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ON
UKRAINIAN BOOK CULTURE

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INTRODUCTION

Language is a basic characteristic of human life everywhere. Here we focus on only one aspect of this phenomenon: its materialization in the form of the printed word — that is, book culture.

Since its establishment over a century ago, Canada’s Ukrainian-speaking community quite naturally relied on the printed word for direction, inspiration and pleasure. In the course of this experience, however, two drawbacks were recognized as major obstacles: a high rate of illiteracy during the early years of settlement, and the gradual demise of the Ukrainian language as a viable medium of communication. The full dimensions of this story have yet to be identified and properly researched. These essays are presented as working papers and are meant to mark a modest step in that direction.

With some justification, a pronounced Winnipeg bias permeates this collaborative enterprise. Nonetheless, many trends and insights reflected here are probably applicable to situations elsewhere.

Except for minor touch-ups, our “papers” are reproduced here as received.

We gratefully acknowledge the participation of our collaborators: their efforts were indispensable for the fruition of this project. Our unsung heroes are Victoria Kaschir at the University of Manitoba’s Centre for Ukrainian Canadian Studies, James Kominowski at the University’s Dafoe Library, and Dr. Sheldon I. Posen of the Canadian Museum of Civilization in Gatineau, Quebec. The Centre’s Zuravetsky Fellowship helped fund our explorations.

Like last year’s compilation (“Winnipeg Papers on Ukrainian Music”), copies of this work are available on request. In this regard, please contact either Ms. Kaschir (tel: [204] 474-8905) or Mr. Kominowski (tel: [204] 474-9681).

Robert B. Klymasz
From Paper to Cyberspace: The impact of the internet on Ukrainian Canadian book culture

Denis Hlynka

April 2009

We are in the midst of an information and communication revolution, variously called “the age of the internet”, “the networked society” “the google generation” “the knowledge society” and countless other phrases. The way one accesses and uses information is clearly changing.

The term “book culture” was once a reasonably self-contained entity which implied that cultures sustained themselves through books and their concomitant products such as journals, newspapers and pamphlets. With the advent of the internet\(^1\), that world is changing. Today sources are scattered, informal, immediate, multimedia and personal. We seek information not only in books, journals, newspapers and pamphlets, but also on blogs, wikis, and social networking sites such

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\(^1\) The word “internet” in this paper will be used with a lower case “i”. While the incorrect use of the word with a capital “I” can still be found in relatively common use, most writers today recognize that the internet is not a proprietary name, and indeed most internet philosophers note that the internet prides itself on just the opposite, namely being a non-proprietary “open source”. For that reason, internet (not Internet) using lower case is the preferred choice.
as Wikipedia. We have direct contact with authors through email. We can mini-blog via twitter. In addition, multimedia sources allow us easy access to video and audio. All of this can be pulled together by aggregators such as rss feeds and programs such as Google Reader. Yet much of this innovation is untested and uncertain. Henry Thoreau long ago put his finger on the problem when he wrote, “They are in haste to build a telegraph between Maine and Texas. But what if Maine and Texas have nothing to say to each other?”

Critical questions need to be asked. How will information be disseminated over the next decade? How does technology create, preserve and communicate information?

Is the book, as we know it, dead, destined to be replaced by new information technologies? Is this truly a revolution that will change everything, or are these ultimately minor changes that will merely cause small adjustments to the role of “book culture” as we bring it into the 21st century?

A Ukrainian Canadian context

The term Ukrainian book culture will be used here to capture the efforts of the Ukrainian Canadian community to disseminate information and knowledge and ideas to its members as well as to the wider Canadian public. Ukrainian presses flourished at the beginning of the 20th century, initially in Western Canada, publishing weekly newspapers, pamphlets and books. At first, these were exclusively in the Ukrainian language. Eventually, some English seeped in. Today,
papers such as *Ukrainian News, Ukrainian Voice and New Pathway* contain as much English as Ukrainian. If language is one tension, a second is a pull between topics that were either Ukrainian vs. Ukrainian Canadian. Should the mission and values of the Ukrainian Canadian press focus on what is going on in Ukraine, or on Ukrainian Canadian issues? What might be a fair balance?

Another issue is “Who is the audience?” The initial “Ukrainian book culture” reached out first to its own communities, then gradually changed, seeking a broader audience. In particular, with Ukrainian independence in 1991, Ukrainian Canadians no longer had the responsibility of maintaining a “captive nation” culture. On a parallel front, the Aboriginal Peoples Television Network operates with a slogan that captures the essence of the dichotomy: “Telling our stories to all Canadians.” Too often we tell our stories to ourselves. Yet, today, “telling our stories to all Canadians” is essential if the Ukrainian Canadian community is to be part of the mainstream.

A significant step forward in this direction of moving into the mainstream began in 1970, when the newspaper *Ukrainian Voice* began a weekly series of English language columns under the title of “Beyond the Official Languages Curtain”, written by Isyndre Hlynka under the pen name of Ivan Harmata. This column sought to chronicle activities in the Ukrainian Canadian community within the then vibrant Canadian discussions on multiculturalism. At that time, there was a strong push to make Canada bilingual (English and French) and this column argued for a “third element” in Canadian society. In essence, this was a “blog” before its time. It was
directed at the government in Ottawa, as much as to the Ukrainian Canadian community. The weekly column ran for over a decade, and produced some 600 short essays chronicling the experiences of Ukrainian Canadians. Today, this column is an untouched potential research source that provides a window on the Ukrainian Canadian community of the 1960s and 70s. An edited selection was published by *Ukrainian Voice* as a book titled *The Other Canadians*. Interestingly this column remains today outside the digital world. That is, the digitization of these articles await a future time. At this stage of writing in 2009, the rich resources of the ethnic presses in general remain housed in print repositories.

To summarize, “Ukrainian Canadian book culture” meant books, pamphlets and newspapers dealing with issues of Ukrainian and Ukrainian Canadian culture. This book culture was supplemented by books in Ukrainian ... fiction and non-fiction ... published *outside* of Canada.

**Segue**

Technology changed all that. The last decade of the twentieth century saw the beginnings of the internet. The Ukrainian Canadian book culture, like Canadian book culture, indeed *all* book culture, was caught up in a new revolution. The internet changed everything. First, alternatives to print started to appear. The death of the book was widely predicted.

The term *communications technology* refers to the variety of techniques and tools that facilitate the creation, preservation and dissemination of information.
While the term “book culture” captured past activities, today it is the computer and the internet, with their potential of new technologies such as blogs, wikis, Facebook, Twitter, and the like that is changing the face of how we communicate. These have both promise and positive potential on the one side, but also lead to potential false steps and wrong directions. We cannot tell where these technologies will lead us; which ones are false starts and dead ends; and which will become the way of the future.

What we do know is that certain modes of communication are changing rapidly. The internet provides new potential that makes the old seem obsolete. Unfortunately there is always a danger of throwing away the good with the bad. We live in critical times where a wrong decision can wipe out an entire history on the one hand, or alternatively can preserve and disseminate our story as never before.

**The digital library**

What is a digital library? The phrase implies the transmigration of printed books to digital or online format, so that digital books can be read on a computer screen. This implies a move to a paperless book, or more commonly, an e-book (electronic book). The move from printed book to e-book is similar to the move five centuries earlier from manuscript to print. E-books began simply as texts which have been digitized. Initially these were classic texts out of copyright, but today more and more, contemporary texts are being published in electronic format as well as hard copy.
At this writing, in March 2009, the concept of the digital library is fraught with controversy, mostly due to issues of copyright. Google leads the way with a plan to digitize millions of books and to make them available either for free, or for a basic cost. Currently some one million books have been digitized in full text by Google, with an additional seven million available in “snippet view” only. Google is not the only commercial organization to digitize books. Some of the many other organizations that digitize print include the Internet Archive, Online Literature Library, JSTOR (which specializes in digitizing journals in the social sciences), Project Gutenberg and literally dozens of others.

Another component of the digital library is the electronic journal or E-journal. Today, refereed academic journals are moving to electronic (and even electronic-only) format. In addition, popular newsletters are very commonly distributed via electronic format. The Ukrainian Canadian community includes several such examples, most notably e-poshta. E-Poshta is essentially an in-depth newsletter that identifies upcoming events across Canada in the Ukrainian Canadian community, but focuses additionally on political issues and the arts. Sometimes it seems to be a call to action, an alert to the community, while other times it is not much more than an online message and information board.

Yet another component is the subscription digital library, as exemplified by Questia. Costing about $80 per year, Questia provides subscribers with a full-text library of books, journals, encyclopedias and newspapers. The strength of the Questia library is that it contains no websites, only bonafide texts, that have been
digitized. Ukrainian Canadian themes abound on Questia, as long as the original
sources are from the mainstream. There is no place for small ethnic presses on
Questia.

**What the internet does well**

So what are some of the things that the internet can do that will change the
underlying structure of book culture in general, and Ukrainian Canadian book
culture in particular?

First, the internet provides information quickly. Search engines, most
notably Google, allow one to type a word or phrase into a search box, and to get
immediate response. Google has pulled so far ahead of its competition, other search
engines such as Yahoo, that the proprietary name has become a verb: the fastest
way to get information is to "google it". What used to be found in a dictionary or
encyclopedia is now on Google. (Yet, whether what one finds from a google search is
always useful information is an entirely different question, since what one gets from
google is too much. When one finds, for example, five hundred hits on a given search
term, the user is overwhelmed.)

Second, the internet allows for easy changing/updating of information. While
once an error in an encyclopedia or a textbook had to wait until the next edition,
with the internet such changes are immediate.

Third, the internet allows for in-depth searching. This may be the most
valuable of all its functions. Given a full text, readers can instantly search words,
phrases and combinations of words that would have been impossible otherwise.
What the internet cannot do well

While Google searches are fast, they do not discriminate. Google essentially searches websites. Suppose one wants a history of Ukrainian Canadian Winnipeg. A search on Google of [history Ukrainian Canadian Winnipeg] will yield 19,900 hits (as of March 18, 2009). These are not in any logical order, but only in the order in which the Google search engine has listed them. So the first few items are essentially webpages. Thus, what the first page of this Google search yields [history Ukrainian Canadian Winnipeg] is the following:

- Two links to the Ukrainian Canadian Congress website
- A link to the entry “Ukrainian Canadian” on Wikipedia
- A link to the presentation of the musical “Strike!”
- A link to unfoukes.com on the Ukrainian internment
- A link to the University of Manitoba’s Centre for Ukrainian Canadian Studies
- A “history of Ukrainians in Canada” from the Ukrainian Canadian Catholic Churches of Winnipeg Archeparchy
- A bibliography on Ukrainians in Canada from civilization.ca

In short, what a Google search provides is hit-and-miss. On the other hand, for comparison, a Questia search is more useful. (Questia has been noted above as an online library that does NOT include websites but only bonafide digitized texts and journals.) A search for the same terms as used above [history Ukrainian Canadian Winnipeg] will yield a very different list. There is absolutely no overlap or repetition between a google search and a Questia search.
A second thing that is problematic with the internet is that internet databases are not available to everyone. The ubiquitous search engine Google lulls one into the feeling that everything is available on Google. However, as has just been shown, Google searches are usually limited to websites, blogs and Youtube sites. Subscription databases search different kinds of information.

Third, blogs get mixed up with websites. Blogs are for personal journaling, and at worst, venting. They are not value-free sources of information. Indeed any "information" is most often lost in personal commentary. That commentary can be misguided and just plain wrong. Ukrainian Canadian blogs, that is, blogs by Ukrainian Canadian organizations and individuals are notoriously inaccurate, and full of innuendo and bias. Often the author is anonymous. When one wants information, one does not want that information to be coming from the 12 year old computer whiz next door. One wants and expects information to come from a reliable source. (And today, many of us think of ourselves as a "reliable source" and therefore can vent on anything we see fit.) Too often, the unsuspecting reader is tricked into thinking that the information on a website or blog comes from a valid and credible source. Often, this is not the case.

Fourth. The internet is basically editorless. The editor played a very significant function in the past. The assumption made on the internet is that one person (YOU) can do it all: write, edit, spell check. In fact, good writing is a skill that the average person does not have. The average person is NOT an editor.
A case study: Taras Shevchenko in cyberspace

One of the significant topics which is a basic component to the study of Ukrainian culture is that of Taras Shevchenko. Shevchenko, of course, was a Ukrainian poet who had nothing to do with Canada. However, Ukrainian Canadians brought the poems of Shevchenko with them, and for many, Shevchenko was a lifeline to the “old world.” Today there are Shevchenko halls across Canada, a Shevchenko statue on the grounds of the Manitoba legislature, a Kobzar Prize, and a Taras Shevchenko Foundation. Indeed one of the first major book culture undertakings of the Ukrainian Canadian Committee (today called the Ukrainian Canadian Congress) was to publish an English translation of Shevchenko’s complete works in 1961 authored by Watson Kirkconnel and Constantine Andrusyshyn.

So, how well has Shevchenko migrated into cyberspace? If the 21st century is the age of the internet, then it is not enough for Taras Shevchenko to be relegated to print libraries. If everything is on the internet (of course it is not!), then what does the internet-as-library tell us about Taras Shevchenko? What follows then, is a ride through cyberspace, stopping off at sites where Shevchenko can be found.

We begin our search with Wikipedia. Calling itself the world’s largest encyclopedia, the ubiquitous Wikipedia is a collaboratively produced website, which means it is up to us to be sure that something about Taras Shevchenko is there. Secondly, it must be accurate. If there are errors, it is up to us to make changes... that is how Wikipedia works. So, to begin with, it can be stated that Wikipedia does
have a substantial entry on Taras Shevchenko. So far so good. Basic information is
provided, but much is missing. And, unfortunately, in keeping with Wikipedia
policy, there is no identification of source credibility. At this stage, it is sufficient to
say user beware!

There are two variants of Wikipedia. One is Wikiquote (www.wikiquote.org); the
other is Wikipedia in simple English (http://simple.wikipedia.org). The simple
English version of Wikipedia is aimed especially at younger readers. There is no
entry in the Simple English Wikipedia on Shevchenko. Likewise, there are no
Shevchenko quotations to be found in Wikiquote.

The second stop on our whirlwind journey of cyberspace is Google. Google is the
search engine of choice, so probably the best place to monitor any evidence of
Shevchenko in cyberspace. Indeed, here we hit paydirt. On March 9, 2009,
Shevchenko’s birthday, a Google search of “Taras Shevchenko” gave some 267,000
“hits”. Of course, as any Google aficionado knows, these hits become redundant and
repetitious. Nevertheless, in terms of raw numbers, “Taras Shevchenko” clearly
exists in cyberspace.

Google Images gives us pictures. Again, a Google image search of “Taras
Shevchenko” delivers some 12,000 images, including portraits, statues, his artwork,
and even pages from his books.

Google Scholar is trickier. Some 52,800 titles are displayed, however, most are
irrelevant to our search, such as Dynamics of intermolecular Hydrogen Bonds in the
excited states of 4-dialkylamino-3-hydroxyflavones. The reason such titles appear is
that these are documents from the Taras Shevchenko University in Kiev. In other words, this has nothing to do with the historic personage, only the institution.

Google cannot distinguish the individual from the university. The easiest way to get rid of that anomaly is to use an essentially Boolean technique of placing in the search window a minus sign (-) in front of the word one does NOT wish to search. In this case, the search should be for "Taras Shevchenko -university". Following this technique, the number of Shevchenko entries drops from 52,800 to only 419.

Shevchenko’s poetry in English translation is very scattered on the web. None are very complete. However, here are three sites:

- [http://www.ukrainegateway.org.ua/gateway/gateway.nsf/webcontent/07010000](http://www.ukrainegateway.org.ua/gateway/gateway.nsf/webcontent/07010000) This link promises some 25 Shevchenko poems. Unfortunately the links are broken and the site does not work! Sometimes these are called "ghost sites".
- [http://www.shevchenko.org/Ukr_Lit/Vol01/01-04.html](http://www.shevchenko.org/Ukr_Lit/Vol01/01-04.html) This site includes Prychynna, Zapovit, and other poems.

Google is most useful when one combines search terms. Sometimes this is called “deep searching”. For example, a combination of terms Shevchenko and Winnipeg will identify sources that link Shevchenko with Winnipeg. Shevchenko and Tchaikovsky will link those two individuals. Of course, such linking does not always work. If one searches Shevchenko and Holodomor, Google yields 8,520 hits, even though Shevchenko was long dead (in 1861) before the Holodomor of 1932-3!
In short, Shevchenko has an internet presence. He is mentioned in blogs (but don’t trust blogs ... they are never reliable as an information source, and almost always used for venting.) on YouTube, and even on Facebook (with 1,632 fans!)

Which brings us to our final example. It has been said that Charles Dickens once wrote something about Taras Shevchenko. Can Google help us? Absolutely. How does one start? Type into Google’s search window the two words Dickens and Shevchenko. Scanning the results, one will quickly find reference to a long out-of-print Victorian journal titled All the Year Round, edited by Charles Dickens. Then a Wikipedia search for All the Year Round will direct us to the full digitized text of this historic journal, which is located at Texas Tech University Libraries. Now we need a date. Our earlier search suggested May 5, 1877. Sure enough, the 1877 editions of All the Year Round have been digitized, including the one we want. It is a very large file, but once downloaded, one can do a full text search, and bingo! A four page article (some 4000 words) about Shevchenko really does appear. It says, in part, ...

[Chevtchenko] is the people's poet of his own land. He is buried, as he wished to be, on the top of one of those kourganes (barrows) which were the wonder of his childhood; and thither from the first day of spring to the last of autumn the pilgrims throng, singing his songs, talking over his history. ... Chevtchenko has stirred the heart of several millions of people; and so he has another claim on our attention, besides the share which he had in settling the serf-question... Whatever you may think of him as a poet, he has made such a name for himself that you ought to know something about him.
Not bad for 1877, just 16 years after Shevchenko’s death! Who is the author?

The article is uncredited, which suggests that it is by the editor himself. However, we know that Charles Dickens died in 1870, and the editorship passed to his son, Charles Dickens Jr. So, most likely, the author of that article was the 1877 editor, that is, the younger Charles Dickens.

Shevchenko’s story has migrated onto the web. The internet allows Shevchenko’s legacy to reach across distance and around the world, and even back into the times of Victorian England and forward into the future.


Wikipedia has already been noted in the above Taras Shevchenko case study as a unique internet phenomenon. The dream, hope, and intent of the Wikipedia creators is to put an encyclopedia into the hands of everyone ... as long as they have a computer, and an internet connection. The problem is in the next step: Wikipedia entries are “open source”: they can be written by anyone about anything, and they can be “corrected” or “miscalculated” by anyone. Further, the authors of specific entries are anonymous.

In general, the Wikipedia entries on Ukrainian Canadiana are notoriously problematic. For example, an examination of the Wikipedia entry on “Ukrainian Canadian” is just short of embarrassing. Most problematic is a listing of “famous”
Ukrainian Canadians. Who is on the list, who is off the list and why the list is there in the first place is more than problematic.

**Conclusion**

Book culture is in transition. It is by no means dead. Indeed it is thriving, and is being supplemented by new ways of delivery, access and preservation. Canadian book culture is a subset of an international readjustment of what book culture can do. Ukrainian Canadian book culture is a miniscule subset of that.

Today, as never before, information is available through multiple sources. Where once a reader/user was limited to a personal library or a public library or a university library, today every single library online card catalog, from anywhere in the world, can be viewed from one’s computer desktop. In addition, over one million full-text books are available for free download. Further, newspapers, pamphlets, websites, blogs, visuals and images, audio lectures, music libraries, videos are all accessible on any computer with an internet connection.

Clearly the internet has provided us with a powerful tool that far supersedes the traditional book. On the other hand the new sources are especially prone to error and personal rhetoric and uninformed opinion.

Yet, in a sense, the role of a good reader remains unchanged. The rules of use are simple: Use all sources possible, Always check the credibility of sources. Be wary. Compare versions. Always ask: Who are the authors? What is their agenda?
The role of the authors is more difficult. The Ukrainian Canadian population needs to tell its stories, both online and in print. But who will tell these stories? One needs to recognize that blogs and wikis are personal and problematic; that Wikipedia must be constantly monitored. Of course, these issues do not just relate to internet texts. Indeed today’s print book culture is equally susceptible to the same problems. As publishers cut corners, coupled by an increase in self-editing and self-publishing, what appears in print is probably just as susceptible to both error and even plagiarism. If misconceptions are not corrected, they become rooted in the popular imagination.

The internet is here to stay. The problem is how to make it a useful and viable tool, and not a new tower of Babel.

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FINDINGS: AN ANNOTATED BIBLIOGRAPHY
by
Robert B. Klymasz

STUDIES, HANDBOOKS AND SURVEYS

Budka, N. [=Nykyta?] "Vaha drukovano ho slova i sposoby ie ho shyrrennia" [= The importance of the printed word and ways of promoting it], Nyva (L'viv), 1911, vol. 8, no. 1, pp. 17-25

Supposedly written by Canada’s first Ukrainian bishop before his appointment in 1912, this piece is cited by Andrii Kravchuk in the latter’s “index to the Greco-Catholic periodical literature of Ukraine 1871-1942” (L’viv, 2000), p. 210.


Andrusyshen’s dictionary (first published in 1955 in Saskatoon) has become an indispensable tool in the area of Canadian Ukrainian studies. This biography was written by his niece, a “Librarian Emeritus” with the University of Manitoba Libraries network in Winnipeg.


The 3rd volume of this work covers the years 1840-1918 and includes a brief section on “Print in Ukrainian Communities” (pp. 48-50).


This article has nine sections: introduction, the church press, the development of church publishing activity, liturgical literature, religious and “lives” literature, church history and biographies, theological, spiritual and handbook literature, publishers, supporters, and lovers of the printed word.


A model study of a dedicated bookman’s life and writings in Soviet Ukraine prior to his demise circa 1936. Check the footnotes for more work by Kasinec relating to Ukrainian book culture.


An anecdotal, telling glimpse into book culture as experienced by the writer in his Old Country village in the early 1900s (school children reading to their families, books as prized possessions, etc.).


This is a brief memory-piece that relates the author’s participation in the rush to produce Ukrainian printed matter in Kyiv after the 1917 revolution. The author emigrated to Canada before the Second World War.


Separate chapters cover seven Ukrainian “member publications” (i.e. newspapers and periodicals) as well as other “non-member” Ukrainian serials. The book also includes pieces authored by Walter M. Filipcyk (b.1924) and J.B. Rudynskyj. (1910-1995).


This commemorative volume reports on a literary competition announced in 1917 (pp.146-148).

Kurdydyk, Anatol’(b.1905). “*Deshcho z istorii ukrains’ko ho kalendariv*” [= Some findings from the history of Ukrainian calendars / almanacs ], in *Kalender Novoho shliakhu na 1963 rik* [Winnipeg], pp. 49-52.


This survey includes separate sections for English-language publications and the communist press. A revised, English translation (by Olena Negych) of this survey was published in J. B. Rudnyts’kyi’s *Ukrains’ka CANADIANA 1966* (Winnipeg; UVAN, 1967), pp. 17-31.


According to this model study, the first book was a catechism written by a bishop. It is interesting to note that in Canada as well – the first book printed in Ukrainian (in 1904 in Winnipeg) was also a religious publication.


This commemorative volume includes a report (with 2 b/w fotos) on the Reading Association’s library and library publications up to 1955.


Includes sub-sections on reading rooms in rural areas, developments in Saskatchewan, Alberta, Ontario, as well as Winnipeg.


Ukrainianists and others who believe “the pen is mightier than the sword” will find two of McLuhan’s glosses especially provocative: “Print, in turning the vernaculars into mass media, or closed systems, created the uniform, centralizing forces of modern nationalism” (p.198) and “Print created national uniformity and government centralism, but also individualism and opposition to government as such” (p.235).


Includes separate introductions in Ukrainian and English.


The late “JBR” left an indelible imprint on Ukrainian book culture in Winnipeg and beyond.


The collections/libraries are classified under 3 main headings: church, secular, private.

Focused on the Ukrainian Catholic press in Canada, the writer draws attention to the initial period (1891-1911), beginning on page 39, the publishing activities of the Redemptorists Order in Yorkton (pp.67-68), and Ukrainian Catholic libraries in Canada (pp.85-86).


In-house publishing activities are outlined in this brief history of the Basilian Order’s monastery in Mundare, Alberta.

Ternopil’s’kyi, V. J. Ukrains’ka chyta’lnia abo shcho kozhdyi Ukrainets’ povyzen znaty, persha chastyina [= The Ukrainian reading room association or what every Ukrainian should know, first part]. Winnipeg: Ukrains’ka vydavnycha spilka v Kanadi [1916, cited by O. Voitsenko, below], 60 p.

Composed of ten sections, this how-to booklet touches on such topics as organizing reading associations, the history of libraries, kinds of literature, readings and meetings, related activities and so forth.


This commemorative volume provides an English outline (written by Orest Martynowych) tracking the rise and fall of the Kalyna Co-operative’s book-publishing and bookstore activities in Winnipeg (pp. 31-39) along with related articles (in Ukrainian) on pages 127, 159-161, and 223—225)

LISTINGS, CATALOGS AND OTHER


“Bibliohrafiia...” [= Bibliography ], in Kalendar Novoho shliakhu na 1963 rik [Winnipeg].

This listing provides a snapshot of publishing activity in the early 1960s and concentrates on Canadian imprints.


Makes recommendations for a Ukrainian Canadian book collection, includes photos, etc.


Muchin, Serhi. “Universa’ilnyi kataloh” [= Universal catalogue], approx. 6,000 index cards.

A retired librarian, Muchin has reportedly completed his catalogue of individual titles relating to Ukrainian Canadians for the period ca.1900-1991. The coverage of the bibliography is any monograph or serial published or written in Canada, about Ukrainians, Ukrainian Canadians, etc., in various languages, including Ukrainian, English and French. The catalogue is to be deposited with the University of Manitoba’s Archives of the Ukrainian Canadian Experiences (Dafoe Library).


Meant to attract rural readers to Oseredok’s library, this catalogue was “published by the authority of the [Manitoba] Department of Cultural Affairs and Historical Resources”.


This multi-volume work spans a period stretching from 1874 to 1979 and constitutes, for the most part, a chronological compilation of material excerpted from the pages of ‘Winnipeg’ newspaper, *Ukrains’kyi holos / Ukrainian Voice*.

The history of the same newspaper is featured in a coloured, English-language videorecording entitled *Headlines: 90 Years of the Ukrainian Voice Weekly* (Winnipeg, 2001, 72 minutes) written, produced and directed by William Wislaski.

