overcome the vast problems the Church faced in the Dominion.

One of these problems was the Ukrainian immigrants and settlers. Regardless of how degenerate the Ukrainians were seen to be, the Presbyterians believed they were chosen to show the way "by which Christ can be brought closer to these people."¹⁸⁸ The Presbyterian work with Ukrainians through the Independent Greek Church for the previous ten years had resulted in some Ukrainians being converted and evangelized. And the culmination of this success was the admission of the Independent Greek Church ministers into the Presbyterian Church. These Ukrainian Presbyterian ministers, it was thought, would evangelize the Ukrainians, which "will prove to be the most effectual solution of the problem of christianizing and nationalizing those non-Anglo-Saxons in Canada, who otherwise would imprint a most undesirable stamp upon the Canadian nation and delay considerably the fulfilment of our cherished aim of winning 'Canada for

Christ'."¹⁸⁹

Even if Ukrainians were not interested in evangelization, the Presbyterians knew what was good for them, no matter if they “may even resent our offered help—undoubtedly a number of them do; the fact remains they are in need of our love, our care, our christianizing influence, our brotherly spirit.”¹⁹⁰

The climax of ten years of hard effort to evangelize Ukrainians through their separate Independent Greek Church with financial assistance from the Presbyterians was the transfer of some of the Independent Greek Church ministers into the Presbyterian Church. The Presbytery of Winnipeg, sanctioned by the Home Mission Committee of the General Assembly, recommended to the General Assembly that “nineteen ordained ministers, of the Independent Greek Church, be received as ministers of the Presbyterian Church in Canada.”¹⁹¹ These ministers were formally received at the General Assembly in Toronto, in June 1913. John Bodrug was recommended to be accepted as a Minister of the Presbyterian Church but he did not attend the formalities because he was “embittered by all that had happened”.¹⁹²

The nineteen ministers who were officially accepted “pledged” that they would conscientiously minister to the Ukrainian settlers and “try to justify the confidence shown in them by the Church.”¹⁹³ Not all of them had fully mastered the English language, but they were nevertheless well received. The record notes that:

Mr. E. M. Glowa, labouring among the Ruthenians was the last of the band of missionaries heard. Evidently thinking in his own language, his address elicited very warm sympathy, so bravely did he struggle to express himself in English, while his account of the religious situation of his countrymen was most interesting.¹⁹⁴

Although the Presbyterian Church claimed to be heavily in debt, it found money to support the Independent preachers when they crossed over to the Presbyterians. Clearly, the Presbyterians had important objectives. They wished to make their work among the Ukrainians more effective and evangelical. Dr. Hunter, the Presbyterian medical missionary, explained that:

The Independent Greek Movement in Canada attracted a great deal of attention, but the alliance with the Presbyterian Church was rather unnatural, and could not continue unless this new Church moved in the evangelical direction. Many of the members did become evangelical in their views, but the Catholic press attacked [the] whole movement as a political scheme of the English to assimilate the Ukrainians by taking away their religion as well as their language. This campaign made the position of the Independent Greek Ministers untenable; they had either to come right over into the Presbyterian Church or stop taking Presbyterian assistance. Quite a number did come over and brought some of their flocks with them.¹⁹⁵

It was also hoped that coming into the open would lessen the reproaches levelled against the Presbyterian Church and remove strife among the Ukrainian community:

...the time has come when we as a Church must go at this work along distinctly Presbyterian lines and remove the unjust reproach of acting as Jesuits in this Independent [Greek] Church. The only way to remove the jealousy and bickerings from these Ruthenian workers is to put them all directly under some one other than any of their own race.¹⁹⁶

The general point of view of the Ukrainian evangelicals who did not want to dissolve the Independent Greek Church was that the Presbyterians who took over Superintendent Carmichael's work were just concerned for the need to increase the membership in their own church. Otherwise, how could it be explained that there was no money to support the work of the Independent Greek Church, yet when these ministers went over and became

workers of the Presbyterian Church, money was found to support them?¹⁹⁷

As the existence of the Independent Greek Church was being ended, the Greek Catholics in Winnipeg were receiving assistance from Archbishop Langevin of St. Boniface. In 1911 he built at his own expense St. Nicholas School, which had five classrooms and a residence for the Sisters.¹⁹⁸ As well, in 1911, Archbishop Langevin established at his own expense and supported the Ukrainian Catholic newspaper, *Kanadyiskyi Rusyn (Canadian Ruthenian)*.¹⁹⁹ The editorial of the first issued stated the enemies the paper had to do battle with were the Russian priests and the supposedly Ukrainian patriots who sold themselves to different sects in order to spread a new progressive religion.²⁰⁰

The following year the first Ukrainian bishop for the Greek Catholics in Canada, Nykyta Budka, was appointed. He arrived in Winnipeg and held his first service on December 22, 1912, in St. Nicholas Church.²⁰¹ Bishop Budka's arrival came after the Independent Greek Church was dissolved. The Greek Catholic Church was now organized under its own bishop and would attract many disenchanted Independent Greek Church adherents as well as others. It was a pleasure for the Greek Catholic missionaries to conduct marriage ceremonies when repentant couples renewed their marriages that had been conducted by "false" priests.²⁰²

Superintendent Carmichael's presumptuous declaration in 1911 turned out to be a prophesy regarding the introduction of the expurgated reformed service, especially in the Winnipeg congregation. He emphasized that Ukrainians could attend services somewhere else if they disagreed with the permanent changes brought in to this congregation's

services.²⁰³ Unbeknownst to the Presbyterian ecclesiastics, that was exactly what a large number of the Ukrainians did in the three prairie provinces—they did not like what the Presbyterians were doing and went back to the churches they had belonged to in their homeland.

Nevertheless, there was a group of Ukrainians who wanted to remain evangelical Christians and who formed a Ukrainian Presbyterian congregation in the same church building where the Independent Greek Church had been established in Winnipeg.

The Independent Greek Church was just one vehicle used for evangelizing and assimilating Ukrainians. The prime evangelizing Presbyterian institution was the hospital situated in an isolated rural area, providing the desperately needed medical services. The patients, as well as the hospital visitors, were in a captive setting for evangelizing. As well, doctors and nurses were called to settlers' homes and this allowed the doctors and nurses to see first-hand the poor living conditions of the settlers. These conditions in turn were discussed at Church meetings and written about with the implication that the Ukrainian settlers were inferior and backward, not that the economic setting that was in Anglo-Saxon hands needed drastic changes.

The only hospital for the large Ukrainian settlement in the Interlake area was planted in Teulon, Manitoba, and was referred to for some years as the Galician hospital.²⁰⁴ Dr. A. J. Hunter was in charge of this hospital until he died in 1940, and had a particular interest in the Ukrainians both rural and urban. Because of his medical work in Teulon he was regarded as an authority on Ukrainians by the Presbyterians and Anglo-Saxons. Teulon was the closest rural district to Winnipeg of all colonies where

Ukrainians were settled. Hunter made visits to Winnipeg for different Synod meetings. Because of his interest in the Presbyterian *Ranok* newspaper, he worked with the first editor John Bodrug and the second editor Illia Glowa,²⁰⁵ and his trips to Winnipeg eventually became regular weekly ones.²⁰⁶ Both his involvement with *Ranok* and his contributions to Synod discussions, which were respectfully listened to, made Hunter a very important personage in Presbyterian affairs in Winnipeg as well as in Manitoba.

The second equally important assimilating and evangelizing Presbyterian institution was residences for boys and girls to live in while attending the district public junior or high schools. Dr. Hunter was instrumental in having this kind of residence for boys built in Teulon and opened in 1912, and stated his understanding to the Presbyterian Women's Missionary Society in Toronto as follows:

...in education lay the only sure highway to evangelization...

...The [educational] conditions...amongst the Ruthenian settlers are exceedingly unsatisfactory....

The provincial Government has established at Teulon a rural model school, intended to train teachers specially for work in the country schools of this district. What is required now is a residence where the most promising children of the district can receive good Canadian home training while attending this model school. In this way we can do for the Ruthenians at comparatively little expense what is being done for the Indian by the Industrial and Boarding Schools.²⁰⁷

Accommodating thirty boys, the purpose of the residence was to educate them to become teachers and ministers amongst the Ukrainian people. A residence accommodating sixteen girls was built in 1918²⁰⁸ with the expectation that they too would exemplify the Presbyterian missionary vocations of "teachers, deaconesses or nurses"²⁰⁹

in the Ukrainian colonies. These residences were built in a heavily populated Ukrainian district in proximity to a unilingual public school where they would mingle with English-speaking students. The attainment of the successful evangelization of Ukrainians would be accomplished by “taking the boys and girls aside while their prejudices are still unformed, their thoughts and ideas untampered by old-time customs.”²¹⁰

The Teulon boys’ residence was open in 1912, the same year the Independent Greek Church was disbanded. Because the Presbyterian Church had not made the expected progress in evangelizing Ukrainian adults through the Independent Greek Church, they decided to take another tack and isolate, train and educate Ukrainian youth who would be leaders in the Ukrainian communities.

The response of young Ukrainian men to the Theology class at Manitoba College was not overwhelming. Therefore, hopefully, they would be more successful with high school students. They would live in the atmosphere of a Canadian Presbyterian home with religious instruction. They would be trained to understand something of the real aims and ideals of the English Protestants and in turn would be able to serve as interpreters of these attitudes and traditions to the Ukrainians. Presbyterian missions made slow progress in overcoming the cultural nationalism of the Ukrainian communities which was more difficult to root out than religious sentiment.

Chapter two portrays the founding in 1903, the existence and the dissolution of the Independent Greek Church in 1912 in Winnipeg. This church was to progressively evolve from Orthodoxy to a Ukrainian form of evangelism. In spite of a financial connection to the Presbyterians, this new Ukrainian Church in Canada aimed at being an independent

body while retaining its Ukrainianness. The Ukrainians were well on their way to integration with the evangelical tradition they were entering. The dissolution of the Independent Greek Church was a crushing blow to the Ukrainians, and would have its adverse affects on Presbyterianism amongst Ukrainians. From the Presbyterian perspective the Independent Greek Church was a temporary church necessary to assimilate Ukrainians and absorb them into the Presbyterian Church. The Home Mission ministrations to such a large number of Ukrainians was a new and experimental field for the Presbyterians. The attitude which prevailed was the fundamental association of religious interests with national ones. The equation of Christian character and national pride was developed early on in the Anglo-Saxon experience with Ukrainian immigrants. The fact that in the minds of the Presbyterians one needed to be Protestant in order to be a good Canadian was the entire driving force behind the efforts to assimilate Ukrainians in Canada.

This was a period of interdenominational religious rivalry for Ukrainian souls. As yet the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church was not solidly established and the Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church had not been founded.

The Ukrainians in Winnipeg had begun establishing their own cultural and fraternal organizations. To counteract this kind of un-Canadian activity in 1911 the Presbyterian Robertson Memorial Church and House were opened in North End Winnipeg for proper Canadianizing work.

In light of the challenges they faced from the Ukrainian “nationalists” and the Catholics, the Presbyterians were armed with their one foundational truth—the equation

between Protestant Christianity and good Canadian character. It was the guiding light which would illuminate the assimilatory plans of the Protestant establishment in the years to come.

Notes

¹Bodrug, *Memoirs*, 41.

²Dombrowsky, *Narys*, 131.

³Bodrug, *Memoirs*, 40.

⁴*Ibid.*, 41. See also Dombrowsky, *Narys*, 128.

⁵Catherine Macdonald, "James Robertson and Presbyterian Church Extension in Manitoba and the North West, 1866-1902," in *Prairie Spirit: Perspectives on the Heritage of the United Church of Canada in the West*, ed. Dennis L. Butcher, et al. (Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press, 1985), 98.

⁶James S. Woodsworth, *Strangers Within our Gates or Coming Canadians*, vol. 5 (Toronto: The Missionary Society of the Methodist Church, Canada, The Young People's Forward Movement Department, 1909; reprint, Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1972), p. 274 (page citations are to the reprint edition).

⁷*Ibid.*, 275.

⁸Gordon, "The Presbyterian Church and Its Missions", 293.

⁹The Women's Missionary Society of the Presbyterian Church in Canada, *The Story of Our Missions* (n.p., [1915]), 211.

¹⁰Bodrug, *Memoirs*, 41, 50, 51.

¹¹*Ibid.*, 52.

¹²*Ibid.*, 53.

¹³Dombrowsky, *Narys*, 140, and Marunchak, *The Ukrainian Canadians*, 261.

¹⁴Dombrowsky, *Narys*, 140; Marunchak, *The Ukrainian Canadians*, 261; See also Yuzyk, *The Ukrainians in Manitoba*, 114.

¹⁵Dombrowsky, *Narys*, 141.

¹⁶*Ibid.*, 152.

¹⁷Bodrug, *Memoirs*, 75-80.

¹⁸*Ibid.*, 80.

¹⁹Ibid., 87.

²⁰Ibid., 81-88.

²¹Edward Bodrug, *Preacher*, 60.

²²Ibid., 59.

²³Dombrowsky, *Narys*, 153.

²⁴Marunchak, *The Ukrainian Canadians*, 263.

²⁵Ibid., 263.

²⁶Dombrowsky, *Narys*, 20.

²⁷*Synod* (1906), 117.

²⁸*Acts* (1907). J. A. Carmichael, "Report of the Board of Home Missions", p. 7.

²⁹Basil Rotoff, Roman Yereniuk, and Stella Hryniuk, *Monuments to Faith: Ukrainian Churches in Manitoba* (n.p.: University of Manitoba Press for Manitoba Culture, Heritage and Recreation, 1990), 66.

³⁰*Narodnyi iliustrovanyi kaliendar Kanadiyskoho farmera: Na rik Zvychainyi, 1949* (Winnipeg: Kanadiyskoho farmera, [1949]), 92.

³¹Rotoff, Yereniuk, Hryniuk, *Monuments to Faith*, 60, 83.

³²Ibid., 167.

³³Ibid., 142, 144, 145.

³⁴The first small Catholic Church in Winnipeg was built by Ukrainians in 1901 and named St. Nicholas. It depended on itinerant Ukrainian priests from the United States. The second bigger, Catholic church was quickly built directly across the street by Archbishop Langevin and was also named St. Nicholas, opened on Dec. 19, 1905. See *Propamiatna knyha poselennia ukrainskoho narodu v Kanadi, 1891-1941* (*Commemorative Book of Ukrainian Settlement in Canada, 1891-1941*) (Yorkton, Saskatchewan: Holos Spasytelia, 1941), p. 131. (Hereafter, *Poselennia ukrainskoho narodu v Kanadi*). This church was under the authority of the Basilians and was built to accommodate those Ukrainian Catholics who willingly accepted the authority of the Roman Catholic Archbishop. The Ukrainian Catholics across the street changed the name of their church to Sts. Vladimir and Olga and the church was expanded and renovated in 1907. See Ibid. These Catholics were independent thinking and were not willing to sign their church property to the jurisdiction of the Roman Catholic Archbishop.

³⁵Gordon, *The Life of James Robertson*, 181.

³⁶*Manitoba Certificate of Title*. Under “The Real Property Act.” Certificate No. 103354. December 28, 1907. See Appendix A of this thesis.

³⁷P. Bozyk, *Tserkov ukrainsiv v Kanadi: Prychynky do istorii Ukrainskoho tserkovnoho zhyttia v Brytiiskii Dominii Kanadi, za chas vid 1890-1927 (Church of the Ukrainians in Canada)* (Winnipeg: Canadian Ukrainian, 1927), 52. (Hereafter, *Tserkov*). Bozyk contradicts himself. He refers to the church of the Holy Ghost situated on Pritchard and McGregor, on p. 52. On p. 64 he states that on the corner of Pritchard and McGregor stands a church, but it is not known in honor of what saint this church is named because they never celebrate the church’s patron saint’s day as has been customary for Ukrainians to practice for centuries. Bozyk is not clear what he means here because if it was the “church of the Holy Ghost” there would be a holy day of the Holy Ghost on the church calendar, and it would be up to the congregation if it wanted to celebrate the holy day; Martynowych, *Ukrainians in Canada*, Illustration 47. Martynowych explains this illustration, “The first (on left) and second Holy Ghost Independent Greek church buildings, North End Winnipeg.” Rotoff, Yereniuk, Hryniuk, *Monuments to Faith*, 60. The name of the church is stated as Holy Transfiguration Independent Greek Church, Winnipeg. There is no documentation of the source of this church name.

³⁸*City of Winnipeg, Churches and Synagogues of Old Winnipeg: A Preliminary Inventory* (Winnipeg, 1982), 183-185. Church Assessment Form: Old City of Winnipeg. Pre-1920 Churches and Synagogues. Sources: United Church Archives File: Robertson Memorial.

³⁹Bodrug, *Memoirs*, 53.

⁴⁰Dombrowsky, *Narys*, 135.

⁴¹Martynowych, *Ukrainians in Canada*, 216.

⁴²Bodrug, *Memoirs*, 98.

⁴³*Ibid.*

⁴⁴Dombrowsky, *Narys*, 154.

⁴⁵*Ibid.*

⁴⁶Bodrug, *Memoirs*, 98.

⁴⁷*Ibid.*, 99.

⁴⁸*Ibid.*, 100.

⁴⁹Michael Zuk, "The Ukrainian Protestant Missions in Canada" (SThM thesis, McGill University, [1957]), 32-33.

⁵⁰Edward Bodrug, *Preacher*, 68.

⁵¹*Manitoba Certificate of Title*. Under "The Real Property Act." Certificate No. 118145. November 16, 1908. See Appendix B of this thesis.

⁵²*Manitoba Certificate of Title*. Under "The Real Property Act." Certificate No. 119865. December 19, 1908. See Appendix C of this thesis.

⁵³*Synod* (1904), 25.

⁵⁴Clariss Edwin Silcox, *Church Union in Canada: Its Causes and Consequences* (New York: Institute of Social and Religious Research, 1933), 58. See also Moir, *Enduring Witness*, 103.

⁵⁵*Synod* (1904), 25.

⁵⁶*Synod* (1905), 31.

⁵⁷*Ibid.*

⁵⁸*Ibid.*, 8.

⁵⁹*Report of the Galician Class 1908-9*, DASC:UM, Gordon Papers, Box 6.

⁶⁰Artibise, *Winnipeg: An Illustrated History*, Appendix, p. 204. Table VIII, Ethnic Origins of Winnipeg's Population, 1881-1971 (Source: *Censuses of Canada, 1881-1971*). There is a slight discrepancy between the population figures from the 1911 census regarding Ukrainians in Winnipeg of Marunchak, *The Ukrainian Canadians* stating 3,519 on page 67 and Artibise figure of 3,599 as stated. In this instance the Artibise figure is used.

⁶¹Marunchak, *The Ukrainian Canadians*, 163.

⁶²Jaroslav Petryshyn, *Peasants in the Promised Land: Canada and the Ukrainians, 1891-1914* (Toronto: James Lorimer & Company, 1985), 138. Cyril Genik was from the same village as John Bodrug and John Negrych.

⁶³Marunchak, *The Ukrainian Canadians*, 163.

⁶⁴M. I. Mandryka, ed. *Pivstolittia pratsi ukrainskoho tovarystva Chyitalni Prosvity v Vinnipeg: Narys istorii tovarystva za roky 1905-1955 (Half Century of the Activity of the Ukrainian Reading Association "Prosvita", Winnipeg: History of the Association for the Years 1905-1955)* (Winnipeg: Ukrainian Reading Association, 1958), 7.

⁶⁵Ibid., 12.

⁶⁶Ukrainian Mutual Benefit Association of St. Nicholas of Canada, *Almanakh zolotoho iuvileiu, 1905-1955 (Golden Jubilee Almanac, 1905-1955)* (Winnipeg: Ukrainian Mutual Benefit Association of St. Nicholas of Canada, 1957), 138, 140. The name was later changed from St. Nicholas Brotherhood to Ukrainian Mutual Benefit Association of St. Nicholas in Canada.

⁶⁷Marunchak, *The Ukrainian Canadians*, 164.

⁶⁸Krawchuk, *The Ukrainians in Winnipeg's First Century*, 31.

⁶⁹Yuzyk, *Ukrainians in Manitoba*, 97. See also Krawchuk, *The Ukrainians in Winnipeg's First Century*, 24.

⁷⁰Morton, *Manitoba*, 304, 305.

⁷¹Woodsworth, *Strangers Within our Gates*, 274, 275.

⁷²Alan F. J. Artibise, *Winnipeg: A Social History of Urban Growth, 1874-1914* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1975), 29.

⁷³George Neil Emery, "Methodism on the Canadian Prairies, 1896-1914: The Dynamics of an Institution in a New Environment" (Ph.D. diss., University of British Columbia, 1970), 232.

⁷⁴Ibid.

⁷⁵Ibid., 233.

⁷⁶Ibid., 235.

⁷⁷Ibid., 236.

⁷⁸Ibid., 241.

⁷⁹Woodsworth, *Strangers Within our Gates*, 8.

⁸⁰Ibid., 9.

⁸¹Ibid., 181, 185.

⁸²Ibid., 181.

⁸³Ibid., 185.

⁸⁴Ibid., 204, 205.

⁸⁵Ibid., 205.

⁸⁶Ibid.

⁸⁷Ibid., 206.

⁸⁸Ibid., 110.

⁸⁹Ibid.

⁹⁰Woodsworth, *Strangers Within our Gates*, 254.

⁹¹*Acts* (1911). Report of the Home Mission Committee (Western Section), 4.

⁹²Woodsworth, *Strangers Within our Gates*, 253.

⁹³Ibid., 265.

⁹⁴John Murray Gibbon, *Canadian Mosaic: The Making of a Northern Nation* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1938), 276-278.

⁹⁵*Acts* (1898, 1899, 1900, 1901).

⁹⁶Ralph Connor, *The Foreigner: A Tale of Saskatchewan* (New York: Grosset and Dunlap, 1909), 83.

⁹⁷Ibid., 14.

⁹⁸Frances Swyrypa, *Ukrainian Canadians: A Survey of their Portrayal in English-Language Works*, ed. George S. N. Luckyj, Manoly R. Lupul, and Ivan L. Rudnytsky, The Alberta Library in Ukrainian-Canadian Studies (Edmonton: University of Alberta Press for Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies, 1978), 14. See footnote 22, p. 126.

⁹⁹Connor, *The Foreigner*, 157.

¹⁰⁰Ibid., 13.

¹⁰¹Ibid., 87.

¹⁰²Ibid., 88.

¹⁰³Ibid., 195.

¹⁰⁴Ibid., 253.

¹⁰⁵*Ibid.*, 255.

¹⁰⁶*Ibid.*, 256.

¹⁰⁷*Ibid.*

¹⁰⁸*Ibid.*, 275.

¹⁰⁹*Ibid.*, 371, 372.

¹¹⁰*Ibid.*, 384.

¹¹¹Artibise, *Winnipeg: An Illustrated History*, 68.

¹¹²*Acts* (1911), 258.

¹¹³*Ibid.*

¹¹⁴*Ibid.*, 259.

¹¹⁵*Manitoba Free Press*, Winnipeg, January 6, 1910. "Ralph Connor and the Galicians."

¹¹⁶*Manitoba Free Press*, Winnipeg, January 8, 1910. "Comment on The Foreigner."

¹¹⁷*Manitoba Free Press*, Winnipeg, January 25, 1910. "Ruthenians Defended by a Ruthenian."

¹¹⁸*Kanadyiskyi Farmer (Canadian Farmer)*, Winnipeg, January 19, 1910. "The Foreigner". The criticisms of 1910 had no effect, as *The Foreigner* was made into a silent movie in 1920 and therefore had a wider reach. Rev. Gordon spoke after the showing of the production. See the unpublished paper "'Quiet on the Set': Filming of the Silent Movie *The Foreigner* in Winnipeg in the Summer of 1920" by Lewis St. George Stubbs, presented at the 6th Annual Manitoba History Conference, University of Manitoba, May 13-14, 1993.

¹¹⁹Gordon, *Postscript to Adventure*, 150.

¹²⁰Quoted in Brian J. Fraser, *The Social Uplifters: Presbyterian Progressives and the Social Gospel in Canada, 1875-1915*, SR Supplements, vol. 20 (Waterloo, Ontario: Wilfrid Laurier University Press for Canadian Corporation for Studies in Religion, 1988), 177-179.

¹²¹*Ukrayinskyi Holos*, Nov. 3, 1937.

¹²²Julian Stechishin, *Istoriia Poselenia Ukraintsiv u Kanadi (History of Ukrainian Settlements in Canada)* (Edmonton: Ukrainian Self-Reliance League, 1975), 296.

¹²³*Ukrayinskyi Holos*, March 16, 1910.

¹²⁴*Ibid.*

¹²⁵*Acts* (1911), Appendices. Reports from Superintendents. Report of the Superintendent of Missions for the Synods of Manitoba and Saskatchewan, 18.

¹²⁶*Ibid.*

¹²⁷*Ibid.*, 19.

¹²⁸*Ibid.*

¹²⁹Olha Woycenko, *Pionerska Doba: 1874-1918 (Pioneering Period: 1874-1918)*, *Litopys Ukrainskoho Zhyttia v Kanadi (The Annals of Ukrainian Life in Canada)*, vol. 1 (Winnipeg: Trident Press, 1961), 8.3.11, no. 10, pp. 19-20. (Hereafter, *Litopys*).

¹³⁰*Acts* (1910), Appendices, p. 22.

¹³¹*Ibid.*

¹³²*Ibid.*

¹³³Fraser, *The Social Uplifters*, 106.

¹³⁴Bodrug, *Memoirs*, 102..

¹³⁵Dombrowsky, *Narys*, 155.

¹³⁶Bodrug, *Memoirs*, 100.

¹³⁷*Acts* (1910), 23.

¹³⁸*Ibid.*

¹³⁹*Poselennia ukrainskoho narodu v Kanadi*, p. 50. See Hryniuk, "Pioneer Bishop, Pioneer Times", p. 28.

¹⁴⁰*Acts* (1911), 15.

¹⁴¹*Ibid.*

¹⁴²*Ibid.*, 15.

¹⁴³*Ibid.*, 18.

¹⁴⁴*Acts* (1910), 23.

¹⁴⁵*Ibid.*

¹⁴⁶*Acts* (1911), 16.

¹⁴⁷*Ibid.*, Report of the Board of Management of the Church and Manse Building Fund of the Presbyterian Church in Canada for Manitoba and the North-West, for the Year Ending February 28th, 1911. p. 190. Also, a loan was given to the Ruthenian Presbyterian Church in Teulon for \$450.00. p. 190.

¹⁴⁸*Ibid.*, 16-17.

¹⁴⁹*Ibid.*, 18.

¹⁵⁰*Ibid.*

¹⁵¹*Ibid.*

¹⁵²J. S. Woodsworth, *My Neighbor*, ed. Michael Bliss, *The Social History of Canada* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1911), Preface n.p.

¹⁵³*Ibid.*, 104.

¹⁵⁴*Ibid.*, 92.

¹⁵⁵*Ibid.*

¹⁵⁶*Ibid.*

¹⁵⁷*Manitoba Free Press*, Winnipeg, Nov. 18, 1911. "Robertson Memorial Church Dedication Tomorrow."

¹⁵⁸*Ibid.*

¹⁵⁹*Ibid.*

¹⁶⁰United Church Archives, Robertson Memorial Church and House, miscellaneous bulletins, 1921, 1928.

¹⁶¹"Robertson Memorial Church Dedication Tomorrow."

¹⁶²*Ibid.*

¹⁶³Lisa Murphy, *Missions and Settlement Houses in Manitoba, 1880-1930*, Document #0356H (n.p.: Historic Resources Branch for Manitoba Culture, Heritage and Recreation, 1986), 16.

¹⁶⁴United Church Archives. Undated, unsigned article on Robertson Memorial Church and House.

¹⁶⁵United Church Archives, Robertson Memorial Church, *First Annual Report*, 1912. p. 18.

¹⁶⁶*Acts* (1913). Report of the Board of Social Service and Evangelism, 1913. Evangelical Social Settlements in Cities, Robertson Memorial Institute, Winnipeg, 288.

¹⁶⁷*Ibid.*

¹⁶⁸“Robertson Memorial Church Dedication Tomorrow.”

¹⁶⁹Emery, “Methodism on the Canadian Prairies, 1896-1914”, 345-346.

¹⁷⁰W. J. Sisler, *Peaceful Invasion* (Winnipeg: by the author, 1944), 11.

¹⁷¹W. J. Sisler, “The Immigrant Child,” *The Western School Journal* 1, no. 4 (1906): 4-5.

¹⁷²*Acts* (1911), 19.

¹⁷³*Acts* (1913), 7.

¹⁷⁴*Ibid.*

¹⁷⁵*Ibid.*

¹⁷⁶Dombrowsky, *Narys*, 157-158, and Bodrug, *Memoirs*, 114-115.

¹⁷⁷A. J. Hunter, *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), 91.

¹⁷⁸*Ibid.*, 35.

¹⁷⁹Dombrowsky, *Narys*, 158.

¹⁸⁰Bodrug, *Memoirs*, 117.

¹⁸¹*Acts* (1913), 7.

¹⁸²Bodrug, *Memoirs*, 117. The members felt betrayed because they had donated money to buy the property, build the Church, and had been told to buy the icons. Now everything had been taken away from them-the property was signed over to the Presbyterian Church and their religious tradition in the form of icons was thrown out. See Dombrowsky, *Narys*, pp. 158-159 and Bozyk, *Tserkov*, pp. 326-329.

¹⁸³Dombrowsky, *Narys*, 178. In *Ranok*, August 28, 1912, p. 4.

¹⁸⁴*Ibid.*, 179. In *Ranok*, August 28, 1912, p. 4.

¹⁸⁵*Manitoba Certificate of Title*. Under "The Real Property Act." Certificate No. 212501. May 21, 1913. See Appendix D of this thesis.

¹⁸⁶S. W. Sawchuk and G. Mulyk-Lutzyk, *Istoriia Ukrainskoi Hreko-Pravoslavnoi tserkvy v Kanadi: Period zarodzhennia idei osnuvannia Ukrainskoi Hreko-Pravoslavnoi tserkvy v Kanadi (History of the Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church of Canada: Period of the Emergence of the Idea of the Establishment of the Ukrainian Greek-Orthodox Church in Canada)*, vol. 2 (Winnipeg: Ecclesia Publishing, 1985), 713.

¹⁸⁷*Pre-Assembly Congress of the Presbyterian Church in Canada* (Toronto: Board of Foreign Missions for Presbyterian Church in Canada, 1913), 11.

¹⁸⁸*Ibid.*, 128, 129.

¹⁸⁹*Ibid.*, 129.

¹⁹⁰*Ibid.*

¹⁹¹*Acts* (1913), 36.

¹⁹²Bodrug, *Memoirs*, 118.

¹⁹³*Acts* (1913). Reception of Ministers of the Greek Church. p. 36.

¹⁹⁴*Ibid.* Fifth Sederunt - Home Mission Board, Western Section. p. 29.

¹⁹⁵A. J. Hunter, "The Work Among the Ukrainians," (Toronto: United Church of Canada, Women's Missionary Society, n.d.), 6.

¹⁹⁶Quoted in Orest T. Martynowych, "Village Radicals and Peasant Immigrants: The Social Roots of Factionalism Among Ukrainian Immigrants in Canada, 1896-1918" (M.A. thesis, University of Manitoba, 1978), p. 183. See also Dr. James Farquharson, *Work Among the New Canadians*, Presbyterian Church Board of Home Missions (United Church Archives), p. 226.

¹⁹⁷Dombrowsky, *Narys*, 161.

¹⁹⁸*Poselennia ukrainskoho narodu v Kanadi*, 32.

¹⁹⁹Yuzyk, *Ukrainians in Manitoba*, 114.

²⁰⁰*Poselennia ukrainskoho narodu v Kanadi*, 40.

²⁰¹*Ibid.*, 51.

²⁰²*Ibid.*, 49.

²⁰³*Acts* (1911), 17.

²⁰⁴*Synod* (1904, 1905, 1909, 1910, 1911, 1912, 1913). These were the Synods of Manitoba in which reference was made to the Galician Hospital, Teulon.

²⁰⁵Hunter, *A Friendly Adventure*, 127.

²⁰⁶Teulon and District History Book Committee, *They Came for the Future* (Teulon, Manitoba: Teulon & District History Book Committee, 1983), 385.

