WINNIPEG PAPERS
ON
UKRAINIAN ARTS CULTURE
IN
CANADA

Compiled by Robert B. Klymasz

for

The Centre for Ukrainian Canadian Studies,
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Winnipeg, Manitoba

2010
AIM OF “WINNIPEG PAPERS”

This is the third annual compilation of “Winnipeg Papers”, a project funded by the University of Manitoba’s Centre for Ukrainian Canadian Studies in Winnipeg and designed to permit the rapid dissemination of research pertaining to the Centre’s focus on Ukrainian culture in Canada.

In some instances, these are “working” papers reproduced as received with only minor touch-ups. And, in the interests of making information available quickly, normal production procedures have been abbreviated. As a result, editorial errors may occur. Should that be the case, your indulgence is requested, bearing in mind the aim of the “papers”.

“Winnipeg Papers” is not a publication in the usual sense of this word. The initial “run” for each compilation is limited to a very small number of copies. Only the contributors and selected research centres are automatic recipients. However, additional copies are available upon request from Mr. James Kominowski at the University of Manitoba’s Dafoe Library (tel:- [204] 474-9681).

The first issue (“Winnipeg Papers on Ukrainian Music”[2008]) featured contributions by Bohdana Bashuk, Alexis Kochan (via Liz Hover), James Kominowski, Melita Mudri-Zubacz, Danny Schur, Myron Shatulsky, and Greg Udod.

The second issue (“Winnipeg Papers on Ukrainian Book Culture”[2009]) included contributions by Denis Hlynka, Robert Klymasz, Jean Kowbel, Ihor Kutash, Nell Nakoneczny, Jaroslav Rozumnyj, Myroslav Shkandrij, Christina Turkевич, and Orest Rudzik.

Our third issue is presented here. Thus far, all the issues have been compiled and introduced by Robert B. Klymasz.

Spring 2010
Artist Natalia Husar "unglued" before a self-portrait

by Taras Shevchenko, Shevchenko Museum, Kyiv,
2005. Husar's encounter with Shevchenko is movingly
documented in a poem "Self-Portrait" by Janice
Kuyk Keefer and published on pages 41-42 in her
work, Foreign Relations (Kyiv: RODOV, 2009)
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INTRODUCTION

In this, our third compilation of “Winnipeg Papers”, the focus on Canadian Ukrainian arts culture probes a configuration that includes the unexpected as well as the expected. In addition to the legacies of such art giants as William Kurelek, Leo Mol and Philip Ruh, the “papers” examine attendant phenomena including dance, foodways, agriculture, heritage preservation, religious life, curatorial arts, regional differences, aboriginal connections, and encyclopedic distillations of Canada’s Ukrainian experience. (Please note that music culture was the special theme of the first issue of “Winnipeg Papers” [2008].)

As in the preceding issues of “Winnipeg Papers”, -- reflecting the City’s importance as the historical hub of Ukrainian life in Canada, -- a pronounced Winnipeg-centric perspective prevails. And, except for minor touch-ups, all the “papers” are reproduced here as received.

Due to budgetary restrictions, colour images provided by a number of contributors (Darewych, Hughes, Keefer / Husar, Koroliuk and Romaniuk) are reproduced here in black and white only. Several “papers” are presented as personal experience narratives, and these are surely destined to be valued as primary documents by future researchers.

We gratefully acknowledge the participation of all our collaborators. These include Victoria Kaschor and Bogdan Rybak at the University of Manitoba’s Centre for Ukrainian Canadian Studies, as well as Dr. Roman Yereniuk, the Centre’s current acting director, who was first to suggest an arts theme for “Winnipeg Papers”. An indispensable Zuravetsky Fellowship for 2009-2010 helped fund our explorations.

To obtain copies of this work, please contact Mr. James Kominowski at the University of Manitoba Elizabeth Dafoe Library, Archives of the Ukrainian Canadian Experience (tel:- 204 / 474-9681).

Robert B. Klymasz
THOUGHTS ON THE QUESTION OF LITURGY AS ART

by

Rev. Father Roman Bozyk

The liturgical prayer life of an Orthodox Christian is not normally discussed as a subject of Ukrainian Folk Art as it is not simply a product of folklore or of cultural development either in Ukraine or in Canada. Nonetheless, the complete dedication to God of one’s life on earth brings about the understanding that all our abilities, strengths and talents must be dedicated first of all to God Himself. Thus the theological orientation of all talents and abilities to God’s service and glory could present a discussion of how prayer and Liturgy effects the “participant”. The faithful should be so profoundly effected by the encounter with God in corporate prayer that it cannot help but influence one’s private life and the community artistic life of those around them.

Approaching this question from a different direction, it must be stated plainly that of all the effort put into Ukrainian Folk Art in Canada (dance, choir, pysanka, handicrafts, ...) nothing can compare to the effort required to build traditional churches all over Canada and to provide all the appurtenances, human voices, trained clergy, cantors and church support necessary to develop and maintain, for over a century, a strong and viable Ukrainian liturgical life in Canada. A proper evaluation of the Folk Art culture of Ukrainians in Canada would be impossible without an understanding of the meaning, for the people, of Liturgical prayer.

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1 This short essay is based on my guest lecture presented in the course Ukrainian Arts in Canada, part of the program of the Centre for Ukrainian Canadian Studies.

2 I will have to leave for others the fascinating study of the influence of Eastern Christian liturgical patterns on secular seemingly non-Christian events. For example: Secular weddings and funerals show elements of liturgical order, flags at the United Nations fly in the strict "liturgical" order developed in the Orthodox Church, Canada Day in Ottawa has the feel of an Orthodox Feast Day (Khram), and events such as the Super Bowl, the Olympics and possibly rock concerts reveal a certain liturgical logic. How many secularized people attend a performance of Handel's Messiah or of the Nutcracker and see it as a sufficient fulfillment of their annual Christmas "spiritual" obligation?
In the Gospel of Luke, Our Lord Jesus Christ answered a question by combining the two great commandments of the Old Testament Law:

“You shall love the Lord your God with all your heart, with all your strength and with all your mind! and ‘your neighbour as yourself!’”

(LK 10:27).

Thus all the best that we have will, or should, be used in Church for the Glory of God. All of our gifts and talents are given to us by God and so they are to be dedicated back to God. Each believer cooperates with the Lord in building His Kingdom.³

God gives us wheat and grapes and we cooperatively offer back to Him, during the Liturgy, Bread and Wine, through which God offers His Body and Blood to us for our Salvation! Thus - Synergy.

God gives us our voices, training and practice and we use them to praise God in Church; we are given manual dexterity and with our hands we prepare crosses, carvings, woodwork, embroidery, paintings and hand-written icons to use in the Church. In short, it could be said that the worship of our Lord and Saviour demands complete dedication and as a side benefit the folk art of the people is greatly deepened and enhanced. It seems to me that the various media of folk art involve one or more of the senses; sight, smell, touch, hearing and taste, and that each of these is drawn upon and developed by our total commitment to God and our involvement in His liturgical worship.

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³ The Orthodox Theological word for cooperation is “synergy”, a word which like “icon”, has been corrupted by the new religion of computer-worship.
As we repeat many times in the prayers of the Church: “...let us commit ourselves and one another and all our life unto Christ our God.”

The Liturgy as served and lived by the faithful of the Church can be seen as the beneficiary, in a divine sense, of God’s love for humanity and, in a human sense, as a beneficiary of the return and rededication of everything good that God has given to humanity. That is to say, in secular terms, the Liturgy is one of the greatest examples of Folk Art when Folk Art is seen as the product of the human development of each people’s (or each person's) God-given gifts and talents.

When discussing Liturgy as Art, we should always be aware that in one fundamental way Liturgy and Art are distinct and mutually exclusive. Art by definition is a copy, an imitation, a development or an artist’s rendition of reality; while in Liturgy, the faithful are living a reality, not seeing a performance. Liturgy is real-life, thus life-bearing; while a drama on stage is fake, imitation and thus insincere and not trustworthy.

There are many ways this understanding manifests itself in the attitudes of Orthodox Christians to worship and Liturgy:

a) A priest or deacon is forbidden to recite public liturgical prayers from memory but is to read them from a prayer book. Recitation from memory will turn prayer into a stage performance while reading a prayer keeps it real and sincere. The Liturgy is lived or served - not performed, thus no one is to treat the Liturgy as a stage performance as one would perform Shakespeare or Shevchenko. Also, “reciting” the Liturgy will disrupt the Priest himself as he

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5 Some points on this non-exhaustive list are based on Church canons, some on liturgical manuals, on footnotes in clerical prayer books or simply on a deep-seated feeling of propriety. More research is necessary on each of these manifestations.
will concentrate more on the proper recitation and less on the spiritual intention of the prayer and thus distract himself and others from the spiritual journey of the Liturgy.  

b) Prayers are not repeated "until you get it right" if for some reason they are not sung correctly. Clearly the Orthodox value artistic perfection in solo singing and especially choir arrangements but it is to be remembered that God sees how one's heart sings, rather then just one's voice. Sincerity of prayer is more important than technical delivery.

c) Pre-Christian Greek rhetoric clearly has influenced preaching in the Orthodox Church. One only has to read sermons by St. John Chrysostom or St. Ilarion of Kyiv to see positive elements of rhetoric, but a sermon itself must be from the heart and not performed for entertainment, nor to show academic prowess or verbal acrobatics.

d) The human voice is made by God Himself, thus a cappella singing is always perfect and acceptable to God, but musical instruments are human artifacts and thus imperfect and unacceptable in the Liturgy. The presence of instruments during a worship service would make the Liturgy a concert performance and thus unworthy and insincere prayer.

e) Scripture is chanted during liturgical prayer and not simply read, as simple reading would allow the reader to put his personal interpretation into a text by an artistic performance of the "spoken word."

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6 Ilarion, Metropolitan, Translator, Teaching on the Divine Liturgy, accepted by The All-Ukrainian Church Sobors of 1629 and 1640 AD, The Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church of Canada, Winnipeg, 1962, p. 55.
f) Clergy are not allowed ever to perform on stage after their ordination so as to avoid confusion of what is real (the Liturgy) and what is artistic or fake (i.e. stage acting). In practice, stage acting, singing and all sorts of performance art are renounced or discontinued when one accepts ordination.\(^7\)

Everything in the liturgical life of an Orthodox Christian happens for a reason and thus order, decency and decorum are very important. Liturgy can be seen as Art simply from the fact that the prayer life of a Christian can, or should, fill and transform their entire life. The Orthodox Liturgical life is ordered on a yearly cycle beginning with the Feast of Feast, the Resurrection of Our Lord, Pascha (Easter); weekly cycles where each Sunday is a celebration of Pascha; and a daily cycle during which each new day is received from God as a new gift and is dedicated back to God being "baptized" by prayer.

The liturgical day, which begins at sunset (understood as 6:00 pm) follows the road of the Salvation of God's people. Vespers, served in the evening begins with prayers remembering the creation of the world, the fall into sin, expulsion from Paradise and reaches its peak with the prayer of St. Symeon when he sees the Messiah - Our Lord Jesus Christ, being brought into the Jerusalem Temple. This prayer proclaims Christ as the long-awaited Saviour who now will accomplish the Salvation of all. "Now let your servant depart in peace, O Master, according to your word. For mine eyes have seen your Salvation, which you have prepared before the face of all peoples, a light of revelation for the Gentiles and the glory of your people Israel."\(^8\)

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\(^7\) One should always remember that the New Testament Greek word for "actor" is the same word, which English has translated as "hypocrite." In short, anything that smells of hypocrisy will destroy the pastoral rapport necessary to be a proper priest.

The evening worship embodies the time before the earthly life of Christ the Lord; the early morning worship (Matins) celebrates, above all, the Resurrection of Christ which happened, according to Scripture, at that time and thus the Divine Liturgy, as the apex of all worship, symbolically and spiritually leads us through and brings us into the life of Christ as He accomplishes our Salvation, establishing the new covenant having conquered death and evil.

There are many ways to spiritually study, interpret or live the Divine Liturgy. The one way that most clearly underlines the theme of the topic "Liturgy as Art" is to look at the Liturgy as participation in the life of Christ. The Divine Liturgy portrays what might be called the artistic "movement," which helps to make the life of Christ real for the participants (i.e. all who are present). Bearing in mind the present topic, Liturgy as Art, one could be bold enough to say, in a secular manner, that the Divine Liturgy is artistically choreographed to physically and visually enhance the spiritual journey through the life of Jesus.

The Preparation of the Gifts, or Proskomedia, commemorates the Nativity of Christ, which was not seen or understood by everyone but witnessed by only a small group of people. The Proskomedia takes place quietly in the Sanctuary at the Table of Oblation before the Liturgy itself begins. The prayers are inspired by the prophecies of the Nativity. During the physical preparation of the Bread and Wine we spiritually hear and see the preparation of Christ before He becomes known by the people of God.

The actual Liturgy begins with the public proclamation of the Kingdom of God as both a present reality and a fulfillment of our Salvation to be awaited. "Blessed is the

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9 Two other interpretations, for example, are that: a) the Liturgy is a deliberate spiritual preparation of the faithful for total union with Christ through the Sacramental Mystery of the Eucharist; b) the Liturgy is the total recall, recuperation and rededication of all of creation to Christ Our Lord and Saviour.
Kingdom of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit, now and ever and into the ages of ages." 10

Soon the people who are present are confronted with the Gospel being carried out to them just as Christ began His active mission on earth by reaching out to the people to find them, teach them and call them to Salvation. This “taking out of the Gospel to the people” is called the Small Entrance as the clergy re-enter the Sanctuary after having commemorated Christ’s Entrance into the missionary field to save the people. As part of this “movement” the Gospel is read and the Sermon is proclaimed by the priest. 11

After the Gospel and Sermon we soon celebrate the Great Entrance during which the clergy transfer the Bread and Wine from the table of Oblation to the Altar table commemorating Christ’s public journey into Jerusalem on Palm Sunday on his way to his Crucifixion, Death and Resurrection from the dead. 12

The public and silent prayers of the clergy now centre on the week of Christ’s Passion between Palm Sunday and the Resurrection on Pascha (Easter Sunday). Publicly we are called to participate in the Holy Thursday Mystical Supper before the Crucifixion of Christ. We hear for the first time the words of Christ “Take eat, this is my Body...” and “Drink of this, all of you: this is my Blood of the New Testament...” 13

The Royal Doors are shut to symbolize the Tomb of Christ as we commemorate the Death and Burial of Christ. They are then quickly opened to demonstrate the dramatic life-giving Resurrection of Christ the Almighty Son of God. 14 Having become one with

10 The Good Shepherd, p. 249.
Christ in the Holy Communion, the faithful then are blessed and see the main celebrant carry the chalice containing the Holy Gifts to the Table of Oblation which brings to mind the Ascension of Christ into Heaven. The faithful then depart for home giving thanks to God for having been welcomed to participate in the life of Christ and to attain Salvation through Him.

The limited scope of this discussion can only hope to scratch the surface of the topic "Liturgy as Art" and if it has been successful it should lead us to hope for more research and investigation.

Glory to God for all things!

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THE LEGACY OF LEO MOL
by
Daria Darewych

Leo Mol, born Leonid Molodozhany, the distinguished Canadian artist of Ukrainian origin, and a renowned sculptor with an international reputation passed away recently, on July 4, 2009 in Winnipeg. Without any doubt Leo Mol was the most prominent and best known sculptor of Ukrainian heritage in Canada and an active member of the Ukrainian community. His memory lives on in the numerous sculptures in Canada and around the world, in public as well as private collections. The Leo Mol Sculpture Garden in Assiniboine Park in Winnipeg stands as an enduring tribute to the artist.

At the time of his death Eric Robinson, the Manitoba Minister of Culture was quoted as saying:

Leo Mol was one of Manitoba's brightest stars. Through his work, he gave the Manitoba art world a gift that will enrich our province for generations.¹

I knew Leo Mol personally. As a high school student in Winnipeg, I visited his studio and was encouraged to study art by enrolling in the Fine Arts Department at the University of Manitoba. Later we met in Winnipeg, at his studio and foundry, as well as in Toronto, where he was a frequent visitor. In 1999 to mark the fiftieth anniversary of his creative work in Canada I was the curator of his last exhibition at the KUMF Gallery in Toronto.² The gala banquet in his honour organized by the Ukrainian Canadian Art Foundation was held at St. Vladimir Institute.

It has been said that Leo Mol was born to the touch of clay.³ His father was a potter and as a child he learned to work in clay. Born Leonid Molodozhany in 1915 in Polonne, near Shepetivka, in Volyn (presently Khmelnytska Oblast), he grew up in Siberia where his family was deported in 1916. Initially they lived in the village of Mysholovka near Irkutsk and later in

² The exhibition opened September 19, 1999. An accompanying catalogue was printed with an introduction by the author.
the town of Krasnoiarsk. In 1929 the Molodozhanyms moved to the town of Nalchik in the Caucasus where his father worked in a ceramic factory.

According to Molodozhanyms he had completed grade seven when the Soviet government declare that all students in grades 8 to 10 had to enrol in trade school programmes or get a job. Mol left school and for two and a half years worked as a decorator, sign and poster painter. When a request to send two students to the Worker’s Faculty in Leningrad came, a local official decided to send Leonid. With his parents’ blessing but no financial support he left for Leningrad where he could stay with relatives who themselves were living in one room. By the time he arrived enrolment had ended and classes were full so Leonid was left on his own. After a visit to the Hermitage Museum he decided that he must stay in Leningrad to study sculpture no matter what.\(^4\) He was then 17 years old.

Leonid sought work at the River Transport Facility in Leningrad and was hired to paint propaganda signs for the approaching October Revolution celebrations. His first job was a huge banner portrait of Zhdanov with Communist Party slogans for display on the façade of the building.\(^5\) In his free time Leonid went to the Isaakivska Church (at the time a museum of atheism) to draw sculptural compositions found on the façade. There he met a graphic artist who told him about the possibility of taking evening art classes which were free. Leonid wasted no time in enrolling in a sculpture class taught by Anna Fallendorf who was impressed with the talented young student. After he finished modelling a clay head she sent him to Prof. Yesinievskski, a former student of August Rodin in Paris, who at the time was teaching at the Academy of Art. Soon Leonid was attending a special school for gifted students where he completed the programme for grades 9 and 10, as well classes in sculpture.\(^6\) The rest is history.\(^7\)

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\(^4\) In conversation with the author October 3, 1999 in Toronto.
\(^5\) A. Zhdanov was secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union who delivered the definition of Socialist Realism at the First All Union Writers’ Congress in Moscow in 1934.
\(^6\) Acceptance into the school included a full scholarship with accommodation and meals.
\(^7\) Names and places were provided by Molodozhanyms in a conversation with the author in Toronto, October 3, 1999. I did not confirm their accuracy through other sources.
From 1936-1940 Leonid studied sculpture at the Art Academy in Leningrad under Matvei Manizer, the sculptor of the Shevchenko monuments in Kaniv, Kyiv, and Kharkiv. His earliest commission came while he was still a student. The Leningrad Conservatory commissioned a portrait of the Russian composer, Alexander Borodin. In 1940 he returned to Nalchyk to prepare his diploma project. As a student of a higher institution he was exempt from the Soviet Army.

According to Molodozhanyyn, when the Germans came in 1941, he was conscripted as a forced labourer. Because he spoke German and was fortunate to meet a journalist by the name of Ernst Schule, he managed to secure a special designation to be sent to work as a labourer in the studio of Wilhelm Frass, a sculptor in Vienna. After several months Leonid went to work for Frans Klimsch in Berlin. His entrepreneurial skills became evident when he found a market for his small terracotta figures of female nudes. This provided him with an income and combined with his persistence and ability made it possible to attend classes at the Berlin Art Academy.

In 1943 Leo married Margareth Scholtes, his wife and soul mate. At the end of the war the couple escaped to the Netherlands where Leonid continued working, as well as studying at the Hague Art Academy. At the end of December, 1948 the Molodozhanyyns arrived in Canada and travelled to the farm of Mykola Hohol in Hudson’s Bay Junction in Saskatchewan. In January in search of appropriate work Molodozhanyyn travelled to Winnipeg where he found employment with Yakiv Maidanek painting icons.

From this time on Leo Mol made a living as a successful artist working not only in Canada, but also in the United States, Germany, Argentina, Brazil, Italy, and the Vatican. His first major commission to decorate the apse of St. Edward’s Roman Catholic Church in Winnipeg came in 1949. It was followed by commissions to paint religious murals in the Virgin Mary Roman Catholic Church in Beausejour and to polychrome the walls and ceiling of St. Mary’s Ukrainian Catholic Church in Brandon, Manitoba.

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8 Manizer’s monuments of Shevchenko were installed in 1935 in Kharkiv, 1939 in Kyiv and Kaniv. Mol together with some other students assisted Manizer in enlarging the figure of Shevchenko for the Kyiv monument.

9 Yakiv Maidanek was the owner of a religious supplies store on Main street in Winnipeg’s North end.
As in the classical tradition, the human figure is central to Leo Mol's sculpture. His work embraces portraiture, female nudes and figures of various sizes, genre compositions, and large scale public commissions. All of his figures are realistically rendered, usually idealized, and harmonious, based on the artist's perceptions and experiences. Clement Greenberg, the American guru of Abstract Expressionism, paid tribute to Mol's creative vision and skill when after a visit to the artist's studio in 1963 he wrote in Canadian Art: "In Winnipeg .... the Ukrainian born Leo Mol turned out to be a good and sensitive modeller of figures and heads who proves, once again, that academic sculpture still has some life left in it."\(^{10}\) This was praise, indeed, coming during the height of Abstract Expressionism in Canadian art and quite an achievement for Mol considering that he was not embracing what the art establishment was promoting at the time.

Mol is a master of various sculptural media. His earliest figures were terra cotta figures. In the Netherlands he produced porcelain figures such as Dancers (1946). In Winnipeg, starting in 1952 he found a market for his glazed ceramic figurines such as Square Dancers (1954) and Eskimo with Dog (1956) at “Birks”, a reputable jewellery store.\(^{11}\) In subject matter these figures are indicative of Mol’s ability to adapt and anticipate the demands of the Canadian market.

Mol expresses himself best through modelling, but he has carved several figures including the early, sensitively rendered Torso (1958) at the Hamilton Art Gallery. Most of his heads, figures, and compositions have been modelled in clay or plasticine and cast in plaster and then bronze.

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\(^{10}\) Clement Greenberg. Canadian Art. March/April, 1963, 105.

\(^{11}\) Birk’s was located in downtown Winnipeg, on Portage Avenue, across the street from the iconic department store, Eaton’s. According to Mol they sold for $25.00 each, and Mol received half.
As a portraitist Mol is superb. His portrait heads, busts, and full figures have been the mainstay of his creativity. According to Paul Duval “The large body of Leo Mol’s classic portrait sculpture is unrivalled in this country. He has established his pre-eminent position with more than one-hundred portrait heads ranging from children to cardinals”.

In his portrait sculptures Mol has captured the likeness and personality of such world famous individuals as Dwight D. Eisenhower (1965), Sir Winston Churchill (1966), Popes Paul VI (1967), John XXIII (1958-63), and John Paul II (1983). Mol’s portraits, according to Joan Murray, convey “… a compelling sense of intimacy: you almost feel you know the sitter.”

There are portrait busts and figures of several Ukrainian church hierarchs including the monumental Cardinal Yosyf Slipyi (1971). Some of the others include portraits of the Ukrainian Orthodox Metropolitan Ilarion and the Ukrainian Catholic Metropolitan Hermiuniuk, both in Canada.

Mol’s portraits of F. H. Varley (1961), A. Y. Jackson (1962, 1965), and A. J. Casson (1970) pay tribute to the popular Group of Seven artists Mol knew. He has also done portrait heads of friends and fellow artists including the Ukrainian art historian and artist, Sviatoslav Hordinsky (1966) and artist J. Hnizdovsky (1970). There are several portraits of children, Sasha (1972) among them.

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13 Joan Murray, Director of the Robert McLaughlin Gallery in Oshawa, speaking at the opening of the Leo Mol: Fifty Creative Years in Canada Exhibition at the KUMF Gallery in Toronto, September, 19, 1999.
In Mol’s oeuvre the female nude is a recurring and favourite theme throughout decades of creativity starting with small terra-cotta nudes in the 1940s and culminating in the numerous bronzes created in Canada. These nudes are idealized, graceful figures of young women as in Bather (1968), Dream (1974), Torso with Pigtails (1981), and Surprise (1976). They are individual figures – willowy, well proportioned and realistically rendered in the classical tradition: emotionally detached, calm, and harmonious. Paul Duval claims that:

There is nothing quite like this group of splendid bronzes in Canadian art. They are comparable to the heroic series of young women sculpted by Giacomo Manzu in the nineteen-fifties, or the earlier creations of Carl Milles. Leo Mol’s large nudes are masterpieces of their kind. Rendered in poses of intense, rhythmic grace that suggests movement, these figures still contain a classic sense of calm."  

Mythological figures and compositions from antiquity such as Europa (1995) where a female figure and a bull are portrayed are rare. However, not all female figures are nudes. Mol also models fully dressed girls and young women: Mary (1966) and Teenager (1981).

His genre figures and groups deal with mundane subject matter. Among the best is a portrayal of bush pilot, Tom Lamb, (1971) starting his single-engine plane by pulling on a single propeller. This is a powerful symbol of aviation in Canada's North and an amazing feat of balance. Another genre composition, Lumberjacks (1997), depicts a

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typically Canadian undertaking in a
dynamic arrangement of diagonals.

**Family Group** (1990) shows parents
frolicking with their children.

Ukrainian themes have been
prominent in Mol's work from the
early 1960s. Among them **Kateryna**
(1960), **Blind Bandura Player**
(1960) and **Trembitar/Trumpeter**
(1986). In **Anna Yaroslavna** (1985) Mol depicts the Kyivan princess and Queen of France
holding a bible and sceptre. **Pioneer Family** (1980), Mol's first major commission in Canada, is
a tribute to Ukrainian pioneers in the West and was installed at the Ukrainian Heritage Village
near Edmonton. There are several editions of the monument of **St. Volodymyr**: in Winnipeg,
Saskatoon, Toronto, London (Great Britain), and the Vatican which were commissioned to mark
the millennium of Christianity in Ukraine in 1988.

As a winner of international competitions, Leo Mol was commissioned
to execute three monuments to Taras Shevchenko, the famous Ukrainian
bard and poet. The first one was for Washington, D.C. in 1964 and portrays Taras Shevchenko as
a young visionary, defiantly striding forward. It was followed by the Shevchenko monument in
Buenos Aires unveiled in 1971. This Argentinean monument was accompanied by a complex

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15 "Kateryna" is the title of one of Taras Shevchenko's poems written in 1838. The heroine, Kateryna, an unwed
mother, is abandoned by her muscovite lover and meets a tragic end in this story of love and rejection. Blind
bandura players were wandering minstrels who travelled through the Ukrainian countryside transmitting oral
history. Trembitar refers to the Hutsul musicians of the Carpathian Region who played the woodwind instrument
whose mournful sound carried in the mountainous terrain.
relief composition titled Homonila Ukraina (Ukraine reverberated) a quote from Shevchenko’s famous poem, “Haidamaky”. The carved, angular figures rushing forward convey the spirit of the peasant uprising and the peasants who were known as “haidamaky”. The composition is dynamic and in contrast to the usually calm, classical figures typical of Mol’s work. The third Shevchenko monument was commissioned for Prudentopolis, Brazil (1989) and portrays Shevchenko in a pensive mood, his hands clasped before him holding his Kobzar. Mol’s last Shevchenko monuments were for St. Petersburg, Russia (2000) and Ottawa, which has yet to be installed.

The city of Winnipeg commissioned a statue of Queen Elizabeth II (1968) nearly three metres high, which stands in the inner courtyard of the Manitoba Centennial Centre on Main Street, close to City Hall. The monument to John Diefenbaker (1986) on Parliament Hill in Ottawa, was commissioned as a result of a national competition in which 22 sculptors participated. The moving monument to Terry Fox (1982) was created by Leo Mol to commemorate the Marathon of Hope runner who died of cancer. In Altötting, Bavaria there is a larger than life-size figure of Pope John Paul II (1983).

Through the years Mol has modelled several sculptures of animals – polar and grizzly bears and their cubs, as well as graceful does and fawns all of which are on display in the Leo Mol Sculpture Garden.

The artist’s accomplishments include over eighty stained glass windows in twenty-seven churches in Manitoba, Ontario, and British Columbia. One of his earliest was for St. Jude’s Anglican Church in Winnipeg in 1949. At the base of the central figure of Christ, Mol included an Inuit mother and child, an Indian, a farmer, a family group, and a bishop. This stained glass window like his porcelain figures show Mol’s early interest in Canadian subject matter and patrons.

Thirty of the stained glass windows, designed for the Ukrainian Catholic Cathedral of Sts. Volodymyr and Olha in Winnipeg, depict the history of the Ukrainian Church and its traditions.
These include: the Baptism of Princess Olha, 955; the Baptism of Prince Volodymyr in 988; Prince Yaroslav the Wise with St. Sophia Cathedral, which he funded, and a replica of the famous Oranta mosaic; the Cossack Mother of God, Pokrova; two Metropolitans of the Ukrainian Church: Benjamin Rutsky and Petro Mohyla below the Holy Trinity, praying; and the Nativity of Jesus.

Mol also has worked as a mosaicist\(^\text{16}\), print maker, and painter. Most of his paintings are landscapes done in oils. These are realistically rendered depictions of the Manitoba landscape, as well as other parts of Canada and countries Mol visited. Mol was never without a pencil and paper, and his drawings are legion.

\(^{16}\) One of his commissions was to create the mosaic in the tympanum of the Ukrainian Orthodox Cathedral in Winnipeg.
Leo Mol's works are to be found in numerous public collections such as the Hamilton Art Gallery, the Art Gallery of Ontario, the McMichael Canadian Art Collection in Kleinburg (Ontario), the Winnipeg Art Gallery, the Riveredge Foundation in Clagary, the Mendell Art Gallery in Saskatoon, the Peter White Museum in Banff, the National Portrait Gallery in Washington, the Vatican Museum, Lviv National Museum, the Oseredok Gallery in Winnipeg, and the Ukrainian Canadian Art Foundation in Toronto. Many works are owned by corporate and private collectors in Canada, the United States of America, Italy, Germany, the Netherlands, Great Britain, and Russia.

Leo Mol is a long-time member and past president of the Manitoba Society of Artists, member and past-president of the Sculptor’s Society of Canada, member of the Royal Canadian Academy of Arts, member of the Allied Artists of America, member of the Münchener Kunstlergenossenschaft in Germany, and member of the Society of Ukrainian Artists of Canada.

He has been honoured in Canada and abroad. Mol received honorary degrees from the Universities of Winnipeg (1972), Manitoba (1974), and Alberta (1980). In Germany there is a school named after him in Tacherting, Bavaria. In 1979 Mol was honoured with a gold medal by the Art Academy of Parma, Italy. In 1989 he was made an officer of the Order of Canada. There are three books (two by Paul Duval and one by Dmytro Stepovyk in Ukrainian).\textsuperscript{17} Two films have been made about Mol. \textit{Leo Mol: In Light and Shadow} was made by the National Film Board and broadcast on the CBC. The other is by Slavko Novytsky, an independent film maker. It shows Mol at work casting one of his bronze sculptures in his studio and foundry near Winnipeg.\textsuperscript{18}

Leo Mol has the distinction of being the only sculptor in Canada, in fact in North America, to be honoured with a park dedicated to his work. The "Leo Mol Sculpture Garden" which opened in 1992 in Winnipeg, Manitoba is an open-air museum with a pavilion. About 300 of his sculptures,


\textsuperscript{18} Mol purchased an old school house in 1970 near Bird's Hill Park and converted it into a studio. The foundry was built beside the existing building.
drawings, and paintings are on display throughout the year. The Leo Mol Sculpture Garden attracts over 250,000 visitors annually and is a popular tourist destination. It is a fitting tribute to Leo Mol and his rich artistic legacy.

Above all it is an enduring tribute to a Canadian artist born in Ukraine during the turbulent years of World War I whose family was deported to Siberia, who grew up under the Communist regime, survived World War II, and finally found refuge in Canada. Winnipeg in the late 40s and early 50s was not, and still is not an art centre, as were Vienna or Berlin. The Winnipeg Art Gallery was housed in the same building as the city auditorium; there was no separate museum, and no viable commercial galleries. Yet, Leo Mol managed to create a niche for himself and his art.19 Whereas most newly arrived Ukrainian artists stayed within the Ukrainian community, he ventured beyond and tapped into Canadian markets. He in fact created his own market. Incredibly, he did so during the period when American Abstract Expressionism reigned supreme and was supported by the art establishment in Canada. When other Canadian sculptors like Sorel Etrog, Liz Magor, Armand Villancour, and Eli Bornstein (as well as those of Ukrainian heritage like Peter Kolisnyk, Ron Kostyniuk, and Don Proch) followed the latest modernist trends and created non-representational sculptures and installations using unconventional materials and construction techniques, Mol persisted in doing what he knew best – he modelled in clay and carved in stone. He did not experiment. Large kilns were not readily available – he build his own. There was no foundry – Mol built one so that he could cast the smaller pieces in Winnipeg. He continued working in a representational manner, using traditional themes and variations. It helped that he had mastered modelling of form well, that he was a superb portraitist, and could meet new challenges headlong. Mol was entrepreneurial, worked extremely hard, and persevered in his vision. In the end his vision prevailed and earned him a place in Canadian art. We as Ukrainian Canadians can be proud that he considered himself one of us.

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19 Eventually the art scene in Winnipeg became more vibrant. In 1969 Mol was approached by David Loch, who promoted his work through the Loch Art Gallery.
ABOUT THE AUTHOR

Born in Poland of Ukrainian parents, Dr. Darewych spent most of her youth in Winnipeg. She earned her Ph.D. in Art History from the University of London, England and teaches on Ukrainian art and culture at York University in Toronto.
Review of:

*Behind the Altar Secrets of a Minister's Daughter* (200?) by L. Lisa Bodnarchuk

and *My Father the Priest* (2008) by William Sametz

by

Orysia Ehrmantraut

Every person at various points in life experiences some form of suffering, pain or misfortune. Some feel the desire to renounce specific things and blame everyone else for their troubles, while others realize that we must all keep living our lives, that we must grow up, persevere, accept our pain and carry on with our responsibilities. These two books show a dichotomy in dealing with hardships, trials and tribulations.

*Behind the Altar Secrets of a Minister's Daughter* by L. Lisa Bodnarchuk

I wrongly assumed that not only these two books would have much in common but that I would also share much with the authors since my fathers is also a priest in the Ukrainian Orthodox Church of Canada. The adage of never assume anything rings especially true in the case of Ms. Bodnarchuk’s book. Being of the same generation, I again mistakenly assumed that I would be able to empathize with much of what she wrote. This was definitely not the case.

From a purely academic point of view, it was a hard read as there was no real fluidity of thought, with random sentences appearing indiscriminately. It was as though an idea would come to the author and she wrote it down. There were over forty sub-sections in this book, each one its own little ‘story’. This resulted in considerable repetition of certain material throughout the various stories. Reading her perspective on certain things once was more than sufficient, but doing so repeatedly became frustrating and annoying.

Bodnarchuk does state in her preface that she is simply relaying her perception of the life she lived growing up. There are however, many times throughout the book that she makes
sweeping generalizations with a tone of authority without clearly indicating that these are her own views and perceptions, which may or may not be entirely accurate. This is particularly true when she writes about matters pertaining to Orthodox tradition, so it is sadly ironic that one secret she reveals is her own lack of knowledge and understanding of her faith.

The first red flag is the title of the book itself. While some may argue that it is simply a matter of semantics, nonetheless, her father was an ordained priest and not a minister. The basic difference is something that as a priest’s daughter, I was taught at an early age. Whether Bodnarchuk is unaware or unconcerned about the difference, or whether she purposely chose to use the term minister as a sign of disregard for her father is unknown. By itself this is an insignificant matter, but compiled with her other views it reveals either disdain for her Orthodox heritage or an ignorance of it.

From the perspective of another priest’s daughter, much of what she says rings true with regards to the fact that growing up in a priest’s family is akin to growing up in a fishbowl. I myself have used that term often, as there are certain expectations made upon the family, be they real or imagined. The same however, can be said of other families whose parents are in positions of authority, i.e.: law enforcement officers, politicians, teachers, etc. Many of them have also spoken of the higher expectations which were placed upon them growing up.

After reading the first few “stories”, my initial reaction was indignation, annoyance and then anger at this woman for writing in what I felt was a very disrespectful manner. As I continued to read, my anger transformed into regret, compassion, and ultimately pity. Bodnarchuk contends at the beginning that by writing this book she has found some peace, but her terminology throughout and at the end of the book reveals that this is not truly the case. Even though many of the situations described were similar to my own childhood, I could not connect
to all her problems. These stories for me rang false, not because I think she is untruthful or exaggerating, but because there is so much missing. All we have to gauge her life with is this very heavy, angry and bitter book. There must be so much more to L. Lisa Bodnarchuk than is disclosed within those pages. There is so much missing and left unsaid. Those are the secrets that would be interesting to read about.

Accepting one’s upbringing as dysfunctional and coming to terms with it is healthy, but Bodnarchuk seems to still be struggling. Portrayed is someone who had an unfortunate childhood growing up in a hoarder’s household, feeling unloved, starved for attention, yet ironically always feeling the center of attention. If she is trying to make the reader feel sorry for her as she struggles with all this pain, she does not pull it off, but emerges as disrespectful and self-centered. She is trying to tell her side of the story, but unfortunately tells it in such a way that it comes across as a completely self-serving book.

If the book was intended to be cathartic, it might have been prudent to write out the stories and then (to paraphrase Bodnarchuk), place them in a box and tie them up with a red ribbon, rather than sharing them with the world. She fittingly states that we are all formed by our past, this is true, but I feel that we all have the God given free will to choose what we do with our future. I am truly saddened that she felt like “breeding stock destined to preserve the Ukrainian race and perpetuate our Orthodox religious and cultural traditions.” (75) This clearly shows that rather than being instilled with love and pride for her heritage, she grew up resenting and blaming it for all her misfortunes.

From her depictions, one can only conclude that it would not have mattered if her father had been a priest, a butcher, a baker or a candlestick maker. The difficulties that arose had more to do with individual personalities than with the church. The behavior and character traits of her
parents; the moral fiber of who they were; how they raised their family; the core values they instilled; these would have been remained essentially the same no matter what her father’s occupation. It is regrettable that she felt an “all-consuming control of the church upon [her] personal life” (53). Sadly, by writing this book, Bodnarchuk does exactly what she says she does not want to do, which is “... to bring dishonor to my parents.” (53)

Her inner pain and revenge may have been better handled with solutions using faith, silence and forgiveness. Faith is the knowledge that God in His infinite wisdom turns adversity into triumph, that He will provide you with good out of a difficult trial, because revenge is never sweet, but is bitter and fruitless. Sometimes we must be silent and calm in order to achieve peace. The peace that Bodnarchuk so desperately and deservingly desires can only come from treating others as you would want God to treat you – with generosity, with forgiveness and with love.

Please accept that these are my own personal views which should be taken at face value. We all have different interpretations and perspectives based upon our own experiences. I am sure that others reading this book will have their own opinions and insightful observations, which may or may not be in agreement with those I expressed.