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I Overview of the First Thirty Years of Ukrainian Newspaper Culture in Winnipeg

When Rev. Nestor Dmytriw got off the train in Winnipeg on April 5, 1897 he met two Ukrainian immigrants, one of whom he notes in his memoirs “even subscribed to Svoboda,” a Ukrainian newspaper published in the United States. Dmytriw estimates the total Ukrainian immigrant population in Winnipeg at that time to number only two hundred. Obviously, as the editor of Svoboda in Mount Carmel, Pennsylvania, encountering a subscriber of his newspaper in this remote place immediately upon his arrival would be of interest to him.¹ Dmytriw’s statement also points to how important newspapers were at that time, particularly to recent immigrants. Newspapers were a major source of news and served as a link with the Old Country, as well as providing instruction and information to help the immigrants adjust to their new life in Canada. In addition, newspapers provided a forum which allowed the immigrants to communicate with each other and express themselves through their letters to the editor and their poems and stories.

Canada’s first Ukrainian newspaper Kanadiiskiy farmer (Canadian Farmer) was established in Winnipeg on November 5, 1903. The most recent newspaper to be established in Winnipeg is Postup (Progress Ukrainian Catholic News) which is celebrating fifty years of continuous publishing this year. The first issue is dated February 27, 1959. Olha Woycenko estimates that since 1903 about one hundred and thirty-five papers have been published in

¹ Nestor Dmytriw, Kanadiiska Rus’: Podroshni spomyny (Winnipeg: Ukrainian Free Academy of Sciences, 1972) 3, 6. Rev. Dmytriw spent 1897 and 1898 in Canada at the invitation of Dr. O. Oleskiw assessing the spiritual needs of Ukrainian settlers. He celebrated the first Ukrainian Catholic liturgy in Canada at Terebowla, now Valley River. This event is commemorated each year on Sunday of the August long weekend with a prayer service and community meal.
Canada at one time or another. A review of the titles of newspapers (both broadsheets and tabloids) in the *Guide to Ukrainian Canadian Newspapers, Periodicals and Calendar-Almanacs 1903-1970* and *Manitoba Newspaper Checklist With Library Holdings 1859-1986* showed that during this same period fifty-two newspapers were published in Winnipeg. An overwhelming 75% of those newspapers were established during the first thirty years from 1903 to 1932. This was truly the golden age in Winnipeg’s Ukrainian newspaper publishing.

The majority of the Ukrainian immigrants in the first wave of immigration (1891-1914) were illiterate peasants. With the high rate of illiteracy one may wonder how the editors hoped to reach the people. In addition to reading clubs, the editors urged readers to help each other by reading the newspaper to their neighbours. The first reading association was formed in Winnipeg in 1899, and following the lead of Winnipeg, many more reading clubs were organized in rural Manitoba. Also important was the level of language in the newspapers; the editor “must write in the language his public speaks.” For example, one can see the influence of Western Ukrainian dialect in *Kanadiyskyi farmer*. This was the kind of language the immigrants spoke and they would “subscribe for these papers simply because they want to read anything – words, advertisements – because they want to learn to read.” One immigrant newspaper in Chicago was running a deficit because the editors used “high brow” language that no one could

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5 Up to 48 percent of rural males over fourteen and 70 percent of the females surveyed in 1916 could not read or write in Ukrainian. Orest T. Martynowych, *Ukrainians in Canada: The Formative Years 1891-1924* (Edmonton: Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies Press University of Alberta, 1991) 96, 106.
9 Park, *The Immigrant Press and Its Control* 110.
understand. The editors were unwilling to change and "Letters came in from the readers, who were peasants, saying: 'Please send me a dictionary. I cannot read your paper'; or sending in an underlined copy of the paper with a note attached, which read: 'Please tell me what this means and send the paper back to me. I paid for it and I have a right to know what it means."\textsuperscript{10} The need for clarity in newspapers was addressed by Mykhailo Hrushka in his guide for new reporters \textit{Iak pysaty do chasopyshiv} (How to Write to Newspapers).\textsuperscript{11} Hrushka refers to Professor Ohienko's brochure in which he laments that editors and correspondents in Ukraine do not know how to write to the general public and appeals to editors to write in clear language otherwise it is a waste of time and energy. If this is the case in Ukraine, Hrushka states it is even more important to write clearly and concisely for the younger generation that was born and raised here in Canada. Further, Hrushka asks reporters to follow his guidelines so that the editors would have less work editing their news articles and letters. From the point of view of the editor, Honore Ewach (Onufrij Ivakh) states that editors devoted a great deal of time to correcting submissions such as the folkloric verses composed by uneducated, almost illiterate adults.\textsuperscript{12}

The reason for the large number of newspapers established during this period can be attributed to the development of the Ukrainian immigrant community and the emerging organizations. Many of the papers were conducted by priests for the purposes of enlightenment, many were political, and others were devoted to economic and agricultural interests. There were

\textsuperscript{10} Park, \textit{The Immigrant Press and Its Control}, 68.
\textsuperscript{11} Mykhailo Hrushka. \textit{Iak pysaty do chasopyshiv: Korotki porady dla pochatkyiuchykh koresnoydentiv ta donysubachiv} (Winnipeg: Ukrainian Voice, 1938). Mykhailo Hrushka was the first Ukrainian who got a job as a reporter for \textit{The Winnipeg Free Press}. He was born in 1895 in Bukovyna and came to Canada in 1911. He attended Central Collegiate and the Ruthenian Training School in Regina, and taught school in Saskatchewan and Alberta. Dissatisfied with teaching, he went to the USA where he worked as a labourer in summer and attended school in the winter. In San Francisco he took journalism in high school and then went to university in Seattle and worked for the company newspaper.

\textsuperscript{12} Onufrij Ivakh. "Ukraїnsko-Kanadiйskie pysmenstvo," \textit{Isivileinyi Almanakh dlia vidmichennia 50-lititia pratsi Ukrainskoho Holosu 1910-1960} (Winnipeg: Trident Press Ltd.) 156-158. Onufrij Ivakh (Honore Ivakh) came to Canada in 1908, graduated from the University of Saskatchewan in 1929, joined the editorial staff of Ukrainian Voice 1932, poet and author, best known for his prose work \textit{Holos zemli} (Call of the Land, Winnipeg 1937), a novel about Ukrainian Canadian pioneering life.
also humorous comic sheets as well as newspapers directed towards women and youth. An analysis of the length of existence of the newspapers that were established during the first thirty years showed there were four in the over twenty year category, two of which are still publishing in Winnipeg today; there were eight in the five to twenty year category; and twenty-nine had a life span of up to five years. Most of the newspapers in the latter category lasted for only one or two years and some came out with only one issue. The greatest number of newspapers was published in the period 1927 to 1932. The number rose from eleven in 1927 to fifteen in 1932. The great depression had set in and the following year the number of newspapers dropped to eight. Over the balance of the 1930s only three new papers appeared.

Some newspapers went out of business due to the economic crisis while others were able to continue in some form by merging with other newspapers or by being taken over or replaced by another newspaper of the same type. Marunchak gives two examples of political newspapers during this period that “fell under the relentless blows of the economic crisis.” Kanadiiska sich (The Canadian Sich), 1928-1930, a political paper, was the official organ of Ukrainian monarchists in Canada, and subsequently of the Canadian Sich Organization which had as its motto: “One God, one King, one flag, one Empire.” The other was Pravda i volia (Truth and Liberty), January 9, 1929 to November 30, 1930 and January to April 1932, a periodical for Ukrainian workers, farmers and all labourers in the new world. It was the organ of the Ukrainian National Home in Winnipeg and affiliates and subsequently of the Ukrainian Labour Association in Canada. Striletski visty (Veterans News) an organ of the Ukrainian War Veterans Association in Canada, found a creative way to continue. It appeared in October 1930 but by December 1931 it was absorbed by its sister publication Novy shliakh (The New Pathway).

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located in Edmonton at that time. However, Striletski visty continued to appear on the pages of Novy shliakh under its old name.\textsuperscript{14} Although not established in Winniipeg, Novy shliakh is an example of a newspaper that met its funding challenges by moving its publishing office to the city where its support was the greatest. Novy shliakh was formed in 1930 in Edmonton. It became the official organ of the Ukrainian National Federation and soon after moved its offices to Saskatoon where there were more members of the organization. In 1941 it made another move to Winnipeg, the centre of Ukrainian life in Canada,\textsuperscript{15} and then moved to Toronto in the 1970s. Finally, a newspaper directed to farmers, Farmerskyi visty (Farmer’s News), published by the Norris Grain Co. Ltd., 705 Grain Exchange, Winnipeg, stated that “Ukrainians like to grow grain and are good at it but many do not know how to benefit from their labour.” So far Ukrainians had been concerned only with religious matters and political life in Ukraine but when grain prices fell in 1929 they began to think about how to produce grain more economically and how to sell it at the highest price in order to get the most value for their work. Only one issue was published; this was possibly another victim of the economic depression.\textsuperscript{16}

The newspapers which survived the longest appear to be the ones which had stable sources of funding and support. Canada’s first Ukrainian newspaper Kanadiisky farmer established on November 5, 1903\textsuperscript{17} is clearly an example of a newspaper initiated in support a particular religious view and with the financial support of the Liberal Party. In Galicia (the origin of most Ukrainian immigrants) leadership of the peasants had been in the hands of

\textsuperscript{14} Marunchak, 476.
\textsuperscript{15} The Multilingual Press in Manitoba (Winnipeg: Canada Press Club, 1974) 136-138.
\textsuperscript{16} Farmerskyi visty, Monday, 8 September 1932.
\textsuperscript{17} It began publishing every Thursday in a corner of a small building at 259 Fountain Street, Winnipeg, the home of a Swedish language newspaper. During its life Kanadiisky farmer relocated to various addresses: 287 Selkirk Avenue (1910); 903 Main Street, approximate location of Korban Funeral Chapel parking lot (1914); 852 Main Street, not far from the present location of Ukrainskiy holos (1916); 120 King Street, the present site of King’s Head Pub (1919); 295 Market Street, Centennial Concert Hall area (1929); 462 Hargrave Street (1954). Source: The Multilingual Press In Manitoba, 89-93.
Ukrainian Catholic priests, but due to the scarcity of Ukrainian priests in Canada, a group of fairly well-educated young men – referred to as the “intelligentsia” – stepped in and assumed leadership of the Ukrainian Canadian community. Forming the initial nucleus of the “intelligentsia” were the founders of Kanadiiskyi farmer: Cyril Genik, Ivan Negrich and Ivan Bodrug.¹⁸ In Winnipeg Bodrug and Negrich joined forces with their former professors at Manitoba College to form the Independent Greek Church – a unique experiment designed to create a church for the Ukrainian immigrants which would serve as a bridge to Protestantism, although not necessarily Presbyterianism. While at the outset Kanadiiskyi farmer served to promote the beliefs of the Independent Greek Church, the degree of influence of that church and the Presbyterian leaders on the policies of the newspaper varied with the editor. Kanadiiskyi farmer became a private enterprise in 1912 and income from its publishing activity as well as its “open to all pages for expressing various opinions” contributed to its success.¹⁹ Kanadiiskyi farmer continued publishing until 1982 when it was absorbed by Ukraïnskiy holos (Ukrainian Voice).

The need for an “all-national newspaper”²⁰ was conceived at the first conference of Ukrainian teachers held in Winnipeg in 1907. They organized The Ukrainian Publishing Co. Ltd. (changed to Trident Press Ltd. in 1949) and the first issue of Ukraïnskiy holos was published on March 16, 1910. The paper experienced serious financial difficulties during its first three decades of operation. Initially, the paper was set by hand at the home of J. Kret but, as the

¹⁸ At the time there were conflicting orientations: the English Protestant clergy sought to establish “His Dominion” in Canada and the French Catholic clergy sought to become “the apostles of North America,” and they each vied for the souls of the Ukrainian immigrants. Most Ukrainian immigrants belonged to the Greek (Ukrainian) Catholic and Orthodox religions, which the Protestants considered as inferior and French Catholics regarded with apprehension. These three men were introduced to Protestantism through their involvement with the national movement in Galicia. See my thesis “Kanadiiskyi farmer: Poetry in Canada’s First Ukrainian Newspaper.” M.A. Diss. University of Manitoba, 2005.
¹⁹ Marunchak, 472.
²⁰ Marunchak, 267.
number of subscribers increased, the paper was able to rent space and purchase its own printing press and finally to purchase its own building. The active support of Ukrainian political, youth and women’s organizations resulting in subscription dues and donations, as well as editorial stability contributed greatly to the growth and development of Ukrainskyi holos. On March 16, 2009 it completed ninety-nine years of continuous publishing.

*Visnyk* (The Herald) is a semi-monthly publication of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church of Canada. The first issue was published in January 1928. This year it completed eight-one years of continuous publishing.

Religious affiliation, merger, and relocation are factors in the durability (over twenty years) of the fourth newspaper, *Kanadiiskyi ranok* (Canadian Morning). The official organ of the Independent Greek Church, *Ranok* (Morning) was established in 1905 and was subsidized by the Presbyterian Church. The Presbyterian Church and the Methodist Church merged to form the United Church in 1920 and their papers merged as well. *Kanadiiskyi ranok* was therefore created with the merger of *Ranok* and the Methodist *Kanadyiets* (Canadian) from Edmonton. This new paper was published in Winnipeg until 1961 and subsequently continued by *Ievanhelskyi ranok* in the United States.

II Useful Sources for Researching Ukrainian Newspapers in Winnipeg

The best place to start is Frances A. Swyripa’s *Guide to Ukrainian Canadian Newspapers, Periodicals and Calendar-Almanacs 1903-1970*. This report contains the 166 newspapers and periodicals and 44 calendar-almanacs that were microfilmed by the Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies, University of Alberta. Each publication is identified by its

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22 Marunchak, 471.
transliterated title and by its last Cyrillic spelling of its title (with translation), the place of publication, periodicity, general format, type, language, pagination range, predecessors and/or successors, and masthead slogan or affiliation. This information was particularly helpful in selecting publications in the newspaper format and those published in Winnipeg. This report also revises information in earlier bibliographies of the Ukrainian Canadian Press and should be used in conjunction with them. The report provides the following list of these bibliographies and states that the information in these and other sources does not always agree: M. Borovyk, *Ukrainsko-kanadska presa ta ii znachennia dla ukrainskoj menshyny v Kanadi* (Munich: Ukrainian Free University, 1977); D. Lobay, “Ukrainian Press in Canada,” trans. and rev. by O. Negrych, in *Ukrainica Canadiana* 14 (1966): 18-32; three articles by A. Malycky — “Ukrainian-Canadian Periodical Publications: A Preliminary Check List,” *Canadian Ethnic Studies Bulletin* 1, no. 1 (1969): 77-142, “Ukrainian-Canadian Periodical Publications: First Supplement,” *Canadian Ethnic Studies Bulletin* 2, no. 1 (1970): 195-203, and “Ukrainian-Canadian Periodical Publications: Second Supplement,” *Canadian Ethnic Studies Bulletin* 5, no. 1-2 (1973): 175-192; and M.H. Marunchak, *The Ukrainian Canadians: A History* (Winnipeg: Ukrainian Free Academy of Sciences, 1970), 239-96, 470-98 and *Studii do istorii ukrainsiv Kanady* (Winnipeg: Ukrainian Free Academy of Sciences, 1968-9), vol. 3, 17-96. The *Manitoba Newspaper Checklist with Library Holdings 1850-1986* (Winnipeg: Manitoba Library Association, 1986) provides a list of newspapers identified by language, description and dates of publication, as well as information on where copies can be found in Winnipeg. However, some of the dates are not complete and there is an error in the description of the paper, for example, *Kanadiiskaia nyva* (Canadian Field) is incorrectly described as “Farming,” when in fact it was a “political and religious (Orthodox) periodical for Russians in Canada and America [Ukrainian Russophile press
In 1982 Michael H. Marunchak published *The Ukrainian Canadians: A History*, an English version of his works in Ukrainian which he began in the 1960s. Although containing many errors of detail, it is still indispensable because it provides a history of the Ukrainian press in Canada. Olha Woycenco’s *Litopys ukrainskoho zhytta v Kanada* (Annals of Ukrainian Life in Canada) (Winnipeg: Trident Press Ltd., 1961-92) contains a wealth of information gleaned from the newspaper *Ukraiinskyi holos*. Another good reference is *The Multilingual Press in Manitoba* which contains a description and history of Ukrainian newspapers as well as other ethnic papers that were in existence in 1974. Finally, *The Immigrant Press and it’s Control* by Robert Parks is an interesting analysis of the immigrant press of different ethnic groups in the United States, including Ukrainians and other Slavs.

III From the Pages of *Kanadiiskyi farmer, Ukraiinskyi holos, Robitnytsia, and Ranok*

“A preliminary survey suggests that at least 10,000 Ukrainian poems lie embalmed in the back files of the newspapers of Western Canada,” wrote scholar Watson Kirconnell in 1935. This section provides just a small sample of what lies hidden in those newspapers: poetry from *Kanadiiskyi farmer*; news about the press and literature plus some human interest items from *Ukraiinskyi holos*; the socialist perspective from *Holos Robitnytsi* and *Robitnytsia*; and Pavlo Krat’s unpublished novel *Rutenska Kooperatyva* (Ruthenian Cooperative) from *Ranok*.

*Kanadiiskyi farmer:*

“Let us remember our glorious past and let us show that we can be counted as equals with other nationalities in this free land,” urged the editorial in the first issue of *Kanadiiskyi farmer*.

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The editors of *Kanadiiskyi farmer*, therefore, saw it as their essential duty to educate and to raise the consciousness of the Ukrainian immigrants and turn them into the kind of citizens that they perceived the English Canadians to be. They believed this could be accomplished through education, learning to work together, and the improvement of the morals of the immigrants. Probably the most unique way in which the editors reached their readers and got their message across was by publishing poems written by Ukrainian immigrants. As far as we know, few peasants in Ukraine actually read poetry. They heard songs sung by others or perhaps recited at festivals with some sort of musical accompaniment. The melody served to reinforce the regular stresses of the lines and this memorized formula could be used quite easily to slot in prefabricated sentences. Almost immediately upon arrival in Canada, the immigrants composed their own songs and set them to Ukrainian folk melodies. If they could write, they wrote down these folkloric verses and sent them initially to *Svoboda* and then to *Kanadiiskyi farmer*.25

Following are a few examples of the poems which were printed in *Kanadiiskyi farmer* between 1905 and 1910. Most of the poems are didactic with a moral purpose intended to convey instruction and information. A call to found schools is the subject of a poem entitled "Study!" (*Uchite siat*) by Ivan Ravliuk from Stuartburn, Manitoba, in the April 20, 1905 issue. The poet addresses readers in the opening stanza as "Ukrainian brothers" and sons of Ukraine, personified as the familiar "Ukrainian mother." His exhortation "to cling to education" draws on a simile from nature: "Like pollen to a bee." In the next two stanzas, the poet sets out specific actions. Firstly, schools must be established, secondly, children must be sent to school, and thirdly, reading clubs must be established to that the adults can be educated as well. In the

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25 Only the first issue from 1903 and two issues from 1904 have survived in Canada. For an analysis of the poetry and copies of the poems printed in *Kanadiiskyi farmer* 1905-1910 see my M.A. thesis *Kanadiiskyi farmer: Poetry in Canada's First Ukrainian Newspaper*. 
conclusion the metaphors “The school is our mother” and “Knowledge is our light” express the high level of importance the poet places on education. Learning will show the way forward.

There are also many poems reflecting nostalgia and homesickness for the homes they left behind and difficulties in adjusting to the new land, as well as hope for a better life for their children. A poem appropriately named “What Dreams Do to a Man in a Foreign Land” (Scho robyt son cholvikovy v chuzhynyj) by Nykolai Boretsky in the November 15, 1906 issue uses a dream sequence to emphasize his homesickness. In this 9-stanza kolomyika26 the immigrant dreams that he is back in Ukraine walking along with his child: “With its dear little arms / Hugging me, saying something / And wiping away my tears.” He awakes, it is twelve-thirty in the morning and he asks: “Where did my dream go? Where is my baby?” It is Easter morning and he is in the middle of the prairie in a distant foreign land with “a pain in my heart such as I have not felt till today.” The poet metaphorically identifies his thoughts of home that spin around in his head with the violent wind blowing in the Canadian wilderness. When he writes: “Without my family I wilt like a leaf in the sun,” he sharply characterizes his feelings of loneliness and desolation.

Despite hardships and homesickness, the immigrants began accepting Canada as their new home and Kanadiiski farmer published poems praising freedom in Canada and the welcome extended to people from every part of the world. A patriotic poem entitled simply “Canada” (Kanada) by I. Hladchenko in the April 27, 1910 issue opens with an address to “Canada my mother” and an exhortation to love and respect Canada “like a mother.” Canada provides freedom and a home for “every kind of orphan” and for those reasons Canada is as dear as a native country and promises “Abundance, honour and strength / For this foreign son.”

26 The most popular form of Ukrainian Folk ditty. It consists of two rhyming lines with a set rhythmic pattern a 14 syllable line with feminine ending and a caesura after the 8th syllable (4+4+6). Encyclopedia of Ukraine vol. II (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1993) 591-592.
A poem entitled “It’s Either Misery or Luxury” (*To bida to roshkish*) by M. Pidhirny from Bankhead, Alberta in the December 28, 1905 issue tells of the difficulties encountered due to a lack of knowledge of the English language. What is noteworthy about this poem is that it is one of the songs discussed by Robert B. Klymasz in *An Introduction to the Ukrainian-Canadian Folksong Cycle*. Klymasz states that he recorded this song, as sung by Mr. William Yakimchuk, Gilbert Plains, Manitoba, in 1963.\(^{27}\) This is probably one of many poems composed by the Ukrainian immigrants and printed in *Kanadiisnyi farmer* during this period which survived in the oral tradition of the Ukrainian community for many years. This would attest to the impact the newspaper had on the immigrants. The editors of *Kanadiisnyi farmer* were astute in recognizing the power of the poetic word and in selecting poems to educate the Ukrainian immigrants and to instill a code of behaviour and a sense of direction in order to raise their reputation and make them equal to the other ethnic groups in Canada.

**Ukraïns’kyi holos:**

Olha Woycenko was born on July 25, 1909 in Winnipeg. She was an editor and researcher and a longtime associate of *Ukraïns’kyi holos* and Trident Press Ltd. (1927-1972).\(^{28}\) The following are excerpts from her multi-volume *Litopys ukrains’koho zhyttia v Kanadi*.

- First issue of *Ukraïns’kyi holos* has appeared – “economically enlightened, progressively political newspaper for Ukrainians in Canada. (16 March 1910)


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\(^{28}\) *Encyclopedia of Ukraine* vol. 5, 729.
• New illustrated journal “Khata” (House) published by J. H. Krett, subscription $2.00 per year. (4 Jan. 1911)

• On the first anniversary of Ukrainskyi holos we remember all those, especially the farmers and labourers who helped financially by purchasing shares, and particularly Anton Laska who loaned a significant sum of money on easy terms and Peter Zvarych who signed up over one-hundred subscribers over the past year, without compensation. (8 Mar. 1911)

• There are 84 Ukrainian newspapers in the world; most of them are in Galicia – 44; Eastern Ukraine – 12; Canada – 8; USA – 8; Bukovyna – 6; Hungary – 3; Vienna – 2; Brazil – 1. (13 Dec. 1911)

• Funeral of Lesya Ukrainka at Baiko cemetery in Kyiv. The power of the police was seen everywhere. Mounted police led the funeral procession and brought up the rear, and two rows of police walked along both sides. The whole procession moved in total silence. It was forbidden even to sing Vichnaya pamiat!” Silently like shadows the people followed the coffin of the Ukrainian poet. (9 Mar. 1913)

• Full page Eaton’s Store advertisement in Ukrainskyi holos: “Write to us in Ukrainian.” Send all your orders and letters in the Ukrainian language because “they will be able to read them.” (16 Sept. 1914)

• Ukrainian Restaurant in Winnipeg: Matvii Havryshyn announces the opening of his restaurant at 265 Selkirk Ave., Winnipeg. (14 Oct. 1914)


• Fire at Ukrainskyi holos: On 21 October fire destroyed paper, some books and all the Ukrainskyi holos Calendars which were ready for distribution. Damage is estimated at several thousand dollars and will not be completely covered by insurance. (29 Oct. 1919)

• “Write down your history and memories”: Generally all important events are written about in newspapers and future historians will be able to learn about them. At the same time there will be some occurrences which will not be written about in the newspapers, and therefore will slowly be forgotten. This of course will be a loss for history and for future generations and therefore we must collect this information and ensure it is saved. (17 Dec. 1919)

• Ukrainskyi holos has started a literature section for beginning and future writers. Appearing in the section are works by Ivan Danylchuk and O. Ivakh. (8 June 1921)

• A new book “For Our Children” by S. M. Doroshuk: Critical review by D. Hunkevych of this book which has just been published by “Promin” at 597 Selkirk Avenue, Winnipeg, 130 pages, contents – one hundred verses and poetry. (1 Sept. 1926)

• Ukrainian language newspapers in Canada are dependent on others. The first among these is Kanadiiskyi ranok, which received support in the amount of $9,000.00 from the United Church Mission Council in Toronto. The editors advise that: “In Canada there are six Ukrainian language newspapers which are published one or more times a week. Five are supported with funds from non-Ukrainians or although with Ukrainian funds not in the interests of Ukrainians. Of the six only one, Ukrainskyi holos, is published by Ukrainians and for the Ukrainian people. (The names of the other newspapers are not given – O.W.) (16 May 1928)

• Poem entitled “Kanado” (Canada) by Ilya Kiriak. (4 July 1928)
“Irchan departed to Soviet Ukraine.” “Socialist Ukrainian writer M. Irchan left Winnipeg on April 21 and has gone to Soviet Ukraine. A farewell gathering for the honoured guest was held the day before. In his farewell speech Irchan said that his life in Canada gave him a lot of material for his writing but he could not write here because he was watched by the Canadian government.” (29 May 1929)

*Holos robitytsi* (Voice of the Working Woman) and *Robyntysia* (Working Woman):

The first Labour women’s newspaper, *Holos robitytsi*, was a monthly newspaper established in January 1923 and existed about one year. It was continued by *Robyntysia* from January 1924 until August 1937. Myroslav Irchan was the editor until 1929 when he returned to Ukraine. In 1929 the circulation was 6,800. According to Peter Krawchuk, Irchan was invited to Canada by the Central Executive Committee of the Ukrainian Labour Temple Association (ULTA) in Winnipeg. ULTA was initiating a broad program of cultural activity for the purpose of advancing the socialist movement in Canada. The Ukrainian labour-farmer press was growing rapidly, and it was particularly because of the great need for educated and competent editorial staff that Irchan was offered the position of editor. Irchan was editor, literary contributor and proof-reader of *Robyntysia*, a bi-monthly journal which served the women’s sections of the ULTA. In his editorials Irchan wrote on issues affecting women and children. He exposed the exploitation and the terrible working conditions of immigrant women, called on women to fight for their rights, and also gave advice on how to conduct meetings and speak in public. He wrote articles urging parents to save their children from influences in the towns and cities which led them to disown their Ukrainian names and national origin. In addition to his editorial and
organizational work, he wrote many articles, novels and plays.\footnote{Peter Krawchuk, *The Unforgettable Myroslav Irchan* (Edmonton: The Kobzar Publishing Company Limited, 1998). Krawchuk gives several reasons why Irchan left Canada. Because of poor health, his wife had returned to Czechoslovakia with their daughter. The heavy editorial and organizational workload left little time for Irchan to devote to literary work. Also, some of the leaders of ULTA were jealous of his literary work. Regarding workload Irchan expressed it this way: “True, the editing of a journal by one individual that comes out in 22 pages every two weeks is not a normal situation....With five years under the pressure of producing women’s material every two weeks is, in my opinion, much more difficult than editing a paper issued every two days, where it is possible to utilize reprints.”} Seven of Irchan’s plays were published in Winnipeg: *Bezrobitni* (The Unemployed, 1923), *Dvanaidsiat* (The Twelve, 1923), *Nezhkanyi hist* (Unwelcome Guest, 1923), *Yikh bil’* (Their Pain), *Rodyna Shchitkariv* (The Family of Brushmakers, 1924), *Pidzemna Halychyna* (Underground Galicia, 1926), and *Radii* (Radium, 1927).

