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Canada

The Ideological and Intellectual Baggage of Three Fragments of Ukrainian
Immigrants:
A Contribution to the History of Ukrainians
in Quebec (1910-1960)

Yarema Gregory Kelebay

A Thesis
in
The Department
of
History

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for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy at
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ABSTRACT

The Ideological and Intellectual Baggage of Three Fragments of Ukrainian Immigrants: A Contribution to the History of Ukrainians in Quebec (1910-1960)

Yarema Gregory Kelebay, Ph.D.
Concordia University, 1992

This dissertation is a contribution to the history of Ukrainian immigration to Quebec from 1910 to 1960. It describes this immigration chronologically and deals with its intellectual evolution, which helped shape its institutional structure.

Louis Hartz's theory of colonial history attempted to explain phenomena associated with the founding of new societies in the New World. This study adopts the Hartzian approach to ethnic history and describes the historical conditions which pushed three intellectually distinct fragments of Ukrainian immigrants to establish a visible Ukrainian community in Quebec. The first fragment arrived before 1914; the second after World War I and the Russian Revolution; the third after World War II.

Using disposition to Marxist thought and the Russian Revolution as a test, the mentalities of the three fragments of Ukrainian immigrants to Quebec are described as first on the left, then in the centre, and finally on the right.

The mentality of each fragment led to different initiatives in the community and to the emergence of separate, competing Ukrainian institutional frameworks in Quebec.

World War I and the internment of Ukrainians as enemy aliens created a Ukrainian socialist-Communist movement in Quebec during the inter-war years. The second-fragment immigrants who came after 1920 bolstered the anti-socialist group, which split into Catholic and Orthodox factions in 1925 and created a network of competing secular and religious institutions in Quebec before 1939.

World War II led to some unity when Ukrainian institutions (except Communist ones) federated in the Ukrainian Canadian Committee (UCC), formed in 1941.

After 1945, a third fragment of nationalists arrived with a new mentality, adding to the division and complexity of the Ukrainian community in Quebec.

Although the third-fragment refugees were mostly anti-Communist nationalists, the rift in the OUN in 1941 divided them into Melnykites and Banderites. The preponderant majority of those who came to Quebec had sided with Stepan Bandera and were "men of the right."

By the time Quebec was on the eve of its "Quiet Revolution" in the early 1960s - a revolution aimed at modernizing the province by making it over into a progressive welfare state -- the three successive fragments of Ukrainian immigrants to the province were being guided in the opposite direction.

DEDICATION

To my father and mother, Konstantyn Kelebay and
Irene Pawlak-Kelebay; to Red for her never-ending patience and support;
and to my two cherished daughters, Alexandra and Katharine.

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The late Mr. Maurice Kostyrsky and Mr. Walter Mayka attended a course I taught a few years back at Concordia University with Dr. Roman Serbyn titled *The History of Ukrainians in the Old- and New Worlds*. During and after the course they maintained their interest in my project and generously assisted me with information about the Fragment I Ukrainians, the Drahomanov Society and the origins of the Orthodox

community in Montreal. Dr. Roman Serbyn is thanked for his help with some rare sources.

Mr. Myron Momryk of the National Archives of Canada offered invaluable help by guiding me through the archives, providing his expertise on Val d'Or, sharing his knowledge of Father Jean and I thank him for insisting that I include a chapter on the left.

I was greatly assisted by the late Mr. Osyp Diachyshyn who received me in his basement pressroom, gave me access to his records and guided me through the intricacies of the Lachine community.

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The late Mr. Bohdan (Gordon) Panchuk provided assistance by giving me access to his personal papers (which are now in the archives of the Ontario Multicultural Society), and unstintingly offering me many hours during which he told me about the formation of the UCC and the post-WWII displaced persons.

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Mr. Mykola Andruchiw deserves my thanks for his friendship, support and loyalty to the project.

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My colleagues Professors Morton Bain and Winston Emery listened patiently to my endless vetting of ideas and were stalwart in the giving of their time, ideas, support and comradeship.

Thanks are in order to Ms. Elenitsa Kotolaus and Jonnie Tannenbaum for typing and Mr. Timothy Locke for his quiet and gentlemanly editing.

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NOTE ON transliteration AND translation

There are three academically acceptable transliteration schemes from Cyrillic (or Ukrainian) to English: System A; System B; and System C. (See Below.)

System A is favoured by linguistic specialists and is therefore not widely used. Translators from Russian to English favour System B; the Ukrainian practice is to use System C.

The author of this study has therefore relied on System C throughout when no documentary evidence or direct knowledge to the contrary was available.

However, when documentary sources or reliable knowledge showed the adoption of any other acceptable or unacceptable system of transliteration and translation used by the sources, the author has deferred to the source and followed them.

All sources indicated as [in Ukrainian] have been translated by the author.

<u>Cyrillic</u>	<u>System A</u>	<u>System B</u>	<u>System C*</u>
а	a	a	a
б	b	b	b
в	v	v	v
г	h	g	h
г	g	g	g
д	d	d	d
е	e	e/ye	e
є	je	ě	ye
ж	ž	zh	zh
з	z	z	z
и	i	i	y
і	i	i	i
ї	jī	i	yi
й	j	y	y
к	k	k	k
л	l	l	l
м	m	m	m
н	n	n	n
о	o	o	o
п	p	p	p
р	r	r	r
с	s	s	s
т	t	t	t
у	u	u	u
ф	f	f	f
х	x	kh	kh
ц	c	ts	ts
ч	č	ch	ch
ш	š	sh	sh
щ	šč	shch	shch
ю	ju	yu	yu
я	ja	ya	ya
ь	,	,	,

**Journal of Ukrainian Studies*, vol. 14, nos. 1 and 2, Summer/Winter, 1989, xi-xii.

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Preamble

Canadian history depicts the development of modern English and French Canada as originating in response to two celebrated revolutions: the American Revolution of 1776 and the French Revolution of 1789.

English Canada became what it did because for the most part its members rejected American republicanism and remained loyal to Britain.

French Canada, for its part, rejected the ideas of the French "enlightenment" and remained loyal to the Catholic Church.

But what about the history of non-founding ethnic groups in Canada? How about one of the first of these, the Ukrainian immigration, which began just before the close of the last century and continued in three distinct waves culminating in the mass migration of Ukrainian refugees to Canada in the aftermath of World War II? Does this migration fit into the broader historiographical matrix?

As this study will show, it certainly does. It focuses on the history of Ukrainians

in Quebec as a contribution to the writing of the history of this important ethnic migration to Canada, whose members are now to be found in large numbers in most parts of the country.

Ukrainians in Quebec have a past, but as yet no history. This study is an attempt to rectify this while at the same time expanding the Canadian historiographical matrix. Like the history of the French and English in Quebec the history of Ukrainians was also intricately connected to a celebrated revolution, the Russian Revolution of 1917. The Ukrainian refugees from that revolution, being among the first, were in a unique position to fuse their values with the democratic ones of Canada.

It has been said that every historian writes local history. This subject was undertaken because the author was raised and lives in the Ukrainian community in Quebec. It may seem trite but it is necessary that we study ourselves to find out what makes us different and what is most valuable about our cultures and histories, the lessons learned from which can be imparted to others.

This is not a socio-economic or empirical social history of Ukrainians in Quebec. Numbers and statistics are usually insufficiently descriptive of reality and often tend to distract us from what is important. Nor is this a study of the impact the Ukrainians had on Quebec or a history of Ukrainian interaction with the larger society. Rather, as a pioneering step this study examines the historical background and context from which three different waves of immigrants came, the "intellectual baggage" each brought from their homeland, and how this intellectual baggage expressed itself in their ethnic, sub-cultural, public yet often invisible and inaccessible institutional network

A study of Ukrainians in Quebec is important because Ukrainians are different from the two founding nations. Their discernible public presence has for the most part been separate, a separation which has many parallels to that between Canada's two founding "nations."

The Ukrainian immigrants to Quebec were the first from south-eastern Europe. Their arrival added to the size and demographic mix of the Quebec population. Their unique religious, cultural and linguistic heritage helped to round-out Quebec society; it was one of the first to begin the process of dehomogenization which made Quebec into the pluralistic society it is today.

The Hartzian Approach

Ukrainians came to Quebec in discernible clusters related to three separate time periods. No meaning has been systematically attributed to these three waves as they bear on the character of the community because Canadian social historians have yet to address this question. The Ukrainian immigrants, however, brought more than their language, customs, religion and folklore. As indicated in the preamble, each cluster brought with it a different "intellectual baggage" and mentality. For example, the two clusters of pre-1947 immigrants came largely for economic reasons, whereas the post-1947 immigrants were predominantly political refugees.

One can look at these waves of immigrants in terms described by Louis Hartz in his *Founding of New Societies* (1964) as three distinct "fragments" thrown off from Ukrainian society in Europe.¹

The Hartzian approach was to study new societies founded by Europeans (the United States, English Canada, Latin America, Dutch South Africa and Australia) as fragments thrown off from Europe. The key to understanding the ideological development of the new society was its "point of departure" from Europe: the ideologies borne by the founders of the new society were not representative of the historic ideological spectrum of the mother country. The settlers represented only a fragment of that spectrum. The ideological spectrum ranged -- in chronological order, from right to left -- from feudal or Tory through liberal Whig to liberal Democrat to socialist. Therefore, French Canada and Latin America were "feudal fragments" because they were founded by bearers of the feudal or Tory values of the organic, corporate, hierarchical community and their point of departure from Europe was before the liberal revolution. The United States, English Canada and Dutch South Africa were "bourgeois fragments," founded by bearers of liberal individualism who left the Tory end of the spectrum behind them.

The significance of the fragmentation process was that the new society, having been thrown off from Europe, lost the stimulus to change that the whole provided. The full ideological spectrum of Europe developed only out of the continuous confrontation

¹See Louis Hartz, *The Founding of New Societies* (New York: Harcourt, Brace and World, 1964); and G. Horowitz, "Conservatism, Liberalism and Socialism in Canada: An Interpretation," *Canadian Journal of Economics and Political Science*, XXXII, no. 2, May 1966, 124.

and interaction of its four elements; they were related to one another not only as enemies, but as parents and children. A new society which left part of the past behind it could not develop the future ideologies which need the continued presence of the past in order to come into being. In escaping the past, the fragment also escaped the future, for the very seeds of the later ideas were contained in the parts of the old world that have been left behind. The ideology of the founders was frozen -- congealed at the point of origin.²

Although Hartz's theory of colonial history explained the founding of new societies, it can also be applied to subsequent immigration and ethnic minorities. Different waves of immigrants were fragments cast off from a society at a specific time. The Hartzian approach can thus be partially utilized to understand each distinct fragment of Ukrainians that came to Quebec.

In taking this approach, there is the risk of over-generalization and oversimplification. However, the characterizations of immigrant fragments are not intended to be exhaustive or definitive, nor are they intended to suggest coherent and complete ideological systems of thought. They simply map out the central ideas in the mentality of each successive fragment of immigrants that came to Quebec between the turn of the century and 1960.

As previously stated, the Ukrainian community in Quebec is not the product of one fragment, but of three. Each followed a central intellectual trend of the period (even if there were others). This central intellectual trend usually represented the thought of the political nation, so to speak, and was the mentality which tended to shape the group's

²Horowitz, 124.

intellectual agenda which challenged all others. The first group of Ukrainian settlers, which we will call Fragment I, arrived between 1902 and 1914 and can be described as immigrant pioneers or leftist Drahomanovites.³ Fragment II, the émigrés or centrist patriots, arrived between 1922 and 1929. Fragment III, the refugees or rightist nationalists, arrived between 1947 and 1954. The terminology of pioneers, emigrants and refugees can be used respectively in this context as derivatives of different historical contexts and to connote the different types of Ukrainians that came to Quebec.

Although this study was highly informed by Louis Hartz's theory of colonial history, it is not uncritically beholden to it. In fact, it varies from his approach in several respects.

Hartz examined the founding fragments of two new societies, New France and New England. He did not study any subsequent immigrants which joined the founding groups. Nor has his approach been applied to the study of Canadian ethnic groups or the founding of Canadian subcultures.

Hartz argued that the significance of the fragmentation process was that the new society thrown off from Europe lost the stimulus to change that the old society provided and that the founding fragment was frozen at the point of origin. Therefore, new societies such as New France and New England became relatively homogeneous, conflict-free, non-ideological and single-myth societies. Having utilized Louis Hartz's approach to the

³Mykhailo Drahomanov (1841-1895) was a leading member of the Ukrainian socialist movement in Galicia (western Ukraine) and an influential proponent of socialist ideas. His impact extended to the Ukrainian Radical Party, founded in 1890, and to many scattered "Drahomanov Circles" in western Ukraine.

founding and subsequent history of the Ukrainian community in Quebec, this study found otherwise, perhaps because Hartz wrote about a time when immigration to North America was slower, more deliberate and less frequent. Twentieth century immigration to Canada from Eastern Europe was less deliberate and more sudden, rapid and frequent. It transformed a state founded by two nations into a pluralistic, multicultural, ethnic mosaic, that is, a society composed of many different ethnic groups.

Within a relatively short period of time three distinct fragments of Ukrainians arrived in Quebec divided by decisive events in the history of the 20th century. Unlike the founding fragments of new France and New England, the Ukrainian community in Quebec had the stimulus to change and did not have the time for an ideology to become frozen at its origin. Hence, the Ukrainian community in Quebec did not become a homogeneous, conflict-free, single-myth community.

Furthermore, Hartz's theory of colonial history was predicated upon a particular view of history not corroborated by this study. His ideological spectrum ranged in chronological order from right to left, or Tory to socialist. New France was founded by a feudal fragment and therefore became a conservative, feudal, Catholic society. New England was founded by a later, bourgeois fragment and therefore became a liberal, commercial Protestant society. According to Hartz, the later the stage of development in the old society -- and the later the point of departure of the immigrants -- the less Tory or conservative the fragment.

The opposite was the case in the history of Ukrainians in Quebec. The first fragment of Ukrainian immigrants was significantly socialist. The second fragment was

largely composed of Christian patriots and Ukrainian middle-of-the-road sovereigntists. The third fragment was clearly anti-Communist, anti-Soviet and anti-Russian. It may not have been Tory or conservative, but it was almost totally comprised of "men of the right."⁴

The three fragments of Ukrainian immigrants and the mentality or "intellectual baggage" of each served as the matrix for this study. The test used for characterizing the intellectual baggage of each fragment, and locating it on the ideological spectrum, was its disposition to the Bolshevik Revolution of 1917 and to the Marxist agenda. In the case of Ukrainian immigration to Quebec, each new fragment of immigrants has tended to push the Ukrainian ethnic community in Quebec across the ideological spectrum toward the right.

To date, a history of the Ukrainian community in Quebec has not been written. This study, therefore, maps a new area in the field of Canadian social history and adopts a new approach to the study of a Canadian ethnic group.

⁴William F. Buckley, Jr. ed., *Odyssey of a Friend* (Washington: Regnery Books, 1987), 230. In a letter to his friend William F. Buckley, Jr., Whittaker Chambers drew a distinction between their world views. Chambers said Buckley was a conservative and a Tory whereas he, Chambers, was neither a conservative nor a Tory. He was an ideological man, religiously anti-Communist, and a "man of the right." This distinction is valuable with respect to our understanding of the third fragment of Ukrainian immigrants which came to Quebec after 1947.

Inside Ethnic History

Every generation of historians tends to work from a point of view or a perspective. The historical moment at which a particular phenomenon is examined to an extent affects one's perception of that phenomenon. So it is with ethnic history.

In the social and ethnic history that has been written of late, Canada's historians in the two disciplines have naturally been inclined to study the large, powerful and visible ethnic groups.⁵ The small, powerless and invisible ethnic groups have tended to be ignored. As a result, scholars have recently expressed the need for a history and sociology of small groups.⁶ Nathan Glazer has pointed out that theories about ethnicity have to be modified when working with smaller groups.⁷ In issuing his challenge, Glazer pointed to some of the salient characteristics of small ethnic groups which historians and sociologists ought to note when studying them. He pointed out three such characteristics. First is their lack of political influence and political organization. Secondly, small groups invariably have a greater homeland interest. Thirdly, small groups have a greater concern about cultural issues and cultural survival, or greater "cultural urgency." The absence of political power makes the culture of small groups more clearly identifiable so that historians and

⁵Howard Palmer, "Recent Studies in Canadian Immigration and Ethnic History," *The History and Social Science Teacher*, vol. 17, no. 2, Winter 1982, 97.

⁶See Nathan Glazer, "Toward a Sociology of Small Ethnic Groups: A Discourse and Discussion," *Canadian Ethnic Studies*, vol. XII, no. 2, 1980, 1-16; and Ihor V. Zielyk, "Two Types of Ethnic Groups," in Wsevolod W. Isajiw, ed., *Ukrainians in American and Canadian Society* (Jersey City, NJ: M. P. Kots Publishing, 1976), 226-239. [In Ukrainian.]

⁷Glazer, 1.

sociologists may focus more clearly on culture and values rather than power.

Harvard University's Professor Ihor Shevchenko has added to Professor Glazer's characteristics of small ethnic groups what he called "training in persecution" and "para-statal techniques," which help to explain cultural continuity.⁸ He adds that the tradition of non-state institutions gives small ethnic groups a greater propensity to "transfer organizations" to their new place of settlement.

Another salient characteristic in the sociology of small groups is the content of their culture, or differences in culture which tend to make small groups less assimilable.⁹ For example, a non-Latin alphabet or an exotic (to the host culture) religion will make them more distinct from the central features of the larger society.

This should alert us to the peas-in-the-pod fallacy which inclines scholars to adopt the "each group is like every other group" attitude.¹⁰ Nor are ethnic groups to be seen as "blocks of ice."¹¹ This metaphor suggests that the bigger the group the longer it will take to melt, and the smaller the ethnic group the more quickly meltable it will be. The size of ethnic groups and their meltableity are not necessarily related. Even if related, it may be in an inverse way. These considerations call for a less exclusively empirical and more

⁸*Ibid.*, 9-10.

⁹*Ibid.*, 13-14.

¹⁰*Ibid.*, 3.

¹¹*Ibid.*, 11.

philosophical sociology that will examine the mentality or "inside" of ethnic groups.¹²

In examining what R. G. Collingwood called the inside of social and historical phenomena, or what Hartz called the intellectual baggage of social groups, one runs the risk of a false monism or single factor analysis. However, there is nothing wrong with this provided the claim for our factor is not more than it can actually account for.

In the case of Ukrainians in Quebec, their intellectual baggage was not something of antiquarian concern. The geographical location of Ukraine and its modern history have tightly linked it to what is in this researcher's view the central event and issue of the 20th century: the Bolshevik Revolution. Other than the pre-World War I immigrants to Quebec, who were few in number, most Ukrainian immigrants who came to Quebec had an inextricable relationship to the Revolution of 1917 and its consequences.

Oscar Handlin started his classic history, *The Uprooted*, by saying: "Once I thought to write a history of the immigrants in American history."¹³ Handlin argued that there was a dichotomy and a discontinuity between folk (Old World) and urban (New World) societies. Thirteen years later, Louis Hartz argued the opposite. His classic *The Founding of New Societies* (1964) provided a theory of colonial history to explain new societies founded by Europeans as intellectual fragments thrown off from Europe, which represented continuity between the Old and the New worlds.¹⁴ While Hartz applied his

¹²See G. Collingwood, *The Idea of History* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1956), 13; and Louis Hartz, *The Liberal Tradition in America* (New York: Harcourt, Brace and World, 1955), 20-21.

¹³Oscar Handlin, *The Uprooted* (New York: Little Brown and Company, 1951), 3.

¹⁴Hartz, 1964, 20-21.

approach to founding fragments, e.g., New England and New France, this study's approach is to apply his theory to subsequent groups of Ukrainian immigrants to Canada, in this case the Ukrainians in Quebec.

It is only by examining the historical background of ethnic groups coming to Canada and their intellectual baggage that we may illuminate their mentality and character.¹⁵ Immigrants affect not only the composition of a particular class but also the character of the society and state they enter. Professor Michael Oakeshott defined a state as a metaphor for an emerging association that is both changing and changeable by human conduct.¹⁶ Quebec's various immigrant groups have obviously affected its character.

There are other reasons why the Ukrainians in Quebec would be of interest to historians. A century after their arrival in Canada, Ukrainian communities in the different regions of the country have developed their own identities. To some extent, each Ukrainian community in Canada has become defined, the Ukrainian community in Quebec particularly so because it is the only one in Canada that lives within a predominantly French environment.

The Ukrainians in Quebec represent a discernible ethnic minority. A study such as this will add to our knowledge of the total ethnic experience in Quebec and Canada. Also, Ukrainians in Quebec belong to unique religious minorities. The preponderant majority are either Uniate Catholics or Ukrainian Orthodox by confession. Most

¹⁵Palmer, 99.

¹⁶Michael Oakeshott, *On Human Conduct* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1975).

Ukrainians do not belong to the mainline Canadian religions, that is, the major Protestant sects, Roman Catholicism or Judaism.

Past studies of ethnic groups have tended to focus on rural settlement and on the west. A study of Ukrainians in Quebec will balance this by examining immigrants in an eastern urban setting and contribute to the recent emergence of urban ethnic studies.¹⁷ It is important to remember that Eastern Canada and urban centres also receive immigrants and ethnic groups.

Just as Ukrainians came to Quebec at different times, so they came for different reasons. Before World War I, most came for economic reasons, whereas after World War II most came for political reasons. Those who came for political reasons are comparable to the United Empire Loyalists who came to Canada after the American Revolution. The loyalism of the Loyalist was, as we know, a debated subject in Canadian historiography. Every Loyalist who came to Canada did not come for reasons of loyalty to the King. A third may have come out of loyalty to the Crown. A third probably came with no political motives but, rather, for opportunity and profit. And the other third probably came with a positively friendly disposition toward the American Revolution and the Yankees to the south.¹⁸ The same was largely true of the Ukrainian immigrants to Quebec, except that the revolution they responded to was the Russian Revolution of 1917. The Ukrainian migration to Quebec after 1917 was in this sense analogous to the Loyalist migration to

¹⁷Palmer, 104.

¹⁸L. F. S. Upton, *United Empire Loyalists: Men and Myths* (Toronto: The Copp Clark Publishing Company, 1967), 158-172.

Upper and Lower Canada after 1776.

The Ukrainians in Quebec have a past but no one has yet written their history. This study is a preliminary attempt at outlining such a history. It focuses on the intellectual baggage, mentality, or inside of the community and attempts to provide the outsider with an insight into how the Ukrainian community understood itself, what it concerned itself with, and what it considered significant.¹⁹

This study is based largely on what Gertrude Himmelfarb has called "participant sources," that is, the written and oral testimony of participants in the community life of Ukrainians in Quebec.²⁰

The structure of the study is tripartite. It examines each of the three fragments of Ukrainian immigrants that came to Quebec between 1900 and 1960. In each case it looks at the social, intellectual and political content from which each of the fragments emanated, characterizes the intellectual baggage of each, and shows how this intellectual baggage expressed itself in the public or institutional life of the Ukrainian community in Quebec.

¹⁹Leo Strauss and Joseph Cropsey, eds., *History of Political Philosophy*, 3rd ed. (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1963/1987), 912-913.

²⁰Gertrude Himmelfarb, *The Old History and the New* (Cambridge, MA and London: The Belknap Press of Harvard University, 1987), 4, 30.

Review of the Literature

Considering the subject of this study, the question arises: in what intelligible historical field is it properly located, and what literature should be considered relevant to a review?

The field of ethnic history in North America is too voluminous and disparate to provide a coherent context for this story. However, the history of Ukrainians in North America (the United States and Canada) has burgeoned steadily as a discernible field of historical study.²¹

Ukrainians in the U.S. have been the subject of several general historical surveys.²² There are also biographical studies such as those on Father Agapius Honcharenko,²³

²¹See Roman Weres, *Ukraine: Selected References in the English Language* (Chicago: Ukrainian Research and Information Institute, 1974); and "Ukrainians in the U.S. and Canada: History," nos. 273-313, 54-60.

²²See Yaroslav Chyz, *The Ukrainian Immigrants in the United States* (Scranton: Ukrainian Workingman's Association, 1932); Wasyl Halich, "Economic Aspects of Ukrainian Activity in the United States" (Ph.D. diss., University of Iowa, 1934); Wasyl Halich, *Ukrainians in the United States* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1937; repr. New York: Arno Press & New York Times, 1970); Stephen W. Marnchur, "Nationalism, Religion and the Problem of Assimilation Among Ukrainians in the United States" (Ph.D. diss., Yale University, 1942); and Myron Kuropas, *The Ukrainians in America* (Minneapolis: Lerner Publications Company, 1972).

²³See Theodore Luciwi, *Father Agapius Honcharenko, First Ukrainian Priest in America* (New York: Ukrainian Congress Committee of America, 1970); and Wasyl Luciwi and Theodore Luciwi, *Agapius Honcharenko: Alaska Man* (Toronto: Slavic Library, 1963).

topical studies on occupational and cultural life in the U.S.,²⁴ and local histories such as Ignasiak's history of Ukrainians in Lansing, Michigan, Michael Wichorek's history of Ukrainian immigration to Detroit, and Lushnycky's history of Ukrainians in Pennsylvania.²⁵

The history of Ukrainians in Canada has been a more fertile field. A number of survey histories of Ukrainians in Canada have been written. The most complete one is by M. H. Marunchak.²⁶ Shorter surveys have been authored by Charles H. Young, N. J. Hunchak, Vera Lysenko, Paul Yuzyk, and Olha Woycenko.²⁷ Period histories of Ukrainians in Canada have also been written. Professor V. J. Kaye has dealt with the history of early Ukrainian settlement in western Canada, and Yar Slavutych has concerned himself

²⁴Francis J. Brown and Joseph Slabey Rouchek, *Our America: The History, Contribution and Present Problems of Our Racial and National Minorities* (New York: Prentice Hall, 1952).

²⁵See Robert Leonard Ignasiak, *Ukrainians in Lansing, Michigan: The Adjustment of a Small Ethnic Group* (East Lansing, MI: Michigan State University, 1949); Alexander Lushnycky, ed., *Ukrainians in Pennsylvania* (Philadelphia: Ukrainian Bicentennial Committee, 1976); and Michael Wichorek, *Ukrainians in Detroit* (Detroit: privately published, 1955).

²⁶M. H. Marunchak, *The Ukrainian Canadians: A History* (Winnipeg: Ukrainian Free Academy of Sciences, 1970).

²⁷See N. J. Hunchak, *Population: Canadians of Ukrainian Origin* (Winnipeg: Ukrainian Canadian Committee, 1945); Vera Lysenko, *Men in Sheepskin Coats: A Study in Assimilation* (Toronto: Ryerson Press, 1947); Olga Woycenko, *The Ukrainians in Canada* (Toronto: Thomas Nelson and Sons, 1967); Charles H. Young, *The Ukrainian Canadians* (Toronto: Thomas Nelson and Sons, 1931); and Paul Yuzyk, *Ukrainian Canadians: Their Place and Role in Canadian Life* (Toronto: Ukrainian Canadian Business and Professional Federation, 1967).

with immigration and demography.²⁸ This pioneering scholarship on the history of Ukrainians in Canada all dates from before 1970.

Also, before 1970, a number of local histories of Ukrainians in the different provinces and localities of Canada were written. Timothy Byrne, Volodymyr Kupchenko, J. G. MacGregor, Alexander Royick and M. Lazarenko have authored or edited historical studies on Ukrainians in Alberta.²⁹ Marlene Stefanov wrote on the history of the intermarriage between Ukrainians and others in Saskatchewan.³⁰ Paul Yuzyk published a history of Ukrainians in Manitoba which is of interest to those who wish to understand the group as a whole and is not limited to that province.³¹ Walter Dubinski authored a history of Ukrainians in the Sudbury (Ontario) Basin.³² E. D. Waggenheim wrote a doctoral

²⁸See Vladimir J. Kaye, *Early Ukrainian Settlement in Canada 1895-1900: Dr. Joseph Oleskow's Role in the Settlement of the Canadian Northeast* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1964); and Yar Slavutych, ed., *Proceedings of the First National Conference on Canadian Slavs*, vol. 1 (Edmonton: Interuniversity Committee on Canadian Slavs, 1966).

²⁹See Timothy C. Byrne, "The Ukrainian Community in North Central Alberta" (Ph.D. diss., University of Alberta, 1937); Volodymyr Kupchenko, "Progress of Ukrainian Pioneers in Alberta in Their First Sixty Years" (Ph.D. diss., University of Ottawa, 1960); M. Lazarenko, ed., *Ukrainian Pioneers in Alberta* (Edmonton: privately printed, 1970); J. G. MacGregor, *Vilni-Zemli -- Free Lands: The Ukrainian Settlements in Alberta* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1969); and Alexander Royick, "Ukrainian Settlements in Alberta," *Canadian Slavonic Papers*, vol. 10, no. 3, 1968.

³⁰Marlene Stefanov, "A Study of Intermarriage of Ukrainians in Saskatchewan" (M.A. diss., University of Saskatchewan, 1962).

³¹Paul Yuzyk, *The Ukrainians in Manitoba: A Social History* (Toronto: The University of Toronto Press, 1953).

³²Walter Dubinski, "History of Ukrainians in the Sudbury Basin" (M.A. diss., University of Western Ontario, 1962).

dissertation on the Ukrainian community in Toronto.³³

The decade before the 1970s also witnessed an upsurge in historical writing on Ukrainians in Canada. Andrew Gregorovich's selected bibliography of scholarly works on Ukrainian Canadians for the period between 1970 and 1980 lists approximately forty-five historical and descriptive works.³⁴ More than thirty of these deal with Ukrainians in western Canada and the remainder with special circumstances and events such as voting in provincial elections, participation in the Boer War, World War I, the student movement and Ukrainians in Canadian pro-Communist organizations. With the exception of the above-mentioned work on Ukrainian immigrants in the Sudbury Basin, none of Gregorovich's entries deals with Ukrainians in eastern Canada. Lubomyr Luciuk has written a history of Ukrainians in Kingston, however it is not listed in the bibliography.³⁵ A comprehensive history of Ukrainians in Canada during their formative period (1891-1924) has been published recently by Orest T. Martynowych.³⁶

Although a history of Ukrainians in Quebec has not been written to date, the community has not been untouched by scholars. Stephen Mamchur wrote an M.A.

³³E. D. Waggenheim, "The Ukrainian Community in Toronto" (Ph.D. diss., University of Toronto, 1961).

³⁴Andrew Gregorovich, "Ukrainian Canadiana: A Selected Bibliography of Scholarly Works 1970-1980," in Wsevolod Isajiw, ed., *Canadian Ethnic Studies*, Special Issue, *Ukrainians in the City*, vol. XII, no. 2, 1980, (Edmonton: Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies, 1980), 103-124.

³⁵Lubomyr Y. Luciuk, *Ukrainians in the Making: Their Kingston Story* (Kingston: The Limestone Press, 1980).

³⁶Orest T. Martynowych, *Ukrainians in Canada: Their Formative Period, 1891-1924* (Edmonton: Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies Press, 1991).

dissertation on the economic and social adjustment of Ukrainians in Montreal in 1935.³⁷ Charles Bayley also wrote an M.A. dissertation comparing the social structure of the Italian and Ukrainian communities in Montreal in 1939.³⁸ Nadia Hrymak-Wynnycky wrote an M.A. dissertation on Ukrainian churches in Montreal in 1964.³⁹ Bohdan Panchuk has published his reminiscences of the Ukrainian community in Quebec during and after World War II.⁴⁰ And Zonia Keywan has written a biography of the Reverend Josaphat Jean, O.S.B.M., who was a decisive figure in the development of the Ukrainian Catholic Church in Quebec.⁴¹ This author has written two short essays on the history of Ukrainians in Quebec while engaged in this study, one of which appeared in J. Rozumnyj's book on the Ukrainian experience in Canada, the other in a special issue of the journal *Canadian Ethnic Studies* on "Ukrainians in the City," edited by Wsevolod Isajiw.⁴² Both of these

³⁷Stephen W. Mamchur, "The Economic and Social Adjustment of Slavic Immigrants in Canada With Special reference to the Ukrainians in Montreal" (M.A. diss., McGill University, 1935).

³⁸Charles M. Bayley, "The Social Structure of the Italian and Ukrainian Immigrant Communities in Montreal" (M.A. diss., McGill University, 1939).

³⁹Nadia A. Hrymak-Wynnycky, "Les églises ukrainiennes à Montréal" (M.A. diss., Université de Montréal, 1964).

⁴⁰Lubomyr Y. Luciuk, ed., *Heroes of Their Day: The Reminiscences of Bohdan Panchuk* (Toronto: The Multicultural History Society of Ontario, 1983).

⁴¹Zonia Keywan, *A Turbulent Life: The Biography of Josaphat Jean, O.S.B.M. [1885-1972]* (Verdun, QC: Clio Editions, 1990).

⁴²See Y. G. Kelebay, "The 'Intellectual Baggage' of Three Waves of Ukrainian Immigrants to Montreal," in Jaroslav Rozumnyj, ed., *New Soil -- Old Roots: The Ukrainian Experience in Canada* (Winnipeg: Ukrainian Academy of Arts and Sciences in Canada, 1983), 71-84; and Y. G. Kelebay, "Three Fragments of the Ukrainian Community in Montreal, 1899-1970: A Hartzian Approach," in *Canadian Ethnic Studies/Ukrainians in the City*, 74-88.

essays were precursors to this study.

A comprehensive overview of the historical and intellectual conditions in the homelands of Canada's ethnic Ukrainian immigrants when they emigrated; how those conditions affected their mentality and outlook; and how those outlooks influenced institutional development, internal divisions and ideological differences in the Ukrainian community in Quebec has not been written. That is how this study makes a contribution to the history of Ukrainians in Quebec.

Another field of scholarly pursuit within which this study can be located is the study and history of various ethnic minorities and cultural communities in Quebec. Over the past two decades over one hundred and twenty such studies have been written or published in English.⁴³ This corpus of literature contains studies on the Arabs, Portuguese, Jews, Africans, Italians, Slovaks, English, Greeks, Irish, Russian Mennonites, Spaniards, Hungarians, West Indians, Poles, Scots, Norwegians, Jamaicans, British, Egyptians and Baltic immigrants to the province.

The only studies on Ukrainians in Quebec listed in Claudette Cardinal's bibliography on cultural communities or ethnic minorities⁴⁴ are the sociological studies by Stephen Mamchur and Charles Bayley mentioned above. This study, therefore, is the first contribution to the history of Ukrainians in Quebec.

And now a note on the sources for this study.

⁴³Claudette Cardinal, *The History of Quebec: A Bibliography of Works in English* (Montreal: Concordia University Centre for the Study of Anglophone Quebec, 1981), nos. 1047-1167, pp. 54-60.

⁴⁴*Ibid.*

There are neither Ukrainian libraries nor Ukrainian archives in the province of Quebec. Churches and lay organizations have minute books and records in various degrees of organization or disarray, depending on who kept them. The author consulted some of these records when their keepers were hospitable, which was not always the case. However, for the most part, church and organizational records did not yield the kind of information suitable to the approach of this study.

It must be remembered that a good number of the Fragment I and II immigrants came from a pre-literate peasant culture, which makes the paucity of written records understandable. No information or records about Ukrainians were found in the *Archives nationales du Québec* in Montreal, and the curator informed the author that the Provincial Archives had no mandate for the keeping of such records.

The National Archives of Canada proved just slightly more fruitful. There we can find the personal papers of only a very small number of Ukrainian Quebecers (Bossy, Dontsov, and Roussow), but again these were not related to the thrust of this dissertation.

Local English and French newspapers also yielded little and the Ukrainian papers published in Eastern Canada were for the most part established after World War II and thus were only of use in the study of the third wave of immigrants.

Therefore, this study perforce had to be based mostly on the written and oral testimony of the members of the Ukrainian community in Quebec and on what one historian called "participant sources" in the community. These written and oral testimonies had to be hunted down by dogged leg-work which led to the discovery of testimonies which were then read in and translated from Ukrainian, and individual and group-field

interviews. For the most part the oral testimony confirmed and (in many cases dramatically) expanded upon the author's insights and knowledge first obtained from written sources. In that sense this study is methodologically an "oral" history.

CHAPTER 2

FRAGMENT I: THE PIONEERS

Historical Background

During the 19th century the Ukrainian people lived in the multinational empires of the Romanovs and Hapsburgs. Of the 17 million Ukrainians who lived in the Russian empire, virtually none emigrated to North America. But in the Austro-Hungarian empire there were 3 million Ukrainians in Galicia, 300,000 in Bukovyna and 400,000 in Carpatho-Ukraine. Few immigrants to Canada came from Carpatho-Ukraine, but the provinces of Galicia and Bukovyna provided many. According to historian John-Paul Himka, virtually every Ukrainian who arrived in Canada before World War I was an emigrant from the Austrian crown lands of Galicia and Bukovyna.⁴⁵ The preponderant

⁴⁵See John Paul Himka, "The Background of Immigration: The Ukrainians of Galicia and Bukovyna, 1848-1914," in M. R. Lupul, ed., *A Heritage in Transition: Essays in the History of Ukrainians in Canada*, Secretary of State Multiculturalism Directorate, TMs [photocopy], 1981. See also Matthew Stachiw and Jaroslaw Sztendera, *Western Ukraine at the Turning Point of Europe's History 1918-1923* (New York: The Shevchenko Scientific Society, 1969), 7-71; and Mykola Shlemkevych, *Halychanstvo* [Galicianites] (New York: Kluchi Press, 1956). [In Ukrainian.] This historical background study is primarily based on the essay by John-Paul Himka.

majority of those who came to Quebec happened to be from Galicia.⁴⁶ However, though they came from Ukrainian lands, not all were ethnic Ukrainians.

At the turn of the century, Galicia's population was only 40 per cent Ukrainian, 40 per cent Polish and 10 per cent Jewish, with a small German minority. In Bukovyna the population was approximately 40 per cent Ukrainian, 30 per cent Romanian and 30 per cent German and Jewish.

The Poles in Galicia and the Romanians in Bukovyna formed the upper class, owned the great estates, dominated the government, and with the Jews and Germans made up about 75 per cent of the urban population. As late as the year 1900, 95 per cent of the Ukrainian population in Galicia and Bukovyna were peasants.

Peasant emancipation in the Austro-Hungarian empire came in 1848. But the abolition of serfdom and the division of land did not end the tradition of exploitation by Polish and Romanian noblemen. Although it had been legally abolished, in practice the traditional *panshchyna* (corvée) remained because where previously the peasants had enjoyed the use of forest and pasture lands, with emancipation the nobles in Galicia and Bukovyna appropriated both. John-Paul Himka said:

The peasants took to the courts, but by 1881, out of 32,000 cases in Galicia involving claims to forests and pastures, the peasants had won only 2,000 in a judicial system controlled by the nobility. As a result, if the peasant wished to graze his cow, build a cottage, heat his home, or even gather mushrooms, he had to pay the lord in cash or labour.⁴⁷

⁴⁶Mamchur, 70. Mamchur said more than 90 per cent of the Ukrainians who settled in Montreal came from Galicia, and about 10 per cent from Bukovyna.

⁴⁷Himka, 3.

Another form of peasant exploitation was propination, that is, monopoly over the production and sale of alcohol. Nobles frequently leased their right to propination to tavern keepers who commonly doubled as money lenders. Himka said:

While tavern and loan provided the Ukrainian peasant with immediate relief from difficulty, drinking on credit or defaulting on a loan could lead to the ultimate tragedy: loss of land. As a result antagonism... developed between the innkeeper-lenders and the villagers, an antagonism with ethnic and religious dimensions, since most of the tavern-keepers and money lenders were Jewish.⁴⁸

However, it would not be accurate to imagine the situation solely in terms of Poles, Romanians and Jews living off the labour of Ukrainian peasants. Polish and Romanian peasants and the many poor Jews fared little better under the nobles of their own ethnicity. Also, within Ukrainian society itself, there were people who exploited the peasantry. Himka observed that,

...since the priest farmed as one of the large landholders in the village, he could behave like the noble when peasants claimed gleaning and pasturing privileges.⁴⁹

The secular intelligentsia, particularly the lawyers, also derived their livelihood from the peasantry. Among the more direct methods were court cases and investment from percolation. For example, in the years 1902-1904 Galician peasants paid an estimated 8- to 15-million crowns annually to the percolation intermediaries. The Ukrainian peasant in Galicia and Bukovyna, then, was ensnared in a system of exploitation. According to Himka:

⁴⁸*Ibid.*, 4.

⁴⁹*Ibid.*, 5.

When the Ukrainian peasant looked up, he could see above him, riding on his back, the Polish noble, the Romanian boyar, the Jewish innkeeper-lender, and a few of his people as well; but when he looked down, all he could see was earth, and precious little of that.⁵⁰

Most peasant families owned less than five hectares of land, the minimum required to support a family. Because the Ukrainian peasant tended to divide his land among his children, each generation received less than the previous one. Since, with emancipation, all mutual obligations between serf and former master ceased, then in any kind of unforeseen need the peasant would have to borrow either money or grain. According to Himka:

The stage was thus set for a tragedy frequently enacted in Austrian Ukraine: the peasant would take out a loan, invariably at high interest; he would find that he could not pay his mounting debt; and a court would order him to auction his land, in part or entirely.⁵¹

In 1868, a series of laws abolished all limits on interest and all restrictions on the division of land. Generally, the annual interest rate tended to be between 52- and 104 per cent, though rates were occasionally as low as 25- or as high as 500 per cent. As a result, in some regions of Galicia in the 1870s nearly 90 per cent of the population was in debt. In the last quarter of the 19th century in Galicia, the courts ordered over 2,400 auctions annually. In the mid-1890s almost a third of the land auctions were held to pay less than 100 crowns. In many cases, peasants sold land to pay debts even without a court order.⁵²

It has been calculated that in the late 1880s about 50,000 Galicians died every year

⁵⁰*Ibid.*, 6.

⁵¹*Ibid.*, 9.

⁵²*Ibid.*, 9-10.

from hunger or diseases related to malnutrition. To survive, therefore, many Ukrainian peasants were forced to seek supplementary incomes and earn money through seasonal emigration. Toward the end of the nineteenth century, the more ambitious peasants left Galicia and Bukovyna for a few months or years to earn money elsewhere. Himka said that:

In 1910 over 82,000 Ukrainians from Galicia worked in Prussia, either in agriculture (about 60 per cent) or industry (about 40 per cent). The emigrant working in Prussia could set aside 100 to 200 gulden after eight to ten months. If the peasant ventured to work the coal mines of Pennsylvania, he might earn 600 gulden a year. After three or four years in America, he could return a wealthy man, able to lend money, hire farm hands, and most importantly, buy land.⁵³

Emigration, then, could produce the most radical improvement in the peasant's prosperity. In the early twentieth century, hundreds of thousands of Ukrainian peasants left their homeland either temporarily or permanently. By 1910, the income of one in four Galician inhabitants was largely derived from seasonal migration.

Until the mid-nineteenth century, Ukrainian peasants were too uneducated and isolated on the farms and in the villages to initiate any political movements in Ukraine. When political organizations began to emerge, they were most often initiated by the intelligentsia, usually by members of the clergy. This first happened during the 1848 revolutions, which had complex ramifications throughout Europe, most dramatically in the Hapsburg empire where a number of social and national conflicts occurred. In Austrian Galicia, the Polish gentry were in the forefront of the democratic, anti-monarchist struggle. As a result, Ukrainians felt estranged from the Polish revolutionary movement,

⁵³*Ibid.*, 12.

because they feared the ascendancy of the Poles over Ukrainians, and thus of the gentry over the peasants. Parallel to the Polish movement, the Ukrainians of Galicia and Bukovyna (then a united administrative unit in Austria), established their own Supreme Ruthenian Council (*Holovna Ruska Rada*) in 1848. John-Paul Himka has referred to the creation of this council as "...the turning point in the Ukrainian national awakening."⁵⁴ The council was organized to defend the rights of Ukrainians, and it demanded the partition of Galicia into separate Polish and Ukrainian crown lands. In the Ukrainian countryside, about 200,000 signatures on petitions were collected supporting such a division.

It was during the revolution of 1848 that the first Ukrainian-language periodicals began to appear. The event helped establish the Ukrainians in their own and in others' minds as a people distinct from the Poles.

After the 1848 revolution the Ukrainian people entered a new era. Himka wrote:

The institutional transformation of the Ukrainian village began in the 1860s when Austria entered its constitutional era. At first, Ukrainian politics were limited to the educated classes, which constituted only a small minority of the Ukrainian nation. As late as 1900 only 1 per cent of the Ukrainians in Austria were employed in government, the free professions or the Church. If the political movements they initiated were to have any significance, they required the participation of the peasantry, who constituted the overwhelming majority of the nation. The very existence of the constitution and parliamentary system required that the intelligentsia and clergy draw the peasant into political life. The constitution fortunately provided the means to this end through freedom of association, assembly and press. In the 1860s, then, Ukrainian politics entered a new stage of development characterized by mass participation in national institutions.⁵⁵

⁵⁴*Ibid.*, 13-14.

⁵⁵*Ibid.*, 16-17.

But if the 1848 revolution established that Ukrainians were not Poles, it did not settle the question of who they were. Some Ukrainians argued that they were part of the Russian nation. These Russophiles first appeared in the 1850s, advocating a close political and cultural relationship with Tsarist Russia because, they said, Ukrainians and Russians shared many linguistic, religious and cultural traits that distinguished both from the Poles. By uniting with the Russian nation they could claim as their own both a powerful state and a widely renowned culture. Russophilism remained a strong trend in Ukrainian cultural and political life until the mid-1880s when it began to lose influence in both Galicia and Bukovyna.

Opposed to the Russophiles were the Ukrainophiles or national populists (*narodovtsi*). The *narodovtsi*,

...emerged in the 1860s and ultimately came to dominate the national movement. The national populists argued that the Ukrainians of Austria belonged to the same nation as the people who lived in the Russian empire. They favoured using the Ukrainian vernacular in literature and lionized the heroes of the Ukrainian movement in Russian-ruled Ukraine. Among these, pride of place belonged to Taras Shevchenko, a ransomed serf whose poetry expressed the anger and melancholy of a peasant nation.⁵⁶

In addition to Russophilism and Ukrainophilism, two other social movements emerged toward the end of the nineteenth century: radicalism and social democracy. Both adopted the tenets of national populism, that is, the use of the Ukrainian language and the idea of a Ukrainian nation, and both moved beyond cultural matters to address themselves to socio-economic questions. Radicalism was a non-Marxist, agrarian socialist and anti-

⁵⁶*Ibid.*, 15-16.

clerical movement. Its first spokesman was a political theorist from Russian-ruled Ukraine, Mykhaylo Drahomanov.⁵⁷

Mykhaylo Drahomanov (1841-1895) was a university professor whose political ideas were based on a sympathy toward democracy, the positivism of Auguste Comte, the socialism of Pierre Proudhon, and on a federation of Ukraine with the Russian empire.⁵⁸ Drahomanov believed in the democratization of Russia and a federation of autonomous Slav states in place of the Russian and Austro-Hungarian empires, both of which ruled over Ukrainian territories. He said that the Tsarist empire should be transformed into a federal republic composed of twenty states, four of which would constitute an autonomous Ukraine. But Drahomanov dismissed Ukrainian separatism (which some Ukrainians advocated) as empty talk because the Ukrainian national question could not be divorced from Russian affairs.⁵⁹

Drahomanov advocated the renewal of Ukrainian literature and learning, the study of Ukraine, the advancement of the masses through rational propaganda instead of bloody uprisings, the study of European languages, the preservation of faith, custom and tradition, the organization of co-operatives and self-reliance associations and the importance of the household. His frequent slogans were "*zemlya i volya*" (land and liberty), "activism" and "nationality."⁶⁰ But the three dominant themes in Drahomanov's political philosophy were

⁵⁷*Ibid.*, 16.

⁵⁸V. Kubijovyc, ed., *Ukraine: A Concise Encyclopedia*, vol. 1 (Toronto: The University of Toronto Press, 1963), 1016.

⁵⁹*Ibid.*, 1016.

⁶⁰*Ibid.*, 1016.

humanitarianism, cosmopolitanism and socialism.

Drahomanov's views made a deep impression on Ukrainian university students in the 1870s, especially on Ivan Franko (1861-1916) and Mykhaylo Pavlyk.⁶¹ Franko became a prolific writer with an unusual talent for a variety of literary genres, including short stories, narratives, poems, letters, sketches, satires and social and psychological studies. His talent and popularity among the Ukrainian masses served to disseminate Drahomanov's ideas among the Ukrainian peasantry, particularly in Galicia. Both Franko and Pavlyk remained the acknowledged leaders of Ukrainian Radicalism well into the late 1890s.⁶²

Social democracy was an intellectual trend within radicalism. It was Marxist in orientation and its adherents were interested in mobilizing the Ukrainian proletariat, which in fact did not yet exist. Its chief contribution to Ukrainian political development was that, in the 1890s, its adherents were the first political group to call for an independent Ukrainian state.