²⁰⁷The Women's Missionary Society of the Presbyterian Church in Canada, *The Story of Our Missions* (n.p., [1915]), 208. (Hereafter, *The Story of Our Missions*).

²⁰⁸Vivian Olender, "The Reaction of the Canadian Presbyterian Church Towards Ukrainian Immigrants (1900-1925): Rural Home Missions as Agencies of Assimilation" (Ph.D. diss., University of St. Michael's College, 1984), 192.

²⁰⁹*Ibid.*

²¹⁰*The Story of Our Missions*, 212.

CHAPTER 3

Ukrainian Presbyterian Church: An Unresolved Identity

The period 1913-1925 was a critical phase in the life of the Ukrainian United Church. It also happens to be the phase for which the available sources are scarce and fragmented. Because of this the relationship of the Presbyterian Church in Canada to the Presbyterian Ukrainian Church and the events in the life of the Ukrainian Presbyterian Church can only be known from the activities of leaders and organizations associated with those two churches. This is a period of conflicting themes. The Ukrainian Presbyterians were being acted upon. They were more reactive than proactive and at times they were victims.

After the dissolution of the Independent Greek Church, the Presbyterian Church took over the management of the property and what was left of its congregation in Winnipeg. The information on the activities of this congregation beginning in 1913 are varied but scant.

A number of conflicting pieces of information emerge from the sources. In June 1913, the Home Mission Committee in Toronto appointed a newly accepted Ukrainian Presbyterian minister to the "Ruthenian-Presbyterian Church in Winnipeg". Because the church building was being repaired, the services took place in the church hall.¹ Between 1914 and 1915, the Presbytery closed the church because of the general shortage of ministers.²

The Winnipeg congregation was somewhat in a state of disarray after 1913, when

the Independent Greek Church ministers were accepted into a purely Presbyterian congregation as Presbyterian ministers. The problems that weakened the congregation, together with the outbreak of war, were apparently overcome and by the fall of 1916 the congregation was rejuvenated. A cultural Reading Association was formed in this small congregation in September 1916, with thirty paid up members. A constitution was drawn up and the first literary function was held at Robertson Memorial hall. This association established in the church hall an evening English-language school with over twenty persons signed up. The school was taught by a non-evangelical Ukrainian university student. Also the "Organization of the Ukrainian Presbyterian Congregation in Winnipeg" announced that the solemn official formation of this congregation had taken place in October 1, 1916.³

The Winnipeg congregation was granted permission to give instruction in Ukrainian subjects during the summer holidays at Robertson House.⁴ A deaconess worked at this congregation from 1916. It is reported in the 1917 Minutes of the Presbytery of Winnipeg that they erected a building on the church ground, to be used for a reading room, without the knowledge or approval of the Home Mission Committee. But this transgression was treated as if it had not happened.⁵ The meaning of this entry in the Minutes is not clear because there already was a hall on the church grounds that was being used as a reading room, which was the first building built for Independent Greek Church services.

Presbyterian work amongst the Ukrainians was of primary importance in the colonies and in Winnipeg. Because one-tenth of the population in Manitoba was already

Ukrainian, and these people would eventually dominate large areas of the province, in 1913 the Synod agreed to the most aggressive policy possible for the evangelization of the non-Anglo-Saxon races settled in Manitoba. There was constant concern about closer supervision of Ukrainian work; a larger demand on the Home Mission fund for the prosecution of this work, and the necessity of a regularly organized congregation that would contribute to local and budget purposes were noted.⁶

The approach of the Presbyterian Church to the Ukrainians was to assist them to the discovery and practice of evangelical truth. The years following the acceptance of the ministers of the Independent Greek Church had shown that the methods of oversight and assistance had not been satisfactory to the Presbytery nor had they given to Ukrainians a sense of firm and sure leadership in religious and congregational matters. In 1917 consideration was given to consolidating all Ukrainian work under a special sub-committee and to the appointment of a superintendent.⁷

With great optimism the Presbyterian Church was still determined to make the population of western Canada homogeneous in its thinking and attitudes through evangelization. They would take in hand the undesirable settlers, lumping together baptized Christian Ukrainians together with non-Christian Chinese:

There is no reason why British Columbia should be handed over to the Chinese, any more than the prairies should be given over to the Galicians.⁸

Presbyterians believed they had the power to evangelize and assimilate the immigrants of western Canada and that they were the most suited to do this because

“Presbyterianism specially suits this West. There is in it a virility, a strength, a democratic spirit, a practicalness, a straightforwardness, an

aggressiveness, a genuine honesty and manliness in life that appeals to the average Westerner.”⁹

There was no doubt that it was the Presbyterians’ responsibility to build a strong Canadian nation because this could not be done by “soft creeds”.¹⁰

The ministers and congregations of the Independent Greek Church applied to be accepted into the Presbyterian Church in Canada.¹¹ Ignoring the fact that the Independent Greek Church was given an ultimatum to go into the Presbyterian Church and had its funding cut off, was seen by the Presbyterians as “the opening to us of a wide door of opportunity.”¹² The moral and social uplift of the Ukrainians was part of their commitment to make the world better because

We must aim to transform and ennoble human character, and thus give to the State citizens who will stand for the righteousness that exalteth a nation, and oppose the sins which bring reproach upon any people.¹³

Ukrainian Presbyterians had no Ukrainian-born administrative officer of their own who could oversee the Ukrainian work even at a very elementary level. Therefore there was no Ukrainian Presbyterian church but only Ukrainian Presbyterian congregations. There was no constitution or agreement as to how these congregations were to be managed and what voice the people in the congregations would have. With respect to the Winnipeg congregation, there are no surviving records of minutes.

This setting was contradictory to the Presbyterian criticisms of the Catholic Church. According to Presbyterians, the members of the undemocratic Catholic Church had to do as they were told by their hierarchy. Even Dr. Hunter referred to the democracy of the Presbyterian Church when commenting on the dissolution of the Independent

Greek Church that “the experiment was rather too complex for a great democratic body like the Presbyterian church to handle.”¹⁴ Yet the Presbyterians did not pass on a form of self-government to the congregations which would answer to the Presbyterian Church.

The Ukrainian congregations were subservient to the Presbyterian Church.

The congregations of the dissolved Independent Greek Church were being reorganized as Presbyterian congregations when the First World War broke out in August 1914. The members of the Winnipeg congregation were affected by the harassment and injustices inflicted on Ukrainians in Winnipeg during the whole wartime period and after.

A group of six Ukrainian editors in 1916 described the discriminatory treatment of Ukrainians:

for unknown reasons, the Ukrainians in Canada are treated as enemy Austrians. They are persecuted, by thousands they are interned, they are dismissed from their employment, and their applications for work are not entertained. And why? For only one reason, that they were so unhappy as to be born into the Austrian bondage....¹⁵

In 1917 The War Times Election Act disenfranchised most Canadian Ukrainians¹⁶ and Ukrainian language newspapers were banned.¹⁷

It is not within the scope of this thesis to discuss the numerous discriminatory laws and actions against Ukrainians during the war and after. They have been well documented by Mr. Peter Melnycky in his thesis, “A Political History of the Ukrainian Community in Manitoba 1899-1922.”¹⁸

What was obvious during the war period was that the Presbyterian Church in Canada did not openly come to the defence of Ukrainian Presbyterians. The government ordinances and the discrimination by Anglo-Saxon employers did not differentiate

between Presbyterian Ukrainians and other Ukrainians. A Ukrainian was a Ukrainian, and had to defend himself and survive on his own. There was no way a Ukrainian Presbyterian could visibly identify himself. Had the Presbyterian Church spoken out on behalf of Ukrainian Presbyterians then there would have been proof that Presbyterians were seriously concerned about their Ukrainian members.

The fact that Anglo-Saxons could not differentiate between Ukrainian Presbyterians and other Ukrainians was proved by an incident in Winnipeg in November 1918. Groups of returned soldiers were breaking into Ukrainian organization buildings in the North End, such as Chytalnia Prosvita, smashing windows and throwing Ukrainian books and musical instruments on the sidewalk.¹⁹ On a Sunday afternoon in November 1918, when a group of returned soldiers were unsuccessful in breaking into the Ukrainian Labour Temple directly across the street from the Ukrainian Presbyterian Church on McGregor Street and Pritchard Avenue, they turned their wrath on the Ukrainian Presbyterian Church itself. The veterans threw rocks at the building and responded with glee when one of them actually hit the cross on the church.²⁰ As this church was built in the traditional Ukrainian church style, the returned soldiers only saw this as a Ukrainian church and almost certainly did not even know that there actually were Ukrainian Presbyterians. This church building belonged to the Presbyterian Church—they had taken it over from the Ukrainians in 1913. Yet, on this occasion too the Presbyterian Church in Canada did not come to the defence of the Ukrainian Presbyterians.

The ramifications of the unjust and discriminatory treatment of Ukrainians during the war and after, especially in Winnipeg where the Winnipeg General Strike took place

beginning on May 15, 1919, were felt in Presbyterian work, as admitted by individual Presbyterians. For example, the Superintendent of Home Missions for Manitoba, Rev. S.C. Murray, thought that the closing of bilingual schools and the discrimination suffered by the immigrants during the war made them more nationalistic and hostile towards the Presbyterian Church.²¹

In later years Dr. Hunter commented on the discriminatory treatment of Ukrainians during the war, and the effect it had on Presbyterian missionary work:

The result of all this folly was to intensify greatly the racial feeling of the immigrants. They felt distrusted, despised, and thrown back on themselves. Hurt and angry, nationalist politicians controlled their thinking for many years, and of course the effect on missions conducted by English-speaking people, no matter how sympathetic they might be, was very bad.

...When our boys of the Home sought employment they were afraid to let it be known that they came from Teulon for fear of being boycotted.

...Most of the Ukrainian papers denounced our institution as a scheme for making Janissaries out of the Ukrainian youth, preparing them to destroy their own people.²²

The association with the Presbyterians was not seen as satisfying Ukrainian religious, cultural, and other needs. There were already a large number of established settlers, both urban and rural, who had been in Canada for over fifteen years, and there were Canadian-educated Ukrainians in different fields besides teaching. The people were Canadianized (not Anglicized) by their different life experiences and therefore the temper of the time was to establish and create organizations that would satisfy the various Ukrainian needs. The Ukrainian population was increasing in Winnipeg. The approximate figures were: in 1916 about 10,000; in 1921 over 12,000.²³ Ukrainian

organizational life was growing as well. The new immigration was better educated, more ethnically aware, more assertive in retaining their Ukrainianness. Even so the matter of a suitable Ukrainian church in Canada was not settled.

The Russian Orthodox Church in Winnipeg was not a factor in satisfying Ukrainian religious needs even though this church had Orthodox Bukowinians in their small congregation.

Now that the Greek Catholic Church was organized under Bishop Budka, this Church attracted many people back into the fold. But as this Church began developing it was seen that it was not quite the same as the Greek Catholic Church in the homeland. Even though Budka was a Ukrainian Catholic Bishop, celibacy was brought into the Canadian church and there were still priests of other nationalities, such as French and Belgian, working among the Ukrainians. The contentious issue of signing church property over to the "Dominion-wide Ruthenian Greek Catholic Episcopal Corporation under federal charter"²⁴ even though it was Ukrainian, just was not acceptable to some.²⁵

From about 1914 there appeared in the Ukrainian-language press the idea that "it was absolutely necessary to have some kind of Ukrainian peoples' (narodnoyi) and independent church."²⁶ After two years of discussion a Peoples' Committee was formed in Saskatoon, Saskatchewan, in July 1918, which called together representatives from the three prairie provinces for a meeting.²⁷ At the meeting on July 18 and 19, 1918, it was resolved to establish the Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Brotherhood, and this brotherhood immediately organized the Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church.²⁸

This church was to "look after the religious, moral and educational affairs of the

people”.²⁹ The priests were to be Ukrainian and married. The church was to be democratic and independent, “in communion with other Eastern Orthodox Churches” and accepting “the same dogmas and the same rites.”³⁰ The property of each congregation was to belong to its members who were to be responsible for it.³¹

The founders of the Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church did not believe that they were establishing a new church, but were going back to the original church of the Ukrainian people that was chosen by Prince Vladimir, the ruler of Kievan Rus, and also later supported by other Ukrainian princes and hetmans.³² They were also leaving “the present Ukrainian Greek Catholic church [which] is a result of religious union forced upon the Ukrainian nation by Poland in 1596 and which was supported by Austria.”³³

The establishment of the Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church was strongly denounced by the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church and its newspaper *K. Rusyn*, which changed its name to *Kanadiyskyi Ukrainets (Canadian Ukrainian)* after 1919, and became the vehicle for polemics against this church. *U. Holos* was the vehicle for the Orthodox Church’s rebuttals until the Church’s own newspaper, *Pravoslavnyi Vistnyk (The Orthodox Herald)*, was begun in April 1924.³⁴ *K. Rusyn* in 1923³⁵ and again in 1928 was compelled to retract libelous statements about the Orthodox Church:

It is a falsehood that the Protestants support the Ukrainian Autocephalous Church in Canada. That which we wrote several years ago and that which we wrote in this article are false.³⁶

There were other assertions that Protestants were involved with the Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church, that the Orthodox leaders were beholden to the Protestants, and the Orthodox Church was compared to “Seraphimism, Bodrugism”.³⁷

But a malicious editorial in 1924 provoked a court case and on June 25, 1925, the *K. Ukrainets* was ordered to pay a fine of "\$10,000.00 which was later reduced to \$7,000.00 and because the paper went bankrupt, the amount was never paid."³⁸

The response of Ukrainian Presbyterians to the establishment of the Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church of Canada in 1918 appeared in *Ranok*. The leaders who established this Church, it was claimed, disregarded the advice of leading Ukrainian writers of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries in the homeland who criticized the abuses of both the Ukrainian Greek Catholic and the Russian Orthodox churches.³⁹ Canadian Ukrainian evangelicals interpreted these writings to mean that the answer to church abuses was Protestant evangelism.

What was not widely known amongst the non-Orthodox churches involved with Ukrainians in Canada was that autocephalous Orthodox churches had heads of their own and were ecclesiastically independent. In recent Ukrainian history this kind of Ukrainian Orthodox Church had not existed, although the establishment of such an Orthodox Church was under way during the short-lived independence of Ukraine in 1917-21. There was no basis for the claim that the Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church would automatically propagate the alleged abuses of the Russian Orthodox Church.

It is curious that the *K. Ranok* with its anti-Catholic attitude did not write a single article about the case against the *K. Ukrainets* and its outcome during the whole of 1925. However, the paper under the supervision of Dr. Hunter, who was its English editor since 1922, did publish articles to discredit the Ukrainian Orthodox Church, which he seemed to regard as the greater threat.

The first activities of the Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church in Winnipeg began in 1919 and the consistory of this Church was established there in 1924.⁴⁰ Rev. T. Bay, a Ukrainian United Church minister, who had been an Independent Greek Church and Ukrainian Presbyterian minister, later summarized the Ukrainian Orthodox Church this way:

...this is the Church which the Ukrainians wanted to have in Canada. The Church free from Russia and Rome and also free from English Protestantism. It is the Church that is determined to cultivate and protect the Ukrainian culture, language and art. It has won the confidence of the Ukrainian intelligentsia and common people...Their ambition is to have more priests and more people in the Church, so that they may bring to them the Gospel of their mother Church...⁴¹

Hand in hand with the importance of solving the “church” problem for Ukrainians, was the problem of increasing the availability of higher education for Ukrainian youth. Concern for the provision of higher education in Winnipeg for Ukrainian youth from the rural colonies which would necessitate a residence existed from 1910 onwards and was discussed by different groups.⁴² *Ranok* agitated against a Ukrainian bursa (residence) in 1911, stating that as long as Canada existed and as long as Ukrainians lived in Canada, there would not be a Ukrainian bursa that would be supported mainly by the people. The *U. Holos* replied that the *Ranok* people were tied in financially with the English Presbyterians and their thoughts were permeated with ideas of assimilation. To satisfy the will of their masters’ individual interests they spoke out against the general national need to establish a bursa in Canada. Ukrainians were not to abandon what they had begun or to look further for help from the Presbyterians or the French, but were to donate money for the fund of a Ukrainian bursa.⁴³

Finally in 1915, a Ukrainian Bursa in honour of Adam Kotsko was opened on Juno Street where there were public schools and the Carnegie public library. Priority was given to students from Manitoba, and it was to be non-sectarian.⁴⁴

In 1916 the residence moved to the Ukrainian National Home building on the corner of McGregor Street and Burrows Avenue, in the North End, and existed here in 1917 as well. There were twenty-seven students including four who were attending university.⁴⁵ These students would not be obligated to non-Ukrainians in any way.⁴⁶

This bursa had a Ukrainian atmosphere and offered Ukrainian cultural activities during recreational time with the purpose of educating Ukrainian leaders for the community. This was contrary to the ideal of the youth residences opened in Teulon under Dr. Hunter's direction. The general impression from Ukrainian Canadian literature is that the intention in Teulon was assimilation and the students were to be the interpreters of the Anglo-Saxon ideals to the Ukrainian people.

There was an absence of Presbyterian youth residences and hospitals in Winnipeg. Such institutions were important assimilatory agencies in some isolated Ukrainian rural areas, but they were not part of the Presbyterian program in Winnipeg. The predominantly Ukrainian rural block settlements needed such services, which would help Presbyterians in the assimilation of Ukrainians.

Catholics established the Metropolitan Andrew Sheptytsky bursa in 1917 in St. Boniface. The French archbishop aided this bursa,⁴⁷ which operated until 1922.⁴⁸

As for the printed word, *Ranok* was the voice of the Presbyterians. Financial assistance was approved in 1916 to enable the publication of *Ranok* "under church

auspices to proceed to more aggressive action” and the presbytery was willing to assist in the distribution of “good literature” among Ukrainians.⁴⁹ *Ranok*’s weekly circulation at this time was 2,600 copies and it was regarded as a valuable medium by which Protestant doctrine and Canadian ideals were spread among the Ruthenian people.⁵⁰ In order to save money on printing the Union Press Limited was organized and among the new directors Rev. Dr. J. A. Hunter was Vice-President. Of the six directors, only two were Ukrainian Presbyterian ministers.⁵¹

In the new setting, with Ukrainian Presbyterian ministers being under the jurisdiction of the local prebytery, the ministers received more financial and tangible security, and the Presbyterian Church proposed different ways to direct the Ukrainian work that was now directly under its control. Whether these proposals were carried out was not always diligently recorded. Nevertheless, various references reveal the continued activities and influence on Ukrainians by the Presbyterian Church.

In 1916 a financial plan was devised to assist Ukrainian students, and between 1917 and 1919 Ukrainian ministers were given permission to attend short courses of lectures at Manitoba College if they so desired. Young men preparing for the ministry were encouraged to consider the importance of Ukrainian evangelism when deciding their future field of work. Bursaries were offered by the Board of Home Missions and Social Services to those who would prepare themselves for work among non-English people. There were already some Anglo-Saxon ministers who had decided to devote their life to work amongst Ukrainians. Young Ukrainian men trained in Canadian schools were urged to consider the ministry as their future life’s work.⁵²

The scale of salaries of Ukrainian missionaries was discussed and increased; manses were built, bought or rented. In the event of death, a Ukrainian minister's widow was included in the Widows' Allowance Act, and other financial assistance would be given to her and her family.⁵³

In 1918 a conference was planned with Ukrainian workers in order to stimulate sympathy with this work and to promote a better understanding of what was being done for the Ukrainians.⁵⁴ The previous year the (unnamed) Ukrainian minister from Teulon was appointed to the Winnipeg congregation⁵⁵ and remained there until 1921.

The Synod of Manitoba in 1920 appointed Dr. Hunter to the Home Missions committee and passed the following resolution regarding the religious education of Ukrainians:

That, in view of the pressing need of religious education for the Ruthenian people by the Protestant Churches, and in view of the need of trained men and women for this work; in view also of the fact that such large numbers of these people reside within the bounds of this Synod and that in the City of Winnipeg a situation is developing which is every year becoming more serious, and bound to become more so, especially because of the elements that are spreading social and political views, some of which are dangerous; therefore, be it resolved that this Synod overture the Assembly to make it possible for the continuing and strengthening of its work of training of leaders for this branch of our work, the urgency of which cannot be overstated.⁵⁶

Meanwhile, Robertson Memorial Church, which was the only Presbyterian church in close proximity to the Ukrainian Presbyterian congregation in the North End, found it more and more difficult to maintain itself as Anglo-Saxon families moved away from the district. During the First World War services in the church were discontinued, and the Sunday School and congregation disintegrated. But the work in Robertson House

continued to flourish, conducted by deaconesses and social workers to the point where in 1919 there were five full-time workers trained in deaconess and social welfare service plus a student and later on an assistant minister. After the war the nature of the church work was altered to meet the new demands of the growing non-Anglo-Saxon character of the area.

In the spring of 1920, Robertson Church received a full-time minister, Rev. J. R. Mutchmor, who would be minister of Robertson Memorial Church and Superintendent of Robertson House from 1920 to 1932.⁵⁷ The dissolved Sunday School did have money and held a Sunday School picnic in June every year. This Sunday school "had been a segregated school, one that welcomed only, or almost entirely, Anglo-Saxons."⁵⁸ Rev. Mutchmor made this a community Sunday school, eventually holding evening Sunday services in the church basement. After a couple of years of this arrangement morning and evening services were moved to the sanctuary of the church.⁵⁹

While the hope of forming an English-speaking congregation continued, and a look-out was kept for Anglo-Saxon families in the district, work also proceeded with the foreign people at Robertson Memorial. Annual reports clearly state the distaste of the church workers for any kind of retention of old country customs and for social groups which they labeled as nationalistic:

...The chief hindrance to community progress in our district is the large number of nationalities. Most of them have strong nationalistic tendencies and are not anxious to group themselves with any other part of the community. No doubt these differences will disappear to some extent in the second and third generation...There is much unemployment of men especially in the winter. They sit around the houses or attend Nationalistic gatherings.⁶⁰

...Polish and Ukrainians opposed to intermingling. 'National clubs a menace.'⁶¹

The 1920 Annual Report of Robertson Memorial Church and House showed the concern that was registered regarding the Ukrainian Presbyterian Church:

The Sunday school work at the Ukrainian Mission has grown considerably and during the week the boys and girls meet in groups under the C.S.E.T. [Canadian Standard Efficiency Training] program.

Among the adults religious services have been carried on successfully at Robertson Church. As yet very few new Canadians attend these services. We are hampered in this work by the fact that we have a Ukrainian Presbyterian Church in the neighborhood. During the past four months it has been without a regular missionary, and the religious work there among the adults has decreased considerably. In fact the number attending has become so small that it is not possible to keep the church open. Whether this would be a good time for Robertson Memorial Church to ask the members of the Ukrainian Church to attend the evening service is doubtful.

Among the Greek Catholics Bishop Budka is very active and he has collected considerable money for the erection of a cathedral in North Winnipeg. The case of the new National Ukrainian Orthodox Church does not seem to be very strong in this society.⁶²

Positive...Cooperation has been established with the Ruthenian Mission.⁶³

It appears from the 1920 Report that there was an uneasiness with respect to the perceived threat the Ukrainian Presbyterian Church posed to the work at Robertson. It is difficult to understand how Robertson could be hampered by a congregation that had been without a regular missionary and with such a low number attending that it was not possible to keep the church open. In this same report, it was claimed that 22.4% of the people taking part at Robertson Memorial were Ukrainian. The figure of 22.4% was not defined or explained. The report did not say it was 22.4% of the membership. Nor was it

explained what “taking part at Robertson Memorial” meant. Also, the 1920 Home Mission report noted with pride their Sunday School enrollment was over 200, composed of children of different nationalities. Had the Presbyterian Church not been adamant on rapid assimilation of the Ukrainians, it would have been logical to refer the Ukrainian people from Robertson to the Ukrainian Presbyterian Church, thus making it a viable entity, and relieving some of the pressure on Robertson. By not directing Ukrainians to the Ukrainian Presbyterian Church and keeping them at Robertson indicates that the Presbyterians were giving less than full support for Ukrainian endeavors. From the Ukrainian perspective on the other hand, the Ukrainian Presbyterian Church probably was being hampered by the work of Robertson Memorial amongst a large number of Ukrainians in North End Winnipeg.

The situation did improve at the Ukrainian Presbyterian congregation. In November 1921, a piano was donated for the Ukrainian Hall by the Young Women’s Club of Knox Church, Winnipeg, to be used for the kindergarten.⁶⁴

However, there was a problem in respect of the upkeep of the reading room and the Ukrainian Presbyterian Church. When the congregation could not pay for the care of these a grant was obtained. Also in 1921 Rev. R. G. Katsunoff, a Bulgarian, was appointed to this congregation and remained there until 1929.⁶⁵ It is in the context of another significant development in the religious life in Winnipeg that all of these events concerning the Ukrainians were taking place. That was the formation of the United Church.

During the early 1920’s, the Synod of Manitoba was concerning itself with the

approaching conclusion of church union between the Methodist, Presbyterian (although a portion of the Presbyterians would not unite) and Congregational churches. It was believed that the unification of these three denominations into one church would solve most of the problems of the work with immigrants. The Synod of Manitoba of the Presbyterian Church in Canada confirmed this when it passed the following resolution in 1922:

...The problems—political, social, educational, religious—arising from the presence of so large a proportion of non-English speaking people in Canada in the upbuilding of our national life, are so grave, so complex and so pressing, as to demand the thought and action of a United Protestant Canadian Church, and every effort toward the realization of such a church should be earnestly made. Denominational Churches can never deal successfully with these great national problems...⁶⁶

Until this union could come about, however, the church work carried on in the same manner. Reports as usual described Home Mission work including Ukrainian work such as the report of Deaconess Miss Keith, who outlined “her work in the Ukrainian Mission in north Winnipeg in a very interesting manner.”⁶⁷ But in fact interest in Presbyterianism among Ukrainians declined. The amalgamation of the Independent Greek Church with the Presbyterian Church in 1913 had not resulted in the expected “care for the religious interests” of the Ukrainians nor did this amalgamation “enable them to become more rapidly and more completely a homogeneous element in the Canadian nation” as Rev. Charles Gordon had believed in 1912.⁶⁸

Rev. Theodore Bay described what happened in his memoirs from a Ukrainian minister’s experience and knowledge of both movements:

They [Independent Greek Church ministers] were received...by the General

Assembly in June, 1913. At that time nobody dreamed that that important event would be the cause of the catastrophic downfall of the whole movement.⁶⁹

The Ukrainian “Protestants were not well prepared” for the attacks from the “Ukrainian Press - National and Greek Catholic” that “openly attacked the whole work as a deliberate plan to assimilate the Ukrainian people and undermine their national organizations.”⁷⁰ Bay claimed that Roman and Greek Catholics spared no effort “to destroy the Protestant ‘intrigue’ among the Ukrainians in Canada.”⁷¹ He asserted the “ministers in the Independent Protestant Church that had no required academic or theological training”⁷² were ordained, and carried out “their work satisfactorily enough, while serving as priests in the Orthodox Church”.⁷³ However they were “completely lost when it came to introduce and defend the teaching of the Protestant Church.”⁷⁴ Dispersed across Canada the Ukrainian ministers “belonged to his local Presbytery, which was of little help to him in his difficulties. The Church became divided;...each congregation lost from 60% - 70% of its members....Each minister began to introduce his own type of reformation; the congregations protested, rebelled, fought, went to courts to win their cases.”⁷⁵

The Presbyterian Church had its own interpretation for its inability to make progress in their work amongst Ukrainians. While the Presbyterians did not regard the Greek Catholic or Greek Orthodox churches as Christian in the Presbyterian interpretation, still the members of these churches were not atheists, therefore the Presbyterians realized these churches had some value in preventing secularism. They saw the casting off of Ukrainian religions by the young people with the resulting “‘skepticism and atheism’” together with the “‘political and social unrest’” after the war as creating

more ““difficulties with which our missionaries have to contend.””⁷⁶

Presbyterians in 1921 were acknowledging that they were unsuccessful in their work with Ukrainians because they had used the wrong approach. This was not due to ““lack of opportunity, but largely to the lack of a positive constructive message, without which no cause can be permanent and secure.””⁷⁷ By 1924 the Presbyterians also regarded Ukrainian “nationalism” as an impediment to their work.⁷⁸ What they saw was that Ukrainian leaders were encouraging the retention of Ukrainian identity and were succeeding.

While the Presbyterian Church was disappointed in the decline in the spread of Presbyterian evangelism amongst Ukrainians, some Ukrainian Presbyterian ministers who were concerned about retaining Ukrainianness, were also disappointed in this respect and expressed their reasons for this in *K. Ranok* on December 20, 1921.⁷⁹ The blame was put on the fact that the main message from the beginning of the Independent Greek Church in 1903 to 1914 had been against the Catholic and Orthodox churches. But an endless exposure of priestly and other faults did not give the results the Ukrainian evangelical preachers were expecting. Instead some Ukrainian people became indifferent to church matters and faith. Even those who were attending Ukrainian Presbyterian missions showed very little interest in church matters. After eighteen years of missionary work in Canada it could have been expected that there would have been established self-supporting Ukrainian Presbyterian congregations, but this had not happened. The people had to have something constructive and not endless criticisms of their identity, their traditions and the ancestral Ukrainian churches.⁸⁰

To counter this negative approach, the Ukrainian Presbyterian evangelicals of Canada and the United States decided to form the Ukrainian Evangelical Alliance which would unite all Ukrainian evangelicals of North America into one organization. Their main objective was the evangelization of Ukrainians in North American as well as those in Ukraine. This Alliance was founded at a conference in Rochester, New York held March 14 to 16, 1922.⁸¹ Rev. J. Shaver, the Methodist minister from Fort William (now Thunder Bay) attended, as well as Dr. A. J. Hunter of Teulon, who also spoke at the conference.⁸² Clearly, the Protestant leadership had concerns about how this could affect their work in Canada.

Other structural changes began to occur in the early 1920's which reflected the concern of the Presbyterians with their meagre results among Ukrainians. The publication of *Ranok* continued to be financially supported by the Presbyterians after the amalgamation of the Independent Greek Church with the Presbyterian Church. The purpose of the paper was to give the Gospel message in the Ukrainian language to the Ukrainian people; "to interpret the Evangelical Faith" and to describe Canadian life so the readers had a better understanding of their place in Canada.⁸³

In 1920 *Ranok* was amalgamated with the Methodist *Canadian* paper published for Ukrainians. This became the *Canadian Ranok – Kanadiyskyi Ranok* in Ukrainian - and commenced publication as a weekly in October 1920.⁸⁴ The tone of the paper was to be Canadian with the object "to do something to raise the standard of living among the people."⁸⁵ The paper, it was stated:

(1) will inform them regarding Canadian History, Resources, system of

government; (2) will advocate no sectional or denominational interests; (3) will not further any propaganda under the cloak of a language unfamiliar to most of our Canadian citizens; (4) will in a word promote an understanding and appreciation of Canadian Institutions and ideals.⁸⁶

The paper was not to be a strictly religious paper but had the “objective” of “Canadianization of the new people who were coming to Canada”,⁸⁷ a big change from the earlier *Ranok* aim.

Dr. A. J. Hunter was editor of *K. Ranok* from 1920 until his death in 1940. Rev. S. Bychinsky became translator and Assistant Editor, also in 1920.⁸⁸ The paper continued to be published in Winnipeg.

As the editor of *K. Ranok*, Dr. Hunter had a big influence in regard to what he believed was suitable for Canadianization of Ukrainians. His position as editor also gave him prestige in that he would be seen as the most knowledgeable about the Ukrainian people. His knowledge of the Ukrainian language, and his position as medical missionary in Teulon, enabled him to interpret the Ukrainian people to the Presbyterian Church and to Anglo-Saxons in general. Although he befriended the Ukrainians, including the “nationalists”, he never waived from the Presbyterian Church’s stand that Ukrainians had to be assimilated and Presbyterianized.