Irchan’s work also appeared in *Holos robitnytsi*. An examination of microfilm copies of the newspaper showed various articles by Irchan during the course of 1923 and his narrative “Mriia” (The Dream) in the September 1923 issue. In the March issue there is a half page “memoriam” with photographs of Stefan Melnychuk and Petro Sheremeta. They were close friends of Irchan who were in the group of twelve insurgents that carried out raids against Polish rule in the Chortkiv area in Ukraine. Melnychuk and Sheremeta were captured, tried and executed on November 11, 1922. Irchan immortalized them in his play *Dvanaidsiat*.

Poetry and stories appeared in every issue of *Holos robitnytsi*; during that one year there were some twenty-two stories and twenty-nine poems. The themes were socialist, for example, in the March 1923 issue a poem entitled “Do Divchat” (To Girls), calls for girls to work for socialism and asks that instead of weaving flowers into their hair, they weave their efforts into wreaths for the revolution.
Ranok:

The Ruthenian Cooperative” was serialized by Ranok in 1915 and 1916. Pavlo Krat’s longest novel is a fictionalized account of the creation of the cooperative and his experiences on a Saskatchewan farm and life in Vancouver. Following is an excerpt from the beginning of the novel. The hero of the novel, Ostap Semenchuk, is on his way to British Columbia after spending eight years on the farm.

“The Canadian Pacific Railway train headed west across the flat Saskatchewan prairie, as if over a vast white ocean. The north wind picked up piles of snow and threw it against the black willows bluffs creating huge drifts. Once again the train tried to throw itself off the rails, while the windows of the railway car rattled and the walls groaned as they endured the onslaught of a Canadian blizzard. The train would stop for a few minutes near tiny prairie towns with snow drifts up to their ears, sometimes picking up a passenger brave enough to venture out in such a blizzard, unloading the mail and parcels, and then raced on towards the west.

Ostap Semenchuk sat in a green velvet seat in first class and gazed out through the snow covered windows at the monotonous Canadian prairie. Here and there amidst the white expanse of snow are farm buildings, houses and barns. Great piles of straw in fields covered with snow remind him of the Cossack mounds in winter in far-away Ukraine. Sometimes the train passes through a tree covered valley and there flocks of grouse fly out from under the snow with great difficulty and land on the straw piles. A coyote points his sharp muzzle from behind the willows and with his intelligent eyes stares for a long time at the passing rail cars. Over there a drove of

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30 Krat claimed that the story was so interesting to the readers that the subscribers list jumped to 2,000.


31 The translation is mine.
horses or a herd of cattle are bunched up against the south side of the straw pile, sheltered from
the wind.

These scenes of the Canadian prairie were nothing new to Ostap. He had farmed in the
Canora, Saskatchewan area for eight years. He knew this province for hundreds of miles around
his homestead and the feelings that arose now were not of interest or curiosity but an oppressive
pain in his heart. It was the kind of pain a person feels several weeks after the death of a beloved
spouse.

Ostap was not going to Regina or Saskatoon on farming matters. No, he was leaving
Saskatchewan for good.

He took his homestead five miles from Canora on White River. There was a drought in
the autumn Ostap arrived in Canada. The grass on the prairies dried up and only the little
reddish sunflowers nodded their heads in the dry autumn wind. The green bulrushes along the
sloughs turned white; the smaller sloughs dried up while the larger ones were overgrown with
grass. Ostap selected a homestead with good, black soil, not paying attention to the little valley
that cut across his land. He still had a thousand dollars left of the money he had brought from
home so he quickly began to building up his homestead. He put up barbed-wire fences, bought
cattle and put up hay for the winter. On the farm next to Ostap lived a poor homesteader with a
very large family.

Ostap hired that poor fellow to help him with the farm work. He wondered why a person
with 160 acres and who had farmed for five years could not become well-off. Ostap was certain
that within three years he himself would become a big landowner.

In the winter Ostap became melancholy. He took out a subscription to “Canadian
Farmer” from Winnipeg (at that time there were no other Ukrainian newspapers in Canada), but
the paper did not make him feel any better. The north wind blew the snow up to the windows of his house and Ostap got even more depressed.

‘Why don’t you get married, Ostap?’ his neighbour Paul asked him from time to time. ‘It’s not right for a rich homesteader like you to be without a wife. With a wife you will be happier; she will cook for you, milk the cows, and look after the livestock.’

Ostap did not want to have a wife-slave; he was in love with a priest’s daughter in Galicia and wrote to her and asked her to come to Canada. But the lady had other plans. Before Christmas she sent him an invitation to her wedding; she was getting married to some lawyer. Ostap got over his broken heart and after Christmas married one of his neighbour Paul’s daughters, a pretty and a good girl, but uneducated. His father wrote to him from the Old Country that it was spring in Galicia and they were working in the fields, while here the blizzards played in the wastelands of Saskatchewan. It seemed to Ostap that winter would never end, that he had landed at the North Pole and would never live to see a warm summer. The last snow did not melt until the 20th of May and the hot sun began to beat down immediately; summer came without a spring.”

In the following chapters Krat describes Ostap’s experiences on the farm. Ostap and Hanushya have a happy marriage but tragically she sustains burns from a falling lamp at her sister’s wedding and dies two days later. Heartbroken, with nothing left to live for, Ostap takes his dog and the two of them set out for British Columbia. In Vancouver Ostap meets up with some acquaintances and seven of them decide to form the Ruthenian Cooperative. They meet to discuss the details:

“Khudobichuk smoked and thought how he could pay off his personal debts with the money that will come from the sale of the products. Konoka was annoyed with Chorney’s wife
who kept coming back and forth from the kitchen to listen at the door. Ostap and Chorney pondered and dreamed about how they would establish the apiary, the chicken ranch, the orchards, and the cattle.

‘We should go into the kind of business that people here don’t have,’ he repeated his business creed. ‘Here the price of fruit is very low, and farmers sell the harvest from their orchards at a very cheap price, but we can build a factory to make fruit wine, fruit preserves and dried fruit. There is still no silk factory in Canada. We should start raising silk worms. There are not enough sugar refineries; could we not set up our own sugar refinery?’”

..........

“The other partners went down town and drank coffee at a restaurant. Finally about three in the morning they returned home. Zborowsky also went with them because he admired Ostap so much he couldn’t be parted from him. He discussed the cooperative with him all the time.

‘Kattrush’ heard his master’s voice and began barking in the woodshed. Konoka let him out and picked him up in his arms and went up the steps into the house.

‘Be careful, Harry, don’t break the steps,’ teased Khudobichuk.

They did not go to bed. They sat down at the table. Khudobichuk brought a bowl of sauerkraut, sliced some onions, pulled out from under his brother’s bed a gallon jug of spirits diluted with burnt sugar, and announced that they must celebrate the forming of the cooperative. No one besides Khudobichuk drank, but the joy in their hearts was such that they tipped glass after glass, and in a little while all thoughts in their heads were tipped upside down.”

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The popularity of Ukrainian newspapers is due to various reasons. The immigrants needed to read in their own language how to adapt in their new country and to stay connected with Ukraine and with each other. Religious and national organizations used newspapers to educate and to send out their message. Newspapers provided a forum for the immigrants’ poems and stories, they engaged in publishing and distributing books, and thus made an important contribution to the development of Ukrainian literature in Canada.

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EASTERN CHRISTIAN BOOK CULTURE OF UKRAINIANS IN CANADA

1. Introduction

The eminent North American Patristics scholar and theologian, Fr. Jean Meyendorff (1926-1992), wrote: “Man is truly man when he participates in divine life... this participation in no way diminishes his authentically human existence, human energy and will”.¹ This is a helpful observation related to the famous saying of the hero of the First Ecumenical Council of 325 A.D., St. Athanasius of Alexandria, on the Incarnation of God the Son: “God became Man so that we might be become god”.

Here, in fact, we discover the special perspective of Eastern Christianity: we believe that God has made humans with the potential to become, by His Grace (Energies – see footnote 11), with which they are called to co-operate, so much like Himself, that one day they shall see Him face to Face and shall live forever with Him and each other in perfect harmony and joy (2 Corinthians 3:18).² This vision has, I believe, permeated the culture of Ukrainians throughout the world. It is, of course, also true in the case of the Ukrainian community in Canada of Orthodox, Eastern Catholic or Protestant heritage.

² See the article “Deification” at 2 Peter 1 in the Orthodox Study Bible, St. Athanasius Academy of Orthodox Theology, 2008).
The reading – and singing – of Books is an important part of the process of growing in this Grace. This article aims to give an overview of the Eastern Christian book culture of the Ukrainian community in Canada.

2. The Bible

First among the books to which Ukrainians look to acquire Grace and find meaning and guidance in their personal and communal lives is, as one might expect would be the case, the Bible or the Holy Scriptures.

The Bible has entered deeply into Ukrainian folk culture since Ukraine’s adoption of Christianity in the 9th and 10th centuries. The popular wandering Ukrainian philosopher and theologian, Hryhoriy Skovoroda (1722-94), carried it about with him everywhere he went and quoted it continuously. So also did the great Taras Shevchenko (1814-1861), who may justly be called the Father of the modern Ukrainian nation.

The brothers, Sts. Cyril and Methodius, translated the Bible into Church Slavonic in the 9th century. They also gave the Slavic people an alphabet of which the modern version is aptly called Cyrillic. This version of the Bible is still used by some communities in the celebration of Divine Services. However, the piety of Ukrainians of all three Christian traditions made the translation of the Bible into their living language a matter of the utmost necessity.

Work on making the Scriptures more comprehensible to Ukrainians began as early as the 16th century with the Peresopnytsia Gospel, which
presented the four Gospels in a more colloquial form. Three Presidents of
sovereign Ukraine have taken their oath of office upon the original version of
this Gospel.

Other translations were done secretly because of the Moscow
government's severe restrictions on the Ukrainian language. Pylyp
Morachevs'ky˘y (1806-1879) was the first to translate the Gospels into
modern Ukrainian. The genial Panteleimon Kulish (1819-1897) and his
colleagues Ivan Pulyuy and Ivan Nechuy-Levyts'ky˘y (another noted literary
figure) completed the whole Bible. Their work was not published until the
beginning of the 20th century.

The Ukrainian Orthodox scholar, Ivan Ohiyenko (1882-1972), later
Metropolitan Ilarion of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church of Canada, worked on
his monumental translation of the Bible from 1917 to 1940. It is the most
widely used version to date.

The Ukrainian Catholic scholar, Fr. Ivan Khomenko, worked on his
translation for 23 years, completing it in the 1950's, but it was only published
after the Second Vatican Council (1962-65) renewed Biblical scholarship in
the Roman Catholic Church. An updated version was recently unveiled in
Ukraine in October of 2007. Fr. Khomenko's translation is especially
valuable in that it includes the books of the Old Testament Apocrypha.
These are read and used liturgically by both the Orthodox and Eastern
Catholic Churches. Protestants have not accepted them as Holy Scripture
since they are part, not of the Hebrew Bible, but of the Septuagint, the
Greek translation made in the 3rd century B.C., and also because they are quoted in support of the practice of praying for the dead, which is almost universally rejected by this Christian community. The progress made by Ukrainian ecumenism is evidenced, however, by the fact that Protestant scholars participated in this recently published version of Fr. Khomenko's translation.³

Another modern translation of the Bible is currently underway in Ukraine headed by the Ukrainian Catholic scholar, Fr. Rafayil Turkonyuk. The New Testament portion has already been published.

The Bible is, of course, the chief book especially of Ukrainian Protestants, who derive from it the material for their sermons (generally much longer than the homilies of their Orthodox and Eastern Catholic brethren) and Bible studies, their hymns and their prayer meetings. The following books (with the exceptions of the first two), which I am about to describe, although no less grounded in and derived from the Bible (and also often containing large sections of it), are not used and little known by these members of the third, small but growing, family of Ukrainian Christians.

3. **Liturical Books, Prayerbooks and Almanacs**

The Eastern Orthodox liturgy, which is used by both the Orthodox and Catholic communities, is a product of many centuries of worship. The very term "Orthodox" implies worship done in an appropriate or proper manner.

³ Metropolitan Ilarion (Ohiyenko) also wanted to translate these books, but his sponsors, the British and Foreign Bible Society, composed of Protestants, refused to allow this.
Both Orthodox and Eastern Catholic faithful in Canada are most familiar with the portion of the daily liturgical cycle known as the Divine Liturgy (sometimes called by the Roman Catholic name “the Mass”), in which the Holy Eucharist is celebrated. Some parishes also celebrate other parts of the cycle, such as Vespers, Matins and the Canonical Hours. Monasteries and individual monastics (there are, at this point, few of these in Canada but the number is growing) would normally seek to celebrate the entire cycle or as much of it as they are able to.

These celebrations require many books - which shall be described below. Most familiar to the faithful will be the Prayerbooks, the “Molytovyky”, which contain the texts of the Liturgies, Vespers, Matins, Morning and Evening Prayers, as well as variable portions of the Liturgies, such as the Troparia, the Kontakia, the Proimena and “Prychasni” (Communion Anthems). They also frequently contain special para-liturgical songs, especially those sung by the faithful at Christmas and Pascha.

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4 These are: Vespers; Compline; Midnight Service (Nocturne); Matins (Orthros); First, Third and Sixth Canonical Hours; Divine Liturgy, Ninth Canonical Hour.
5 There are three Eucharistic Liturgies. The Liturgies of Saint John Chrysostom (the one served most frequently) and Saint Basil the Great (served 10 times during the liturgical year) are virtually identical except for the so-called “secret Prayers”, read quietly or even silently by the celebrant. Many approve of this practice as it shortens the time taken by the Liturgy. However, a small but growing number of celebrants now read them aloud - as was certainly the case when they were written - for the edification of the faithful. Some Prayerbooks do publish them for the faithful. The Liturgy of Pre-sanctified Gifts, attributed to Pope Gregory the Dialogos (c. 540-604 - Saints of the first Millennium of Christianity are generally venerated by both Orthodox and Catholics), is celebrated on Wednesdays and Fridays of the Great Fast. The Elements of the Eucharist (the Bread which has been tinctured with the Wine) are consecrated on the preceding Sunday for Communion by the faithful on these two days, since the solemnity of the Fast requires that the Eucharist itself can only be celebrated on Saturdays and Sundays, the days which celebrate the Lord’s victory over death – His descent to Hades on Holy Saturday to free the souls of the dead, and His Resurrection on the Sunday of Pascha (“Velykden”). Few Prayerbooks contain the text of this Liturgy.
6 These are prayers which proclaim the significance of the day and/or Saint according to the liturgical calendar.
7 These are verses from the Psalms selected specially for these days.
("Velykden" – "Easter") as well as to honour the Theotokos
("Bohorodytsia"). For some time, such Prayerbooks have also been
published bilingually, i.e. in Ukrainian and English, for the benefit of those
faithful who are not familiar with the Ukrainian language.

The proper celebration of the Divine Services requires the use of a
Typikon, a book which weaves together the variable portions of Services of
the liturgical year, in which two cycles coincide: the Paschal cycle which
begins with the Feast of the Resurrection, and which depends upon the
movement of the Moon around the Earth\(^6\) and thus is movable, and the
Ordinary cycle which begins with the Indiction, an old Roman institution
marking a beginning of the year on September 1 (September 14 on the
Julian Calendar – see footnote 9), and is thus dependant upon the
movement of the Earth around the Sun. This cycle carries in itself all of the
Feast Days and commemorations which are fixed or immovable.

Virtually none of the faithful – and very few Priests – have a Typikon,
and even fewer would know how to use it. Thus the several Church
headquarters publish an annual almanac which contains an abbreviated

\(^6\) The singing in Church of para-liturgical hymns is a practice somewhat unique to Ukrainian Orthodox and
Catholic Christians. It is not generally done in other Eastern Christian communities.

\(^9\) The Orthodox and many Ukrainian Catholics observe this greatest of Feast Days according to the decree
of the First Ecumenical Council held in Nicea (today, Iznik in Turkey) in 325 A.D.: i.e. on the first Sunday
after the spring equinox – and according to the Julian Calendar (commonly called “Old Style”), instituted
by Julius Caesar, which today is astronomically 13 days behind the Gregorian Calendar (commonly called
“New Style”). This means that it always comes after the beginning of the Jewish Passover, underlining the
historicity of Christ’s death and resurrection. Many other Ukrainian Catholics and Ukrainian Protestants
join the Church of the West in celebrating according to the Gregorian Calendar – yet still according to the
cycles of the Moon. It has been noted that the Moon, which shines with the reflected brilliance of the Sun
(upon which humans may not look without damaging their eyes) may be seen as a particularly apt analogy
of the way that Jesus, the Incarnate Second Person of the Trinity, makes the glory of the Father, Who can
not be seen, salvifically – and delightfully - visible to mortal men and women.
form of the Typikon for the year, as well as the lists of Saints
commemorated each day together with the prescribed readings from the
Lectionary - the Scripture portions appropriate to the Services of both the
liturgical cycles as they come together each day of the year. Every Priest
and Cantor ("Dyak"") and/or congregation, as well as some of the more
observant faithful, will have a copy of this Almanac. The "ordos" (the
directions given by the Typikon) are almost identical for Orthodox and
Eastern Catholics.\(^\text{10}\) These are now often published on the internet.

The books used by Priests, Cantors and those in charge of the
liturgical celebrations are as follows (today, it is important to have these
books in English as well as Ukrainian – French is also useful):

1. The "\textit{Yevanheliya}" (frequently referred to in English by its Greek
name "\textit{Evangelion}") or \textbf{Book of the Gospels}. This is a book containing the
four Gospels, arranged by pericopes (readings) designated for use
throughout the liturgical year. The "Yevanheliya" is an object of veneration
by the faithful.\(^\text{11}\) It is kept on the Holy Table in the Altar\(^\text{12}\) and besides being

\(^{10}\) There are variations in the Regular and/or the Paschal cycle for those who observe it/them according to
the Gregorian calendar.

\(^{11}\) Both Orthodox and Catholics hold the position proclaimed at the Seventh Ecumenical Council, also held
in Nicea, of 787, that the veneration of sacred material objects such as Icons, Crosses and Gospels is not
only permitted but necessary. This practice affirms and proclaims that the Incarnation of the Second
Person of the Trinity as the historical Divine-Human Person, Jesus of Nazareth, has sanctified matter,
establishing its communion with God (with His Energies, not His unknowable Essence from which His
Energies proceed), and the honour and respect given to these sacred objects pass through them to the One
Whom they represent as their eternal Source.

\(^{12}\) Eastern Orthodox and Eastern Catholic Churches use the term "Altar" ("Vivlar") for the entire eastern
portion of the Temple (Church building) which is set apart from the rest of the Nave by the Icon screen
(Iconostasis in Greek - "Ikonostas"), and corresponds to the Holy of Holies of the Old Testament Temple.
This proclaims the mystery and "hiddenness" (transcendence) of God while the very architecture of the
Temple, comprised of arcs and arches, proclaims His nearness, His loving embrace and care of His creation
read at the appropriate times during the Divine Services it is also carried around the Temple in procession and kissed by the celebrant/s and faithful.

The “Yevanheliya” is ornately bound, often with metal and sometimes with precious stones – but not in leather, since tradition forbids the placing of animal skins on the Holy Table. This Table is the Throne of the Incarnate Logos (Word) of God, the unique and perfect Sacrifice, symbolized and represented by the Book of the Gospels and especially by the Holy Eucharist.

2. The “Apostol” which may be a book containing the Book of Acts, the Epistles of St. Paul as well as the General Epistles, also arranged by pericopes designated for use throughout the liturgical year, or, usually, a smaller book containing the readings for the Sundays and major Feast Days of the liturgical year, as well as a lectionary of Epistle readings for the Paschal cycle and other special commemorations of Angels and Saints and special Needs (“Treby”). This book is usually kept, together with other liturgical books, on a special stand placed for the use of the Cantor and his/her assistants.

3. The “Sluzhebnyk” or Priest’s Service Book, the Hieratikon, which contains the texts, including the “secret Prayers” (see footnote 5) of the Services of Vespers, Matins and the three Eucharistic Liturgies (see

(His immanence). That which Churches of the West call the Altar is called the Holy Table (“Prestol”) by Eastern Christians.
footnote 5). Usually only the celebrants (Bishops, Priests and Deacons) will have this book.

4. The “Chasoslov” or Horologion, literally “The Book of the Hours” which contains the fixed texts, not only of the Canonical Hours, but of all the Services of the Daily Cycle.

5. The “Psaltir” or Psalter which is the Biblical book of the Psalms of David arranged for liturgical use, divided into twenty sections called “kathismata” (“kafyzmy”) with appropriate prayers for each. Each “kathisma” is further divided into three parts called “stasis” (in Ukrainian - “Slavy”). Sometimes this book is combined with the Horologion.

6. The “Mineya” or Menaia, literally “Books of the Months”. This is a collection of twelve books (each one is a Menaion), one for each month of the liturgical year, containing the variable texts for the fixed Feast Days and Saints’ Days of the given month. Such collections are not yet very common. It is more usual to have a single book called a “Mineya” which contains a smaller number of the variable texts for all the major Feast Days and Saints’ Days as well as general texts for the various types of Angels and Saints (Prophets, Apostles, Martyrs etc.).

7. The “Oktovikh” or Octoechos, literally “Book of the Eight Tones”. These are two books containing the texts for the cycle of liturgical services
relating to the eight Tones ("Holosy").\textsuperscript{13} It is more common, however, to find a single book containing the material only for the Sundays.\textsuperscript{14}

8. The "Pisna Triod" or \textit{Lenten Triodion}, literally "Book of the Three Odes". This contains the texts for the services for the pre-Lenten (beginning with the Sunday of the Tax-collector and the Pharisee, which is the tenth Sunday before Pascha or "Velykden") and Lenten portions (up until Holy Saturday, "Strasna Subota") of the Paschal cycle.

9. The "\textit{Tsvitna Triod}" or \textit{Pentecostarion}, which contains the texts of the services of the Paschal season, i.e. from the day of Pascha, "Velykden", until the First Sunday after Pentecost, the Sunday of All Saints ("Vsikh svyatkykh").

10. The "\textit{Trebnyk}" or \textit{Euchologian}, meaning respectively "Book of Needs" or "Book of Prayers". This book could well have been number 4 on this list rather than number 10 because of frequency of its usage by Priests and Cantors. A "Trebnyk" may contain the texts of Services for Vespers, Matins and the Divine Liturgy (all three types), and will also contain the texts of the remaining six Great Sacraments or Mysteries ("Tayinstva"), Monastic tonsure\textsuperscript{15}, Funerals and other Services of Blessings and Prayers. The distinguishing feature of the "Trebnyk" is that these Services are generally

\textsuperscript{13} The movable, i.e. Paschal cycle of the liturgical year is divided into eight Tones which are repeated consecutively.
\textsuperscript{14} We must note that the liturgical day begins at 6:00 p.m. rather than at midnight. Thus, Sunday begins on Saturday evening. This explains why it is more in keeping with the liturgical tradition to hold weddings and other celebrations with dancing on Sunday afternoon rather than on Saturday night which is a time of preparation for the Divine Liturgy.
\textsuperscript{15} It is rare, however, for the "Trebnyk" to contain the text of Priestly Ordinations and/or Monastic Tonsure. These are contained in a liturgical book commonly owned only by Bishops, the "Chynovnyk" or Archhieratikon.
not appointed to be celebrated at any particular time according to the 
liturgical calendar, but are done as the need arises (hence the name 
"Treblink", "Book of Needs"). Some blessings are, however, associated with 
Feast Days, as for example the Great Blessing of Water at the Feast of the 
Theophany ("Yordan"), and so on.

In addition to the above there are other liturgical books such as 
"Akafysnyky", containing Akathist Services in honour of the Lord, the Cross, 
the Theotokos, Angels, Saints, Feast Days and even for the repose of the 
departed\(^{16}\) and various booklets, containing the texts of Services for special 
occasions and Feast Days.

4. **Books of Information and Inspiration**

Such books would, for example, be smaller and greater collections of 
the Lives of the Saints - there are many such Saints remembered on 
virtually every day of the year. Usually the Saint would be remembered on 
the day of his/her repose, which as a result of Christ's victory over death by 
His death, is understood to correspond to that victory - the Saint's personal 
Pascha, his/her passing from death to life (John 5:24) or "birthday into 
Heaven". Sometimes this commemoration is on the day of the Translation 
(moving from one location to another) of his/her Relics.\(^{17}\) Our Lord and His

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\(^{16}\) Most "Molytovnyky" contain three Akathists: to the Lord Jesus, to the Theotokos and to St. Nicholas the Wonderworker. Akathists are patterned after a special poetic Service written to the Theotokos in the sixth-century by St. Romanos the Melodist. The name "akathist" implies that one does not sit during this Service.