_My Father the Priest_ by William Sametz

While I found this book to be delightful, the title is a bit of a misnomer. One would expect that William Sametz had written a book about life growing up as a priest’s son. In the
prelude and introduction one learns that the book is actually the translation and compilation of Fr. Peter Sametz’s handwritten memoir notes. Sametz’s older brother Zenon had done the initial literal translations and it was not until years after both his father and brother passed away that Sametz undertook this project. He stresses that “[t]his is my father’s story as he wrote it and as I lived through it with him.” (15)

Sametz is quick to point out that this is not a formal history of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church of Canada. Formal or not, Sametz has turned his father’s notes into a biography of Fr. Sametz’s life and by doing so has successfully provided “a true perspective of a life in this momentous period of Canada’s history. “(15) The book is indeed interspersed with much historical data, giving the reader a glimpse into the culture, mindset and way of life of the Ukrainian immigrant community of Canada in the early twentieth century.

From the pages of the book spring Fr. Sametz’s sincere insights from this significant era, made even more compelling by the thoughts and perspectives of William Sametz strategically placed throughout. These elements are balanced well in an easy, readable narrative style. One is taken back in time to the early church in Canada as the history of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church of Canada and the people involved come alive. One can feel Fr. Sametz’s joy and pain as he experiences celebration and hardship during the early growth of the new church. His chronicle explores the lives of the early pioneers and the stark realities they faced in the new Canadian environment in ways one would not think of.

Even though Fr. Sametz belongs to my grandfather’s generation, many times throughout the book, I felt as though I was reading a chapter from my own life, growing up in a priest’s family on the prairies. This may be part of the reason I found the book so captivating – there was much that I could relate to. He presents an important message of living an honest life,
compassionate, respectful, humble, and making the best of each day as it comes. This apparently is very much in keeping with his personality. According to a few senior citizens I spoke with who met him, Fr. Sametz was a quiet, unassuming, gentle man, who did what was needed to get the job done. While there is a sense of pride that comes through in the writings, it is not boastful, but more matter of fact.

Fr. Sametz is not ashamed to voice his shortcomings, be they theological or economical. At one point he states simply that although he “never had the luxury of delving deeply into the [mystery] of our Orthodox Faith, [he] always felt and lived it.”(147) Fr. Sametz is also not afraid to state things the way they are, presenting issues that some people would rather have left untold. For example he touches upon the Canadian labor camps of World War I, where many Ukrainian Canadians were interned. He also presents many truths of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church of Canada – some of which are not too flattering, showing once again that no matter how things change, they remain the same.

William Sametz’s pride of his father the priest and his entire family shines brightly on the pages as he mentions their accomplishments throughout the book. While recognizing the plight of others, Sametz wistfully still brings to light some of the distinctions of being a priest’s child stating, “Although it was difficult for everyone, in retrospect it appears that no one can start lower on the economic ladder than a preacher’s kid that comes from Saskatchewan in the Dirty Thirties.” I wonder if he realizes that is still true today of a preacher’s kid no matter where he comes from.

A recent incident attests to the universal appeal that this book has for young and old. My husband, younger daughter and I were on a road trip. To pass the time, I read the book out loud to my husband (our daughter was occupied in the back with her DS1). Every so often we would
hear a giggle or an “ahh…” from the back, not associating it to a humorous or touching passage I had just read. The sun was starting to set and I finally closed the book announcing that it was too dark to read any longer. From the back of the van comes an anxious voice imploring, “but I want to know how the story ends!” We were all caught up in the story.

Fr. Sametz mentions frequently that he wants to teach the Ukrainian people about their history, their culture. He does that and more. Through his words, we feel the strength of faith and love that carried him and his family, and those he came in contact with through times of adversity. The basic life values that can be learned today from this book have significance for everyone, be they Ukrainian or not.

I was asked to do these book reviews as it was felt that I had rather unique qualifications. It appears that the authors and I share many commonalities. Academically, we all have university degrees. I am also currently working on a degree in Theology. Of course, my principal qualification is that my father and my husband are both priests in the Ukrainian Orthodox Church of Canada, and I grew up in, visited or at least have heard of most of the parishes mentioned in both books. This gives me a distinctive insight into the authors’ musings. While it is obvious that I have an affinity towards one book more than the other, both books clearly show that life is God’s gift to us, but what we do with that life is our gift to God.

ABOUT THE AUTHOR

Orysia Ehrmantraut is a Winnipeger currently completing a Master’s Degree from her Alma Mater (University of Saskatchewan); and is picking up a Bachelor of Theology Degree from St. Andrew’s College (University of Manitoba). As revealed in her review, she is married to a Ukrainian Orthodox priest, and she is a daughter of a Ukrainian Orthodox priest.
DEREVNYA: FROM HUMBLE BEGINNINGS

I inherited my genotype, character and work ethic from my parents Dmytro Fedak and Anna Antoniuk. The village in Western Ukraine from which my parents emigrated was identical to that of many Canadian Pioneers. Derevnya is an idyllic place set among a picturesque series of rolling hills, ravines and a cross on a hill (mohyla). Heritage and tradition in this region are steeped in community, hard work and resilience. During the Red Army occupation, the authorities would dismantle the village cross only to find it reassembled over night as act of pride, defiance and respect for the fallen. The focal and gathering point of the village is the church, located on a hill at one end of the village. A beautiful structure, complete with a central “banya” on the roof, it was built by hand by the village artisans, using timbers that were hand-hewn from trees cut in the nearby forest. The school in which grades 1 to eight are taught is located close to the church. Most of the houses in the village are close to 100 years old.

Lifestyles are meager in these villages but central to understanding the mental and physical conditioning of the pioneers that cultivated the communities and economies of the Canadian prairies in the early part of the 20th century.

House

The magnificent trees that grow in the nearby forests yielded some unusual and high-quality lumber. Many of the houses are constructed of siding of boards that were at least 12 inches wide, and permitted to age naturally to a rich mahogany hue. My parents’ house consisted of only two rooms, a sleeping area, and a living area with the ubiquitous wood fire oven, the “pich” in the corner. The floors consisted of packed clay and accommodated the family chicken’s run of the yard and house. Outside is the summer kitchen, where the cooking was done three seasons of the year. Every yard had a large capacity well, strategically located between the house and the barn. In this particular village, the barns were located separate from the house; although in much of Ukraine the two units are often attached. Beyond the barns there are large and productive gardens separating the homestead from fields of grain. Produce from these gardens is so bountiful it even finds its way to the farmers’ markets in Lviv. Cattle, sheep and goats are pastured along roadsides, along the sides of waterways and generally on lands that are not worth cultivating. It is typically the women and youth that did the pasturing and herding. This labour structure is the origin of the literal expression, “if you do not study diligently in school, you will end up being a shepherd.”

Round stacks of hay, often as high as 10 feet are located in the barn area. The stacks are protected from the elements by caps supported by 4 posts. The caps are raised or lowered over the stacks as they are filled and then gradually emptied over the winter months.
The regional diet remains totally organically grown and the villagers are generally self-sufficient, except for sugar, salt, tea and coffee. A form of coffee is made by almost burning pans of barley grains, which are then ground and brewed. As for sugar, Halychyna is perhaps not well-known for the production of sugar beets, but this crop is quite common near Kyiv. In a bountiful year, 50 pound bags are displayed for sale all along the highways. Meals inevitably consists of two parts; the initial part of cold cuts of meat and potato-salad-type of dishes, then followed by the main course consisting of borshcht, breaded meat cutlets or chicken pieces. The meals are always accompanied by copious quantities of horilka. They do not have happy hours as we do, but drinks are always accompanied by food. They say that anyone that drinks outside of mealtime is an alcoholic.

Immigration

I consider any of the decisions I've made in my life insignificant relative to the one my father made when he chose to immigrate to Canada. It was a momentous decision to venture out on a 5000 mile journey, on unfamiliar modes of transport to a foreign land with a foreign language. The stories filtering home to Derevnja from the first blocks of immigrants, and the brochures and posters offering 160 acres of free land must have proved strong motivations in favor of the decision. The brochures of course made no mention of the severe hardships of severe cold, deep snow, mosquitoes, dense forests, isolation and back breaking work to be persevered in order to be successful. Dmytro left his young family and immigrated to Canada in 1929 travelling first by train to Hamburg Germany, then by ocean liner for the three week voyage to Halifax. Upon arrival in Halifax he boarded a train which brought him to the town of Hudson Bay in Saskatchewan. He continued on, 20 miles by foot to the settlement of Etomami and the parcel of land assigned to him to build his homestead.

The First Homestead

Dmytro's homestead was located one-half mile south of the hamlet of Etomami. He built his first log house, by hand, from logs harvested on the property. The gaps between the logs were filled with a slurry mixture of clay, finely-chopped straw and dried cow dung. These types of fillers stayed in place for years and would often be covered over with whitewash. A temporary roof was added consisting of poplar saplings covered with cured slough grass.

The first few winters, Dmytro found work in local logging camps or the nickel mines in Flin Flon. One spring, upon his return home, he found his house had burned to the ground. This tragedy necessitated the building of a new home, again from scratch.

During the next few years, Dmytro acquired some animals; work horses, cattle, swine etc, which confined his work to the farm full time. He sent for his wife Anna and daughter Zos'ka to join him in 1936. Their first son, Bohdan was born in 1939, but perished three months later. I was born on Sunday December 29, 1940 at the farm, delivered by my father. Three additional siblings followed; Evhen, Olga and Romko.
Move to a larger and better farm

In 1945, an Etomami neighbour, sold his homestead and moved to a property northwest of the town of Hudson Bay. A year later our family followed, purchasing an adjacent farm, with more fertile soil, river and creek. All of our possessions were loaded onto horse-drawn wagons; some of which were ours, and others borrowed from farmers. My job was to assist in herding the livestock over the 20 mile stretch to the new farm. On arrival we bedded down in one of the graneries on the property. This remained our lodging, until father completed construction of a one room house; this time with lumber purchased from the local lumber mill. Over the ensuing years he added several additions onto this house until 1954, when that house was designated a chicken coop and local contractor Bill Slowski built us a 3-bedroom bungalow with a concrete foundation.

Life on the Farm

Over the years, father purchased two additional quarters of land close by which required a herculean effort to clear. Our home quarter was cleared by hand and horses, whereas we were able to hire bulldozers to clear the other two. In 1947 father purchased his first tractor, an old second hand John Deere model D on steel wheels. It wasn't until 1950 that father bought his first new truck and rubber-tired tractor, a Case DC4, purchased from the local dealer.

The day after the purchase, I was taught to operate this tractor and was immediately assigned the tasks of cultivating the summer fallow and commencing all of the field work. The tractor had large rear wheels, such that no one could see me, a ten year old, operating the tractor. It became a comical anecdote among the neighbours to say they saw the Fedak's tractor working in the field but they couldn't see a driver on it. I was usually the last among the neighbours to finish work each night. During spring seeding I routinely worked until 1:00 AM, then went to school the next day sleeping approximately four hours per night. When I got off the tractor one Saturday night, I was so exhausted that I lost my balance and literally staggered into the house. I was woken by a clatter of dishes, but it turned out these were dinner dishes, not breakfast. This remains the only day in my life that I can recall ever having," slept in." Summers on the farm were about labour from sunrise to sundown, working the land, making hay, caring for the livestock and splitting wood for the coming winter. During the winter, the routine was quite intensive. Myself and both parents would wake up at 5:00 AM and complete the chores of feeding the animals, milking and cleaning the barn by 7:00 AM, have breakfast, and then we students would walk the three miles to school.

Life was wholesome but rather dull and monotonous for a young boy, as there weren't any kids on the neighbouring farms. Thursday was a special day in the week for me because the Western Producer and Free Press Weekly would arrive with perfect regularity. The papers served to broaden my horizons somewhat offering windows to the world beyond the local community. Listening to the radio was a rare treat in those
days. A dry cell battery pack for the radio cost an exorbitant $15.00, so father would try to make it last for a full year by restricting its use exclusively to news and weather forecasts. The provincial electrical grid did not arrive in our area until 1959. The Ukrainian language newspapers that arrived from Winnipeg and Edmonton were the primary source of education in our family. My father would read each word of every paper several times over, comparing editorial opinions and the particular political views of the publishers. There is no doubt in my mind that this careful scrutiny of each news source, and disciplined dedication to knowledge, would have made Dmytro successful in any career field if only the opportunity were availed to him. This ethos of work ethic and self-improvement are representative of the ambitions and aspirations of this generation of Ukrainian pioneers that settled the Canadian prairies.

School days

In winter the prairie roads were only passable by horses and sleighs, so the children in our family would walk 3 miles following their trails across a field, down the river, then down the railroad tracks to town. The first two years at school I found very difficult, mainly because I didn’t understand English. I still remember my first day at school because my sister Zos’ka had bought me a notebook and pencil and walked me there. At recess I would stand off to the side and watch the other students playing. In grade 2, one of the students, E.L. introduced himself by asking me whether I knew the ABCs. I didn’t. The teacher had the alphabet printed permanently across the top of the blackboard, so every day I would pick a few letters and repeat them on the way home until I learned them all.

Once I learned the alphabet and the language, I assimilated into school routine and became one of better students in the class. Back in those days if you obtained an average of 70% in a class, based on the years work, you got recommended, to not be required to write the final exams. This was in effect until grade ten. Those of us that were recommended would finish the school year two weeks early, while the others had to complete a study week then write the finals. I was fortunate to have had almost a photographic memory back in those days. Often, in exams, I could recall a teacher’s exact words when it came to answering a question. This lasted until about grade 10, at which time I found I needed to repeat a statement a few times in order to remember it.

During my school years I grew to love reading. At the time a card at the local library cost 10 cents and permitted me to borrow a limit of ten books, for one week intervals. I never intended to attend University, as very few students from Hudson Bay Collegiate Institute went on to university in those days. Thoughts regarding my career all along were that I would be a farmer. I only envisioned purchasing a Cockshutt 428 combine, realizing that I would need to work at logging in winter to be able to afford the $ 5000 it cost at the time. The math-geometry teacher in grades eleven and twelve suggested that I consider enrolling in university after graduation, to study engineering. I did not take him very seriously, however after writing the final exam, I had a gut feeling that my studies were not over.

4H Club

One of the factors that had a profound influence on my career was the involvement in a 4H club. I belonged to the local grain club throughout my high school days and
undertook all the involvements and obligations very seriously, learning a lot about grains under the mentorship of some influential club leaders. I excelled in local, regional and provincial competitions in Saskatoon. These activities broadened my horizons and served as an introduction to and fascination with plant research. The competitions in Saskatoon usually included a visit to the local Agriculture Canada Research Centre. On one such occasion, I recall a scientist describing his research on cankers of poplar trees and on another occasion, a scientist describing his research on alfalfa. I found both presentations and the type of work absolutely fascinating. However, at that time there was no inclination in my mind that such a career might be possible for me.

The second event that influenced my career was the selection by the local wheat pool committee to be a variety (my father called this a “varyat” test) test supervisor. In those days, the Saskatchewan wheat pool had such tests distributed throughout the province. It consisted of about 20 new wheat varieties, planted in a replicated trial and surrounded by winter wheat. Each supervisor planted the test, kept records, harvested the test at maturity and then forwarded all this material and information to Regina. The test data were analyzed and reports distributed throughout the province to show how the varieties performed in the various regions. While planting my test (having taken a day off school to do it), I imagined how this sort of activity would be ideal as a profession, and special impulse surged through my body. Unbeknownst to me at the time, this was a harbinger of things to come.

Throughout the 4-H years, we had numerous adult club leaders, but the exofficio leader was the local agricultural representative Pete Petersen, now retired and living in Yorkton Saskatchewan. He had the most profound influence on my career, by insisting that I apply for admission to the University of Saskatchewan. He would not take no or maybe for an answer. In response to my whine about having no money, he promptly provided the details of a university loan fund, assisted with the application forms and two positive responses were received.

All along my father had expected that I would remain on the farm, and provide him with an added dimension to his operation. He had already taken a step in that direction by renting an additional 300 acres of land when I was finishing high school. I was already taking as much time as possible out of school to help work the land. I can still remember the day I informed my father of my decision to go to university; it was in August, and we were putting away by hand, a second cut of hay. He simply shrugged and wished me well.

I registered for my first year of studies in agriculture at the University of Saskatchewan armed with a $600 loan plus a few hundred dollars I had earned by cutting and selling cord wood and trapping squirrels, weasels and beavers in winter. In addition, I had earned some lodging credits with a family in Saskatoon, after having swathed the wheat crop on their farm in Hudson Bay. In those days, tuition cost $200 and lodging could be had for $50 per month.

Initiation into university life

University was a major shock to my system. I was as green as grass, didn’t know a soul and didn’t know where to turn. I had poor study habits having passed through high school with a sporadic study regimen as most of the time spent outside of the classroom was spent working on the farm. In addition, I had a very poor academic knowledge base
and was poorly prepared to enter university. The high school curriculum was quite good in Hudson Bay, but we experienced a gradual decline in the quality of teachers as we progressed from grades nine to twelve. For example, grade twelve physics was taught by the English literature and composition teacher. There were no laboratories in the school, and the chemistry teacher gave only one lecture during the final year coincidentally on the day of the superintendents' visit. The history lessons consisted of reading assignments, while the teacher sat at the front of the room reading Time magazine. We studied French by correspondence because there was no teacher. It is probably no wonder that of the 52 of us that started Grade nine; only four of us graduated on time, and the rest graduated a year later.

The first few weeks at university were quite an adjustment to the different academic routine with real lectures and lab assignments. The first lab assignment in Biology 101 consisted of the dissection and drawing of the digestive and nervous systems of an earthworm. In the first chemistry lab it was quite a challenge to use the bulky twin-pan balance and use a wire "rider" to obtain weights to four decimal places. But we learned, or more accurately, persevered and got the job done. Coasting through lectures came to an abrupt halt, when the chemistry professor announced the date of the first midterm exam. It came as a shock to me and I realized that I didn't know the subject matter since I hadn't been studying. I remember thinking to myself, "I've spent all this money on tuition, so I'd better make something out of this." From then on I studied regularly. By Christmas time, I had the feel of university studies and by the end of the year started challenging myself to get A's. I ended up the first year with grades of 2As, 2Bs and a C in calculus.

I spent the first summer with the Department of Natural Resources, working with a team of "timber cruisers". This involved working in the northern Saskatchewan forest belt, taking notes on ages, heights and diameters of coniferous trees and generating data that would be used to estimate the amount of marketable timber in the area.

The second year was a busy one, with six classes, four of which had labs. The year ended with class marks of 4 A's and 2 B's. These marks earned several scholarships, and added with income from summer jobs, I no longer had to borrow money.

Scientists from Agriculture Canada came to the University conducting interviews to hire students for the summer. I felt the interview went well given their final question was whether I might consider going on to take post-graduate studies in the future. I answered, "probably". I was also offered a job with the provincial lands branch that summer. The job provided a government car and involved coordinating the clearing and breaking of crown lands in the area.

The career paths stemming from these two summer jobs were quite different. The lands branch job would have evolved into a permanent one. The work would have been very different from research and probably would have permitted me to be a part-time farmer. I preferred the summer job at the research centre and spent four summers there. I picked up one of the ongoing projects as a Masters of Science thesis project.

For the beginning of the third year university, I entered the residence at Sheptycky Institute. I remained at Sheps over the summers as well, looking after the grounds and doing odd jobs such as painting. In return, I paid no fees over the summer and reduced rates over the school term. This meant a comfortable financial status but a restricted
social life. As it turned out, I had to repay my student loans before enrolling in graduate studies to pursue a Masters degree. With the help of scholarships and financial breaks at Sheps, I was able to repay the loans and continue my studies.

The professors in the graduate school at the University of Saskatchewan were excellent tutors and world-famous for their research. However, the facilities and amenities in the Crop Science Department were quite meager at the time. The department was small and the facilities and greenhouses were antiquated. Since then, with an infusion of generous funding an ultramodern agriculture building was constructed, a brilliant young staff was hired, and a Crop Development Centre was created to augment the activities of the Crop Science Department. Additional expertise is provided to the department by the Biology Department and the Plant Biotechnology Institute of the National Research Council. Thus the new Department of Plant Sciences is now one of the best in the world. I and other graduate alumni of that era remain extremely proud to have earned graduate degrees from the University of Saskatchewan.

In the mid sixties, I moved from the Crop Science Department at the University of Saskatchewan to the Plant Science Department of the University of Manitoba, to begin Ph.D. studies. It was an exhilarating experience in that the Plant Science Department was much larger in terms of faculty, graduate students and diversity of programs. They were operating at their peak in terms of funding and recognition. Morale was exceptionally high as was the esprit-de-coer. The department had a large number of exceptional graduate students; not only Canadians, but others from all corners of the globe. It was said that of the 12 prestigious national graduate fellowships allocated by the Natural Sciences and Engineering Research Council, six were awarded to the University of Manitoba, mostly in plant science (I was one of the recipients). In addition to academic excellence, the students actively participated in sporting and social events. There was an excellent relationship between students and faculty. Both groups mixed freely in a common coffee room and professors would participate in sporting events and social events such as pub nights. Most students went on to distinguished careers after graduation.

My major professor for my Ph.D. studies was Dr. Takumi Tsuchiya, who had recently emigrated from Okayama University in Japan. He had developed an international reputation for having produced several series of trisomics in barley. My project involved the production, identification and characterization of telotrisomics i.e. lines in which a particular chromosome arm is triplicated instead of a whole chromosome. A complete series of telotrisomics therefore consists of 14 lines. I very much enjoyed working on this project. The lines were stable and fertile, so we were able to conduct a number of experiments with them and in the end publish four papers from the thesis studies.

Marriage and Family

A seminal event in my life was meeting and eventually marrying Rosaleen Syrnyk. The introduction was facilitated by a friend, Ernie Banner, who was then a greenhouse technician in the Plant Science Department. He and his wife regularly provided room and board for dental hygiene students from the university. Although Rosaleen did not stay at Banner’s house, she knew the girls that did and visited there often. At the first meeting in Ernie’s house I learned that Rosaleen and a group of others were leaving shortly for Expo 67 in Montreal. Since we had already been there, I was able to provide some strategy and ideas for the trip. Our first date on her return was at a drive-in theatre in the west end of Winnipeg. We dated regularly from then on. We were married on July
12, 1969 in St. George’s cathedral in Dauphin. On the Friday before the wedding, my soon to be father-in-law, Matt Syrynky, had me plow down a small pasture located close to his cow barn. I was not wearing a hat of any kind, and not having spent much time outdoors while writing my thesis, I got extremely sunburned. Consequently in wedding photos, my face was as red as a lobster.

I finished writing the first draft of my thesis and submitted it to the major professor, just before the wedding. On returning from our honeymoon, I set about making the revisions and preparing for the defense. Following the thesis revisions and defense Rosaleen and I left for Ottawa in October, 1969 to start a career with Agriculture Canada.

Our son Andrew was born on April 25, 1970. He went on to graduate with a Bachelors degree in economics from the University of Western Ontario and is now an entrepreneur in Seattle. Our daughter Stephanya was born on February 15, 1973. She obtained a bachelors degree in biology with honors also from Western, followed by a Doctorate in Homoeopathy from the Michner Institute in Toronto. She works in the food safety division of the Canadian Food Inspection Agency. She married Kevin Semenik and has three daughters; Katya, Anna and Ella. Immediately on arrival in Ottawa, we became regular members of St. John the Apostle Ukrainian Catholic Parish and participated in church camp activities, church bingos; myself in the Knights of Columbus and Rosaleen in the women’s league. The kids became active in the local Plast troop.

Beginning a Career in Research

My first year in Ottawa was spent as a post-doctorate fellow in the Cytogenetics Section of the Ottawa Research Station, under the tutelage of Dr. Tibor Rajhathy. The work involved studies in cytogenetics and electrophoresis of isozymes. I didn’t realize it at the time, but I so much enjoyed doing research, that I consider it one of the best chapters of my career. I devoted full time to hands-on research and writing manuscripts. Following the Pdf, I was appointed as the barley breeder at ORS. This involved the synthesis of new and improved varieties of barley for the producers. In the span of eight years, I produced three varieties of barley, named Vanier, Massey and Leger. The latter was quite a notable achievement, combining high yield and wide adaptability. It was a popular variety with producers and in high demand for about 20 years.

While conducting barley breeding, I maintained a fairly active program in plant cyto genetics, involving interspecific and intergeneric hybridization (ie Crosses between wheat and barley and their wild relatives). This was being done to elucidate the phylogenetic relationships between species, and the transfer of unique genes from the wild relatives to crop plants. Maintaining two such programs was quite laborious, and recognizing this, Tibor Rajhathy, who was director of ORS at the time, transferred me to the cytogenetics section to carry on one activity full time.

As a cytogeneticist, I contend I’ve had a productive career: In the space of 25 years, I authored/coauthored 180 papers in referred international scientific journals, and 15 book chapters. I’ve been an invited speaker at dozens of international symposia/workshops and conference proceedings. I’ve been fortunate to have made over 35 International trips representing the Canadian scientific research community, as far east as New Delhi and as far west as Shaanxi in China. In my capacity as a scientist I’ve visited Ukraine, Spain, China, Mexico, Austria, Hungary, Germany, UK, Japan, Sweden, Australia, Argentina, India, Costa Rica, Turkey, Iran, Greece, Portugal, Morocco, Canary Islands,
wondering all the while; "what is a kid from a hick-town in northern Saskatchewan doing over here?"

Over the years, I've served as a co-supervisor or external examiner of eight PhD theses. As a co-supervisor, I am tasked with providing guidance to the student over the course of study and then participate in the thesis defense. As external examiner, as the task suggests, means examining the thesis, making comments/corrections and in most cases attending the thesis defense.

In order to function on these graduate student committees, I was made an adjunct professor in the Department of Biological Sciences at the University of Manitoba and a member of the Associated Graduate Faculty at the University of Guelph. In addition to the PhD candidates a number of post-docs, visiting scientists and students have passed through my lab. I consider such an arrangement as the best of both worlds i.e. not having to prepare and present a full lecture course in a university setting, but having the benefit of associating with bright young scientists and absorbing new ideas, concepts and the energy of youth.

Another enjoyable but weighty obligation I've had was the examination of promotion documents and CVs for promotions to professorships, professor emeritus and distinguished university professors. These were applications mainly from Canada and USA and in all cases dealt with very distinguished academics. Through these exercises and at times examining the CVs of some of my former professors, I found that my productivity and lists of publications compared favorably with theirs.

As for research achievements, each peer-reviewed publication contained innovative information on various aspects of plant cytogenetics. We produced and reported for the first time, numerous new combinations of interspecific hybrids. One such example is the world’s first and only amphiploid between barley and rye. More recently we have demonstrated that in the case of resistance to Fusarium head blight in wheat; the three different phases of resistance: 1- resistance to initial infection, 2- the spread of infection and 3- the deposition of a vomitoxin in the seed; are all controlled by different genes.

Fusarium head blight, has become a devastating disease of wheat, barley, oats and corn. It is estimated that the industry has sustained losses of $100 million over the past 10 years. We have now introgressed six new genes for FHB resistance from wild species into wheat that will be used to augment the resistance of known genes to give sustainable resistance. A new race of stem rust of wheat and barley is now threatening these crops globally. We are initiating projects to introgress resistance genes into wheat from wild species. Over the years, extramural funding to augment our research efforts have been obtained from the Quaker Oats company, Western Grains Research Foundation, Ontario Wheat Producers Marketing Board and a National Biofuels Initiative.

I have served for 10 years as an Associate Editor of the Canadian genetics research journal entitled Genome. In that space of time, I handled 400-500 manuscripts through the review process. I currently serve on the editorial boards of Wheat Information Service (Okoyama, Japan) and Tsitilogiya I Genetica (Kyiv, Ukraine)

I am proud to have received the President's Award from the Genetics Society of Canada for excellence in genetics research and service to the society. Additional awards include an Agcellence Innovation Award for exceptional accomplishments as a member of the
Oat Genome Team, and presented by the then minister of Agriculture, the Rt. Hon. Ralph Goodale. I have been equally honoured back in Hudson Bay Saskatchewan, to have been inducted onto their "Wall of Fame"

There are five levels of research scientist in the research branch; level 1 is the recruiting level and level 5 is the most senior. In addition there is a quota system for the various levels, so that only 5% of scientists are allocated to level 5. Having attained a level 5 about 15 years ago, I belong to the top 5% of scientists in the research branch of Canada.

Contributions to Ukraine

It is said that whatever goes around, comes around. In that context, my research has maintained a relationship with and contributed to agricultural research development in Ukraine. My first contact with the “Staray Krai” was in 1974, as a participant in a scientist exchange program sponsored by the National Research Council in Canada and the Academy of Sciences in the USSR. On that trip, I visited research institutes in Odessa, Kharkiv and St Petersburg. I have maintained a contact with a number of scientists that I met on that initial trip. The second visit, in 1995 was by invitation from the Ukrainian Academy of Agricultural Sciences. That trip included my first visit to the Institute of Plant and Animal Science in Lviv, the closest city to Derevnya, and the Institute of Agroecology and Bicotechnology in Kyiv.

This trip provided me with the first opportunity to visit my ancestral village and meet a large number of relatives for the first time. An additional six trips ensued. Perhaps the most significant series was associated with a CIDA project at Odessa that was funded by the latter to the tune of $40K. The project involved the transfer of their source of Fusarium resistance into Canadian cultivars and returning the improved germplasm to us. We are still working on this material. Other invitations included the international symposia commemorating the 90th, then the 100th anniversaries of the Institute of "Roslinistvsa" in Kharkiv, the 200th anniversary of the botanical garden at Kremenets, a biotechnology symposium at Yalta, plus a conference on germplasm in Lviv. In addition to the above, I presented seminars on my research work at the Mohyla Academy of the University of Kyiv, the Institute of Plant Protection in Kyiv, Institute of Cell Biology and Genetic Engineering in Kyiv and the Institute of Wheat Research in Mironivka. Another invitation involved writing a review paper on Advances in Cytogenetics, that was published in a special edition of the journal Tsitologiya i Genetika, commemorating the 100th anniversary of the birth of Professor V. Navashin. He spent his entire career at the University of Kyiv and was the first person to have visualized plant chromosomes

The exchange of germplasm has been a very important function in the interaction between Canadian and Ukrainian scientists and institutes. Even though geographically Ukraines’s grain-growing areas are located farther south than those of Canada, our varieties perform very well over there and vice-versa. Some introductions are used directly as varieties while others are used in crosses to broaden the germplasm bases in each country. In my case I have been interacting mostly with scientists at Odessa and Kharkiv. I have obtained some very valuable germplasm from them and certainly the reciprocal is true.
Another type of contribution to a few of their scientists that I was able to arrange was in the form of travel grants to visit institutes in Canada. In this way five scientists from Ukraine were able to visit research institutes in Canada.

At present, I am paying the subscriptions for seven Canadian research journals, at a personal annual cost exceeding $1K, and having them sent to various research institutes in Ukraine. I understand that they appreciate receiving these journals and that they benefit from them. In return, I get a sense of satisfaction from helping out the homeland, albeit in a small way.

In conclusion, I would like to state that I have been extremely fortunate in having the best possible job in the world. Research has been rewarding, and satisfying and more of a hobby than a job. Now with the accumulated knowledge and wisdom and everpresent new challenges, one can reminisce about the possibility of initiating a second career.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to acknowledge with thanks the contribution made by Andrew Fedak in reviewing the manuscript and making numerous valuable comments.
LEO MOL TRIBUTE

delivered by

Murray Gibson

Monday, July 13th, 2009

Good evening Margareth, honored guests and friends.

What a privilege we have to gather in this beautiful setting this evening to celebrate the life of Leo Mol! I wish to especially thank Archbishop Bdzel and the wonderful Hoosli choir for the beauty and simplicity of the service that they have so fittingly provided.

Tonight we have a singular opportunity to stand surrounded by the magnificent evidence of the giftedness of this great artist. We also have the opportunity to recall with appreciation, Leo Mol the man, who enriched the lives of all who came to know him.

I will make no attempt recount all the details of Leo’s long and illustrious career or to catalogue the extent of his work. It is an honor to be here simply as a friend of Leo and Margareth Mol. My only hope is that something I might say tonight will contribute in some small way to the love and affection with which you will remember Leo Mol.

Shedding a Little Light on the Character of Leo Mol

Beside me you will see a small table. One of the items on that table is an award winning photograph of Leo surrounded by his work. It has been made into a poster and entitled Leo Mol in Light and Shadow. For a few moments tonight, I would like to borrow from that title and to first of all shed a little light on the person of Leo Mol. Leo often remarked that in creating a bust or a portrait, the real talent was in capturing the character of the individual.

The Creative Genius of Leo Mol

There are two things regarding my friendship with Leo for which I will be eternally grateful: The first you might find hard to understand. Leo’s passing did not come as a surprise to those who had the honor of visiting with him in the past couple of years. I count it one
of the life’s greatest privileges to have sat with Margareth and a few friends at his bedside in those last few hours. As I sat and held his hand, I was mindful of the times we had visited in his home. When it came time to go home, Leo, always the gentleman, would walk you to the door, and in his inimitable way would put out his hand and say “Bye bye thank you for coming”. All of us who knew Leo were so privileged to have had this gifted gentleman among us. I feel especially blessed to have had the opportunity to have walked with him to the door at the end of the day and to say “Bye bye Leo and thank you for coming”.

I do not need to remind you of the genius of Leo Mol. His work is all around you. He immortalized in bronze presidents and royalty, popes and cardinals, dignitaries and artists, yes and even some less well known. Eighteen churches are graced with his paintings, mosaics and stained glass windows. Right here in the Leo Mol Sculpture Garden are over 300 of his works. Leo devoted his life to his work and it is fitting that his ashes are contained in a piece of his own work.

This brings me to the second thing about my friendship with Leo Mol for which I will always be grateful. No, it is not that I own a large number of his works, much as that would be an honor. When it became apparent that Leo would no longer be able to continue his work, Margareth began to sort through and organize much of his work and the documents that went with it. On one particular day, she said to me, “I have a few of Leo’s old tools is there anything that you would be interested in?” I have brought three of them, which I highly value, with me today. They are these: a simple wooden mallet battered and cracked, a piece of twisted heavy wire with a clay handle fashioned into a tool, a home-made knife or scraping tool made of recycled metal and wood. No fancy gadgetry – no high priced tools. At the risk of giving something away, I have met many men, myself included, who have convinced their wives or partners that if only they had that expensive tool or the latest piece of technology they could truly create a masterpiece. But often with little results to show for it. I highly value these three simple tools because they remind me that the true giftedness of Leo’s work truly resided in his person. If need be, he simply created the tool to release the genius.

The Kindness and Compassion of Leo Mol

It is not uncommon that in life we meet very capable, talented people who have forgotten simple things like kindness and compassion. That was not Leo. He had a soft spot for others, and especially for animals. It is no coincidence that his beloved dog Sheri was featured in his paintings and that many of his early ceramics featured birds and animals. I’ve been told that for Leo the highlight of one of the documentaries made about his life was to see his pet Sheri, who had since died, very much alive in the video.
Of all of the stories that I have heard about Leo, the one that I enjoy the most took place in the early years of his career in Winnipeg. It seems that one day as he was riding his bicycle home, he noticed a small animal lying helpless on the side of the road. He wrapped it up in paper and continued on his way home. When he came through the door he said, “Margareth, I have a present for you” and he handed her the package. She proceeded to open the paper, took one look at it and said, “Leo, why have you brought me a rat?” This tiny creature was almost lifeless, with virtually no hair and a gray string for a tail. Leo encouraged Margareth to try and help it to survive. Since they had no stove at the time, she warmed it next to a hot plate and tried to get it to eat some cheese. (Who knows, she may have still been convinced that it was a rat). When it showed some signs of life she prepared a hot water bottle and covered it and the squirrel with pieces of fur in an attempt to nurse it back to life.

Eventually, Vanushka as the squirrel became known, responded to the kindness he was shown and soon had hair like a squirrel and a big bushy tail. However, Vanushka was totally blind so he was allowed to remain as a house pet. Christmas came along and Leo bought a fir tree and placed it in the corner of the room.

In spite of his blindness, the squirrel would scamper up the window ledge and wildly jump across to the tree. He enjoyed the tree so much that he ate it, stripping it down to a stick by March. Leo was reticent to throw the tree out and so the naked tree became a fixture in the corner of the room and Vanushka continued to enjoy his own forest.

About this time Margareth was teaching in Lydiatt and on the weekend when she came home, it was their custom to drop their belongings and go to a movie. It was on one of those Friday nights that Vanushka decided that it was time to build a nest. While Leo and Margareth were out watching the movie Vanushka was busy. You can imagine Margareth’s dismay when she discovered what the squirrel had decided to use for a nest. He had totally chewed up all of Margareth’s underwear.

Eventually Vanushka got to go the country with them and one day disappeared in the wood pile, coming back briefly but eventually returning to the wild.

So the next time you hear the squirrels chattering and you wonder what they are going on about, they are probably rehearsing the story of Vanushka the blind squirrel whose claim to fame was that he had lived in the home of Leo Mol and that he had chewed up all Margareth’s underwear.

Or the next time you see one of Leo’s ceramics of a squirrel, you’ll know it name.
Or the next time you see one of Leo’s ceramic robins, maybe you will think of the robin that he also rescued that eventually lived in their yard and would swoop down and land on Leo’s shoulder when he was in the garden.

More importantly you will hopefully be reminded of the kindness and compassion of Leo Mol.

The Charm of Leo Mol

Leo was one of the most charming individuals I have ever met. There was a graciousness about him that you seldom find. He was not easily offended and although he was passionate about art, he readily understood if others did not share the same passion or understanding. He would simply smile and patiently begin with “Well you see...” even if you didn’t.

He found humor in things that maybe would have been disconcerting to lesser men.

As some of you will know Leo loved this garden and he would often slip away, sometimes with his camera and quietly wander or sit in the sculpture garden. When he was no longer able to drive himself, he delighted in having friends who would take him.

I recall him telling me of one of his visits when he was sitting quietly on one of the benches in this courtyard. A lady came up to him and began to speak with him about the garden and the wonderful work of Leo Mol. At one point she turned to him and said, by the way do you by any chance know the artist?

I can still see the twinkle in his blue eyes under those bushy eyebrows and the mischievous grin that came over his face as he told me his reply. He said, “As a matter of fact I do. I am he. I am Leo Mol” and he broke into a laugh.

The fact that a person might not recognize him or his work, never caused him to see himself or others in a different light. So when the lady approached him while he was painting in Birds Hill and asked the question, “Are you painting by numbers?” he only smiled that gracious smile.

He loved to paint rural scenes and you can see that reflected in some of his paintings in the gallery just behind us. On one occasion he discovered a farm house that he felt would be a suitable subject for one of his paintings. He approached the farmhouse and engaged the farmer who owned it. “I would like to paint your house” he said. The farmer stood there for a moment, then responded with “Hmmph, so you want to paint
my house.” Leo quickly realized that their understanding of what it meant to paint the
house were quite different. With his usual charm he said, “What I would like to do is
paint a picture of your house. The first one will be for me and the second one for you!”

Leo will always be embedded in our memories as a man of great charm and grace.

The Humility of Leo Mol

If I could choose one other thing to say about Leo, it would be that he was a
humble man. He came from humble beginnings and he never lost sight of it.
Even though life brought him the opportunity to share the company of famous
individuals, it did not alter the fact that he numbered among his friends those who
shared no notoriety, but who were treated equally by him.

It is not surprising then that when Leo contacted A Y Jackson, a member of the
famed Group of Seven to ask if he could do a bust of him, the response was
“Anytime, I would be delighted”. They soon became friends and spent time
sketching together.

It is equally not surprising that he and US President Eisenhower spent time
together in the President’s kitchen working together preparing the moulds for the
bust that Leo was doing of him.

Leo always remained true to the principles he held for himself as a person. When
Fred Varley another member of the famed group of seven came to Winnipeg to
receive a honorary degree, he agreed in principle to have Leo do his portrait. He
arrived in a Cadillac with his companion Mrs. McKay and was anxious to
continue to the Rockies. Leo offered to do the driving in exchange for the
opportunity to begin the work on Varley’s portrait. Varley’s companion
immediately jumped to the conclusion that Leo’s motivation was his desire to
drive the Cadillac. Leo was quick to set the record straight, clarifying that he was
the last person who wished to own one.