During the latter half of the nineteenth century, Russophilism, national populism, radicalism and social-democracy reached the peasantry through village institutions which dramatically increased the peasants' cultural level and political awareness. John-Paul Himka wrote:

Institutional development reached maturity by the turn of the century, when modern political parties emerged. Ukrainian political currents had existed before, but only in 1890 did the Galician radicals

⁶¹See Himka, 16; and Stachiw and Sztendera, 54-68.

⁶²Himka, 16.

establish the Radical Party, the first Ukrainian political party in Austria-Hungary. The national populists, with the right wing of the radicals, founded the National Democratic Party in 1899. In the same year left-wing radicals formed the Ukrainian Social-Democratic Party in Galicia. In 1906 the Ukrainians in Bukovyna founded both Radical and Social-Democratic parties. From being the concern of an educated elite, Ukrainian politics was being transformed into the concern of the nation as a whole, including the peasantry.⁶³

This transformation owed much to the reading club (*chytalnia*), a village organization that met for public readings. By joining the reading club the peasant joined the nation.⁶⁴ At first, these reading clubs were promoted by the clergy, which had an exceptional influence on the national movement in Austrian Ukraine. Then the peasants took charge, and,

...when the peasants themselves took over and the reading clubs became forums for their interests, they took even the clergy to task if they charged too much for a christening or if their moral admonitions were considered a nuisance. The radicals, of course, encouraged such conflict and some radical clubs even introduced secular funerals with banners and processions that rivalled the pageantry of the church service. The growth of anti-clericalism in the Ukrainian village was the one symptom of the larger process of change within the peasantry, concerned to take charge of their own affairs.⁶⁵

Ukrainians who came to Quebec from Galicia and Bukovyna before 1914 were part of the national awakening back home, and they brought Galician and Bukovynian Russophilism, national-populism and particularly radicalism and social-democracy with them to Quebec. These trends and movements were part and parcel of the intellectual baggage of the first fragment of Ukrainian immigrants to Quebec.

⁶³*Ibid.*, 17.

⁶⁴*Ibid.*, 17-18.

⁶⁵*Ibid.*, 19.

Arrival and First Secular Institutions

At the time Herbert Brown Ames wrote *The City Below the Hill* (1897) some Ukrainians were already living in Montreal. Ames described 'the city below the hill' (south of Westmount) as having a mixed population:

Considered as a whole [he wrote], the 7,670 families therein resident may be classified as follows: French-Canadian, 3,218; Irish-Canadian, 1,614; British-Canadian, 1,596; all others, 242. Thus it will be seen that 42 per cent of the population (taken by families) is French-Canadian; 34 per cent is Irish-Canadian; 21 per cent is British-Canadian; and 3 per cent is of other nationalities....

Among the foreign elements the German and Dutch number 94 families; Russian and Polish, 70; Negro, 24; Chinese, 18; Italian, 17; Scandinavian and Danish, 17; Spanish and Belgian, one each. The Germans are to be found in almost every section, especially along the avenues of trade. The Russians and Poles, who are nearly all Jews, are found mainly along St. Maurice Street....⁶⁶

Since some of these foreigners came from Austria-Hungary some of those designated by Ames as German, Russian and Polish were likely Ukrainian.

Mykhaylo Kotsulym, one of the first Ukrainians to come to Montreal, said that when he arrived in 1905 Montreal already had various Ukrainian people. Some were religious and God-fearing, but others spread "... demoralization and sacrilege." He often overheard Ukrainians say, "In Canada, there is no God, because no one gave Him a passage ticket."⁶⁷

⁶⁶Herbert Brown Ames, *The City Below The Hill* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1897/1972), 88-89, 92.

⁶⁷Mykhaylo Kotsulym, "How I Became a Conscious Ukrainian in Canada," in Maria Davydovych, ed., *The Golden Jubilee of the "Prosvita" Society of Taras Shevchenko in Montreal-Pointe St. Charles* (Toronto: "Prosvita" [Enlightenment] Society of Taras

The settlement of the first Ukrainians in Quebec was largely accidental. Several newspaper articles before World War I said that eastern Canada was merely a temporary stopover for Ukrainians, who stayed there only long enough to earn money to take them further into Canada to settle on the farms.⁶⁸

The Canadian government's departure from the old policy of preferring immigrants from northwestern Europe, Britain and the United States made it possible for some Ukrainians to escape their predicament in Galicia and settle in Canada and Quebec. In spite of the national policy's intention to direct immigrants west, there was a fallout of people who remained in the east.⁶⁹ This fallout from the thousands heading west led to the emergence of ethnic settlements in eastern cities. The first Ukrainian settlements in Montreal began in this way.

In the only two sociological studies of Ukrainians in Montreal so far undertaken (both before and after World War II), S. M. Mamchur and C. M. Bayley both claimed that the first Ukrainians came to Montreal in 1904.⁷⁰ A later study by Nadia Hrymak-Wynnycky said the first Ukrainian family came to Quebec in 1899.⁷¹ The Ukrainian pioneer Ivan Onyshkevych wrote that the first Ukrainian immigrants to Quebec came from

Shevchenko and the Basilian Press, 1963), 55. [In Ukrainian.]

⁶⁸See M. H. Marunchak, *The Ukrainian Canadians: A History* (Yorkton: Redeemer's Voice Press, 1970), 180; and Osyp Diachyshyn, interview by author, February 1975.

⁶⁹See *The Montreal Star* (editorials), January 6, October 12 and October 18, 1905; and Y. G. Kelebay, "The Ukrainian Community in Montreal" (M.A. diss., Concordia University, 1975), 7-10.

⁷⁰See Mamchur 1939; and Bayley 1939.

⁷¹Hrymak-Wynnycky, 1964.

a group of Ukrainian arrivals, who,

...disembarked in Halifax before the year 1900 and having examined the Province of Quebec, some stayed in Montreal while others left for western Canada.⁷²

The Reverend Ihor Monczak, a student of the history of Ukrainians in Quebec, said that "...the first Ukrainian settlers in Montreal were the brothers Ivan and Stepan Tukhtiy who came to this metropolis in 1902."⁷³ M. H. Marunchak, an historian of Ukrainian-Canadians, also said that the first Ukrainian settlers in Quebec were the Tukhtiy brothers, but he dates their arrival as being earlier:

The oldest pioneers in Montreal in terms of residence were the brothers Ivan and Stepan Tukhtiy who came to this city before 1900.⁷⁴

From the evidence available we cannot be certain as to when the first Ukrainians arrived in Montreal, only that they settled here well before World War I. Some Ukrainian pioneers left written testimonies about their arrival in Montreal at this time. Mykhaylo Tsytulsky said his brother Onufriy came to Montreal in 1904, stayed for two years, then returned to Ukraine to instigate some draft dodging. Tsytulsky's memoir continued:

We got 15 guys together and decided to leave for Canada with [Onufriy]. The Austrian police found out about our plan, arrested us, and then gave us medical exams with the view to conscripting us for military service. The selection committee didn't take any of us because none of us were 18 years old... On the tenth day of March 1907 we left for Western

⁷²Ivan Onyshkevych, "The First Ukrainian Immigrants in Montreal," in Ukrainian Golden Age Club "Tryzub" of Montreal, *Lest the Toil and Glory of the Pioneers Are Forgotten* (Toronto: Golden Age Club "Tryzub" of Montreal/Basilian Press, 1979), 297. [In Ukrainian.]

⁷³The Reverend Ihor Monczak, "St. Michael's Parish -- the Mother of Ukrainian Quebec," in *Toil of Pioneers*, 48. [In Ukrainian.]

⁷⁴Marunchak, 209.

Galicia where medical eye examinations were given. The doctors and translators were Jews. From here we left for Antwerp in Belgium where we boarded the *Montezuma*. It shipped cattle from America to Europe and from Europe it carried people. On board they fed us with herring and rice with raisins. Sometime in the beginning of April we arrived in Quebec. Here again our eyes were examined and we were transported to Montreal. From the railway station my brother went to Mykola Krayetsky and he took us to Ivan Drohobysky on Grand Trunk Street in Pointe St. Charles.⁷⁵

Mykhaylo Kotsulym also recorded his arrival in Montreal in 1905:

I worked twelve hours a day earning 10 cents an hour. Then I went to a factory on Grand Trunk Street in (Pointe St. Charles) and earned 35 dollars a month. In seven months I made good money.⁷⁶

Kotsulym left for western Canada to look for better work. After two weeks, he arrived in Fort William and worked on road construction for 20 cents an hour. This was only seasonal work so he returned to Chapleau, Quebec to work for the CPR. In 1906 he came to Montreal, where:

That same day I visited Pointe St. Charles. Now there were many more of our people; you could more easily find lodging with some Ukrainian family. But there was neither a church nor secular associations except for the Self Help Association.⁷⁷

Andriy Hukalo, who emigrated to Quebec after World War I, said his father and a friend named Ivan Savchuk came to Quebec in 1910:

...my father worked hard in the building of the tunnel under Mount Royal for the railway tracks, and then later on the construction of the Sun Life

⁷⁵"The Recollections of Mykhaylo Tsytulsky Made in Montreal in 1951," in *Toil of Pioneers*, 238. [In Ukrainian.]

⁷⁶Kotsulym, 52.

⁷⁷*Ibid.*, 54.

Building, east of Dominion Square.⁷⁸

Stefan Brytan left Galicia in 1913 and, after he arrived here:

In Montreal...my job was digging the tunnel under Montreal mountain through which the CPR trains go to Cartierville. In 1916 I got a job at Imperial Tobacco Company. After some time I learned many Ukrainian men worked at Canada Cement Co. and I went there for 15 cents an hour.⁷⁹

Prior to 1914 Ukrainians in Quebec had begun to establish their own secular and religious institutions. The secular institutions, albeit more tenuously, were established first.

Ivan Onyshkevych, an early settler in Montreal, wrote that:

In 1902 in our city the Citizens Club of Canadian-Ukrainians was started as the first huddle with the aim of mutual aid in matters related to the municipal government: rent, water and other problems to be handled in the English language. The founders of the club were Ivan Tukhtiy, Mykyta Buchkovsky and Josyf Sozansky.⁸⁰

In 1903 the Self-Help Association was founded. In 1905, it received a charter from the Quebec Insurance Company.⁸¹

A branch of the Association for Care of Settlers was established on September 17, 1903.⁸² The parent group had its headquarters in Winnipeg. The Association for Care of

⁷⁸Andriy Hukalo, "The Pioneer Hukalo Family," in *Toil of Pioneers*, 241. [In Ukrainian.]

⁷⁹Stefan Brytan, "My Pioneer Paths," in *Toil of Pioneers*, 191. [In Ukrainian.]

⁸⁰Onyshkevych, 297.

⁸¹*Ibid.* The founders of the Self-Help Association were Pavlo Poremsky, Mykyta Buchkovsky, Kost Stanymir, Ivan Telenko and Mykyta Tymiv.

⁸²Marunchak, 209. The first executive members of the Association for Care of Settlers and Aid to the Old Country were Yakiv Sysak, S. Horak, Severyn Kostyrsky, Joseph Sozansky and Volodymyr Anastazievsky.

Settlers soon added the words "...and Aid to the Old Country" to its name, and established contacts with progressive circles in Galicia. It sent aid to the Ukrainian Revolutionary Party in Galicia, and on the party's prompting the Association inserted the word Ukrainian into its name in 1907, renaming itself the Association of Ukrainians. Its meeting place was at 481 Wellington Street in Pointe St. Charles. By 1906, plans were afoot to build a national home for Ukrainians in Montreal. In conjunction with this failed effort, the Drahomanov Society was founded in 1908.⁸³ Another group established in 1909 was the Ukrainian Workers' Club.⁸⁴

Also before World War I, the attempt to establish *Prosvita* (Enlightenment) reading societies was undertaken in Quebec. These were classic examples of immigrants' transplanting to Quebec what they brought with them from their homeland.

As the author has recorded above, these reading societies reached back to the 1860s when Ukrainian politics entered a stage of development characterized by mass participation in national institutions. In 1860 Galician radicals established the Radical Party in Austria-Hungary. Soon after, the National-Democratic Party was formed. In 1906, in Bukovyna, the Radical Party and the Social-Democratic Party were formed, and Ukrainian political life began being transformed into the concern of a nation as a whole, including the peasantry.

⁸³Olha Bassa, "My 50th Anniversary Recollections," in *Toil of Pioneers*, 202. [In Ukrainian.] The founders of the Drahomanov Society in Montreal were Josef Sozansky, I. Zabroda, P. Makohon, P. Olovets, Severyn Kostyrsky, K. Krasutsky, V. Hobovych and Antyn Pysarsky.

⁸⁴Marunchak, 211. The Ukrainian Workers' Club in Montreal was founded by Ivan Naydevych, Hryhory Mekh, N. Nedilsky and M. Bechak.

The role of the reading society in this process was crucial:

The transformation owed much to the reading club (*chytalnia*), a village organization that met on Sundays and holidays for public readings. One of the few literate peasants in the village, perhaps a church cantor or sacristan, would read aloud to the members from popular newspapers specifically designed for the purpose....

In spite of opposition from the government, Ukrainian reading clubs flourished. From a handful in the 1870s, thousands existed by 1910...the first was *Prosvita* (Enlightenment), founded by national populists in Lviv in 1868. (By 1908, *Prosvita* alone was the patron of 2,048 reading clubs in Galicia.) Although the great majority of Ukrainian peasants remained illiterate into the twentieth century, the public reading clubs provided a partial substitute for literacy.⁸⁵

The first *Prosvita* Society (of Markian Shashkevych) was organized by the Reverend Ambroziy Redkevych for Ukrainians living in the area around St. Lawrence Boulevard and had a brief existence.⁸⁶ In 1910, the *Prosvita* society of Ivan Franko was founded in the Frontenac settlement.⁸⁷ A youth group called *Kameniari* (the Stonecutters), named after one of Ivan Franko's poems, was also founded at this time.⁸⁸

But one *Prosvita* reading society founded before 1914 did not die. On December

⁸⁵Himka, 17-19.

⁸⁶Marunchak, 210. Little is known about this first *Prosvita*. It was the custom to name each chapter of the *Prosvita* in honour of historically prominent Ukrainians. Markian Shashkevych (1811-1843) was the leader of the Ruthenian Triad in the 1830s in Lviv, a group of young idealistic seminarians captivated by Herder's ideas. Shashkevych was endowed with poetical talent and set for the group the goal of raising the Ukrainian vernacular to the level of a literary language.

⁸⁷*Ibid.*, 210.

⁸⁸"Outline of Community Organizations," in *Toil of Pioneers*, 308. [In Ukrainian.] Ivan Franko (1856-1916) was a writer, scholar, and political leader in Galicia and one of Ukraine's great creative geniuses. He was arrested three times for spreading socialist ideas and in 1890, with the support of M. Drahomanov, he co-founded the Ruthenian-Ukrainian Radical Party and drew up its programme.

13, 1913, a Ukrainian Catholic priest, the Reverend I. Perepelytsya, founded the *Prosvita* Reading Society (of Taras Shevchenko) in Pointe St. Charles, the oldest secular Ukrainian organization in Quebec to survive to this day.⁸⁹

Another, more overtly political and ideological organization founded in 1911 was an offshoot of the Ukrainian Social-Democratic Party in Galicia. It was headed by Ivan Hnyda, a labour organizer in Quebec and Ontario.⁹⁰ He published a news sheet and ran a small printing shop on de Bullion Street in downtown Montreal.⁹¹ After the Social-Democratic Party was banned by the Canadian government in 1918 for its anti-war and pro-Soviet sympathies, the Ukrainian Labour Temple Association, formed on March 1, 1918, replaced the Social-Democratic Party as the disseminator of socialist and Marxist ideas among Ukrainians in Quebec.⁹² The Ukrainian Labour Temple Association, renamed in 1924 the Ukrainian Labour Farmer Temple Association (ULFTA), a centralized cultural and educational mass organization whose activities were directed towards the promotion of the Communist cause among Ukrainians, reached its apogee during the inter-war period. We will return to this subject later in this study.

Ukrainians who came to Quebec before 1914 were not all traditional, deferent,

⁸⁹*Ibid.*

⁹⁰Maria Davydovych, "The Founding of the 'Prosvita' Society in Montreal," chap. in *Prosvita of Montreal-Pointe St. Charles*, 63. [In Ukrainian.] Taras Shevchenko (1814-1861), the greatest Ukrainian writer and poet, is considered the father of modern Ukrainianism. He is unique in that Ukrainians of all persuasions lay claim to his intellectual legacy, including nationalists and Communists.

⁹¹Marunchak, 211.

⁹²John Kolasky, *The Shattered Illusion* (Toronto: PMA Books, 1979), 2-3.

God-fearing peasants with just the Bible in their luggage. Some brought the *Kobzar*⁹³ with them, and others brought the writings of Mykhaylo Drahomanov, Ivan Franko and Karl Marx with them to Quebec.⁹⁴ Scant evidence remains about the earliest Ukrainian leftist circles which certainly existed in Quebec before World War I. These groups, which helped by acting as safe havens that lessened the cultural shock of the immigrants, kept them in touch with developments back home, served as a means for integrating the newcomers into their new society, and provided the first links to larger public issues in their new homeland.

Mykhaylo Kotsulym, a Ukrainian immigrant who came to Quebec in 1905, said he met "...all kinds of Ukrainians" when he came to Montreal. Some were religious, God-fearing people. Others "...spread demoralization and sacrilege by saying that in Canada there was no God, because no one gave him a passage ticket."⁹⁵

Unfortunately, other than testimony to their existence, there are no records or evidence of how large these groups were, who belonged to them, or what they did other than reading and holding discussions and demonstrations before 1914.

One of the founders of the Drahomanov Society in 1908 was Josyf Sozansky, who

⁹³*Kobzar* can be translated as 'bard' and was the title of Taras Shevchenko's first volume of poems, published in 1840 in St. Petersburg. Based largely on historical themes, the powerful, direct, melodious poems were hailed as the work of a genius. The *Kobzar* catapulted Shevchenko to literary fame and popularity in Ukraine and had a profound impact on the development of the Ukrainian national movement in the modern era.

⁹⁴Kazymyr Yoan Myrvitsky, "The Recollections of a Pioneer," in A. Hladylowycz, J. Pryszliak, and J. Lewyckyj, eds., *Golden Jubilee Book Commemorating the 50th Anniversary of St. Michael's Ukrainian Catholic Church in Montreal*, (Toronto: Basilian Press, 1966), 21-23. [In Ukrainian.]

⁹⁵Kotsulym, 55.

worked as a photographer.⁹⁶ Hryhory Mekh, a founder of the Ukrainian Workers' Club in 1909, owned a small bookshop and travel agency, later opening a window cleaning business.⁹⁷ Ivan Hnyda, a founder of the Montreal branch of the Federation of Ukrainian Social-Democrats, published a news sheet and ran a small printing shop.⁹⁸ The founder of one of the first *Prosvita* reading societies was the Reverend I. Perepelytsya, a Catholic priest.⁹⁹

These first Ukrainian secular immigrant institutions in Quebec attracted Galician radicals and social democrats and had a leftist orientation. Kazymyr Yoan Myrvitsky came to Montreal in 1905 and recalled that:

In Montreal Ukrainians were scattered throughout the city. A large number who lived in the southern part of the town called Pointe St. Charles came from Bridsky, Husiatynsky, Chortkivsky and Ternopil, particularly from the village of Nastasova. In that district there were a few leaders -- organizers, socialist-radicals -- adherents of Karl Marx and Drahomanov. They did not care about the Holy Church and founded their own socialist associations. There were problems in our Catholic associations in the Frontenac district.¹⁰⁰

Mykhaylo Chypchar recorded his first impressions of Montreal in June, 1912.¹⁰¹

⁹⁶Bassa, 202.

⁹⁷Marunchak, 211.

⁹⁸Ivan Avakumovic, *The Communist Party in Canada* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart Limited, 1975), 7-8.

⁹⁹Maria Davydovych, "The Founding of the 'Prosvita' Society in Montreal," in *Prosvita of Montreal-Pointe St. Charles*, 63.

¹⁰⁰Myrvitsky, 21.

¹⁰¹Mykhaylo Chypchar, "My Memories of Canada," TMs [photocopy], pp. 1-9. This autobiographical essay was made available to the author of this study by Mr. Maurice Kostyrsky in June 1981. He had previously received the manuscript from Mr. Terry

The first Sunday after his arrival he attended a Catholic mass for Ukrainians said by Father Desmarais (a French-speaking Belgian priest) in a church on DeMontigny and Plessis streets. His first surprise was that the French-speaking priest spoke in Ukrainian. His second was a leaflet distributed outside the church inviting people to a "workers' meeting" to be held that afternoon in a field on the corner of l'Esperance and Rouen streets in the Frontenac settlement. Out of curiosity he attended the meeting, after which he noted:

We came to the meeting place under the open sky and I listened as Mr. Ivan Hnyda introduced himself and opened the meeting about the condition of workers in Canada and the world, and then introduced Comrade (quite hairy) Dmytryshyn. This one started...how workers suffer in capitalist Canada, how they suffer in mines, how no one protects them, neither government nor church, how all of them perish.... But if we all joined the Social-Democratic Party then that the CPR (pointing at the yards) will be under our control. We will be the masters, not the Canadian capitalists, so come and join the Party. There were about twenty men and two women, but no one ran to take over the CPR shops, and no one joined the party. Later I was told this was the Association of Myroslav Sichynsky,¹⁰² part of the Social-Democratic Party. This was my first taste of politics in Canada.¹⁰³

In addition to organizing the Ukrainian Social-Democratic Party in Quebec in 1911, Ivan Hnyda established a private publishing firm, *Novy Svit* (New World) in a coal shed on de Bullion Street and published an annual almanac and popular pamphlets on social, economic and scientific themes for Ukrainian workers in Quebec.¹⁰⁴

Chypchar, M. Chypchar's son.

¹⁰²Myroslav Sichynsky was a young Ukrainian student who assassinated the Polish governor of Galicia, Andrzej Potocki, on April 12, 1908.

¹⁰³Chypchar, 2.

¹⁰⁴Kolasky, 2-3.

A newspaper report survives on a Ukrainian workers' meeting held in Montreal on July 28, 1912.¹⁰⁵ This public meeting was also organized by the Montreal branch of the Federation of Ukrainian Social-Democrats and took place in a field near the "tobacco company on Ontario Street."¹⁰⁶ This report shows that the Galician radicals and social democrats in Quebec were largely focused on old country issues and old world socialism.

The agenda of the meeting was: (1) the question of creating a Ukrainian university in Galicia; (2) the new military duties in Austria and the policies of Ukrainian bourgeois deputies; and (3) the tenth anniversary of the farmers' and workers' strike in Galicia.

In attendance were more than 1,500 workers. The meeting was called to order by the Social Democrat Ivan Hnyda, and Andriy Dmytryshyn (the same Dmytryshyn earlier described as "hairy" by Chypchar) was elected chairman, with Pavlo Fediv as secretary. Andriy Malanyn spoke to the first issue: the fight of the Ukrainian people in Galicia for schools and a university. The next two items on the agenda were dealt with by Ivan Hnyda, who "takes a very active interest in organizing our emigrants."¹⁰⁷ The speeches were against "Austrian authorities" and the "Galician gentry." After this, a "comrade from the English socialist party named Morgenthau spoke, followed by the Russian Comrade Zverov."¹⁰⁸ After the meeting all present marched "with a fine red flag" through the streets of Montreal, singing "revolutionary songs" and proceeded to a hall on Iberville Street,

¹⁰⁵*Borba* (Struggle), no. 15-16, July 29, 1912, 6-7. Dr. Roman Serbyn made a copy of this newspaper available to the author.

¹⁰⁶*Ibid.*, July 29, 1912, 6.

¹⁰⁷*Ibid.*

¹⁰⁸*Ibid.*, 7.

where more speeches took place.¹⁰⁹ The newspaper report continued:

With this meeting and demonstration, Ukrainian workers in Montreal showed their great strength and what is more important, a live interest in the affairs of the old country. The agitation by priests who told their parishioners not to attend was without success. Neither was the work of henchmen who tore down our notices and agitated against the holding of the meeting.¹¹⁰

The Ukrainian workers' meeting of July 29, 1912 also passed six resolutions.¹¹¹

The first demanded that the Austrian government establish a Ukrainian university in Lviv. The second said the newspaper report was being left out "...due to censorship considerations." The third condemned the lack of improvement in social conditions in Galicia and urged all workers to join the Social-Democratic Party to "...start strike action." The fourth demanded electoral reform and "...universal, equal, direct and secret balloting." The fifth condemned Austrian military conscription. The sixth urged all the nations in Galicia to demand the resignation and recall of parliamentary deputies who betrayed the working masses.

The same edition of *Borba* reported on a subscription drive during August 1912 for "socialist newspapers." A total of 268 crowns was collected and sent to three newspapers. *Rabochyj Narod* (Working People) received \$21.00, *Vpered* (Forward) \$18.00, and *Borba* \$14.00.¹¹²

Discussing this period in Ukrainian-Canadian history, Peter Krawchuk, the author

¹⁰⁹*Ibid.*

¹¹⁰*Ibid.*

¹¹¹*Ibid.*

¹¹²*Ibid.*

of *Interned Without Cause* (1985) and a prominent Ukrainian-Canadian Communist, suggested that some of the Ukrainians interned during World War I were so treated not because they were considered Austrian enemy aliens but because they were active and visible, dangerous Bolsheviks. He explained:

It suffices to glance through the files of the newspapers "Canadian Farmer"...and "Canadian Rusyn" up to 1914...to see how much defamation the Ukrainian Social Democratic Party of Canada and its organ "The Working People." Denunciations of the USDPC...were made to the powers that be especially after the Great October Socialist Revolution because the party had evaluated positively this historic event of world importance. One did not have to wait long for the results of this shameful smear campaign.... In September 1918, by decree of the Dominion government the activities of the USDPC were forbidden and the further issuance of its newspaper...was discontinued...USDPC activists [were] arrested and thrown into concentration camps...where they remained until 1920. Among the arrested were...Tymko Boychuk and Ivan Hnyda of Montreal.¹¹³

Origins of the Catholic Church

Such were the early secular concerns and institutions of Ukrainians in Quebec before World War I. However, before 1914 a segment of Ukrainian pioneers also helped lay the foundations of Ukrainian Catholic and Orthodox religious life in Quebec.

Before World War I when Ukrainian immigrants settled in Quebec they did so mostly in Montreal, in the Pointe St. Charles district, in the downtown area along St.

¹¹³Peter Krawchuk, *Interned Without Cause* (Toronto: Kobzar Publishing Company Limited, 1985), 11.

Lawrence Boulevard, and around Frontenac Street in the eastern part of the city.¹¹⁴ Another small colony of Ukrainians settled in the city of Lachine.¹¹⁵ Most of the Ukrainians in Lachine came from the province of Bukovyna.¹¹⁶ In 1908 or 1909 they constructed the first Ukrainian Orthodox church in Lachine, on 5th Avenue south of Provost Street. In 1911 the church burned down and soon after was rebuilt. Its cornerstone named it St. John of Sochawa Bukovynian Orthodox Church, Sochawa being a region in the province of Bukovyna. Sometime in the 1920s this Bukovynian congregation decided it was Russian and the parish joined the jurisdiction of the Russian Orthodox bishop in Quebec. It then fell out of the orbit of the Ukrainian community in Quebec.¹¹⁷

Two Lachine women remembered the origins of the Ukrainian community in Lachine this way:

Between 1905-1907 some Ukrainian families and single people settled in Lachine. Generally they were young people, unmarried, who spent their free time dancing and singing over beer.... They had come from Galicia, Trans-Carpathia and Bukovyna.... The majority were Orthodox Bukovynians. There were approximately 400 of them in Lachine and Montreal. Just from [the] one village of Mayivka there were 30 people. Being numerous the Orthodox Bukovynians built a small wooden church in 1909 on 6th Avenue. Shortly after, it burned down. They then built a brick church in 1912 called St. John of Sochawa which stands to this day. Until 1913 this church was attended by both Orthodox Bukovynians and Galician Catholics. Ritual differences were insignificant and both were united by national origin and Austro-Hungarian citizenship.... Religious

¹¹⁴Bayley, 48.

¹¹⁵*Ibid.*; and Osyp Diachyshyn, interview by the author, Montreal, Quebec, February 1975.

¹¹⁶*Ibid.*

¹¹⁷See *ibid.*; Mamchur, 70; Marunchak, 211; and Osyp Diachyshyn, interview by the author, May 1982.

intolerance was unknown then. But later intolerance was instigated by masters of ruin and division.¹¹⁸

The most far-reaching event in the pre-1914 history of Ukrainians in Quebec was the establishment of the first Ukrainian Catholic congregation, or parish. This event was associated with the person and initiative of Metropolitan Andrey Sheptytsky, the Ukrainian Catholic Archbishop of Galicia. The Reverend Ihor Monczak, a student of the early origins of Ukrainian Catholicism in Quebec, wrote:

From October 1902 Ukrainian priests occasionally said mass in Roman Catholic churches in Montreal during their stayover while voyaging from Europe to western Canada.... From 1907 they began to visit Montreal from the west on the invitation of the Association of Ukrainians. By then there were some Ukrainian seminarians in the Grand Seminary in Montreal, among them Vasyl Ladyka, later consecrated as bishop. These seminarians taught catechism to Ukrainian children in Pointe St. Charles and provided the impetus to the founding of the first all-day Ukrainian school in Montreal.¹¹⁹

The historical origin of the Ukrainian Catholic Church in Quebec dates back to September 1910, when the International Eucharistic Congress held in Montreal was attended by Metropolitan Andrey Sheptytsky of Galicia and Bishop Soter Ortynsky from the United States.¹²⁰ When Metropolitan Sheptytsky came to Montreal he met with Ukrainians and arranged a public meeting with the Catholic faithful. This meeting must have been well attended because it had to be held outdoors on Brown (now Florian) Street

¹¹⁸Kateryna Ivanylo and Anastasia Harhay, "St. Basil the Great Parish," in Julian Beskyd, ed., *A Quarter of a Century on the Episcopal Throne 1948-1973*, (Toronto: Nasha Meta, 1975), 671-672. [In Ukrainian.]

¹¹⁹The Reverend Ihor Monczak, "St. Michael the Archangel Parish," in *A Quarter of a Century*, 624. [In Ukrainian.]

¹²⁰Myrvitsky, 22.

in the Frontenac Street area of Montreal. Metropolitan Sheptytsky addressed those assembled from the second floor balcony of a private residence, and urged them to organize a parish for which he would provide Ukrainian Catholic pastors.

In 1910, most Ukrainian Catholics lived in the industrial area of Pointe St. Charles, and five miles away in the east-central district around Frontenac Street. Having arrived for the Eucharistic Congress, Bishop Ortynsky visited Ukrainians in Pointe St. Charles, while Metropolitan Sheptytsky visited the Frontenac settlement. Kazymyr Yoan Myrvitsky recorded Metropolitan Sheptytsky's visit in 1910 in his diary thus:

Metropolitan Sheptytsky came to see his Ukrainian flock in Canada but could not get much information about it in Ottawa because all were registered differently, and, as he later told me, found Galicians, Ruthenians, Russians, Uniates, Greek Catholics and all other kinds. While in Montreal the Metropolitan stayed at the Jesuit monastery of St. Vincent de Paul. There he asked the French priests about our people -- Ukrainians -- and they told him they did not know exactly who it was that assembled in the basement of their church since 1907. Then one of the priests, Father Vridasi, said that he knew a Ruthenian collector and sent the Metropolitan to see me so I could tell him about the people I took collections from....

I told him I knew many Ukrainians at the ...church and at work. The Metropolitan and Bishop Ortynsky then told me to inform all Ukrainians that on Sunday, September 6th they should come to the basement of the French St. Vincent de Paul church for a Ukrainian Episcopal Mass to be said by the Metropolitan. Many came and cried with joy when that servant of God introduced his brethren to the French Canadians here across the ocean. That same Sunday, September 6th, in the Eucharistic procession to Mount Royal with all nationalities going to the Eucharistic altar, the Metropolitan led us to the mass of the whole world....

His Excellency Metropolitan Sheptytsky, Bishop Soter Ortynsky and several French priests came to my home on Brown Street (now Florian). From the balcony of my home the Metropolitan spoke to the assembled in French and Ukrainian, blessed my family and said that he recognized in me the person who would organize the Ukrainians in Montreal and that he would try to visit us again.¹²¹

¹²¹*Ibid.*

At the Eucharistic Congress of 1910 in Montreal, Metropolitan Sheptytsky met a newly-ordained French-Canadian priest, Father Josaphat Jean, who expressed interest in serving the Ukrainian community in the Byzantine rite. Sheptytsky encouraged him and by the end of that month Father Jean left Quebec for Krekhovi in Galicia to enter a Basilian seminary to prepare for the priesthood in the Ukrainian Catholic Byzantine rite. Later, Father Jean was to become decisively instrumental in the development and elaboration of Ukrainian Catholic life in Quebec.¹²²

Kazymyr Myrvitsky, in the meantime, did what the Metropolitan requested. Among Ukrainians in Quebec at that time, many were Galician radicals and leftists. Myrvitsky wrote that:

I fulfilled the Metropolitan's instructions and within a year held the first meeting to establish a parish in Montreal. I had problems: to the meeting came the 'sons' of Karl Marx, Moscowphiles, radicals and other garbage. I was prepared for that fight -- so I had the police there ready to anoint them with their nightsticks.¹²³

There is no evidence of there having been any violence.

Metropolitan Sheptytsky stayed in North America for four months and visited Ukrainian communities in both Canada and the United States. After returning to Galicia, he designated Father Yermiy to come to Montreal. He was the first Ukrainian Catholic priest to be posted to Quebec. Father Yermiy arrived in Montreal in July 1911. Kazymyr Myrvitsky recorded:

We held our second meeting [on] July [16th] 1911. Present was our

¹²²Keywan, 27-28.

¹²³Myrvitsky, 22.

first priest Reverend Yermiy who asked me to chair the meeting. When the church committee of 12 was elected I said I will not take part in the discussions except to ask that everyone donate to the building fund according to their means. Everyone agreed and together donated more than \$500 (exact figure I don't remember). We ended the meeting with prayer and sang the hymn "Nazareth Beloved Flower."¹²⁴

The minute book of the first Ukrainian Catholic parish incorporated in Montreal has its first entry dated September 2, 1911, and the charter is entitled *Nouvelle paroisse roumaine de Montréal* -- evidence of how Ukrainians understood themselves at that time in Quebec.¹²⁵ Myrvitsky's diary recorded:

We asked Montreal's Archbishop Paul Bruchesi to help in getting us a church in which we could have our masses said. Until the construction of our own church of St. Michael the Archangel, we assembled to pray at a church made available to us on Plessis Street.¹²⁶

In 1912, Reverend Nykyta Budka was consecrated the first Ukrainian Canadian Catholic Bishop of Canada. Bishop Budka reissued an ecclesiastical charter for St. Michael's parish on April 10, 1916 under the name of *La paroisse catholique grècque ruthène de St. Michel*.¹²⁷ On December 22, 1916 the Quebec legislature reissued a charter to the new parish and Bishop Budka transferred the property to *La Corporation catholique épiscopale ruthène grècque du Canada*.¹²⁸ The newly built church was blessed at a ceremony on Easter Sunday in 1917. A parishioner present at the ceremony (see below)

¹²⁴*Ibid.*

¹²⁵Monczak 1975, 624.

¹²⁶Myrvitsky, 22-23.

¹²⁷Monczak 1975, 624.

¹²⁸*Ibid.*, 624-625.

remembered that:

During the first mass all sorts of hooligans threw rocks at the doors of the church filled with the faithful. We called the police to disperse them.¹²⁹

The identity of the hooligans was unknown, whether Ukrainian radicals and socialists hostile to the Catholic church or French-Canadians in the Frontenac settlement expressing that strangers were unwelcome.

Only the basement of the church was completed. The superstructure came later. In 1919 the cost of construction reached \$50,000, half of which was borrowed. The debt plagued the parish for the next 25 years. The parishioners were poor but determined to keep their church. In 1911, 200 families had paid their annual dues. In 1914, 104 marriages were celebrated in the parish, and in 1915, 248 children were baptized.¹³⁰

Myrvitsky's diary continued:

Until it came to constructing our church we had not a few difficulties. Our people were poor and not very numerous. Unfortunately priests changed frequently. Reverend Yermiy left unexpectedly. For a while Father Sabourin came from Sifton, Manitoba, and then the Redemptorist monk Reverend Desmarais, who contributed to the building fund from his own salary, and who raised money. Finally, Reverend Ambroziy Redkevych arrived, took out a loan and began constructing the church.¹³¹

Father Redkevych began the construction of St. Michael's Church after a general meeting of parishioners on April 16, 1916 approved the project. That meeting was

¹²⁹Ivan Onyshkevych, "The Ivan and Maria Drozdovych Family," in *Toil of Pioneers*, 195. [In Ukrainian.]

¹³⁰*Ibid.*, 625.

¹³¹Myrvitsky, 22-23.

attended by approximately 2,000 people.¹³² The Reverend Monczak wrote that, on the eve of World War I:

Virtually the whole of Ukrainian life in Montreal and Quebec in the pioneer era was centred around St. Michael's parish and was under its spiritual leadership. The exception was a group of Moscowphiles who joined the old Tsarist church of St. Peter and Paul and which still exists at 1151 Champlain as 'The Russian Orthodox Greek Catholic Church of America.'

A second exception was those who followed the preachers of the Presbyterian Church and later became members of the Church of All Nations and denominationally the United Church....

There were also the socialists and radicals, hostile to church and religion in general. They fortunately, or rather unfortunately, did not leave our church, but created all sorts of unbelievable difficulties and conflicts while inside.¹³³

Identity and Internment

When Britain declared war on Austria-Hungary and Germany in August 1914, Ukrainians lived in several parts of Montreal and had established a number of religious and secular institutions.

In the religious sphere, Quebec was home to a Ukrainian Catholic community and non-Catholic community which were comprised of the Orthodox, the Protestants and the non-believers.

By 1914, Ukrainians who had settled in the Frontenac Street area established the

¹³²Monczak 1975, 625.

¹³³*Ibid.*, 626.

Galician or Ruthenian Catholic parish of St. Michael the Archangel in July 1911 at the urging of Metropolitan Andrey Sheptytsky, the Archbishop of Galicia, who had visited Montreal in 1910 to attend the International Eucharist Congress. Itinerant Catholic priests visited St. Michael's parish in the Frontenac Street area, and the Ukrainians living in Pointe St. Charles and in downtown Montreal. There was also a Pastor Ivan Bodrug, who proselytized "Protestant propaganda...among Ukrainians" in Montreal.¹³⁴

In Lachine, the Bukovynian Orthodox parishioners of St. John of Sochawa built a church in 1908 or 1909 and, after a fire, rebuilt it in 1911 on 5th Avenue in Lachine, just below Provost Street.

The Ukrainians had also established a set of secular institutions. In 1902 the Citizens' Club was founded. In 1903 the Self-Help Association was established. The Association for Care of Settlers was created in 1903, and in 1907 it became the Association of Ukrainians. In 1908 the Drahomanov Society was established, and in 1909 the Workers' Club. Three *Prosvita* reading societies came into existence: The downtown *Prosvita* (of Markian Shashkevych) and the *Prosvita* (of Ivan Franko) were short-lived. The third *Prosvita* (of Taras Shevchenko) in Pointe St. Charles was established in 1913 and exists to this day. The socialists had a Montreal chapter of the Federation of Ukrainian Social-Democrats, organized in 1911.

No reliable record exists about how many Ukrainians lived in Quebec before 1914, nor how many Ukrainians these various religious and secular institutions embraced.

¹³⁴The Reverend Myron Datsiuk, "The Contribution of [the] Basilian Fathers to the Growth of St. Michael's Parish in Montreal," in *Book of St. Michael's*, 27. [In Ukrainian.]

One of the intriguing sources on the number of Ukrainians then in Quebec is the minute book of St. Michael's parish, which recorded that, by 1915, 60 Ukrainian families including women and children and some 1,500 Ukrainian men were interned at Spirit Lake, Quebec by Canadian authorities.¹³⁵ But it is not known if all these internees came from Quebec or, if they did so, what proportion of the total Ukrainian population this might have represented.

In 1910 Metropolitan Sheptytsky had to address the faithful assembled on Brown (Florian) Street from a second-storey balcony. Ivan Hnyda's socialist rally in 1912 was said to have attracted 1,200 people. Two thousand are said to have attended the 1916 meeting of St. Michael's parish. And the Bukovynians of Lachine were said to number approximately 400. M. H. Marunchak estimated that by 1907 Quebec had 3,000 Ukrainians.¹³⁶ *The Trans-Ocean Herald* of November 1, 1920 said that at the end of World War I there were 5,000 Ukrainians in Montreal.¹³⁷ Reliable census figures for this time were not available because the rubric "Ukrainian" did not appear until the census of 1931.

The difficulty of establishing the number of Ukrainians in Quebec was compounded by the difficulty of designating just who was Ukrainian.

With the possible exception of the Association of Ukrainians, whose name suggests otherwise, most Ukrainians (and their institutions) in Quebec did not yet consider

¹³⁵See Moneczak 1979, 47; and Marunchak, 330.

¹³⁶Marunchak, 209.

¹³⁷*Ibid.*, 218.

themselves Ukrainian. They thought themselves to be Bukovynians, Galicians, or most often *Rusyny* (or Ruthenians).¹³⁸

Having come for the most part from the rural regions of the Austro-Hungarian empire, the settlers' loyalty and sense of identity tended to be regional, provincial, parochial, religious or even class-based, rather than national. There was little sense of a Ukrainian national consciousness or national identity. For example, one early Ukrainian settler in Quebec recalled:

Among the first emigrants no one admitted to being Ukrainian, they described themselves to immigration authorities as Austrians, Ruskys, or Rusyns.¹³⁹

As another example, on the cornerstone of the Orthodox church in Lachine it was written that it was the "Bukovynian Orthodox Church of St. John of Sochawa."¹⁴⁰ The Catholic parish committee in the Frontenac settlement, founded in 1911, called itself the *Nouvelle paroisse roumaine de Montréal*. When, in 1916, Bishop Budka of Winnipeg

¹³⁸The historian Orest Subtelny said that, "In the late nineteenth and early twentieth century nationally conscious west Ukrainians began to consider themselves 'Ukrainians,' a national name that had been adopted [earlier] by the Ukrainian intelligentsia in the east." In the east the word *Ukraina* meant borderland, referring to the periphery or borderland of the civilized world and the orient. As the term "Ukrainian" increasingly gained acceptance in western Ukraine the use of *Rusyn* (or Ruthenian) declined. There were two basic reasons for abandoning the traditional designation *Rusyn*. It was felt that *Rusyn* was too similar to *Rusky* and, by adopting the name "Ukrainian" used by their compatriots in the Russian empire, western Ukrainians in the Austro-Hungarian empire wished to stress their unity with them. See: Orest Subtelny, *Ukraine: A History* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1988), 307.

¹³⁹Davydovych, 62.

¹⁴⁰Cornerstone, St. John of Sochawa Bukovynian Orthodox Church, 5th Avenue (south of Provost), Lachine, Quebec. The cornerstone is dated 1911.

issued an ecclesiastical deed for this parish, it was entitled *La paroisse catholique grècque ruthène de St. Michel*.¹⁴¹ On December 22, 1916, when the Quebec legislature approved a charter for St. Michael's parish its title was *La corporation catholique épiscopale ruthène grècque du Canada*.¹⁴²

Even the most popular and numerous of the secular institutions, the *Prosvita* Reading Society of Taras Shevchenko in Pointe St. Charles, did not understand itself as being Ukrainian. Although the association's flag of 1913 was made of blue and yellow silk (the colours of the national flag) and had the Ukrainian Trident on it, the words "Ruthenian Reading Association" were embroidered on it.¹⁴³ Ukrainians in Quebec simply did not yet consider themselves Ukrainians, nor were they considered to be Ukrainians. In Europe, there was no Ukrainian state, and a Ukrainian nation, as such, was not generally known. Most of these newcomers came from the Austro-Hungarian empire, had Austrian passports, were legally considered Austrian nationals and some even called themselves Austrians. This was to have unfortunate consequences.

When Great Britain declared war on the Central Powers on August 4, 1914, Canada was also legally at war. In October, 1914, the Dominion government issued an Order-in-Council (P.C. 2721) requiring the registration and, in some cases, the internment

¹⁴¹Moneczak 1975, 624.

¹⁴²*Ibid.*

¹⁴³Maria Davydovych, "The History of the Flag," in *Toil of Pioneers*, 89. [In Ukrainian.]

of enemy aliens.¹⁴⁴ This regulation expressed the concern in Canada about the loyalty of recent immigrants from southeastern Europe, particularly from Austria-Hungary, many of whom were Ukrainians.

The predicament of Ukrainians in Canada was further aggravated when, on August 3, 1914, Bishop Nicholas Budka of Winnipeg, the Ukrainian Catholic Bishop of Canada, issued a pastoral letter saying Ukrainians should take a strong attitude in favour of Austria and support "...the peace loving Emperor Franz-Joseph."¹⁴⁵

The Bishop's pronouncement disturbed Canadian authorities who knew of the many Austrians in their midst. In September, 1914, the federal government issued another Order-in-Council which required all Germans and Austrians to hand in their firearms.¹⁴⁶ In October of the same year yet another Order-in-Council (No. 301) called Major-General Sir William Dillon Otter out of retirement and appointed him Commanding Officer of Internment Operations in Canada.¹⁴⁷ The internment operations,

...eventually resulted in the internment of some 8,759 men in 24 camps and stations throughout the Dominion. A total of 81 women and 156 children also accompanied the men. Between 1914 and 1920 many thousands more were registered as enemy aliens and thus subject to periodical reporting to the nearest police or security offices.¹⁴⁸

¹⁴⁴Lubomyr Y. Luciuk, *Internment Operations: The Role of Old Fort Henry in World War I* (Kingston: Delta Educational Consultants, 1980), 1.

¹⁴⁵See Yuzyk, 187; and Myrna Kostash, *All Baba's Children*, (Edmonton: Hurtig Publishers, 1953), 46.

¹⁴⁶Kostash, 47.

¹⁴⁷See Sir William Otter, *Internment Operations 1914-1920* (Ottawa: The King's Printer, 1921); and Luciuk, 2.

¹⁴⁸Otter, 4-5.

In fact, during World War I, some 88,000 people were registered as enemy aliens in Canada, although most of these were not interned. Of the twenty-four internment camps in Canada during 1914-1920, four were in the province of Quebec.

The first place established to meet the security requirements of the nation was a receiving station opened in the Immigration Building of Montreal, Quebec (at 172 St. Antoine Street).¹⁴⁹

The other three Quebec camps were at Beauport, Valcartier and Spirit Lake.

These camps were used not only for domestic enemy aliens, but also for some prisoners-of-war captured during military operations. General Otter indicated that of all individuals in his charge, 3,138 were prisoners of war. The other 5,621 internees were all civilians, against whom no charges could be laid.¹⁵⁰

A study of internment operations in Quebec with particular reference to Ukrainians was written by Père Jean Laflamme.¹⁵¹ A French-Canadian priest from northern Quebec, Laflamme became interested in Canadian internment operations during World War I through his father, who knew Ukrainians who had been interned in the camp at Spirit Lake and who settled in the area after being released. One of Père Laflamme's findings was that the Orthodoxy was a dominant religious trait among the internees in the camp

¹⁴⁹*Ibid.*

¹⁵⁰Luciuk, 6.

¹⁵¹Jean Laflamme, "Les camp de détention au Québec durant la première guerre mondiale" (Rouyn, QC: Collège du Nord-Ouest, 1975). A copy of Laflamme's essay was provided to the author of this study by Yuriy Luhovy, a filmmaker and producer of the National Film Board of Canada film "The Ukrainians in Quebec." Laflamme's essay was found by Luhovy in Amos, Quebec and was a source for his film. A photocopy of the essay is in the author's possession. Cf., J. Boudreau, "The Enemy Alien Problem in Canada, 1914-1920" (Ph.D. diss., University of California, Los Angeles, 1965).

at Spirit Lake.¹⁵² The significance of this is that Orthodoxy is a typically Russian and Ukrainian confession and this suggests that a number of the internees were Ukrainian, possibly from the Bukovynian Orthodox congregation in Lachine. Laflamme's study also provided a record of Catholic baptism, marriages and funerals which occurred in the prisoners' community at Spirit Lake. Most of these names are markedly Slavic and Ukrainian.¹⁵³

Furthermore, Stefan Brytan, who settled in Montreal before World War I, wrote:

The year 1914 witnessed the start of the First World War during which our pioneers suffered in Canada as citizens of Austria, which then was at war with England and Canada. There was an order to chase us out from work and we had to report every week with our registration cards to the police. If someone's card was damaged, they sent him to jail in Kapuskasing in northwestern Quebec. Some sat there for two and three years, some died, and others lived in hope that Austria [would] pay them for their suffering. Austria lost the war and our unlucky pioneers were released from prison with nothing.¹⁵⁴

Osyp Diachyshyn remembers the early efforts to establish the Ukrainian Catholic parish in Lachine:

The First World War cancelled our plans (to build a Catholic church, for which \$900 had already been collected) as a result of the repression of Ukrainians who came from Galicia and Bukovyna, and were considered citizens of a hostile state.¹⁵⁵

Andriy Hukalo recalled his father's first years in Quebec after 1910:

¹⁵²*Ibid.*, 28.