\(^{17}\) The Orthodox and Eastern Catholics venerate Holy Relics, the incorrupt bodies, bones and other objects associated with the Saints. Such veneration follows from the conviction, already referred to in footnote 11, that the Incarnation of God the Son has sanctified matter and that the bodies as well as the souls of the Saints share in the holiness and glory of the Risen Lord.
Mother, the Theotokos as well as St. John the Forerunner (commonly known in the Church of the West as “St. John the Baptist”), are also commemorated on the day of their Conception, providing support for the conviction that human life begins at conception rather than at birth.

An important source of information and inspiration for Ukrainian Christians would also be the writings of the Fathers and Mothers of the Church. Also, collections of sermons have played – and still do play - an important part in the life of the Church. Sometimes pastors could simply read a sermon from one of these collections to their congregation instead of preparing or extemporizing their own creations (albeit inspired by the Holy Spirit).

Metropolitan Ilarion (Ohiyenko) is an example of a Church leader who wrote many books on Church history, biographies, Biblical and theological studies and so on for the edification of his clergy and faithful. Many other leaders of the Eastern Catholic and Protestant families have done likewise.

5. Conclusion

The libraries of Priests, Churches and many faithful contain a good many of the above books. There was a time when Ukrainian Catholic and Orthodox Bishops spoke firmly about the need for clergy to have a well-stocked library. One rarely hears such exhortations today since the number of books on the faith of Eastern Christians seems to be growing exponentially. In addition there is growing access to the internet, making a vast array of liturgical, informational and inspirational material available to all
believers – even in audio and video formats. In fact it is no longer rare for inquirers who are not of Ukrainian background to express interest in the faith tradition of Ukrainian Christians and even to join and become active in these communities.

However many the books may be on the other hand, they are of little value to those on whose shelves they sit unopened. Perhaps it would be appropriate to end this article with the experience of St. Augustine cited by Bishop Kallistos (Ware) in his excellent article “How to Read the Bible” at the end of the Orthodox Study Bible (see footnote 2). The Bishop recounts that at a high point of Augustine’s spiritual crisis, as he wrestled within himself alone in the garden, he heard a child’s voice crying out: “Take up and read, take up and read”. The, at that time, future Saint picked up a Bible and read and the content of his reading changed his whole life – and, through him, that of countless others who have been inspired by his creativity.

Let us too, then, take up and read and sing and grow in the Grace that is afforded by the written treasures passed on to us from fellow-believers of ages past, and some who are still labouring, as we ought to be.

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Working with Ukrainian Libraries
– A Personal Account –

by Nell Nakoneczny

The customs children absorb from their home environment and their participation in the community define their lives regardless of where they eventually settle as adults. For over a century, Ukrainian community groups in Canada defined these base experiences in terms of reading rooms, theatre groups, music ensembles, and organized political life.

Historical records and collections of books attest to their social cohesion and their ability to convincingly establish their presence in Canada. While their record-keeping was not consciously organized, they instinctively knew that announcements of performances (advertisements, pamphlets, and other ephemera of social life), and records of organized meetings should be retained. Researchers today are thankful for these glimpses into the past.

Even today, the diligence with which records and book collections are maintained ranges from professional to abysmal. Three well-established Ukrainian Canadian communities – Sudbury, Montreal, and Toronto – demonstrate a record of success and a willingness to adapt to reality. These positive experiences also serve to highlight some potentially worrisome trends.

SUDBURY

The library in the Ukrainian Senior Centre in Sudbury, Ontario has become the de facto resource of choice for the Ukrainian community. There is no Ukrainian school sponsored by any of the traditional Ukrainian institutions, nor is there a nursery school, or courses in Ukrainian studies for high school students in Sudbury.

The original intent for the design of the centre was to serve the needs of its residents by making available reference materials; books for recreational reading; newspapers; audio tapes/talking books; and music cassettes. The Senior Centre library now has more than 1,000 books in a fully catalogued collection. Approximately 150 of its books on Ukrainian topics are in English. The library is open one day a week for anyone who wishes to avail themselves of the collection with the assistance of a volunteer, and is open by appointment at other times. Over the 25 years of its existence, the needs of the residents have changed. There now are DVD's, 150
videos, 100 music cassettes, 200 talking books, and 20 music CDs. As the volume of new media acquisitions has increased, book circulation has decreased. As is often the case in Ukrainian communities, this library is the destination for collections of books from estates. A selection of appropriate books from these donations augments the collection; duplicates are redirected to Ukraine. To reflect the residents’ needs and their declining ability to read in Ukrainian, the acquisition policy has been modified to purchase books in English on Ukrainian themes and topics. For older readers with diminished eyesight, talking books are becoming increasingly popular. The challenge is to meet a growing demand from the very limited supply of available materials.

Because of the strong interest in the Holodomor during 2008, I was interested to know where students doing projects on this topic found material for their assignments. The public schools, community libraries, and university libraries had minimal information. With no Ukrainian schools to provide a resource, the default information source was the Internet. It also was natural for students to turn to the Ukrainian Senior Centre for information. Despite the fact that readership by Centre residents is declining, this library has become the primary regional repository for Ukrainian books and other knowledge resources.

With the Ukrainian community constituting only 1.3% of the Sudbury population, the future of a Ukrainian library – or even the need for one – is problematic. The positive aspect is the unique programming undertaken by the Centre’s board of directors to promote the presence of Ukrainians in Sudbury. Although there are only forty residents in the Centre, the Sudbury Seniors Club has a membership of 250 involved citizens. For the last 25 years, the Centre’s monthly newsletter has informed members of the many functions and events hosted by the Centre, along with joint activities involving other ethnic groups and member participation in various community programmes. All of this activity is recorded in photographs. Every year, the Sudbury Garlic Festival and the Blueberry Festival, both initiated by the Centre’s long-time director Mary Stefura, draw thousands of people to what have become citywide events hosted at the Centre.

The Centre has a tradition of issuing publications to mark noteworthy historical events. The Ukrainian Bread Calendar (1991) celebrated the centennial of Ukrainians in Canada. The recently published Hands on Heritage, marked 25 years of the Seniors Club, and promoted the presence of Ukrainians in Sudbury. Demonstration of the vibrancy of the Ukrainian community can be seen in the Ukrainian-themed summer tours to the Altanka park and garden. For the
past 16 years, Centre residents have sent Christmas boxes of school supplies and personal items to a village school in Ukraine, a project for which they raise approximately $500 each year.

The Seniors Centre archives are a historical record of a Ukrainian organization in Sudbury that has demonstrated its contribution to the city by offering its resources to those wanting or needing to discover more about Ukraine and Ukrainian-Canadian heritage. Hopefully, one or more traditional organizations in Sudbury will become sufficiently interested in the future of the Ukrainian language, library collections, and archives to restart programs for children and young adults.

The Ukrainian Senior Centre has a remarkable record that demonstrates what a relatively small community can achieve when the leadership works unstintingly for the betterment of its constituents. Their prodigious efforts resulted in an enviable record of grants received from governments to initiate, improve, and expand its facility and programming. Because of its many successes and continued involvement in the broader community, contacts with local media are well developed. Securing publicity for new ventures is much easier.

A number of organizational elements ensure the success of this community that works despite a declining population:

1. policies and practices are modified and adjusted as needs change;
2. strong leadership is provided by individuals and the Board;
3. there is an evident ongoing commitment to the Ukrainian presence in the community;
4. there is a history of contribution to and participation in the broader community;
5. creating a niche by undertaking to provide a service when no other organization can or will do so;
6. ensuring that an archival record is maintained for the future.

MONTREAL

While Sudbury has a paucity of resources and only one viable organization to serve the recreational reading and research needs of the Ukrainian community, a very different dilemma faces Ukrainians in Montreal.
I became interested in the situation in Montreal when I saw an advertisement in a Ukrainian language newspaper seeking students to work in the library at the Ukrainian National Federation (UNF) during the summer. I was not aware that they had a functioning library and set out to learn more about their project.

Several Montreal-based institutions have their own libraries and archives. Several of these have been in existence for many decades. The book collections are in various stages of accessibility and maintenance, and cataloguing ranges from non-existent to fully complete. The contrasts are even more stark when one realizes that, in one case, the cataloguing was done twenty years ago.

A small group of professional librarians and other interested individuals decided to assess the status of Ukrainian libraries and archives in Montreal. Their intent was to propose actions that would enhance the value of these collections. From the perspective of library operations, a number of issues were immediately apparent in several libraries:

- many boxes of books needed to be sorted and either cataloged or discarded;
- duplicate copies either needed to be integrated into existing collections or disposed of;
- accessibility and hours of operation need to be made consistent or easily identified;
- there was a pronounced deterioration of books and archival material;
- shelving was, in some cases, non-existent;
- books in non-acid-free boxes were stacked on the floor;
- many books had been damaged by fires and broken water pipes.

Years of neglect and lack of encouragement to use the collections had resulted in a dramatic decline in readership. The funds needed to enhance the collections were unavailable and no one had taken the initiative to change the existing conditions.

The small group of Montreal activists, with support from the local branch of the Ukrainian Canadian Congress (UCC), proposed a meeting with representatives from the libraries for an in-depth discussion. The group felt that a conference of all organizations and churches with a library and/or archives should be convened and asked that any organization not wanting to become part of a larger, common Ukrainian library catalogue their holdings – preferably using a standard computerized format – so that the contents of each library would be accessible online to everyone. They also proposed building a new central Ukrainian library. Although committee
members admitted this was a utopian goal, they felt it was important to put the proposition on the table. Finally, they proposed sorting through the holdings of all institutions to weed out duplicates. The resulting composite collection, containing many valuable historical titles, would be donated to a Ukrainian research facility in Canada while the duplicates would be sent to Ukraine. In essence, research-quality titles would form the central collection and recreational reading material would be left to individual libraries’ collections.

There was considerable goodwill and interest in some form of collaboration among those who care for books and archives in Montreal. However, some organizations remained adamant that they would not surrender their collection to anyone, even though their collections were unused and/or in an endangered condition. The debate turned into a divisive moral issue with the concept of stewardship giving way to arguments over ownership.

The conference did not take place as planned; however, leadership changes in the UCC Montreal branch likely will make it possible for the event to take place in the future. The concept of a common library collection – whether physical or on-line – is viable and may well come to fruition in 2009.

As all of these activities, discussions, and planning were taking place, the library at the Ukrainian National Federation (UNF) faced the prospect of dispersal of its collection to Ukraine. The disorganized state of the collection and its deteriorating condition were obstacles that appeared to be insurmountable. However, a group of members objected to the decision to liquidate the library and forced the branch to explore alternatives.

The UNF collection included numerous books published from 1920 through 1940 by Ukrainian émigrés in Vienna, Prague, and Paris. To keep the 700-1,000 books in their existing state was impossible. Shipping them elsewhere was a discredited option. The UNF leadership invited a professional librarian and experienced archivist to assess the collection and recommend actions for housing it in the branch. They provided dedicated space, purchased shelving, and obtained a grant to hire students to work under the supervision of a qualified librarian. Cataloguing the archives began in 2008. The massive amount of work was abetted by the excellent condition of the archives held by the women’s organization. Further work is planned with completion expected in 2009. Some sorting of books was done by volunteers in 2008, but much remains to be done. Yet to be addressed is the question of funding for completion of sorting and cataloguing.
Montreal’s dilemma is a complex one that will take considerable collaborative effort and patience to resolve. It is too soon to predict whether the goal of one or more libraries can be realized, whether a computerized catalogue can be created, and how needed changes will be funded. This effort alone will not assure the future of the libraries. Programming that encourages people to access the collections and the continual replenishment of the collections are essential.

The proposed conference needs to include a look at the Ukrainian community in its totality to address several key issues:

- what is in the individual organization archives, what is their condition, and how will they be accessed by researchers in the future?
- what is the right focus for a revitalization plan?
- who will be served by a new library?
- is there a broadly-based commitment to take an objective look at the future?
- is there leadership strong enough to overcome the hurdles, disputes, and obstinacy that inevitably will surface?

Libraries and archives go hand-in-hand in most community organizations. In some cases, affiliates of an organization maintain their own records. Often this is thanks to the efforts of a handful of members interested in seeing that documents such as minutes and annual reports are stored properly and easily referenced. Some organizations have entrusted their history to provincial or federal archives. Others demonstrate little respect for the many years of artistic performances, Ukrainian school records, and names of the individuals instrumental in the many events that have given purpose and vitality to the organization. Few community organizations are aware of professional procedures for maintaining archival records, nor do they have access to individuals with archivist qualifications. These organizations do recognize that archival materials require suitable containers and appropriate environmental conditions.

Hidden Gems

Not long ago, I was reading a biography of Solomeya Krushelnytska, a Ukrainian opera singer of considerable acclaim in the early twentieth century. She performed in Italy, where she lived for many years, as well as in France and other European countries. She also toured extensively in South America, performed with Enrico Caruso, and collaborated with Puccini on a re-write of
his original score of Madama Butterfly turning it into the perfect vehicle for her tremendous soprano voice.

In the chronology of her performances included in Krushelnytska’s biography, I was pleasantly surprised to see that she performed in Winnipeg, where I currently live, and in Montreal. I became interested in this Ukrainian community event and undertook a search for local reviews of her performance at the local Prosvita hall on April 21, 1928. My research eventually led me to the Province of Manitoba Archives where I found microfilms from the Winnipeg Free Press and three Ukrainian language newspapers. My visit to the Provista building, where I hoped to find pamphlets, photographs, or other mementos of this landmark event, were disappointing. Records from the 1920s were “lost”; the name of the choir director who shared the concert program with Krushelnytska and was quoted in the reviews was unknown to the current keeper of records. There was simply nothing to be found.

When my research among the records of an established Ukrainian community organization were so unproductive, I began to wonder how many other invaluable archival records, if not entire libraries, were “lost” in organizations that developed in communities across Canada during the first half of the twentieth century. Knowing how the communities developed, the structure of the organizations, and the identity of the arts leaders would substantially enhance a researcher’s picture of what the communities looked like eighty or more years ago.

TORONTO

One of the oldest Ukrainian libraries in Toronto is in the UNF. In the 1930s, three members of this branch spearheaded the establishment of a library. They were avid readers and felt the UNF should have a lending library. Donated books formed the core collection in the early days; later, these were supplemented by purchases of books, newspapers, and journals. The total collection numbered over 2,500 items by 1969. When the temporary caretaker of the collection was unable to continue, I offered to become a volunteer librarian and proposed an updating of the premises and expansion of the collection and readership.

Renovation of the existing space and two expansions more than doubled the original premises. Appropriate library shelving replaced closed cupboards, and books were sorted into general categories. A professional card catalogue supplanted the simple listing of books by acquisition number.
As the physical appearance was enhanced and recent publications were added to the holdings, attention was directed to programming. I was convinced there needed to be reasons other than borrowing books for people to come to the library. A varied programme of activities became the library's hallmark. Art exhibits by promising young artists, authors reading from recent publications, radio interviews, newspaper articles, and student visits combined to demonstrate the breadth of the collection, and encouraged visits and borrowing.

One of our most successful programs was a series of annual Career Discovery Week workshops for students in grades 7 and 8. It gave them an opportunity to explore possible educational directions by observing and talking with Ukrainian professionals at their place of business, or taking part in workshops at the library. A group of interested people formed a committee to develop the notion of a week of workshops to take place during the annual March school break. Parents, teachers, friends, and university students contacted various professionals in the Ukrainian community to seek their participation by setting up an activity in their premises or the library to give children hands-on experience in their line of work. Some workshops showcased a specific profession such as architecture, and an assignment was given for completion during the week and presentation to the group. Interest in the week's activities was very high. Parents came to an open house at the end of the week to view the children's display of their new skills. Workshops included archeology, photography, interior design, newspaper journalism, radio broadcast journalism with CBC's Pamela Wallin, book illustration, story writing, food display design, fashion design, and restaurant management. The goal was to encourage participants to consider non-traditional paths for their future. As sponsor and initiator of this program, the library became a venue for more than reading and research.

The UNF was typical of other organizations in the city. Large buildings housed programs for a variety of ages and included dance groups, choirs, and instrumental ensembles for youth, men, and women. Meetings for each affiliate helped make full use of the building's capacity most evenings. The library was open to the public two evenings a week with service in Ukrainian and English. Friday was the night for rehearsals of the Kalyna ensembles, many of whom were high school and university students. Because I was a secondary school librarian at that time, I offered to do searches through newspaper clippings and journal articles for their projects and essays. The students would come to the library before rehearsals and outline their assignment. At the end of the evening, they would collect the books and file material I had assembled for them.
Over a period of seven years, I was successful in obtaining numerous grants for student summer employment. Whether there were only two or as many as five students, a professional business-like atmosphere prevailed. Students were involved in developing efficient procedures; preparing agendas for bi-weekly meetings was a shared responsibility as was minute-taking and printing. Technicians' tasks included simplified cataloguing, preparing library and borrower cards, printing spine labels, attaching book jackets, and assisting with reader service. Special events, such as Halloween, were arranged for a Saturday afternoon dedicated to young children. Decorations in the library reflected the seasonal theme. A bulletin board drew attention to new acquisitions. Reading lists for special Ukrainian historical events were researched and printed to complement a book display. Monthly author's nights were planned and promoted. The library summer program was directly involved in the various interests of youth, and made a definite contribution to expanding their knowledge as well as their job and interpersonal skills.

The indispensable source for locating material for projects, assignments, or other specific and personal needs is a catalogue of holdings arranged by author, title, and subject. Creating this catalogue is one of the most time-consuming aspects of librarianship. I devised a simplified system for fiction that summer students would be competent to follow when typing cards. The non-fiction categories were more challenging. Although we had cataloguing tools for the Library of Congress (LC) system chosen for the collection, the level of knowledge needed was beyond the capabilities of most part-time volunteers which limited cataloguing progress.

It was the library's good fortune to have a professional librarian from the University of Toronto (U of T) offer assistance. During the 1970s and 1980s, Dr. Vasyl Veryha would make note of 15 to 20 titles at a time in our library, locate the cataloguing data at the U of T, copy the information, and prepare a complete set of cards for each book. Our catalogue grew considerably by this unique method of cataloguing. Even though we never did have a card set for each title, we were able to place uncatalogued books on the same topic or historical period nearby to expedite searching. Dr. Veryha was also instrumental in convincing the university to microfilm the library's collection of New Pathway newspapers containing bound copies from the first issue up to the mid-1970s, and made sure the library received a copy for its records.

The UNF library was indeed fortunate to have such a generous person take an interest in its operation. Dr. Veryha passed away in December 2008. His professional contribution is much appreciated, and will not soon be forgotten.
Building the catalogue continued to be a major issue for the library. Technology suitable for cataloguing a specialty library was just becoming available as a PC-based tool. Financing such an endeavour was a perennial problem. The branch executive managed to purchase one computer and cataloguing software, and we began the long task of entering data for each of the several thousand books in the collection. Our approach was simple — we searched the Internet for libraries using the LC system, located the title, copied the required data, and entered it into our computer. For titles not found on the Internet, original cataloguing was necessary. Once again, we were fortunate to have a retired cataloguer from the U of T volunteer for the project, and were able to secure funding for student assistance. This long and laborious process was an absolute necessity if the library was to have a computerized catalogue that allowed it to function in a professional manner. By the time I left Toronto in early 2005, virtually the entire collection had been catalogued in the library's database. The remainder needed original cataloguing.

I found it beneficial to observe activities in the broader community to help me identify activities that could be adapted for a program at the library. Such was the case with Career Discovery Week that originated from a March school break visit to the Art Gallery of Ontario. I was impressed with the number of young people engaged in a range of activities, and wondered why the Ukrainian community did not have a program for young people during this vacation from school. The next year, Career Discovery Week was born.

A similar situation led to the creation of Ukes in Print (Ukrainian title: Knyhy pid shatrom). Word on the Street is an annual street fair in Toronto that showcases books, magazines, and videos for all ages, in many languages, and presents authors reading from their works. Several blocks of a major downtown thoroughfare are transformed into a pedestrian mall with dozens of tents sponsored by publishers and organizations supporting literacy. Tens of thousands of people are attracted to this annual event. I attended two or three of these book fairs and noted that no Ukrainian publishers or bookstores participated. An enquiry to the organizers quickly told me why — renting display space was prohibitively expensive. I struck a committee to plan our own event in the parking lot of the UNF building on the same day as Word on the Street, and only a few blocks from that venue. This novel idea for the Ukrainian community was well received. The library committee organized the event and rented exhibitor space under one large tent. Events with authors were held in the main building. The event proved to be a welcome diversion on a September Sunday afternoon. All proceeds went toward the library's book purchasing and cataloguing initiatives.
The events I initiated were seldom original. I am inclined to spot a good idea elsewhere, analyze the possibilities for adapting it to the Ukrainian community, then calling on friends, acquaintances, and professionals in a particular field to make it happen. I also believe that libraries serve the public better if they are located where people come for other purposes.

A lending library separated from a community's centres of activity has to work twice as hard to attract patrons. Shopping malls and community centres often contain a public library. This model was followed when the new Toronto UNF building was designed. Programs in the Resource Centre keep small children occupied while their older siblings are at dance, choir, or karate practice. Story-time for young children is a weekly occurrence. Adults can leave the children in the Resource Centre while they sign out a book, magazine, or journal and take it to the cafe to read while their children are enjoying a variety of activities at the Centre. The collections now include a range of film offerings and tapes. Planned programs will give patrons opportunities to attend a book launch, lectures, or an evening of Ukrainian classical music.

The actual transition from the old UNF building to its new home required a complete shut-down of the library for several years although cataloguing continued in temporary premises. Now that books are back on the shelves in the new building, an active library program can begin in earnest. However, the one issue which occupied much time and resources before the move, the cataloguing of books, has resurfaced with additional complications.

First, the computer cataloguing program is now outdated and bringing it to current standards seems prohibitive at the moment. Further, there is an interest in working with the library at St. Vladimir's Institute (St. Vlad's) to link the two collections. Both libraries have good collections, are viable institutions, and serve different constituencies. Some form of collaboration makes sense especially since the UNF facility is now located in the west end of Toronto while St. Vlad's is in the centre of the city next to the University of Toronto campus. If a patron is at one location which does not have the book requested, it makes sense that there would be some way to determine whether the other library has a copy before traveling a considerable distance.

However, each library currently uses a different cataloguing program. The question is how to make the programs interoperable. The cost of upgrading the UNF system is leading to thoughts that it be abandoned and converting to the one used by St. Vlad's. Although that software is cheaper, it also is less efficient. The U of T, which uses the same program as St. Vlad's, has decided to abandon it in favour of new technology.
The Toronto situation is several steps ahead of Montreal. There are computerized catalogues in existence in both Toronto libraries. The challenge now is to integrate the two catalogues while maintaining the unique elements of their respective collections and programs. One potential approach would be a partnership that centralizes library services and resources while maintaining a separate physical presence, thereby turning their geographic separation into an advantage. One unaddressed challenge is the choice of cataloguing system. Neither of the current systems is suitable for the long term. Financial wherewithal is always a challenge but should not be the determining factor in a decision of this magnitude. More thought and advice from technology and librarianship specialists should be sought before making a decision that will have profound long-term consequences.

**Similar but Different**

The challenges facing the Ukrainian community are different in the three cities. The Sudbury Seniors Club has assumed a community role different from the one for which it was created. The strong program base makes it the prime representative of Sudbury’s small Ukrainian community. Their challenge is to acquire non-print materials for their clientele who also may need materials suitable for individuals with diminished physical abilities. There is a paucity of entertaining and educational materials on Ukrainian themes.

Montreal is struggling through a decision about establishing a common purpose for maintaining – or disposing of – a valuable, historical collection of books, and keeping the institutional archives for future researchers. Reconciling competing interests will not be easy.

Toronto’s dilemma is finding the best way to link two well-established, geographically separate collections through an electronic connection.

Fundamental questions challenge each of these institutions, but there are several overarching questions that are common to all:

- What happens to a collection if it is no longer of interest to the community, valuable though it may be historically?
- How can Ukrainian communities overcome individual local concerns and work towards a common agreement?
- What sources of funding can be made available to assure some degree of professionalism for maintaining collections of books and archives?
Derivatives

- Who will lead the communities and how can they be supported in the tasks ahead of them?
- Are collections devoted to recreational reading compatible with those held for research purposes?
- For whom are we working so hard to keep libraries viable?
- What language will best suit our purposes?

Adaptation

Bilingual schools became a reality in Manitoba over thirty years ago. Currently, there are twelve such programs in Winnipeg and other communities. Ontario has opted for Heritage Language programs where Ukrainian is taught. In addition, Saturday Ukrainian schools are a feature in many communities throughout Canada as are a variety of youth associations in which use of Ukrainian is the primary focus. Each school system and organization has issues with curriculum development, resources, and parental support. Nonetheless, they do a credible job of providing programmes that imbue children with a sense of their heritage, a pride in their ancestral roots, and fluency in Ukrainian. They are cognizant of their cultural distinction through songs for special celebrations, dance, music, and literature.

One of my concerns is whether the Ukrainian libraries in our communities will have a sufficient base of Ukrainian language readers to justify their existence. To what extent will the Ukrainian language continue to be a language of communication used by our children? We need to understand what role technology will play in our libraries now and in the future. We need to determine the appropriate blend of English and Ukrainian language books on matter of importance to us and for recreational reading. Are e-books in Ukrainian on the horizon? Should books, especially for children, be printed in both languages?

Language development in children is reinforced by its continued use as teenagers and into adulthood. Once again, programming becomes the vehicle through which attention can be focused on language and Ukrainian themes in English. Adapting existing programs into a Ukrainian model with a proven track record is a simple and effective way to develop targeted programming.

There are a number of readily identifiable possibilities. For instance, while I have been writing this paper, CBC is promoting its Canada Reads programme and encouraging Canadians to read the five selected works of Canadian literature. It had been an idea of mine for some time
to organize a “Canada Reads Ukrainian” program for our community. The framework already exists; adapting it to a Ukrainian context would not be a difficult task. A great deal of promotional work in the mainstream media has directed our attention to reading for enjoyment. Why not prepare a list of titles in both Ukrainian and in English on Ukrainian themed subjects, or invite a literary committee to suggest titles for readers in the Ukrainian community? Perhaps the books honoured by the Kobzar Literary Awards could become the first list for Canada Reads Ukrainian?

