THE UKRAINIAN COMMUNITY IN MONTREAL

Yarema Gregory Kolebay

A Thesis

in

The Department

of

History

Presented in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirement
for the degree of Master of Arts at
Concordia University
Montreal, Quebec, Canada

September, 1975

ABSTRACT

Yarema Gregory Kelebay

THE UKRAINIAN COMMUNITY IN MONTREAL

This essay is an historical study of the Ukrainian community in Montreal from 1904 to 1967.

The Introduction gives the reasons for this study and outlines my approach. As a background, Chapter I reviews all of the available literature on the subject and attempts to present a picture of the Ukrainian community in Montreal as it appeared on the eve of the Second World War. This chapter also introduces the conceptual scheme used in this essay, which is Louis Hartz's "theory of colonial history" and indicates how it will be applied to the Ukrainian immigrant community in Montreal.

Chapter II deals with the European background and the "intellectual baggage" of the different fragments of Ukrainian immigrants who came to Montreal between 1904 and 1967.

The third and final chapter analyzes the interaction among the different fragments of Ukrainian immigrants in Montreal and concludes by focusing on those institutions in their community which distinguished its development and modernization in Montreal since 1947.

TABLE OF CONTENT

Preface

Canadian historians have largely neglected the study of social history. Few have dealt with immigration. There are a number of reasons for this.

Until very recently, history has not been sociologically oriented. It has primarily been interested in story telling about the "court" from official sources. The preponderant majority of mankind has been ignored. The interest in populations and their patterns of living and thinking is recent. It is the result of the rising prominence of sociology and of what Professor C. Vann Woodward calls "a variant of modern existentialism". Consequently, new "radical" or "guerilla" history is attempting to find new themes, approaches or techniques and is groping for a new relevance.[1]

Canadian history in particular has been plagued by the whig "Colony to Nation" epitome. The "good guys" have been the nation builders and unifiers. The "bad guys" were their foes. True historical drama took place only among this teleological cast and immigrants were just one of the necessary raw materials for this production, to be casually mentioned and quickly dropped, in order to get ahead with the drama.[2]

Even among Candian historians favorably disposed to social history, the question of immigration has not been

given adequate attention. This is largely because these historians have long considered the immigrant to have been economically self sufficient. In their view, since the immigrant took no part in the exchange economy and made no contact with it, he had no economic significance to anyone but himself. However, Vernon Fowke says that the "assumption of the self sufficiency of the pioneer farmer is incorrect. The Canadian pioneer at no time was self sufficient".[3] This, of course, is even more true of the urban immigrant.

Also, the historians favorably disposed to social history developed an elitism. Professor H.G. Gutman says that the weakness in the conceptual scheme of the founding "Wisconsin School" of labor history is that "it is a sort of elite trade union labor history emphasizing trade union development and behavior, strikes and lockouts and radical movements." But Gutman argues against the "artificial" separation of labor and immigration history.[4]

Among the Canadian historians who have taken an interest in immigration and ethnic history the dominant rhetoric has been that of the failure and assimilation of ethnic groups. The evidence sought by them is the evidence of the ethnics' progress, adjustment, success and assimilation. This is true to some extent. On the other hand there seems to be something unmeltable about

the ethnics which remains unchanged and is difficult to change. This is clearly evident in the recent resurgence of minority group and ethnic activity.

Finally, in order to understand and explain immigrant behavior and value systems a Canadian historian must delve into European and other history, obviously not their interests of first choice. It is with some of these considerations in mind that I began my study.

Introduction

In this paper, I will attempt to give an introductory outline of the social history of the Ukrainian community in Montreal between the years 1947 and 1967.

Although the Ukrainians in Montreal have a rich and interesting past, they have been largely neglected by Canadian social historians. My work will be an attempt to take a step toward altering this situation, and indicating an untapped and fruitful area of historical research.

I have chosen the years 1947-1967 as a period of study for two reasons. Firstly, it was a major period of immigration into Canada and secondly, a significant period in the development of the Ukrainian community in Montreal.

The Ukrainians of Montreal make for an interesting study for several reasons. First, in 1947 the earlier immigrants were joined by a large group of post World War II emigres. These political emigres were very much in the tradition of the Loyalists who came to Canada because political conditions in their original country had become inhospitable. Secondly, the Ukrainian ethnic group in Montreal differs from other ethnic groups in the city in that they cannot return to their homeland at convenience because from their point of view it is not free and access

is simply forbidden to them. Unlike many other ethnic groups in Montreal they do not have the prestige of having a national home they can identify with. Thirdly, they are not only an ethnic minority but a religious minority as well. The majority of Ukrainians are either Ukrainian (Uniate) Catholics or Ukrainian Orthodox.

There are two other distinguishing characteristics of the Ukrainian ethnic group in Montreal. It is the smallest significant Ukrainian urban community in Canada and the only major urban community of Ukrainians in a French environment.

In this paper I will assume the analytical existence of a Ukrainian community in Montreal in order to avoid the theoretical problem of definition. The question of community remains a problem for sociologists. The best they have come up with is the notion that all community is a question of degree. The attributes on which an ethnic community is founded are probably more specific and numerous than the attributes by which the ethnic group is identified. I am not certain whether the Ukrainian "community" in Montreal has an operational existence, but for the purposes of this paper I have assumed that it is a sufficiently visible entity which lends itself to analysis. In other words, it has an analytical existence.

By Ukrainian I mean anyone born or descended from one born in the Ukraine or what is now the Ukrainian

Soviet Socialist Republic. By community I mean a social formation with a distinguishable pattern of life to some coherent and visible extent based on origin, language, custom, religion, organization and aspiration. I have chosen Montreal because an urban area or municipality is an accepted natural place in which to study communities.

As a background to the two decades under study I will briefly sketch the history of the Ukrainian community from its origins to 1947. I will describe these origins as having been the result of a population fall-out or spillage of immigrants to Montreal in the course of the implementation of a government policy of immigration. This policy is characterized as a form of "domestic imperialism" and spatial apartheid which intended to separate these new immigrants from the "charter groups" by dumping them "out west".

The brief history of the Ukrainian community in Montreal will be sketched through a review of the available literature that deals directly with the Ukrainians in Montreal. This literature portrays the beginnings of the Ukrainian settlements in Montreal, locates the vicinities in which Ukrainians lived and briefly describes the nature of Ukrainian community life. It appears that the most important aspect of this community's life before 1947 was religion and the most decisive event the religious "schism" which occured in 1925. This sociological literature then

continues on to show how on the eve of the Second World War Ukrainians began to move out of their first enclaves and into areas of second settlement. Demographic drift indicated the direction of the shifting centers of gravity. Keeping in mind the Ukrainian churches as social points of confluence I simply suggest the possible future use of "central place theory" for an understanding of the Ukrainian community in Montreal. The marketplace is not the center of all social systems.

Ukrainians came to Montreal in discernible clusters or fragments and in certain time periods. They brought more than simply their language, customs, religion and folklore. They also brought more than their menus. They have brought something important which most historians have tended to ignore. Each fragment of Ukrainian immigrants that came to Montreal brought a different "intellectual baggage". For example, the pre-1947 immigrants came largely for what can be called economic reasons. They came to earn and the hope to return. The post-1947 refugees were predominantly political escapees or emigres.

In attempting to explain the impact and importance of the post-1947 refugees, I will use Louis Hartz's "theory of colonial history" as a conceptual scheme. I will characterize the "intellectual baggage" of each discernible fragment of immigrants between the turn of the century and 1947 and between 1947 and 1967.

As a result of the interaction among the different fragments of Ukrainian immigrants and the chemistry which occurred, I will argue that an explosion of activity took place within the Ukrainian community in Montreal after 1947. This activity made the community visible and took it out of the "culture of silence" or, what Leon Trotsky on an earlier occasion in reference to the proper place for what he deemed to be the "history-less Slavs", called "the dustbin of history". The post-1947 refugees activated a process of cultural and ethnic re-affirmation and subjected the Ukrainian community in Montreal to a process of "Ukrainianization". This was evidenced by their leadership in the development of different aspects of Ukrainian life such as church construction, entrepreneurship, the creation of financial institutions, the acquisition of property, the organization and support of a radio communication program, the organization of education, publications and the multiplication and diversification of Ukrainian secular institutions, within a centralized framework. This led to the emergence of a more elaborate Ukrainian community in Montreal after 1947. As a result of the elaboration of Ukrainian community life I will suggest that the community began to undergo a process of modernization between 1947-67.

My study ends with the year 1967 for several reasons. It was the year of Canada's centennial. That is a sort of

landmark. 1967 also marked the coming of a new generation of Ukrainians raised or born in Montreal to an age when they have a voice in community affairs. And it was the year that Ukrainians in Montreal realized thet they were living in a new and different Montreal and Province of Quebec as a result of the Quiet Revolution.

I

There are three sociological studies of the Ukrainian community in Montreal. In 1935, S,W. Mamchur wrote a Master's thesis at McGill University under the title "The economic and social adjustment of Slavic immigrants in Canada with special reference to the Ukrainians in Montreal." In 1939, also at McGill University, C.M. Bayley wrote a Master's thesis with the title "The social structure of the Italian and Ukrainian immigrant communities in Montreal". The third is also a Master's thesis written at the University of Montreal in 1964 by N.A. Hrymak-Wynnycky and called "Les Eglises Ukrainiennes à Montreal". From reading Mamchur's and Bayley's theses one can get a composite picture of the Ukrainian community as it existed on the eve of the outbreak of the Second World War. Hrymak-Wynnycky deals with the development and construction of Ukrainian Catholic and Orthodox churches in Montreal.

In his thesis Mamchur argues that immigration is always the result of "push" and "pull" factors in the emigrating and immigrating countries involved. Disenchantment at home and the opportunity of owning land in the Last Best West proved sufficient to cause thousands of Ukrainian immigrants to come to Canada. However, for many that journey out west was never completed because

they decided to remain in Montreal and seek work in industry as laborers.[5]

Since the origins of the Ukrainians in Montreal were unplanned and accidental, they are difficult to trace. Mamchur and Bayley dated the origins of Ukrainians in Montreal to 1904 while Krymak-Wynnycky wrote that the first Ukrainian family came to Montreal in 1899.[6] This was the era of the Laurier Liberals and the age of the "National Policy". By 1878 the National Policy had developed into three important goals: a protective tariff, a transcontinental railway, and the encouragement of massive immigration into Canada. According to Vernon Fowke, it was a policy of expansion to create a "Big Canada".[7] The success of the policy in the Laurier period under Clifford Sifton, the Minister of the Interior, is now proverbial. Immigrants swarmed to Canada to join the original colonists.

Sifton's immigration policy was a source of controversy in Canada. Many Canadians thought it was misguided. Some people nervously referred to immigrants as "Sifton's pets", the "scum of Europe" and took sarcastic pleasure in phrases such as "the gall of the Galician", "the hungriness of the Hungarian" and the "dirtiness of the Doukhobors" and there was constant talk of invasions (as in "barbarian invasions"). There was a widespread belief that Canada was, as Stephen Leacock feared, "badly damaged".[8] But whatever was their

reception, the first south-eastern European immigrants came to Canada. The Canadian government's departure from its past policy of "preferring" immigrants from only north-western Europe, Britain and the United States, was the origin of the Ukrainian community in Montreal.

The intent of Sifton's policy was to populate the underdeveloped Dominion with immigrants. However, these "unpreferred" immigrants were to be immediately directed "out west". According to the Montreal Star of the period, they were certainly not to "congest cities".[9] The ushering of immigrants out west was to silence the critics of this controversial immigration policy. In the opinion of Professor Allan Smith, it was a Canadian form of "domestic imperialism".[10] It was a case of spatial apartheid based not on the color of the immigrants' skin but rather on the color of their accents notwithstanding the propaganda from official agencies about "noble peasants in sheepskin coats".

In spite of the intention to transport immigrants out west, there was some "fall-out" which remained in eastern cities. It is this fall-out or "spillage" from the thousands who came heading out west that led to the emergence of ethnic communities in eastern cities. The Ukrainian community in Montreal began this way.

The question of the number of Ukrainians in Montreal prior to 1947 is complex and impossible to answer accurately.

This was not a straight matter of mathematics or statistics. There was the question of national or racial origin, mother tongue, place of birth, point of departure, the competence and conscientiousness of census-takers and ultimately ethnic identity or political consciousness on the part of the immigrant being polled.

The predominant majority of Ukrainians who came to Montreal were Galicians. That is, they were from the Ukrainian province of Galicia in western Ukraine. Mamchur argues that more than 90% of the Ukrainians who settled in Montreal came from Galicia, and approximately 10% from Bukovina (another north-western province in Ukraine) and "Great (or eastern) Ukraine".[11] The emigration of Ukrainians from those Ukrainian territories under Czarist Russia and the U.S.S.R. after the 1917 Revolution was negligible. These territories were of course those of eastern or "Great Ukraine".

Galicia (western Ukraine) was part of the Austro-Hungarian empire prior to World War I. Galicia became annexed to Poland in the inter-war period and after the Second World War was "unified" with the rest of "historical" Ukraine in the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic.

This constant changing of hands created an identity problem among Ukrainians from Galicia and a labelling problem for the Canadian authorities. The Galicians who were coming to Canada were not coming from an independent Ukrainian national state. When asked their country of origin

or nationality they would answer "galician", "ruthenian" or "rusyn" (from the ancient name of 'Rus' designating western Ukraine, and which inevitably was misunderstood to mean "russian"). Many of those who came to Canada prior to 1914 would also answer "Austrian". In the inter-war period many also answered "Polish".

This problem of identity among Ukrainians and the confusion it created among Canadian immigration officials makes it difficult to establish accurate statistics about the actual number of Ukrainians that came to Montreal. This problem was further compounded by the fact that the designation of "Ukrainian" did not exist in the Canadian census until 1931. In 1931 the designation of "Ukrainian" was used for the first time.

The 1931 census shows that there were 3510 Ukrainians in Montreal and 4340 Ukrainians in the Province of Quebec. The other areas of visible Ukrainian settlement in Quebec were Val D'Or and Rouen-Noranda.[12] Accepting these figures, Mamohur gives the following distribution of Ukrainian settlement according to wards in 1931.[13]

AREA	TOTAL	%
Point St. Charles	1159	33
Central Slum	817	23.2
Frontenac	690	19.7
Cote St. Paul/Ville Emard	171	4.9

Park Extension	167	4.8
Rosemount	144	4.1
Ahuntsic	68	1.9
Rest of Montreal	294	8.4

Bayley's statistics on the number of Ukrainians in Montreal are somewhat different from Mamchur's. Although his figures are admittedly approximate and "unofficial" his intention was to go beyond and improve upon the census of 1931. The following is a ward by ward breakdown as established by Bayley in 1939.[14]

AREA	TOTAL
Point St. Charles	3000-3500
Central Slum	1200-1500
Frontenac settlement	2300-3000
Lachine	1200-1500
Ville Emard/Cote St. Paul	350-400
Rosemount	600
St. Michel	200
Ahuntsic	200

The earliest immigrants generally settled adjacent to places of employment and economic opportunity. Since later arrivals would automatically be drawn towards those of their own nationality and language, there developed

vicinities in Montreal toward which Ukrainians gravitated. As can be seen from both Mamchur's and Bayley's statistics the first such areas of settlement for Ukrainians were Point St. Charles, the Central Slum area, the Frontenac settlement, Lachine and the industrial satellite area of Cote St. Paul/Ville Emard.[15] These areas were either an integral part of or immediately adjacent to what Professor T. Copp calls "the culture of poverty" in Montreal.[16]

In attempting to understand the pattern of Ukrainian settlement in Montreal one must utilize the concepts of "natural place" or "vicinity". Vicinity is more appropriate and accurate than "neighborhood" or "ghetto". There was never enough Ukrainians in any one place in Montreal to give them a majority or plurality in an area so as to call it a "ghetto". The vicinities in which they lived also never provided them with a sufficient variety of self-owned services as a community. In this sense Ukrainians were everywhere outsiders.

Although the vicinities in which they lived were not highly visible neighborhoods or ghettos that assumed something like a Ukrainian character, they became sufficiently distinct and discernible. These natural vicinities eventually became distinguishable by a cultural or social, but most often, a religious central place such as a church, which served as a focal point for the vicinity. In this

sense "central place theory" can be meaningfully applied to Ukrainian churches in Montreal. To the extent that the churches were the sole meeting places or confluence points of not only religious but educational, linguistic, political, cultural, recreational and even economic activity, to that extent it can be said that the Ukrainian community in Montreal was an undifferentiated, highly integrated and traditional community.

Writing his thesis in 1939, Bayley was more explicit about the nature of the vicinities in which Ukrainians lived. The Point St. Charles settlement with Centre st. as its axis was, he says, "a genuine slum". This settlement had a compact "well defined location" with a sense of "solidarity" and "neighborliness" and without "residential restlessness". Most of the immigrants that came prior to 1914 favored this area along with the Frontenac settlement.

The Frontenac settelement had Frontenac st. as its axis. This area Bayley says, "was not a slum". Here Ukrainians often "went wild", especially Saturday nights, and were in conflict with the local French Canadian clergy who urged the rentiers to keep out the foreigners.[17] The Frontenac settlement tended to "dominate Ukrainian life in Montreal".[18]

The Central Slum area with St. Lawrence Blvd. as its axis was the third area of Ukrainian settlement. However,

this was a "temporary abode" that housed "each successive immigrant group entering Montreal".[19] Here the Ukrainians were not really a "part of a colony". They were mostly "post World War I immigrants", all of whom were "renters" and mostly "single". The area as such had no "Ukrainian identity". From the Central Slum, Ukrainians moved either to one of the established Ukrainian vicinities, or to any other part of the city that occupational opportunity or affluence took them. As a result, Mamchur says, "there was no ward where no Ukrainians lived".

In 1907-08 many Ukrainains followed industry into Lachine and lived in the Dominion st. and Central Park districts. This was a "farm community of Bukowinians". Between them and the Galicians of Montreal "existed social distance and jealousy". Here "family life and neighborhood life predominated over institutional life".[20]

The Ukrainians in Cote St. Paul and Ville Emard followed the Montreal Light, Heat and Power Company which moved from the Frontenac area to Cote St. Paul in 1926. These Ukrainians lived in the vicinity of Monk Blvd. and depended "on the Point St. Charles settlement for an organized social life".[21]

On the eve of World War II Ukrainains began to visibly drift to areas of "second settlement". Discernible concentrations of Ukrainians could be seen in Park Extension

Ville St. Michel and particularly Rosemount. Bayley says that an important factor in this movement was "a real estate agent", a "first class salesman of independent means" who had a "mission rather than a profit motive", and began to sell land to the more affluent Ukrainians in Rosemount. He even "sold one house at a considerable loss knowing six other families would follow his client to Rosemount". 22

Mamchur and Bayley both argue that the community of Ukrainians in Montreal was largely organized around its churches. These churches began to be organized almost immediately upon the immigrants' arrival and were among the first formal institutions that they established.

The establishment and development of these churches is the subject of Hrymak-Wynnycky's thesis. Her thesis shows that in the period prior to 1947 an independent Ukrainian ecclesiastical life was organized. The religious foundations for the Ukrainian community in Montreal were set.

In Lachine, the Orthodox church of St. John of Sochawa was built by Ukrainians from Bukowina in 1911. Shortly after, when a faction of this congregation decided to assign this church under the jurisdiction of the "Russian mission" another faction rebelled and left this church. As a result, the first Ukrainian Orthodox church on the

island of Montreal fell out of the mainstream of Ukrainian life and continued serving only a small faction of Ukrainians in Lachine. The more politicized Orthodox Ukrainians left and were without a church.

