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**THE UKRAINIAN SOCIALIST MOVEMENT IN CANADA
1900 — 1918**

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

I

Traditional interpretations of the Ukrainian immigrants' experience in Canada have stressed the beneficent influence of Canadian society and institutions on the immigrants. According to these interpretations, impoverished, culturally neglected, morally unenlightened Ukrainian immigrants, who fled from economic exploitation and political oppression by foreign colonialists in their homeland, were offered the chance to "make something of themselves" in Canada "the land of equal opportunity." On the prairies, where they cultivated millions of acres of virgin soil, the immigrants found the freedom and justice they had been denied for centuries. Gradually they mastered their rowdy temperament, became acquainted with the democratic process, acquired the virtues of thrift, sobriety, and prudence, and learned to cherish "the Canadian way of life." Because they were hard working, determined, persevering, and imbued with a deep respect for Canadian political

and economic institutions, many Ukrainian immigrants managed to establish themselves as independent farmers, secured advantageous business opportunities, attained a comfortable material standard of living and became model citizens. The names and achievements of Ukrainian-Canadian businessmen, professionals and politicians, all of humble peasant immigrant origins, are offered as irrefutable evidence of the marvellous process of personal improvement and upward social mobility that has transpired in Canada.¹

Historical evidence does not substantiate this interpretation. A significant proportion of the Ukrainians who arrived in Canada prior to the first world war did not establish themselves on the land. In the prairie provinces alone, well over 20% of Ukrainians remained in urban centres, while almost all Ukrainians who settled outside the prairies also remained in towns and cities. The majority of these, as well as the over 50% of all Ukrainian agricultural settlers, who spent years as wage-labourers before they were able to establish themselves as farmers, experienced an excruciating initiation into Canadian society. Not only did traditional customs, social habits, and work patterns have to be discarded in an effort to adjust to a new unfamiliar industrial discipline, but the immigrants were also subjected to severe economic and social exploitation, and became the objects of nativist hostility. Although Ukrainian immigrants experienced initiation into Canadian society in a variety of occupations, work on railroad construction and in the mines were the most typical forms of non-agricultural employment during the first two decades of the century.

Between 1900 and 1918 the length of Canadian railway mileage increased from 18,000 miles to 38,880 miles.² Most of the new track was laid after 1907 when federal restrictions on oriental immigration prompted Canadian railroad interests to turn to southern and eastern Europe for its "coolie labour."³ Italian labourers were preferred by railroad contractors but Ukrainians and other groups of settler-immigrants were also recruited. By the early 1920s Ukrainians, who comprised about 13% of all "navvies," constituted the single most numerous national group employed on railroad construction.⁴ Working conditions on the railroads were deplorable. In 1912, a foreign consul with intimate knowledge of conditions in Europe and South America stated that he knew "...of no other country where the rights of workmen have been so flagrantly abused as on railway construction in Canada."

A Canadian observer, who was a spokesman of capitalist rather than labour interests, noted that "...prisoners who comprised the convict gangs... were better housed, had shorter hours, and were as well fed as were the navvies..." Conditions in the construction camps, the same observer alleged, approximated "lesser forms of serfdom" and "peonage."⁵

According to inaccurate official statistics, the total number of employees killed on railroad construction during the period 1901 - 1918 was 3667. Another 41,274 were injured. The same statistics reveal that another 8,557 persons (excluding passengers) were killed as a result of accidents on the railroads, while 52,555 persons were injured.⁶ A great many of these were Ukrainian immigrants. Throughout these years almost every issue of every Ukrainian-Canadian newspaper carried news items about Ukrainians who had been killed on railroad construction. Thus, for example, many Ukrainian navvies were killed between Fort William

2 *The Canada Yearbook 1921* (Ottawa, 1922), p. 532.

3 Donald Avery, "Canadian Immigration Policy and the 'Foreign' Navvy, 1896-1914," *C.H.A. Annual Report 1972* (Ottawa, 1974), p. 141.

4 This figure was calculated from information provided in Edmund W. Bradwin, *The Bunkhouse Man: A Study of Work and Pay in the Camps of Canada 1903-1914* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1972), p. 249. The book was originally published in 1928. Other national groups employed on the railroads and the percentage of the workforce they represented, were: American 1.9%; British 8.1%; British-Canadian 10.7%; French-Canadian 11.3%; Polish 3.9%; Yugoslavian 6.4%; Czech-Slovakian 8.9%; Italian 7.0%; Danes 3.0%; Norwegians 4.7%; Swedes 7.7%; Finns 9.5%; Others 3.8%.

5 *Ibid.*, pp. 212, 8, 75. Bradwin's observations about the manner in which navvies were transported to construction sites is worth noting: "...To protect themselves, the employment agents would sometimes dispatch the men who had signed up with them for railway work in car lots, with two guards in charge... The doors of the coaches bearing the labourers were locked for some hours while passing through towns of the mining district... During those particular years cases were not infrequent of men being handcuffed and thus manacled conveyed under guard to a camp..." p. 60.

6 *The Canada Yearbook 1921*, p. 532. The figures for passengers during these years were: 592 killed, 5839 injured. Canadian railroads were among the unsafest in the world at the turn of the century. In 1903, the number of passengers killed/million carried, on Canadian railroads was 2.39. Only Egyptian railroads were more dangerous (2.73). In European states the ratios were: Austria 0.07; Hungary 0.21; France 0.02; U.K. 0.07; European Russia 0.88. During the same year the number of passengers injured/million carried on Canadian railroads was 11.65. This was the highest ratio in the world. The ratio in European states was much lower: Austria 1.37; Hungary 0.82; U.K. 1.43; France 0.82; European Russia 5.40. See *The Statistical Yearbook of Canada 1903* (Ottawa, 1904), p. 458.

1 The classic example of this interpretation may be found in Paul Yuzyk, *The Ukrainians in Manitoba: A Social History* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1953), pp. 45, 206-07.

and Sioux Lookout in 1906; near Vermillion, B.C., in 1909; and between Hector and Field, B.C., in 1910. In February 1912 an explosion on the Canadian Northern tracks near Fort Francis killed 13, including 6 Ukrainians, and seriously injured 5 Ukrainians. In January 1916, outside Brandon, a C.P.R. train crashed into a snow-plow carrying an "extra-gang" of 60 Ukrainians and Poles, killing 17 instantly, injuring 15 critically and wounding 25.⁷

Those who survived had to endure intolerable working conditions and irregular, exploitative wages. The average working day lasted 10 to 12 hours at 15c to 20c an hour. Thus most navvies earned \$1.75 to \$2.00 daily, except when inclement weather prevented work. However, it was not unusual for navvies to work 16, 18 and 20 hours daily, while on "extra-gangs," which looked after track maintenance and repair, wages for a 10 hour day were \$1.35.⁸ It should also be noted that \$4.50 was deducted each week from the navvy's wages for food and board, and an additional \$1.25 was deducted each month for medical services which were rarely provided. When one considers that most navvies were already indebted before they started working, as a result of advances granted to them for transportation fare to the construction site and for the purchase of proper clothing and equipment, it becomes obvious that even after three or four months of work many navvies were left with almost no net wages. Peonage, with workers forced to work indefinitely until their debts to the company were paid up, was not unknown.

Unlike seasonal employment on railroad construction, mining was a permanent year-round occupation. Skilled Anglo-Saxon labourers comprised the largest proportion of miners, although almost 50% of those employed in mining were "foreigners." Unskilled southern and east European immigrants were recruited because they were perceived to be a malleable, nonunionized source of cheap labour. By 1914 Finns constituted 3.5% of the mining force;

Italians constituted 8%; and Slavs constituted 11%.⁹ The last group was particularly numerous in the Crows Nest Pass District and in northern Ontario. Ukrainians made up a sizeable proportion of the Slavic miners. They were concentrated in Canmore and Lethbridge, Alberta; in Hillcrest, Hosmer, Fernie, and Mitchell, B.C.; in Sudbury, Cobalt, Coppercliff, and Timmins, Ontario; and in Val d'Or and Rouen, Quebec.