I will never forget the time my wife announced that she had invited Leo and
Margaret Mol to come to our home for tea and that they accepted the invitation.
They arrived in Leo’s older model station wagon, with Leo dressed in suit jacket,
tie and top hat and Margaret looking her usual, well put together self. As they
walked up to the door, I was feeling uneasy wondering how the visit would go. I
soon realized how needless my worry had been. The first sigh of relief came when Leo opened the bag that he was carrying with him, took out his brown house slippers and proceeded to put them on. Do you know what is interesting about that? This week when one of the local media outlets ran feature articles and pictures of Leo, there he was standing beside his famous statue of Sir William Stephenson. He was wearing a jacket and tie and you guessed it – those same brown house slippers. That’s the Leo I came to know - always respectful of the occasion, but always humble and so comfortable to be around.

Leo came to this country with so little but left it with so much. He came as a stranger to this country, but left a legacy through his work that will endure for generations. If I could reinforce my thoughts, it would be with words from one of the epistles in Scripture, “Don’t forget to entertain strangers, because in so doing some have entertained angels unawares.”

Leo Mol and the Shadows

I want to conclude by speaking briefly about Leo Mol and the shadows. No, I have no intention of speaking of what some might refer to as shadows created by the departure of such a great man.

Leo always knew and respected the fact that in order for the artists work to be most appreciated it had to be positioned properly to take advantage of the best light. But the reality is that the light also creates the shadows. Today, just as in the picture, we have tried to shine the light on the true subject, the man Leo Mol – a creative genius, a kind and compassionate man, a charming individual and a truly humble person.

Just as in the picture, there are figures that exist in the shadows – some more readily visible than others. There is no question the gifts and the talents were Leo’s. He was like the genie in the bottle – full of energy and creativity waiting to be unleashed. Few of us will ever know what that is about. But thankfully there are those in life who are content to stand in the shadows and quietly help to open the bottle as it were so that the world could come to know and benefit from the creativity of gifted individuals like Leo Mol.

Somewhere in St. Petersburg (formerly Leningrad) an unknown individual saw a young seventeen year old man beautifully sketching the engraved artwork on a church door. The stranger admired his work and directed him to an evening art class. An unknown instructress saw his talent for sculpting and sent him along
with a piece of his work and a note to the head of the Academy who accepted Leo into the class for gifted young artists. There he was prepared to attend the Academy even though he had little formal education or training in art. What might the world have never known if it hadn’t been for these nameless individuals who encouraged and fostered the giftedness which they saw.

Somewhere in Holland there was a group of individuals who welcomed Leo and Margareth Mol, strangers and refugees to their country. They came and brought whatever they could spare, a dish, some utensils, cookware, towels, a bicycle. They gave what little they had to help them on their way. Somewhere near Hudson Bay Saskatchewan was a farmer who opened his home to two refugees whom he had not previously known or met. Little did he realize at the time the importance of that simple act of kindness. Before his death he confided to his wife that he felt that the greatest thing that he had done in his entire lifetime was to bring Leo Mol to Canada.

Somewhere on Main Street in Winnipeg was the owner of shop that sold religious icons who gave Leo Mol his first job and allowed him to practice his art. Little did he know that the man he hired would one day be himself described as an icon.

Somewhere in Winnipeg are those intuitive individuals who said that Canada and the world need to know about the talents and abilities of this man. And so they set themselves to work to ensure that the work of Leo Mol did not go unnoticed and unrecognized.

Somewhere in Winnipeg and even here today are wonderful friends of Leo Mol who said, we cannot lose this opportunity to ensure that such a national treasure as the works of Leo Mol remain in our city. Countless individuals rallied to the cause. Today we proudly stand in a place where an estimated quarter of a million people visit annual to enjoy his work and pay tribute to his talent.

However, I would be terribly remiss if I were to end this tribute tonight without mentioning one individual in particular. Someone, who for over 66 years has been by Leo’s side. She has followed him through thick and thin – through the hell of war and the agony of being homeless and destitute. She has been his constant companion and partner in all his endeavors. Few people will get to know the greatness that Leo Mol has achieved, or be recognized in the way that he has. Only one of us will ever know what it is like to stand in the shadow of Leo Mol the way that Magareth has – to consistently
have been his support and encouragement throughout all these years. Someone once said that “Love is the consequence of our deep commitment to the possibilities in others.” Margaret thank you for your deep commitment to the possibilities you saw in Leo – for loving him and caring for him long before any of us know even knew him – for your willingness to share him so freely. You have been and continue to be a role model and a blessing to us and we want to thank you.

So I will conclude this tribute with three simple words that I have heard you say from time to time “That’s my Leo”. Thank you.

Mr Murray Gibson is currently the current director of the Manitoba Tobacco Reduction Alliance (MANTRA) in Winnipeg.
CURATING KURELEK FOR THE 21ST CENTURY:
WILLIAM KURELEK, THE MESSENGER

by

Mary Jo Hughes

William Kurelek (1927-1977), a Canadian artist born to Ukrainian immigrant parents, is arguably one of the most beloved and misunderstood cultural figures in the country. The exhibition William Kurelek: The Messenger, which opens at the Winnipeg Art Gallery in the fall of 2011 before touring to the Art Gallery of Hamilton (Hamilton, Ontario) and the Art Gallery of Greater Victoria (Victoria, BC) in 2012, will attempt to shed new light on his career and motivations. This is a joint project between the three institutions and represents the first major survey of his work in more than 20 years and certainly paves the way for further investigations in the coming years of the 21st century.

Kurelek is often pigeon-holed in limiting ways (as an illustrator of children’s books, a religious fanatic, or as a mentally-ill person for example). This exhibition strives to take a new consideration of the full breadth of Kurelek’s talents and contributions, putting the elements of truth related to the stereotypes in context. William Kurelek: The Messenger seeks to demonstrate the range of his output, and reconcile the broad themes that informed it, including: artistic self-discovery, the origins of his subtle and unique handling of pictorial space, consciousness of the immigrant experience and his own Ukrainian heritage, bouts with depression and coping with traumatic memories of family and community life growing up on the prairies, the intersection of his work with European and Canadian art history, and his engagement with Christian theology and the social, political, and moral issues of his day.

William Kurelek was born to Dmytro and Mary (Huculak) Kurelek in 1927 in Whitford, Alberta. His family moved to Stonewall, Manitoba in 1934 where William grew up. In the mid 1940s he lived in Winnipeg while attending high school followed by 3 years at the University of Manitoba where he graduated in 1949 with a Bachelor of Arts in Latin, English and History. He studied art in Toronto at the Ontario College of Art (1949-50)
but he left prematurely when the traditional courses did not hold his interest. Instead, he travelled to Mexico and then to England in 1952. His stay in Britain was distinguished by his almost immediate self-commitment to a mental hospital where he continued his artistic experimentations with art therapy. Furthermore this is where he made the significant decision to convert to the Roman Catholic Church. In between extensive stays at both Maudsley Hospital (1952-53) and Netherene Hospital (1953-54) he travelled through Europe seeing firsthand the works of artists such as Hieronymus Bosch and Pieter Breughel, who would greatly influence his early style and approach to painting. Another significant aspect of his sojourn in London was the intensive training he received in art framing, specifically related to the mastery of gilding.

Upon his return to Canada in 1960, he was guided by his newly found religion to dedicate himself to painting 160 works illustrating the Bible (The St. Matthew’s Passion series, now at the Niagara Falls Art Gallery). He soon married and began his career as a framer at the Isaacs Gallery in Toronto. Ironically Isaacs would become one of Toronto’s hotspots for cutting edge contemporary Canadian art, a scene that Kurelek thoroughly rejected as self-indulgent. However, there was a market for his work and Isaacs quickly began exhibiting and selling it. Indeed, the popularity of the scenes of childhood on the prairies soon led to a side career of book illustration. The numerous books he produced helped him to raise funds for his other passion: charity - specifically for an orphanage in India. Kurelek, also a dedicated father and husband, died in 1977 at age 50 from lung cancer, believed to have been caused by the chemicals in the spray paints he used in the close quarters of his basement studio.

The Roots of the Exhibition

In Winnipeg, Kurelek is hailed as a native son. The large resident Ukrainian community in general is aware of his career, fiercely proud of his heritage and captivated by the works he produced reflecting Ukrainians in Canada. When I arrived in Winnipeg in 1995 to take on the position of Curator, Historical Art at the Winnipeg Art Gallery (WAG), I met many people from the community who would give me suggestions for exhibitions.
The most common request by far was for an exhibition of the work of William Kurelek. There had not been an exhibition of his work at the Art Gallery since the late 1980s although a few years ago the Oshawa Art Gallery had hosted a showing of his Polish Canadian series borrowed from Hamilton. Initially I assumed it would be easy to pull together a collection exhibition of his work. However, upon visiting the WAG vault, I discovered that it held only three paintings by Kurelek. A significant exhibition would be a larger undertaking and I suddenly felt it was necessary to first build a better representation of this artist in the province in which he grew up and studied.

The problem with developing a collection in a Canadian art gallery is that growth, limited by funding, relies largely on the tastes of donor-collectors. Because of this, it is challenging to direct growth in specific directions. Fortunately, I soon discovered a certain collector in Winnipeg who had a great desire to see the WAG build its representation of Manitoba art. When I told him the sad state of the Gallery's collection of William Kurelek, he invited me to his house to see what he had. From the minute I entered through the door, I saw the walls of his home were covered with various Manitoba artists from L.L. Fitzgerald to Pauline Boutal. I did not see any William Kurelek paintings. After perusing the entire main floor, I had to ask. "So where are your Kureleks?" "Oh they would be in the Kurelek room," Robert Hucal declared. We climbed the stairs and turned left into a small den that indeed housed exclusively the work of Kurelek. From that point on, Mr. Hucal has consistently donated William Kurelek works to the WAG, not only from the inventory I witnessed that first day but also from the works he has consciously added to his collection over the ensuing decade. The first painting he donated was title *Night and the Winnipeg Flood*. This tiny painting remains one of my favourites. It depicts the epic 1950 Red River flood and is almost completely black. Out of the darkness, Kurelek subtly picked out a few shapes – semi-submerged rooftops and floating debris most noticeably an anachronistic coke can that is highlighted in moonlight. Painted near the end of his life, it is clearly in the vein of his apocalyptic message paintings. As was his mission, he warned his audience of the result of materialism in contemporary society.
Now some years later the WAG has built a modest but respectable Kurelek collection. However, it was the addition of the rare early painting, *Zaporozhian Cossacks*, which said to me that the Gallery was ready to mount a major exhibition. Gifted by Robert Kearns of Toronto, this painting was purchased many years earlier directly from the Kurelek family. It is a large painting (100 x 150 cm) and is purported to be one of the first major paintings the artist created and one holding deep significance for him.

This monumental work was painted in 1952 not long before he left for England. It had been a gift to his father Dmytro Kurelek to prove to the elder the younger’s respect for his Ukrainian roots while demonstrating his technical skills as an artist. The theme is that of Nicolay Gogol’s tale of *Taras Bulba*. In it, Kurelek delves into the character of Taras Bulba, making a comparison to his own father’s judgmental personality. This story focuses on the relationship of Taras Bulba with his two sons and draws an obvious parallel to Kurelek own efforts to win his father’s approval for his career choice as an artist. The difficult relationship between Kurelek and his father is central to Kurelek’s life. A strong desire to seek his father’s blessing and endorsement shaped his early artistic career and the lack of acceptance he received from his father had a profound effect on his artistic drive, creativity and, indeed, emotional stability.

The painting may be viewed in two halves. On the left one sees war and conflict with strong Breughel and Bosch influences. These are images illustrating a dark world of rejection. On the right, a joyful world symbolizes a more hopeful scenario coloured perhaps by acceptance from his father and endorsement of him as an artist. In this, one also sees strong influence from the Mexican muralist tradition of Diego Rivera that Kurelek had witnessed in his travels.

The addition of this painting to the WAG collection was seen as an incredible coup for numerous reasons. For one, the Ukrainian subject matter is apropos for a city that is so heavily built upon the roots of the Ukrainian community. Other factors included the rarity of early works which almost never come to the open market because most were left in Britain. It shows another side of the artist, one that is significant and rich and telling of
William Kurelek  
*Zaporozhian Cossacks* 1952  
oil on masonite  
102.0 x 152.0 cm  
Winnipeg Art Gallery
his early influences and training. And finally, this was a painting that has not been shown publically and was completely unknown to the Gallery viewing public. This work offers the opportunity to gain deeper insight into the artist’s motivation and development beyond what we can learn from the more commonly seen Prairie Boy’s Winter-type of painting.

One of the first people I spoke to about the new painting was my colleague and friend Tobi Bruce (the two of us started our careers together at the Agnes Etherington Art Centre in Kingston, Ontario nearly 20 years ago). Tobi is Senior Curator at the Art Gallery of Hamilton, an institution that has a surprising strong collection of Kurelek paintings most famously holding the entire Polish Canadian series and the epic painting *This is Nemesis*. Since the two of us had always wanted to work together on a project, this seemed like a logical idea.

Together the two institutions were successful in receiving research funds from the Museum Assistance Program through the Department of Canadian Heritage. Before starting the research however, Tobi learned she would be going on maternity leave in a few months and I had been offered the Chief Curator position at the Art Gallery of Greater Victoria (AGGV). I left for Victoria with the hopes that somehow a) the project would carry on its momentum, and b) I would be allowed to be a part of it despite my departure. My inclusion would have to be a mutual decision between the WAG and the AGGV. Luckily Andrew Kear was hired as new Curator, Historical Art at WAG and he was keen to work on the project with Tobi and me. Furthermore Victoria, though having only three Kurelek paintings in its collection, and being a location never visited by Kurelek, was thoroughly interested in hosting the exhibition and allowing me to take part in the project. Kurelek, after all, as a Canadian icon, was nearly as beloved in Victoria as he was in Winnipeg.
Developing the Scope of the Exhibition

The project became a three-way collaboration. We met in Winnipeg in the fall of 2008 to divide up the research trips, determine who would do what in terms of visiting collectors and significant figures in Kurelek’s life, and to set each of our individual research interests. The key to a multi-voice project is to ensure that vital aspects are covered to make sense of the artist, while making sure that each of the contributors offers something new to the scholarship. Together our exhibition must move forward the understanding of this complex figure.

At the end of our intensive meetings we had determined that I would focus on the pictorial tradition in which Kurelek worked, locating his unique style and narrative program within Canadian and international art history. I will explore Kurelek’s relationships with other contemporary artists, particularly within the context of the Isaacs Gallery in Toronto. While much had been said about the European context of Kurelek’s style, little had been offered about how Kurelek’s art fits into Canadian art genre, style, and iconography.

Tobi Bruce’s research and writing will analyze Kurelek’s formal and pictorial devices, his compositional strategies, and his method of depicting space and suggesting time. A critical part of this discussion centers on Kurelek’s use of the camera as a pictorial aid for his paintings, and the way in which Kurelek’s painting in series reflected an interest in film and cinematic narrative. Since determining her focus, Tobi has spent a solid week simply examining the thousands of photographs the artist took that are now housed in the Kurelek Fonds at Library and Archives Canada in Ottawa.

We determined that Andrew Kear would investigate the sustained encounter between religious and ethnic awareness throughout Kurelek’s oeuvre. Commentators have generally identified religion and ethnicity as distinct, not incompatible, thematic facets to Kurelek’s oeuvre. A closer examination of Kurelek’s writings and his art suggests,
however, that he understood his religious and ethnic identity in terms that were more complex, as being at once irresistibly entwined and irreconcilably opposed.

As we launched from Winnipeg to do our individual research we shared a collective concern with finding the right title that would communicate something significant about the new areas of study we would be revealing. This title would need to pull together all three of our various research concerns under one unified and evocative banner. We decided to let this concept percolate while we worked. In February 2008, as Tobi and I sat across from one another in the Reading Room of Library and Archives Canada, she came up with the title. We had been ploughing through the copious archival boxes sometimes reading aloud interesting things we encountered. One bitterly cold afternoon I read to Tobi several quotes where Kurelek distinguished between his popular versus serious paintings. He seemed to divide his oeuvre between “potboilers” and “message” paintings. The next day, as we again sat in at that table, Tobi floated an idea for the title: *William Kurelek: The Messenger.* Indeed, we decided that this encapsulated perfectly what this enigmatic artist was all about. Although easily more than half of his output was what he called pot-boilers, it was the message paintings that meant the most to him. This was his purpose for being, to spread the word of moral salvation through his art. He had a message to which he was dedicated. The potboilers and the illustration projects provided the money to keep him and his family afloat and to help with his various charities. But the purpose of his art was about spreading the message. Our title answers the question, “How can we understand Kurelek and reconcile the dichotomy of his art production?” How? As a messenger.

Because of the chasm between his potboilers and his heavy religious works, we knew another challenge for us would be how to develop an exhibition that attracted people while at the same time took them deeper into the substance of Kurelek’s message. What has helped us to grapple in narrowing down our choices for the exhibition is the comprehension of roughly four different types of work he produced: 1) the true potboilers that he made sometimes in multiple copies (those that have very little hidden meaning and that were produced simply to please and remind people fondly of various aspects of
their life in Canada); 2) the purely religious works that recount actual stories from the scriptures; 3) the outright moralist works that offer up warnings about the final outcome of sin and degradation of society (these works are set in contemporary time showing overt and graphic outcomes such as nuclear holocaust as seen in *This is Nemesis*); and 4) the more subtle message paintings, set in contemporary time or childhood nostalgia, that use aspects of everyday life to more gently present morality lessons.

The fact that Kurelek was incredibly prolific added further challenge to our task of narrowing down which works would be in the exhibition. We literally have thousands of works from which to choose. Our challenge is to provide a balance between these types of paintings while measuring worthiness based on relative quality, degree of popular appeal, and insight into his role as messenger. The other stipulation that guides our choices is our desire strike a balance between the most famous works that people expect to see, and those that are rarely if ever seen publically. One important series that has risen to the top of our list is the stunning large-scale panels of the *Ukrainian Pioneer Series*. Owned by the National Gallery of Canada and currently hanging in Rideau Hall, this series might best be characterized in many people’s minds by the image of the farmer standing in a vast wheat field looking down on a handful of grain. While stunningly beautiful, it speaks to the themes of our research related to Kurelek’s place in Canadian art, his interest in aspects of ethnicity, and the stunning pictorial devices he employed in constructing and directing his message about the value of hard work and moral living.

**Sleuthing: Research and Development**

Our research has spread across the country. We all had trips to Toronto where the majority of Kurelek’s career was spent and to Ottawa particularly to view the Kurelek papers (boxes of letters, writings, and art work) deposited at Library and Archives Canada. Andrew made special efforts in Manitoba and Saskatchewan, the provinces rife with Kurelek supporters and collectors as well making initial contact with Kurelek’s son Stephen in Ottawa and thus opening up our connections to the entire Kurelek family. Tobi would also focus her efforts on the Hamilton region, where Kurelek’s parents had
lived and many relatives still reside. Sadly just weeks before Tobi and I were to meet
with Jean Kurelek, William’s wife, she passed away. I was able to track down a
significant painting in an unknown private collection in Vancouver, Mendelssohn in
Winter, which features Jean and the Kurelek children in a post apocalyptic landscape.
Also in Vancouver, I located and interviewed Brian Dedora, who as a young man had
worked closely with Kurelek at the Isaacs Gallery and from him had learned his current
trade of gilding. Tobi and I together made contact with and interviewed Av Isaacs about
his relationship with Kurelek. From him we also gained information about where to find
some of the key paintings that we could not locate. Andrew and I visited the Niagara
Falls Art Gallery and Andrew went on to Combermere where Kurelek in later years had
built a Christian sanctuary.

More recently I made trips to Edmonton viewing significant collections in Government
House, the University of Alberta, the Art Gallery of Alberta and the incredibly rich and
significant Shaw Corporate collection in Calgary. Tobi secured initial confirmation of
loans from Montreal and has been working distantly with the caretakers of the Bethlam
Hospital collection to secure the incredibly vital early works by Kurelek produced in
London, specifically those that give us insight into his struggles with depression. If we
are successful in securing these loans, we will truly be presenting works that have never
been exhibited in Canada. Andrew is busy negotiating the loan of Snowstorm in Alberta
from New York. This painting was chosen to represent the best of Canadian art at the
time by Museum of Modern Art Director, Alfred Barr, in 1961.

Indeed part of our curatorial work has involved being sleuths as we endeavour to locate
rare and “lost” paintings. Sometimes in our research we found references to paintings or
old black and white photographs in decades old publications. Some of these works speak
precisely to our theme of messenger or give us new insight into Kurelek’s approach.
Many pieces however have no source reference at all. Others simply said Private
Collector. When a collection is identified, there is no guarantee that we can find these
people alive. Many pieces had changed hands. This is why sharing knowledge on this
project was critical. We emailed, phoned, and met with curator colleagues across country.
Each shared their enthusiasm for the project with us, as well as their knowledge of where they had recently seen Kurelek paintings in private collection. The meeting with Av Isaacs was critical because of his connections not only with the people who had purchased Kurelek’s work, but also with their families and descendants. This is, for example, how Tobi was able to track down Kurelek’s earliest Self Portrait. Mr. Isaacs remembered the original owner from 4 decades earlier and was in contact with the sister of the collector’s widow. I located Mendelssohn in Winter through another route. I searched Art Price, an on-line auction sale database. There I found information on what and where Kurelek’s works had sold in recent years. Seeing that the painting has sold several years earlier in Calgary, I contacted the auction house requesting they contact the buyer to see if he was willing to let me examine the painting.

Recently, a most fortuitous event happened that led Andrew to discover the location of one of the paintings we had long collectively desired to include in the exhibition. King of the Hill stood as a very good example of the type of message painting that not only warned viewers of good, moral behaviour, but did so using the iconography of childhood, showing kids knocking each other off a show pile in a game. Each character in the story seems to represent a different state of moral decay or advancement. It is prairie scene full of nostalgia, yet painted in his early style, with more subdued colours, fuller modelling and exaggerated characterization reminiscent of Bosch and other moralist painters. We knew it was in British hands and assumed it was out of our reach. However, a few months ago when Andrew went to discuss the Kurelek project with Winnipeg art dealers, father and son team, Shaun and Bill Mayberry, they mentioned they knew where this painting was. Because of their reputation dealing with Kurelek’s work and their connections to significant collector across the country, they had just been contacted by the British collector to sell the work for him. Upon Andrew’s request, they took information to the new Toronto owner they had just secured. Fortunately the owner is thrilled to have his new acquisition part of this groundbreaking national exhibition. Indeed this will be the first public showing of this work in Canada.
The Current State of the Project

Currently (spring 2010) our research and analysis continues as we await news of our next major grant application through Heritage Canada (Museum Assistance Program) intended to cover the exhibition’s production, publication, and educational enhancements. Of current concern, now that we have identified our draft list of works is the publication which will be fully illustrated and contain major new scholarship presented through our three essays and three shorter contributions including: an essay by Brian Dedora, examining the overlooked topic of the importance of framing to the overall meaning and aesthetic of Kurelek’s painting; an essay by Brian Smyliski, executive director of the Niagara Falls Art Gallery, exploring the significance of *St. Matthew’s Passion* series and its link to film; and an interview between Avrom Isaacs, Kurelek’s former art dealer, and curator Ihor Holubizky.

As a further enhancement allowing worldwide access, the three collaborators are also planning a website. Some of the ideas for this site include: access to all the images in the exhibition with a zoom function allowing for examination of pictorial detail and accompanied audioguide capabilities; and a digital panoramic representation of the interior of Kurelek’s famous Toronto bomb shelter, which also served as his main studio. The shelter was recently extracted from the basement of his former Toronto dwelling, and is now at the Niagara Falls Art Gallery. Visitors will have the option to scroll and maneuver along horizontal and vertical axis within the digitized interior. “Hotspots,” will produce text tags containing information on the contents of this intriguing bomb artifact.

As a result of our research and the kind cooperation of numerous private collectors and public collections *William Kurelek: The Messenger* will include over 80 works from across Canada as well as New York and Britain. It is hoped that through the exhibition, the publication, and the website we can disseminate new insight into William Kurelek. What we have grown to appreciate is the complexity of this artist who, while having a broad appeal to so many Canadians, saw himself as having a calling that could be answered through his art. By bringing together works from his entire career in a balance
between the more popular and the more difficult and significant message works we hope that our efforts will lead audiences to a deeper appreciation of this often misunderstood but fascinating artist.

Mary Jo Hughes is the Chief Curator at the Art Gallery of Greater Victoria in Victoria, B.C. From 1995 to 2007 she was Curator, Historical Art at the Winnipeg Art Gallery. She has a BA and MA in art history from the University of Toronto and Queen's University, Kingston respectively. Hughes has taught museum studies and Canadian art history at both the University of Manitoba and University of Winnipeg.
ON DETACHMENT AND THE DIASPORAN ARTIST

by

Janice Kulyk Keefer

[The following text is an excerpt from a presentation delivered by Janice Kulyk Keefer on November 13, 2009 at a public lecture organized by the University of Manitoba’s Centre for Ukrainian Canadian Studies in Winnipeg.]

_Buv sobi dveyed i baba—even so many Ukrainian folk tales begin with this version of the once-upon-a-time-formula an old couple living all alone in the forest, childless, and dreading not so much their impending deaths, as the possibility that there will be no one to attend to and bury them decently, when the time comes. Alone together on a patch of land at the edge of a forest or river, their only sense of community furnished by their livestock the hero of these tales are often a prize calf, or a goat or sheep who, though they are the old couple’s devoted friends, run off to seek their fortune, leaving them with no larger community than themselves.

But is there a sense in which aloneness can be advantageous, even necessary to the diasporan? I would argue that this is so in the case of the artist, who is not “damnably” but strategically, savingly one; not isolated but happily peripheral, with one foot inside, and the other outside the circle of community. For without the practice of detachment and disinterestedness—qualities that allow the diasporan artist to adopt a critical or interrogative perspective on her or his heritage and community, strong, powerful and necessary art cannot come into being.

What degree of aloneness or distance from “nashf” is necessary for the Canadian artist to create the best work of which she or he is capable? Internationally-famed photographer Edward Burtynsky was born in 1955 to Ukrainian immigrants and grew up in a working-class neighbourhood in St Catherine’s, Ontario. As journalist Gerald Hannon attests, Burtynsky’s parents “demanded the children speak Ukrainian in the home, that they attend Ukie school (as they call it) two evenings a week. Then there was the Ukrainian mandolin band... Ukie camp in the summer. There were cultural events and parties at the Black Sea hall, the Ukrainian community centre” (H, 83-4). Burtynsky’s focus on the beautiful and the poisonous in his subject matter of industrialized landscapes shows, to quote Gerald Hannon once more, “a man who is at argument within himself, savouring the wonders and comforts we mine from our wounded planet, apprehending the woe we are bound to inherit” (H, 84).
Arguably, that argument can be traced back to his Ukrainian heritage: what is certain, however, is that Burtnynsky has distanced himself deliberately and dramatically from the ‘hromada,’ or Ukrainian community, however mythical such a homogenous entity may be—there are, of course, many different kinds of Ukrainian communities in Canada. “He understands the importance of and richness of his Ukrainian heritage,” Hannon observes, “but found it too claustrophobic, too closed in its acceptance of ideas and its lack of interest in exploring a complicated world. He resisted the pressure to marry... a Ukrainian girl and have children... who would learn the language” (H,88). Like the painter William Kurelek, Burtnynsky had a strict, harsh immigrant father who was anything but supportive of his son’s passion for art. Hannon argues that Burtnynsky, whose father died aged 45 of cancer most likely related to his work with PCB-impregnated oil at an auto parts plant, is ‘driven’ as an artist by his unfinished quarrel with the father who both gave him his first camera, and refused to pay for film that the 11 year-old could practice with, thus forcing his son into entrepreneurial habits that have led to his current economic independence. It is fascinating to contemplate what the results would be if Burtnynsky, like Kurelek before him, were to travel to his father’s birthplace, and photograph the industrial wastescapes of contemporary Ukraine. But he is just as likely, and has every right, to practice his art in Italy or China or Bangladesh.

Consider, in contrast, the case of painter Natalka Husar, whose work—figurative, nightmare-surreal and yet falling within the continuum of traditional history painting—hangs in Canada’s National Gallery as well as in museums and galleries across the country. Like Burtnynsky, she is the child of Ukrainian DP parents, though hers settled in New Jersey rather than Ontario. Like Burtnynsky, she grew up speaking Ukrainian in the home, and belonged to a multitude of Ukrainian organizations. But her parents, unlike his, staunchly supported her ‘habit’—her father, who had practiced dentistry in Ukraine, found employment at a Chanel perfume factory in New Jersey and would bring home sheets of packaging paper that Husar would pin to her bedroom walls and cover with images. Moreover, Husar has felt compelled to confront the subject of contemporary Ukraine and her own problematic experience of diasporan life.

She is as critical, as searching, as divided in her treatment of her subject matter as Burtnynsky, yet because she is looking up-front at a tangle of human values, attitudes and assumptions rather than taking a long view at manmade but largely unpeopled landscapes, she takes emotional risks in her work that are fully the equal of the physical risks Burtnynsky courts to
produce photographs of some of the most dangerous places on earth. And because she has
turned her critical gaze on cherished icons of the diaspora, and because she is always searching
out material that unsettles, frightens, even repels both herself and her viewers, she has incurred a
marked degree of displeasure among many Ukrainian-Canadians. Her treatment of ethnic kitsch
is illuminating, as can be seen from the following remarks she made in a 1985 interview with arts
journalist Robert Enright, in which she lambasted the “fake” “xenophobic” Ukrainian public who
have been offended by what she sees as the honesty of her vision. “Embroidery is beautiful,
gorgeous, back-breaking work, and then you take it and put it on a ceramic ashtray and you
bastardize it—it’s ridiculous and ugly and it becomes kitsch.” Guilt, nostalgia and a relentless
awareness “that you really can’t just plunge into the mainstream and totally forget your
background” comprise her experience of ethnicity. “There’s so much pain there that nobody
sees,” Husar . . . say[s], describing the overall condition of people living within a displaced
culture. “So if you can, just show it. The pain goes for any ethnic group.” The result, Enright
declared in 1986, “is evidence of the first serious questioning of accepted ethnic conventions yet
posed by a Ukrainian-Canadian artist” (E).

Husar insists that it is her passionate love for and commitment to Ukraine that drives her to
‘probe the wound;’ of its past and present condition: the attention she paid to the diaspora in such
wonderfully comic and bitingly ironic earlier works as “Our Lady of Mississauga” or “Mama’s
Boy” has been displaced by later work which confronts, for example, the phenomenon of young
women, Chernobyl-haunted and damaged by Ukraine’s slam-bam embrace of the worst excesses
of western popular culture and consumerism, stranded in Canadian-suburban or Ukrainian-urban
contexts. She is all too aware of the possible claustrophobia that can ensue from too tight an
embrace of or by “the Ukrainian community” in Canada—by which I mean, of course, the many
branches of Ukrainian diasporan life experienced here: there is, of course, no monolithic
community, for Ukrainians in this country continue to be split on lines if politics, religion, and
cultural loyalty—for instance, should the diasporan’s prime concern be with the homeland or
rather, with the manifestations of Ukrainianness which immigrants have been able to create and
develop in Canada, be they the giant Easter egg of Vegreville or the Shumka dancers.

As for me and my ‘loneliness,’ I situate myself somewhere between the complete
disassociation of Byrtynsky from and the complete identification of Husar with, Ukraine.
Works Cited and Abbreviations Used


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ABOUT THE AUTHOR

Professor of English (University of Guelph), Dr. Janice Kulyk Keefer is a prominent literary figure. She has authored some fifteen works of poetry, prose and literary criticism and in 2008 she won the Kobzar Literary Award for her novel: *The Ladies Lending Library*. 
Яким чином культурне різноманіття (багатокультурність) Канади впливає на ту чи іншу етнічну групу? Чи можливе гармонійне співіснування, або, навіть, поєднання культур у еклектичному розмайтті? Чи гальмує це природній розвиток окремої культури, а чи, можливо, веде до створення нових концепцій? Роздумами над цими питаннями автор хотів би поділитися у цій статті.

Перш за все давайте звернемось до визначення багатокультурності, головних суспільних та політичних аспектів цієї політики та підгрунтів, на якому вони базуються в Канаді. Почнемо з того, що багатокультурність - це визнання та заохочення численних етнічних культур.

Починаючи з 1970 - 1980 років, це є офіційна політика Канади, країни, що має один з найвищих відсотків іммігрантів у світі, навіть у порівнянні з такими країнами як Австралія, Аргентина, Сполучені Штати Америки чи сучасна Великобританія. На сьогоднішній день вже видно результати цієї політики. Слухаючи оповіді моїх старших колег, родичів та знайомих, порівнюючи їх життєвий досвід зі своїм власним (я іммігрував до Канади у 1993 р., а також, спостерігаючи та аналізуючи стосунки своїх танцюристів - дорослої молоді, я бачу досить значні поступи у світогляді та толерантності людей по відношенню до різних етнічних груп. Тепер проаналізуємо підгрунтя, на якому політика багатокультурності базується.

В Канаді дозволено мати подвійне громадянство. Коли у 1998 році я отримував Канадський паспорт, то запитав у державного судді, який вручив мені посвідчення громадянина Канади і перед яким я склав присягу на вірність Канаді про те, що станеться з моїм Українським
громадянством та паспортом? “Вони лишаються з вами, - відповів суддя, - це ваше надбання, ваш життєвий досвід і ваше право”. Я відчув подвійну пошану до моєї країни Канади і до моєї батьківщини України. Коли мене запитують хто я за походженням, я жартом відповідаю: “I am made-in-Ukraine Canadian!”, що означає “Канадець, зроблений в Україні!”. Але за цим жартом стоять досить серйозні почуття поваги та гордості.

Наступними зразками підгрунтя можна навести існування українських шкіл, церков, телерадіо програм, святкування українських свят на території Канади. У Саскачевані, наприклад, кожного року в місцевих газетах або теленовинах ви побачите статті та репортажі про традиції святкування Українського Різдва або Великодніх Свят. До політики підтримки багатокультурності в Канаді також варто віднести фінансову допомогу (гранти, премії) як муніципальні, провінційні так і федеральні. Хотілося б, звичайно, бачити більші суми коштів, виділених на культуру, оскільки культура (прощу не плутати з розважальними видами мистецтв) не є прибутковою індустрією, але факт існування цього, хоч і не значного, спонсорства є реальним.

Тепер давайте поміркуємо над взаємовпливом культур одна на одну. Чи добре це для окремо взятої культури, чи ні? У цьому питанні багато думок можуть розійтися. Перш за все, давайте погодимось з тим, що хочемо ми цього чи ні, впирається чи піддається, цей вплив існує. Хочу звернути увагу на те, що такий вплив існує не лише в країнах з високим рівнем іміграції, але в будь-яких країнах, де за історичних, політичних чи адміністративних умов різні етнічні групи проживають поруч. Візьмемо до прикладу такі європейські країни як Швейцарію, Бельгію, чи Індонезію та Філіппіни в Азії. Або давайте поглянемо на Україну. Від заходу на схід ми побачимо чудовий зразок взаємовпливу культур не лише у мовних діалектах, але і у звичаях, обрядах, народних строях, танцях.
Нині є дуже популярним в українських танцювальних колективах Канади мати різноманітний "регіональний" репертуар українських танців. Часи виключно "полтавського" чи "туцульського" стилів українського танцю відходять у минулі. Всім подобається бачити різноманіття танцювальних рухів, стилів виконання, костюмів. А чи задумуємося ми над тим, звідки виникло таке розмаїття українського народного танцю? Давайте придивимось уважніше і ми побачимо переклик у рухах, строях, музиці з іншими народами. Наприклад вплив татарського, болгарського або грецького у південних регіонах України, російського на сході (Слобожанщина та Донщина), угорського та словацького на Закарпатті, польського на Опілля, Волині та Полісі, румунського та молдовського на Буковині.

А тепер прослідкуємо за тим, чи розвиваються окремо взяті культури у багатокультурній системі поза межами країни оригінального походження. Давайте нагадаємо визначення слова культура, що означає сукупність матеріальних та духовних цінностей, створених людством протягом його історії. Я хочу зробити наголос на слові "історія". Це, на мою думку, є ключове слово, що дає відповідь на поставлене питання. Історії країн, народностей яких населяють Канаду, та історія безпосередньо Канади є різними. Так як біологічні, кліматичні фактори впливають на розвиток тієї чи іншої рослини, так історичні фактори впливають на формування тієї чи іншої культури. Пересадіть калину або вербу з українського ґрунту на канадський і ви побачите, що вони проростатимуть інакше ніж в Україні і навпаки. Але вони все таки лишаються вербами і калинами. Візьмемо, наприклад, загальновідомий Гопак – танцювальний автограф України. Придивіться до рухів цього запального танцю: розніжки, повзунці, присядки, перекиди, щупаки, пістолети, бочки, оберти і тому подібне. На мою думку історичні умови України вплинули на виникнення
цих рухів, бо вони тісно пов'язані з рухами двобою українського козацтва, яке, в свою чергу, теж виникло за певних історичних умов. Козаки, повертаючись до цивільного життя після військових вишколів, демонстрували свою вправність у побутових розвагах, так само як індіанські мисливці, аргентинські пастухи, шотландські воїки з шаблями, японські самураї чи іспанські тореадори вплинули на танцювальне мистецтво своїх культур. Чи міг би виникнути Гопак у Канаді? Гадаю що ні, тут різні історичні умови. Але культурна спадщина ковбоїв, наприклад, це вже продukt північноамериканської історії, хоча і має своїх попередників у Іспанії. Чи міг би виникнути Гопак у сьогоднішньому українському війську? Не певен, але якщо і зміг, то в іншій формі. У XIV-XVIII століттях військовий вишкіл відрізнявся від сьогоднішнього, оскільки засоби боротьби були різні. Ближній фізичний добій вимагав інших вправ та засобів. Вистрибуючи у повітря у розніжці, козак вражав ногами у голови двох ворогів, або, сидячи у присядку і роблячи “млинок” (улюблений рух багатьох молодих танцюристів), козак збирав з ніг супротивника, роблячи швидкі оберти з булавою в руках, він захищався від нападників коли був оточений з усіх сторін. Сьогоднішні вояки користуються сучасною зброєю, що надає можливість безконтактного нападу чи захисту. Отож я можу поставити під сумнів виникнення подібних танцювальних рухів в Україні за сьогоднішніх історичних умов. А тепер подивимось як ця культурна спадщина адаптувалася в Канаді. Вона знайшла своє місце у іншій формі, на мою думку це - Коломийка. Чи знаєте ви, що Коломийка у відомий нам всім формі демонстрації вправності та витривалості набагато популярніша в Канаді ніж в Україні? І сьогоднішня Коломийка різничається від канадської Коломийки минулого століття, чи не так? Це говорить про розвиток цієї форми. На мою думку Коломийка-Канада і є похідною формою українського Гопака, але вже базована не на двобої, а на демонстрації належності до української культури та енергетичного запалу, притаманного українцям.
Хотів би також зупинитися на тому, яким чином багатокультурність впливає на творчий процес окремо взятої людини. Найпростіше буде проаналізувати це на власному досвіді, щоб бути більш об'єктивним у своїх визнаннях.