While the Presbyterian Church worked through the Ukrainian Presbyterian congregation in Winnipeg and Robertson Memorial Church and House to assimilate Ukrainians, one neglected area of service to Ukrainians in Winnipeg by the Presbyterian Church was assistance with real life problems like finding employment. The Methodist Maclean Mission on Alexander Street provided in their new building constructed in 1921

a Boarding House Agency, and Advice and Free Employment Bureaus, while the Maclean Mission worked with the “poorer class” of British immigrants.⁸⁹ An Employment bureau was not provided at Robertson House. This kind of assistance could have been a reality because Rev. Mutchmor was in close contact with business people as he was a member of a “clergy-business men’s group that played basketball and volleyball once or twice a week at the Selkirk Avenue YMCA.”⁹⁰

Being a member of the Ukrainian Presbyterian congregation in Winnipeg did not provide the members with any assistance in finding employment, such as letters of introduction, or even assistance with locating doctors, dentists or lawyers who could provide services at reasonable fees. Besides worshipping in an evangelical manner, there seemed to be no benefits for Ukrainians in being members of the Ukrainian Presbyterian Church. For example, it was not necessary to be a member of Robertson Memorial Church to participate in the activities at the Church and Robertson House.

The Presbyterian Church believed that the work that had to be done to Canadianize and evangelize immigrants and settlers like Ukrainians, would be better accomplished by uniting their Church, the Methodists, and Congregationalists into one denomination. A new era was being created by the formation of the United Church of Canada in June 1925. The new church certainly would have an impact on the Ukrainian Presbyterians. After all they were involved as members in Winnipeg. But what would happen to them in the process? Would they be invited to express an opinion? Would they be consulted on the inauguration? How would they be treated in this creation of a new church? Would they be consulted? This was a splendid opportunity for the Presbyterians

to show their care and concern for the Ukrainians who had been with them since 1903 - twenty-two years. In this Canadian institution, all of the hurts and wrongs could be forgotten, and a new way begun.

Notes

¹Dombrowsky, *Narys*, 181.

²United Church Archives. Undated, unsigned article on Robertson Memorial Church and House. Winnipeg. Second page has write-ups about different events that happened pertaining to building of Robertson and closing of Robertson, and make mention of the Ukrainian Church. This could be because the Ukrainian Church had an official opening in 1916.

³Dombrowsky, *Narys*, 191-192. Quoted from *Ranok*, October 11, 1916, p. 6.

⁴*Presbytery of Winnipeg Minutes* (1916), 204.

⁵*Presbytery of Winnipeg Minutes* (1917), 230.

⁶*Synod* (1913), 224.

⁷*Presbytery of Winnipeg Minutes* (1917), 273.

⁸R. G. MacBeth, *Our Task in Canada* (Toronto: Westminster Co., 1912), 81.

⁹*Ibid.*, 37.

¹⁰*Ibid.*, 38.

¹¹*Ibid.*, 58.

¹²*Ibid.*

¹³*Ibid.*, 127.

¹⁴Hunter, *A Friendly Adventure*, 34.

¹⁵Cited in Yuzyk, *Ukrainians in Manitoba*, 188.

¹⁶*Ibid.*, 187.

¹⁷*Ibid.*

¹⁸Peter Melnycky, "A Political History of the Ukrainian Community in Manitoba, 1899-1922" (M.A. thesis, University of Manitoba, 1979), especially chapters IX and X, 195-233.

¹⁹Mandryka, *Pivstolittia pratsi ukrainskoho tovarystva Chyitalni Prosvity v Vinnipeg*, 216-217.

²⁰Ibid., 181.

²¹Olender, "The Reaction of the Canadian Presbyterian Church Towards Ukrainian Immigrants (1900-1925)", 64-65.

²²Hunter, *A Friendly Adventure*, 71.

²³Yuzyk, *Ukrainians in Manitoba*, 194.

²⁴Hryniuk, "Pioneer Bishop, Pioneer Times", 21.

²⁵J. W. Stechishin, *Mizh Ukrainsiamy v Kanadi (The Ukrainians in Canada: A Brief Historical Sketch)* (Saskatoon: Ukrainian Self-Reliance League, 1953), 19.

²⁶Ibid.

²⁷Ibid., 20.

²⁸Ibid.

²⁹Odarka Savella Trosky, "A Historical Study of the Development of the Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church of Canada and Its Role in the Field of Education (1918-1964)" (M.Ed. thesis, University of Manitoba, 1965), 38.

³⁰Ibid., 15.

³¹Ibid.

³²Stechishin, *Mizh Ukrainsiamy v Kanadi*, 30-31.

³³Trosky, "A Historical Study of the Development of the Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church of Canada", 15. Here the reference is to the Union of Brest in 1596.

³⁴Ibid., 53.

³⁵Ibid., 65.

³⁶Quoted in Ibid., 70.

³⁷Ibid., 70.

³⁸Ibid., 66.

³⁹Martynowych, "Village Radicals and Peasant Immigrants", 277. See *Ranok*, Sept. 4, April 25, and May 1, 1918 in footnote 102, p. 284.

⁴⁰Yuzyk, *Ukrainians in Manitoba*, 197.

⁴¹Theodore Bay, *The Historical Sketch of the Background and the Beginning of the Protestant Movement Among the Ukrainian People in Canada* (Calgary: Glenbow Archives, unpublished memoirs, 1964), 7.

⁴²D. Doroshenko and Semen Kovbel, eds. *Propamiatna knyha Ukrainskoho narodnoho domu u Vynypegu* (*Memorial Book of the Ukrainian National Home in Winnipeg*) (Winnipeg: Ukrainian National Home in Winnipeg, 1949), 592.

⁴³*U. Holos*, Jan. 17, 1912, No. 3.

⁴⁴Doroshenko and Kovbel, eds. *Propamiatna knyha Ukrainskoho narodnoho domu u Vynypegu*, 593.

⁴⁵*Ibid.*, 594.

⁴⁶*Ibid.*, 122.

⁴⁷Yuzyk, *Ukrainians in Manitoba*, 148.

⁴⁸Hryniuk, "Pioneer Bishop, Pioneer Times", 39.

⁴⁹*Presbytery of Winnipeg Minutes* (1916), 220.

⁵⁰Sawchuk and Mulyk-Lutzyk, *Istoriia Ukrainskoi Hreko-Pravoslavnoi tserkvy v Kanadi*, p. 712. Quoted from *Ukrainian Voice*, January 10, 1917, publishing a letter dated Nov. 20th, 1916, the Synod of Manitoba.

⁵¹*Ibid.*, 713.

⁵²*Synod* (1917), 12.

⁵³Presbytery of Winnipeg, Finance Committee Meeting, Feb. 17, 1919, and *Presbytery of Winnipeg Minutes* (1919), 8.

⁵⁴*Presbytery of Winnipeg Minutes* (1918), 30.

⁵⁵*Presbytery of Winnipeg Minutes* (1917), 273.

⁵⁶*Synod* (1920), 328.

⁵⁷James Ralph Mutchmor, *Mutchmor: The Memoirs of James Ralph Mutchmor* (Toronto: Ryerson Press, 1965), 69.

⁵⁸*Ibid.*, 71.

⁵⁹Ibid.

⁶⁰Robertson Memorial Church and House, *Annual Report* (1920).

⁶¹Robertson Memorial, *Annual Report* (1922).

⁶²Robertson Memorial, *Annual Report* (1920). The CSET program was the forerunner of Tuxis and CGIT.

⁶³Robertson Memorial, *Report to Home Mission Board*, April (1920).

⁶⁴*Presbytery of Winnipeg Minutes* (1921), 226.

⁶⁵Ibid., 228.

⁶⁶*Synod* (1922), 9.

⁶⁷*Synod* (1924), 10.

⁶⁸Gordon, "The Presbyterian Church and Its Missions", 293.

⁶⁹Bay, *The Historical Sketch of the Background and the Beginning of the Protestant Movement Among the Ukrainian People in Canada*, 6.

⁷⁰Ibid.

⁷¹Ibid.

⁷²Ibid.

⁷³Ibid.

⁷⁴Ibid., 7.

⁷⁵Ibid.

⁷⁶J. Agnew Johnston, "The Presbyterian Church and Immigration: The Thrust of The Presbyterian Church in Canada Among Ukrainian and Chinese Immigrants prior to 1925" (B.A. Honours essay, 1975), 41, citing Acts & Proceedings of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in Canada, 1920.

⁷⁷Ibid., 40, citing Acts & Proceedings of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in Canada, 1921.

⁷⁸Ibid., 42, citing Acts & Proceedings of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in Canada, 1924.

⁷⁹Dombrowsky, *Narys*, 219.

⁸⁰*Ibid.*

⁸¹*Ibid.*, 221-223.

⁸²*Ibid.*, pp. 223, [557].

⁸³J. Roberts-Kovalevitch, "*Canadian Ranok*" *Completes Fifty Years of Service*, n.p., n.d., United Church Archives, Winnipeg.

⁸⁴*Ibid.*, and "*Canadian Ranok*", Winnipeg, March 22, 1961, p.1. United Church Archives, Winnipeg.

⁸⁵"*Canadian Ranok*", March 22, 1961, p. 1.

⁸⁶*Ibid.*

⁸⁷*Ibid.*

⁸⁸Presbytery of Winnipeg, United Church of Canada. Excerpt from the Minutes of Meeting of the Winnipeg Presbytery, United Church of Canada, held at Winnipeg, May 11, 1948. Also, *The Manitoba School Journal*, n.p., n.d., in Ukrainian United Church Archives, Winnipeg.

⁸⁹Murphy, *Missions and Settlement Houses in Manitoba, 1880-1930*, 22-23.

⁹⁰Mutchmor, *Memoirs*, 120.

CHAPTER 4

The Ukrainian United Church:

Sowing the Seed of a New Canadian Denomination

The formation of the United Church was not a new idea to its constituent churches. Historically, Presbyterians, Methodists and Congregationalists had earlier set precedents of uniting for various reasons. The Presbyterian Church in Canada had a background of uniting various of its churches to meet the needs of a geographic area or ideology at a particular time.¹ To the Presbyterian leaders in 1875, the distant vision of a Canadian church, that is, even a union of Anglicans, Baptists and even a Roman Catholic contribution, did not seem an impossibility.²

The “union idea” continued in different form between Presbyterians, Methodists and Congregationalists particularly in their co-operation in Home Missions in the West. But in 1900 the view of Dr. William Patrick, Principal of Manitoba College, Winnipeg, was that it would be an easier undertaking “from the practical standpoint to unite the churches than to arrange and enforce any scheme of co-operation...”³

The opportunity for carrying the union idea further, presented itself when customary greetings were brought to the General Conference of the Methodist Church held in Winnipeg in September 1902, from the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church also meeting in Winnipeg at this time. Upholding the belief in the “unity of Christendom, Protestantism and Canadianism,” held by both churches, the Presbyterian representatives G. P. Bryce, Moderator, C. W. Gordon and W. Patrick, principal of

Manitoba College spoke on matters of common interest.⁴ “The similarity between his church and theirs regarding social issues, polity and religious freedom” was pointed out by Bryce.⁵ C. W. Gordon stressed the church’s campaign against “materialism” in the “West.” Dr. Patrick proposed, on his own, that since the two churches had a history of uniting, within their own denomination, they could progress further to “a great national church for Canada.” Following this auspicious beginning a plan towards church union was initiated by the Methodist Conference.⁶

Patrick felt his proposal was “divinely inspired” even though the Presbyterian Church had not approved this, and he believed, “the movement was God’s will for the Canadian church.”⁷ John Mackay determined that the Presbyterian Church itself had the answer to the problem of a large foreign population. The solution was the “Ruthenian experiment”, meaning the Independent Greek Church.

In this experiment the Presbyterian church had taken under its wing a group which had refused to accept the discipline and worship restrictions placed upon them by the French-Canadian Catholic hierarchy in the West. For a number of years, the Presbyterian Church supported them financially and helped to educate their leadership until they adjusted to Canadian life. “We may not be making them Presbyterians,” said Mackay, “but these foreign peoples will become good Canadians not by forgetting or loving less the lands that gave them little, but by loving Canada more.”⁸

He further argued, “If the Ruthenian experiment taught anything...’it is that we ought to look forward to a number of such churches organized from within and federated with some of the stronger denominations, instead of trying to impose the same deadening uniformity upon all peoples.’”⁹

Whether it was the Presbyterians promoting federation or others promoting union

the understanding was the same, that the Presbyterian Church or the proposed “united” church had to be involved with the immigrants so that they would “become good Canadians”. Mackay even envisaged that in order to receive the “best” contribution to the “great Canadian heritage” from the immigrants, ““we must allow the utmost freedom of organization for the expression of every type of religious life, without the dead hand of an omnipotent ecclesiasticism to repress its most sacred promptings.””¹⁰

There was inadequate support for the federation option.¹¹ When the majority of the Presbyterians, and all the Methodist and Congregationalist churches resolved to unite they also “wished to force all immigrants into conformity with Anglo-Saxon Protestant culture” and proposed “uniformity of church organization as a solution.”¹² Mackay disagreed with this attitude, and his moderate position was rejected.

A constant reality for the main Protestant churches was the well-organized Roman Catholic Church. Their large French numbers were quickly supplemented by European immigration including the Ukrainian Greek Catholics, who, however, insisted on retaining their own separate identity. The threat of perceived Catholic strength¹³ increased the impetus towards the ideal of a united Protestant church. Dr. S. D. Chown, the General Superintendent of the Methodist Church, in 1922 described this threat:

“...if Protestantism cannot unite to speak with one voice, the future is not only dark—it is dismal, distracting, and distressing....if I may venture to prophesy, I would say with all conviction that if the major churches of Protestantism cannot unite, the battle which is going on now so definitely for the religious control of our country will be lost within the next few years. I...refer...to the whole movement within Canada in the religious-political realm.”¹⁴

The Joint Union Committee brought the first final draft of the “Basis of Union”

before the Presbyterian assembly in 1909¹⁵ and on this “Basis” the Presbyterian majority, Methodists and Congregationalists actually united on June 10, 1925. The minor revisions of the “Basis” made over the years were finalized in December 1914 and at this meeting the name of the church was decided to be “The United Church of Canada.”¹⁶

The uniting churches resolved in 1923 to progress with the achievement “of union” through “Parliament and the provincial legislatures,” introducing the legislation first in Manitoba.¹⁷

In Manitoba, N. V. Bachynsky, the member for Fisher, was one of the three members who spoke against the bill, largely on the grounds that it was unnecessary.¹⁸ However the legislation was approved without division in March 1924. The unionists were on a righteous crusade for the absolute necessity of uniting the three denominations including the whole Presbyterian Church, under the banner “that they all may be one.”¹⁹ They were fulfilling Christ’s words. In opposition to this, the non-unionists claimed that this was a misinterpretation of the Bible passage because “If Christ here prayed that all His followers might be in one, uniform outward organization, under one central human control, which one?”²⁰ The Presbyterian unionists were determined to consummate the union with or without the opposition.

Fifty years later, the Presbyterian vision of 1875 of a wider union of Canadian churches, finally culminated in Toronto in the

DECLARATION that the Presbyterian Church in Canada, the Congregational Churches of Canada, and the Methodist Church, along with the General Council of Local Union Churches, are now united and constituted as one Church to be designated and known as THE UNITED CHURCH OF CANADA.²¹

The original, non-uniting Presbyterian Church in Canada, now composed of one-third of the number of members before union, still continued as the Presbyterian denomination. The vision of a united Protestant church that would be composed of three denominations in reality split the Presbyterian Church. Moreover great ill-feeling was created before the matter of the use of the name Presbyterian Church in Canada was settled in 1939.²²

In spite of protest and dissension the United Church of Canada was thus born in 1925. With this new church came hopes of a unique and revitalized approach to the Canadian social and religious setting. Every concern of the past could be re-evaluated and tackled in a new way. Unfortunately for Ukrainians in Canada, the biases and assumptions that characterized their earlier Canadian Presbyterian experience continued in the minds of the leaders of the new United Church.

The United Church, as a newly formed Canadian Christian denomination, did not regard Ukrainians in a new or different way. Its attitudes towards assimilation and assimilation programmes did not change from the past. The role of the church as the official assimilators of Ukrainians was never reconsidered. This new church did not set any new criteria or change the model to which Ukrainians were to be assimilated. It was business as usual. With respect to Ukrainians, the United Church attitudes and programmes were a continuation of Presbyterianism and Presbyterian dominance (not to be confused with the separate Presbyterian Church that did not go into union).

In the report presented at the First General Council of The United Church of Canada, in Toronto, Ontario, on June 10, 1925, the Board of Home Missions and Social

Service of the Presbyterian Church reiterated its interpretation that

The Ukrainians grew restless, and together with a general disposition on Canadian soil to break away from past traditionalism, gave opportunity for "The Independent Greek Church Movement," which drew away thousands of people from any definite or vital connection with the Church of Rome. Leaders of the Presbyterian Church fostered this movement, drew a basis of doctrine in the form of a catechism and gave limited instruction to a number of young men who became priests in this new Church venture. Although, in many respects the movement seemed to prove a failure, yet it did make possible a missionary enterprise, which will tax the resources and the most consecrated efforts of the Protestant Churches of Canada. Not alone for the sake of these people themselves must the Gospel be preached, but for the sake of the future welfare of the country.

In 1904 there were twenty-four Ukrainian missionaries in the Greek Independent Church. This number was maintained until 1913, when the whole movement was incorporated in the Presbyterian Church. It was soon found, however, that the limitation of many of the missionaries was so serious as to prevent their undertaking any constructive work. Gradually these have withdrawn until only a few of the original number remain.²³

The new United Church began its work with Ukrainians by looking back to the days of the Independent Greek Church, and its failure in 1913. No consideration was given to what transpired between 1913 and 1925, and no plans for the future were proposed. And the religious liberty so much appreciated by the Presbyterians seems to have been forgotten vis-à-vis the Ukrainians.

In addition to the aforementioned situation there were United Church ministers involved with Ukrainians in Winnipeg who were powerful, aggressive Presbyterian advocates of union. If necessary they would resort to strong tactics. These were: Rev. Charles Gordon author of the 1909 novel, *The Foreigner*, Rev. J. R. Mutchmor, minister of Robertson Memorial Church and Superintendent of Robertson House, and Rev. J. A.

Cormie, Superintendent of Home Missions, Presbyterian Church, Synod of Manitoba.²⁴

The new United Church, with strong Presbyterian characteristics and leaders seemed now omnipotent!

While the whole Canadian Methodist Church went into the union, its presence did not have a mellowing effect. Prior to 1925 the Presbyterians and Methodists co-operated in their work with Ukrainians in home mission fields, and the Methodists supported Presbyterian attitudes: "...the two denominations, after locating and surveying these settlements, divided the territory between them...by given areas within the various provinces. This enabled a more wise construction of hospitals, community work, etc."²⁵

In North End Winnipeg the Methodist All Peoples' Mission and Presbyterian Robertson House and Church continued their work in the same way after the Union, with no noticeable differences. The Presbyterian Church in the new attire of The United Church, was a large consolidated force against Ukrainian church denominations.

The United Church continued to finance the *K. Ranok* the same way as the Presbyterian church had done. The formation of the United Church in Canada in June 1925 should have received coverage from the Ukrainian congregation's perspective because they had become the Ukrainian United Church. Curiously, the inaugural service of the union of the three Protestant churches did not rate front-page coverage in what was now the United Church's *K. Ranok*. There had been some earlier news reports about the impending union, one of which had noted that the strength of the Catholic Church, despite its lower level of morality, resided in its being one, whereas the Protestants were weak because of their division into separate bodies.²⁶ Now *K. Ranok* contented itself with a

skeletal write-up on page 4 giving an overview of the churches that were uniting.²⁷

K. Ranok in 1925 and for years thereafter, as already noted, was edited by Dr. J. A. Hunter, the Teulon medical missionary, with S. Bychinsky, a Presbyterian/United Church pastor, as Ukrainian assistant editor and translator. Hunter was clearly in control. He seems to have liked military terminology in his references to the Presbyterian Church's work among Ukrainians: "Our mission work did not always mean peace, but I do not regret the warfare".²⁸ He recalled the "fierce, old fighting days" of his earlier work with *Ranok*; as editor in the mid-1920s, he "found the thunders of war still rumbling, though there were now various armies in the field".²⁹

Among the battles fought by *K. Ranok* in the 1920s was an ongoing one against ritualism. The "cult of the cross", as a relic from the early days of Christianity, was likened to "superstitious pagan worship",³⁰ and its current use was seen as a prelude to "the fulfillment of some kind of wickedness".³¹ For Ukrainians generally, however, the altar and the cross were the symbols of the Christian religion and even Ukrainian evangelical churches had crosses on their steeples.³²

Other issues concerned the belief in purgatory, which *K. Ranok* attributed to Catholics and Orthodox alike, and the Second Commandment's injunction against graven images.³³ Ignoring the earlier conclusion that fault-finding and negative criticism of Ukrainian traditions and ancestral faiths should be ended,³⁴ Hunter allowed the correspondence section of the newspaper to be used to perpetuate the belief that the Ukrainian Catholic and Ukrainian Orthodox Churches were not truly Christian. Given that the majority of the Ukrainian settlers were not highly educated nor equipped to probe

church doctrines, it is quite possible that many of the “letters to the editor” were written by pastors or even by the editors themselves, and not by rural settlers from Alberta or Saskatchewan. Their objectives were to preach Presbyterian evangelism and to discredit the traditions of the Catholic and Orthodox churches. Practices that were attacked throughout 1925 included ritualism, the veneration of icons, auricular confession, the celibacy of Catholic priests, the adoration of the cross, and the use of candles. One letter, signed merely “A Christian”, asked “What should be done with a Drunkard Priest?”; in his response the editor likened a priest of the ancestral religions to a ticket agent of the Canadian Pacific Railway, selling tickets to heaven.³⁵

The strongest polemics, however, were in 1925 directed against the Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church and its agencies. This was because Hunter credited what he termed “the Ukrainian National Church”, a “subsidiary” of “the Nationalist party among the Ukrainians”, with making “great headway, especially among the younger Ukrainians”.³⁶ The Orthodox were therefore strong competition. One example of *K. Ranok*’s style must here suffice: In April 1925 the editor of *U. Holos*, a paper associated with the Orthodox Church, was described as a man suffering from a persecution mania who “defends the Orthodox Church and her foulness with all the zealotry of a Middle Ages fanatic, but even a Middle Ages fanatic could do without the kind of wild lies” which he employed.³⁷

Hunter and his associate editor, Bychinsky, evidently could not resist stirring up such controversies. The latter was well informed about Winnipeg’s Ukrainian community, for he had connections with Winnipeg’s Ukrainian National Home and the

Ukrainian Fraternal Society, and was on friendly terms with some of the “nationalists” for whom Hunter had such antipathy.³⁸ Bychinsky’s position here was ambiguous, to say the least, for he seems to have acted in this respect principally as Hunter’s informant.

K. Ranok was the only Ukrainian-language evangelical newspaper in the world. However, its content was aimed at western Canada. It was an eight-page weekly which described itself as a Ukrainian Family Weekly. There was no mention of who financed the paper, nor were its editor and assistant editor named. Paradoxically for the medium of a Church that wishes to further the Canadianization of the Ukrainian settlers, and despite its earlier intentions,³⁹ nothing was written in 1925 about such issues as citizenship, elections, education, government, or Canadian laws and institutions. *K. Ranok* did, however, give a weekly listing of prices of farm products. The only indication that there was a Winnipeg Ukrainian Presbyterian/United Church congregation were the notices stating that services were held every Sunday at 11 a.m. and 7:30 p.m., and announcements when visiting Ukrainian preachers held a lecture series.

Presbyterian evangelical teaching formed the basis for *K. Ranok*’s message. This was combined with an emphasis on the rightness of Presbyterian worship as compared to the Ukrainian ancestral religions, which in turn led to derogatory descriptions of the alleged practices of the latter. Thus *Ranok/K. Ranok* served as a vehicle by which the Presbyterians, and later the United Church, could undermine and discredit the Ukrainian churches, and could do this under the guise of a religious message that was attempting to raise the moral level of Ukrainians in Canada. One may doubt whether the outcome was what had been expected by the Presbyterians.

The Ukrainian population in Winnipeg was a concentrated focal point of the policies of the United Church of Canada. The historical Independent Greek Church, and later Ukrainian Presbyterian Church, became the Ukrainian United Church after union. But although the attitudes of the parent body were simply a carry-over from the past, the Ukrainian United Church breathed a life unique to itself.

From 1925 to 1933 the separate congregation was committed to the principles and obligations of the United Church of Canada. This new church was more of a political rearrangement of the past, rather than a completely new entity. In spite of this reality, both the Ukrainian congregation and the United Church itself began with an optimism that prevailed over all activities. The best way to see this optimism is to look closely at the details of the Ukrainian United Church and its activities between the years 1925-1933. These events involve the day-to-day life of the congregation, as well as its interaction with Robertson Memorial and the general historical setting surrounding it.

Church union brought many changes with it. The Ukrainian United Church was brought into closer ties with existing Anglo-Saxon religious institutions. Robertson Memorial was one such institution. Early into union, Robertson Memorial church embraced the possibilities which came with it. The *Robertson Record* paper came into existence to provide news about Robertson Church and Institute, Winnipeg, covering the work of every club and class so there would be greater unity of the work as a whole. The first issue appeared in February 1925. A little later it was renamed *Robertson Broadcaster*. The May 1925 issue stated that Robertson Memorial Presbyterian Church was a union congregation.

In our membership we have Presbyterians, Methodists, Anglicans, Congregationalists, Baptists and others. We all worship and work together. The church property is held under the Church & Manse Board and so belongs to the common property of the Church. There is no doubt but that this property will go into the United Church.

Our desire and hope is that there may be no division in our congregation. There is no need for it. Our work must be a neighbourhood work. It must unite every force that makes for righteousness. United we stand, divided we fall. Truly in Robertson Memorial we may say "In union there is strength".⁴⁰

In the spirit of communal action and mutual recognition Robertson Memorial made outreach to the Ukrainian congregation. In addition to covering its own unique affairs the *Robertson Broadcaster* also gave attention to the Ukrainian mission and its various activities. One example involved the Robertson Fresh Air Camp at Gimli, Manitoba, which was into its fourteenth year of camp programs. The Ukrainian group was one of those expected to participate in the holiday by the lake.⁴¹

After being deaconess at the Presbyterian Ukrainian Mission for over six years, Miss A. M. Keith left on August 3, 1925, for "similar work in Oshawa, Ontario."⁴² Taking her place at the Ukrainian Mission was Deaconess Miss Jessie A. McKenzie commencing September 1, and the *Broadcaster* noted hopefully, "When at the Jewish Mission a few years ago Miss McKenzie made many friends, and her return to this neighborhood will be welcomed."⁴³

The *Broadcaster* even went as far as to report on the activities of the Ukrainian church. In December 1925, the "Ukranian" [sic] United Canadian Girls in Training (CGIT) heard a presentation by a Miss McArthur who had lately returned from Japan and spoke on her work in the "Foreign Field". The girls were pleased and looked forward to

another visit from her.⁴⁴ In the same issue, included in the Home Mission work of the United Church of Canada, was a notice about the publication of a Ukrainian weekly newspaper.⁴⁵

As one can see, Robertson Memorial embraced its position as a church dedicated to union. In doing this they held on to the Ukrainian activities, and reported them in the *Broadcaster* as their own. The newly united Protestant Churches warmly embraced each other, and in this case specifically accepted the Ukrainian congregation as one of their own. Assimilation continued in the acts and measures that were reported. The Ukrainian United Church itself was an ideal target for the unionists which surrounded it. In spite of this presence, the Ukrainian United Church continued to take small steps towards what they believed to be their own authentic religious institution.

The active integration of the Ukrainians into the new United Church must not overshadow the internal life of the Ukrainian congregation. The historical significance of this ethnic church was centred in its day-to-day activities and how it took root in the new post 1925-union historical setting.

The Ukrainian United Church was active at its own location at Pritchard Avenue and McGregor Street. When necessary some of its activities were conducted at Robertson Memorial Church and House, four blocks away. One such example was a Ukrainian concert which took place on Ukrainian Christmas Day (January 7, 1926) at Robertson Church. It was very well received.⁴⁶ The gracious exchanges between these two churches continued in many ways. The Ukrainian minister even took part in some of Robertson's events. In November 1927, Rev. Katsunoff spoke and sang at a special service for young

people at Robertson House.⁴⁷ This history of cooperation is integral to understanding both the United Church's general aims, as well as the future of both churches. However, in spite of these social graces and overtures, the Ukrainian United Church still maintained its own independent life at this time.

It is difficult to separate financial concerns from the day-to-day activities of the Ukrainian congregation. Its records reveal the ongoing basic concern to raise enough money to meet the financial demands of the congregation itself and the requirements of the larger United Church infrastructure. From Sunday school to church organizations, monetary concerns figure quite prominently.

The Minutes of the Ukrainian United Church begin with the annual meeting on March 24, 1927, and are written in Ukrainian. It is interesting to note that the minutes are written under the title of the Ukrainian Evangelical Church in Winnipeg. Although this was after church union in 1925, and the Ukrainian congregation was under the jurisdiction of the United Church, they continued to regard their church as first and foremost an evangelical one. All in all, the minutes for this meeting are quite superficial and provide no great insight into the events of 1927. A better picture of that year is provided by the minutes of the 1928 annual meeting.

As reported at the 1928 annual meeting, 1927 was not as progressive a year as 1926.⁴⁸ A debt of \$57.17 was carried over from 1927 to 1928⁴⁹ In spite of this loss the Ukrainian United Church still managed to send over \$300.00 to Toronto as its required portion for the mission budget of the United Church.⁵⁰ One can only speculate that this amount was the contribution which The United Church had impressed in 1927, that is--

\$150.00 to the Missionary and Maintenance Fund⁵¹ and \$150.00 to the Maintenance and Extension Fund.⁵² Due to the use of different sources it is difficult to confirm that indeed these donations are one and the same.

The minutes of the 1928 annual meeting also provide a picture of an active and vibrant Ukrainian United Church congregation. Particularly active was the Sunday school—as reported by its secretary, Mrs. E. Reid—with about 80 students and eight leaders/teachers.⁵³ One successful aspect of the school was its fund-raising activities. Between March and December of 1927 the Mission collection was made on the first Sunday every month and totalled \$14.18. The teachers of Sunday School were the ones contributing to the fund. Most of them were committed to and supported other congregations, yet they donated their money, time, effort and even paid their own way for the streetcar in coming to the Ukrainian congregation.⁵⁴ Deaconess MacKenzie donated \$9.00 of the \$14.00 for mission work.⁵⁵ Both the children and their parents were encouraged to participate and attend the church and its activities regularly. The parents were asked to allow their children to give offering money even by pennies because pennies make dollars.⁵⁶ The children's institutions were quite active and obviously integral to the activity of the Ukrainian congregation.

The 1928 minutes further state that Mrs. Reid, after an association of over seven and a half years with the Ukrainian congregation, was very happy when she was greeted by the girls that she knew before and liked on her return from another assignment.⁵⁷ There were 27 girls in C.G.I.T. This was the largest number of members ever and Miss MacKenzie was singled out for credit for this increase. A few other minor points were

raised at the meeting, such as The Mother's Club income being \$73.10; a purchase of Books of Praise was made; and Miss Kushner reported on the vacation school.⁵⁸

The year 1928 brought with it two other notable occurrences. The first was an executive meeting called in December. At that meeting it was agreed to collect \$100.00 for evangelical work in Ukraine.⁵⁹ The financial status of the church and its members was such that a collection like this was a distinct possibility. This year also brought with it the news that Rev. Katsunoff would be leaving the congregation in April 1929. It is unclear as to the date of the meeting regarding this development, but at some point in 1928 the church congregation held a meeting to name a new preacher, and Rev. Eustace was elected.⁶⁰

Overall, the first year of officially recorded minutes shows that the Ukrainian United Church was a financially sound and viable operation. The congregation itself led an independent life, yet was still connected in many ways to Robertson Memorial, and of course to the United Church as a whole.

Rev. Katsunoff chaired the following annual meeting on February 3, 1929. On a financial level 1928 was a splendidly successful year. Yet in addition to the stable monetary position, Rev. Katsunoff underscored the fact that progress was not simply a matter of finances. Here he was referring to the increase in membership from other nationalities, such as three Czechoslovaks and one "Hollander." Katsunoff went on to say that this multicultural development was the way it should be, because in Christ there were no different nationalities.⁶¹

In addition to this growth in membership the aforementioned strong financial

position is worth noting. The total income for 1928 was \$561.99 including \$99.54 for evangelical work in Ukraine. The previous year's deficit of \$57.17 was paid off, and other costs were: caretaker \$47.50; fuel \$43.00, lights \$10.00; Presbytery Fund \$10.00; Mission Fund Budget \$200.00; evangelical work in Ukraine \$100.00; and various small expenses \$29.35.⁶² The total expenditure of 1928 was \$497.72, which meant that, unlike the previous year, the Ukrainian United Church had a remainder of \$64.27.⁶³ Significantly, the church itself was not only viable, but prosperous enough to hold a surplus at year's end.