Wages were better than those on railroad construction, but as more "foreigners" were recruited, management took an increasingly callous approach to safety precautions and regulations. The accident rate among "foreigners" was particularly high. Many Ukrainian miners died as a result of accidents in the mines.¹⁰ Ukrainian miners were among those killed in mining disasters in Coalhurst and Belleview. In June 1914, 30 Ukrainian miners were among the 190 casualties of the Hillcrest mining disaster.¹¹ In the Ontario and Quebec mines the lung disease silicosis was widespread among Ukrainian miners. The miner's working day lasted 10 to 12 hours, occasionally 16 hours. Most miners grossed up to \$100.00 monthly. However, after deductions for food, quarters and equipment, most were left with net earnings of \$40.00 monthly.¹²

On railroad construction and in the mines an ethnic caste system existed. In the mines most skilled mechanics, certified miners and supervisors were Anglo-Saxons and Scandinavians. Slavs and Italians were usually employed as underground labourers, miner's helpers and surface labourers.¹³ On railroad construction the hierarchy of functions was more complicated. In general, Anglo-Saxons and Scandinavians were employed as machine operators, mechanics, repairmen, and skilled rock blasters, as well as walking bosses, inspectors and camp foremen. Slavs and Italians worked with shovels, hoes, and barrows as "muckers" and ditch-diggers, and on railroad maintenance.¹⁴ A semi-racial demarcation which attributed specific characteristics to the various national

7 **Kanadyiskyi Farmer** (Winnipeg), 24 July, 1908; 1 January, 1909; 30 April, 1909; 16 July 1909; **Ranok** (Winnipeg), 14 February, 1912; 12 January, 1916. See also Petro Kravchuk, *Na Novii Zemli* (Toronto, 1958), p. 103.

8 The data was gathered from reports in the Ukrainian language press, 1906-1919. Bradwin provides the same information. For behind the scenes glimpses into the life of navvies see **Frontier College Papers**, Public Archives of Canada. The letters and reports of individual instructors are particularly interesting. They reveal, for example, that navvies were sometimes expected to work "...from 7 in the morning until 8, 9, or 10 o'clock at night. Others work from 3:30 or 4 in the morning until 10, 11, and 12 o'clock..." **F.C.P.**, vol. 26, D. McCallum to Headquarters, July 17, 1916; vol. 17, J. G. Gould to Alfred Fitzpatrick, July 31, 1913.

9 Donald Avery, "Canadian Immigration Policy and the Alien Question, 1896-1919: the Anglo-Canadian Perspective", Unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Western Ontario, 1973. Chapter 5.

10 Donald Avery, "Continental European immigrant workers in Canada 1896-1919: from 'stalwart peasants' to radical proletariat", **Canadian Review of Sociology and Anthropology**, February, 1975. p. 57. See also, **Kanadyiskyi Farmer** 3 July, 5 October, 1908; 25 June, 1909; 9 February, 15 June, 1910; **Robotchyi Narod** 15 October, 1913.

11 **Robotchyi Narod**, 19 June, 1914; **Ranok**, 28 June, 1914.

12 **Kanadyiskyi Farmer**, 31 August, 1910; A. M. Shlepakov, **Ukrainska Trudova Emihratsiia v S.Sh.A. i Kanadi** (Kiev, 1960), p. 122.

13 Donald Avery, "Continental European immigrant workers..." p. 57.

14 Bradwin, **The Bunkhouse Man**, pp. 91-112.

groups provided ideological justification for this caste system. Workers, it was believed, belonged to one of two groups: "whites" and "foreigners." Anglo-Saxons, Scandinavians and French-Canadians belonged to the former; Slavs, Italians and Orientals belonged to the latter. The "whites," it was alleged, were distinguished from the "foreigners" by their superior intelligence, by their skill as workers and by their "sheer native ability." They were believed to be virile, clear-headed, quick thinking and self-reliant. The "foreigners," especially the Slavs, were believed to be "slow and immobile, lacking initiative... with but limited mechanical ability... easily brow-beaten... just plodders in the day's work..." Nevertheless, their "quiet strength," "unpretending courage," "perseverance" and "staunchness" guaranteed that "...the Slav can and does succeed even as a railway navvy."¹⁵

If the conditions of labour failed to destroy the Ukrainian immigrant labourer's illusions about the "legendary liberty and prosperity" which he expected to find in Canada, the economic recession which reached serious proportions in 1913 and the outbreak of war in 1914 with its attendant consequences did the job. When the economy went into recession the immigrant was the first to feel the effects of unemployment. By the summer of 1913 thousands of unemployed Ukrainians were beginning to congregate in urban centres, especially in western Canada. While some were arrested for loitering, a number were deported. Ukrainian-Canadian newspapers began to advise prospective immigrants in Galicia and Bukovina to stay at home.¹⁶ On May 26, 1914, 2000 unemployed workers, mostly Ukrainians, marched through the streets of Winnipeg with shovels demanding "work or bread." When police

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 105.

¹⁶ *Kanadyiskyi Rusyn* (Winnipeg), 5 July, 1913; *Ranok*, 15 July, 1914. During this period Ukrainian immigrants were jailed for eating out of garbage cans while others asked to be jailed in order not to starve. *Ranok*, 21 January, 1914. In May 1914 the government passed the British Nationality and Status of Aliens Bill, changing the naturalization procedure. Formerly the submission of an affidavit to a commissioner establishing the fact that the immigrant had been domiciled in Canada for three years was enough to obtain a naturalization certificate. The new Act required five years residence in Canada, adequate knowledge of the English language, acceptance of the application for naturalization by a superior court judge, and empowered the Secretary of State to withhold certificates from applicants deemed a threat to the "public good." The ravages of unemployment had been experienced by Ukrainian workers on numerous occasions before 1913. In May 1908 there was hunger in North Winnipeg. A number of deaths, suicides and faintings from hunger were reported. *Ranok*, 15 May, 1908; *Kanadyiskyi Farmer*, 29 May, 1908.

attempted to arrest a Joseph Dudar who was addressing the workers, the demonstrators proceeded to beat the policemen off with shovels.¹⁷ By the time war broke out, thousands of unemployed workers, including great numbers of Ukrainians who often ate at 48 hour intervals, were wandering in groups from city to city in search of work.

War aggravated an already grave situation. Large numbers of "enemy aliens," immigrants from non-Allied countries, were dismissed from their jobs. In Fernie, Mitchell, and Nanaimo, B.C., as well as in Hillcrest, Alberta, over 500 Ukrainian miners lost their jobs.¹⁸ The loss of employment was particularly devastating for those immigrants who usually sent a portion of their earnings home to Galicia and Bukovina. A number of mass demonstrations by non-unionized "foreigners" occurred in Winnipeg in 1915. On 19 April a gathering of 5000, which demanded "bread and work" and asserted that it represented people who were not "enemies," was dispersed by club swinging police. Three days later 15,000 demonstrated. On May 14 hundreds of unemployed "foreigners," including many Ukrainians, left Winnipeg for the United States in search of work, and because they feared persecution as "enemy aliens." About 200 of the marchers were arrested at the American border and placed in Canadian internment camps.

In August 1914 Parliament passed the War Measures Act which permitted the government to make decisions by orders-in-council without the need to justify its actions in Parliament. "Enemy aliens," were ordered to report or register monthly with the police. Those who failed to report, or who, for some reason were deemed a threat to national security, were interned in one of twenty-four internment camps. A total 8,579 "enemy aliens" were interned during the war. Of these, 5,954 were classified as Austro-Hungarians; the majority of these were Ukrainians.¹⁹ In the detention camp at Brandon over 800 of the 1000 interned prisoners were Ukrainians. In Kapuskasing over 500 Ukrainians were interned. At Spirit Lake there were over 800 Ukrainians.²⁰ A Press Censorship Board was established in June 1915 to monitor the "alien" foreign language press in Canada. Not only was criticism of Canadian and British foreign and domestic policy construed as treason, but the Ukrainian press was warned that "...any criticism

¹⁷ *Ranok*, 27 May, 1914.

¹⁸ Shlepakov, *Ukrainska Trudova Emihratsiia*, p. 183.

¹⁹ Sir William Otter, *Internment Operations 1914-1920* (Ottawa: King's Printer, 1921), p. 6.

²⁰ *Robotchyi Narod*, 28 October, 1915; *Kanadyiskyi Rusyn*, 3 November, 1915; Kravchuk, *Na Novii Zemli*, p. 118.

levelled against the Russian Empire during the continuance of the present war can only be regarded as equally serious as if levelled against the British Empire.”²¹ Finally, in September 1917 the Wartime Elections Act was passed. It disfranchised all naturalized citizens born in enemy countries and naturalized after 1902.