Мої знання та досвід як хореографа формувалися в Україні. Окрім природного захоплення українським танцем, мені потрібно навчатися цьому захоплюючому виду мистецтв у талановитих і видатних професорів та відомих хореографів України. Я прибув до Kanadи маючи певні знання та досвід. Але, живучи тут вже 17 років, можу сказати, що створив більше хореографічних проектів у Kanadі ніж в Україні. І це природно. Але якщо мене хтось запитає, чи творив би я аналогічні танці, лишившись в Україні, я б відповів: далеко не всі. Один з моїх проектів створених в Kanadі на основі Ansambлю Українського Танцю “Павличенко” (Pavlychenko Folklorique Ensemble) яким я наразі керую є танцювальна сюїта “Канадський Калейдоскоп”. Цей номер відображає моє мистецьке та громадянське бачення як українсько-канадського хореографа. В Україні я би цей номер не створив.

Засобами танцювального жанру, ця сюїта підтверджує один з демократичних принципів, який робить Kanadу особливою країною - це визнання її культурного різноманіття.

Неосяжний простір канадської землі - це унікальна вишивка і переплетіння етнічних груп з різних частин світу. І хоча ці окремі групи завжди добре видно, вони нерозривно пов'язані між собою тим, що ми називаємо “Канадською Ідентичністю”. Ця ідентичність не є статичною - вона живе, розвивається і набирає інших форм динамічно і несподівано, як неповторні та унікальні візерунки калейдоскопу. Це танцювальна екстравагантна композиція етнічних груп, що називають Kanadу своїм дому. Серед них: Північно-Американські аборигени, Шотландці, Ірландці, Німці, Іспанці, Філіппінці, Французи,
Українці – і це лише невелика частина представників населення, які прибули на цю землю і створили націю, що сягає “від моря - до моря”.

Композиція танцю вирішена у формі 20-хвилинної Коломийки: коли одна нація представляє свій танець по центру сцени, всі решта на великому півколі створюють танцювальний антураж у стилі сольної групи. На закінчення сюїти, після епізоду українського гопака, всі танцюристи стають поруч один одного і, тримаючись за руки, виконують національний гімн Канади.

“Канадський Калейдоскоп” був моєю подякою Канаді на 10-річчя мого перебування на землі країни, що стала і моїм домом.

Перед тим як приступить до постановки та монтажу цього номеру, я намагався якомога більше вивчити про культури і танці різних народів. Я також зорганізував танцювальні семінари для танцюристів ансамблю Павличенко зі своїми колегами, хореографами інших національностей. Мало того, що це була чудова нагода познайомитись із цікавими людьми, це також був унікальний досвід вивчення інших танцювальних форм для моїх танцюристів. Чи стали вони танцювати гірше українські танці? Ні. Чи розширили вони діапазон своїх знань? Так.

Я спочатку хвилювався як сприймуть цей номер інші народності. Але після декількох виступів зрозумів, що мої хвилявання були даремними. Представники інших етнічних груп підходили після виступу щоб подякувати і потиснути руки. А декотрі, під час зведених концертів, навіть просили, щоб я дозволив їх танцюристам вийти на сцену в кінці номера і разом з моїм ансамблем виконати “О, Канадо”. Я не заперечував.
Досить скоро “Канадський Калейдоскоп” набув популярності у громаді міста Саскатуну, а потім і за його межами. Запрошення на виступи надходили і надходять від різних організацій та фестивалів. “Калейдоскоп” відкрив двері для мого ансамблю до заходів, зорганізованих адміністративними та політичними керівниками міста і провінції і таким чином привернув увагу до української культури не лише української громади. На мою думку, це важлива стратегія у багатокультурному суспільстві. На міжнародних гастролях ансамблю, мені приємно і гордо бачити, коли в Україні чи Сполучених Штатах Америки, після виконання своєї “Канадський Калейдоскоп”, глядач у залі піднімається, аплодуючи не лише моїм танцюристам, але демонструючи повагу до Kanади.

Отож, підсумовуючи, можу сказати з власного досвіду, що співіснування різних культур може вплинути на виникнення нових концепцій у мистецтві. Але це має відбуватися на засадах демократії і толерантності, ні в якому разі не нав'язуванні культури домінуючої нації. А також на бажанні етнічних груп утримати, або, при потребі, і відстоювати унікальність своєї культури. І не лише у танцях, але й у мові, традиціях, світогляді. Я за соціальну інтеграцію, але проти культурної асиміляції.

Зауважте, що у Kanаді ми із задоволенням куштуємо різні страви. Мене шокував у перші роки такий великий вибір ресторанів національних страв. Я полюбив і піцу, і креветки, і суши, і стейк. З іншого боку я знаю безліч людей не українського походження, яким дуже смакує український борщ. Якщо ми сприймаємо кухню інших народів, що заважає нам сприйняти і посмакувати їх культурою?

Смачного, Kanадо!
HOW CHOREOGRAPHY CAN SERVE TO REFLECT

CANADA'S CULTURAL DIVERSITY

by

Serhij Koroliuk

How does Canada’s variety of cultures (multiculturalism) influence any given ethnic group? Is a harmonious co-existence possible, or, even, a union of cultures within an eclectic mosaic? Does this threaten the natural development of an individual culture, or perhaps, does this lead to the creation of new concepts? In this article, the author wishes to share his thoughts regarding these questions.

Firstly, let’s consider the meaning of multiculturalism and the main societal and political aspects that constitute its fundamental features in Canada. We’ll start with the fact that multiculturalism is an acknowledgment of and an incentive for multiple ethnic cultures. In the 1970’s and 1980s this became official policy in Canada, a country which probably has one of the highest percentages of immigrants in the world even in comparison with such countries as Australia, Argentina, the United States of America or Great Britain. The results of this policy are evident today. Listening to my older colleagues, family and friends, comparing their life experience with my own (I immigrated to Canada in 1993), and also watching and analyzing the dealings of my dancers – grown-up youths, I see quite a marked advancement in the worldview and tolerance of various generations of people in their relations with different ethnic groups.

And now let’s analyze the foundation which provides the basis for a policy of multiculturalism. In Canada one is allowed dual citizenship. When I received my Canadian Passport in 1998, I asked the judge -- who granted me a certificate of Canadian citizenship and before whom I made a promise to be loyal to Canada – what is to become of my Ukrainian citizenship and passport? “They stay with you,” answered the judge, “this is something you’ve acquired, it’s your life experience and your right.” I felt a
twofold respect towards my country and for my fatherland Ukraine. When I’m asked about my origin, I jokingly reply that “I am a made-in-Ukraine Canadian!” But behind this joke there are some rather serious feelings of pride and respect. To exemplify what’s behind these feelings, one can cite the existence of Ukrainian schools, churches, radio programs, and the celebration of Ukrainian holidays on Canadian soil. In Saskatchewan, for instance, every year local paper or televised news offer articles or reports about the celebration of Ukrainian Christmas or Easter. It’s also worthwhile noting that Canada’s policy of multiculturalism includes financial support (grants, awards) from municipal, provincial as well as federal agencies. Of course, one would wish to see more funds set aside for cultural projects, because culture (not to be confused with recreational arts) is not a product of industry; but since such sponsorship does exist, even though it’s meager, this alone testifies to the recognition of multiculturalism as a fact of life.

Now let’s consider how cultures influence one another. Can this be good for a given culture, or not? This question can give rise to many thoughts. First of all, let us agree that -- whether we like it or not -- this kind of process does exist. I wish to focus attention on the fact such a process exists not only in countries with high levels of immigration, but also in any country where various ethnic groups live side-by-side for historical, political or administrative reasons. Let’s take for example such European countries like Switzerland, Belgium, or Indonesia and the Philippines in Asia. Or let’s look at Ukraine: from west to east we can see a marvelous instance of cultural inter-influence not only in language dialects, but also in traditions, rituals, folk costumes, dances. Nowadays Canada’s Ukrainian dance groups popularize a “regional” repertoire that highlights the variation of Ukrainian dances. Exclusively “Poltava” or “Hutsul” styles of Ukrainian dance are a reflection of the past. Everyone likes to see a variety of dance movements, styles of performance, costumes. But do we wonder about the origins of this variation in Ukrainian folk dance? If we look closely we’ll see the echo of other peoples in the dance steps, the costumes, the music. For example, there are Tatar, Bulgarian and Greek influences in the southern regions of Ukraine, Russian influence in the east (Slobozhanshchyna and Donshchyna), Hungarian and Slovak influences in the
Transcarpathian region, Polish influence in Opillia, Volyn and Polissia, Romanian and Moldavian influences in Bukovyna.

And now let’s examine whether cultures can evolve on their own within a multicultural system outside their countries of origin. Let’s recall the meaning of the word “culture”, which signifies a cluster of material and spiritual treasures created by people in the course of that people’s history. I wish to emphasize the word “history.” In my opinion, this is the key word which answers the question raised above. The history of those countries whose people have settled in Canada and the history of Canada are different. Just like biology and climate are factors that influence a plant’s growth, so can historical factors influence the formation of a given culture. If you transplant a cranberry bush or a willow-tree from its Ukrainian environment to a Canadian setting, you’ll see that they will grow differently. Nonetheless, they remain willow-trees and cranberries. And now let’s take the example of the well-known hopak, Ukraine’s signature dance. Examine the movements in this fiery dance: roznizhky, povzuntsi, pryskadky, perekydy, shchupaky, pistolety, bochky, and so on. In my opinion factors relating to Ukraine’s history prompted the emergence of these movements since they are closely linked to the movements of combat associated with Ukrainian kozaks who, incidentally, also emerged in response to certain historical factors. After they returned from their military expeditions to a civil life style, the kozaks would reveal their skills in everyday diversions, just like aboriginal hunters, Argentine shepherds, Scottish warriors with their sabers, Japanese samurais or Spanish toreadors who influenced the dance art of their own cultures. Could the hopak ever originate in Canada? I guess not, the historical environment here is different. But the cultural legacy of cowboys, for instance, that’s a product of North America’s history (although it has its antecedents in Spain). Could the hopak originate in today’s Ukrainian military? I’m not sure, but if it did, the form would be different. From the 14th to 18th centuries the military experience was different from today’s, the manner of fighting was different. A close-up physical kind of combat required other kinds of tactics and techniques. By flinging himself and his outstretched legs into the air, the kozak could use his limbs to strike at the heads of two opponents at one time, or, squatting down and spinning a “windmill” (a favoured movement with
many young dancers today), the kozak could make his adversary lose his balance while spinning around with a mace in his hands, and in this way the kozak could protect himself when surrounded by attackers on all sides. Today’s soldiers use contemporary weapons, which allow for attack and defense without bodily contact. And thus we can question whether other Ukrainian dance movements could have emerged in today’s historical environment. But now let’s examine how this cultural legacy adapted itself to our environment in Canada. In my opinion, this legacy was transformed into something different – the kolomyika. Do you realize that the kolomyika, a form familiar to all of us for its skill and endurance, is much more popular here in Canada than in Ukraine? And is it not true that today’s kolomyika is different from the Canadian kolomyika in the previous century? This difference testifies to the evolution of this form. In my opinion the Canadian kolomyika is a reformulation of the Ukrainian hopak, -- but instead of combat, its roots are grounded in the demonstration of allegiance to Ukrainian culture and in the energetic passion that is characteristic of Ukrainians.

I also wish to focus on how multiculturalism can influence the creative process experienced by an individual person. In order that my perceptions be more telling, I’ll do the simple thing and analyze this on the basis of my personal experience.

My knowledge and experience as a choreographer took shape in Ukraine. Besides a natural fascination with Ukrainian dance, I had the good fortune to study this fascinating art-form with talented and leading professors and leading choreographers of Ukraine. I arrived in Canada with considerable knowledge and experience. But having lived here for 17 years now, I can say that I’ve created more choreographic works in Canada than in Ukraine. And that’s quite normal. But if anyone were to ask me whether I would have created analogous dances had I remained in Ukraine, I would respond: very few.

One of the works I’ve created in Canada when based with the “Pavlychenko Folklorique Ensemble” (which I currently lead) is entitled “Canadian Kaleidoscope”. This dance number reflects my artistic and social vision as a Ukrainian-Canadian
“Canadian Kaleidoscope” on stage
choreographer. I would not have created this work in Ukraine. Using the methods of dance, this suite underlines one of the democratic principles that make Canada a special country – that’s Canada’s recognition of cultural diversity. The country’s immense vastness – this marks a unique piece of embroidery and inter-weaving of ethnic groups from various parts of the globe. And while each of these groups is always visible as a separate entity, they are inextricably linked to one another in the formulation of what we call a “Canadian Identity”. This is not a static identity – it’s a living concept which evolves and absorbs other forms in dynamic and unexpected ways -- like the ever-changing and unique patterns of a kaleidoscope. This is an extravagant dance composition that focuses on the ethnic groups that call Canada their home. Among them are North American Aborigines, the Scots, Irish, Germans, Spanish, Filipinos, the French, Ukrainians – and that’s just some of the groups that came to this land and created a nation that stretches “from sea to sea”.

This dance is composed in the form of a 20-minute kolomyjka: when one nationality’s dance is featured in stage-centre, the other members of the Pavlychenko ensemble create a dance entourage in a big half-circle performing in the style of the nationality being highlighted in the center. At the end of the suite, all our dancers join hands and render Canada’s national anthem.

“Canadian Kaleidoscope” was my thanks to Canada for 10 years of living on the land of the country that became my home.

Before getting into the production and staging of this work I tried, as much as possible, to learn about the culture and dances of various nationalities. I also organized dance seminars for our Pavlychenko dancers with my colleagues – choreographers from other nationalities. Not only was this a marvelous chance to meet interesting people, this was also a unique experience for my own dancers who could learn other kinds of dance forms. Did their Ukrainian repertoire suffer on account of this exposure? No. Did they expand the range of their knowledge? Yes.
At first I was worried whether other ethnic groups would accept this work. But after several performances, I realized that I didn’t need to worry. Representatives of other ethnic groups would approach me after a performance to thank me and shake hands. And some of them during joint concerts even requested that I allow their dancers to come onto the stage at the end of our suite to do “O Canada” together with my ensemble. I didn’t have anything against this.

It didn’t take long for “Canadian Kaleidoscope” to become popular with Saskatoon’s community and then even beyond the City’s boundaries. Invitations to perform came in and continue to come in from various organizations and festivals. “Kaleidoscope” opened the doors to events organized by administrative and political leaders of the city and the province, and in this way “Kaleidoscope” earned respect for Ukrainian culture not just for the Ukrainian community. In my opinion this kind of strategy is important in a multicultural society. During the ensemble’s tours abroad, I was both pleased and proud to see that, whether it was in Ukraine or the United States of America, after a performance of “Canadian Kaleidoscope”, viewers in the audience would rise and applaud not just my dancers but also the show of respect for Canada.

And so, to sum up, I can say from my own experience that the co-existence of diverse cultures can stimulate the emergence of new concepts in art. But this needs to conform to the principles of democracy and tolerance without any suggestion of some superior national culture. But this also needs to support the wishes of ethnic groups even if necessary, their perceptions of cultural uniqueness. And not only in dance, but also in language, traditions, worldview. I’m in favour of social integration but against cultural assimilation.

It should be noted that in Canada we enthusiastically sample different kinds of cuisines. During my first years in Canada I was often amazed to see the wide range of cuisines. I got to love pizza, shrimp, sushi and steak. From another perspective, I also know countless people not of Ukrainian descent who are very fond of Ukrainian borschch.
If we can accept the cuisine of other peoples, what stops us from accepting and savouring their cultures?

_Bon appetit, Canada!_

Translation by
R.B.Klymasz, Feb.18, 2010

ABOUT THE AUTHOR

Born in Ukraine, Serhij Koroliuk studied in Kyiv at the National University of Culture and Performing Arts in the faculty of Drama and Choreography. He has danced with a number of professional song and dance ensembles in Ukraine. Mr. Koroliuk moved to Canada in the early 1990’s and in 1995 he became Artistic Director of the Pavlychenko Folklorique Ensemble in Saskatoon, Saskatchewan, where he currently resides. In his words, “the stage is my canvas, the dancers my brushes, and movement my palette”. 
HAS IT MET THE NEED? A REVIEW OF THE HYMNAL Spivajte Bohovi
nashomu / Sing to Our God (2008)

by

Mary March¹

The very earliest Christians had grown up in synagogues so that hymns, in the form of
psalms and canticles, were already part of the worshipping traditions familiar to them. In
later times, hymns were also used as a response to the heretics' use of singing to promote
their erroneous doctrine. (For example, a group known as Gnostics were known for their
beautiful and attractive hymns).

Christian hymnody is originally and essentially a poetry² of the Christian people. In Canada,
hymn singing is popular in all protestant and Catholic churches. One can walk into almost
any church and find sets of one or more different hymn books in the pews. Typically these
hymnals contain several hundred hymns. Often, they include selections from a variety of
church traditions (including those of aboriginals and of Orthodox Christians).

In his introduction to Співайте Богові Нашому Sing to Our God, the Most Reverend
David Motiuk, Eparch of Edmonton quotes Saint Augustine as having said: To sing is to pray
twice. This idea is clearly supported in most Canadian Christian churches where enthusiastic
participation in hymn singing is common.

Distinctive and rich liturgical music and church hymn traditions have long been an important
component of the Ukrainian culture. Ukrainians immigrating to Canada brought with them
knowledge of and the tradition of and love of singing hymns. Some brought printed hymn
books with them from Ukraine. Some acquired hymn books that were reprinted versions of
hymn booklets originating in Ukraine.³

Ukrainian religious communities in Canada such as the Sister Servants of Mary Immaculate
and the Ukrainian Basilian and Redemptorist Fathers kept these hymns alive in their
monasteries, schools and parishes. Also, through the Redeemer's Voice and Basilian
Presses, they published hymn books and included selections of hymns in the back pages of
prayer books.

Growing up in Holy Family Parish in Winnipeg, I learned to sing hymns from a group of
women who led the singing at our 9:00 AM liturgy every Sunday. A Sister Servant, who
taught us catechism, told us on the first day to go to the choir loft the following Sunday. I
did that and then never left. Most of the women in the group had grown up in rural areas of
Manitoba and they knew most, if not all, the melodies for the words printed in the parish's
brown (and black) paperbound books. When I was about 12 years old, one of those women,
the late Mrs. Emily Cembrowski, presented me with my own copy of Церковні Пісні, the
navy blue vinyl-covered book published by the Basilian Press in Rome in 1962 containing

¹ Ukrainian Choir Director and frequent Cantor at St. John the Baptist Shrine, Ottawa.
² This idea is expressed in the Catholic Encyclopaedia article on Christian hymnody.
³ One such booklet, Церковні Пісні з нотами published in Winnipeg in 1923, was a re-
printing of a hymn booklet published in Lviv in 1909.
the words and music for numerous Ukrainian hymns. I have kept that book and for many years it has served as my most complete source of Ukrainian hymns.

My experience was fairly unique among my generation. The 1960’s were a transitional time in our Canadian Ukrainian Catholic Church. Vatican II had begun a shift to "using the vernacular" in our churches. For us, this meant a shift from "old Slavonic" to Ukrainian in our liturgies. But at the same time, the children of the earlier immigrants had migrated to the cities to find work and, in turn, their children, many of them baby boomers, were fully integrated into city life and spoke considerably less Ukrainian than their parents. They had much less interest in participating within the church. In the latter part of the 60s and the early 70s, parishes in Winnipeg and other cities began to offer liturgies in English. The 9:00 AM liturgy where I had learned to sing Ukrainian hymns, served this younger generation and therefore became an English liturgy.

In the eastern part of Canada, urban areas such as Toronto, Montreal and Ottawa and parts of Winnipeg and Edmonton, the shift to English was much slower because of an influx of post-WW II immigrants who had grown up singing Ukrainian hymns often as part of formal choirs in the Old Country. Church choirs specializing in singing liturgical music and hymns arranged by composers such as Bortniansky, Stetsenko, Koshetz and Fedoriw were more common in these city churches.

The language shifts occurring at the grass roots parish levels has affected the singing of hymns and passing on of hymn knowledge and traditions. With Ukraine under the Soviets and the suppression of the Ukrainian Catholic Church, preservation and promotion of existing Ukrainian hymns and development and acceptance of new ones was nigh impossible. Canadian Ukrainian Catholics were on their own while being subject to language, cultural assimilation and more modern times.

A variety of unofficial hymn books materialized - most of them independently produced within parishes and labelled "For Private Use". These hymn book efforts were usually comprised of photocopies of Ukrainian Hymns from older hymn books, side by side with English versions which were not always accurate translations. The English words often did not fit the music very well, so translators took the liberty of changing melodies and rhythm. Notes were deleted from melodies sometimes to make the music fit – akin to replacing a musical phrase from J. S. Bach with a "Bach-lite" phrase with a representative sample of the notes. Traditional hymns might not have been included in the local books depending on knowledge within the parish. Some books included popular hymns that were not from Ukrainian or even Catholic traditions such as “Amazing Grace” and “Kumbaya”.

Quite professional efforts at bilingual hymnbooks have been achieved by others such as the Metropolitan Andrei Sheptytsky Institute, the Saskatoon Eparchy, St. Demetrius Parish in Toronto, St. Elias Parish in Burlington, the Sister Servants of Mary Immaculate. None of these groups has been able to put the amount of resources into a project that the Edmonton Eparchy have used in their effort. These other materials have been available as source materials for this larger project.

Presumably, smaller parishes lacked resources to compile and print their own private-use hymn books. It was also more difficult for them to recruit singers who had the time, knowledge and energy to preserve and to pass on hymn traditions.
There have been shifts and modernizations other than language use changes that have affected the use of hymns. The welcome shift to orthodoxy in the Eastern Church (because of a recognition of our own identity) has revived traditions such as singing of Matins and Vespers. Celebration of the Pre-sanctified Liturgy and of the Liturgy of Saint Basil the Great at designated times has been revived. Services such as Molebens and Sorokoutsy are less common. These shifts have had an impact on the use of hymns. For example, older hymn books usually include a large section devoted to hymns intended to be sung with a Moleben. As other traditional services are revived it is hard to know how appropriate Hymns should be incorporated. Our grandmothers never had that service at home (в дома) and cannot help us there!

Undoubtedly, a reliable hymnbook with appropriate suggested hymns for use throughout the Church year has been sorely needed for some time in the Canadian Ukrainian Catholic parishes. It is clear that the objective of the committee struck by the Edmonton parishes was to develop a hymnal to meet this need. It was an ambitious objective and a tremendous amount of excellent work has obviously gone into this task. And the result, after almost two years since publication in 2008 has proven to be very useful. The time has come to begin evaluating the extent to which this hymnal has met the needs of the parishes across Canada.

**Completeness**

Before this Hymnal was completed, a friend familiar with the project sent me a copy of the its Table of Contents because I was searching for a hymnbook to purchase for the Ottawa parish. Scanning it, I soon found it would cover almost all the hymns I know, even a few that I had only ever seen as handwritten notes photocopied. Once the printed book appeared it was gratifying to know that the editors have included not only familiar verses of the hymns and even some that I had never seen. The authors have obviously gone to some lengths to find provide hymns for special feast days and hymns that are appropriate for children. Easy-to-follow harmony parts have been provided for many songs. Several tables of contents are included to enable searching by theme and alphabetically (in both English and Ukrainian). Ukrainian, English and transliterated versions are provided for almost every hymn. This is, without any doubt, the most complete existing collection of commonly sung hymns in the Canadian Ukrainian Catholic Church.

**Editorial Decisions**

In the hymnal’s Preface, the Editors mention a number of decisions they made regarding this book.

**Choices of Versions**

The Editors were faced with numerous of versions of some hymns and had to decide on a version to include in the hymnal. This can result in surprises when casually using the book during worship when a group chooses a well-known hymn from the Table of Contents – perhaps a Христос Воскрес – begins singing and encounters an unexpected setting of a well-known musical phrase. The way a hymn is sung in a parish may have been in practice for 30+ years and the congregation knows it by heart. Usually we try to ignore the change because many people are singing without books. We wonder if the different setting is
common in Alberta since it is unexpected in Ontario. For a less well-known hymn, confusion or stumbling can result.

The editors mention that they have chosen a version with a view to “regularizing” the hymns. For a hymn that is unknown in a parish, the editors’ version is certainly a welcome starting point. On the other hand, cantors are taught that they need to be sensitive to prevailing customs of a parish and not try to impose some textbook version of church music.

If the Hymnal is to be used across Canada, it might be desirable to produce a revised version in ten or more years, perhaps reviewing decisions responding to feedback.

**Transposing**

The editors decided to move hymns to a "comfortable key" which can be uncomfortably low for singers accustomed to singing in choirs. Often singers must resort to using their (throat) voices commonly used for speaking when attempting to sing music that is lower than their usual range. Moving music down to a lower key can make a composition lose uplifting qualities intended by the composer. Part of the expression of the music’s poetry is certainly its pitch. Бог Правдивий sung in G is not the same triumphal hymn as when it is sung in C. Also, singers using their throat voices are more likely to go flat. It is hard to imagine that progressively losing pitch while singing in a throaty voice is what St. Augustine meant as praying twice.

In recent times we are bombarded by popular music which is sung in the comfortable keys which lead us to sing along with the radio and to buy commercial recordings. The style of singing has become normal in this century.

The hymnology of the Ukrainian Catholic church should aspire to something better! Perhaps the congregation cannot be expected to sing in voice ranges of professional classical singers. But surely, we should warm our voices up above that speaking range of pitches we use during the week and let our voices ring out in song!!! If hymns are presented in low keys, we should include footnotes or a section in an appendix identifying the key intended by the composer. Many of our young people have musical training and they deserve to know how the music should sound.

**Translations from Ukrainian to English**

A hymn translation should accurately reflect the poetic ideas and emotions expressed in the original language. If the original was in the first or second person, the translation should not be in the third person. Otherwise the emotional impact is lost. Some translators do a wonderful job of translating and meet the challenge of finding words that work well with the existing music and rhythms. In the hymnal, there are some examples of excellent translations, particularly in the Hymns for Children section.

Some of the hymns in the hymnal have not been well translated. This becomes obvious when a group decides to sing a hymn alternating between English and Ukrainian verses. The result is inconsistent and disconnected. In these cases, it is preferable to sing the hymn completely in either English or in Ukrainian.
Feedback should be sought and translations should be reviewed critically and revised with a view to producing a subsequent edition. This issue was mentioned in the introduction to the recently produced *The Divine Liturgy: An Anthology for Worship.* The Anthology compilers noted the problem and are undertaking to improve the situation.

**Children’s Hymns**

The Hymns for Children section, for the most part, includes selections unfamiliar to me. In reviewing them, though, I found that the melodies and music had been carefully created and chosen to appeal to children. Also, reassuringly, translated versions are very consistent in rhythms, ideas and emotions. Presumably this collection would be appropriate for use in a bilingual environment.

One possible criticism I have is that these hymns are all very contemporary pieces of music. Hymns sung by children 20 or 30 years ago or earlier have not been included in this collection. It may be that none of the earlier hymns were ever translated. However, this seems inconsistent with the historical nature of the first and main part of the hymnal. I believe it would be worthwhile to research earlier music, develop translations and include them, if possible, in a later version of the hymnal.

**Has it met the need?**

Despite a few small issues regarding editing decisions, the hymnal contains a complete and very useful set of the traditional hymns of the Ukrainian Catholic Church in Canada. It was long-awaited and very much needed. Parishes using it can greatly improve the quality of the hymns commonly sung in their churches. Smaller parishes have two tools – the hymnal and the related CD - to begin seriously improving their hymn traditions.

But is the job complete?

It is an excellent start. Bishops Lawrence and David and the faithful editors and committee who participated in this project must be congratulated for an excellent effort. It can serve as a very useful tool and an inspiration for pastors, cantors and choir conductors and other faithful who sing in churches. The first and likely most difficult stage is complete.

**What else is needed?**

Compilers of *Voices United, The Hymn Book* and the *Catholic Book of Worship* did not achieve their current hymnals without a long development process. They evolved over time. They did not face language issues and many of their hymns are well-known, published and copyrighted.

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4 *The Divine Liturgy: An Anthology for Worship* (Ottawa, 2004), Rev. Peter Galadza, Editor-in-Chief; Joseph Roll, Associate Editor; J. Michael Thompson, Associate Editor; Rt. Rev. Roman Galadza; Rev. John Sianchuk, CSSR, Published by The Metropolitan Andrey Sheptytsky Institute of Eastern Christian Studies.
The hymnology of the Ukrainian Catholic Church deserves to be treated with at least as much respect by all of the Church in Canada - not the Edmonton Eparchy alone.

There also a need to intelligently examine the use of hymn singing in the Ukrainian Catholic Church – particularly incorporation of hymns into Services such as Pre-sanctified Liturgies, Vespers, Funerals, Weddings, etc. The designations of hymns in the Hymnal are useful but more guidelines are needed.

This edition will be very useful but it is recommended that the Church make plans and prepare for a second edition in the future.

ABOUT THE AUTHOR

Born in Alberta of Ukrainian immigrant parents, Mary March spent most of her youth in Winnipeg where she studied piano with John Melnyk for 11 years. She graduated from the University of Manitoba with a Master of Science in Statistics and was recruited to work at Statistics Canada in Ottawa. She is retired and since 2001 she has been conducting the choir at the Ukrainian Catholic St. John the Baptist Shrine in Ottawa.
UKRANIANS IN UNEXPECTED PLACES: INFORMING STUDIES OF HISTORY AND CULTURAL PERFORMANCE

by

Marcia Ostashewski

[The following material originates with a presentation delivered by the author on March 18, 2010 at the University of Manitoba’s Centre for Ukrainian Canadian Studies in Winnipeg.]

INTRODUCTION

To date, my ethnomusicological research has focused on music and dance of Ukrainian immigrants and their descendants in western and central Canada, the United States, and diaspora communities abroad. I have looked at invocations of the past in the present, and ways in which history and culture are mobilized in the politics of identity, nation, culture and heritage. In my doctoral dissertation, Performing Heritage (2009), which I defended a year ago, I focused on an ethnography of a modern Ukrainian cultural festival in western Canada, the Vegreville Pysanka Festival in Vegreville, Alberta. In this work, I built upon earlier graduate work. I conducted master’s research at a Ukrainian festival in Poland and other diaspora studies in the United States, Croatia and with Australian-Ukrainians. In each case, I investigated ways in which music and dance function as mediums of heritage production and performance - through which participants (performers, presenters, vendors, spectators) negotiate various layers of identity. Ethnicity and nationality are among the most prominent of these, although gender, class and region are also configured and reconfigured through these expressive practices. I observed narratives and tropes of identity that served as points of negotiation for people who identify as Ukrainians. These tropes, and the music and dance practices through which they are performed, draw power from being situated within an imagined transnational Ukrainian
nationhood. While many evocations of these identity tropes appear to follow conventional patterns, I found that these tropes are also interpreted, transformed and remembered through performance. Sites of heritage production like the Vegreville festival, therefore, provide examples of ways in which individuals exercise agency in relation to structures of identity and culture.

In western Canada, the trope of the western Canadian Ukrianian prairie pioneer is a privileged trope, a core aspect of narratives of history and identity - at the Vegreville festival site, in more widespread narratives of Ukrainian heritage and history in Canada, and related expressive cultural production. This prairie pioneer trope is certainly familiar here in Winnipeg as well – in places like Folklorama, and the Manitoba Museum exhibit on Ukrainian Canadiana, for example. There has been no recognition of industrial and urban-based Ukrainians in these widespread narratives of Ukrainian Canadian identity and heritage. Neither does the pioneer trope acknowledge relations between Ukrainian settlers and Aboriginal people. In two postdoctoral research projects, I am exploring how Cape Breton’s Ukrainians – an industrial, urban-based Maritime community – and Arnie Strynadka, the son of a Cree woman and Ukrainian Canadian man - have and continue to negotiate distinct identities through performance. Today, I will briefly outline these two current research projects, ways in which they engender new perspectives about Ukrainians and group identity and how they raise questions about perceptions of intercultural relationships, with regard to constructions of history and identity, and cultural performance, and their place in modern Canada.

[CASE STUDY 1: Ukrainian music, dance and culture in Cape Breton, NS]

Ukrainian culture and communities have been a vibrant part of the social and cultural
landscape of Cape Breton Island since at least the late 1800s - yet virtually nothing exists in public memory or scholarship that attends to Canadians of Ukrainian descent in this part of the country. Official discourses - in tourism, education, and cultural policy - emphasize Cape Breton’s Anglo-Celtic and Acadian traditions, for which the island is renowned. Celtic and Acadian culture are frequently referenced within tourist literature with little, if any, mention of other cultural groups. A vast majority of tourist destinations in Cape Breton are organized around these two cultures, the Fortress of Louisbourg and the Celtic Colours festival being prime examples. Despite a multi-ethnic population, in many ways Nova Scotia has been made “Scottish,” as historian Ian McKay discusses in his book Quest of the Folk (1994) - local business, special interest groups and governing bodies have capitalized on Cape Breton’s Gaelic roots especially.

People “from away” (as I often hear outsiders described in Cape Breton) also tend to neglect the diversity on the island, as well as connections that the island’s groups have with one another, with populations in other parts of Canada, and transnationally. Histories of Ukrainians in Canada typically focus on the prairies. Ukrainian culture and experiences in western Canada are extensively addressed in popular and scholarly literature, by storytellers, journalists, historians, sociologists, religious scholars, folklorists, filmmakers, visual artists, musicians and dancers. Scholars of music and dance of Ukrainian prairie pioneers and their descendants call these expressive practices the “lifeblood” of those particular communities saying that nothing is more powerfully symbolic or widely recognized of Ukrainian culture in western Canada (Nahachewsky 2001). Yet even as Dominion government agents enticed Ukrainians to settle Canada’s west other Ukrainians were immigrating to Cape Breton, especially to Glace Bay and
Sydney’s Whitney Pier, to work in the mines and steel plant. How have the social, economic, political and material conditions of Cape Breton shaped Ukrainian music and dance there? What roles do music and dance play in the construction of identity of this Ukrainian outpost in the midst of a Canadian steelworking community rather than on prairie farmlands? What is the place of Ukrainian music and dance in Cape Breton - in relation to narratives and constructs of Ukrainian Canadian ethnicity, Ukrainianness transnationally, and Canadian nationhood and identity and in relation to widespread notions of Cape Breton tradition and culture as Gaelic and Acadian?

During a series of short-term site visits in 2008-09, while conducting interviews with a core group of research participants, I created an interactive multimedia exhibit at the Cape Breton University Art Gallery (CBU). The exhibit, based on my original research, introduces Cape Breton Ukrainian communities and culture - and ways they intersect with other local ethnic groups, including West Indies immigrants and European Jews, Scots-Gaelic descendents and Acadians. It explores both historical and contemporary Ukrainian expressive practises in the area, especially concert dance. The exhibit gathered together a variety of material items, most of which were on loan from individuals and central community institutions, including icons and other church artefacts, passports and immigration documents, literature and news clippings, photos, recorded music and music scores, instruments, a stage backdrop painted in the 1920s, costumes and stage properties. The exhibit opened to record crowds in June 2009 and, in about a week from now, online virtual components will be launched, supported by the Centre for Cape Breton Studies. Never having been celebrated before, Cape Breton’s Ukrainians were thrilled to have been represented and officially included in this public institution, and to have
their contributions to the island’s culture valued in this way.

A model of successful collaborative research, with the enthusiastic involvement of many community leaders and other members, this exhibit was also facilitated by collaboration with the Art Gallery, the Beaton Institute and Centre for Cape Breton Studies; University of Alberta’s Kule Centre for Ukrainian Folklore; the Digitization Lab and Rotary Music Performance Room at CBU; the Canada Research Chair in Intangible Cultural Heritage, Richard MacKinnon, and other CBU scholars including ethnomusicologists and folklorists.

My preliminary research has raised questions that require in-depth investigation. For example, Ukrainians in Sydney tended to interact with and often married other immigrants in the Pier District among whom they settled - Jewish, Italian, Croatian, Polish and also Black immigrants of Caribbean origin. As a result, race has figured significantly in negotiations of Ukrainianness, specifically in music and dance, as in cases where children of mixed marriages were prevented from performing in concerts. Labour Temples have historically played an important role in Ukrainian culture in other parts Canada and fostered Ukrainian music and dance performance practices specifically; they were also influential institutions in Cape Breton in relation to working-class labour. What has been their role as regards Ukrainian music and dance on the island? How have changing economic practices shaped this Cape Breton tradition in relation to Ukrainian practices in other locales and in relation to other Cape Breton traditions? What of other community institutions, like the Holy Ghost Parish in Sydney’s working-class Whitney Pier? It has been a centre of community activity since the early 1910s, like Ukrainian churches elsewhere in Canada. Ukrainian liturgical chant, choral music, operettas, social and stage dance have all been celebrated and performed there. Currently, the church and
hall serve as a community centre for many different ethnic and special interest groups in the Pier. How has the role of this institution changed due to immigration and “intercultural” contact? How does this inform contemporary theories of musical production and culture - and “identity” conceived of as a nexus of social relations? How have sound technologies played a role in these practices and their circulation, and Ukrainian and group identity – for instance, as regards the home-recordings that were made by John Huk’s father, and mid-century local CBC radio broadcasts of Ukrainian Christmas programs created by a Ukrainian bookstore owner in the Pier? What of the agency of cultural experts, individuals recognized as having special knowledge and skills, in shaping music and dance practices? These include Pavlo Yavorsky who came from Saskatchewan to teach stage dance, and instrument-maker Shewchuk who immigrated from Ukraine and settled near Glace Bay. How have immigration and Canadian life changed musical practices of individuals like Maria (Eleniak) Zwarun, a rare woman who played tsymbaly (dulcimer) with her family in the “old country” but no longer played after having joined her husband in Cape Breton? How might the relative isolation of this community of Ukrainians have shaped cultural practice? Here, I am thinking of the priest’s daughter who served as a cantor in the church’s earliest years because there was no learned man available to perform this traditionally-male role in the parish. These latter two examples suggests gender is a key issue in thinking about how migration has changed music, dance and related cultural practices. How might these stories inform our understandings of the roles of women in immigrant communities in Canada, Ukrainian ones in particular, and our interpretation of gender issues amidst many other aspects of identity in investigations of performance traditions and culture? These are but a few of the issues that have been raised by my research in Cape
Breton to date.

To accomplish this larger project, I will build on relationships I have already established and conduct ethnographic interviews with a wider range of research participants; analyze discourses, music, dance and other media, in detail (including video and audio recordings); investigate the numerous historical performance and rehearsal sites (such as the Navy League and The Lyceum) on the island; examine intangible and material culture to gain greater insight into the production of Ukrainian culture in Cape Breton (such as the church’s altar tapestry which includes embroidered crosses and wheat as well as ship’s anchors); and consult archival records, private and public (including the church’s records, which have been opened to me). As a result of the relationship I have already developed with lay historian John Huk, he donated his massive personal collection to the Beaton Institute and has made it available for my research. It is matchless for the insights it offers researchers in terms of Ukrainian as well as other ethnic communities in the Pier and, more broadly, Cape Breton’s history and culture. Currently awaiting my review at the Beaton Institute, this collection contains items as diverse as early 20th century histories of Canada in the Ukrainian language and a host of printed materials that have circulated nationally and transnationally; hundreds of commercially-made records Huk collected while working in a local music store during the 1950s; his father’s home-recordings made in the early 1950s; and scores of sheet music, both commercially-printed (some printed in pre-WWII Poland, now Ukraine) and hand-written by his instructor, a man who had trained on the prairies and traveled across Canada teaching Ukrainian dance, music and other arts. This collection needs to be examined in terms of its content (and in relation to smaller personal collections which have subsequently been donated) with an eye to wider contexts of both
Ukrainian, Canadian and Cape Breton cultural production and practices. A secondary project, following the completion of a monograph, is the reprinting of an important historical text written by John Huk (1986), with a new foreword and introduction written by me.