As Rev. Katsunoff would be leaving in April 1929, the annual meeting provided a suitable setting for the congregation to formally address his departure. After teaching the Ukrainian congregation for seven years, they were sorry that he was leaving to take over the Church of all Nations, Montreal.⁶⁴

The activities within the church congregation continued in a healthy manner. The Sunday School remained quite strong with seven teachers, but its enrollment dropped to 37 students. The Sunday School was closed in September due to the outbreak of infantile paralysis, which also led to a smaller monetary collection. The congregation saw some growth in C.G.I.T. with a total membership of 37 girls, 10 more than the previous year. The minutes reported some church outreach work which involved sending money to sick members.⁶⁵

The year 1928 was a historically momentous one for the Ukrainian Evangelical Church in Winnipeg for it marked its twenty-five year anniversary. Originally a motion was made to write a small history of the church, but that motion was replaced with Rev.

Katsunoff's motion to print a small booklet as a report on the church with pictures of all church groups.⁶⁶

The Ukrainian United Church booklet was published in 1929, and consisted of seventeen pages. This source provides a valuable insight into the way the congregation saw itself. Curiously, there was no mention in the booklet that 1928 was the twenty-five year anniversary of the Ukrainian Evangelical Church in Winnipeg, nor was there any history given of this Ukrainian Church in particular. The purpose of the booklet was "to show something of the effort put forth in one small corner of Winnipeg for the bringing of God's Kingdom into the heart of the non-Anglo-Saxon."⁶⁷ The greatest task for Canada was unity, and "unfounded prejudices against the Newcomers" were to be done away with, as were the barriers that divided people.⁶⁸ More than anything the booklet stressed the fact that this congregation was a United Church mission, and downplayed the Ukrainianness of the congregation.

The booklet in fact exemplifies a tension between the United Church as an institution of Canadianization and the non-Anglo-Saxon character of the Ukrainians. The officially published anniversary booklet ignored the twenty-five year history of a uniquely Ukrainian evangelical Protestant church, one that had a distinctly Ukrainian character with a church building constructed in a Ukrainian architectural style. The minutes of 1928 were all written in Ukrainian. To describe this church merely as a United Church mission negated its history and did a disservice to the congregation. The tension between these two social threads remained palpable, and continued unresolved.

The content of the booklet itself painted a picture of a thriving church:

During the last five years we welcomed 88 members into the communion of our Church. Seventy-eight of these were received on profession of faith. During this period we oversubscribed our allocation twice and doubled our last year's share. Besides meeting our current Church expenses, we were able to do some relief work and have started the New Year with a good showing on the right side of the ledger.⁶⁹

There was no mention in the booklet when Sunday services were held, nor was there any mention if the Ukrainian language was used.

As to the organizations in the congregation, the booklet did a fair job of presenting them in a very positive light. In 1929 the church contained various groups with active memberships, such as: The Young People's Society—35 members; Sunday School—106 pupils—10 teachers—(8 Anglo-Saxon and 2 Ukrainian names); The Mission Band—30 children; CGIT—36 girls. In addition to official clubs the church also supported other activities, such as a Story Hour; a Bible Class; a Scout Troop for three successive years; a Mothers' Club; and a Choir—which held many concerts and plays.⁷⁰ On a historical note the booklet stated that in 1929 the Ukrainian deaconess, Miss Dorothy N. Kushner, at the Ukrainian United Church was the first Ukrainian deaconess in Canada.⁷¹ Of course the deaconess played a fundamental role in maintaining the activities of the congregation.

Once again the inter-racial nature of the church was stressed to try and make the church appear that "national differences" were being overcome. The Church was composed mainly of Ukrainian people, with a few other Slavic members and one "Hollander". The minister, of Bulgarian origin, believed this was the way it should be, because "The surest way of forgetting our national differences is the way of Jesus."⁷² But he also emphasized that the task before this Church was "to gather together a group of

Ukrainians, who filled with the spirit of the Master, will spread the glad news of salvation”⁷³ in the North End of Winnipeg. The tension between appealing to the ideal of Canadianization and remaining solely fixated on Ukrainians in Winnipeg points again to the competing goals and aims of the congregation, of its minister and of the greater church which controlled it.

Rev. Katsunoff and his wife left for Montreal in March 1929, after eight years at the Ukrainian United Church.⁷⁴ The newly elected Rev. E. Eustace took over his work. As the year progressed a joint board decided that when the cold weather had set in, in the fall, the Ukrainian United Congregation would use Robertson Church.⁷⁵ This sharing of resources, as it occurred in the past and in the present, would set an example for future work bringing the two churches together quite intimately.

It must be noted that, simultaneously with the vitality of the Ukrainian congregation, the United Church continued in its own way to work towards solidifying its place in the Canadian social fabric. The work at Robertson Memorial Church and House continued to expand, with “the primary aim of building Christian character, and developing Good Canadian Christian Citizens.”⁷⁶ By blurring the lines between religious proselytization and assimilation, the United Church, specifically Robertson Memorial in this case, reinforced their antagonistic position towards the ethnically unique Ukrainian Congregation. In the eyes of Robertson Memorial “no barriers of national or racial differences and no distinction of language and custom can prevent the fine influence of personal loyalty and devotion as expressed in Christian service.”⁷⁷ As one can see, the Ukrainian congregation faced a larger church that was obviously indifferent to its cultural

roots. The stage was set for discord between the two camps who were opposed in aims and goals.

Robertson Memorial, and the United church infrastructure that it represented, were formidable antagonists. The aggregate annual attendance at Robertson was 105,250 in 1929.⁷⁸ An overview of the 1929 Annual Report of Robertson Memorial shows that it was a very active and large Christian organization:

Daily attendance - 288; 8 staff, 53 volunteers; religious services, 9; clubs, 25; Swastikas-Stronghearts classes, 30; Kindergarten Sessions, 10; CGIT Groups, 11; Gym Periods, 26; Playtime, 2. Net membership 1860. Ukrainian Girls; Queen Mary Club; Marigold Sewing Club; Queen Mary Sewing Club; Mens' Club; Library, the only branch of the Public Library in North Winnipeg. Doors open from 8 a.m. until 10 and 11 p.m. every day of the week. Sunday School enrollment of more than 450 scholars with 35 teachers and officers...Ladies' Aid and Women's Missionary Society combined in the Ladies' Friendly Society...⁷⁹

The proposed move of activities to Robertson placed the Ukrainian groups and clubs in the middle of an organization which was, by its own admission, not only indifferent to its cultural position, but also fully aimed at the Canadianization of all immigrants.

Assimilation was the intent, and the United Church's religious missionary work was the means to achieve that goal. From early integration of the Ukrainian Congregation's activities into the *Robertson Broadcaster*, to the proposed moving over of some of their activities, the Ukrainians were being drawn closer in, completely in stride with an assimilatory program that they were not fully aware of. The decision to move some activities over to Robertson was the first indication that a more decisive and final physical move was being considered.

For the Ukrainian congregation 1929 was not as successful a year as 1928. At the

Annual Meeting on January 19, 1930, the treasurer's report showed a big loss for 1929. It was a very hard year, yet the church still had \$6.00 left as profit. The annual meeting focussed on the topic of raising more money.⁸⁰ No doubt the beginning of the Depression was having some impact.

An extraordinary meeting was called on February 1, 1930. Eight members were present along with Pastor Eustace, who led the prayer, after which a hymn was sung. The meeting centred around the need to fill various positions on the church executive. The first was that of secretary, because Deaconess Miss Kushner (who wrote fluently in Ukrainian) was being transferred to another mission location. Mr. Stadnyk was elected in her place. As well, a new vice-president of the congregation was elected. Still other members of the church were elected to look after the sick and the guests that came to church. On a general business level it was resolved that, beginning in March, the monthly meetings would take place the first Tuesday of each month.⁸¹

The next monthly meeting of the Ukrainian United Church was held on March 2, 1930. As good managers of their church it was decided that the church needed to be painted. It was resolved that they would paint the church themselves if the Mission Board did not agree to help.⁸² A number of members promised to wash the supports. Three members were elected as delegates to the Mission Board in this matter. This self-motivated move shows that members were of independent mind in matters that directly involved their congregation. In another issue similar independence was demonstrated. Two attempts were made on the congregation's part to terminate Pastor Eustace's tenure. The first took place at an executive meeting on June 2, 1930, which was called to try and

resolve some misunderstandings that had arisen between the congregation and the pastor.⁸³ After going a long time, it was carried over to June 9.

It was at this meeting that members of the Ukrainian United Church invited Pastor Eustace to move to another congregation because they felt that he was not suitable for missionary work and that his sermons were not spiritual enough.⁸⁴ Mr. Eustace told them that he could not do this. Giving the Pastor another chance, the executive decided to allow him six months to address their concerns. A postscript to the minutes states the meeting was not legal because it was called by the authority of the president, and therefore the discussions did not have any weight.⁸⁵ After only fourteen months with their new pastor, some members of the congregation were unhappy and this tension would stay for some years. This first effort was resolved by the congregation giving the Minister the benefit of the doubt, while the second conflict within would be handled in an entirely different manner.

In the United Church's and Robertson Memorial's perspective great changes were happening in North Winnipeg. The Ukrainian congregation was a party to these developments. Rev. Mutchmor, the minister of Robertson Memorial Church, Superintendent of Robertson House from 1920, and editor of the *Robertson Broadcaster*, was pleased to inform the Robertson readership in 1930 that

Protestantism was on the advance in North Winnipeg, because the evangelical Lutheran congregation, who had worshipped in the Ukrainian mission school room for some years were erecting a new church on the corner of McKenzie and Church Streets.⁸⁶

The Ukrainian congregation was right on the front line of the growth of Protestant

worship. Not only were they members of the United Church, but they also helped the Lutheran church. This interfaith work was another example of the blurring of national and cultural lines for the sake of Protestant advances and the corresponding growth of a Canadianizing influence. This growth would soon bring changes to the Ukrainian congregation itself.

The summer brought with it a personnel change. Miss Ruth Lanigan was appointed to the Ukrainian Mission as Deaconess in August 1930 replacing Miss D. Kushner.⁸⁷ This appointment is noteworthy due to the role she would play in the upcoming changes to the Ukrainian congregation.

One very significant development, that was not recorded in the minutes of the Ukrainian United Church, was the fact that the church transferred some of its activities to Robertson Memorial in October 1930:

After some years of consideration it has been decided to transfer the week day activities of the Ukrainian [*sic*] Mission to Robertson Church. Rev. E. Eustace and Miss Lanigan have completed almost all the necessary arrangements, and during the month are commencing with the new plan. We are glad to welcome the members from our sister mission and we trust they will find the accommodation satisfactory.⁸⁸

A further welcome was extended to the Ukrainians later in the year. The November issue of the *Broadcaster* stated: "This year we welcome the various week day organizations of the Ukrainian Evangelical United Church. They are using the basement of the Church on three afternoons and evenings of the week."⁸⁹ Even on the level of sports the Ukrainian congregation was being drawn into Robertson Memorial's sphere of influence. The Ukrainian Mission Girls basketball team was part of the sports activities at Robertson

House.⁹⁰ In none of these reports was the necessity for transferring the week day activities of the Ukrainian congregation to Robertson ever explained.

The different attitudes surrounding this event are clear. On the one hand the move was important enough to the United Church to be mentioned twice in the *Robertson Broadcaster*. In contrast to this, the Ukrainian congregation itself never even mentioned this fact in their minutes. The different treatment between the two sides was another example of their differing perspectives and outlooks.

The booklet edited by Rev. Katsunoff in 1929 presented the Ukrainian United Church as very active with nine different organizations carrying on their activities at their primary location. Therefore it is very difficult to understand the aforementioned move on a practical level. To fully comprehend its significance one must turn to the fact, already developed in this thesis, that the United Church had a history of downplaying the uniqueness of the Ukrainian congregation. In its formal publication the United Church stressed the official, multi-racial and Canadian aspects of the Ukrainian congregation, over the latter's distinctly ethnic character. The move of activities to Robertson Memorial reflected this tension. With the Ukrainians more directly associated with an Anglo-Saxon stronghold like Robertson, it was definite that a Canadianizing influence would take hold.

According to the United Church itself the connection between the church activities and the church itself was close. Rev. J. R. Mutchmor described his method of bringing people into Robertson Church:

Though no pressure was exerted among members of the clubs and classes at Robertson House, every opportunity to show the link that should be made between week-day activity and Sunday worship and Sunday school,

was used in a constructive way.⁹¹

As the Ukrainian congregation's activities were already taking place in Robertson Memorial's basement three afternoons and evenings of the week, it was just a matter of going up the stairs and this congregation would be part of Robertson Church. The link was easy to make. This could have been the initial big step in the plan to liquidate the Ukrainian congregation at a separate location. In view of the competing goals and tensions, this explanation seems the most plausible. As the years to come would show, this original partial move would be the first in a slide towards total integration with Robertson Memorial Church.

Financially 1930 was a successful year. At a meeting on December 10, 1930, the pastor announced that the requirements for the Mission fund were fulfilled. This was due to the fact that the Ukrainian Mission Hall was rented to the Czech Mission.⁹² This was a matter of sharing resources between two Protestant Church missions. Obviously the Ukrainian congregation had control over their church hall and decided on their own what to do with it. Obviously also the Ukrainians were capable of co-operating with other groups.

At a meeting on March 13, 1931, Pastor Eustace informed the church executive that the Mission Executive of the United Church 1931 quota for his congregation was \$200.00. This amount was to be collected in the joint treasury, after which it was to be deposited in the Mission Executive's account.⁹³ As a responsible congregation, the Ukrainian United Church took on this financial duty and set out to work fulfilling its obligations.

The work of collecting the funds to cover its Missionary obligations got off to a progressive start. A meeting on March 31, 1931, showed that already \$130.00 had been saved.⁹⁴ One slight inconsistency appears in the minutes, in that at this meeting it was noted that the congregation and its clubs were obligated to give a combined amount of \$250.00 to the Mission Account. Although the difference was unexplained, it can be concluded that these two figures represent a range for their quota. Their Mission fund quota for 1932 was \$250.00 which was consistent with the 1931 range.⁹⁵ The question arose, how to collect the still-needed \$120.00 over the remainder of the year.

One interesting development at this meeting was the fact that the Ukrainian congregation had rented its hall out to the Ukrayinska Striletska Hromada (the Ukrainian War Veterans' Association which was established in 1928).⁹⁶ For this rental the church received \$30.00. One can look at this as merely a financial arrangement, yet nonetheless the Ukrainian congregation had connections with Ukrainian nationalist organizations and had control over rental arrangements for their hall. Again the Ukrainianness of the people involved in this United Church mission surfaces.

The Ukrainian congregation was successful enough to maintain its own staff to help in the upkeep of both its church and mission hall. The executive of the church decided, at the March 31, 1931, meeting to renew the status of the maintenance assistant for the church, his remuneration taking the form of free rent.⁹⁷

A new method of fund-raising was proposed at the March 31, 1931, meeting. The executive decided to begin the distribution of envelopes for the collection in the church. Trusting that this new approach would lead to greater revenue, a three-member "Envelope

distribution committee" was formed.⁹⁸

The next annual meeting occurred on January 24, 1932. In spite of the fact that there was widespread unemployment, Pastor Eustace maintained that the mission work was progressing well. He also reported that the church congregation was able to meet its Mission fund quota.⁹⁹ Evidently, the church had been able to make up the \$120.00 difference noted earlier.

In terms of congregational life at the Ukrainian United Church, the church executive meeting on March 13, 1932, marked a new situation. Pastor Eustace explained that this was the first time that all organizations were taking part in the discussions of mission activity. The church and its organizations were growing together, first and foremost on a financial level. This activity and collective purpose would help reinforce the financial and spiritual separateness of the Ukrainian congregation, as well as enable it to fulfill the 1932 Mission fund quota of \$250.00.¹⁰⁰

The celebration of the thirtieth anniversary of the founding of the evangelical church in Winnipeg was first discussed at a church executive meeting on June 25, 1932. Pastor Eustace believed that this celebration should be impressive. A committee of three, including the pastor, was formed to investigate possibilities for the celebration, including both the date and the program for the anniversary celebration.¹⁰¹ Unlike the twenty-fifth anniversary, this celebration was to start off acknowledging the historical evangelical roots of the Ukrainian Congregation. This was an important fact to consider when comparing both celebrations.

The Ukrainian United Church had a great deal to celebrate. It was an active and

self-sufficient congregation with an independent life. Not only did the Ukrainians believe this, but so did the United Church of Canada. The United Church put out a cardboard wall calendar for the year 1933, with sketches of their institutions in Winnipeg. In their own words they likened their efforts towards non-Anglo-Saxons to that of “...First-Century Christianity in action.”¹⁰² A sketch of the Ukrainian Mission was included, which illustrated the large centre dome with the Ukrainian Orthodox three-bar cross on top of it (a fundamentally non-Protestant style of architecture.) The description of the work carried on here was:

The Ukrainian Mission has a membership of 104 and a very active Sunday School of 100. The Young People’s Society, Adult and Children’s Clubs make it a busy place throughout the week. This mission has given to the church three ministers and a deaconess. Rev. E. Eustace is pastor.¹⁰³

Indeed the picture of a vibrant and dynamic congregation is undeniable. Yet it must be noted that this description does not capture the tensions surrounding it. The fact that the congregation carried on its business in Ukrainian was never mentioned. The calendar omitted the almost thirty-year history of the Ukrainian evangelical church, much like the officially published information booklet of 1929. Even while it was a mission church of the United Church of Canada, the church was successful and able to meet its financial obligations, yet it was also uniquely Ukrainian. The character of the Ukrainian congregation continued to conflict with the United Church’s goal of Canadianization.

Throughout this period the United Church held steadfastly to its role as stewards of Canadianization. During this time an opportunity presented itself that would greatly benefit the United Church in its promotion of Canadian Christianity among Ukrainians.

In 1929 the Immigration Division of the Canadian National Committee for Mental Hygiene decided to conduct a special study on Ukrainians. Its investigator Mr. C. H. Young, asked Rev. J. M. Shaver, Superintendent of the United Church's All Peoples' Mission, Winnipeg, to recommend someone who spoke Ukrainian to be his assistant and interpreter. Shaver suggested Mr. John Korchik, a medical student and United Church missionary, "and Rev. Dr. Cormie, Superintendent of Missions for Manitoba Conference" released him "from the Mission field where [he] was stationed and Mr. James A. Richardson," President of the Richardson Grain Company, paid his "salary and board on condition that [Mr. Korchik] prepare a confidential report...that might be of value to the Home Missions Board of the United Church of Canada."¹⁰⁴

Young's report formed the basis for his book *The Ukrainian Canadians: A Study in Assimilation*. Korchik noted that his special report should be kept strictly confidential for Young's project was financed by the Canadian National Committee of Mental Health, and because "Much of this information was gathered from officials, priests of the different churches, etc. who reported as to a disinterested body and it would be...injurious to our work to allow it to be known that we thus secured such information...."¹⁰⁵ Shaver labelled his own copy of the report "Strictly Confidential";¹⁰⁶ in fact he and Korchik consulted often and Shaver assisted Korchik by "outlining a plan of investigation" and he also "read and corrected my manuscript".¹⁰⁷

The United Church, with the financial backing of James A. Richardson, was able surreptitiously to introduce its own agent into a national enquiry. As a result of this subterfuge, a strictly confidential report was prepared for the United Church. These were

not open and transparent acts of leaders of a well-established Church.

The United Church took advantage of the Mental Hygiene Committee's study in order to assess its Home Mission methods of assimilating Ukrainians. This was possible because, as stated in the Summary and Conclusion, "The Home Missions Committee, of each conference will get the best use of this report by reading it in detail the part covering that conference..."¹⁰⁸ In 1932 the Home Mission task was stated as

The Board of Home Missions believes that The United Church of Canada has a responsibility for every group of people in the Dominion and Newfoundland, Anglo-Saxon and non-Anglo-Saxon, whose moral and spiritual needs are not adequately met by any other church. And that responsibility is to make Jesus Christ known, loved, trusted, obeyed and exemplified in the whole range of individual life and in all human relationships.¹⁰⁹

Not only was this a question of religious responsibility, the United Church also maintained its pre-eminent position as a typically Canadian organization. This stance brought with it a particular social position as well. This was "a definite religious policy" of The United Church and "the latest expression of Canadian Christianity".¹¹⁰ By linking the aims of their mission work with the greater Canadian social setting, the United Church as late as 1932 could not escape the claims that their efforts continued to have an assimilatory intention.

The Board of Home Missions stated that they ministered to the Ukrainians because they are the "Third largest racial group in Canada. United Church has ten ministers and three students at work, and publishes *Canadian Ranok*."¹¹¹ Yet their actions point to a general double standard. With respect to their work with the Jews, who were also regarded as non-Anglo-Saxon people, the United Church believed that an

“Indirect influence in local church wherever found.” was all that was necessary.¹¹² The question arises as to why the Ukrainians were singled out by the United Church. It must be emphasized that Ukrainians were traditionally Christians. This was not a religious question. Once again the social agenda of the United Church surfaces. The larger number of Ukrainian immigrants posed a threat to the Canadian cultural tapestry. Charged with the “latest expression of Canadian Christianity” the United Church’s goals were first and foremost social and only secondarily religious.

The United Church itself was quite pleased by the progress and activity in the Ukrainian Congregation. In both the 1929 report and the 1933 wall calendar they portrayed the church in a positive light. This trend was also present in the 1932 report of Institutional Services provided in Winnipeg. Three institutions were listed which included programs involving Ukrainians. It is unclear whether these figures represent 1931 or 1932, but they show in Table II an active Ukrainian United Church congregation as well as a concentrated effort pointed at Ukrainian assimilation.¹¹³

TABLE II

United Church Activities in North Winnipeg¹¹⁴

Institution	No. of Activities	Number of Workers			Total Registration	Average Attendance
		WMS**	Paid	Total		
All Peoples'	167	2	10	101	2207	1,925 per week
Robertson Memorial+++	71	-	5	61	2060	283 per day
Ukrainian	11	1	2	4	400	195

**Women's Missionary Society

+++Net individual membership - 2060 in the 71 organized groups at Robertson Memorial¹¹⁵

As can be seen from the above, The Ukrainian United Church was very busy and provided activities for a membership that wanted this kind of church. It is unclear as to whether these statistics represent the activities only at the Ukrainian Church, or the ones transferred to Robertson Memorial in 1930, or both combined. The fact that the church is mentioned as a separate entity suggests that it was autonomous, but also included in a larger plan which aimed at eliminating its uniqueness in the hope for integration of the Ukrainians into Canadian society.

It was this underlying social goal that placed a wedge between the Ukrainian character of the congregation and the greater United Church itself. In looking at the information booklet of 1929 one can now understand why the history of the first phase of the church was downplayed. Its purpose was to ignore the independent Protestant experience of the original Ukrainian Evangelical church, and to simply stress the fact that

the Ukrainians were now integrated into a larger Canadian institution. Instead of encouraging their separate development the United Church continued to draw the Ukrainian congregation closer and closer into its fold. From negating their history to actually physically moving activities to Robertson Memorial, the United Church was well on its way to eliminating the unique and separate Ukrainian congregation.

The competing goals of the Ukrainian congregation and the United Church were illustrated in the original church building too. At a meeting of ten members held on October 3, 1932, Pastor Eustace brought up the topic of the Church building, which required some remodelling and painting. This topic was discussed by the Mission Committee, and was given over to an architect for his opinion.¹¹⁶ The general intention of this project was to remodel the church to take on a Protestant appearance. Originally the church had been built according to the Ukrainian Orthodox style, hence the cupolas would have to be taken down.¹¹⁷

A motion was carried that a committee be appointed to look into the possibility and the expense of the proposed remodelling. Contingent on there being enough financial resources the work was scheduled to begin in the spring of 1933.¹¹⁸

It must be noted that the church members initiated this renovation project themselves. The church members had pride in their church building and believed that they had the right and obligation to make it appear more Protestant. The future looked good. But, unbeknownst to the Ukrainian United Church congregation, a different plan was being contrived.

Notes

¹John Thomas McNeill, *The Presbyterian Church in Canada 1875-1925* (Toronto: General Board, Presbyterian Church in Canada, 1925), 17.

²*Ibid.*, 246.

³*Ibid.*, 250.

⁴Moir, *Enduring Witness*, 197.

⁵*Ibid.*

⁶*Ibid.*

⁷N. Keith Clifford, *The Resistance to Church Union in Canada 1904-1939* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1985), 15.

⁸*Ibid.*, 45-46.

⁹*Ibid.*, 46.

¹⁰*Ibid.*

¹¹*Ibid.*, 58-59.

¹²*Ibid.*, 46.

¹³Moir, *Enduring Witness*, 198.

¹⁴Silcox, *Church Union in Canada*, 206-207.

¹⁵Clifford, *The Resistance to Church Union in Canada 1904-1939*, 28.

¹⁶Silcox, *Church Union in Canada*, 164-165.

¹⁷Clifford, *The Resistance to Church Union in Canada 1904-1939*, 142, 149.

¹⁸Winnipeg Evening Tribune, Feb. 8, 1924, and *Ibid.* 149.

¹⁹Ephraim Scott, *"Church Union" and the Presbyterian Church in Canada* (Montreal: John Lovell & Son, Publishers, 1928), 95.

²⁰*Ibid.*, 97.

²¹*The United Church of Canada: Inaugural Service* (Toronto: n.p., [1925]), 25. Held on June 10, 1925.

²²Clifford, *The Resistance to Church Union in Canada 1904-1939*, 234.

²³The First General Council of The United Church of Canada, Toronto, June 10, 1925, Board of Home Missions and Social Service of the Presbyterian Church, p. 55, 56.

²⁴N. K. Clifford, "Church Union and Western Canada," in *Prairie Spirit: Perspectives on the Heritage of the United Church of Canada in the West*, ed. Dennis L. Butcher, et al. (Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press, 1985), 289.

²⁵Silcox, *Church Union in Canada*, 232.

²⁶*K. Ranok*, Jan. 8, 1925. See also *Ibid.*, Feb. 3 and April 21, 1925.

²⁷*Ibid.*, June 23, 1925.

²⁸Hunter, *A Friendly Adventure*, 130.

²⁹*Ibid.*, 127.

³⁰*K. Ranok*, May 19, 1925.

³¹*Ibid.*, Mar. 31, 1925. See also Hunter, *A Friendly Adventure*, 48-49, for his fear of "fetishes".

³²Bodrug, *Memoirs*, 117; see also the photograph in Dombrowsky, *Narys*, 531.

³³*K. Ranok*, Feb. 10 and May 19, 1925. In fact, the Eastern Orthodox Churches disclaimed "any belief in a place or state of purgatory" - see Cole, *Mother of All Churches*, p. 97. For the Second Commandment see Holy Bible, Exodus, chapter 20.

³⁴See pages in note 32 above, and Dombrowsky, *Narys*, 219, 234.

³⁵*K. Ranok*, Mar. 10, 1925; see also *Ibid.*, 1925, *passim*, and Hunter, *A Friendly Adventure*, 92-93.

³⁶*Ibid.*, 72.

³⁷*K. Ranok*, April 28, 1925.

³⁸Doroshenko and Kovbel, eds. *Propamiatna knyha Ukrainskoho narodnoho domu u Vynypegu*, 734, 735, 737.

³⁹See pages above.

⁴⁰*Robertson Broadcaster* 1, no. 4 (1925), p. 5.

⁴¹*Ibid.*, 1, no. 5 (1925), p. 1.

⁴²*Ibid.*, 1, no. 6 (1925), p. 6.

⁴³*Ibid.*, 1, no. 7 (1925), p. 1.

⁴⁴*Ibid.*, 1, no. 10 (1925), p. 6.

⁴⁵*Ibid.*, 1, no. 10 (1925), p. 8.

⁴⁶*Ibid.*, 2, no. 1 (1926).

⁴⁷*Ibid.*, 3, no. 9 (1927).

⁴⁸*Knyha Protokoliv Ukrainskoi Yevanhelskoi Tserkve v Vinnipeg, 1927-1961 (Minute Book of the Ukrainian Evangelical Church in Winnipeg, 1927-1961)* (1928), p. 7. (Hereafter, *Knyha*).

⁴⁹*Ibid.*

⁵⁰*Ibid.*, 8.

⁵¹F. C. Stephenson and Sara Vance, *That They May Be One* (Toronto: Committee on Literature, General Publicity and Missionary Education of the United Church of Canada for the Board of Home Missions of the United Church of Canada, 1929), 83.

⁵²*The United Church of Canada Year Book* (Toronto: United Church of Canada, General Offices, 1928), 311. (Hereafter, *Year Book*).

⁵³*Knyha* (1928), 8.

⁵⁴*Ibid.*

⁵⁵*Ibid.*

⁵⁶*Ibid.*

⁵⁷*Ibid.*, 10.

⁵⁸*Ibid.*, 12.

⁵⁹*Ibid.*, 15.

⁶⁰*Ibid.*

⁶¹Ibid. (1929), 16.

⁶²Ibid., 18.

⁶³Ibid.

⁶⁴Ibid., 17.

⁶⁵Ibid., 18.

⁶⁶Ibid. (1928), 21.

⁶⁷R. G. Katsunoff, *Ukrainian United Church* (Winnipeg: n.p., 1929), 14.

⁶⁸Ibid., 1.

⁶⁹Ibid., 14.

⁷⁰Ibid., 4-12.

⁷¹Ibid., 13.

⁷²Ibid., 2.

⁷³Ibid.

⁷⁴*Robertson Broadcaster* 5, March (1929).

⁷⁵Ibid. 5, Oct. (1929).

⁷⁶Robertson Memorial, *Annual Report* (1929).

⁷⁷Ibid.

⁷⁸Ibid.

⁷⁹Ibid.

⁸⁰*Knyha* (1930), 23.

⁸¹Ibid, 28.

⁸²Ibid., 26.

⁸³Ibid.

⁸⁴Ibid., 27.

⁸⁵Ibid.

⁸⁶*Robertson Broadcaster* 6, no. 7 (1930).

⁸⁷Ibid.

⁸⁸Ibid. 6, no. 8 (1930).

⁸⁹Ibid. 6, no. 9 (1930).

⁹⁰Ibid. 6, no.10 (1930).

⁹¹Mutchmor, *Memoirs*, 71.

⁹²*Knyha* (1930), 32.

⁹³Ibid. (1931), 30.

⁹⁴Ibid., 31.

⁹⁵Ibid. (1932), 34.

⁹⁶Ibid. (1931), 31. Also see Yuzyk, *Ukrainians in Manitoba*, 86.

⁹⁷*Knyha* (1931), 31.

⁹⁸Ibid.

⁹⁹Ibid. (1932), 33.

¹⁰⁰Ibid., 34.

¹⁰¹Ibid., 35.

¹⁰²United Church Archives, James Shaver Papers, Winnipeg, Box A, Folder 13.

¹⁰³Ibid.

¹⁰⁴United Church Archives, Rev. John A. Cornie Papers, Articles PP6 (folder E).
“A Survey of the Leading Ukrainian Districts of Western Canada”, Introduction p. 1.

¹⁰⁵Ibid., 2.

¹⁰⁶United Church Archives, James Shaver Papers, Winnipeg, PP53 Box A, Religious Education Folder 7. "Summary and Conclusions of John Korchik's Report to the Board of Home Missions Based on a Survey of the Leading Ukrainian Districts of Western Canada by the Canadian National Committee for Mental Hygiene." Winnipeg, Dec. 20, 1929. The cover stated "Strictly Confidential. Return immediately to J. M. Shaver,...Winnipeg".

¹⁰⁷Ibid., Korchik, Winnipeg, to The Board of Home Missions, The United Church of Canada, Toronto, Dec. 23, 1929, covering letter regarding report.

¹⁰⁸Ibid., Appendix 3, "Prospective Fields".

¹⁰⁹Edmund H. Oliver, *His Dominion of Canada: A Study in the Background, Development and Challenge of the Missions of the United Church of Canada* (Toronto: Board of Home Missions and the Woman's Missionary Society of the United Church of Canada, 1932), 264.