By 1917 the Canadian economy had suffered heavy losses of manpower as a result of the war. In spite of the fact that they had been deprived of their civil rights, the labour services of the “aliens” were required to stem the growing labour shortage. Consequently all persons above the age of 16 were required to register with the Canadian Registration Board. An “anti-loafing law” was enacted in April 1918 which required all male residents of Canada to be “regularly engaged in some useful occupation.”²² Finally, in September 1918, as a result of growing fears that labour unrest among “alien” workers was somehow connected with Bolshevism, two orders-in-council were passed: all foreign language publications were suppressed and a number of left-wing organizations were outlawed. A month later the Public Safety Branch was set up to enforce this legislation. Many Ukrainian immigrants personally experienced the full weight of these government enactments, while the entire community was exposed to outbursts of nativist hostility and intimidation by private individuals and citizens’ groups.

II

The first Ukrainian exponent of socialism in Canada was Kyrylo Genik, the educated and articulate leader of the second organized group of Ukrainian agricultural settlers who arrived in Canada in 1896. Prior to emigrating to Canada Genik had been acquainted with some of the founders and most prominent members of the Ukrainian Radical Party.²³ After his arrival in Canada, Genik, who was appointed a federal immigration officer in Winnipeg, in 1897, became the spokesman for the Ukrainian community and an advisor to incoming immigrants. He also acted as the Canadian correspondent of the Radical Party’s organ *Narod (The People)*, published in Galicia, and of *Svoboda (Liberty)*, the first

Ukrainian-language weekly in North America, published in Olyphant, Pennsylvania. On two occasions Genik articulated his socialist views in *Svoboda*. In an article entitled “The Labour Question,” Genik explained the impact of technical innovation, the Industrial Revolution, and the accumulation of capital on the process of social differentiation. Although “...there are single individuals who have millions of dollars at their disposal and millions of individuals who have only the hands with which they labour at their disposal...,” Genik assured his readers that the emergence of an international socialist movement promised a brighter future for all men. “Workers need no longer console themselves with the hope that perhaps some day things will get better — rather they should boldly and openly join in the struggle against capitalism and exploitation, and demand absolute social justice, justice to which they are entitled as human beings. How is one to adapt to this struggle? The answer is: through unification, by forming associations of workmen of all nationalities.”²⁴ Two years later, in an article entitled “What every labourer should know,” Genik explained that the worker’s labour was the source of all wealth. Consequently, if “...workers provide mankind with all its material goods and services they are entitled to benefit from these themselves. They are entitled to have comfortable dwellings, good food, good and comfortable clothing, and access to schools, theatres and libraries...”²⁵ As the opposite was the case, Genik again urged the necessity of creating workmen’s associations.

Genik and a large number of the earliest Ukrainian immigrants to Canada had emigrated from the Kolomyia and Sniatyn districts of eastern Galicia. In these districts the Radical Party had originated and become influential among the peasantry.²⁶ By 1900 a number of fairly well educated peasants from these districts had gathered in Winnipeg and formed the nucleus of an informal reading society in Genik’s home. Ivan Bodrug and Ivan Negrych, Ivan Danylchuk and Iurko Syrotiuk, Dmytro Solianych, Hryhorii Kraykivsky and Petro Zvarich, who soon moved to Edmonton, and somewhat later Myroslav Stechishin, Taras Ferley and Jaroslav Arsenych all came from the Kolomyia-Sniatyn region and had been

21 Chief Press Censor (*Secretary of State Papers*), Public Archives of Canada, vol. 43, file 196-2, Col. Chambers to editor *Canadian Ruthenian*, 15 August, 1915.

22 *Canadian Annual Review* 1918, p. 491.

23 Genik and Ivan Franko were close acquaintances. He is mentioned in Mykhailo Vozniak, “Ivan Franko v dobi radykalizmu”, *Ukraina*, Kiev, 1926, and in Oleksii I. Dei, *Ukrainska Revoliutsiino-Demokratychna Zhurnalistyka*, Kiev, 1959, p. 272.

24 *Svoboda*, 8 March, 1900.

25 *Svoboda*, 2 January, 1902.

26 For the Radical Party see Vozniak, “Ivan Franko v dobi radykalizmu”, and Yaroslav Bilinsky “Mykhaylo Drahomanov, Ivan Franko, and Relations Between the Dnieper Ukraine and Galicia in the Last Quarter of the 19th Century”, *The Annals of the Ukrainian Academy of Arts and Sciences in the U.S.*, 1959, pp. 1542-66.

exposed to Radical ideas. Unlike the vast majority of Ukrainian settler-immigrants who had been impoverished, in many instances landless peasants in their homeland, many of these young men were sons of small landholders descended from a strata of the lower gentry. Although by the late nineteenth century their material conditions of life rarely distinguished members of this strata from the ordinary peasantry, "traditions of status, learning, and leadership" as well as "the consciousness that they had never been serfs of the lords of the manors," still lingered among members of this group.²⁷ The Radical Party's efforts to transform the Ukrainian peasantry in Galicia and Bukovina into an independent, conscious and active agent of its own liberation appealed to members of this group. In western Canada members of this group kept in touch with the Radical movement in their homeland and preached the gospel of Radicalism, as they understood it, among their countrymen. They subscribed and provided information about life in Canada to **Hromadskyi Holos (The Community Voice)**, a Radical party organ, read, discussed and distributed pamphlets written by members of the Radical Party,²⁸ and, because they were comparatively well educated, assumed leading positions in the Ukrainian immigrant community.

The best illustration of the utopian, agrarian, and subjective quality of the socialism which shaped the outlook of the earliest Ukrainian socialists in Canada is provided by an experiment undertaken in 1902-03.²⁹ At the turn of the century Genik was visited by Ivan Dorundiak, the representative of a group of Ukrainian students living near Kolomyia, in Galicia. Dorundiak had been selected to locate a suitable site for a Ukrainian commune which his Galician friends hoped to establish in North America as soon as they managed to emigrate. Genik referred Dorundiak to Agapius Honcharenko, an aging Ukrainian reli-

gious dissenter and political fugitive from the Russian Empire.³⁰ Honcharenko lived on a 60 acre farm near Hayward, California, and was willing to share it with his countrymen. Arrangements were made to accommodate the communards on Honcharenko's property as soon as they arrived. In the meantime, Genik undertook to publicize the venture among certain Ukrainians already living in Canada. By the fall of 1902, Iurko Syrotiuk and Ivan Danylchuk with their families had moved to Hayward from Canada and established the "Ukrainian Brotherhood" on Honcharenko's property. Members of the Brotherhood did not recognize private property. Myroslav Stechishin, Taras Ferley, Hryhorii Kraykivsky and Hryhorii Danys also joined the Brotherhood within the next few months. Yet, by the summer of 1903 the Brotherhood had been forced to relocate its commune and soon thereafter the experiment failed completely. Except for Ferley, who may have been dispatched by the initiators of the venture, none of the originators had managed to emigrate from Kolomyia before the experiment was pronounced a failure. With this failure all hope of establishing a chain of communes in North America, shared by the group of Radical students in Kolomyia, also died.

The Ukrainian Brotherhood failed to survive for at least two reasons. In the first place, few if any of the eleven persons who participated in the venture were accustomed to the physical labour required of them. Secondly, apparently no one had a clear idea of how the commune should function and what its ultimate aims were. Stechishin described the experiment in the following terms:

...While one thought the Ukrainian Brotherhood was an attempt to live a real Christian life in accordance with the principles of Lev Tolstoi, another thought of the Brotherhood

27 Vladimir J. Kaye, **Early Ukrainian Settlements in Canada 1895-1900** (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1964), pp. XIII-XIV.

28 The booklets distributed were especially those of Mykhailo Drahomanov, the "father of Ukrainian Radicalism". These included **Vira i hromadski spravy (Religion and Politics)**, **Opovidannia pro zazdrykh bohiv (Tales of jealous Gods)**, and **Rai i postup (Paradise and Progress)**. For a discussion of Drahomanov see Ivan L. Rudnytsky (ed.) **Mykhaylo Drahomanov: A Symposium and Selected Writings**, Ukrainian Academy of Arts and Sciences in the U.S., Spring, 1952.

29 See Teklia Danys, "Ukrainska Komuna v Kalifornii", **Kalendar Ukrain-skoho Robitnyehoho Soiuzu**, 1936, pp. 52-57; Myroslav Stechishin, "Ukrainske Bratstvo v Kalifornii", **Kalendar Ukrainskoho Holosu**, 1940, pp. 111-121. Mykhailo Marunchak, "A. Honcharenko i K. Genik ta Kanadski Ukraintsi", **Studii do Istorii Ukraintsi v Kanady**, vol. IV. (Win-nipeg: UVAN, 1973), pp. 162-87.