¹⁵³*Ibid.*, 29-30.

¹⁵⁴Brytan, 191.

¹⁵⁵Osyp Diachyshyn, "Historical Outline of St. Basil the Great Parish," in *Toil of Pioneers*, 84. [In Ukrainian.]

In the years of the First World War, my father was considered a suspicious Austrian.¹⁵⁶

The *Prosvita* Reading Society in Pointe St. Charles assisted their interned compatriots. Their minute book recorded that:

During the Christmas holidays *Prosvitans* went carolling. The income was divided in two parts: one-half was assigned for gifts to Ukrainian internees in Canada, and the second half to widows and orphans in the old country.¹⁵⁷

Reverend Ihor Monczak, an historian of St. Michael's Ukrainian Catholic parish in Montreal, wrote the following about the internment of Ukrainians in Montreal during World War I:

Spirit Lake lies a few miles west from the city of Amos, and is now called Lac Beauchamp. In the place where the internment camp was, there is now an experimental farm, La Ferme, and as a footprint of the past tragedy to innocent Ukrainians, not far away, there remains a group of forgotten graves.¹⁵⁸

Kazymyr Myrvitsky left the following testimony:

The First World War, which broke out in 1914, was well remembered by Ukrainians not only in Montreal, but in all of Canada. Then, Ukrainians were considered as unfriendly peoples because they came from under Austrian occupation. Our people suffered: many lost their jobs, and others were taken to concentration camps at Spirit Lake, Quebec, where our people worked for 25 cents a day rooting out forests, like prisoners.

From Montreal large numbers of families were taken there. They were served by the priest of the newly founded parish of St. Michael's, Yoan Perepelytsya. He told them to build a chapel in which he said

¹⁵⁶Hukalo, "The Pioneer Hukalo Family," in *Toil of Pioneers*, 241. [In Ukrainian.]

¹⁵⁷Davydovych, "The Founding of the 'Prosvita' Society," in *Prosvita of Montreal-Pointe St. Charles*, 65.

¹⁵⁸Monczak 1979, 47-48.

Ukrainian mass. With the end of war in 1918 our people were released and returned to Montreal.¹⁵⁹

Father Ambroziy Redkevych, pastor of St. Michael's parish, made the following entry in the parish records in July 1915.:

False information from enemies resulted in 60 families, along with women and children, being taken from Montreal and placed in detention at Spirit Lake. In addition to these, some 1,500 men were also taken from Montreal and incarcerated in Spirit Lake, Quebec, Kapuskasing, Ontario and Petawawa, Ontario. The general condition of the Ukrainian colony in Montreal is onerous.¹⁶⁰

The irony of the Ukrainians' internment during the war was that they were suspect and interned in both Austria and Canada. When Tsarist Russia invaded Austria in 1915, some Poles raised the cry of treason on the part of Galician Ukrainians. This aroused the retreating Austro-Hungarian units against Ukrainian peasants and clergymen. Hundreds were shot and hanged by military courts. And a great number of Galician Ukrainians were confined in Austrian internment camps.¹⁶¹

When the internment of Ukrainians in Quebec began, Ukrainians formed the Committee of Ukrainians of Eastern Canada and sent a delegation composed of Reverend A. Redkevych, S. Kostyrsky, Pastor I. Bodrug and A. Pysarsky to Ottawa to clarify the position of the Austrians and to obtain their release.¹⁶² Their efforts succeeded. Eventually, the Quebec camps were emptied and closed.

¹⁵⁹Myrvitsky, 21.

¹⁶⁰See Monczak, 47; and Marunchak, 330.

¹⁶¹Kubijovyc, 714-715.

¹⁶²Marunchak, 211.

After the internees were administered the oath of allegiance to the Crown and swore obedience to the laws of Canada, they were paroled. Upon release many internees went to work for private companies which were anxious to hire them.

Père Laflamme said the Canadian Railway Company of Toronto hired 50 prisoners from Spirit Lake in May 1916. The Minto Coal Company of New Brunswick took on 32 men. The Welland Ship Canal Company hired 219. In July 1916 the Asbestos Corporation hired 172 men and the Transcontinental Railway 100 men.¹⁶³

The demand for labour by other companies, such as the Dominion Iron and Steel Company, could not be met because Mr. Grinsdale, the director of federal experimental farms, intervened against depleting the manpower in the camps.

The camp at Beauport closed on June 29, 1916 and some prisoners were transferred to Fort Henry in Kingston. All camp equipment was leased to the federal minister of agriculture.

After January 1917 only Montreal had a receiving and monitoring station for enemy aliens. This station was closed on November 30, 1918.

When the war ended, the Canadian government closed the remaining camps in Canada. But there were approximately 2,000 prisoners in the country, all Austrian, who were not released on oath, and who were returned or chose to return to their country of origin between 1919 and 1920.¹⁶⁴

The internment of Ukrainians in Quebec between 1914 and 1920 showed that there

¹⁶³Laflamme, 43-46, *passim*.

¹⁶⁴*Ibid.*

was a sizeable group of Ukrainian immigrants from the Austro-Hungarian empire in Quebec before 1914 and that these newcomers were a large enough group to concern Canadian authorities both as enemy aliens and radical socialists.¹⁶⁵

The internment of, among others, the Orthodox Bukovynians (probably from Lachine) helps explain why St. John of Sochawa parish might have left the orbit of Ukrainian institutions and entered the jurisdiction of the Russian bishop. The internment of many members of that community would have embittered it and inclined it to disavow its Austrian connection, while emphasizing its sympathy for Russia. It would have been pragmatic to explain one's Bukovynian or even Galician identity as Russian rather than Austrian when Russia was Canada's ally. But some parishioners of St. John of Sochawa refused to designate themselves as Russian and they left the church, and thus St. John of Sochawa became a prodigal congregation.¹⁶⁶

The Ukrainians' experience during the war also raised the question about their ethnic identity. Who were they? Were they Russians, Austrians, Bukovynians, Galicians, or, what? Internment raised the question and the search for the answer politicized many of the immigrants and for the most part began to "Ukrainianize" them. The situation of the internees led to community efforts to aid them and to verify the historical identity of the newcomers.

For example, the minute book of the *Prosvita* Reading Society of Taras Shevchenko in Pointe St. Charles had the following entry on a meeting held in January

¹⁶⁵Krawchuk, 11.

¹⁶⁶Osy Diachyshyn, interview by the author, Montreal, Quebec, February 1975.

1922:

Among the noteworthy decisions of January 1922 are: 1. To send a cablegram to the Council of Ambassadors in Versailles, France -to the attention of Lloyd George, Prime Minister of Great Britain, in the matter of Western Ukraine (then eastern Galicia) whose fate was to be decided on the 6th of January 1922. 2. Cross out (delete) from the statutes of *Prosvita* all references to "Rusyn" (Ruthenian), "Rusky," etc. replacing it with "Ukrainian." The councillor in both decisions was the loyal sympathizer of *Prosvita*, Dr. A. T. Kibzey.¹⁶⁷

In addition to agitating the Ukrainian community, internment caused disruption and reduced the number of its members. Some of the released prisoners remained in northern Quebec and became the precursors of subsequent Ukrainian immigration to Val d'Or and Rouyn-Noranda.¹⁶⁸ Others went where company recruiters who canvassed the camps sent them, primarily to Ontario and New Brunswick. Still others returned to Montreal.

Among the first fragment of Ukrainians that came to Quebec there was obviously a religious contingent, both Orthodox and Catholic. Not all were illiterate or pre-political. They maintained contact with their mother country and transferred several of its religious and secular institutions to Quebec. Several of the early secular institutions they founded had a populist, radical, socialist hue to them.

Among the Ukrainians who remained or returned to Montreal after the war, the genesis of three developments can partially be attributed to the internment of 1914-1919.

First, the bitter experience inclined a portion of the community to turn to the Catholic church, to seek comfort in religion, and in the inter-war period to set down firm

¹⁶⁷"In Your Own House, Your Own Truth, Strength and Freedom," in *Prosvita of Montreal-Pointe St. Charles*, 75-78. [In Ukrainian.]

¹⁶⁸Myron Momryk, interview by author, June 1980.

foundations for a Ukrainian Catholic parish system in Quebec.

Secondly, another portion of the community developed a sense of disappointment with the Ukrainian Catholic Church. The disillusionment came with the church's Polonizing policies in Galicia, and its Romanizing, Latinizing policies in Quebec. These were seen as contributing to the Ukrainian débâcle of 1914-1918 both at home, as many immigrants still obviously thought of it, and in Quebec. Ukrainians saw some of the leadership of the Ukrainian Catholic Church as unenlightened and incompetent.¹⁶⁹

In Quebec, suspicion about the Ukrainian Catholic Church was aggravated by Bishop Budka's letter of 1914 supporting the Austrian emperor, which was seen by some as contributing to the internment of the Ukrainians. After the war, in Galicia, Metropolitan Sheptytsky seemed deferential to the Polish Catholic authorities in the newly created state of Poland, which included Galicia.

This sensitive patriotism later found expression in the schism of 1925, which established an indigenous Ukrainian Orthodox Church in Quebec intended to be unapologetically Ukrainian, independent and self-governing.

Thirdly, the internment of Ukrainians in Quebec and their treatment at the hands of Canadian authorities radicalized a portion of the Ukrainian community. The success of the Russian Revolution of 1917 and the Bolshevik agenda, along with the creation of the Soviet Ukraine, seemed to some like the place to look for the right answers. Socialism would right the wrongs Ukrainians suffered. This belief led a large portion of the inter-war Ukrainian community in Quebec to move to embrace the political left.

¹⁶⁹Walter Mayka, interview by author, May 1981.

The Left

The Ukrainian community institutions established in Quebec before 1914 by the first fragment of immigrants were noticeably intellectual transplants from nineteenth century Galicia and Bukovyna. Catholic Galicians organized themselves in the Frontenac area and in Pointe St. Charles. Orthodox Bukovynians established a parish in Lachine. Yet, judging from the early Workers' Club, the Drahomanov Society, the three *Prosvita* societies, the Stonecutters' Club, and particularly the Montreal branch of the Federation of Ukrainian Social-Democrats, a significant group of first fragment settlers came with social-democratic, radical and socialist intellectual baggage, expressed this institutionally in Quebec, and became part of the socialist movement in Canada.

A study of the early Ukrainian socialist movement in Canada between 1900 and 1918 said:

During the period from 1900 until 1918 Ukrainian socialists in Canada passed from under the utopian socialist, agrarian radical, and democratic nationalist influence of the Ukrainian Radical Party into the sphere of the two Ukrainian Social-Democratic organizations, and finally, between 1915 and 1918, into the orbit of the Bolsheviks. The transition from the subjective, ethical socialism of the Radical Party to the objective, scientific socialism of the Bolsheviks was not simply a consequence of the extension of Old World allegiances and influences into the immigrants' new environment. It also reflected the changing social structure of the immigrant community from which the Ukrainian socialist movement drew its recruits, and the increasing alienation experienced by many Ukrainian immigrants within the Canadian economic and political system. While the majority of the Ukrainian immigrants who arrived in Canada prior to 1905 were agricultural settlers who attained a measure of material prosperity after a few years of back-breaking labour, a very large proportion of those who arrived after 1907 constituted a proletariat recruited by railway and mining interests anxious to create a reserve of cheap labour. For the latter, integration into Canadian society was a much more painful experience.

Theories of immediate, radical, social transformation appealed to this group in particular.¹⁷⁰

This was the case in Quebec where, upon arrival, Ukrainian immigrants soon stopped being stalwart peasants in sheepskin coats and entered the industrial labour force. Ukrainians who came to Montreal before World War I were not all recruited by railway and mining companies, but these companies opened the doors to a more diverse pool of immigrants, among whom were Ukrainians. Kotsulym, who came to Montreal in 1905, worked on construction. Then he went to the steel mill (Stelco) in Pointe St. Charles. He then moved to Winnipeg, and from there to Chapleau, Quebec, returning to Montreal in 1906. Recalling those days, he said many Ukrainians, Italians and Frenchmen worked summers on the railroads and winters in the forests.¹⁷¹ Stefan Brytan came to Montreal in 1912 and said he worked with other Ukrainians digging the tunnel for the railroad under Mount Royal, and then at Canada Cement and Imperial Tobacco as a labourer.¹⁷² Hryhory Hukalo arrived in 1910 and also worked on the tunnel under Mount Royal, then at the Canada Cement Company.¹⁷³ Chypchar arrived in 1912 and worked at the CPR Angus shops.¹⁷⁴ Ivan Drozdovych arrived in 1917 and worked for the CPR as a

¹⁷⁰Orest T. Martynowych, "The Ukrainian Socialist Movement in Canada 1900-1918," *Journal of Ukrainian Graduate Studies*, vol. 1, no. 1, Fall 1976, 27.

¹⁷¹Kotsulym, 54.

¹⁷²Brytan, 191.

¹⁷³Hukalo, 241.

¹⁷⁴Chypchar, 3.

labourer.¹⁷⁵

In the 1920s Ukrainians in Ville Emard worked at LaSalle Coke and at the Montreal Light and Heat Company.¹⁷⁶ Ukrainians also went to work in the mines of Val d'Or and Rouen-Noranda.¹⁷⁷ Many of the Ukrainian internees at Spirit Lake during World War I were hired upon release by various Canadian railway, mining and industrial interests.

However, by the war's end, not all Ukrainians remained part of the industrial proletariat. Kushniryk owned a pool hall.¹⁷⁸ Voychekhovsky worked for Eaton's as a labourer.¹⁷⁹ Nestorovych was a shoemaker.¹⁸⁰ And there were a number of entrepreneurs. Hryhory Mekh had a bookstore, a travel agency and a window cleaning company which eventually became the Empire Maintenance Company.¹⁸¹ Sozansky was a photographer.¹⁸² Tsytulsky imported harmonicas, cigarette holders and lipstick from Austria and patent

¹⁷⁵Ivan Onyshkevych, "The Drozdovych Family," in *Toil of Pioneers*, 195. [In Ukrainian.]

¹⁷⁶Alexander Petryk, interview by author, April 27, 1983.

¹⁷⁷The Reverend Lev Chayka, "To the Historical Sources of the Exarchate of the Ukrainian Catholic Church of Eastern Canada, Quebec Province, Abitibi Region," in *Toil of Pioneers*, 108, 110, 117. [In Ukrainian.]

¹⁷⁸Ivan Onyshkevych, "Related Pioneer Families of Montreal," in *Toil of Pioneers*, 185. [In Ukrainian.]

¹⁷⁹*Ibid.*

¹⁸⁰*Ibid.*

¹⁸¹"The Pioneer Dudar Family of Montreal," in *Toil of Pioneers*, 227. [In Ukrainian.]

¹⁸²Walter Mayka, interview by author, February 6, 1979.

medicines from New York. He bought a camera, took pictures on the streets of Montreal and made from \$5- to \$10 per day, then became a real estate agent selling lots in Longueuil. Every Sunday, the CPR made available to him a locomotive and three wagons to show people lots, which cost \$19.00. He bought a haberdashery but lost his \$1,000 investment. In 1922 he went into partnership in a factory called the Laurier Soft Drink Company. He lost \$1,100 because of a "...boycott of the business environment." He started a javel water factory and went bankrupt again because of the stiff competition ". . .from the French." After he acquired a grocery store he made money and established his own real estate partnership with Kornelius Redkevych and Jaroslav Kovalsky.¹⁸³

Although not all Ukrainians in Quebec were part of the industrial proletariat, most were, and this fact along with the intellectual baggage they brought with them from Galicia and Bukovyna disposed them to theories of immediate and radical social transformation.

Leftist views among Ukrainians in Quebec were not only transplanted Old World allegiances, or the result of the increasing alienation experienced by Ukrainian immigrants in Quebec's economic and political system, but also the result of the great impact of the Russian Revolution of 1917 and the Ukrainian Revolution of 1917-1922. Unlike other immigrants who may have felt distant from events in the Hapsburg and Romanov empires, Ukrainian immigrants, having come from where the revolutions were taking place, were naturally interested in their development.

¹⁸³"The 1951 Recollections of Montreal by Mykhaylo Tsytulsky," in *Toil of Pioneers*, 239-241. [In Ukrainian.]

The Russian and Ukrainian revolutions had an enormous impact on Ukrainians in Quebec. Nestor Makuch argued that:

The year 1917 marked a watershed in Ukrainian-Canadian history. The chain of events then reshaping the old country would also set Canada's mass of 'Galician,' 'Ruthenian' and 'Bukovynian' peasants onto the long and tortuous road that led to what is today known as the 'Ukrainian community.' Few Ukrainian Canadians could claim to have been, in the long run, unaffected. The recency [*sic*] of immigration and the close links to Ukraine through friends and relatives who did not emigrate made the issues raised by the revolutionary period impossible to ignore. One had to take a position, even if it was one of 'the hell with it, I'm a Canadian now'....

...the persecution of the Ukrainians as 'enemy aliens' during the First World War and the government threats to revoke their citizenship illustrated to the Ukrainian-Canadian population the advantage of being Ukrainian and not 'Austrian'....

Although most sectors of Ukrainian-Canadian society were becoming increasingly aware of their national identity and its relationship to national oppression in Ukraine, the leftist sector, represented by the Ukrainian Social-Democratic Party (USDP), quickly developed an analysis different from the rest of the community. It saw the 'national question' and the liberation of oppressed nations as 'one of the tasks of socialism on the road to the complete liberation of the proletariat of all nations from social and economic oppression....

The Ukrainian Canadian was pressured to take a stand on the question of socialism, who to support in the struggle for hegemony in Ukraine, and whether the national or social aspects of the revolution were more important....

This divergence in beliefs was reflected in the Ukrainian Canadians' support for either the social or national aspects of the revolution in Ukraine.¹⁸⁴

In Quebec a large number of Ukrainians supported the social aspects of the revolution and emphasized the social aspect of reality in their new country. Quebec provided the Ukrainian left with greater opportunity to engage in the kind of political

¹⁸⁴Nestor Makuch, "The Influence of the Ukrainian Revolution on Ukrainians in Canada, 1917-1922," *Journal of Ukrainian Canadian Graduate Studies*, vol. 4, no. 1, Spring 1979, 42-43.

activity they had been denied in eastern Europe. Radical and leftist activity were made easier by the fact that the traditional conservative influences in the European Ukrainian communities were appreciably weaker in Montreal than they had been in a Galician village.

The faith of Ukrainian leftists was sustained by two other factors. Marxism-Leninism was an explanation of and solution to both their own problems and the world's ills, and it made them feel part of a worldwide movement that had dramatic victories to its credit. As a result, after World War I the ranks of the Ukrainian left, particularly of the Marxist variety, grew in Quebec. Before the arrival of second-fragment Ukrainians who had witnessed the revolution first hand, the enthusiasts of socialism in Quebec were quite numerous.

Some Ukrainians who sympathized with populist, radical and socialist ideas remained within traditional institutions such as the Drahomanov Society or the *Prosvita* societies. Others, however, gravitated toward the Federation of Ukrainian Social-Democrats and were hospitably received by Canadian socialists.¹⁸⁵

In 1911 the Social Democratic Party of Canada was founded, with immigrants from Austria-Hungary and Russia providing most of the membership. Ivan Avakumovic, the historian of the Communist Party of Canada, wrote:

Canadian socialists and radicals shared the widespread view that Tsarist Russia was a symbol of obscurantism, oppression and discrimination. Solidarity with the victims of Tsarism was one of the planks of the socialist platform to which all socialists subscribed. Refugees from Russia after the unsuccessful revolution of 1905 had received a warm

¹⁸⁵Avakumovic, 7-9.

welcome in socialist circles, and had joined tens of thousands of other east Europeans who since the early 1890s had settled in Montreal, Toronto, northern Ontario and the west. Many of them came from the western parts of the Russian Empire (present-day Finland, Poland, White Russia and Eastern Ukraine), while others were Jews and Ukrainians from Bukovyna, Galicia and sub-Carpathian Ruthenia in Austria-Hungary....

Those who remained faithful to the socialist and revolutionary traditions of their youth formed political organizations such as the Finnish Social Democratic Party (1911) and the Federation of Ukrainian Social Democrats formed in 1911 and renamed the Ukrainian Social Democratic Party in 1914. These two parties were affiliated with the SDPC.¹⁸⁶

Ivan Hynda (mentioned earlier) was one of the first organizers of Ukrainian Social Democrats in Montreal before World War I. Another activist during the war was Rebecca Buhay, who was involved in radical politics in New York and Montreal. As opponents of conscription, she and her brother, Mike Buhay, spoke from the same platform as Henri Bourassa, the French-Canadian nationalist leader.¹⁸⁷

On March 1, 1918, a broad mass organization was formed in Winnipeg called the Ukrainian Labour Temple Association.¹⁸⁸ When the Social Democratic Party was banned in September 1918 for anti-war and pro-Soviet sympathies, the Ukrainian Labour Temple Association was transformed into a national organization replacing the Social Democratic Party as the disseminator of socialist and Marxist ideas among Ukrainians.¹⁸⁹ Many Ukrainians in Quebec were receptive to these ideas. The establishment of Soviet power in the Tsarist empire, the rising revolutionary wave in Europe, the registration and

¹⁸⁶*Ibid.*, 7-8.

¹⁸⁷*Ibid.*, 11.

¹⁸⁸Kolasky, 3.

¹⁸⁹*Ibid.*, 3.

internment of Ukrainians as enemy aliens and the unsettled post-war conditions in Quebec favoured the growth of the new organization. Many independent, local Ukrainian cultural societies became affiliated with it.¹⁹⁰ ULTA organizers travelled widely and set up branches in some of the most isolated Ukrainian communities. At the time that the conscription issue was dividing Canadians, Lenin's insistence on peace, his espousal of the principle of the self-determination of nations, and his demands for the transfer of power to worker, peasant and soldiers' soviets (councils) appealed to many Ukrainians in Quebec.¹⁹¹ The revolution was a tremendous inspiration to the Communist movement and a watershed in the lives of many Galician peasant labourers in Quebec.¹⁹² It marked a transition from a purely village focus to a larger focus on Canada, the world, and the future. Enthusiasm for the revolution was palpable.

In 1921, when drought in Ukraine caused a famine, pro-Communist Ukrainians in Canada raised over \$65,000 to aid the stricken areas. Two small groups of Ukrainians in Winnipeg and Montreal, eager to participate in the building of the new society, pooled their resources, purchased agricultural implements and left to set up two communes in Ukraine.¹⁹³

During that same year three emissaries of the Communist International (or Comintern) reached North America with instructions and funds to start a Communist Party

¹⁹⁰*Ibid.*

¹⁹¹Avakumovic, 9.

¹⁹²*Ibid.*

¹⁹³Kolasky, 12.

in Canada.¹⁹⁴ The founding convention of the Communist Party of Canada was held in a barn outside Guelph, Ontario in late May and early June of 1921.¹⁹⁵ Twenty-two delegates representing Communist and pro-Communist groups in Manitoba, Montreal and Ontario attended. The convention took place in secret because during the immediate post-war years the federal government continued to apply wartime legislation against those engaged in illegal activities. The Communists fell into this category because of their denunciation of the existing order, their call for a social revolution and a workers' republic in Canada, and their expressions of solidarity with the Bolsheviks in Russia.

So, as a result of World War I, both kinds of Ukrainians came into difficulties with the government authorities. Non-Communist Ukrainians in Quebec were interned because they were considered Austrian enemy aliens, while Communist Ukrainians were outlawed and interned because of their socialist sympathies which were considered a threat to the established order.

By December 1921, the Communists had made enough progress to convene a preliminary conference in Toronto at which they laid the foundations of a Workers' Party of Canada (WPC). In February 1922, the WPC was formally launched at a convention in Toronto, to which delegates came from various parts of Canada, including Montreal. Representatives of both Finnish and Ukrainian Marxist organizations attended.¹⁹⁶

The Finnish Socialist Organization and its Ukrainian equivalent became what were

¹⁹⁴Avakumovic, 13.

¹⁹⁵*Ibid.*, 21.

¹⁹⁶*Ibid.*, 28.

called language federations with a fair degree of autonomy within the new party. Later, a third language federation was formed for party members of Jewish extraction.¹⁹⁷

In 1924, the Workers' Party of Canada was renamed the Communist Party of Canada (CPC). The CPC was divided first into six and later nine geographical districts. Quebec became District Number Two.¹⁹⁸

In 1924, after the Communist Party of Canada came into existence under that name, the various Ukrainian social democratic organizations were incorporated nationally under the new name of the Ukrainian Labour Farmer Temple Association (ULFTA), a centralized cultural-educational labour organization whose activities were directed to the promotion of the Communist cause among Ukrainians. From its centre in Winnipeg, the new organization spread to the industrial centres of the west and east. The ULFTA became one of the so-called front organizations which acted as a "transmission belt" for the Communist Party of Canada.¹⁹⁹ It was the largest of the three ethnic based language federations that formed the basis of the Communist Party of Canada; the other two being the Finnish and Jewish.

The ULFTA also had two satellite organizations: the Workers' Benevolent Association (WBA), which had been formed in 1922 as a fraternal society and the *Tovarystvo Dopomohy Vyzvolnomu Rukhovi Na Zakhidni Ukrayini* (TODOVYRNAZU -- Association to Aid the Liberation Movement in Western Ukraine) which was formed in

¹⁹⁷*Ibid.*

¹⁹⁸*Ibid.*, 32.

¹⁹⁹*Ibid.*, 33.

March 1931.²⁰⁰ TODOVYRNAZU was formed to appeal especially to Ukrainian veterans of World War I. The second fragment of Ukrainian immigrants who came to Quebec after World War I and the Russian Revolution were a different breed of immigrants, and the Communist Party tried to appeal to them also. John Kolasky wrote that:

Repressive measures against the native Ukrainian population in Poland and Romania aroused the post war immigrants and particularly former Ukrainian soldiers who had participated in the armed struggle for an independent Ukraine. In an effort to exploit this circumstance, the Ukrainian Communists launched...TODOVYRNAZU.... Ostensibly its purpose was to render moral and material support to the radical movement in Western Ukraine, but the new organization also served to divert the attention of the Ukrainian immigrants from the struggle for Ukrainian independence and to extend Communist influence among them.²⁰¹

The three organizations (ULFTA, WB : and TODOVYRNAZU) formed the Ukrainian Farmer Mass Organizations, a term which became current in the mid-1930s, the heyday of Communism in North America. The parent body was ULFTA, in whose halls all activities were centred, and which made contributions to the Ukrainian leftist press and often maintained a staff on its payroll.²⁰²

Most ULFTA leaders received Communist training sponsored by the Ukrainian Communist movement. Some were trained at the Lenin School in Moscow, where they spent a year at Institutes of Marxism-Leninism in Ukraine in 1931-32. Several attended special six-month political courses organized by the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Canada at a private summer resort near Grafton on Lake Ontario. Many received

²⁰⁰Kolasky, 4-5.

²⁰¹*Ibid.*, 4.

²⁰²*Ibid.*, 5.

their training at higher educational courses organized by ULFTA and held periodically in Winnipeg. There were five such courses between 1923 and 1938, which turned out more than one hundred graduates.²⁰³

The founding and growth of ULFTA in Canada was linked with the effort of four men: Matthew Popowych, John Navis, Matthew Shatulsky and John Boychuk.²⁰⁴ By 1926 ULFTA had 2,223 members.²⁰⁵ In 1929 ULFTA consisted of 185 rural and urban branches and had 5,438 members. In 1932 it had 8,080 members and in 1938 it had increased to 15,000.²⁰⁶

In the 1920s, the Communists encountered their most serious obstacles in Quebec, where the Communist Party found it almost impossible to recruit French Canadians. In Quebec the Communist Party consisted only of pockets of East Europeans (Ukrainians) and Anglo-Saxons in Montreal, but by the mid-1930s their activities expanded.

A precise figure for the number of Ukrainian Communists and sympathizers in Quebec is not available. However, at this time, Quebec had three active and visible Ukrainian Communist groups. One was at the Prince Arthur Hall in downtown Montreal, the second was at the ULFTA Temple in Lachine, and the third was in Val d'Or.²⁰⁷ According to reports of participants in Ukrainian life during the inter-war period, the

²⁰³*Ibid.*, 8.

²⁰⁴*Ibid.*, 7.

²⁰⁵*Ibid.*, 19.

²⁰⁶Avakumovic, 39.

²⁰⁷Mayka interview, February 1979; and Momryk interview, May 1980.

Ukrainian Communists were the most numerous (several hundred) and the best organized part of the Ukrainian community in Quebec. The Ukrainian communists had the best halls, the best resources, the best leaders, the most diverse programme of activities, the best dances, choirs, orchestras, schools and other amenities. The inter-war period was the apex of Ukrainian communism in Quebec.²⁰⁸

But there were difficulties with Ukrainians. A Comintern document in the late 1920s drew attention to the fact that,

...the Ukrainians and Finns whose peculiarity is that they hold on to their previous mode of life. They lead their own social life, do not speak English and, in general, many of them submit only very slowly to assimilation.²⁰⁹

In 1931, a Communist official complained about "Russian members" in Montreal who "...believe they live in the Soviet Union and not Canada."²¹⁰ However, in spite of the local and parochial loyalties of many Ukrainian party members, the leaders were in a strong negotiating position. Their reluctance to jeopardize ULFTA property by granting the use of halls for just any purpose approved by the party leadership led to complaints that the leaders of the Ukrainian Communists were less interested in the class struggle than in the cultural activities of the Ukrainian community. ULFTA's reputed emphasis on mandolin orchestras provided ammunition for Communists collecting evidence of the

²⁰⁸Maurice Kostyrsky, interview by author, June 1981; and Mayka interview, February 1979.

²⁰⁹Avakumovic, 37.

²¹⁰*Ibid.*

misdirected efforts of their Ukrainian colleagues.²¹¹

In 1925, at its fifth congress, the Communist International (Comintern) launched a campaign to Bolshevize all Communist parties.²¹² This entailed the dissolution of the language federations and national branches and the setting up of factory cells to achieve better contact with the workers. The Finnish and Ukrainian leaders opposed the breakup of the language sections. But in spite of their opposition, the party was reorganized on the basis of factory and territorial cells and the language branches were dissolved.²¹³

In 1928, new friction developed after the VIII Plenum of the Communist International decreed the intensification and extension of the class struggle in its 'class against class' formula. Since the party was based on Finns and Ukrainians, the new policy could only be implemented if these members, and especially the Ukrainians who were often employed in key industries, were willing to take the initiative. The Ukrainians were opposed to playing a leading role in the escalation struggles, fearing arrest and deportation. The difference developed into an open confrontation between the Ukrainians and other party leaders. In some localities, Ukrainian halls were refused for party meetings. Opposition to the party leadership was organized and a secret Ukrainian caucus was held at the sixth convention of the CPC, at which the question of breaking away from the party was raised.²¹⁴

Usually, insubordination by party members would bring immediate expulsion. But due to the numerical strength of Ukrainians this would have had a catastrophic effect on the party. John Kolasky said that, therefore:

The case was taken to the Communist International which, in 1930, sent out its representative, a Ukrainian who travelled under the name of

²¹¹*Ibid.*

²¹²Kolasky. 14.

²¹³*Ibid.*, 14.

²¹⁴*Ibid.*, 14-16.

Mykhaylenko. He had his own funds and stayed in Canada for about six months. At the end of 1930, John Nevis went to Moscow where he remained for three months. On his return he was ready to follow the new line. The Comintern worked out a compromise whereby no one was to be disciplined in the Ukrainian section, but the Ukrainian Communists were to co-operate with the party leadership.²¹⁵

With the Depression and its widespread unemployment, Ukrainians began to accept the Comintern policy of participation in the intensification of economic and political struggles. Early in 1931, ULFTA issued a call to all its members to enter into "...the general class struggle for the workers under the leadership of the Communist Party of Canada."²¹⁶ Kolasky explained how the Communists were able to maintain discipline within ULFTA:

It was easy enough to impose the new party line on the ULFTA membership. At the beginning of the 1930s the CPC membership totalled about 2,500 to 3,000. Of these between 900 and 1,000 were Ukrainians, most of whom were also members of ULFTA. The latter's total membership at the beginning of 1929, including its women's and youth section, was 5,483. Of these nearly one quarter were members of the youth section, leaving about 4,000 adults. With 900 to 1,000 of these as party members, it was an easy matter for the party to maintain control in the ULFTA.²¹⁷

From 1928 to 1935 Ukrainian Communists were arrested, taken to court, and charged with a variety of offences. Foreign born Communists were deported or threatened with deportation.²¹⁸ The number deported from Canada as Communist agitators in 1931 was 16, in 1932 it was 49, and in 1933 it was 13. The total number of deportees in 1931

²¹⁵*Ibid.*, 16.

²¹⁶*Ibid.*

²¹⁷*Ibid.*, 17.

²¹⁸Avakumovic, 85.

was 4,248 and in 1932 it was 4,484.²¹⁹ So, a number of members were lost. Some were lost through deportation, some by request, others because they had become public charges, and a few because of Communist activities.

Other losses were due to expulsions or defections over ideological and other differences. The first significant rift took place in 1932 when a group led by William Bosovych, a former member of the Agitation and Propaganda Department of the Communist Party of Canada and the provincial secretary of the ULFTA in Ontario, Nicholas Oleniuk, a former medical student in Bukovyna, Nicholas Olynyk, an unemployed worker and others were expelled for supporting Trotsky.²²⁰

The group formed the Workers' Cultural Educational Association, called *Kamenjari* (Stonecutters), with about 50 members in Toronto, Hamilton and Montreal.²²¹ In October 1933 they began publishing a bi-weekly newspaper in Toronto called *Robitnychi Visti*, (Labour News), which had a circulation of about 2,000.²²² Numerically, they remained small, but they were a large thorn in the side of the ULFTA, especially in Ontario and Quebec.

In 1935, a new and larger revolt which had been brewing for several years erupted in the ULFTA. Its leaders were former social democrats attached to the tradition of a federated form of party organization. They had opposed "Bolshevization" and the

²¹⁹Kolasky, 229.

²²⁰*Ibid.*, 19.

²²¹*Ibid.*

²²²*Ibid.*

dissolution of the language sections of the CPC. As established pre-war immigrants who had steady employment in railway shops, they opposed the policy change in ULFTA in 1931. Consequently, they came into conflict with the younger post-war arrivals who, being unemployed or employed at very low wages, favoured a more militant role in the growing Communist movement in Canada. Kolasky noted that:

The liquidation of kulaks; collectivization and the artificially created famine in Ukraine in 1932-33 gave birth to certain reservations in the minds of some members regarding Soviet policies in Ukraine. These were intensified in 1933 by the suicide of Mykola Khvylovy, a prominent Ukrainian writer and party member, and Mykola Skrypnyk, a leading Bolshevik and Commissar of Education in Ukraine, and by the arrest and execution of twenty-eight Ukrainian intellectuals in Kiev in December, 1934. When it was revealed that Soviet authorities had also arrested two former leaders of the ULFTA, Irchan and Sembay, members bombarded the centre with questions about the reasons for the arrests, precipitating a serious crisis.²²³

As a result, Lobay relinquished his post as editor of *Ukrayinski Robitnychi Visti* (Ukrainian Labour News) and in March 1935 broke with the Communist movement. He was followed in September by ten other leaders, most of whom had been members since the ULFTA's inception, among them Toma Kobzey, the national secretary, and John Hladun. A month later, in Winnipeg, they launched a weekly newspaper, *Pravda* (Truth), edited by Lobay, but this group remained small and made little headway.²²⁴

Another cause for the loss of membership was that over one hundred Ukrainians from Canada, most of them members of the Ukrainian pro-Communist organizations,

²²³*Ibid.*, 20.

²²⁴*Ibid.*, 21.

perished as participants on the Loyalist side in the Spanish Civil War.²²⁵

When the Communists distributed leaflets in the Legislative Assembly in Quebec City, the Duplessis government passed the Padlock Act of 1937.²²⁶ This prohibited the distribution of Communist literature anywhere in the province and empowered the attorney-general of Quebec to padlock any premises where the government suspected that communism was being advocated. In Montreal, the Quebec provincial police raided the Ukrainian Labour Farmer Temple on January 26, 1938 under the provisions of the Padlock Law. They boarded up the windows and locked the doors.²²⁷ By 1940, the ULFTA had only two temples left in Quebec: one in Lachine and the other in Val d'Or.²²⁸

After the signing of the Non-Aggression Pact between Germany and the U.S.S.R. in 1939, many Canadian Communists left the party. But this disillusionment was not shared by Communists of Ukrainian extraction. The destruction of the Polish state they hated, and the entry of the Red Army into Galicia (in eastern Poland), seemed like a fulfilment of their dreams.²²⁹

On June 4, 1940, the Canadian government banned the Communist Party of Canada, the ULFTA and other organizations under the Defence of Canada Regulations.

²²⁵*Ibid.*, 19.

²²⁶Avakumovic, 113.

²²⁷Kolasky, 23.

²²⁸*Ibid.*, 244.

²²⁹Avakumovic, 144.

This ban was only lifted by Order-in-Council on October 14, 1943.²³⁰ But on August 4, 1943, Fred Rose, a leading Communist in Quebec, was elected to the House of Commons in a by-election in Montreal-Cartier. Ukrainian Communists worked for him, supported him, and helped him win his seat.²³¹

In the meantime, the ULFTA had ceased to exist. So, when the U.S.S.R. became one of the Allied Powers after Hitler's invasion of Russia, Ukrainian pro-Communists in Canada became legitimized under a new name, the Association of Canadian Ukrainians, which held its first convention in Winnipeg from June 4 to 6, 1942.²³²

Plans to expand the association were launched at a second convention in January 1946. The participants at the convention, exuberant with a sense of victory over fascism, felt that its task was to "...extend our organization and our influence."²³³ It was also jubilant over the return of most of the ULFTA properties which were given back by April 30, 1945.²³⁴ The temple in Lachine was one of the returned assets.

In November 1946, the Ukrainian pro-Communist organizations were all incorporated as the Association of United Ukrainian Canadians (AUUC).²³⁵ In 1946, a

²³⁰Kolasky, 28, 245.

²³¹*Ibid.*, 45.

²³²*Ibid.*, 33.

²³³*Ibid.*, 55.

²³⁴*Ibid.*, 41.

²³⁵*Ibid.*, 54.

provincial committee of the AUUC was formed in Quebec and a secretary appointed.²³⁶ By 1948 there were thirteen AUUC branches in Quebec, mostly in the Lachine, downtown Montreal and Pointe St. Charles areas, as well as in Val d'Or. The AUUC constructed a new hall in Pointe St. Charles in 1948, and purchased a building in Montreal in 1962.²³⁷

The fourth convention of the AUUC in January 1950 resolved to commemorate the sixtieth anniversary of the achievement of Ukrainians in Canada on Dominion Day, 1951.²³⁸ The executive of the AUUC requested that the Ukrainian Society for Cultural Relations With Foreign Countries in Kiev start negotiations on its behalf for a statue of Taras Shevchenko. The Society replied that it would make all arrangements at its own expense.²³⁹ The monument was duly delivered and installed in a park named after the poet and located near the town of Palermo, between Toronto and Hamilton.²⁴⁰ The ceremonies connected with the unveiling lasted two days. The monument was unveiled in the presence of a crowd estimated at 45,000 and described as the largest gathering of Ukrainians ever held in Canada.²⁴¹ The erection of the Shevchenko monument marked the zenith of Ukrainian pro-Communist influence in Canada.

²³⁶*Ibid.*, 55.

²³⁷*Ibid.*, 61.

²³⁸*Ibid.*, 56.

²³⁹*Ibid.*

²⁴⁰*Ibid.*, 57.

²⁴¹*Ibid.*

The Cold War and its politics created circumstances inhospitable to Communist activity. However, the decisive event for Ukrainian Communists was Krushchev's secret speech at the 20th Party Congress in Moscow about Stalin and the cult of personality. After Krushchev's revelations, Ukrainian public opinion turned drastically against Communism and Ukrainian Communist organizations, and rapidly eroded Ukrainian Communist strength and activity in Canada and Quebec.²⁴²

²⁴²*Ibid.*

CHAPTER 3

FRAGMENT II: THE IMMIGRANTS

Historical Background (War and Revolution)

A second fragment of Ukrainian immigrants arrived in Quebec between 1922 and 1929, when the Great Depression brought immigration to a halt. Most of them came from the region of Galicia. Sociologically and demographically, Galicia had not changed much between 1900 and 1922. The same social factors which pushed the first fragment to come to Quebec remained operative, but these factors were enhanced by the decisive political events of 1914-21. These were the World War, the Revolution of 1917 and the Ukrainian attempt to create an independent nation-state between 1917 and 1921. Before 1914, Galicia had been part of the Austro-Hungarian Empire. After the Treaty of Versailles of 1919, Galicia was made part of the new Polish state. Therefore, the second-fragment Ukrainian immigrants came to Quebec for political rather than economic reasons. Many were political émigrés rather than economic immigrants. The events of 1914-21 left an indelible mark on their outlook and shaped their mentality and the intellectual baggage they brought with them.

With the outbreak of war between the Central and Allied powers in 1914, Ukraine

became a theatre of war for six full years.²⁴³ At first, Russia fought against Austria and Germany. Because both sides occupied Ukrainian territory, Ukrainian patriots waited for both sides to weaken themselves before attempting to win back their lands. Such an opportunity came with the downfall of the Tzar in March of 1917. A Constitutional Assembly met in Kiev and brought into being the Ukrainian Central *Rada* (Council) naming Michael Hrushevsky as its head. In November 1917, the *Rada* proclaimed a Ukrainian National Republic within the eastern Ukrainian territories. Then, on January 22, 1918, the Council in Kiev proclaimed the independence of the Republic of Ukraine from Russia.

Bolshevik Russia had by then strengthened its position in the north and was not pleased with the creation of a Ukrainian bourgeois national republic. Accordingly, the Red Army marched into Ukraine, headed toward the capital of Kiev. An historian of the Ukrainian Revolution of 1917-21 wrote that,

...by virtue of the agreement between the Central Powers and Ukraine concluded on February 9, 1918 at Brest-Litovsk, the German and Austro-Hungarian armies advanced into Ukraine to fight against the Bolshevik armies, which by February 9th controlled not only a large portion of the country but also its capital -- Kiev. Without encountering any serious resistance, the Austro-Hungarian armies, supported by some Ukrainian detachments, made very rapid progress. By March 2nd, Kiev was in German hands, and by the end of April almost all of Ukraine was cleared of Bolsheviks.²⁴⁴

The Brest-Litovsk Treaty of February 1918 temporarily bolstered the young

²⁴³Marunchak, 357-358.

²⁴⁴Taras Hunczak, *The Ukraine, 1917-1921: A Study in Revolution* (Cambridge: Harvard Ukrainian Research Institute, 1977), 61.

Ukrainian republic; but then Germany established a controversial monarchist government in Ukraine with *Hetman* Pavlo Skoropadsky at its head.²⁴⁵

Meanwhile, with the fall of the Hapsburg monarchy, the western Ukrainian provinces of Galicia and Bukovyna, which had been under Austrian rule, joined together in November, 1918 and proclaimed a Western Ukrainian National Republic. With *Hetman* Skoropadsky's fall from grace in January 1919, the Western Ukrainian National Republic proclaimed in Kiev the Union of Eastern and Western Ukraine and declared complete national independence under a directorate headed by Symon Petliura.

Poland, reborn during World War I and supported by France, went to war with Ukraine in the west as the Red Army counter-attacked in the east. Under these conditions the Ukrainian Republic collapsed.

And so:

The old story was repeated. Russia and Poland 'shook hands' in Riga, in 1921, and parcelled out Ukrainian lands between themselves, setting up the common border at the river Zbruch.²⁴⁶

Instead of the two pre-World War I occupants, the Hapsburgs and Romanovs, Ukraine was now in the hands of four. Poland took Galicia; Russia took Eastern Ukraine; Romania took Bukovyna; and Czechoslovakia got Carpatho-Ukraine (or Trans-Carpathia). According to Clarence Manning:

...those people who were most strongly committed to a free and

²⁴⁵*Hetman* or *Otaman* means the overall commander and was the traditional title the Zaporozhian Cossacks gave to their elected leader.

²⁴⁶Marunchak, 357-358.

independent Ukrainian state withdrew from the country.²⁴⁷

Émigrés from war-torn and revolutionary Ukraine began to arrive in Quebec after World War I. They were more political than the pre-war settlers. Among them were members of the now-disbanded Ukrainian Army Organization and other military formations which had in one way or another participated in the war and the Ukrainian Revolution.²⁴⁸ These émigrés could be styled the first modern Ukrainian autonomists or independentists. But, due to their proximity to the political and military events in Ukraine during the war, they intellectually turned against Ukraine's adversaries. Specifically, they most ardently turned against the Russian and Ukrainian Social-Democrats, and the corpus of thought and opinion represented by the Russian Revolution. They had witnessed the downfall of the Hapsburg and Romanov dynasties; they had heard the promises of the Russian Social-Democratic and Revolutionary movement; they had received Lenin's pledge about the self-determination of nations.

They had also followed events in eastern Ukraine: the formation of the Ukrainian Central *Rada*; the German occupation; the establishment of the reactionary-monarchist puppet régime under *Hetman* Pavlo Skoropadsky; the German defeat and the annexation of Galicia to Poland and eastern Ukraine to the newly formed Union of Soviet Socialist Republics -- this last in spite of Lenin's guarantee about the self-determination of

²⁴⁷Clarence. A. Manning, *Ukraine Under the Soviets* (New York: Bookman Associates, 1953), 23.

²⁴⁸Marunchak, 357-358.

nations.²⁴⁹

This amounted to the betrayal of Ukrainians and the termination of Ukrainian statehood. The question was, Where and how did the Ukrainian effort go wrong? Attempts to answer it led to post-mortems, allegations, recriminations, bitterness and complaints. As a result, the 1922-29 cluster of emigrants from Ukraine was highly politicized, engaged, patriotic -- and exiled.

By 1932 those second-fragment émigrés who came to Montreal organized their activities under an umbrella organization called the Ukrainian National Federation, located on Prince Arthur Street in downtown Montreal, somewhat removed from the Ukrainian pioneers in Pointe St. Charles, the Frontenac area and Lachine.²⁵⁰

Among this second fragment were also some of those who had sympathized with *Hetman* Skoropadsky's monarchist government. They organized a Montreal chapter of the United *Hetman* Organization in 1931.²⁵¹

Other second-fragment émigrés became disillusioned with politics altogether, or felt it was necessary to postpone Ukraine's aspirations to statehood indefinitely, turning instead to religion. One group, for example, began to articulate the need for an independent Ukrainian church as a para-statal surrogate for an independent state. Because Orthodoxy was the traditional religion of the majority of Ukrainians in eastern Ukraine

²⁴⁹Marko Antonovych, Roman Olynyk-Rakhmanny and Orest Pavliv, interviews by author, November 7-11, 1974.

²⁵⁰"Outline of Montreal Community Organizations in the 85 Years of Ukrainian Settlement in Canada," in *Toil of Pioneers*, 309.

²⁵¹*Ibid.*

with whom eventual union in an independent state was anticipated, this group worked to establish an independent Ukrainian Orthodox Church in Canada.²⁵² They wanted nothing to do with the Roman Catholic Church, "the church of the Poles," and its Latinizing and Polonizing policies.²⁵³ The internationalism and cosmopolitanism of the so-called Third Rome in Moscow was equated with the internationalist suspicion of the patriotism by the First Rome in the Vatican. This group was instrumental in establishing the Ukrainian Orthodox Church in Quebec in 1925 and the sovereigntist Ukrainian Self-Reliance League (USRL) after 1925.²⁵⁴

Others in the second fragment saw Catholicism as a safe haven and the Vatican as the only source of influence left that Ukrainians could rely on in their time of defeat and despair. These turned to the Catholic movement and the Brotherhood of Ukrainian Catholics, formed in Quebec in 1932.²⁵⁵

There was also a small group of Trotskyites whose members felt the Revolution had been betrayed, joined the ranks of the first fragment.²⁵⁶

Another group of Ukrainians who came to Montreal in the 1920s was comprised of Galician co-villagers, friends and family of the pre-war pioneers, and those original settlers who came to Montreal after the war from Canada's western provinces seeking

²⁵²Bohdan Panchuk, interview by author, May 1981.

²⁵³*Ibid.*

²⁵⁴Andriy Hukalo, interview by author, March 1975; and Panchuk interview, May 1981.

²⁵⁵Konstantyn Kelebay, interview by author, June 1981.