This exhibit has garnered national recognition and led to increased interest in the area. This Cape Breton community is one that has been largely absent from discussions of Ukrainians in Canada, both within Ukrainian communities and also when Ukrainians are characterized as part of Canadian national narratives. Yet this community has existed for over a century and these folks, quite simply, deserve to be counted, their histories and experiences attended to as part of what we understand of Ukrainian and Canadian life.

[CASE STUDY 2: Arnie Strynadka, “The Uke-Cree Fiddler”] I now turn my focus to a second research project, one that was supported by a Postdoctoral Research Fellowship in Interactive Media and Performance that I held over the last year while at the University of Regina in Saskatchewan. In my research program, “Mixed Music,” I began exploring a legacy of Aboriginal and Ukrainian settler encounters and relationships on the prairies - in music, dance and related expressive culture. This project developed out of discussions with research consultants who identify as Ukrainian-Cree and Ukrainian-Ojibwe - families and communities of Métis who have been forgotten or, at least, have gone unacknowledged. The main case study in this project involves Arnie Strynadka, who bills himself as the ‘The Uke-Cree Fiddler’. Arnie’s musical life and personal history provide examples of ways in which this one person has negotiated his mixed Aboriginal and Ukrainian Canadian heritage.

Encounters between Indigenous groups of North America and European colonizers and settlers are the subject of much current academic attention, expressed from a variety of social
sciences and humanities perspectives and varied interests, such as native/newcomer relations, histories of the law and legal ramifications for the future, race and ethnicity studies, to name a few. Ethnomusicologists and other scholars of expressive culture, however, have insufficiently theorized these relationships. Studies of European immigrant traditions in North America are often described in terms of one other another nationality and mixed cultures have rarely been acknowledged, let alone researched. I have recently begun investigating the legacy of Aboriginal and Eastern European – specifically, Ukrainian - settler encounters and relationships on the Canadian prairies in music and dance. Intercultural relationships have met with a wide range of responses ranging from fascination, admiration and romanticization, to fear, fascination, regulation and prohibition. (Think about literature – like Hiawatha stories – and Hollywood films – like Disney’s Pocahontas). In Canada, popular interest in them currently seems to be growing, along with the numbers of Canadians who claim such ancestry, based on recent census data. This phenomenon has also been taken up by the media. For instance, a recent CBC radio series, “Mixed Blessings,” considers how these intercultural relationships influence “identity, arts, culture and public policy” in one episode that was also made into a TV program, Canadian pop musician Chantal Kreviazuk explores her mixed Aboriginal and Ukrainian ancestry.

Alberta musician Arnie Strynadka says he “grew up with bannock in one hand and kobassa [Ukrainian garlic sausage] in the other,” speaking Cree with one grandmother and Ukrainian with the other. This declaration draws on widely recognizable and easily parodied stereotypes of two cultures — one aboriginal, the other, immigrant — that have centrally shaped his identity. Yet Arnie’s musical life has been anything but stereotypical. The goal of my research is to investigate that life and the ways in which he presents it, exploring productive
tensions arising between stereotypes and individual experiences, cultural expectations and individual capacity in a unique, western Canadian musical life.

Arnie Strynadka was born in 1940 on the Goodfish Lake Reserve near Vilna, Alberta, the child of a Cree mother and a father of Ukrainian descent. The centre of Ukrainian experience and history in Canada is situated on the prairies, and in the very region that is the focus of this study. A farming population that left their Eastern European rural homes in search of farmland and prosperity in Canada, the first wave of Ukrainian immigrants was encouraged by the Canadian government to settle the prairies. An initial wave of large-scale Ukrainian immigration to Canada began in the 1890s and continued to 1914. Among these early immigrants was a group of Ukrainians who settled near what is now Star, in east-central Alberta, northeast of what is now the provincial capital of Edmonton. This settlement, and the many other Ukrainian settlements that were subsequently established in surrounding areas on the Canadian prairies, are commonly referred to as northeast central Alberta in Ukrainian Canadian scholarship and wider public discourse. This settlement region includes hubs of Ukrainian Canadian cultural activity such as the city of Edmonton and the towns of Vegreville (where I first met Arnie at the Ukrainian Pysanka Festival), Smokey Lake, Lamont and Star-Edna. In close proximity to these communities is the reserve community of Goodfish Lake, where Arnie Strynadka spent his early years. These early Ukrainian settlements and the Goodfish Lake community all fall within the parameters of Treaty 6, signed in 1876 at Forts Carleton and Pitt. Arnie’s home reserve community of Goodfish Lake is part of a larger Saddle Lake First Nation community,’ where Cree is the dominant Aboriginal language. Historical studies show the geographical area of northeast central Alberta has been inhabited mainly by Plains and Woodland Cree Nations.
There is a history of encounters and relations between Ukrainian immigrant families and Aboriginal people in this region. Yet, except for the present study, I am aware of only one other publication that addresses relations of any kind between Aboriginal people and Ukrainian Canadians. Two stories of meetings between Ukrainian immigrants and Aboriginal peoples are recounted in a book of first-person accounts by “Ukrainian Pioneers 1891-1914” (Piniuta 1978, 79-84). The events in these stories occurred in and around the Smokey Lake area, northeast of Edmonton. In both of these cases, Ukrainian immigrants benefited from the life-saving aid and hospitality of Aboriginal people. According to Arnie Strynadka, his Ukrainian immigrant ancestors likewise benefited from his Cree grandfather’s employment and care, as I will describe in a moment.

Arnie was born to a Cree mother, Dora Bull, and a father of Ukrainian immigrant descent, Nick Strynadka. The families of Dora and Nick had come together in the 1920s when Arnie’s Cree grandfather—a wealthy farmer, trapper and trading post owner/operator named Sam Bull—hired the destitute Ukrainian immigrant Strynadka family to work on his prosperous 1200-acre farm. Nick and Dora, children of these Cree and Ukrainian families, married in 1933. Arnie has three older siblings, but he was the last child to be born to his parents since his father died in a farm accident when Arnie was little more than a month old. Arnie’s Cree and Ukrainian grandparents all contributed significantly to helping Arnie’s mother raise him and his older siblings.

During Arnie’s childhood, his life appears to have involved a rather seamless synthesis of aspects of both Cree and Ukrainian-immigrant-pioneer life. Bannock and kobassa are one aspect of that life – he also recalls speaking Cree with one grandmother, Ukrainian with the
other (and English at school and with various folks on the reserve and around home). He was, nonetheless, aware of differences between the ancestry of his parents and some implications of these differences. Since his mother had married a non-Native man, Arnie’s family lived off of the reserve and he attended the school in the nearby Ukrainian settlement community, not the school on the reserve. Arnie noted that Indian agents were known, among those who lived on the reserve, to have a strong hand in ensuring only treaty Indians lived on the reserve and went to school there.

While Arnie’s memories of Ukrainian Canadians and Cree people working together in rural Alberta where he grew up are positive—he does not suggest that such good relations were necessarily the norm in other places. In fact, he says it was commonly known among Aboriginal people in his community that “you don’t go to ‘so and so’s’ farm because they don’t hire Indians.” Arnie also experienced, first-hand, severe racism when he moved to the city of Edmonton at the age of twelve, which led to him dropping out of school and leaving town to begin working in a lumber camp by the age of fifteen. Arnie’s memories of the Goodfish Lake reserve community have remained strong and positive. While he did not live directly on the Goodfish Lake reserve in his early years, Arnie often spent time there, playing with other children, working on his grandfather’s farm, meeting with local folks at his grandfather’s home in the evenings and on weekends, to listen to the radio, make music, dance and sing.

Arnie worked in several sectors and with indigenous groups - notably the Métis Association - before devoting his life to a career in music. From the early 1980s until early 2000s when I first met him, Arnie travelled in his touring bus/mobile home between venues in western Canada and midwestern U.S. He enjoyed great success in country music centres such
as Nashville after being taken up by an ‘Indian art’ promoter, leading to overseas acclaim. His repertoire and style are reminiscent of Métis fiddlers and what Arnie calls the “old Indian way of playing” and also incorporate elements of Ukrainian Canadian fiddling. His music has arisen from how and where he learned to play and from whom (as well as his consideration of audiences), shaped in childhood by gospel music on the reserve, style he learned from a Métis fiddler, repertoire he learned from a Cree man who “knew all the fiddle tunes,” country music on the radio, and old-time and Ukrainian tunes he learned at social dance/music events on the reserve and in the Ukrainian settlement. In his later years, he added stage outfits: fringed and beaded leather jackets, beaded necklaces, a cowboy hat and boots. Arnie’s comedian-fiddler act — evident in stage talk and his fiddle crafted from a toilet plunger — plays readily into oft-storied aspects of indigenous identity; as he likes to point out, “Indian people are jokesters.” In these ways, Arnie articulates a particular encounter and fusion of ethnicities, inherent conflicts and syntheses of values, symbols and expressive forms.

Historians and anthropologists have focused on social histories and genealogies of Métis and families of mixed-ancestry. My research is a genealogy of Arnie’s musical performance, examining his musical life in relation to social institutions and practises, providing insight into the power of music to shape individuals and of individuals to shape music, and exploring the ways in which music may represent individuals, their experiences and identities. Exploring his musical life and repertoire as a nexus of histories and repertoires, I have begun investigating his music, performance style, use of humour, production and distribution practises, including his touring and concert activities and circulation in national and transnational media. These aspects of Arnie’s musical life history raise questions about shared historical and cultural experiences of
different groups of people living in close proximity. For instance, when I played a recording of
Arnie’s music for a colleague who specializes in Canadian old-time fiddling, her initial reaction
was that Arnie’s fiddling sounds much like many western Canadian Métis fiddlers. My own
description of Arnie’s sound would include a specific description of aspects of timbre and
tuning, or sound quality; Arnie’s fiddling is characterized by occasional slides up to, in and
around notes, and a sometimes less-than-crisp articulation of individual pitches in the melody.
One might be tempted to consider attributing Arnie’s sound to the somewhat arbitrary fact that
he plays on a toilet plunger, but I would dispute this argument. Arnie’s plunger-fiddle is a very
carefully crafted fiddle, the twelfth version of Arnie’s construction efforts, and he told me he
made significant efforts (and invested considerable funds) to get it sounding just right. Instead, I
believe his musical style has more to do with how he learned to play music or, more to the
point, where he learned to play and from whom.

One way of describing Arnie’s music may be that it sounds like a western Canadian
Métis fiddler, and Arnie did learn from a Métis fiddler. I would also describe Arnie’s fiddling
style as one that is typical of many western Canadian fiddlers of the mid-twentieth century who
are of Ukrainian descent; a prime example of this is musician Metro Radomsky who, like Arnie,
grew up and learned to play music in northeast central Alberta. So, while some aspects of
Arnie’s music may be characteristic of an “old Indian way” of playing, this also suggests the
importance of shared historical and cultural experiences of different groups of people who lived
in close proximity to one another in a specific geographic, regional location or place. This is
brilliantly illustrated in a recording of a heel and toe polka, an old-time American tune type also
common at Ukrainian social dances even today, and recorded by Arnie Strynadka.
Arnie's repertoire choices further inform my understanding of his music and identity. He has made over a dozen recordings but, he told me, he has not recorded any "Ukrainian songs" or any "Indian songs." I asked Arnie why he had chosen not to record what he calls Ukrainian or Indian songs—"because no one will buy them," was his answer. "Indians don't want to buy that stuff from me," he says - and signaled a sense that his music and other accomplishments do not tend to be appreciated on the reserve community of his early years, which is not uncommon for many people of mixed Native/non-Native descent. He went on to say that, "if somebody wants to buy 'Ukrainian music' they go out to the Vegreville [festival marketplace] or the Ukrainian store in Edmonton and buy recordings by Radomsky or bands like the Ukrainian Old-Timers".

It has occurred to me, though, that Arnie is playing both "Ukrainian songs" and "Indian songs" in a way—he plays gospel tunes and country music that he heard on the radio and learned on the reserve and from his Cree family. Old-time fiddle tunes are typical of Métis repertoire—they are also, as I have found in my earlier research, a core part of the repertoire of mid-twentieth century descendants of Ukrainian immigrant prairie pioneers. Arnie's repertoire can be understood as particular nexuses of repertoires - he plays a variety of musical genres that he grew up with, music that is not necessarily associated with Aboriginal culture or Ukrainian culture, and makes it very much his own.

A variety of factors weigh heavily in Arnie's self-identification through his music and related performance. One of these is physical traits, brown skin in particular, which is all-too-often unproblematically assumed to be a marker of Aboriginal identity in Canada. Arnie, in his typically-joking manner, has on more than one occasion referred to the brown colour of his skin in conversations, engaging in jokes about a "tan" he got while on a coastal holiday. Arnie's
Indigenous identity has also come into play in the marketing of his music. He told me that around the time he started playing more often in the 1980s, he was approached by an American fellow who was an “Indian art promoter”; he was interested in promoting Arnie along with other Native artists in the United States, and Arnie benefited from this relationship. Arnie has stressed the fact that he has been most successful in the United States (where a Euro-Canadian identity like Ukrainian may be part of an American melting-pot but Aboriginal identity remains more distinctive). Studies such as this one, then, begin to make evident the complexity which issues of representation are played out in the lives and music of individuals like Arnie.

I am also struck by the fact that most people are surprised to hear Arnie tell them that his musical skills come from his Native family culture—they generally expect that it comes from a Ukrainian immigrant musical culture. This tells me something about how North Americans still tend to imagine Native Americans—as Dakota Sioux scholar Philip Deloria describes the familiar stereotype: primitive, technologically incompetent, physically distant and culturally different (ibid.). Perhaps this is one reason why Arnie is so proud to tell me that he was among the first people around to begin making and distributing his own recordings. Arnie’s story offers a challenge to a number of paradigms, or sets of expectations, regarding Native American culture and identity—including the fact that, contrary to conventional stereotypes, in Arnie’s family history the Indian is the wealthy and successful man—the European immigrant is the one in need.

Thus, while Arnie’s identity has been shaped in the context of wider, changing historical, social and cultural pressures, he has not been simply “caught” in signifying processes—he actively and adeptly negotiates and navigates them. The Dominion government at the end of
the 1800s and the Canadian government after it have made significant efforts to restrict the mobility and agency of Aboriginal peoples to reserves, to control and assimilate them. Historians have shown that, in fact, such restriction were only able to be enforced intermittently. Considering Strynadka’s performance career was largely spent on the road and crossing borders (of Canada and USA), his musical life story provides a prime opportunity to consider how mobility and migrancy, as well as hybridity, are part of enabling and constraining musical performance and agency in different ways.

Arnie greatly values the *individual* autonomy and agency he has within broader cultural frameworks as well. For example, while he worked for many years as a public servant, many of those years with universities and colleges, he finally *left* that work due to what he calls “administrivia”—which had him, in his own words, “boxed in so tight,” too tight for his comfort. It occurs to me that an assessment of his music according to categories of identity that might have him “boxed in too tight” would also be a disservice to him, his family, and his music. The musical life of Arnie Strynadka, ‘The Uke-Cree Fiddler,’ represents an opportunity for scholarly investigation that profoundly makes evident the complexity with which experience and identity are expressed through the lives and music of individuals.

The documentation of encounters between Indigenous people and Ukrainian Canadians is, in itself, a project of social historical importance - this work addresses an empirical gap in the literature. By making a record of these encounters and relations, we ensure that people of mixed Aboriginal and Ukrainian descent are included - their experiences acknowledged and remembered - as part of what characterizes Canadian, Ukrainian and Aboriginal experience in Canada today. Arnie’s story also demonstrates that the nature of encounters and relations
between Aboriginal peoples and newcomer Europeans is complex. As other scholars who study Aboriginal musics have written, music embodies many different kinds of responses to encounter, including cultural resistance, incorporation, syncretism, and maintenance - Arnie’s musical life story provides evidence of all of these dynamics. The music and expressive culture engendered by the colonial encounter between Ukrainian settlers and Aboriginal groups in western Canada, I am finding, represent what scholars have described as a variety of historical experiences and expressions of oppression and difference within colonizing formations., what cultural theorist Spivak has called the combined destructive and productive impacts of imperialism. While postcolonial narratives of contact and colonial encounter are often described in terms of assimilation and cultural loss, sociologist Julie Cruikshank writes that this denies the potential for “transfers of knowledge . . . on both sides”; my research with Arnie Strynadka compels me to consider how colonial encounter has been experienced, remembered and represented in a variety of ways, through music.

CONCLUDING REMARKS

Neither of the two groups I have talked about today, Aboriginal/Ukrainian groups nor Cape Breton’s Ukrainians, has been addressed in scholarship or public memory, despite the fact that the history and experiences of Ukrainians in Canada are extensively addressed in popular and scholarly literature. My work raises questions about perceptions of intercultural relationships and their place within Ukrainian and Aboriginal cultures in modern Canada, and engenders new perspectives about Canadian and group identities with regard to constructions of identity, nationhood and community. The project with Arnie Strynadka, in particular, addresses a ‘crucial problem’ in Ukrainian Canadian studies to date, to which eminent Canadian
folklorist and current researcher at the Centre for Ukrainian Canadian Studies at the University of Manitoba Dr. Robert Klymasz points in a recent essay: a lack of attention to encounters between Ukrainians and Aboriginal people on the prairies.

The western Ukrainian Canadian prairie pioneer - like the Scottish Highland warrior and the American cowboy - is both a historical phenomenon and a cultural trope, and it is also a metonym of Ukrainian identity that does not include account for so much of what is Ukrainian and Canadian experience. Anthropologist Clifford Geertz writes that, “works of art are elaborate mechanisms for defining social relationships, sustaining social rules and strengthening social values”. In writing about signs, he urges scholars to move beyond understanding signs only as code to be deciphered, and examine them as “modes of thought, idiom to be interpreted”. In this light, I consider dance and music performances not merely as a sign to be decoded—but as action and the exercise of agency—as thinking through movement and sound. Music and dance are modes of cultural expression and production that are involved in shaping social relationships and values as much as they are shaped by them. Ukrainian dance and music performances – like those of Arnie Strynadka and Cape Breton’s Ukrainians - can be understood as the active location of individuals and groups, of Aboriginal people and descendents of immigrants on a Canadian landscape and within a Canadian national narrative. Whereas ethnomusicology has, more conventionally, invoked music as a symbol of national pride, cultural and national unity, or presented musical phenomena as typical products of a larger social organicism, I look to the ways in which music is historically constructed, socially maintained, individually created and experienced. Examples of what Foucault terms ‘discursive fields’ through which numerous interlocutors, processes, practises, statements and
performances continually operate and fluidly reshape one another, cultural performance and production are contingent on intersecting and mutually affecting aspects of experience entwined with identity - and a history of expectations, as examined by Deloria in Indians in Unexpected Places. As core and common means of human experience, music and dance are immensely significant mediums of expression. Cultural performance and production is contingent on several intersecting and mutually affecting aspects of experience, entwined with negotiations of identity that characterize a vast array of historical and contemporary experiences in Canada – including the music and dance of Cape Breton’s Ukrainians and Arnie Strynadka the Uke-Cree Fiddler. Thank you.

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1 The current website of the Goodfish Lake community and government documents both refer to this community as Whitefish (Goodfish) Lake First Nations 128 (http://www.wfl128.ca/index.php, accessed 6 May 2009; Statistics Canada). Whitefish (Goodfish) Lake First Nation falls under Saddle Lake #125 Aboriginal Communities administration (http://www.aboriginalcanada.gc.ca/acp/community/site.nsf/er/fn462.html, accessed 7 May 2009). Patricia Bartko, who has worked as a historical researcher for Alberta Aboriginal Affairs and Northern Development in the past, brought to my attention the fact that this is a different community than Whitefish Lake First Nation #459.

2 Nicholas Strynadka was born in Canada, to immigrant parents.

3 Arnie confirmed for me that his grandfather Sam Bull is also a relative of famed Sam Bull the chief, lawyer and activist of the Goodfish Lake Reserve, who is mentioned in Olive Dickason’s Canada’s first nations: a history of founding peoples from earliest times (1992, 403-405). One of Arnie’s brothers is also named Sam (Strynadka), as are several other extended family members of different generations; one of Arnie’s grandchildren is also named Sam, which is clearly an important family name. Arnie further mentioned that, in 1955, his grandfather wrote The Sam Bull story; Arnie gave the manuscript to “an anthropologist” who had come around the reserve and who promised to get it published. Arnie has neither seen it again nor heard from that anthropologist, however.

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UKRAINIAN CANADA IN THE ENCYCLOPEDIAS, 1897-2010: AN HISTORICAL OVERVIEW

by

Thomas Prymak

Unum cum virtute multorum.
(Motto of the City of Winnipeg, adopted in the 1970s. It had previously been: “Commerce, Prudence, Industry.”)

“Within fifty years, a moment in the sweep of history, our Canada has gone from aloofness, to tolerance, and beyond tolerance to respect for, indeed a deep desire for, the retention of differentiations of our heritage and culture.”
Edward Schreyer, newly appointed Governor-General, reply at the installation, House of Commons, January 22, 1979.

The Ukrainian Canadians are one of Canada’s major ethnic groups. According to the national census of 2006, Canadians of Ukrainian origin number some 1.2 million and rank tenth on the list of Canadian ethnicities, ninth if those who count themselves only “Canadian” are omitted; throughout most of the twentieth century, however, they were even more prominent, generally ranking fourth after the British groups, the French, and the Germans. Thus from almost the onset of their settlement in Canada, which had identifiable roots by 1891 and began in earnest in 1896, they attracted the attention of various Canadian writers, journalists, and observers of the social scene. Some of this literature has been summarized and analyzed by the Edmonton historian, Frances Swyripa, in a pioneering work on the subject.¹

However, there is one large lacuna in Swyripa’s work and that is the encyclopedias, great compendia of knowledge organized in brief, dispassionate articles in alphabetical order. This is an important point, for not only are encyclopedias very widely read because of their general synthetic approach, but they are also much trusted for their purportedly “objective” or non-partisan contents. As a matter of fact, encyclopedic knowledge of Ukrainian Canada is quite extensive and has steadily grown from very modest beginnings at the time of the first Ukrainian pioneers in this country. For the purposes of this study, materials on Ukraine and the Ukrainian Canadians have been examined in English and French language works, and materials on Canada have been examined in Ukrainian language works. In this way, it is to be hoped, a fairly balanced

portrayal of Ukrainian Canada may be obtained from at least two, and perhaps more, very
different, though purportedly non-partisan, viewpoints.2

When the ancestors of most of today’s Ukrainian Canadians first immigrated to
this country in the 1890s and early twentieth century, Ukraine did not appear on the
political map of Europe. The land that we now know as Ukraine was at that time divided
between two great European empires: the Habsburg Monarchy, sometimes known as
Austria-Hungary, and the Russian Empire ruled by the Romanov dynasty. Most of the
pioneer or first wave of Ukrainian immigrants came from the Crown Land of
Galicia and the Duchy of Bukovina in the Austrian half of the Habsburg Monarchy,
where they called themselves Rus’ki or Rusyny in their own language and were officially
designated as Ruthenen by Austrian officialdom; in Canada, however, they quickly came
to be called “Galicians” for the province of origin of the majority, though the English
terms “Ruthenians” or “Ruthenians” were also somewhat known in educated English
Canadian society.3

Turning to the subject of the encyclopedias, it may be observed that though the
name and concept of “Ukraine” may have been generally unknown in Canada before
1914, the geopolitical term “Galicia” was not. In fact, Canadian scholars, if they cared to,
could consult major European encyclopedias for basic information about this land. Thus
the three greatest multivolume west European encyclopedias of the time, the English
language Encyclopaedia Britannica, the French language La grande encyclopédie, and
the German language Meyers Konversations-Lexikon all contained substantial articles on
“Galicia.”

The longest and most detailed was in Meyers Konversations-Lexikon, which was a
cooperative publication venture shared by German and Austrian interests. This article
was a full five pages in ten columns and discussed the population, geography, economy,
administration, and history of the country. The article was accompanied by a table listing
the various counties of Galicia and giving both their area and population. This table
would later be of use to Ukrainian Canadians wishing to find information about the area
from which their forefathers came, but as a whole, the article in Meyers Konversations-
Lexikon was of little use with regard to the Ukrainian immigration to Canada since it was
published in 1897, that is, only one year after the onset of the mass migration from
Galicia to this country. Moreover, since German was less well known in Canada than

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2 For a brief article on the history of Canadian encyclopedias, see “Encyclopedias,” The Canadian
language encyclopedias and giving something of their history, see Waasyl Veryha, “Encyclopedias,
Ukrainian,” in The Modern Encyclopedia of Russian and Soviet Literatures (including non-Russian and
Émigré Literatures), vol. VI (Gulf Breeze, FL: Academic International Press, 1982), pp. 193-204.

3 The changing nomenclature of the Ukrainian people is an important and recurring problem for both
European and North American historians, but at least as far as Canada is concerned, there is very little
scholarly literature devoted to it. See, for example, Vladimir J. Kaye [Kysilevsky], Early Ukrainian
Settlements in Canada 1895-1900: Dr Josef Oleskow’s Role in the Settlement of the Canadian Northwest
(Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1964, esp. the section: “The Problem of the Ethnic Name,” pp. xxii-
xxvi. Both Paul Yuzyk, The Ukrainians in Manitoba: A Social History (Toronto: University of Toronto
(Edmonton: Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies Press, 1991) pp. xxvii-xviii, make only passing
reference to this problem and anachronistically project the term “Ukrainian” backwards to the pre-1914
period. This is also standard and accepted practice for many historians writing on European developments.
See, for example, Orest Subtelny, Ukraine: A History (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1988).
either English or French, and the encyclopedia was printed in “Fraktur” or Old Gothic and not Roman type, it would have been less widely consulted than more easily read reference works in either French or English, which, of course, were printed in the more familiar Roman type.\(^4\)

The second most extensive article on Galicia was published in *La grande encyclopédie*. It was three and a half pages long and was written by Louis Léger, in his day the foremost French expert on Slavonic Europe. Léger’s article similarly treated geography, economics, history, and administration, but treated them less extensively. Instead, he devoted much more space to the ethnography, intellectual life, and the current political situation of the country. From Léger’s article, the Canadian reader could get a clear picture of how Galicia was demographically divided into a Polish western half and a “Ruthenian” or Ukrainian eastern half. Léger also noted that the Ruthenians were then engaged in a political struggle to divide the province administratively along these ethnographic lines so that they could, in effect, get control over their own province. As well, he pointed out that while some Ruthenians were oriented towards “Little Russia” to the east, that is, what we today call “Ukraine,” Russia was using Ruthenian discontent in Galicia to promote an orientation on Great Russia and “Panslavism.” (This would result in some Ruthenians adopting a Russian national identity.) Thus the Canadian reader could get a feel from Léger’s article for the basic as yet unresolved question of developing national identity among Ruthenian Galicians at the time that they first started to emigrate to Canada. This question and its national labeling would not be fully decided until at least two decades after the first Ruthenian settlers set foot in this country.\(^5\)

Léger’s article would be extremely useful to contemporary Canadian observers of the new Galician immigration to Canada, but most of this immigration was directed toward Manitoba and the Northwest which by the 1890s were already predominantly English-speaking. Thus the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* was probably the reference work most widely used by Canadians in this region. But its article on “Galicia” was only two pages long and unlike the French language article was unsigned.

Nevertheless, it contained much basic information useful to the Canadian reader. Thus geography, climate, administration, and history are all briefly covered and the Polish-Ruthenian division clearly described. It was noted that Galicia was the largest province of the Austrian half of the empire and that after 1861 had more autonomy than any other part of this Austrian half. The *Encyclopaedia Britannica* recommended the Galicia volume of the monumental series *Die österreichisch-ungarische Monarchie in Wort und Bild* (The Austro-Hungarian Monarchy in Word and Picture) and the works of the Galician German novelist, Leopold von Sacher-Masoch (1841-1902) as further reading materials on Galician life.\(^6\)

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\(^6\) “Galicia,” *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 11th ed., vol. XI (Cambridge, 1910), 401-2. Sacher-Masoch’s unusual stories of sexual deviance in Galician village life gave rise to the modern term “masochism.” Also see *Die österreichisch-ungarische Monarchie in Wort und Bild*, vol. XI, *Galizien* (Vienna: K.K. Hof- und Staatdruckerei, 1898). This series was published under the patronage of the Archduke Rudolf, son of the Emperor Franz Joseph, and heir to the Austrian throne, who died mysteriously at Mayerling in the 1890s. Rudolf soon became a legend among the Galician Ukrainian peasantry, who for a long time refused to believe he was dead, but rather believed he had escaped the evil nobles and went to Brazil where he
All three of these major European encyclopedias provided Canadian readers with some idea of who the new “Galician” settlers were and where they came from. But none of them mentioned the emigration to Canada in any of their articles. Also, they were very large and expensive editions which almost certainly were held only by major libraries in Canadian universities or by private scholars and individuals of considerable means. Thus their influence in Canada was probably limited to certain segments of society.

To obtain information about the new Galician immigration to Canada, it would have been natural to turn to the major encyclopedias published at that time in Canada itself. There were, in fact, two such works in existence before the First World War. These were: Canada: An Encyclopedia of the Country (6 vols., 1898-1900) and Canada and its Provinces (23 vols., 1913-1917). But both of these works were topically and not alphabetically arranged, and although the second contained two substantial volumes on the Prairie Provinces where most of the Ruthenians were then settling, neither said a word about them.

This situation changed somewhat after the Great War, that is, in the 1920s, when a new alphabetically arranged encyclopedia of general knowledge, designed especially for use in Canadian schools, was published. This Dominion Educator, as it was called, was based on an American model but was geared to the use of Canadian school teachers and students; it was a “universal” encyclopedia of the Britannica type. It should be noted that by the 1920s when this encyclopedia first appeared, most of the settlers from Galicia had already largely abandoned the name “Ruthenian” and adopted the new name “Ukrainian.” This they had done largely under the influence of the war and the revolutions in eastern Europe, where national governments actually bearing the Ukrainian name were briefly formed in Lviv (Lemberg), the capital of Galicia, and in Kyiv (Kiev), the short-lived capital of independent “Ukraine.” Nevertheless, no article on Ukrainian or even Galician immigration to either the United States or Canada appeared in this reference work. There was, however, a very respectable article on “Galicia” which gave a detailed political history of recent events in the province, including war events from 1914 to 1918 and ending with its annexation to the new Republic of Poland in 1918-1919. (This annexation was not confirmed by the international powers until 1923.) However, the Dominion Educator somewhat garbled the ethnography of the province by referring to its inhabitants “who are Russians, Poles, Slovaks, Bohemians, and Ruthenians.” In fact, the population of Galicia at the time was Polish, Ukrainian, and Jewish, in that order. Galicia’s fourth largest nationality to 1914 had been neither Russian nor Slovak, but rather German. Further information on Galicia was given in this encyclopedia’s article on “Austria-Hungary or Austro-Hungarian Monarchy.”

Also, unlike the previous encyclopedias mentioned here, the Dominion Educator contained a brief but generally accurate article on “Ukraine.” It noted that this region of the Russian Empire was inhabited by “Little Russians” or “Ruthenians,” had declared its

called his faithful Ruthenian peasants to join him. The legend of the Archduke Rudolf had a certain impact upon the early wave of Ukrainian immigration to Canada. See the discussion in Thomas M. Prymak, “Ivan Franko and Mass Ukrainian Immigration to Canada,” Canadian Slavonic Papers, XXVI, 4 (1984), 307-18, or the expanded version of this essay which forms chapter 3 of the present volume.

I have used the 1933 reprint. See The Dominion Educator, 8 vols. (Toronto: General Research Foundation, 1933): Articles on “Galicia,” III, 1431-2, and on “Austria-Hungary or Austro-Hungarian Monarchy,” I, 296-301. The latter article stated that there were five million Poles and “almost four million Ruthenians” in Galicia.
national independence in 1917, and had signed the Peace Treaty of Brest-Litovsk (1918) with the Central Powers. It concluded, however, by noting that Ukraine's claim to Galicia had been successfully disputed by Poland, and Ukraine ended by being annexed to the USSR in 1922.\(^8\)

On a somewhat different level, the *Dominion Educator* contained a substantial article on “Immigration and Emigration,” which mainly dealt with American affairs. It noted the enormous immigration from Europe to the United States before 1914 and contained a whole section on “Immigration Problems,” which reflected the nativist fears of the American public in the 1920s. The encyclopedia flatly stated:

The great influx of aliens to the US occasioned many problems. While America has freely welcomed the people of other lands, it has realized the danger attending unrestricted immigration of the weak, the vicious, and the ignorant alien. Laws have been passed which forbid entrance into the country of certain classes of ‘undesirables’ including criminals, those afflicted with contagious disease, the feeble-minded, and moral degenerates.

Thus while no explicit statement of the new laws restricting immigration from eastern Europe was made and the new “quota” system limiting immigration from eastern Europe was not mentioned, it was, nonetheless implied, and the encyclopedia noted that immigration patterns to Canada were similar to the United States, except that in Canada, so it claimed, about half of the new immigrants were “British.” No mention of Ruthenian/Ukrainian immigration to Canada was made.\(^9\)

Accurate information about Ukrainian immigration to Canada in the *Dominion Educator* could have been very influential during the Depression years in Canada, as this work was reprinted in 1933 in a very attractive binding and widely distributed throughout the country. The year 1933, it should be remembered, was not only a terrible depression year in Canada, but also the year that the United States diplomatically recognized the USSR and the year of the Great Ukrainian Famine in which several million people perished. Thus “Ukraine” was then making international headlines and the Ukrainian community in Canada, at least, began making publicity on behalf of its co-nationals in Europe.\(^10\)

The 1930s also saw the publication of the first truly comprehensive, independent, alphabetically arranged encyclopedia devoted principally to Canadian subjects. This multi-volume *Encyclopedia of Canada* was the first reference work to contain an article on the immigration of Ukrainians to Canada. However, even this article, despite the almost universal adoption by that time of the term “Ukrainian” by the community in Canada, did not use this name at all. Instead, the article was titled: “Galician immigration.”

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9 *Ibid.*, IV, 1773-4. Strangely, in its article on “Dukhobors,” (sic) a Russian pacifist dissident sect (III, 1151), unlike its article on “Galicia,” the encyclopedia did note that “numbers” of what it called this “industrious harmless people” had immigrated to Canada in 1902. In view of the fact that by the 1920s when this reference work was first published, the Ruthenian/Ukrainian immigration to Canada was many times greater than the Doukhobor immigration, such an omission of all reference to the Ruthenians/Galicians/Ukrainians is curious, to say the least.

The article updated previous information on Galicia by noting that this region was now a Polish province and Bukovina now a part of Romania. It stated that the "Ruthenian" immigrants from these areas "are commonly known in Canada as Galicians," and that by 1920 there were some quarter of a million settled primarily in Manitoba, Saskatchewan, and Alberta, with a few in British Columbia. The article then went on to say:

Practically all the Galician immigrants to Canada are peasants, and come from a people so poor that some have not been accustomed to eat meat more than once or twice a year. They share some of the less attractive characteristics of the Slav race, such as a laxity of attitude toward sexual morality and a scantness (sic) of courtesy for women. But they are patient and industrious workmen, ambitious, and in many cases, eager to be Canadianized.

The article then noted that the Ruthenians were upon their arrival in Canada, mostly members of the Uniate Church (later the Ukrainian Catholic Church), which recognized Rome but held to its own customs and Slavonic liturgy; however, in Canada, the article approvingly stated, many have since shown a spirit of religious independence, the result being a Greek Independent Church which "has a strong evangelical tendency." The article noted the important role of the Ruthenians as labourers in western Canadian industry and railway building and concluded by remarking upon the considerable influence of "English culture" upon the younger generation, though this was resisted in some quarters. Surprisingly, the article even noted that "many Galicians regard the government as bound to support Galician customs and language."11

Though brief, the article in the Encyclopedia of Canada gave a good picture of how the Ukrainian Canadians were viewed by the English majority in the 1930s. It acknowledged their presence in Canada but stereotyped them as poor peasants, sexually lax, but good workers easily falling under the influence of English culture which it equated with "Canadianization." Though, remarkably, this article mentioned the cultural claims of the Ukrainians, there was, of course, as yet no mention of the new name "Canadian" and no hint that Canada itself could ever accommodate to the Ukrainians or be changed by them.12

The 1930s Encyclopedia of Canada was the first alphabetically arranged encyclopedia of Canada and its appearance was an important cultural event in the country. Coincidentally, on the other side of the Atlantic, the first alphabetically arranged Ukrainian language encyclopedia was published in Lwów, in eastern Poland. Lwów (Lviv in Ukrainian) was the new official name given to Lemberg, the former capital of Austrian Galicia, where so many Ukrainians continued to live. This encyclopedia was called the Ukrainska zahalna entsyklopediia (Ukrainian General Encyclopedia) and its publication in Poland in three large volumes caused the Soviet Ukrainian government in

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12 The cultural and linguistic claims of the "Galicians" mentioned here probably refer to the bilingual school system which existed in Manitoba, and to a lesser extent, Saskatchewan and Alberta, to 1916 when it was closed down in a wave of nativist war hysteria among English Canadians, led in particular, by J.W. Dafoe and the Winnipeg Free Press. See Martynowych, Ukrainians in Canada, pp. 357-72. Also see, Cornelius Jaenen, "Ruthenian Schools in Western Canada, 1897-1919," Paedagogica Historica, X, 3 (1970), 517-41. Robert Craig Brown and Ramsay Cook, Canada 1896-1921: A Nation Transformed (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1974), pp. 258-9, see the language question in Manitoba mainly in terms of the English-French conflict.
the neighbouring Soviet Ukraine to prepare the publication of an even larger “Soviet Ukrainian Encyclopedia.” Unfortunately, political events in the USSR where Stalin was then consolidating his rule, prevented this project from being carried out, but the Ukrainska zahalna entsyklopediia did contain a brief article on “Canada” which pointed out that there were then about 300,000 Ukrainians in the country and they ostensibly formed the third largest group after the British and French. The article mentioned that from 1912 there had been a Greek Catholic bishopric in Canada and that the first bishops had been Nykyta Budka (1912-29) and Vasyl Ladyka (from 1929). The encyclopedia also contained a number of brief articles on various Ukrainian language newspapers in Canada, and an article on the Canadian Pacific Railway which sponsored immigration and settled these immigrants on its lands adjacent to the various railway lines. Though very brief, these articles were important in so far as appearance of the Ukrainska zahalna entsyklopediia was a major event in the history of twentieth century Ukrainian culture, and in the absence of a major Soviet Ukrainian encyclopedia was to hold the field in this area for another three decades, that is, until the Khrushchev thaw of the later 1950s made possible further significant advances in Ukrainian publishing and culture.  

Meanwhile, in Canada the events of the early 1940s, especially the outbreak of the Second World War, led to substantial changes in the situation of the Ukrainians and certain other ethnic groups. In 1939, the Dominion of Canada followed Britain into the war against Germany and was quickly transformed by its wartime experience. Labour shortages in industry and the military, and the struggle against Nazi racism, greatly changed the country. The federal government made strenuous efforts to unite all Canadians behind the war effort and this included the non-French and non-English groups like the Ukrainians. It was during this period that most of the Ukrainian parts of old “Galicia” were annexed to the Ukrainian SSR and that English Canadian society as a whole finally dropped the name “Galician” and completely went over to the new name “Ukrainian.” Discrimination against the non-English, including the Ukrainians, was actively opposed by the government and a new “Canadians All” ethic began to grip the country.  

At war’s end, a new wave of Ukrainian refugees, generally referred to at the time as Displaced Persons (DPs), entered the country. In general, these DPs were better educated and more professional than their predecessors had been and they had a definite impact upon how Ukrainians were seen by their fellow Canadians.  