30 Honcharenko was born in 1822 or 1832 into a family of the Ukrainian Cossack **starshyna**. He entered the Pecherska Lavra monastery and in 1857 was appointed to serve in the Russian church in Athens. There he began a correspondence with Herzen and the editors of **Kolokol**. When this was brought to the attention of Russian officials Honcharenko fled to London. After returning to the Near East he was again forced to flee, this time to the U.S.A. Here, he finally settled down in San Francisco, and after publishing and editing the Russian-English **Alaska Herald**, purchased a farm. See Ahapii Honcharenko, "Spomyny Ahapiia Honcharenka", **Narod**, Kolomyia, 1894, № 6 (9193), 7-8 (124-26), 9 (134-39); in 1893-94 Honcharenko published a number of items in the Radical Party's organ. Also see, T. Luciw, **Father Agapius Honcharenko: First Ukrainian Priest in the United States** (New York, 1970); and, M. Varvartsev, "Ahapii Honcharenko — Pioner ukrainskoi emihratsii v SSHA", **Ukrainskyi Istorychnyi Zhurnal**, № 6. 1969, pp. 115-119.

as the modern equivalent of the Zaporizhian Sich, a third saw it as an agrarian union, a fourth conceived it to be a co-operative, a fifth saw it as a colony with good, selected neighbours. It was also possible to regard the Brotherhood as a "commune" of sorts.³¹

Although a number of the communards continued to live together, sharing their property for almost a year after the collapse of the experiment, by 1905 all had gone their separate ways.

Stechishin and Ferley returned to Winnipeg in 1906 and became involved in the Shevchenko Educational Society. The Society was a gathering spot for the better educated, more progressive immigrants, many of whom were students at the Ruthenian Training School and soon thereafter became the first Ukrainian bilingual school-teachers in Manitoba. In addition to the poetry of Shevchenko and Franko, the novellas of Franko and Stefanyk, and the popular pamphlets on religion, politics and history prepared by Drahomanov, members of the Society also read the works of Marx, Bakunin, Kropotkin and Reclus.³² Their outlook on political and social issues had not yet crystallized.

Developments within the Ukrainian-Canadian community, as well as those among Ukrainians in the Austrian and Russian Empires were probably responsible for this indecision. In Winnipeg, Genik, Bodrug, Negrych and Danylchuk had assumed leading positions in the struggle of the Ukrainian (Greek Catholic) immigrants against the hierarchy of the Roman Catholic Church. At the same time they had formed the Northwest Publishing Company, and with funds provided by the Liberal Party, published *Kanadyiskyi Farmer (The Canadian Farmer)*, the first Ukrainian-language paper in Canada. Simultaneously in Edmonton, Zvarich and Kraykivsky, who along with Pavlo Rudyk had also been involved in the religious controversy, were establishing business enterprises which would place them among the wealthiest Ukrainians in Canada within a decade. While these men, who were all reputed to be "radicals" and "socialists" and considered themselves as such, were being gradually integrated into the Canadian political and economic system, in Galicia, the Radical Party, formerly the only significant Ukrainian political party, had experienced a series of schisms. By 1900 it had split into three factions. The moderate wing renounced the Radicals' militant anticlericalism and their maximum economic program, which called for the collectivization of the means of production, and formed

the National Democratic Party. The party's left wing consolidated itself as the Ukrainian Social Democratic Party of Galicia and Bukovina, and proclaimed its solidarity with the Polish and Jewish working class. The Radical Party continued to exist, spreading its influence by establishing branches of the *Sich* organization among the peasantry. The organization was based on "democratic, progressive and anticlerical" principles, and attempted to teach the peasantry to "think and act independently" without clerical tutelage. Almost simultaneously, Ukrainians in the Russian Empire had also formed a number of legal and illegal parties which tended to split and reconsolidate at regular intervals. Consequently, between 1900 and 1906 Ukrainians in Winnipeg contributed to a fund, the proceeds of which were distributed equally among the Radicals, Social Democrats and National Democrats, while on one occasion they also sent funds to the Revolutionary Ukrainian Party founded in Kharkiv, in the Russian Empire.³³

III

At this juncture, the future of the Ukrainian socialist movement in Canada was determined by a curious turn of events. In 1905, the year that the Socialist Party of Canada (S.P.C.) was formed, the "general rehearsal" for the "great October" was staged in the Russian Empire. Two years later one of the minor participants in this upheaval arrived in Winnipeg. Pavlo Krat-Ternenko (Paul Crath), who claimed to be a former member of the Revolutionary Ukrainian Party and one of the founders of the Ukrainian Social Democratic Union (*Spilka*), came to Winnipeg in the autumn of 1907.³⁴ Here he became a frequent and popular lecturer

33 Mykhailo Marunchak, *Studii do Istorii Ukrainsiv Kanady*, vol. IV, p. 219.

34 Krat was born in 1882 in Hadiach near Poltava into a family descended from the Ukrainian Cossack *starshyna*. His father was Principal of the Agricultural College in Poltava and later Chief Agricultural Instructor for Southern Russia. He completed his post secondary studies in 1903, spent 1904 on the Japanese front, and participated in disturbances in Lubni during the Revolution. As a result of his involvement in these, he moved to Lviv in 1906, registered at the University and on January 23, 1907 gained notoriety for leading a furious student demonstration. After being arrested he fled to Vienna, where he may have helped members of *Spilka* establish *Pravda*, a paper which Leon Trotsky edited from October 1908 until 1912. (See Isaac Deutscher, *The Prophet Armed*, New York, 1965, p. 198). From Vienna, Krat journeyed to Winnipeg, via Switzerland and Liverpool. The "buntarstvo" so characteristic of Krat was reflected in the poetry and short stories which he published in Winnipeg during the next few years. For a biographical sketch of Krat see *Secretary of State Papers, P.A.C., Papers of the Chief Press Censor*, vol. 90, file 249-2.

31 Stechishin, "Ukrainske Bratstvo...", p. 120
32 *Kanadyiskyi Farmer*, 27 September, 1907.

at meetings of the Shevchenko Educational Society. Together with Myroslav Stechishin, Krat organized a Ukrainian branch of the S.P.C. in Winnipeg. Simultaneously, Ukrainian branches of the S.P.C. were organized in Portage la Prairie, Manitoba, and in Nanaimo, B.C., and a socialist paper **Chervonyi Prapor (The Red Banner)** began to appear. It was dedicated to the task of "...creating among Ukrainians in Canada cadres of socialist fighters for a new socio-economic order, for a better way of life for all people, a way of life which mankind cannot realize under the capitalist system."³⁵

Krat and Stechishin laid the groundwork for the shift from the agrarian populism of the Radical Party toward Social Democracy. Their interest in the condition of the growing number of Ukrainian immigrant-labourers, as well as their insistence on at least a measure of autonomous status for Ukrainian socialists in the S.P.C. won popular support. Nevertheless, Krat's influence on the Ukrainian socialist movement in Canada was ambiguous from the very beginning. Combining "...the formulas of a simplified Marxism and a naive romantic patriotism [with]... the confusion... [and] great emotional excitability..."³⁶ so typical of most early twentieth century Ukrainian Social Democrats in the Russian Empire, Krat was one of the most dynamic and active organizers and prolific writers among Ukrainian socialists in Canada, all the while displaying an evangelical enthusiasm for enlightening and raising the "slumbering" Ukrainian working masses. Yet he also introduced a strain of adventurism and intrigue, which occasionally had damaging consequences for the movement.

The Ukrainian branch of the S.P.C. established its headquarters on the premises of the Shevchenko Educational Society. A rivalry soon developed between Krat and Taras Ferley. In addition to tactical differences, the two men also clashed on the issue of membership in the Shevchenko Educational Society and proprietorship over its premises. Unlike Krat, Ferley opposed giving non-Ukrainian members of the Ukrainian branch of the S.P.C. a voice in matters pertaining to the Society, which included non-socialists among its members. As a result, a breach occurred within the Society and it soon disintegrated. The more radical members, including Stechishin and Vasyl Holowacky, followed Krat. The moderates, or "nationalists" as they soon came to be called, mostly

tudents and graduates of the Ruthenian Training School, grouped themselves around Ferley.³⁷ Rivalry between the two groups increased steadily after 1909.