A well-established activity for many avid readers is the book club. No doubt there were groups of readers in Ukraine’s literary history and in Canada who met regularly to read and discuss current publications or established classics. Book clubs may exist among friends but are not in evidence as an organized activity promoted by libraries.

Libraries often have a theatre collection. Amongst them are likely to be booklets of 20-40 pages printed in Canada or Ukraine in the 1920s and 1930s on a variety of topics familiar to the audience, such as pioneer conditions, comedies, historical events, and political satire. Reading the roles is another dimension of language usage and could lead to staging a play without too many props.

Contemporary English language plays should not be overlooked. I recall that After Baba’s Funeral was a big hit because its story resonated with many families of the third and fourth generations in Canada. But who is familiar with current Ukrainian playwrights writing on Ukrainian themes?

**Moving Forward**

Some libraries are in deplorable physical condition while others have very good space and furnishings. The condition of collections ranges from the well maintained to fatal deterioration. Some facilities promote their collections through excellent programs, while others have not managed to move beyond maintaining a static collection of printed matter.

The key challenge is to identify the leaders who will provide direction, support, and financial assistance.

The approach most likely to succeed is that planned in Montreal by the local branch of the Ukrainian Canadian Congress. That approach needs to be extrapolated to a national stage. I
believe the question of Ukrainian libraries in Canada and their future needs to be placed in the hands of a national organization that can use its central organization and branch network to address the challenges facing the Ukrainian community.

Work on the issues will require the will of the Ukrainian Canadian Congress executive to establish a working group with a co-ordinator and key people to begin the process. It is fair to say that Ukrainian libraries and archives are not in the consciousness of Ukrainians and their organizations in Canada. If there is to be a future, a change must be made – now.

*Nell Nakoneczny*

- Master's in Educational Administration
- Certificate in School Librarianship
- Superintendent with the Toronto Board of Education
- Trustee, Toronto Library Board; Chair for three years
- Trustee, Metropolitan Toronto Library Board; Chair for three years
- The Gardiner Award, Citizen of the Year, Municipality of Metro Toronto
- Volunteer Service Award, Province of Ontario
- Taras Shevchenko Award for community service
- Volunteer librarian, Ukrainian National Federation, Toronto, for over thirty years
- Volunteer to establish Canadian section in National Parliamentary Library of Ukraine, Kyiv
- Volunteer, Ukrainian Cultural and Education Centre library, Winnipeg
Ярослав Розумний

ЛІТЕРАТУРНИЙ ВІННИПЕГ: 1925-1991

Початкове літературне життя українського Вінніпегу було пов’язане з рівнем освіти емігрантського населення, яке прибуло сюди „першою хвилою” іміграції (1891-1914) та кількістю й рівнем освіти й зацікавлень провідників цієї хвилі. Їдеться про кількість учителів, священиків і громадських активістів, яких висилали з Галичини Товариство „Просвіта”, церковна ієрархія й добровільних емігрантів, що з власної ініціативи виїжджали для освітньої праці серед хліборобської еміграції.

Іх було небагато. Доповнила ці ряди після першої світової війни „друга хвиля” – міжвоєнна еміграція, яка була на вищому рівні освіти й національній свідомості. Піднесла й значно закріпила цю свідомість „третя хвиля” переважно політичних утікачів після другої світової війни. Чисельно вона була значно меншою, як дві попередні хвилі (приблизно 35 тисяч), але її демографічний і професійний профіль, освіта й свідомість були багато вищими.

В додатку, „третя хвиля” включала представників з усіх українських теренів, які 1944 р. рятувалися від нової більшевицької окупації України. Ці створили за океаном інше відношення до своєї культури, своєї нації та внесли нове організаційне вміння й нові інституції. Україна для них була не бідним „старим краєм”, а окупаною батьківщиною, про яку треба говорити й для якої треба знаходити прихильників і політичних союзників, бо її не знали.

Однак говорити про виключно професійний – літературний чи мистецький – селективний характер організацій було нерелально. Кожне згрупування мало культурно-освітній, церковний або громадсько-політичний чи ідеологічний характер, враховуючи імігрантські обставини, потреби та обмаль професіоналів. А найголовнішою перемогою в творенні українських професійних інституцій було заникання душі культури – її мови та зацікавлення проблемами країни батьків. Це феномен природний і зрозумілий. Крім цього, в імігрантських організаціях працювали люди з високою та елементарною освітою, або й без освіти. Цього вимагала емігрантська дійсність, а воно мало
свої позитиви й свої негативи, бо в організаційному співжитті плекалося "панібратство", яке не завжди сприяло здоровим внутрішнім стосункам.

Тому літературне й мистецьке професійне життя на еміграції не мало справді професійного характеру, а особливо в Вінніпегі, де був скромний інтелігентський контингент. В організаціях були аматори-прихильники літератури й мистецтва, себто, були "глядачі", а не було досить професійних літераторів, письменників і мистців, які могли б працювати на своєму рівні. І це не давало задоволення ні горстці професіоналів, ні аматорам. Не було спільного знаменника для обох груп і існування таких організацій могло бути розраховане тільки на короткий час — одну, себто першу, генерацію іммігрантів або й коротше. І найкращим прикладом цього був вінніпезький Літературно-Мистецький Клуб, який, не розвинувши крил, залиш мисього формального завершення свого існування, словом — помер природною смертю. Така сама доля зустріла й інші подібні організації цього міста. А в емігрантській дійсності можна говорити радше про бажання й спроби, ніж про можливості реалізування тих бажань.

* * *


Існував і діяв певний час у Вінніпегі Український Театр (у 1970-их роках) та Український Дискусійний Клуб (у 1960-их) під головуванням Романа Данилевича, головного редактора Поступу.

Літературне й культурно-освітнє життя Вінніпегу почалося в дільниці Пойнт Даглес (Point Douglas) — першому й найбільшому зосередженні українських іммігрантів у цьому місті, де восени 1925 року засновано Українське Літературне Товариство ім. Маркіяна Шашкевича (Ukrainian Literary Association of Markian Shashkevych)).
Ініціатором і живчиком „шашкевичівської” групи та головою Товариства й заснування при ньому „Рідної Школи” ім. Маркіяна Шашкевича був священик УКЦ Пантелеймон Божик. Його заступником був Петро Гаврилишин, а секретарем і фактичним реалізатором організування „Рідної Школи”, яка почала діяти 15 жовтня 1925 р., був Йосиф Щербаневич. Тому часом це Товариство виступало як літературне, але найчастіше як „Рідна Школа” ім. Маркіяна Шашкевича. Єдиною особою в цій групі, яка мала відношення до літератури був ініціатор Товариства о. П. Божик.

Отець П. Божик, сам письменник, поет і публіцист, був автором праці Єпархія Українців у Канаді (1927), яка, три роки пізніше, появилась п.з. Історія Української Еміграції в Канаді за час від 1890 до 1930 р. До першої світової війни П. Божик був активним русофілом, який у своїх статтях гостро нападав на „українство”, „уніятів” і „самостійників”, але після війни вилікувався зі свого русофільства й перейшов до Української Греко-Католицької Церкви. Завдяки його ініціативі й „Рідній Школі” та при підтримці української громади в Пойнт Даглесі (1944 р.) споруджено пам’ятник М. Шашкевичу. До спорудження пам’ятника Тарасові Шевченкові (1961 р.) тут, з нагоди різних культурних та громадських подій, відбувалися ширші зібрання.

Праця Товариства пожвавилась з прибуттям до Вінніпегу біженців після друзі іншої світової війни. Завдяки тодішньому голові Василю Запісоцькому та
зарядові „Рідної Школи” Товариство примістило в себе ветеранів Дивізії „Галичина” та Української Повстанської Армії (УПА), збільшивши членство Товариства до 207 осіб, а число учнів школи зросло до 130. Відновлено при Товаристві самодіяльний драматичний гурток, засновано хор „Сурма” під керуванням Юрія Гнатюка та зорганізовано Ощадно-Позичкову Спілку „Дніпро” й бібліотеку, яка нараховувала понад 500 книг і періодичних видань.


В 1949 р. прибувають з Німеччини члени екзекутиви (Д. Дорошенко, Я. Рудницький і Л. Білецький) і в Вінніпегі починає діяти, заснована в посвячений Німеччині 1945 р. Українська Вільна Академія Наук (УВАН) — інституція професіоналів різних ділянок, особливо українознавця. Сюди включаються також професійні особи попередні еміграційні хвили. У початковій стадії діяльність УВАН мала три основні завдання: (а) наукові дослідження переважно укратнознавчих та гуманітарних дисциплін, виключних або фальшованих у советській Україні; (б) репрезентування української науки обміном наукових видань та участю в міжнародних наукових конференціях і конгресах; та (в) усвідомлювання власної спільноти публічними викладами.

Згодом, у міру нових обставин і потреб, ці завдання були модифіковані й доповнювані. В статуті Академії 1976 року було додано: (а) творення пригожих умов для дослідників громадської і культурної спадщини канадських українців; (б) творення інститутів, музеїв, архівів, бібліотек, що відносяться до

допомагав у спорудженні пам'ятника М. Шашкевичеві, активний член Заповідного Т-ва ім. М. Шашкевича й Т-ва „Рідна Школа” ім. М. Шашкевича й член Інституту-Заповідника Маркіяна Шашкевича.

української спільноти в Канаді; і (в) публікування праць, пов'язаних з українськими культурними надбаннями в Канаді та стосунків української культури з іншими культурами Канади. Цей останній додаток був у дусі проголошення Канади багатокультурною державою.

Видавнича діяльність УВАН відбувалася в кількох галузях і включала серійні й позасерійні видання. У серійній категорії виходили: Slavistica, Onomastica, Література, Українські вчені, Ucrainica Occidentalia (Західнонавчанство), Шевченкознавство, Ucrainica Canadiana (Бібліографія), Lіtopис УВАН та Бюлетень УВАН. Сьогодні видавнича діяльність канадської УВАН зосереджується на збірниках наукових праць та монографіях.

Slavistica появлялася між 1948-1986-им роком і вийшло в тій серії 87 випусків. Вони включають праці, які відносяться до слов'янського мовознавства, літератури, культури, етнології й археології. Тут друкувалися праці таких відомих авторів як: Св'ятослав Гордійович ("Слово о полку Ігоревім і українська народна творчість"), Іван Мірчук ("Демонізм у росіян і українців"), Ярослав Б. Рудницький ("Берс і Шевченко"), Роман Смаль-Стоцький ("Походження слова Русь"), Юрій Шерех ("Participium Universale у слов'ян"), Watson Kirkconnell ("Англійські запозичення у східнослов’янських мовах"), Павло Филипович ("Українська стихія у творчості Гоголя") та інші.


Серія Українські вчені також нараховує 11 випусків. Вона включає дві праці Л. Білецького: Дмитро Дорошенко та Омелян Озової; дві публікації Ю. Щереха (Шевельова) – Кость Михайчук та Іван Ганчов. Олена Курило; Василь Сімович Ковалева й ін.

В серії Заходоєвропа (Ucrainica Occidentalia) вийшло дев'ять випусків, між ними чотири томи Матеріалів до українсько-канадської фольклористики й діялектології під редакцією Я. Рудницького. Також появилося 36 Бюлетенів УВАН.

До серії праць Інституту Шевченкознавства належить чотири томний Кобзар Тараса Шевченка, редакція, статті й пояснення Л. Білецького, та перевидані Кобзари: з 1860-го року, "Основи" з 1861, Кобзар Сімовича та Кобзар у перелікі на англійську мову А. Гантера.

Поза серіями в УВАН вийшло в українській та англійській мовах 32 публікації, які були присвячені різним темам. Важливіші з них – це: англомовна Історія української літератури в Канаді М. І. Мандрики; Українці в СРСР поза межами УРСР М. Маручака; На шляхах синтезу класичизму Ю. Лавріненка; Біографічний довідник до історії українців на Канади М. Маручака; Козацько-перські взаємини у творах Пістра делла Валле О. Барана і його ж Нариси історії Правдиці; Тасмійя початкової Руси в Києві Ю. Книша і його ж "Руська Правда" й історія тексту Леоніда Білецького; Концепція М. Грушевського і наші сучасні підручники історії України Б. Коричарка; й англомовна праця П. Томаса Й. В. Сталін: Вправи у критичних і моральних міруваннях.

Монографічні видання канадської УВАН включають: англомовний Етнолінічний словник української мови у двох томах Я. Рудницького, який появився окремими випусками між 1962-1975 роком; англомовна Історія українців у Канаді М. Г. Маручака; його п'ять томів Студій до історії українців Канади і Карлівська Україна: шлях до державності О. Барана.


Крім видавничої, важливою ділянкою праці УВАН є наукові й науково-популярні доповіді й сесії, в яких у минулому брали участь доповідачі з канадських та американських університетів та Академії наук України на окреме запрошення або в співпраці з Департаментом Славістики Манітобського Університету (до 1989 року).

Доповіді охоплювали різнородну тематику — від літератури, якій присвячено найбільше уваги, до мовознавства, історії, бібліографії, соціології, політичної проблематики й актуальних питань у соціальної Україні. Відбуваються щорічні Шевченківські доповіді, що торкаються різних аспектів літературної й мистецької творчості поета й його впливів на українську політичну думку.

Конференції Академії діляться на дві категорії — ті, що відбуваються на терені Вінніпегу й ті, які Академія влаштовує в рамках загальноканадських річних наукових конференцій і конгресів.

Місцевих конференцій було шість. Між ними, спільна конференція з нагоди 100-річчя НТШ; 25-ліття УВАН у Канаді; 25-ліття від смерті М. Грушевського; 150-ліття появи Русалки Дністряої; 175-річчя від народження Маркії Шацька; 175-річчя від народження Тараса Шевченка; та Ювілейна конференція в 50-річчя канадської УВАН.

Позамісцеві конференції, в яких УВАН бере участь, відбуваються в різних університетах у рамках конференцій Канадського Конгресу Сусіпляних і Гуманітарних Наук. Таких конференцій, самостійно або спільно з канадським НТШ, до сьогодні відбулося більше десятків. Доповіді виголошуються українською або англійською мовами на теми канадської й материкової україніки та української культури.

Тому, що членство УВАН складається з людей, які професійно заангажовані в даних ділянках науки або професійно, вона змогла діяти в цьому місці й Канаді в 60 років. Її дальнє існування залежить від ставлення молодшої
генерації до своєї професії та від бажання цього покоління й наступних працювати разом в українській канадській спільноті й для тієї спільноти.

Ідея заснування Заповідника Маркіяна Шашкевича зродилась у середовищі УВАН у зв'язку з відзначеннями по різних континентах 150-річчя від народження Маркіяна Шашкевича. На святкуваннях у Вінниці 12 листопада 1961 р. М. Маруччак прочитав доповідь на тему: „Маркіян Шашкевич на тлі доби”, і з додатковою його частиною „Шашкевиччівські роковини в Україні та в дієспорі” ця доповідь появилася окремою книжкою 1962 р. Появу цієї праці було прийнято прихильно й вона викликала низку рецензії, які насторожили на тому, щоб українська спільнота поза Україною зайнялася зібранням спадщини Шашкевича й матеріалів про галицьке відродження в 19-го сторіччя, в якому він відіграв важливу роль.


7 Михайло Маруччак, Маркіян Шашкевич на тлі доби, Накладом Українського Канадійського Товариства (УКТ), Вінниця, 1962.
звернення „До української спільноти в вільному світі” й у цей спосіб поширило мандат Заповідника на всю українську спільноту. Офіційне відкриття цієї нової інституції відбулося в день народження поета, 6 листопада 1962 р.

У зверненні говориться про обов'язок українців у розсіянні „зберігати, вирощувати та захищати зокрема вартості, що зараз у підсуспільській дійсності в Україні вони ізольовані, викриювані, а в багатьох випадках у беззубий спосіб нищені”. Підкреслено, що українській громаді поза Україною треба „займатися збереженням духовної спадщини Представник українського відродження та Пробудника західноукраїнських земель, який своїми писаннями промовив шлях українській народній літературі й звів сукрем українські голоси й річки в одно народне русло, що стало могутнім річищем всенароднього й державного ставання”.

У своїй статті п.з. ““What’s Past Is Prologue” д-р Рудницький, звернув увагу на актуальність цих Шекспірових слів, наголошуючи, що без шанування й плекання минулого „кожній спільноті грозить занепад і загибла”. Він навів приклади шанування свого минулого іншими народами – Фогерів Архів-Бібліотеку в Вашингтоні, де зберігається світова шекспіріяна; Дім-Музей Лонгфелло в Кембрідж, Масс., де збережена пам'ять про цього американського поета; фонди шотландського поета Роберта Бернса в Аллової в Шотландії; Шекспірові фонди в Стратфорді-на-Ейвоні; Дім-Заповідник В. Гете в Франкфурті; Осередок Шіллера в Марбаху в Німеччині; та Музей Шевченка в Києві.

На таких прикладах формувалися основи й напрямні праці Шашкевичевого Заповідника в Вінниці – розшукування й зберігання того, що існувало поза Україною, публікування нових досліджень, перевидавання рідкісних пам’яток про Шашкевича, про його однодумців і добу та видавання органу цієї інституції, який в’язав би членів Заповідника в різних країнах і континентах. Отже, праця Заповідника намічувалася двома дорогами – дослідно-видавничою й культурно-освітньою.

8 Архів Інституту-Заповідника Маркіяна Шашкевича, Конеєсторія УКЦ в Канаді, Вінніпер.
9 Ярослав Рудницький, ““What’s Past Is Prologue”. Шашкевична (Shashkevychna). Збірник Заповідника Маркіяна Шашкевича у Вінниці (Periodical of Markian Shashkevych Centre/ Périodique du Centre Markian Shashkevych), Видав Кураторія Заповідника Маркіяна Шашкевича у Вінниці, ч.1 Р.1., Вінніпер, листопад 1963, стор.2-3.
Дослідно-видавнича праця Заповідника почалася 1963 року. На першому засіданні ширшої Кураторії, 5 лютого 1963 р., подано звідомлення голови Кураторії і секретаря про працю Заповідника в першому році свого існування та оцінку діяспори цієї інституції. Намічені план праць й запропоновано видавання неперіодичного органу й його назву – „Шашкевичані”. А в листопаді 1963 р., під редакцією М.Г. Марунчака, появилося перше число Шашкевичані, яка мала виходити в листопаді й червні – місяцях народження й смерті поета й появлялася до листопада 1988 р.

Крім Шашкевичані 1966 р. було вирішено видавати неперіодичні публікації й монографії про літературну творчість Шашкевича, його добу та галицьких культурних і громадських діячів того часу. Для таких видань відкрито при Заповіднику „Бібліотеку Шашкевичані”. Першою в цій серії була праця М. Марунчака й М. Тернавського Патріот, учений, іерарх (ч. 1, 1968) про пітєт Верховного архієпископа кардинала Йосифа Сліпого до особи Маркіяна Шашкевича зі вступом М. Марунчака “Symbol and Banner”. Відтак вийшла Загадка за Маркіяна Шашкевича во вічну Єго пам'ять Миколи Устиновича (ч.2, 1968), яка першісно була написана в українській і польській мовах у третю річницю смерті М. Шашкевича (1846). Автор бажав помістити її у львівському польському часописі Gazeta Lwowska, але редактор газети (Я. Камінський) відмовився поему друкувати, бо в ній, на його думку, відчувалася тенденція „російського в [українському, Я.Р.] народі, який, на думку редактора, від віків зросся в одне польське тіло”. Під ч.3 „Бібліотеки Шашкевичані” появилися Шашкевичева праця Азбука і абецадло (1969); Русини-українці в Югославії о. Л. Рамача (ч.4, 1971); Село Маркіяна – Мої Нестаничі Олекси Косіковського (ч.5, 1972); і Письмо народовців руських до редактора політичної часописи „Русь“ як протест і меморіал (ч.6, 1972). Це був перекрутов оригіналу з 1867 року.

На Загальних Зборах, 5 листопада 1969 р., було обрано нову управу Заповідника в складі – О. Баран (голова), Я. Розумний й Б. Білаш (заступники) і В. Матвіїв (секретар). Було прийнято пропозицію Блаженнішого Йосифа Сліпого, ректора Українського католицького університету (УКУ) в Римі, про афіліацію Заповідника з УКУ й після потвердження університетом Заповідник почав діяти під назвою Інститут-Заповідник Маркіяна Шашкевича.


В 1987 р., з приводу 150-річчя появи Русалки Дністрової, видано в Вінніпегі фотоколію оригіналу з 1837 р. зі вступним словом М. Маручака, від видавців та вступною літературною статтею Я. Розумного „Маркіян Шашкевич — таємниці міту”, в перекладах на п’ять мов української діаспори — англійську, французьку, німецьку, португальсько-бразильську та еспансько-аргентинську [11].

В тому ж 1987 р. Академія Наук УРСР видала збірку праць, присвячену „Руській Трійці” [12], в якій зроблено огляд советського шашкевичизму та критику діаспорного. В розділі "Критика буржуазно-клерикальних фальсифікацій спадщини 'Руської Трійці'" обговорюється діяльність Інституту-Заповідника в Вінніпегі, в якому "турутуються в переважній більшості клерикали", які орієнтовані на таких передвоєнних учення, як Петро Ісаїв, Теофіль Коструба та інші, а особливо тих, які гуртувалися в журналі Дзвони. "Якої б площини діяльності 'Руської Трійці' вони не тюркували, — говорити критику, — вони все зводять до пропаганди клерикально-націоналістичних

їдей". Це була перша офіційна згадка про існування Інституту в советському виданні. І, мабуть, перша нагода сказати читачеві, що така інституція існує поза Україною.

У зв'язку з 180-річчям від народження Шашкевича (1991) появився "Збірник музичних творів на слова Маркіяна Шашкевича" під музичною редакцією Юрія Гнатюка й мовною Ярослава Розумного, а в 195 річницю від народження поета та 45-ту праці Інституту-Заповідника вийшов збірник статей, друкованих поза границями УРСР, "Маркіян Шашкевич на Заході" під упорядуванням і редакцією Ярослава Розумного. Презентація цього збірника відбулася у Львові 6 червня 2008 року.

Інститут був у тісних зв'язках з канадськими українськими науковими установами – Українською Вільною Академією Наук, Науковим Товариством ім. Шевченка та Українським Католицьким Університетом у Римі. В додатку, відкрито видавничі зв'язки зі Славістичним Відділом Польської Академії Наук у Варшаві, Славістичним Відділом Чеської Академії Наук у Празі, Славістичним Відділом Кошицького Університету в Пряшеві, Сербською Матицею в Новому Саді та Музеєм Української Культури в Свиднику на Словаччині.

Культурно-освітня діяльність Інституту включала: (а) влаштовування конференцій і доповідей на літературні і культурні теми; (б) відзначування важливих дат, пов'язаних з біографією й діяльністю Шашкевича; (в) організування музею, бібліотеки та влаштовування книжкових виставок; (г) поширення культу Шашкевича та його ідей і (г) реагування на російщення України та плюкання українських культурних традицій.

1 грудня 1963 р. відкрито в Вінніпегу виставку, присвячену 120-річчю смерті та 70-річчю переселення тліних останків Шашкевича з Новосілок Лісних до Львова. Виставку, з мистецькою програмою, першу того року імпрезу на американському континенті, підготовив вінніпегський мистець Роман Коваль.

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13 Там же, стор. 302.
16 Маркіян Шашкевич на Заході, Упорядування, редакція і вступ, Ярослав Розумний, Інститут-Заповідник Маркіяна Шашкевича, Вінніпег, 2007, 383 стор.
17 Інформацію про презентацію подала Література Україна, 7 серпня 2008 року.
Виставка включала експонати святкувань 150-річчя від дня народження Шашкевича в різних місцевостях та був виставлений примірник першого видання "Русанки Дністрової" з 1837 року, завдяки бібліотеці оо. Василіян у Монелі.

18 грудня 1966 р. офіційно відкрито архів і бібліотеку Заповідника й офіційно передано Заповідникові портрет Шашкевича, роботи Романа Ковали, а старанням Анатоля Курилдика, було видано філіателістичну коверту з портретом поета та відео-фільм.

Коротко перед тим, за завдянки збірникові "Шашкевича", було віднайдено на Балканах родичів М. Шашкевича — Михайла й Софію по лінії Антона Шашкевича — брата Маркіяна. Їх і родину Шашкевича з Єдмонтом було запрошено на це відкриття й на відслонення портрета. Прибув лише Михайло Шашкевич з США. Святоче слово на відкритті виголосив д-р С. Ярослав Кальба, екзекутивний директор Комітету Українців Канади.

Влітку, 1968 р., в 100-річчя "Просвіти" у Львові, яка пов’язувала свої роковини з відзначуванням дат Марціяна Шашкевича, було зорганізовано штрафетний марш молоді, який включав імпрези біля Шашкевичевого пам’ятника в Вінніпезі й по літніх таборах молоді. Цим проєктом і подібними пізнішими імпрезами Заповідника займались д-р Юрій Чубатий, Андрій Господин і Мирослав Співак.

1979 року відзначено 35-річчя спорудження пам’ятника Шашкевичеві в Вінніпезі, в якому взяли участь члени роду Шашкевичів, які проживають на Балканах.

У неділю, 8 листопада 1981 р., в 170-річчя поетового народження, біля його пам’ятника, представник міста Вінніпегу, Р. Бікел офіційно проголосив парк дільниці Пойнт Даглес „Парком Маркіяна Шашкевича”. В церемонії, яка включала Літургію та Панаходу в українській католицькій церкві на Юклід та складення вінків, узяли участь представники Комітету Українців Канади та українських громадських організацій Вінніпегу. Слово коло пам’ятника виголосив д-р М. Маручак. У своїй промові він пригадав, що цей пам’ятник

19 Повніше про рід Шашкевичів розповідає Персіда Шашкевич, внучка Антона, яку й цілій рід на Балканах відшукали співробітники Шашкевичів в Югославії Микола Т. Каган і Іван Кивелюк (Див. Архів Інституту-Заповідника Марціяна Шашкевича, Комисія Українців УКЦ в Вінніпезі та "З надісланих листів", "Шашкевичівна", листопад 1966, стор. 160 ).
був споруджений у 1944 р. й ним, від самих початків, опікувалося Товариство "Рідна Школа" ім. Маркіяна Шашкевича, засноване 1925 р.20

В листопаді 1983 р., спільно з ЎВАН конференцією, було відзначено 140-ліття від смерті М. Шашкевича з доповідями: д-ра М. Марунчака — ("Тло виступу Маркіяна Шашкевича") та професорів Манітобського Університету — о. д-ра О. Барана ("Культурні зв'язки між Галичинною і Закарпаттям за часів Шашкевича") та д-ра Я. Розумного ("Шашкевич і шістдесятники").