The first Ukrainian Catholic parish was organized and the church of St. Michael's built on the corner of Iberville and Hochelaga streets in the Frontenac settlement in 1917. This church served the Ukrainains of the Frontenac, Point St. Charles and Central Slum settlements. It was the first Ukrainian religious center in Montreal. However, by 1924 an important split or schism occurred in the Montreal Ukrainian community. In that year the Ukrainian Orthodox Brotherhood was formed by a group of dissident ex-Catholics with the intention of returning to "the religion of their ancestors" by founding a Ukrainian Orthodox parish. Ostensibly the schism was the result of a conflict about "financial issues" and "policy".[23] The real reason was a fundamental difference of opinion among the new congregation about the future growth and development of the Ukrainian community. The dissidents were hostile "to the attempted domination of Ukrainian life on the part of the Catholic clergy".[24] They were frustrated with the difficulty in obtaining what they termed "satisfactory priests".[25] And most important was the fact that they "wanted a more conscious effort (on the part of the clergy) to preserve the cultural identity

of the group".[26] This split was the beginning of the Ukrainian Orthodox church in Montreal. In 1925 they organized St. Sophie parish and by 1929 purchased an old Baptist church located at 1899 Delormier avenue and renovated it. It was a kind of reformation within the Ukrainian community. And reformations cause counter-reformations.

In 1932 the Basilian Fathers, considered by some to be the "Jesuits" of the Ukrainians, came to administer the Ukrainian Catholic community in Montreal. During the Depression they succeeded in preparing the groundwork for the organization of a separate parish in Point St. Charles and started plans for the construction of a new church there. Then they organized congregations or "mission stations" in Lachine and Ville Emard. Therefore, in the inter-war period the organizational groundwork for the Ukrainian Orthodox and Catholic churches was completed. By 1947 there was the Catholic church of St. Michael's on Iberville st. (see fig. 2), and organized congregations in Point St. Charles, Lachine and Ville Emard served by the Basilian Fathers, and the Orthodox church of St. Sophie on Delormier ave., _____ and the maverick parish of St. John of Sochawa on 5th avenue in Lachine. (see fig. 11)

On the periphery of this Ukrainian community was the Church of All Nations and the Ukrainian Farm-Labor Temple which came to Montreal from Winnipeg in 1923.[27]

In the 1920's the first Ukrainians that came to Montreal were embroiled in their religious controversies and preoccupied with the organization of their churches. During that time another group of Ukrainian immigrants began arriving to Montreal between 1922-29. Many of these immigrants were ex-servicemen and soldiers in the First World War. By the 1930's the attention of the Ukrainian community in Montreal had turned and become focused on these "sovereigntists" who had been involved in, or had observed at first hand, the fight for the independence of Ukraine during 1917-20. After the arrival of this group, virtually no more Ukrainians were to come to Montreal until after 1947.

This is a brief synthesis of the treatment given the Ukrainian community in Montreal by Mamchur, Bayley and Hrymak-Wynnyckyj. All three studies were essentially of a sociological nature. Their work was a very useful and necessary exercise in the recording of facts, places, dates, events, numbers and statistics. However, their studies are strictly descriptive. They are not analytical. Furthermore, with the exception of Hrymak-Wynnyckyj who ends her study in 1964, but who on the other hand deals only with the rise of Ukrainian churches in Montreal, the other authors deal exclusively with the pre-World War II period. Other than focusing my attention at the later

period between 1947-1967, I hope to provide what they lacked, namely, a broad theoretical or conceptual framework for the understanding of immigrant communities and begin dealing with the "intellectual baggage" of the Ukrainian immigrants to Montreal. In short, I want to take a step from dealing with the "outside" to dealing with the "inside" of an historical phenomenon.

In order to explain the phenomenon of Ukrainian immigration to Montreal I will use Louis Hartz's "theory of colonial history".[28] The Hartzian approach is to study new societies founded by Europeans (the United States, English Canada, French Canada, Latin America, Dutch South Africa, Australia) as <u>fragments</u> thrown off from Europe. The key to the understanding of ideological development in a new society is its <u>point of departure</u> from Europe: the ideologies borne by the founders of the new society are not representative of the historic ideological spectrum of the mother country. The settlers represent only a fragment of that spectrum.

Although Louis Hartz used his theory of colonial history to explain the founding of new societies, his approach can be applied to immigration history. Different discernible waves of immigration can be seen as fragments thrown off from a delivering society at a specific historical point of departure. The Hartzian approach can be effectively utilized for understanding each fragment

of Ukrainians that came to Montreal. In doing this one runs the risk of overgeneralization and oversimplification. However my purpose is to introduce and sketch a broad outline of the basic intellectual outlook and the leading ideas of the leading intellectual element of each wave or fragment of immigrants. None of my categories are intended to be exhaustive or definitive. Nor am I pretending to present coherent ideological systems of thought. I will only attempt to convey some of the central notions and core concepts in the "intellectual baggage" of each successive fragment of immigrants that came to Montreal between 1899 and 1967.

There were three waves of Ukrainian immigration to Montreal: 1899-1914, 1922-1929 and 1947-1954. To the first wave that came I have given the label 'Fragment I'. The second cluster I have called 'Fragment II' and the third group I have designated 'Fragment III'.

Fragment I came between 1899-1914. They were the "pioneers" or Drahomanov Man. Fragment II came between 1922-1929. They were the "immigrants" or Sovereignist Man. Fragment III came between 1947-1954. They were the "refugees" or Nationalist Man.

I am purposefully using the terminology of "pioneers", "immigrants" and "refugees" in this context. Perhaps I

am making too much of semantics. However, in my view these terms connote different psychological attitudes to the newcomers. These terms are derivatives of different historical contexts and policies. It appears to me that "pioneer" (or "colonist") is a derivative of imperial policy. The "immigrant" is a creature of nationalist policy and "refugee" is the result of humanitarian or internationalist policy.

II

The Ukrainian pioneers who left their country for the "eldorado" across the ocean had to be among the most enterprising and adventurous of their class. In the late 19th century, it was they who felt the social and economic injustices in their native land most acutely. Their formative years in the Ukraine were the 1870's, 1880's and the 1890's.

Their intellectual mentor was a Ukrainian thinker who enjoyed a wide popularity among the Galicians at the close of the century, Michael Drahomanov (1841-1895). Drahomanov was a university professor. Besides his own popularity, his ideas influenced a young student by the name of Ivan Franko (1861-1916). Franko turned out to be

a rather prolific writer with an extraordinary capacity with a variety of literary genres such as short stories, narratives, poems, letters, sketches, satires and social and psychological studies.[29] Through Ivan Franko's talent many of Drahomanov's ideas became accessible to the Ukrainian people, particularly in Galicia. In order to understand some of the central notions in the intellectual baggage of the Ukrainians who came to Montreal before 1914, we must look at the writings and teachings of Michael Drahomanov.[30]

According to E. Borchak in Ukraine: A Concise Encyclopaedia, Drahomanov's social ideas were based upon democracy, the positivism of Auguste Comte, the socialism of Pierre Proudhon, and federalism.[31] In his writings he advocated ideas such as "the renewal of Ukrainian literature and learning", "the study of the Ukraine", "the advancement of masses through rational propaganda not bloody uprisings", "the study of European languages", "reading and literacy", "the preservation of faith, custom and tradition", "the organization of co-operatives and self reliance associations", the importance of "the household", "democracy" and "socialism". Some of his phrases were "zemlya i volya" (land and freedom), "activism" and "nationality".[32] Drahomanov believed in the democratization of Russia and an eventual federation of autonomous Slav states in place of the Tsarist and Austro-

Hungarian empires, the two empires which ruled over Ukrainian territories. The Tsarist empire was to be transformed into a federal republic composed of twenty states, four of which would constitute the Ukraine.[33] Drahomanov dismissed the idea of Ukrainian "separatism", which had begun to be advocated, as "empty talk" and did not see the Ukrainian national situation as being divorced from the system or complex of Russian affairs.

The three main tenets of Drahomanov's political philosophy were humanitarianism, cosmopolitanism and socialism. His principles were "humanity and nationality" putting humanitarian interests above national interests. Later, writing in the inter-war period, the Ukrainian nationalist theoretician Dmytro Donzow accused Drahomanov of having a "ruthenian complex" and of excessively subscribing, along with the poet Ivan Franko, to rationalism, anti-clericalism, materialism and socialism. In short, Drahomanov was a democratic agrarian socialist who had been influenced by the political and revolutionary activity of Russian democratic circles. His ideas were at the center of the intellectual baggage of the leading element of Ukrainian pioneers who came to Montreal prior to the First World War.

Although its origins are obscure, by 1920 there was a very active and well organized Drahomanov Society

in Montreal with its headquarters and meeting place at 417 Ontario street.[34] There was also an Ivan Franko Society which used the hall of the Catholic St. Michael's parish on Iberville street.[35] The Ukrainian Catholic clergy took a dim view of the ideas of Drahomanov and Franko. It is possible that the popularity of Drahomanov's and Franko's teachings among a significant portion of the Ukrainian pioneers in Montreal, and the Catholic clergy's opposition to them, contributed to the religious schism of 1925. There is some suggestion of this in that one of the more active and articulate spokesmen of the Drahomanists was Yurij Drahan who had come to Montreal fron Pleasant Home, Manitoba to study medicine at McGill in 1924-25. Drahan was very active in the 1925 schism and instrumental in having the dissident Ukrainian Orthodox Brotherhood formed in 1925.[36]

Furthermore, if Drahomanov's and Ivan Franko's ideas were at the center of the intellectual baggage of the first Ukrainian pioneers to Montreal the same may have been true for the Ukrainians who went "out west". Since Drahomanov's views were not unique to the Ukraine and Galicia but were winning acceptance in much of Europe at the turn of the century, these views may have influenced other European immigrants that ended up in the Canadian west. If so, this could help explain the more favorable reception that Canadian "third parties" and the "progressive" movement received in western Canada.

The second fragment of Ukrainians that came to Montreal between 1922-1929 is more difficult to describe. One cannot understand the point of view of Fragment II Ukrainians unless one appreciates the developments in the Ukraine since 1914. These immigrants were largely people who came as a result of the "vyzvolnij zmahannya" (liberation contest) during the First World War and the Russian Revolution.

W.H. Marunchak describes the situation in the Ukraine out of which they came to Canada in this way:

> "For six full years, Ukraine was the terrain for war operations. In the beginning, the front battles were waged between Russia on one side and Austria and Germany on the other, to see which side would have the right to control Europe. Ukrainian patriots were waiting for the moment when these two contending sides - both occupying Ukrainian lands - would weaken themselves enough for the rightful owners of their respective territories to raise their voice and take possession of their lands. Such a long awaited moment arrived with the downfall of the Russian empire in March 1917. A constitutional assembly gathered in Kiev which called into being the political leadership, which became "the Ukrainska Centralna Rada" - Ukrainian Central Council - with Prof. Mykhaylo Hrushevsky as its head. This move called upon the Ukrainian National Congress then allocated to the Ukrainian National Council, a wide ranging authority "to take the national affairs into their own hands", and in November, 1917 the Council proclaimed the Ukrainian National Republic, on ethnographic Ukrainian lands(territories). On January 22nd, 1918, the Ukrainian National Council proclaimed the full independence of the Republic of Ukraine, in Kiev. Red Russia, which had strengthened its position in the north, was not at all pleased with the creation of the Ukrainian

National Republic that had always, both politically and militarily, weighted the scales of its interests toward the West. The ink had barely been dry on the proclamation form of the "Chetvertey Universal" (Fourth Universal) when a sudden need arose to defend Kiev, the capital of Ukraine, from the advancing Bolshevik army. The Brest-Litovsk peace treaty of February, 1918, signed by the Central Powers, Germany Austro-Hungary Bulgaria and Turkey, strengthened the powers of the young republic. But the new allies abused the confidence of the young partner and with the aid of military force established in Ukraine, a system of government with Hetman Pavlo Skoropadsky at its head... In the meantime, with the fall of Austria, Galicia and Bukovina which had been under Austrian rule, joined to form, in November 1918, the Western Ukrainian National Republic, which in January 1919, in Kiev, proclaimed the union of all Ukrainian lands as an independent state under the rule of the Ukrainian, so called Directoria, headed by Symon Petlura. Poland, reborn during the First World War - and strengthened by France - went to war with Western Ukrainian National Republic at the same time as the Red Russian Army attacked Ukraine from the east. 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. Roumania, which had been helping Poland in its war with Ukraine, annexed Bukovina, while the remaining part, known in olden days as "Karpatska Rus" (Carpathian Rus) and by its modern political name of Carpatho-Ukraine, went to Chechoslovakia... Instead of two pre-First World War occupants, there were now four of them." [37]

As a result the second fragment of Ukrainian came to Montreal. These immigrants were more politicized and patriotic than the first fragment of pioneers, but much less socialistic. The leading element of this fragment were ex-members of the Ukrainian Army Organization or other military formations and ex-soldiers who had in

one way or another participated in the unsuccessful defence of Ukraine. In a sense, these Ukrainians were the first national autonomists who, due to their proximity to the developments in Ukraine during the First World War, had turned against Ukraine's "proven enemies" and particularly against the ideas of the Russian Revolution and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. These Ukrainian patriots wanted a "sovereign and cultured" Ukrainian nation state. In the best sense they were "sovereignists" who had been personally involved in Ukraine's defeat because Ukrainians were "unprepared". (The "unpreparedness" thesis is the most popular explanation for the failure of Ukrainian independence in Ukrainian historiography.) And they were "unprepared" because their ideas and ideology was undeveloped and murkey. They simply had an independentist notion and stood for phrases such as "enlightenment and culture", "education", the "trident" (the Ukrainian national emblem or symbol) and "God and the Ukraine". Their patriotism was not nationalistic and their thinking was somewhat eclectic.

These Fragment II Ukrainians were coming to Montreal from a Galicia where any mode of consensus that may have existed prior to the War was destroyed with the loss of Ukrainian independence and the resultant post-mortems, allegations, recriminations, bitterness and complaints.

They were proud, patriotic and defeated. Upon arriving in Montreal they organized themselves within the Ukrainian National Federation, soon to be located on Prince Arthur street in the Central Slum settlement, somewhat removed from the life of the Ukrainian pioneers in other parts of the city.[38]

The Fragment III Ukrainians who came to Montreal after the Second World War were from a Galicia where there existed an entire spectrum of opinion ranging from left to right. This diversity and intensity of opinion was the result of the unsuccessful "vyzvolnyj zmahannya" (liberation game) and the failed Ukrainian Revolution so the deabates were lively and hot.

These refugees were very different from the "staro kanadyjci" (old Canadians), as they were soon to be called. This fragment was a younger breed of Ukrainian with a different outlook on life. The circumstances and conditions in the Ukraine which they had left were also different. Although the differences were not immediately apparent, they soon became defined. It was evident that the "staro kanadyjci" came to Canada for largely economic reasons. They were economic immigrants who came for opportunity and largely economic dreams and hopes. Many of them had planned to stay temporarily, to earn and then return. The newly arrived post World War II refugees were pre-

dominantly political refugees. They had political hopes and ideas and a well grounded fear of political punishment and persecution at the hands of the Stalinist regime if they went back to Ukraine. They appeared to be more politicized, better educated, more literate and articulate and better skilled than the old Canadians. Like their predecessors to Montreal, most of them were also from the western parts of the Ukraine and the region of Galicia.

Between the two World Wars eastern Ukraine was part of the U.S.S.R.. Western Ukraine and Galicia were part of Poland. After the Second World War, the Soviets accomplished what the Ukrainians were not able to accomplish for centuries; the Soviets "unified" all historically Ukrainian territories and all Ukraine became part of the U.S.S.R. as a Soviet Republic. When Stalin "invited" all Soviet citizens back to their homelands after the war, western Ukrainians argued that having been Polish not Soviet citizens before the war, they should not be compelled to return. The Allies agreed and thousands of Ukrainians were able to leave for Canada, Australia and the United States.

These refugees re-invigorated Ukrainian life wherever they settled. They reinforced Ukrainian community life and postponed and stalled the process of assimilation. They instigated a process of cultural re-affirmation

and they did this by becoming the leadership in the Ukrainian communities which they joined. This was the case in Montreal after 1947.

The Fragment III Ukrainians who came to Montreal after the Second World War spent their formative years amidst the passionate debates of the 1920's and 1930's that raged in Galicia and which considered itself to be the Piedmont of Ukraine. At this time a new and unprecedented intellectual trend emerged and won the allegiance of a large segment of Galician youth, many of whom would eventually emigrate to Canada and Montreal.

This intellectual trend has been variously described by many analysts, among them the Ukrainian sociologist, Mykola Shlemkewych.[39] Shlemkewych argues that the "pathos" of the unsuccessful Independence Movement encompassed the whole of intellectual life in Galicia. But this "pathos" created two basic tendencies; one was directed to the East, the other turned toward the West.

The contemporary West, the West of Entente, of French and British democracy, was the one that gave Galicia to Poland after the First World War and helped Poland with armaments to effectuate its plan.[40] The contemporary West was also that of Prague, whose hospitality was enjoyed by many Ukrainian emigres. The West was also partially Warsaw, where the government of the

defeated Ukrainian National Republic was established in exile. With the possible exception of Czechoslovakia, all these democratic forces and powers stood on the side of Poland and as such did not attract the aspirations and hopes of defeated Galicia and Ukraine.

However, there was another West, the West in which new forces were being born. There was Italian Fascism and National-Socialism in Germany. These ideas became attractive to the intellectual trend among Galician youth and intelligentsia in the 1930's.[41]

National-Socialism publicly proclaimed that its first enemy was Communism and it was successfully smashing Communism in Germany. It demanded the revision of the Versailles Treaty and its supplementary agreements among which was the annexation of the western parts of Ukraine to Poland. At that time Galicians were subjected to severe discrimination at the hands of the Poles. Furthermore, having been long under Austrian rule, Galicia saw an arbitrator in Vienna who was seen to have been an honest "judge" in Ukraine's conflicts with the Poles. From Austrian gymnasia (high schools) and universities, the Galician intelligentsia came out with a respect and admiration toward German culture. Consequently, Germany's demands about the necessity to revise the world order tended to be received hospitably in Galicia. The western

Ukrainians were also hostile to anything emanating from eastern Ukraine, which at that time was a "republic" within the Soviet Union. These National-Socialist ideas found an eloquent voice in the person of Dmytro Donzow, (1883-1973).[42]

In his intellectual biography of one of the most influential thinkers and publicists in the Galicia of the 1930's, Michael Sosnowsky describes the intellectual development of Dmytro Donzow from socialism, through various shades of nationalism, and finally to mysticism in his old age in exile at St. Faustin, north of Montreal.[43] Sosnowsky showed how Donzow's intellectual evolution related to historical developments in the Ukraine in the first half of the 20th century. Sosnowsky argues that, in reaction to the failed and incoherent independence movement in the Ukraine during the First World War, by 1926 Dmytro Donzow developed an ideology which was to serve as a guide in the next attempt at independence in Ukraine. This was his theory of "Active Nationalism" in which he gave expression to notions such as the "will to rule", "voluntarism", "the truth of ancestors", "the irrational will to freedom", "blind action not subject to the chain of reason", "will as the law of life", "will as the motor force of history", "survival of the fittest", "naked affirmation", "the joy to kill", "the will to rule",

"the necessity for a ruling caste", "romanticism", "mission", "faith", "dogmatism" and particular emphasis on the notions of "national sovereignty", "the imperial idea", the "separation of church and state", "occidentalism", "capitalism", "private property" and "social hierarchy".