¹¹⁰Ibid., 284.

¹¹¹Ibid., 267.

¹¹²Ibid.

¹¹³Ibid., 269.

¹¹⁴Ibid.

¹¹⁵*Robertson Broadcaster* 7, no. 1 (1931).

¹¹⁶*Knyha* (1932), 36.

¹¹⁷Ibid.

¹¹⁸Ibid.

CHAPTER 5

The Truth Behind Assimilation Through Canadian Christianity

The period between 1925 and 1932 can be regarded as a transition state in which the Ukrainians moved into closer union with the United Church of Canada, while still maintaining their separateness from complete subordination to this large Canadian institution. This separateness would not last.

Unexpectedly, an extraordinary meeting was called for January 17, 1933 to be held at Robertson Memorial Church. The urgency of this meeting was clear because it was requested by Superintendent Cormie, head of the Home Mission Committee, who expressed his appreciation that the membership, as well as members of various clubs, attended in such great numbers upon short notice.¹

Dr. Cormie came to the meeting as a representative of the Mission administration, and presented its plans for the Ukrainian mission. These plans had been worked out prior to the meeting, hence this gathering was more of a formal exercise than a forum for the exchange of ideas. The sole purpose of the meeting was to propose that the Ukrainian Church move to Robertson Memorial United Church, and co-exist as a separate congregation.²

The overall tone of the proposal was one of optimism and practicality. On an optimistic note Dr. Cormie explained that Robertson church was a physically large building which was being under-utilised. To move there would be of great benefit to the Ukrainian congregation, in that they could have their divine services there, and have the

possibility to develop their activities in a spacious building. On the practical side, Dr. Cormie outlined the financial situation and the monetary advantages of such a move. Talking about the United Church itself, he likened it to all other institutions, even industrial establishments, which found themselves in critical financial circumstances.³ He also stressed the fact that this move would mainly contribute to the reduction of the expenditures of the missions of the United Church.⁴

The detailed reasons for the move indicated that for the United Church the main impetus was one of pragmatism. All of the four grounds cited by Dr. Cormie revolved around financial matters. The first was that there were three parties interested in buying the property at McGregor Street and Pritchard Avenue. This point was further supported by the second stated reason, that the Ukrainian church building was in a state of disrepair. According to Cormie it was almost impossible to carry on further activities at the church without implementing costly repairs. Doubt as to whether the Ukrainian church executive would be able to raise enough financial support to maintain its building was the third cause cited by Cormie. The last of the four points was that the move to Robertson Memorial would cut down the expenses for the Mission Committee.⁵ In sum, it is clear that financial matters weighed heavily in the Mission administration's plans for the Ukrainian congregation. Together these points solidified, in the mind of the Mission, the necessity of the move and the inevitability of the coming together of the Ukrainian United and Robertson Memorial churches under one roof.

The United Church Mission administration gave the impression that they left the final decision up to the Ukrainian congregation. In making the presentation they hoped

that the Ukrainians would agree with their assessment and the move to Robertson would take place. Cormie expressed his wish that when the Ukrainian Church congregation examined all the points made and agreed with his analysis of the situation, this would indeed be the proper time for a change of location. He added that this change would be undertaken only when the Ukrainian congregation expressed their readiness for this.⁶ As one can see, the final decision was up to the Ukrainians, but the objectivity of this decision was lost in the fact that it was the Mission administration's desire and recommendation that the change of location occur.

After Cormie's presentation the floor was opened to questions from the congregation. One of the first questions dealt with the availability of the Robertson Church building and its accessibility for the Ukrainians. In addressing this concern Cormie simply reiterated resolutions that had been worked out with the executive of Robertson at a meeting held beforehand.⁷ Generally speaking the possibility of a new relationship with the Ukrainian congregation was accepted amicably by Robertson. There would be financial benefits to Robertson from the Ukrainian congregation. Cormie reported that the Ukrainian Church congregation could use the building for their needs and would be given an opportunity to make use of the building at all times.⁸ Apparently a lot of the practical matters of the move had already been decided before they were even proposed to the Ukrainian congregation. This exclusion of the Ukrainians from early deliberations was indicative of the entire tone of the discussions surrounding the move.

A second question was raised regarding the availability of evening services if the Ukrainians moved to Robertson. Dr. Cormie reminded the congregation that Pastor

Eustace carried out evening services at the Sutherland mission building.⁹ Given that Pastor Eustace would be unavailable, the Ukrainian congregation would have to take part with the Robertson Congregation in evening services “conducted in the English language.”¹⁰ The move to Robertson would obviously restrict the traditional practices of the Ukrainian congregation. It must be noted that there was no questioning of this directly cross-cultural form of religious worship. This situation presented an ideal opportunity for the United Church to further its program of propagating a Canadian Christian society. The Ukrainians were obviously totally unprepared and probably taken aback at this abrupt turn of events.

The third and final topic brought up dealt with the feasibility of moving the Ukrainian Sunday School to Robertson. To address this question Deaconess Lanigan gave her opinion that she did not see any difference in the classes of the church school and she would take into consideration the matter of membership, but in any instance, a combined Sunday School would have a fine influence on the children.¹¹ The children could be accommodated at Robertson and the United Church’s religious work would proceed unhindered. The practical and assimilatory dimensions of the move were coming together quite appropriately for the United Church.

The concerns raised in the free discussion centred around practical matters of time-tabling and scheduling of church activities. It must be clearly noted that nowhere in the records of this meeting is there a reference to the “independence” of the Ukrainian congregation. Preoccupied with day-to-day matters of organization, the question of self-reliance was never brought up. A move to a new, shared location would be a drastic

change for a congregation that had always been geographically on its own. The significance of such a change of locale was to be submerged by their smaller concerns.

The logistics of the move were not completely clear. How the two congregations would co-exist would still have to be worked out. It was agreed that if the Ukrainian congregation moved to Robertson Church, a combined meeting of the executives of both congregations would have to resolve local matters which would come up at times of combined use.¹²

As already noted, the final decision regarding the move was to be made by the Ukrainian congregation. For the resolution of the matter, another meeting was called for January 24, 1933, at 8:30 p.m. The members were to give careful consideration to the whole issue and be prepared to discuss it.¹³

The first meeting had ended with two main developments. On one side of the issue was the United Church represented by Dr. Cormie. In its opinion the move to Robertson was both financially prudent and a good opportunity. It must be stressed that the United Church had recommended this move, and was well prepared in covering beforehand many of the contingencies that would be involved. On the other side of the issue was the Ukrainian congregation, which at this point was charged with the responsibility of deciding their future location and co-operative alliances. After January 17, 1933, it looked like this matter would be resolved in a way that considered everybody's perspective. The January 24th meeting would prove different, while initiating a drastic change.

The extraordinary meeting of the Ukrainian Church congregation was held

January 24th, 1933, in Robertson Memorial Church. It was recorded that 25 were present, plus Pastor E. Eustafievich (Eustace), but at the end of the minutes the names of members present totalled 30 plus Pastor Eustafievich and Deaconess Lanigan.¹⁴

The discrepancies in the minutes point to their unique origins. For earlier meetings the minutes had been compiled and recorded by the Ukrainian congregation secretary. In this particular case the minutes were dictated in short summary form.¹⁵ The signature at the end of the minutes of that meeting read:

[signed] N. Urbanovich, as secretary writing under the dictation of
p. [pastor] E. Eustafievich.¹⁶

N. Urbanovich penned the dictation, yet he was not listed among the names of the members present at the meeting. The unique circumstances under which these minutes were compiled point to the importance of this meeting in the history of the Ukrainian United Church. It was obviously important enough for the United Church to have these minutes dictated by the Pastor in a certain way. For this extraordinary meeting one could not rely on the direct reporting of the recorder to write exactly what actually transpired. One may speculate that these minutes are questionable as to the completeness of what they report. Regardless of their content, the circumstance under which they were created speaks volumes as to the tone and setting under which this profound decision was carried out.

Although the membership was to come prepared for discussion of the question of the Ukrainian Church's move, no discussion was reported. The meeting was conducted as a special meeting with the following being recorded:

It was resolved to move to the new church building Robertson Memorial Church. The following names are those individuals, that were at this meeting, when the resolution was passed unanimously to give permission to the executive of the United Church to sell the property on the corner of Pritchard and McGregor.¹⁷

Quite unceremoniously the task was completed. No in-depth analysis of what this move meant was even attempted, or at least recorded. Now the Ukrainian congregation lost its geographic independence, an act which directly compromised its unique identity. The thirty year history of a Ukrainian evangelical church at the intersection of Pritchard and McGregor was coming to a close. With this “unanimous” decision the Ukrainian United Church moved into direct contact with Robertson Memorial. The goodwill of this move was solidified and put into motion as the pastor appealed to the adherents to become true members of their church congregation.¹⁸

In looking at the aforementioned events involving the change of locale one gets the picture that the move was initiated and controlled by the United Church of Canada, and that the Ukrainian congregation followed along agreeably and obediently. The second extraordinary meeting points directly to such an interpretation in that the matter was not discussed and that the minutes themselves were dictated rather than recorded on the spot.

The minutes of that last meeting leave more questions than they give answers. The paper trail from 1930 to 1933 suggests that the United Church knew that there was a predetermined process. The church was to be sold and all that was needed from the Ukrainian congregation was that they too were informed and in agreement. The minutes provided that last condition. Perhaps Rev. Eustace was engineering the whole process of the move.

There is additional evidence that indicates that the move was preplanned and premeditated on the part of the United Church. The plan was in fact conceived well before 1933, for the United Church of Canada had the intention to sell the Ukrainian church building as early as 1930—with no input from the Ukrainian congregation. The Winnipeg Presbytery had met on September 9, 1930, and its minutes stated:

Home Mission Committee - We recommend that Dr. Cormie be empowered to arrange for sale of Ukrainian Church for the amount of \$5,000. Agreed.¹⁹

On this basis the fate of the congregation and church building had been predetermined by the United Church authorities as much as three years earlier. The matter lay dormant while the church building and its necessary repairs were neglected. In biding its time, the United Church waited long enough for the sale of the church to appear completely necessary and pressing. The two meetings conducted with the Ukrainian congregation were a formal exercise, a rubber stamp. The Ukrainian Church as a separate entity was destined to be eliminated.

It came as no surprise that the Ukrainian congregation moved into Robertson Memorial Church. Throughout its entire history the Ukrainians maintained a tension-filled relationship with the United Church of Canada. The competing ends and goals of these two disparate sides had been a consistent thread from 1925 to 1933. In this particular case the original good intentions of the Ukrainian congregation culminated in the loss of their own property. The pride and obligation the congregation felt when they wanted to paint their church building in the fall of 1932 now was supplanted by a move to a shared church setting and new location in January 1933.

In looking at the chain of events one cannot omit the recent history of the Ukrainian congregation and their slow migration to Robertson. As early as 1930 activities were being transferred and the logical progression seemed to point to a wholesale move and change of locale. The United Church was behind the entire plan to move the congregation. On the other hand the Ukrainians themselves never really protested the move and therefore must also be held accountable.

The dramatic coming together of these two sides was not a resolution of the different backgrounds of the two congregations. In looking at the apathy of the Ukrainian congregation perhaps one can speculate that the move was simply inevitable given the overall strength of the United Church. Faced with the latter's zeal to create a Canadian Christian civilization, the Ukrainians were a weak opponent. The lack of insightful questions and analysis during the discussion at the first extraordinary meeting points to the Ukrainian congregation's lack of information. On a historical level the United Church did succeed in eliminating the independence of the Ukrainian mission. This victory came with a price. The vanquished were obedient and apathetic. Hardly were they ready to go out into the North End and proselytize and spread the Protestant message. On the contrary, the new Ukrainian congregation was to become only a shadow of its former self.

The United Church was confident of successfully bringing the Ukrainian congregation closer into its fold. Even before the entire matter was resolved there were already formal overtures of acceptance. On January 17th, 1933, the joint board of Robertson Memorial and Robertson House unanimously agreed to welcome heartily the members of the Ukrainian United Church to worship in Robertson Memorial Church and

to hold such other meetings in the Church and House as might be necessary, subject to the approval of the Ukrainian Congregation at their meeting.²⁰ With the actual decision made on January 24, 1933, the Ukrainians would formally take up this invitation and move forward to try to forge a collective identity with Robertson.

The first service of the Ukrainian Congregation at Robertson Church was held on March 5th, 1933, at 11 a.m. The congregation was welcomed by Rev. J.M. White, and Dr. J.A. Cormie preached. The Ukrainian Sunday School was accommodated at Robertson as well.²¹

The formal implementation of the sale of the Ukrainian Church moved toward finalization. In *The United Church Year Book*, dated June 30, 1933, the following was noted:

The Sub-Executive - Tenth Meeting, May 3, 1933.
Sale, Ukrainian Church, Winnipeg. Approval was granted of the request of the Board of Home Missions for permission to sell the Ukrainian Church in Winnipeg to the Czecho-Slovakian Baptist Church for \$2,800.²²

A further resolution adopted at this same meeting by the Board of Home Missions Sub-Executive specified the purchaser of the building. Permission was granted to sell this property to Mr. Frank Dojacek, "subject to securing a resolution from the congregation releasing the United Church of Canada from liability in substituting a purchaser, the said Mr. Frank Dojacek."²³ As can be seen, all of the practical matters dealing with the sale of the church were quickly worked out and the claimed extensive repairs were no longer an issue. It only took three and one-half months to finalize the purchase. It can be surmised that the move was well anticipated in advance by the United Church, and the low sale

price was like giving the church away.

The practicality of this move comes into question when one probes Mr. Dojacek's relationship with the United Church of Canada. He had association with Robertson Memorial Church as the following shows:

The Bohemian Service at Robertson Memorial continues to be well attended. Mr. F. Dayacek [*sic*] and the minister in charge deserve much credit for this excellent work.²⁴

From as early as 1930 Mr. Dojacek was involved at Robertson Memorial as a liaison for the Czecho-Slovak Baptist Church whose congregation held services there.

In looking at all the dimensions of the move one can question the sense in simply exchanging one congregation for another. The Czech service was being conducted successfully at Robertson, yet Mr. Dojacek purchased the Ukrainian building. The Czecho-Slovak Baptist Church would thus have a new meeting place. On the other hand, the Ukrainians, with their own church building, were encouraged to let the United Church sell it and move into Robertson. On a rational level it would seem clear that it would have been easier for both congregations to remain where they were. The real practicality and frugality of the United Church obviously comes into question. This sale is another indicator that points to the underlying reasons that made the move of the Ukrainian congregation a necessity. An independent Ukrainian United Church was too much of a challenge and reinforced the distance between the competing goals of the United Church and the Ukrainians. The circumstances surrounding this decision point more and more to the insidious efforts of the United Church of Canada to tone down and eventually eliminate the unique Ukrainian congregation.

An era came to an end with the sale of the Ukrainian congregation's church. At the time it probably did not seem much of a change. But when the Ukrainians lost the building they had maintained for almost thirty years they lost also any sense of geographic independence. A combination of following the United Church's recommendations and their own apathy drove the Ukrainians to Robertson. Unlike previous self-directed choices the Ukrainian congregation was now more inclined to simply move in the direction of the United Church instead of in their own direction. In both day-to-day activities, and significant holidays, both congregations were to be inextricably linked from now on.

One of the first co-operative events held between Robertson Memorial and the now transplanted Ukrainian United Church was the collective celebration of their respective anniversaries. On November 19, 1933, a united service was held to commemorate the Thirty Year Anniversary of the Ukrainian United Church as well as the Thirty-Second Anniversary of Robertson Memorial Church. Both congregations celebrated their founding on the same date. Members of the Robertson congregation regarded the "services [as] unique in the history of the congregation and indeed, unique in the history of any congregation in Winnipeg."²⁵

The church services that day involved ministers from both Robertson and the Ukrainian congregation. Rev. E. Eustace conducted the morning service. Assisting him were two Ukrainian ministers and Rev. White, minister of Robertson Memorial Church. The service of praise was led by the Ukrainian church choir. Later in the evening the ministers reversed their roles. Reverend White led the service while Rev. Eustace

assisted. The entire event encompassed both congregations on a spiritual and cultural level. "A feature of the day was the use of both the Ukrainian and English languages for Scripture readings and Prayer with the Hymns sung 'each in his own tongue'."²⁶

The joint church services were just the beginning of a week-long series of events that marked the anniversaries. Almost every day saw a festivity of some sort. On Tuesday evening the Ukrainians held a congregational dinner. The main addresses on this occasion were given by Alderman T. Ferley (a Ukrainian), Dr. A.J. Hunter of Teulon, and Dr. J.A. Cormie. Wednesday saw another service, this time conducted in Ukrainian by visiting ministers. The concluding activity to mark this celebration was a musical concert arranged by the Ukrainian congregation on Thursday, which involved participants from other United Churches.²⁷

The anniversary celebrations upheld the cultural and religious differences that existed between the Ukrainian congregation and the United Church. There was a considerable amount of attention paid to the Ukrainian character of the Ukrainian mission by the Robertson organizers. In contrast to the slight dealt them by the United Church in the 1929 twenty-fifth anniversary booklet, the thirtieth anniversary was a marked improvement. This recognition of their Ukrainianness must however be tempered with the fact that the Ukrainian congregation was now a permanent appendage of Robertson Memorial church. How different and unique could they really be, and for how long?

After exactly thirty years from its founding in 1903 in Winnipeg, the Ukrainian evangelical congregation governed by the Presbyterian/United Churches no longer had a separate, visible setting and presence. They were no longer independent, but were

subordinate to the Robertson Church administration. All through these activities there is no evidence in the historical record that the Ukrainians had any special room or area at Robertson. Indeed, the move left the Ukrainian congregation in a vulnerable position, at the disposal of Robertson Memorial church.

As of November 19, 1933 one can clearly see that the Ukrainian Congregation was a fully integrated part of Robertson Memorial Church. It was a long way from the plans of painting the original church building on October 3, 1932, to a brand new operational arrangement with an already established church. It only took a little more than a year to pack up and abandon their historical building.

Even while allowing for the positive way in which the Ukrainian character of that part of the congregation was presented at this anniversary, these events were not of equal significance. For the Ukrainian congregation it was the celebration of an anniversary of the creation of a new independent evangelical denomination in Canada; for the Robertson church it was a celebration of one mission of the Presbyterian/United Church in Winnipeg. Much as the United Church may have wanted to give equal significance to these events, they were unable to deny the important differences between them.

Merging the Ukrainian congregation into Robertson Memorial Church was in fact scarcely consistent with the goals of the latter's founder. In 1881 Dr. Robertson had created a Church and Manse Building Fund because he felt that church buildings gave a sense of "visibility and permanence" to Presbyterian Church work in the west. The fund was to be used for "work among non-Anglo-Saxons" as well.²⁸ Not only was the existence of this fund not known to the Ukrainians, but evidently the Presbyterian/United

Church people who controlled it did not believe that it should be used by the Ukrainian congregation to make needed repairs to their United Church building.²⁹ Obviously, the “visibility and permanence” of the Ukrainian church did not rate very high even if it was an outpost for the United Church in North End Winnipeg among the “Non-Anglo-Saxons”.

The “visibility and permanence” of the Ukrainian United Church in Winnipeg in 1932/33 was doubtless not deemed as necessary or satisfactory to the Toronto-based and Ontario-dominated Board of Home Missions, which showed little sensitivity to the situation on the prairies.³⁰ Its 1933 report regarding “the Non-Anglo-Saxons” began with the statement that “The Work among the Non-Anglo-Saxons continues to be difficult and perplexing....”³¹ Despite all the efforts which had been made to camouflage the United Church’s intentions, some Ukrainians were awakening to the fact that they were the subject of an experiment, one which they were unable to control:

...the new Canadians...There is a great resentment among them at the use of the word “assimilation”. “You come to us with a Bible in your hand to eat us up body and bones,” said a Ukrainian to a United Church missionary. Amalgamation is a better word.³²

Nevertheless, the move of the Ukrainian congregation into Robertson was generally regarded as a missionary success story, though in fact it was more an apathetic slide than a zealous victory for evangelism. By their own admission, the mass of Ukrainians in Canada were difficult for the Presbyterian/United Church people to reach. The greater aims of building and solidifying the latest form of Canadian Christianity were falling short.

In fact the changes which had affected the Ukrainian congregation as reported to the Home Missions Boards reflected as well as reiterated the puzzled approach and attitude of the United Church establishment. Rev. Cormie of the Manitoba Conference, a very influential former Presbyterian, reported on

an interesting experiment in Winnipeg where the Ukrainian Church, of which Rev. E. Eustace is the minister, held its thirtieth anniversary during the year. It was celebrated in the Robertson Church, into which Mr. Eustace led his people to their advantage and to that of Robertson Church as well.³³

Perhaps the notion of this move being an “experiment” indicates most clearly the manner in which the Ukrainian congregation was regarded by the United Church.

Experimentation with the Ukrainians was attempted throughout the history of their relationship with the United Church and its precursors. The first had been the Independent Greek Church, which was supported by the Presbyterians and dissolved by them in 1913. Some Presbyterians had actually called this Church the “Ruthenian experiment” - according to Dr. Hunter, “the experiment was rather too complex for a great democratic body like the Presbyterian Church to handle”, and it placed its leaders “in a delicate situation”.³⁴ These grand overtures to the Ukrainians were obviously quite risky and uncertain. The will of the United Church to help the Ukrainians was tempered with some reluctance, and there was a tension between its evangelical and its assimilatory objectives. A social experiment is a far cry from the certainty of doing God’s work.

In this third experiment, the Ukrainian congregation was to co-exist with the Anglo-Saxon congregation in an Anglo-Saxon church building - Robertson Memorial.

With this change in locale, the intentions of the United Church of Canada were revealed:

the new co-operative setting was ideal for finally assimilating the Ukrainians.

Assimilation was still a thorny yet ever-present issue for the United Church in the 1930s. The work took different forms but the objective was the same. To implement their program of outreach to non-Anglo-Saxons, the Home Mission Board had a policy which involved

establishing institutional missions in the deteriorated areas which are now mainly occupied by the Non-Anglo-Saxons. Beginning as social service centres in which community service of many types were rendered by specially trained men and women, they have developed into institutional churches, and in some cases into churches of all nations for Non-Anglo-Saxons,...³⁵

In Winnipeg's North End, the formerly Methodist All Peoples' Mission was flourishing, but it remained only a mission social service centre. Contrasted with Robertson House and Church, it provided community service to even larger numbers, but it did not evolve into a church. The "institutional church" was Robertson Memorial with Robertson House. According to its stated objectives, the United Church had here the perfect scenario for its assimilatory goals now that the Ukrainian congregation was a permanent resident in this institutional church. Bringing the Ukrainians into Canadian Christianity seemed inevitable.

How was this Canadian Christianity being defined in 1933? The Board of Home Missions appointed a commission in 1933 because of the difficulties of the "magnitude of the task entrusted to the workers in the institutions serving the Non-Anglo-Saxons...."³⁶ On a formal level the following two objectives were set out:

The first is "to bring those with whom the church is in touch into a personal relationship with Jesus Christ and to encourage them to give

expression to such a relationship by active participation, as members in the life and work of the church.” The second objective is “to develop in the members of the church Christian character and active interest in the task of building a Christian community, more especially in those areas in which moral failure, race and class prejudice are inimical to the highest interests of the state.”³⁷

As one can see the relationship between the state and the religious obligations of the United Church was once again being revealed. The United Church was to act against that which was antagonistic to all things Canadian. This duty was consistently in line with the aim, previously stated in 1932, of creating the latest expression of Canadian Christianity.³⁸ The zealous ‘social work’ carried on in their missionary outreach to the Ukrainians was once again attached to the goal of Canadian assimilation. Their new plans and directions did not differ greatly from those of earlier periods.

In order to judge the success of their new objectives, the United Church set out some measuring sticks. The standards by which the work might be judged were:

1. The existence of a church with a roll of membership and an organization made up of persons who have made profession of their faith in Christ.
2. The development of a sense of responsibility on the part of the members of the institutional churches to furnish leadership in every sphere of the work of the local church and financial support for the institution.
3. The presence of high standards in the social and religious life of the community, resulting from the presence of the United Church in the district.³⁹

From these it is clear that a sense of permanence was integral to the success of the United Church. Being in the community as a social beacon was seen to be very important in that they would be an example of proper Canadian organization.

An independent permanent Ukrainian congregation, however, did nothing to

further the aims of the Canadianization efforts of the United Church. The type of church the Board of Home Missions preferred was the “Church of All Nations”, the desired model for ethnic integration. Their enthusiasm for this type of arrangement was shown in the examples they cited in their reports, in Montreal and Toronto, where Sunday services were conducted in several European languages, including English in Toronto.⁴⁰

In the words of the Board of Home Missions itself the “Church of all Nations” did a great service to help them realize their ends and goals. They characterized their own work this way, that in having in these churches “the mingling of racial groups—Anglo-Saxon and Non-Anglo-Saxon—under a Christian education programme, we are surely, if slowly, welding together the constituent parts of a Christian community and nation.”⁴¹ This statement openly illustrates the cross-linkage of social and religious work in their missionary work with the Non-Anglo-Saxons. By reaching out through religion to the new Canadians they were assimilating them into the Canadian Anglo-Saxon culture. The aims of United Church missionary work, in the past and in 1933, were equally evangelical and assimilatory.

The Ukrainian United Church in Winnipeg was such an anomaly that the Anglo-Saxon Board of Home Missions, rooted in eastern Canadian thinking, could not conceive of this kind of deviation from the norm. This congregation was not large enough to be self-sustaining and thus was no real force. There was no real ethnic mixing occurring in the Ukrainian congregation, hence it did not advance the work of a universal Canadian Christian movement. Given these reasons the Home Mission Board managed the situation by eliminating the Ukrainian Church’s physical separateness. The Ukrainian

congregation was irrelevant to the Board's aims and the goals of missionary work.

The Board of Home Missions had been holding a series of meetings in which they re-evaluated their services to immigrant non-Anglo-Saxons to uncover weaknesses in their methods and search for new ways of access to these people. From the findings of a commission appointed in 1933, the following statement of policy was accepted by the Board:

“Believing that the United Church of Canada has been brought into existence under the guidance of the Holy Spirit for the purpose of more effectively establishing the Kingdom of God in Canada, the Board of Home Missions declares its conviction that the United Church has a definite responsibility for providing religious leadership to every community in this country not otherwise served.”⁴²

On the surface this statement appears to concern itself solely with the religious and spiritual realms. But the “Kingdom of God in Canada” was for the United Church an assimilatory and Canadianized kingdom. The mingling of religious work and social responsibility was in 1933 integral to the overall mission of the United Church's work with immigrant groups. The statement simply reinforced the original outlook of the Presbyterian and United Churches, that they were charged with the responsibility of acting as stewards of Canadianization.

The United Church's missionary work was broken down into three distinct levels of priority. The first concerned care for Anglo-Saxon groups that were without church services. The second was to provide religious ministrations to the Reformed Churches of Europe like those of the Czechoslovaks. The third and lowest priority was to arrange religious services to racial groups not affiliated with Protestant churches and especially:

- “1. Those who have come into fellowship with the United Church through the efforts of our missionary agencies.
 2. Those whose own churches have failed to provide a suitable ministry.
 3. Those young people who have lost vital contact with the church of their fathers.”⁴³

By 1933 Ukrainian Canadians possessed well-established religious institutions which served the spiritual needs of adults and young people. Early in their Canadian experience, when they were without priests of their own, Ukrainians had found ways to deal with the limitations on their religious lives. But after 1912 the Ukrainian Catholics had an institutionalized leadership and more priests, and the Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church, established in 1918, had begun a vigorous existence. Together, their adherents formed an increasing percentage of Canada's population (rising from 1.93 per cent in 1921 to 2.57 per cent in 1931).⁴⁴ The growth of these ancestral churches meant that there was a real, visible, Ukrainian religious presence. Ukrainians, both young and old, were organizing themselves and had recourse to their own forms of religious worship. In the light of this development, the missionary work of the United Church, according to its own 1933 criteria, was increasingly futile.

Something of this was perhaps recognized by Rev. C. E. Silcox, who in 1933 stated:

The Ukrainians are appearing everywhere...nor have any of the Protestant churches discovered as yet, in spite of hospitals, schools, city settlements, foreign-language papers and special missionaries, satisfactory ways and means of securing the loyalty of any considerable number of these people.⁴⁵

The 1933 move of the Ukrainian congregation to Robertson Memorial betokened a new era in these people's relationship with the United Church of Canada. The Ukrainians

had voted unanimously to transplant their church and accept a co-operative life with the Anglo-Saxon congregation. Having Sunday morning services in Ukrainian and evening services in English was a compromise with the Ukrainian character of the congregation. By all United Church accounts, the practical gains of this move were outweighed by the greater sacrifice in terms of the loss of Ukrainianness of the congregation. And neither Robertson Memorial nor the United Church of Canada had much to show for all their assimilatory pressures on the Ukrainians of Winnipeg.

The life of the Ukrainian United Church at Robertson Memorial went along for some time as expected by the United Church establishment. They paid their required allotments to the United Church of Canada, and carried out their religious and organizational work quietly until dissension struck the Ukrainian congregation in 1936.

The source of dissatisfaction was Rev. E. Eustace's ministry. According to the executive, during the seven years of his work with the congregation he had shown himself unsuitable for the following reasons: his sermons had no real spiritual content because of his lack of proficiency in theology in both the Ukrainian and English languages which was lowering the prestige of the Ukrainian Evangelical congregation in Winnipeg; the membership had steadily declined to the present fifteen participants at Sunday Services and because of this, the executive was afraid that the congregation under his further pastorage could go down to complete ruin. Because of these facts the executive requested Rev. Cormie, Superintendent of Missions for Manitoba Conference and the Home Mission Board, Toronto, to appoint Prof. Urbanovich as their pastor, who had all the qualifications, in place of Eustace.⁴⁶ This was not the first instance of problems with

Rev. Eustace, for there had been dissatisfaction with his sermons when he first came in 1929, and the congregation had given him a chance for improvement for six months.⁴⁷

In a letter to Rev. Cormie, the executive stated their plan to put the matter regarding Rev. Eustace to a vote of the membership after service on Sunday, February 9, 1936. When this actual meeting occurred Rev. Cormie was present, acting as chairman. He read the letter sent to the Mission Board, Toronto, to remove Rev. Eustace, and expressed his surprise and shock. The vote taken at the meeting was overwhelmingly in favour of retaining Rev. Eustace as pastor.⁴⁸

In addition to this vote of support, a resolution was drawn up at this meeting that the congregation expressed "the full and complete confidence in the integrity and fitness of Rev. Mr. Eustace to continue as pastor of this church." Further, "During the seven years that Mr. Eustace has been pastor of this church, we feel that it is his patient and enthusiastic zeal that has brought the church and congregation to its present efficient standard..."⁴⁹ In less than two weeks a professed change had occurred in the manner in which the congregation now saw Eustace from wanting him removed to accepting him by a majority vote. This change in opinion was further solidified by the fact that an exceptional meeting was held on February 24, 1936, of members and sympathizers, and Rev. Cormie said a new executive should be chosen. All twenty-nine members present voted unanimously in favour of this.⁵⁰ The executive that had officially pushed for Eustace's removal was, as a result, removed from their positions of influence.

The executive's dismissal did not eliminate the problem without incident. The outgoing executive felt compelled to write a letter dated March 9, 1936, to Dr. Cochrane,

Secretary, Board of Home Missions, Toronto. This letter advised him of the “fundamental reasons why the board undertook the action against Mr. Eustace as [they] were not given the chance to be heard at the Special meeting conducted by Dr. J.A.Cormie.” They outlined the facts of his incompetency, in their less than perfect English:

We...do hereby strenuously object to the method which Mr. Eustace uses in presenting his case to the Church Authority. He tries his best to confuse the issue which is between himself and the congregation with that of one of our member (Mr. Urbanovich) and himself....

1)...he never made the least effort to organize his charge on the Constitutional Bases....he made no attempt to organize the Session. The Roll of Membership was kept in his own hands and he did what he liked with it. He marked off names of some members whom he thought were not favorably disposed toward him and putting on names of persons who were not officially accepted by the confession of faith.

2) He would not cooperate in any programme with the board and went so far as to make statements...before members of our congregation...that money could not be trusted to persons who were duly elected for that purpose. He himself never produced financial statements nor annual reports and was complaining that the Home Mission Board was paying him so little that he could not meet the end of his expenses.