Ця дата була попереджена іншою подією. Вночі, з 18-го на 19-го червня 1983 р., невідомі особи зірвали з пам'ятника погруддя Шашкевича. Цей вандалізм, як і одночасні пожежі, які сталися в двох українських бібліотеках Вінніпегу, за всіма підрозділами, були політично мотивовани. Це був час поновних арештів членів опору в Україні.

Приходилось реагувати й на подібний інцидент, який мав місьце також в Україні, де погруддя Шашкевича, роботи скульптора Димитра Крвавича перед будинком колишньої Бібліотеки Оссолінських у Львові, викинено на смітник Личаківського цвинтаря. Тоді з рамени Заповідника, з цього приводу, було виготовлено в українській та англійській мовах пресе звернення й розслано всім впливовим часописам Північної Америки.


20 Початок Пойніт Дагласові дали шотландські поселенці в 2-му десятиріччі 19 ст. з Томасом Дагласом на чолі, звідки й назва дільниці. З кінця 19-го й початком 20-го ст. Пойніт Даглас почали заселяти й українці, які скоро стали більшістю. (Михайло Марунчак, Студії до історії українців Канади, т. 1, накладом ЎВАН, 1965).
До розпаду СССР і чергового проголошення самостійності України в 1991 р. офіційних контактів Інституту з Україною не було. Були спорадичні зустрічі з особами, які в Україні цікавилися шашкевичівською проблематикою й офіційно відвідували Канаду в зв’язку з шевченківськими або франківськими „читаннями”. В приватних розмовах вони мали нагоду інформувати нас про стан „офіційного” шашкевиченства в Україні, а звідси отримували інформації про працю вінніпезького центру.

Часом попадали з України до Заповідника самвидавні підпільні матеріали. Першими були: присвячений Шашкевичеві — „Як там жив я ще маленький”, „Насліддя Великого Володимира і Мудрого Ярослава” і „Котрого серце всьому світу серце”. А згодом за кордон були передані: „Радуйся, Підлисенька Гора Біла”, „Небуденні пісні — Коментар до Русланових Псалмів”, „Велич і краса Русланових Псалмів” та „В пам’ять вічну буде Праведник”. У самвидаві також була появилася критична стаття відносно київської партійної позиції до вінніпезького Інституту.

Справжні можливості повернення до Маркіяна Шашкевича та до відродження піддворіївської Руси почалися після розпаду СССР. Перше офіційне запрошення й перший контакт Заповідника зі Львовом відбувся 12 червня 1990 р. на доповіді тодішнього голови Заповідника, д-ра М. Марунчака. Зустріч і його доповідь на тему „Українці Канади на порозі другого сторіччя” відбулися в приміщеннях Товариства Охорони Пам’яток Історії і Культури у Львові. Спонсорами зустрічі були Наукове Товариство ім. Шевченка, Товариство Української Мови та Львівська Музична Консерваторія. Сесію керувала д-р Роксолана Зорівчак, завідувач Львівського НТШ.

Доповідчі поінформував присутніх про існування й діяльність Заповідника в Канаді, а від львівського НТШ його привітав науковий секретар д-р Олег Купчинський. Голові вінніпезького Заповідника було вручено видання Бібліотеки Академії Наук ім. В. Стефаника та членство львівського НТШ, а д-р Марунчак передав бібліотеці томи оправленого збірника Шашкевичівна.

З проголошенням незалежності та з перебудовою Академії Наук України у Львові при Академії почав діяти Інститут Українознавства, який прийняв ідеї Шашкевича основними своїми напрямами. І з великим вдоволенням був прийнятий у Вінніпезі лист д-ра Ярослава Ісаєвича, директора Інституту з 15 липня 1993 р., в якому він повідомив, що Інститут Українознавства ім. І.
Крип'якевича при Академії Наук України видає матеріали Шашкевичівських читань, які відбулися у Львові 24-25 жовтня 1991 р. І запевнив, що це видання стане продовженням збірника Шашкевичів, який виходив у Вінниці на протязі 25-ти років\(^{21}\).


На засіданні Кураторії Інституту-Заповідника в Вінниці, 27 серпня 1999 р., обрано Ліквідаційну Комісію, до якої ввійшли: Ярослав Розумний – голова, Юрій Гнатюк – секретар, Стефан Рогатинський – фінансовий секретар та Михайло Марунчак, як дорадник. Члени Комісії зобов'язалися зайнятися приміщенням архіву Заповідника та виданням збірника вибраних статей, есеїв та інших матеріалів, які відносяться до особи Шашкевича та його доби й були публіковані за межами СРСР. Про своє рішення завершити шашкевичівську діяльність Заповідника за межами України було оголошено окремим комунікатом, за підписом Я. Розумного, Ю. Гнатюка й М.Г. Марунчака, в українських часописах діаспوري.

В Історії Українців Канади М. Марунчака автор говорить, що „В більших українських середовищах Канади стали оформлятися літературно-мистецькі клуби. Перед вів у цій праці Український Літературний Клуб в Торонті (1951), у слід за яким зорганізувалися такі ж клуби в Вінниці (1952) та Едмонтоні (1961)“\(^{22}\). Їх діяльністю були внутрішні дискусії в справах літератури й мистецтва та публічні виступи членів з нагоди більших культурних подій.

Про діяльність вінненського клубу, про який згадує автор Історії, ми не змогли знайти слідів, за те нам відомий протокол з четвертих Річних Загальних зборів вінненського Літературно-Мистецького Клубу, які відбулися 17 березня 1961 року в приміщенні читальні „Просвіта" на вул. Фльора-МекКензі,

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\(^{21}\) Архів Інституту-Заповідника Маркіяна Шашкевича, знаходиться при Консисторії Української Католицької Церкви в Канаді, Вінниці, Канада.

\(^{22}\) Михайло Г. Марунчак, Історія Українців Канади, Том II, Накладом УВАН у Канаді, Вінниці, 1991, стор. 401.
на яких були присутні 32 особи. Отже, виходить, що вінніпеський Літературно-Мистецький Клуб (ЛМК) був заснований 1957 року.

Чисельно, як говориться в протоколі, Клуб був невеликим. У звітному 1960-1961 році відбулося всього дві імпрези — доповідь голови Романа Ковали про мистецтво Т. Шевченка й авторський вечір д-ра Микити Мандрики. Причиною цього учасники Зборів уважали статутове обмеження членства. Згідно зі статутом дійсними членами могли бути тільки мистці, що вже „виказалися мистецькою діяльністю”. А другою причиною був виїзд голови Клубу, Р. Ковали, до Нью-Йорку та недуга й смерть першого заступника голови Володимира Мартинця (1960 р.), організатора Клубу.

Друга категорія членів Клубу — прихильники не мали права голосу, що четверті Річні Збори мали вирішити права прихильників. Було запропоновано, що членами Клубу „можуть бути всі зацікавлені літературою і мистецтвом та іншими ділянками культури” та всі ловинні бути зрівняні в правах голосу. Головою на цих Зборах було обрано скульптора Леоніда Мола (Молодожанина), але діяльність Клубу не пожвавилась.


В 1960-их роках поширюється українознавча програма в Славістичному відділі, яка включає загальну (general V.A.) й підвищену (honours V.A.) програму та магістерську (M.A.).

В 1965 році автор цього огляду організує Український Студентський Літературний Гурток (Ukrainian Students’ Literary Circle) на Манітобському університеті й діє як його дорадник до кінця існування Гуртка (1990 р.). Метою Гуртка було обговорювання літературних рухів на Заході та в Україні, відмічування річниць письменників, обговорювання студентських перекладів на англійську мову сучасних українських поетів в Україні й на Заході, організування авторських вечорів запрошенних поетам, влаштовування

23 Копія цього протоколу збереглася в протоколівці Зборів і члена ЛМКлюбу, вінніпеського архітекта Віктора Денеки.
24 Михайло Г. Маручак, Біографічний довідник до історії українців Канади, УВАН, Вінніпег, 1986, стор. 363. Тут у статті про А. Курдидика говориться, що він „організував і очолював Літературно-Мистецький Клуб Вінніпегу (1963-1973)".
мистецьких виставок і показів фільмів – на кампусі й для загальної громади та реагувати на літературні й культурні події в Україні та дієспорі.

Ця літературна й культурна активність Студентського гуртка відбувалася у постійній співпраці з Славістичного відділу Манітобського університету, а особливо тоді, коли дорадник Гуртка, д-р Ярослав Розумний, був призначений головою Славістичного відділу (1976-89).

Так включення позауніверситетської громади в співдіяльність з університетом уважалось явищем побажаним і було частиною мандату університету, як University Outreach. В такій діяльності важливу роль Департаменту славістики відіграв Український Студентський Літературний Гурток. Імпрези відбувалися на кампусі Манітобського університету та в приміщеннях Центральної Бібліотеки Вінниці, Аудиторії Манітобського Музею, Аудиторії Вінницької Мистецької Галереї, залі Читальні „Просвіта” й Осередку Української Культури і Освіти.

Таких літературних доповідей, авторських вечорів та імпрез, які були влаштовані Секцією україністики Славістичного відділу Манітобського та Українським Студентським Літературним Гуртком відбулося між 1965-1990 роком понад дев'ятдесят, а Гурток очолювали студенти славістики: Андрій Журавський, Роберт Карп'як, Софія Качор, Зорянна Гриценко й Оленка Дем'янчук.

Тут треба врахувати також участь письменників, літераторів і мовознавців з України, які брали участь у канадських міжуніверситетських Шевченківських і Франківських читаннях, що відбувались щорічно між 1982 і 1989 роком.


Ці зустрічі на університетському кампусі й терені міста відкривали і студентам, і громаді відно на літературні й культурні процеси, які відбувалися в
Україні й на Заході. І такий пожвавлений контакт тривав від приблизно 1965 року до приблизно 1991 — до виступу в Вінніпегі Ліни Костенко.


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- Рубчак, Богдан (Rubchak, B., USA) 1985
- Олійник, Борис (Oliynyk, B., Ukraine) 1983
- Осадчук, Петро (Osadchuk, P., Ukraine) 1982
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- Лубковський, Роман (Lubkovsky, R., Ukraine) 1981
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Висновки

Літературно-мистецькі групи Вінницького, включно з „Українським Театром“ і „Українським Дискусійним Клубом“, у яких переважала „громадська“ членська база, а не професійна, після недовгих спроб переставали існувати. Найдовше вдягалися групи з більш професійним або академічним складом членства, де було глибше зацікавлення й підхід до літератури.


Іншою інституцією зі завданням досліджувати літературні рухи й тексти та публікувати висліди цих дослідів – Українська Вільна Академія Наук (Ukrainian Academy of Arts and Sciences), завдяки своєї діяльності й громадській підтримці, продовжує існувати від 1949 року й у цьому 2009-му завершує своє 60-річчя.

Вінниця, 12 квітня 2009

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Ukrainian Literature in Canada: Framing the Issues

Myroslav Shkandrij

Any attempt to write about Ukrainian literature in Canada raises a number of conceptual issues for the scholar. How should we define the field? Are we speaking about literature written in Ukrainian, or literature written by Ukrainians, or both these? How should the literature be periodized? In what way do the different periods differ? Do they show continuity? Are there dominant elements in the literary tradition? If so, are these stylistic, thematic, and do they outline an overarching tradition? What do they tell us about Ukrainian identity in Canada? Which are the canonical texts and authors? What underlying issues have been most important for writers? Many of these questions have been broached in scattered critical commentaries, but given little serious consideration. The field lacks an overall history that could be used as an introductory text and could introduce readers to the key issues. At the same time, it should be noted that these issues constitute a rich field of enquiry into a literary production that has lasted for over a century and for which many archival resources exist. The many newspapers and journals, the rich memoir literature, and the personal archives of many literary and community figures are housed in several institutions, such as the Ukrainian Cultural and Educational Centre (Oseredok) in Winnipeg, the National Archives of Canada, and at a number of provincial and university institutions across the country. In the past, a number of approaches to this literature have been employed. The early scholarship was often primarily concerned with surveying and describing key works and writers, but the Ukrainian written word in Canada remains a promising field of enquiry for researchers who come to it from a variety of disciplines, including cultural anthropology, history, politics, folklore, postcolonial theory, discourse analysis, and, of course, the analysis of literary form, style, and structure.
SUMMARY

In this paper on “Literary Winnipeg: 1915-1991” the author notes that, in general, the lack of continuity and the absence of an established contingent of literati hampered the development of Ukrainian literary activity in Winnipeg during this period. Nonetheless, it is clear that at least five associations did emerge at various times, and each aspired to promote interest in Ukrainian literature using different approaches. Two of these associations (including the earliest of all five) constituted literary cults named after Markijan Shashkevych (1811-1843), a Catholic priest whose writings spurred a cultural-political renaissance in Western Ukraine -- the homeland of most Ukrainians in Winnipeg in the 1900s. The first such association (founded in 1925) catered to the cultural needs of the Ukrainian population, providing a base for various operations (including a riada shkola [Ukrainian school], a choir, drama group, library, and credit union); in addition, the association supported the construction of Winnipeg’s first public monument of Ukrainian interest — unveiled in 1944 — commemorating the association’s namesake; it often served as a rallying point for many community events prior to the unveiling of another literary monument in Winnipeg honouring Taras Shevchenko in 1961 on the grounds of the provincial legislature.

After World War Two, Ukrainian literary activity in Winnipeg came to be dominated by newly arrived émigrés from Europe who transferred their Old World interests in Ukrainian literature to Winnipeg. Foremost in this regard was the Ukrainian Free Academy of Arts and Sciences (“UVAN”). The Academy developed a strong program of publications along with public presentations touching on a variety of trends and issues in Ukrainian literature both here and abroad.

An exclusive Ukrainian literary “club” was activated in Winnipeg in the 1950s and lasted for twenty years.

The scholarly dimension widened with the founding of Ukrainian studies at the University of Manitoba where a students’ literary circle in concert with scholars on and off campus organized over ninety literary presentations featuring prominent visiting literary figures from the-then still Soviet Ukraine as well as Canada and other countries.

After 1991 only the Academy (noted earlier) and University courses in Ukrainian literature continued to provide organized settings in support of Ukrainian literary interests in Winnipeg.

Summary by
R. B. Klymasz
Winnipeg was the most important centre for the production of Ukrainian literature and of Ukrainian print culture from the late nineteenth century until the Second World War. In the second half of the century literary production moved in large measure to Edmonton and Toronto. This literature as a whole, as well as the specific role of different generations and cities in its production has been understudied. Mykhailo Borovsky produced an overall study of the Ukrainian printed word in 1977; in it he noted the importance of Winnipeg's role (7). Much useful background information has been produced by Orest Martynowych in his now standard history, Mykhailo Marunchak in his Studii do istorii ukraintsiv Kanady (Winnipeg, 1964-80). Iar Slavutych has published surveys of twentieth-century Ukrainian-Canadian poetry, especially his Ukrainska poezia v Kanadi (Edmonton, 1975) and his Antoloziia ukrainskoj poezii v Kanadi, 1898-1973 (Edmonton, 1992). Alexandra Pawlowsky examined the early decades of literary production in Winnipeg; and there have been several monograph-length studies of particular authors, such as Maryana Nikoula's study of Petro Karmansky's Mauplache dzerkalo (1913) or Jean Kowbel's of the poetry published in the twentieth-century's first decade. Jars Balan has written on Ukrainian theatre and drama, Walter Smyrnov on Pavlo Kruty, and Mykola Soroka on the modes of émigré writing. These works, however, leave much of the terrain unmapped. Ukrainian literature of the period 1897-1950 is available in numerous newspapers, journals, and anthologies, as well as in separate book publications, some of which had very limited editions and are today bibliographical rarities. Much of this literature has been collected in libraries and archives, but the basic data still requires organizing and sifting in preparation for more in-depth study. A survey of recent dissertations completed at Canadian universities on Ukrainian Canadian topics shows that only a handful have been devoted to literature per se, and of these an even smaller number to the literature written in Ukrainian.1

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1 Recent dissertation on Ukrainian Canadian topics at Canadian universities include:


Researchers still have to go through the material in newspapers, journals, annual calendars, and the like in order to identify works and authors, decipher some pseudonyms, compile and categorize works, and provide commentary. Only then can an informed assessment of some works and writers be made. A few key anthologies mark the outlines of the literature’s evolution and also the progress of observers and scholars in mapping its contours. They include Iosyp Lasenchuk’s Kanadiisky Kobzar (1918), Teodor Fedyk’s Pïsni imigrantiv (1908, sixth edition 1927), Antologiia ukraïnskoho pysmenstva v Kanadi (1941), and Iar Slavutych’s Kherestomatiia z ukraïnskoï literatury v Kanadi, 1897-2000 (2000). Petro Kravchuk’s Ukraïnsï v kanadskï literaturï (1990) presented the development of Ukrainian literature from a pro-Communist viewpoint, and his Ukraïnski kanadski pysmennyky (1971) anthologized some stories that appeared in the pro-Communist press. Jaroslaw Balan and Yuri Klymov edited the anthology Yarmarok (1987), which contained a selection of Ukrainian-Canadian works in English translation. The collection also included English-language works by writers of Ukrainian background. This English-language writing, which began around the time of the Second World War, constitutes a second category of Ukrainian writing in Canada. It has attracted a number of scholars, in particular Lisa Grekul, who has produced a stimulating analysis in her Leaving Shadows (2005).

Although there is now over a century of Ukrainian-language writing in Canada, and over half a century of English-language production by Ukrainians, the numerous conceptual issues raised by this writing still require analysis. One interesting question with which one might begin is that of how to frame this literary history. We are in fact dealing with several distinct periods, and with three major

waves of emigration, and in the latter part of the century with an increasing number of works written in English.

The early poetry and the first story, Nestor Dmytriv’s “Ruska paska i frantsuzkyi ksiondz” (1897) already indicate a desire to embrace the new life while holding onto elements of the old culture, and this is often how Ukrainian-Canadian literature’s tone and message have usually been interpreted. However, the rich legacy of Ukrainian printed texts has its own repertoire of themes and topics, its favourite genres (the elegiac and the dramatic poem, the anecdotal short story, the short drama), it has its own particular evolution, and its own canonical texts. A case can be made for its constituting a whole, a tradition with an underpinning discourse that has stylistic, political, and social dimensions.

This evolution includes the writing of the first, pre-1914 wave of immigrants, in which writers like Nestor Dmytriv, Sava Chernoetsky, and Petro Karmansky played important roles. The second, interwar wave was strongly politicized and often radicalized by the events of the 1917 revolution and its aftermath. It produced important figures like Pavlo Krat and Myroslav Ircin. Although some scholarly literature has been produced on both figures, definitive works on them have still to be written. This interwar literature also included the great social novels which were produced in order to provide a retrospective look at and a record of the pioneer experience. As collective memory of the pioneer experience began to fade, these writers began the task of guiding historical memory by selecting incidents and events of significance and providing a satisfying narrative framework. The writers Oleksander Luhovy, Illia Kyriak, and Zygmunt Bychynsky all produced long works that summarized the life of the typical pioneer and provided it with the founding myths required for memorialization. Their three great epic novels are, respectively, Bezkhatnii, Syny zemli, and Kliuch zhuravliv. It is quite evident that each of these writers is looking back over the decades and bearing witness to a past that is fading from memory and needs recording. The typical structure of these works is the same that Daisy Neijmann
has detected in Icelandic novel of immigration produced in the same period: first come the reasons for leaving the homeland, then a description of the trip across the sea and land to Western Canada, the overcoming of difficulties in the new land, and the gradual establishment of a prosperous existence. Various aspects of life are described: the breaking of the land, the construction of a religious and cultural life, the eruption of social and political conflicts, epidemics and deaths, and the experience of conscription and war. Whereas the works of the earliest generation, and of left-leaning writers like Krat and Irchan, tended to focus on the exploitation and misery of the immigrant, these epic canvases ultimately present a narrative of difficulties overcome and hold out the promise of achievement through hard work. These are clearly myth-making works in the sense that they heroize the pioneer generation, underlining its qualities of endurance, industriousness, enterprising spirit, moral strength, sense of community and of patriotic feelings. Moreover, these works tend to follow the experience not of one individual but of an extended family, or even a “clan” from the same village. By describing the experience of more than one generation in this way, they demonstrate the successful integration of the immigrant over time. Such an archetypal structure ends with an elegiac note, in which the old immigrant looks back nostalgically to their childhood in the old country and recalls with sadness but also with profound satisfaction the many memories of a past that has now forever disappeared. This kind of epic structure and final celebratory note, in which the immigrant is portrayed as enjoying success in spite of having suffered many setbacks, defines the longer novels of the interwar years. It is also evident in the later work of Krat and Onufrii Ivakh. Moreover, it would become a staple of some writers who came after the Second World War, such as Iar Slavutych, Mykola Mardryka, and, as will be seen, even of the major prose writer Ulas Samchuk.

The third wave, namely the post-Second World War writers, came from a rather different experience. They were political émigrés who were escaping the devastation of the Second World War
and persecution in Stalin’s Soviet Union. In many cases they had no understanding of and frequently little sympathy for the pre-existing Ukrainian community, which had over the century’s first half gone through a different evolution, including the settlement of the prairies, resistance to attempts at forcible assimilation, and the shock of the Great Depression. Ukrainian literature in Canada was therefore the product of a number of distinct waves of emigration, which gradually flowed together and fused into one community which then had to begin constructing one narrative. Moreover, these waves were severed from contact with Ukraine, and each new wave therefore produced shocking and confusing stories that preceding waves had trouble integrating, understanding, or even believing. The post-
Second World War emigration is sometimes referred to as the DI-P’I’s (after DP or Displaced Persons, the term used to designate the refugees in Germany and Austria after the war). Their arrival in Canada was already a re-emigration, since they had already experienced the refugee camps in Western Europe in the immediate post-war years. Some had emigrated to Poland, Czechoslovakia or other European countries after the failure of the national liberation struggle of 1917-20. Hence they were moving to North America in a third emigration.

Each wave underwent its own “culture shock,” and had to deal with the sense of isolation and dislocation. Very often the issue of politics, both in the homeland and in Canada was a topic of fierce debate and division between the different waves. Accordingly, the juxtaposition of recalled Ukrainian life with new experiences in Canada recurs in the literature and is given a polemical tone. The first two waves, however, were more focused on dealing with racism and prejudice in Canada, and the material difficulties of establishing homesteads and the like; the second often remained passionately concerned with political oppression in Ukraine and the need to describe their experience over the last two decades in Europe.
Another interesting feature of this literature is the relatively different attitudes it shows in the different generations toward assimilation and acculturation. In 1947 Toma lastremskyi published a book called Kanadianizatsiia (Canadianization) in which he stated: “To be a good Canadian without fusing with the Anglo-Saxons or French is the problem of Canadianization.” Each wave and generation faced this problem in its own way. There were always divisions between the traditionalists and more radically attuned reformers or liberals. In the first wave the traditionalists were represented by Dmytriv and Karmansky, and the more radical reformers by Apolinarii Novak and Bychynsky. In the interwar period, the more conservative writers were represented by Mykhailo Petrivsky, Kyriak and Luhovy, while Krat and Irchan spearheaded the writings of the socialist and radical currents. The situation was then complicated by the fact that the emigration that arrived after the Second World War contained those from the older generation who had witnessed the Revolution and struggle for independence in 1917-20. These figures, like Mykhailo Sharyk and Vasyl Ivanys saw the world in a very different way from the younger writers, like Oleksa Hai-Holovko, Ulas Samchuk, and Maria-Adriana Keivan. The explosion of publications in the immediate postwar years had a great deal to do with the fact that all the new arrivals were finally able after many years of repression to tell their stories and to shed light on many aspects of the past.

The generation that came after the Second World War also went through an evolution. The early polemical and spirited writings of Svyyryd Lomachka (pseudonym of Borys Oleksandriv) gradually gave way to quieter reminiscences of the war. A similar change of tone occurs in the writings of Ulas Samchuk, Vasyl Sofroniv-Levytsky, and Roman Kolisnyk — all of whom continued to describe and meditate on the war. A number of women authors were particularly prominent in the postwar decades and their works often displayed the influence of the feminist movement — Laryna Tudorkhovetska, Lida Palli, Maria-Anna Holod among them. Moreover, some in this generation was anti-populist and
concerned with establishing a modernist writing that would appeal to sophisticated tastes. Under the influence of Western trends and the kind of writing produced by the New York Group of Poets, figures like Oleh Zuievsky, Marko Carynyk (Tsarynyk), Lida Palii, and Marko Stech (Stekh) produced a writing that explored personal feelings and formal questions, eschewing political and ideological messages.

Adding to the richness of this postwar literature is the fact that these writers did not come from a specific region of Ukraine (as did most of the first and second waves, who emigrated from Western Ukraine, which was first ruled by Austro-Hungary and then, in the interwar years, by Poland). The new wave often came from Central and Eastern Ukraine. Their memoirs, for example, constitute a valuable record of human experiences in all these regions. These are composed by people from different generations and different political views. Among the more important memoirs are those by the artist Kateryna Antonovych, who lived in Kyiv during the Revolutionary years and then in interwar Prague, those of Ulas Samchuk, who was a leading intellectual in the nationalist movement during the Second World War, those of the choir conductor Oleksander Koshets, who hailed from Eastern Ukraine and played an important role in the post-revolutionary years and then in Canada, and those of Volodymyr Ivanys, who was a leader of the Kuban Ukrainian.

The genres and modalities of the rich creative literature produced vary considerably. Much of it was myth-breaking, ironic, and humorous. Petro Karmansky’s satires published in 1913 were angry and sarcastic exposés of community leaders. Iakiv Maidanyk’s caricatures and sketches from the interwar period make fun of the limitations of the ordinary individual, who is often of peasant background, barely literate, and little aware of civilization’s niceties. The poetry of Borys Oleksandriy and Oleksandr Smotrych serve a similar purpose in deflating the pretensions of the post-Second World War generation. This kind of “alternative” writing was, however, a less prominent genre. More often than not the writer aimed at a tone consonant with the myth-making and life-affirming epic. The influence of modernism
and its norm-making aspirations, its pull towards high culture, and its interest in national consolidation also asserted a steady attraction throughout the century’s second half. As a result, many of the writers who came after the Second World War can be assimilated to this current, even if they themselves would have resisted such a definition.