This brief characterization of Donzow's thought is no doubt out of context. It is not intended to be a definitive characterization of the extremely complex thought of Dmytro Donzow. Furthermore, I have selected most of the more "dramatic" ingredients of his thought as portrayed by Michael Sosnowsky in order to highlight his thinking. Sosnowsky's book is also beginning to be the subject of a vigorous discussion. Some critics say that Sosnowsky has not sufficiently appreciated the depth of his subject's thought and has unfairly ascribed "borrowing and ecclecticism" to Donzow through a "masterful weaving of quotations". These critics also feel that Sosnowsky's final picture of Donzow as a "Faustian mystic in St. Faustin" is totally unfair.

On the other hand it should be made eminently clear that I do not intend to leave the impression that Donzow was a "fascist" or "nazi" in the vulgar sense of those words. Neither does Michael Sosnowsky. Sosnowsky describes Donzow's theory and political philosophy as "active nationalism". Whether this theory was borrowed by Donzow or whether it was his own is an open question. Donzow's

critics tend to say it was borrowed from philosophical precursors to national-socialism. Donzow's sympathizers argue that his views were simply "spiw zvuchnyj" (similar sounding) to national-socialism and its apologists. My point is simply that borrowed or not, Donzow's ideas are more akin to national socialism than to international socialism or communism.

Both Shlemkewych and Sosnowsky agree that Donzow was the most influential publicist during the 1930's in Galicia. His philosophy was accepted by most of the Galician youth and intelligentsia at the time. The most important ingredients in this system of ideas were; anti-communism, the revision of the Versailles Treaty, conservatism, an admiration for German culture and an "excessive looking to Vienna", hostility to things coming from communist occupied eastern Ukraine and a non-acceptance of democracy as a means of gaining independence.[44]

In 1929, in Galicia, the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (O.U.N.) was formed as a mass organization with, what Shlemkewych calls, "a totalitarian ideology". Whether the ideology of the O.U.N. was totalitarian is debatable. Defenders of the O.U.N. claim that their ideology was not totalitarian but rather based on "the military principle with all its ethical content". They say that the central idea of the "military principle"

was "vidprava" (dispatch or discharge). Dr. Olynyk-Rachmanny particularly stresses the ethical content of the military principle and differentiates it from the unethical and value-less "feuhrer principle". He argues that the nationalism of the O.U.N. was a "Biblical nationalism".[45]

In any case, Shlemkewych says that in the 1930's the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists became the spiritual and political antithesis of all other organized forces in Galicia and Ukraine.[46] It was this force that most ardently demanded a sovereign and independent Ukrainian national state. During the Second World War it was this force and its sympathizers whose prime target was the Soviet regime in the east and the Polish government in the west. Their aims met with those of the Axis powers, to the extent that at that historical moment they were somewhat similar. But they were not totally similar in that their quest was not empire and conquest but national liberation. In spite of this, the similarity has led people in some circles to conclude that Ukrainians were widely "fascist" or "nazi" during the Second World War. Parts of early Italian fascism and early German national-socialism may have been attractive to Galicia for its own historical reasons. Hitlerism at any time, was most certainly not. The Galicians may have been impressed with Mussolini's policy of attempting to halt public urinating

at church walls by the construction of public urinals, but the Galician intelligentsia did not regard what was happening in Germany and Italy uncritically.[47] In spite of Shlemkewych's claim that Galicia looked excessively to Vienna, London was also a "center of attention" for Galicia.[48] In London, Galicia saw "the monarchy", "the imperial idea", "socialism", "the orderly society", the "concept of competition" and "fair play".[49]

When the Soviet armies were proving to be victorious, it was this fragment of Ukrainians which found the impending status quo in the Ukraine and Galicia most dangerous and threatening. The objective conditions that Stalinism was to impose were to be most hazardous to them. It is this fragment that would be most wanted and hunted by the new Soviet regime in Galicia. Their point of departure was the impending Soviet victory.

This is not to say that all post World War II refugees were members of the O.U.N., but rather that a preponderant majority of those who emigrated were active in or subscribed to the fundamental tenets and perceptions of this viewpoint. They had also had a taste of Soviet government in the period between the cynical partition of Poland in 1939 (Galicia fell into Stalin's shpere) and Hitler's invasion of the U.S.S.R. in 1941.

Most of the Ukrainians who arrived in Montreal after

1947 had spent the immediate post-war years in various Displaced Persons camps in Europe, largely Germany. These D.P. camps were veritable beehives of activity and political debate. Certainly the most heated point of discussion was the split which occurred within the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists into two factions; the O.U.N. (m) or Melnykivcy and the O.U.N. (b) or Banderivcy, in February 1941, which did not become public knowledge until the end of the war. This split was certainly the most important intellectual-political division of the war and post-war era and had a dicisive effect on the patterns of community organization, development and cohesion "in diaspora". However, this split does not affect the essential unity of outlook among the Fragment III Ukrainians because the intellectual baggage of both factions was fundamentally similar. The differences were personal, strategic and tactical with regard to the "liberation of Ukraine". It was essentially a psychological conflict and not a collision between outlooks.

This split certainly dominated Ukrainian life in Montreal after the Second World War, as it no doubt did in many other places. It set the themes for debate and prescribed the issues and concerns of the community for years. The history of this conflict has not yet been written. The "Melnykivcy" tended to stress the evolution

of Ukrainian statehood, emphasize alliances, negotiation, and "moderation". The"Banderivcy" stressed revolution, "going it alone", partisan warfare, non-compromise and preparation for war. In short, it was a conflict similar to that between the Mensheviks and Bolsheviks.

III

When Ukrainian refugees began arriving in Montreal in 1947, the existing Ukrainian quarters served as natural receiving societies for them. As a result they predominantly settled in the Central Slum, Frontenac, Point St. Charles and the Lachine and Ville Emard settlements.

It is difficult to establish the exact number of refugees that arrived in Montreal. The Ukrainian population in the Province of Quebec in 1941 was 8001. By 1951 the official census showed the Ukrainian population to be 12,921, an increase of approximately 5000. Of these 12,921 Ukrainians, 11,154 lived in the metropolitan Montreal area.[50] This increase was most probably largely due to immigration.

At first the refugees were treated warmly and sympathetically. The existing "old Canadian" parishes and organizations solicited actively for their membership and support.

However these organizations did not fit the needs nor the political outlook of the refugees. Although attempts were made to accomodate the refugees, by the early 1950's many conflicts arose between them and the "old Canadians".

The pioneers expected the refugees to accept their leadership in the parishes, organizations, associations that they founded, and to join the rank and file. But this was not the case. This business of accomodation and integration of pioneers, immigrants and refugees was a curious thing interwoven with problems of education, upbringing, accent, poise, religion, experience, political conviction and family.

Although there was discord between the staro kanadyjci ("old Canadians") and the novo prybuli ("new arrivals"), a more intense conflict emerged among the emigres themselves. It was the factions they formed that were eventually joined or ignored by the "old Canadians". All emigres are quarrelsome, and the Ukrainian emigres that came to Montreal after the Second World War were no different. The conflict among the emigres tended to dominate Ukrainian political debate in the 1950's and 1960's. It had a very enlivening and educative effect. It put the Ukrainian community in Montreal into a new realm of ideas and controversy.

At the center of all controversy was the conflict between the "Banderivcy" and the "Melnykivcy". Within the

context of a broad "anti-communism" and the common goal of an independent Ukraine, these two factions found little to agree upon. These differences however, were within a generation of people and their acerbity and stubbornness decreased with the rise of a new generation to "a voice" in Ukrainian community affairs and debates.

The politically involved segment of the new generation of post-War babies increasingly began to talk the language not of revolutionary partisan warfare or liberation, but rather the language of the American civil rights movement and of other emerging minorities on the North American scene. Their "vyzvolnyj zmahannya" (liberation contest) became patterned more on the peace and civil liberties movement than on either of the two historical Ukrainian nationalist factions.

If cultures and peoples have, as Margaret Atwood says, "informing symbols", then that of the Ukrainians, old and new, is that of the "Conquered Crossroads" whish has to be liberated from under its latest trespasser, the Soviet government. In spite of all the internal differences within the Ukrainian community, there is one unifying force and that is the sentiment of "anti-communism", which in the Ukrainian mind and historical experience has become synonymous with Russian imperialism. That is something about which the majority of Ukrainians do not disagree.

This anti-communism was most prevalent among the new emigres, for they were political outcasts who had witnessed their native land "united" and integrated into the victorious Soviet Union and on the "wrong" side of the "iron curtain" and the Cold War. They considered themselves ambassadors of an "encaptured" Ukraine in the "free world", with a sense of obligation to do what they could and what their imprisoned brethren could not do on behalf of their own country. They felt a sense of duty to inform the western world about the real face of their "noble ally" and to ask that world for sympathy and support.

Due to the intensity of these sentiments and the chemistry it created within the Ukrainian community, an explosion of activity took place among the Ukrainians in Montreal in the 1950's and 1960's. The prime attention of the refugees was directed at the existing Ukrainian settlements and institutions and they subjected them to a most intense effort of politicization and Ukrainianization. They subjected the community to an active process of a redistribution of deference and power and commenced a process of ethnic re-affirmation. Without any doubt, this period was one of renascence for the Ukrainians in Montreal.

One can judge the nature of a community or society by the goals toward which it directs its energies. In the period after 1947 the Ukrainian community in Montreal demonstrated its essential conservatism by directing its

energies toward a dramatic construction of churches, the re-founding of its traditional "old country institutions" and the elaboration of its heritage and cultural life.

In 1947 there were three Ukrainian churches in Montreal, St. Michael's, St. Sophie's and St. John of Sochawa. St. Michael's Catholic church at the corner of Iberville and Hochelaga streets in the Frontenac settlement served the Ukrainian Catholic constituency. At 1899 Delormier avenue just below Ontario street, stood St. Sophie's Ukrainian Orthodox church. These two churches were the centers for the Catholic and Orthodox constituencies in both the Frontenac and Central Slum settlements. At the same time the Catholic priests of St. Michael served the congregations or as thet were called "mission stations" in the Point St. Charles, Ville Emard and Lachine settlements.

In the Lachine settlement there was the old Orthodox Bukowinian church of St. John of Sochawa. However, having long ago been assigned over to the jurisdiction of the Russian Mission it attracted only a small part of the Ukrainian Orthodox community in the area and fell out of the mainstream of Ukrainian life. The Catholic constituency in Lachine used the Proswita Reading Society's hall on 5th avenue which had been purchased in 1939, renovated and made ready as a community center by 1941.[51]

By 1948 just as the refugees were arriving, the

Ukrainian Catholic congregation in Point St. Charles completed its first church on the corner of Shearer and Grand Trunk streets. Like the previous three churches this church of the Holy Ghost was largely built through the efforts of the old pioneers who came to Montreal before the Second World War.[52]

With the influx of new Ukrainian refugees into every Ukrainian settlement in Montreal the Ukrainian community was strengthened not only in numbers but in vigor, talent and activity. Between 1951 and 1967 there was an outburst of Ukrainian church construction in the Montreal metropolitan area.

In 1951 the Orthodox community in Lachine which had separated from the congregation of St. John of Sochawa completed a new St. George's church at the corner of St. Antoine and 9th avenue. (See Figure 15)

In 1954 St. Michael's Ukrainian Catholic Church in the Frontenac settlement was renovated and a new superstructure erected. (See Figure 2)

In 1956 the Ukrainian Catholic "mission station" in the Ville Emard settlement which had been a satellite of St. Michael's was organized into an independent parish and built its own chapel of St. Josephat on Denonville street. (See Figure 6)

In 1950 the Ukrainian Catholic bishop (Borecky) in Toronto established the first Ukrainian Catholic parish

of St. Basil the Great in Lachine. By 1956 the parishioners had erected a church on the corner of Provost street and 9th avenue. (See Figure 7)

In 1957 the largest Ukrainian church, the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary, was constructed in the Rosemount settlement on the corner of Bellechasse and 10th avenue. (See Figure 8) This was the result of the fact that mjority of Ukrainians in Montreal began moving into this general vicinity.

In 1960 the sub-structure of St. John the Baptist church was constructed by the Ukrainian Catholics in Park Extention on the corner of Stuart and Ball avenues. (See Figure 9) Also in 1960 St. Sophie's Ukrainian Orthodox Cathedral was built on the corner of St. Michel and Bellechasse streets. (See Figure 13) The old church on Delormier avenue was sold and the congregation moved to its new cathedral.

In 1961 another Orthodox church Mary the Protectress, largely for Ukrainians from the Central territories in Ukraine, was constructed on the corner of Rosemount boulevard and Louis Hemon street. (See Figure 17)

In summary, between 1947 and 1967 nine Ukrainian churches were either started, renovated or constructed in the Montreal metropolitan area, probably more churches than in all of Ukraine. By 1963 the state of the Ukrainian Catholic Church in Montreal was as follows; [53]

St. Michael	600 families	3 priests
Assumption of the B.V.M.	750 "	2 "
Holy Ghost	348 "	2 "
St. Basil the Great	110 "	1 "
St. John the Baptist	70 "	
St. Josaphat	25 "	
Ascension [54]	75 "	1 "

In the same year the state of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church was as follows;

St. Sophie	650 families	2 priests
Mary the Protectress	170 "	1 "
St. George	78 "	1 "

The rise of these churches and the places of their construction demonstrated that the Ukrainian community was quite decentralized and multiple centered. It also showed a pattern of demographic movement among the Ukrainians in Montreal. By 1960 it was evident that an increasing amount of Ukrainians were abandoning their "first settlement" areas and moving into the more affluent "second" and "third areas of settlement". (See Maps3-5) Except for Lachine, which remained a rather stable community, Ukrainians increasingly moved out of the Frontenac, Central Slum, Point St. Charles and Ville Emard settlements. Although it is difficult to provide evidence of this generally the Ukrainians from the Frontenac and Central Slum settlements moved north-east into the Rosemount area including St. Michel, Montreal North and particularly St. Leonard. (See Map 5)

On the other hand the Ukrainians in Point St. Charles and Ville Emard moved west into Ville LaSalle. A number of Ukrainians had also began to move into the West Island, the South Shore and Chomedy. (See Map 5) But the densest and most visible areas of Ukrainian settlement in Montreal by 1967 were the Rosemount settlement (particularly St. Leonard), the Lachine settlement and the Ville LaSalle settlement.

An important factor in the direction of Ukrainian drift have been Ukrainian entrepreneurs who came to Montreal as part of Fragment III after the Second World War and started their own construction companies. There were four major Ukrainian owned constructioncompanies which played a role in this demographic drift. In 1960 the Dnipro Construction Company was formed. This company bought land in Ville LaSalle and built approximately 150 homes 40% of which were purchased by Ukrainians.[55] The early 1960's also saw the formation of the Bukowina Construction Company which likewise bought land in Ville LaSalle. It built 104 houses, a "significant" percentage of which were sold to Ukrainians.[56]

In 1963 the Zerkon Construction Company was founded and purchased land in St. Leonard. This company built approximately 120 homes in that area 25% of which were purchased by Ukrainians.[57] These construction companies

were very instrumental in setting the pattern of Ukrainian movement into areas of second and third settlement. The Dnipro and Zerkon construction companies were among the first to start developing and building in the Ville LaSalle and St. Leonard areas. They were the "spark" that lit "the fire" in these new areas of urban development.[58] Many Ukrainians bought homes from these Ukrainian entrepreneurs and were sunsequently followed by other upwardly mobile Ukrainians. This was an important factor in the Ukrainian community and the determination of new areas of settlement in Montreal.

An important aspect of Ukrainian community life that emerged distinctly between 1947-1967 is the Credit Union movement. During this period four Ukrainian credit unions were instituted and developed. The first of these was founded by the "sovereignists" who came prior to World War II. These sovereignists adhered to the basic worldview of the Fragment II Ukrainians and were more enterprising than the original Ukrainian pioneers to Montreal. In 1944 they founded the Ukrainian Montreal National Credit Union. In 1945 this credit union was located on Prince Arthur street. (See Figure 21) By 1956 they had moved to their new headquarters on Hutchison and Fairmount streets. (See Figure 22)

In 1952 the Ukrainian Savings and Credit Union was

founded as an affiliate of the Caisse Populaire Desjardins. This new credit union started in a small store on Napoleon and Hotel-de-Ville streets in the Central Slum area, then moved to 52 Bagg street and eventually to 120 Duluth street east. Recently this credit union purchased a building at 3960 St. Lawrence Blvd. (See Figure 26)

These two credit unions were largely the economic formations of the two major political camps in Montreal after 1947, the Melnykivcy and the Banderivcy. The Melnykivcy (Melnyk-ites) generally gravitated to the earlier and older Ukrainian Montreal National Credit Union. The Banderivcy (Bandera-ites) on the other hand gravitated to the newer Ukrainian Savings and Credit Union. In this period both credit unions have been helpful and supportive financially to the cultural, political, literary activities of their respective sympatico organizations and institutions.

There were two other credit unions developed by Ukrainians in Montreal, both serving largely the Orthodox constituencies and both affiliated with their respective Orthodox churches in Montreal. The Hetman Mazeppa Credit Union was renewed in 1955 in the church at Delormier and then when that congregation moved to its new St. Sophie's Cathedral the credit union moved with it. The second was the Kiev Credit Union started in 1963 by the parishioners of Mary the Protectress church on Rosemount Boulevard.

Therefore by 1963 there were four Ukrainian Credit Unions founded by and serving various ideological or religious constituencies of Ukrainians in Montreal. These credit unions showed a progressive growth and development during the period under study. Their growth in membership and assets demonstrated a readiness and capacity on the part of the Ukrainians to develop and elaborate various dimensions of their social life in Montreal. This development was largely led by Fragment III Ukrainians who brought this notion of self-help from their country of origin. The following Table of Assets shows the increasing growth of the Ukrainian oredit union movement in Montreal between 1953 and 1967.[59]

		Ukrainian Savings and Credit Union (St. Lawrence Blvd.)	Ukrainian Montreal National Credit Union (Hutchison st.)
Assets	1953	$ 51,109	$ 167,550
	1955	148,122	410,346
	1957	175,829	501,438
	1959	221,788	618,531
	1961	389,143	1,008,937
	1963	906,055	1,269,369
	1965	1,391,889	1,788,451
	1967	2,076,208	2,328,076

If Ukrainians were increasingly enjoying the benefits of affluence and upward social mobility a further indication of this was the emergence of Ukrainian resort areas in Quebec which almost exclusively served their ethnic community in Montreal.

When the Fragment III Ukrainians came to Montreal after the Second World War there was only one Ukrainian owned country or resort area, a children's camp owned by St. Michael's Catholic parish which had been purchased by Reverend Timochko in 1938.[60] This was the first children's camp of its kind in Canada. In the post war period many of the new refugees began sending their children there in the summers and when possible visiting it themselves. Camp Ukraina was an important meeting place for Ukrainians of every generation and outlook. The camp was under the administration of the parish committee of St. Michael and thereby largely of Ukrainian pioneers or "old Canadians". Hence the mode of behavior, style, mores and general climate at the camp was set by the pioneers and immigrants and their children. Again there was this chemistry of language, style, class, education and upbringing among the Ukrainians of different fragments. The new refugees found many of the pioneers' ways disagreeable and offensive. So with time they began to look for alternate places of recreation where their preferences would be foremost and dominant.