3) He falsified the statistics, giving 536 persons under pastoral oversight, 88 full members and 9 persons comprising the Session, all this is absolutely misleading. Intentionally and deliberately he withheld the name of our secretary from the year book, year after year and when asked why...he put the blame on the statisticians.

4) Taking all these facts into consideration we came to the conclusion that a Minister who permits himself to mislead the Church Authority, mislead his congregation and prefers to work in the dark is not worthy of the respect of his congregation and consequently ought to be reprimanded by the Church Court.⁵¹

Dr. Cochrane, Secretary of the Board of Home Missions, Toronto, sent a copy of

this letter to Rev. Cormie, Winnipeg, and in his covering letter of March 13, 1936, he stated:

I am enclosing a copy of a communication...from some representatives of the Ukrainian United Church. I think it still shows the hand of Mr. Urbanovitch [*sic*]...The communication is accompanied by a petition, asking for the removal of Mr. Eustace on account of his incompetency. This is signed by 41 names, and after the names there is added this:

“We are submitting 41 names on this petition.

“At the special meeting conducted by Dr. J. A. Cormie, Mr. Eustace managed to get 26 votes, out of these five (5) votes be deducted as his family votes, three as minors and one as of a habitual drunker on whom church cannot depend. To these facts Dr. J. A. Cormie will testify.”

As long as the Presbytery and yourself have confidence in Mr. Eustace, we ought to stand behind him. It looks, however, as long as Urbanovitch [*sic*] is there, as if there will never be harmony in the congregation. I sincerely hope that Winnipeg Presbytery will recommend that the United Church have nothing to do with Mr. Urbanovitch [*sic*]. No matter what may be said about our treatment of him in the past, his action in trying to split this congregation is, to my mind, enough to keep him out of our ministry.⁵²

Evidently, the United Church chose to support Eustace. In their eyes he had redeeming qualities appropriate for a United Church minister. Overall he was not regarded amongst Ukrainian evangelical pastors as outstanding in any area, but he was good in benevolent work with older people and young people.⁵³ In spite of these merits there were clear problems at the Ukrainian church that needed to be openly and sincerely addressed.

Obviously there were two different opinions regarding the issue of Eustace's ministry. The actual manner in which these differences were addressed pointed clearly to the fact that the United Church viewed the Ukrainians in a particular light. When putting into practice their assimilatory aims, the United Church had to directly compromise

authentic concerns of the Ukrainian congregation, as represented by the executive that had been removed. As is evident from the congregation members' petition, there were legitimate matters of mismanagement and claims about Rev. Eustace's sermons lacking in spiritual content which went back to 1929 (before Mr. Urbanovich's time). The United Church showed they would not seriously consider claims of incompetence and mismanagement of a Ukrainian United Church minister. There were no efforts made to inquire into the claims and prove or disprove their validity. The United Church leadership wanted no consideration of the issues; it pressed on with its plan. Dr. Cochrane's letter to Rev. Cormie clearly illustrates the opinion of the United Church: The Ukrainian congregation was an assimilatory experiment that had to do what it was told.

With respect to Mr. Urbanovich, he was secretary of the executive of this congregation quite a few times and appeared to have had theological training. He had been considered for the ministry in the United Church before as revealed in a letter dated December 27, 1944, from Dr. Dorey, Associate Secretary, Board of Home Missions, Toronto, to Rev. Cormie:

I feel sorely tempted to tell him that, seeing that he is now a regularly ordained priest of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church of the U.S.A. and Canada, he has a right to apply, through any Presbytery of the United Church, to be received as a minister of the United Church. He has been told officially by St. Stephen's College that his academic qualifications are such that he could be ordained as a minister of The United Church of Canada, and, consequently, he would have no difficulty from that point of view. However, Dr. Cochrane's advice was that we should not do this, and...I am following his advice!

...I am disturbed at the spectacle of this young man, who...has been

bandied about from one Presbytery to another, with nobody having sufficient courage to say to him that we do not want him, because we do not think that he is in heart and mind the kind of man we want in our ministry...Now, to make matters worse - or better, Dr. Nicol tells him, on the basis of his record with him, that he would be glad to employ him.⁵⁴

The details of this problem are not too important, rather one must recognize that in spite of these differences the spectacle surrounding the second attempt of the Ukrainian congregation to terminate Rev. Eustace's ministry was handled in an authoritarian manner on the part of the United Church.

All differences aside, one could have hoped that the problems of both the former Ukrainian congregation executive, and the United Church of Canada could have been resolved on a rational level. Unlike the first attempt to remove Eustace in 1929, which was worked out based on the good will of the congregation, in this instance the United Church forced Eustace to remain as their minister. Self-direction and control were obviously lost in this situation on the part of the Ukrainians. There was a continuous double-faced attitude in what the United Church preached with respect to Ukrainians, and now this preaching was put into practice.

In looking generally at the years between 1933 and 1936 one can see an overall difference in the tone and direction of the Ukrainian United Church especially in contrast to the 1925 to 1932 period. The later three years saw the Ukrainian congregation face the growing control of the United Church of Canada following both their move to Robertson, and the removal of Rev. Eustace. In both of these instances the Ukrainians were basically told what to do. The outcomes were predetermined by the United Church and the manner in which they were implemented were prejudiced, transparent and manipulated. The

move to Robertson had obviously been worked out prior to the Ukrainian congregation giving its consent. Keeping Rev. Eustace was a clear example of the United Church upholding its assimilatory interests over the genuine concerns of the Ukrainian congregation. Both of these cases were defeats for the Ukrainian United Church. Unlike 1925 to 1932 the Ukrainians now were directly subordinate to the Anglo-Saxon administration of Robertson Memorial. In addition to this, their minister was uninspired and undesired by the majority of the congregation. This new epoch obviously illustrated that the competing aims and goals of the Ukrainian congregation and the United Church were far from resolved, and indeed far from being rectified by the latter. Fair play did not prevail, rather, in both of the aforementioned instances manipulation and administrative force brought the apathetic and disappointed Ukrainian congregation under ever greater direct control of the United Church of Canada.

The life of the Ukrainian United Church after 1936 carried on in placid submission to the authority of the United Church of Canada. Gradual erosion of its uniqueness is documented in the records of the church.

Still the Ukrainianness of the congregation was not completely diminished by the events of the preceding few years. In actual fact, at the annual meeting of the "Ukrainian Evangelical Congregation", as it was named in the minutes of a meeting held on January 20, 1936, their Ukrainian school was brought up for discussion.⁵⁵ The volunteer teacher, Mrs. Mary Pecheniuk, had been teaching since March 1935 and the school had recently signed up its thirteenth student.⁵⁶ There was an obvious and palpable need for a school which would teach the children of the Ukrainian congregation their traditional language.

As a sign of support for the Ukrainian school teacher it was unanimously decided at a later meeting, held on January 27, 1936, that some form of monetary reimbursement was appropriate for her service.⁵⁷ Obviously the congregation had respect and valued her work with the children even though this distinctly ethnic school was contrary to the Canadianizing aims of the United Church of Canada. Again the conflicting aims and goals of the Ukrainian congregation and the United Church of Canada were embodied in the small yet active Ukrainian school at Robertson Memorial.

The work of the Ukrainian Sunday School and Young People's group carried on separately until 1936. That year they were united with their corresponding organizations of the Robertson Memorial congregation. The youth of the two congregations would now be educated and raised in the same Anglo-Saxon environment. This would contribute to the estrangement of the Ukrainian youth from the Ukrainian congregation and to their inability to be part of the development of the Ukrainian United Church traditions, because there would be no specific Ukrainian youth activities.

The financial burden continued with full force for the Ukrainian congregation. The United Church of Canada still demanded yearly fees and payments, which perpetually grew in amount. In 1937 the Ukrainian United Church had to pay \$334.00 to the Institutional Mission Board.⁵⁸ This was their own payment, even though they had moved into Robertson Memorial church. No matter what changes befell the Ukrainians the one certainty which remained was the fact that they always needed to pay dues to the United Church of Canada.

The language in which the minutes of the Ukrainian church were being written

also underwent a significant change. Up to 1937 they were kept in Ukrainian. The minutes for the 1938 annual meeting were written in both English and Ukrainian.⁵⁹ As late as 1938 the Ukrainian congregation still referred to itself as the “Ukrainian Evangelical Congregation”. Only later did they begin to use the proper “United” term to describe themselves. Some distance between the two church bodies still lingered on.

While there appears to have been no formal directive, or at least no record of such has been found, in 1939, as a matter of evolution, the minutes of the Ukrainian congregation began to be wholly recorded in English.⁶⁰ This change reinforces the fact that slowly the Ukrainian congregation was being completely integrated into the Anglo-Saxon environment which surrounded it.

An effort to reach out to the women of the Ukrainian congregation was initiated in 1939 when the Anglo-Saxon women leaders of the Women’s Missionary Society of the United Church met with the Ukrainian women and explained the wide scope and sisterhood of their society.

The Ukrainian Mother’s Club met in November 1939, with Rev. Eustace in attendance, and a Ukrainian Women’s Missionary Society was set up in the name of Evelyn Mitchell, an Anglo-Saxon. It was not an option to name the Ukrainian Women’s Missionary Society after an outstanding Ukrainian evangelical woman, such as the first Ukrainian deaconess, Miss Dorothy Kushner, who “labored in co-operation” with Rev. Katsunoff and Rev. Eustace at the Ukrainian United Church congregation at the Independent Greek Church location.⁶¹

This new women’s club aimed at educating church members about the activities

of the United Church. It was not intended to cultivate the ethnicity of the members, but rather involved discussions of global missionary work in such places as Burma and Japan.⁶² This club met every two weeks in the houses of its members.⁶³ Obviously, this organization did not cater to the Ukrainian cultural roots of the congregation, but rather to the cosmopolitan membership and assimilatory aims of the United Church of Canada.

A more significant move of the Ukrainian congregation into the realm of influence of Robertson Memorial came about two years later. At the annual meeting held on January 12, 1941, Rev. Eustace made a direct plea for greater administrative cooperation.

According to the minutes:

There was also a resolution adopted unanimously [*sic*] after Rev. Eustace explained that it benefit both congregations, if a closer affiliation is brought about....Resolved that the Ukrainian congregation is infavor [*sic*] of forming a joint session with the Robertson Memorial Congregation.⁶⁴

Eustace was thus instrumental in bringing about this closer relationship. Not only had the congregation moved and adopted closer ties to Robertson, but by 1941 they were now integrated into a joint administration with the Anglo-Saxon congregation. As time progressed, the Ukrainians grew into a more and more intimate relationship with the United Church of Canada. These changes came about as a result of the loss of separateness and independence on the part of the Ukrainians, and the greater influence of the United Church on their activities.

Despite submitting to the United Church the Ukrainian congregation frequently faced financial problems in its new relationship. The fall of 1941 saw concerted efforts once again to raise money. From envelope drives to church dinners,⁶⁵ the congregation

continued to try to bear the monetary burden of being in the United Church of Canada.

The Women's Auxiliary "Nadia" was an important component of the Ukrainian congregation. This club met weekly and generally got together to discuss the activities of the United Church of Canada.⁶⁶ This organization, coupled with the Women's Missionary Society, which met every two weeks, filled the free time of the Ukrainian women of the congregation. Not only were meetings held in people's houses, but in addition to this the two organizations often monopolized their members volunteer efforts through such activities as congregation meetings, teas, bazaars, dinners, and ultimately worship services on Sunday morning and evening and other worship meetings into 1945.⁶⁷

The Ukrainian School at Robertson continued to flourish until 1945 when it too was dealt a death blow. At the Robertson Memorial annual meeting, held on January 16, 1945, the feasibility of the Ukrainian school was discussed. According to the minutes "Miss Houston explained that there had been no special demand for the Ukrainian school and it had been discontinued. This report accepted on motion of Miss Houston, seconded by Mr. Pastuck."⁶⁸ One of the last ethnic elements of the Ukrainian congregation was eliminated. This was another small step in the complete erasing of that which made them unique.

The following years were relatively uneventful. The certainty of fee payments never left the Ukrainian congregation. As a matter of fact they consistently increased. The 1947 Institutional Mission Board fee was \$474.00, up from the \$334.00 paid in 1937.⁶⁹ The payments kept climbing so that in 1951 the same fee had almost doubled to

\$755.00.⁷⁰ The Ukrainians faced an uphill battle. Not only was their ethnic uniqueness being slowly disassembled, but in addition to this they faced growing financial obligations. The Ukrainian congregation was only a shadow of the distinctive separate church body it had been between 1903 and 1933.

The last fifteen years or so of the Ukrainian United Church congregation, merged with the Robertson Memorial congregation, passed by quietly. The format of events and the scheduling of services remained the same (after 1936) in conjunction with Robertson. All aspects of the life of the Ukrainian United Church congregation were inextricably interwoven with Robertson Memorial with the congregation deferentially complying with direction from the United Church.

In keeping with the established tradition of celebrating church anniversaries at the Robertson Memorial location, the Ukrainian United Church congregation celebrated their fiftieth anniversary as an evangelical congregation in November 1953.⁷¹ This momentous anniversary was not celebrated elaborately and the only particular recorded in the minutes was the attendance of the former minister, Rev. Katsunoff.⁷²

The Ukrainian evangelical traditionalists reported that the Ukrainian Evangelical Congregation in Winnipeg was celebrating the Fifty-year anniversary of their existence, and "This was the first organized congregation in 1903 in Canada."⁷³ During this celebration Pastor J. Kovalevitch gave greetings both as editor of *K. Ranok* and as vice-chairman of the Ukrainian Evangelical Alliance.⁷⁴ Sadly, the Ukrainian evangelicals made no mention that this had once been a separate Ukrainian United Church Congregation.

Also, Robertson Memorial United Church reported that their Fifty-Second Anniversary was attended by Rev. Katsunoff and his wife who were in Winnipeg for the Fiftieth Anniversary of the Ukrainian congregation.⁷⁵ The Fifty-Year Anniversary of the Ukrainian congregation did not have the verve of the Thirty-Year Anniversary celebration. Neither congregation drew attention to the fact that 1953 also saw the Twentieth Anniversary of the Ukrainian congregation's move to Robertson Church to lead a joint life with the Robertson Memorial congregation.

Although the Ukrainian United congregation in Winnipeg continued to have Ukrainian language services every Sunday and had the services of a Ukrainian speaking minister, Ukrainian-language-only congregations were still not acceptable to the United Church of Canada. The issue came to a head when a group of Ukrainian United Church people in Canora, Saskatchewan, requested a Ukrainian-speaking minister. This brought out the long-held belief by the Presbyterian/United Church that the use of the Ukrainian language meant that "their motives are more nationalistic than religious."⁷⁶ United Church Anglo-Saxon attitudes toward Ukrainians flowed freely across provincial borders and could be indicative of things to come in Winnipeg. As well, the discussions of the Canora matter took place in Winnipeg, with the Rev. Kovalevitch acting as intermediary.

Canora had a similar setting to Winnipeg. There was an English congregation with increasing numbers of members and supporters of Ukrainian origin, and a separate Ukrainian congregation with a Ukrainian minister who was in poor health. The joint arrangement of the two congregations at Robertson Memorial was not mentioned as a solution for Canora.

At a meeting in Winnipeg of Home Missions officers from Toronto, Saskatoon and Winnipeg, Rev. Kovalevitch was asked for his views which were that

The Protestant Ukrainians at Canora...by which he means those Ukrainians who are neither Greek Catholic, Greek Orthodox, nor Ukrainian Greek Orthodox, want to have the continuance of a Protestant witness in the Ukrainian language, and they feel that by withdrawing the Ukrainian services the United Church is letting them down and leaving the community without what they call a Protestant witness....this attitude will continue for some time.⁷⁷

The Home Missions people concluded "that it would be very unwise for us to have two ministers at Canora, as it would tend to draw away some of the Ukrainian people from our English congregation and possibly lead to rifts, even within families."⁷⁸

Rev. Kovalevitch, who also ministered occasionally in Saskatchewan,⁷⁹ was to visit the Ukrainian congregation again "and intimate what we believe to be the real motives of these Ukrainian folk who are determined to maintain the Ukrainian language and not be absorbed into our English-speaking congregation."⁸⁰ The situation was to be "handled with both sympathy and firmness."⁸¹

This issue was discussed all through 1954 by the authorities. The matter of the Canora Ukrainian United congregation was not just an isolated case in Saskatchewan, but was a forerunner of things to come in Winnipeg. The policies were from the Home Missions Board, Toronto, who had the final say.

The tranquility of the Ukrainian United congregation was unexpectedly ruffled by the death of Rev. Elias Eustace who died in Winnipeg, June 29, 1955.⁸² He had been pastor of the Winnipeg Ukrainian United congregation for twenty-six years. To some of his flock, he had represented the betrayal they felt they had undergone at the hands of the

United Church.⁸³

Rev. Luke Standret, a Ukrainian, took over as the new minister of this congregation from September⁸⁴ and in June 1956 his induction as minister of the Ukrainian United Church took place.⁸⁵ He took over the editorship of *K. Ranok* in 1958, as well as ministering to Ukrainian congregations in Saskatchewan when required.⁸⁶

In November 1956, Robertson Memorial United Church celebrated its Fifty-Fifth Anniversary. The write-up in the *Winnipeg Free Press* about this forthcoming event included background information of the Ukrainian United Church's shared existence at Robertson as follows:

It was in the early summer of 1933 that by a unique arrangement, Robertson Memorial became the joint place of the original congregation and of its foster-child, Winnipeg's first Ukrainian Presbyterian (later United) Church.

The Ukrainian United Congregation was organized in 1903 as a Greek Orthodox Church. The Presbyterian Church took it over as a mission in 1904; and in 1925 it came into the United Church of Canada with its Presbyterian sponsors. In 1932 the Ukrainian Sunday School won the banner at the North District Sunday School rally on New Year's day.

At the time when the two congregations commenced the joint use of Robertson Church and community, it was estimated that Robertson, through its various services, ministered to about 22,000.⁸⁷

The information given by the Robertson people to the *Free Press* disregarded the existence of the Independent Greek Church at its separate location with its separate administration from 1903 to 1912. This omission was the fulfilment of the Presbyterian long-range objective. Also, the existence of the Ukrainian Presbyterian Church for twelve years and the Ukrainian United Church for eight years in the same building as the

Independent Greek Church was omitted. Referring to the Ukrainian Presbyterian Church as Robertson Memorial's "foster-child" supports the fact, as previously mentioned, that the Ukrainian Presbyterians were never really accepted as full-fledged Presbyterians. While the *Free Press* article was not a history of the Ukrainian United congregation, it did confirm the subordination of this congregation to the Robertson Memorial Church and Robertson's view that the origins of the Ukrainian church and background over fifty years later, were not relevant to acknowledge.

Rev. Standret continued to minister in the placid existence of the Ukrainian United congregation at Robertson. His time for congregational work was reduced by the time spent as editor of *K. Ranok* as well as occasional services he conducted in rural Manitoba and Saskatchewan.⁸⁸ The services of Deaconess Miss Z. Stoddard to the Ukrainian congregation were ended in 1958.⁸⁹ The decrease in the amount of time the Ukrainian minister had for congregation services and the ending of the Deaconess position meant that the Ukrainian congregation was left more and more to take part in Robertson services. A few Ukrainian members even transferred their membership to Robertson.

A reassessment of the United Church's work in Manitoba's capital was contained in the *Report of the Down Town Survey Committee of Winnipeg Presbytery, June 18, 1958*. With respect to the Ukrainian congregation it reported that this congregation "seems reasonably satisfied with their present headquarters at Robertson Memorial,"⁹⁰ and this location for the Ukrainian congregation "was as convenient to its work as could be effected."⁹¹ Although the committee suggested to the Ukrainian congregation that "its

distant membership who only attend occasionally” be encouraged to worship at the United Church in their area, “the congregation felt that there was a genuine allegiance to their traditional ethnic congregation though church attendance was not regular from some 40 of its members.”⁹² This was a sign that an independent spirit had not been totally extinguished in that congregation.

Rev. Standret wrote a brief description of the Ukrainian congregation from the time he had become established as the minister. He stated that after the move to Robertson “the Sunday School and the Young People’s groups were amalgamated. They are now supervised by the Robertson Church Session.”⁹³

The Ukrainian church was comprised of the congregation, the Ukrainian Women’s Auxilliary called “Nadia”, and the Ukrainian Women’s Missionary Society.⁹⁴ Out of a congregation membership of 124, approximately one-half were active.⁹⁵

Rev. Standret was a busy man. In 1960 he “conducted 32 Ukrainian preaching services in Winnipeg, 12 preaching services in Rosburn, and four services in English during the summer season when we hold combined church services at Robertson.”⁹⁶ Besides the editorship of the twenty-page monthly publication of *K. Ranok*, to which he was expected to devote one-third of his time, he held 42 Ukrainian funeral services to non-adherents of the Ukrainian United Church. These were transformed to “preaching services of about 45 minutes.”⁹⁷ In the previous year he had “only four funeral services...for members of our congregation.”⁹⁸

During the summer of 1960 Rev. Standret performed four wedding ceremonies of which only one ceremony was performed at Robertson Memorial, the couple being from

the Ukrainian congregation. Another was performed at St. Stephen's-Broadway United Church, Winnipeg. The other two were performed out of province—one in Toronto, and one in Canora, Sask.⁹⁹

The two congregations at Robertson Memorial seemed to be able to cooperate in joint participation services. A new Sector Plan was devised in 1959 to share the expense of installing a new gas furnace.¹⁰⁰ This was done in November 1960. The costs were divided so that the Home Mission Board paid one-half, Robertson Memorial congregation one-third, and one-sixth was the Ukrainian congregation's portion.¹⁰¹

A Sacred Ukrainian Christmas Concert was held Monday evening, December 26, 1960, at Robertson Memorial United Church. The program consisted of a combined Ukrainian choir, church orchestra, vocal duets and instrumental solos. The Ukrainian Protestant churches of Winnipeg participating were "Ukrainian United, Ukrainian Baptist, Ukrainian Pentecostal and Russian-Ukrainian Baptist."¹⁰² The proceeds from the free-will offering went to the British Bible Society.

In the schedule of services and activities at Robertson Church and House, the only Ukrainian congregation activities were the Ukrainian language church services on Sunday mornings, and the meetings of Ukrainian Women's Auxiliary and Ukrainian Women's Missionary Society, which now met only once a month.¹⁰³

The Winnipeg congregation was a steady, dependable and co-operative congregation that fulfilled their obligations and were content to continue worshipping jointly with Robertson, as they had done for over twenty-seven years. The financial situation of the congregation improved over the years, as they met their increased quotas

from the Conference Office. At the Annual Meeting on January 9, 1961, the financial report showed that the Ukrainian congregation started 1961 with a bank balance of \$599.99.¹⁰⁴ They had to raise the following for the proposed budget of 1961:

Institutional Missions - [\$]1224.00; M. & M. [Missionary and Maintenance Fund] - 225.00; Wpg. [Winnipeg] Presbytery - 20.00; *The Canadian Morning* [*K. Ranok*] - 40.00; Lord's Day Alliance - 7.50; Canadian Bible Society - 7.50; Ukranian [*sic*] Evangelical Alliance - 25.00; Local Expenses - 636.00; [Total \$] - 2230.00.¹⁰⁵

The membership of the congregation, according to the United Church of Canada Year Book in 1961, was listed as 90 Active Families; 88 Inactive Families; 12 persons connected with families; 780 under Pastoral Care, and the salary paid to the Minister was \$2,250.00.¹⁰⁶

While the activities of the Ukrainian United congregation carried on in a particular way that had become the norm over the years, the United Church Home Missions Board again began examining their responsibilities toward the maintenance of ethnic congregations, with the Ukrainians as a central focus for them. The insistence of the Canora, Sask., congregation to have a Ukrainian minister so that their Ukrainian United congregation would continue existing as it had for many years brought out the United Church's opposition to the continued use and retention of the Ukrainian language. This "Ukrainian nationalism" and thus presumed separateness from other Canadians had to end. The United Church's ambivalence regarding Ukrainian-language congregations resulted in the Winnipeg Presbytery drawing up a policy statement towards such congregations that would affect the Winnipeg Ukrainian congregation directly and negatively.

The United Church continued the Presbyterian belief, formed before the First World War, that it was the Presbyterians' duty to provide religious services to the large numbers of Ukrainian immigrants in Manitoba because the priests of the churches from the homeland had not accompanied the immigrants. In this respect the United Church had been concerned for the "spiritual welfare of these new Canadians."¹⁰⁷

The policy of the United Church towards ethnic congregations in 1961 was stated as follows:

While the United Church has fostered separate congregations for national groups, with ministers able to speak the language of the people, this has always been regarded as an interim step leading to the integration of these people into the life and work of United Church congregations already established in the communities.¹⁰⁸

Now in 1961 the United Church was preparing to relinquish its commitment to the long-held belief that it was the United Church's duty to provide religious services for Ukrainians. The earlier Presbyterian work and its continuation by the United Church had scarcely regarded the Ukrainian ancestral churches as Christian. Now, in the more ecumenical 1960's the United Church did an about-face with respect to the validity of the Ukrainian ancestral churches and acknowledged that "The European churches have established congregations and constructed church buildings for those who desire to remain within the religious traditions of the old land."¹⁰⁹ But what was important to the United Church was that they claimed that "Large numbers of them [Ukrainians] have become active church members and officers in United Church congregations throughout Manitoba...Our ministry includes a number of first and second generation Canadians of

Ukrainian origin.”¹¹⁰ This claim was in fact true, but the numbers of ethnically Ukrainian United Church members were due less to United Church missionary work than to urbanization, to upward social mobility which often saw the United Church as the church of the elite, and to inter-marriage. By 1961, the only remaining Ukrainian United Church congregation in Manitoba was the one in Winnipeg at Robertson Memorial.

The demise of this congregation was initiated by the Conference Home Missions Committee which recommended on March 1, 1961, “that the grant to Rev. Luke Standret, minister of the Ukrainian congregation of North Winnipeg, be discontinued after June 30, 1961. The Board of Home Missions accepted this recommendation and we have invited the Ukrainian congregation to unite with the Robertson congregation, with the provision for nine services in the Ukrainian language a year.”¹¹¹ Once more this was to be an enforced decision, for the Ukrainian congregation had not been consulted about the termination of its pastor.

At the same time, the United Church determined that the time had come to close *K. Ranok*, also as of June 30, 1961. Founded “to help the Ukrainians to gain an understanding and appreciation of Canadian institutions and ideals,” the paper had difficulty in maintaining a sufficient base of paid subscriptions and required a subsidy of \$4,000 per year.¹¹² Now the Conference Home Missions Committee deemed that this grant from the United Church was no longer justified, and its recommendation was accepted by the Board of Home Missions. Rev. Standret, editor for the previous three years, was “commended for the high quality of work he produced in this publication.”¹¹³ The last issue of *K. Ranok*, No. 940 of July/August 1961, stated that the paper would be

owned now by the Ukrainian Evangelical Alliance and would be published in Toronto under the name *Yevanhelskyi Ranok (Evangelical Morning)*.

This final issue did not carry any news about the process of uniting the Ukrainian congregation with the Robertson Church. In fact, the United Church declaration encountered opposition. In April, three delegates from the Ukrainian Congregation Official Board had been invited to meet with three delegates from the Robertson Memorial Official Board on May 12, 1961, to discuss details of the union. But Rev. L. Standret advised Rev. E. F. File of Robertson Memorial Church that:

his Official Board is not prepared to enter into such a union and that the Ukrainian delegates will not be authorized to discuss the working out of any Union that would terminate the life of the present congregation.¹¹⁴

The written record does not explain what happened next.¹¹⁵ No doubt pressure was brought to bear on the Ukrainian congregation throughout the summer. However, something approaching an obituary appeared in the *Proceedings of the Annual Meeting of the Manitoba Conference*, held June 5 to 9, 1961:

We record our real appreciation for the inspiration and faithfulness of ministers and members of the Ukrainian congregations in Manitoba Conference and whose life and work have produced so many capable and devoted church members among our congregations.¹¹⁶

A decisive meeting, which brought to an end the existence of the Winnipeg Ukrainian United Church located at Robertson Memorial United Church, was held on the evening of October 25, 1961. Once again, as it had done on difficult occasions in the past, the United Church brought out its big guns. Once again, the Ukrainians were informed of a United Church decision. The minutes recorded tersely and in less than

perfect English:

Wednesday Oct 25th 1961. 8 PM.

A special meeting between the Chairman of the Presbytery[,] Chairman of Board of Home Mission as well as Rev. Campbell secretary of Home Missions and representatives of the Ukranian [*sic*] Congregation was held. The Chairman of Presbytery informed the Ukranian [*sic*] Congregation. That the said Congregation will not be in tact any more as of October 31st 1961.

It was suggested that a letter from the office of Mr. Campbell be sent to every member of the Ukranian [*sic*] Congregation. Informing them of what has taken place. Also to arrange for transfer to any other church of their own choice. A meeting is to be held on November 16th 1961.¹¹⁷

Immediately after this special meeting the Ukrainian Congregation met briefly and decided to give its organist \$50.00 and to donate \$25.00 each to the 64th Troop of Boy Scouts and to Senior Citizens.¹¹⁸ The last entry in the minutes of the very brief final meeting of November 16, 1961, recorded that "The remainder of the Ukranian [*sic*] Congregation funds are to be sent to the 'Fresh Air Camps'."¹¹⁹

The last meeting of the last Ukrainian United Church congregation in Manitoba was of the Winnipeg congregation where the Ukrainian evangelical movement in Canada began in 1903. This last meeting took place in November when traditionally the Ukrainian United congregation each year celebrated their congregation's anniversary. In November 1961 there was no anniversary celebration; instead it was the elimination of their congregation.

Thus came to an end, with scarcely more than a whimper of protest, fifty-eight years of the existence of a Ukrainian Evangelical Church in Winnipeg.

For all the years of its relationship with the Presbyterians, and later the United

Church, it was evident that the Ukrainian congregation was never really regarded as a possible Ukrainian Protestant church in its own right. It was seen as an experiment, as something to be calculatingly used by those churches for their own goals, and to be dispensed with when these goals were deemed to have been fulfilled.

One other point of view of the United Church authorities needs to be addressed. The United Church dealt with this congregation and paper as a business venture. As a commercial elite they were concerned with return on investment. Seeing they had not improved their return either by increased congregations, membership or financial income they decided to cut their losses and move on. Business attitudes were strong in the Presbyterian Church as discussed at the 1913 Pre-Assembly Conference, as well as the influence from leading Canadian businessmen that carried over into the United Church.

The final closing of the church resembles a present-day “downsizing.” The first cut was the salary of Rev. Standret; the second cut was the yearly grant to the *K. Ranok* paper. There was no mention in the records of the spiritual Christian growth of the members nor of their Christianization. There was also no mention in the records of the retention of the Ukrainian United Church tradition that had evolved since 1925 that was peculiar to this Ukrainian Church.

In this religious business venture there had been a tangible accomplishment that benefitted the Anglo-Saxon congregations both financially and numerically. Ukrainians had become individual members of and had been active in their Anglo-Saxon congregations even into the second and third generation. In analysing the ledger in 1961, there was no longer a benefit to the United Church either financially, numerically nor in

terms of influence. Supporting the Ukrainian United Church or the *K. Ranok*, and Christianizing and Canadianizing Ukrainians through Robertson Memorial Church and Robertson House was no longer of vital importance.

The tradition of the Ukrainian United Church was shucked off at the time when the United Church itself was developing its own unique traditions resulting from the fusion of the three uniting denominations. The United Church was evolving into an original denomination in the 1950's and 1960's, "Clearly a distinctive United Church style of worship was emerging."¹²⁰ Interestingly, in the process of evolving and developing the United Church had adapted a "softened" approach to ritualism¹²¹ to the point that it made the previously absolutely unthinkable admission of there being something positive in the Ukrainian ancestral religions. This had been unheard of in the history of the Ukrainians' association with the Presbyterian Church and the United Church, but was now committed to paper.