Chervonyi Prapor appeared eighteen times between November 1907 and August 1908. It failed to survive for even one year because of financial difficulties and because Krat was forced to leave Winnipeg. A renewed effort to establish the foundations for a Ukrainian socialist party was started in May 1909, when the first issue of **Robotchyi Narod (The Working People)** appeared, edited by Myroslav Stechishin. The new paper appealed to all "workers of the world" to unite, and, during Stechishin's term as editor, reprinted articles and stories by Ivan Franko, Vasyl Stepanyk, and Volodymyr Levynsky, translated articles by a number of American socialists, and editorialized on issues pertaining to the organization of the Canadian working class. The response, although not overwhelming, generated enough interest to convoke a conference of representatives from each of the ten already existing Ukrainian socialist groups in Canada. Held on November 12, 1909, the Winnipeg conference proposed the formation of a Federation of Ukrainian Social Democrats in Canada (F.U.S.D.C.), which was to become an autonomous affiliate of the S.P.C.³⁸

³⁷ This group was also known as the "populists" (**narodovtsi**), and as the "independents" (**samostiinyky**) (not to be confused with the Independent Greek-Ruthenian Church). In fact they were a liberal, middle class group. Composed primarily of the first Ukrainian school-teachers, businessmen, professionals and well-to-do farmers, the group had established its own paper — **Ukrainskyi Holos (Ukrainian Voice)** — by March 1910. Zvarich, Kraykivsky and Rudyk in Edmonton, were also associated with this group. The paper's editorial policy rested on the conviction that the majority of Ukrainians were not being proletarianized but rather, were becoming independent farmers and small businessmen. The editors expressed few apprehensions about the values on which the capitalist system rested; they were not perturbed by the fact that under capitalism production was carried on for profit rather than for the satisfaction of basic human needs. They exerted themselves to raise the cultural, educational and economic standards of the Ukrainian immigrants in order to help them adopt to their new economic environment and thereby make them more economically competitive with the rest of the population.

³⁸ **Robitnychi Kalendar** (Winnipeg, 1918), p. 97. (After the first draft of this paper was prepared in March 1973, Petro Kravchuk published a series of excerpts from a forthcoming book of his which will be published under the title "Ukrainskyi Sotsialistychnyi Rukh v Kanadi 1907-1918". The excerpts appeared in **Zhyttia i Slovo**, the weekly organ of the Assoc. of United Ukrainian Canadians, during the first three months of 1976. Although Kravchuk's study is based exclusively on materials published by the socialists themselves, and has some glaring omissions, I have referred to his study while preparing this draft for publication. — O.M.)

³⁵ "Toma Tomashevsky pro Sotsialistychnyi Rukh mizh Ukraintsiamy v Kanadi", in Marunchak, **Studii...**, p. 144.

³⁶ Ivan L. Rudnytsky "The Intellectual Origins of Modern Ukraine", **Annals of the Ukrainian Academy of Arts and Sciences in the U.S.**, 1958, p. 1403.

However, the conference stressed that class rather than nationality was to be the principle on which the F.U.S.D.C. would be organized. Autonomy was demanded in order to facilitate the dissemination of propaganda among workers of various national backgrounds in their own native language. The conference also criticized the S.P.C. Dominion Executive for refusing to join the Socialist International and for opposing all trade unions and female suffrage. It was decided that if the S.P.C. refused to grant it autonomy, the F.U.S.D.C. would co-operate only with those S.P.C. branches which refused to submit to the Dominion Executive. The conference also accepted resolutions which expressed its solidarity with Ukrainian-Social Democrats in Europe, proposed that Ukrainian workers join unions organized by the I.W.W., and suggested that farmers establish co-operatives. Myroslav Stechishin was elected secretary of the F.U.S.D.C. executive committee which was composed of two Winnipeg members, two Alberta members and three members from B.C. Branches of the Federation were located in Winnipeg, Brandon, Calgary, Edmonton, Cardiff, Vostok, Phoenix, Hosmer, Canmore, Vancouver and Montreal.

In July 1910, the F.U.S.D.C. broke all its ties with the S.P.C. and became one of the groups which founded the Social Democratic Party in Winnipeg. The Federation was dissatisfied with the S.P.C. because it refused to recognize F.U.S.D.C. autonomy and refused to co-operate with "reformist" candidates nominated by the Manitoba Labour Party prior to the July provincial election.³⁹ Thus, on July 24, Stechishin, together with Herman Saltzman, R. A. Rigg, Jacob Penner and others, played a leading role in the formation of the Social Democratic Party (S.D.P.).

The first convention of the F.U.S.D.C. was held in Edmonton from August 22 to 27, 1910. In addition to drafting a constitution, the convention decided to affiliate the Federation with the S.D.P., to recognize **Robotchyi Narod** as the official organ of the Federation, and to expand its organizational and propaganda activity by appointing a part-time party organizer and extending publication to include pamphlets and short works by prominent Ukrainian, European and American socialists. Commitment to international working class solidarity did not impede commitment to the struggle of Ukrainians for national liberation. The convention resolved to create a Society for the Liberation of Myroslav Sichinsky, a student sentenced to life imprisonment for the assassination of

Count Potocki who had implemented repressive policies against the Ukrainian peasantry in Galicia. A "Council of Seven" was elected to serve as the executive arm of the Society which was committed to securing Sichinsky's release as well as to contributing moral and financial support to the Ukrainian liberation movement in the Austrian and Russian Empires. The Society provided the F.U.S.D.C. with a popular cause around which it could rally many Ukrainians. In 1910 party membership stood higher than at any time prior to 1915. The convention completed its work by electing a new executive, composed predominantly of Albertans. Roman Kremar (M. Solodukha) of Calgary became the new secretary of the Federation.

Nearly all of 1911 was marred by a power struggle between the executive in Alberta and the editors of **Robotchyi Narod** in Winnipeg. Kremar and his associates made repeated attempts to have the party organ transferred to Edmonton. Although personal ambitions played a part in the struggle, formally it revolved around the issue of whether the F.U.S.D.C. should affiliate with the S.D.P. or return into the fold of the S.P.C. The S.P.C., which had refused to recognize F.U.S.D.C. autonomy, had become a doctrinaire "otherworldly educational and propagandist sect" with no international affiliation. It refused to participate in elections on any level or to even consider the possibility of securing remedial legislation. All trade unions were condemned for "diverting workmen from the true cause of revolution."⁴⁰ The editors of **Robotchyi Narod** in Winnipeg were opposed to the S.P.C. for these reasons. In February 1911, Kremar began publishing **Nova Hromada (The New Community)**, which unilaterally proclaimed itself the "official organ of Ukrainian Social Democrats in America."⁴¹

A convention of Ukrainian Social Democrats was convened on May 2, 1911 in Edmonton by Kremar. Recognized by only five of seventeen branches of the F.U.S.D.C. and a minority within the executive committee, the Edmonton "convention" proceeded to form the Federation of Ukrainian Socialists (F.U.S.) with **Nova Hromada** as its organ, and decided to apply for membership in the S.P.C. In June 1911, the F.U.S., unlike the F.U.S.D.C., was admitted into the S.P.C. as an autonomous organization. Because the conflict between the two factions had a demoralizing effect on new branches of the F.U.S.D.C., the editorial board in Winnipeg held a party conference at the end of September 1911. A new Winnipeg based executive was elected. Stechishin and Holowacky assumed leading positions. The conflict within the Federation con-

³⁹ See Martin Robin, *Radical Politics and Canadian Labour 1880 - 1930* (Kingston, 1968), p. 110; Ernest Chisick, "The Development of Winnipeg's Socialist Movement, 1900 - 1915", unpublished M. A. Thesis, University of Manitoba, 1972, p. 78.

⁴⁰ Martin Robin, *Radical Politics...*, pp. 94-100.

⁴¹ *Robotnychi Kalendar*, p. 101.

tributed to the disastrous debut made by the S.D.P. and the F.U.S.D.C. in federal politics. In the September 21, 1911, Dominion Election R. A. Rigg and Vasyl Holowacky failed to win seats. Holowacky failed to win a single vote in 44 of 66 polls in Selkirk.⁴²

On November 10, 1911, Sichinsky escaped from prison after guards had been bribed with money collected by the Society and other North American Ukrainian organizations. Although he remained in hiding until 1915, his rescuers were brought to Canada and toured F.U.S.D.C. locals. The success of the campaign revived the Federation and seemed to open up new vistas. The editors of **Robotchyi Narod** even suggested that "...Robotchyi Narod has rescued Sichinsky; now we shall liberate Galicia."⁴³

As 1911 drew to an end, dissension within the Federation also began to wane. When the Canadian Socialist Federation (composed of eastern branches of the S.P.C. which had broken away from the Dominion Executive) and the S.D.P. decided to amalgamate as the Social Democratic Party of Canada (S.D.P.C.) in December, 1911, Kremar's F.U.S. held a conference. It was decided that a further conference should be held to resolve the dispute with the F.U.S.D.C. On February 8, 1912, formal resolution of the conflict was placed in the hands of a tribunal composed of leading members of the Ukrainian Social Democratic Party of Galicia and Bukovina. Kremar refused to comply with this arrangement. Soon most of his followers dispersed, and by September, 1912, **Nova Hromada** stopped publication.⁴⁴ The Ukrainian socialist movement, however, was again united within the F.U.S.D.C.⁴⁵

(To be concluded in next issue)

University of Manitoba

42 Chisick, "The Development...", p. 93.

43 **Robotchyi Narod**, July 10, 1912.