One of the first constituencies to turn away from St. Michael's Camp Ukraina was S.U.M. (Spilka Ukrainskoji Molodi or Ukrainian Youth Union) a youth organization founded by the Banderivcy as the sympathizers of the O.U.N. (b) were called. In 1955 this group bought a summer camp not

far from Camp Ukraina in St. Theodore. They called their camp Verchovyna. In 1957-58 the Orthodox community of St. Sophie's parish bought a summer camp of their own also. Their camp was also in St. Theodore just down the road from Verchovyna.

In 1959, Plast, another Ukrainian youth organization modeled on Baden-Powell's scouting bought a camp in the eastern townships because the people at Camp Ukraina did not appeal to them and neither did the more politicized and nationalistic "upstart" S.U.M. organization. Plast considered itself an apolitical ideologically undoctrinaire organization for the upbringing of an "elite".

As a result by 1959 there were four publicly owned Ukrainian country areas; three in the northern Laurentians and one in the eastern townships. (See Map 6) For those Ukrainians who preferred not to be too closely associated with organizations' camps, there existed other summer retreats owned by Ukrainian entrepreneurs.[61] All of these summer vacation areas served as community meeting places for Ukrainians in Montreal. They were places of worship, education, recreation, rest, gossip and helped maintain the cohesiveness of each group and the lively friction within the Ukrainian community.

Ukrainian language radio broadcasts first began in Montreal on August 19, 1954.[62] These broadcasts were the

first of their kind in this city. The initiator of these broadcasts was a newly arrived Fragment III Ukrainian refugee to Montreal, Eugene Oryshchuck.

In August of 1954 Eugene Oryshchuck started a weekly Thursday evening half-hour broadcast on the French station CJMS (1280). Shortly after he expanded his broadcast to a one hour format and by 1957 to four per week. When in 1957 for reasons that remain vague all ethnic programs were cancelled by CJMS, Eugene Oryshchuck moved his Ukrainian programs to St. Jean D'Iberville's CHRS (1090) where he had three weekly broadcasts; two afternoon programs on Saturdays and Wednesdays and a morning program on Sunday. In 1957 Eugene Oryshchuck encountered some competition. One of his ex-employees at CJMS, Mr. Kostiuk, began another Ukrainian broadcast on CHLP (1010). He competed with Oryshchuck for two years after which his broadcasts ceased.

In 1964 a new multi-lingual radio station CFMB (1410) was started in Montreal. Here Kostiuk made a second attempt at broadcasting in competition with Oryshchuck but after one year the management of CFMB invited Eugene Oryshchuck to take his place. Oryshchuck began broadcasting from CFMB in 1965 with four weekly Ukrainian broadcasts; Saturday mornings and afternoons, Wednesdays and Thursdays. That year Oryshchuck gave one quarter of his air time to a

new Ukrainian aspirant to broadcasting, Victor Hladun. Hladun carried one broadcast on Saturday afternoons while Oryshchuck produced the other three. Hladun continued until 1966 while Oryshchuck stayed on until 1967.

During his stay at CFMB Eugene Oryshchuck gave another quarter of his air time to his wife Maria, who produced a women's program on Wednesday evenings called Cvity Ukrainy (Flowers of Ukraine). This was quite before the women's movement became more widely popular in the 1970's.

In 1967 Gordon Panchuk, a native Canadian, undertook the production of Ukrainian broadcasts on CFMB. Several years later he was succeeded by John Opariek who continues with one Ukrainian broadcast on Saturday afternoons.

The aim of Oryshchuck's broadcasts was to have a "national program not reflecting any particular political outlook or party."[63] He wanted to give expression to Ukrainian culture, religious life, customs, songs and news about Ukrainian goings on in Montreal.[64]

Broadcasting to Oryshchuck was a full time occupation. His programs were self-financed through advertisements from companies like Dupuis Freres, Labatt, Molson, Greenberg and Steinberg.[65] There were also smaller advertizers such as Sepps and Henry Horky and some travel agencies who saw a market in the rather stable and growingly affluent Ukrainian community. There were personal advertisements by a rising groups of Ukrainian professionals, lawyers, doctors,

insurers and entrepreneurs.

The "heyday" of Ukrainian broadcasting in Montreal were the years 1954 to 1957 at CJMS.[66] Oryshchuck remembers when he first played the Ukrainian national anthem on one of his early broadcasts he was beseiged by listeners "with hysterical enthusiasm and congratulations" for the broadcast.[67] He ascribes the success and popularity of the programs in these years to the nostalgia and sense of anonymity felt by immigrants and refugees. For the first time, these people felt they had an audible voice in Montreal. Oryshchuck's broadcasts were a first step out of the culture of silence.

No doubt the broadcasts did not escape criticism. One of the most recurrent points of complaint was "language".[68] Being a newly arrived Fragment III Ukrainian from Galicia he spoke "Galician" and his listeners heard him through the ears of their own accents.[69] The constituency which was most critical were those Ukrainians who came from Central Ukraine and the Orthodox community. Therefore it is not surprising that virtually all of Oryshchuck's "competitors" were Orthodox Ukrainians from Montreal.

A survey made on the percentage of Ukrainians who listened to Oryshchuck's broadcasts showed that when he was at CJMS between 80 and 90% of the Ukrainians in Montreal stayed tuned. By the time he moved to CFMB the percentage of Ukrainian listeners dropped to approximately 60%.[70] Oryshchuck's programs

as well as those of the other Ukrainian broadcasters were an important communications outlet for Ukrainians in Montreal. They provided a forum for the Ukrainian language, Ukrainian thought, activity and culture. As a result Ukrainians had an audible voice and a new sense of prestige.

However these broadcasts were the voices of Fragment III Ukrainians and it was their decisions which shaped the programs and their content. Through them the ideas and values of Fragment III Ukrainians became public. They evidenced the presence of a new Ukrainian element in Montreal which was becoming increasingly dominant in the patterns of thought and activity in the Ukrainian community. As such they were an important factor in the Ukrainianization of Ukrainians in Montreal.

When Fragment III Ukrainians came to Montreal there were three elementary "schools" for Ukrainian children in the city: the Proswita (Enlightenment) School in Point St. Charles, the St. Sophie's Orthodox Church School on Delormier street, and a school run by Ukrainian nuns affiliated with St. Michael's parish in the Frontenac settlement.[71] Other than Proswita these schools were under the aegis of the Orthodox and Catholic parishes. The instructors in these "Saturday schools" were usually nuns or priests and ministers. But among the newly arrived refugees there were a number of ex-teachers and pedagogues who soon turned their attention

to education. Through their efforts shortly thereafter a network of "schools" emerged to serve the increased Ukrainian population in Montreal scattered in the various settlements. Between 1947 and 1967 seven schools were organized and staffed by the refugee teachers. This movement of school organization was part of the transplanted phenomenon of "Ridna Shkola", (Native School) in Galicia. "Ridna Shkola" had been the name of an educational journal published in Galicia in the 1930's and 1940's. Its purpose was to implement the idea of a national or native education for Ukrainian youth which was being discrimminated against by the Polish administrators in the school system of Galicia. The "Ridna Shkola" was therefore a form of "underground" or "alternate school" system. This was also its nature in Montreal.

A "Ridna Shkola" under the name of Metropolyt Andryj Sheptyckyj was organized in 1950 by Rev. Nazarko and Mr. W. Bryniawsky. Then they organized the first high school level courses or kursy ukrainoznawstva (courses of Ukrainianology) also under the name of Met. A. Sheptycky. These "schools" used various provincial educational facilities on off-hours. The "Ridna Shkola" of St. Sophie's church was revitalized and staffed with better and more trained teachers. S.U.M. the Ukrainian youth organization organized a "Ridna Shkola" for its children in 1959 and high school

level courses in 1964. The Ukrainian National Federation organized another "Ridna Shkola" in 1949 and high school level courses in 1964. By 1967 there were eight elementary "Ridna Shkolas" and five different high school level "Shkolas" in Montreal employing approximately 50 Ukrainian teachers.[72] In this period also, Rev. Dr. Zaleskyj was given a chair of Ukrainian Studies in the Slavic Department of the University of Montreal.

These "schools" were almost entirely staffed by Fragment III Ukrainians and their impact was to secularize, professionalize and Ukrainianize these schools. This meant that the concern of Ukrainian "alternate schools" was no longer only the learning of liturgy, religion, rite, language and custom but also the learning of history, literature, political ideas and geograpgy.

The ethnic press in Canada has shown a constant increase during this century. In 1905 there were two Slavic publications in Canada. By 1965 there were fifty-four and of these thirty-three were Ukrainian.[73]

The period between 1947 to 1967 did not witness the appearance of any major newspapers or publications in Montreal. The Montreal community of Ukrainians depended upon publications from Toronto, New Jersey, Winnipeg and from European centers such as Munich and London.[74] An analysis of the editorial content and issues discussed in

these publications is beyond the purview of this paper and a subject in itself.[75]

In the Canadian Ethnic Studies Bulletin of the Research Center for Canadian Ethnic Studies, Vol. I, No. 1, 1969 from the University of Calgary, Alexander Malycky has published a "Preliminary Checklist" of Ukrainian-Canadian Periodical Publications. There are 549 titles listed, of which 36 minor ones come from Montreal.[76] An analysis of the 36 Montreal titles and their dates of publication shows that 30 commenced publication between the years 1947-1967. Only 6 were published in the period before 1947 and the coming of Fragment III Ukrainians to Montreal. Many of these minor publications tended to appear irregularly but the proloferation of Ukrainian periodicals in Montreal speaks of the advent of a better educated, more literate and politicized fragment of Ukrainians.

In surveying Ukrainian secular or lay organizations one gets the impression that Ukrainians are a very over-institutionalized ethnic group. The institutional and organizational life of the Ukrainians is the most difficult to understand and describe. Although no accurate statistics are available for the years 1947 to 1967 there have existed anywhere between thirty to sixty Ukrainian organizations in any one of those years in Montreal. It is impossible to give a statistical account of the specific number of

organizations, the membership of each or the intricate interrelationships among them. That would constitute a separate and independent study. But in attempting to find one's way through this complexity some of these guidelines should be kept in mind. It is important to remember that the Ukrainian community in Montreal is religiously divided, the two most important and largest groups being the Catholics and Orthodox. (See Table 1) The Orthodox are further divided between those who are Orthodox by "birth" and largely from the Central territories of the Ukraine and the Orthodox by "choice or conversion" most of whom are Galicians or Bukowinians. The founders of the Orthodox church in Montreal were the Ukrainians who became Orthodox by "choice or conversion". Most of the Orthodox Ukrainians by "birth" came only after the Second World War.

The origin of the Orthodox church in Montreal was not only a pure religious "schism" but also a form of political protest and the result of political disaffection with the Ukrainian Catholic clergy in the 1920's.[77] These dissenters were more national-minded than the ultramontane Ukrainian clergy. Consequently, after the "schism" of 1925 these dissenters tended to set up lay organizations and institutions closely associated to and supported by their new church. With the church as their center, the orthodox community founded their own political associations, women's

auxiliaries, youth clubs, financial institutions, choirs and whatnot. That which is Caesar's and that which is God's is not strictly divided.

The Ukrainian Catholic constituency in Montreal is more evidently based on the separation of church and state. The secular organizations of the Catholics are not as closely affiliated with the Catholic churches. Although there are quite a number of these organizations (the 75th Anniversary Book of Ukrainians in Montreal published in 1967 lists approximately 25) the two most important and active formations are the cluster of organizations sympathetic to the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists' Bandera faction, and the other cluster of organizations which are generally sympathetic to the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists' Melnyk faction. The exact nature of their differences is virtually impossible to establish because the sympathetic rank and file are not attuned to the nuances of ideological conflict and the leadership is vague and evasive since the O.U.N. is a secret organization.

The largest and most influential organization adhering to the Melnyk faction is the Ukrainian National Federation. The most active organizations adhering to the Bandera faction are the League for the Liberation of the Ukraine and the Ukrainian youth organization S.U.M.

On the periphery of this basic division are the various

Ukrainian organizations such as the Veterans' Associations, (Ukrainian and Canadian) Pedagogues' Union, Womens' Auxiliaries which are most often associated with parishes, Church Committees, the Sport Association, Students' Clubs, Insurance Companies which usually have their head offices in the U.S.A., Mens' Clubs, Technical Association of engineers and businessmen, Reading Societies, Medical Association and Youth Organizations.[78] A majority of these organizations were either founded or importantly transformed as a result of the influx of Fragment III Ukrainians to Montreal.

Perhaps the best method of surveying this political organization of Ukrainians in Montreal between the years 1947-1967 is by looking at the "supreme" Ukrainian Canadian Committee. Prior to the Second World War there was no such centralizing organization or body. With the outbreak of World War II the Canadian government became interested in being able to speak to the Ukrainians through some sort of single official channel. This was for the purpose of helping mobilize this ethnic group for the war effort. In 1940 efforts were initiated to pursuade Ukrainians "to co-ordinate, co-operate and eventually to centralize" themselves in Canada and Montreal.[79] By 1943 the first Ukrainian Canadian Congress was held in Winnipeg and the Ukrainian Canadian Committee was organized.[80] It was to serve as a co-ordinating executive for all Ukrainian organizations.

A "branch" of this Committee was created in every major center where Ukrainians could be found including Montreal. In its early stages the Montreal Branch of the Ukrainian Canadian Committee was in the hands of Fragment I and Fragment II Ukrainians. Its first president was Mr. Andrij Hucalo who served from 1943 to 1956.[81]

After the war, when the Fragment III Ukrainians began arriving to Montreal they saw that Ukrainians were already organized and "centralized" along the general pattern created during the war. Since the Ukrainian Canadian Committee did not allow for individual private memberships but only for association, club or institutional membership, the Fragment III Ukrainians began to organize and institutionalize themselves so as to win access to the federation. As the refugees' organizations began to emerge and be formed they became constituent members of the Ukrainian Canadian Committee. When the war ended and the ostensible reason for the formation of the Ukrainian Canadian Committe expired, the Ukrainian Canadian Committee stayed on and like many other creatures of the war period in Canada became a permanent fixture in Montreal life. With the coming of the new refugees the Committee became a polyglot of new political parties, ex-soldiers, women's auxiliaries, church committees, sports club, youth organizations, reading societies and other groups. Not only were there new organizations but

several of the established organizations became revitalized with the influx of new members. Some of these associations were highly active and well organized while others were simply "paper tigers". Gradually the Fragment III Ukrainians became dominant both within their particular associations and in the federating executive. As this process of ascendancy took place between the years 1947-1967 the Fragment III Ukrainians became increasingly prominent and influential in the ethnic community's life in Montreal. By 1956, when Mr. A. Hucalo retired from the presidency of the Montreal Branch each of his successors was a Fragment III Ukrainian who came to Montreal after World War Two.[82] In organizing the Ukrainians for the war effort the Canadian government helped the Ukrainians form a single "parliament" at which they could discuss common problems and have a forum for matters of common concern. It was in effect the formation of an effective lobby of Ukrainians in Montreal and other cities which Fragment III Ukrainians succeeded in permeating and gaining control of. This made it possible for them to have a decisive effect on every aspect of community life and shape its pattern of development and give it "public face" between the years 1947 and 1967.

Conclusion

I prefaced this essay with a brief survey of reasons why Canadian historians have largely neglected the study of Canadian social history and particularly immigration. Until recently there was simply no room for immigrants among the conventional historical wisdom in Canada.

In my Introduction I stated what my reasons were for studying and writing about the Ukrainian community in Montreal between 1947 and 1967, how I intended to go about this study and what were its limits.

In chapter one I reviewed the only three existing studies to date of the Ukrainians in Montreal. Through a review of this literature I traced the earliest origins of the Ukrainian community, the Canadian national context into which they came, the factors which determined their source, emergence, nature and number, the locus of their settlement and the character of the vicinities in which they lived in Montreal. This was followed by a brief survey of the most impoertant aspect of their life, religion, and the importance of the "schism" which occurred in the community in 1925.

The three existing sociological studies were characterized as having dealt with a period prior to mine, as having been largely descriptive, statistical and sociological and

lacking a theoretical framework. My study was intended to be more analytical. I intended it to be based on not only what can be observed but also on what can be heard. My intention was to move from the "outside" to the "inside" of the phenomenon of immigration.

In order to do this I applied Louis Hartz's "theory of colonial history" to the phenomenon of immigration. This approach suggested the treatment of discernible clusters of immigrants similarly to the "founding colonists", namely, as "fragments" thrown off from their country of origin. The key to understanding the "intellectual baggage" of such "fragments" is their historical point of departure.

Then I returned to the origins of the Ukrainian community in Montreal and argued that there were three distinct periods of Ukrainian immigration to this city between 1899-1914, 1922-1929, and 1947-1954. Hence there were three discernible fragments each with a different intellectual baggage.

Chapter II of my study deals with the European background of each successive wave of immigrants and characterizes the dominant ideas among the leading sector of each fragment. It provides the reasons why I designated Fragment I as Drahomanov-Franko Man, Fragment II as Sovereignist Man and Fragment III as Nationalist Man. I don't think it is too much to say that in the light of their European back-

ground and each successive fragment of Ukrainians that came to Montreal had been to the "right" of the previous fragment along the "left-to-right" ideological spectrum. If Fragment III Ukrainians considered themselves "revolutionaries" it was because their program would have been sufficiently transformative of the Soviet reality in Ukraine for them to merit the name.

In chapter three I dealt with the number, nature and chemistry among the three fragments of Ukrainians in Montreal and their joint efforts in this city. I argued that among other tensions the prevailing preoccupation was the "old country" argument between the Fragment III Ukrainians who divided into two formations; the O.U.N. (b) or Banderivcy and the O.U.N. (m) or Melnykivcy and that these tensions significantly contributed to a lively, dynamic and absorbing community life.

The dynamism of the community was evidenced by its accomplishments between 1947-1967. These were the organization, renovation and construction of nine Ukrainian churches, the general trend to move out of first areas of settlement into more affluent second and third areas of settlement, the acquistion of property, the emergence of Ukrainian entrepreneurs, the development of four credit unions, the purchase of four community country estates for the members of the community, the support and attention given to

Ukrainian radio bradcasts and programs, the organization of a network of seven Ukrainian "alternate schools" for the "national" education of their children and youth, the proliferation and subscription to a large number of Ukrainian publications and periodicals and the founding of secular political, professional, recreational, social, cultural and financial institutions all centralized by an elected executive called the Montreal Branch of the Ukrainian Canadian Committee.

In arguing the impact that Fragment III Ukrainian refugees had on the earlier pioneers or immigrants, I attempted to show that in the period between 1947-1967 the Ukrainian community in Montreal underwent a process of cultural renascence and ethnic re-affirmation which I described as modernization and Ukrainianization which were largely the result of the "intellectual baggage" that Fragment III Ukrainians brought with them and which was visibly demonstrated by what the Fragment III Ukrainians led the Ukrainian community to accomplish. Not all men always live by bread alone.

Footnotes

1. "Is History Relevant?" The Economist, January 17, 1970. p. 43-44.