"The youth of The United Church, the younger ministers and the young married people...have felt that they have been missing something in their churches. They have been starved for the beauty which the Roman Catholic, the Greek Catholic, the Orthodox, and the Anglican takes for granted."¹²²

But these changed attitudes in the United Church did not translate into benefitting the Ukrainian congregation. Rather than requesting the Ukrainian congregation to encourage their members who attended services irregularly to attend their local Anglo-Saxon congregation, the United Church could have been encouraging the Ukrainians in Anglo-Saxon congregations to be a part of existing Ukrainian United Church congregations or even to establish more such congregations. This would have been in

keeping with the apparently more tolerant, broader outlook of the United Church.

Unfortunately for the Winnipeg Ukrainian United congregation, the United Church had predetermined that the Ukrainian United Church congregation was to be dissolved, and cancelled all vestiges of its existence. The proper business-like acknowledgement of the Ukrainian congregation's input into the life of the Anglo-Saxon United Church was recorded in a ledger-like manner.

There was no sense of loss at Robertson Memorial in 1962 following the disbandment of the Ukrainian congregation. Robertson Memorial celebrated their sixtieth anniversary in 1961 and in reporting this event no reference was made to the fact that the Ukrainian United congregation had been a vital part of the Robertson Memorial church for twenty-eight years. A former Pastor, G. Morrison of Toronto, as well as two other Winnipeg ministers attended this celebration, but no former Ukrainian minister was included.¹²³ While Robertson Memorial traced their history from 1901 when the first Presbyterian mission was begun on Dufferin Avenue, Robertson Memorial church building was opened in 1911, making it fifty years old in 1961 at the Robertson location. If one traces the history of Robertson Memorial from 1911, then the Ukrainian congregation had been jointly existing with Robertson for more than half of Robertson Memorial's existence.

While sharing the Church facilities with Robertson, the Ukrainian Congregation had carried their full share in the maintenance of the buildings, paid toward the up-keep of Robertson, and jointly purchased and installed a Casavan Pipe Organ in 1947 as a memorial to servicemen of both congregations who had been killed and all others that

served in World War II.¹²⁴

During 1961 progress was claimed to have been made in many departments at Robertson. The reference to the Ukrainian congregation in the *Robertson Broadcaster* stated:

Another change involved the disbandment of the Ukrainian congregation at Robertson. We have received fifteen members of their congregation into the Robertson fellowship and wish all the Ukrainian members well as they transfer to the churches of their choice.¹²⁵

However, the majority of the Ukrainian congregation did not immediately transfer their membership to Robertson. It was dubious for Rev. File to be wishing all the Ukrainian members well as they transferred to the churches of their choice when the United Church had disbanded the Ukrainian congregation against the wishes of the members.¹²⁶

The members had not asked for their congregation to be disbanded and now cynically they were being wished well. The Ukrainian Church was the church of their choice that was taken away from them. Now they were cast aside.

The disbandment caused a dilemma for the membership because the Ukrainian United Church had been the church they had wanted, and after thirty or more years of membership there, they were hard-pressed to select another church. Some tried going to other Ukrainian churches, such as the Baptist and Catholic, and did not like it there. Some questioned the necessity for disbandment given that they had always fulfilled their obligations, and in any case they had lost their church. The United Church had money for foreign missions, which had no guarantee of large numbers of converts, but there was no money for the Ukrainian congregation that had proved their loyalty.¹²⁷

The final elimination of the traces of the existence of the Ukrainian congregation took place in 1962. Reported in the *Robertson Broadcaster* was the creation of a new Evelyn Mitchell unit of the newly re-organized United Church Women, out of the Ukrainian United Evelyn Mitchell Women's Missionary Society including "several of its former members."¹²⁸

Also in 1962, Miss Stoddart, a deaconess for forty years, was honored for her service and Dr. J. R. Mutchmor, the former Robertson pastor, attended from Toronto.¹²⁹ Miss Stoddart had worked with the Ukrainian congregation for many years, but no Ukrainian minister was included in this occasion.

A year after the disbandment of the Ukrainian United congregation nothing was left of the Ukrainian congregation or its components. The United Church determined and made "Arrangements...for this congregation to be transferred to the United Church of their choice in the area where they live. Much of this congregation's life and work will be continued in Robertson Memorial where more than one-third of the total congregation is of Ukrainian ancestry."¹³⁰ The disbandment of the Ukrainian United congregation dissolved many years of loyalty, devotion and fidelity. Their special way of worshipping God was ended.

Notes

¹*Knyha* (1933), 38.

²*Ibid.*, 38-41.

³*Ibid.*, 38.

⁴*Ibid.*, 39.

⁵*Ibid.*

⁶*Ibid.*

⁷*Ibid.*, 40.

⁸*Ibid.*

⁹*Ibid.*

¹⁰*Ibid.*

¹¹*Ibid.*, 41.

¹²*Ibid.*

¹³*Ibid.*

¹⁴*Ibid.*, 42.

¹⁵*Ibid.*

¹⁶*Ibid.*

¹⁷*Ibid.*

¹⁸*Ibid.*

¹⁹“Presbytery Minutes,” of *United Church of Canada, Winnipeg Presbytery, Regular Session*. Manitoba College, Winnipeg. Sept. 9, 1930, p. 7.

²⁰*Minute Book of the Session*, Robertson Memorial Church, Mar. 1925 - Feb. 1937, p.103.

²¹*Robertson Broadcaster* 9, no. 1 (1933).

²²*Year Book* (1933), 30-31.

²³"The Sub-Executive-Thirteenth Meeting, June 1929," in *Year Book* (1933), 33.

²⁴*Robertson Broadcaster* 6, no. 7 (1930).

²⁵*Ibid.* 9, no. 5 (1933), 1.

²⁶*Ibid.*

²⁷*Ibid.*

²⁸Gordon, *The Life of James Robertson*, 181; see also *Year Book* (1925), 61.

²⁹The building still stands, and is now used for outreach to youth in the district.

³⁰All of its 38 members and representatives were Anglo-Saxons. One member and one corresponding member (Rev. J. A. Cormie) were from Manitoba. Board of Home Missions The United Church of Canada, *One Great Fellowship: A Record of Service and Sacrifice on the Home Mission Fields of The United Church of Canada in 1933* (Toronto: United Church Publishing House, n.d.).

³¹*One Great Fellowship*, 24.

³²*Ibid.*, 27.

³³*Ibid.*, 28 (Cormie reported in a slightly different way and misrepresented the distance between the two buildings, in *Year Book* (1934), p. 142).

³⁴Hunter, *A Friendly Adventure*, 34-35; see also Clifford, *The Resistance to Church Union in Canada 1904-1939*, 45-46.

³⁵*One Great Fellowship*, 21.

³⁶*Ibid.*

³⁷*Ibid.*

³⁸Oliver, *His Dominion of Canada*, 284.

³⁹*One Great Fellowship*, 21, 22.

⁴⁰*Ibid.*, 22-23, the Church of All Nations in Montreal was led by the former pastor of the Winnipeg Ukrainian congregation, Rev. R. G. Katsunoff.

⁴¹*One Great Fellowship*, 24.

⁴²*Ibid.*, 26.

⁴³Ibid.

⁴⁴Silcox, *Church Union in Canada*, 448.

⁴⁵Ibid., 344.

⁴⁶*Knyha* (1936), 55.

⁴⁷Ibid. (1930), 26-27. This was the first instance the congregation tried to remove Rev. Eustace.

⁴⁸*Knyha* (1936), 60.

⁴⁹Ibid. Resolution typewritten separately, dated Feb. 9, 1936, Winnipeg.

⁵⁰Ibid., 61.

⁵¹United Church Archives-Ukrainian United Church Archives.

⁵²United Church Archives-Ukrainian United Church Archives.

⁵³*K. Ranok* no. 654, 1948, p.3 and *K. Ranok* no. 832, 1955, p. 2, cited in Dombrowsky, *Narys*, 268.

⁵⁴United Church Archives-Ukrainian United Church Archives.

⁵⁵*Knyha* (1936), 48.

⁵⁶Ibid., 53.

⁵⁷Ibid., 57.

⁵⁸Ibid., 68.

⁵⁹Ibid., 67-69.

⁶⁰Ibid., 73.

⁶¹United Church Archives-Ukrainian United Church Archives, Katsunoff, *Ukrainian United Church*, 13. *Minutes of the Evelyn Mitchell Women's Missionary Society. Oct. 1939-Dec. 1945.* (Hereafter, *EMWMS*). Also see United Church Archives, Robertson Broadcaster 6, no. 7 (1930).

⁶²*EMWMS*.

⁶³Ibid.

⁶⁴*Knyha* (1941), 76.

⁶⁵*Ibid.*, 77.

⁶⁶*EMWMS*.

⁶⁷*Ibid.*

⁶⁸United Church Archives, *Robertson Memorial Minutes*. It may be noted that at this time there were all types of Ukrainian schools flourishing in the Ukrainian community in Winnipeg.

⁶⁹*Knyha* (1947), 109.

⁷⁰*Ibid.* (1951), 137.

⁷¹*Ibid.* (1953), 152.

⁷²*Ibid.*, 158.

⁷³Dombrowsky, *Narys*, 257.

⁷⁴*Ibid.*; *K. Ranok* Dec. 1, 1953.

⁷⁵*Roberson Memorial United Church Session Report, 1953* (n.p., n.d.).

⁷⁶Superintendent Robert Hall, Saskatoon, to Rev. C. H. Best, Winnipeg, Oct. 13, 1953, letter *Re: Ukrainian Missions, Canora, Sask.*, United Church Archives-Ukrainian United Church Archives.

⁷⁷Dr. Dorey, Feb. 2, 1954, memo from Dr. Dorey *Re: Ukrainian Work*, United Church Archives-Ukrainian United Church Archives.

⁷⁸*Ibid.*

⁷⁹*Report of the Down Town Survey Committee of Winnipeg Presbytery, June 18, 1958* done by the United Church, Winnipeg, 28. (Hereafter, *Down Town Survey*).

⁸⁰Hall, Oct. 13, 1953, letter.

⁸¹*Ibid.*

⁸²*K. Ranok* no. 654, 1948, p. 3 and *K. Ranok* no. 832, 1955, p. 2, cited in Dombrowsky, *Narys*, 268. Rev. E. Eustace's obituary notice in newspaper-no newspaper name or date provided in clipping, United Church Archives-Ukrainian United Church Archives.

⁸³Interview with members of the former congregation who wish to remain anonymous, Winnipeg, Feb. 19, 1982.

⁸⁴*Knyha* (1956), 172.

⁸⁵*Robertson Memorial Annual Meeting, Jan. 15, 1957.*

⁸⁶*Down Town Survey*, 28.

⁸⁷*Winnipeg Free Press*, Saturday, Nov. 17, 1956, "Around the Churches, Pioneer's Name Lives on", United Church Archives-Robertson Memorial Church, Winnipeg, Archives

⁸⁸*Knyha* (1959), 189-190.

⁸⁹*Ibid.* (1958), 190.

⁹⁰*Down Town Survey*, 18.

⁹¹*Ibid.*, 27.

⁹²*Ibid.*

⁹³Luke Standret, "Ukrainian Mission Work" (n.p., typescript, n.d.). United Church Archives-Ukrainian United Church Archives.

⁹⁴*Ibid.*

⁹⁵*Ibid.*

⁹⁶*Ibid.*

⁹⁷*Ibid.*

⁹⁸*Ibid.*

⁹⁹*Robertson Broadcaster*, Dec. (1960), p. 2.

¹⁰⁰*Ibid.*, Feb.

¹⁰¹*Ibid.*, Dec., p. 1.

¹⁰²*Ibid.*, Dec., p. 2.

¹⁰³*Ibid.*, Dec., p. 8.

¹⁰⁴*Knyha* (1961), 199.

¹⁰⁵*Ibid.*, 201.

¹⁰⁶*Year Book* (1961), 474-475.

¹⁰⁷“Our Work Among Canadians of Ukrainian Ancestry,” in *United Church of Canada Record of Proceedings of the Thirty-Seventh Annual Meeting of the Manitoba Conference*. Westminster United Church, Winnipeg. June 5-9, 1961, p. 58.

¹⁰⁸*Ibid.*

¹⁰⁹*Ibid.*

¹¹⁰*Ibid.*

¹¹¹*Ibid.*, 59.

¹¹²*Ibid.*

¹¹³*Ibid.*

¹¹⁴Superintendent Edger F. File, Winnipeg, to Rev. N. K. Campbell, Winnipeg, April 25, 1961, letter *Re: Union of Robertson Church and Ukrainian Congregation*, United Church Archives-Ukrainian United Church Archives.

¹¹⁵Rev. Standret was transferred to Tilston, Manitoba, about 295 kilometers southwest of Winnipeg, in an area where there were few if any Ukrainians. See Robertson’s Diamond Jubilee, Winnipeg, “Our Church’s Work Among Canadians of Ukrainian Ancestry” (n.p: typescript, n.d). United Church Archives.

¹¹⁶“Our Work Among Canadians of Ukrainian Ancestry”, 59.

¹¹⁷*Knyha* (1961), 202. The entry is here reproduced verbatim.

¹¹⁸*Ibid.*, 203.

¹¹⁹*Ibid.*

¹²⁰Thomas Harding and Bruce Harding, *Patterns of Worship in The United Church of Canada, 1925-1960* (Toronto: Evensong Publications, 1995), 108.

¹²¹*Ibid.*, 107.

¹²²*Ibid.*, 108.

¹²³*Robertson Broadcaster* 36, no. 1 (1962), p. [1].

¹²⁴Board of Managers, Organ Fund, Robertson Memorial Church, Nov. 5, 1946.

¹²⁵*Robertson Broadcaster* 36, no. 1 (1962), p. [1].

¹²⁶*Ibid.*

¹²⁷Interview, Mr. and Mrs. J. Skibinski, Feb. 5, 1982, Winnipeg.

¹²⁸*Robertson Broadcaster* 37, no. 1 (1963), p. 1.

¹²⁹*Ibid.*

¹³⁰“Our Church’s Work Among Canadians of Ukrainian Ancestry”.

CONCLUSION

This thesis was multi-faceted in what was explored and in what my findings were to be. The conclusions therefore, follow from this exploration, and are similarly constructed.

I chose to study, in a chronological fashion the developments which occurred in the Canadian Ukrainian experiment that was to become the Ukrainian United Church. Embedded within those developments of necessity there was the particular institutions relationship, that of the Presbyterian and later United Church's Winnipeg establishment with the Ukrainian leaders and congregation of the Ukrainian United Church.

The first stage of the church was the Independent Greek Church founded by a small self-selected group of Ukrainians who viewed themselves as religious pathbreakers in Canada. Bodrug and his trailblazer colleagues wanted to establish an independent church but one which did not have the flaws they perceived the traditional Ukrainian churches to have, nor did they wish their church to be subject to the abuses they believed to have existed in the established churches in the countries from which they had emigrated. It was to act as a bridge from Eastern Christianity to something closer to the Protestant denominations which they first encountered in Canada. With the conditional support of the Presbyterians they founded this type of church in 1903. That church had relative autonomy in its governance, and in the ordination of its priests.

Not very much time would pass before the Independent Greek Church leaders felt the pressure of the Presbyterian authoritarian attitude toward what they had created. An

early experience of this attitude regarded the naming of the church. At Presbyterian direction, the Ukrainians called their church Independent Greek rather than what they had wanted, i.e. the Ruthenian Independent Greek Orthodox Church. The choice of the name was an indication of the Presbyterian intolerance of Ukrainian maintenance of their traditions and other markers of their identity.

In short order, the Ukrainians encountered the authoritarianism of the Presbyterians in other experiences. The pace at which reform of the Independent Greek Church would take place was determined by the Presbyterians, and not by the Ukrainians who made up that church. In 1911 the Presbyterians simply declared that those who disagreed with the proposed reforms would have to worship somewhere else. In this way, they disregarded the founder Bodrug's advice to bring reform in progressively, not rapidly.

Another display of the rigid approach of the Presbyterians was their decision to withdraw all financial support from the Independent Greek Church. An ultimatum stating that the ministers and congregation would be absorbed into the Presbyterian church left no alternative to the Ukrainians who may have wished to retain an autonomous church evolving at its own pace into the first evangelical church among Ukrainians in Canada. Instead, the majority of the Ukrainian ministers submitted to the Presbyterian directive and complied with the reform expected by their former sponsors.

By 1913 there was an identifiable group of believers to whom this development was a real blow. In fact, the dissolution of their church was a nearly fatal event for the congregation and its leaders. The Ukrainian Presbyterian Church, the successor to the

Independent Greek Church, retained its physical separateness, although the Winnipeg Presbyterians took over title to the church property. These arbitrary actions by the Presbyterians led to a loss of Ukrainian control of their form of worship and over their autonomous organized life as a church, and to a consequent loss of self-esteem. What remained was a small passive congregation administered by the protectors-Presbyterians. No Ukrainian superintendent nor intermediary was named, and the Presbyterian Church exercised their aggressive evangelization over the Ukrainians in their ongoing authoritarian manner.

The other initiatives of the Presbyterians regarding the Ukrainians which were in the same spirit were the financing of the newspaper *Ranok* which was founded in 1905 and became *Kanadiyskyi Ranok (Canadian Ranok)* in 1920. From its inception, the Presbyterians regarded *Ranok* as a very effective tool for assimilating, Canadianizing and evangelizing the Ukrainians. The paper continued to be an instrument of the Presbyterian and the United Churches, and was supported by them until funding was terminated in 1961.

In 1911 Robertson Memorial Church and House were opened in the North End of Winnipeg. The full-blown assimilatory work of these institutions would come later, but early on they reflected the condescension of the Presbyterians toward Ukrainians. In the second phase of the church, 1913-1925, the Ukrainian Presbyterian congregation limped along as well as it could given its subordinate position. There were episodes of renewed independent activity during this period whenever an assertive leader appeared. In 1916, such an episode occurred when lively activity was recorded. From 1921 a minister of

Bulgarian origin oversaw a growth of membership and a revival of church services and church organizations. Yet throughout this period, it was the Presbyterian message that was preached; the Ukrainian language, when it was used, was to further the conversion of the faithful to Presbyterian belief and not to support a distinctive Ukrainian form of Protestantism. Governed by the Winnipeg Presbytery, the compliant Ukrainian membership had nominal control only over its building and secular Ukrainian activities did emerge to some extent at that time.

A challenge to the Presbyterians was the Ukrainian Evangelical Alliance of North America which formed in 1922 with its banner of uniting Ukrainian evangelicals while promoting retention of Ukrainian identity and culture. Unlike the Ukrainians in the Winnipeg Presbytery's purview who were being assimilated through their relationship with that church, the Alliance people strove to retain their Ukrainian identity and culture. This illustrates that there were Ukrainian evangelicals who wanted to retain their Ukrainianness, and who were concerned that Ukrainian evangelicals under the authority of Anglo-Saxon churches, such as the Presbyterian, were being quickly assimilated.

Robertson House was active and Robertson Memorial Church re-opened in 1920, but both of these institutions were not at first directly involved with the Ukrainian congregation.

Church union took place in 1925 excluding Ukrainian involvement. The discussions preceding church union showed that molding immigrants into proper Canadians remained a significant issue. The belief that all immigrants should be compelled to conform to Anglo-Saxon Protestant culture continued to be very strongly

held. The aggressive Presbyterian leadership in Winnipeg involved with Ukrainians in the United Church was intent on shaping Ukrainians in a certain way into Canadians and could not tolerate losing the ideal to Canadianize them through evangelizing. The United Church of Canada had the same attitudes as the Presbyterian Church towards Ukrainians, and carried on in the same way.

The Ukrainian Presbyterian congregation in Winnipeg was taken into the United Church automatically. Thus began the existence of the Ukrainian United Church in Winnipeg.

Under Rev. Katsunoff until 1929 the congregation probably had a more regular church life than before or after because they had an able and permanent preacher for seven years.

The twenty-five year anniversary of the Ukrainian United Church in Winnipeg (which still termed itself the "Evangelical Church") in 1928 was not celebrated. Instead a booklet was published the following year about the Ukrainian United Church at the Independent Greek Church location highlighting United Church aims and congregation activities. It completely ignored the independent Ukrainian historical background of this congregation and downplayed the prior existence of the Independent Greek Church.

The Ukrainianness of the congregation was not fully acknowledged because the United Church of Canada wanted to give the impression that they were above ethnic differences and that the entire process of their missionary work aimed to make all ethnics active members of the United Church, and hence good Canadians. It clearly shows that there was a great distance separating the United Church of Canada and the Ukrainian

congregation.

Early in 1925 Robertson Memorial outreach activity to the Ukrainian congregation increased. Activities of the Ukrainian congregation had to be included in their *Robertson Broadcaster* bulletin. But their continuing objective, as before, was assimilatory. The life of the Ukrainian United Church carried on separately, but when necessary activities were conducted at Robertson Memorial Church and House. This seemed to be the beginning of exchange and co-operation between the United Church and the Ukrainian congregation.

Compared to the early 1920's the Ukrainian congregation had a stable situation. Financially they were sound and in some years they could consider carrying some added expenses. In addition to this secure financial basis the church was realizing some of the aims of the United Church of Canada. As early as 1929 the Ukrainian congregation had attracted members from other ethnic groups; for example, three Chzechoslovaks and one "Hollander." This was a proud achievement in the assimilatory program of the United Church. Yet in all reality the congregation was still a distinctly Ukrainian one, a fact which continued to aggravate the relationship between these two church bodies. In these years the Ukrainian congregation was active, especially the Sunday School and youth organizations such as Boy Scouts and CGIT. These various Canadianizing youth organizations maintained a high ideal of participation bringing thus the possibility of future members for this Ukrainian congregation.

In spite of the success of the Ukrainian United Church there were some subtle developments which were paving the way for a major change in their status within the

United Church. Compared to Robertson Memorial, the Ukrainian congregation was quite small. Indeed, Robertson Memorial was a large church organization with a formidable membership and level of church activities. As early as 1929 the Ukrainian congregation began holding its religious services at Robertson in the winter-time. What may have seemed harmless on the surface brought with it an underlying process of assimilation.

The growing trend of moving more and more activities to Robertson Memorial continued during the next few years. Between 1927 and 1933 a large number of the week-day activities were transferred to Robertson Memorial, bringing the Ukrainian congregation more and more, and more directly, into the sphere of influence of the United Church of Canada. By moving the activities of the Ukrainian congregation by small steps to Robertson, the Ukrainians trustingly believed this was a cooperative arrangement because of the larger facilities and varied activities at Robertson. They were not aware that the seemingly benevolent attitude of Robertson leaders towards the Ukrainian congregation had an underlying purpose to bring the Ukrainian congregation under the direct influence and control of Robertson Memorial.

At the same time the Ukrainian congregation remained committed to its unique self-directed activities. For example by 1930 the congregation at McGregor Street and Pritchard Avenue wanted to paint its own building. Another sign of its self-reliance was the way in which it tried to resolve the issue of Pastor Eustace.

In spite of the independent success of the Ukrainian congregation, the attitude of the United Church of Canada did not change. In 1932 the United Church still saw itself as steward of Canadianization, which basically translated into their primary aims being

socio-political while religious matters come into consideration only secondarily. As a result of this continued attitude the Ukrainian congregation was never really nurtured nor encouraged to develop their unique Ukrainian form of the United Church. Rather the United Church was moving quickly and effectively to extinguish the sparks of self-initiated decisions made by the Ukrainian congregation.

It was in January 1933 that a decisive turn of events occurred in the long and subtle slide of the Ukrainian congregation to Robertson Memorial. At the two meetings in that month the decision was made for the congregation to move permanently to Robertson Memorial, relinquishing the church property at McGregor and Pritchard. The Ukrainian congregation was told that the United Church Home Mission board's reasons for this decision were financial and practical. As the decision to sell the Ukrainian church building had in fact been made three years earlier, the leadership of the United Church acted in a very devious manner towards its Ukrainian congregation. The results of this decision officially brought to an end the existence of a separate, distinct Ukrainian evangelical congregation whose church had stood for thirty years at the corner of McGregor Street and Pritchard Avenue. This was the first step in the dissolution of a unique Ukrainian congregation distinct from any other United Church of Canada congregation. The Ukrainians were now firmly within the influence of Robertson Memorial and the Anglo-Saxon Canadian establishment which Robertson represented.

The years at Robertson Memorial Church started out with a joint celebration of the anniversaries of the two churches—thirty years for the Ukrainian United and thirty-two years for Robertson Memorial. This combined celebration did formally acknowledge the

Ukrainianness of the Ukrainian congregation. This was a marked improvement over the twenty-fifth anniversary of the Ukrainian congregation. Regardless of this admission, in true United Church of Canada spirit the Ukrainian congregation's anniversary was equated with the anniversary of Robertson Memorial. It became clear at this time onwards that Robertson Memorial would be instrumental in the life of the Ukrainian United Church. In actual fact it was now an appendage of Robertson Memorial.

The overall success of the United Church's aims at assimilation of immigrant groups across Canada was not overwhelming. The move of the Ukrainians to Robertson signified but a small victory. A Home Missions report in 1933 clearly stated that the work with non-Anglo-Saxons was progressing poorly. The pessimism clearly indicated that the United Church recognized its lack of success in its mission goals. In addition, the Ukrainian community in general was now knowledgeable of the assimilatory aims of the United Church and was beginning to challenge their work. But it was to be of little avail.

The Ukrainian congregation continued peacefully co-operating with Robertson Memorial. Dissension hit in 1936 when the Ukrainian congregation asserted themselves and again tried to remove pastor Eustace. The resolution to the pastor Eustace problem was forcibly decreed by the United Church of Canada. The United Church supported Eustace and saw him as a valuable player in the assimilatory process occurring at Robertson Memorial. The authentic concerns of the Ukrainian congregation were deliberately disregarded in favour of the overarching assimilatory goals of the United Church. The whole event showed once again that any self-initiative on the part of the Ukrainian congregation was not to be tolerated.

In any case, the years 1933 to 1936 signalled a drastic change in the activity and the overall autonomy of the Ukrainian congregation. By fully moving to Robertson the Ukrainians accepted closer co-operation with the Anglo-Saxon establishment of the United Church of Canada. In this process the United Church clearly dictated the pace of integration of the Ukrainians. It is this tone which set the stage for the final chapter in the life of the Ukrainian United Church.

Activities such as the Sunday School in 1936 were merged with Robertson Memorial. Ultimately the Ukrainian youth was being lost to the Ukrainian congregation because they were not being brought up in a Ukrainian religious milieu. However, the Ukrainian congregation continued for a time to maintain its Ukrainian school.

The gradual replacement of the Ukrainian language in the minutes with English in 1939 coupled with the continued amalgamation of youth and adult groups brought the Ukrainian congregation fully under the administrative, religious and cultural influence of Robertson Memorial and the United Church of Canada. The formation of a joint session with Robertson Memorial in 1941 solidified the full integration of the Ukrainian congregation. With the closure of the Ukrainian school in 1945 the loss of a unique identity of the Ukrainian congregation was accelerated.

Throughout these years of subtle change and greater integration with Robertson Memorial the one certainty which faced the Ukrainians was their increasing financial obligations to the greater United Church of Canada. From 1936 to 1951 the Ukrainian congregation became more and more like a typical Canadian United Church, a pale image of what they had been during the years 1925 to 1933.

The years 1951 to 1961 were the last stage in the existence of the Ukrainian United Church in Winnipeg. The Ukrainian congregation was well established at Robertson Memorial. By this time the activities were inextricably interwoven with Robertson. As the congregation conformed and were compliant to what was required of them by the United Church, they had no reason to suspect that their existence and their remaining Ukrainian activities were in jeopardy.

Meanwhile the United Church was reassessing their responsibility and policy towards ethnic congregations. In 1961 the United Church of Canada concluded that their aim was that ethnic congregations would be assisted only to a certain point at which the congregations could be integrated into existing Anglo-Saxon United Church congregations. When the United Church believed the Ukrainians were assimilated to their standards and satisfaction, the Ukrainians would be absorbed totally into that church.

In this period there was an erosion of the activities that had reflected the unique identity for this Ukrainian congregation. The fiftieth anniversary in 1953 of the original Ukrainian evangelical congregation was a quiet event which reflected the lack of attention given to the special traditions which the Ukrainian United Church had developed over fifty years. The ministry in the Ukrainian language was much reduced in this period with the change in pastors. The number of services in Ukrainian to the Ukrainian congregation was whittled down. Therefore, the Ukrainian congregation had no alternative but to participate in Robertson Memorial English language services more and more.

In 1958, there was a recommendation put to the Ukrainian United Church that the members of their congregation who attended services irregularly should be encouraged to

attend the local Anglo-Saxon United Church. This proposal generated a negative response because they maintained a special loyalty to their traditional Ukrainian congregation. The Ukrainian congregation did not see irregular attendance as a reason to lose members to Anglo-Saxon congregations. This showed that the Ukrainians were determined to retain their separate congregation. What appeared as an opportunity for the United Church to draw members away from the Ukrainian congregation was seen by the Ukrainian congregation as a threat to the remaining members' loyalty to their congregation. The Ukrainian congregation was not relinquishing any of its integrity to the Anglo-Saxon church.

All through the 1950's and into the early 1960's the Ukrainian congregation wanted to retain their separateness at Robertson, together with their Ukrainian-language services. They also continued to meet their financial obligation to the United Church of Canada.

Nevertheless the United Church was consistent in its design for the assimilation of the Ukrainian congregation. There was no nurturing or encouragement for a Ukrainian form of the United Church. For them, as earlier for the Presbyterians, an ethnic church was at best a temporary expedient.

For years there had been an insufficient number of Ukrainian-speaking United Church ministers. By 1960 the Ukrainian congregation's last pastor, Rev. L. Standret, besides being editor of *K. Ranok*, was also called upon to minister to United Church congregations in rural Manitoba and Saskatchewan, and once in northwest Ontario. He was certainly, and possibly deliberately, overloaded, and not able fully to perform his

pastoral duties to his home congregation. As a result there was a decline in the number of Ukrainian-language Sunday morning services. Decreasing the number of Ukrainian-language services to the Ukrainian congregation weakened its identity. Because such services were held irregularly, there was probably an adverse effect on church attendance. A self-fulfilling prophecy was thus created: fewer services meant a lower attendance; lower attendance implied that fewer services were needed. The consequence was that there was a continual reduction in the opportunities for Ukrainians to worship in their chosen congregation.

In 1961 the United Church took the final assimilatory step. A unilateral decision was taken to put an end to the existence of the Ukrainian congregation. A protest was overridden and the pastor transferred to Anglo-Saxon rural Manitoba. It is true that there were by this time considerable numbers of ethnic Ukrainians who were members of English-language United Church congregations in Manitoba. Perhaps it was therefore not profitable to support this Ukrainian congregation, for the returns on this investment were not sufficient.

The manner of the disbandment of the Ukrainian United Church was characteristic of a number of important decisions made by Presbyterian and United Church leaders. The Ukrainian congregation was simply and firmly told what was to happen. A separate Ukrainian evangelical congregation was not to be tolerated indefinitely. This final act of the United Church brought to a conclusion this experiment in the Christianization and assimilation of Ukrainians in Winnipeg. To the very end, however, there was a desire for a separate congregation, with its own identity, but the

United Church's intention had always been to absorb the Ukrainian experiment sooner or later.

The whole relationship that has been explored in this thesis is that of a handful of Ukrainians who decided to create a Protestant entity in conjunction with an Anglo-Saxon Protestant denomination in Winnipeg. Rather than nurture the seedling and encourage its growth and sustainability, the Presbyterian Church, and then the United Church, had a plan for the assimilation of the Church these people created.

Consequently the project of establishing a uniquely Ukrainian United Church was a failure. The Ukrainians had problems negotiating their own particular identity in this new evangelical world, and, at least initially, had difficulties in adjusting to their new country. On the other hand, the United Church of Canada had difficulty appreciating and nourishing the unique identity of the Ukrainian congregation. The two streams of this Canadian experience were never able to meet peacefully and create a new river. There was no room for tolerance. The United Church was unwilling to accommodate the particular identity of the Ukrainian congregation. The failure of a unique Ukrainian Christian enterprise was the end result of the failure of the Presbyterians and later of the United Church to allow a Ukrainian Protestant Church to develop in their midst.

Robertson Memorial Church is now empty and the edifice is up for sale. The Ukrainian United Church building, constructed in 1905 and said to have been in such great need of extensive repair in 1932/33, still stands, and is used as a faith institute reaching out to the youth of the district.