As far as encyclopedias are concerned, the new respect shown the Ukrainian Canadians did not first appear in an encyclopedia published in Canada but rather one published in the United States. This was the large-format Slavonic Encyclopaedia edited by the Czech American political scientist and sociologist, Joseph S. Roucek. It contained a very detailed article on “Ukrainians in Canada” by the well-known polyglot, Watson Kirkconnell of Acadia University, formerly of Wesley College in Winnipeg. This article

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14 Thomas M. Prymak, Maple Leaf and Trident: The Ukrainian Canadians during the Second World War (Toronto: Multicultural History Society of Ontario, 1988). This book may be consulted on-line at the Multicultural Canada website, hosted by Simon Fraser University.  
stated that according to the 1941 census at 305,929 souls, the Ukrainians formed the sixth largest “racial group” in the Dominion, after the French, English, Scottish, Irish, and Germans. Kirkconnell noted that 65.17% of these had been born in the country and were concentrated in the Prairie Provinces. He gave exact figures as to religious breakdown, employment, and the professions, and devoted a long and detailed section to the history and organizations of the Ukrainian Canadians. For example, he stated that the Ukrainian Catholic Church, the largest ecclesiastical institution of the group, had 345 parishes and 85 missions, 8 monasteries, 13 convents, 3 theological schools, 2 hospitals, 3 printing houses, 4 newspapers, 118 parish halls, and “a number of charitable institutions.” Affiliated with it were the Brotherhood of Ukrainian Catholics with 345 branches and 32,632 members, and also youth and women’s organizations, as well as 121 schools, 278 choirs, and 236 drama clubs. The Ukrainian Orthodox Church was considerably smaller with only 163 parishes and 63 missions, though it also ran important student residences near the University of Saskatchewan in Saskatoon and the University of Alberta in Edmonton (the Petro Mohyla and Mykhailo Hrushevsky institutes respectively). Similarly detailed descriptions of other political and social organizations were given and a generally accurate picture of the Ukrainian political spectrum in Canada emerged. Of the pro-Communist organization, the Ukrainian Labour Farmer Temple Association (ULFTA), Kirkconnell wrote that it was “Communist controlled,” and he quoted its program for “the mobilization of the working masses of this country for the revolutionary struggle of liberation.” He stated that it was “alleged to have 108 halls, 200 orchestras, 120 choirs with an overall membership of 20,000.” He noted that it had been suppressed during the early part of the war but later re-emerged as the Association of Ukrainian Canadians. Kirkconnell also listed numerous prominent individuals among the Ukrainian Canadians; various press organs, and some prominent literary and musical figures. All in all, his article was by far the most important such encyclopedia article to appear on the subject to the 1950s.\(^{16}\)

Returning to Canada, it may be observed that when the *Encyclopedia of Canada* was revised and expanded in the 1950s and re-published under the new title *Encyclopedia Canadiana*, it too contained a long, detailed, and very favorable article about the Ukrainian Canadians. This article was written by one of the most prominent of the post-war refugees, the linguist, J.B. Rudnyckyj, founder of the Department of Slavic Studies at the University of Manitoba. Rudnyckyj later wrote that he had been so offended by the entry on “Galician immigration” in the 1936 *Encyclopedia of Canada* that when he discovered that a new *Encyclopedia Canadiana* was being planned, he made certain that it would contain a full and favourable coverage of the then very large Ukrainian community in Canada.\(^{17}\) This coverage included the article on the Ukrainians by Rudnyckyj himself, articles by his colleague at the University of Manitoba, Paul Yuzyk, on the two largest religious denominations, an article on “Slavonic or Slavic Studies” in


Canada by the British Columbia Polish specialist, William Rose, and significant Ukrainian-related content in the general article on “Immigration” by W.A.Carruthers and Robert England.

Even the very title of Rudnyckyj’s article broke with the precedent of the 1936 encyclopedia. Under “Galicians” the Encyclopedia Canadiana simply directed the reader to “Ukrainian origin, People of.” And again, this title too was the better of several different options since it omitted the words “immigrants” and “immigration” thus including second, third, and even fourth generation Ukrainian Canadians into consideration and avoiding giving the impression that the Ukrainians were new arrivals in the country, which, of course, they were not, since by this time the vast majority were definitely Canadian born. (It should be remembered that before 1939 the non-British and non-French were generally referred to as “foreigners” by British origin people in English speaking Canada.)

Rudnyckyj’s article began with demography and stated that there were 395,043 Ukrainians in Canada according to the census of 1951. Of these, 164,795 were Ukrainian (Greek) Catholic, and 111,045 Greek Orthodox, the rest being divided among various Protestant sects. He then named the first known “Ukrainian” arrivals of 1891, Vasyl Eleniak and Ivan Pylipiw, but did not explain where the “Ukrainian” name came from or how it had spread throughout Canada. He then identified three main waves of Ukrainian immigration to Canada: 1) the first pre-1914 wave 2) a second, inter-war wave which he mistakenly identified as “for the most part political refugees,” and 3) the post-1945 wave of Displaced Persons or true European political refugees.

Rudnyckyj then turned to the “characteristics of the people” and penned a description that deserves quotation at length:

Physically the Ukrainians are strong, and capable of great endurance. As a peasant people, they are noted for deliberateness, modesty and an uneven temperament. The most important characteristics are their optimism, humour, and irony, which help them to face the blows and irritations of everyday life. Hard times have developed in them a certain cautiousness and increased their individualism. An intimate connection with the soil for more than a thousand years has left traces in their thoughts and actions, in their conduct of life, their view of the world. Of all the Slavic peoples, the Ukrainians have the most developed folk music. A rich repertoire of folk songs, choral music, folk dances, religious and family customs, traditional beliefs, legends, tales and proverbs has gained a world-wide reputation.

Rudnyckyj then turned to the Ukrainian language, which he noted was, together with Russian and Belarusan, a member of the east Slavic branch of the Slavic group; he described it as being similar to Russian in structure, to Polish in some of its vocabulary, and to Serbian and Croatian in sound. He mentioned the rich Ukrainian contribution to the folk arts in Canada and devoted a long section to Ukrainian organizational life in the country, especially concentrating upon the umbrella Ukrainian Canadian Committee and its member organizations. He claimed that the pro-Communists formed only “a small minority” among the Ukrainian Canadians. He then considered publishing activities, Ukrainian language teaching, and folk festivals. He concluded with the Ukrainian “contribution to Canada” where he emphasized agriculture but also treated politics, education, the fine arts, and the military. His concluding sentence read: “If at the end of

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the nineteenth century [the Ukrainians] were an unknown factor, today they are taking part in the economic, cultural, scientific, and political life of Canada.”

Paul Yuzyk’s two articles in the Encyclopedia Canadiana on religious affairs greatly added to the information supplied by Rudnyckyj. The article on the “Ukrainian Catholic Church” was two and a half pages long and described in detail the history and significance of this church. After summarizing its European background and describing its customs and usages including communion with Rome, a liturgy in Old Church Slavonic, Byzantine art and architecture, and a married clergy in Europe, Yuzyk turned to its history in Canada. He noted the scarcity of priests during the pioneer era and the role of French speaking priests in filling this void. (The roles of the Redemptorist and Basilian religious orders became important from very early times since Rome insisted upon the celibacy of priests ordained in North America.) Yuzyk noted that unlike in the United States, where the first bishop came under the jurisdiction of the local Roman Catholic hierarchy, in Canada, the first bishop, Nicetias Budka, was from the start independent of the local hierarchy and directly responsible to Rome. Yuzyk mentioned the great defection to Eastern Orthodoxy of large numbers of Greek Catholic “nationalists” who were unhappy with Budka’s loyalty to the name “Ruthenian” and with his tolerance of “Latin” influences. The church reached its apogee under Budka’s successor, Bishop Basil Ladyka when the Canadian census of 1951 reported some 190,831 Ukrainian Catholics in the country. This same census reported that another 56,650 Ukrainians were now Roman Catholics, a tremendous leap from the 4,827 of the 1941 census; this seemed to indicate a strong assimilationist trend among the youth. The third presiding bishop or Metropolitan was Maxim Hermaniuk, who was of post-war DP background. Yuzyk concluded by outlining the rich Catholic periodical press of the 1950s and listing various organizations affiliated with the Ukrainian Catholic Church.

Yuzyk’s article on “Orthodox Churches” was only slightly shorter than his article on the Ukrainian Catholics. He started by stating that according to the census of 1951, there were 172,271 Greek Orthodox Christians in Canada of whom the great bulk, 111,045 were of Ukrainian origin. Of the others 12,219 identified themselves as Russian, 7741 as Polish, and 3468 as “others” which included both Greek and what Yuzyk called “Asiatic.”

Yuzyk dealt first with the group called the Russian Orthodox Greek Catholic Church of North America which years later took the name Orthodox Church of America. He noted its original dependence upon the Tsar’s Holy Synod in Russia and the Ukrainian origin of most of its priests and faithful. He then treated the Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church of Canada which at that time was by far the largest of the Orthodox churches in Canada. He described its 1918 origins as a break-away faction of the Ruthenian Greek Catholic Church in Canada, the fact that it used Ukrainian and not Church Slavonic in its liturgy, its temporary submission to Metropolitan Germanos Shegedi of the Syrian Greek Orthodox Church, the importance of the Rev. S.W. Sawchuk as administrator of the church, its relatively independent position under the distant jurisdiction of various American bishops, and finally the assumption of the leadership of the church by Metropolitan Ilarion Ohienko in Winnipeg. By 1953, the church claimed

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to have 265 parishes and 69 priests in the country. In the 1950s, it was still growing: from 55,386 souls in 1931 to 88,874 in 1941 to 111,045 in 1951. Yuzyk concluded his article with a very brief treatment of the Greek Orthodox Church composed of Greek immigrants which at that time had only six parishes in the country, and the Syrian Orthodox Church which had only three.\textsuperscript{20}

The 1958 edition of the \textit{Encyclopedia Canadiana} also contained a detailed article on "Immigration" which gave some information on the Ukrainian Canadians. This article was authored by W.A. Carruthers and revised by the expert on central European immigrants in Canada, Robert England. The article was quite detailed and devoted much space to early immigration to French Canada and to the period following the British Conquest which was dominated by the United Empire Loyalists who emigrated from the newly independent United States. It mentioned the Selkirk Settlement in Red River but noted that it "had been largely a failure." It noted the Dominion Lands Act of 1872 offering free homesteads to prospective immigrants but acknowledged that the real settlement of the west occurred after the completion of the transcontinental railway in the 1880s, when Sir Clifford Sifton sought prospective immigrants widely in continental Europe. "In the nineties," wrote Carruthers and England, "large numbers of central and southern Europeans had begun to migrate to the United States, and Canada began to cast longing eyes on these sturdy peasants. As a result of the Sifton policy the numbers of foreign immigrants for a time exceeded those of British origin." The period from 1903 to 1914 was, in fact, the high point of Canadian immigration and saw 2,677,399 immigrants admitted to the Dominion. The article noted the end of immigration during the Great War and an increase during the 1920s when two-thirds all immigrants still came from Britain and Northern Europe. (175,766 came from "central Europe.") World War Two temporarily stopped immigration once again, but by 1949 it had picked up. Between 1946 and 1954, 1.1 million immigrants were admitted to the Dominion of whom 165,697 were Displaced Persons from the continent. As to immigration policy, Carruthers and England maintained that no country had a longer history of "directed" settlement and aftercare than Canada. Canadian immigration agents were in Europe long before there were any Canadian diplomats there. The article was accompanied by a number of charts explaining the ethnic diversity of the Canadian population. These graphics showed that in 1951, 6.5% of Canadians were of East European origin and 2.8% were Ukrainian. A revised chart in a later edition of the encyclopedia (1972), showed that by 1961, Ukrainians were the fourth largest Canadian group at 2.6% of the total population after the British, French, and Germans. They were followed closely by the Italians and the Dutch.\textsuperscript{21}

One final point may be made about the \textit{Encyclopedia Canadiana}: this great reference work even contained an article on "Slavonic or Slavic Studies" by the first Canadian born Slavist, William J. Rose, who had lived in England for many years but had returned to Canada after 1945 to teach at the University of British Columbia. This article gave a fairly detailed description of the growth of Slavic Studies in the Dominion, emphasizing their expansion after the war. Although because of its current political status in the world the importance of Russian and Russian studies was stressed in this article,

\textsuperscript{20} \textit{Ibid.}, "Orthodox Churches," \textit{ibid.}, VIII, 65-6.

Polish and Ukrainian studies were considered and it was noted that Polish literature was far older than Russian and that the Ukrainians were after the British and French, so Rose claimed, “by far the largest ethnic group in the Dominion...numbering nearly 400,000.” He continued: “These hard-working and freedom-loving people have become part of the country’s business and political life; the younger generation has found in Canadian colleges and universities something that their parents never knew, and the Ukrainian organizations have made annual contributions (especially in Manitoba) in support of Slavonic studies.” The author also made special mention of Constantine Andrusyshen’s great Ukrainian-English dictionary (1955) and the work of J.B. Rudnyckyj of the University of Manitoba, especially the Slavica Canadiana series of pamphlets edited by him.22

About the same time that the Encyclopedia Canadiana was published in English in Canada, the first really large-scale, detailed, universal, alphabetically arranged encyclopedia in the Ukrainian language was published in the Ukrainian SSR. It was the successor of the planned but never published general Soviet Ukrainian encyclopedia of the 1930s. This impressive multi-volume Ukrainska radianska entsyklopediia (Ukrainian Soviet Encyclopedia or URE for short) was a product of the Khrushchev thaw in the USSR, during which the tight censorship of Stalin’s time was slightly loosened. The encyclopedia contained a detailed article on Canada and in this article extensive treatment was given to the subject of Ukrainian Canada.

The URE article on Canada treated the population, structure, climate, geography, economics, and politics of the country, but most striking was its subsection on the “Ukrainians in Canada” which was a full two pages long and was illustrated with two photographs. The section on population began by stating that Canada’s 1951 population consisted primarily of the descendents of Europeans: 6.7 million “Anglo-Canadians, 4.3 million Franco-Canadians, one million Slavs, 620 thousand Canadians of German ancestry, 566 thousand of Scandinavian ancestry, and others. The section on “Ukrainians in Canada” claimed that there were then 700,000 Ukrainians in the country and that they formed the third largest nationality in terms of numbers and were settled primarily in the western provinces. (They were, in fact, still fourth after the British groups, the French, and the Germans and still numbered considerably less than 700,000.) The article described the first Ukrainian migrants who came from western Ukraine and claimed that by 1914 they numbered 170 thousand. The article then mentioned Canadian immigration policy and the important role of Clifford Sifton. It discussed the difficult working conditions of the early immigrants who helped to build the basic infrastructure of the west including roads and railways. This was followed by descriptions of the economic crises of 1908-13 and 1929-33 when “the immigrants knew unemployment, hunger, and homelessness.” The URE continued:

The principle of discrimination was applied to the Ukrainians. They were the last to be hired and the first to be fired. Discrimination was also apparent in the fact that for a long time Ukrainian immigrants were not given citizenship rights. In

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22 W.J. Rose, “Slavonic or Slavic studies,” ibid., IX. 328-30. The claim that the Ukrainians formed the largest “ethnic group” in the 1950s Dominion can only be sustained if the various German-speaking groups were broken down into their religious and other components. Indeed, there is some basis for arguing that groups such as the Hutterites and Mennonites formed independent ethno-religious entities and that “Austrians” should be counted separately from “Germans.”
spite of much loss, savage exploitation, and discrimination, they made a significant contribution to the economic and cultural development of Canada, especially in the provinces of Alberta, Manitoba, and Saskatchewan.

The URE then turned to social questions. It mentioned Galician Metropolitan Andrei Sheptytsky's sending of priests, especially Basilians, to Canada and the role of Bishop Budka, but it devoted most space to the leftist pro-Communist organizations and their press. It mentioned their participation in the Winnipeg General Strike of 1919, their support for the revolution in Russia in 1917 and their subsequent support for the USSR, their fight against fascism in the 1930s, including participation in the International Brigades in the Spanish Civil War, and their struggle against fascism in the Second World War which followed. The article mentioned by name the various pro-Communist Ukrainian organizations, especially the Association of United Ukrainian Canadians (AUUC), and contrasted them to the Ukrainian Canadian Committee which it labeled as "bourgeois nationalist." (There was, moreover, no mention of Ukrainian support for the non-Communist democratic socialists of the Co-operative Commonwealth Federation which was quite popular from the 1940s to the 1960s.) The article ended with a contrast between the leftists who erected a statue to the Ukrainian national poet, Taras Shevchenko, in Palermo, Ontario, in 1951, and the nationalists who did the same in Winnipeg in 1961, but for supposedly purely propagandistic purposes. The final sentence of this article, reflecting the usual Soviet concern about the international legitimacy of the USSR, stated that "many delegates of the Ukrainian Canadians have visited Soviet Ukraine during the post-war period."23

In spite of its detailed treatment of the Ukrainian community in Canada, which was made possible by the Khrushchev thaw, the article on Canada in the URE was still subject to very strict Soviet censorship and had a clearly "pro-Communist," not to say "leftist," bias. It was balanced, however, by articles appearing in Ukrainian émigré encyclopedias which were then being simultaneously published abroad. The most openly "nationalist" and anti-Communist of these was Yevhen Onatsky's Ukrainska mala entsyklopediia (Small Ukrainian Encyclopedia).

Onatsky's encyclopedia contained a substantial article on Canada but much of this article was simply a description of the Ukrainian community there given in a Radio Canada International broadcast by Paul Yuzyk, who like Onatsky, supported the rightist Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (Melynkyte branch). Onatsky's article on Canada, like the previous articles discussed above, stated that as of 1951, there were 395,043 Ukrainians in Canada and they formed 2.8% of the total population. Moreover, 90% of them lived in the Prairie Provinces. Onatsky then mentioned Ivan Pylypyi and Vasyl Eleniak and noted that Eleniak lived to see the sixtieth anniversary of Ukrainian settlement in the country in 1951, when he turned 92 years old. He then quoted Yuzyk at length on Ukrainian life in Canada: many communities had been founded by the Ukrainians and given Ukrainian names (Ukraina, Ternopil, Petlura, and so on), the Ukrainians excelled in agriculture but also were to be found in the professions as doctors,

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23 "Kanada," Ukrainska radianska entsyklopediia, 17 vols. (Kyiv: URE, 1959-65), VI, 134-42, esp. 136-8. The detailed treatment of the Ukrainian Canadians in this encyclopedia should be contrasted to the brief treatment of Polish Canadians in the contemporary Polish encyclopedia: "Kanada," Wielka encyklopedia PWN, 13 vols. (Warsaw, 1962-70), V, 413-18. This article only devoted a few lines to "the Polish emigration in Canada." It stated that by 1961, there were some 324,000 Poles in the country.
lawyers, engineers, and prominent businessmen; many were elected to town councils, provincial legislatures, and even the federal parliament where four prominent Ukrainian politicians had already held seats: Mykhailo Luchkevych, Fred Zaplitny, Antin Hlynka, and Ivan Dykur. The last of these had even been appointed Canadian representative to the United Nations. Yuzyk concluded his statement by saying that the Ukrainian churches were flourishing in Canada and there were 400 Greek Catholic and 250 Orthodox Ukrainian churches in the country, that there were numerous cultural organizations, and that the Ukrainian language was taught in both schools run by the Ukrainian community (ridny shkoly) and in four different universities.24

Onatsky’s Ukrainska mala entsyklopedia was plainly ideological and its article on the Ukrainians in Canada thoroughly optimistic and brief. It was the work of one very dedicated individual. In contrast to this, during this same period a group of scholars in western Europe, with numerous contributors in Canada and the United States, led by the Paris-based geographer Volodymyr Kubiovych, produced a much larger Enisyklopediia ukrainoznavstva (Encyclopedia of Knowledge about Ukraine or EU for short); this venture was more non-partisan in tone, devoted much more space to Canada, and contained numerous separate articles on various Ukrainian Canadian institutions and people.25 Its article on Canada was, in fact, seventeen pages long with sections devoted to demography, the history of Ukrainian settlement, religious life, social life, participation in Canadian public life, the press, literature, art, theatre, libraries and archives, economics, and assimilation. It was co-authored by several prominent Ukrainian Canadian scholars including Ivan Teslia (demography and geography), Bohdan Kazymyra (the Catholic Church), Vladimir Kysilevskyj (the Orthodox Church), V. Borovsky (Protestant churches), Constantine Andrusyshen (literature), and Z. Yankovsky (economics). The article was accompanied by five maps, six illustrations, and several tables and graphs. It contained much the same material as the Encyclopedia Canadiana (describing the country in 1951 as did that encyclopedia) but went into greater detail on all subjects giving more statistical data and identifying by name many prominent Ukrainian Canadian leaders in political, religious, and social life. It also made occasional comparisons with the history and position of the Ukrainians in the United States. For example, it maintained that the Ukrainian immigration to Canada post-dated that to the United States by about twenty years, and while Galicians and Bukovinians made up the bulk of the Ukrainian immigrants to Canada, unlike the United States, they were not accompanied by immigrants from Transcarpathia (today in western Ukraine) or the Lemko region (today in the Polish Carpathians).

The EU article on Canada gave the same figures as the other encyclopedias as to the Ukrainian population of Canada, but also pointed out that while in 1951 they made up the fourth largest nationality in Canada as a whole, on the Prairies they came in third after the British and the Germans, thus surpassing the French in this part of Canada. It outlined the three great “waves” of Ukrainian immigration to Canada giving the number of immigrants for each as 100,000, 70,000, and 35,000. The article stated that in 1951


25 In a pamphlet promoting the EU, Volodymyr Kubiovych and Vasyl Markus, Dvi ukrainski entsyklopedii (New York: Proloh, 1961), argued that while their venture strove to balance the heavily censored URE, it was necessary to maintain as much objectivity as possible.
there were 395,000 Canadians of Ukrainian ancestry and provided the reader with the following table giving the ethnic breakdown of the country per 1,000 people at that time:

Table. Ethnic Composition of Canada, 1951 (per thousand).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Rank</th>
<th>Origin</th>
<th>All Canada</th>
<th>Prairies</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>British</td>
<td>479</td>
<td>457</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>French</td>
<td>308</td>
<td>68</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>German</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>117</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Ukrainian</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>104</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Scandinavian</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>65</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Dutch</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Polish</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Jewish</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Others</td>
<td>72</td>
<td>102</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td></td>
<td>1,000</td>
<td>1,000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Furthermore, the article broke down the Ukrainian population in 1951 as follows: 69.5% born in Canada and 30.5% immigrants of whom 13.5% arrived before 1914, 11% arrived between the wars, and 6% after 1945. Two thirds still lived in the Prairie Provinces. The article contained a map showing the Ukrainian population density throughout the Prairies. This map clearly showed the areas of most dense settlement along the northern edge of the Prairie (the so-called poplar belt) where the grasslands gradually turned into bush country.

The sections on religion authored by Bohdan Kazymyra and Vladimir Kysilevskyj gave a fairly detailed church history of the group. The former mentioned the Catholic prelates Sheptytsky, Budka, Ladyka, and Hermaniuk by name and outlined their contributions while the latter mentioned Myroslav Stechishen, Vasyl Svystun, V. Kudryk, S. Sawchuk, and Julian Shechishen as founders of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church. The section on Protestant churches mentioned Ivan Bodrug as a founder of the Independent Greek Orthodox Church most of whose leaders eventually went over to the Protestants.

The section on organizational life was particularly detailed. It gave an outline of the various political organizations from right to left and included the many new political organizations founded by the post-1945 political immigrants. The organizations affiliated with the churches were the most influential and the umbrella organization, the Ukrainian Canadian Committee was particularly noted. The Communist organizations, however, were not discussed or even mentioned. As to academic organizations the émigré Ukrainian Free Academy of Sciences in Winnipeg and the Shevchenko Scientific Society in Toronto were described. Detailed descriptions of the participation of the Ukrainians in Canadian political, social, and cultural life followed with a very detailed description of the Ukrainian language press (by Kazymyra) and of Ukrainian literature in Canada (by Andrusyshen). The article closed with Yankovsky’s description of economics and assimilation which was quite remarkable by even the second generation.26

In addition to this very large article on Canada, the EU also contained articles on individual Ukrainian Canadian organizations and press organs. The detail of these articles was quite remarkable and immediately made the EU the most useful general reference work on the Ukrainian Canadians ever published and certainly in this regard the most valuable encyclopedia. Thus it was no coincidence that some two decades later a project was undertaken to translate the entire work into English and update its contents for the use of the general public interested in almost anything to do with Ukraine. This project was carried out by the Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies (founded in 1976), Toronto Office, located at the University of Toronto.

Because it was published in Canada, the English language edition of this translation which appeared under the title *Encyclopedia of Ukraine* made certain that Canadian topics were given accurate and full coverage in the work. It was also printed on much better paper than the original Ukrainian language work and contained better quality illustrations, graphs, and maps, some in full colour.

The article on “Canada” in this encyclopedia was about the same length as the original Ukrainian language version, sixteen pages, but also contained three additional pages of coloured maps of the Prairie region describing the areas of most intense Ukrainian settlement from 1921 to 1971. These maps demonstrated a steady ethnic dispersion of the Ukrainian population to areas south of the poplar belt where the original immigrants had settled. The article updated basic information about the Ukrainians in Canada, stating that by 1981 there were 775,000 Canadians of Ukrainian origin who made up Canada’s fifth largest ethnic group after the British, French, Germans, and now also Italians. In 1981, they constituted 3.1% of the total population. The article also stressed the new “multicultural” character of the country (the multicultural movement had from its beginnings been led by the Ukrainians) and described the continuing urbanization and modernization of the Ukrainian community. Interestingly, the section on organizations, unlike the Ukrainian original, also contained some information on the pro-Communist organizations, especially the Ukrainian Labour Farmer Temple Association (ULFTA) (later the Association of United Ukrainian Canadians or AUUC) which reached its heyday during the 1930s and 1940s. By the time of the Cold War, it was already in decline, suffering severe losses after de-Stalinization in the USSR and with the Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia in 1968. In general, however, like its Ukrainian language predecessor, the updated *Encyclopedia of Ukraine* immediately became an invaluable reference work on Ukrainian Canada.  

If in the 1960s, the *Entsyklopediia ukrainoznavstva* was meant to supplement and correct the heavily censored URE published in the Ukrainian SSR, the *Encyclopedia of Ukraine* of the 1980s and early 1990s was meant to do the same for the new, somewhat shortened 1980s edition of the URE, which was similarly, in fact, in some ways more tightly, censored. This new URE contained a similar article on “Canada” to that in its predecessor, complete with a subsection on the “Ukrainians in Canada.” It was authored by V.B. Yevtukh, a specialist on Ukrainians abroad. This article stated that according to the census of 1971, there were 580,700 Ukrainians in Canada, 80% of whom had been born there. By this time, of course, these Ukrainians were settled in the cities as well as the countryside, including Vancouver and Montreal. (Curiously, the article did not

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mention Toronto.) It continued with a somewhat more cautious indictment of Canadian discrimination than that expressed by its Soviet predecessor:

From the very beginning of Ukrainian settlement in Canada, the Ukrainian emigrants experienced exploitation and discrimination, especially in years of production decline and economic crisis. Many migrants from Ukraine returned to the fatherland...To the present time, discrimination on the basis of ethnic characteristics is continuing. The somewhat lower than average educational level, wages, and standard of life of immigrants from Ukraine, testify to this.

The article’s section on “Ukrainians in Canada” concluded with a detailed history of the pro-Communist left among them, in particular the ULFTA and the AUUC. The final words were devoted to the recently established (1960) Tovarystvo ‘Ukraina’ (The Ukraine Society) to aide friendly Ukrainian organizations and individuals in Canada and the West in their relations with Soviet Ukraine.  

The next major encyclopedia which contained materials on Ukrainian Canada was the Canadian Encyclopedia published by the Canadian nationalist, Mel Hurtig in Edmonton. This encyclopedia was not an up-dating or expansion of the earlier Encyclopedia Canadiana, but rather a completely new work, considerably briefer, but still containing substantial articles on “Ukrainians” by Frances Swyrripa and “Ukrainian Writing” by Yar Slavutych, both Edmonton scholars.

Swyrripa’s article stated that as of 1986, there were 420,210 Canadians of Ukrainian origin (possibly referring only to those of wholly Ukrainian background, since the total number of persons with some Ukrainian background was much higher). Of these only 59.1% now lived in the Prairie Provinces while 25.3% lived in Ontario. Swyrripa outlined the three major waves of Ukrainian immigration to Canada and noted the shift in settlement to the east, particularly Ontario. Unlike Rudnyckyj in the Encyclopedia Canadiana, she stated that the inter-war immigration had been both peasants and political, and the post-1945 immigrants, war refugees. She noted the shift from farm to city, and from agriculture to industry, and believed that, while Ukrainians were still under-represented in the professions, they were now close to the Canadian average in other ways. She gave an outline of the organizational history of Ukrainian Canadians and stated that by 1986 only 10-15% of them belonged to such organizations or took part in the organized Ukrainian community, but the rest, she explained to the reader, “identify with its cultural but not its national-political goals.” She also stated that “many Ukrainian Canadians no longer find the ethnic press relevant.”

As to religion, in this area too the Ukrainian institutions were suffering a decline. In 1981, only 30% and 18.6% belonged to the Ukrainian Catholic and Orthodox churches respectively. Nevertheless, Swyrripa noted, hybrid Ukrainian Canadian country music, and church architecture which mixed Byzantine and North American design, were flourishing. She concluded by saying that “overt discrimination has largely disappeared and many Canadians of Ukrainian origin retain few distinctive ethnic values.” Her last sentence reads: “Since the 1960s, the Canadian born have countered assimilation by reviving interest in their heritage, aided by [government] multicultural policies.”

Yar Slavutych’s somewhat shorter article on “Ukrainian Writing” divided it into three distinct periods: 1) The pioneer period permeated with folklore and realism. 2) The inter-war period marked by an expansion of themes and artistry. 3) The post-1945 period which discarded realism for modernism and other trends. Among writers mentioned were Mykyta Mandryka who authored a long poem on “Kanada,” and Ulas Samchuk who treated Canadian Prairie themes as well as European ones. Slavutych concluded by saying that there were only about fifteen Ukrainian Canadian authors “whose artistic accomplishments place their literature on a level equal to that in Ukraine or higher.”

Only two years after the publication of the Canadian Encyclopedia, the Gorbachev reforms were underway in Soviet Ukraine, the censorship loosened, and new contacts with western countries like Canada were opened up. At this point a new Ukrainska literaturna entsyklopedia (Ukrainian literary encyclopedia) started publication in Kyiv. The second volume, which appeared in 1990, contained a substantial article on “Canadian Literature” by N.F. Ovcharenko and R.P. Zorivchak with a subsection on “Literature in the Ukrainian language.” This article basically repeated the content of Slavutych’s article in the Canadian Encyclopedia including his three-fold periodization of Ukrainian literature in Canada with a considerable amount of new detail added. For example, N. Dmytriv’s Kanadiska Rus’: Podorozhni wspomyny (Canadian Rus’: A Traveler’s Recollections) (1897) was mentioned as the first story about the Ukrainians in Canada and T. Fedyk’s Pisni pro Kanadu i Austriju (Songs about Canada and Austria) (1908) was singled out as particularly important. The works of Ulas Samchuk and Yar Slavutych as well as many others were mentioned and the literary histories of Peter Krawchuk and Mykyta Mandryka cited. Translators like Florence Livsye, Alexander Hunter, and especially the very prolific Watson Kirkconnell and Constantine Andrushyshen were discussed. Finally, George Luckyj’s Shevchenko and the Critics, which was a work of literary criticism published in English, and Pavlo Zaitsev’s biography of Shevchenko (edited by Luckyj), which also appeared in English, were mentioned. Much of this material, non-Communist in approach, was completely new to readers in Ukraine who had long been isolated by the severe censorship. The article ended with a detailed account of the new contacts between Canadian and Ukrainian authors.

The late 1980s and the 1990s were not only a period of new contacts between Canada and Ukraine, which in 1991 gained state independence, but also of impressive growth in the multicultural movement in Canada. During these years, ethnic Canadians exercised increased political, social, and cultural influence as symbolized by the appointments of the first two governors-general of non-British and non-French background: Edward Schreyer from Manitoba, who was of Galician German ancestry, and Raymond Hnatyshyn from Saskatchewan, who was of Ukrainian ancestry. This period also saw the flourishing of new multicultural institutions such as the Multicultural History Society of Ontario founded by Robert Harney in Toronto; under Harney’s successor, Paul Magoesi, a specialist in Ukrainian history at the University of Toronto, the Society undertook to compile and publish an ambitious Encyclopedia of Canada’s

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30 Yar Slavutych, “Ukrainian Writing,” ibid., p. 2206.
31 N.F. Ovcharenko and R.P. Zorivchak, “Kanadiska literatura,” Ukrainska literaturna entsyklopedia, 3 vols., unfinished (Kyiv, 1988ff.), II, 393-9. This work was originally projected to be comprised of five volumes.
Peoples which was geared to demonstrate the ethnic diversity in Canada’s life and history. Not only did this encyclopedia contain detailed articles on almost every identifiable Canadian ethnic group, but it also contained a number of thematic articles on subjects such as the “Definitions and Dimensions of Ethnicity” (by the sociologist Wsevolod Isajiw), “Immigration Policy” (by historians Roberto Perin and Harold Troper), “Multiculturalism” (again by Troper), and on several other subjects. The article on “Ukrainians” by Frances Swyripa was especially impressive being 31 pages long in some 62 columns.

Swyripa’s article closely followed the rather tight format of the volume by dividing the subject into the following sections: origins, migration, arrival and settlement, economic life, community life, family and kinship, culture, education, religion, politics, inter-group relations, group maintenance and ethnic commitment, and finally, bibliography. After giving an excellent general survey of Ukrainian history, Swyripa outlined the three main waves of Ukrainian migration to Canada and suggested that a fourth post-Soviet wave was presently beginning. She noted that in 1991 there were slightly over a million Canadians of Ukrainian origin: 647,650 of partly and 406,645 of wholly Ukrainian background. She remarked upon the continued ethnic dispersion of Ukrainians across the country and the rising importance of Ontario, and noted the continuing process of assimilation and integration of Ukrainians into Canadian society.

She continued:

In the early 1990s, Ukrainians were found throughout the Canadian economic spectrum. Prejudice and discrimination had all but disappeared, as had ignorance of English, lack of business experience, and education, and material poverty. Though the interplay of age, immigration, generation, and gender continued to disadvantage older Ukrainian Canadians, the foreign born, and women, ethnicity had virtually no effect on the occupational and career patterns of younger, Canadian born generations.

She noted that by the 1990s, only some 10% of Canadians of Ukrainian origin participated in Ukrainian organizational life in Canada and the traditional churches were losing members fast. This was especially remarkable among the children of mixed marriages who now formed the new majority.

Swyripa’s outline of Ukrainian organizational life was especially detailed and she clearly described the divisions between the nationalist right and the Communist left, as well as the fierce divisions among the post-1945 nationalists. She also intimated the prominent Ukrainian role in the struggle for multiculturalism in Canada and the creation of a Civil Liberties Commission to represent Ukrainian Canadians, especially post-1945 DP who had lived under Nazi occupation, before the Commission of Inquiry on War Crimes headed by Judge Jules Deschenes. Her final paragraph read:

By the early 1990s, only a minority of Ukrainian Canadians (albeit a vocal minority) spoke Ukrainian, participated in Ukrainian activities, and related closely with the [European] homeland. Nevertheless, a strong sense of ethnic identity persisted. Non-linguistic and non-political, it drew on the folk culture introduced by the peasant pioneers, selectively reinforced by two subsequent immigrations, often as art, and frequently transformed into something uniquely ‘Ukrainian Canadian,’ particularly on the Prairies. On the eve of the twenty-first century, Ukrainian Canadians’ future as a distinct collectivity rested on voluntary
identification with their heritage by the group members, increasingly distant from their group’s roots, and expressing their Ukrainian Canadian identity in different ways. 

Thus Swyrzypa gave a clear picture of the assimilationist trends apparent in Ukrainian Canadian life on the eve of and during the initial stage of the new “fourth wave” of Ukrainian immigration to Canada. Her article in the Encyclopedia of Canada’s Peoples stands to the present day as the most detailed such article to appear in any encyclopedia in either the English or Ukrainian language.

Over the next decade, however, three further encyclopedias were published in English which contained articles on Ukrainian Canadians. These were all provincial encyclopedias: the Encyclopedia of British Columbia (2000), the Encyclopedia of Saskatchewan (2005) and the Encyclopedia of Manitoba (2007). All were large-format single volume works, though the Encyclopedia of Saskatchewan was the largest of the three.

The Encyclopedia of British Columbia contained only a brief article on “Ukrainians.” This article gave a brief outline of the history of Ukrainians in the province which mentioned the migration of Prairie Ukrainians to British Columbia, especially during the depression years of the 1930s, which struck the prairies very hard. The article also mentioned the internment of some Ukrainians in Canada, and in British Columbia in particular, during the First World War. It also stated that by 1996, there were 168,765 Canadians of Ukrainian origin in the province.

The somewhat larger Encyclopedia of Saskatchewan contained a general article on “Ukrainian Settlements” (by political scientist Bohdan Kordan) and smaller articles on specific Ukrainian organizations in the province: the Ukrainian Catholic Brotherhood, the Ukrainian Catholic Women’s League, Ukrainian Catholics, the ULFTA, and the Ukrainian Sisters of Saint Joseph of Saskatoon. Kordan’s article indicated the areas and towns of original Ukrainian settlement in Saskatchewan concentrating along the poplar belt from Yorkton, through Lluna, to Saskatoon and beyond. He gave a brief statistical description of Ukrainian Saskatchewan. In 1996, he wrote, the total number of people in the province of either wholly or partly Ukrainian origin was 125,395 or 12.7% of the total population.

In his article on “Ukrainian Catholics” Paul Laverdure explained the large-scale losses of the Ukrainian Catholic Church to the Orthodox, the Roman Catholics, and the Protestants during the early years in Canada, the stabilization of the church during the middle period, and then renewed losses with the onset of assimilation of the Ukrainians into general Canadian culture and the English language. He noted, however, that by the early 2000s, the Ukrainian Catholic Church in Saskatchewan was attracting many non-Ukrainians and slowly becoming, not so much a specifically Ukrainian as, a general Eastern Catholic Church with a Byzantine rite; and he believed this to be “distinctive of

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Saskatchewan” due to the province’s unusual demographic stability and lack of new immigrants.

The *Encyclopedia of Saskatchewan* also contained brief articles on certain influential individuals connected to Ukrainian culture. Thus there were articles on the historian “George W. Simpson” and the literary scholar “Constantine Andrusyshen” by Victor Buyniak, as well as an article on the Ukrainian origin premier, Roy Romanow. There was, however, no article on the important grammarian/historian/lawyer Julian Stechishen, one of the most influential Ukrainian Canadians of the twentieth century. Also, quite surprisingly, there was no article on the Ukrainian Orthodox Church of Canada which had its origins in Saskatchewan. In a brief article on “Orthodox Churches” it was, however, noted that 108 of 135 Orthodox congregations in the province were Ukrainian.

The *Encyclopedia of Manitoba* was somewhat briefer in its treatment of Ukrainians than the *Encyclopedia of Saskatchewan*. Nevertheless, this encyclopedia contained a wide-ranging article on “Ukraine” by Orysia Tracz. This article gave a general history of Ukrainians in Manitoba and stated that in 2001 there were 157,655 individuals of Ukrainian background in the province, 102,635 in Winnipeg alone. (The latter figure would amount to about 15% of the city’s total population.) The *Encyclopedia of Manitoba* also contained a significant article on the “Ukrainian Cultural and Educational Centre of Winnipeg” or (Oseredok for short), one of the premier Ukrainian cultural institutions in the country. But there was no article on either of the Ukrainian churches or on either the historian/senator Paul Yuzyk, or the linguist/royal commissioner J.B. Rudnyckyj, two of the most important Ukrainians in Canadian history.