2. Careless, J.M.S., "Limited Identities in Canada", Canadian Historical Review, March, 1969, p. 1-10.

3. Fowke, Vernon, THE NATIONAL POLICY AND THE WHEAT ECONOMY, p. 12.

4. Gutman, H.G., WORK, CULTURE AND SOCIETY IN INDUSTRIALIZING AMERICA 1815-1919, p. 561.

5. Interview with O. Diachyshyn, February, 1975.
   In this interview O. Diachyshyn described how he arrived in Montreal in 1929. His destination was to be Winnipeg where upon arrival he was to receive his $25.00 which was to start him off in his new country. Instead he chose to forfeit this money and remain in Montreal. Although this was not legal many others did the same in the hope of finding work in the factories and industry of Montreal.

6. Hrymak-Wynnycky, N.A., "Les Eglises Ukrainiennes a Montreal" (M.A. Thesis) p. 40.

7. Fowke, p. 281.

8. Berger, Carl, THE SENSE OF POWER, p. 151.

9. "The Montreal Star" (Editorials), Jan. 6, Oct. 12, and Oct. 18, 1905.

10. Smith, Allan, "Metaphor and Nationality", Canadian Historical Review, L. 1, 1970, p. 246-275.

11. Mamchur, S.W., "The economic and social adjustment of Slavic immigrants in Canada with special reference to Ukrainians in Montreal" (M.A. Thesis) p. 70.

12. Mamchur, p. 69.

13. Mamchur, p. 69.

14. Bayley, C.M., "The social structure of the Italian and Ukrainian immigrant communities in Montreal" (M.A. Thesis) p. 150.

15. Bayley, p. 40.

16. Copp, T. THE ANATOMY OF POVERTY, p. 10.

17. Bayley, p. 47.

18. Bayley, p. 47.

19. Bayley, p. 24.

20. Bayley, p. 48.

21. Bayley, p. 48.

22. Bayley, p. 12. Bayley does not identify the real estate agent. However in my interview with O. Diachyshyn in February 1975 he told me that a very enterprising real estate agent at that time was a man by the name of Chortkiwskyj. He bought land in the Rosemount area of DesErables and DesEcores streets. Diachyshyn claimed that Chortkiwskyj built virtually every house on that street at that time.

By the way, Diachyshyn also remembered Bayley as a student who came around to many of the Ukrainian community activities in the late 1930's because "he was writing something at McGill about Ukrainians in Montreal".

23. Bayley, p. 152-155. Also, THE GOLDEN JUBILLEE BOOK.. ..OF ST. SOPHIE, p. 140-193.

24. Bayley, p. 156.

25. Bayley, p. 166.

26. Bayley, p. 160-170.

27. Mamchur, p. 180.

28. Hartz, L., THE FOUNDING OF NEW SOCIETIES (1964). Also, Skotheim, R.A., (ed.) THE HISTORIAN AND THE CLIMATE OF OPINION, p. 59-71.

29. Kubijovyc, V., (ed.) UKRAINE: A CONCISE ENCYCLOPAEDIA, V. 1, p. 1016.

30. Sosnowsky, Michael, DMYTRO DONZOW: A POLITICAL PORTRAIT (Study in Ukrainian Nationalism), see p. 405 for Drahomanov. Sosnowsky eloquently argues the importance of Drahomanov at this time and as a precursor to the thought of D. Donzow.

31. Kubijovyc, p. 685.

32. Sosnowsky, p. 7, 30, 34, 38-48, 55, 59, 61, 88, 97, 99, 117, 155, 161, 162, 203, 221, 239, 240, 249, 260, 287, 366. (It should be noted in advance that Sosnowsky's book is written in Ukrainian.)

33. Sosnowsky, (see pages on Drahomanov). (above)

34. Interview with Mr. Andrij Hucalo, March 1975. In my interview with O. Diachyshyn he also corroborated the fact that when he came to Montreal in 1929 there was an active and dynamic Drahomanov Society in Montreal. When I asked him to elaborate he said they were the most active "and attracted the best men and had the best organizers of any Ukrainian organization".

35. Hucalo, March, 1975.

36. GOLDEN JUBILEE BOOK OF ST. SOPHIE, p. 188-193.

37. Marunchak, M.H., THE UKRAINIAN CANADIANS: A HISTORY, p. 357-358.

38. Bayley, p. 130.

39. Shlemkewych, Mykola, HALYCHANSTVO, p. 78-81. (In Ukrainian)
Michael Sosnowsky in his biography of Dmytro Donzow corroborates what Shlemkewych says about the intellectual climate in Galicia in the 1930's. On the other hand, in an interview I had with Dr. M. Antonowych, Dr. R. Olynyk-Rachmanny and Mr. O. Pawliw of the Ukrainian Section of the International Radio Service of the C.B.C. on November 7th 1974, all three interviewees emphatically insisted that Shlemkewych's work was not "scholarly" but "popular". However they did not say that the book was basically flawed.

40. Interview with Dr. M. Antonowych, Dr. R. Olynyk-Rachmanny and Mr. O. Pawliw, November, 1974.
In this interview Rachmanny vigorously disagreed with this point. He said that England never "gave" Galicia to Poland. Rather, England agreed to a twenty-five year protectorate over Galicia after which parliamentary government was to be granted. However, the point is that Poland had a protectorate over Galicia and a lot of "discretionary power". Furthermore only those knowledgeable in the intricacies of foreign policy bothered to make that ditinction. The popular "impression" was that Poland ruled Galicia. Popular impressions are not given much credence to by intellectuals but historically are very important.

41. Antonowych, Olynyk-Rachmanny and Pawliw, November, 1974.

Olynyk-Rachmanny did not like that description of the situation. He said that the ideas in Galicia were not borrowed from Italy or Germany. He argued that these ideas were native to Galicia and its thinkers and were simply "spiw zvuchnij" (similar sounding to) the ideas of Italy and Germany. Sosnowsky, of course, argues otherwise. I found Sosnowsky more convincing.

42. Sosnowsky, M., DMYTRO DONZOW: A POLITICAL PORTRAIT (A Study in Ukrainian Nationalism).

43. Interestingly enough, Donzow spent a large part of his post World War II years in St. Faustin, north of Montreal.

44. Both Sosnowsky and Shlemkewych argue this in their studies.

45. Antonowych, Olynyk-Rachmanny, Pawliw, November, 1974.

46. Shlemkewych, p. 78-81.

47. Antonowych, Olynyk-Rachmanny, Pawliw, November, 1974.

48. Antonowych, Olynyk-Rachmanny, Pawliw, November, 1974.

49. Antonowych, Olynyk-Rachmanny, Pawliw, November, 1974.

50. Census of Canada, 1951.

51. IN THE VINEYARD OF CHRIST, Diachyshyn O., p. 457-466.

52. SOUVENIR BOOKLET OF THE DEDICATION OF HOLY GHOST CHURCH, June 27th, 1948. p. 21-27.

53. Hrymak-Wynnycky, p. 109.

54. JUBILEE BOOK COMMEMORATION 75th ANNIVERSARY OF UKRAINIANS IN CANADA AND CANADIAN CENTENNIAL, p. 55.
In writing about Ukrainians and Ukrainian churches in Montreal this Slovak Parish of Ascention should be mentioned. There are approximately 40% of the parishioners who are Ukrainians from the Carpathian region of Ukraine. They call themselves Carpethian ruthenians. However they were served for many years by a Ukrainian pastor, Rev. Jean Hawryluk and are under the jurisdiction of the Ukrainian Eparchy of Toronto-Montreal.

55. Interview with Mr. Rostyslaw Zerebecky, February, 1975.

56. Zerebecky, February, 1975.

57. Zerebecky, February, 1975.

58. Zerebecky, February, 1975.

59. From the Annual General Reports of the Ukrainian Savings and Credit Union and the Ukrainian Montreal National Credit Union, 1953-1967.

60. GOLDEN JUBILEE BOOK COMMEMORATING THE 50th ANNIVERSARY OF ST. MICHAEL'S UKRAINIAN CATHOLIC CHURCH IN MONTREAL, Hladylowycz A., Pryszliak J, and Lewyckyj J., (eds.) p. 35.

61. See Map 6.

62. Interview with Mr. Eugene Oryshchuck, February, 1975.

63. Oryshchuck, February, 1975.

64. Oryshchuck, February, 1975.

65. Oryshchuck, February, 1975.

66. Oryshchuck, February, 1975.

67. Oryshchuck, February, 1975.

68. Oryshchuck, February, 1975.

69. Oryshchuck, February, 1975.

70. Oryshchuck, February, 1975.

71. Oryshchuck, February, 1975.

72. Interview with Mr. R. Brykowych, March, 1975.

73. REPORT OF THE ROYAL COMMISSION ON BILINGUALISM AND BICULTURALISM, 1968, p. 173.

74. Many Ukrainians in Montreal subscribe to newspapers published in these cities. There is at least one major Ukrainian periodical or newspaper published in each of these cities.

75. Borovyk, Mykhailo, "The Ukrainian press in Eastern Canada" (M.A. Thesis)

76. CANADIAN ETHNIC STUDIES BULLETIN OF THE RESEARCH CENTER FOR CANADIAN ETHNIC STUDIES, Malycky A. (ed.) Vol. 1, No. 1, 1969. p. 72-142.

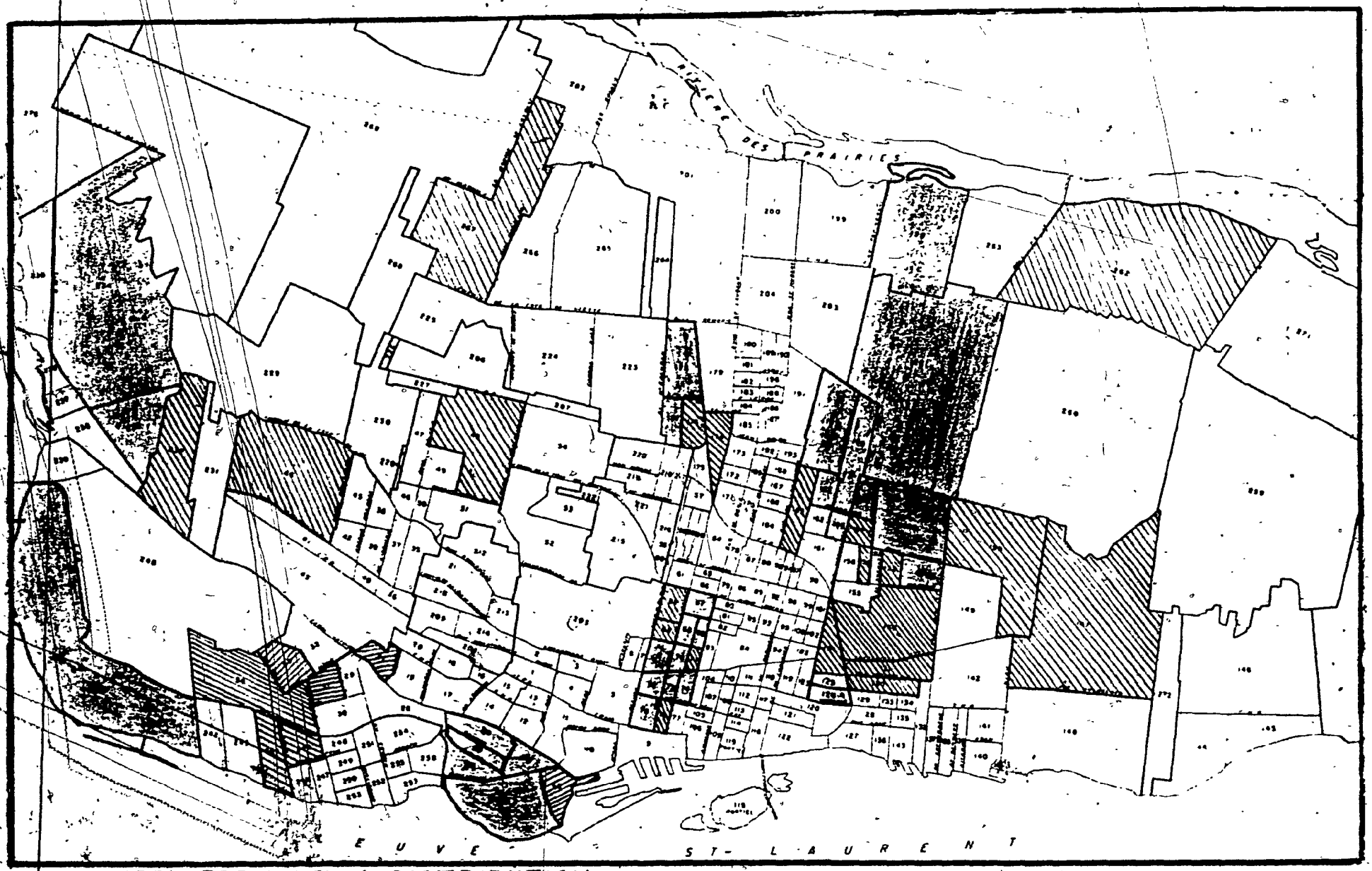
77. THE GOLDEN JUBILEE BOOK OF ST. SOPHIE, 1975, p. 149-194.

78. Membership Lists of the Ukrainian Canadian Committee Montreal Branch, 1960-67.

79. Hucalo, March, 1975.

80. Hucalo, March, 1975.

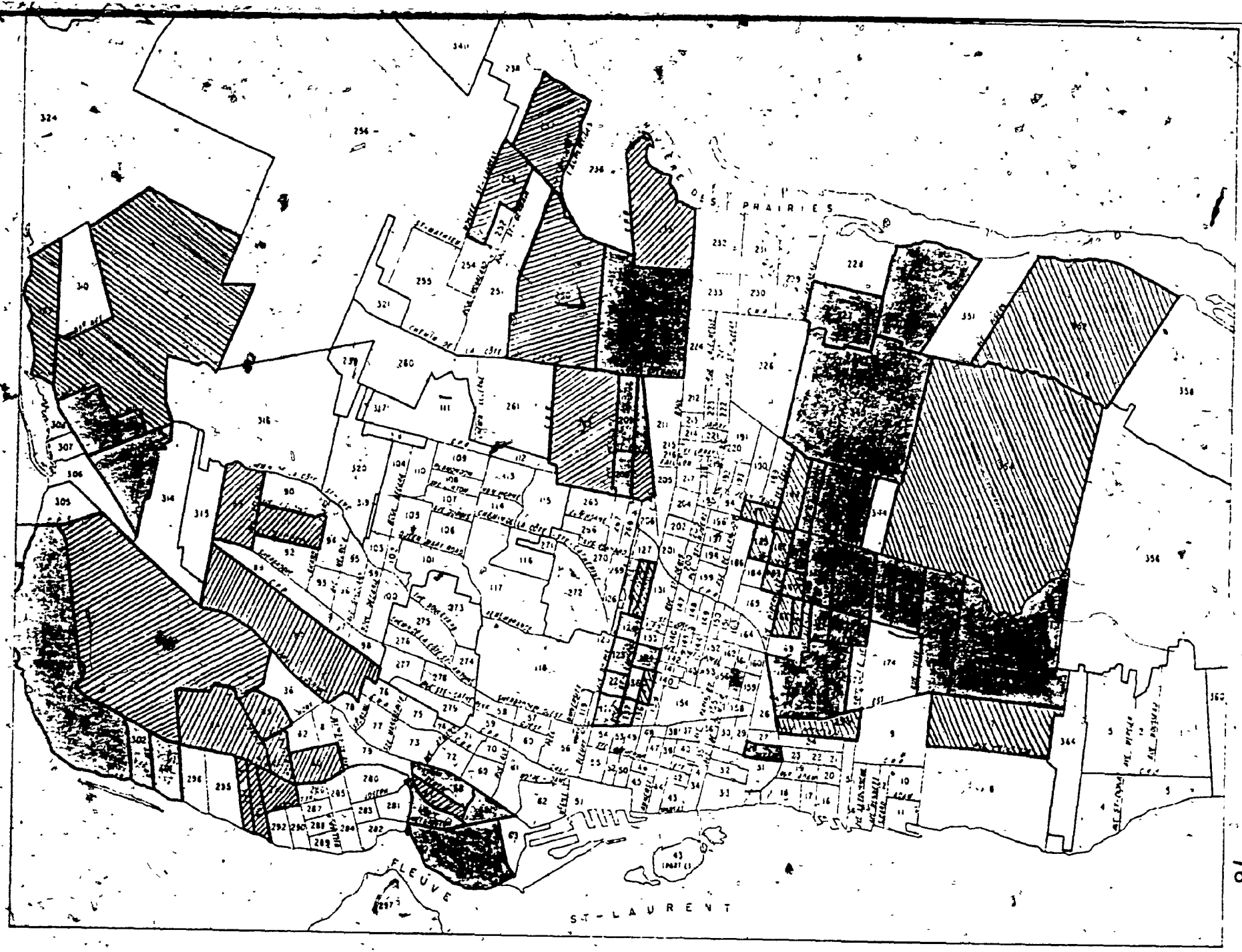
81. Hucalo, March, 1975.



MAP 1

1951 POPULATION DISTRIBUTION
OF UKRAINIANS IN THE MONTREAL METROPOLITAN AREA
BY CENSUS TRACTS.

LEGEND: 50 TO 100 PERSONS
OVER 100 PERSONS

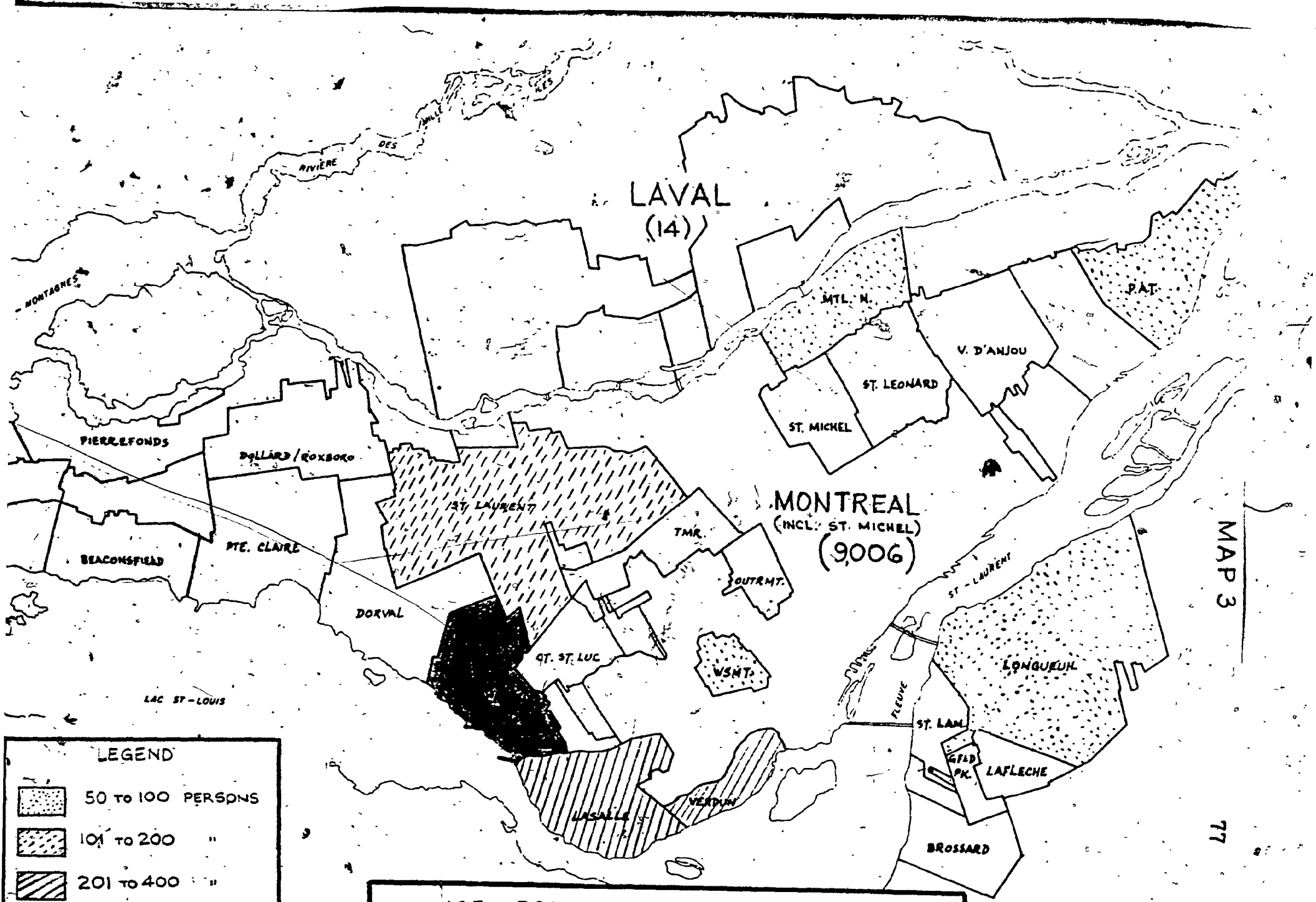


MAP 2

76

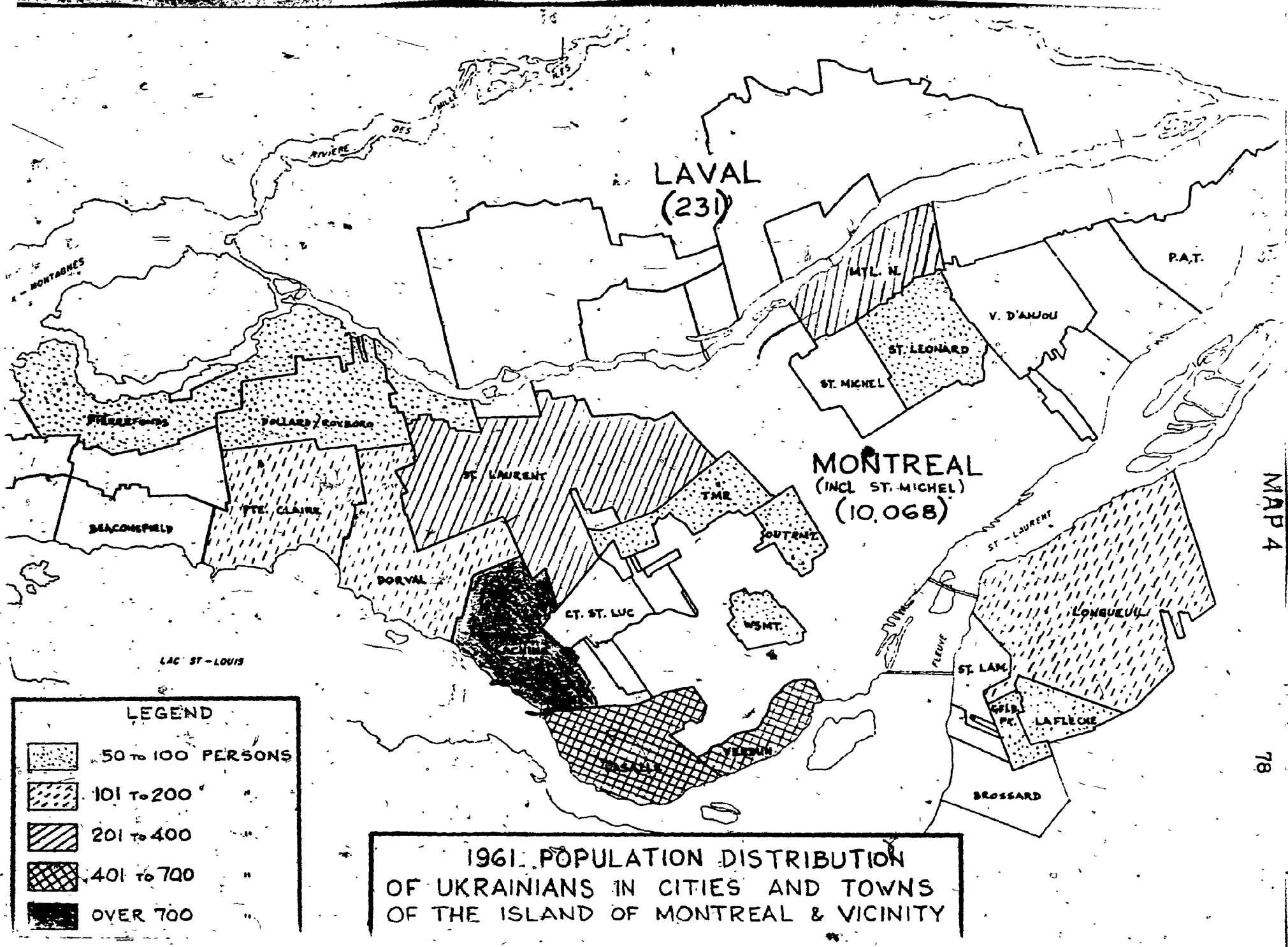
1961 POPULATION DISTRIBUTION
OF UKRAINIANS IN THE MONTREAL METROPOLITAN AREA
BY CENSUS TRACTS

LEGEND: 50 TO 100 PERSONS
OVER 100 PERSONS

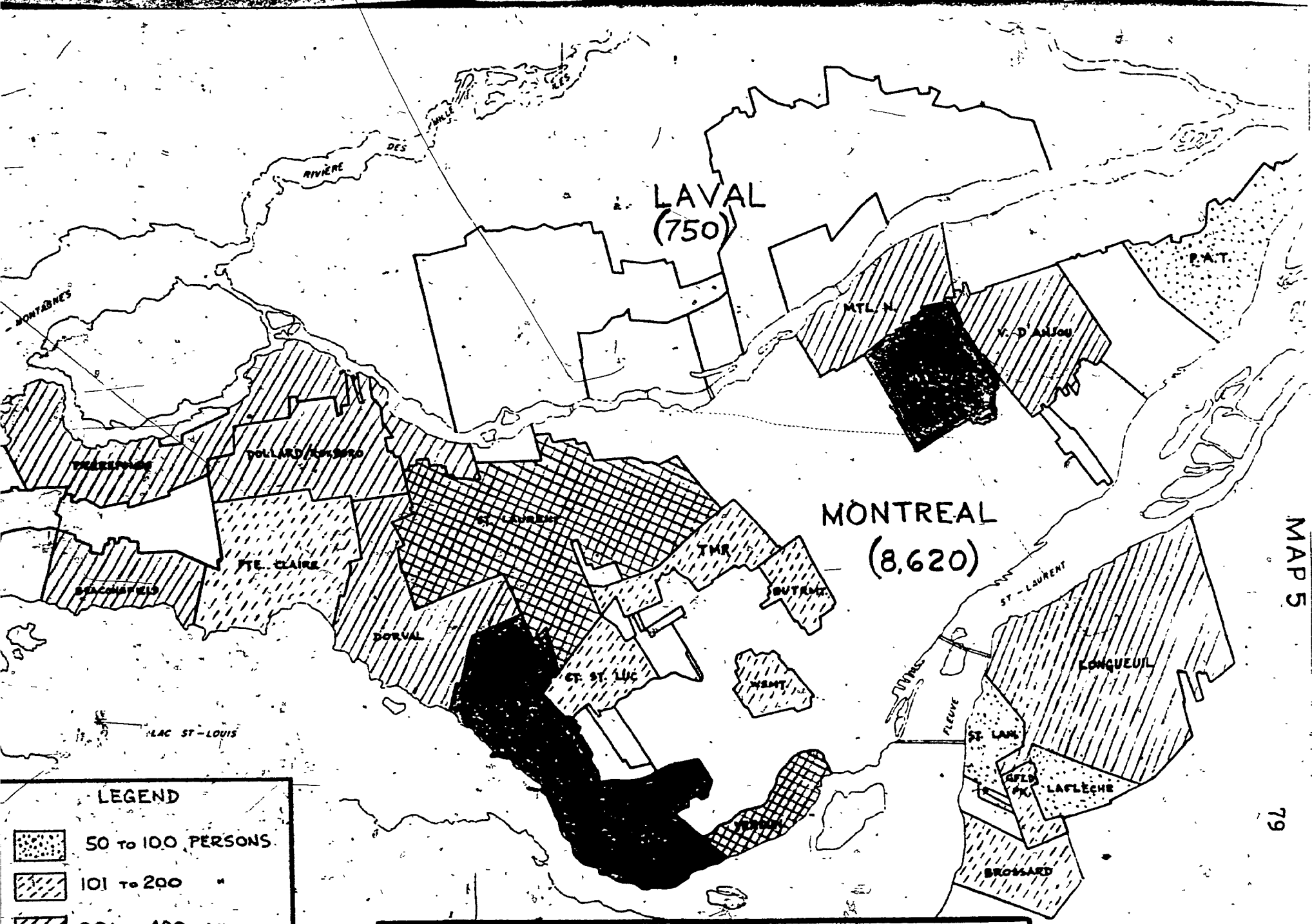


1951 POPULATION DISTRIBUTION OF UKRAINIANS IN CITIES AND TOWNS OF THE ISLAND OF MONTREAL & VICINITY

MAP 3


LAVAL
(231)
MONTREAL
(INCL ST. MICHEL)
(10,068)
MTL. N.
P.A.T.
V. D'ANJOU
ST. LEONARD
ST. MICHEL
PIERREFONDS
POLLARD/ROXBORO
ST. LAURENT
TMR
OUTREMT
BEACONSFIELD
STE. CLAIRE
DORVAL
CT. ST. LUC
WSMT.
VERDUN
LAC ST-LOUIS
ST-LAURENT
FLEUVE
ST. LAM.
LONGUEUIL
GPLD PK.
LAFLECHE
BROSSARD
LEGEND
50 to 100 PERSONS
101 to 200 "
201 to 400 "
401 to 700 "
OVER 700 "
1961 POPULATION DISTRIBUTION
OF UKRAINIANS IN CITIES AND TOWNS
OF THE ISLAND OF MONTREAL & VICINITY

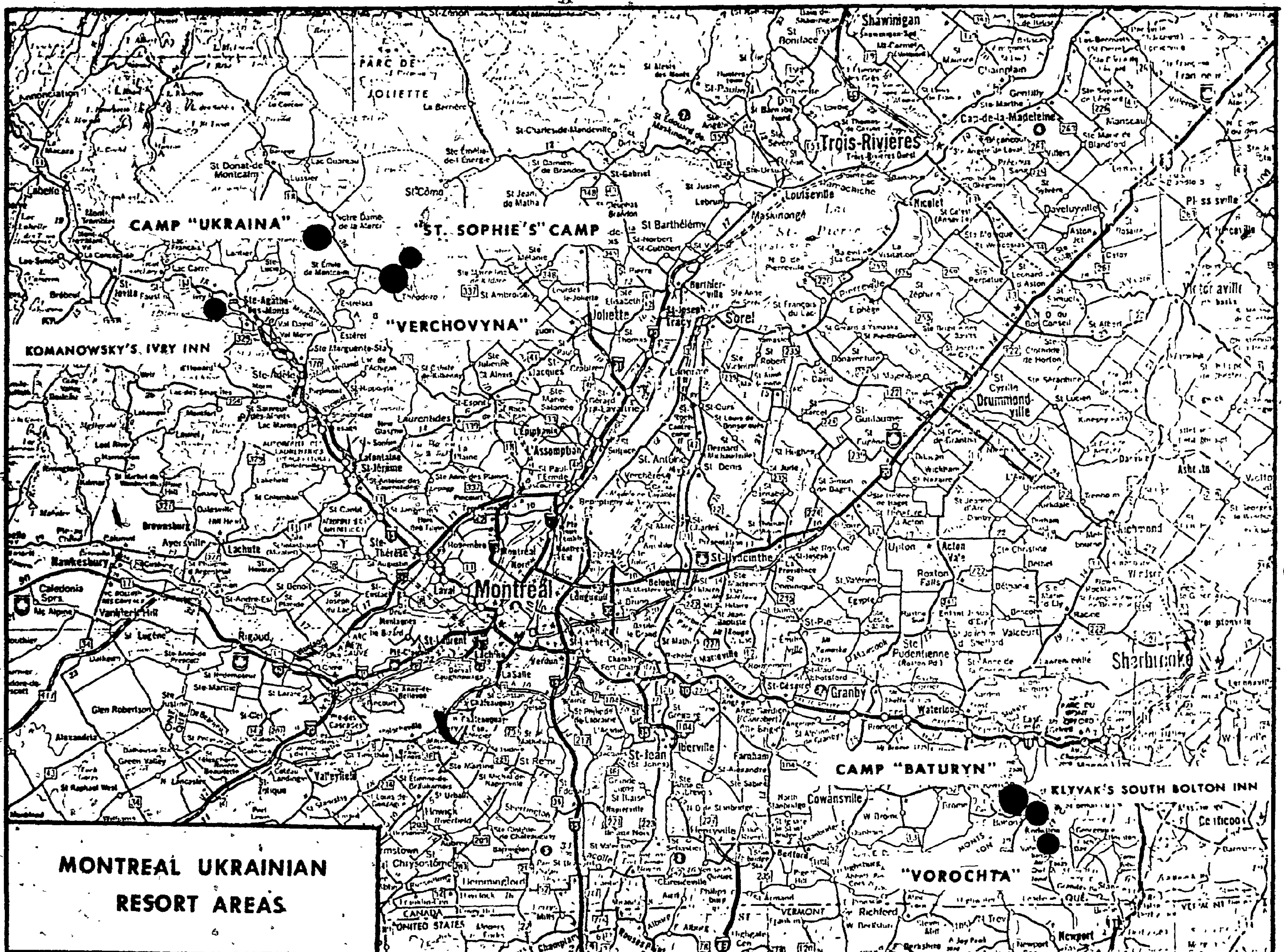
MAP 4



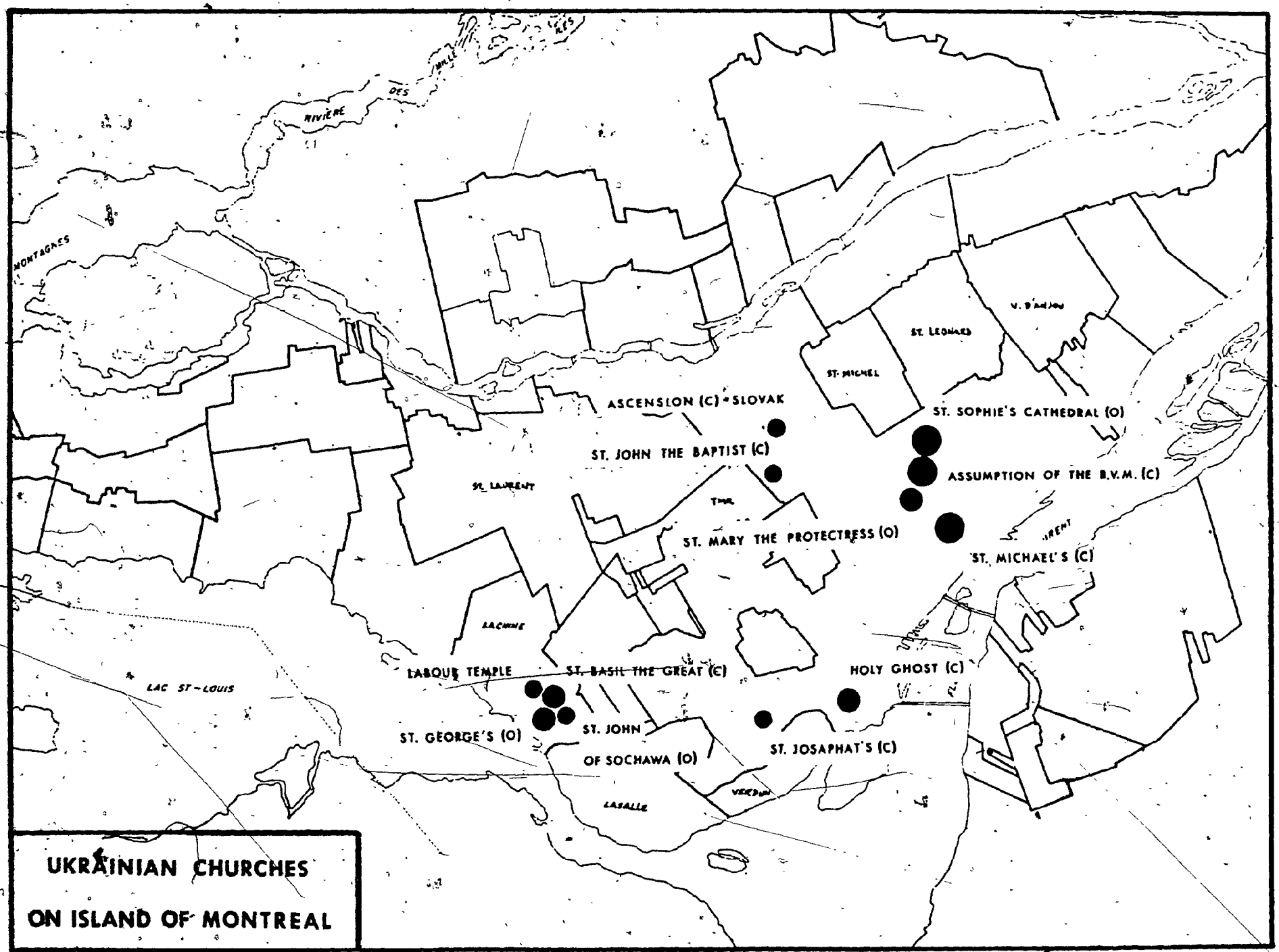
1971 POPULATION DISTRIBUTION
OF UKRAINIANS IN CITIES AND TOWNS
OF THE ISLAND OF MONTREAL & VICINITY

MAP 5

MAP 6



MONTREAL UKRAINIAN
RESORT AREAS


RIVIÈRE DES PRAIRIES
MONTAGNES
ST. LEONARD
V. D'ANJOU
ST. MICHEL
ASCENSION (C) - SLOVAK
ST. JOHN THE BAPTIST (C)
ST. SOPHIE'S CATHEDRAL (O)
ASSUMPTION OF THE B.V.M. (C)
ST. LAURENT
ST. MARY THE PROTECTRESS (O)
ST. MICHAEL'S (C)
LACHINE
LABOUR TEMPLE
ST. BASIL THE GREAT (C)
HOLY GHOST (C)
LAC ST-LOUIS
ST. GEORGE'S (O)
ST. JOHN OF SOCHAWA (O)
ST. JOSAPHAT'S (C)
LASALLE
VERDUN
UKRAINIAN CHURCHES
ON ISLAND OF MONTREAL

MAP 7

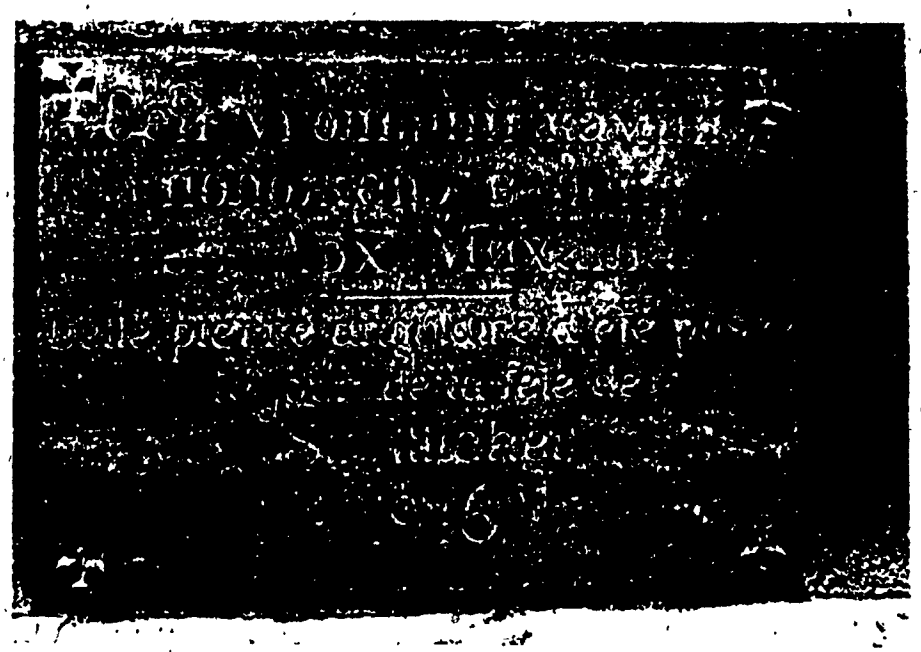


FIGURE 1. Cornerstone of first St. Michael's Ukr. Cath. Church.

FIGURE 2. St. Michael's Ukr. Cath. Church at the corner of Iberville and Hochelaga Streets in the "Frontenac Settlement"; first built in 1917; new structure in 1954.

FIGURE 3. St. Michael's parish hall; built in 1930.

Figure 4. Holy Ghost Ukr. Cath. Church at the corner of Grand Trunk and Shearer Streets in the "Point St. Charles Settlement"; Constructed 1944-48.

Figure 5. Holy Ghost Church Hall on Center Street.

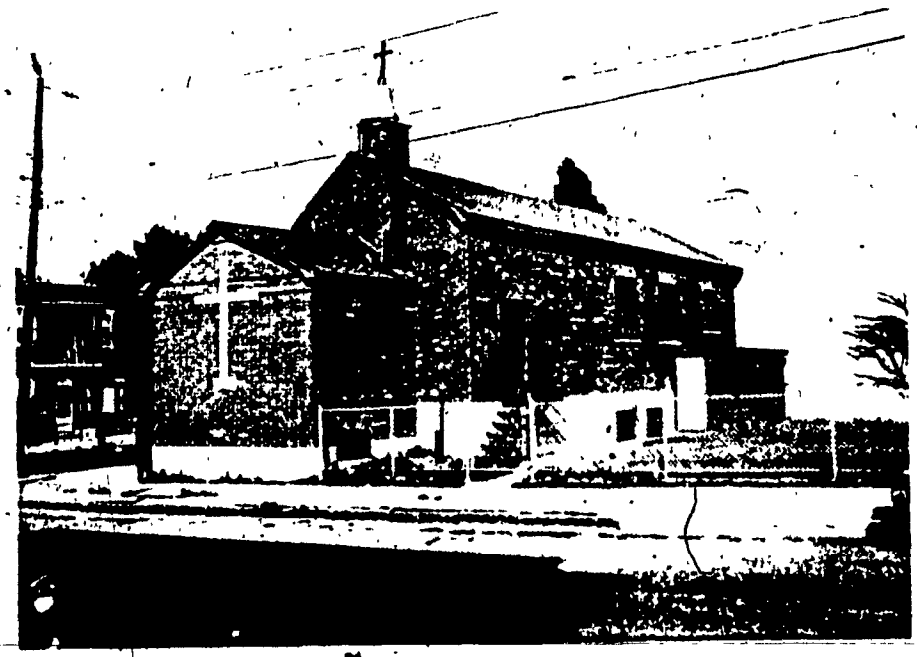


FIGURE 6. St. Josaphat's Ukr. Cath. Church on Denonville Street in the "Ville Emard Settlement"; built in 1956.

FIGURE 7. St. Basil the Great Ukr. Cath. Church on Provost Street at 9th Ave. in the "Lachine Settlement"; built in 1956.

FIGURE 8. Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary Ukr. Cath. Church on Bellechasse Street at 10th. Ave. in the "Rosemount Settlement". Built 1955-57.

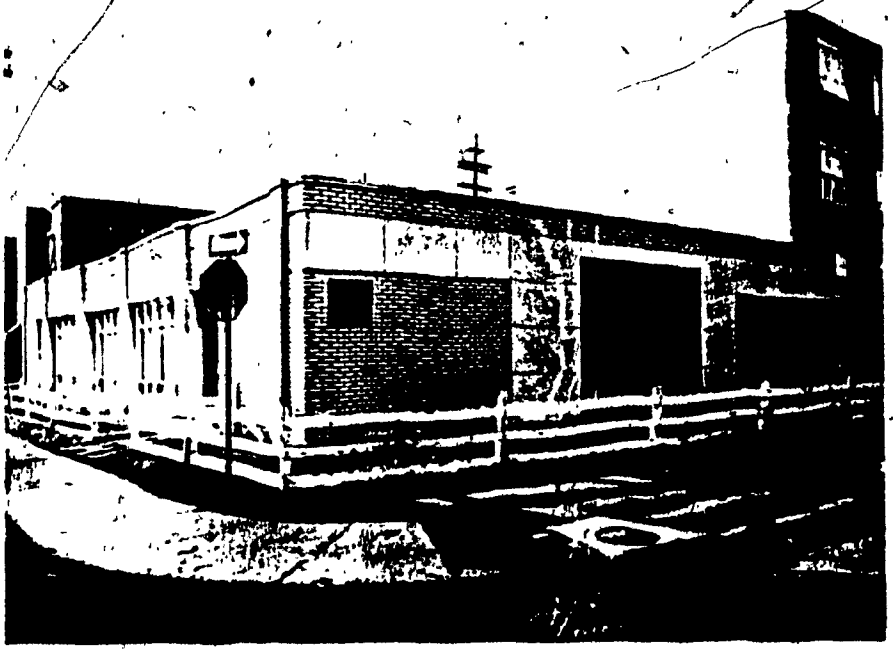


FIGURE 9. St. John the Baptist Ukr. Cath. Church at the corner of Stuart Street and Ball Ave. in the Park Extention area; sub-structure built 1960-61.

FIGURE 10. Ascension Slovak Cath. Church of Eastern Rite at Legendre and Clark Streets (40% parishioners Ukrainian); built in 1960.

FIGURE 11. St. John of Sochawa Bukovinian Orth. Church. Built in 1908. Burned down and reconstructed in 1911; the first Ukr. Orth. Church in Montreal Metropolitain Area; later assigned under jurisdiction of "Russian Mission".

FIGURE 12. The church hall and church located on 5th. Avenue in the "[illegible]"

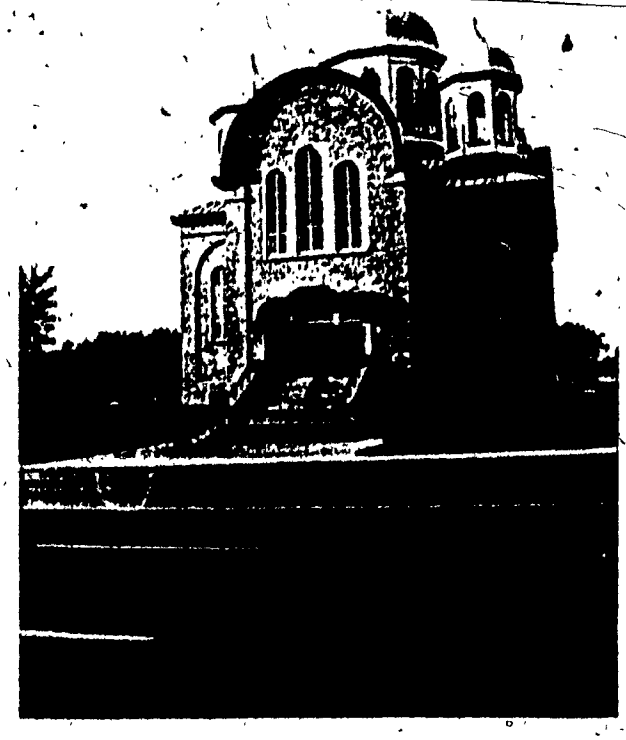


FIGURE 13. St. Sophie's Ukr. Orth. Cathedral on St. Michel Blvd. and Bellechasse St. in the "Rosemount Settlement". Built in 1960.

FIGURE 14. St. Sophie's and Assumption of the B.V.M. in "Rosemount Settlement".

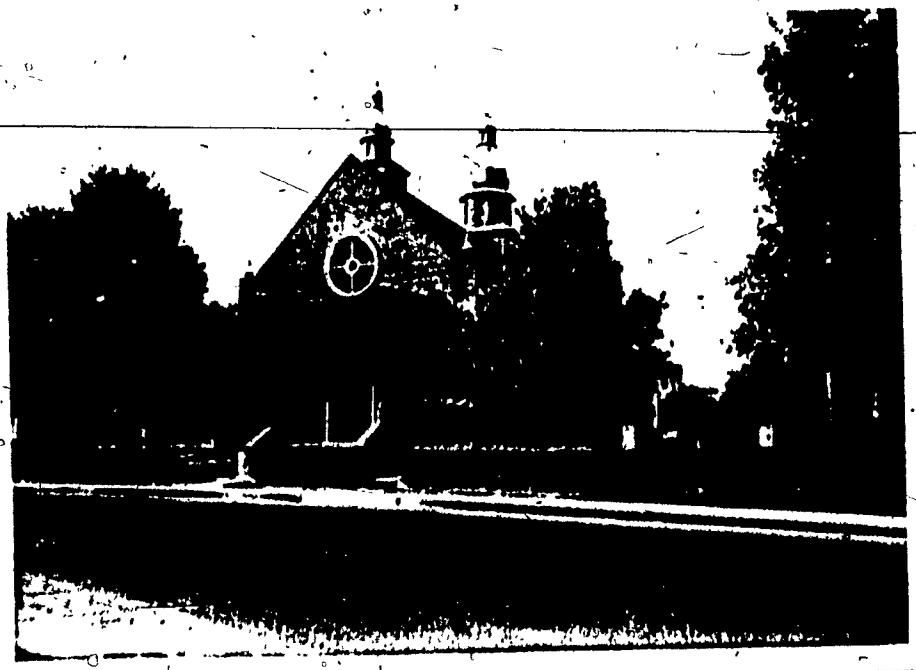


FIGURE 15. St. George's Ukr. Orth. Church on St. Antoine St. at 9th Avenue in the "Lachine Settlement". Constructed 1945-51.

FIGURE 16. St. Basil the Great and St. George's Churches in the "Lachine Settlement."

FIGURE 17. Mary the Protectress Ukr. Orth. Church on Rosemount Blvd. and Louis Hemon St. Built 1960-61.

FIGURE 18. The first "Proswita" Hall at 2558 St. Charles St. in the "Point St Charles Settlement".

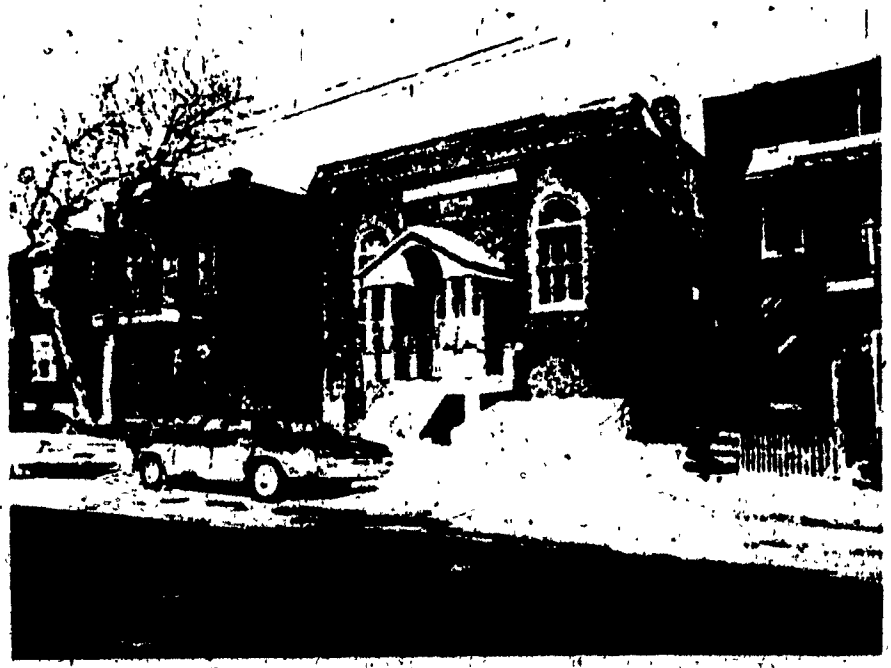


FIGURE 19. The "Proswita" Hall on 6th. Avenue in the "Lachine Settlement". Used by Ukrainian Catholics in Lachine for religious services between 1932-1956 before St. Basil the Great Church was built.

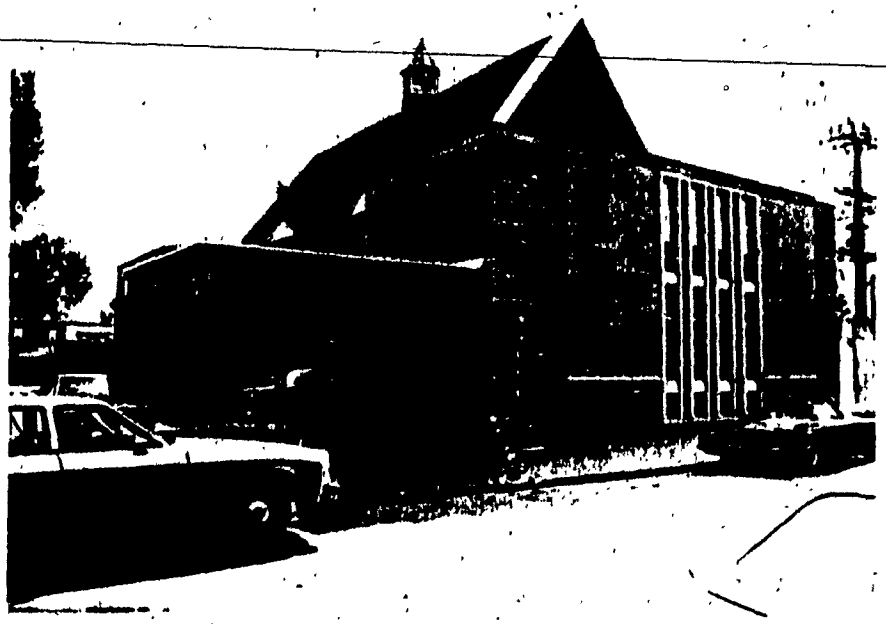


FIGURE 20. The new "Proswita" Hall on Gordon Avenue in Verdun; Successor to the first "Proswita" Hall on St. Charles St.

FIGURE 21. The Ukrainian National Federation's "Prince Arthur St. Hall" in the "Central Slum Settlement"; purchased in 1945.

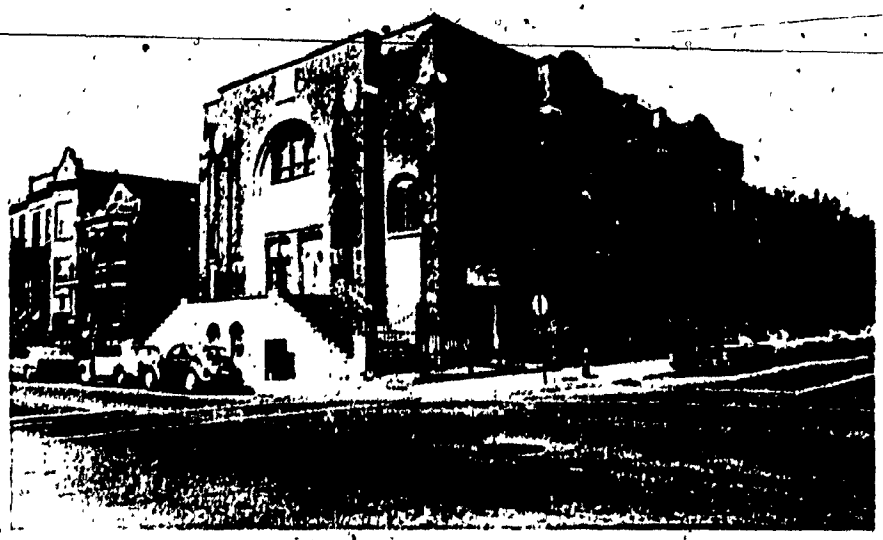


FIGURE 22. The present Ukrainian National Federation's headquarters on the corner of Fairmount and Hutchison Sts.; purchased in 1956. Center for the post-war O.U.N. (m) "faction".

FIGURE 23. The Ukrainian National Montreal Credit Union in the Ukrainian National Federation building on Hutchison St.

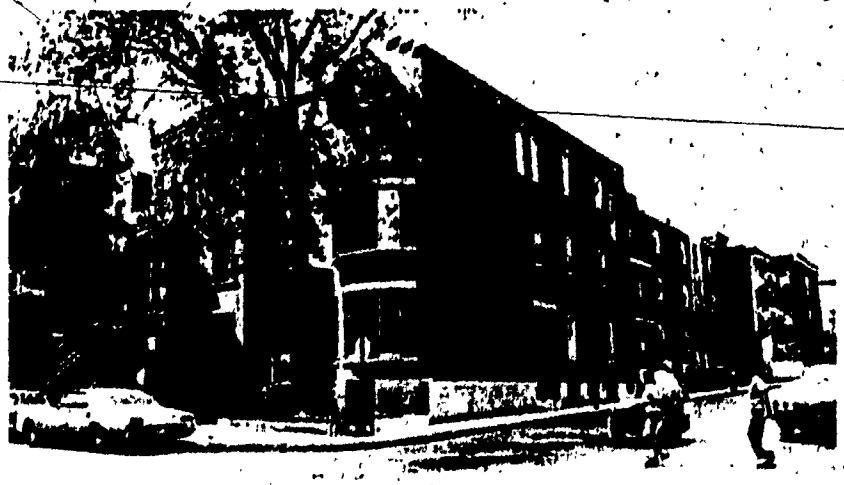


FIGURE 24. Building of the League for the Liberation of Ukraine, "SUM", S.A. Ukraina, and the Ukr. Credit and Savings Union at 52 Bagg St. Montreal headquarters for post-war O.U.N. (b) "faction" from 1953 to 1959.