44 Kremar promptly organized a "Ukrainian National Organization of Alberta" with its own newspaper **Novyny (The News)**. In all likelihood the paper was funded by the Conservative Party.

45 Not all of 1911 was wasted. In the winter, a series of "Free School" lectures was sponsored by the F.U.S.D.C. in Winnipeg. Lectures on topics such as female emancipation, the Inquisition, the relation of churches to the institution of slavery, as well as on the theories of Darwin and Kropotkin were delivered by members and non-members of the Federation. Pamphlets such as Stechishin's "Smert' za 8 hodynnyi den", commemorating the Haymarket Riot, and "Shcho Dumaiut Sotsiialisty?", which explained concepts such as surplus value, class struggle, socialist society, and social democracy, were also published.

Orest T. Martynowych

THE UKRAINIAN SOCIALIST MOVEMENT IN CANADA
1900—1918

IV

Between February, 1912 and August, 1916, the leadership of the Federation and control of **Robotchyi Narod** passed from the hands of men like Stechishin and Krat into those of younger, more radical men. The small minority of radical activists who came to Canada after 1910 differed from their predecessors who had arrived at the turn of the century. In general they were from an economically more underprivileged stratum of rural society. About ten years younger (born in the early 1890s) and recent arrivals, they had some recollection of events such as the 1902 agrarian strike in which over 100,000 peasants and agrarian labourers participated, and may have participated in the struggle for electoral reforms. Unlike their predecessors they had had the opportunity to participate in organizations such as **Sich** and had been introduced to social democratic principles in student groups and in the trade union movement where Ukrainian Social Democrats were active.⁴⁶

The "new men" were much more narrowly realistic and not prone to flights of visionary romanticism. As more experienced activists, organizers and speakers they moved about the country and often went into the United States to organize Ukrainian, Russian and other Slavic workers. This provided them with a much greater opportunity to establish contacts with a variety of socialist parties and exposed them to the ideas of socialist theoreticians who were either unknown or of peripheral interest to their predecessors.

The condition of the Canadian economy facilitated their ascent. Railroad construction and mining reached their peak in the years preceding the war. Thousands of Ukrainian immigrants swelled the ranks of the Canadian proletariat and performed the most menial and unrewarding tasks. Depression and the outbreak of war deprived most of them of even this type of employment. In

46 A number of "peasant politicians" were active in Canada. Hryhorii Tkachuk, the western organizer for the U.S.D.P. in 1915, was an eloquent orator who had played an active role in **Sich** and distinguished himself as an organizer for the Radical Party. Mykola Korzh, the U.S.D.P. representative to the Ukrainian socialist organizations in the U.S.A., had been an active peasant radical in Galicia for twelve years and had been nominated to run for a seat in the Galician Diet. Popovych and Navizivsky had been members of socialist student groups in high school. See **Robotchyi Narod**, June 9, 1915; November 25, 1915.

these circumstances the reformism of the S.D.P.C. and the romantic adventurism of men like Krat became the objects of severe criticism. A drastic and radical solution was sought.

Three power struggles occurred within the Ukrainian socialist movement during this period. As a result, many of the founding members of the F.U.S.D.C. left the socialist movement. They thereby paved the way for "new men" such as Matvii Popovych, Ivan Navizivsky, Danylo Lobai and others to take control of the movement.

The first struggle pitted Krat and Evhen Volodin against Stechishin and Holowacky. Krat and Volodin claimed that Stechishin was attempting to impose a personal dictatorship over the party: he was editor of the party organ, secretary of the executive committee, and a prominent member of the "Council of Seven."⁴⁷ Krat also insisted that funds collected by the "Council of Seven" could be appropriated for the benefit of the Federation. Ukrainian workers led by a well organized and enlightened socialist party in Canada could make significant contributions to the struggle for Ukrainian social emancipation and national liberation regardless of the fact that they were thousands of miles away from the scene of the struggle. Stechishin, who believed that the Sichinsky fund should not be used for the benefit of anyone but Sichinsky, responded by accusing Krat and Volodin of adventurism and of tampering with community funds. In September, 1912, Stechishin resigned from the F.U.S.D.C. and published a "Confession" in the **Ukrainian Voice**.⁴⁸ He claimed that after collecting and contributing \$2,200.00 to Sichinsky's escape in November, 1911, the "Council of Seven" continued to collect funds and established a "Fund for the defence of Sichinsky" (who was still a fugitive). By August, 1912, \$2,135.00 had been collected for this fund. Sichinsky received only \$400.00. Of the remaining \$1,735.00, \$325 had been invested in **Robotchyi Narod**; \$400 had been paid to fund collectors and organizers as a "commission"; Volodin had received a \$60 salary for his services as treasurer; \$150 had been loaned to the Federation and another \$100 had been loaned to individual members of the Federation. Although Volodin was disciplined by the Federation, the movement received its share of unfavourable publicity.⁴⁹ Membership tumbled.

47 **Robotchyi Narod**, September 11, 1912.

48 **Ukrainskyi Holos**, September 25, October 2, 1912. Also see article by O. Reviuk, "Zaiava", **Ukrainskyi Holos**, 24 September, 1, 8, 15 October, 1913.

49 Volodin seems to have been the guilty party. He was also involved in real estate business, and was expelled from the party for giving funds to "conservatives" [?]. See **Robotchyi Narod**, February 28, 1916.

After Stechishin's resignation, the Federation experienced two years of chaos. Ivan Navizivsky, one of the "new men", became editor of **Robotchyi Narod** from April, 1912 until September, 1913. When he announced his intention to resign, the Federation appealed to Ukrainian Social Democrats in Europe to send an editor. The Federation hoped to attract Ivan Hylka (M. Melenevsky), P. Tuchapsky, O. Skoropys-Ioltukhovsky or Volodymyr Levynsky. Although the services of these prominent men could not be secured, the Ukrainian Social Democratic Party of Galicia and Bukovina sent Evhen Hutsailo to Winnipeg. Hutsailo remained in Canada for only six months before returning to Galicia in January, 1914. He was succeeded as editor by Ivan Stefanicky who served until June, 1914. As a result of Stechishin's revelations, many rural branches in Manitoba and Saskatchewan folded, while the executive was transferred to Montreal, where it remained from November, 1912 until January, 1914. Andrii Dmytryshyn and Ivan Hnyda, two radical young men who had arrived recently, were prominent in the Montreal-based executive. In January, 1914, an eastern regional convention of the F.U.S.D.C. decided to change the organization's name to the Ukrainian Social Democratic Party (U.S.D.P.) and to transfer the executive back to Winnipeg. After a referendum these resolutions were accepted. An executive led by Ivan Hnyda and Mykola Ieremiichuk moved to Winnipeg.

There were some important developments during these two years. Increasingly **Robotchyi Narod** printed articles and reports written by leading European Ukrainian Social Democrats and reprinted translations of articles from emigré Russian Social Democratic publications. In 1912, a Russian branch of the S.D.P.C. was organized in Winnipeg. Representatives of the branch occasionally contributed articles to **Robotchyi Narod**.⁵⁰ In 1912, the Russian and Ukrainian branches invited Grigorii Bieloussov, a Russian Social Democratic member of the Second Duma sent into Siberian exile by the Tsarist government, to speak in Winnipeg. The first Ukrainian translations of Marx's Communist Manifesto to appear in Canada were also printed in **Robotchyi Narod** during this period.