²⁵⁶Panchuk interview, May 1981.

either opportunity or education in the country's then-largest metropolis.²⁵⁷ Some of these westerners who came to Montreal in the 1920s played a significant role in the religious dissent of 1925, which split the Ukrainian Catholic community in Quebec in two.²⁵⁸

The mix of arrivals in the 1920s was more varied and complex than before the war; there were peasants, relatives, friends, co-villagers of peasants, some children of settlers in the Canadian west seeking opportunity in Montreal, and refugees from war and revolution.

Although the exact number of Ukrainians in Quebec prior to 1931 is not known, informal estimates indicate that on the eve of World War I approximately 4,000 Ukrainians lived in Quebec. As stated in the previous chapter there was some confusion as Ukrainians were frequently mistaken for Austrians, Galicians, Bukovynians, then Ruthenians and *Rusyny*, which led to further confusing them with Russians, Poles and others. The long history of statelessness created an identity problem for Ukrainians and a classification problem for Canadian authorities.

The 1931 Canadian census said there were 4,340 Ukrainians in the province of Quebec.²⁵⁹ Of these, 3,510 lived in Montreal and Lachine and most of the remainder in Val d'Or and Rouyn-Noranda.²⁶⁰ Based on these numbers, a western Canadian-Ukrainian

²⁵⁷Hukalo interview, March 1975; and Panchuk interview, May 1981.

²⁵⁸Bohdan Panchuk, "Dr. Yuriy Dragan," in *Golden Jubilee Book of the Ukrainian Orthodox Cathedral of St. Sophie On the Occasion of the Fiftieth Anniversary*, (Montreal: privately printed, 1975), 188-193. [In Ukrainian.]

²⁵⁹*Census of Canada*, (Ottawa: The King's Printer, 1931).

²⁶⁰*Ibid.*, 1931.

sociologist then studying at McGill University, Stefan Mamchur, gave the following distribution of Ukrainians in Montreal according to wards in 1931.²⁶¹

<u>Area</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>%</u>
Pointe St. Charles	1,159	33.0
Central Slum	817	23.2
Frontenac	690	19.7
Côte St. Paul/Ville Emard	171	19.7
Park Extension	167	4.9
Rosemount	167	4.8
Ahuntsic	68	1.9
Rest of Montreal	294	8.4

C. M. Bayley, another inter-war sociologist of Montreal ethnic groups, estimated the number of Ukrainians in Montreal differently. His figures were approximations intended to improve upon the census of 1931. Although there had been virtually no Ukrainian immigration in the 1930s, the following ward-by-ward breakdown was established by Bayley in 1939.²⁶²

<u>Area</u>	<u>Total</u>
Pointe St. Charles	3,000-3,500
Central Slum	1,200-1,500
Frontenac	1,300-2,300
Côte St. Paul/Ville Emard	350-400
Rosemount	600
St. Michel	200
Ahuntsic	200

²⁶¹Mamchur, 69.

²⁶²Bayley, 150.

Ukrainian immigrants tended to settle adjacent to their places of employment and economic opportunity. Later arrivals would naturally be drawn towards people of their own nationality and language. Consequently, vicinities in which Ukrainians lived tended to become established. As can be seen from both Mamchur and Bayley's statistics, the areas of settlement for Ukrainians in Montreal were Pointe St. Charles (around Grand Trunk Street), the "Central Slum" (with St. Lawrence Boulevard as its axis), the Frontenac settlement (around Rouyn and Iberville streets), and the industrial area of Cote St. Paul-Ville Emard (with Monk Boulevard as its axis). By 1939, when Bayley was studying the Ukrainian community in Montreal, Ukrainians had begun to move to areas of second-settlement such as Rosemount, St. Michel and Ahuntsic. These areas served as receiving stations for the second fragment of Ukrainian immigrants which arrived during the 1920s.

Arrival of the Patriot-Sovereignists

The arrival of the second fragment of Ukrainian immigrants in Quebec after 1922 intensified the discord and division which already existed in the community. After the war and revolution the Bolsheviks propagated the self-determination of nations. Their policy of "Ukrainianization" in the 1920s pleased sympathizers and was supported by many pre-1914 settlers and even by some of the more trusting post-war immigrants. But the military invasion of Ukraine by the Red Army and the fall of the Ukrainian Republic disillusioned most Ukrainian expatriots. When Galicia became part of the new Polish state, it created

anti-Polish sentiment among Ukrainians, and the annexation of eastern Ukraine by the U.S.S.R. intensified Ukrainian distrust of Russia and socialism.

Ukrainians in Quebec followed developments in their homeland and consequently the arrival of second-fragment émigrés in the early 1920s was of interest to those already settled in Quebec.

Andriy Hukalo was representative of the Ukrainian immigrants who came to Quebec after World War I. He arrived in Montreal on November 5, 1921, and his recollection of that day conveyed the different mentality of the second fragment of Ukrainians who were now arriving in Quebec:

At Windsor Station in Montreal I was met by my parents...who came here in 1910. I arrived as a second-lieutenant of the Ukrainian National Republic Army decorated with an Iron Cross. The first friend-in-arms I met was a squadron leader of the Ukrainian *Sitchovy Striltsy* (*Sitch Rifleman*), Stepan Suvala. He introduced me to Dr. Ivan Yakymyshchak. With them I visited the Mykhaylo Drahomanov Society on Notre Dame Street where I met Vasyl and Tetiana Kobitovych who had a store in the Jewish district where I made friends with prominent Jews, some city councillors, entrepreneurs and storekeepers.²⁶³

Hukalo scouted the Ukrainian community in Montreal and recorded his observations. Some members of the community had left the wage-earning labour force and a number of Ukrainians in Quebec had progressed financially. He recorded that:

In Kobitovych's neighbourhood on Colonial Street there was a Ukrainian window cleaning company and an employment information centre owned by Yakiv and Klavdia Vypruk helping to find jobs for girls. Yakiv became the first Ukrainian in Montreal to own a Ford automobile

²⁶³Andriy Hukalo, "Outline and Reflections on Things Past," in *Toil of Pioneers*, 159-160. [In Ukrainian.]

which he always made available for church and social activities....²⁶⁴

He went on to recall his first Easter in Quebec in 1922:

I spent my first Easter in Canada with the Vypruk brothers and their wives. We sang to the accompaniment of a guitar played by Kateryna. She was the sister of Severyn Kostyrsky, who with his wife Yosephina Holub, owned a clothing store on Ontario Street. A well known family in Montreal at that time was Yosyf Sozansky and his wife Rosalia Pysarsky. They ran a well equipped photography studio.... The (Sozansky and Pysarsky) families opened a motion picture company and showed movies across Quebec and Ontario.... The Sozansky's son Ivan eventually became one of the first Ukrainians to graduate from McGill University....²⁶⁵

He also noted the prosperity and economic upward-mobility enjoyed by some enterprising Ukrainians during the post-war economic boom of the 1920s:

Well known Ukrainian employers in a tannery and fur store were Ivan Mudry and his wife Maria Voyna whose father Yakub came to Canada in 1902 or 1903 and was the first Ukrainian farmer in Quebec... Over 100 workers, mostly Ukrainians, worked in the Mudry tannery.... Michael Mayka and Vasyl Kvach owned meat packing businesses....²⁶⁶

He was impressed by the amount of mutual support and assistance rendered to one another by some of the Ukrainians in Quebec. They turned to each other and helped each other:

Potap Kazymirchuk also owned a meat store. Hryhory Mekh ran a window cleaning business and a travel agency which employed immigrants particularly from his village of Nastasov.... Martyn Revutsky, a cook, operated a catering business.... Kornelius Redkevych came to Canada in 1923 and was a bookkeeper, and Mykola Yuriychuk placed 200 Ukrainians with the Canada Car Company where he worked for many years. Dmytro Voloshchuk, a tailor, in partnership with Petro Dulepka opened businesses employing Ukrainians such as: window cleaning, chicken feeding, and

²⁶⁴*Ibid.*, 157-158.

²⁶⁵*Ibid.*, 159-160.

²⁶⁶*Ibid.*, 160.

machine parts.... The (Vasyl and Mykhaylo) Geleshko brothers and Mykhaylo Droniuk both had stores and a window cleaning business. Petro Danyliuk and son Victor owned a flower shop in the Town of Mount Royal. Fylyp Rusyn and Pavlo Buchkovsky had food stores. The Parkhin family ran a grocery store, and Theodor Parkhin, who came here in 1907, ran for alderman and was the owner of the Canasta Café with Jaroslav Kovalsky and Evhen Dovhan. Later, with Dmytro Popadynets, Konstantyn Stanymyr and son they founded: (1) a factory called Victoria Precision Tools and Tricycle Company, (2) a resort on Lake Champlain, and (3) a tavern. The (Hryhory and Yakiv) Shestovsky brothers had a barber shop. Mykola and Petro Sobol ran pool rooms.... Ivan Chortkivsky and Stepan Batiuk were building contractors.²⁶⁷

Hukalo also noted that Ukrainians in Quebec had already established the first eastern-Canadian Ukrainian bookstore and printing shop. The printing shop was owned by Hryhory Mostovy who published *Zoria* (The Star), the first Ukrainian newspaper in Quebec. Another publisher of pamphlets and booklets was the Ukrainian socialist Ivan Hnyda, who edited the newspaper *Svit* (The World) for Ukrainian Communists and socialists in Quebec.²⁶⁸

Some members of the second fragment joined and enlarged the ranks of the Ukrainian socialists, Communists and leftists in Quebec. But most new immigrants joined the emerging non-socialist institutions in Montreal: the two Catholic parishes (in the Frontenac area and in Pointe St. Charles), the *Prosvita* Reading Societies, and the Drahomanov Society. By joining these institutions the members of the second fragment affected their composition, intellectual disposition and political line.

One of the most significant Ukrainian non-Marxist organizations in the 1920s was

²⁶⁷*Ibid.*, 160-163.

²⁶⁸*Ibid.*, 162-163.

the Drahomanov Society. It had been founded in 1908 largely for humanitarian reasons:

The minutes of the 1908 meeting of the Mykhalo Drahomanov Society in Montreal record the following event. For unknown reasons, 20 people were brought here from Winnipeg and Edmonton, and locked up in St. Vincent de Paul prison. Rumour had it that these people were Ukrainians. The press gave no reason for their arrest.... Then three of our more educated immigrants who spoke English or French asked a French Redemptorist priest to intervene on their behalf, but were turned down because the detainees were not locals but came from western Canada. It was necessary to go to a lawyer, one McArthur Master. He accepted the case and demanded a \$75.00 deposit. In those days that was a serious sum of money. The initiators of this action paid the sum out of their own pockets. After a week's detention the prisoners were released and sent home at the government's expense. This event was the cause for the founding of the Drahomanov Society in 1908. The defenders of those arrested men and the founders (of the Drahomanov Society) were Severyn Kostyrsky and Josyphyna, Josyf Sozansky and Rosalia, Antyn Pysarsky and Josyphyna.²⁶⁹

When the Drahomanov Society was founded it met in a rented hall on the corner of Bleury and Craig streets.²⁷⁰ With the arrival of the second-fragment immigrants after World War I it reached the height of its popularity. In 1923 it rented more spacious facilities on the third floor of a building on the corner of Notre Dame and Plessis streets. At this time it had a membership of more than 100 families.²⁷¹

As a result of the influx of second-fragment immigrants, the original humanitarian purpose of the society evolved into a more overtly political one. It became the home of the Galician and Bukovynian national-populist, radical and anti-clerical element in Montreal. The Drahomanovites blamed the established traditional Ukrainian authorities,

²⁶⁹Bassa, 202.

²⁷⁰Mayka interview, February 6, 1979.

²⁷¹*Ibid.*

particularly the Catholic Church and clergy in both Galicia and Quebec, for the débâcle of the war years, The Catholic Church failed the Ukrainian nation back home by not sufficiently enlightening and uplifting the nation. In Quebec a group of Drahomanovites turned their ire on the local Ukrainian Catholic clergy and started a movement to establish an independent, self-governing, Ukrainian Orthodox Church.²⁷²

After the new Ukrainian Orthodox parish of St. Sophie's was established in 1925, it elaborated its parish activities and gradually absorbed the efforts of the Drahomanov Society. In the late 1920s the Society moved to smaller quarters on Ontario Street between Hogan and Montgomery streets, where it was located until the eve of World War II, when it folded.

Mrs. Olha Bassa came to Montreal in March 1924 and joined the Drahomanov Society. Her recollection of it then shows the impact of the second-fragment immigrants on the society and how they helped to evolve its political disposition. It also serves as a reminder of the tensions between Marxists and non-Marxists that then existed in the Ukrainian community in Quebec:

At the time we had to do battle with our comrades from the Labour Temple. They organized dances every Saturday which attracted our uncritical youth and confused them with the sham teachings they got from the newspaper *Robitnyk* (Worker) published in Winnipeg by leftists' money. Although they had a poor understanding of the workers' ideology, they tried to propagate it. Some of them put a copy of *Robitnyk* in their pocket and came to debate because they heard that an *intelligent* (educated person) arrived from Ukraine so it would be good to speak to him.... Once four of them came; all immigrants from the 1910-1914 period. Having left Winnipeg, they worked in Montreal washing dishes in restaurants and joined the Labour Temple. One of them put this question: 'How are things

²⁷²Mayka interview, February 6, 1979; and Kostyrsky interview, June 1981.

back home now?' My husband described the difficulties of our people. Ukrainian enlisted men were being arrested, singing national songs was forbidden, all social gatherings had to be approved, and police permission was often refused. The second question was: 'How does the everyday life of our people look [sic] like?' -- Very bad -- answered my husband, because a stateless nation under the current occupation cannot have the rights for an independent life, and suffers materially and spiritually. That is why everyone who can, leaves for free countries like America, Canada or Argentina. The third one asked: 'Do you believe there is a God in heaven?' This came from a young man. He received this answer: This is truly an intriguing question. But we should start from earth and consider why we walk on it with our feet and not our head, who or what keeps us in this position, why we are surrounded by something called air. You are quite a young man who has not seen war and never looked death in the face, so you question heaven and scoff at the search for God. Wait a little, live on this earth a while and the time will come when you will be convinced there is a God in heaven. I remember a meeting in Ukraine at which a participant raised his hand and yelled some rash words at God and then asked the listeners if they had any questions. Someone did: 'Why do you threaten God if you claimed He doesn't exist?' My husband finished, the assembly burst out laughing, and the debate ended.²⁷³

The *Prosvita* reading societies established in Montreal before 1914 were also originally radical and national-populist institutions. Mykhaylo Tsytulsky recorded their beginnings:

When I came to Canada in 1907, Montreal had no Ukrainian public institutions. In 1908 a *Prosvita* of Taras Shevchenko was organized and located in a lane off Shearer Street, then moved to Hanovsky's hall on Manufacturers Street and eventually to its own building. At [the] *Prosvita* I organized an orchestra under the name *Dzvin* (Bell) with 12 instruments, which I bought for my \$320.00. I got the youth to come to my house and we learned the music....²⁷⁴

Catholic priests like the Reverend Ambrozy Redkevych assisted them and tried to

²⁷³Bassa, 204-205.

²⁷⁴"The 1951 Recollections of Mykhaylo Tsytulsky," in *Toil of Pioneers*, 240. [In Ukrainian.]

keep them faithful to the church. When Father Redkevych left Montreal in 1913 his replacement was the Reverend I. Perepelytsya. *Prosvita* records show that:

The pastor's place was taken by a young energetic priest, Reverend I. Perepelytsya, newly arrived from the native land and full of patriotic enthusiasm. He immediately turned to cultural and educational matters. He knew that in addition to a church the people needed a *Prosvita*, which would lift it out of darkness to the level of other peoples. With that in mind he called a meeting on the 13th of December 1913 at Hanovsky's home. There Reverend Perepelytsya delivered a patriotic speech explaining the aims of *Prosvita* and its meaning for Ukrainians.... There was great enthusiasm. Immediately many people joined and an executive was elected. The first head was Ivan Telenko. We rented a place from Hanovsky, and then a home at 594 St. Patrick Street.²⁷⁵

But the *Prosvita* societies soon became places of disagreement and political contention:

As everywhere so here the beginnings were difficult.... Although the members were children of the same nation, because they were from different regions, there were various misunderstandings...which led to various disagreements....²⁷⁶

Ukrainian immigrants joined and left Ukrainian immigrant associations depending on how they fit their evolving mentality. Tsytulsky recorded that:

After a quarrel in 1918 we left *Prosvita* and went to the Markian Shashkevych Association in the Frontenac settlement. When in 1919 there was a misunderstanding there we went to the *Sitch* organization....²⁷⁷

Not much evidence exists about these disagreements, but some existed over the character of *Prosvita* and their relationship to the Catholic Church, specifically to the

²⁷⁵Davydovych "The Founding of the Prosvita Society in Montreal," in *Prosvita of Montreal-Pointe St. Charles*, 63.

²⁷⁶*Ibid.*, 64.

²⁷⁷"The 1951 Recollections of Mykhaylo Tsytulsky," 240.

parish of St. Michael's.²⁷⁸ Some members of the *Prosvita* of Taras Shevchenko expected a society founded in the poet's honour to emphasize the social, class and secular themes in his work, while others looked to the political, national and religious content in his writings. When the *Prosvita* Society in Pointe St. Charles began to attract various radicals, questions arose about its character. Was *Prosvita* a religious or ecclesiastical institution, attached to the Catholic Church and subject to its discipline? Or was it a national, secular, non-confessional institution dedicated to the education and enlightenment of Ukrainians without regard to a person's convictions or religious beliefs? This debate existed throughout the inter-war period and beyond, only to be finally resolved at an executive meeting on December 31, 1951, at which it was decided that *Prosvita* would co-operate with and receive members from all religious and secular institutions "...with the exception of the Communists."²⁷⁹ In Quebec, *Prosvita* was going to be a non-Communist, national, secular, non-confessional institution independent of the Catholic Church. But this took some time.

As Montreal received more Ukrainian immigrants after World War I, *Prosvita* began to move toward the national camp, however guardedly and independently. While the Ukrainian community became polarized between the wars, one member of *Prosvita* remembered that:

Many problems were caused by various circles hostile to the Christian-national face of *Prosvita*, which from the first years hoped to

²⁷⁸Davydovych, 64.

²⁷⁹"Co-operation With Other Organizations," in *Prosvita of Montreal-Pointe St. Charles*, 116, 121. [In Ukrainian.]

find there a place for their purposes.²⁸⁰

But another member, more mindful of the radical and populist heritage of the *Prosvita* in Ukraine, complained:

Among our members [he wrote] there exists a prejudice against Ivan Franko. We are being disrespectful and forgetful about a person who even foreigners respect. We should be proud about Ivan Franko's creative work because he is the Stonecutter who cracked the gamut of our darkness.²⁸¹

Although many *Prosvita* members held radical views, from the start it kept its distance from the Communist Ukrainian Labour Farmer Temple Association. There were attempts at co-operation, but they were fruitless from the beginning. *Prosvita* records show that:

For example, an incident can be recorded under 'strikes from outside.' The Labour-Farmer Temple Association asked why *Prosvita* stopped sending its representatives to joint meetings. The reason was -- explained the delegate of *Prosvita*, I. Telenko, that the Labour Farmer Temple Association refused to appear at a planned protest meeting, under the Ukrainian national flag. Our roads have parted -- the *Prosvita* delegate said.²⁸²

While *Prosvita* resisted the intrusions of Ukrainian socialists and Communists in the 1920s, it also resisted attempts by Catholic Church authorities to control it. A *Prosvita* elder left this account:

²⁸⁰"Light and Shadows," in *Prosvita of Montreal-Pointe St. Charles*, 102. [In Ukrainian.]

²⁸¹"Thoughts and Statements by Some *Prosvita* Members," in *Prosvita of Montreal-Pointe St. Charles*, 133. [In Ukrainian.]

²⁸²"Lights and Shadows," in *Prosvita of Montreal-Pointe St. Charles*, 101. [In Ukrainian.]

Co-operation (in *Prosvita*) was based on agreement and mutual aid until 1930, that is, until the arrival of a large number of new immigrants among whom there were both Catholic and Orthodox. *Prosvita* always stood for Ukrainianism and sovereignty, and accepted Orthodox members also. Reverend Hryhoriychuk and Reverend Andrey Trukh wanted...to have a deciding voice in *Prosvita*. Co-operation also began to be undermined by the fact that the same people were in both *Prosvita* and the Brotherhood of Ukrainian Catholics. It was difficult for them to vote for two contradictions....

Added to this, the misunderstanding deepened as a result of the visit of Dr. Mykola Shapoval and his socialist-revolutionary lectures, a visit by the editor of *Ukrainian Voice*, Myroslav Stechyshyn, and our contacts with the Organization for the Defence of Political Prisoners (it was Communist but *Prosvita* discovered this later)....

As a result, in 1930 the Reverend Mykhaylo Hryhoriychuk gave *Prosvita* an ultimatum for further co-operation; to remove all non-Catholic books from the reading room, to stop subscribing to the non-Catholic press, and to sign (transfer) the *Prosvita* charter to the Church. Because the executive could not accept such conditions, the conflict continued.... It subsided only with the arrival of Reverend Tymochko who (in 1932) became the pastor of St. Michael's Church.²⁸³

While the second-fragment émigrés bolstered both religious and secular Ukrainian institutions in Quebec during the inter-war years, most importantly they established new institutions which reflected their own distinct outlook or intellectual baggage.

Those sympathetic to *Hetman* Pavlo Skoropadsky's régime during the war and concomitant German occupation of Ukraine started the monarchist *Hetman* Organization, propagating the need for a strongman to lead the nation at home and abroad. In 1928, Skoropadsky's son, *Hetmanych* (son of the *Hetman*) Danylo, visited this group in Montreal and in other parts of Canada. The Canadian National Railway (CNR) covered Danylo's expenses during this Canadian visit, suggesting that some corporate and/or

²⁸³"Co-existence With the Church," in *Prosvita of Montreal-Pointe St. Charles*, 81. [In Ukrainian.]

government interests in Canada wanted to bolster conservative, pro-monarchist tendencies among Ukrainians to offset the vigorous activity and attractions of the political left among Ukrainians in Quebec.²⁸⁴

In 1928, the Ukrainian *Sitch* Riflemen's Society was founded in Montreal by a group of Ukrainian patriot ex-servicemen. By 1932 this society became a constituted member of a new émigré mass organization called the Ukrainian National Federation (UNF), which attracted many of the second-fragment Ukrainian émigrés in Quebec.²⁸⁵ But before this happened, in 1925 the Ukrainian community in Quebec underwent another crisis, which led to another rift in the community, adding to its division between the left and anti-left.

Before 1925, with the exception of the tiny Bukovynian Orthodox congregation in Lachine, a few Protestants and the Communist-socialist group, the Ukrainians in Quebec were Catholic. In that year, a group of nationally-conscious first-fragment Ukrainians, bolstered by second-fragment patriotic émigrés, decided to leave the Catholic Church, establish an Orthodox Church and to "Ukrainianize" the Ukrainians in Quebec. Reverend Ihor Monczak, a scholar of these events, recorded:

The second immigration founded lay organizations with new political outlooks such as the monarchist-*hetmanate* or the nationalistic UNF (Ukrainian National Federation). These organizations were not opposed to the Church. But many pioneers could not understand lay organizations without Church sponsorship or patronage.

This in itself would not have been harmful if some lay/activists had not gone too far by organizing Church life on their own authority without

²⁸⁴Mayka interview, May 4, 1981.

²⁸⁵Hukalo, 162, 163.

ties to Church leadership. That is what first happened in western Canada and then came to Montreal.²⁸⁶

The Dissent of 1925

The reasons for the dissent of 1925 among Ukrainian Catholics in Quebec can be found in their responses to their recent history. By the end of the war the first and second fragments of Ukrainian immigrants to Quebec became highly politicized. Yet, when they considered their situation, many sensed ruin, failure and defeat.

By the mid-1920s in Quebec, there was a coming together between some among the nationally-conscious, educated and prospering members of the first fragment of Ukrainian settlers, and the politicized and patriotic second-fragment émigrés who arrived after the war.

When they took stock, this group concluded that in the Soviet Union Ukrainians were threatened with Polonization, and in Quebec they were being subjected to Latinization and Romanization by the Catholic Church and its priests. One of the leaders of the Orthodox movement of 1925 in Montreal wrote:

The progressive Latinization of the Greek-Catholic Church in Canada [and] the absence of any control or participation by the faithful in solving the problems of their church were the direct cause for action by a group of the more educated citizens of Montreal....

The Ukrainian Orthodox Church of St. Sophie in Montreal was born as an example of the yearning for real Christian ideals and a

²⁸⁶ Monczak 1979, 52.

determined protest against those who defend a monopoly over Christ's teachings and who have twisted His essential principles.²⁸⁷

Various complaints accumulated among members of the Ukrainian Catholic community in Montreal about the local Ukrainian Catholic Church and hierarchy. A local reporter for the *Ukrainsky Holos* (Ukrainian Voice) newspaper wrote.

...The first Greek-Catholic priest, Father Yermiy, organized our parish, and was the first to call himself a Ukrainian. After his tour of duty the strongest and best Ukrainian institution in Montreal was the Ukrainian-Catholic organization. But harmony, peace and progress did not last long. Father Yermiy left and with him the designation 'Ukrainian.' Priest after priest came to Montreal: Sabourin, Demarais, Redkevych, Perepelytsya, Oleksiv, Irkha, Gigeychuk, Bodnar, Zhuk, Hryhorychuk and Luhovy. They all came to Montreal with new dreams [of] reorganizing the Montreal community, and all collected money for the unfinished church. The fruits of their seeds [*sic*] was: under the leadership of the intelligent Greek-Catholic clergy, the large Ukrainian working community began to fall apart nationally and politically and became divided into Ruthenians and Ukrainians, Bolsheviks, Communists, radicals and monarchists; and religiously into Greek-Catholics, Roman Catholics, Baptists, Presbyterians, Russian Orthodox, the indifferent and the atheistic....

That is why in the past few years some prominent Ukrainian workers and businessmen began to reflect on the reasons for this terrible spiritual, material, cultural, national decline and fall. They concluded that the priests we had to date were totally responsible...they contributed nothing to the development of the Montreal community and demoralized it by leading it down the wrong path.²⁸⁸

Another leader of the revolt of 1925 wrote that the Ukrainian Catholic priests in Montreal "...did not care for the welfare of their people and only chased after earthly

²⁸⁷"First Stage in the Existence of the Ukrainian Orthodox Congregation of St. Sophie in Montreal," in *The Golden Jubilee Book of the Ukrainian Orthodox Cathedral of St. Sophie*, (Montreal: privately printed, 1975), 140. [In Ukrainian.]

²⁸⁸A Once-Faithful Catholic [Anonymous], "The Reverend Hryhorychuk and the Orthodox Church in Montreal," in *Book of St. Sophie*, 174-178. [In Ukrainian.]

honours and wealth."²⁸⁹ As a result, he added, "Although Montreal had about 8,000 Ukrainians, you could find them everywhere except in the churches."²⁹⁰

Another complainant addressed a number of questions in a broadside addressed to the Reverend Hryhoriychuk, then the resident Ukrainian Catholic pastor of St. Michael's parish in Montreal:

...Why did (people) have to start their own school for children and import their own teacher when it was your responsibility to do that? Or did you want to continue enjoying to see illiterate teachers intellectually cripple our children? Is the school founded by honest, educated people making progress a thorn in your side? You yell at people for collecting money for their own native, national and Christian school and church? While your schools are financed by the French, they are losing respect among common Ukrainian workers who are massively putting their children into English Protestant schools. Why don't you publicly admit that you have been collecting money in your own automobile for the past 15 years, and [your church] is still in debt? Why are (your people) and those leaving your church all Galicians and Greek Catholics?²⁹¹

This local controversy among Ukrainian Catholics in Quebec was aggravated by a new Ukrainian national consciousness raised by developments back home, and a fear about the future of the Ukrainian people. A revitalized patriotism mixed with anxiety led the Ukrainian Catholic protesters to demand the Ukrainian language in the liturgy, national content in church services and sermons, and a return to the traditional Orthodox

²⁸⁹N. Yuriychuk, "[The] Rev. S. V. Savchuk in Eastern Canada [Montreal, Quebec]," in *Book of St. Sophie*, 144-145. [In Ukrainian.]

²⁹⁰N. Yuriychuk, "Ukrainian Orthodox Community Grows," in *Book of St. Sophie*, 161. [In Ukrainian.]

²⁹¹A Once-Faithful Catholic [Anonymous], 176.

"...faith of our Cossack ancestors..." which Roman Catholics in Poland suppressed.²⁹²

Opposition to the Russian Soviet levelling policy in eastern Ukraine, and Polish Catholic discrimination and homogenization in western Ukraine, created a sense of urgency among Ukrainians in Quebec and demands for "... the road to patriotism..." away from Moscow, Warsaw and Rome.²⁹³ A part of the Ukrainian Catholic community in Montreal, comprised of angry but self-assured first-fragment settlers and recently-arrived second-fragment patriot-émigrés, demanded an independent, self-governing Ukrainian Christian Orthodox "national church" in Quebec modelled on the English Anglican Church.

Although some of the activists in the Orthodox movement were from the regions of Bukovyna and Volyn, most came from Catholic Galicia and had a particular sensitivity and disdain for everything Polish and Roman Catholic.

For example, in August 1921 the Ukrainian Catholic Archbishop of Galicia, Metropolitan Andrey Sheptytsky, visited North America for the second time. He came to raise funds from the Ukrainian immigrants for the 20,000 children orphaned by the war in Ukraine. In October 1921 he visited the Ukrainian community in Montreal.

In the heat of the religious conflict of 1925 in Montreal, Sheptytsky's visit of 1921 became an issue in the attack on the Catholic Church. In the November 18 issue of *Ukrainsky Holos* (Ukrainian Voice), a Montreal Orthodox movement activist wrote:

²⁹²N. Yuriychuk, "Towards Understanding the Issue," in *Book of St. Sophie*, 161-162. [In Ukrainian.]

²⁹³Stepan Pletenchuk, "Some Bishops and Others," in *Book of St. Sophie*, 163-166. [In Ukrainian.]

On October 2, 1921 the Metropolitan Sheptytsky was received like a prince by the sons and daughters of Ukraine at the Ruthenian Catholic Church in Montreal. In the *Kanadysky Ukrainets* (The Canadian Ukrainian) Ukrainians spoke about Sheptytsky as a father and prince of our church and the Moses of our captive people. Truly our Ukrainian people are captive.... The Poles compel us to speak Polish or be beaten. Police beat people in prisons and in the streets and frighten children in their homes. On the streets one constantly sees people chained, bedraggled, gaunt and beaten. Poles mistreated and persecuted us during serfdom and they do so now. And Metropolitan Sheptytsky, the 'Moses of the Captive Ukrainian People' does not protest against this.

On October 2, 1921 he visited the Ruthenian Catholic Church of St. Michael in Montreal and did not mention a word about Polish law and order, about persecutions, beatings and injustices which Poles inflict on Ukrainians and their land. The Metropolitan's sermon made no impact on his Ukrainian sons and daughters. Although they warmly greeted the Ukrainian prince and sincerely proclaimed 'We are proud of you,' in his sermon the Metropolitan (and prince of our Holy Church) did not once mention the word 'Ukrainian people,' 'Ukraine,' 'Ukrainian,' or 'Ukrainians.' Not once did he mention that Ukrainian people are incarcerated on their own land by vicious enemies. Not once did he mention that Ukraine is divided and severed and that Moscovites, Poles and Romanians revel in victory.²⁹⁴

The same writer recalled the year 1908, when the Ukrainian patriot Myroslav Sichynsky assassinated the Polish governor of Galicia, Andrej Potocki, reminding his readers that Metropolitan Sheptytsky and other Catholic bishops were not silent then. The Catholic Church hierarchy all publicly pledged allegiance to Poland in the Cathedral of St. John in Warsaw. The polemic concluded by saying that only when all Ukrainians were united in the independent Ukrainian Orthodox Church which "...preserved the Ukrainian people during the Asiatic invasions and blessed our Cossacks for battles with Poles," would Ukrainians' future be assured.²⁹⁵

²⁹⁴*Ibid.*, 164-165.

²⁹⁵*Ibid.*, 166.

The polemical war came after the dissent of 1925, but before the rift the Catholic patriot rebels first made demands for change and reform. They submitted a petition to the Ukrainian Catholic Bishop of Canada, Mykyta Budka. The petition outlined the condition of the Ukrainian, or, as it was then called, the Greek-Catholic Church in Montreal, and made recommendations for changes to the Church's charter. They got nowhere.²⁹⁶

Bishop Budka visited Montreal and at a public meeting with the Ukrainian community declared that there could be no talk of changes to the statutes of the Church and said, "...if you want a changed charter, there is one already changed out west."²⁹⁷ The bishop was referring to the Ukrainian Orthodox Church, established in western Canada in 1918. For the second time Bishop Budka was at the centre of a decisive controversy among Ukrainians in Quebec. First had been his controversial letter supporting the Hapsburg emperor at the outbreak of war in 1914, which some thought had caused the internment of Ukrainians in Quebec. Now it was his public defiance of the Ukrainian community's demands for ecclesiastical and patriotic reform. In the first instance he caricatured them as loyal Austrians; now he commanded them to be loyal Catholics. The hostile disposition of Bishop Budka reinforced the impression that the Greek-Catholic Church would not even consider the opinions and complaints of the rank and file, so they decided on a break with the Catholic Church.²⁹⁸ This was a repetition of what had

²⁹⁶*Ibid.*

²⁹⁷"First Stage in the Existence of the Ukrainian Orthodox Congregation of St. Sophie in Montreal," in *Book of St. Sophie*, 140-141.

²⁹⁸The Reverend Petro Khomyn, "The Silver Jubilee of the Eparchy," in Julian Beskyd, ed., in *A Quarter of a Century*, 86. [In Ukrainian.]

happened in western Canada earlier. According to an historian of the Ukrainian Catholic Church in Canada:

In July 1918 an organizing group assembled for a clandestine meeting in Saskatoon at which the following allegations against Bishop Budka and his clergy were made: (1) Bishop Budka had incorporated all Greek-Catholic properties in his own name; (2) Members of foreign nationalities served as priests in Ukrainian Catholic churches; (3) Bishop Budka -- it was said -- was attempting to gain control and authority over all cultural and educational institutions; and finally (4) The Union of the Ukrainian Church with Rome in 1596 was imposed under duress. On this basis this assembly (approximately 150 people) decided to leave the church of [its] ancestors and to organize the Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church.²⁹⁹

Bishop Budka's categorical rejection of the demand for statutory changes to the charter of the Ukrainian Greek-Catholic Church in Montreal was the last straw. As a result, Dr. Yuriy Dragan and a small group of Ukrainian Catholic patriots in the Drahomanov Society decided to leave the Catholic Church and to establish a Ukrainian Orthodox Church in Quebec.

Yuriy Dragan was born on February 22, 1898, near Pleasant Home, Manitoba.³⁰⁰ His parents came to Canada from the Galician town of Zabolota in 1897. In Zabolota, Yuriy Dragan's father had been an activist-organizer of Ukrainian peasants, which led to his emigration after he fell into disfavour with the Polish magnates. He came to Canada hoping to give his nine children an education and an opportunity in life.

Consistent with his father's wishes, Yuriy Dragan completed public school in Pleasant Home, then went to school in Tulon and Winnipeg, where he studied agronomy

²⁹⁹*Ibid.*

³⁰⁰Bohdan Panchuk, "Dr. Yuriy Dragan," in *Book of St. Sophie*, 188-193. This biographical sketch is based on Bohdan Panchuk's biography of Dr. Yuriy Dragan.

for two years. From there he went to a teachers' college in Saskatoon. After completing teacher's training he entered medical school at the University of Alberta in Edmonton. After three years in Edmonton he moved to Montreal, where two years later he completed his studies and received a medical degree from McGill University. In the summer of 1925, Dragan returned briefly to western Canada to work for the Saskatchewan government. He then travelled further west to Edmonton, where he married Rozyna Lazaruk and, in the fall of 1925, the newly-married couple came to Montreal.

Dragan was not the only Ukrainian student from western Canada to attend McGill University at that time. Also attending were Stefan Mamchur from Saskatchewan, a Dr. Kibzey and a Dr. Yakymishchak. But Dragan was the most active among the young western Canadians then living in Quebec.

Dragan found Ukrainians in Montreal well informed about Ukrainian life in western Canada through western Canadian-Ukrainian newspapers like *Ukrainsky Holos* (Ukrainian Voice), published by the Orthodox community in western Canada, *Kanadysky Ukrainets* (Canadian Ukrainian), published by the Catholic community, and *Kanadysky Farmer* (the Canadian Farmer), the first Ukrainian-language publication in Canada, founded in 1913 by F. Doyatsek, a businessman of Czech origin who published newspapers for various Canadian ethnic groups. Through these newspapers Montreal Ukrainians followed events in Canada and in Ukraine.

Dragan's first concern was to finish medical school, but being an able and energetic young man he also found time to get involved in community life. After getting to know people and looking around, he joined the Drahomanov Society in Montreal. The

society welcomed him and he often gave talks or lectures and participated in discussions. Various members would often invite the young student to their home for a family meal. In this way Dragan visited many Montreal families, raised money for various projects and solicited subscribers for the western Canadian Ukrainian newspaper, *Ukrainsky Holos* (Ukrainian Voice). He met with young people in restaurants for discussions, particularly on the topic of what Ukrainian Canadians should do to preserve their nationality and identity in Canada. He worked on turning people's attention to Ukraine, western Canada, Windsor or Toronto; in other words, he encouraged them to look beyond their local concerns in Montreal. He did this methodically, gaining adherents on a one-on-one basis.

An example of his approach to solidifying support is a pledge signed by five members of the Drahomanov Society. After a dinner meeting in November 1925, five young men signed the following:

From this day we solemnly swear to fulfill the following: (1) Maintain our friendship so that our consciences will always be clean about our support of one another. (2) That through our common efforts and those of other friends we make the (Drahomanov) Society the premier society in Montreal. (3) That we believe our purpose will be fulfilled by the Ukrainian Orthodox Church.³⁰¹

Under Yuriy Dragan's influence the Drahomanov Society in Montreal dropped its earlier allegiance to what was called "...the remnants of radicalism or socialism," and became a patriotic national, cultural and educational society dedicated to the edification

³⁰¹Panchuk, 190-191. This secret pledge was signed by D. Dubecky, T. Shmygluk, I. Vypruk, D. Voloshchuk and Y. Dragan.

of Ukrainians in Quebec.³⁰²

As dissatisfaction with the Ukrainian Catholic Church in Montreal mounted, Dragan assembled a group of Ukrainian patriots to establish the Ukrainian Orthodox Brotherhood. At the first meeting on March 9, 1925, in the home of Mykola Yuriychuk, they resolved to create the Ukrainian Orthodox Brotherhood. A declaration of intent was signed by fifteen members of the Drahomanov Society in Montreal.

An executive was elected and the secretary was instructed to inform the Consistory of the Ukrainian Orthodox Ukrainian Church in western Canada about the creation of the Brotherhood and to seek assistance in establishing a Ukrainian Orthodox parish in Montreal.³⁰³

This letter was sent on March 11, 1925 to Reverend S. V. Savchuk, Chairman of the Consistory, and requested that a Ukrainian Orthodox priest be designated for Montreal as soon as possible. The Ukrainian community in Montreal now had a religious schism on its hands.

After the letter was sent, Yuriy Dragan went to Winnipeg to scout for a suitable priest. In consultation with the Consistory, the choice was narrowed to three candidates, one of whom was the Reverend Volodymyr Sluzar from Sheho, Saskatchewan. However,

³⁰²*Ibid.*, 191.

³⁰³*Ibid.* The 15 signatories to this declaration of intent were: S. Haydychuk, D. Mokrynsky, S. Pletenchuk, H. Mekh, S. Antoniuk, M. Palamar, I. Vypruk, M. Revutsky, S. Kostyrsky, Y. Redchuk, P. Rusyn, A. Pysarsky, Y. Dragan, P. Dulepka and M. Yuriychuk. The elected executive of the brotherhood was composed of: A. Pysarsky, President; M. Yuriychuk, Secretary; and S. Haydychuk, Treasurer. Dmytro Mokrynsky and Martin Revutsky signed as witnesses.

Dragan first convinced Savchuk to visit the inchoate congregation. The priest agreed and made his way to Montreal, where he celebrated the first Orthodox Liturgy on June 14, 1925. He stayed for one week, giving lectures and sermons. He also kept a diary in which he recorded the difficulties and predicament of the Ukrainian Orthodox movement in Quebec.³⁰⁴

Between June 11 and 19, 1925, Father Savchuk's diary made four references to Ukrainian "Bolsheviks" or "Communists" in Montreal. On Monday, June 15, he wrote:

It rained the whole day. In the evening I gave my first lecture on the topic: 'What faith the Ukrainian people accepted.' The Orthodox were disenchanted because only 50 or so people attended. Among them were a few Bolsheviks (Communists), who asked stupid questions after the lecture. For example: (a) Why did I use the word *pane* (sir) when Jesus Christ never used it? (b) Was it true that Princess Olha was a Christian, and what grounds did I have for my information? (c) Did I think that Shevchenko was a believer? (d) Did I believe that Christianity was necessary? And other such questions. -- After the lecture, on our way to the hotel, I was told about the local Communists and their disruptive activities.³⁰⁵

On Tuesday, June 16, 1925 Savchuk made this entry:

The whole day was rainy. This evening there were more people in attendance than at yesterday's lecture. The topic: 'The role of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church in the life of the Ukrainian people.' The local Bolshevik leader Karvatsky stubbornly demanded to be heard, but I said that he could only ask questions. Karvatsky was unhappy and very irritated, particularly because I said something uncomplimentary about the Communist Kulyk and that really burned him up.³⁰⁶

On Wednesday, June 17, 1925 he recorded this:

³⁰⁴The Reverend S. V. Savchuk, "My First Visit to Montreal," in *Book of St. Sophie*, 149-154.

³⁰⁵*Ibid.*, 152.

³⁰⁶*Ibid.*

The topic of today's lecture: 'The Union of Berest.' About 75 people were present. Karvatsky again demanded to be heard, but again only questions were permitted. But neither he nor his friends asked any questions. Maybe this was a new topic for them and they didn't know what to ask.

After the lecture someone raised the question of schooling. After the discussion I advised the Orthodox to send their children to English (Protestant) schools, in which, I was told, there is better instruction than in the Catholic schools....³⁰⁷

The Thursday, June 18, 1925 entry read as follows:

This evening I had my fourth consecutive lecture on the topic: 'The Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church in Canada.' There were noticeably more listeners, -- about 200 persons. But there were also more Bolsheviks, which, as it soon became apparent, also came organized with the aim of breaking up the meeting. To an extent they succeeded. First they demanded the floor, then asked stupid questions unrelated to the topic, and then screamed, stamped their feet and waved their fists.... Ultimately it became necessary to adjourn the meeting and close the lights. But the 'free discussion' lasted for another hour. Among the questions I remember being asked were the following:

- (1) Did I know that in Ukraine there are three or four autocephalic Orthodox Churches? -- My answer: There is only one Ukrainian Autocephalic Orthodox Church headed by Metropolitan Vasyl Lypkivsky.
- (2) Did I know that in Poland there was a Ukrainian Autocephalic Orthodox Church? -- Answer: In Poland there is an Orthodox Church, but not a Ukrainian Autocephalic Orthodox Church.
- (3) Why didn't I pray for the Soviet régime as does Metropolitan Lypkivsky? -- Answer: Because I don't live under the Soviets. But it should be remembered that if Metropolitan Lypkivsky does that, then [he does so] only to protect the Church and not give the Soviet authorities cause to liquidate it completely.
- (4) Why do I attack the Soviet régime when the Ukrainian Autocephalic Orthodox Church supports it? The answer was the same as for the above.
- (5) Why does Archbishop Yoan request in writing a meeting with the Soviet ambassador (Rakovsky), and why is that letter written in Russian? Answer: That is untrue. If true, then publish that letter in *Robochy Narod*

³⁰⁷*Ibid.*, 153.

(Working People) or in some other Communist publication.³⁰⁸

Father Savchuk's Montreal visit was also reported in several Canadian Ukrainian newspapers. One report said that:

...the biggest opponents to the establishment of the Ukrainian Orthodox Brotherhood (and Church) in Montreal were, on the one hand, (brothers) from the Greek-Catholic Church of St. Michael (perhaps because a large number of the early Brotherhood members were members of that parish), and on the other hand, organized Communists.... They both considered and mocked the Orthodox Church as *Swystunist*, national, statist, sovereign and *Petliurite*.³⁰⁹

The leftists attacked the Orthodox Brotherhood for its nationalism, and the Catholic authorities condemned it for heresy, schism and insubordination.

After Father Savchuk's visit in June 1925, the Orthodox Brotherhood intensified its efforts and recruited members in preparation for the arrival of a permanent Orthodox priest in Montreal. The Ukrainian community became rife with controversy.

The Catholic pastor of St. Michael's denounced Yuriy Dragan from the pulpit without mincing words, calling him:

...an unfinished student from out west who is the son of a Greek-Catholic father, [who was] baptized in the Greek-Catholic Church, [and now has] betrayed it and instead of studying medicine has taken to organizing an Orthodox Church in Montreal.³¹⁰

³⁰⁸*Ibid.*, 153-154.

³⁰⁹Panchuk, 191-192. Wasyl Swystun was a nationalistic western Canadian lawyer who was one of the founders of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church in 1917, and later the first president of the Orthodox Ukrainian Self-Reliance League. Symon Petliura was a Ukrainian nationalist and head of the Directory of the Independent Ukrainian National Republic in 1920-21. He was later assassinated by a Bolshevik agent. *Swystunist* and *Petliurite* were epithets for nationalists.

³¹⁰A Once Faithful Catholic [Anonymous], 174.

Father Hryhoriychuk instructed people not to read newspapers which supported the Orthodox Church and not to donate money to any non-Catholic institutions. The one true Christian church was the Catholic Church, which had existed for 2,000 years. The Orthodox Church was founded in 1917 in Saskatoon by people "who did not believe in God, don't go to church and have abandoned the Greek-Catholic faith."³¹¹

The Orthodox movement members retorted by saying that too many Ukrainians in Montreal considered the Ukrainian language unfit for addressing our Lord. Ukrainian Catholic loyalists mocked the Drahomanov Society for, as it said, "...calling itself a radical group," being in cahoots with the Social-Democratic (now Bolshevik) Party, yet organizing a national church.³¹² The Orthodox dissenters responded that only in union with the Ukrainian Orthodox Church would all Ukrainians be "...children of one great Ukrainian people -- 45 million strong."³¹³ They expressed bitterness that "...good friends characterized the Ukrainian Orthodox Church as a 'Bolshevik contrivance' to a Syrian Orthodox priest" with whom they were negotiating the rental of a church for their services.³¹⁴

When Orthodox dissenters visited the Reverend Zarbatany, a Syrian Orthodox pastor, about renting his church, he told them that a "...serious person told him we were

³¹¹*Ibid.*

³¹²"Some Things About Montreal," in *Book of St. Sophie*, 155-156. [In Ukrainian.]

³¹³Pletenchuk, 166.

³¹⁴"First Stage in the Existence of the Ukrainian Orthodox Congregation of St. Sophie in Montreal," in *Book of St. Sophie*, 143.

Bolsheviks, and that he shouldn't rent his church to people like us."³¹⁵ After some clarification Zarbatany telephoned the accuser to ask for evidence substantiating the charge that they were Bolsheviks. The accuser, however, "...refused to come and show his 'honest face.'"³¹⁶ The Syrian priest then rented his church to the Ukrainian Orthodox congregation.

However, both the Communist and Catholic camps reserved their greatest scorn and fury over the founding of the Ukrainian Orthodox Brotherhood for Yuriy Dragan, whom Reverend Hryhoriychuk of St. Michael's continually called an "unfinished student" from the west whose mission in Montreal was to divide the Ukrainians.³¹⁷

The first location the Brotherhood rented for religious services was located at 1627 Ontario Street. Toward the end of 1925 the parish consisted of over fifty families. A school was organized for the fifty-five children of the parish, who were taught by Ilia Romanchuk, a professional pedagogue recently arrived from Ukraine. A choir practiced three times a week and preparations were made for the arrival of a full-time pastor.³¹⁸

In the meantime, Yuriy Dragan visited with the Reverend Sluzar, and with the assistance of the Orthodox Consistory persuaded him to come to Montreal. On August 22, 1926, Sluzar arrived to serve the Orthodox community in Montreal. His first celebrating

³¹⁵"Mykola Yuriychuk, Letter to Yuriy Dragan 26.8.1926," in *Book of St. Sophie*, 182. [In Ukrainian.]

³¹⁶*Ibid.*

³¹⁷A Once Faithful Catholic [Anonymous], 174.