An example of this evolution can be found in the work of Ulas Samchuk. Like Luhovy, Kiriak, and Bychynsky of the interwar generation, he was driven by the desire to produce an epic account of his generation’s suffering. In the immediate postwar years, as writers found themselves abroad, their thoughts naturally turned to making sense of their experience of dislocation in poetry, prose, and drama. Already in 1948 a number of important literary works appeared outside Ukraine, mainly in the Di-Pi camps in Germany. The organization MUR (Artistic Ukrainian Movement), which had been created in the camps to serve the large Ukrainian population, began a widespread publishing program. In both critical articles and creative works it developed a strong critique of those writers who were still under the influence of the pre-war journal Visnyk (Herald, 1933-39) and its editor Dmytro Dontsov, who represented the integral nationalism of the thirties. In 1948 Ulas Samchuk published Ost: Roman u 3 tomakh (Ost: A Novel in Three volumes), the first volume of what would eventually become a trilogy was subtitled Moroziv khutir (The Moroz Homestead, 1948). The second volume appeared when Samchuk had settled in Canada, under the title Temnota: Roman u 2-okh chastnakh (Darkness: A Novel in Two Parts, 1957). Toward the end of his life he published the third volume as Vtecha vid sebe (Escape From Self, 1982). Like the inter-war epics, these books tell the story of an extended family over several generations. However, Samchuk’s account is focused on Ukraine. Life in Canada, at least on the surface, holds little interest for him.

His three books follow the fortunes of the Moroz family, but they represent much more than this. They are a portrait of Samchuk’s generation and time, a record from which future readers can glean
an understanding of how the inter-war years were lived. As such, they speak across time to present-day
issues, especially to now topical questions concerning the behaviour of Western Ukrainians in the
Second World War, the motivations that governed their conduct, the role of OUN (the Organization of
Ukrainian Nationalists), the atmosphere of the time, and the circumstances in which individuals were
compelled to act. They are particularly interesting in the light of recent studies of the Second World
War, because they attempt to provide a picture of social life as it was lived by ordinary people who are
drawn into the maelstrom of events. Some recent Western studies have dealt harshly with Ukrainian
nationalists from Western Ukraine, and in particular with the supporters of OUN. Samchuk’s various
novels and his important two volumes of memoirs Na bilomu koni: Spomyny i vrazhennia (On a White
Horse: Memoirs and Impressions) and Na koni voronomu: Spomyny i vrazhennia (On a Black Horse:
Memoirs and Impressions) are in many ways conceived as a justifications and defences of this
generation’s views and actions. They provide insights into the lives of nationalists, many of them OUN-
sympathisers, who lived through the war. Samchuk became a leading spokesman for this generation
immediately after the appearance in Lviv of his acclaimed first novel Volyn (Volhynia, 1938). He was
immediately hailed as the leading Ukrainian prose writer outside the Soviet Union. Within the Soviet
Union, of course, he was always considered a reactionary and branded as a Nazi collaborator. Under
German occupation he became the first editor of the Ukrainian newspaper in Rivne, and in speeches and
articles attempted to rally his countrymen to the cause of national independence. His retrospective
writings therefore provide a primary source for understanding how this generation imagined the world,
the ideas that inspired them, the texture of their lives, and the predicaments they faced. He has now
been rediscovered in post-independence Ukraine, where the literary myth of Ukraine embodied in his
writings exerts considerable attraction.
By far the most important and artistically successful book of the trilogy is the first. Ost was published in Regensburg, Germany, and bore the imprint of the Di-Pi experience. It describes the coming of age of the Moroz children during the revolutionary years of 1918-19. Ivan, Andrii, Petro, Sopron, and Tetiana are products of the homestead built by their grandfather on the banks of the Dnipro near Kaniv. They have gathered there together with their father Hryhor and Ivan's son Vasyl. Symbolically, the homestead and the three generations represent the heart of Ukraine; the family's fortunes are symbolically those of the entire Ukrainian people. The homestead suffers the revolution, the tragedies of the Stalin period, and the war. Ost takes us through the turbulent revolutionary years, the defeat of the independent state and subsequent institution of a communist regime. The reader witnesses how each individual develops a different attitude toward political events. It is important to note that the entire book, and in fact Samchuk's whole wartime experience passed under the slogan of affirming the nation. "There will be a Ukraine!" is the dominant and recurrent idea, one that serves as a response to Nazi claims concerning their eastward expansion (Lebensraum) and the planned elimination of Ukrainians. The focus on vitalism, animal strength, and national assertiveness in Samchuk's work and in much writing of this period have to be seen as responses to this politics.

The second volume Temnota (1957) begins with the year 1928. It shows the fate of Ivan, who has remained on the homestead, recounts his persecution against a background of famine, mass arrests, and forced exiles. The siblings have scattered. Andrii is now a famous writer in Kharkiv, Petro an artist in Kyiv, Sofron works as a mechanic in Siberia, Tetiana is in the emigre centre of Prague. Andrii's play, which is entitled "Temnota" (although in Moscow it is produced as "Syla Panteleimona") brings him fame. He meets Maksim Gorky, Alexei Tolstoy, and various Soviet leaders (196-7). In the character of Bych, the novel contains a portrayal of Mykola Khvylovy, the leading Soviet Ukrainian prose writer of the twenties, whom Samchuk admired (342, 345, 369). The book describes the attack on all humanist ideas
and sentiments in the years of Stalinism, the "grandiose experiment" of collectivization and social construction that produced the famine of 1932-33, and the Gulag which, according to Anne Applebaum, swallowed twenty million people. Andrii expresses the novel's purpose when he states that he does not believe that the sacrifices were in any way required (382-3). The last book _Vtecha vid sebe_ (1982), which was published at the end of his life, is a retrospective glance at 1944-45, purportedly taken around the year 1953, a time when the characters are making decisions whether to return to the Soviet Union from Di-Pi camps in the American and British zone of Germany, or to emigrate to North America, Australia, and Western European countries. It contains a final scene of a family reunion in North America.

The last two books are not Samchuk's best. His talents as a writer began fading in emigration. However, perhaps equally important in the waning of his talent was the self-imposed task of providing a sweeping epic, a "great literature" that would do justice to the experience of his people. This requirement was a programmatic one that had been declared by MUR and it weighed heavily on Samchuk, perhaps forcing him to strain his voice and extend the scope of his writing beyond what he could cope with. The contemporary reader will find the critiques of different aspects of Soviet life tedious, and the ending a self-congratulatory and rather uninspired affirmation of the choice to move to New York or Toronto. Samchuk himself lived in the latter city until his death in the late eighties. Nonetheless, in these two books he provides some gripping dialogue -- often the best aspect of his prose -- and there are moments in which his language breaks down cliches and challenges conventional thought patterns of the day, forcing reader to think against current orthodoxies. It is for these moments that his novels and memoirs are still worth reading today: they continue to provide electrifying shocks of recognition that overturn cherished assumptions of what the war experience was like.

The portrayal of Jews is a fascinating aspect of Samchuk's work and it is perhaps an indication of his mediations on diversity from his perspective as an émigré in Canada. The figure of Iankel the
butcher occurs in Ost. Later he turns up with the Bolshevik forces (413). A Jewish commissar appears (541-4, 562). Shneider, another Jew, also plays a role (537-8, 560). These are negative portrayals in the sense that the figures choose to support the Bolshevik or Soviet regime. In Temnota the Jewish commissar reappears as Petrov, a leader of the GPU or secret police. However, he sympathizes with both Ivan and Andrii, and helps them in various ways (210-11). Samchuk is interested in the complex motivation of individuals who worked for the secret service. He describes Denysov, a member of the gentry, who is not sympathetic toward the Bolsheviks but eventually goes over to their side and works as a spy. He tries to recruit Ivan for work abroad. Two other Jews, Rokya and Shuster, who grew up in poverty in Ukraine and become part of the GPU inquisition are also described (100). But Petrov is the most complex character. He meets Andrii several times and appears to understand him at a deeper level. He demonstrates unspoken sympathies, perhaps even political, for him. It is partly through Petrov's protection that Andrii becomes an important playwright. Gradually Andrii and his wife Olia become "Soviet people." The transformation, handled with considerable subtlety and insight, reveals the dilemmas of patriots within the system. Even in the worst times, when mass arrests and the spreading of hatred are prominent, Petrov appears in order to try and help the family. Ivan, for example, is rescued from the Gulag, but only by becoming an organizer of production in the same Gulag with thousands of workers under his control. Just as Andrii becomes the author of a successful play about collectivization, one that signals the beginning of the campaign, Ivan becomes an architect of the camps that extract raw materials from human suffering. Throughout, however, the underlying critique of loss of memory and culture, and of unnecessary human sacrifices persists.

The figure of Sashko, who occurs in the third volume, is a surprising twist in the trilogy. A Ukrainian artist, he is well-aware of his Jewish origins. His father was an important figure in the machinery of the GPU and NKVD. Sashko, like everyone else who has come out of the Soviet experience,
has “burned the old gods,” and escaped from his former self in order to create a new one. Having jettisoned his former Soviet identity, he has now embraced an entirely Ukrainian one. In the end he marries the heroine Vira and they settle happily in New York. Sashko is the first to explain to Vera how racist ideas govern the politics of the German invaders, why shops only for Germans have appeared, why trams in Kyiv have ceased working, why only four years of elementary education are envisaged for local Slavs. The Germans, he informs, intend to treat Ukraine as an “African colony, a nomansland, to call it Ost, to divide it into latifundia and to give it along with us to their own well-deserving” (37). He also sees clearly that a new Ukrainian identity has to be constructed, one that has broken with the sugary-sentimental, intellectually undemanding, and folkloric image of Ukraine. This is a fairly typical sentiment of the twentieth-century’s nation-building modernists, and Sashko’s particular sympathy for the culture of Kyivan Rus, a time when the ancestors of contemporary Ukrainians built a strong state, reflects the thinking of the nationalists during the thirties and forties. The example of the Jews, who are struggling to build a new state with its capital in Jerusalem after a hiatus of two thousand years, is indicated as an example of the power of tradition and of dreams. The Holocaust, which took “millions of their co-religionists” has hardened the resolve of Jews to succeed in this venture, and Ukrainians are beginning to learn from them that strength of spirit and sacrifice can overturn the thousands of years of history (213).

Sashko’s decision to become a Ukrainian surprises some figures, among them the old man Ivan Moroz, who represents the traditional salt-of-the-earth figure with perhaps the deepest roots of any others in the lands by the Dnipro, the core Ukrainian territory. Sashko reacts angrily to Ivan’s charge that his kind of “cosmopolitans” usually prefer to identify with Russian culture. Sashko responds with the countercharge that Ivan and his ilk have adapted to whatever regime ruled the land, have served empires like faithful slaves (216). Jewish utopian revolutionary thought (in the image of Marx) is
counterposed to Ukrainian servility and conservatism. Both are these extremes are found wanting and both are seen as responsible for the disaster that is the Soviet state. Ivan eventually comes to realize that he cannot return to the Soviet Ukraine. He has to let go of his fantasy of reconstituting the family nest along patriarchal, traditional lines. Sashko's openness to the new, symbolized in part by his commitment to abstract art, wins him success in the West and signals the development of a new Ukrainian sensibility.

The key to understanding Sashko's metamorphosis is an event in his youth. A number of his school-teachers, who insisted on lecturing in Ukrainian and on their students responding in this language, were arrested in the thirties. Among them was a Jewish professor of physics called Feldman. The language was generally looked down upon as "spoiled" or "bad" Russian, and Sashko refused to use it. But Feldman insisted that they all lived in the capital city of the second largest republic in the Soviet Union and they should know the language of this republic. He too disappeared in the Great Terror of 1937. Only after this event did Sashko finally begin to see "the powerless, the exiled, the hungry" around him, and to feel guilt that he too in some measure was a cause of their suffering. He says:

"I understood that the most terrible threat to the good of people lies in these theories and their executors, who become doctrinaire.... The salvation of humanity becomes a passion for them, obtained of course through ruthlessness.... Salvation, in my opinion, must occur intimately and not through words, but actions. Not volumes of beautiful words count, but the richness of good acts. I am convinced that in the future humanity will understand this, because this is as clear as the sun." (314-15)

In the United States Sashko begins to sign his name Roozita because this was how it was entered at the border by immigration officials. He therefore no longer carries the Ukrainian-sounding Rokyta, nor
the more Jewish-sounding Rovita. He now has a new life, a new American identity, and a new name.

There is much in this final book that suggests the influence of the experience of diversity and multiculturalism on Samchuk's thinking. Although the setting and focus is entirely on Ukraine, the political vision is in many respects Canadian-inspired. It is respectful of difference, open to change, and able to accommodate multiplicity and diversity. The Jewish figure in his work is representative of diversity and difference within the Ukrainian community, and of the need to construct a broad identity that is cultural and not "ethnic" or limited by adherence to a set of superficial markers. Mykola Soroka has argued that Samchuk's novel Na tverdii zemli (1963-66) was a turning point. It signalled his psychological reorientation away from nostalgia for Ukraine to building a new Ukraine where they were located, beyond the ocean (Soroka 14). This would explain the different tonality in the last book of his trilogy Ost. Samchuk's papers are housed in the archives and special collections of the Robart's Library at the University of Toronto. They provide a rich source for the study of this important figure.

Samchuk and others in his generation who tried to produce epic works, a "great literature" as they called it, have been criticized for their unsuccessful attempts to monumentalize, to produce the totalizing work of art out of life's chaotic, raw material. This line of criticism has been developed by George Grabowicz, who has argued that the concern with ideology and the misguided pursuit of "greatness" perverted the poetic voice (Hrabovych 393). He sees this as a continuing lingering influence of the journal Vistnyk, which continued to shape the poetics of emigration for decades. However, in the case of Samchuk, even the failure to produce the neatly-tailored, high modernist masterpiece can be read today as an inevitable failure, understandable and uncompromising attempt to deal with life's heterogeneity. The critique of ideologized literature and the modernist revolt against this has been a major concern in Ukrainian writing in the West since the Second World War. It has dominated the work of MUR and its successor organization, the organization of Ukrainian writers Slovo, which produced a
publication Slovo. Writers and critics like Danylo Struk and Marko Carynnyk were prominent in this modernist revolt, in which such figures as Bohdan Boichuk and Emma Andievskaya were figureheads.

The relationship of these writers and critics to their American counterparts raises another important question: whether Ukrainian writing in Canada can be distinguished from Ukrainian writing in the United States, or in the West. There is much evidence that points to the fact that this post-Second World War writing constitutes a unity, whether it was produced within North America, Western Europe, or South America. The major figures of the so-called New York Group of Poets contained not only "Americans" like Bohdan Boichuk, Yury Tarnawsky (Iurii Tarnavsky), but also "Canadians" like Marko Carynnyk, "South Americans" like Vira Vovk, and "West Europeans" like Emma Andievskaya. The discourse which underpinned this writing was produced by critics like George Shevelov (Iuri Sherekh), Bohdan Rubchak, and George Grabowicz, who lived in the United States but were read by the entire literary community. Much of what they had to say about the development of writing in America was applicable to that in Canada, as Grabowicz's essay "New Directions" shows. Moreover, the key Ukrainian publications and anthologies in the West made no geographical distinctions. The standard anthology of Ukrainian poetry in the West, Koordynaty (1969), for example, includes all writings and draws no attention to the place of production.

The transition to English-language writing is an interesting phenomenon that needs to be considered in a comparative framework. Italian, Mennonite, Icelandic, native people, and other groups have also developed this kind of English-language literature. Any analysis of this literature must deal with the relationship this writing bears to the wider tradition of English-language writing in Canada and further afield, the degree of its debt to the overall Canadian society, and the degree of its debt to the Ukrainian legacy and tradition. Questions of hybridity, deliberate or subconscious mixing of elements from different traditions are inevitably issues in any discussion of this writing. These issues have been
explored using the tools and methodologies developed by colonial and postcolonial theory, by feminist criticism. They also are of interest within the context of the discourse around multiculturalism, history and tradition. In the critical works of Lisa Grekul, Sonia Mycak, and Jars Balan and a number of these questions have been examined. This English-language writing is, however, an issue that deserves a much more thorough review. It would have to deal with some important figures, among them Vera Lysenko, George Ryga, Andrew Suknaski, Maara Haas, and Janice Kulyk Keefer. Once again, however, this literature can be contextualized within the broader phenomenon of Ukrainians writing in the West. The literary successes of figures like the American Askold Melnyczuk or the British Maryna Lewytsky have stimulated a discussion about what is and what is not Ukrainian writing, what is and what is not homeland and heritage. Figures like Marko Pavlyshyn and Mykola Soroka, and Janice Kulyk Keefer have contributed to the debate.

In the light of the preceding discussion, it might be pointed out that the issue of translation becomes particularly important when knowledge of the first language of the pioneers is lost. Some works of the first and second waves of emigration have been translated into English, as have some works of Ukrainian classics, but they constitute a small proportion of the major writings, often the translations are not particularly well done, and, even if they are, much is lost in the transition. Yet, if a discourse is to be maintained across the generations and a tradition fostered and developed this is a primary task. Only in this way will an interest in this literature and experience be fostered among many of those who have a concern with analyzing and understanding it. For many young researchers in Ukraine this literature today holds great interest. It allows them to view the writing in Ukraine from a somewhat estranged perspective, to study the way the culture interacted with others in an entirely different environment, and to rethink many issues associated with the clash between traditionalist and modernists that is now a frequent topic of discussion. The introduction of these scholarly researchers
into this field can be salutary not only for literary studies in Canada but also in Ukraine. The enormous body of writing that constitutes Ukrainian Canadian literature can teach many lessons and provide many insights into Canadian and Ukrainian history and culture. The gradual development of an overarching discourse that is occurring simultaneously in both Ukrainian and English also holds out the promise of a new kind of Ukrainian writing with an international or global consciousness and input.

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“The Kobzar Literary Award:

Genesis, Rationale & Future Directions”

by Dr. Christine Turkewych, Program Director, Kobzar Literary Program & Award

GENESIS

The Shevchenko Foundation, with its mandate for heritage retention and cultural development, launched the Kobzar Literary Award at Hart House in Toronto on May 14, 2003. President Andrij Hladyshevsky had invited several Canadian writers to advise the Foundation on initiating a literary award that would create interest in Ukrainian Canadian stories, among them were Professor Janice Kulyk Keefer, Myrna Kostash, Dr. Lubomyr Luciuk, Irene Mycak and Marsha Skrypuch. The event launched the award to an audience of Canadian publishers, literary agents, authors and Ukrainian Canadian community leaders.

Background

The Ukrainian-Canadian Foundation of Taras Shevchenko was established in 1961 when the Ukrainian-Canadian community raised funds to celebrate the work of Taras Shevchenko, Ukraine’s great poet (1814-1861), with a monument erected on the grounds of the Manitoba Legislature. In July 1962, the Ukrainian Canadian Congress (then the Ukrainian Canadian Committee) resolved to set aside a $30,000 surplus from the Shevchenko monument project into a capital fund that became known as the Ukrainian Canadian Foundation of Taras Shevchenko. The Ukrainian Canadian Foundation of Taras Shevchenko became incorporated by an Act of Parliament on July 22nd, 1963. In 1964, the Shevchenko Foundation began distributing project grants.

Although initiated in Winnipeg and with head offices still there since the early sixties, the mandate for cultural development through project grants as well as the scope of the Kobzar award are national, not municipal or provincial.
Purpose: To foster cultural development in Canada through the literary arts and to create opportunities for all Canadian writers to explore Ukrainian Canadian themes

To understand fully the purpose of the Kobzar Literary Award, one has to acknowledge and value the purpose of awards generally, and particularly, literary awards. Awards are created for two major purposes: an award can provide encouragement and recognition of excellence, or an award can foster the development of a concept, initiate or stimulate interest in a new focus.

To this extent, these are two purposes served by the Kobzar Literary Award. The Board of Directors of the Shevchenko Foundation wanted to stimulate interest in Ukrainian Canadian themes within the Canadian literary world and to demonstrate appreciation of authors who addressed this theme with literary merit. The ultimate effect will be created by the works themselves. The stories have the potential to teach everyone something or make us think, laugh or cry. The Kobzar Literary Award showcases the authors’ efforts and determination of conveying their own “purpose” to readers.

Further, once an award is established over many years with respectable standards for adjudication, it raises the standards in the field and “raises the bar” among the authors/submitters. This award contributes to the development of literary arts in Canada and creates opportunities for Canadian authors to receive monetary reward and recognition.

“Canada is a country still in the throes of its creation and needs our storytellers to define. The purpose of this generous prize is to tell great Canadian stories through the pens of Canadian writers. By the end of the 21st century we hope to have created a body of work worthy of many of these Canadian storytellers or Kobzars”. Shevchenko Foundation website

In creating the $25,000 Kobzar Literary Award, the Foundation envisioned a biennial prize that would be regarded as equal to other notable Canadian literary awards and would create opportunities for all Canadian writers to explore Ukrainian Canadian

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themes. The first Kobzar Literary Award was presented at a dinner and awards ceremony in 2006 in Toronto. The award is shared with $20,000 given to the author who “best” presents a Ukrainian Canadian theme with literary merit through fiction, non-fiction, poetry, play, screenplay, or young people’s literature; and $5,000 is given to the publisher for promotion of the winning work. Four million Canadians can trace their heritage to Ukrainian ancestry. This is a very large memory niche for authors to research stories through primary or secondary experiences.

The Kobzar Literary Award is expansive as it invites submissions from all Canadian writers to explore a Ukrainian Canadian theme. A submitter does not have to be of Ukrainian Canadian heritage and does not have to speak the language. The Shevchenko Foundation will accept submissions in English, French and Ukrainian, and will provide translations for adjudication purposes. Submissions in Ukrainian or French are withheld and read by a qualified Shevchenko Foundation Board member as to suitability for translation. The Shevchenko Foundation will pay for the translation if the submission is worthy and then include in adjudication for the next round.

Why the name “KOBZAR”?

In Ukrainian, the word “kobzar” literally means minstrel. The kobzars were wandering folk bards who performed a large repertoire of epic-historical, religious and folk songs while playing an ancient lute instrument, named kobzar or bandura. They first became popular in the 15th century and for over 400 years they brought the traditions of culture and storytelling to the people.

The word "kobzar" also has meaning related to the famous poet Taras Shevchenko. In 1840 Shevchenko published his first collection of poems called "Kobzar", which consisted of romantic poems and major ballads. His works are so beloved that sometimes Shevchenko himself is referred to as "the Kobzar".

Storytellers are valued in every culture because they provide an oral history. In the 1930’s, hundreds of Ukrainian storytellers, “kobzars”, were rounded up in Ukraine and murdered for their beliefs. This is now viewed as Joseph Stalin’s attempt to extinguish a thousand years of culture from a people by brutal repression. Fortunately, the stories carried on. Shevchenko Foundation website.
Significance of a Theme focused Literary Award

A question keeps being asked: What are the benefits of promoting Literary Arts with Ukrainian Canadian Themes? Although not obvious at once, upon reflection, many of us have come to the conclusion that Ukrainian Canadian themes are beneficial to both the Canadian Literary world and to the Ukrainian Canadian community. These published works will be instrumental in:

Documenting the history of Canadians of Ukrainian heritage and provide published documents for academic purposes;

Showcasing unique aspects of Canadian immigration history, and explore cultural and social values, and political issues;

Presenting cross-cultural issues in a multicultural society;

Providing role models for generations of Canadians interested in Ukrainian heritage, and in

Creating great stories for Canadian movie scripts, plays, musicals and TV programs with educational and recreational entertainment value.

Service to the Community: the Kobzar Volunteer Committee

Responsibility for the Kobzar Literary Award (KLA) Dinner and Award Ceremony was transferred to a volunteer committee on April 1 2005. Toronto was selected as the site for the award ceremony as it is the publication centre of Canada.

In September 2005 at the UNO hall on Evans Avenue, 30 volunteers assembled for the first meeting for the Kobzar Literary Award Dinner and Ceremony. This Volunteer Committee was formed by invitations extended from four co-chairs: Alla Shklar, Daria Diakowsky, Marika Szkambara and Valya Kuryliw. The co-chairs were invited by Mr. James Temerty at the request of Foundation President Andrij Hladyshevsky. The four co-chairs shared the responsibility of leading this event and three committees were formed: Fundraising, Marketing and Ticket sales, and Program.

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Shevchenko Board member Borys Balan addressed the assembly of volunteers. Volunteer participation remained steadfast from September 2005 to February 2006 with monthly large group meetings and subcommittee meetings in private homes, as required.

Volunteers and co-chairs were very motivated to launch a new literary program that serves the best interests of the Ukrainian Canadian community. Later, after the inaugural ceremony when a profit was evident, co-chairs and volunteers were very proud to have assisted the Shevchenko Foundation in providing monetary resources to actualize the long-term goals for a Kobzar Literary Program with a Writer’s Scholarship in addition to the award. This first success propelled the second volunteer effort to create and deliver successfully the 2008 Kobzar Literary Award Ceremony with co-chairs Daria Diakowsky and Alla Shklar. Currently, the third award ceremony is in the beginning stage.

Program Director: New Position Created

In 2006, the Shevchenko Foundation created a new position, that of Program Director, at the request of the co-chairs. The tasks required to launch the Kobzar Literary Award Ceremony, Program and Writer’s Scholarship effectively into the Canadian Literary Arts world was beyond the scope of a volunteer effort. With this position, the Shevchenko Foundation demonstrated the long term commitment required to develop a respectable literary program.

Kobzar Literary Award Honorary Patrons

Assembling honorary patrons became the first order of business by the Program Director.

Rt. Honorable Adrienne Clarkson, Hon. Senator Raynell Andreychuk, and Joy Kogawa accepted the invitation and have been supportive from the inaugural ceremony to the present.

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Adjudication: process and principles

The Kobzar Literary award is a peer review process that requires all adjudicators/jurors to be recognized and award winning Canadian authors. The adjudication criteria and selection process were designed by the Program Director. Additionally, the Program Director manages the assembly of an appropriate adjudication panel for every competition. Selection of works for the shortlist and the recipient falls to the adjudication panel but final approval involves the Shevchenko Foundation President and the Board of Directors.

Submissions with very little Ukrainian Canadian theme development, reprints and self-publications do not meet basic entry requirements. Classic standards of literary merit and theme development constitute selection criteria.