In October, 1914, the second power struggle began, this time between Krat and the "new men". With the outbreak of the world war, many Ukrainians began to foresee the imminent demise of the Austro-Hungarian and Russian Empires, and, as a consequence, the "resurrection of Ukraine."⁵¹ On August 4, 1914, a "Union for

the Liberation of Ukraine" was organized on the territory of the Austrian Empire as a non-class political representation of all Ukrainians in the Russian Empire. It was organized by an emigré faction of the U.S.D.W.P. which included a number of Krat's former acquaintances from his days in **Spilka**. Almost simultaneously, Krat organized **Samostiina Ukraina** (Society for an Independent Ukraine) in Edmonton, and, after arriving in Winnipeg, began to call for a united front of all those Ukrainians in Canada who wanted an independent Ukrainian republic, regardless of their class and religious affiliation.⁵² To complicate matters, he also announced his intention to study theology at Manitoba College, a Presbyterian institution, and proceeded to work on the editorial staff of the Ukrainian Presbyterian paper **Ranok (The Morning)** while also editing **Robotchyi Narod**.⁵³ If the thought of a Social Democrat preaching from a Presbyterian pulpit aroused indignation, Krat's apparent repudiation of the doctrine of class struggle seemed sacrilegious to the "new men". Moreover, since some workers began to confuse the U.S.D.P. with **Samostiina Ukraina**, and preferred to devote themselves to the latter,⁵⁴ a referendum was conducted by the party late in 1914. The referendum repudiated any co-operation with non-proletarian, non-farmer organizations. Krat reconciled himself with this decision because, in the meantime, he had become thoroughly disenchanted with the opportunism of the "Union for the Liberation of Ukraine" and other groups which pinned their hopes for Ukrainian political liberation

⁵² *Ibid.*, September 9, 1914.

⁵³ Krat's decision to join the Presbyterians was not completely inconsistent with his socialist principles. The founders of Ukrainian Radicalism, especially Drahomanov and Pavlyk, had always thought that Protestantism would provide the type of secular spirit which the priest-ridden Ukrainian peasantry needed. See Drahomanov's correspondence with Pavlyk, especially for the years 1890-93. In Canada, the movement which finally resulted in the conversion of a number of Ukrainian congregations to Presbyterianism was initially led by men who identified themselves as "Radicals," and who attracted men of similar outlook. Moreover, Winnipeg, prior to the outbreak of war, was the home of the most prominent Methodist and Presbyterian exponents of the Social Gospel. J. S. Woodsworth, Salem Bland, C. W. Gordon and one of Krat's professors at Manitoba College, J. W. McMillan, all lived in Winnipeg. Finally, on two major issues, Ukrainian Protestants and Socialists in Canada were in perfect accord. Both groups were concerned with social problems, with the alleviation of basic everyday human needs. Secondly, both groups repudiated the narrow, exclusive, socially apathetic conception of Ukrainian nationality, based on a regimen of "compulsory" ideas and a cult of "sacred national traits," to which the Ukrainian Catholic clergy, and some influential laymen subscribed. Excerpts from Drahomanov's **Chudatski dumky pro ukrainsku natsionalnu spravu** had been published by the Ukrainian Freethinkers' Society in Winnipeg, in 1908.

⁵⁴ **Robotchyi Narod**, October 15, 1914.

⁵⁰ In September, 1913, Volodin and Sanin, both Russians, were on the editorial staff.

⁵¹ **Robotchyi Narod**, September 26, 1914.

on German and Austrian “goodwill”. Krat was convinced that only a social revolution which was the work of the oppressed Ukrainian worker and peasant masses could bring social emancipation, national liberation, enlightenment and unobstructed cultural development for the Ukrainian people.⁵⁵ Yet, the revolution, “that eternal goddess of justice... the liberator of nations,”⁵⁶ which Krat impatiently awaited, was not to be brought about in the manner envisioned by orthodox social democrats. While the “new men” were proletarian internationalists who believed the revolution could be brought about by the combined effort of the working classes and socialist parties of all nations, Krat claimed that “...before our very eyes, socialists of the ruling nations refuse to grant full recognition of national rights to socialists in oppressed nations...”⁵⁷ Thus, while calling for social revolution, Krat would not concede that the interests of the Ukrainian toiling masses could be satisfied by foreign socialists acting on their behalf.

Although he remained a party member and editor of **Robotchyi Narod**, Krat’s days in the U.S.D.P. were numbered. His association with the Presbyterians incited the militants, and after party secretary Mykola Ieremiichuk, who was prepared to tolerate Krat, was interned at the Brandon detention camp, the new executive asked for and received Krat’s resignation from **Robotchyi Narod** in January, 1916. In August, 1916, Krat was expelled from the party. Danylo Lobai and Matvii Popovych, two of the most active “new men”, replaced him as editors. Within a few months, Ivan Navizivsky became the administrator of **Robotchyi Narod**. The paper and the party passed squarely into the hands of the “new men.”

A third power struggle took place as an extension of the second one. In February, 1915, Ivan Stefanicky began to publish **Svidoma Syl’a (Conscious Strength)**, a newspaper which he renamed **Robitnyche Slovo (The Workers’ Word)** in 1916. Although a referendum conducted among all U.S.D.P. branches condemned the appearance of a second socialist publication, the new weekly, published in Toronto, began to expand rapidly at a time when **Robotchyi Narod** could barely survive as a monthly. Popovych, unlike Krat and Ieremiichuk, was not prepared to tolerate the new weekly and did everything in his power to eliminate it.⁵⁸ The sec-

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, October 8, 1914.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, October 15, 1915.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, October 8, 1914.

⁵⁸ Early in 1917, Popovych demonstrated that a number of Stefanicky’s editorials were plagiarized translations of articles appearing in the Anglo-Canadian press.

ond party convention held on 16-23 August, 1917, expelled Stefanicky and Ieremiichuk for a period of three months for undermining working class and party solidarity. Four months later, Stefanicky and Krat, who had moved to Toronto, organized a Ukrainian Immigrants Aid Committee. In one of its first declarations, the Committee criticized Bolshevik intentions to conclude peace with Germany. Rather than being an expression of ultra-radicalism, the declaration reflected Krat’s anxiety at the thought of western Ukraine being left out of the social revolution which had swept across eastern Ukraine; he feared western Ukraine would not be liberated from the “tyrannous yoke” of the Austrian monarchy.⁵⁹ The conflict between the editors of both papers lasted until September 27, 1918, when both papers were padlocked.

The basic differences between the two papers centered on their evaluation of the Ukrainian Revolution. While **Robitnyche Slovo** supported the Ukrainian Central Rada, composed of Ukrainian Social Democrats, Social Revolutionaries, and other democratic and liberal parties, **Robotchyi Narod** had gradually gravitated toward the Bolsheviks. The Bolsheviks had toppled the Russian Provisional Government, which had waged an aggressive imperialist war, recognized Ukrainian autonomy very grudgingly, and neglected the work of social reform. Moreover, Lenin had promised to recognize the right of national self-determination. The editors of **Robotchyi Narod** accepted these promises at face value. When the Central Rada failed to adopt a clear agrarian policy and refused to allow Bolshevik troops to cross Ukrainian territory in order to confront General Kaledin’s White Armies, **Robotchyi Narod** concluded that the Central Rada must be “bourgeois” and that it could not possibly be motivated by a desire to “...defend Ukrainian rights since the Bolsheviks have already recognized these [rights]...”⁶⁰

V

The Ukrainian socialist movement in Canada increasingly came under the influence of the Bolsheviks after the outbreak of war. In December, 1914, **Robotchyi Narod** printed the Bolshevik reply to Emil Vandervelde’s plea asking all Russian Socialists to join the battle against Prussian Junkerdom by supporting the Tsarist war effort. A month later, an article entitled “Comrade Lenin on Ukrainian Independence” appeared. The article summarized and praised Lenin’s speech at Zurich, where he condemned

⁵⁹ **Robotchyi Narod**, December 22, 1917.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*

the repressive policies enforced by the Tsarist regime in Ukraine. In April, 1915, an article entitled "War and Ukraine" was reprinted from **Sotsial Demokrat**, a Bolshevik periodical published in Switzerland. The article condemned Tsarist atrocities and Russification in eastern Galicia in 1914. This was followed by the appearance of Maksimovich's (Litvinov's) "Address" at the Conference of Socialists of the Allied Powers in London. In addition to these documents, the paper also published articles and summaries of speeches by the German Social Democrats Karl Liebknecht and Klara Zetkin, reprinted articles from the German **Spartak**, published the Zimmerwarld Manifesto, and reprinted articles such as Lenin's "The Socialist Revolution and the Right of Nations to Self-Determination."⁶¹ All these articles were printed when nativist hostility towards "enemy aliens" and "foreigners" manifested itself with great intensity in Canada; when any attempt to expose the crimes of Russian Tsarism was regarded in Canada as a treasonous offence; and, when a campaign against Ukrainian bilingual schools in the prairie provinces reached hysterical proportions.⁶² Bolshevik declarations seemed to bear a curious relevance even to the immediate experience of Ukrainians in Canada.