³¹⁸*Ibid.*, 192.

of the Liturgy was attended by "...more than 150 people (not counting children)."³¹⁹

The new Ukrainian Orthodox pastor set out upon his systematic and steady work. A cantor was hired; a choir was organized; a women's auxiliary was formed; and a Ukrainian Sunday school was opened. The Ukrainian Orthodox Church in Montreal steadily attracted adherents, and began its growth. Father Sluzar remained at this post for the next fifty years. The Ukrainian Orthodox parish in Montreal became a base from which, over the years, Father Sluzar reached out to establish Ukrainian Orthodox congregations across eastern Canada -- in Lachine, Ottawa, Hamilton, Sudbury and Windsor.

Orthodoxy appealed to Ukrainian patriots in Quebec, as it did in other parts of Canada, for a number of reasons. It was the religion of their ancestors before the Union of 1596, when the Orthodox Church of Galicia was reunited with Rome.³²⁰ It was also the religion of the majority of Ukrainians living in eastern Ukraine. To accept Orthodoxy was tantamount to entering a communion with the Ukrainian nation, although most of the nation lived in Soviet Ukraine. Most of the founders of the Orthodox Church in Montreal were Catholics from Galicia and were particularly critical of the Polish Roman Catholic Church in Galicia. Becoming Orthodox was a means of protest and national self-assertion. It was to walk out of the church of the despised Poles.

Perhaps the most important consideration was the organizational nature of the

³¹⁹The Reverend Volodymyr Sluzar, Letter to Yuriy Dragan, August 24, 1926," in *Book of St. Sophie*, 183-184. [In Ukrainian.]

³²⁰Orest Subtelny, *Ukraine: A History* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1988), 99-101.

Orthodox Church. Ukrainian patriots wanted self-governance and a decentralized national church structure. Professor Richard Pipes, an historian of Russia and Orthodoxy in eastern Europe, explained the mode of governance in the Orthodox Church which in 1925 appealed to Ukrainians in Quebec:

The Orthodox Church, being composed of independent national units, is by its nature decentralized. It has no papacy to give it cohesion; its units tend to be 'autocephalous' or 'self-headed.' Major doctrinal and administrative issues are settled by councils (synods) which on important occasions assume the format of international church congresses....

Its structural decentralization is reinforced by the right of national branches of the Orthodox Church to make use of local languages in liturgies and theological writings. Intended to bring the church closer to the people, the practice has the effect of separating the members of the Orthodox community....

Orthodoxy has nothing corresponding to Latin to give its members a sense of oneness transcending national boundaries....

The whole trend of Orthodox Christianity may be said to be centrifugal, away from the ecumenical towards the regional. And this trend, in turn, has tended to blur the distinction between church, state and nation.³²¹

This close identification of church and state, characteristic of eastern Christianity, had deep historical roots. Orthodoxy enjoyed the patronage of the Roman emperors, who transplanted their capital to Constantinople. In Byzantium, the emperor was also the head of the church. The church was within the state and part of the state organization. In the words of Emperor Justinian, there existed a relationship of "harmony" between secular and ecclesiastical authorities. The separation of church and state was a foreign idea to Orthodoxy.

Orthodoxy in Quebec received its impetus from developments in the old country,

³²¹Richard Pipes, *Russia Under the Old Regime* (New York: Penguin Books, 1974), 224.

particularly Galicia and Bukovyna. Reports of Polish pressure on the Ukrainian population and the hated policy called pacification moved many Ukrainian Catholics to join the Orthodox Church. The establishment of an independent Ukrainian Orthodox Church in Montreal was also the creation of a para-statal institution, or at least an institution that could be a precursor to an independent state. The blurred distinction between church, state and nation in Orthodox Christianity, and its emphasis on self-headedness (autocephalia) is what attracted the dissident patriots who formed the Ukrainian Orthodox Brotherhood in Montreal in 1925. It would set them apart from all things Polish in Galicia, and everything that was Roman, Latin, French and foreign in Quebec. It was also arguably a local Ukrainian ethnic version of the French-Canadian Catholic Gallicism and English-Canadian Anglicanism. It was also a piece of local patriotic resistance to the old counter-Reformation Catholic tendency toward cosmopolitanism, universalism and ultramontaniam in the Catholic Church.

In the eyes of the Ukrainian Catholic clergy and Catholic faithful, however, this was a schism. In fact, it was a local version of the Protestant revolt. Added to the community's division into Communists and Catholics was added the new division between Catholics and ex-Catholics, i.e., the Orthodox.

In Catholic teaching, all non-Catholics are simply Protestants. 'Protestant' was a generic term characterizing the variety of protests against the one, true, apostolic, Holy Roman Catholic Church. In Quebec, part of the Ukrainian Catholic community protested and the Ukrainian Orthodox movement in Quebec was seen as a Protestant revolt or local version of the Protestant Reformation. Since this was happening in Ukrainian Catholic

communities across Canada, the Catholic Church felt it was facing a crisis. M. H. Marunchak, an historian of Ukrainian-Canadians, wrote that as a result of this crisis:

In 1927 Bishop Budka was called to Rome to report on his work in Canada and from there he went to Lviv in Galicia and did not return to Canada. In his absence the diocese was managed by Vicar-General the Reverend P. Oleksiv. In 1929 the Vatican appointed a new bishop, the Reverend W. Ladyka from the Basilian Order, who first came to Canada in 1909 and completed his studies in the Montreal Seminary. He was ordained as Bishop on 14 July 1929 and from that time took over control of the whole Ukrainian Catholic Church in Canada.³²²

By the end of the decade, the Great Depression aggravated the economic condition of many Ukrainian immigrants and contributed to the growth of Ukrainian Orthodoxy in Montreal. Andriy Hukalo wrote:

We must realize in those years there was a 'race for souls' in Canada among various religious-political movements; namely, Moscow's Orthodoxy, Serafimism named after some 'bishop' called Serafim, Protestants, Sabbatists, Doukhobors, Methodists, Mormons, Baptists, Jehovah Witnesses, Bible-ists, Communists, atheists; and because one's faith was not established by state law, the religious-moral question was characterized by chaos or so-called 'freedom of religion.' The Depression contributed to these movements because each movement competed with assistance, money, food, clothing and sometimes even jobs....³²³

In 1932 Bishop Ladyka sent the Basilian Order to take custody of the Ukrainian Catholic parishes in Quebec. This action was comparable to the classic Catholic response to the Protestant Reformation. It was a Catholic Counter-Reformation spearheaded by the Jesuits of the Ukrainian Catholic Church -- the Basilians. The Quebec abbot of the Basilian Order was the Reverend Y. Tymochko.

³²²Marunchak, 461.

³²³Andriy Hukalo, "Outline of Reflections on the Past," in *Toil of Pioneers*, 160. [In Ukrainian.]

Father Tymochko arrived in Montreal in June, 1932 after being named pastor of St. Michael's Catholic Church in the Frontenac settlement. He described how Orthodox proselytization, the Depression of 1929, and the relief system contributed to Ukrainian departures from the Catholic Church:

In Montreal I saw widespread unemployment. Actually the city gave the unemployed relief but to qualify one had to be registered with one's parish. Protestant and Orthodox pastors also received help from their wealthy institutions and millionaires, while Catholic priests relied only on the city. So our people joined them just to get more relief. Father Bala (of St. Michael's) was very strict and assisted only those who had paid their membership dues. In certain circumstances this was not good because some people as a result joined the Protestants and the Orthodox. The method of distributing relief also varied. English Catholics had a central relief office which distributed relief to all needy Englishmen and Irishmen. The parish only gave vouchers proving one was a member and in need. The Protestants also had a central office for granting relief.

The French system was completely different. Help was given directly in each parish. The headquarters only assigned a global amount for each parish each month. The local pastor then distributed it as he saw fit. All Catholic parishes were part of the French system.

When I arrived (in 1932) 120 of our families were on relief. Every week I had to get tickets they would be able to use in stores. A family would go to a store and get the things they needed for the sum issued on the ticket. Then the storeowner would come to the pastor to be paid. The priest was responsible for everything. There was no supervision except when people would report that someone was not really in need. This required much work from the priest. In July we distributed \$900.00 In August \$1,033.50 because new families came on relief. In September there were 140 families on relief and \$1,500.00 was distributed, and in December 183 families were given \$2,127.00. The times were steadily getting worse....

Also the Sisters were in danger of losing the Ukrainian classes in Pointe St. Charles, in the Frontenac area and in downtown Montreal. This was due to the declining enrolments and we needed at least 25 children in each class. The reason for smaller classes was because many parishioners joined the Protestant churches where they received more relief. They had to register their children in Protestant schools. But with God's help we

succeeded in keeping most of our classes.³²⁴

Father Tymochko's letter underscores that the Orthodox movement may have been initiated by disaffected patriot Catholics for ideological reasons, but then was bolstered by Ukrainians who turned to Orthodoxy and Protestantism because of the Depression and economic need. The structures of the French Catholic and English Protestant systems of relief were different, and some Ukrainian Catholics changed their confession in order to switch to the more responsive and generous of the two systems.

Another effect of Ukrainian Orthodoxy in Quebec was the direction it gave to Ukrainian integration into the larger society. The Ukrainian community had the option of integrating into the French majority or the English minority. Almost unanimously it chose the English option for many of the obvious immigrant reasons. But the emergence of Orthodoxy in 1925 was clearly the historical start of this process and it also contributed to it. When the Ukrainian Orthodox converts left the Catholic Church they also took their children out of the Catholic French schools and enrolled them in English Protestant schools, thus pioneering the Ukrainian community's entry into Quebec's English-speaking culture. By leaving Catholicism they also left French Canada.

As ideological disagreement and economic circumstances pushed Ukrainians to change religious affiliations, the community was filled with discord and recrimination. Father Tymochko recalled that:

³²⁴The Reverend Myron Datsiuk, "The Contribution of the Basilian Fathers in the Development of St. Michael's Parish in Montreal," in *Golden Jubilee Book Commemorating the 50th Anniversary of St. Michael's Ukrainian Catholic Church in Montreal*, (Toronto: The Basilian Press, 1966), 28-29. [In Ukrainian.]

Unemployment was not the only source of our problems. Another cause were [sic] Communists, Orthodox and Protestants, all of whom led an intense propaganda campaign against our Church. They were quite determined to destroy it. They created the hue and cry that the Catholic Church will soon be lost -- so why waste your money.

In September 1932 the church committee called a general meeting to transfer the leadership of the parish to the Basilian Fathers....

By the end of 1933 I instituted a system of Sunday collection envelopes. At the time we were the first Ukrainians to have such a system.... Those Sunday collection envelopes saved the parish.... But most important was that we could know who was friendly and who was not.

With the help of Father Poisson we acquired 30 scholarships from French colleges and seminaries. Each scholarship was for four- to eight years. The upkeep of a college boy for one year was then about \$150.00 to \$200.00. Unfortunately we could not find 30 qualified or willing boys. We found 20 but only several lasted to the end. To fill the places we got five or six Basilian novices to study Philosophy in various seminaries.³²⁵

The Basilian Order administered and served Ukrainian Catholic parishes in Quebec during the Depression. Importantly it guided the Catholic community through the internecine ideological and religious disputes among Ukrainian Communists, Catholics and the Orthodox in the 1930s. To complement the Basilians, the Brotherhood of Ukrainian Catholics (BUC) was founded in Montreal in 1932 as an auxiliary of dedicated and militant lay Catholics which would help stem the tide of dissent and counteract the Orthodox revolt. The Basilians stayed in Quebec from 1932 to 1952, when the third fragment of Ukrainian Catholic political refugees arrived in Quebec from war-torn Galicia.

³²⁵"The Reverend Yosafat Tymochko's Letter, April 12, 1966," in *Book of St. Michael's*, 35. [In Ukrainian.]

The Counter-Reformation

World War I, the internment of Ukrainians as enemy aliens, the appeal of Communism, radicalism and populism in the 1920s, and the dissent of 1925 had a debilitating effect on Ukrainian Catholics and the development of their institutions in Quebec during the inter-war period. But the arrival of the second-fragment émigrés and the strenuous efforts of the Catholic Church were factors that counteracted and resisted this debilitation.

After World War I, Metropolitan Andrey Sheptytsky paid a second visit to North America, and in October 1921 he stopped in Quebec. On his return to Galicia he devised a plan to increase Ukrainian Catholic emigration to Canada. This plan he entrusted to Father Josaphat Jean, an important figure in the subsequent history of Ukrainian Catholics in Quebec.³²⁶

Father Jean was a French-Canadian Roman Catholic priest from Rimouski, Quebec who had met Sheptytsky at the Eucharistic Congress held in Montreal in 1910. In 1911 Father Jean went to Galicia, learned Ukrainian and changed to the Eastern Rite of the Catholic Church in order to serve Ukrainian Catholics. The outbreak of war in 1914 caught him in Europe. During the war he served as chaplain to Ukrainian military forces and then to the exiled government of the Ukrainian National Republic in Versailles and at the League of Nations in Geneva. In 1923 he joined the Studite religious community

³²⁶See Myron Momryk, "Father Josaphat Jean, OSBM," *Beacon Ukrainian Rite Bimonthly*, vol. XVI, no. 4, July/August 1982, 40-45; and Keywan 1990.

and was sent to Bosnia and Slavonia (in Yugoslavia) to serve the sizable number of Ukrainian settlers there. Then, at the suggestion of Metropolitan Sheptytsky, on March 7, 1925, Mykola Tayachkovsky, the president of the Care for Ukrainian Emigrants Society, wrote a letter to Father Jean asking him to return to Canada to request that the Canadian government reopen its doors to large-scale Ukrainian immigration. On March 8, 1925 Father Jean also received a letter from a Dr. V. Bachynsky, which said:

Considering that the Canadian government limits immigration to people from Poland mainly due to fear of Bolsheviks, the executive of the Society (for Care for Ukrainian Emigrants) decided that I go with a priest. As to selecting the person, we turned for advice to His Excellency Metropolitan Sheptytsky. His Excellency recommended you and gave us your address. We accepted his recommendation very enthusiastically because who would be a more appropriate companion, distinguished Father, than one who well knows the Canadian situation, and speaks foreign languages.³²⁷

On April 3, 1925, Dr. Volodymyr Bachynsky from Lviv, a former member of the Austrian Parliament, and Father Jean arrived in Canada.³²⁸

Metropolitan Sheptytsky's plan was to gain Canada's permission to settle 'compactly' 1 million Ukrainians from Galicia, Volynia and Bosnia (Yugoslavia), and to establish a Studite monastery which would supply the Ukrainian settlers with Ukrainian priests.³²⁹

On April 7, 1925 Dr. Bachynsky and Father Jean visited the president of the CNR

³²⁷Bohdan Kazymyra, *Obstacles and Achievements of a Great Undertaking* (Rome: Extractum e. "Bohoslovia" No. 40, Vol. XXXIII, 1969), 52. [In Ukrainian.]

³²⁸*Ibid.*, 24-25.

³²⁹Bohdan Kazymyra, "Metropolitan Andrey Sheptytsky and the Ukrainians in Canada," *The Canadian Catholic Historical Association Report* (Montreal: Canadian Catholic Historical Association, 1957), 83.

and representatives of the federal Ministry of Immigration and Colonization. Then they met with Ernest Lapointe, the federal Minister of Justice and a friend of Father Jean's from his college days, in the hope of obtaining a land grant in the Smokey and Peace River districts of Alberta. Lapointe demurred about the Smokey River area, citing the lack of funds to construct a rail connection, and suggested the Abitibi region of Quebec. Accordingly, Father Jean contacted the Ministry of Colonization in Quebec with a request for a land grant. After meeting with the Minister of Colonization in Quebec on June 17, 1925, Father Jean went to Amos to visit with Hector Authier, a member of the Quebec Legislature for Abitibi.

Authier advised Father Jean to visit a few priests in the area to get first-hand information, whereupon the priest visited the regions surrounding Lakes Obalski and Castagnier.

He returned from this trip satisfied. Quebec's colonization minister then issued an aide-memoir reserving for Ukrainian settlers and the Studite Order three cantons: Castagnier, Vassal, half of Duvernay and half of La Morandière, altogether an area totalling 250 square miles in the Abitibi region. In June 1925 Father Jean reported to Metropolitan Sheptytsky:

I consider that presently Abitibi is the most suitable place in Canada for Ukrainians because (1) there is work: forests, roads, mines; (2) it will be easier to live: plenty of fish in the lakes and rivers, various berries...sufficient meat from rabbits and moose, and the possibility of earning wages from various forest works; (3) more freedom: school, church; (4) compactly settle thousands of Ukrainians because the government reserved an area for 1,500 families and is willing to make more available for 10,000 families; (5) easy to get to because only 425 miles from the port of Quebec, the railway line is only about 12-15 miles away and not far from the Harricanaw River; (6) have work on road construction when there is

a demand. Mr. Authier assures me he will spend \$5,000 annually on these roads; (7) a longer life because the climate is healthy, 1,100 feet above sea level; (8) establish our monastery because the government will give land to the monks and nuns who would settle there.³³⁰

On June 25, 1925 Father Jean submitted a memorandum to federal deputy minister summarizing his discussion in Quebec and asking the federal government to grant permission for Ukrainians to immigrate to Canada.

On June 30, 1925, after a meeting with Egan, a second memorandum specified the conditions under which permission was to be granted -- the St. Raphael Immigrant Aid Society was to find emigrants to sign affidavits, take care of the immigrants, and in the case of unemployment find work among farmers so they would not become a burden upon the government. Ukrainian settlers in the Abitibi region were to be from Polish territories and from Bosnia in Yugoslavia.

On July 2, 1925, Egan agreed to the terms, saying that the St. Raphael Society should become a chartered non-profit organization, and that its purpose should be the bringing of farmers and domestic servants from Poland and one or two other countries.

This sent Father Jean into action. He sent a letter to Ukrainian priests across Canada about Metropolitan Sheptytsky's plan to bring Ukrainian immigrant farmers to Canada, and asked them to inform Canadian farmers who might need labourers and domestic servants to apply for them, and to organize chapters of the St. Raphael Immigrant Aid Society. He was assisted by Cunard Lines, which assigned two representatives to the project as well as covering its costs.

³³⁰Kazymyra 1969, 12-13.

Metropolitan Sheptytsky also wanted the Ukrainian immigrants to have spiritual attention, and that the Studite Order be given the opportunity to expand its missionary work. To make this possible, the permission of the local bishop had to be obtained. In Canada, this had since 1912 been Bishop Nykyta Budka in Winnipeg. Bishop Budka wrote Father Jean on August 15, 1925:

To whom it may concern: I hereby invite the Studite Brothers from Bosnia and Galicia to come to Canada. At the same time I declare that I accept them to my Eparchy with Reverend Jean of the Studites as their abbot who is organizing a new colony in Abitibi. I will help so they in no sense become a burden to Canada but rather become true pioneers in this new colony. (Signed) Bishop Nykyta Budka, Ukrainian Greek Catholic Bishop in Canada.³³¹

The local French Canadian Bishop, Ludwig Rheaume, OMI, from the Eparchy of Haileybury, also approved the arrival of the Studite Order in Quebec. Father Jean then went to work establishing the colony. A French Canadian candidate to the novitiate of the Studite Order, Raymond Lambert, joined him at that time.

On August 14, 1925, Father Jean celebrated his first Liturgy, and named his little settlement Sheptytsky, Quebec. He set up a library which included rare books which he had brought with him from Galicia. A half mile to the south he built a school. By 1928, a few Ukrainian immigrants began to arrive from Galicia. Fifteen families settled near the monastery and began tilling the soil, each settler having received 100 acres for the sum of \$10.00.

As the work went on Father Jean kept Metropolitan Sheptytsky informed about its progress, and received instructions and advice. In one of these letters in the winter of

³³¹*Ibid.*

1926, Sheptytsky wrote:

The Brothers which I am sending you from Univ are good and mature monks. I hope you will be pleased with them....³³²

On January 15, 1926, three Studite monks left Univ, passed through Lviv, then sailed from Danzig on the *Caledonia* to Halifax. Brothers Julian, Makary and Vasyl arrived in Quebec during March 1926 and joined Father Jean.

The number of Ukrainian families from Montreal who settled in the area is unknown. In 1928 the Canadian government gave financial assistance to facilitate the construction of primitive camps. But Ukrainian settlers from Bosnia, Yugoslavia never arrived. The Depression which began in 1929 effectively halted Ukrainian immigration to Quebec. The long winters and remoteness also discouraged any meaningful Ukrainian migration from other parts of Canada.

With great regret Father Jean had to abandon his colonization project. Some of the Sheptytsky settlers dispersed to other parts of northern Quebec, while others stayed on the farms they had cleared. The area was eventually colonized by French Canadians from Montreal and in 1935 the name of the village was changed from Sheptytsky to Lac Castagnier. ³³³Father Lev Chayka worked in the two Ukrainian Catholic parishes established in Val d'Or and Rouyn-Noranda after World War II by some of the settlers dispersed from Sheptytsky and learned how it ended:

Sheptytsky's Quebec, with monastery and church, a school and post

³³²*Ibid.*, 30.

³³³Momryk, 44-45.

office, held on for ten years from 1925 to 1935, when it burned down....³³⁴

Just as Metropolitan Sheptytsky's plan to settle the Abitibi region with Ukrainians was thwarted by the Great Depression of 1929, the hope of establishing his burgeoning Studite Order in Quebec did not materialize either. On May 24, 1931, Father Jean left the Studite Order and joined the Basilian Order in Mundare, Alberta.

In 1930, when Father Jean left the village of Sheptytsky for Montreal, the Ukrainian community had been joined by a second fragment of émigrés, who had arrived in Canada in the 1920s. The community's population increased substantially in size. From a pre-1914 estimate of less than 4,000, by 1925 the Ukrainians numbered about 6,000.³³⁵ The burgeoning community also had an emerging set of secular and religious institutions, but it was still relatively unorganized, diffused and critically divided.

In Lachine, the small Orthodox Bukovynian congregation of approximately 100 parishioners left the Ukrainian mainstream community. The Catholic Galicians in Lachine were left unattended. The hundreds of radicals, socialists and Communists in downtown Montreal, the Frontenac area, Pointe St. Charles and Lachine were in the thrall of the Ukrainian Labour Temple Association, formed in 1918, the Workers' Party, formed in 1922, the Communist Party, formed in 1924, and the Ukrainian Labour-Farmer Temple Association, created in 1924. The Catholics in these areas of Montreal belonged to St. Michael's Catholic parish in the Frontenac district and the satellite congregation in Pointe

³³⁴The Reverend Lev Chayka, "Sources to the History of the Exarchate of the Ukrainian Catholic Church in Eastern Canada, Quebec, Abitibi Region," in *Toil of Pioneers*, 108. [In Ukrainian.]

³³⁵A Once Faithful Catholic [Anonymous], 175.

St. Charles. The Sheptytsky colony of Catholics in northern Quebec was closed and dispersed, and after 1925 the Catholic community was divided and weakened by the creation of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church in Quebec. When the second-fragment émigré-patriots joined the Catholic parishes and the Orthodox one, both groups were strengthened.

On February 23, 1931, a meeting of the Ukrainian Catholic congregation was held at St. John the Evangelist School in Pointe St. Charles, presided over by the Reverend M. Hryhorychuk. The assembled Catholics expressed a desire to form, in Pointe St. Charles, Quebec's second distinct Catholic parish. It would be called the Holy Ghost parish.³³⁶ However, with the Depression, Ukrainian support for the socialist and Communist movements continued and Catholics continued drifting to the Orthodox Church.

In response to socialist and Communist activity and the growing Catholic-Orthodox dissent of 1925, the Ukrainian Catholic bishop of Canada, the Reverend Vasyl Ladyka, dispatched the Basilian Order to Quebec in 1932. Against the forces of socialism, communism and Orthodoxy, all seen as different versions of anti-Catholic protest and revolt, the bishop sent out his own version of the Catholic counter-Reformation.

The Basilian abbot for Quebec, the Reverend J. Tymochko, took custody of both St. Michael's parish in the Frontenac area and the Holy Ghost parish in Pointe St. Charles. Four other Basilian priests came to help Reverend Tymochko in his work. They were: Fathers Yuriy Zhydan, Andriy Trukh, Vasyl Kamenetsky, Pavlo Hevko, and

³³⁶I. Telenko, "Notes on the Past and Present of Holy Ghost Parish," in *Souvenir Booklet of the Dedication of the Holy Ghost Church*, (Montreal: privately published, 1948), 21-23. [In Ukrainian.]

Josapnat Jean.³³⁷

For the next twenty years the Basilians ministered in Quebec. Father Jean served for ten years, from 1932 to 1942. Even before his departure from Quebec to join the Basilian Order in Alberta in December 1930, Father Jean had organized a mission in downtown Montreal for Ukrainians from Trans-Carpathian Ukraine. Mass was said in a school located at 335 DeMontigny Street.³³⁸ Upon his return to Montreal he was stationed at St. Michael's and Holy Ghost parishes.

From these two parishes Father Jean reached out to Ukrainians throughout the province to establish missions, congregations and new parishes.

In December 1932 he organized twenty-five Ukrainian Catholic families in Lachine into a Catholic station. Masses were said in a French church, then in an abandoned building on 5th Avenue which had previously been a Jewish synagogue, which Father Jean acquired at no cost from the City of Lachine. In 1937 this congregation renovated the building and it served the Catholic community in Lachine for religious, cultural and educational activities. Osyph Diachyshyn, who settled in Lachine during the inter-war period, recorded:

In 1932 in Lachine Father Jean organized the Ukrainian Catholic parish and its executive. But the parish was not very active. Many Lachine inhabitants belonged to the so-called Workers Home (Communist). This home was built in 1935.... A second group was organized at the Bukovynian Orthodox Church affiliated to the Russian bishops.... The third were the nationally conscious Ukrainians most of whom came from the Lemko region. The president of the *Prosvita* Society in Montreal,

³³⁷Datsiuk, 30.

³³⁸Monezak 1975, 628.

Mykhaylo Kotsulym, then worked in the whisky distillery (near Lachine). He met with people from Lachine and convinced them to organize a Ukrainian National Association.³³⁹

The result was the formation of the *Prosvita* reading Society of Taras Shevchenko for Ukrainians in Lachine. Father Jean worked with the *Prosvita* Society. Osyp Diachyshyn recalled the conditions in Lachine at that time:

In March 1937 I got a job in Lachine and moved to live there permanently. I found the parish in a sorry state. One Sunday I witnessed a scandalous event. Father Jean, the distinguished and noble worker for our national cause, was cleaning our *Prosvita* hall in preparation for Sunday's mass. I was mortified and ashamed for our community. I took over the cleaning from him and resolved to try to improve the attitude in our parish.³⁴⁰

In 1936, Father Jean organized a second Catholic mission in Ville Emard. By 1942, he was able to buy a lot with an old truck-weighing scale on it to serve as the first chapel. This mission later became St. Josaphat's parish.³⁴¹

In 1938, in Pointe St. Charles, the Holy Ghost parish bought land on which Father Jean caused a hall to be built in which he could hold services, at 1770 St. Charles Street. The cost of construction was \$22,000.³⁴² Holy Ghost parish could still not afford a church.

Summarizing the achievements of the Basilians and Father Jean in Montreal during the 1930s, two women parishioners of Holy Ghost wrote:

[The] Reverend Josaphat Jean concerned himself with organizing

³³⁹Osyp Diachyshyn, "'Prosvita' Society of Taras Shevchenko in Lachine," in *Prosvita of Montreal-Pointe St. Charles*, 194. [In Ukrainian.]

³⁴⁰*Ibid.*

³⁴¹Monczak 1975, 628.

³⁴²Telenko, 22.

missions in Montreal. He organized the first mission at the end of 1932 in Lachine.... Reverend J. Jean also organized the mission in the district of Ville Emard which received his christian name of St. Josaphat.... Also he organized the mission in Montreal called Ascension of Our Lord for Slovaks and Trans-Carpathians. In 1950 these missions became independent parishes.... Father Jean also made material achievements. Through his efforts in 1938 St. Michael's parish bought a square mile of land for \$3,500 which eventually became 'Camp Ukraina.' For the St. Josaphat mission (in Ville Emard) in 1940 he bought a small building for \$700 which in 1956 was rebuilt into a chapel. For the mission of St. Basil the Great in Lachine he received cost free from the municipal government of Lachine a neglected building (previously a Jewish synagogue) on 5th Avenue which served the mission and its cultural and educational activities. That building was enlarged by the *Prosvita* Society and then the religious and cultural life of Lachine became more active.³⁴³

By 1939, largely due to the efforts of the Basilian Order and the work of Father Jean, the Ukrainian community in Quebec had an organized Catholic constituency with five established parishes, congregations and stations: St. Michael's in the Frontenac area (for Ukrainians and Slovaks from the Trans-Carpathian region), St. Basil's in Lachine and St. Josaphat's in Ville Emard-Côte St. Paul area. The Sheptytsky colony and parish in Abitibi did not survive, but Father Jean's efforts on behalf of all of these congregations were of decisive importance in shaping the character and disposition of the Ukrainian community in Quebec. By preserving and elaborating Ukrainian Catholic institutions in Quebec the Basilians and Father Jean spearheaded what can be called the Ukrainian-Catholic counter-Reformation. This bolstered the more moderate anti-leftist constituency of Ukrainians in Quebec during the ideologically controversial and divisive inter-war period. The second fragment of Galician Christian patriot-émigrés strengthened the ranks of those who would resist the encroachments of the Marxist left in Quebec both in the

³⁴³Kateryna Ivanylo and Anastasia Harhay, 675.

non-Marxist secular institutions and in the Orthodox and Catholic churches.

Between the two world wars a Ukrainian Orthodox activist, recalling Ukrainian community life in Quebec, wrote:

To the salvation of Ukrainian social life in (Quebec) came the new immigration, soldiers and officers of the Ukrainian Army who after their defeat could not live under the occupant so left for the free world.

The defence against the advance of communism and the division of organized social life was begun in Montreal by the late lieutenant in the Ukrainian Galician Army, Dr. Ivan Hulay, who on the 28th of January 1928 organized with other soldiers the first section of the Ukrainian *Striletska Hromada* (Riflemen's Society) in Winnipeg.... In Montreal the third branch of the...Society was founded on December 16th, 1928.³⁴⁴

Osyp Diachyshyn, a second-fragment émigré, wrote that, in the 1930s,

...the worst nuisance were the Communists, because they created obstacles for Ukrainian organizations. The centre of their organization was at Prince Arthur Hall. Our drama choir group decided to respond, and we put on a play, 'In the Storm,' in their hall to show their people activities of national patriotic organizations. To an extent we succeeded. But after the Ukrainian National Federation located there, and many difficulties, they uprooted the Communists from downtown.³⁴⁵

Another Ukrainian leftist centre was in Lachine.³⁴⁶

Another inter-war Ukrainian immigrant to Quebec also remembered that in the 1930s:

Communism in Montreal was reaching its highest levels. At St. Sophie's parish hall on Delormier Street during a lecture by Gen. Volodymyr Sikevych (the hall was filled with people) the back seats were occupied by the 'proletarians.' Ivan Boychuk, the commandant of the anti-Communist section of the police, Andriy Hukalo, the chairman of the

³⁴⁴M. Sukar, "Pioneers of Community Rebirth," in *Toil of Pioneers*, 170. [In Ukrainian.]

³⁴⁵Diachyshyn, 192.

³⁴⁶*Ibid.*, 193.

meeting, and a group of volunteers noticed that they intended to attack and demobilized them with rocks from their pockets, and screaming they ran from the hall. A few were taken to hospital and the rest stopped their attacks in Montreal, once and for all.³⁴⁷

The second-fragment Ukrainian immigrants to Quebec also founded new secular patriot organizations which accentuated the intellectual and institutional divisions in the community. When World War II broke out and Canada went to war, these divisions evoked pressures to consolidate and Canadianize the Ukrainian community in Quebec. On October 25, 1925, after the Ukrainian Orthodox Church was established in Montreal, the *Sitch Hetman* organization was formed by Ukrainian conservatives and monarchists living in the Frontenac area of Montreal.³⁴⁸ For unknown reasons, the *Sitch Hetman* organization left the United *Hetman* Organization (UHO), merged with the Ivan Franko Society and renamed itself the *Sitch* Ukrainian Association. Disagreements broke out when the United *Hetman* Organization tried to insinuate its programs upon the burgeoning *Sitch* in Montreal. The *Sitch* organization then reached an agreement with the Ukrainian Orthodox Brotherhood and in 1926 renamed itself *Zaporozhian Sitch*. It was active in Orthodox circles for twenty years, finally disbanding in 1946.³⁴⁹

³⁴⁷Hukalo, 162.

³⁴⁸In 1868 the National-Populists of *Narodovtsi* in Galicia founded the *Prosvita* (Enlightenment) Society to raise the cultural and educational level of the Ukrainian peasantry. Efforts were also made to organize the village youth. Using the highly successful Czech organizations as a model, gymnastics and firefighting societies called *Sokil* and *Sitch* were established in 1894.

Sokil translates into 'hawk' and *Sitch* comes from *Zaporozhian Sitch*, meaning the Cossack fortified camp below the Dnieper River rapids.

³⁴⁹"Outline of Ukrainian Organizations in Montreal," in *Toil of Pioneers*, 308-309.

A possible explanation for these manoeuvres is that the United *Hetman* Organization, founded in Europe after the war, tended to attract Catholics. Since the founders of *Sitch* in Quebec were associated with the new Orthodox Church, the local Orthodox activists did not feel comfortable within the largely Catholic UHO.

With the continued influx of post-war émigrés, the *Hetman* movement enjoyed a resurgence in 1930-32 when new chapters of the UHO were founded in Montreal.³⁵⁰ These adherents to the monarchist idea wanted to raise the prestige of Ukrainians through contacts with the British Empire.³⁵¹ By 1940 three chapters of the UHO existed in Montreal.³⁵²

They were small circles involving no more than a few dozen people, but active and influential because most were educated émigrés who were philosophically and politically literate and had the moral support of the Catholic Church.³⁵³ Among the Ukrainian community they propagated the ideas of constitutional and hereditary monarchy, Christian values, order, deference to authority, Ukrainian patriotism and loyalty to the British Crown. They criticized liberalism, socialism, egalitarianism and mass democracy; in short they were an alternative to the Ukrainian left in Quebec.

In 1926 the Orthodox *Zaporozhian Sitch*, the Self-Reliance Association, the Association of Ukrainian Women, the Association of Ukrainian Youth and the

³⁵⁰*Ibid.*

³⁵¹*Ibid.*

³⁵²Andriy Hukalo, "The Pioneer Hukalo Family," in *Toil of Pioneers*, 246. [In Ukrainian.]

³⁵³Yaroslav Kulba, interview by author, May 1984.

Brotherhood of Christian Mercy united to form the Ukrainian Self-Reliance League (USRL).³⁵⁴ The USRL was the English rendering of *Soyuz Ukrainskykh Samsostiynykiv*. The word *samsostiynykiv* meant a self-reliantist, but also connoted a Ukrainian independentist. The USRL was a secular organization of Orthodox Ukrainian patriots who believed in the evolution and development of Ukrainianism both at home and abroad through the cultivation of Orthodoxy and democracy in Quebec, and an independent Ukrainian state back home. The League also served as a lay auxiliary to the new Ukrainian Orthodox Church in Quebec.³⁵⁵

As part of the Catholic counter-Reformation across Canada, in December 1932 a lay Catholic organization, the Brotherhood of Ukrainian Catholics (BUC), was founded in Saskatchewan with the intention of establishing chapters across Canada. On March 4, 1934, the Reverend Andriy Trukh established four sections of BUC within St. Michael's parish in Montreal: section 27 for men; 28 for women; 29 for boys; 30 for girls.³⁵⁶ Father Trukh also established a branch of the BUC in Pointe St. Charles.³⁵⁷ The BUC chapters in St. Michael's and Holy Ghost parishes in Montreal often co-operated with chapters of the United *Hetman* Organization.³⁵⁸ Together, the BUC and the UHO tried to infuse Ukrainian national and patriotic content into the Catholic Church and served as a counter-

³⁵⁴"Outline of Ukrainian Organizations in Montreal," 309.

³⁵⁵Kulba interview, May 1984.

³⁵⁶Monczak 1979, 54.

³⁵⁷Ivan Onyshkevych, "The Founding Activities of Holy Ghost Parish in Pointe St. Charles," in *Toil of Pioneers*, 65. [In Ukrainian.]

³⁵⁸*Ibid.*

force to the Orthodox movement. The two organizations propagated ideas such as authority, hierarchy and order among Ukrainians, while the USRL propagated more democratic and community-oriented views.³⁵⁹

One of the most significant Ukrainian secular organizations founded in Montreal during the inter-war period was the Ukrainian *Sitch* Riflemen's Society (USRS). Comprised mostly of newly arrived émigré soldiers and officers of the Ukrainian Galician Army during World War I and the Revolution, they were against communism, for Ukrainian unity and against trite and unnecessary divisions within the Ukrainian-Canadian community. An officer of the Ukrainian Galician Army, Dr. Ivan Hulay, organized the first chapter of *Sitch* Riflemen in Winnipeg on January 28, 1928.³⁶⁰ The motto of the USRS was "The general good of the nation above all else."³⁶¹ On December 16, 1928 the third Canadian chapter of the USRS was formed in Montreal. M. Sukar, a local supporter of the organization, recalled that:

A big friend of [the] Riflemen in Montreal was Father Jean. The *Sitch* Riflemen in Montreal are deeply indebted to him. When he left for Ottawa in 1942 [the] USRS suffered a great loss....

[The] USRS was an association of veterans of the liberation struggle who wanted to unify and strengthen the community and to that end created the Ukrainian National federation to create a new climate of co-operation for community life which would unite all patriotic Ukrainians in Canada without regard to religion and to direct their talents toward the service of the Ukrainian community in Canada and the moral, political and financial assistance of the Ukrainian people back home.³⁶²

³⁵⁹Kulba interview, May 1984.

³⁶⁰Sukar, 170.

³⁶¹*Ibid.*

³⁶²*Ibid.*

This small aggregate of *Sitch* Riflemen set out to unite Ukrainians in Quebec in a new federation. On October 15, 1933, the founding meeting of the Ukrainian National Federation (UNF) took place in Montreal.³⁶³ The UNF included the Ukrainian *Sitch* Riflemen's Society and the Organization of Ukrainian Women. In 1934 it established a Ukrainian school, and in 1937 a youth affiliate.

Two other chapters of the UNF were established in Quebec, in Val d'Or and Rouyn-Noranda, both in 1936.³⁶⁴

The Montreal chapter's first headquarters were at 2177 Frontenac Street. Later, after the banning of the ULFTA during World War II, it rented their hall at 57 Prince Arthur Street East. In 1945, after the ULFTA was politically rehabilitated, the UNF bought its own building at 9 Prince Arthur Street West.³⁶⁵

Stalinist policy in Ukraine in the 1930s and Comintern zig-zags in the later part of the decade led to a split in the Ukrainian section of the Communist Party of Canada. As a result, in 1939 another new faction of Ukrainians appeared in Montreal. Called the Ukrainian Workers' League, it was comprised of a small coterie of anti-Stalinist national Communists and Trotskyites.³⁶⁶

The Great Depression of 1929 created pressures for consolidation and unity in the Ukrainian community in Quebec. News from back home, particularly the Polish policy

³⁶³*Ibid.*

³⁶⁴*Ibid.*, 173.

³⁶⁵*Ibid.*, 172.

³⁶⁶"Outline of Ukrainian Organizations in Montreal," 309.

of pacification in western Ukraine in 1930, the *Holod* (famine) in the Soviet Ukraine in 1932-33, and the coming of World War II in 1939, intensified this sense of urgency.

Bohdan Panchuk, a Ukrainian from Saskatchewan who had settled in Montreal, recalled:

...two very serious events did take place in Ukraine in the 1930s -- the 'Pacification' in Western Ukraine (1930), initiated by the Poles against Ukrainian aspirations for autonomy, and the artificially induced Great Famine of 1932-33, which decimated the Ukrainian population subjugated by the Soviets. Over 7 million people were starved to death by Stalin. Both events deeply touched Canadian Ukrainians spiritually and emotionally. We had demonstrations, sent protest petitions to Ottawa, delegations, and collected relief funds. Our elders were very much concerned, but most of our youth were indifferent....³⁶⁷

On October 2, 1933 the Ukrainian National Council in Canada sent a letter to the prime minister of Britain, Ramsay MacDonald, about the population of eastern Ukraine being systematically starved by the Soviet government. The letter said in part that:

...Thousands of letters are being received in Canada continuously, containing gruesome details of the vast number dying; there are settlements in Ukraine where only one-third -- sometimes only one-fourth -- of the original population is still alive....³⁶⁸

The High Commissioner of the United Kingdom in Ottawa responded that appeals for action in connection with the alleged famine should be addressed to the International Red Cross or some similar purely non-political organization.³⁶⁹

³⁶⁷Lubomyr Y. Luciuk, ed., *Heroes of Their Day: The Reminiscences of Bohdan Panchuk* (Toronto: The Multicultural History Society and Ontario Heritage Foundation, 1983), 41.

³⁶⁸Bohdan S. Kordan and Lubomyr Y. Luciuk, *A Delicate and Difficult Question: Documents in the History of Ukrainians in Canada 1899-1962* (Kingston: The Limestone Press, 1986), 61-62.

³⁶⁹*Ibid.*, Document No. 23, p. 63.

The *Holod* (famine) of 1932-33 led to a split within the Communist Party of Canada when leading members of the Ukrainian contingent questioned the excesses of Stalinism in Soviet Ukraine. In 1935 they left the party and its affiliate, ULFTA, but remained committed to communism. But now it was communism in an independent Ukraine. They condemned Stalinism and its supporters in Canada and created the Ukrainian Workers' League as an alternative to the ULFTA.³⁷⁰ It was in 1939 that Branch No. 294 of the Ukrainian Workers' League was formally founded in Montreal.

The UCC: A New Unity

Split into a number of competing religious and secular organizations, Ukrainian leftists and non-leftist patriots were forced by international developments to search for a way of putting forward their common concerns. The coming war pushed them toward affirming their ethnic identity and concentrating their efforts on the creation of an independent Ukrainian national state.³⁷¹ Similar efforts at unifying Ukrainians throughout Canada began in 1936.³⁷²

By the mid-1930s several major, dominion-wide Ukrainian federations emerged in Canada, largely as a result of the arrival of second-fragment Ukrainian émigré-patriots.

³⁷⁰*Ibid.*, 65.

³⁷¹*Ibid.*, 70.

³⁷²*Proceedings of the First All Canadian Congress of Ukrainian Canadians* (Winnipeg: Ukrainian National Publishing Company Limited, 1943), 7. [In Ukrainian.]

Under the pressure of the tragic events in Ukraine in the early 1930s, the Ukrainian federations aligned themselves into two different and often adversarial congresses, or as they were then called, two central and co-ordinating Canadian Ukrainian committees. The two were called the Representative Canadian Ukrainian Committee and the Central Canadian Ukrainian Committee, neither of which was either representative or central. When World War II broke out demands were heard for one Ukrainian Canadian Committee to unite all Ukrainians in Canada.

Bohdan Panchuk recalled those years:

Bringing the UCC together was no easy matter. Non-Ukrainians played a major role. Professors George Simpson (of the University of Saskatchewan) and Watson Kirkconnell (of McMaster University in Hamilton, Ont.) were very involved -- as was the mysterious Tracey Phillips, whom Lord Halifax, the British Foreign Secretary, apparently sent over to Canada -- in the founding of the Ukrainian Canadian organizations.

There was a third element, however, the common cause of Ukrainians themselves, namely that we have got to stick together whatever happens. There was a war to be won, after all.

Before the UCC was formed between Nov. 7-9, 1940 in Winnipeg, there were two Canadian Ukrainian committees. The Central and the Representative. The basic difference was political. One, the Central, was formed out of members of UHO (United *Hetman* Organizations), USRL (Ukrainian Self-Reliance League), and Ukrainian Workers' League (UWL); the other, the Representative, of people from the UNF (Ukrainian National Federation) and the Brotherhood of Ukrainian Catholics (BUC). The UNF was then considered to be pro-German, as were the *Hetman* followers. The others -- USRL, UWL, BUC -- were not suspect in so far as Canadian authorities were concerned. Only after 1941 did their anti-Soviet sentiments arouse some official worry.³⁷³

After Molotov and von Ribbentrop signed the Soviet-Nazi Pact in 1939 and invaded Poland, the British Empire including Canada declared war, and the war effort

³⁷³*The Reminiscences of Bohdan Panchuk*, 51.

began.

Tracey Phillips, a British civil servant, was dispatched to Canada by Lord Halifax in 1939 to overcome the factionalism among Ukrainian-Canadians and to bring them together into a single national umbrella group.³⁷⁴ Phillips was a fervent advocate of Canadianization, a philosophical position which stressed the merging of Old-World concerns with the New-World political culture. He was committed to liberal democracy as the way to guarantee the social and political integration of Ukrainians into the Canadian mainstream.³⁷⁵

Describing himself as a soldier on special service, he actively involved himself in Canadian-Ukrainian affairs on behalf of Britain. He argued that since at least one-half of the war was going to be won in the mines, shipyards and factories of North America -- where Ukrainians and other Slavs provided most of the heavy labour -- the loyalty of these people had to be secured against the fifth columnists of the Nazi-Soviet alliance. He performed special tasks for the Royal Canadian Mounted Police (RCMP), worked with the Department of National War Services (Nationalities Section) and played an influential if not decisive role in forcing the creation of a single, unified Ukrainian Canadian Committee in 1940.³⁷⁶

First, he toured western Canada during November and December of 1940. On January 8, 1941 Phillips reported to the National War Services Department with

³⁷⁴Kordan and Luciuk, 74.

³⁷⁵*Ibid.*

³⁷⁶*The Reminiscences of Bohdan Panchuk*, 51.

observations and recommendations about the Ukrainian community in Canada.

In his report Phillips outlined some principles involved in achieving Canadianism among Ukrainian Canadians. First and foremost was the "...unification of new Canadians and elimination of their discords."³⁷⁷ He outlined two methods of doing this:

The first method is the most spectacular, prompt and popular. It is the equivalent of a surgical intervention.... One attacks the foreign element which has entered the body-politic...in the realm of diplomacy it takes the form of direct action....

The second technique is the method, 'convenient to nature'.... One gives the subject access to the sun. It illuminates, it enlightens and it heals. One unearths their misapprehensions and their grievances. One treats these simultaneously and sympathetically. One lets in light and air....

It is by (the first) less desirable method that the Ukrainians of Canada were united within a week of the writer's contact with them.³⁷⁸

The Ukrainian Canadian Committee was formed in November 1940 after Professors George Simpson and Watson Kirkconnell, aided by Tracey Phillips, persuaded the Representative and Central Committee to coalesce. How this was done is suggested in Tracey Phillips' report but the precise details remain unclear.³⁷⁹

Recalling these events, Bohdan Panchuk said:

Tracey Phillips had a major role in the formation of UCC and later helped us with UCSA and CURB. He was *persona grata* in official Canadian circles and in Britain I think the fact that he was married to a Ukrainian, the pianist Lubka Kolassa, and had actually worked in Ukraine, had a lot to do with that... Tracey Phillips had what seemed to be a natural sympathy for Ukrainians, regardless of who they were. He had a tremendous effect on our policies and on our decisions in Canada. Both he and Dr. Kisilewsky (Kaye) played a very positive role in persuading Ukrainians in Canada to unite....

³⁷⁷Kordan and Luciuk, 74.

³⁷⁸Kordan and Luciuk, 51.

³⁷⁹*The Reminiscences of Bohdan Panchuk*, 51.

Why did he play such a role in forming UCC? Well, I think that by accident or design, Tracey Phillips, as an available...retired diplomat knew Ukraine because he had served in post World War I Ukraine with the Nansen International Office for Refugees, was used by the British to help bring in the Ukrainian-Canadian population solidly behind the war effort. For a while Britain stood virtually alone in the war. They were very worried about fifth columns and subversion. And for them the only source of real material support was our Dominion....

In the first two years of the war we had given about 13 per cent of our Ukrainian Canadian population as voluntary recruits. So the governments...had to make sure that it continued supporting the war effort.³⁸⁰

Phillips was also a promoter of and guardian to Dr. Kisilewsky (Kaye), who had been the first Ukrainian to earn a degree at Oxford University. Even before the war he sponsored Dr. Kaye to go to England because Kaye wanted to get a Ph.D. from an English university. When the war started, Panchuk said:

It wasn't a coincidence that Kaye came to Canada and got a job in the Department of National War Services. He wasn't even Canadian.... But he had a lot of security clearance and moral support from England, having the backing of people like Tracey Phillips, plus God knows who.³⁸¹

There is no evidence that Tracey Phillips visited Quebec at this time. However, the first president of the UCC chapter in Montre I recalled:

On 2 June 1940 at St. Sophie's church hall at 1899 Delormier the first meeting of the founding committee (of UCC), composed of the USRL and UHO, took place with the intention of creating a Ukrainian city-wide representation.³⁸²

Hukalo's report described those present: from the United *Hetman* Organization six representatives, one representative from the Ukrainian National Federation and one from

³⁸⁰*Ibid.*, 51-52.