As these three provincial encyclopedias were going to press, a new multivolume *Entsyklopediia istorii Ukrainy* (Encyclopedia of the History of Ukraine) was appearing in Kyiv, now capital of the independent Ukrainian state. This encyclopedia was geared especially for the use of professional historians and students of history. Volume 4 (2007) contained a long article on Canada with an especially long subsection on the “Ukrainians in Canada.” This article by O.O. Kovalchuk noted that of its 2003 population of 32.2 million, 45% were what it called “English-speaking,” 29% “French-speaking,” and the rest “of various national minorities.” In religion, over 45% were Catholic. Kovalchuk’s article traced the growth of the Ukrainian population from 1941 to 2004 as follows: 1941: 306 thousand or 2.7% of the total population; 1951: 395 thousand or 2.8%; 1961: 473.3 thousand or 2.6%; 1971: 580.3 thousand or 2.7%; 1981: 529.6 thousand (seemingly an error by way of underestimation) or 2.2%; 1991: 1,054 thousand or 3.7%; 2001: 1,071.06 thousand or 3.6%. By 2001, 90% had been born in Canada.

This article also gave interesting data on the 2001 make-up of certain major cities: Edmonton had 125,720 Canadians of Ukrainian origin or 13.6% of the total population; Toronto 104,490 or 2.2%, Winnipeg 102,635 or an amazing 15.5%, Vancouver 76,525 or 3.9%, Calgary 65,040 or 6.9%, Saskatoon 34,385 or 15.4%, Hamilton 24,070 or 3.7% and Regina 23,220 or 12.2%. Kovalchuk’s article then passed on to politics and

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38 “Ukrainian Cultural and Educational Centre in Winnipeg,” *ibid.*, p. 695.
education mentioning prominent Ukrainian politicians from Andrew Shandro who was elected to the Alberta Provincial Legislature in 1915, to Ray Hnatyshyn who was appointed twenty-fourth governor-general in the early 1990s, and outlining the bilingual educational system that existed in Manitoba at the beginning of the twentieth century. Higher education was not ignored and the article listed the work of George W. Simpson in Saskatchewan, who helped start Ukrainian studies at the university there, Constantine Andrushyshen who founded the first department of Slavic Studies at this same university, Rudnyckyj and Yuzyk at the University of Manitoba, V. Kaye-Kysilevs'kyj and Constantine Bida at the University of Ottawa, George Luckyj at the University of Toronto, and O. Starchuk at the University of Alberta. Many of these scholars, particularly historians like George Simpson, Ivan Lysiak-Rudnytsky, Orest Subtelny, and Paul Magoci were scheduled to have their own entries in later volumes of this encyclopedia which, of course, was geared for use by historians. (An article by H.P. Harasymov on Kaye-Kysilevskyj had already appeared.) Kovalchuk’s article however, did contain some information about some of them and also gave a very detailed outline of the Ukrainian language press in Canada and a relatively full bibliography. It was followed by a separate article by D.S. Virsky on the Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies (or CIUS founded 1976), which outlined this institution’s history and functions, especially its relations with scholars and institutions in Ukraine. The Petro Jacyk Centre for Ukrainian Historical Research (founded 1989), which was a part of the CIUS, was noted for its important project translating into English Mykhailo Hrushevsky’s great ten volume Entsyklopediya istorii Ukraïny (History of Ukraine-Rus’).

Finally, it should be noted that many of the encyclopedias discussed above are now available on-line as well as in print. These include the Canadian Encyclopedia, the Encyclopedia of Ukraine, the Encyclopedia of Canada’s Peoples, and the Entsyklopediia istorii Ukrainy. Some of them such as the Canadian Encyclopedia are continually being updated. This includes the article on “Canada” in the Encyclopedia of Ukraine and the article on “Ukrainians” in the Canadian Encyclopedia.

In addition to this, other on-line encyclopedias such as the Wikipedia, which contains almost three million articles in its English language version and several hundreds of thousands of articles in other language versions, all on one website and easily transferred to with the click of a mouse, must be mentioned. There is considerable Ukrainian Canadian content in the English language version including a list of prominent Ukrainian Canadians, and there is an article on “Kanada” in the Ukrainian version. But since there is very little editorial control in the Wikipedia and anyone can contribute, and many of the articles change from day to day, the material is difficult to summarize or analyze. Nevertheless, the Wikipedia is presently the most widely consulted encyclopedia in the world and exercises a powerful influence upon public opinion internationally.

By way of general conclusion, several important points may be made. Firstly, the breadth of treatment of Ukrainian Canada in these encyclopedias is truly large. From

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39 O.O. Kovalchuk, “Kanada,” Entsyklopediia istorii Ukrainy, vol. IV (Kyiv: Naukova dumka, 2007), 71-7. It is expected that this encyclopedia when completed should constitute about ten volumes.

40 D.S. Virsky, “Kanadskiy instytut ukrains'kykh studii,” ibid., pp. 77-8. It is interesting to note that the predecessor of this encyclopedia, the Soviet era Radianska entsyklopediia istorii Ukrainy, 4 vols. (Kyiv: URE, 1969-72), which was published during a period of relative thaw in the censorship, still contained no article on Canada.”
very modest beginnings in various European encyclopedias which published useful articles on "Galicia" at the time of the pioneer immigration, through early Canadian encyclopedias like the Dominion Educator and the Encyclopedia of Canada, which displayed a noticeably anti-Slavic, not to say anti-Ukrainian bias, through the great encyclopedic publications of the mid-twentieth century, most of whose contributors made a sincere effort to give Ukrainian Canada its due, to later treatments when the Ukrainians in Canada were already largely acculturated to English Canadian society, these volumes traced Ukrainian Canadian history from the 1890s through to the early years of the twenty-first century.

Secondly, the two major encyclopedias which appeared in the 1950s were quite important; that is, both the Encyclopedia Canadiana and the Ukrainian language EU were both surprisingly detailed and accurate in their treatments. Thirdly, because of the reality of the Cold War, by the 1960s, two starkly different views were available about Ukrainian Canada: a) a pro-Communist view stressing the importance of what it considered to be "progressive" organizations as revealed in the URE, and b) a pro-nationalist view stressing non-Communist organizations and life available as revealed in the EU. Both views had to be considered to obtain a full picture of Ukrainian life in this country. Fourthly, the most detailed and one of the most balanced descriptions of Ukrainian Canada was definitely the essay by Frances Swyrupa published in the Encyclopedia of Canada's Peoples at a time when the Ukrainian community in Canada was still very important but already in decline because of assimilation. Fifthly, the regional encyclopedias published in Saskatchewan and Manitoba were fairly weak in their treatment of Ukrainian Canada. This is especially remarkable in so far as the Ukrainians on the Prairies formed the third largest ethnic group in that region throughout most of the twentieth century. This brief treatment is, perhaps, indicative of the decline of ethnic consciousness and the progress of assimilation in the region.

In sum, it may be noted that examination of encyclopedias, despite their very real limitations and repeated failure to attain the ideal of "objectivity," gives a good overview of the general history of Ukrainian Canada from the 1890s, when significant Ruthenian settlement first began, to the early twenty-first century, when Canadians of Ukrainian origin were already very numerous and the Ukrainian community in Canada institutionally quite well developed. These encyclopedias also clearly reflect the changing attitudes of English Canadian society towards them from distain through tolerance to full acceptance. This change paralleled the continuing process of the acculturation, integration, and assimilation of the group into general Canadian society. The recent appearance of a new "fourth wave" of Ukrainian immigration to this country reveals that this process is still on-going and will probably continue for many years to come.

ABOUT THE AUTHOR

Dr. Prymak is a Private Scholar living in Toronto. He is Book Review Editor of the Journal of Ukrainian Studies and the author of three (3) well received monographs and numerous scholarly articles on Ukrainian and Ukrainian Canadian history, historiography, biography, folk lore, and onomastics. He also maintains a scholarly interest in the Middle East, especially Iran and the Ottoman Empire.
THE RUH PROJECT: PERSONALLY, FOR POSTERITY

by

Gloria Romaniuk

Introduction

Philippe Roux, a young farm boy from Bickenholtz in Alsace-Lorraine, decided in 1898 to become a missionary priest. He was fifteen years old, a strong boy, the oldest son in the family. This was hard news for his father, but joyous for his devout mother. The boy left his village for the junior college of the Oblate Fathers, travelling to Valkenburg, Holland. In June of 1910, with years of study behind him, Philippe Roux was ordained an Oblate of Mary Immaculate, OMI. Upon ordination, like his brethren, he received his missionary assignment. When he read it, however, Fr. Philippe Roux had to seek out his history teacher. He had no idea where he had been assigned: ‘to work with the Ukrainians in Canada.’ “Who were the Ukrainians?” he asked. Little did he know then he was to spend a lifetime committed to these people.

In October, 1962, Fr. Philip Ruh, OMI died in Winnipeg, Manitoba and was buried in Cook’s Creek, about twenty-five miles outside of Winnipeg. The ‘Fr. Philippe Roux’ who travelled from Hamburg to New York to Montreal in 1913 became known in Canada from the year 1916 as ‘Fr. Philip Ruh.’ He had been assigned a mission area of a thousand square miles in Alberta, above the North Saskatchewan River. In the rugged settlement conditions of early immigration, the young priest worked shoulder to shoulder with the new settlers, through the harsh winters and the demanding summers. The first decade, however, was only the beginning. By the time he died in 1962, Ruh and his assistant carpenters had built some forty churches from Alberta to Ontario in Canada, and in Chicago in the United States. During his lifetime, Ruh’s efforts occasionally drew headlines. Twenty years after his death, the buildings, suffering the plight of aging monuments, began drawing different headlines: ‘Vandalism!’ and ‘Demolition!’ were splashed over the newspapers.

I began my study of Ruh’s life and works in 1982, and continue the work still, calling it ‘The Ruh
Project.” There were a number of factors which stirred me to champion the Project: vandalism,¹ demolition,² the untold history of Ruh’s church in Cook’s Creek, and the accessibility of eye witnesses who had known and worked with Ruh in his home parish for thirty years. The Project flowed naturally from these elements. Through the Project, though, I also became an eye-witness, not to Ruh or to his work, but rather to the Ruh Project story, itself. The Project grew from the circumstances as I lived them. I have, therefore, sub-titled this paper ‘Personally, for Posterity.’

If the reader is searching for details about Ruh’s life and works in this paper, there will be only tidbits revealed. The Introduction began with a truncated version of Ruh’s extraordinary life; there are descriptions within this paper of the records known as the Ruh fonds.³ One must say the subject of the Ruh Project, Fr. Philip Ruh, OMI, is of primary interest to this paper, and that his is the obvious and first story. This paper, however, is not entitled ‘The Life and Works of Fr. Philip Ruh, OMI.’ It is unavoidable and inappropriate in the description of the Ruh Project to deny a second, and personal, story in this paper, that of my role in it. The Project is based on the personal element, which provides context, though the effort over all these years has been ‘for Posterity.’ The second story answers the questions: What transpired during the course of research; why did it happen as it did; and what resulted or was produced?

My role in the Ruh Project is drawing to a close, but I have come to believe that as long as Ruh churches stand on Canadian soil, there will be researchers, writers, photographers, students seeking to learn about Ruh. They will retell his story from their own perspectives, for their own purposes. A description of the Ruh Project in a paper such as this, if accessible in the future, will help those looking for that essential story. Ruh did not, however, build churches single-handedly.

Ruh worked with great numbers of people. It is true that the main focus of the Ruh Project from its inception was comprised of three elements: first, to collect the record of Ruh’s life and works; second, to ensure the care and accessibility of the record; and third, to document Ruh’s story. Based from Cook’s

¹ Ruh’s Cook’s Creek church was under constant attack from vandals when the author moved to the area, 1976.
² Ruh’s church in Portage la Prairie, the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary, was razed in 1983.
³ The archival term, “fonds,” is defined by the Association for Manitoba Archives as: “... all of the records/documents, regardless of form or medium, created and/or received and used by a particular individual, family, corporate body or government body in the course of the creator’s activities or functions.”
Creek, Manitoba, where Ruh served as pastor for thirty years, the study in his life through the Ruh Project has led researchers overseas to Germany, to France, and to Holland. In Canada, the investigation has ranged throughout Manitoba, and from Alberta to Saskatchewan and Ontario. Many volunteers assisted the Ruh Project to search out his story, creating the Project story, and discovering a third story in the process. The third story is the human story.

The third story goes beyond Ruh’s education or the listing of how many churches he built. This man of great faith and vision lived through an era which saw the development of the Ukrainian Catholic Church in Canada and the development of the Canadian Prairies. With lifelong commitment and dedication, he drew plans and erected structures for the Church across Canada. What is the church, though, without the faithful?

The third story within the evolution of the Ruh Project identified itself during the oral history work which began with a simple shoe box tape recorder, cheap audiocassettes, a humble, extremely articulate interview subject, and a stack of photos. This third story is in fact what I would now term the very basis for the great works Ruh achieved during his decades of labour as missionary and architect in Canada. The third story is that of the people who called him “Papa Ruh.” Many of the oral history interview subjects were Cook’s Creek parishioners. Ruh was building churches for God and for the Blessed Virgin Mary, but in a very real sense he was building with and for his parishioners, and for the Ukrainian Catholic faithful across the country. I have to believe that a researcher in this post-structuralist world who is seeking details about Ruh’s life and works, will value the eye-witness accounts of the men and women who knew Ruh, as a priest and as a builder.

This paper is a guide to the Ruh Project and to the archival material collected since 1982. I have deliberately chosen to begin this paper with ‘Gloria Romaniuk, Biographical Sketch.’ I certainly could not and did not develop the Ruh Project alone, but I did initiate and navigate the Project, within the construct of my life experience. This element informs the undertaking, so I include it. It is not part of Ruh’s story, nor is it part of the story of those who worked with Ruh; these three stories are distinct but stand together, forging the story of the Ruh Project.

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I GLORIA ROMANIUK - BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH
The biographical sketch below appears on the website of the Archives and Special Collections of the University of Manitoba, along with photos from the Gloria Romaniuk fonds which were scanned for the joint digital partnership called “Landmarks, Monuments and Built Heritage of the West.” The site includes photos and blueprints from the Ruh fonds, photos from the collections of Metropolitan Maxim Hermaniuk and Fr. Jarapolk Radkewycz, and several other contributors. The ‘Built Heritage’ website was launched in 2008 and will be available through the host, the University of Manitoba, for an anticipated five years. The biographical sketch is ‘Ruh Project-centric:’ it should provide a sense of general project activity from 1983 to the present:

**BIOPGRAPHICAL SKETCH / ADMINISTRATIVE HISTORY:**

Born in Winnipeg, Manitoba, October 16, 1950, Romaniuk moved with her husband, Greg Stanwick, to Cook’s Creek, Manitoba in 1976, to operate Cook’s Creek General Store. Romaniuk grew interested in the life and works of Rev. Philip Ruh, OMI in 1982, as a result of repeated attacks of vandalism at the site of the Ukrainian Catholic church and grotto in Cook’s Creek, built by Rev. Ruh. At first involved with the community and the courts to deal with the vandalism problem, in 1983 she launched and coordinated the “Ruh Project,” an effort to document Ruh’s life and works. Together with Cook’s Creek parishioner, Olly Charney, Romaniuk located materials which had been created by, or belonged to Ruh, including blueprints and original drawings, still images, and textual material. From the textual material, project volunteers were able to determine a Ruh (Roux) family tree which led to contact with Ruh’s family in Europe. From information in the Ruh documents, Romaniuk obtained additional primary research documents: still images and Ruh’s class schedules from the Oblate archives in Mainz, Germany; the Hamburg ship list for Ruh’s passage to North America; Ruh’s birth certificate, and other documents. She produced more than seventy-five audio interviews with individuals who knew or worked with Ruh. She wrote a local history pamphlet for Cook’s Creek church; edited the translation into English of Ruh’s autobiography, the 1960 volume published in Winnipeg by Progress Printing, called Missionary and Architect (Autobiography); and wrote several newspaper and magazine articles.

The Cook’s Creek parish deposited the Ruh Collection at the Ukrainian Cultural and Educational Centre from 1985 to 1999. During that period, Romaniuk produced a still image database description of about six hundred Ruh images. In 1999, when the parish transferred the Collection to the Ukrainian Catholic

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4 http://www.umanitoba.ca/libraries/units/archives/digital/built_heritage/intro.html
5 The Gloria Romaniuk fonds developed as a result of research into the life and works of Fr. Philip Ruh. It is comprised largely of photos, letters, audio and visual recordings, and publications created as a result of the Ruh Project, mainly by the author.
6 The Ruh fonds, described in the body of the paper, is archival material created and/or received by Fr. Philip Ruh. The Ruh fonds and the Gloria Romaniuk fonds are held at the Ukrainian Catholic Archeparchy of Winnipeg Archives.
7 The Canadian archival standard of description is called “Rules of Archival Description,” or “RAD.” The “Biographical Sketch/Administrative History” is a RAD element.
Archeaparchy of Winnipeg Archives, Romaniuk undertook studies in archival methods and procedures, Microsoft Office, Records and Information Management, and Introductory Ukrainian in order to care for the Ruh Collection. From 2003, she has served as Archivist for the Archeaparchy. The Gloria Romaniuk fonds is held by the Ukrainian Catholic Archeaparchy of Winnipeg Archives.

Figure 1 Photo by Gloria Romaniuk, 1979. Stanwick/Romaniuk family photos. Greg Stanwick reconstructing the front of Cook’s Creek General Store.

Figure 2 Photo by Gloria Romaniuk, 2000. Stanwick/Romaniuk family photos. Cook’s Creek General Store.

Figure 3 Photo by Gloria Romaniuk, 1982. Gloria Romaniuk fonds, UCAWA. Vandals climbed the Grotto walls in Cook’s Creek and pulled down the statues. The story of the efforts to deal with the vandalism, and the corresponding launch of the Ruh Project, is told in its most primary sense in the correspondence files.

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8 Ukrainian Catholic Archeaparchy of Winnipeg Archives will be cited as “UCAWA” in this paper.
II PHYSICAL COMPONENTS OF THE RUH ARCHIVES

Fr. Ruh’s first missionary assignment in Canada was to serve the Ukrainian Catholic immigrant settlements in Alberta, in a one thousand square mile range, north of the North Saskatchewan River, from 1913 to 1923. From then on, his home parishes were in Manitoba as he traveled across the country, designing and building churches for the Ukrainian Catholic Church. In 1929, in obedience to Bishop Vasyl Ladyka, Fr. Ruh moved to Cook’s Creek, Manitoba, to design and build a “bigger” church for the growing parish. The move proved to be permanent, his home until his death in 1962.

Fr. Ruh lived in the Cook’s Creek rectory, a three-story house east of the Immaculate Conception Church. When Fr. Ruh died, the Ukrainian Catholic Archeparchy of Winnipeg was unable to assign a resident pastor to replace him in Cook’s Creek. After thirty years, the parish priest was to come from Winnipeg. The parishioners decided first to rent, and then to sell, the rectory.

When the parish decided to rent out the rectory, they decided first to “clean up.” Sadly, however, not all the records belonging to Fr. Ruh survived the clean up; some were destroyed. Parishioners burned many paper records, either because they were in poor condition, or because the judgment at the time was that no one would ever want or use them. A mysterious, unidentified, caring soul with foresight and consideration, rescued what we now call the “Ruh fonds.” This self-appointed guardian angel squirreled away the photos and letters, books and documents which were to be known as the Ruh fonds.

In 1982, Olly Charney⁹ and I heard the tragic tale of the “clean-up” but we were energized with a drive to research Fr. Ruh’s life and works. Cook’s Creek had been his home parish. Our logic was that surely records of some sort must have survived. We had scoured the church over and over when the boxes suddenly appeared behind the sacristy! There they were – letters, envelopes, photos, books! Where did they come from; who had been holding them? No one stepped forward to proclaim themselves. Before long, two apple boxes appeared as well, chalk full of rolled blueprint sheets. John Zborowsky Jr.,¹⁰

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⁹ Olly Charney, born and raised in Cook’s Creek, a parishioner of Ruh’s church in Cook’s Creek, was the first volunteer to join the author in the Ruh Project. Among other things, Olly worked in the store, allowing the author time away from the seven day a week family business routine, to pursue primary research.

¹⁰ John Zborowsky Jr., Grand Knight of the St. Josaphat Council # 4138 of the Knights of Columbus, led the Assembly for years after Fr. Ruh’s death, in a project to complete the Grotto, Ruh’s last and unfinished project.
deceased in 2009, did not formally claim to have held the Ruh blueprints for twenty-some years, but it appears that was the case.

1) Photos of the Ruh fonds

There are over 600 photos and photo postcards in the Ruh Photo Collection. Most are in sepia tone or in black and white, ranging in size from three inch square to oversize. Some were clearly taken by professionals; many by unidentified amateurs. The dates extend from the turn of the twentieth century to beyond Fr. Ruh’s death in 1962. The photo collection is in remarkably good condition. The subject matter is extraordinary, including photos of most of Ruh’s architectural projects, Ukrainian Catholic clergy in Canada, Ruh’s mission assignment in Alberta, the Roux family, and Ruh.

2) Blueprints of the Ruh fonds

In 1983, twenty years after Fr. Ruh’s death, Olly Charney and I found two apple boxes with about 200 sheets of rolled blueprints behind the sacristy of Cook’s Creek Church. John Zborowsky Jr., former Grand Knight of St. Josaphat Council # 4138 of the Knights of Columbus led his brother knights in their efforts to complete the Grotto, fulfilling the deathbed promise the members had made to Fr. Ruh before his passing. The plans that had survived include those of structures in Cook’s Creek, Rossdale, Ladywood, Gonor, Cloverleaf, Dauphin, and East Kildonan in Manitoba; and Edmonton, Yorkton, Saskatoon, Prince Albert, St. Catharine’s, and more, in other provinces.

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11 Some records from the Ruh and Romaniuk fonds remain to be processed; none will be identified by number here.
3) Letters and Documents of the Ruh fonds

The letters and documents in the Ruh fonds number in the hundreds. There are several hundred letters from family and friends, written in both German and in French. There are hundreds of letters from clergy and hierarchs, some hand-written but most typed, in Latin, French, German, English and Ukrainian. The two records provided in the sample below relate to political dignitaries. The first is a program celebrating a visit to Cook’s Creek by the Governor-General, Vincent Massey, in 1955. Until 1952, the Ukrainian Catholic church in Cook’s Creek was called St. John the Baptist. In 1952, it was rededicated to the Blessed Virgin and named the Immaculate Conception of the Blessed Virgin Mary.

![Figure 6 Program celebrating the visit of Governor General Vincent Massey to Cook’s Creek in 1955.](image)

![Figure 7 Letter signed by Manitoba’s Premier Duff Roblin, accepting an invitation to attend Fr. Ruh's fiftieth anniversary in the priesthood, 1960.](image)

The second sample is a letter from Duff Roblin, Premier of Manitoba, accepting an invitation to attend the banquet honouring Fr. Ruh’s Fiftieth Anniversary in the Priesthood.
4) Books of the Ruh fonds

Fr. Ruh agreed to write his autobiography in 1960 at the urging of Metropolitan Maxim Hermaniuk. The book was written in Ukrainian, with an English summary. There were 800 copies of the fifty-five page volume printed in Winnipeg by Progress Printing, selling for $1.00 a copy. Fr. Ruh was terminally ill when he began to write, assisted by an unidentified priest. Ruh Project research determined factual errors in the English summary of the original. For instance, Ruh had no formal architectural training; this fact was corrected in the English translation. With further research, however, it became apparent after the fact that other errors had been carried forward in the English translation.

Among the photos and blueprints discovered behind the sacristy of Cook’s Creek Church in 1982, there were a number of books, including a bible, liturgical books, financial books, a parish announcement book, and various publications, including The Song of Bernadette.  

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12 See Table 3, below, sample of Ruh Biographical Sketch.
13 Fr. Ruh’s last major building project was the Grotto of Our Lady of Lourdes in Cook’s Creek. Ruh had a life-long commitment to the Blessed Virgin Mary, and in particular to Our Lady of Lourdes.
III ELEMENTS OF THE RUH PROJECT

1) Oral History Study

The Oral History work, as much as the continuous vandalism of the church and grotto, and the discovery of the Ruh archives, impelled the Ruh Project. The first and primary interviewee of the oral history research was Mary Yanchynski, wife of Fr. Ruh's master carpenter, Mike Yanchynski, and Fr. Ruh's housekeeper for thirty years. Mary first met Fr. Ruh in Mountain Road, Manitoba in 1923, when he was called upon by the parish to build them a larger second church. She was in Portage la Prairie as a domestic when he designed and built the new church of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary, between 1926 to 1929. In October, 1929, Fr. Ruh celebrated the marriage of Mike and Mary in Mountain Road, and then offered them work with him, as carpenter, and housekeeper/cook in Cook's Creek.

Mary became my teacher as we looked through hundreds of photos from the Ruh Photo Collection, and photos Mike had taken while working with Fr. Ruh on projects across the prairies. While my cheap Woolcrest audicassettes squeaked in the shoe box tape recorder, I began to learn the names of the churches, the towns, the bishops, and other clergy of the Ukrainian Catholic Church in Canada. Mary had a memory like a steel vice, and she was a wonderful storyteller. We sat in her kitchen for hours!

Mary also guided me to other individuals who had known and worked with Fr. Ruh, in Cook's Creek Parish and beyond, leading to interviews with about fifty people, and resulting in more than seventy tapes. Very amateur, very enthusiastic, some of the tapes are great, and some are not!

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<td>Gloria Romanik, MEEHS</td>
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<td>Feb-87</td>
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<td>Hazelridge, MB</td>
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<td>08.AO.071</td>
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<td>3</td>
<td>31-Oct-00</td>
<td>Bill Koshefuk</td>
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</table>
2) Translation of Letters and Documents

Envelopes and letters in the Ruh fonds had been separated, perhaps by Fr. Ruh. The letters, and before long the translations, numbered in the hundreds; in the course of translation, a narrative emerged. The main German translator, Gail Langendorfer was able to construct a "Roux Family Tree". She then pulled together names and addresses of correspondents who might still be alive. I began to write to these people, and to our great surprise, some answered!  

![Image of translated letters and handwritten notes]

Figure 13 Translated from Latin, Fr. "Roux's" vows, 1905.  

Figure 15 Ruh Project translation of family letters led to Roux Family Tree and contact with family members.  

3) Photos, Gloria Romaniuk fonds, UCAWA.

The photos of the Gloria Romaniuk fonds, and consequently the Ruh Project, have been collected in two ways: either I have taken them or they have been donated, by research subjects or by project volunteers. Since 2003, when I became archivist for the Ukrainian Catholic Archeparchy of Winnipeg, photos from research subjects and volunteers have been accepted formally as donations to the archives under the names of the donors. The activities which have generated the largest numbers of photos have been the oral history interviews; the designation of Cook's Creek Church as a national heritage site in 2004, when Fr. Philippe Legrand and Eric Legrand, grandnephews of Fr. Ruh visited Manitoba;

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15 See Figure 16 below: Fr. Philippe Legrand became the pivotal Roux Family correspondent for over twenty years.  
16 Known in Canada from 1916 until his death in 1962 as Fr. Philippe "Ruh," his legal name remained "Roux."
the 2007 “Alberta Tour,” where researcher, Denise Kolesar and I traveled to Fr. Ruh’s mission area in Alberta, north of the North Saskatchewan River; and the visit to Canada of Fr. Ruh’s niece, Delphine Roux during the summer of 2009.

4) Tables, Gloria Romaniuk fonds, UCAWA

Table 1. See above: Ruh Project Oral History Interviews

Table 2.
Inventory of Structures Built by, or Deriving from, Reverend Philip Ruh, OMI

SECTION I

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Master Carpenter</th>
<th>Structure</th>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Date</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>28. Mike Sawchuk</td>
<td>St. Michael’s Church</td>
<td>Roblin Farm MB</td>
<td>1940</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29. Mike Sawchuk</td>
<td>Nativity of BVM Church</td>
<td>Brandon, MB</td>
<td>1940-1941</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30. Mike Sawchuk</td>
<td>St. John the Apostle Church</td>
<td>Krasne, SK</td>
<td>1940-1941</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31. Mike Yanchynski</td>
<td>Sts. Peter &amp; Paul Church</td>
<td>Cloverleaf, MB</td>
<td>1943</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>32. Victor Garbutt</td>
<td>Sts. Cyril &amp; Methodius</td>
<td>St. Catharine's, ON</td>
<td>1944</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mike Yanchynski</td>
<td>Church</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>33. Mike Yanchynski</td>
<td>renovation</td>
<td>West Toronto, ON</td>
<td>c.1945</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Victor Garbutt</td>
<td>St. Josaphat’s Church</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

_N.B. Entries 1. to 27. and entries after 33. are not included in this sample._

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The sample above, Table 2, was taken from an inventory of Ruh structures,\(^{17}\) created during the period of the oral history interviews, when also the Province of Manitoba was studying Ruh’s works. In 2010, the Ruh Project inventory is a good candidate for revision. Nonetheless, it is a useful reference, unique in its scope. Table 3\(^{18}\) below, evolved during the same period of research. Both tables were informed by the oral history research, Fr. Ruh’s autobiography, details revealed by the translations, ongoing exchange of information with the Oblate archives in Ottawa, in Mainz, Germany and in South Africa, as well as from various correspondents, including other researchers.

**Table 3.**

**1883-1905 sample period of Ruh Biographical Sketch. Gloria Romaniuk fonds, UCAWA.**

1883 August 6 Philippe Roux\(^{19}\) was born in Bickenholtz, in the Diocese of Metz, Alsace-Lorraine, the second of ten children born to Nicolas Roux and Marie Bouché. At the time, the area was a German territory and within the religious province of the German Oblates. The territory changed hands from France to Germany after the Franco-Prussian War in 1871. The Roux Family used the French spelling of its surname, while Philippe, years later in Canada, altered his name to Philip Ruh, a phonetic alteration, unrelated to a German form of Roux.

1897 Philippe completed his public school education in the village school in Bickenholtz. He spent the next year helping his father on the farm. The ninth Roux child was born that year.

1898 In the summer of 1898, Philippe decided to become a priest. He approached the Oblates in the mission of St. Ulric, a few miles distance from Bickenholtz, and following their advice for application, he was accepted. In the fall, he left home for St. Charles College in Valkenburg, Holland. The college was a minor seminary run by the German Oblates from 1885 until 1939. It prepared young men for the novitiate. Philippe applied himself seriously to his studies but his performance varied. While his grades in language studies were merely average, he did better in the other subjects, in a roster which included Religion, German Literature, Latin, Greek/French, History, Geography, Mathematics, Biology, and Physics.

1904 Philippe entered the Oblate Novitiate in St. Gerlach convent, near St. Charles College.

1905 August 15 Philippe wrote his religious vows. He now travelled to Hünfeld, Germany, to enter the St. Boniface Monastery, the Oblate Seminary. His studies were to last six years and were divided into two main categories: Philosophy and Theology. Within these fields, he studied Logics, Metaphysics, Ethics, the History of Philosophy, Holy Scripture, Dogmatic Theology, Moral Theology, Pastoral Theology, Liturgy, Canon Law, Church History, and Homiletics. He also studied the History of Sacred Arts, French, English, Canon Law and Archaeology.

Unfortunately, Ruh’s school records do not appear to have survived the effects of World War II, but the daily schedules have survived, and it is clear from the University and Archive records that there

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\(^{18}\) Ibid., Appendix I.

\(^{19}\) Philippe Roux became known to Ukrainian Catholics in Canada as “Ruh” from 1916 forward.

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was no opportunity for the pupils to study architecture in any formal sense in Hünfeld or the environs.  

5) **Exhibits Produced During the Ruh Project**

Two very simple permanent exhibits built in the first years of the Ruh Project continue to be displayed on the main floor of Cook’s Creek Church. The production of the first exhibit was overseen by Olly Charney in her capacity as President of the Ladies’ Society. Olly hired a local carpenter to build a glass and oak case to house items either worn by, or used by, Fr. Ruh prior to his death in 1962.

Not long after the installation of the first exhibit, I used four sheets of plywood to construct a simple wall exhibit in the church foyer, depicting details of Ruh’s work, Cook’s Creek parish life, and some history of the Ukrainian Catholic Church in Canada.

In August, 2004, the year the church was designated a national heritage site, I worked alongside Annette Addy, parish committee member, to create a temporary exhibit in four cases, displayed during Pilgrimage weekend, in the church basement.

6) **Film, Gloria Romaniuk fonds, UCAWA.**

Archival footage: Film has been collected as well as created during the Ruh Project. The first film collected was archival, of St. Mary’s Church in Mountain Road, Manitoba, built by Fr. Ruh in 1923-24. The amateur film shows St. Mary’s burning to the ground in 1966. Additional archival film has been identified by the project and is held in related UCAWA fonds. For instance, footage of the final Divine Liturgy of St. Onufrius Church in Smoky Lake, Alberta is held in the Metropolitan Stefan Soroka UCAWA papers; footage of the hundredth anniversary celebrations of St. Mary’s Church in Mountain Road is held in the Denise Kolesar fonds.

Professional film collected includes but is not limited to, National Film Board of Canada and Canadian Broadcasting Corporation footage of, or about, Fr. Ruh. By the NFB: “Ukrainian Winter Holidays” c. 1944; by CBC, “Take Thirty From Winnipeg” c. 1969.

Amateur Film: Amateur film has been made during the Ruh Project. The first footage is of

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20 Author’s emphasis: English summary of Ruh Autobiography inaccurately lists Architecture among seminary courses.

21 Installed in its entirety in the Museum of Civilization in Gatineau, Quebec, St. Onufrius is a “Ruh church.”
Mary Yanchynski, taken by Greg Stanwick in 1984, during the early days of the oral history work. In the film, Fr. Ruh’s housekeeper and cook for thirty years demonstrates her cooking skills.

In August, 2004, two of Fr. Ruh’s grandnephews, Fr. Philippe Legrand and his brother Eric came to Canada to participate in the designation of their relative’s church in Cook’s Creek. The Church of the Immaculate Conception of the Blessed Virgin Mary in Cook’s Creek was designated a national heritage site. With my nephew, Trevor Menard frequently acting as “cameraman,” I captured the event on film, always with enthusiasm, though sometimes uneven skill!

![Figure 17 Photo by Gloria Romaniuk, 2004, Gloria Romaniuk fonds, UCAWA. From left, Fr. Philippe Legrand; Trevor Menard, “cameraman;” Eric Legrand, on Portage Avenue in Winnipeg.](image)

In summer, 2009 Fr. Ruh’s grandniece, Delphine Roux visited Manitoba for two months. Both Delphine Roux and I filmed her many experiences which included touring Ruh churches, volunteering in the Chancery Archives, the Cook’s Creek Heritage Museum, the Winnipeg Art Gallery Archives and the Manitoba Sports Hall of Fame Museum Archives. Delphine participated in the Annual Marian Pilgrimage at the Cook’s Creek Grotto, and Heritage Day at the Cook’s Creek Heritage Museum. She donated photos and film to the Delphine Roux fonds, UCAWA.

![Figure 18 Photo by Gloria Romaniuk. 2009, Gloria Romaniuk fonds, UCAWA. Delphine Roux, grandniece of Fr. Philip Ruh; on the upper level of the Grotto, Cook’s Creek, Manitoba; with Immaculate Conception Church behind her.](image)

IV FUNDING OF THE RUH PROJECT

1) Oseredok: Ukrainian Cultural and Educational Centre (UCEC) Winnipeg

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Oseredok has been listed as the first funder because representatives of the institution were first to offer support to the Ruh Project. At no time did Oseredok, the Ukrainian Cultural and Educational Centre in Winnipeg, provide dollars to the Project, but Oseredok did support the Project in kind, in a number of ways. Representing the Board, Dr. Stella Hryniuk contacted me not long after the discovery of the Ruh papers. Oseredok was willing to house the archival material, to support my 1985 application for funding to the Manitoba Heritage Federation, and to administer the funding in 1986. Representatives of the Men’s and Ladies’ committees of the Parish of the Immaculate Conception in Cook’s Creek signed a five year agreement in 1985 with Oseredok for care of the Ruh papers, eventually transferring the funds to UCAWA in 1999. Oseredok assisted the Project by providing photocopy privilege and the creation of database description of the Ruh Photo Collection.

2) Province of Manitoba

The Province assisted the Ruh Project both in kind and financially. Around the time the Ruh Project was launched, controversy was stirring in the town of Portage la Prairie, Manitoba. Members of the Ukrainian Catholic Church of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary, designed and built by Fr. Ruh between 1925 to 1929, were divided into two camps: those who wanted to preserve the church as a symbol of the historic religious experience of the Ukrainian Catholics in Portage; and those who saw it as a dangerous building, no longer structurally safe for use. Spurred to a large extent by the situation in Portage la Prairie, the Historic Resources Branch of the Department of Culture, Heritage and Recreation, Province of Manitoba, undertook an inventory of Ukrainian churches in Manitoba which proved useful to the Ruh Project. Over the next decade, in various ways the staff of Historic Resources shared research data, wrote letters in support of Project funding applications, and facilitated the application of the Immaculate Conception for designation as a provincial heritage site.

Local History Grant: In spring of 1984, the Department of Culture, Heritage and Recreation granted the Project $325 to produce a local history pamphlet. I designed and wrote the pamphlet, with cost of printing covered by the Parish of the Immaculate Conception. The pamphlet is now an archival document.

Manitoba Heritage Federation Grant: In November, 1985, the Manitoba Heritage Federation agreed to grant the Ruh Project $10,000 for primary research into the life and works of Fr. Ruh, to be administered by Oseredok. A central thrust of the effort was to interview and tape individuals who had known Fr. Ruh and had worked with him, and to transcribe the interviews. The subjects were mainly individuals in the Cook’s Creek area, and clergy, including Metropolitan Maxim Hermaniuk and Bishop Isidore Borecki. Translation of letters and documents from the collection continued. The Project had modest funds for secretarial assistance for correspondence with Oblate archivists in Ottawa and in Mainz, Germany; with Archives Canada; Vital Statistics in Manitoba; the Immigration Archives in Hamburg, Germany; the Oblate archivist in South Africa, and others. New information indicated the Roux family was as much French as German.

3) Parish of the Ukrainian Catholic Church of the Immaculate Conception of the Blessed Virgin Mary, Cook’s Creek, Manitoba

Fr. Ruh’s home parish from 1929 until his death in 1962, the Immaculate Conception of the Blessed Virgin Mary, has worked closely with the Ruh Project. First funding the printing of the local history pamphlet and then the English translation of Fr. Ruh’s autobiography, the parish committees also worked closely with me in the Ruh Project to protect the church and grotto from vandalism, to facilitate

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22 The Ruh fonds was moved to UCAWA in 1999, in part because the terms of the 1985 agreement with Oseredok had not been fulfilled.
23 UCEC archivist, Zenon Hluszkov oversaw design of the database; the author entered the field descriptions.
25 See scanned pamphlet in Section VI: PUBLICATIONS PRODUCED FROM 1984 to 2010.
the gathering of research materials, and to both protect and make accessible the Ruh fonds. Ladies’ Society president, Olly Charney, Program Administrator of the Cook’s Creek Historical Society,26 led her fellow parishioners in 1986 in their application for provincial designation of the church as an historic site. The church was designated in November, 1987. In 2004, the church was designated a national heritage site, as was Fr. Ruh’s Church of the Holy Resurrection in Dauphin, Manitoba.