The presentation of a story with a Ukrainian Canadian theme is not innovative to the launch of the Kobzar Literary Award. Numbers of writers have chosen to shape their stories using experiences from Ukrainian Canadian heritage, personal or otherwise. Submissions for the Kobzar Literary Award are judged for their creativity, pertinence to the Ukrainian Canadian experience and substantive treatment of the theme.

The Kobzar Literary Award judging panels:

2006 – In alphabetical order:

Myrna Kostash - journalist and non-fiction author
Mieko Ouchi – actor, writer and director for theatre, film and TV
Bill Richardson – writer and CBC broadcaster
Antanas Sileika – journalist & fiction author, artistic director of Humber School of Writers

2008 - In alphabetical order:

Sharon Butala, O.C., author and playwright
Professor Modris Eksteins, author and educator
Laura Langston, author and broadcast journalist
John Metcalf, editor, author and literary critic

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The Award Ceremony

On March 2 2006 the Inaugural Kobzar Award Ceremony was attended by 276 people at the Eglinton Grand in Toronto. The event had a "Giller" style and was financial success, the Shevchenko Foundation achieved good public relations, and the short listed authors and the co-recipients received media recognition in regional and national papers and broadcasts. That year the Kobzar endowment fund was launched with a donation of $25,000 from Dr. Ann Smigle of Winnipeg, Manitoba. On March 6 2008, the second Kobzar Literary Award Ceremony was held at the Palais Royale in Toronto.

Kobzar™ Literary Award 2006 finalists (in alphabetical order by author):

Lisa Grekul for Kalyna's Song, published by Coteau Books
Danny Schur for Strike! - The Musical, script by Danny Schur and Rick Chafe, lyrics and music by Danny Schur

Winner 2006

Co-recipients for 2005-6 KLA were Laura Langston for Lesia's Dream and Danny Schur for Strike: The Musical.

After the first award was split, the Shevchenko Foundation created policy whereby future awards cannot be split between two recipients.

Kobzar™ Literary Award 2008 finalists (in alphabetical order by author):

Grekul, Lisa Leaving Shadows: Literature in English by Canada's Ukrainians. University of Alberta Press, 2005

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The tensions endemic to the Kobzar Literary Award process

To date, multiple genres are necessary for a theme based literary award because no one genre or category attracts enough submissions. Simultaneously, multiple genres make it difficult to assemble an appropriate panel of jurors who are credible in all genres. While executing three awards, a view emerged which was shared by many that fictional and non-fictional works should be separated. Another award needs to be created of equal monetary value. Obstacles to this change are financial because the Kobzar designated fund has not yet been enlarged to the amount necessary to sustain two awards, one for fiction and one for non fiction.

Public Relations in the Ukrainian Canadian community

Generally, the Ukrainian Canadian community across Canada, but particularly in Toronto where the Award ceremonies are held, are very enthusiastic about a “literary” award with a Ukrainian Canadian theme. The Kobzar Literary Award appeals greatly to individuals and families where Ukrainian is no longer read or spoken fluently and yet there is motivation to read in English about the history and culture of Ukrainian Canadians. The Kobzar Award Ceremony holds great appeal for an audience within the 35-50 year old age range. The Kobzar Literary Award and Program motivates young writers to become celebrated authors.
Impact into Canadian Literary world

The Kobzar Literary Award has attained some notice but not total regard and acceptability in the Canadian Literary world. Most literary awards are viewed skeptically until they have had at least three successive and successful executions. Demonstration of sustainability or "staying power" is a must for high regard and acceptance.

Two views exist which create a tension between the authors who could be producing works on Ukrainian Canadian themes and those who are readers and administrators. A "Ukrainian Canadian" theme among writers in the Canadian community is viewed as "ethnic" literature and these writers continually assume that one has to be of Ukrainian heritage to willingly engage in this effort. Ironically, the first co-recipient was Laura Langston who was not of Ukrainian heritage. Administrators and leaders in the literary world are more positive and frequently comment that the short listed books are colourful and therefore desirable. Sadly, writers do not want to be labeled as "ethnic" authors or specialists of "ethnic fiction". The Kobzar Literary Award Program will need to live with this tension, work with and through it.
Evolution and the Future for the Kobzar Literary Program

The more we do the more needs to be done. The Kobzar Literary Program has evolved from lessons learned at every stage of development and through every event. Young writers need scholarships to keep them learning and improving their craft; the short listed authors need their books to sell and to be read by the public; the publishers need to accept Ukrainian Canadian themed manuscripts; non Ukrainian authors need to respect the award and realize that you do not need to be Ukrainian to write on a Ukrainian Canadian theme.

The ongoing strategic goals for the Kobzar Literary Program and Award include increasing the number of submissions biennially, and increasing regard in the Canadian literary world for the Kobzar Award recipients and all the short listed works.

Kobzar Writer’s Scholarship at Humber School for Writers

The Shevchenko Foundation funds a full scholarship at the Humber School for Writers Summer Workshop every year since 2007. The applications are made directly to Humber, and when they meet their writing criteria, those with a Ukrainian Canadian theme are reviewed by the Kobzar Program Director, and a scholarship is awarded.

Additionally, the Foundation funds an author who is seasoned in publishing on Ukrainian Canadian themes to serve as faculty at the Humber School for Writer’s Summer Workshop. To date, Marsha Skrypuch and Janice Kulyk Keefer have served as faculty and coached and mentored the novice writers.

We have learned that many books require a six year timeline from conception to publication. The Shevchenko Foundation continually demonstrates their supportiveness for the writing craft and for the authors who have the courage to write on a Ukrainian Canadian theme.

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ADDENDUM

Canada’s Ukrainian book culture in action: Selected Materials, 1915 – 2009

1. Bishop Nykyta Budka’s directive regarding every priests’ basic library requirements (Winnipeg, 1915, in Ukrainian), p. 130.


5. Postcard message mailed via OHMS and addressed to “fellow Ukrainian Canadians regarding an initiative promoted by the Ukrainian Community, p. 134.


ПРАВИЛА.

Бібліотека сьвященича: — Кождий сьвященик єть строго обов'язаний мати отсі книжки в своїй бібліотеці: 1. Св. Письмо, видане за-апробатою дотичних властив; 2. Догматику; 3. Моральну; 4. Пасторальну; 5. Церковне право; 6. За-гальну історию Церкви, а руської Церкви з окрема; 7. Жите Сьвятых, а з окрема: жите св. Йосафата; 8. Підручники до католицизм і проповідь; 9. Правила русько-католицької Церкви в Канаді; 10. Типик, видання-о. Правала Ізидора Доль- ницького.

Сьвященик, в котрого бібліотеці сих книжок не буде, або знайдуться зазначені книжки, буде без попередніго на-пімнення суследований, доїи не здасть конкурсного іспиту і не справить собі потрібних книжок.
MUSEUM INTRODUCES THE DOLLAR BOOK CLUB

Do you enjoy reading? Do you enjoy sharing your thoughts? Do you enjoy delicious refreshments and camaraderie? Do you have an interest in Ukrainian history and culture? If so, you may want to join us at the Ukrainian Museum of Canada once a month for four months from 7:00 to 9:30 p.m. beginning in January 2007 to read and discuss a variety of literature based on Ukrainian and Ukrainian Canadian themes. Besides expanding your horizons, enjoy coffee, tea and refreshments and the company of like-minded individuals.

Because this book club promotes the genre of Ukrainian and Ukrainian Canadian historical fiction, the books that are chosen will be pre-selected and will be provided by the Ukrainian Museum of Canada Gift shop as part of your registration fee. These books will be yours to keep at the end of the book club. Along with a great selection of reading material, you will receive a writing journal to jot down any notes and thoughts you may want to share during our book discussions.

Sign up at Yarimarok on November 24 or 25. If you miss out on this exciting event, call Vera at 244-3800 for more information.

The registration fee will be $125 and will include all reading materials, journal and refreshments.

The above note appeared in the Autumn 2006 issue of the Ukrainian Museum of Canada’s Museum News (Saskatoon, SK). For added interest see also Janice Kulyk Keefer’s The Ladies’ Lending Library published in 2007.
BOOK SALE
10,000 used BOOKS
(most in English – on many different subjects)
Saturday, MAY 9TH, 2009
10:00 A.M. TO 4:00 P.M.

OSEREDOK
UKRAINIAN CULTURAL & EDUCATIONAL CENTRE
184 ALEXANDER Ave E (just north of the Manitoba Museum

SPONSORED BY
WINNIPEG-LVIV SISTER CITY COMMITTEE

The purpose of the book sale is to
SUPPORT EDUCATION PROJECTS IN UKRAINE
(at Universities and public schools)
KOBZAR

Presented every two years, the $25,000 Award ($12,000 to author, $8,000 to publisher) recognizes a Canadian writer who best presents a Ukrainian Canadian theme with literary merit through poetry, plays, novels, fiction, non-fiction or young peoples literature.

The Kobzar Literary Award

SUBMISSION DEADLINES
March 15, 2009 for award announced in March 2010
March 15, 2011 for award announced in March 2012
March 15, 2013 for award announced in March 2014

Works may be submitted by writers, literary agents and publishers.

For more information, contact by email:
christine@shevchenkofoundation.com

For submission terms view: kobzarliteraryaward.com

SHEVCHENKO

FOUNDATION

Sponsored by Shevchenko Foundation
www.shevchenkofoundation.com
Dear fellow Ukrainian Canadian,

This year, on 9 March, the birthday of Taras Shevchenko, Ukraine's national poet, we urge you to go to a public, college or university library in your community and borrow any book on Ukraine or Ukrainians in Canada. If books on Ukraine are not checked out many will be discarded.

Remember what Shevchenko wrote:
- "Gain knowledge, brothers! Think and read, and to your neighbours' gifts pay heed, yet do not neglect your own!"

For a response to this initiative, see Mykola Latyshko, “Ukrajins’ki knyzhky,” in New Pathway (Toronto), May 21, 2009, p. 11.
New university plan is to send surplus books to Ukraine

MORGAN MODJESKI, STAFF

The University of Manitoba is usually the main benefactor of book collections donated by professors who have passed away, retired or are just cramped for space. These book collections usually go into circulation at the U of M libraries, but books that are not put into circulation face an uncertain fate.

Until roughly 2005, the U of M took books donated to the U of M and placed books in good condition back on the shelves for student use. Books deemed unworthy of the library were sold at the U of M Libraries annual book sale.

In past years, books that did not sell at the annual book sale were put into storage. Other books however, were then sent to University of Manitoba Recycling and Environmental Group (UMREG) where the books were given free to local used bookseller Aqua Books and students. When the administration discovered this was happening, they stopped providing books to UMREG citing that giving books to one bookseller was unfair.

Kelly Hughes, owner of Aqua Books, said that UMREG called him because they didn't want to send the books to a pulp mill.

"I came in on different occasions, there were times when I just took books but there were other times when I went in and they had so many books - definitely left over from the libraries, it was stuff they felt they did not want to sit on for two years."

Hughes went on, "At some point someone in admin got wind of it and they were pissed off and said to UMREG you cannot distribute books because we have a process, you cannot just give it to one person, you have to give it to everyone."

Since 2006, books not sold at the U of M Libraries sale have headed to the pulp or into storage in the Wallace building.

Anders Arnell, manager of UMREG said, "We have had about three pallets of books... I could not put a number on it but three pallets full of books is a couple of tonnes... lots of the material was useless to the general public but there were definitely some novels and sort of timeless books as well."

Arnell confirmed that books used to be unofficially distributed by UMREG, but that has ceased in the last three years.

Currently UMREG is responsible for removing the hard-bound covers from their once handsome reads before the pulping process.

According to Donna Breyfogle, the associate director of collections at the U of M Libraries, books donated to the U of M by professors usually go into circulation at the libraries and the rest head to the book sale.

The vast majority of books not sold at the libraries' book sale still considered shelf-worthy stay in Wallace Building for the 364 days until the next annual book sale. Those that do not make it to Wallace head to UMREG and are recycled.

"We are not going to keep things that are really damaged or getting mouldy... there might be some other material that is withdrawn from the collection if we have several copies of a book and circulation does not warrant multiple copies any longer."

According to Breyfogle, the rest of the books will be put into storage and will be brought out at the next book sale with an amount of new material acquired over the course of the year.

This year however, will be the first time these books will not be put back they will be sent to Lviv, Ukraine at the request of the Winnipeg-Lviv sister city committee.

"We are sending a couple boxes of books to the universities and public school in our sister city," said Roman Yereniuk, co-founder of the Ukrainian book transfer and member of the Lviv Sister city committee.

According to Yereniuk, Lviv has two main universities and 100 public schools.

"When we heard the University of Manitoba is having a book sale we wrote a letter to the library asking what would be done with the books left over," Yereniuk said. "They said always looking for a good project. When we heard about that we would [sold the U of M] like to suggest that this year the left over books from the library sale get sent to the Ukraine and get sent to Lviv and the U of M accepted."

Currently the project is shipping the books through "voluntary shipments," where books are sent through containers that are already being sent overseas and to the Ukraine.

According to Yereniuk, the project that was first started on Feb. 1 has said to be progressing well and so far several thousand books are in boxes ready to be shipped.
The Book and Music Supply Store

The first of the two exhibition modules reproduces a book and music supply store established by Frank Dojacék (1880–1951). Originally from Bohemia in what is now the Czech Republic, Frank Dojacék founded what would become the Ukrainian Booksellers, a business he set up on Main Street in Winnipeg in 1911. To respond to the needs of clients from Central Europe, he launched into the publishing of multilingual books and newspapers (National Publishers Limited); the sale of musical instruments and supplies (Winnipeg Musical Supply Co.); and mail-order sales, through multilingual catalogues that reached out to a vast clientele in Western Canada.

Frank Dojacék was an invaluable source of assistance and advice for newly-arrived immigrants to Canada. He spoke seven languages fluently, and acted as a legal interpreter for immigrants. As a part-time preacher, he played an active role in the Czech and German Baptist Churches, as well as in the Czech cultural community. Frank Dojacék earned a reputation as the immigrants’ spokesperson, and facilitated the adaptation of thousands of immigrants into their new environment.

The presentation of the exhibition module is based on the design of the period shop. The shop’s front window is inspired by a photo of the store taken in the 1920s. As visitors enter, they will see a long display counter and shelves filled with goods. A small office at the back of the store represents the role of the store as an informal venue where members of the immigrant community would gather to discuss social and political issues.

In his bookstore, Frank Dojacék sold a large array of books, newspapers, guides, dictionaries, textbooks, medical manuals, catechisms, novels, etc., in German, Ukrainian, Czech, Slovak and other languages. Frank Dojacék offered a wide selection of cards, calendars, and confirmation and wedding certificates. He sold watches and clocks, and offered a cleaning and repair service. His store also featured jewellery, decorations, sewing goods, health and beauty products, appliances, and sacred and secular decorative images. His music supply store, located in the same module, offered a complete inventory of guitars, mandolins, zithers, trumpets, clarinets, violins and accordions, as well as repair services for instruments. In addition, he sold radios, phonographs and the latest records. The exhibit features goods dating from the early 1960s — unsold stock was not normally discarded but kept on hand for many years. Items from the 1910s and 1920s were still in storage when the store finally ceased operations in the 1980s.

Frank Dojacék ran his business as a family enterprise. In fact, we can see members of his family at work in an album filled with photos, available for consultation on the counter. His large family made it possible for him to establish a network of stores. His operations extended to Regina, Edmonton and Vancouver. When the firm closed its doors in 1984, only the Winnipeg store — the business headquarters — was still in operation. The Winnipeg shop location from the 1910s and 1920s is the one re-created in the Canada Hall.

When they went to Frank Dojacék’s store, people could get together and share their experiences, while purchasing goods that reasserted their cultural ties. It was in places like this that people would discuss issues and promote new trends in labour and politics.

In 1997, the Canadian Museum of Civilization purchased literally thousands of materials and articles initially sold in Frank Dojacék’s store, from various outlets in Manitoba and Alberta, for presentation in this exhibition module. In its faithful reproduction of the original building, and with the authenticity of the objects on display, the book and music supply store will captivate visitors of all ages.
Ruthenian (later Ukrainian) Booksellers and Publishers Ltd. was located at 850 Main Street, Winnipeg, Manitoba from 1911 to 1925. Front window display of the store, c 1918.

Manitoba Museum of Man and Nature No. 12134

In his bookstore, Frank Dojacek sold a wide array of merchandise intended to make his European immigrant clientele feel right at home. He offered published material including books, newspapers, guides, dictionaries, textbooks, medical manuals, catechisms, and novels in German, Ukrainian, Czech, Slovak, and other languages. Ukrainian Booksellers also had an excellent selection of cards, calendars, and confirmation and wedding certificates. The store’s merchandise was not limited to printed goods, however. Shoppers could also choose from watches and clocks, jewellery, decorations, sewing goods, health and beauty products, household appliances, imported European tools, and sacred and secular decorative images.

The Winnipeg Musical Supply Co. side of the business offered a complete inventory of guitars, mandolins, zithers, trumpets, clarinets, violins, accordions, and other musical supplies, as well as repair services for instruments. In addition, Frank Dojacek sold radios, phonographs, and the latest records.

The store recreated in this Canada Hall exhibit features goods dating from the 1920s until the early 1960s—in the original store unsold stock was not normally discarded but often kept on hand for many years. Printed publications from the 1910s and 1920s were still in storage at Ukrainian Booksellers when the business finally ceased operation in the 1980s.

Frank Dojacek ran his business as a family enterprise. Family members helped him to establish a network of stores in Regina, Edmonton, and Vancouver.
As they enter the print shop, visitors see a counter with two showcases. In the first is a sampling of printed material produced by and for various ethnic and religious communities in Manitoba prior to 1950. Further examples of printed documents are presented as freshly produced “jobs” in the front display window of the shop. The second case features publications and newspapers from the Ukrainian socialist movement in Winnipeg from the 1920s and 1930s.

In the work area behind this long counter, are tables, shelves, cabinets for storing tools and equipment, a press for printing proofs, a Little Giant cylinder-type letterpress, an older style Gordon platen-type letterpress (once called “the workhorse of the printing industry”), and a Linotype, a massive black machine designed to cast lines of type using hot metal.

*Print Shop, Ukrainian Labour Temple, Winnipeg, c 1929*
Ukrainian Labour Temple Collection, Winnipeg

**Printing, Language, and Culture**

Access to printed information in languages that immigrants could understand helped to break down their feelings of isolation in Canada, while solidifying their sense of ethnic community. This communication also provided the newcomer with a means to adapt, and eventually to integrate, into larger Canadian society.

Beginning as early as the 1870s, an ethnic printing industry appeared in Winnipeg and in other towns in Manitoba to satisfy the European immigrant community’s demand for information and works of literature. Reflecting a diverse range of languages and cultures, Winnipeg remained the multilingual publishing centre for most of Western Canada throughout the first half of the twentieth century. Printers published a range of materials including adults’ and children’s books, advertisements, notices, posters, performance programmes, guides, almanacs, religious and political tracts, and commemorative histories.

Numerous ethnic newspapers with small print runs also arose in the West. During this period, newspapers generally had a religious, political, or nationalist affiliation. The ethnic press and other publications
AFTERWORD

The papers compiled by Dr. Robert B. Klymasz in this collection are impressive in their range and variety and scope in attempting to come to terms with what in the 21st century may be a major cultural effect. With whatever kind of global village we achieve (and we were warned of its coming many decades ago by Marshall Macluhan) there is no question that what was the exception in the early and mid-20th century will now be the rule.

I am referring to the transplanting of one culture into and within the perimeters of another culture, which may be either tolerant or hostile, or as is usually the case, not very much interested.

The situation of the Ukrainian immigration into Canada, in its three waves, from the late 19th century, through the inter-war years, and then the post-war years of the Second World War illustrates, in the papers that have been here collected, the varieties of response of attempting to adjust but also to preserve and to have a culture emerge that would be responsive to the situation of the newcomer to a new world.

Perhaps one of the reasons that the papers collected here are so valuable is that if we are to take Dr. Denis Hlynka to an extreme, it may seem that we will no longer be dealing with a book culture – that perhaps all that anticipated activity in cyberspace will be more open and less prejudicial than was found to be the case when a variety of efforts were launched in order to try to found a specifically Ukrainian book culture, here in Canada and in Winnipeg.

The scope and strain of these efforts is suggested by the findings of Dr. Klymasz in his annotated bibliography, which very graphically, even in its brief entry form, suggests the time and energies that had to be expended and the traces that these left.

There are of course intensely specialized focuses in this collection, which trade off between being rewarding on the amount of scrupulous detail but which are setoff to some extent by the specialization of interests that they seek and require. The Right Reverend Dr. Kutash presents a very detailed examination of Eastern Christian book culture which is all the more valuable considering the historical misfortunes that the Ukrainian Church, whether of the Catholic or the Orthodox stripe, had on its first efforts to establish itself in Canada as a viable spiritual community.
identified vital issues, presented various points of view, and informed readers of important events. Moreover, they provided practical information about agricultural techniques, labour conditions, and immigration regulations. Many immigrants first learned to read by using an ethnic newspaper as their text.

Labour organisers realised that, if workers from a multitude of nationalities were to be drawn into emerging trade unions in the early twentieth century, it was essential that there be a means of multilingual communication. Some political material produced by the ethnic community was not always acceptable to the authorities, however. During the First World War for example, government and business apprehension regarding organised socialism was compounded by the success of the Russian Bolsheviks and the growing fear of “enemy aliens”: immigrants from countries at war with the British Empire. As a result, in 1918 the Canadian government prohibited publications in twelve “enemy” languages, including Ukrainian and German. This ban was lifted after the war, although for a period, the text had to be accompanied by a translation in English or French.

_Interior of the print shop of the Ukrainian socialist newspaper, Robochyi narod (The Working People), about 1918. At centre-right is Matthew Popovich who later became a founder of the Communist Party of Canada._

Ukrainian Labour Temple Collection, Winnipeg
At the other end of the spectrum, we have the energetic pragmatism and informed historical account that Nell Nakoneczny, the title of her paper fully explaining its scope, "Working with Ukrainian Libraries - A Personal Account". It is a very worthwhile horizontal study in taking several cities, Sudbury, Toronto, and Montreal and, on the basis of Mrs. Nakoneczny's experience of such and working with these institutions giving us a clear indication of the value they possess, as our history but also the threat in such history disappearing into the mist of the past.

It is interesting to set Jean Kowbel's study of the first 30 years of Ukrainian newspaper culture in Winnipeg against Professor Rozumnyj's study of literary Winnipeg from the mid-years of the First World War into the last decade of the 20th century. Professor Rozumnyj's paper requires the further commitment of interest in Winnipeg Ukrainian culture by requiring a fairly high degree of Ukrainian fluency. There is a summary in English at the end of this paper as an executive abstract of the positions he reviews. What is most interesting to a reader like myself, who in his own family background has experienced the three waves of our immigration by way of a great-uncle coming to Canada in 1905, my father emigrating to Canada in 1928 and my uncle, the youngest of my father's clan, arriving in Canada in 1951, is the continuity but also the very unavoidable differences in focus and expectations that each of these waves brought with them. The question is still out on the fourth wave; but of course the terms of negotiating all these cultures, the home country and the immigrant land has changed drastically as of 1991.

The young Canadian Ukrainian these days does not have to stand at his or her local city hall with a candle in hand mourning the loss of independence in 1917 or the famine in the 30s but can go directly to where these events occurred and make his or her presence noticeable there.

This is perhaps where the biggest question mark hangs over the future of book culture which has been so admirable described in its occurrence in Winnipeg, and from Winnipeg outward. With the home country having at least the opportunity to achieve its own identity after these many centuries, the immigrant culture, which has over the last 100 years become only one strand, among many others, in the multicultural fabric of Canada, stands challenged as to its next role.

When one reads through papers such as those of Ms. Kowbel and Professor Shkandrij, one is struck by the protective and almost military-camp mentality that had to necessarily be the anchor to allow the kind of commitment that was needed for a tight and very much marginalized community. The attempts indicated in Professor Rozumnyj's study tried more
passionately for continuity with the high art and intellectual achievements of the Old World, a transplantation. Did it take? The verdict may still be out.

It may be a touch of irony that Dr. Christine Turkewych in her description of the dynamics and operations of the Kobzar Literary Award has, quite appropriately one supposes, echoes of the Giller. The only reservation one would have (but perhaps this is scarcely to be avoided) is that awards, noble and noteworthy as they are, have a commodifying effect, as well as a kind of sweepstake element to such. The risk is perhaps worth the challenge if one measures the awards of Kobzar and the attention and interests such has elicited.

It is a very long way from the turn into the 20th century to the turn into the 21st, and it is very much appreciated that the compilation that is lodged at the Centre for Ukrainian Canadian Studies is available as a resource for absorption and for further pursuit. Perhaps in the next decade or so, there will have to be a redefinition of Ukrainian culture: not just in the homeland where it has the advantage of 30 million out of 45 million speaking the language, but also here in Canada, where the challenges are other in terms of cultural retention and adaptation and continuation.

OREST RUDZIK: CURRICULUM VITAE

Orest Rudzik was born in Toronto in 1936. He earned his Honours B.A. (University College) at the University of Toronto, his M.A. from the University of Chicago, and a Ph.D. from the University of Toronto. He taught in the Department of English at University College from 1961 to 1986, during which time he was a Post-Doctoral Fellow at the Humanities Center of the John Hopkins University (from 1968-1969). After completing his LLB at Osgoode Hall Law School, he received his Call to the Bar of the Law Society of Upper Canada in March of 1975. In his law pursuits, he served as Senior Counsel to the Public Guardian and Trustee of the Province of Ontario. He spent a sabbatical year in 1993-1994 in Kyiv as Director of Law Training for young Ukrainian professors by way of exchange with Canada, the U.S. and Europe, through the auspices of the Ukrainian Legal Foundation. He was also engaged in three of the quasi-war criminal cases as launched by the Department of Justice (Canada) against naturalized Ukrainian post-war citizens, against whom allegations of fraud and consequent sanctions of deportation were threatened. At present, he continues in a semi-retirement mode in his personal practice restricted largely to estates and estates litigation and has returned to his academic origins by pursuing research into a variety of areas of intellectual history, including that of the assassination of Simeon Petliura and the judicial proceedings consequent upon his murder. His familiarity with Winnipeg is long-standing, when he served as First National Vice-President of the Ukrainian-Canadian Committee, as it then was, and in a variety of positions with the Ukrainian-Canadian Congress, and the Ukrainian-Canadian Professional and Business Federation.