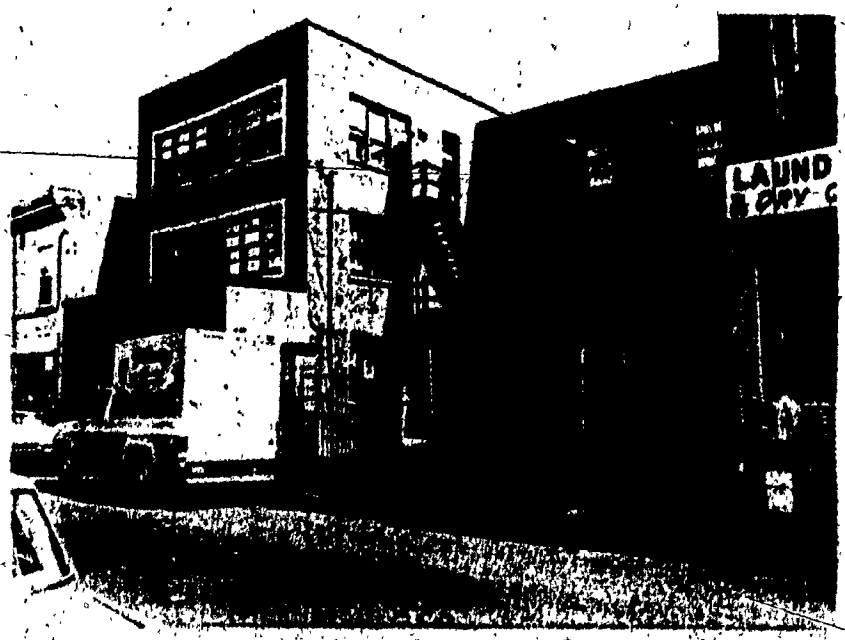


FIGURE 25. Later headquarters for "SUM", the "League", S.A. Ukraina, and the Credit and Savings Union (Caisse Populaire Ukrainienne de Montreal) at 120 Duluth St. E. from 1960 to 1973.

FIGURE 26. The newest location of the "Caisse Populaire Ukrainienne" at 3960 St. Lawrence Blvd.

FIGURE 27. "SUM", League for the Liberation of Ukraine, and "Caisse Populaire Ukrainienne" building under construction 1974-75, land for which was purchased in 1965.

FIGURE 28. Headquarters of "Plast", Ukr. youth organization on Esplanade St. from 1954 to 1967.

FIGURE 29. New "Plast" headquarters at 3355 Dandurand St. in the "Rosemount Settlement" purchased in 1967.

FIGURE 30. Ukr. Labour Temple on 9th. Ave. in the "Lachine Settlement".

FIGURE 31. Ukr. Peoples' Church on St Urbain St.

FIGURE 32. Ukr. bookstore "Arka" on St. Lawrence Blvd. in "Central Slum Settlement".

FIGURE 33. Ukr. Social Club on St. Lawrence Blvd.; organized in late 60's

Figure 34. Shevchenko Blvd. in Ville LaSalle.

Table A–11. Ethnic Origin of the Population of Quebec, 1871-1961[1]

	1871	1881	1901	1911	1921	1931	1941	1951	1961
Total	1,191,516	1,359,027	1,648,898	2,005,776	2,360,510	2,874,662	3,331,882	4,055,681	5,259,211
British	243,041	260,538	290,169	318,799	356,943	432,729	452,887	491,818	567,057
French	929,817	1,073,820	1,322,115	1,606,535	1,889,269	2,270,059	2,695,032	3,327,128	4,241,354
Dutch	798	726	1,554	1,513	1,412	1,824	2,645	3,129	10,442
German	7,963	8,943	6,923	6,221	4,667	10,616	8,880	12,249	39,457
Italian	539	745	2,805	9,608	16,141	24,845	28,051	34,165	108,552
Jewish	74	330	7,607	10,758	49,977	60,087	66,277	73,019	74,677
Polish			274	3,233	3,264	9,534	10,036	16,998	30,790
Russian	186	300	41	1,481	2,802	3,574	3,433	7,909	13,694
Scandinavian	454	648	1,350	1,757	2,219	4,932	4,840	5,390	11,295
Ukrainian			6	458	1,176	4,340	8,006	12,921	16,588
Other European	322	429	2,053	4,996	9,204	28,398	26,977	35,078	96,112
Asiatic		7	1,600	2,343	5,218	7,034	7,119	7,714	14,801
Indian and Eskimo	6,988	7,515	10,142	11,997	11,234	13,875	13,641	16,620	21,343
Others and not stated	1,334	4,976	2,259	6,077	6,984	2,815	4,058	11,543	13,049

Source: Censuses of Canada.

[1] Data for 1871 and 1881 are incomplete, particularly in the treatment of small numbers of those from central Europe. 1891 is omitted because of insufficient data.

Table A–86. Religious Affiliation and Ethnic Origin—Quebec, 1961

Church	British	French	Dutch	German	Italian	Jewish	Polish	Scandinavian	Ukrainian	Indian and Eskimo
Anglican	162,773	9,768	1,344	3,128	648	93	637	1,868	700	6,044
Baptist	10,214	2,496	190	451	98	12	135	146	62	25
Greek Orthodox	444	423	16	114	46	68	772	30	3,852	6
Jewish	2,165	868	134	830	131	73,454	7,446	24	202	18
Lutheran	1,286	535	271	11,500	107	23	271	2,420	67	6
Mennonite	69	11	18	37			5	6		
Pentecostal	2,609	1,701	37	182	638	3	28	66	61	74
Presbyterian	45,641	4,465	601	1,162	419	36	188	517	179	31
Roman Catholic	202,823	4,203,633	4,341	16,559	105,071	631	19,652	3,755	5,495	14,084
Ukrainian (Greek) Catholic	235	489	1	47	83	5	409	15	4,830	2
United	125,961	9,154	2,567	3,854	818	76	851	2,058	1,042	670
Other	12,837	7,811	922	1,593	493	276	396	390	298	383

Source: Henripin, Charbonneau, and Mertens, "Étude des aspects démographiques des problèmes ethniques et linguistiques du Canada," and Census of Canada, 1961, Cat. 92-559.

Table A–87. Percentage Distribution of Selected Ethnic Origin Categories, by Religious Affiliation—Quebec, 1961

Church	British	French	Dutch	German	Italian	Jewish	Polish	Scandinavian	Ukrainian	Indian and Eskimo
Anglican	28.7	0.2	12.8	7.9	0.6	0.1	2.0	16.5	4.2	28.3
Baptist	1.8	*	1.8	1.1	*	*	0.4	1.2	0.4	0.1
Greek Orthodox	*	*	0.2	0.3	*	*	2.5	0.3	23.2	*
Jewish	0.4	*	1.2	2.1	0.1	98.3	24.1	0.2	1.2	*
Lutheran	0.2	*	2.5	29.1	*	*	0.9	21.4	0.4	*
Mennonite	*	*	0.2	*			*	*		
Pentecostal	0.5	*	0.4	0.5	0.6	*	*	0.6	0.4	0.3
Presbyterian	8.0	0.1	5.7	2.9	0.4	*	0.6	4.5	1.0	0.1
Roman Catholic	35.7	99.1	41.5	41.9	96.7	0.8	63.8	33.2	33.1	65.9
Ukrainian (Greek) Catholic	*	*	*	0.1	*	*	1.3	0.1	27.9	*
United	22.2	0.2	24.5	9.7	0.8	0.1	2.7	18.2	6.2	3.1
Other	2.2	0.2	8.8	4.0	0.5	0.4	1.2	3.4	1.7	1.7

Source: Henripin, Charbonneau, and Mertens, "Étude des aspects démographiques des problèmes ethniques et linguistiques du Canada," and Census of Canada, 1961, Cat. 92-559.

*Percentage less than 0.1.

Table A–114. Religious Affiliation and Ethnic Origin—Metropolitan Census Area of Montreal, 1961

Church	British	French	Dutch	German	Italian	Jewish	Polish	Scandinavian	Ukrainian
Anglican	111,685	5,538	863	2,157	545	84	499	1,132	567
Baptist	6,685	938	117	296	81	11	112	88	65
Greek Orthodox	371	339	14	100	43	48	709	25	3,453
Jewish	2,077	838	132	815	126	72,131	7,320	24	192
Lutheran	973	366	244	9,392	98	21	234	1,995	61
Mennonite	55	9	11	32			5	1	
Pentecostal	1,599	1,013	31	144	629	3	22	47	58
Presbyterian	35,808	2,504	490	917	376	31	160	356	143
Roman Catholic	126,668	1,332,315	2,684	10,210	98,291	412	15,875	1,961	4,612
Ukrainian (Greek) Catholic	128	192		36	79	5	343		4,269
United	82,682	5,086	1,820	2,505	750	60	718	1,385	868
Other	8,894	4,342	732	1,269	448	256	350	280	241

Source: Henripin, Charbonneau, and Mertens, "Étude des aspects démographiques des problèmes ethniques et linguistiques du Canada," and Census of Canada, 1961, Cat. 92-559.

Table A–115. Percentage Distribution of Selected Ethnic Origin Categories, by Religious Affiliation—Metropolitan Census Area of Montreal, 1961

Church	British	French	Dutch	German	Italian	Jewish	Polish	Scandinavian	Ukrainian
Anglican	29.5	0.4	12.0	7.7	0.5	0.1	1.8	15.5	3.9
Baptist	1.7	*	1.6	1.0	*	*	0.4	1.2	0.4
Greek Orthodox	*	*	0.2	0.4	*	*	2.6	0.3	23.7
Jewish	0.6	*	1.8	2.9	0.1	98.7	27.7	0.3	1.3
Lutheran	0.3	*	3.4	33.6	*	*	0.9	27.3	0.4
Mennonite	*	*	0.2	0.1			*	*	
Pentecostal	0.4	*	0.4	0.5	0.6	*	*	0.6	0.4
Presbyterian	9.4	0.2	6.8	3.2	0.4	*	0.6	4.8	1.0
Roman Catholic	33.5	98.4	37.6	36.6	96.8	0.6	60.2	26.8	31.7
Ukrainian (Greek) Catholic	*	*		0.1	*	*	1.3		29.4
United	21.8	0.4	25.4	8.9	0.7	*	2.7	18.9	5.9
Other	2.3	0.3	10.2	4.5	0.4	0.4	1.3	3.8	1.6

Source: Henripin, Charbonneau, and Mertens, "Étude des aspects démographiques des problèmes ethniques et linguistiques du Canada," and Census of Canada, 1961, Cat. 92-559.

*Percentage less than 0.1.

Bibliography

Unpublished Materials

Kelebay, Y.G., 13 formal interviews with knowledgeable and competent Ukrainians in Montreal and a considerable number of informal conversations with members active in the Ukrainian community in Montreal. The formal interviews were with;

Dr. M. Antonowych (historian and broadcaster) November 7, 1974.

Rev. W. Bryniawsky (minister) June 4, 1974.

Mr. R. Brykowych (teacher and M.T.C. employee) February 7, 1975.

Mr. O. Diachyshyn (retired manual laborer) February 20, 1975.

Mr. A. Hucalo (retired manual laborer) March 14, 1975.

Rev. J. Hawryluk (minister) May 21, 1975.

Mrs. N. Hrymak-Wynnycky (housewife) April 8, 1975.

Mr. K. Kelebay (grocer) April 10-11, 1975.

Dr. R. Olynyk-Rachmanny (historian, writer and broadcaster) November 8, 1974.

Mr. E. Oryshchuck (producer and accountant) February 16, 1975.

Mr. O. Pawliw (teacher and broadcaster) November 10 & 11, 1974.

Mr. R. Stefaniuk (bank manager) September 24, 1974.

Mr. R. Zerebecky (building contractor) February 4, 1975.

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

Borovyk, Mykhailo, "The Ukrainian Press in Eastern Canada" (M.A. Thesis, University of Ottawa, 1960).

Davidson, M.H., "The Social Adjustment of the British Immigrant Families in Verdun and Point St. Charles" (M.A. Thesis, McGill University, 1933).

Gibbard, H.A., "The Means and Modes of Living of European Immigrants in Montreal" (M.A. Thesis, McGill University, 1934).

Hrymak-Wynnyoky, N.A., "Les Eglises Ukrainiennes a Montreal" (M.A. Thesis, l'Universite de Montreal, 1964).

Mamchur, S.M., "The Economic and Social Adjustment of Slavic Immigrants in Canada With Special Reference to the Ukrainians in Montreal" (M.A. Thesis, McGill University, 1939).

Ukrainian Canadian Committee, Montreal Branch. (Membership Lists, 1960-1967.)

Primary Sources

Beskyd, J. (ed.), IN THE VINEYARD OF CHRIST (Yearbook of the Eparchy of Toronto). Toronto: 1964.

Government of Canada, CENSUS OF CANADA, 1931.

Government of Canada, CENSUS OF CANADA, 1941.

Government of Canada, CENSUS OF CANADA, 1951.

Government of Canada, CENSUS OF CANADA, 1961.

Government of Canada, CENSUS OF CANADA, 1971.

_____, "Is History Relevant?" The Economist, January 17, 1970.

GOLDEN JUBILEE BOOK OF THE UKRAINIAN ORTHODOX CATHEDRAL OF ST. SOPHIE PUBLISHED ON THE OCCASSION OF THE 50th ANNIVERSARY BY ST. SOPHIE'S UKRAINIAN ORTHODOX CATHEDRAL. Montreal: 1975.

GOLDEN JUBILEE OF PROSWITA OF TARAS SHEVCHENKO IN MONTREAL AND POINT ST. CHARLES, 1913-1963. Montreal: 1963.

JUBILEE BOOK COMMEMORATING THE 75th ANNIVERSARY OF UKRAINIANS IN CANADA AND CANADIAN CENTENNIAL. Montreal: 1967.

JUBILEE BOOK OF THE UKRAINIAN GREEK ORTHODOX CHURCH OF ST. GEORGETHE CONQUEROR. Panchuk, G. (ed.), Lachine: 1971.

The Montreal Star, (Editorials), January 6, October 12, October 18, 1905.

SOUVENIR BOOKLET OF THE DEDICATION OF HOLY GHOST CHURCH. Montreal: 1948.

SOUVENIR JUBILE D'OR SACERDOTAL DU TRES REV. PERE JOSAPHAT JEAN, O.S.B.M., Montreal: 1963.

Articles

Careless, J.M.S., "Limited Identities in Canada", Canadian Historical Review, March, 1969.

Smith, Allan, "Metaphor and Nationality", Canadian Historical Review, L.1, 1970.

Lijphart, Arend, "Cultural Diversity and Theories of Political Integration" Canadian Journal of Political Science, IV, No. I, 1971.

Wangenheim, Elizabeth, "The Ukrainians: A Case Study of the 'Third Force'" in NATIONALISM IN CANADA by the University League for Social Reform. Russell, P. (ed.), Toronto: McGraw-Hill Co. Ltd., 1966.

Secondary Sources

Atwood, M., SURVIVAL. Toronto: Anansi Press, 1972.

Armstrong, John A., UKRAINIAN NATIONALISM. New York and London: Columbia University Press, 1963.

Berger, Carl, THE SENSE OF POWER. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1970.

Copp, Terry, THE ANATOMY OF POVERTY. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart Limited, 1974.

Dafoe, John W., CLIFFORD SIFTON IN RELATION TO HIS TIMES. Toronto: The MacMillan Company of Canada Ltd., 1931.

Fowke, Vernon, THE NATIONAL POLICY AND THE WHEAT ECONOMY. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1957.

Gordon, M.M., ASSIMILATION IN AMERICAN LIFE. New York: Oxford University Press, 1964.

Hartz, Louis, THE FOUNDING OF NEW SOCIETIES. New York: Harcourt, Brace and Jovanovich, 1964.

Hrushevsky, Michael, A HISTORY OF UKRAINE. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1941.

Handlin, Oscar, BOSTON'S IMMIGRANTS. New York: 1968.

Kaye-Kysilevskyj, V.J., SLAVIC GROUPS IN CANADA. Slavistica No. 12. Winnipeg: Ukrainian Free Academy of Sciences, 1951.

Kaye, V.J., EARLY UKRAINIAN SETTLEMENT IN CANADA, 1895-1900. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1964.

Kubijovyc, V., (ed.) UKRAINE: A CONCISE ENCYCLOPAEDIA. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1963. (Vol. 1)

Leacock, Eleanor Burke, (ed.), THE CULTURE OF POVERTY. New York: 1971.

Malycky, A., (ed.), CANADIAN ETHNIC STUDIES BULLETIN OF THE RESEARCH CENTER FOR CANADIAN ETHNIC STUDIES. Calgary: University of Calgary, 1969.

Marunchak, M.H., THE UKRAINIAN CANADIANS: A HISTORY. Winnipeg-Ottawa: Ukrainian Free Academy of Sciences, 1970.

Mirchuk, I., (ed.), UKRAINE AND ITS PEOPLE. Munich: Ukrainian Free University Press, 1949.

Porter, J., THE VERTICAL MOSAIC. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1965.

REPORT OF THE ROYAL COMMISSION ON BILINGUALISM AND BICULTURALISM. Ottawa: Queen's Printer, 1967.

Richmond, Anthony H., POST WAR IMMIGRANTS IN CANADA. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1967.

Skotheim, R.A., (ed.), THE HISTORIAN AND THE CLIMATE OF OPINION. Toronto: Addison-Wesley, 1969.

Shlemkewych, M., HALYCHANSTVO. (In Ukrainian) New York-Toronto: Kluchi Press, 1956.

SLAVS IN CANADA: PROCEEDINGS OF THE FIRST NATIONAL CONFERENCE ON CANADIAN SLAVS. Edmonton: Inter-University Committee on Canadian Slavs, Vol. 1, 1966.

SLAVS IN CANADA: PROCEEDINGS OF THE SECOND NATIONAL CONFERENCE ON CANADIAN SLAVS. Ottawa-Toronto: Inter-University Committee on Canadian Slavs, Vol. II, 1968.

Sosnowsky, Michael, DMYTRO DONZOW (A POLITICAL PORTRAIT, A Study in Ukrainian Nationalism). New York: Trident Press, 1974.

Woodsworth, S.J., STRANGERS WITHIN OUR GATES. Toronto: The Missionary Society of the Methodist Church, Canada, 1908.

Woychenko, Olga, THE UKRAINIANS IN CANADA. Winnipeg: Trident Press Ltd., 1967.

Young, C.H., THE UKRAINIAN CANADIANS. Toronto: Thomas Nelson and Sons, 1931.

Yuzyk, Paul, THE FIRST UKRAINIANS IN MANITOBA. Papers read before the Historical and Scientific Society of Manitoba, Series III, No. 8. Winnipeg: Historical and Scientific Society of Manitoba, 1953.

Yuzyk, Paul, THE UKRAINIANS IN MANITOBA: A SOCIAL HISTORY. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1953.

Yuzyk, Paul, UKRAINIAN CANADIANS. THEIR PLACE AND ROLE IN CANADIAN LIFE. Toronto: Ukrainian Canadian Business and Professional Federation, 1967.

Note on Sources

The first two parts of this essays are largely based on the sources listed in the bibliography. However, due to its nature the third part was largely based on oral interviews with selected members of the Ukrainian community in Montreal. These people were selected on my own familiarity with the community and with a view of soliciting those people who I trusted to have an informed opinion of the various aspects of Ukrainian community life in Montreal. Some of those who were most gracious to oblige my questions were; Dr. M. Antonowych, Rev. W. Bryniawsky, Mr. R. Brykowych, Mr. O. Diachyshyn, Mr. A. Hucalo, Rev. J. Hawryluk, Mrs. N. Hrymak-Wynnycky, Mr. K. Kelebay, Dr. Olynyk-Rachmanny, Mr. E. Oryshchuck, Mr. O. Pawliw, Mr. R. Stefaniuk, Mr. R. Zerebecky.

A word of special thanks goes to Mr. B. Walkiw who was extremely helpful with the map work and photography.