4) Ukrainian National Federation, St. Boniface Branch

The St. Boniface Branch of the Ukrainian National Federation supported the Ruh Project in May, 1985 with a contribution of $500. This welcome amount and the group’s good wishes were encouraging.

5) Federal Government

The Ruh Project was supported by two arms of the Federal Government: the Secretary of State, Multiculturalism and the Canada Council.

Secretary of State, Multiculturalism: Secretary of State, Multiculturalism, granted the Ruh Project $3000 in June of 1986, administered by the Cook’s Creek Historical Society. The oral history and translation research continued, while the Cook’s Creek Historical Society worked towards providing tour guides, a groundskeeper and a security guard for the church grounds.

Canada Council: In June, 1988, the Canada Council awarded me $4000 to write, but to write what? It had become clear to me by this time that I would not write a scholarly biography:

“... The time may come for such a work to be done, by someone else. I want to write about this extraordinary individual in a style which harmonizes with the pattern of his life: Ruh lived to create, to build, to unite the people in achievements which transformed the countryside and transformed their lives. All those who worked with him never forgot him. Not all loved him but he touched them with the brilliance of his energy. I will tell his story through their stories....” 27

My energy was at a high level, as were the demands in my life. I felt this was the time, if ever, to write select stories of the people I had interviewed. I began to write. I produced eleven stories, some may be called vignettes, some short stories, varying in length from five to fourteen pages.28

Figure 19 Reverend Philip Roux/Ruh’s Canadian passport, 1954.

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26 The Historical Society also administered funds to the Ruh Project on behalf of the Federal Government, through Secretary of State, Multiculturalism.
V CONTRIBUTORS, VOLUNTEERS, SUPPORT

1) Initial Core Group

In 1982, Mary Yanchynski and I started talking about the life and works of Fr. Ruh in Mary’s garden, standing in rubber boots in her beautiful black, sandy soil. Mary had been Fr. Ruh’s housekeeper and cook for thirty years. Her husband, Mike, had been Fr. Ruh’s master carpenter. Mary inspired the Project. Olly Charney joined me shortly thereafter. She cherished the memory of Fr. Ruh. The last marriage ceremony he performed was that of Olly Kravets to Quint Charney. The first Project volunteer, Olly worked in the store, allowing me to dedicate time to research. Linda Craig stepped forward as first typist. Gail Langendorfer agreed to translate German letters and documents; her husband, Werner undertook the French. Carol Stanwick, my mother-in-law, helped me with the girls, Robyn and Roslyn, and she helped in the kitchen, the garden, the store. Always a lot going on, pushing the envelope!

There have been many volunteers and contributors to the Ruh Project. For purposes of this paper, in each category below there will be little more than a listing of names.

2) Parish of the Immaculate Conception Church in Cook’s Creek

Mike Chabluk and the Men’s Committee; Rose Bodz and the Ladies’ Society; Deacon Morris Kowalchuk, Mary Botchar, Netty Chabluk, Gerry Palidwor, Annette Addy.

3) Clergy

Metropolitan Maxim Hermaniuk; Bishop Michel Hrynychshyn; Bishop Isidore Borecki; Fr. Werner Rörig, OMI; Fr. Gaston Carrière, OMI; Fr. J.E. Brady, OMI; Fr. Alois Krivanek; Fr. Semen Izyk; Fr. Vladimir Bozyk; Fr. George Slota, OSBM; Fr. Antoine Debs, OMI; Fr. James Scharinger; Fr. John Sholdak.

4) Resolution of Vandalism Issue

Mary Ruta and the Cook’s Creek Historical Society; former Cook’s Creek Knights of Columbus; RCMP Oakbank Detachment; Judge E. C. Kimelman, Child and Family Services; Eastman Probation and Community Services; local Citizens on Patrol committees.

5) Translations
Gail and Werner Langendorfer, German and French translation; Professor Walter Swayne, Latin translation; Ukrainian translation, Bill Romaniuk, Walter Senchuk, Zenon Hluszk, Deacon Morris Kowalchuk, Martha Gawiuk; Nan Anderson, German translation.

6) Mentors, Appraisers, Guiding Spirits

Neil Einarson, Chief of Architectural History, Historic Resources, Culture, Heritage and Recreation, Province of Manitoba; Dr. John Lehr, University of Manitoba; Dr. Caron Byrne; Dr. Stella Hryniuk, University of Manitoba, UCEC; Judge E.C. Kimelman, Child and Family Court, Province of Manitoba; Historic Resources, Province of Manitoba: M.C. Kotecki, David Butterfield, Ed Krahn, ; Sophia Kachor, UCEC; Connie Dureski, contact with Oblate archives in Mainz, Germany; Jane Burpee and family, contact with St. Boniface Monastery, Hünfeld, Germany; Connie Bilinsky and Karen Nicholson, oral history in Ontario; Zenon Hluszk, UCEC; Walter Senchuk, UCEC; Gilles Lesage, St. Boniface Historical Society; Bennet McCordle, National Archives of Canada; Victor Deneka; Alex Kachmar; Andy Anstett, MLA for Springfield; Eugene Kostyra, Minister, Culture, Heritage and Recreation, Province of Manitoba; Richard Holden, Canada Council; Mario Audino, Secretary of State, Multiculturalism; Walter Klymkiw, UNF, St. Boniface; Ruth Breckman, Diane Haglund, Manitoba Heritage Foundation; Brenda Halipchuk; Natalia Radawetz; John Zborowsky, Jr.; Joanne Broughton; Ed Swiecicki; Rose Swiecicki; John Markmann; Matt Katowich; Joe Michalchynshyn; Joanne Lewandosky; Rudy Sing; Philip Baryla; Mike Faryna; Joan Mattie; Jan Innes; Bishop Michel Hrynychshyn; Dagmar Rais; Brother Steve Kryak; Liz Hogue, Jane Burpee, Cook's Creek Heritage Museum.

In a separate category of their own, Robyn and Roslyn Stanwick. Uniquely his own: Greg Stanwick.

7) Volunteer Technological Guru – Denise Kolesar

Denise Kolesar, has served as computer consultant; technician who scanned 600 Ruh images;

Figure 33 Photo by Gloria Romaniuk, 2007. Gloria Romaniuk fonds, UCAWA. L to R: Bill Skubleny, Brother Steve Kryak, Denise Kolesar, Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary Ukrainian Catholic Church, Skaro, Alberta. Alberta Tour.

research and travel companion who ventured with me to Ruh's mission area in northern Alberta in 2007; and devoted Mountain Road, Manitoba chronicler. Additionally, Denise was the brains behind our Power Point presentation of the 2007 Alberta Tour, to the East European Genealogical Society, spring 2009.

8) Oral History Transcription and Interviewees

Louise Watson and Linda Craig, typists, transcription; Larry Jackson, transcription machine; Randy Rostecki, Historic Resources, interviewed Mike Woloski and shared transcription of his interview. Interviewees: Mary Yanchynski; Mike Woloski; Mary Botchar; Fr. George Slota, OSBM; Theodore Slota; Katherine Dudych; Alex Dudych; Bill Panchyshyn; John Palidwor; Mike Woloski; Mary Grapentine; Walter Michalchynshyn; Kay Michalchynshyn; Emil Michalchynshyn; Steve Roscoe; Fr. Vladimir Bozyk; Margaret Shallay; Kay Skibo; Metropolitan Maxim Hermaniuk; Fr. John Sholdak; Phyllis Lippmann; Stella Garbot; Bishop Isidore Borecki; Fr. Semen Izyk; Kay Kuzyk; Bill Kosheluk; Joe Biedron; Alex Kachmar; Peter Roscoe; Fr. Alois Krivanek; Lena Melagus; John Melagus; Mary Bochar; Tony Lefko.

9) Roux Family

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From the time Fr. Ruh came to Canada in 1913 until his death in 1962, he was exchanging correspondence with members of his family. Gail Langendorfer translated letters from the Ruh archives and used the narrative to create a “Roux/Ruh” family tree. I used the envelope addresses to write to these relatives. Wonderfully, twenty years after Fr. Ruh’s death, relatives began to write back! In particular, letters began to arrive from a grandnephew who was planning to become a priest. Who was this person?

In September, 1962, a month before Fr. Ruh passed on, his niece, Marie-Thérèse Legrand wrote to him from France. She told him she was expecting a child in March, 1963. She said if she had a son, she would name him Philippe. She prayed that, God willing, he might become a priest. Fr. Ruh died in October, 1962, perhaps without reading the letter from his niece, Marie-Thérèse. Her hopes, however, were realized: Marie-Thérèse Legrand gave birth to her first child, Philippe, in March of 1963. In June of 1991, Philippe Legrand, Fr. Ruh’s grandnephew, was ordained a priest.

Fr. Philippe has been corresponding with me on behalf of the Roux Family for more than twenty-five years, developing a deep interest in the life and works of his granduncle. Father Philippe was able to fulfill a dream when he came to Cook’s Creek with his brother, Eric, for the national designation ceremony of the “Prairie Cathedral” in 2004. A few years later, another Roux relative wrote to me. Thanks to Liz Hogue, President of Cook’s Creek Heritage Museum, I was able to facilitate this young person’s dream.

In the summer of 2009, Delphine Roux, Fr. Ruh’s grandniece came to Cook’s Creek, to learn more about her illustrious relative, and to improve her English. The twenty year old history student from Strasbourg, France, resided for two months with Liz and Ralph Hogue in Cook’s Creek. During July and August, she visited Ruh churches in Selkirk, Ladywood, East Kildonan, Dauphin, and of course Cook’s Creek, where she participated in the 2009 Annual Pilgrimage event. She also visited Cloverleaf, Portage la Prairie and Mountain Road where Ruh churches once stood. Delphine volunteered in the Chancery Archives; at the Cook’s Creek Heritage Museum; at the Winnipeg Art Gallery Archives; and at the Sports Hall of Fame and Museum Archives. She took hundreds of photos and hours of film which she has donated to the Chancery Archives.

VI PROJECT PUBLICATIONS, 1984 to 2010

1) Local History Pamphlet: The 1983 eight page fold-out pamphlet, no longer available, was intended for tourists and visitors curious about the “Prairie Cathedral” and Grotto in Cook’s Creek. I relied for its sources on common knowledge and on the English summary of Missionary and Architect, Fr. Ruh’s 1960 autobiography.

Figure 20 Back, (page 8) and front

Figure 21 Pages 2 and 3 of local history

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29 Ruh’s church in Cook’s Creek is widely known as the “Prairie Cathedral.”
30 The pamphlet was produced in the very early days of Ruh Project research.
(page 1) of local history pamphlet, designed and written by Gloria Romaniuk. Funded by Culture, Heritage and Recreation, Manitoba, and the Parish of the Immaculate Conception.

2) Autobiography: English Translation of Fr. Ruh’s 1960 Missionary and Architect: In 1983, Metropolitan Maxim Hermieniuk asked Morris Kowalchuk, later Deacon, to translate Fr. Ruh’s life story from Ukrainian to English, and I was asked to edit. Zenon Hluszok and Walter Senchuk proofread. Cook’s Creek Parish funded the printing of the slim fifty-two page volume.
3) *Bulletin, Society for the Study of Architecture in Canada, Manitoba Issue*

![Image](image-url)


4) *Prairie and City: East/Central Manitoba’s Magazine*

![Image](image-url)

**Figure 28** Gloria Romaniuk, “Heaven Bound, The Making of Cook’s Creek Grotto,” *Prairie & City East/Central Manitoba’s Magazine,* (April/May, 1996): 5-7. Gloria Romaniuk fonds, UCAWA.
5) Oblate Colloquium: Western Oblate Studies 5

Figure 29 Gloria Romaniuk,

Figure 30 Page 182.

6) Canadian Geographic

Figure 31 Jim Christy,

VII UNPUBLISHED MANUSCRIPT “THE GIFT”

In the Introduction, I advise the reader that this paper is my eye witness account of the Ruh Project, a story unto itself, albeit secondary to that of the life and works of Fr. Philip Ruh. I also indicate

31 Assisted by author, with Ruh Collection photos, and background information, including Project oral history.
a third story emerged, that of the personal human element, captured on tape through the memories of those who had known and worked with Fr. Ruh. By 1988, after five years of researching Ruh’s life and works, it was apparent that more than Ruh’s story had come to light: my oral history interview participants had been describing their own lives, their individual contact with Ruh, and subsequently how they defined him. The audio stories were vivid, imbued with personal recall, insight and emotion.

By this time, I was the mother of two young children. Cook’s Creek General Store was a going concern, open seven days a week, lots of commotion and little privacy in the house. Through the Ruh Project, I had collected a wealth of primary and secondary information; my work had been going very well. There were serious gaps, however, in the biographical data I had collected. The effect of the oral history interviews, on the other hand, had been powerful. In my application to the Canada Council, I outlined a new plan: I would write short stories about Ruh and about those he had touched, based on the oral history interviews. The grant application was approved, and wherever I could find time and space, I began to write.32

As I wrote, I shaped a book, calling it “The Gift,” because, as Mary Yanchynski had put it, ‘God had given Fr. Ruh a gift. He had to use the gift. He had to work for God.’ I dedicated the book to the three women who dedicated themselves to the Project in the early days of research: Mary Yanchynski, Olly Charney, and Carol Stanwick. Both Olly and Mary passed away within months of each other, in 1989. Two of the guardians were gone, at least in the physical sense.

I was working with Zenon Hluszok, archivist at Oseredok during this period, creating a Ruh photo description database. With documents and photos from the Ruh fonds and photo collection, I began to illustrate the stories. Furthermore, to facilitate access to the historical documentation collected during the Ruh Project, I organized facets of that information into appendices for the book:

Appendix I  Biographical Events in the Life of Reverend Philip Ruh, OMI
Appendix II  Structures Derived from Rev. Ruh
Appendix III  1 - Sources of the Short Stories
              2 - Bibliography
Appendix IV  List of Illustrations

32 I wrote eleven short stories, or vignettes: The Nest; St. Luke’s Academy; The Spirit of the Lord; The Shoe; Body and Soul; In the Kitchen; Emile; Four Walls; Killing Chickens; Paw Paw; Killing Chickens II.
160
Samples of appendices I and II are presented as tables in this paper. See Appendix I, Table 3, Ruh Biographical Sketch; see Appendix II, Table 2, Structures Derived from Rev. Ruh.

To clarify my intent, I wrote that the first part of Appendix III

"... lists the sources for each of the short stories. This information was gathered in three ways: firstly, from eye witnesses who were recorded and whose tapes were transcribed; secondly, from the letters, documents and written materials of the Ruh Collection; and thirdly, from further material obtained in the course of extensive research during the years 1983 to 1989, including archival records and documents from private collections. The second half of Appendix III is the Bibliography..." 33

I did not see "The Gift," per se, as suitable for publication. It was naïve. I did appreciate that quality, and found great pleasure in formulating the book, while at the same time rendering much of the Ruh Project into an organized whole. I realized, though, there was a significant issue related to the naiveté. I had to educate myself in a number of ways in order to understand the historical context, and to conserve both the Ruh and the Romaniuk fonds. To that end, I entered upon a regimen: I studied the history of Ukrainians in Canada, with Dr. Stella Hryniuk, at the University of Manitoba; I joined the Association for Manitoba Archives to learn archival practise; I obtained a computer-use certificate from the University of Winnipeg, Continuing Education; I obtained training in records management from Red River Community College and the University of Winnipeg, Continuing Education; I learned to read and write Ukrainian at the first year level, University of Manitoba, Continuing Education. So the years passed.

The last sample for purposes of this paper is a short excerpt of "The Nest," the first story in "The Gift." It is about young Philip Ruh, leaving home for missionary school. In the source description, I say:

"... The telling of the human tale, in all its shades of grey, must vary with the light shining upon it. Nothing is either black or white, much as we might wish it to be. And so this tale portrays the hopes, aspirations and heart-break young Philip may have known as he prepared to take the leap into the greater world.

The sources of this story, and several others, include Father Ruh's Autobiography, the Ruh Collection, and the oral history tapes. In this initial listing of documentation, it seems appropriate to indicate some of the strengths and weaknesses of the sources as they were used in the Ruh Project..." 34

34 Ibid., 145.
The Nest
1898

Father Philip Ruh, OMI served the Ukrainian Catholic people in Canada for nearly fifty years until his death in 1962. He worked side by side with the pioneers in Alberta and Manitoba in the early years and together they began to build churches. The people were untrained for the work Father Ruh envisioned. He too was untrained in the formal sense. The people were poor. Their struggle was tremendous. And yet, with Father Ruh, over the course of fifty years, cathedrals rose. The Hand of God, through the arm of Father Ruh, left its mark in Ontario, Manitoba, Saskatchewan, Alberta and even Chicago, Illinois.

Philip Ruh was born Philippe Roux in Bickenholtz, Alsace-Lorraine. His parents, Nicholas and Marie Roux, worked hard to raise their ten children on the family farm. While Father Ruh made it known in Canada that he was a German, his family used the Roux surname, wrote and spoke French as much as not more than German, and for decades many resided primarily outside Paris. The telling of his story begins in 1898, in Bickenholtz, when "Philip Roux" is fifteen years old.

In his autobiography, "Missionary and Architect," published in Ukrainian in 1960 and translated in 1984 by Morris Kowalchuk, Father Ruh tells the story of how it came to him that he wanted to be a priest. His brother, Emile, who was two years younger than he, already knew the vocation was for him. His sister Marianna, who was one year older, was preparing to leave home to enter a convent. "And it suddenly came to me that I would like to be a missionary priest. I ran to my sister and said, 'Marianna, I want to be a priest as well!' She stared at me..." It would not be easy for Philip, the oldest son, to leave his family. His father relied on him. In secrecy, Philip and Marianna visited the Oblate Fathers who ran a mission nearby. They agreed to accept Philip as a student first at the Junior College in Valkenburg, Holland and then at St. Boniface Monastery in Hinsfeld, Germany. Telling his mother was not difficult. She made up her mind to find the money for the tuition. Telling father would be different. Not even the parish priest was willing to tell Nicholas he would be losing his right-hand man. Finally, the day came when it could be put off no longer.

Philip ran up the slope. He ran with the grass sweeping against his ankles. He felt the squeeze of pain in his ribs and ran harder, until he came to the crest of the hill.

From the hill, he could see Bickenholtz behind him with the road splitting the tiny cluster of houses. In the far distance, where the hills of Alsace-Lorraine rolled out of sight to the west, lay France. He turned to the east. Great, grey clouds sat on the horizon to the east. Germany, distant, for the future. But for now, I'll head north, to Holland, he thought gleefully. To Valkenburg! To St. Charles Juniorate! His heart pounded as he ran down the slope. The cattle barely raised their heads as he dashed through the grass towards them. They continued their grazing. He found the three cattle which belonged to his family and pulled a rope for each from his belt. The flies buzzing around the cattle began to flit against his bare legs.

"Come, oh come!" He wanted to sing. He wanted to jump, to fill the skies with his joy. "I'm going away!" he laughed, "I'm going away!"

When he had milked the cows and settled them for the night, he washed at the well. All the while, as he washed, he had visions of the new life before him. Hundreds of other boys, serious, intent as he, himself. The walls in the school would be covered with paintings of the saints. The priests and teachers would be like the kind priest he had met at St. Ulric's Mission. He would listen carefully to them and learn everything he needed to know to become a missionary and travel the broad world.

His hands clean and dry, he reached into his pocket. The precious paper was there. He unfolded it. His Birth Certificate. Philip Roux, born the sixth of August, 1883, at three in the afternoon, to Nicolas Roux and his wife Marie Bouché, in the village of Bickenholtz, and signed by the mayor, A. Holtzinger. He folded it and pushed it deep within his pocket. He must present the Certificate in Valkenburg.

He was about to turn towards the house for dinner when the smell of smoke struck him. "Oh no," he murmured. "No!"
PEROGIES ON THE PRAIRIES:
FROM PEASANT UKRAINE TO MAINSTREAM CANADA

by

Orysia Paszczak Tracz

[The following material is largely a composition of speaking notes used by the author for her presentations on this topic as delivered both here and abroad. These notes are reproduced here with the author's permission.]

The perogy / pyrih / varenyk is no longer just a Ukrainian comfort food. Over the last decades it has become a mainstream food – and even a fast-food. This paper will discuss the original varenyk, the linguistic changes, its place in the ordinary and ritual menu, and its Western Canadian transformation into a food as popular as pizza – and, a pizza.

This is not only a culinary, but an economic, religious, and social issue, as we shall see. And definitely, beyond a doubt, it is a Canadian food.

A few years ago at a conference, Dr. Bohdan Medvidsky reminded us that Dr. Zenon Pohorecky had said about so many things – it is what it is. So, even though I am not comfortable with the name “perogy” – on the Canadian prairies it IS what it is. And it is firmly entrenched.

Thanks to Dr. Robert Bohdan Klymasz, my perogy pusher – for his many suggestions and clippings (“NOW I know who I can give these to!”), also Andriy Horniatkevych, and Denis Hlynka for supporting material.

By way of introduction, this is the text [translated – OT] on the back of a t-shirt purchased in the early 2000s in Yaremche, in the Carpathian Mountains:

Varenykove derevo – Derevus varenicus
Traditional Ukrainian plant of the Varenyky family. Found exclusively on ethnic lands. Attempts to cultivate it beyond the borders had no success [we beg to differ]. It is a deciduous tree, the leaves are long. Does not bloom, but bears fruit year-round. Does not need cultivating/attention. The size and age of the tree varies in number and varieties of fruit. A mature tree bears at least five varieties of varenyky: with potatoes, cheese, meat, vyshnia (sour cherry), and blueberry. Science knows about 100 varieties of Derevus varenicus. The size of the tree and crown is measured by how many people one tree can feed. The traditional method of gathering the fruit of the tree – placing a maitra (large bowl) filled with smetana and shkvarky directly under the crown, so that the falling varenyky would fall parallel to the trunk. This way, weight and gravity force the varenyky directly into the maitra. With this, the smetana and shkvarky act like a magnet, drawing the varenyky from the tree. The Derevus varenicus was almost completely extinct during Soviet times, especially viciously destroyed during collectivization. From that time, in its primary form, the tree exists in remote places. In populated areas and nearby, the Derevus varenicus camouflages itself as other trees, such as apple, pear, plum, and others, and in mountain regions, as pine and fir.

This explanation reminds me of the folk tale about Yolopova Zemlia (Land of the Fools), where food just falls into your mouth, already cooked.

The perogy is a varenyk – a crescent-shaped dumpling made of unleavened dough filled with particular fillings, then boiled, and served with sour cream. In its various reincarnations, it can be fried with onions and sometimes shkvarky – usually this is done to reheat previously made varenyky. One wonderful method is to do this, and then pour Smetana [sour cream] over all that, cover, and let it
bubble away. Cholesterol heaven. A new prairie version is deep-fried perogies – very tasty. And in Winnipeg, at the Kyiv Pavilion of the Folklorama multicultural festival, the popular Uke-a-bob is served. This is a shishkebab, but with alternating slices of kubasa (KUbasa is the Manitoba version of kovbasa), deep-fried perogies, and pickles, all on a skewer.

The *pyrih* is a round yeast-raised baked stuffed bread. The fillings can be sauerkraut, buckwheat, meat, mushrooms, other fillings, or a combination of a few. Two root words combine into the *pyrih* – *pyr* – the medieval feast of Kyivan royalty, and *rih* – horn or crescent. Pyrizhky are little buns, filled with either savoury or sweet fillings. The dough for the former is yeast-raised and very light and tender, for the latter, it is a short, sweet dough.

Somewhere along the way during the last few centuries in Western Ukraine, the varenyk lost its original name, and became the varenyi/boiled pyrih. Usually used in the plural (you can’t eat only one!), the name pyrohy was understood to be varenyky. This can be seen in the cookbooks published in Winnipeg in the first half of the 20th c., where pyrohy and varenyky are used interchangeably for the boiled kind, with the baked pyrih called “pyrih na drizhdzhakh” [yeast-raised pyrih], and used in the singular.

We all know that they are also a ritual food – in Obzhynky, Kupalo (z vyshniamy – with sour/tart cherries) and, of course, at Sviat Vechir and other winter ritual meals. The crescent shape is a symbol of the moon, and continues the lunar symbolism of Sviat Vechir (along with the cloves of garlic, the 12 dishes, etc.). But this was not so in all urban areas. Dr. Maryna Antonovych, who grew up in Kyiv before World War II, told this writer that for Sviat Vechir varenyky were not served. Her family considered them a village food. The Antonovychs had many varieties of fish from the Dnipro as most of their 12 dishes for Sviat Vechir. [personal conversation – OT]
Where did varenky – pyrohy come from? The idea is universal – the ravioli, the raviolini, the won-ton, and others. So we cannot claim that Ukrainians originated it, although this must have been simultaneous invention. In his *Eneida* (1798), Ivan Kotliarevsky describes many traditional Ukrainian foods, including varennychky – the boiled dough for varenky, but without the filling. Usually the varennychky are made when the filling runs out and some dough is left over. Or, are made just for themselves.

In trying to figure out the Polish pierogi – Ukrainian varenyk/pyrih thing, I checked with an encyclopedic Polish cook book, *The Encyclopaedia of Polish Cuisine: 2400 traditional & modern recipes* by Hanna Szymanderska (Warszawa: REA, 1006). “According to the old legend pierogi came to us from Russia.” The chapter on “Pierogi, pancakes and croquettes” lists a number of “Lvov” [sic] and “Ruthenian” fillings and stuffings. This fine cookbook includes foods “from various parts of Poland, including some recipes from the old Polish eastern border regions.” Saying that perogies came to Poland “from Russia” seems to be a continuation of a particular Polish bent in not acknowledging Ukraine or things Ukrainian. From this writer’s observation of a number of publications, it seems that it is difficult for the words “Ukrainian, Ukraine” to pass some Polish lips. Then, “Rus’ki” [from Rus’, i.e., Ukraine] gets translated into English as “Russian.”

Ukrainian Soviet cookbooks from the 1940s on discuss what foods were shared between Ukraine and Russia. Many more went north than came south, and varenky were a food that Ukraine gave Russia. It is interesting to note the change in the Ukrainian word for *cuisine*. Stravy are food, cuisine, or they used to be. Cookbooks were entitled *Ukrains’ki Stravy*. In the last 3-4 decades, the books are entitled *Ukrains’ka Kukhnia*. The same words are used for a
Ukrainian menu. *Kukhnia* is kitchen or oven, and yet under Russian influence, that word has replaced *stravy*.

Pedahy is not a word most Ukrainians are familiar with, but this way of naming perogies is used by some. My guess is that it is a mispronunciation based on not hearing correctly or not being able to pronounce properly. Yet some in North America swear by that pronunciation.

When did the change from varenyky to pyrohy occur in Halychyna? So far, I have not found a reference to this at all. It would be interesting to learn how far into the Polish regions further away from Ukrainian borders are the varenyky/pyrohy prevalent as a traditional food? This needs more study.

In an early Ukrainian Canadian cookbook, the two words are used interchangeably. A straight cookbook with no comments was compiled by Leontyna Luchakivs’ka. Part I – Starokrayeva [Old Country] of Domashna *kukhnia* (Yak *varyty I pechy*) [Domestic kitchen (How to cook and bake?)] was published by Canadian Farmer in Winnipeg in 1900? [no date in book]. It was later included as a chapter in Ukrain's'ka kuharka populiarnykh ukrains'kyykh, evropeish'kykh i kanadiys'kykh straw / Ukrainian Cookbook: Ukrainian, European and Canadian Dishes (Winnipeg: Nakl. Ukrain's'koi knyhari, n.d.). In the various editions, most probably based on recipes from Western Ukraine whence the immigrants came, the word *pyrih/pyrohy* is used for both the baked stuffed bread (in the singular) and for the boiled varenyky. The yeast bread is *pyrih zy syrom* [pyrih with cheese], while varenyky are called *pyrizhky* (*pyrizhky z hrybamy*, z “*dzhemom*, z *yahodamy* [with mushrooms, with jam, with berries]. But immediately following these is a recipe for *pyrohy z syrom abo povylom* [pyrohy with cheese or preserves] – and here the recipe is for the yeast-raised pyrih stuffed bread. Recipes for the baked pyrih follow, and some are sweet (with short pastry) and some are savoury (yeast pastry). But the sweet ones here are not the baked little pyrizhky, but more like a *piaatsok* [a Western
Ukrainian term for baked fruit pyrih or kuchen from the German via Polish. Varenky as a word are not listed in the index at all.

In various reference books, the boiled pyrohy of Halychyna are explained as – this is what varenky are called in this region.

William Paluk wrote “The plight of the perih: The Hey-Day of the Perih, Its Idea of Family Solidarity, Its Shape Wholly Functional” in Canadian Cossacks: essays, articles and stories on Ukrainian Canadian life (Winnipeg: Canadian Ukrainian Review Publishing Co., 1943. In this case, it is about the varenyk. This article was reprinted in The Ukrainian Weekly, June 10, 1944. NB the transliteration – pErih, not pYrih. The local/regional pronunciation leads us to pErogies, not pYrogies.

And when in Canada did pyrohy/pyrih morph into “perogy/perogie” and why? This is still an unanswered question. My presupposition is that the Poles of Chicago and Detroit had been in the USA longer than most Ukrainian immigrants in North America. Their food was already known in America. Possibly the term perogies / perogys came about as something close to “pierogi” but still giving it a non-Polish identity?

Irena Bell of Ottawa noted [private conversation] that long ago, people would be ashamed to be known to be eating perogies, just as at one time the Maritimers were of eating lobster – the poor-man’s food! Paulette Demchuk McQuarrie of Vancouver (a Winnipeger, daughter of the founder of Sevall’s Catering) noted how decades ago people would hide from the neighbours that they made and ate perogies for that reason. Not any more!

How is the perogy an economic factor? In all of Ukrainian North America, our churches have been built on perogies – or on perogy sales, to be exact. It is interesting to note that the Holy Ghost Polish Roman Catholic Church in
Winnipeg holds perogy sales, not pierogi sales. In covering “Hip Brooklyn”, the Globe and Mail (Toronto, March 17, 2010) writes about the Polish section of this borough of New York City: “On the waterfront, low-key Greenpoint is home to fine perogies [sic], indie fashion, and great thrift shopping.” Since the talk is about Polish food, and should be pierogies in this case, I suppose this makes up for the automatic spell-checkers in Canada correcting kovbasa and kubasa into kielbasa.

Yet there are still Ukrainian institutions which think that the public cannot figure out perogies. In Toronto (Future Bakery), New York City (Veselka Restaurant), and New Jersey (a suburban Ukrainian cultural centre), Ukrainian stores, restaurants, and organizations sell pierogies. One explanation was “the reason the word ‘pierogi’ was chosen as an advertising tool, was to target the English-speaking community.” Surely this could be changed with education and promotion with no damage to sales.

In North Dakota, at their Ukrainian Cultural Institute, the Ukrainian community of Dickinson sells cheese buttons. The Mennonites in Manitoba, who emigrated from Ukraine, call them vareneckes.

At Christmas time – both calendars -- the “Bukovynska tserkva – Bukovynian church”, as it is commonly known (St. John Suchavsky in Winnipeg) is packed with people picking up their still-warm orders of dozens of potato, sauerkraut, and other perogies, and kasha holubtsi, and pyrizhky for Sviata. You can meet anyone and everyone. The church even has its separate perogy orders phone line. The fundraising is not limited to Ukrainian churches. St. Martin’s in the Fields Anglican Church in the North End of Winnipeg holds Perogy dinners. And fund raising with perogy sales is not limited to churches, as the attached illustrations show.
As reported in the Winnipeg Free Press under the headline “Perogy Power,” Daria Salamon, teacher and award-winning author of *The Prairie Bridesmaid*, worked with her class in fundraising for aid for harvesting rainwater in Tanzania – with a perogy sale. Other fundraisers for various charities promote these sales.

CBC Television has featured stories on the Ukrainian church in Saskatchewan fundraising with perogy sales; Sesame Street in Canada showed the automated perogy-making machine, with a choir singing “Pe-e-e-e-ry, pe-e-e-e-ry” in very solemn tones; Sevala’s and Alycia’s restaurants have been featured on CBC Winnipeg and other radio and television stations around Christmas time.

“Gourmet” perogies are on the menu throughout Winnipeg: at the Fairmont Hotel, Hotel Fort Garry, Prairie Ink Café at McNally Robinson Booksellers (sweet potato filling), etc. etc. Winnipeg’s very trendy fusion grill serves “white truffle perogies elevate the humble Ukrainian staple to decadent heights” [from the menu]. Duck sausage and a drizzle of walnut cream sauce enhances their richness (Academy Road) -- they never heard of vushka, eh?

*Taste: Winnipeg’s culinary guide 2009-2010* (published by Ciao! Magazine) writes that “Perogies draw on the city’s Ukrainian roots and are given a local twist at Pineridge Hollow, when stuffed with mushrooms and topped with sweet onion marmalade and dill cream…” [“Local Culture: Regional ingredients and a global community create food that reflects the land and our people”]

In addition to fish, The Gimli Fish Market in Winnipeg sells local foods. Its full-page blue background ads in local papers very often advertise perogies: sauerkraut, blueberry, potato, and other fillings.

A bit further east than the prairies, Maria Stefura of Sudbury noted that not one function in Sudbury -- ALL of Sudbury -- happens without perogies on the menu.
In late 2009, the food section of the Winnipeg Free Press carried a big article on the various doughs to be used for perogies. There was no mention of the word “Ukrainian,” because it was understood.

Various catering businesses throughout Manitoba advertise for “perogy pinchers” and “cabbage roll rollers,” especially before the Christmas season [see attached photos]. Peak of the Market, the Manitoba Vegetable Co-operative, promoted potato perogies in its television ads for potatoes.

Winnipeg’s Alycia’s Restaurant in the North End is famous throughout Canada. In every issue of the tourist magazine Where Winnipeg, the item reads: “People love Alycia’s perogies so much that the kitchen team here makes almost 10,000 each day for dine-in and take-out. Enjoy them fried or boiled or take some to go.” A separate deli was attached to the restaurant after the restaurant itself got crowded from line-up for take-out. For Ukrainian Christmas Eve, both calendars, there are three sittings, booked and sold-out in advance.

Speaking of Alycia’s -- Lindor Reynolds, Winnipeg Free Press columnist, wrote on Valentine’s Day 2009 “Good day to say I just love this town”. In her list of reasons: “Alycia’s: Because although my mother makes the best perogies in town (and she wishes I’d stop advertising that fact), she’s not opening a restaurant. This is second choice.”

Perogies are ubiquitous in Winnipeg, served at Nathan's Deli (on Perogy Fridays) in Winnipeg Square, the University of Manitoba Food Court in University Centre, and many other mainstream restaurants. Yudyta is in the food court at The Forks, and Yurko’s serves perogies in the CanWest Baseball Stadium at Goldeyes games.
Caterers specializing in Ukrainian food are plentiful, although a few have already closed. Naleway's (Nalyvai) is a major caterer. Karen's Home Cooking sells all the Ukrainian foods with a touch of "Jesus is Lord" and Jimmy Swaggart videos – this is real mainstream. Mom's Perogy Factory is now owned by an immigrant family from Terebovlia who bought the business and expanded the menu after the original Ukrainian Canadian "Mom" retired. This is a very popular and busy place.

Boston Pizza restaurants serve Spicy Perogy Pizza, one of their best sellers. It was developed by their chef. This is a very tasty food, with potatoes, onions, cheeses, sour cream – a good soul food, but not a traditional pizza (no tomato sauce). It is certainly worth trying.

As seen above, the variety of fillings has expanded from the traditional ones. In Ukraine, there are very many more fillings than the usual potato, potato and cheese, sauerkraut, and berry. But Canadian cooks and companies have expanded even this. The potato and cheddar cheese (even Velveeta – Lord forgive them for they do not know…..) filling is a prairie thing. My sister Nusia from New Jersey was shocked when she cut into an Alycia's perogy and found the filling orange. "What IS this?!" Cheemos sells feta and spinach filling and pizza filling, among many.

There are many brands of frozen perogies in prairie supermarkets: Cheemo, Naleway's, no-name, and even one brand called "Dobra" with the logo of St. Basil's Cathedral in Moscow on the front (!).

Perogies are not far from the thoughts of the bereaved, as can be seen in Winnipeg Free Press obituaries. Baba's love of Ukrainian traditions and her delicious perogies are often mentioned as something to be remembered. On her 80th birthday, one baba was congratulated as the "World's best perogy maker as voted by her family."
Then there is perogies and politics. Of course. Why not. This is Ukrainian Canada. When Prime Minister Steven Harper prorogued Parliament at the end of December 2009, perogies entered the news instantly. The play upon words in proroguing/perogies was immediately on television and on the radio, from Peter Mansbridge on the CBC National, to newspapers, to t-shirts, to Air Farce and 22 Minutes. The media had a field day. “Love those Proroguies!” If you Google “perogy prorogue,” there are very many entries on this pun, with former word being so much more familiar than the latter.

On this topic, Dr. Denis Hlynka of the Centre for Ukrainian Canadian Studies, University of Manitoba, wrote “From Prorogue to Perogy to Pyrohy”:

Among the many roadside monuments so abundant throughout Canada, there are a number of Ukrainian ones, including the pysanka, the kovbasa, and the traditional greeting. The newest one is the perogy on a fork in Glendon, Alberta. This writer hesitates to quote Wikipedia, and yet this source provides information you could not make up!

“In Glendon, Alberta, for example, next to a roadside model of the world's largest perogy (a staple of Ukrainian cuisine), sits the Perogy Café, which serves "Ukrainian and Chinese Perogies" (meaning Pot Stickers). This establishment is actually owned by a Vietnamese family and is the only restaurant in town.”

Best-selling mystery author Gail Bowen, of Regina, describes a grade 8 graduation reception: “The meal, served in the Resource Room by the Grade Sevens, featured ham, perogies, and cabbage rolls. For dessert there were

In addition to all-season perogies, other Ukrainian foods are in the mainstream. “Paska Bread” is sold during the Easter season in every bakery and supermarket in Winnipeg and other areas. Ukrainian Christmas (Julian calendar) is a given. Bruce Clark, comedy writer, former Winnipegger, writing from Palm Spring, CA – says “There’s no place like Winnipeg for the holidays” (Winnipeg Free Press, Dec. 24, 2008): “....The season at the heart of the continent begins long before the big day, and the open houses don’t end until after the Ukrainians have stopped celebrating...” And Great-West Life only removes the Three Kings from their perch above the main entrance to the building after Ukrainian Christmas. That is also when the city’s Christmas lights dim.

But not only are the perogies on the prairies mainstream Canadian. I learned this in early August 2009 while visiting the far North in the Northwest Territories on the Mackenzie River. In preparing to visit my ecologist son, Boyan, I told him I will bring a few bags of Alycia’s perogies. “No, Mama, you will bring a cooler of perogies and holubtsi.” So I did. And threw in three vacuum-packed Tenderloin Meats kovbasa. At the airport in Edmonton, as the cooler was scanned, the East Indian officer asked what was inside. When I told him, he replied with a bare hint of a smile, “You realize that cooler cannot go any further than this!”

In the NWT town, I learned that perogies were better than any currency. They were extremely welcome gifts, and covered some costs of helicopter and boat trips. And these were not the frozen commercial ones, but authentic Alycia’s!

This is still a work in progress. New perogy data emerge weekly and monthly. It is a never-ending story of how a humble traditional Ukrainian comfort food became a mainstream and even gourmet Canadian dish.
ABOUT THE AUTHOR

Orysia Tracz is a well known speaker and publicist who has devoted much of her time and energy to her passion for Ukrainian traditions from A to Z. She currently works with the University of Manitoba libraries in the Collections Management division.