³⁸¹*Ibid.*, 52.

³⁸²Hukalo, 245.

St. Sophie's Orthodox parish; eight people in all.³⁸³ It was noteworthy that in Montreal the three secular organizations that were instrumental in creating the Quebec chapter of the UCC were the second-fragment émigré-patriot UHO, the Ukrainian National Federation and, from St. Sophie's Orthodox Church, the patriotic Ukrainian Self-Reliance League. Absent at the creation of the UCC were the Communist Ukrainian Labour-Farmer Temple Association, the socialist Ukrainian Workers' League, the Brotherhood of Ukrainian Catholics and the *Prosvita* Reading Society from Pointe St. Charles.

Julian Pielukh, one of the six representatives from the UHO, outlined the aim of the assembled steering committee:

To forget all misunderstanding and find a way to unite all creative elements because our disunity makes it possible for the disruptive faction to compromise the Ukrainian cause in front of Ukrainians and the Canadian government. This harmful faction must be defeated by compromise and mutual understanding on the part of local religious, political, cultural, educational, mutual aid and independent institutions.³⁸⁴

An organizing committee was formed and it decided to affiliate with the Central Ukrainian Canadian Committee in Winnipeg, the one uniting the United *Hetman* Organizations, the Ukrainian Self-Reliance League and the Ukrainian Workers' League. A request for a constitution was sent and a decision reached to convene a meeting of delegates on June 18, 1940 from all twenty-three Ukrainian institutions then existing in Montreal.³⁸⁵

At the meeting of June 18, 1940, twenty-one delegates formally established the Ukrainian People's Committee of Montreal with Andriy Hukalo as president and fifteen

³⁸³*Ibid.*

³⁸⁴*Ibid.*

³⁸⁵*Ibid.*, 245-246.

executive members.³⁸⁶ The executive decided to hold weekly Tuesday evening meetings and to begin a campaign to sell Victory Bonds among Ukrainians in Montreal. The record reveals the identities of the organizations present at this first meeting, representatives of which submitted their membership dues immediately: three branches of the UHO, two branches of the UWL, one branch of the UNF, and one branch of the USRL.³⁸⁷

After the UCC was formally established in November 1940 in Winnipeg, the Montreal People's Committee renamed itself the Ukrainian Canadian Committee on February 18, 1941.³⁸⁸

The five non-Communist Ukrainian dominion-wide federations which united in Winnipeg in 1941 to help in the war effort all had active chapters in Quebec. The only founding member in Winnipeg that did not have a delegation at the first meeting of the UCC in Montreal was the Brotherhood of Ukrainian Catholics. This was due to some accidental reason because the BUC at that time had a branch in Quebec. Obviously, the ULFTA was not a part of the Quebec UCC as it was banned by the federal government and thus ineligible for membership.

On June 4, 1940, the Canadian government banned the Communist Party of Canada and its affiliate, the ULFTA, under the Defence of Canada Regulations. It was the anti-government agitation by the ULFTA that led to its closure, the internment of its

³⁸⁶*Ibid.*, 246; and Mayka interview, February 6, 1979. Walter Mayka told the author that the first president of the UCC in Quebec was Dr. Ozero, who was succeeded shortly after by Andriy Hukalo.

³⁸⁷*Ibid.*

³⁸⁸*Ibid.*

key members and the confiscation of its properties.³⁸⁹ After Hitler attacked the Soviet Union in 1941 and that country allied itself with the Allied powers, this policy was reversed. But the ban was not lifted until an Order-in-Council was issued on October 14, 1943.³⁹⁰

The rehabilitation of the ULFTA led to a resurgence in the political activity of the reconstituted Ukrainian-Canadian left. But Canadian officials remained sceptical about the Ukrainian Communists, whose activities were seen as conforming to the dictates of a foreign government.³⁹¹

In the meantime, the Soviet Union's change of allegiance on June 21, 1941 to the side of the Western Allies precipitated a crisis in the Ukrainian-Canadian nationalist community. It forced them to reassert their loyalty to Canada and the Allies (now including the Soviet Union). The Canadian government now viewed their loyalty suspiciously and monitored the Ukrainian community. The Canadian government's policy toward the Ukrainian-Canadian community and the UCC became one that was referred to as "...cautious watchfulness."³⁹²

As the first all-Canadian UCC Congress was being prepared for June 1943, the Canadian government identified the division of the Ukrainian-Canadian population into a nationalistic majority and a pro-Soviet minority as the salient characteristic of the

³⁸⁹Peter Krawchuk, *Interned Without Cause* (Toronto: Kobzar Publishing Company, 1985).

³⁹⁰John Kolasky, *The Shattered Illusion* (Toronto: PMA Books, 1979), 28, 245.

³⁹¹Kordan and Luciuk, 77.

³⁹²*Ibid.*, 90.

community.³⁹³

For example, on the eve of the first UCC Congress on May 28, 1943, the Canadian Undersecretary of State for External Affairs, N. Robertson, sent a secret memorandum to D. Wilgress, the Canadian minister to the U.S.S.R., describing the political situation within the Ukrainian community.³⁹⁴ In it he said that the UCC was formed in 1940 as a central federal committee of the five most important Ukrainian dominion-wide organizations, except the Communist ones which were banned at the outbreak of war. The five members of UCC were sharply divided by conflicting policies in the years before the war. He continued:

It was only after considerable persuasion on the part of private individuals, amongst whom were Professor Simpson and Tracey Phillips, that they were persuaded to unite in a single federating organization. Its purpose was to eliminate as much as possible the friction which had existed amongst Ukrainian groups and to enlist their support for the war effort.³⁹⁵

Although these groups differed and disagreed, they had one thing in common: all member organizations in the UCC supported the idea of a Ukrainian national state.³⁹⁶

Robertson then described each of the five member-organizations of the UCC. The most vocal and influential [he wrote] was the Ukrainian National federation (UNF), with its headquarters in Saskatoon and locals across western Canada and the industrial east. It

³⁹³*Ibid.*, 93.

³⁹⁴"Secret Memorandum From N. Robertson, Undersecretary of State for External Affairs, to D. Wilgress, Canadian Minister to the U.S.S.R., May 28, 1943," National Archives of Canada, MG 25 G1, Vol. 1896, File: 165.

³⁹⁵*Ibid.*

³⁹⁶*Ibid.*

published a semi-weekly newspaper, *Novy Shliakh* (New Pathway) and had members from military forces which took part in the struggle for Ukrainian liberation during World War

I. He continued:

The UNF has often been referred to as a member of the notorious Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN), the European terrorist society, which under German sponsorship has been fostering Ukrainian nationalism during recent years. There is no clear evidence of this connection although it is probable that some leaders of the UNF have had contact with the OUN.³⁹⁷

More objectionable but less influential was the United *Hetman* Organization (UHO). It supported the claims of Skoropadsky to be a sovereign in an independent Ukraine. It was authoritarian in organization and outlook. Two newspapers were associated with it: *Ukrainsky Robinyk* (Ukrainian Toiler) of Toronto, and *Ukrainsky Holos* (Ukrainian Voice) of Winnipeg.³⁹⁸

The Brotherhood of Ukrainian Catholics (BUC) was a lay organization of the Ukrainian Catholic Church of Canada, and under clerical control. The Ukrainian Self-Reliance League (USRL) was also connected to a religious body. It was the lay society of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church in Canada. 'Self-Reliance,' Robertson said, could also be translated as independence and reflected the nationalist outlook of its members.³⁹⁹

The Ukrainian Workers' League (UWL) was the least important of the organizations which made up the UCC. It included a small group of Trotskyites who were

³⁹⁷*Ibid.*

³⁹⁸*Ibid.*

³⁹⁹*Ibid.*

hostile to the Soviet Union. Robertson concluded his memorandum by assuring Wilgress:

The meetings of these organizations have been investigated by the RCMP and their press followed closely by the censorship authorities.⁴⁰⁰

United States intelligence agencies also compiled a comprehensive assessment of the organized Ukrainian community during the war.⁴⁰¹ An Office of Strategic Services (OSS -- the forerunner of the Central Intelligence Agency) memorandum described them as follows:

There are four chief groupings -- an ultra-nationalist right, represented in Europe by the OUN, a conservative monarchical *Hetmanite* movement, a socialist sector and a Communist-led left....

Cutting across these political distinctions, the Ukrainian communities...are divided along religious lines between a large Uniate Catholic group and the smaller Greek Orthodox, the latter split in turn between an autocephalous and an ecumenical branch.⁴⁰²

The secret OSS memorandum also described each of the major groupings. The UNF was described as ultra-nationalistic. It had:

...gained ground in Canada during the late 1920s finding support chiefly among younger immigrants who arrived after the First World War. Founded in 1932 the UNF looked for leadership to the European OUN.⁴⁰³

It became the leading Ukrainian nationalist organization in Canada. Its press organ was the Winnipeg semi-weekly *Novy Shliakh* (New Pathway) with a circulation of 4,000. The OSS memorandum continued:

[The] UNF looked to Hitler as the means through which Ukrainian

⁴⁰⁰*Ibid.*

⁴⁰¹Kordan and Luciuk, 116-131 *passim*.

⁴⁰²*Ibid.*, 117.

⁴⁰³*Ibid.*, 118.

independence or at least autonomy might be achieved, but after Hungary was allowed to seize the Carpatho-Ukraine, UNF's mouthpiece the *Novy Shliakh* dropped its praise of the Nazi leader. It still, however, preaches a Ukrainian nationalism strongly tinged with totalitarian concepts... [The] UNF was considerably strengthened by the confiscation of Communist properties early in the war. It was able to buy a number of former Communist-controlled community halls cheaply, and apparently also took over the Communist printing presses.⁴⁰⁴

More conservative than the UNF-OUN was the *Hetmanite* movement. It was:

...a monarchical group cherishing the traditions of Ukrainian independence which it enjoyed during the last years of World War One, when *Hetman* Pavlo Skoropadsky headed under German auspices a puppet revival of a medieval Ukrainian kingdom. Skoropadsky, according to last reports, was living in the Berlin suburb of Wannsee as a protégé of Goering. His son Danylo visited Ukrainian speaking communities in the U.S. and Canada before the war...as the representative of his father. He is now in England.⁴⁰⁵

The Union of *Hetman* Organizations had "...anti-Soviet aims" and until 1939 had a "...certain following among the Uniate Catholic clergy."⁴⁰⁶ Though officially disbanded in 1939, the group was still moderately active. Its organ was the weekly *Ukrainsky Robitnyk* (Ukrainian Toiler) of Toronto, founded in 1935, with a circulation of 5,600. Although some Ukrainian Catholic clergy supported the *Hetmanite* movement, Catholics did not evince any great political enthusiasm until the outbreak of war, after the Brotherhood of Ukrainian Catholics (BUC) was federated under the leadership of the Reverend W. Kushnir.⁴⁰⁷

The BUC controlled the weekly *Ukrainsky Visti* (Ukrainian News) of Edmonton,

⁴⁰⁴*Ibid.*

⁴⁰⁵*Ibid.*

⁴⁰⁶*Ibid.*

⁴⁰⁷*Ibid.*

which had a circulation of 5,500. It issued a weekly bulletin, *Buduchnist Natsii* (Future of the Nation) from Winnipeg. The monthly *Svitlo* (Light), published in Mundare, Alberta by the Basilian Order, was an allied journal.⁴⁰⁸

The Self-Reliance League represented "...the Ukrainian independence movement once headed in Europe by Simon Petliura." It was founded in 1927 and became "...the most influential Ukrainian organization in Canada." It was "moderately nationalist" and "hostile to the totalitarian UNF and to the Catholic monarchist BUC." It drew its chief strength from the Greek Orthodox congregations. The weekly *Ukrainsky Holos* (Ukrainian Voice), founded in Winnipeg in 1910, had become its mouthpiece.⁴⁰⁹

The socialist organizations, "although the first on the scene...[were] now in a state of complete disorganization." The memorandum went on to explain that the

once strong Federation of Ukrainian Socialists, later the Ukrainian Social-Democratic Party, organized before the First World War, disbanded following a split with the Communists. Most of the present socialist societies are of a local or regional character, without a national centre. Among them are the Defence of the Ukraine organizations with chapters in Toronto, Chatham and Montreal...; local groups in Toronto and elsewhere in the East with social-revolutionary traditions; and a former Communist opposition group which left the party in the early '30s and now has contacts with the socialists.... In the eastern part of Canada are a number of branches of the socialist-line Ukrainian Workingmen's Association of Scranton, Pennsylvania.⁴¹⁰

The OSS memorandum reiterated that in Canada the Communist Party was suppressed in 1940 and pro-Communist Ukrainian organizations dispersed in the same

⁴⁰⁸*Ibid.*, 119.

⁴⁰⁹*Ibid.*, 119-120.

⁴¹⁰*Ibid.*

year. It added that:

The Ukrainian wing of the Canadian Communist Party was organized in 1918 by a group of left-wing social democrats, but operated chiefly through an ostensibly non-political organization, known as the Ukrainian Labour-Farmer Temple Association (ULFTA) which at its height controlled over 100 local community halls.⁴¹¹

The Communist *Narodna Hazeta* (People's Gazette) was the only Ukrainian language daily in Canada. On June 5, 1940 the Canadian government banned the ULFTA, closed its halls, closed the newspaper and interned thirty-six of its leaders. Some months after the German attack on the Soviet Union in 1941, the Ukrainian Communist movement resurfaced as the Ukrainian Association for Aid to the Fatherland, for the purpose of raising funds for the U.S.S.R. In June 1942 the name of the association was changed to the Ukrainian Canadian Association. When the ban against the Communists was lifted, the leaders of the ULFTA were released from detention and resumed their activities, but the Communists never regained their earlier influence. The UCA claimed 10,000 members in 230 branches across Canada. In 1944 it had two weeklies, *Ukrainske Zhittya* (Ukrainian Life) published in Toronto, and *Ukrainske Slovo* (Ukrainian Word) in Winnipeg. The OSS memorandum continued:

At the time of the UCC Congress in Winnipeg in June 1943 the Association directed bitter attacks against the Congress and the UCC, which it declared fascist.⁴¹²

The first all-Canadian Congress of Ukrainians was convened for June 22-24, 1943

⁴¹¹*Ibid.*, 120.

⁴¹²*Ibid.*, 121.

at the Royal Alexander Hotel in Winnipeg.⁴¹³ Among the guests were the Lieutenant-Governor of Manitoba, R. F. Williams, Premier B. Garson of Manitoba, Premier W. G. Peterson of Saskatchewan, a Ukrainian-Canadian member of Parliament from Alberta, A. Hlynka, Professor George Simpson from the University of Saskatchewan, Professor Watson Kirkconnell of McMaster University, Mayor G. Colter of Winnipeg and a host of representatives from the Canadian Army, Navy and Air Force reserves.⁴¹⁴

A total of 715 delegates and observers from across Canada attended, 452 of whom reported having sons or close relatives in the Canadian armed forces.⁴¹⁵ The programme included over twenty major addresses and a Victory Rally at the Playhouse Theatre on June 22, 1943, a Victory Concert at the Municipal Auditorium on the 23rd, and a concluding banquet on the 24th.

The major speeches were given by selected speakers and leaders in the Ukrainian-Canadian community and were intended to be analytical or diagnostic, to provide a policy blueprint for the newly federated Ukrainian community in Canada. They were to outline the ground on which the diverse and divided Ukrainians were to stand as a single lobby in Canada and the direction they were to take.

The UCC pledged itself to the Atlantic Charter and the late U. S. President Woodrow Wilson's Fourteen Points, and described the community as "neither Communist or fascist," but "anti-totalitarian adherents of Christian democracy" who were against "Tim

⁴¹³*Proceedings of the First All Canadian Congress of Ukrainian Canadians*, 13.

⁴¹⁴*Ibid.*, 17.

⁴¹⁵*Ibid.*, 181.

Buck and the Communists."⁴¹⁶ It reported that Canada had 309,000 Ukrainians, most of whom lived in the prairie provinces, except for the 7,000 who lived in British Columbia, the Maritimes and in Quebec.⁴¹⁷

This Ukrainian-Canadian community produced 40,000 volunteer soldiers, 150 officers and numerous Ukrainian female nurses or "Florence Nightingales" who represented 11.4 per cent of the Ukrainian community directly contributing to the war effort.⁴¹⁸

Across Canada the community had 12 newspapers, 656 parishes or churches, 13 schools, 405 halls, and 1,429 various community associations, centres and clubs.⁴¹⁹ The biggest challenge after the war would be the community's integration into the larger society and self-preservation. This integration and preservation would have to be pursued in the face of discrimination on the outside and the "...parochialism, isolation and inferiority complex" inside the Ukrainian community.⁴²⁰ Both the melting pot- and mosaic theories of immigration were explained and the Congress participants were exhorted to remember that the proportion of Ukrainian-Canadian volunteers to the Canadian military was higher than that of French-Canadians.

The challenge of self-integration and self-preservation in Canada would be best

⁴¹⁶*Ibid.*, 3-11, 31-37, 118-126.

⁴¹⁷*Ibid.*, 31-37.

⁴¹⁸*Ibid.*, 49-52, 61.

⁴¹⁹*Ibid.*, 49-52.

⁴²⁰*Ibid.*, 113-118.

effected by educated people who would aim high and look to Oxford, Cambridge, Harvard and McGill.⁴²¹ Young Ukrainian-Canadian men and women had a double responsibility to gain command of both Ukrainian and British traditions to participate in Canadian life and be active in the Ukrainian-Canadian community.

One of the more interesting addresses given at the Congress was on the topic of post-war reconstruction and what Canadians would have to face after the war. The speaker explained the Beveridge Report, the Jameson Commission Report and the obstacles to these "...revolutionary proposals" in the British North America (BNA) Act. The questions were whether capitalism could be made compatible with social security, and could be harmonized with socialism. This was the central question for the Ukrainian-Canadian community because "...Canada was entering a new world and a new system...based on a command economy" which would require educated people like "Bruce Hutchison and Stephen Leacock who intelligently combine capitalism and socialism and usher in the beginnings of a new Golden Age."⁴²²

Although the Ukrainian community in Quebec sent a delegation to the UCC Congress in Winnipeg in 1943, none of the Montrealers was on the programme, among the distinguished invitees, or on the speakers' rostrum. In comparison to the mass of Ukrainians that settled in the prairie provinces, the number of Ukrainians in urban centres and eastern Canada was small and their role at the convention minor. However, the presence and composition of the Quebec delegation at the Congress showed the internal

⁴²¹*Ibid.*, 154-159.

⁴²²*Ibid.*, 142-152.

alignment of Quebec's Ukrainian community and underscored its interest in becoming more outward-directed and in step with developments throughout Canada.

Only nine of the 715 delegates in Winnipeg came from Quebec. Four represented the new Quebec chapter of the UCC; the other five represented one or another of the local chapters of the big five constituent members of the UCC.

The four Quebec UCC executive members were Hukalo and Vyvirka from the Ukrainian Self-Reliance League, Hiss from the Ukrainian National Federation, and Karpluk from the Brotherhood of Ukrainian Catholics. The other five were comprised of three from the UNF and two from the USRL. Another way of classifying the nine Quebec delegates was to say that four represented the USRL, four the UNF, and one the BUC.⁴²³ Therefore, the two local Ukrainian groups which led the Ukrainian community into the UCC were predominantly the second-fragment Orthodox in the USRL and second-fragment Catholics in the UNF and BUC. The first-fragment leftists in the Ukrainian Labour-Farmer Temple Association were then outlawed and, unwelcome as that made them, their influence in the community went into decline.

The Congress passed eleven resolutions supporting the war effort, victory, the Atlantic Charter and the Four Freedoms, Christian civilization and democracy, and the condemnation of totalitarianism. It encouraged Ukrainian-Canadians to preserve their own culture and to integrate into other Canadian cultures. It saluted Ukrainian-Canadian pioneers, called for the opening of Canada to new immigrants, CBC programmes for Ukrainians, a Chair in Ukrainian Studies at the University of Saskatchewan and hailed the

⁴²³*Ibid.*, 182-186.

UCC as the sole representative of all Ukrainians in Canada.⁴²⁴

Andriy Hukalo of Quebec moved that the resolution be accepted unanimously, and it was agreed.⁴²⁵

The Royal Canadian Mounted Police (RCMP) monitored the Congress and submitted an eighty-page report on its proceedings to the Canadian government.⁴²⁶ In July 1943 R. G. Riddell wrote a secret memorandum summarizing the secret RCMP report. In it he said:

It appears that the Conference was regarded as a major success by its sponsors. There had been considerable opposition to holding it on the part of prominent Ukrainians and its leaders proceeded in their plans with some misgivings....

...the Conference was well attended and...passed without serious incident...[and] ...was attended by 715 accredited delegates and guests.

...Conference leaders were concerned to avoid statements or discussions of a kind which would cause embarrassment to the government or give ammunition to their [C]ommunist opponents....

The resolutions...are almost wholly unobjectionable in character and the one resolution referring to Ukrainian nationalism (Resolution 6 on "Winning the Peace" expressed support for the Atlantic Charter, the Four Freedoms, the self-determination of nations, free elections, peace and equality among nations) is very general and guarded in its wording....

...there was ample evidence at the Congress of healthy rivalries and antagonisms amongst the groups represented and their leaders. One body in the Ukrainian Committee, the so-called Lobay group (UWL), a former Communist and probably Trotskyite organization of small membership, withdrew from the Congress shortly before the opening. The rivalry between the...Catholic and...Orthodox groups found expression at the Congress...and the UNF are regarded with suspicion by the more moderate Self-Reliance League.⁴²⁷

⁴²⁴*Ibid.*

⁴²⁵*Ibid.*, 186.

⁴²⁶Kordan and Kuciuk, 110-112.

⁴²⁷*Ibid.*, 112.

Apparently Polish-Canadian organizations sent proposed resolutions to the Congress attempting to enlist Ukrainian support for Poland in the war. Riddell said these resolutions were of considerable embarrassment to the Congress leadership and the reply was non-committal.⁴²⁸

Riddell also noted the presence of Professor Simpson, apparently as an official representative of the Minister of National War Services, and of Professor Kirkconnell. He also characterized Professor Kirkconnell's contribution:

Mr. [*sic*] Kirkconnell took the occasion to deliver an oration of major proportions. It appears that he spoke for two solid hours and the text of his address occupies thirty-six pages of the [RCMP] report. His speech, which had many provocative phrases, contained a spirited defence of the Committee on Co-operation in Canadian Citizenship, and a strong tribute to Tracey Phillips. It contains also a denunciation of fascism, and Mr Kirkconnell characterized the government of the U.S.S.R. as "fascist of the left." He has, therefore, some very unpleasant things to say about the Soviet government under this ingenious classification which I think originated with Tracey Phillips. The speech also contains a discussion of the European-Ukrainian question, which according to the report was not viewed with favour by the members of the Congress. Mr. Kirkconnell supported the Polish claims to Western Ukraine and said that Ukrainian nationalists must come to some agreement with the Polish government in regard to this area. On the other hand, he said that Ukrainian nationalism in Russian Ukraine could find expression only within the Soviet system, and by agreement with the Soviet government. The latter part of his address contains a provocative attack on the Communists in Canada and in particular on the ULFTA which he says is less than twenty-five per cent Ukrainian. There are a number of nice phrases such as "yelping members of a seditious organization" well calculated to keep the discussion on a high level.⁴²⁹

Riddell's memorandum concluded by saying a good deal of attention at the UCC

⁴²⁸*Ibid.*

⁴²⁹*Ibid.*, 112-113.

Congress was given to teaching Ukrainian and the preparation of Ukrainian textbooks and other teaching material. It would seem, he concluded,

...that, in the minds of some Ukrainians at least, there is a desire to see Ukrainian given the status of French as an alternative second language.⁴³⁰

A year after the UCC Congress in 1943, the Allies launched the Normandy invasion and the final assault on the Axis powers led to their collapse in 1945. Roosevelt's (and Churchill's) agreement with Stalin at Yalta put Eastern Europe and all of Ukraine under Soviet control. Millions of East-Central European refugees fled to the Allied zones of Western Germany. Many were repatriated to the U.S.S.R. Others remained in the displaced-persons' camps for several years until they found their way to South America, the U.S.A. and Canada, including Quebec.

The convening of the first UCC Congress in Winnipeg in June 1943 formally marked the emergence of the Ukrainian-Canadian community as an organized dominion-wide political lobby in Canada. A small but integral part of that lobby was the Ukrainian community in Quebec. By 1943 the Ukrainian community in Quebec had a local chapter of each of the five big constituent members of UCC, and a local representative executive of the new federation. The Ukrainian community gained a political standing indicating its gradual movement away from its members' absorption in survival, privacy, isolation and concern with purely local affairs. Intellectually and ideologically, it had arrived on the Canadian public and political stage.

The leftist stance of the pre-Ukrainian first-fragment immigrants in Quebec was

⁴³⁰*Ibid.*, 113.

a mixed bag of transplanted old-world Russophilism, radicalism and socialism and new-world, local, bread and butter economic concerns. World War I and the Russian Revolution of 1917 pushed out a second fragment of anti-socialist Ukrainians and some of them came to Quebec. Their arrival created a division between first-fragment pre-Ukrainian radical and leftist immigrants and second-fragment Ukrainian anti-leftist patriot émigrés.

The generational division of the Ukrainian community between the old left and the non-leftists was further complicated by the religious controversy of 1925 in the non-leftist camp. As a result of the Orthodox movement, the non-leftist camp was divided into Catholic and non-Catholic factions, and thus the latter part of the 1920s was marked by religious strife.

The Catholic faction was strengthened by the arrival of additional new émigrés from Catholic Galicia after 1925. Gradually the religious conflict between Catholic and Orthodox was superseded by a new set of ideological concerns and the emergence of new secular institutions established by the second-fragment émigré-patriots in the 1930s.

In addition to the existing generational, ideological and religious divisions in the Ukrainian community in Quebec, after the economic crash of 1929 a new set of Ukrainian secular organizations emerged in Quebec which further factionalized the community. In Quebec, organizations such as the Ukrainian Self-Reliance League, the United *Hetman* Organization, the Ukrainian National federation and the Brotherhood of Ukrainian Catholics gained ascendancy and superimposed their patriot agendas on the older quarrels between left and non-left and Catholics and Orthodox partisans.

Three observations can be made about the new Ukrainian organizations established in Quebec in the 1930s. First, they were secular and lay organizations, for the most part independent of any particular religious confessions or church. Their character, concerns and composition had a social and political character and their agendas transcended local, parochial and particular issues.

The USRL, for example, was closely associated with the Orthodox Church, but a belief in Orthodoxy was not a requisite for membership and the mission of the league was more political and patriotic than parochial. Even the anti-Orthodox counter-Reformation BUC courted the *Hetman* movement in Quebec, and through Father Josaphat Jean co-operated with the UNF during the 1930s. The leadership of the priest was, if not undermined, increasingly supplemented by the appearance of the ethnic-politicians.

Secondly, these new organizations were explicitly ideological and non-leftist. They cultivated and inculcated an outward-looking world view among their members and focused on European questions and on Canadian concerns, as can be seen from their concern about the pacification policy in Poland, the Famine-Terror of 1932-33 in eastern Ukraine, the rise of communism and fascism, the emerging welfare state in Canada and the coming war.

Thirdly, they were all Canadian, dominion-wide centralized organizations. Although local chapters could and did exercise local initiative, a national point of view informed their policies and dispositions. Local issues or problems also had a network through which they could play nationally. The existence of such dominion-wide organizations, leagues, unions and brotherhoods, in fact, was a precondition for the

creation of the UCC.

Admittedly, these new secular institutions were small and did not overly concern the majority of Ukrainians in Quebec who remained aloof from them, absorbed in the privacy of the household, or chose to pursue their lives along not-particularly Ukrainian-Canadian avenues. But, then, those Ukrainians properly belong in another history, not the history of Ukrainians in Quebec. Political scientists speak of the nation and within the demographic or ethnological nation of the political nation as the proper subject of political study. Similarly, the ethnic historian speaks of the political ethnic within a particular ethnic group.

World War II further politicized the Ukrainian community in Quebec, punctured its isolation and accelerated the process of Canadianization as was underscored by its effort to articulate its wartime position in conjunction with official Canadian policy. This, however, was not done with the full confidence and trust of the Canadian authorities.

A central role in this process of Canadianization (analogous to that of Father Jean in the formation of the Ukrainian Catholic parish system in Quebec) was played by non-Ukrainians like Professors Simpson and Kirkconnell and the mysterious Tracey Phillips, each of whom for his own reasons took an interest in integrating the Ukrainian community into the larger Canadian society.

By uniting in the UCC and actively joining the Canadian war effort, the second-fragment émigré-patriot leadership of the new secular Ukrainian-Canadian organizations put the Ukrainian community not only into the mainstream of Canada, but wrested it from leftist influence and pushed it toward the centre of the ideological spectrum.

It is true that most of the Ukrainian-Canadian leadership and the politically informed members of the community -- the Ukrainian "political ethnics" -- were immune to Bolshevism and communism by 1939. Even the average non political Ukrainian-Canadian probably had a more accurate knowledge than the average so-called mainstream Canadian about the real nature of Stalinism in the 1930s. But it is also true that in the 1930s reportage on the Soviet Union was not very accurate and that it was not a particularly high or honest decade for the political left. In fact the 1930s were the heyday of Communist influence throughout North America.

However, with the Germany-U.S.S.R. Pact of 1939 communism was allied with fascism and the Communist camp cracked. This further immunized another part of the Ukrainian community to communism. The Canadian government ban on the Communist Party of Canada and the ULFTA and the arrest of its leadership in 1940 silenced the Communists and they withdrew from the scene. Then the UCC was created to complete the de-communization of the Ukrainian community in Quebec and Canada. After Hitler betrayed Stalin in 1941, and after the ban on the ULFTA was lifted in 1943, the Communists resurfaced in much smaller numbers and under the new name of the "Canadian Anti-Fascists."⁴³¹ But the correlation of forces was no longer in their favour.

After 1949, the situation for the Canadian anti-fascists became even worse. A third and large fragment of young Ukrainian nationalist refugees came to Quebec. They were the kind of anti-Communists that one source characterized as "men of the right."⁴³²

⁴³¹Krawchuk, 9.

⁴³²Buckley, 224-232.

CHAPTER 4

FRAGMENT III: THE REFUGEES

Historical Background

A third fragment of Ukrainian nationalist refugees came to Quebec after World War II. Their impact on the Ukrainian community in Quebec between 1947 and 1952 stemmed from their intellectual baggage, as expressed in the institutions they created in Quebec. In 1931, Quebec had 4,340 Ukrainians. In 1941, the number rose to 8,006; in 1951 to 12,921; and by 1961 to 16,588. Most of this more than doubling of the number of Ukrainians over a twenty year span was attributable to the post World War II refugees.⁴³² This third fragment was yet another slice cut off from Ukrainian society. The different situation in which they lived and the circumstances that pushed them out made this fragment also different from the two previous groups of Ukrainian immigrants to Quebec.

⁴³²*Census of Canada*, 1931, 1941, 1951, 1961.

During World War II Ukrainian-Canadian servicemen abroad formed the Ukrainian-Canadian Servicemen's Association (UCSA).⁴³³ The UCSA was founded on January 7, 1943 in Manchester, England to serve as a social and recreational meeting place and a home away from home for Ukrainian-Canadian servicemen who were stationed in Europe.⁴³⁴ In the summer of 1943 its headquarters moved to London, the address being 218 Sussex Gardens, Paddington. After being in existence for a few months the UCSA had over a thousand members.

After D-Day, the invasion of Normandy and the surrender of Germany, these servicemen met a surprising number of displaced persons, refugees and forced labourers in Germany. The extent to which Ukrainians were selected for this type of work was evident from the fact that out of the 2.8 million Soviet *Ost-Arbeiter* (East-Worker) in Germany at the end of the war, 2.3 million were from Ukraine.⁴³⁵ The founder of the UCSA in England was Bohdan Panchuk, a Ukrainian-Canadian from Saskatchewan who had settled in Montreal. He recorded what he witnessed in Europe:

The Germans used Ukrainians as slave workers and young teenagers were forced to man anti-aircraft units in defence of the Atlantic Wall. To build their fortifications, the Nazis also exploited slave labour which they mobilized into their *Todt* Organization. These were Ukrainians from central or east Ukraine...they (the Nazis) imported millions of these foreign workers. Ukrainians from Poland were made to wear 'P' badges. From Soviet Ukraine the labourers wore an 'Ost' badge. They were the *Ost-Arbeiters* (East Workers). Western Europe was full of these people.

⁴³³*The Reminiscences of Bohdan Panchuk*, 54.

⁴³⁴*ibid.*, 49.

⁴³⁵Subtelny, 469

That is how I first got in contact with Ukrainian refugees and began to realize the refugee problem.⁴³⁶

The first Ukrainian displaced persons were slave workers, but there were others:

The displaced persons were of various kinds and categories: 'P' workers, *Ost-Arbeiters*, voluntary workers, families of workers, or Ukrainians in German uniforms (the 'Galicia Division'), slave workers in the *Todt* Engineering Organization, the political refugees of the OUN (Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists) and...refugees fleeing the Red Army returning to Ukraine. We found them, in many cases in groups or clusters, already living in large German establishments that were left vacant at the end of the war -- factories, warehouses, military barracks and the like. These later became the nuclei of the DP camps....

There were also thousands of people who were on the move at the end of the war fleeing ahead or alongside the Germans, retreating westward from the Soviet East -- refugees. Germany and Austria were filled with such unfortunates. They were people who were running away, escaping the advancing Soviet armies.⁴³⁷

In his *Reminiscences*, Panchuk provided a map locating the DP camps in Europe in 1945. Over two hundred and forty DP camps were established in the British, French and U.S. zones of occupied Germany.⁴³⁸ On September 15, 1945, the Canadian Ukrainian Relief Bureau (CURB) was established and in October 1946 the Canadian Relief Mission for Ukrainian Victims of War was organized in London to assist Ukrainian refugees in Western Europe. CURB prepared a questionnaire with a view to registering every Ukrainian displaced person in Western Europe. Panchuk was overwhelmed:

We thought that there would be thousands, perhaps five- to ten thousand. Actually it turned out that there were more than a million. Nobody at that time, when the war ended, really realized how many

⁴³⁶*The Reminiscences of Bohdan Panchuk*, 49.

⁴³⁷*Ibid.*, 66.

⁴³⁸*Ibid.*, 68.

Ukrainians there were. I don't think we still do [*sic*]. But now I think there must have been two and a half million -- at least one million of whom were repatriated or went back voluntarily to Ukraine, and about 35-40,000 of whom eventually ended up as immigrants to Canada. Other hundreds of thousands went to the United States and God knows where, all over the free world.⁴³⁹

Ukrainians who refused to return voluntarily and were not forcibly repatriated as Soviet citizens were helped by the Ukrainian Canadian Relief Fund (UCRF), established in March 1949, and the Co-ordinating Committee of Central Ukrainian Voluntary Organizations in Western Europe.⁴⁴⁰ Most of these were western Ukrainians who were Polish citizens and not subject to repatriation.

Between 1950 and 1952 Ukrainian Canadians had two European representatives: Ann Crapleve represented the UCRF on the continent in the British zone of Germany at Bielefeld from where she attended to the relief, welfare and resettlement of the DPs, and the Ukrainian Canadian Committee (UCC) had a bureau in London headed by Bohdan Panchuk which dealt with matters of a political nature, acted as a clearing house for general information, and took a special interest in the Galicia Division, now civilianized in Britain.⁴⁴¹ Both operations were funded by voluntary contributions from Ukrainians in Canada and the U.S.

By 1952 most of the DPs had either been repatriated or had emigrated. By 1952, according to Panchuk, all that was left of the refugees and displaced persons in Western

⁴³⁹See *Ibid.*, 82; and Nikolai Tolstoy, *Victims of Yalta* (London: Corgi Books, 1977).

⁴⁴⁰Subtelny, 114

⁴⁴¹See Subtelny, 120-121; and Tolstoy, 468.

Europe were the residue -- the so-called hard core -- whose ultimate disposal was problematic.

Ukrainians in Quebec hoped the refugees would strengthen and enliven Ukrainian Canadian organizations and public life wherever they settled. But, Panchuk said,

[the] new blood...did not come into our already established Ukrainian Canadian organizations....

We had everything that we possibly needed here. A pattern of Ukrainian organizations had developed from the original pioneers, there were religious and secular organizations. All sorts of organizations existed before World War II -- the majority had sorted themselves out. You had Ukrainian Catholic, Orthodox, [C]ommunists, the nothings, the nationalists around UNF and the small *Hetmantsy* (UHO) group...of course, the political refugees, the militants, thought differently...they insisted that they were a 'political emigration'....

Most went off to join their own newcomers' groups. We were all of [sic] Canadian Ukrainians gravely disappointed to see this happen.⁴⁴²

Ukrainian refugees who came to Quebec between 1947 and 1952 were a slice from the mass of Ukrainian displaced persons in Western Europe, just as the displaced persons were a fragment of Ukrainian society, notably in Galicia and northwestern Ukraine. A sociological profile of western Ukrainian society during the inter-war period would help explain the social context and conditions which contributed to the political disposition and mentality of the third fragment of Ukrainian nationalist refugees to Quebec.⁴⁴³

⁴⁴²Panchuk, 49-54.

⁴⁴³Zeno- Pelensky, "Between Two Necessities," in Yuriy Boyko, ed., *Evhen Konovalets and His Era* (Munich: Evhen Konovalets Foundation, 1974), 502-524. [In Ukrainian.] Sociology was not a well-developed, widely studied or much practiced discipline in inter-war Galicia. What follows is a rare and valuable study on which the following profile is based.

In 1929, 3.7 million Ukrainians comprising 64 per cent of the population lived in Galicia. The remaining 36 per cent was comprised of Poles and Jews. Northwestern Ukraine (Volyn, Polissia, Pidliasha) had 2.1 million Ukrainians, representing 86 per cent of the population.

The overwhelming majority of Ukrainians were farmers and peasants, often very poor peasants. Only 23 per cent of the population of Galicia lived in urban centres, and in northwestern Ukraine only 12 per cent of the population was urban.

Until World War II Galicia had been one of the most densely populated areas in Europe. For example, there was an average of 101 people per 100 hectares of arable land in Galicia. In the rest of Ukraine the average was 54; in Germany the average was 52; in Holland, 70.

The mortality rate in inter-war Galicia was very high. By 1938, for each 1,000 in population there were 23.9 births and 15.6 deaths, one of the highest ratios of death in the world. Emigration was also high. Between 1911 and 1913 over 380,000 Ukrainians emigrated from Galicia and more would have left if immigration laws in North America had been more lax.

Ukrainian peasants in Galicia owned only 55 per cent of the arable land area. Sixty per cent of the peasant households had two hectares or less. Eighteen per cent of the households held between two and five hectares and only 22 per cent held more than five hectares. For all relevant purposes Galicia did not have a *kulak* class. These midget households could not possibly be very productive. One of the consequences was that

between 1914 and 1923 the Ukrainian population of Galicia declined by 12 per cent and then stagnated at around 3.7 million.

Peasant poverty also affected the politics of inter-war Galicia.⁴⁴⁴ In October 1926, the Ukrainian Farmer-Labour Socialist Union was formed as a legal, peasant-based but revolutionary political organization in western Ukraine. In the March 1928 Polish parliamentary election the Ukrainian National Democratic Union Party won 23 seats, but the Socialist-Radical Party and the Ukrainian Farmer-Labour Socialist Union (right, centre and left wings, respectively) elected twenty-one deputies and received just over 330,000 votes. In northwestern Ukraine (Volyn) the Ukrainian Farmer-Temple Socialist Union was banned in 1932 but continued its activity in seventy various regions and behind the façade of 407 local organizations.

The election of so many radical-left deputies in the election of 1928 was a jolt to the nationalist parties and particularly to the nationalist, activist, academic youth who were not very attentive to the social question at the time.⁴⁴⁵ But the social question was not totally ignored; interest in the peasantry manifested itself in the co-operative movement.⁴⁴⁶

By 1939, Galicia had 3,455 co-operatives, 2,360 or 69 per cent of which were farm co-operatives united into 27 regional associations and into one central federation.

⁴⁴⁴*Ibid.*, 511.

⁴⁴⁵*Ibid.*

⁴⁴⁶*Ibid.*

Northwestern Ukraine (the Volyn and Lemko regions) had approximately 600 co-operatives.

It is difficult to establish the size and composition of the Ukrainian working class in western Ukraine between the wars. However, by the end of the 1930s Galicia had no more than 23,000 Ukrainian skilled industrial workers.⁴⁴⁷ Most Polish- and Jewish-owned factories did not hire Ukrainians and preferred non-Ukrainian skilled workers. There were Ukrainian unskilled labourers but they did not appear in the statistics.

In comparison to the peasantry, the Ukrainian working class was small and did not warrant or receive special attention from most of the political parties, particularly the nationalists. Until 1939, the political world of western Ukraine was typically the world of the intelligentsia.⁴⁴⁸

For the most part, the western Ukrainian intelligentsia came from five sources: the families of clerics, teachers, and those of members of the liberal professions (lawyers, doctors, engineers, businessmen) and families of government workers or bureaucrats. Bureaucrats declined as a source after Poland received its mandate over Galicia in 1925. After 1930, the bureaucrats were replaced by the intelligentsia among the co-operatives' members.

In 1939, Galicia and the Lemko region had 3,600 parishes. Traditionally, every clerical family produced three or four children who entered the ranks of the intelligentsia, thereby enlarging it. But the inter-war policy of compulsory celibacy for priests followed

⁴⁴⁷*Ibid.*, 512.

⁴⁴⁸*Ibid.*

by most Ukrainian Greek-Catholic bishops after 1925 made inroads into this source.⁴⁴⁹ Before the Bolshevik occupation of western Ukraine in 1944, more than one-third of all Galician parishes were staffed by unmarried priests. In 1929, Galicia probably had eight- to nine thousand clerical families with no more than 12,000 persons.

Northwestern Ukraine, which included five Orthodox eparchies with 2.3 million Ukrainians, had 1,950 parishes and 2,087 schools. The Orthodox Church did not have a celibacy policy. In sum, by 1929 all Ukrainian (Catholic and Orthodox) clerical families in western and northwestern Ukraine comprised an estimated 54- to 55,000 persons, including women and children.

In 1912, Galicia had 2,420 Ukrainian state run elementary schools employing approximately 4,600 teachers. By 1938 Galicia had only 352 state run Ukrainian elementary schools. This was supplemented by Ukrainian private schooling. In 1938, Poles had 114 high schools, Ukrainians had 24 -- five state run and 19 private. Poles had 106 lycées. Ukrainians had five state run lycées and sixteen private ones. Poles had thirteen pedagogical or normal schools, Ukrainians had one state run normal school and one private pedagogical institute. Poles had 82 trade schools in Galicia. Ukrainians had five state run trade schools and four private ones. The total number of Ukrainian state and private school teachers in Galicia in 1938 comes to approximately 4,200. With families this amounts to 15- to 16,000 members of the teaching intelligentsia.

An estimate of the number of Ukrainian-ethnics in the liberal professions is most difficult to establish. However, between the wars, 63 Galician cities or towns and seventy-

⁴⁴⁹*Ibid.*, 513

seven villages had a total of 450 practicing lawyers. Research estimates show that the liberal professions and families comprised no more than 6,000 to 7,000 persons in Galicia.⁴⁵⁰

During the inter-war period the role of the peasantry as a source of Ukrainian intelligentsia declined.⁴⁵¹ In the period between 1890 and 1910, approximately half of the intelligentsia came from the peasantry, but in that period money value and farm prices were higher. Between the wars, a consequence of the tighter predicament of the peasantry was the difficulty of sending children to school. Only a peasant with three- to five hectares of arable land could possibly afford to send a child to school. As mentioned earlier, only 22 per cent of Ukrainian Galician peasant households had five hectares or more. This percentage represented about 12,000 households, which contributed approximately 3,000 to 4,000 members to the inter-war intelligentsia.

The new co-operatives increasingly became a new source of Ukrainian intelligentsia. The approximately 4,000 co-operatives in western Ukraine created about 11,000 families as sources of intelligentsia members.⁴⁵²

Adding these figures, one can conclude that prior to World War II western Ukraine had no more than 75,000 to 80,000 nationally conscious Ukrainian families with elementary and some higher education. These 80,000 families, counting women and children,

⁴⁵⁰*Ibid.*, 514.

⁴⁵¹*Ibid.*, 515.

⁴⁵²*Ibid.*

amounted to no more than 240,000 to 250,000 members of the western Ukrainian intelligentsia among a total population of 7 million.

Ukrainian students in Galicia during this period deserve particular attention.⁴⁵³ Approximately 4,000 Ukrainian students attended private high schools, and 6,000 attended state high schools, for a total of 10,000. Polish institutions of higher learning had approximately 3,000 Ukrainian students, and the Ukrainian Theological Seminary in Lviv had about 600 candidates.

The number of Ukrainian students abroad reached its apogee at the beginning of the 1920s and again at the start of the 1930s. Until 1935 the Ukrainian Free University in Prague had 385 students; by the same year the Ukrainian Economic Academy in Podiebrady had over 800 Ukrainian students, of which 536 earned diplomas; and the Ukrainian Pedagogical Institute in Prague graduated 116 students, 85 with diplomas and 30 with Ph.D. degrees. One of the largest Ukrainian student organizations abroad was the Union of Ukrainian Students in Germany, which at the end of the 1920s had seventy members. The major reason for Ukrainian students' leaving Galicia to study abroad was the quotas which Polish universities had for Ukrainian students. In 1928-29, the 3,000 Ukrainian students who studied at Polish universities represented 6 per cent of the university student population in Galicia. Of these, 650 were students of law or sociology, 700 theology, 500 philosophy, 400 technical studies, 200 medical, and 500 in various other disciplines. A significant number of students did not complete their full course of studies, often due to extracurricular political activities.

⁴⁵³*Ibid.*, 515-516.

This profile of western Ukraine conveys some sense of Galician society when it was visited upon by war and occupation in 1939. A fragment of this society was sliced-off, sent from or otherwise left western Ukraine for western Europe, the DP camps and eventually emigrated to the U.S., Canada and Quebec. Those who left were the most able to leave: the healthy, young, unsettled, able, and particularly the small middle-class intelligentsia, the members of which anticipated post-war Soviet occupation.⁴⁵⁴

From 1921 to 1939 the territories of the Ukraine were divided. Eastern Ukraine was part of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, and western Ukraine (Galicia) was part of Poland. In 1939, after the Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact, Hitler and Stalin's armies invaded Poland. Hitler's armies marched into western Poland and Stalin's Red Army occupied eastern Poland, which included Galicia. The Ukrainian population of Galicia fell under Soviet occupation from 1939 to 1941 when Hitler suddenly attacked the Soviet Union. In 1941, Hitler opened the Russo-German war by invading the Ukraine, and all of Ukraine fell under German occupation. As a result of Galicia's experience at the hands of the Soviets from 1939 to 1941, the invading German armies were first welcomed as liberators. This attitude soon changed under the German occupation between 1941 and 1943. During the occupation thousands of Ukrainians were arrested, taken for forced labour in Germany, or shot or otherwise exterminated in death camps. Only after the battle of Stalingrad in 1943 did the Germans begin their slow and stubborn retreat.

⁴⁵⁴Konstantyn Kelebay, interview by author, April 1983. According to Konstantyn Kelebay, most people considered to be "bourgeois nationalists" who were not liquidated or incarcerated during the Soviet occupation of Galicia from 1939 to 1941 left Galicia, if they could, or joined the underground nationalist forces, when they heard the Red Army was returning in 1943.

Ukraine was one of the few areas occupied by the two totalitarianisms of the twentieth century. Ukrainian society received an effective and instant political education. With the impending return of the Red Army into western Ukraine in 1944, that fragment of Galician society left who were able to leave, those same people having the most to fear from the impending Soviet reoccupation of Galicia, i.e., the youth, intelligentsia and nationalists.

With the anticipated reoccupation of Galicia by the Red Army, hundreds of thousands of Ukrainians, particularly the educated middle-class nationalist intelligentsia, followed the retreating German armies into Germany rather than live under Soviet rule again. At the end of the war these refugees found themselves in various displaced persons' (DP) camps in Germany. The historian Yaroslav Bilinsky wrote:

Paradoxically, for all the horrendous impact of the war, Ukrainian nationalism -- that complex amalgam of the people's aspirations which, in due course, crystallizes into a desire for national independence -- was stronger in 1945 than it had been at the end of a similar catastrophe in 1917-18, possibly stronger than it had been ever before in modern Ukrainian history.⁴⁵⁵

With the end of the war, the Soviets accomplished what the Ukrainians had not been able to accomplish for centuries. The Soviet armies unified all Ukrainian territories, and all of Ukraine became part of the U.S.S.R. as a constituent republic.

Stalin then invited all Soviet citizens to return from Germany and the displaced persons' camps.⁴⁵⁶ Western Ukrainians resisted and said they were Polish citizens and not

⁴⁵⁵Yaroslav Bilinsky, *The Second Soviet Republic: The Ukraine After World War II* (New Jersey: Rutgers University Press, 1964), 1.

⁴⁵⁶Tolstoy, 25-31.

subject to repatriation. The Allied powers agreed, and these western Ukrainians for the most part escaped Stalin's net and left for the United States, Australia and Canada. But well over two million people were handed over to Stalin in the years 1944-47 by the Western Allies. Among them were hundreds of thousands of eastern Ukrainians.⁴⁵⁷

By 1945, Ukrainian nationalist refugees in the DP camps of Western Europe had many things on their minds about the future -- among them being the perceived need to settle accounts accrued during the occupation and the war.

Something happened during the war which affected their mentality and divided the nationalists. This event was going to profoundly affect every Ukrainian community these refugees entered, including the Ukrainian community in Quebec. What happened was the 1941 rift in the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN), which split the OUN and its followers and sympathizers into two hostile camps.

Rift in the OUN

During the war, when Ukrainian-Canadian Communists and socialists accused the Ukrainian Canadian Committee of being "...fascist, Hitler agents and fifth columnists" in 1941, their accusation did not stand up.⁴⁵⁸ The Ukrainian-Canadian community's

⁴⁵⁷See Tolstoy, 25; and K. Kelebay interview, April 1983.

⁴⁵⁸*Constitution of the Ukramian Association to Aid the Fatherland* (Toronto: Ukrainian Association to Aid the Fatherland, 1943) [In Ukrainian]

contribution to the war effort was obvious and suspicions about the UCC quickly evaporated. The UCC navigated the Ukrainian-Canadian community through the war with a policy of unambiguous loyalty to Canada, support for the war effort and solidarity with the Allied cause. Any original distrust of the UCC in Canada soon evaporated.

This was not the case with respect to one of the five constituent members of the UCC, the Ukrainian National Federation (UNF). For example, in 1941 RCMP Special Sergeant M. Petrowsky urged a policy of "...cautious watchfulness" toward the UNF.⁴⁵⁹ In August 1944 an American Office of Strategic Services (OSS) memorandum said that the UNF "...looked to Hitler" and "...preached a Ukrainian nationalism strongly tinged with totalitarian concepts."⁴⁶⁰

In November 1944, N. A. Robertson, the Under-Secretary of State for External Affairs, alluded to Ukrainian collaborationists in Western Europe, North Africa and the Middle East who "...allegedly assisted Germans."⁴⁶¹ In 1947, the Communist Association of Ukrainian Canadians protested against the immigration of Ukrainian professionals to Canada, because this "...serves as a mask to cover the bringing over to Canada of the pro-Nazi remnants in Europe."⁴⁶² Here they were on to something complicated which reached into the history and internal politics of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists in Galicia and its sympathizers and supporters abroad.

⁴⁵⁹Kordan and Luciuk, 90.

⁴⁶⁰*Ibid.*, 118

⁴⁶¹*Ibid.*, 132

⁴⁶²*Ibid.*, 150

To explain what might have been behind this concern we must superimpose some political history on the sociological profile of Galicia provided above.⁴⁶³

In 1920 in Galicia, the Ukrainian Military Organization (UMO) was founded as a mass nationalist organization with Evhen Konovalets as its leader. After the League of Nations gave Poland a mandate over Galicia in 1923, the UMO resisted the Polish occupation. By 1929, the UMO was transformed into the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN), a mass-based nationalist organization, the aim of which was the creation of a separate and independent, sovereign Ukrainian state. Again Evhen Konovalets was elected leader of the OUN. However, due to the Polish policy of pacification and its hostility toward Ukrainian aspirations, the leadership of the OUN was forced into exile, directing the movement from its base in Western Europe. The rank and file, an increasing number of young student supporters, were at home in western Ukraine and in Soviet Ukraine. For example, Evhen Konovalets, the OUN's leader, was in Geneva, the seat of the League of Nations, while other members of the leadership were in Prague, Vienna, Rome, Munich, Berlin, London and New York. Organized Ukrainian immigrant

⁴⁶³Petro Mirchuk, *Revolutionary Contest for a USIS [Ukrainian Sovereign Independent State]* (New York: Association of Ukrainian Political Prisoners, vol. 1, 1985; vol. 2, 1987). [In Ukrainian.] The split of the OUN into Melnykite and Banderite factions is akin to the split of the SD Party in Russia into Mensheviks and Bolsheviks in 1903. This split has for the most part been shrouded in secrecy and silence. Over the years there have been eruptions of polemical accusations and name-calling but no explanations. Examples are pamphlets by Bohdan Mykhayluk [Zynovy Knysh], *Bandera's Rebellion* (In Exile, 1950) [In Ukrainian], and Zynovy Knysh, *Debrothering* (Toronto: Silver Horn Publishers, 1960) [In Ukrainian]. The only history of the OUN is Petro Mirchuk's *The History of the OUN 1920-1939*, vol. 1 (Munich: Cicero Publishers, 1968) [In Ukrainian], which ends at 1939 and therefore does not deal with the split. This part is based on the only coherent and systematic treatment of the split by a witness to and participant in these events, and a regional member of the OUN executive in the Striy region of Galicia, Petro Mirchuk.

communities around the world, particularly in North America, supported the nationalist movement in Galicia. This was particularly the case with the Ukrainian National Federation (UNF) in the U.S. and Canada, including Quebec. The UNF was a nationalist federation and a supporter of the OUN.

The OUN directed its first efforts against Poland, but after the collectivization and famine of 1932-33 in eastern Ukraine, when Stalin's policies caused the starvation of an estimated 10- to 15 million Ukrainians, the OUN increasingly turned its attention to the U.S.S.R.⁴⁶⁴ Then the OUN went underground, becoming a secret organization.

On May 23, 1938, Evhen Konovalts was assassinated in Rotterdam by a Soviet agent.⁴⁶⁵ The OUN, with its leadership abroad, and the rank and file at home, was shocked and faced with a crisis.

As the succession to Konovalts was being deliberated (on the eve of the Sudetenland crisis in Europe) and ten weeks after the assassination, Yaroslav Baranovsky, the Executive Secretary of the Leadership of Ukrainian Nationalists (LUN) announced that Konovalts gave him an "oral last testament" designating Andriy Melnyk as his successor.⁴⁶⁶ The members of the leadership were surprised at first, but they then acceded. At home, the rank and file were totally dismayed.

Informed of this development, Andriy Melnyk left Galicia for Germany and on October 11, 1938, before a select committee of the LUN comprised of Baranovsky, Senyk

⁴⁶⁴Robert Conquest, *The Harvest of Sorrow: Soviet Collectivization and the Terror-Famine* (Edmonton: The University of Alberta Press, 1986), 299-307.

⁴⁶⁵Michuk 1985, 67-82.

⁴⁶⁶*Ibid.*, 79.

and Yary, he took the oath of office.⁴⁶⁷ The rank and file members of the OUN in Galicia were scandalized.

The "oral last testament" hung under a cloud of suspicion. Why the ten-week delay before announcing it? Why Andriy Melnyk? After all, he was neither a member of the LUN or even a formal member of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists. He was a World War I veteran, the administrator of Metropolitan Sheptytsky's estates, and active in the Catholic movement in Galicia. The only connection he had with the OUN and Evhen Konovalets was that their wives were sisters.⁴⁶⁸ The territorial executive of the OUN in western Ukraine sent Baranovsky a formal protest against Melnyk's selection.

On the surface, this seemed like a technical or formal problem. However, under the surface lay a profound disagreement; two different conceptions about OUN policy and the future of its efforts.⁴⁶⁹

After the Treaty of Versailles was signed in 1919, Ukrainians' attentions turned to Germany as a country which had also been victimized by the treaty, and which therefore also stood against the new political arrangement in Europe. This was logical. Germany's revisionist demands were directed against Poland. The threat of a Communist Russia with undisguised plans for turning Germany into a Communist state also steered Germany into conflict with the U.S.S.R., in other words against the two powers occupying Ukrainian territory. Germany was not seen as a threat to Galicia because Poland and

⁴⁶⁷*Ibid.*, 79.

⁴⁶⁸*Ibid.*, 80.

⁴⁶⁹*Ibid.*, 83-88, *passim*

Czechoslovakia stood as buffers between them. Also, agricultural Ukraine and industrial Germany seemed complementary to each other. Ukraine's orientation was logical and justified -- that is, until Hitler and the National Socialist (Nazi) Party came into power.

Hitler's plans, although hidden, immediately aroused suspicion and doubts about the Ukrainian pro-German stance. Germany now wanted more than the return of territory given up in the Treaty of Versailles. There was talk of "living space" and "a march to the east." This disturbed Ukrainians and caused many to re-examine their pro-German position.⁴⁷⁰

Those familiar with Germany knew that as a result of Hitler's rise to power, a conflict existed between the Nazi Party and the army, or at least the military command. The German military stood by the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk, signed by Germany and Ukraine in 1918, which guaranteed the existence of an independent Ukrainian state.⁴⁷¹ The OUN in Ukraine declared its position clearly in 1936, at the trial of the territorial leader Stepan Bandera. Bandera declared that in case of war the OUN would not become attached to anyone's wagon. It would be guided exclusively by Ukrainian interests and would not bend to the will of any foreign power. In other words, co-operation with the German military on the basis of Brest-Litovsk and *not* [italics added] unless he publicly endorsed the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk guaranteeing an independent Ukrainian state.⁴⁷² Evhen Konovalets, then leader of the OUN, and Riko Yary, the territorial leader in

⁴⁷⁰*Ibid.*, 84.

⁴⁷¹*Ibid.*

⁴⁷²*Ibid.*, 85-86.

Germany, both endorsed Bandera's view. But Yaroslav Baranovsky, the Executive Secretary of the LUN, took a different view.⁴⁷³

First, Baranovsky established close contact with the Gestapo, the Nazi Party and the Hitler government. Baranovsky thought Germany would liquidate Poland and the U.S.S.R. and would decide the fate of Europe. All opposition would be crushed. Therefore, [he believed] Ukrainians must submit to Hitler's will and through sincere co-operation with Hitler's Germany earn the right to establish an independent Ukrainian state. In short, Baranovsky said "...we must earn a Ukraine from Hitler."⁴⁷⁴

While Konovalets was alive he resisted this line. One of the major reasons he stationed himself in Geneva was so as not to be in Berlin (where he was urged to go) for symbolic reasons. Upon being deported from Geneva in 1937, he moved to Rome. But Baranovsky's line appealed to the majority of the older leadership of Ukrainian nationalists living abroad. With the assassination of Konovalets and with Melnyk as leader, the situation changed.

Mirchuk said that Melnyk was an honest man, a good Catholic and a sincere patriot, but politically naïve. He did not read people well, particularly his advisors, and was not a particularly clear thinker. He was rather withdrawn and impressionable. He relied on Baranovsky and became dependent on him. Melnyk also felt indebted to Baranovsky for his role in making him leader of the OUN.⁴⁷⁵ Hence, Melnyk accepted

⁴⁷³*Ibid.*, 86.

⁴⁷⁴*Ibid.*, 87.

⁴⁷⁵*Ibid.*, 87-88

Baranovsky's pro-Nazi line, and in consequence the conflict between the older leadership and the OUN living abroad (the generation which came to maturity before or during World War I) and the younger rank and file in Galicia, which came to maturity in the 1920s and '30s was begun. A confrontation between a capitulationist pro-German line and an independent revolutionary line was brewing. Melnyk, in the meantime, stationed himself in Berlin in order to be in contact with the German government.⁴⁷⁶

The conflict first came into the open during the Czechoslovakian crisis of 1938.⁴⁷⁷ After Hitler moved into the Sudetenland, Czechoslovakia was dismembered: Slovakia declared independence; Carpatho-Ukraine declared its autonomy. The OUN cadres poured into Carpatho-Ukraine, creating military formations, looking for political direction and leadership. Instead, as Executive Secretary of the LUN, Baranovsky issued an order forbidding OUN members to enter Carpatho-Ukraine in Czechoslovakia and directing those OUN members already in Czechoslovakia to evacuate. The rank and file members were incredulous.

On November 2, 1938, Hitler pronounced that Carpatho-Ukraine would be annexed to Hungary. In response, Baranovsky argued that the Ukrainian cause was dependent on Hitler. Ukrainians could not oppose Hitler's plans [and that] Ukrainians should loyally co-operate with the German government in order to deserve an independent Ukraine from Hitler. The *Fuehrer* had promised Carpatho-Ukraine to Hungary, and therefore "...we must sacrifice Carpatho-Ukraine." On March 14, 1939, Czechoslovakia accepted Hitler's

⁴⁷⁶*Ibid.*, 88

⁴⁷⁷*Ibid.*, 89-97.

ultimatum and became a German protectorate. On March 15, 1939, Carpatho-Ukraine declared its independence. The Hungarian Army crossed the frontier of Carpatho-Ukraine and OUN formations battled against them for several weeks. Thousands of OUN members and their supporters fought in defiance of Baranovsky's instructions, and hundreds died.⁴⁷⁸

Since the flag which Carpatho Ukraine raised was the traditional blue (top) and yellow (bottom) banner, Baranovsky issued an order that forthwith the flag of the LUN would be yellow (top) and blue (bottom). The rift in the OUN widened; the feelings deepened and the differences sharpened.⁴⁷⁹

On May 22, 1939, Andriy Melnyk resigned from the leadership of the OUN effective June 1, 1939 and called for a Grand Assembly to be convened in Rome. However, as the Executive Secretary and contact with Galicia, Baranovsky diverted the Galician representatives to Vienna where they were kept waiting until the Rome Assembly ended. The representatives at the Assembly -- twenty-three members from abroad and no members from Galicia -- confirmed Andriy Melnyk as leader of the OUN by election.⁴⁸⁰ The leadership of Galicia protested the election and questioned the validity of the Rome Assembly. Three days later, World War II broke out with the partition of Poland by Hitler and Stalin. The LUN's policy was to "earn" an independent Ukrainian state from Hitler while the Galician rank and file wanted a revolutionary war policy. With the outbreak of war, however, this policy difference was temporarily abandoned if not forgotten.

⁴⁷⁸*Ibid.*, 94

⁴⁷⁹*Ibid.*, 98-99.

⁴⁸⁰*Ibid.*, 106

With the fall of Poland in September 1939, Polish prisons and concentration camps were opened. Hundreds of Ukrainian political prisoners were released, among them Stepan Bandera, who had been serving a life sentence for anti-Polish terrorism since 1936. Western Poland fell under German occupation and eastern Poland (including Galicia) fell to the Soviets. During the invasion of Poland the Germans used a Ukrainian military formation of six hundred men named the *Sushko* Legion as a German police unit. During the German occupation, the *Sushko* Legion came across a police archive in Sambor which indicated that Yaroslav Baranovsky, still Executive Secretary of the LUN, was a paid informer for the Polish police.⁴⁸¹

For a while there had been suspicions about Baranovsky: about his role in the Konovalets assassination; about the "oral testament"; about Melnyk's succession to Konovalets; about his contacts with the Gestapo, his pro-Nazi policy, his influence over Melnyk, his directives during the conflict in Carpatho-Ukraine, his possible role in the disappearance of the Galician territorial leader Myroslav Turash when he crossed the Polish border in February 1939, and his manoeuver to keep the Galician OUN representatives from attending the Rome Assembly. Now, the police archive showed that he was a police informer.

When the Soviet Army moved into Galicia, Baranovsky issued an order to the OUN to self-liquidate. The OUN underground refused.⁴⁸²

⁴⁸¹*Ibid.*, 109.

⁴⁸²*Ibid.*, 110.

When the brief German-Polish war ended in 1939, OUN leaders in Galicia called for a conference on the divisive situation. Melnyk had freedom of movement and access to Rome, Berlin and Cracow, but he took no initiative, showed no leadership and simply isolated himself. He was against convening an OUN conference.

The Galicians demanded a meeting with Melnyk. At the meeting, their representative Stepan Bandera was received formally, coolly and distantly. Melnyk was unreceptive to any of his concerns. A second meeting with Melnyk and M. Tymchiiy, the territorial leader of western Ukraine, and Stepan Bandera took place in January, 1940, in Rome. There they presented their proposals for an independent policy and a clean-up at the top. They proposed a policy of "...totally independent action" and "...no reliance on any foreign power."⁴⁸³ Melnyk and the LUN should move to some neutral country like Switzerland to safeguard their independence and create two subsidiary centres on both sides of the western front, one in Germany and one in Canada or the U.S. They also demanded that Yaroslav Baranovsky be removed from the LUN.⁴⁸⁴

Melnyk rejected these proposals, saying it was unnecessary for the LUN to move to Switzerland, unnecessary to create two subordinate centres of the LUN on both sides of the front, that he had no intention of removing Baranovsky from the LUN, and that

⁴⁸³*Ibid.*, 115.

⁴⁸⁴*Ibid.*, 115-117.

".Germany will be treated as our ally."⁴⁸⁵ In that case, Tymchiiy and Bandera declared, the OUN would go its own way⁴⁸⁶ The meeting was adjourned.

When Tymchiiy and Bandera returned to Galicia their meeting with Melnyk was discussed for three weeks among the leadership of the western Ukrainian OUN. The outcome was their achieving a consensus that the old LUN, as headed by Melnyk was ideologically and politically foreign to the OUN and in the long run would lead it "into the abyss of collaboration with Hitlerite Germany," which would "lead to immeasurable harm for both the OUN and the liberation struggle of the Ukrainian nation."⁴⁸⁷

These deliberations led to a meeting on February 10, 1940, at which the Act of February 10, 1940 was unanimously proclaimed and adopted. This seven-point declaration announced that since the LUN failed to fulfill its responsibilities to Ukrainians, did not meet the demands of the Ukrainian Revolution, and was unwilling to put its house in order, the OUN "...gives Stepan Bandera and those he appoints the leadership of the OUN."⁴⁸⁸

Bandera immediately formed a ten-member Executive. Melnyk did not recognize the Act of February 10, 1940, and the old LUN split. Yaroslav Stetsko and Ivan Gabrusevych joined the new leadership while Messrs. Baranovsky, Senyk, Sushko, Stsiborsky, Andrievsky, Onatsky, Kapustansky, Kurmanovych and Chuchman declared their loyalty

⁴⁸⁵*Ibid.*, 117.

⁴⁸⁶*Ibid.*

⁴⁸⁷*Ibid.*, 118.

⁴⁸⁸*Ibid.*, 118-119.

to Melnyk. Riko Yary, the territorial leader in Germany, remained neutral for a short time and then joined the new OUN Executive under Stepan Bandera. Olzhych remained undecided until his death in 1941.⁴⁸⁹

The old LUN and their loyalists soon became known as the OUN (Solidarists) or OUNs. They were also called *Melnykivtsy* (Melnykites) or OUNm. The new leadership and their followers became known as OUN (Revolutionaries) or OUNr, and also *Banderivtsy* (Banderites) or OUNb. In sum, the OUN was split into two factions representing two opposed policies and strategies for establishing an independent Ukrainian state.

When the split was made public it forced every member of the OUN and every Ukrainian nationalist to make a choice. Of the eight thousand or so members of the OUN then in the German occupied territory of Poland, over seven thousand declared for Stepan Bandera, while fifty declared for Melnyk. The rest remained undecided. In western Ukraine, occupied by the Soviets, all members of the OUN in the tens of thousands declared for Stepan Bandera.⁴⁹⁰

In the historiography of the OUNb, this is called the purge of the OUN, and in the historiography of the OUNm it is called the split of the OUN. Mirchuk said if this was a split then the split of twenty thousand or so from fifty was like "the split of an oak tree from a dry branch."⁴⁹¹

⁴⁸⁹*Ibid.*, 120.

⁴⁹⁰*Ibid.*

⁴⁹¹*Ibid.*, 121.

In June and August of 1940, attempts to reconcile the two groups were made. A bipartisan Internal Organizational Committee was established and an agreement was reached to end the conflict. But on August 13, 1940, when Zynovy Knysh of the OUNm and the Gestapo raided the OUNb headquarters in Cracow, the agreement to resolve the conflict was cancelled.⁴⁹²

The Second Grand Assembly of the OUN held in Cracow in April 1941 ratified the rift and confirmed Stepan Bandera as leader of the OUN. The conflict then became fixed and unretractable, and when the two camps took their separate paths through the remainder of World War II the conflict was aggravated and intensified with all the attendant recriminations during their sojourn through the DP camps of Western Europe and their emigration from there to South America, Australia, the U.S., Canada and Quebec.

When Hitler opened the Russo-German war in the summer of 1941, the OUNb in Galicia declared an independent Ukrainian state on June 30. This short-lived state was crushed by the invading German Army in July 1941, its leaders arrested and put into German concentration camps.⁴⁹³ The OUNm did not support or acknowledge the Independence Act of June 30, 1941.

The OUNb then organized three military formations named the Ukrainian Partisan Army (OUN-UPA) and proclaimed a policy of war on two fronts against Nazi Germany

⁴⁹²*Ibid.*, 142.

⁴⁹³Petro Mirchuk, *In the German Mills of Death* (New York: Vantage Press, 1976).

and Communist Russia and fought until 1952. The OUNm membership largely did not join or support this independent war effort.

The conflict between the OUNm and the OUNb was ideological, generational and territorial. Ideologically the OUNm was inclined to be pro-German, while the OUNb was independentist. The older, more mature and pragmatic generation came to maturity before and during World War I and tended to side with the Melnykites. In the view of its members, it was madness for Ukraine to stand alone against both Hitler and Stalin. The younger, more idealistic generation came to political maturity in the 1920s and '30s and it flocked to the Banderites. The conflict also represented a territorial split. Most of the Ukrainian nationalists living abroad in Western Europe, the U.S., Canada and Quebec supported the traditional leadership and the more pragmatic OUNm.⁴⁹⁴ They had not experienced Polish, German and Russian occupation first-hand. The Ukrainians in western Ukraine had, and they wanted to be rid of it.

Another reason for the difference in outlook and mentality between the two groups was their political education. While the Leadership of Ukrainian Nationalists (LUN) lived beyond the frontiers of the Ukraine, the rank and file members and sympathizers increasingly fell under the intellectual influence of Dmytro Dontsov, who emerged as Galicia's pre-eminent political and ideological thinker during the inter-war period.

After World War I the Ukrainians found themselves in a tragic situation. The independent Ukrainian National republic fell and eastern Ukraine was occupied by Bolshevik Russia while western Ukraine was annexed to Poland. In response to this

⁴⁹⁴Bohdan Panchuk, interview by author, May 1982.

situation the Ukrainian nation attempted to find itself. As the publisher and editor of the journal *Vistnyk* (Herald) from 1921 to 1939, Dmytro Dontsov played the central role in this Ukrainian self-examination.⁴⁹⁵ Other Ukrainian intellectuals also participated in this debate; eastern Ukrainians in Soviet Ukraine, western Ukrainians in Poland, and expatriate Ukrainian intellectuals in Prague, Berlin, Paris, Canada and the United States. But none was as decisive as Dontsov and a group of writers who gathered around him and agreed with his theory of integral nationalism.⁴⁹⁶

The genesis of integral nationalism lay in the failure of 1917-20 because integral nationalists attempted to explain why Ukrainian statehood had been lost and how the Ukrainian people were to regain it. Ukrainian integral nationalism rested on several key concepts whose main goal was to rouse the Ukrainian people to action. Dontsov considered it necessary to remake what he called the passive Ukrainian into an activist on the Western European model.

Over the course of his life Dontsov's writing appeared in over fifty-five newspapers and journals. He wrote more than forty books and pamphlets, and thousands of essays, articles and reviews.⁴⁹⁷

⁴⁹⁵Roman Olynyk-Rakhmanny, "Dmytro Dontsov and Yuriy Klen," in *Jubilee Collection of the Ukrainian Free Academy of Sciences in Canada* (Winnipeg: Ukrainian Free Academy of Sciences in Canada, 1976), 115-138. [In Ukrainian.]

⁴⁹⁶*Ibid.*, 115.

⁴⁹⁷See R. Shtepa, *A Bibliography of Dmytro Dontsov's Works* (Windsor: n.p. 1958); and Anathole Bedriy, "The Undiminished Heritage of a Writer-Warrior," *Homin Ukrainy*, October 19, 1974, 1. [In Ukrainian.] There is no updated published bibliography of Dontsov's complete works. Shtepa's bibliography is by his own admission incomplete even for 1958. It does not contain any of Dontsov's work between 1958 and 1973. Anathole Bedriy, a Dontsov scholar, says that a complete bibliography of Dontsov's works would

He was the most influential Ukrainian political thinker and the principal ideologue of Ukrainian nationalism during the inter-war period. One Ukrainian scholar called him the "Niccolo Machiavelli" of Ukrainian political thought.⁴⁹⁸

Dontsov's biographer divided his career into four periods.⁴⁹⁹ The first was before 1914 when he was involved in the Ukrainian Social Democratic Workers' Party and was a Marxist; the second was between 1914 and 1918 when Dontsov served the *Hetman* Skoropadsky's government; the third was when he served as editor of the journal *Vistnyk* (Herald) between 1921 and 1939; and the fourth was after 1939, during the last period of his life when he was an exile in Montreal.

After Dontsov turned against social democracy and the revolutionary agenda, his nationalism became crystallized during the *Vistnyk* period between 1922 and 1929. It was then that his thought acquired those features which had the most impact on the Ukrainian political world, the new generation in Galicia, the formation of inter-war Ukrainian nationalism and the ideology of the OUN after it was founded in 1929.⁵⁰⁰ His two most influential books were *Basis of Our Politics* (1921) and *Nationalism* (1926).

Basis of Our Politics was written in the aftermath of a catastrophe for the Ukrainian people, when Dontsov lost faith in traditional politics. He was also disillusioned with the Western democracies which had ignored Ukrainian requests for help and were

show "several thousand" essays, articles and reviews.

⁴⁹⁸Anathole Bedriy, letter to the author, June 18, 1982.

⁴⁹⁹Michael Sosnowsky, *Dmytro Donzow (Dontsov): A Political Portrait* (New York: Trident International, 1974). [In Ukrainian.]

⁵⁰⁰Anathole Bedriy, interview by author, November 12-13, 1983.

themselves mired in crisis. Dontsov believed that Ukrainians had nothing to gain from the status quo and had to use radical means to change it.⁵⁰¹

Therefore, Dontsov addressed the fundamental issues of his time.⁵⁰² Considering the Russian Revolution, he said mankind was confronted with an unprecedented conflict. This conflict was not between social classes, [he wrote] but civilizations [or] two religious-cultural ideals. It was a war between two metaphysical worlds: Russia against Europe, the Orient and the Occident, or East versus West.

In his opinion this conflict was irreconcilable because natural Russian chaos led to absolutism, whereas the natural European sense of civil order made democracy possible. He wrote that the Russian Revolution of 1917 was not a discontinuity with Russia's past but a continuation.... Moscow, once the imperialistic Third Rome, now became the centre of the expansionist Third Internationale.

Ukraine had a unique and special relationship with this conflict because it was the first step on Russia's road (i.e., access route) to Europe, the Mediterranean, the Middle East and Africa.

Essentially it was Dontsov's view of the Russian Revolution which gained him the reputation of being a man of the political right. Whereas many intellectuals saw the Russian Revolution as a phenomenon that was rational, modern, new, progressive and enlightened, Dontsov viewed it as nothing new, but rather a regressive, irrational and

⁵⁰¹Subtelny, 442-443.

⁵⁰²Sosnowsky, 203-230, *passim*

unenlightened historical/political event. He saw Bolshevik Russia as the messenger of a deep metaphysical darkness.

Nationalism, published in 1926, became controversial as soon as it appeared.⁵⁰³ Social-Democrats considered it an imported example of Ukrainian fascism. Conservatives accused Dontsov of plagiarizing from the conservative political thinker Vyachyslav Lypynsky. Even some nationalists considered it too voluntaristic and lacking in Ukrainian content.

Dontsov argued that the nation was absolute and there was no higher aim than independent statehood. Politics was a Darwinian struggle of nations for survival, and conflict was part of the game. The end often justified the means, willpower was prior to reason, and action was preferable to intellectualization and empty talk. Dontsov romanticized Ukrainian history, and emphasized the cult of struggle, the work ethic, sacrifice and national heroes. He urged proponents of nationalism to be wilfull individuals who were not to be kept from their goals. But he also espoused the collectivity and placed the nation above the individual. The nation had to function as an integrated whole, not as disparate parties, classes or regional groups.

He also stressed the comprehensiveness of nationalism and emphasized *sobornist* (national unity), which rejected regionalism and provincialism. Integral nationalists were urged to impose (*s'imposer*) their way on all aspects of Ukrainian national life and into all its recesses. This imposition would be justified if based on the Ukrainians' own gospel, not foreign ideas or the minimalist political demands of the 1920s. He reminded the

⁵⁰³*Ibid.*, 231-298.

Ukrainian intelligentsia that the Ukrainian gospel always venerated the family, community, private property, hierarchy, work and productivity, free enterprise, the separation of church and state, occidentalism in culture and institutions, and an independent peasantry and/or village.

Because Dontsov's nationalism was a strategy for gaining independent statehood, it was somewhat vague about the type of state and society he wished to have once independence was achieved. He said little about socio-economic organization except that it would be agrarian and based on co-operation between the state, co-operatives and private enterprise. But the political independence movement should be based on the hegemony of one nationalist party and its leadership. At the pinnacle of the movement and the future state would be a leader whose authority would be elaborate.⁵⁰⁴

Dontsov elaborated these ideas in his later life in articles, essays and reviews, and further books such as *The Intoxicant of Socialism* (1936), *The Spirit of Our Past* (1944), and then from exile in Quebec came *From Mysticism to Politics* (1957) and *The Invisible Tablets of Taras Shevchenko* (1961).

Dontsov was the premier political journalist of inter-war Galicia and Ukraine whose influence was widespread. He was widely read, discussed and respected by the whole Ukrainian intelligentsia. He gave Ukrainian nationalism its content in the 1920s, '30s and '40s. His writings instigated the creation of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN) in 1929 and the OUN included his thinking in its manifesto,

⁵⁰⁴Subtelny, 442-443.

programme and policy.⁵⁰⁵ His nationalism became the party ideology of the OUN, and this organization was the largest, best organized and most popular movement in inter-war Galicia. It translated and disseminated Dontsov's works to both the intelligentsia and the masses. The majority among the Ukrainian nation may not have read Dontsov, but most of the political nation did. Nor did the whole political nation always agree with Dontsov. Some Social-Democrats, liberals and conservatives did not. Neither did the Melnykite faction among the nationalists who followed the path of reasonable least resistance, if not collaboration, with Hitler during the war. But the Banderite majority adopted Dontsov (although he was never formally a member of the OUN) as its official ideologue and they acted on his ideology when, after June 1941, they declared war on two fronts: against German fascism and Russian communism.⁵⁰⁶ It was this part of Galician society which was pushed by pressures at home and pulled by emigration into refuge in the free world, including Quebec.

During the war both the Canadian RCMP and the American OSS monitored Ukrainians in Canada, particularly the UNF, because of its connection to the OUN in Europe and its so-called totalitarian and fascist ideology. The ULFTA also opposed the settlement of post-war Ukrainian refugees in Canada and Quebec because of agents of fascism among them. Even the Ukrainian America Committee was reluctant to help Dontsov emigrate to the U.S. due to his so-called fascist past.⁵⁰⁷ Eventually Dontsov was

⁵⁰⁵Anathole Bedriy, interview by author, September 29, 1979.

⁵⁰⁶Anathole Bedriy, *OUN and UPA* (New York: Ukrainian Central Information Service, 1983). [In Ukrainian.]

⁵⁰⁷Sosnowsky, 195.

admitted to Canada as part of the third fragment of nationalist refugees who settled in Quebec.

At the end of the war, Ukrainian nationalists of both camps fled, sought refuge from a Soviet Ukraine and found themselves in exile in the DP camps of Europe and eventually in the Ukrainian immigrant communities in the free world.

In Quebec the Ukrainian National Federation stayed loyal to Melnyk. Post-war refugees who sympathized with the OUNm joined the UNF, but a much larger, younger, more energetic group of nationalist refugees and exiles loyal to Bandera refused to join the UNF and created its own organizations and institutions.

The character and composition of the organized Ukrainian community in Quebec was affected and changed. The existing divisions in the community remained and were added to, and the balance between them changed.

The division between old Canadian pioneers and new inter-war émigré-patriots was joined by a third fragment of young nationalist refugees tilting the balance in favour of the more recent arrivals. The division between the left and right remained but after 1952 the numbers and influence of the right were substantially enhanced. The division between Catholic and Orthodox remained, but since the majority of the post-World-War-II refugees to Quebec were Galician Catholics the number of Catholics was increased. As well, a new division was imported—the division of nationalists into Melnykites and Banderites. The inter-war patriot-émigrés who were with the UNF and loyal to Melnyk were strengthened by post-war nationalist refugees who also stayed loyal to him. But by far the greatest

number of post-war refugee nationalists were the Banderites.⁵⁰⁸ Part of the intellectual baggage of both nationalist factions was their disagreement, hostility and fierce recriminations endemic to expatriot communities. The conflict between Melnykites and Banderites gained ascendancy and became the dominant division in the Ukrainian community in Quebec after 1952. The so-called "gas war" between the OUNm and the OUNb was exported from Europe and brought into exile.⁵⁰⁹

New Institutions

In 1947 Quebec had only two Ukrainian churches, St. Michael's Catholic Church in the Frontenac area and St. Sophie's Orthodox Church on Delormier Street, both in Montreal. St. John of Sochawa Bukovynian Orthodox Church in Lachine left the Ukrainian community when it joined the Russian Orthodox Church. Semi-organized Ukrainian Catholic and Orthodox missions in Pointe St. Charles, Ville Emard and Lachine were served by priests from St. Michael's and St. Sophie's churches.

With the arrival of Ukrainian post-war refugees to Quebec the number of parishes was increased, elaborated and strengthened. The refugees joined the existing Catholic and Orthodox churches and made possible the establishment of new ones. Quebec witnessed an increase in church building after 1948, and a growth of the Ukrainian parish system.

⁵⁰⁸Mykola Andruchiw, interview by author, June 1990

⁵⁰⁹Mirchuk, 143

The arrival of Ukrainian refugees made possible the construction of Holy Ghost Catholic Church in Pointe St. Charles in 1948. In 1951, the Orthodox community in Lachine built St. George's Church on St. Antoine Boulevard. In 1954, an unfinished St. Michael's Catholic Church on Iberville Street received a new superstructure.⁵¹⁰

Beyond Montreal, in Val d'Or, the Catholic Church of the Holy Protectress was finished in 1955. In the same year, the Catholic Church of Christ the Redeemer on Cardinal Mercier Street in Rouyn-Noranda was completed. These two Catholic parishes served Ukrainians in the Peron-Malartic, Lac Castagnier, Amos, Duparquet, Senneville and Cadillac regions.⁵¹¹

In 1956, two more Ukrainian Catholic churches were completed: St. Josaphat's Chapel on Denonville Street in Ville Emard, and St. Basil's Church on Provost Street in Lachine.⁵¹²

The following year, the largest Ukrainian Catholic church in Quebec, the Church of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary on Bellechase Boulevard in Rosemount (Montreal) was constructed.⁵¹³ Three years later, in 1960, St. John the Baptist Catholic

⁵¹⁰I. Telenko, "About the Past and Present at Holy Ghost Parish," in *Souvenir Booklet of the Dedication of Holy Ghost Church* (Montreal: privately published, June 27, 1948), 21-28. [In Ukrainian.]

⁵¹¹Kateryna Kraus, "The Origin and Beginnings of the Ukrainian Parish of the Protectress in Val d'Or, Quebec," and "The First Pastoral Visitation of Rouyn-Noranda," in *Toil of Pioneers*, 109-111. [In Ukrainian.]

⁵¹²"Ukrainian Catholic Parish of St. Josaphat," and "The Parish of St. Basil the Great," in *A Quarter of a Century*, 658-664; 671-682. [In Ukrainian.]

⁵¹³"Contribution to the History of the new Parish," in *Souvenir Booklet of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary, May 26, 1957* (Montreal: privately printed, 1957). [In Ukrainian.]

Church on Stuart Street and a hall in Montreal's Park Extension district was built though not completed, and St. Sophie's Orthodox parish moved from Delormier Street to its newly constructed cathedral on St. Michel Boulevard in the Rosemount area of Montreal.⁵¹⁴

In 1949, the Catholic parish of Ascension, for Slovaks and Ukrainians from Slovakia and Trans-Carpathian Ukraine, was established on St. Catherine Street in downtown Montreal. It was served by a Ukrainian-Catholic refugee priest, the Reverend Ivan Hawryluk, from 1949 to 1966, and under his leadership the parish was able to build a new church on Legendre and Clark streets.⁵¹⁵

After the construction of Ascension Church in 1960, a Slovak bishop was appointed for Eastern Canada and the majority of the parishioners joined his jurisdiction. A Slovak pastor was appointed, and it left the Ukrainian ecclesiastical network in Quebec. Approximately 40 per cent of the members of Ascension parish were post-war Ukrainian refugees from Trans-Carpathian Ukraine.⁵¹⁶

Finally, in 1962 the small community of Orthodox Ukrainian refugees from eastern Soviet Ukraine who slipped through the net of repatriation to the Soviet Union ended up in Montreal and completed the construction of Mary the Protectress Church on the corner

⁵¹⁴V. K. Dmytruk, "The Building of St. Sophie's Church in Montreal," in *Book of St. Sophie*, 314-318. [In Ukrainian.]

⁵¹⁵"Slovak Catholic Parish of the Ascension," in *A Quarter of a Century*, 729-731. [In Ukrainian.]

⁵¹⁶"Ukrainians in Other Religious Groups," in *Jubilee Book Commemorating the 75th Anniversary of Ukrainians in Canada* (Montreal: Ukrainian Canadian Committee, 1967), 55. [In Ukrainian.]

of Rosemount Boulevard and Louis Hemon Street in Montreal.⁵¹⁷ The Census of Canada showed there were 10,125 Catholic (Roman and Uniate) Ukrainians and 3,852 Orthodox Ukrainians in Quebec.⁵¹⁸

Ukrainian Quebeckers, similar to other religious groups, liked to be close to their churches. Whether the churches followed people or the people followed the churches, within a decade after the arrival of third-fragment refugees the Ukrainian community began leaving their first settlement enclaves in Montreal and began moving to second- and third areas of settlement in and around Montreal.

Before 1945, most Ukrainians in Montreal lived in the Frontenac Street area, Pointe St. Charles and in downtown Montreal along St. Lawrence Boulevard.⁵¹⁹ A small community of Ukrainians lived in Lachine, and a community of Ukrainian miners settled in the northern communities of Val d'Or and Rouyn-Noranda.

As can be seen from the location of the new churches built after 1947, Ukrainians began leaving the Frontenac area, Pointe St. Charles and downtown Montreal for Ville Emard and Lasalle in the southwestern section of the city, and even more particularly for Rosemount and, later, St. Leonard in northeast Montreal.⁵²⁰

A factor in the direction of this demographic movement was the several Ukrainian-Canadian post-war entrepreneurs who established home construction companies. Four

⁵¹⁷*10th Anniversary of Mary the Protectress Church, Montreal*: privately printed, 1962. [In Ukrainian.]

⁵¹⁸*Census of Canada, 1961* (Ottawa: Queen's Printer, 1961).

⁵¹⁹Kelebay 1975, 75.

⁵²⁰*Ibid.*, 76-79.

Ukrainian-owned construction companies played a role in this process. In 1960 the Dnipro Construction Company was formed. Dnipro purchased land in Lasalle and built over one hundred and fifty houses, 40 per cent of which were purchased by Ukrainians. Then the Bukovyna Construction Company also bought land in Lasalle, where it built one hundred and four houses, a significant percentage of which were sold to Ukrainians.⁵²¹ A construction company owned by a Mr. Chortkivsky sold houses to Ukrainians in Rosemount, and in 1963 the Zerkon (Zerebecky and Konareysky) Construction Company purchased land to build one hundred and twenty homes in St. Leonard. A quarter of the Zerkon homes were bought by Ukrainians.⁵²²

Further evidence of this demographic movement of Ukrainians into the Lachine-Lasalle and Rosemount-St. Leonard areas was the location of the churches. Between 1948 and 1961, of the eleven (or twelve counting the Ascension) churches built in Quebec, two were in Lachine, and three, including the largest Orthodox churches, were in Rosemount. The Ukrainians in southwest Montreal successfully lobbied the City of Lasalle to name a boulevard after Taras Shevchenko, and the City of Lachine to name a street in honour of Ivan Franko. In 1986, the Ukrainian community in Rosemount succeeded in getting a street and park facing St. Sophie's Cathedral in that district named "L'Ukraine."

Another development made possible by the arrival of post-war Ukrainian refugees was the co-operative credit union movement transplanted from Galicia. Between 1947 and

⁵²¹Rostyslav Zerebecky, interview by author, February 1975.

⁵²²*Ibid.*

1967 four Ukrainian credit unions were founded.⁵²³ The first, in fact, was founded by the émigré-patriots who came during the inter-war period. In 1944 the Ukrainian Montreal National Credit Union was established on Prince Arthur Street. With the new refugees and the concomitant increase in membership this credit union became too large for that location, and in 1956 it moved to new headquarters on Hutchison and Fairmount streets. After the split of nationalists into Melnykite and Banderite factions, the Melnykites stayed with this credit union. As a result, in 1952 the Ukrainian Savings and Credit Union was founded in Montreal as an alternate centre for those refugees who were followers of Bandera. It was founded in a small store on Napoleon and Hôtel-de-Ville streets in downtown Montreal, moved to 52 Bagg Street, then 3960 St. Lawrence Boulevard. From the St. Lawrence Boulevard location it opened up a branch on the corner of St. Michel and Beaubien streets in Rosemount. With the movement of Ukrainians into Rosemount, the Ukrainian Montreal National Credit Union located on Hutchison street followed suit. It opened a branch on St. Michel and Beaubien, just across the street from its Banderite rival. In other words, in Canadian hockey argot, the two factions faced-off against each other across St. Michel Boulevard.

Both credit unions, however, served the Catholic community. Therefore, Orthodox Ukrainians founded their own credit unions. In 1955 the Orthodox parishioners of St. Sophie's Church established the *Hetman Mazeppa* Credit Union on Delormier Street.⁵²⁴ When St. Sophie's Cathedral on St. Michel and Bellechase streets was completed in 1960,

⁵²³Mykola Andruchiw, interview by author, May 1986.

⁵²⁴"Outline of Ukrainian Community Organizations," in *Toil of Pioneers*, 310-311.

the parish and the *Hetman Mazeppa* Credit Union moved with it to Rosemount. A second credit union started by Ukrainian Orthodox refugees from eastern Ukraine was founded in 1963. Named the Kiev Credit Union, it mostly served the parishioners of Mary the Protectress Orthodox Church on Rosemount Boulevard.⁵²⁵ By 1963, Quebec had four Ukrainian-owned credit unions in the Rosemount area. Two were frequented predominantly by Catholic nationalists, one by Catholic Melnykites, the other by Catholic Banderites. Two others served the Orthodox community. One was for ex-Catholic converts who had founded the Ukrainian Orthodox Church in Quebec in 1925; the other for those who were Orthodox by birthright and had emigrated to Quebec from eastern Ukraine.

When the first two fragments of Ukrainian immigrants were joined by the post-war refugees after 1947, there was one Ukrainian Laurentian country retreat available to the Ukrainian community in Quebec. In 1938, Father Tymochko of St. Michael's Catholic parish bought Camp Ukraina in Notre Dame de la Merci sixty miles north of Montreal.⁵²⁶ Between 1938 and 1948 Camp Ukraina was a country retreat for the parishioners of St. Michael's and the Catholic community in Quebec.⁵²⁷ After 1947, it was made available to secular organizations. One of the first of these to use the camp was *Plast*, a Ukrainian youth organization patterned after Lord Baden Powell's Scouts and founded in Montreal by members of the UNF in 1948 for the children of nationalist refugees. *Plast* attracted

⁵²⁵*Ibid.*

⁵²⁶Monczak 1975, 55

⁵²⁷*Ibid.*

nationalists sympathetic to Melnyk or, more accurately, those unsympathetic to the Bandera faction.⁵²⁸

As Ukrainian refugees flowed into Quebec after 1947, most sent their children to summer camps run either by St. Michael's parish or by *Plast* at Camp Ukraina. However, with the steady increase of nationalist Banderites came an increasing sense of power and the confidence to draw the lines with respect to the OUNm-OUNb patriotic schism. The first to abandon use of the camp was the SUM (*Spilka Ukrainiskoyi Molodi* -- Association of Ukrainian Youth), founded by Bandera followers in 1950.⁵²⁹ In 1955, the SUM bought a summer resort near Camp Ukraina in St. Theodore which they called *Verkhovyna*, and henceforth Bandera followers congregated there.⁵³⁰ But both Camps Ukraina and *Verkhovyna* were used predominantly by the Ukrainian Catholic community of Quebec.

With the increase in numbers within the Orthodox community after World War II, the Orthodox parish of St. Sophie bought a summer retreat of its own. In 1957 it purchased what it called St. Sophie's Camp in St. Theodore, a few miles down the road

⁵²⁸Omelian Kushnir, interview by author, December 1978.

⁵²⁹S. Harasymowycz, "Toward the History of the Ukrainian Youth Association," in *Souvenir Book of the Ukrainian Youth Association in Montreal 1950-1980* (Montreal: Homin Ukrainy Publishers, 1980), 24. [In Ukrainian.]

⁵³⁰Maria Kinakh, "Youth Camp *Verkhovyna*," in *Souvenir Booklet of the Ukrainian Youth Association*, 96-103. [In Ukrainian.]

from Camp *Verkhovyna*.⁵³¹ Then, in 1959, the youth organization *Plast* purchased a camp which they called *Baturyn* in Knowlton in Quebec's Eastern Townships.⁵³²

By 1959, Ukrainians in Quebec had four community-owned retreat centres. Two were run by the churches, one for Catholics and one for the Orthodox; another two were owned by post-war nationalist refugees. Camp *Verkhovyna* was used by the majority Bandera followers and *Baturyn* by those sympathetic to Melnyk or unsympathetic to the Banderites.

In 1947, Montreal had three Ukrainian part-time elementary schools: the *Prosvita* (Enlightenment) school in Pointe St. Charles, St. Sophie's Orthodox School on Delormier Street, and St. Michael's Catholic Church School in the Frontenac area. The *Prosvita* School was run by lay people, while the other two were Saturday parish schools staffed by nuns and priests.⁵³³

Among the third-fragment refugees were a number of old-country teachers who soon turned their attention to the education sector of Ukrainian Montreal. Between 1947 and 1967, seven Ukrainian part-time schools were established at both the elementary and secondary levels.⁵³⁴ This establishment of Ukrainian schools was driven by the *Ridna Shkola* (native school) movement, transplanted from Galicia to Quebec by the nationalist refugees. *Ridna Shkola* was an educational journal published in Galicia in the 1930s and

⁵³¹"St. Sophie's Camp," in *Book of St. Sophie*, 457-473. [In Ukrainian.]

⁵³²"Ukrainian Scout Station in Montreal," in *UCC 75th Jubilee Book*, 66-67. [In Ukrainian.]

⁵³³Maria Davydovych, "Native School," in *Toil of Pioneers*, 138-140. [In Ukrainian.]

⁵³⁴*Ibid.*

'40s. The journal and its circle of sympathizers wanted what they called a national education for Ukrainian youth as an antidote to the Polonizing influence of Polish state schools in Galicia. The movement was aggressively anti-assimilationist and believed in creating an underground, or alternative network of *ridna shkolas* in which the Ukrainian language, history and culture would be nurtured and preserved.

In 1949, the Ukrainian National Federation (UNF) founded an elementary school on Prince Arthur Street in central Montreal. In 1964 they added high-school-level courses and moved to the corner of Fairmount and Hutchison streets.⁵³⁵

In 1950 a *Ridna Shkola* named in memory of Metropolitan A. Sheptytsky was organized by the Reverend Nazarko and Mr Wasyl Bryniawsky, offering both elementary and high-school-level courses in the Frontenac area and in downtown Montreal at Our Lady of Mount Royal School on the corner of St. Urbain and Rachel streets.⁵³⁶

By 1959 the Banderites had founded a part-time elementary school and in 1964 they added high schools for their youth located at 51 Bagg Street and at 120 Duluth Street in Montreal. In 1975 they started a youth centre on the corner of Beaubien Street and St. Michel Boulevard. Between 1958 and 1962 the first listed above had 179 students and seven teachers.⁵³⁷

⁵³⁵Roman Brykowych, interview by author, March 1975.

⁵³⁶*Ibid.*

⁵³⁷Hryhory Oshchypko, "Native School," in *Souvenir Book of the Ukrainian Youth Association*, 67-75. [In Ukrainian.]

By 1967, Montreal had eight part-time Ukrainian elementary and five part-time Ukrainian high schools run by the Catholic Church, the Orthodox Church, the *Prosvita* Reading Society and by the two factions of Ukrainian nationalists -- the Melnykites and the Banderites. These schools employed over fifty Ukrainian teachers.⁵³⁸ With the exception of the two parish schools they were staffed by third-fragment refugee nationalists who no longer emphasized the learning of religion, liturgy and devotional rites. Instead they focused on history, geography, literature and politics. The two largest were Metropolitan Sheptytsky School (Catholic) and the Association of Ukrainian Youth School (Bandera nationalist). Each had approximately 170 students.

In 1905 Canada had only two Slavic publications. By 1965 there were fifty-four, of which thirty-three were Ukrainian.

Between 1947 and 1967, Quebec did not witness the appearance of any major Ukrainian newspapers or periodicals. Members of the Ukrainian community in Quebec were forced to subscribe to publications from Toronto, New Jersey, Winnipeg or European centres such as Munich and London.

In 1969, Alexander Malycky published a preliminary list of all Ukrainian-Canadian periodical publications which had appeared in Canada.⁵³⁹ He enumerated a total of 549 titles, of which 36 minor ones appeared in Montreal. An analysis of the Montreal-based

⁵³⁸Brykowych interview, March 1975.

⁵³⁹A. Malycky, ed., *Canadian Ethnic Studies Bulletin of the Research Centre for Canadian Ethnic Studies*, vol. 1, no. 1, 1969, 72-104.

titles shows that six appeared before 1947 while thirty were published between 1947 and 1967.

Ukrainian-language radio broadcasts in Quebec began in 1954.⁵⁴⁰ The first broadcast was on August 19, 1954. The producer was a nationalist refugee in Montreal named Evhen Oryshchuk. He started weekly half-hour broadcasts on the French station CJMS (1280 *Mhz*). Soon he was able to expand this production to an hour per week.

In 1957 CJMS cancelled all so-called ethnic programming, whereupon Oryshchuk moved the programme to radio station CHRS (1090 *Mhz*) in St. Jean d'Iberville, where he was able to air three one-hour broadcasts per week (Wednesday and Saturday afternoons and Sunday mornings). In 1957 one of Oryshchuk's former colleagues at CJMS and a fellow third-fragment refugee, Evhen Kostiuk, started another Ukrainian-language programme on Montreal on radio station CHLP (1010 *Mhz*). He competed with Oryshchuk's programme for two years, at which time his show was cancelled.⁵⁴¹

In 1964 the multilingual ethnic radio station CFMB (1410 *Mhz*) was founded in Montreal. Evhen Kostiuk made a second attempt at competing with Oryshchuk on that radio station, but after one year he was released and Oryshchuk was invited to take his place. Starting in 1965 Oryshchuk produced four Ukrainian-language broadcasts per week (Wednesday and Thursday evenings; Saturday mornings and afternoons). In 1965, while at CFMB, Oryshchuk gave up one quarter of his time to Victor Hladun, a fellow Orthodox refugee from eastern Ukraine, as well as an equal amount of time to his wife

⁵⁴⁰Oryshchuk interview, February 1975.

⁵⁴¹*Ibid.*

Maria for a women's programme. These three continued to broadcast Ukrainian-language programmes until 1967.⁵⁴²

In 1967 Oryshchuk was succeeded at CFMB by Bohdan Panchuk, the Saskatchewan-born Orthodox Ukrainian-Canadian who had founded the Ukrainian-Canadian Servicemen's Association and the Canadian Ukrainian Relief Bureau in London during World War II in which capacity he had helped in the immigration to Canada of Ukrainian refugees. He was the first head of the Ukrainian language section, a part of the Radio Canada International (RCI) Service (a short-wave network sponsored by the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation [CBC]) after the war. Upon Panchuk's retirement from CFMB he was succeeded by John Opariek, who delivered one hour of Ukrainian-language broadcasting each Saturday afternoon.⁵⁴³

Unlike his competitors and successors, Evhen Oryshchuk was a full-time Ukrainian-language radio broadcaster from 1954 to 1967. His programmes were made financially viable thanks to the sale of radio commercials from such companies as Dupuis Frères, Labatt, Molson, Greenberg's and Steinberg's. Smaller advertisers such as European meat producers Sepps and Henry Horky, several travel agencies and an ever-burgeoning contingent of Ukrainian-Canadian lawyers, doctors, insurance agents and entrepreneurs made up the balance of his income.

The apogee of Ukrainian radio broadcasting in Montreal was between 1954 and 1957 at CJMS. When Oryshchuk first played the Ukrainian national anthem during one

⁵⁴²*Ibid.*

⁵⁴³Panchuk interview, May 1982

of his early broadcasts in 1954 he was besieged by excited and congratulatory callers. According to Oryshchuk these telephone calls came from every generation, enclave, religious confession and political grouping in Montreal, but particularly from newly-arrived nationalist refugees.⁵⁴⁴

As the novelty and initial enthusiasm wore off, Oryshchuk's broadcasts sometimes became the subject of criticism with respect to their content and language -- particularly language. As he was a nationalist refugee from Catholic Galicia, many first- and second-fragment Ukrainian immigrants thought his programmes were too Catholic and nationalistic and his accent too Galician. The older Orthodox community and the new Orthodox refugees from eastern Ukraine were the most critical. This offers an explanation, albeit an arguable one, as to why Oryshchuk's first collaborator, Victor Hladun, was from eastern Ukraine and his two successors, Bohdan Panchuk and John Opariek, came from the Orthodox community of Montreal.⁵⁴⁵

When Oryshchuk was at CJMS (1954-57) a survey of listeners showed that between 80- and 90 per cent of Ukrainians in Montreal regularly listened to his programmes. In 1964, while he was at CFMB, he was listened to by 60 per cent of the Ukrainians in Montreal. By 1967, however, at the time Bohdan Panchuk replaced him at CFMB, the frequency and number of Ukrainian-Canadian listeners had declined.

⁵⁴⁴Oryshchuk interview, February 1975

⁵⁴⁵*Ibid*

The Oryshchuk broadcasts from between 1954 and 1967 served as a voice for the third-fragment Ukrainian refugees in Quebec after World War II, and their (the refugees') mentality shaped the content of the broadcasts. They broadcast the presence and interests of the new Ukrainian-Quebeckers, disseminated their point of view and contributed to their ascendancy in the public life of Ukrainians in Quebec well into the start of that province's 'Quiet Revolution' of the 1960s.

Ukrainian refugees who came to Quebec after World War II were nationalists, but not nationalists of the same stripe. Not all were either Melnyk- or Bandera supporters. All were, however, nationalists who had been politicized by their inter-war upbringing, the war, and the post-war predicament of Ukraine and the Ukrainian people. Their lives were radically changed. As a result of the war, they had to start their lives all over. National feeling was intense and aggressively articulated. There was discussion about whether or not to sit on one's luggage, [about] whether or not to start a new life in Quebec.⁵⁴⁶

Like all political exiles and refugees, the Ukrainians in Quebec were quarrelsome. The split between the Melnykites and Banderites dominated post-World War II community life and intrigued the older pre-war first- and second-fragment Ukrainian immigrants to Quebec. They wanted to understand this new so-divisive and bitter conflict and the reasons for it.

The Ukrainian community in Quebec had been shaped by the division between the left and non-left, by the religious schism between Roman Catholics and Orthodox, and by several secular organizations (e.g., the USRL, the UHO, the BUC, the UWL, etc.)

⁵⁴⁶Konstantyn Kelebay interview, June 1984.

federated in the Ukrainian Canadian Committee in 1941 which -- with the outcast ULFTA -- represented the major divisions in the community before the outbreak of the Second World War.

The nationalist, anti-Communist refugees had a marked impact on this structure and affected the community in several ways. The Ukrainian community became larger, almost doubling in size. Immediately after (the refugees') arrival new Catholic and Orthodox churches began to be built. Then came new secular institutions that were not part of the Melnykite-versus-Banderite nexus.

In 1949 the Ukrainian youth organization, *Plast* (Scouting), established a chapter in Montreal.⁵⁴⁷ *Plast's* headquarters became a meeting place for Ukrainian refugee youth in Montreal. A debate started as to whether or not it was an élite or mass organization and whether it was to be ideologically and politically partisan. Tension over the control of *Plast* ensued between the Melnykite and Banderite factions.⁵⁴⁸ As a result, the Bandera faction withdrew and in 1950 created its own youth organization, acronymed SUM (*Spilka Ukrainskoyi Molodi* -- Union of Ukrainian Youth). *Plast*, although formally non-ideological and politically non-partisan, for the most part came under the *de facto* control of the Melnyk followers in Quebec.⁵⁴⁹

⁵⁴⁷"Outline of Community Organizations," in *Toil of Pioneers*, 310.

⁵⁴⁸Mykola Andruchiw, May 1986; and Omelian Kushnir, December 1978, interviews by author.

⁵⁴⁹Andruchiw interview, May 1986.

In 1950, the non-Galician Orthodox nationalists from eastern Ukraine formed the Union of Ukrainian Victims of Soviet Terror.⁵⁵⁰ Most were survivors of the 1932-33 famine and forced collectivization of farms in eastern Ukraine. They proselytized about the famine, which was then almost universally denied. They resisted efforts to obliterate the Ukrainian nation and worked for the establishment of visible symbols of the continued existence of a Ukrainian nation. They were instrumental in having streets named after two of Ukraine's most famous poets, Taras Shevchenko in Lasalle and Ivan Franko in Lachine.⁵⁵¹

In 1950, a Ukrainian refugee priest, the Reverend Mykhaylo Zalesky, was engaged by the University of Montreal to offer courses in Ukrainian Studies within the Slavic Studies department. Dozens of Ukrainian refugee students attended these courses in the 1950s to enhance or complete their educations. A number earned their master's and doctoral degrees in Ukrainian linguistics, literature and history.⁵⁵²

An organization acronymed ODUM (*Orhanizatsia Demokratychnoyi Ukrainskoyi Molodi* -- Organization of Democratic Ukrainian Youth) was formed in Montreal in 1951.⁵⁵³ Since *Plast* (Scouting), and SUM (*Spilka Ukrainskoyi Molodi* -- Union of Ukrainian Youth) were usually joined by Galician Catholic refugee youth, ODUM was established for the young members of the Orthodox community of Quebec.

⁵⁵⁰"Outline of Community Organizations," 310-311.

⁵⁵¹Diachyshyn interview, October 1980.

⁵⁵²Brykowych interview, March 1976; and Bryniawsky interview, May 1976.

⁵⁵³"Outline of Community Organizations," 310-311.

Before World War II, the number of Ukrainian-ethnic students at Quebec universities was exceedingly few. Interestingly, the first few pre-war Ukrainian university students in Quebec were Orthodox Ukrainians such as Yuriy Dragan and Stefan Mamchur from the west. However, in 1951 the Ukrainian Students' Club at McGill University was formed. In 1953 the Ukrainian Students' Club at Sir George Williams College was founded by mostly part-time Ukrainian students. In 1958 the Ukrainian Students' Club at Loyola College was established. In the 1950s and '60s each of these students' clubs had some fifty to eighty Ukrainian student members. Most were the sons and daughters of Ukrainian anti-Communist nationalist refugees. Although there were a few Ukrainian students at the Université de Montréal, no French university in Quebec had a Ukrainian students' club⁵⁵⁴

In 1957, the first Ukrainian Professional and Businessmen's Association was established in Montreal for the increasing number of university-educated people. In 1958, the SVU (*Spilka Vyzvolennia Ukrainy* -- Union for the Liberation of Ukraine) was established by young Orthodox refugee nationalists who came to Quebec.⁵⁵⁵

These new, refugee-established Ukrainian organizations were created in Quebec after World War II, and they were not part of the big-five founders of the Ukrainian Canadian Committee during the war (the USRL, UHO, UNF, BUC and UWL). However, they entered the UCC system in Quebec as they were established. With the exception of

⁵⁵⁴See *Ibid.*; and Evhen-Antoine Kaluzny, interview by author, September 1989.

⁵⁵⁵"Outline of Community Organizations," 310-311.

the UNF, they also entered the UCC in Quebec without formal affiliation with either the Melnykites or Banderites.

The influx of Ukrainian refugees to Quebec also affected the composition and activity of the founding organizations of the UCC in Quebec.

On the left, the Ukrainian Labour-Farmer Temple Association (ULFTA) was constitutionally outlawed and ostracized by the UCC. The non-Stalinist socialists who were represented by Lobay at the UCC Congress in Winnipeg in June 1943 did not join the UCC, and thus became marginalized. Neither the ULFTA nor the Lobay Trotskyites were numerically strengthened by the arrival of post-war Ukrainian nationalist refugees.

The United *Hetman* Organization (UHO) in Quebec was also relatively unaffected. No more than a handful of new refugees joined the *Hetman* movement, but even so these few newcomers enlivened *Hetmanite* activity in Montreal. Most of the *Hetmanites* were inter-war émigrés (among them a Mr. Bossy, whose grandson won fame as a hockey player with the New York Islanders).⁵⁵⁶

The Ukrainian Self-Reliance League (USRL) was affected by the arrival of post-war refugees to Quebec. The USRL was associated with the Orthodox Church in Quebec. A small group of Ukrainian third-fragment refugees came from the Ukrainian north-western region of Volyn, which was predominantly Orthodox. As a satellite lay organization of the Orthodox Church in Quebec, the USRL's numbers and influence increased in the same measure as that of the Orthodox Church, which after 1945

⁵⁵⁶Momryk interview, June 1980.

established St. George's Church in Lachine as well as starting the building of St. Sophie's Cathedral in Rosemount.⁵⁵⁷

Among the organizations which founded the UCC in Quebec, the two most affected by the arrival of the nationalist and anti-Communist refugees were the Brotherhood of Ukrainian Catholics (BUC) and the Ukrainian National Federation (UNF).⁵⁵⁸

The majority of the refugees were Galician Catholics. Most joined the Catholic Church and many of these joined the BUC. This was evident from the increase in the size and number (from two to eleven) of Ukrainian Catholic parishes in Quebec. In 1953, a new organization of Ukrainian Catholic youth and students called *Obnova* (Renewal) was founded in Montreal with approximately eighty members.⁵⁵⁹ Then, in 1963, the Young Ukrainian Catholic Men's Association was founded and established the Father Jean Foundation to provide scholarships for needy Ukrainian Catholic students.⁵⁶⁰ The Catholic constituency was so strengthened by the refugees that the diocesan bishop withdrew the Basilian Order from Quebec in 1952 and staffed the new Catholic parishes in Quebec with Ukrainian diocesan refugee-priests.⁵⁶¹

⁵⁵⁷Kulba interview, December 1984.

⁵⁵⁸Andruchiw interview, May 1986.

⁵⁵⁹"Outline of Community Organizations," 310-311.

⁵⁶⁰*Ibid.*; and Stefan Klemchuk, interview by author, November 6, 1982.

⁵⁶¹Monczak 1975, 678

The Ukrainian National Federation (UNF) also grew stronger as a result of the arrival of the post-war Ukrainian refugees. Ukrainian nationalists who came to Quebec during the inter-war period for the most part stayed loyal to Melnyk. The Bandera revolt was seen as something young, irresponsible, disobedient, disloyal and temporary. For Ukrainian patriots in Quebec, the nationalist movement in Galicia was personified by Konovalets, and after his assassination by Melnyk, who was considered the true nationalist leader. The older guard saw Bandera as a divisive rebel.⁵⁶²

The Melnyk loyalists in the UNF in Quebec were soon joined by Ukrainian refugees who shared their view or for various reasons did not sympathize with the Bandera faction. In the 1950s, the UNF organized a set of subsidiaries to receive the new arrivals. In 1952 a branch of the Ukrainian *Sitch* Riflemen's Society of Quebec was reinstated for refugee veterans of World War I. Also in 1952 the Ukrainian Nationalist Student Society (*Zarevo*) was founded in Montreal as another affiliate of the UNF. It attracted refugee students whose studies were interrupted or postponed because of World War II.⁵⁶³ During the same year the UNF organized a Veteran's Society for members of the Galician Division, which during World War II fought for Germany on the Eastern Front.⁵⁶⁴

⁵⁶²Andruchiw interview, May 1986; and Bohdan Mykhayluk [Zynovy Knysh], *Bandera's Rebellion*, (1950). Bohdan Mykhayluk was a pseudonym sometimes used by Zynovy Knysh, who has written widely about the OUN split.

⁵⁶³Kushnir interview, December 1978.

⁵⁶⁴"Outline of Community Organizations," 310-311.

The strengthening of the UNF in Quebec by the refugees was also evident in their takeover of the youth organization, *Plast*, the establishment of a new Ukrainian school, an enlarged choir, a new nationalist women's group named in honour of Olha Bassarab, a dance group, a theatre group directed by Ivan Korol, and the enlarged array of nationalist activities at their new hall on Fairmount and Hutchison streets in Montreal.

The Banderites among the refugees, however, had the most dramatic impact on the Ukrainian community in Quebec after World War II. They were the undisputed majority. It was a colloquialism in the community that the classes sided with Melnyk while the masses followed Bandera.⁵⁶⁵ The Banderites were numerous and young, either single or recently married, often childless or with young children. The war and displaced persons' camps of Germany deepened the emotional strength of their experience, politicized their views and sharpened their zeal. Exile and displacement no doubt caused anxiety, doubts and fears. But the New World also offered a new hope.

The Banderites first flocked to the existing meeting places of Ukrainians in Quebec, namely the Catholic parishes in Montreal. But shortly after their arrival in 1949, the Banderites began to create their own separate Ukrainian institutions based on the intellectual baggage and mentality which they brought with them to Quebec.

One of their first institutional expressions in Quebec was the Sports Association *Ukraina*, founded in 1949.⁵⁶⁶ *S. A. Ukraina* was founded to cultivate gymnastics as a

⁵⁶⁵Andruchiw interview, May 1986.

⁵⁶⁶*15th Anniversary of S. A. Ukraina 1949-1964* (Montreal: privately printed, 1964), 1-2. [In Ukrainian]

means to a "healthy mind in a healthy body."⁵⁶⁷ It offered ping-pong, volleyball at Fletcher's Field, basketball and soccer. S. A. *Ukraina* teams, wearing the club's red and black uniforms, entered several levels in Quebec soccer leagues.⁵⁶⁸ In the 1950s, the S. A. *Ukraina* senior soccer team played the German "Kickers," Jewish "Hakoah," Slovak "Sparta" and the company teams of Stelco and Vickers at Montreal's east-central Fletcher's Field and at Charlevoix Park, the Westmount Grounds, Faillon Stadium and Delormier Downs. In 1957, S. A. *Ukraina* won the Canadian dominion soccer championship, which they contested with the North Shore United Football Club of Vancouver. In the 1950s it was not unusual to see between 2,000 and 3,000 spectators at *Ukraina* soccer games. Most were third-fragment refugees.⁵⁶⁹

In 1950, the Canadian League for the Liberation of Ukraine (CLLU) was established in Montreal.⁵⁷⁰ If the UNF was the institutionalization of the Melnyk wing of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists, then the CLLU was the institutionalization of the Bandera wing of the OUN sympathizers. The CLLU had a few hundred members and became the command post for further Banderite activity in Montreal. In 1950, SUM (*Spilka Ukrainskoyi Molodi* -- Union of Ukrainian Youth) was founded for Ukrainian

⁵⁶⁷*Ibid.*, 2.

⁵⁶⁸Andruchiw interview, May 1986. Red and black were the colours of the OUNh banner.

⁵⁶⁹Andruchiw interview, May 1986; and Julian Kruczowyj, interview by author, February 1986

⁵⁷⁰Andruchiw interview, May 1986

refugee children and youth. To guide the SUM, a fathers' committee and a women's auxiliary were formed for the parents.⁵⁷¹

In 1952 the Bandera followers founded a credit union, the Ukrainian National Credit Union, an affiliate of the Caisse Populaire Desjardins.⁵⁷²

In 1953 a duplex was bought at 51 Bagg Street in downtown Montreal to serve as a centre for S. A. *Ukraina*, the CLLU, SUM, and for the two parents' auxiliaries. SUM started a school, a choir, a wind orchestra and a theatre group. Performances and commemorations, often held at Plateau Hall in Lafontaine Park, filled it to its capacity of 1,500 persons.

In 1955, these Banderite organizations purchased a farm in St. Theodore, Quebec, named it Camp *Verkhovyna*, and constructed a building for a cafeteria and a hall for services, dances and assemblies. They then built camping facilities for the children. Long term leases for subdivided lots were made available for private cottages.

Other Banderite organizations in Quebec were also founded. In 1953 a chapter of veterans from the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists -- Ukrainian Insurgent/Partisan Army (OUN-UPA) was formed in Montreal.⁵⁷³ These OUN-UPA veterans fought Hitler's occupation of Ukraine between 1941 and 1944 and then fought the Red Army returning on the heels of the retreating Germans after 1944.⁵⁷⁴

⁵⁷¹Stepan Pasternak, "Fathers' Committee," in *Souvenir Book of the Ukrainian Youth Association*, 115-118. [In Ukrainian.]

⁵⁷²"Outline of Ukrainian Organizations," 310-311.

⁵⁷³*Ibid*

⁵⁷⁴Bedniy, 23-25

This was followed by the founding of the Women's Union of the Canadian League for the Liberation of Ukraine in 1954, and in 1955, TUSM (*Tovarystvo Ukrainskoyi Studyuuchoyi Molodi Mikhnovskoho* -- Association of Ukrainian Student Youth of Mikhnovsky) was founded in Montreal.⁵⁷⁵

By 1960 the Banderite organizations were numerous and prosperous enough to buy a small Jewish school at 120 Duluth Street East in downtown Montreal to serve as a community centre. Ukrainian refugees improved their financial condition rapidly and soon moved out of downtown Montreal into the Rosemount, St. Leonard and the St. Michel areas.⁵⁷⁶ By the early 1970s the downtown area was almost empty of Ukrainians. Therefore, in 1973 the Banderite organizations bought land on the corner of St. Michel and Beaubien streets and by 1975 built a new community centre for their various institutions and activities.

The Banderite nationalists and their institutions were a new element in Quebec after 1949, and represented a completely new agenda among Ukrainians. As their institutions were created, each joined the Ukrainian Canadian Committee in Quebec as voting members. While the Banderites remained institutionally separate and distinct, by joining the formal political life of Ukrainians in Montreal they, along with other nationalist refugees who were not Banderites (Melnykites, Eastern Orthodox and others), changed the composition and character of the Ukrainian community in Quebec. They

⁵⁷⁵"Outline of Ukrainian Organizations," 310-311. On the eve of the 20th century Mikhnovsky was one of the first to call for an "independent Ukraine."

⁵⁷⁶Ivan Koval, "Toward the History of the Construction of the Youth Centre," in *Souvenir Book of the Ukrainian Youth Association*, 88-94. [In Ukrainian.]

politicized Ukrainian life and Ukrainianized it. In the 1950s, the community suddenly found itself within a new correlation of forces and confronted with a new and militant mentality. The divisions between the pre-1914 Ukrainian urban pioneers and the inter-war émigrés were now overshadowed by the interests of the Ukrainian nationalist refugees.

In the Ukrainian community the relationship between socialists and non-socialists was also changed. With the arrival of the nationalist refugees the socialists became unquestionably outnumbered. The intellectual baggage, testimony, evidence and ideological confidence of the refugees undermined the moral authority of the socialists and contributed to their marginalization.

The numerical strength and balance between the members of the Catholics and Orthodox communities also changed. The refugees decisively tilted the scales in favour of Catholics. But, most importantly, the refugees imported a new division into non-leftist, Catholic and Orthodox patriotic camps.

In Quebec, the founders of the Ukrainian Canadian Committee in 1941 were the Orthodox and sovereigntist Ukrainian Self-Reliance League (USRL), the patriotic Brotherhood of Ukrainian Catholics (BUC), the monarchist United *Hetman* Organization (UHO), the non-partisan (but also non-Communist) *Prosvita* (Enlightenment) Reading Society and the nationalist Ukrainian National Federation (UNF). Every one of these organizations was somewhat strengthened and invigorated by the influx of third-fragment refugees, particularly the nationalist UNF. But most of the nationalist refugees joined the new Banderite organizations. These organizations were united in the Organizations of the Ukrainian Liberation Front (OULF) and a sixth major cluster of Ukrainian institutions

entered the UCC federation in Quebec. The Ukrainian political community in Quebec became divided into the non-Banderites led by the Melnykites at the UNF, and the fiercely anti-Communist and anti-fascist nationalistic Banderites. The Communist and socialist circles in the Ukrainian community were thus pushed to the periphery and relatively marginalized. Given what the refugees had to say about socialists and Communists back home, the Ukrainian left in Quebec steadily and increasingly began to lose its credibility.

While pluralism and division in the Ukrainian community persisted after 1952, the rift between Melnykites and Banderites gained ascendancy and dominated the political life of the Ukrainian community in Quebec throughout the post-war period, and to a lesser extent, continues up to the time of this writing (January 1992). It polarized Quebec's Ukrainian community along a new axis to the extent that one could cogently speak of the community as being divided into the nationalist anti-Communist followers of Stepan Bandera and those who, for various reasons, were not.

CHAPTER FIVE

CONCLUSION

This contribution to the history of the Ukrainian community in Quebec was written to enhance our knowledge of Canada by examining a small part of Canadian society. It adopted a new approach to the study of a Canadian ethnic group, itself a relatively new field of scholarly activity. The study was organized chronologically and thematically with the intention of giving historical shape to the Ukrainian past in Quebec and making that history an intelligible historical field. It also attempts to understand and portray them as they understood themselves.

Ukrainians came to Quebec in discernible clusters related to three time periods. Until now no specific meaning has been systematically attributed to these three fragments as they bear on the character of the community, although with the arrival of the third wave a more-or-less dramatic invigoration of the community was observed. This is because Ukrainians brought more than their language, customs, religion and folklore. Each cluster brought a different ideological and intellectual baggage and mentality. For example, the two clusters of pre-1947 immigrants came largely for economic reasons, and the post-1947 immigrants were predominantly political refugees.

This historiographic examination has led to several conclusions. Hartz's theory of

colonial history, used to explain the founding of new societies, can be used as a model, if not a rigid one, with respect to the study of minorities and to the immigration process in general. The key to understanding various immigration waves or fragments lies in their point of departure and their ideological and intellectual baggage. Different waves of immigration were fragments thrown off from a society -- whose members were already dispersed in several countries -- at a specific time. The Hartzian approach can thus be utilized to understand each fragment of Ukrainians that came to Quebec.

There is the risk of over-generalization and over-simplification. However, the characterizations of the immigrant fragments are not intended to be exhaustive or definitive, nor do they attempt to present coherent ideological systems of thought. They simply map out the central ideas and concepts in the mentality of each successive fragment of immigrants that came to Quebec between just before the turn of the century and ca. 1960.

As the author has continually stressed, the Ukrainian community in Quebec was not the product of one fragment, but of three. Each was dominated by a central intellectual and/or political trend of the period (even if there were others). This central trend usually represented the thought of the political nation, so to speak, and was the ethos which tended to set the subcultural intellectual agenda which challenged all others. The first group of Ukrainian settlers, which we have called Fragment I, arrived between 1899 and 1914 and can be described as the "pioneers" or leftist "Drahomanov Men." Fragment II, the émigrés or centrist "sovereigntist men," arrived between 1922 and 1929. Fragment III, the refugees or rightist "nationalist men," arrived between 1947 and 1954.

The author's terming them pioneers, émigrés and refugees has been purposeful in this context, because these terms are derivative of different contexts within the Canadian historical fact and serve to connote the different types of Ukrainian that came to Quebec.

Although this study was highly informed by Louis Hartz's theory of colonial history, it is, as the author has stressed earlier, not uncritically beholden to it. In fact, it has differed from Hartz's approach in several respects.

Hartz examined the founding fragments of two new societies: New France and New England. He did not study the subsequent immigrant fragments which joined the founding groups, nor their interrelationship. Also, his approach has not previously been applied to the study of Canadian ethnic groups (other than the "mainstream" ones) or the founding of Canadian minority subcultures.

Thus Hartz argued that the significance of the fragmentation process was that the new society thrown off from Europe lost the stimulus to change that the whole society provided and that the founding fragment was frozen, congealed at the point of origin. Therefore, new societies such as New France and New England became relatively homogeneous, conflict-free, non-ideological, single-myth societies. Having utilized Hartz's approach to the founding and subsequent history of the Ukrainian ethnic community in Quebec, this study found otherwise, perhaps because he wrote about a time when immigrants sailed from western Europe and immigration to North America was slower, more deliberate and less frequent. Twentieth-century immigration to Canada from eastern Europe was less deliberate, more sudden, rapid and frequent. It transformed a state habited by two so-called founding nations into a multicultural ethnic mosaic, a state comprised

of many ethnic communities.

In examining the history of Ukrainians in Quebec it was observed that within a relatively short period of time three distinct fragments of Ukrainian immigrants arrived in Quebec divided by decisive watershed events in the history of the twentieth century. Unlike the founding fragments of New France and New England, the Ukrainian community of Quebec had the stimulus to change and did not have the time for its ideology to become frozen at the point of origin. Hence, it has not become a homogeneous, conflict-free, single-myth ethnic society or subculture.

Furthermore, Hartz's theory of colonial history was predicated upon a particular vision of history which was not corroborated in this study. Hartz's ideological spectrum ranges in chronological order from right to left, or Tory to socialist. New France was founded by a feudal fragment; therefore it became a conservative Catholic society. New England was founded by a later, bourgeois fragment and therefore became a liberal Protestant society. According to Hartz, the later the departure of immigrants from the Old World to the New, the less Tory or conservative the fragment.

The opposite was the case in the history of the Ukrainian community in Quebec. The first fragment Quebec was significantly socialist; the second was largely comprised of Christian patriots and Ukrainian sovereigntists; the third may not have been Tory or conservative, but it was almost wholly comprised of what Whittaker Chambers once called "men of the right."⁵⁷⁷

⁵⁷⁷Buckley, 230; and William F. Buckley, Jr. and Charles P. Kesler, eds., *Keeping the Tablets: Modern American Conservative Thought* (New York: Harper & Row, 1970), 21, 417-431.

The three fragments of Ukrainian immigrants and the distinct intellectual baggage of each served as the matrix for this study. The test used for characterizing the intellectual baggage of each fragment, and locating it on the ideological spectrum, was its disposition to the Bolshevik Revolution of 1917 and the Marxist agenda.

The Ukrainian community in Montreal emerged as a result of three distinct fragments with different intellectual points of departure. This helps elucidate, for example, why, while the larger Quebec society was moving from right to left on the ideological spectrum on the eve of that province's "Quiet Revolution" at the beginning of the 1960s, the arrival of different Ukrainian fragments seems to have pushed Ukrainian public and community life from left to right, as evidenced by their organizations and activities. The normal, linguistic cultural and religious differences with the larger society seem to have been enhanced by an ideological drift which tended to increase exclusivity and slow down the process of assimilation. This approach also seems to suggest why the Ukrainian community in Quebec is identified with the more conservative elements in Quebec society and how it was connected to perceived phenomena such as liberal democracy, communism and fascism -- some of the most central themes, leading to some of the most central questions, of our time.

Using the framework provided by this dissertation it may now be possible to explore the development of the Ukrainian community in relation to Quebec society as a whole.

APPENDIX I

Major Ukrainian-Canadian Organizations in Quebec

1903	Self-Help Association
1904	St. Raphael's Immigrant Aid Society (published journal <i>Emigrant</i> in Lviv, Galicia)
1905	Mutual Aid Brotherhood of St. Nicholas (associated with the Catholic Church)
1908	Mykhaylo Drahomanov Society*
1910	Ivan Franko Society**
1911	Montreal Chapter of the Federation of Ukrainian Social-Democrats (banned by the Canadian government, September 1918)
1913	<i>Prosvita</i> (Enlightenment) Reading Society of Taras Shevchenko in Montreal
1917	<i>Kameniar</i> (Stonecutters') Association***
1918	<i>Narodna</i> (People's) League
1922	Workers' Party of Canada (renamed the Communist Party of Canada in 1924)

*Professor Mykhaylo Drahomanov, born on September 6, 1841, was a leading member of the socialist movement in Galicia and an advocate of socialist ideas.

**Ivan Franko was a publicist, poet and author as well as a political activist. He was a founding member of the socialist Ukrainian Radical Party in 1891 in Galicia.

****Kameniar* (Stonecutters) is the title of one of Ivan Franko's most famous patriotic poems.

- 1926 Ukrainian Self-Reliance League.
- 1924 Ukrainian Labour-Farmer Temple Association (banned on June 4, 1940; ban lifted on October 14, 1943)
- 1925 *Sitch Hetman* Organization (changed to Ukrainian *Sitch*, then fused with the Ukrainian Orthodox Brotherhood in 1926)
- 1928 Ukrainian *Sitch* Riflemen's Association
- 1930 *Hetman* Organization (renewed)
- 1932 Ukrainian National Federation
- Brotherhood of Ukrainian Catholics (BUC)
- 1934 *Prosvita* (Enlightenment) Reading Society of Taras Shevchenko in Lachine
- 1939 Ukrainian Workers' League Branch No. 294
- 1941 Ukrainian Canadian Committee
- 1942 Association of Ukrainian Canadians
- 1944 Ukrainian Montreal National Credit Union.
- 1946 Association of United Ukrainian Canadians
- 1949 Ukrainian Youth Association (*Plast* -- Scouting).
- First *Ridna Shkola* (Native School) at the UNF.
- Sport Association "Ukraina."
- 1950 Canadian League for the Liberation of Ukraine (CLLU).
- Association of Ukrainian Youth "SUM."
- Union of Ukrainian Victims of the Russian Terror (*SUZHERO*).
- 1951 Ukrainian Students' Club at McGill University.
- Organization of Ukrainian Democratic Youth "ODUM."

- 1952 Ukrainian Savings and Credit Union.

 Zarevo Student Society (at the UNF).

 Montreal Branch of Veterans of the Ukrainian Division "Galicia."
- 1953 *Obnova* (Renewal) Ukrainian Catholic Youth Association.

 Ukrainian Students' Club at Sir George Williams College.

 Montreal Branch of Veterans of the OUN/UPA (Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists and Ukrainian Partisan Army).
- 1954 *Hetman Mazeppa* Credit Union.

 Women's Auxiliary of the Canadian League for the Liberation of Ukraine.
- 1955 Association of Ukrainian Student Youth of Mikhnovsky (TUSM)/
- 1957 Ukrainian Professional and Business(men's) Association.
- 1958 Union for the Liberation of Ukraine (SVU).

 Ukrainian Students' Club at Loyola College.
- 1963 Young Catholic Men's Association.

 Kiev Credit Union.

APPENDIX II

By the early 1960s, on the eve of Quebec's Quiet Revolution, the number and distribution of Ukrainian churches in Quebec was as follows:

<i>Ukrainian Catholic Churches</i>		
St. Michel (Frontenac Area)	600 families	3 priests
Assumption of the B.V.M. (Rosemount)	750 families	2 priests
Holy Ghost (Pointe St. Charles)	348 families	2 priests
St. Basil the Great (Lachine)	110 families	1 priest
St. John the Baptist (Park Extension)	70 families	1 priest
St. Josaphat (Ville Emard-Verdun)	25 families	-----
Ascension (Trans-Carpathian) (North-central Montreal)	75 families	1 priest

Ukrainian Orthodox Churches

St. Sophie (Rosemount)	650 families	2 priests
Mary the Protectress (Rosemount)	170 families	1 priest
St. George (Lachine)	78 families	1 priest

A decade later, in the 25th Anniversary Book of the Eastern Canadian Catholic Eparchy, the Deacon for the Montreal area reported on the status of Ukrainian and Orthodox churches as of August 14, 1974. His report showed the following changes:

Catholic Parishes in the Montreal Area

	Members	Persons (approx.)	Priests
Assumption of Blessed Virgin Mary Founded in 1954	872	2,000	2
St. Michael's Founded in 1913	872	2,000	2
Holy Ghost Founded in 1931/1948	410	1,000	2
St. Nicholas (mission in Ville Lasalle with no church) Founded in 1965	70	120	-
St. Josaphat Founded in 1936/1956	16	40	-
St. John the Baptist Founded in 1954	90	250	1
St. Basil the Great	128	290	1

Totals in the Montreal area: 2,523 members; persons approx. 5,720. Total (approx.) for Quebec: 2,573 members and approximately 5,800 persons. Locations within 100 miles of Montreal in which Ukrainian Catholics live are: Eawdon, St. Calix, Iberville, Cowansville, Granby, Valleyfield, St. Lin, Rougemont, St. Hyacinthe.

Catholic Parishes in Quebec Outside Montreal

Holy Protectress (no numbers given)
Val D'Or, Quebec
Founded in 1955

Christ the Redeemer
Noranda, Quebec
Malartic Mission
Founded in 1955/1960

Orthodox Parishes Outside the Montreal Area

	Members	Persons (approx.)	Priests
St. Sophie's Cathedral Rosemount Founded in 1935	500	1,000	2
Mary the Protectress Rosemount Founded in 1960	180	300	1
St. George's Lachine, Quebec Founded in 1947	150	250	1

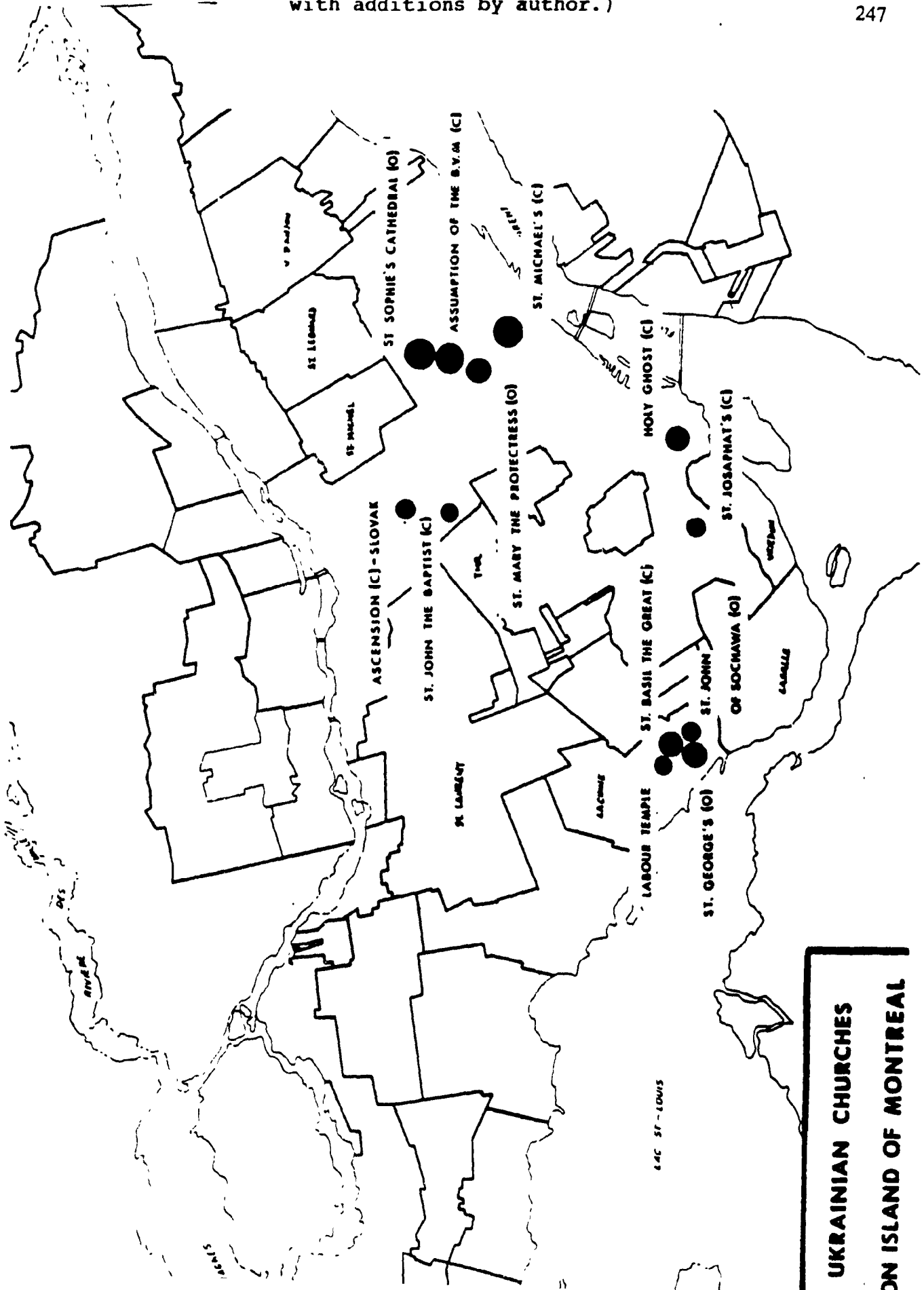
Total (approx.): 830 members; 1,550 persons.

Summer Camps

1. *Ukraina*
Notre Dame de Merci, Quebec
Belongs to St. Michael's parish and has a chapel.
2. *Verchovyna*
St. Theodore, Quebec
Belongs to the Ukrainian Youth Association (SUM) and
has a chapel.
3. *Baturyn*
South Bolton, Quebec
Belongs to the Ukrainian Boy Scout Youth Association,
Plast.
4. *Vorochta*
South Bolton, Quebec
Privately owned, has a chapel.
5. Camp St. Sophie
Chertsey, Quebec
Belongs to the Orthodox community, has a chapel.*

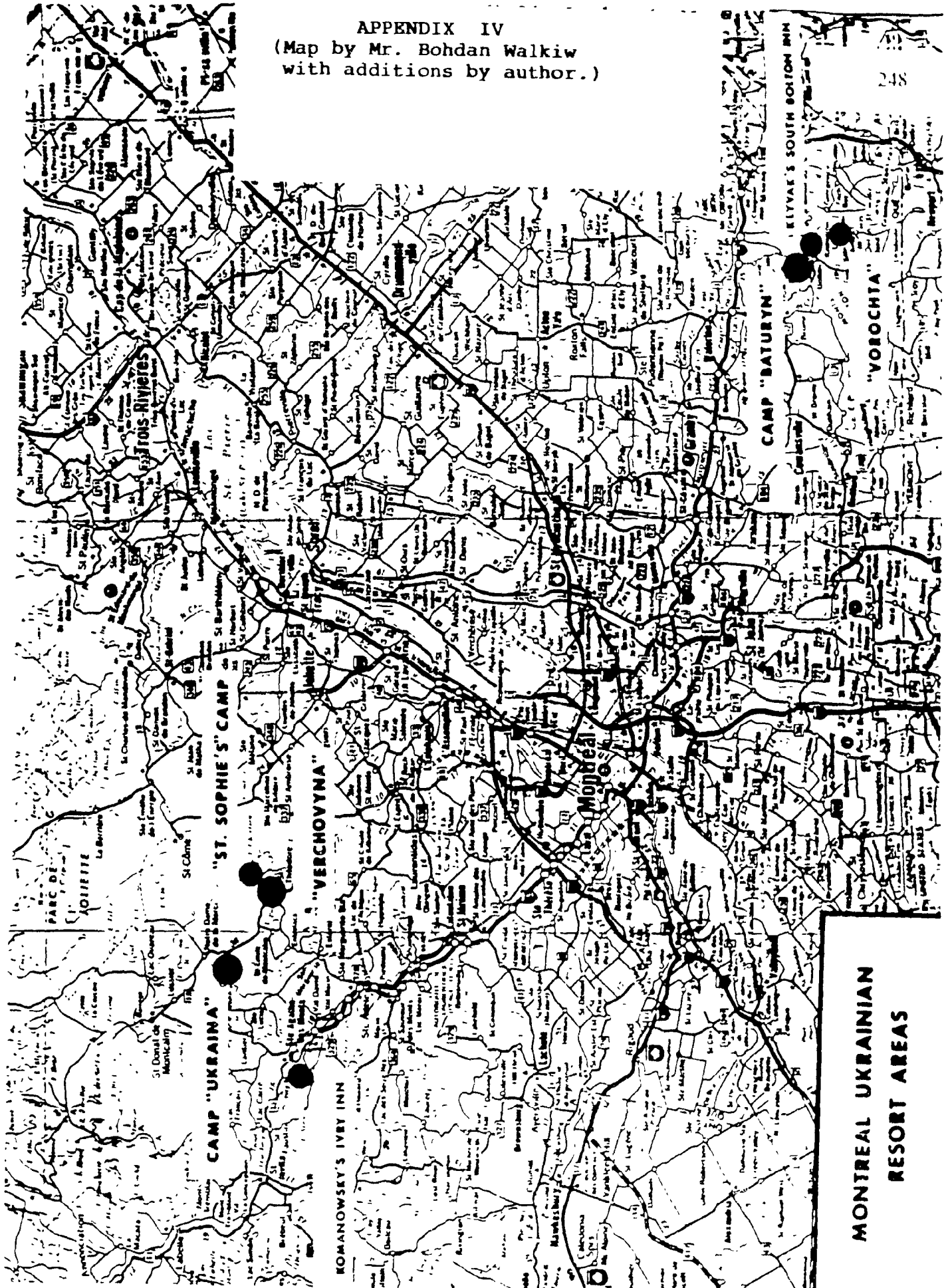
*Julian Beskyd, ed, *A Quarter of a Century on the Episcopal Throne 1948-1973* (Toronto: Nasha Meta, 1975), 639-640.

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APPENDIX IV
(Map by Mr. Bohdan Walkiw
with additions by author.)

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MONTREAL UKRAINIAN
RESORT AREAS

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- Hawryliuk, The Reverend I., interview by author, May 21, 1975.
- Hrymak-Wynnycky, N., interview by author, April 8, 1975.
- Kelebay, Konstantyn, interview by author, April 11, 1975, June, 1981.
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- Oryshchuk, E., interview by author, February 16, 1975.
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- Stefaniuk, R., interview by author, September 24, 1974.
- Zerebecky, R., interview by author, February 4, 1975.
- Hutsulak, J., interview by author, January 6, 1976, April 27, 1983.
- Petryk, A., interview by author, May 4, 1976, April 27, 1983.
- Klymyshyn, M., interview by author, September 29, 1979.
- Bedriy, A., interview by author, September 29, 1979.
- Domanchuk, A., interview by author, March 23, 1986.
- Momryk, M., interview by author, June, 1980.
- Mayka, W., interview by author, May 4, 1981, February 6, 1979.
- Kostyrsky, M. interview by author, June, 1981.
- Panchuk, B., interview by author, May, 1981.
- Kulba, Y., interview by author, May, 1984.
- Kruczowyj, Julian, interview by author, February 1986.

*Field Research Seminars**

- June 6, 1978: "Ukrainians in Quebec: The Experience of an Ethnic Minority."
QATH/PACT Conference, McGill University, Montreal, Quebec.

*In chronological order.

- September 10, 1978: "The Ukrainian Community in Quebec." Ukrainian Orthodox Community, St. Sophie's Cathedral Hall, Lachine, Quebec.
- November 23, 1978: "Writing the History of Ukrainians in Quebec." PACT/PAPT Convention, Queen Elizabeth Hotel, Montreal, Quebec.
- December 10, 1978: "The Ukrainians of Quebec: Their History." Ukrainian Professional and Business Club of Toronto, Royal York Hotel, Toronto, Ontario.
- August 6, 1979: "The History of Ukrainians in Quebec." Canadian Ukrainian Youth Association Cultural Immersion Camp, St. Sophie's Camp, St. Theodore, Quebec.
- December 2, 1979: "History of Ukrainians in Quebec." Ukrainian Catholic Community, St. Josaphat's Church Hall, Lachine, Quebec.
- December 3, 1979: "History of Ukrainians in Quebec." Golden Age Club "Tryzub" of Montreal, Assumption of the Beloved Virgin Mary Church Hall, Montreal, Quebec.
- January 9, 1980: "Ukrainians in Quebec and Multiculturalism." Association for Canadian Studies, Trent University, Peterborough, Ontario.
- November 6, 1982: "Writing Canadian Ethnic History." Royal Canadian Legion Mazeppa Branch No. 183, St. Sophie's Cathedral Hall, Lachine, Quebec.
- October 22, 1983: "The History of *Prosvita* in Montreal." *Prosvita* Reading Society of Montreal, *Prosvita* Hall, Verdun, Quebec.
- November 12, 1983: "Rehabilitating Dmytro Dontsov." Dontsov Conference, McGill University, Montreal, Quebec.
- February 29, 1984: "History of Ukrainians in Quebec." Bishop's University History Club, Bishop's University, Lennoxville, Quebec.
- November 17, 1984: "History and Accomplishments of S. A. *Ukraina*." Sports Association *Ukraina*, Ukrainian Youth Centre, Montreal, Quebec.
- January 23, 1985: "Ukrainian Ethnic Organizations in Montreal." Youth Centre Seminar, Ukrainian Youth Centre, Montreal, Quebec.

- 25 August, 1985: "History of the Ukrainian Youth Association in Quebec." Canadian Ukrainian Youth Camp Seminar, Camp Verkhovyna, St. Theodore, Quebec.

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