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APPENDIX 1**TITLES OF PROPERTY**

December 28, 1907 - Appendix 1A
November 16, 1908 - Appendix 1B
December 19, 1908 - Appendix 1C
May 20, 1913 - Appendix 1D
May 21, 1913 - Appendix 1E
July 12, 1917 - Appendix 1F
April 24, 1930 - Appendix 1G
July 29, 1933 - Appendix 1H

Cert. No. 103354

MANITOBA



Certificate of Title

UNDER THE REAL PROPERTY ACT

WASYL NOVAK, JOHN BODRZIG AND ANDREW OSTAPOWICZ, all of the City of Winnipeg in Manitoba, Trustees of the Congregation of the Independent Greek Church of our Saviour, in Winnipeg, are now seized of an Estate in Fee Simple subject to such Encumbrances, liens and interests as are notified by memorandum underwritten, or endorsed hereon, in All the pieces or parcels of Land known and described as follows:

... of the Parish of Saint John, in the Province of Manitoba, being in the City of Winnipeg, and being the most Southerly Seventy five feet in depth of Lots Seven hundred and fifty seven, and Seven hundred and fifty eight, and the most Southerly Seventy five feet in depth of the most Westerly Twelve feet in width of Lot Seven hundred and fifty nine, which lots are shown on a plan of survey of part of Lots Thirty seven and Thirty eight of the Parish of Saint John, registered in the Winnipeg Land Titles Office Winnipeg Division as No 53.

*John Bodzig
John Ostapowicz
Wasył Novak
1928*

IN WITNESS WHEREOF I have hereunto Signed my name and affixed my Seal of office this Twenty eighth day of December One thousand nine hundred and seven Signed in the presence of

Driver

Esbarney
District Registrar
for Winnipeg

The land mentioned in this Certificate of Title is under "The Real Property Act" subject by implication to:
 1. Any subsisting reservation contained in the original Grant of this land from the Crown.
 2. Any municipal charges, rates or assessments at the date of this Certificate, or thereafter, chargeable against this land.
 3. Any unregistered subsisting right of way or other easement over this land.
 4. Any unregistered subsisting lease or agreement for a lease for a period not exceeding three years, where there is actual occupation of this land under the same.
 5. Any mechanical lien affecting this land.
 6. Any judgments, decrees or orders for the payment of money against the registered owner, registered since the date of this Certificate and properly maintained in force.
 7. All public highways embraced in the description of this land.
 8. Any rights of appropriation by statute.
 9. The title of any person adversely in actual occupation of said land entitled to this land when it was first brought under said Act.
 10. Caveats affecting this land registered since the date of this Certificate of Title.

MANITOBA

CERTIFICATE

UNDER THE REAL PROPERTY ACT

- The land mentioned in this Certificate of Title is under "The Real Property Act" subject by implication to:
1. Any subsisting reservation contained in the original grant of this land from the Crown.
 2. Any municipal charges, rates or assessments at the date of this Certificate, or thereafter, chargeable against this land.
 3. Any unregistered subsisting right of way or other easement over this land.
 4. Any unregistered subsisting lease or agreement for a lease for a period not exceeding three years, where there is actual occupation of this land under the same.
 5. Any Mechanics' Lien affecting this land.
 6. Any judgments, decrees or orders for the payment of money against the registered owner, registered since the date of this Certificate and properly maintained in force.
 7. All public highways embraced in the description of this land.
 8. Any right of expropriation by statute.
 9. The title of any person adversely in actual occupation of and rightly entitled to this land when it was first brought under said Act.
 10. Caveats affecting this land registered since the date of this Certificate of Title.

NICOLAS KOZACHENKO, of the County of Brandon, Province of Manitoba, the Plaintiff, do hereby certify that the land described in the Schedule of the Independent Grant of our said Statute, and the same is the property of the Defendant herein, in all respects, or part of land known and described as follows:

lands and interests referred by memorandum underwritten, or endorsed hereon, in all respects, or part of land known and described as follows:

the most South-erly Seventy five feet in depth of lots seven hundred and fifty seven, and Seven hundred and fifty eight, and the most easterly Seventy five feet in depth of the most westerly lots seven hundred and fifty nine, when lots are shown on a plan of survey deposited at the Lands and Titles Office of the Parish of Selkirk, registered in the Winnipeg Land Titles Office Winnipeg Division as No 57.

In Witness Whereof I have hereunto signed my name and affixed my Seal of office this Nineteenth day of December One thousand nine hundred and eight.

M. H. Kepley
 District Registrar
 for Winnipeg

M. H. Kepley
 District Registrar
 for Winnipeg

Cert. No. 212501 1/2

MANITOBA

Certificate of Title

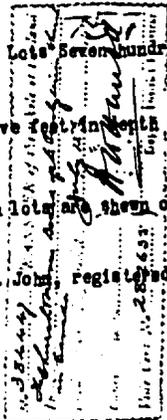
UNDER "THE REAL PROPERTY ACT"

HUGH J ROBERTSON

of the City of Winnipeg, in Manitoba, Minister of the Gospel, is

*now seized of an estate in fee simple, in possession, subject to such
encumbrances, liens and interests, as are notified by memorandum
underwritten, for endorsed, hereon, in all the one piece, or parcels, of
land, hereinafter described, as follows:*

of Manitoba, being in accordance with the special survey of said City, and being the most Southerly
Seventy five feet in depth of Lots Seven hundred and fifty seven and Seven hundred and fifty eight, and
the most Southerly Seventy five feet in depth of the most Westerly Twelve feet in width of Lot, Seven
hundred and fifty nine, which lots are shown on a plan of survey of part of Lots Thirty seven and Thirty
eight, of the Parish of Saint John, registered in the Winnipeg Land Titles Office, Winnipeg Division,
as No 53.



IN WITNESS WHEREOF
I have hereunto signed my name and
affixed my seal of office this
One thousand nine hundred and
Signed in the presence of

Twentieth day of May, thirteen.

W. Stewart

C. W. Austin
Deputy District Registrar
for Winnipeg

- The land mentioned in this Certificate of Title is under the Real Property Act subject to implication in
1. Any subsisting reservation contained in the original grant of this land from the Crown.
 2. Any municipal charges, rates or assessments at the date of this Certificate, or thereafter, chargeable against this land.
 3. Any unregistered subsisting right of way or other easement over this land.
 4. Any unregistered subsisting lease or agreement for a term for a period not exceeding three years, where there is actual occupation of this land under the same.
 5. Any mechanic's lien affecting this land.
 6. Any judgments, decrees or orders for the payment of money against the registered owner, registered since the date of this Certificate and properly maintained in force.
 7. All public highways embraced in the description of this land.
 8. Any right of expropriation by statute.
 9. Any other encumbrance adversely to actual occupants of and rightly entitled to this land where it was first brought under said Act.
 10. Caveats affecting this land registered since the date of this Certificate of Title.

Case No. 212501

MANITOBA

CERTIFICATE OF TITLE

UNDER THE REAL PROPERTY ACT

HUGH J ROBERTSON

of the City of Winnipeg, in Manitoba, Minister of the Gospel, is

1. Any subsisting reservation contained in the original grant of this land from the Crown.
2. Any municipal charges, rates or assessments at the date of this Certificate, or thereafter, chargeable against this land.
3. Any unregistered subsisting right of way or other easement over this land.
4. Any unregistered subsisting lease or agreement for a lease for a period not exceeding three years, where there is actual occupation of this land under the same.
5. Any mechanic's lien affecting this land.
6. Any judgments, decrees or Orders for the payment of money against the registered owner, registered since the date of this Certificate and properly maintained in force.
7. All public highways embraced in the description of this land.
8. Any right of expropriation by statute.
9. The title of any person adversely in actual occupation of and rightly entitled to this land when it was first brought under said Act.
10. Caveats affecting this land registered since the date of this Certificate of Title.

was subject of a *Warrant of Sequestration* for simple possession in respect to said premises, *to wit* Lot 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64, 65, 66, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79, 80, 81, 82, 83, 84, 85, 86, 87, 88, 89, 90, 91, 92, 93, 94, 95, 96, 97, 98, 99, 100, 101, 102, 103, 104, 105, 106, 107, 108, 109, 110, 111, 112, 113, 114, 115, 116, 117, 118, 119, 120, 121, 122, 123, 124, 125, 126, 127, 128, 129, 130, 131, 132, 133, 134, 135, 136, 137, 138, 139, 140, 141, 142, 143, 144, 145, 146, 147, 148, 149, 150, 151, 152, 153, 154, 155, 156, 157, 158, 159, 160, 161, 162, 163, 164, 165, 166, 167, 168, 169, 170, 171, 172, 173, 174, 175, 176, 177, 178, 179, 180, 181, 182, 183, 184, 185, 186, 187, 188, 189, 190, 191, 192, 193, 194, 195, 196, 197, 198, 199, 200, 201, 202, 203, 204, 205, 206, 207, 208, 209, 210, 211, 212, 213, 214, 215, 216, 217, 218, 219, 220, 221, 222, 223, 224, 225, 226, 227, 228, 229, 230, 231, 232, 233, 234, 235, 236, 237, 238, 239, 240, 241, 242, 243, 244, 245, 246, 247, 248, 249, 250, 251, 252, 253, 254, 255, 256, 257, 258, 259, 260, 261, 262, 263, 264, 265, 266, 267, 268, 269, 270, 271, 272, 273, 274, 275, 276, 277, 278, 279, 280, 281, 282, 283, 284, 285, 286, 287, 288, 289, 290, 291, 292, 293, 294, 295, 296, 297, 298, 299, 300, 301, 302, 303, 304, 305, 306, 307, 308, 309, 310, 311, 312, 313, 314, 315, 316, 317, 318, 319, 320, 321, 322, 323, 324, 325, 326, 327, 328, 329, 330, 331, 332, 333, 334, 335, 336, 337, 338, 339, 340, 341, 342, 343, 344, 345, 346, 347, 348, 349, 350, 351, 352, 353, 354, 355, 356, 357, 358, 359, 360, 361, 362, 363, 364, 365, 366, 367, 368, 369, 370, 371, 372, 373, 374, 375, 376, 377, 378, 379, 380, 381, 382, 383, 384, 385, 386, 387, 388, 389, 390, 391, 392, 393, 394, 395, 396, 397, 398, 399, 400, 401, 402, 403, 404, 405, 406, 407, 408, 409, 410, 411, 412, 413, 414, 415, 416, 417, 418, 419, 420, 421, 422, 423, 424, 425, 426, 427, 428, 429, 430, 431, 432, 433, 434, 435, 436, 437, 438, 439, 440, 441, 442, 443, 444, 445, 446, 447, 448, 449, 450, 451, 452, 453, 454, 455, 456, 457, 458, 459, 460, 461, 462, 463, 464, 465, 466, 467, 468, 469, 470, 471, 472, 473, 474, 475, 476, 477, 478, 479, 480, 481, 482, 483, 484, 485, 486, 487, 488, 489, 490, 491, 492, 493, 494, 495, 496, 497, 498, 499, 500, 501, 502, 503, 504, 505, 506, 507, 508, 509, 510, 511, 512, 513, 514, 515, 516, 517, 518, 519, 520, 521, 522, 523, 524, 525, 526, 527, 528, 529, 530, 531, 532, 533, 534, 535, 536, 537, 538, 539, 540, 541, 542, 543, 544, 545, 546, 547, 548, 549, 550, 551, 552, 553, 554, 555, 556, 557, 558, 559, 560, 561, 562, 563, 564, 565, 566, 567, 568, 569, 570, 571, 572, 573, 574, 575, 576, 577, 578, 579, 580, 581, 582, 583, 584, 585, 586, 587, 588, 589, 590, 591, 592, 593, 594, 595, 596, 597, 598, 599, 600, 601, 602, 603, 604, 605, 606, 607, 608, 609, 610, 611, 612, 613, 614, 615, 616, 617, 618, 619, 620, 621, 622, 623, 624, 625, 626, 627, 628, 629, 630, 631, 632, 633, 634, 635, 636, 637, 638, 639, 640, 641, 642, 643, 644, 645, 646, 647, 648, 649, 650, 651, 652, 653, 654, 655, 656, 657, 658, 659, 660, 661, 662, 663, 664, 665, 666, 667, 668, 669, 670, 671, 672, 673, 674, 675, 676, 677, 678, 679, 680, 681, 682, 683, 684, 685, 686, 687, 688, 689, 690, 691, 692, 693, 694, 695, 696, 697, 698, 699, 700, 701, 702, 703, 704, 705, 706, 707, 708, 709, 710, 711, 712, 713, 714, 715, 716, 717, 718, 719, 720, 721, 722, 723, 724, 725, 726, 727, 728, 729, 730, 731, 732, 733, 734, 735, 736, 737, 738, 739, 740, 741, 742, 743, 744, 745, 746, 747, 748, 749, 750, 751, 752, 753, 754, 755, 756, 757, 758, 759, 760, 761, 762, 763, 764, 765, 766, 767, 768, 769, 770, 771, 772, 773, 774, 775, 776, 777, 778, 779, 780, 781, 782, 783, 784, 785, 786, 787, 788, 789, 790, 791, 792, 793, 794, 795, 796, 797, 798, 799, 800, 801, 802, 803, 804, 805, 806, 807, 808, 809, 810, 811, 812, 813, 814, 815, 816, 817, 818, 819, 820, 821, 822, 823, 824, 825, 826, 827, 828, 829, 830, 831, 832, 833, 834, 835, 836, 837, 838, 839, 840, 841, 842, 843, 844, 845, 846, 847, 848, 849, 850, 851, 852, 853, 854, 855, 856, 857, 858, 859, 860, 861, 862, 863, 864, 865, 866, 867, 868, 869, 870, 871, 872, 873, 874, 875, 876, 877, 878, 879, 880, 881, 882, 883, 884, 885, 886, 887, 888, 889, 890, 891, 892, 893, 894, 895, 896, 897, 898, 899, 900, 901, 902, 903, 904, 905, 906, 907, 908, 909, 910, 911, 912, 913, 914, 915, 916, 917, 918, 919, 920, 921, 922, 923, 924, 925, 926, 927, 928, 929, 930, 931, 932, 933, 934, 935, 936, 937, 938, 939, 940, 941, 942, 943, 944, 945, 946, 947, 948, 949, 950, 951, 952, 953, 954, 955, 956, 957, 958, 959, 960, 961, 962, 963, 964, 965, 966, 967, 968, 969, 970, 971, 972, 973, 974, 975, 976, 977, 978, 979, 980, 981, 982, 983, 984, 985, 986, 987, 988, 989, 990, 991, 992, 993, 994, 995, 996, 997, 998, 999, 1000.

of Manitoba, being in accordance with the special survey of said City, and being Lots Seven hundred and fifty seven to Seven hundred and sixty, both inclusive, excepting thereout the most Southerly Seventy five feet in depth of Lots Seven hundred and fifty seven and Seven hundred and fifty eight, and the most Southerly Seventy five feet in depth of Lot seventy twelve feet in width of Lot Seven hundred and fifty nine, also excepting out of said Lots the most Northerly Eight feet in depth thereof, which Lots are shown on a plan of survey of part of Lots thirty seven and thirty eight, of the Parish of Saint John, registered in the Winnipeg Land Titles Office, Winnipeg Division, as No. 33.

IN WITNESS WHEREOF

I, Hugh J. Robertson, Minister of the Gospel, do hereby certify that the above is a true and correct copy of the original grant of this land from the Crown, as the same appears from the records of the Crown Lands Office, Winnipeg, Manitoba, this 15th day of May, 1911.

Witness my hand and official seal of the City of Winnipeg, in the presence of

W. Robertson
City of Winnipeg

W. Robertson
City of Winnipeg

W. Robertson
City of Winnipeg

Cert. No. 282635

MANITOBA

Certificate of Title

UNDER THE REAL PROPERTY ACT

THE CHURCH AND MANSE BOARD OF THE PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH IN CANADA.

is now seized of part estate, in fee simple, in possession, subject to such encumbrances, liens and interests as are notified by memorandum, underwritten (or endorsed hereon), in all the one piece or parcels of land known and described as follows. in the City of Winnipeg, in the

Province of Manitoba, being in accordance with the special survey of said City, and being Lots Seven hundred and fifty-seven to Seven hundred and sixty, both inclusive, Excepting out of all of said Lots the most Northerly eight feet in depth thereof; which Lots are shewn on a plan of survey of part of Lots Thirty-seven and Thirty-eight of the Parish of Saint John, registered in the Winnipeg Land Titles Office, Winnipeg Division, as No. 53.

No. 528114	TRANSMISSION BY
To possession of the <i>Church & Manse Board</i>	
all the same to be in	
the name of <i>Church & Manse Board</i>	
2.11.1938	
<i>[Signature]</i>	

IN WITNESS WHEREOF

I have hereunto signed my name and affixed my Seal of office this *Twelfth* day of *July* *One thousand nine hundred and* *seventeen.* Signed in the presence of

[Signature]

[Signature]

Deputy District Registrar

for Winnipeg



The land mentioned in this Certificate of Title is under the Real Property Act subject to compliance with the following conditions:

1. Any unregistered charges, rates or assessments at the date of this Certificate or thereafter, chargeable against this land.
2. Any unregistered subsisting right of way or other easement over this land.
3. Any unregistered subsisting lease or agreement for a lease for a period not exceeding three years, where there is actual occupation of this land under the lease.
4. Any mechanic's lien affecting this land.
5. Any claim for unpaid taxes or other payments of money against the registered owner, registered since the date of this Certificate and properly maintained in force.
6. All public highways embraced in the description of this land.
7. Any right of appropriation by statute.
8. The title of any person adversely in actual occupation of said land when it was first brought under said Act.
9. Any other claim or interest in this land which is not first brought under said Act.
10. Claims affecting this land registered since the date of this Certificate of Title.



Certification of Title

UNDER THE REAL PROPERTY ACT

THE UNITED CHURCH OF CANADA

- The land mentioned in this Certificate of Title is under "The Real Property Act" subject by implication to:
1. Any subsisting reservations contained in the original grant of this land from the Crown.
 2. Any municipal charges, rates or assessments at the date of this Certificate, or thereafter, chargeable against this land.
 3. Any unregistered subsisting right of way or other easement over this land.
 4. Any unregistered subsisting lease or agreement for a lease for a period not exceeding three years, whose term is actual occupation of this land under the same.
 5. Any drainage or mechanic's lien affecting this land.
 6. Any judgments, decrees or orders for the payment of money against the registered owner, registered since the date of this Certificate and properly maintained in force.
 7. All public highways embraced in the description of this land.
 8. Any right of expropriation by statute.
 9. The title of any person adversely in actual occupation of and rightly entitled to this land when it was first brought under said Act.
 10. Caveats affecting this land registered since the date of this Certificate of Title.

is now vested of an estate in fee simple in possession subject to sub-purchase and various fees and interests as are notified by memorandum duly underwritten in, and attached hereto, in all those pieces or parcels of land known and described as follows in the city of WINNIPEG, IN THE PROVINCE OF MANITOBA, BEING IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE SPECIAL SURVEY OF SAID CITY, AND BEING LOTS SEVEN HUNDRED AND FIFTY-SEVEN TO SEVEN HUNDRED AND SIXTY BOTH INCLUSIVE EXCEPTING OUT OF SAID LOTS THE MOST NORTHERLY EIGHT FEET IN DEPTH THEREOF WHICH LOTS ARE SHOWN ON A PLAN OF SURVEY OF PART OF LOTS THIRTY SEVEN AND THIRTY-EIGHT OF THE PARISH OF SAINT JOHN REGISTERED IN THE WINNIPEG LAND TITLES OFFICE, WINNIPEG DIVISION, AS

NO. 53.

No. 638983	TRANSFER OF ALL THE LAND
To Frank Djaicov	29 th July 1925
Produced and Registered	
This Cert. No. 472689	

Following to the trust created by The United Church of Canada, Act being Chapter 100 of the Statutes of the Province of Manitoba, passed in 1907, and Chapter 127 of the Statutes of the Province of Manitoba, passed in 1921.

Sholto
District Registrar

IN WITNESS WHEREOF *Sholto* District Registrar
 I have hereunto signed my name and
 affixed my Seal of Office, this TWENTY FOURTH day of APRIL
 One thousand nine hundred and THIRTY
 Signed in the presence of

Sholto
Sholto
 Deputy District Registrar
 for Winnipeg

47269



Certificate of Title

UNDER THE REAL PROPERTY ACT

FRANK DOJACEK
OF THE CITY OF WINNIPEG IN MANITOBA, MANAGER, NATIONAL PUBLISHERS LIMITED,

is now seized of an estate in fee simple in possession subject to such encumbrances liens and interests as are notified by memorandum underwritten (or endorsed hereon) in all the one piece or parcel of land known and described as follows :-

IN THE CITY OF WINNIPEG IN THE PROVINCE OF MANITOBA BEING IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE SPECIAL SURVEY OF SAID CITY AND BEING LOTS SEVEN HUNDRED AND FIFTY SEVEN TO SEVEN HUNDRED AND SIXTY, BOTH INCLUSIVE, EXCEPTING OUT OF SAID LOTS THE MOST NORTHERLY EIGHT FEET IN DEPTH THEREOF, WHICH LOTS ARE SHOWN ON A PLAN OF SURVEY OF PART OF LOTS THIRTY SEVEN AND THIRTY EIGHT OF THE PARISH OF SAINT JOHN, REGISTERED IN THE WINNIPEG LAND TITLES OFFICE, WINNIPEG DIVISION AS NO. 53.

IN WITNESS WHEREOF

affixed my seal of office this
One thousand nine hundred and
Signed in the presence of

I have hereunto signed my name and
TWENTY NINTH day of JULY
THREE THREE

amackay

Deputy District Registrar
for Winnipeg

The land mentioned in this Certificate of Title is under "The Real Property Act" subject by implication to:
1. Any mortgages, charges, liens or encumbrances at the date of this Certificate, or otherwise, chargeable against this land.
2. Any unregistered subsisting right of way or other easement over this land.
3. Any unregistered subsisting lease or agreement for a lease for a period not exceeding three years, when there is actual occupation of this land under the lease.
4. Any unregistered subsisting lease or agreement for a lease for a period exceeding three years, when there is actual occupation of this land under the lease.
5. Any judgment, decree or order for the payment of money against the registered owner, registered lessee, or mortgagee, or any person claiming under him, which is not satisfied in full.
6. Any judgment, decree or order for the payment of money against the registered owner, registered lessee, or mortgagee, or any person claiming under him, which is not satisfied in full, and which is not a judgment, decree or order for the payment of money against the registered owner, registered lessee, or mortgagee, or any person claiming under him, which is not satisfied in full, and which is not a judgment, decree or order for the payment of money against the registered owner, registered lessee, or mortgagee, or any person claiming under him, which is not satisfied in full.
7. All judgments, decrees or orders for the payment of money against the registered owner, registered lessee, or mortgagee, or any person claiming under him, which are not satisfied in full, and which are not a judgment, decree or order for the payment of money against the registered owner, registered lessee, or mortgagee, or any person claiming under him, which is not satisfied in full.
8. Any right of appropriation by statute.
9. The title of any person adversely in actual occupation of and rightly entitled to this land when it was first brought under said Act.
10. Caveats affecting this land registered since the date of this Certificate of Title.

660114 TRANSFER OF 2200
To Stefan Shostakov
Proceed and Registered
Win Unit No 47269

TRANSFER OF PART OF THE LAND
TOWN OF SAINT JOHN, PARISH OF SAINT JOHN
Proceed and Registered 75
Win Unit No 47269

APPENDIX 2

HISTORICAL PHOTOGRAPHS OF

THE UKRAINIAN UNITED CHURCH:

- | | |
|--|---------------|
| Independent Greek Church, Source Date 1957 | - Appendix 2A |
| Independent Greek Church, First and Second
Church Buildings, Source Date 1984 | - Appendix 2B |
| Ukrainian United Church, 1929 | - Appendix 2C |

ROBERTSON MEMORIAL UNITED CHURCH:

- | | |
|--|---------------|
| Robertson Memorial United Church, 1998 | - Appendix 2D |
| Robertson Memorial United Church
Signs on Church Building, 1998 | - Appendix 2E |
| Robertson Memorial United Church
Close-up of One Sign, 1998 | - Appendix 2F |

ROBERTSON MEMORIAL HOUSE:

- | | |
|---|---------------|
| Robertson Memorial House and
Robertson Memorial United Church
In Background, Source Date 1986 | - Appendix 2G |
|---|---------------|



Appendix 2A

Independent Greek Church

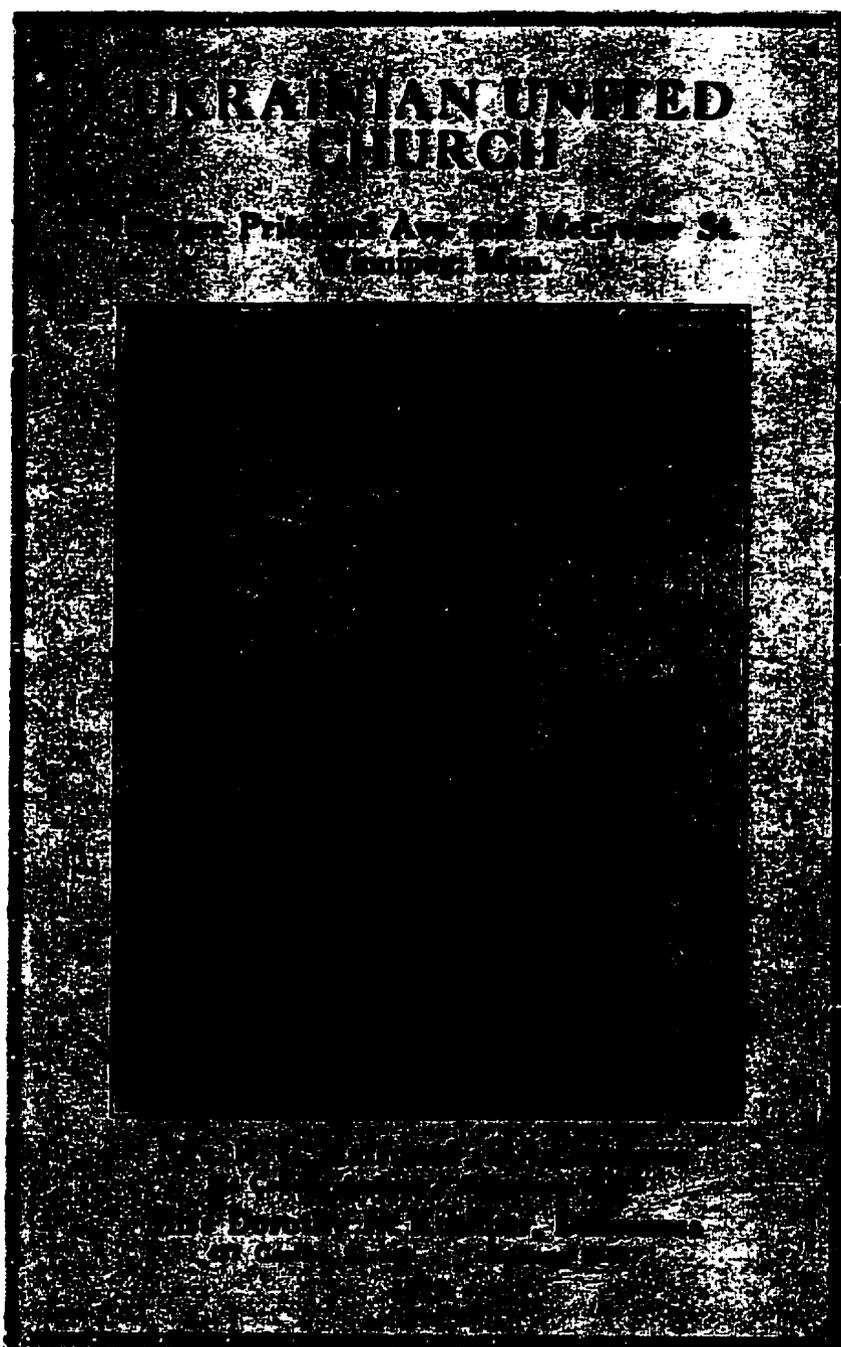
Source: Ukrainian Mutual Benefit Association of St. Nicholas of Canada, *Almanakh zolotoho iuvileiu, 1905-1955 (Golden Jubilee Almanac, 1905-1955)* (Winnipeg: Ukrainian Mutual Benefit Association of St. Nicholas of Canada, 1957), p.149. (The name of the church was incorrectly given in the source).



Appendix 2B

Independent Greek Church, First and Second Church Buildings

Source: M. C. Kotecki and R. R. Rostecki, *Ukrainian Churches of Manitoba: An Overview Study*, vol. 2 (n.p.: Historic Resources Branch for Department of Culture, Heritage and Recreation, 1984), p. 359. (The name of the church was incorrectly given in the source).



Appendix 2C

Ukrainian United Church

Source: R. G. Katsunoff, *Ukrainian United Church* (Winnipeg: n.p., 1929), cover of the source booklet.



Appendix 2D

Robertson Memorial United Church

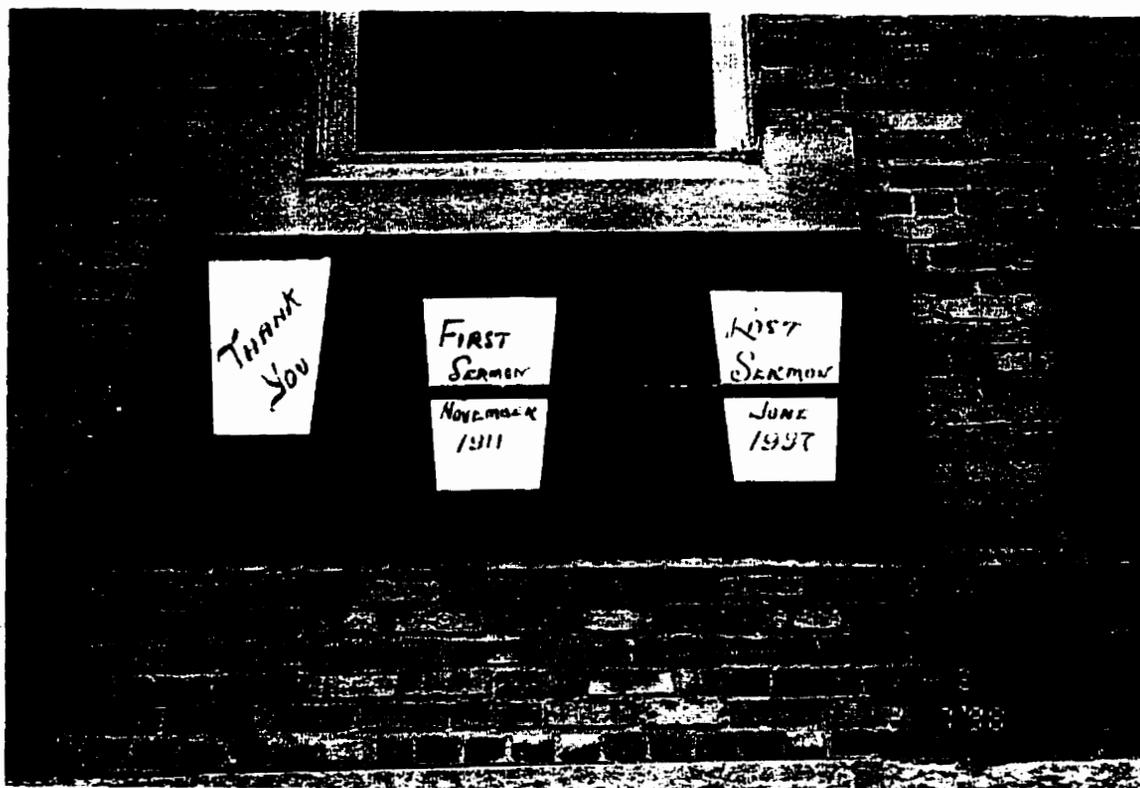
Photograph by the author, July 1998.



Appendix 2E

Robertson Memorial United Church - Signs on Church Building

Photograph by the author, July 1998.



Appendix 2F

Robertson Memorial United Church - Close-up of One Sign

Photograph by the author, July 1998.



Appendix 2G

**Robertson Memorial House and
Robertson Memorial United Church in Background**

Source: Lisa Murphy, *Missions and Settlement Houses in Manitoba, 1880-1930*, Document #0356H (n.p.: Historic Resources Branch for Manitoba Culture, Heritage and Recreation, 1986), p. 66.