Nevertheless, prior to the autumn of 1917, **Robotchyi Narod** also reprinted articles by a variety of non-Bolshevik and anti-Bolshevik Russian and Ukrainian socialists. In June, 1915, Lev Iurkevych's "Appeal to the Russian Socialist International" appeared. On a number of occasions Iurkevych had questioned the motives and meaning of Lenin's proclamations concerning the right of all nations to self-determination. Articles by Levynsky, Vynnychenko and Hrushevsky were also reprinted, and money was collected to support the U.S.D.W.P.'s newspaper in Kiev.

More direct links between **Robotchyi Narod** and the Bolsheviks were forged between 1912 and 1916, while 1917 issues provide conclusive evidence that at least on an informal level, the editors were in fairly close contact with members of the Bolshevik party. From the summer of 1912 until he formally assumed the position of editor of **Robotchyi Narod** in August, 1916, Matvii Popovich had spent time in New York organizing Slavic workers for the American Socialist Party. While in New York he had come into contact with the editors of the R.S.D.W.P.'s pro-Bolshevik organ **Novyi Mir (The New World)**.⁶³ After 1914, the editorial board of **Novyi Mir** resembled a "who's who" of the October Revolution:

Volodarsky, Alexandra Kollontai, Nikolai Bukharin and, briefly in 1917, Leon Trotsky were all associated with this publication and resided in New York at the time.⁶⁴ Also present in New York between 1914 and 1917 was a young Ukrainian Bolshevik sympathizer, Ivan Kulyk (R. Rolinato), who had been on the staff of **Novyi Mir** when Bukharin was its editor.⁶⁵ In April, 1917, Kulyk and a group of Russian socialist emigrés, including Bukharin, were detained in Vancouver before being allowed to continue with their journey to Russia. Ironically, Kulyk had had no intention of returning to Russia. He had been invited and agreed to assume a position with **Robotchyi Narod** in Winnipeg. Canadian officials did not allow Kulyk to enter Canada. After his return to Ukraine, Kulyk retained his connection with **Robotchyi Narod** and contributed to it a series of articles criticizing the Ukrainian Central Rada.⁶⁶

Regardless of just how intimate **Robotchyi Narod's** relations with Kulyk and any other Bolshevik group were in 1917, it should be remembered that only five years earlier the editors of the paper were corresponding with Agappius Honcharenko and with Mykhailo Pavlyk, one of the founders of the Radical Party.⁶⁷ The transition from the utopian socialism of the Radicals and the reformism of the Social Democrats to the Machiavellianism of the Bolsheviks was precipitated by developments in Canada just as much as by those overseas. Especially after the revolution of 1917, many Ukrainians in Canada began to believe that while their countrymen in Ukraine had finally achieved social emancipation and national liberation, they were being deprived of the civil rights and

64 I. Deutscher, **The Prophet Armed**, p. 242.

65 In the early 1930s Kulyk played an odious role in the suppression of the Ukrainian literary renaissance of the previous decade. He became Postyshev's lieutenant in the Ukrainian branch of the Soviet Writers' Union, and played a prominent part in the witch-hunt for literary "counter-revolutionaries." Prior to his rise to prominence as an advocate of "revolutionary vigilance", Kulyk spent a number of years in Canada during the 1920s. In **Zapysky Konsula** (Kiev, 1958), published twenty years after he had been purged and then rehabilitated again, Kulyk recounted, among other things, conversations he allegedly had with the descendents of Louis Riel, who asked him about "...the greatest chieftain in the world, comrade Lenin, who is also called Illich — the wisest and greatest of all chieftains in the world, greater even than Riel..." [!], p. 11.

66 **Robotchyi Narod**, September 12, November 14, 1917.

67 In a letter to **Robotchyi Narod**, August 6, 1913, Pavlyk corrected Krat who had claimed that Pavlyk had once been a close acquaintance of the terrorists who belonged to **Narodnaia Volia** (1878-81). "I have always been a revolutionary only in the spiritual sense and have never advocated the use of force as a means toward the realization of my ideals, being convinced that moral courage and spiritual strength were the greatest, most vivifying of human faculties..."

61 Cited by Kravchuk in his study in **Zhyttia i Slovo**.

62 See Morris Mott, "The Foreign Peril: Nativism in Winnipeg", unpublished M.A. Thesis, University of Manitoba, 1970.

63 **Robotchyi Narod**, August 7, 1912.

liberties which they had hoped to acquire in Canada. Thousands wanted to emigrate from Canada. Under these circumstances the U.S.D.P. gained many supporters. When the party was outlawed in September, 1918, it had over 2000 full-fledged members and many more sympathizers.⁶⁸

Date	Number of Branches	Number of Members
late 1907	3	101
mid 1912	24	330
mid 1913	23	424
early 1914	18	238
late 1914	28	816
mid 1917	?	600
early 1918	?	1500
mid 1918	20	2000

VI

There is perhaps no better way of measuring the ideological gulf which separated the "early socialists" from the "new men" than by comparing the subsequent activity of prominent representatives of both groups.

The tradition of libertarian anti-clericalism, so typical of Ukrainian Radicalism, was particularly prominent in the activity of leading "early socialists". Even before his involvement with the Ukrainian Brotherhood in California, Iurko Syrotiuk had been a Baptist colporteur for the Bible Society. Kyrylo Genik, Ivan Bodrug, and Ivan Danylchuk in Winnipeg, and Petro Zvarich and Hryhorii Kraykivsky in Edmonton, were all involved in the formation of the "Independent Greek-Ruthenian Church" in 1904, and some of them remained associated with the Church after its dwindling membership converted to Presbyterianism. After completing his studies in theology, Pavlo Krat became a Presbyterian minister. In 1923 he was one of the founders of the Ukrainian Evangelical Alliance and served as its first missionary in western Ukraine from 1925 until 1938. It was even rumored in 1914 that Vasyl Holowacky had become a Russellite (Jehovah's Witness) preacher. Ferley, Arsenych, Zvarich and somewhat later Stechishin became leading laymen involved in the movement which led to the formation of the Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church in Canada. While the advocates of Protestantism had opposed the jurisdiction of the French Roman Catholic clergy in Ukrainian immigrant communities and the absence of ethical and social concern among many Catholic clergymen, the founders of the Orthodox Church protested against attempts by the Ukrainian Greek Catholic hierarchy to

control every aspect of the national, social, educational and cultural life of the Ukrainian community in Canada. Men like Ferley, who became the first Ukrainian M.L.A. in Manitoba in 1915, Arsenych, who became the first Ukrainian-Canadian judge, and Stechishin, who edited *Ukrainskyi Holos* from 1921 until 1946, wanted to free themselves from the paternalistic, unenlightened influence of the Ukrainian Catholic Church in order to independently exercise their own initiative and leadership within the Ukrainian community.

Many of the "new men" became prominent Ukrainian-Canadian communist leaders. In addition to being founding members of the Ukrainian Labour-Farmer Temple Association (U.L.F.T.A.), Popovych and Navizivsky also became founding members of the Communist Party of Canada and members of its Central Committee. Popovych was an unsuccessful Communist Party candidate in Manitoba provincial elections (1922) and Winnipeg civic elections (1924, 1925). In 1925, Vasyl Kolisnyk became the first elected Communist officeholder in North America when he was elected alderman from Winnipeg's North End in the civic elections. As members of the Communist Party the "new men" remained unflagging adherents of the party-line. Navizivsky, Maurice Spector and John MacDonald represented the Communist Party of Canada at the Sixth World Congress of the Comintern in Moscow in 1928. While Spector and Macdonald responded to Trotsky's *Critique* of the Third International, of the doctrine of "socialism in one country," and of its implications, Navizivsky remained "loyal". After Spector and MacDonald had been expelled from the party, Popovych became one of Tim Buck's closest associates. Of the prominent "new men", only Danylo Lobai, a former editor of *Robotchyi Narod*, broke with the Communist Party and the U.L.F.T.A. in 1935 when, with other former party members, he founded the Ukrainian Workers' League, an independent working class organization which exposed, publicized and condemned Stalinist atrocities in Ukraine.

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68 Membership in the F.U.S.D.C. and U.S.D.P. varied during the period under consideration in the following manner: