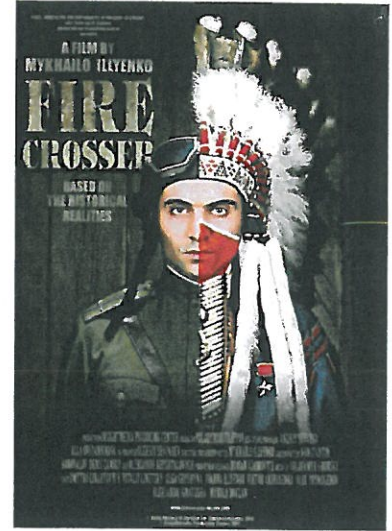




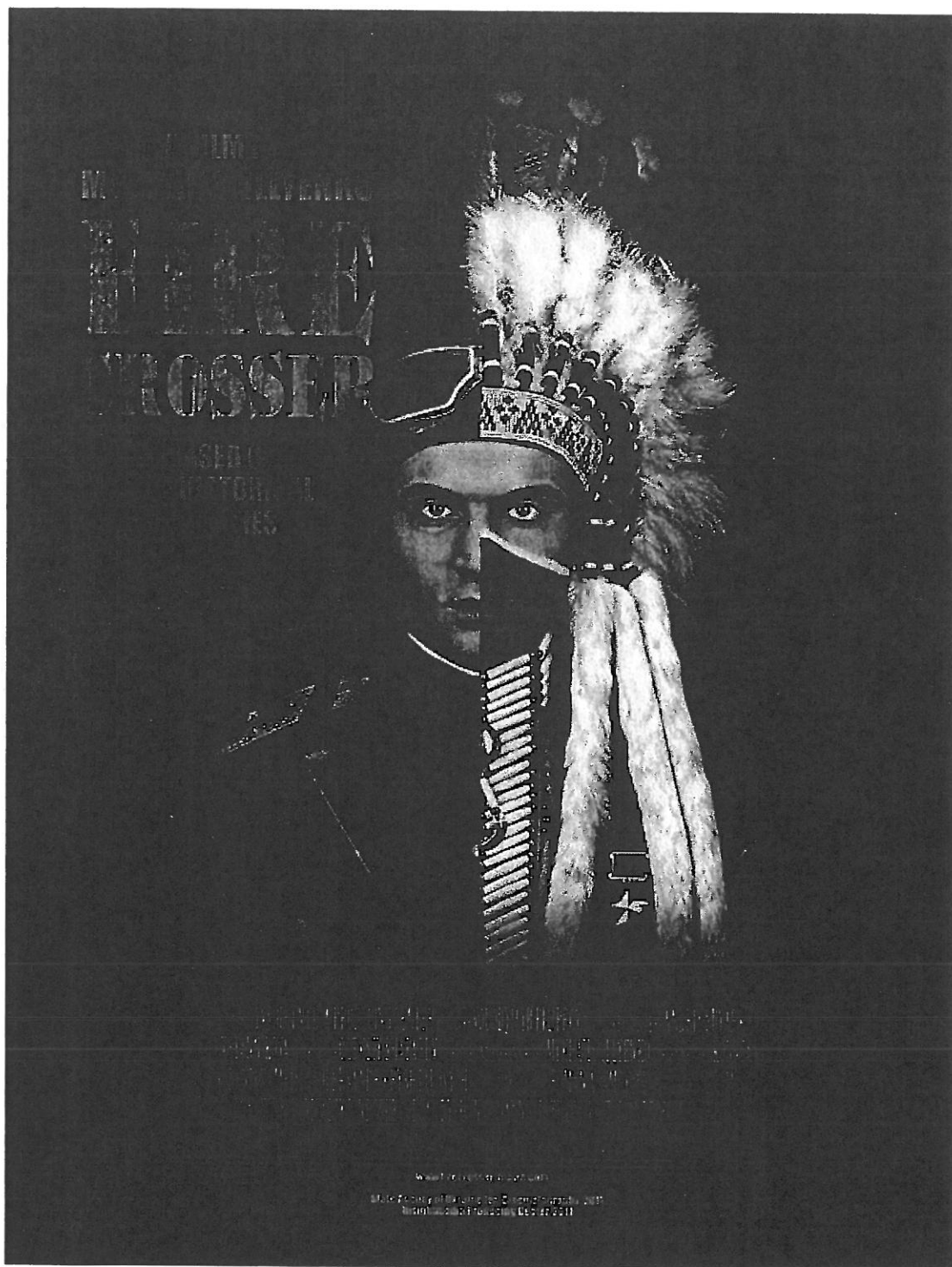
COSSACKS AND INDIANS?



Encounters, Abductions, Guilt, Ballads and Empathy on the Prairie and Beyond

A report prepared
by
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for
The Centre for Ukrainian Canadian Studies,
University of Manitoba,
Winnipeg, Manitoba
2012



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AIM OF "WINNIPEG PAPERS"

This is the fifth 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 general, these are "working" papers with minimal editing. In the interests of making information available quickly, normal production procedures have been abbreviated. As a result, 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 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 Turkevych, and Orest Rudzik.

The third issue ("Winnipeg Papers on Ukrainian Arts Culture in Canada") included contributions by Roman Bozyk, Daria Darewych, Orysia Ehrmantraut, George Fedak, Murray Gibson, Mary Jo Hughes, Janice Kulyk Keefer, Serhij Koroliuk, Mary Mach, Marcia Ostashewski, Thomas Prymak, Gloria Romaniuk, and Orysia Paszczak Tracz.

The fourth issue ("Searching for '*Kanadiis'ka Rus*'") featured a selected annotated bibliography, an index to Nestor Dmytriv's "*Kanadiis'ka Rus*" and a memoir piece by Nicholas A. Hryhowczuk.

The fifth issue follows. Thus far, all four issues have been prepared and introduced by Robert B. Klymasz.

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INTRODUCTION AND OVERVIEW

This report probes the confluence of two disparate ethno-cultural traditions. The particular focus on Ukrainian-Aboriginal encounters is meant to underline the importance of such interaction insofar as the Ukrainian Canadian experience is concerned. While the report identifies the specifics of this confluence, it is decidedly one-sided: that is, a distinctly Aboriginal voice is almost totally absent (largely due to a seeming paucity of relevant "native" material). On the other hand, tracking the interaction of these two cultures has uncovered a surprisingly wide range of insights. The findings underline the existence of a national identity that remains 'a work in process'.

Whether confrontational, intimate or bizarre, the Ukrainian-"Indian" encounter in Canada is certainly not a unique instance of cultural hybridity. The scope of this métissage along with its attendant ethnogenetic and cultural ramifications has yet to be determined. Nonetheless, our findings -- often anecdotal in nature -- show that certain distinguishing features have surfaced; and these, in turn, offer a rich and extraordinary springboard for the study of Canada's multicultural dynamics and attendant spin-offs.

Some quick context

By the time Canada's first wave of Ukrainian immigrants arrived on the prairies, the "Indian question" had been resolved. Louis Riel was executed, a network of "first nation reservations" was established, and aboriginal resistance to foreign takeover was crushed. Much real estate was freed up for "development" and intensive agrarian pursuits. Instead of nomadic buffalo hunters, a healthy dose of stationary peasants was needed to fortify Canada's nation-building agenda. The Government's offer of "free land" lured thousands of destitute Ukrainian villagers in the Old Country – they were ready to plough, sow and reap if only they were given a decent opportunity.

In general, the Ukrainian/Aboriginal connection has remained peripheral to the grand narrative of Ukrainian 'progress' on the prairies. In 1914, however, a sojourner in Winnipeg commented on the City's "Ukrainian Indians" to underline

its seeming lack of European sophistication (note 1). Some decades later, however, that pejorative connotation was no longer operational: the notion of a “Ukrainian Indian” living in Canada was now something to be celebrated (note 2). The decades that separated these two polarities offered many opportunities for ethno-cultural interaction, primarily on the Prairies: there the harsh realities of pioneering forced Ukrainian settlers to borrow survival techniques from nearby Aborigines who were invariably highly attuned to the vicissitudes of the very wilderness that the Ukrainians had come to conquer (note 3). It is certain that Canada’s early Ukrainian “colonies” were implicated – at least indirectly -- in the Government’s containment policies vis-à-vis the country’s aboriginal peoples. But that connection has never been addressed in any formal way.

Initial moments of apprehension generally dissipated with the onset of active face-to-face contact. Such is the case in the following *memorat* recorded in 1953:

[Synopsis of Ukrainian text] *The Indians were coming, and I was left alone on the farm.. The men were riding horseback – I was scared and shaking, so I locked the doors. They came onto our farm and took rest in the coolness of some shade. It was summer, July. Two of them came up to the house. I decided that it was useless to do anything, because if they want to kill me, they’ll simply smash through the door. I had about five children by me, and I said to them “ Children, we’re going to die because two Indians are coming!” They had these big hanging braids. One of them came up and said, “Are you a Ukrainian, a Ruthenian?” And I replied, “Yeah!” He was speaking our language. And he took out a cross on a black ribbon from inside his shirt and shows it to me saying, “See?” He puts it back and crosses himself, and says that he wants something to eat... Well I have plenty of food to give – pork fat, eggs, everything. But I’m afraid to let him into the house, but I have to ask him to come in. One comes in, the other stays in the yard. So I gave him bread, cheese, butter, and fresh eggs. He took it all and went off to his people. I’m looking through the window, and they set up a fire in the bush and cooked the eggs. Then I brought them a whole pail of milk and breads. They ate, rested and rode off to Ethelbert.*

From J.B.Rudnyts’kyi, *Materiialy do ukrains’ko-kanadiis’kjoï folkorystyky i diialektolohii*, vol.1 Winnipeg, 1956, p.11 (in Ukrainian).

About the middle of the 20th century, with the 'success' of Canada's Ukrainian pioneering experience firmly acknowledged, new trends surfaced while the historicization of Canada's Ukrainian experience bypassed the "invisible presence" of the Aboriginal factor detected by Maryna Hrymych of Ukraine in her exploration of Ukrainian pioneer life (her blog is reproduced elsewhere in this report).

For Canada's Myrna Kostash, writing in the 1970s, Ukrainian attitudes towards Canada's Aborigines were "ambivalent":

On the one hand, there was a measure of sympathy among Ukrainian-Canadians who could see analogies between their situation and that of the Indians and Métis, analogies uncomplicated by European memories. "We get along very well. I think that one of the reasons is that the Indians have been suppressed, and so have the Ukrainians. As late as the 1940s I was called a 'bohunk' by Anglo-Saxon people, and the Indians were called 'savages.'" And there was an awareness of the Ukrainian-Canadians' complicity along with Anglo-Canadians, in the humiliation of the native people. "People here don't give Indians a chance. We drove them to where they are and we keep them down there." On the other hand, the Ukrainian-Canadian as a white person was as guilty as any other of an attitude of social supremacy. The self-assigned liberal who thinks it's perfectly all right to marry anybody you want, so long as he or she is white; the woman of compassion who feels sorry for Indians because they're so backward; once they catch up with whites, they'll be admirable enough. It is the "good Indian, bad Indian" mentality.

We lived next door to Indians on the farm, you know. So you lend them this and you lend them that and you never get it back. You have to hunt for it, you have to go for it. Alec knew every Indian, he knew what Indians were good and what Indians weren't. He seemed to have such a powerful memory. You hired them to work for a while as everybody else was doing and as soon as you paid them, you never saw them around. However, I did have a very good girl with us for my summer work. She did the house and everything else and she was very good.

(From All of Baba's Children, 1987 edition, pp.158-159.)

THE EMPATHY FACTOR

After World War Two, with the 'success' of Canada's Ukrainian pioneering experience firmly acknowledged, a new factor emerged: Ukrainian empathy for the perceived stagnation and plight of Canada's Aborigines. (In actuality, this awareness had been initiated earlier by sojourning writers from Soviet Ukraine; their stories [in Ukrainian] dramatized the tragic fate of Canada's downtrodden Aboriginal peoples [note 4].)

The Ukrainian approach to Canada's Aborigines is driven by a deep-seated feeling of kinship: such sentiments are probably rooted in a shared reverence for the land (not its unbridled exploitation). But besides this, as noted earlier, an undercurrent of oppression binds the various expressions of commonality assembled in this report. The empathy signs are varied and are expressed in the work of remarkable Ukrainian Canadians -- artists, filmmakers, literati, scholars, and public servants such as one outstanding government bureaucrat Walter Rudnicki (1925-2011) -- "a Ukrainian Cossack who never got off his high horse" (as heard Thursday July 1, 2010 on CBC AM radio, "The Late Show", hosted by Gordon Pinset). Rudnicki worked tirelessly on behalf of Canada's aboriginal peoples, and his biographer looks for "clues on why a person would be involved in another people's struggle for justice": she delves into Rudnicki's Ukrainian roots where "the Cossacks engaged in hunting, fishing and in cattle and horses. As they ventured into the wilds, they chose the most experienced, brave and resourceful men from among themselves as leaders and formed tightly-knit groups. It is interesting to note that this is exactly the same

pattern followed by Indian hunters of northern Canada. [...] With this colourful history, and his caliber of education, military skills and philosophy of life, Walt injected strategies of high standard to help the Indian fighters in Canada recover a degree of aboriginal rights for their people" (note 5).

A poignant expression of empathy is provided by premier researcher Dr. Anastasia Shkilnyk, who tackles the question of how the Ukrainian side of her persona influenced her investigation of Aboriginal issues:

In one sense, it is an easy question to answer. I am an immigrant child, who arrived in Halifax on the SS Samaria in 1948 at the age of three. My earliest memories are rooted in the physical and psychological aspects of displacement and loss. I had to witness the profound sadness of my parents, and the moments of despair, that marked their transplantation (and difficult adjustment) to a new country and an unfamiliar culture. We started under abject living conditions: in Winnipeg, our first house was located under the railway tracks. My father, who was a judge in Peremyslany, in western Ukraine, earned money by washing dishes at the Marlborough hotel; my mother washed floors in a bakery. My childhood was infused by my parents' experience of loss: the loss of family members who died in concentration camps or were sent to Siberia; the loss of community; the loss of a way of life; the loss of a profession and social status; the loss of all economic assets; the loss of home and homeland.

Later, I wrote about the dislocation and loss experienced by the Ojibwa people of Grassy Narrows in northwestern Ontario. Originally written as a PhD thesis for MIT, the book (A Poison Stronger than Love [see bibliography for details]) describes the disintegration of culture, the unravelling of the social fabric, and the deterioration in personal morale that followed the forced relocation of the people to a new reserve in the 1960s. I have often wondered whether my own personal development as a child of dispossessed parents influenced my perception of Aboriginal life and the way I chose to write about their history.

Both immigrant Ukrainians and Aboriginals were wrenched out of their way of life. But I, like so many of my generation, was able to transcend the trauma of my parents' emigration, and I thrived. The Ojibwa of Grassy Narrows, like many other First Nation communities across Canada, did not thrive. They did not re-build their institutions or create institutions to replace the ones they lost. While Ukrainians educated their children and imagined a better future, the Aboriginal people have yet to recover fully from their losses and overcome the hopelessness that seems to be endemic in community life (note 6).

With increasing frequency, the 'Ukrainian empathy factor' popped up in the art and writings of such prominent figures as William Kurelek, George Ryga,

Leo Mol, John Paskievich, Andrew Susknaski, Danny Schur and others. The same factor highlighted the work of two dedicated government bureaucrats; their focus on the plight of Canada's distressed Aboriginal was largely informed by a shared sense of ethno-cultural oppression and victimhood (note 7). (The reverse process -- that is, Aboriginal intakes of Ukrainian culture -- awaits serious investigation [note 8]). While all of this was evolving in Canada, another version of the "Ukrainian empathy factor" had already taken root back in Ukraine itself where Canada's 'noble savage' titillated the popular imagination, intrigued a coterie of academics and, as noted earlier, most recently stimulated the production of a cinematic 'blockbuster'. It is important to note that although these two versions of the empathy factor are obviously related, the two trends had evolved separately. And there was one significant feature that distinguishes one version from the other version: that is, the Ukrainian community *in Canada* never cultivated the image of 'the noble savage' -- that transformation was left to distant countrymen in Ukraine itself (note 9).

As seen from the foregoing, then, Ukrainian-Aboriginal cultural interrelations in Canada constitute a complex panorama -- a 'quiet' encounter composed of underlying basics, contrasts and commonalities. These are expressed by the arts alone: political agendas do not play a role in this domain. Nowadays, with the shift in Canada's demographic realities, cultural interaction has joined with biological hybridization to form unions that are neither rare nor unusual. Although such blending is not uncommon, *métissage* with a Ukrainian flavour marks a phenomenon that still intrudes upon a political environment that

remains committed to an outmoded but fixed and well-established historicized narrative – a drawback that bars its recognition on both sides of the ethno-cultural equation. Further studies are needed and our investigations continue (note 10).

Acknowledgments. The present report is largely a collaborative effort reliant upon a methodology commonly known as “connecting the dots.” We thank our numerous friends and colleagues for their sharing their ‘dots’, many of which have been included here.

As in the past, this fifth issue of “Winnipeg Papers” has been supported by a Zuravetsky Fellowship from the University of Manitoba’s Centre for Ukrainian Canadian Studies along with the indispensable technical know-how of Victoria Kaschor.

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

NOTES

1. See Pavlo Karmans’kyj, *Mavpiache dzerkalo / Monkey’s Mirror* (prepared for publication by Myroslav Shkandrii), Winnipeg: UVAN, pp.50 and 75.

2. This dramatic turnabout came with the release (in 2012) of a blockbuster ‘bio-pic’ produced in Kyiv, Ukraine: “Fire Crosser” (Ukrainian title: “Toi, khto proishov kriz’ vohon”) lionizes the career of a Soviet Ukrainian hero-

fighter pilot, allegedly killed in action during World War Two but discovered years later alive and well as the Ukrainian-speaking chief of an Iroquois tribe not far from Montreal. For filmmaker Mykhailo Illienko, the film's protagonist constitutes a modern-day hero. Although this film has yet to be screened in Canada, the world-wide-web offers plenty of visuals and information relating to the production and reception of this work. For a brief, 'hometown' biography of 'Chief' Ivan Datsenko see Iaroslava Horodyts'ka's recent booklet, *Vozhd' irokeziv i vchytel's z odnoho sela* [=An Iroquois chief and a teacher that came from the same village], Poltava, 2009, 50pp.

3. Life stories from this initial period of Ukrainian settlement generally describe

such early encounters as positive, amiable experiences. For example, in her personal experience narrative ("Lost in the Woods") Mrs. M. Kotyk describes how a "kindhearted Indian saved me from a disastrous end in that northern wilderness" (see Harry Piniuta,'s *Land of Pain, Land of Promise: First Person Accounts by Ukrainian Pioneers 1891-1914* [Saskatoon, 1978] p. 84). A rare exception is the deadly skirmish imagined by Edmonton poet, Yar Slavutych in his bilingual collection, *The Conquerors of the Prairies* (added title in Ukrainian: *Zavoiovnyky prerii*), English translations by R.H.Morrison (Edmonton 1974), pp.28-29; in "Spadshchyna / The Inheritance"; the poet depicts an aging Ukrainian farmer who, as an act of forgiveness, adopts an orphaned Aboriginal boy to serve as the heir to his fortune – a substitute for the farmer's own son whose life was ended by "an arrow shot from bow" In some instances, however,

their proximity to Ukrainian settlements worked against the Aborigines who unwittingly became convenient scapegoats for criminal acts and missing children . In 1899, for example, a Ukrainian farmer and his four children were brutally murdered in a robbery. Upon arrest, the three accused, all Ukrainians, blamed the crime on Indians (from a newspaper report cited by See John C. Lehr in his *Community and Frontier: a Ukrainian Settlement in the Canadian Parkland*, (Winnipeg 2011), pp. 153 and 198 (n.3).

4. There were two such writers: Myroslav Irchan (1896-1937) and Ivan Kulyk (1897-1937). Both contemporaries committed to an ideology driven by Communist precepts. Irchan worked for Winnipeg's leftist Ukrainian community during the 1920's, and Ivan Kulyk served as a Soviet consul official based in Montreal from 1924-1926. They used their talents to expose the harsh realities of Aboriginal life in capitalist America. (Look elsewhere in this report for examples of their stories in English translation.)

5. From an unpublished manuscript by Mollie Poplar in the Walter Rudnycki fonds, Archives of the Ukrainian Canadian Experience, University of Manitoba Dafoe Library, Winnipeg.

6. From a personal communiqué from Shkilnyk dated November 6, 2011. Dr. Anastasia A. Shkilnyk of Victoria B.C. stands as a leading scholar known for her ground-breaking study published by Yale University Press in 1985: *A Poison Stronger Than Love: The Destruction of an Ojibwa Community*.

7. The major names in this connection are two government bureaucrats (Walter Rudnicki [1925-2011], noted earlier, who worked tirelessly in support of Canada's First Nations, and anthropologist / archeologist Walter M. Hlady [1924-1986] who compiled and edited a "Creeukrainian Dictionary" [1962].

8. Many anecdotes and some speculative observations have surfaced regarding the impact of traditional Ukrainian cuisine and Eastern Christian iconography on Aboriginal art on the West Coast. More telling, perhaps, are the insights offered by on-going television series, "Mixed Blessings", aired by the Aboriginal Peoples Television Network (A.P.T.N.) (see reviews elsewhere in this report). The sitcom features a "Uke-Cree-nanian" family headed by "Ukrainian plumber Hank Kowalchuk" and his "Cree waitress wife Josie Frasier." On the grassroots level, foodways and music-making are important features of the 'quiet' encounter of these two cultures.

9. In the 1920s, several scholars forged an academic interest in Canada's "primitive cultures." This development was driven by folklorist Kateryna Hrushevs'ka (1900-1943) and ethnomusicologist Klyment Kvitka (1880-1953). A more popular reflection of Ukraine's cultic fascination with of Canada's "Indians" also stems from the 1920s; this trend continued well into the Soviet era as exemplified by the publication in 1996 of a Ukrainian translation of "legends of Canadian Indians" penned by Mohawk-English writer, "Takahionwake" (Pauline Johnson). (That collection was released in a "run" of 10,000 copies.)

10. For current perspectives relating to these issues, see John Ralston
Saul's A

Fair Country: Telling Truths about Canada (Toronto 2008) and Jennifer Reid's
*Louis Riel and the Creation of Modern Canada: Mythic Discourse and the
Postcolonial State* (University of Manitoba Press 2012).

Robert B. Klymasz

March 2012

UKRAINIAN-ABORIGINAL RELATIONS IN PIONEER FOLK PROSE

From a blog dated September, 2011 by
Maryna Hrymych (Kyiv, Ukraine)

1. (#1). My interest to this topic was provoked by my childhood's romantic stereotypes on Indians in North America based on the novels of American writer Fenimore Cooper, I mean his *The Leatherstocking Tales*^{1[1]}. From my first months of stay in Canada I started collecting the episodes, images, life stories, personal experience narratives, interviews, anecdotes, just signs of Ukrainian-Indian contacts/connections. Firstly I've been disappointed with the fact that those relationships are not like ones between Natty Bumppo and Chingachgook from the Cooper's *The Last of Mohicans*.

Later on I've got more or less objective vision on this issue based on the pioneer folk prose and database, I was lucky to work with – "Local Culture and Diversity on the Prairies". Shortly I figured out that Ukrainian experience in Canada, particularly in the area of intercultural exchange with Native peoples, is pretty much similar to the pioneer experience of other immigrant ethnic groups.

2. (#2). Ukrainian immigrants (actually Galicians, Ruthenians, Bukowinians) came to Canada when it already has been settled with European immigrants. (Frenchmen, Englishmen, Germans already have got an experience of dealing with Aboriginal people (Indians and Métis) face-to-face, in different areas). The main legal documents (treaties, acts (primarily Indian Act of 1876)) regulated the relationships between "white

^{1[1]} *The Last of the Mohicans, The Deerslayer, The Pathfinder, The pioneers, The Prairie*

people” and aboriginals. (The redistribution of the lands between whites and natives according to the British legal principles has already been done. The paradox of this governmental Indian policy was: “the started aim of the policy was to assimilate Indians to the mainstream of Canadian society, but the means chosen to implement this policy was segregation”^{2[2]}.) Segregation process took place before Ukrainians appeared in Canada. This fact is reflected in Ukrainian pioneer folklore.

3. (#3). According to my first impressions, I named the Indian factor in the life of Ukrainian pioneers as an “invisible presence”. When Ukrainian immigrants had settled on their homesteads, the silent aboriginal signs were everywhere – in placenames (toponyms), in weather terms (Chinook, Indian summer), in botanic terms (muskeg, Saskatoon berries, etc.).

Like aboriginal hunters and gatherers Ukrainians learned how to read nature. “Everyone who lived in wilderness must notice, read, interpret and share the meanings of signs in the natural world”. And many of that signs were connected to Indians.

(#4). “Following the Indian trails” – is the very stabile plot/episode in Ukrainian pioneer folk prose and storytelling tradition, primarily these are settling or homesteading stories and narratives. We know that all the so-called foundation stories, stories about “beginnings” start with the designation of the time and the place. The place in Ukrainian foundation stories usually is defined as «wilderness»: usually with the expression «there was nothing except Indian trails». «These were narrow and winding, but they crossed the creeks and rivers at the safest places”. Ukrainian

^{2[2]} Daniel Francis, *The Imaginary Indian: The image of the Indian in Canadian Culture*. – Arsenal Pulp Press, Vancouver, B.C. – 1992. – P.216.

homesteaders and farmers followed the Indian trails. “~~Sometimes newcomers widened them, when necessary, for the passage of wagons or sleights~~”.

The description of Indian trails can also be found in the childhood memories of the first generation of Ukrainian Canadians – immigrants' children born i Canada. This plot appears as a stabile episode in the stories describing children on their way to school.

4. To be honest, those episodes seemed to me insomuch insignificant that I even didn't pay much attention to them until I realized that as a matter of fact we are dealing here not only with the description of landscape, but with latent/hidden customary law issue, namely the differences between legal views on land ownership (#5).

Between hunter-gatherer and agricultural languages there are many examples of difficulties in cultural translation. “Some aboriginal languages have a way of speaking of ownership, with a word-root signifying that a place or thing is for use of someone. By attaching personal possessive endings to *some thing*, anyone can make a word that means “mine”, “yours” and so on. But there is no verb form equivalent to the English “I own, you own, he owns”^{3[3]}.

In “Old Country” Ukrainians (Galicians, Bukowinians, Ruthenians) (which in different times were the parts of Austro-Hungarian Empire, Polish Commonwealth, Romania) actually lived on the edge of at least two legal systems: Ukrainian customary law and non-Ukrainian official codified law. The Ukrainian folk law contains not the same, but very similar to North

^{3[3]} Brody Hugh, *The Other Side of Eden: Hunters, Farmers and the Shaping of the World.* – Douglas & McIntyre – Vancouver-Toronto, 200. - P.198-199

American gatherer-hunters' views on possessing or sharing the wild territory. At the same time they also were acquainted with laws regulating land property issues.

In Canada Ukrainian immigrants, on one side, realized that as farmers they are the owners or as homesteaders they are almost the owners of some quarter section. That was de jure fact. But at the same time living de facto in the wilderness on the small pieces of cultivated land, they felt very unconfident, because according to Ukrainian customary law only ploughed soil may belong to them. Wild territory belongs to all, special rights on that land may belong to those, who lived here earlier (#6).

That is why and also because of natural fear of unknown, Ukrainian homesteaders and farmers on their beginnings were terrified when the nomad Indians were crossing "their land" and camping on "their" land, until they've got used to that. There are many stories on that topic in Ukrainian pioneer stories and narratives. For defining Indian nomadic style of life Ukrainians used the old-country term "gypsies" («Indians were like gypsies»).

5. Very soon Ukrainians learnt how to be friends with aboriginals. This friendship was especially helpful in terms of survival in wilderness. Canadian folklore and storytelling tradition are exceptionally rich with such stories.

No secret, that pioneers felt vulnerable in the face of wild nature. Indians were the right people who taught them how to survive, how to hunt and to fish.

This is one fragment of my interview (#7), where usually those stories

MH: Who taught you hunt and trap?

W.S: My teacher was my older brother Steve. And Steve was taught by local Indians teaching how to trap, how to hunt, and how to make your own moccasins and how you would stay in a bush through week with no food, and you have to trap muskrats, you took up the skin of the muskrats and you clean you put a stick in a muskrat and hung over a campfire and that was food for the day. Steve was taught by the Indians how to survive. How to hunt moose, deer...4[4]

are accompanied with the episodes of sharing the food.

«... And native Indian with just 6 kids – John Toma – has a muskrat for each: one for Steve, one for (wife), each for kids: the whole muskrats camp! And they would eat muskrats for the supper»5[5].

After Hugh Brody, “a hunter-gatherer family shares what it has, whether that is information or food. To give to others is to be able to receive from others. Knowledge and food are stored, as it were, by being shared. By contrast, in societies where social ambitions and personal rivalries are systemic, distortions and secrecy are used to manipulate others”6[6] (#7).

Once I found in the “Pioneers Memories” book the story about one Ukrainian family who have got a homestead far from Winnipeg. Instead of wasting money on train ticket, they decided to travel by river, using a float. It was early spring, and the float was very primitive. They’ve been almost deceased. Being wet, frozen and hungry they were risked by the Indian family or band who fed them and gave them a shelter for a while.

4[4] Interviewer: Maryna Hrymych Interviewee: William Skaly 3.04.2010, Rycroft area

5[5] Interview by Maryna hrymych with W.Skaly (Rycroft, 3.04.2010).

6[6] Brody Hugh, *The Other Side of Eden: Hunters, Farmers and the Shaping of the World.* – Douglas & McIntyre – Vancouver-Toronto, 200. - P.198-199

While recording the interviews with people of Ukrainian background I didn't waste an opportunity to interview non-Ukrainians. And I found out that the sharing custom was applied by Aboriginals irrespectively to the ethnic origin of people.

(#8) The woman of English backgoround told me the family story about her own birth. Norma West told that her parents were the first European settlers in small area (North Alberta, 1920-ies), and her mother was the fisrt white woman there. Norma's family lived on the yard of native Indians (you see, sharing place custom) who lived in the little shack. When her mother was in labour, the Indian woman helped her to deliver the baby: «A neighbor – a little Indian lady ran out with a basin and cloth and everything, and helped my mom. And she delivered me with no word of English»^{7[7]}. It happened in 1932.

In 1927 in a one-room shack in Northern Alberta was born Wasyl (William) Kurelek. “A legless Indian herbalist had been brought in later to help with Mary’s after-birth complications”^{8[8]}.

By the way, the expression «she was the first white woman in area» is pretty much popular in English pioneer folklore, and does not appear in Ukrainian.

The custom of sharing place, food, information, etc. was natural for Native people, so they expected, on their side, the same sort of attitude from white people. This model of behavior sometimes terrified, sometimes amused immigrants (mostly newcomers).

^{7[7]} Interview by Maryna Hrymych from Norma West, born in 1932 (Rycroft, AB, April, 3, 2010)

^{8[8]} Morley P. Kurelek: A Biography. – Toronto, 1987. – P.17

6. (#9)

"the Indians would come through on their way to hunt moose and deer. They always stopped at our house to ask for bread. Dena never refused them and would give what she could spare. However, they never took it for nothing but on the way back would leave a generous piece of meat. One time when they stopped, she was making cookies and to the one Indian who came in she offered a cookie. He said: "All of them". Then took them all. Dena didn't mind but found it very amusing. On the way back that time they left a whole quarter of moose meat. We children, at first, were a little nervous when the Indians would stop and the dog would growl, but we soon found out there was nothing to fear for they were always friendly"⁹[9].

The note "they never took it for nothing " is often appears in such type of stories.

Radomir Bilash told me a story he has heard from Ukrainian woman from Smoky Lake. When the woman and her husband got the homestead, they put their first shack just by the Indian trail. One night when a husband was away, a group of Indians entered her shack and showed her with gestures that they want to stay there through the night. She was scared; nevertheless she hosted them with modest supper. Next morning they left, and "paid" her with skins of fur animals they've trapped.

This is an old and highly respected by Indians trade custom, called sometimes as **give-and-take**, it was tolerated in the realm of trade even by French fur traders.

The respondents who lived side by side with Indians mention in their memories "It must be remembered that the Indians were known and respected for their honesty"¹⁰[10].

⁹[9];¹⁰[10] Adrith Trudzik, Our first people. In: THE LANTERN ERA: A HISTORY OF CHERCHILL, ROCHFORD BRIDGE, SANGUDO AND SURROUNDING SCHOOL DISTRICTS. COMPILED BY SANGUDO AND DISTRICT HISTORY SOCIETY, Ed. Vera E. Holt. – Prinnet by Inetr-Collegiate Press. – Winnipeg, Manitoba. - 1979. – P.13

7. (#9) In general, the pioneer's period in Ukrainian-Canadian folklore demonstrates the Ukrainian-Indian relationships to be very cooperative. This was the tough times for Ukrainians. Interrelations with Native people helped them to adjust to the new landscape, even sometimes survive in severe nature.

The situation changed in 1940-1960-ies, when Ukrainians felt much more confident in Canadian society. One can notice the stabile plot of folk prose: social intolerance vs human values.

THE MISSING CHILD LEGEND IN UKRAINIAN CANADIAN FOLKLORE: The Aboriginal as Scapegoat

The role of "Indians" as scapegoats responsible for missing children imitated a well-established patterns of legend making as documented by Stith Thompson in his *Motif Index of Folk Literature*, Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 6 vols., 1955-1958. The "Child stealing" motif in international folklore was identified by Stith Thompson under various headings as

MT F321: fairy steals child from cradle

G 305: Ogre steals children

*G261: Witch steals children

S300 –399: Abandoned or murdered children

V361: Christian child killed to furnish blood for Jewish faith

It is indeed probable that the children of pioneering Ukrainians on the prairies did indeed 'go missing' from time to time due to such factors as isolation, large families, nearby wilderness, unwanted pregnancies and high rates of infant mortality. In Old Country lore, crafty Jews and marauding gypsies were often blamed for such occurrences. In Canada, however, the absence of these imagined culprits created a gap that was filled by another set of outsiders: the equally strange and nomadic "Indians."

Three variants of the "Missing Child Legend" in Ukrainian Canadian legend follow below.

Variant no.1

1903

(The following is a long version of "The Missing Child" legend as published in 1903. See end of piece for publishing details.)

THIRTY-YEAR OLD MYSTERY DISAPPEARANCE TERMINATED AT PINE RIVER LAST WEEK

A mystery of thirty years has at last been unraveled. The search for Mary, the second daughter of Mr. and Mrs. Julian Charzewski of Pine River which has been carried on since 1903, was brought to an end last week when she was finally restored to her parents. Stolen by Indians when a mere child of four and one half years, Mary, now Mrs. James Knudson, lived in ignorance of her parentage, until a very recent date.

It was Easter Sunday, 1903, when Mary, a pretty little child disappeared. There was company at the home and the Uncle has taken the children out for a walk. After returning home, apparently Mary who was inclined to play in solitude had wandered off by her self, to hunt for spring flowers. When it was discovered that she was not home an intense search began for her. It was now nearing sundown but all of the neighbors for miles around came forth to aid in the quest. The search kept up for three days but of no avail. The only trace that could be found of little Mary was a spot where presumably she had sat down on a log to eat her colored Easter egg, as the egg shells were found there. Little did she know as she tripped down that trail through the woods that she would not return for thirty years. The searchers came across a place where Indians had camped and it appeared to be vacated about the time of the little girl's disappearance. It was later learned that a party of Indians had with them a little white girl, but although pursuit followed no clue could be found of Mary's whereabouts.

Years after year inquiries were made and the parents never gave up hope of finding their little daughter. The father travelled to different Indian reserves in a fruitless quest for his child. Rewards of large sums were offered for any clue or information. About fifteen years ago a white girl, who would be about the same age as Mary was reported to have been seen with a party of Indians near Glenella, Man., Mr. Charzewski immediately went there and hired ten men to aid him in finding the Indians. The whole countryside was scoured for days, but no trace could be found of them.

Last winter enquires were made to Professor Garan, well known radio broadcaster. He said "your daughter is still living. Keep up the search and you will find her." Gaspard Richards, an Indian of Pulp River, Man. reserve, undertook to assist in finding her. During his travels he never forgot to make investigations that would help in disclosing her whereabouts. He wrote to a friend of his at Crooked Lake, Sask.. reserve, who stated that some years ago four white girls who were brought up by Indians attended the Roman Catholic Mission. Mr. Richard then wrote to Father Courtier who was priest at the mission at that time, for further information. Father Courtier who is now deceased made every effort to locate the girls and finally terminated the hunt finding Mrs. Knutson at Harve, Mont. He put her in touch with Mr. and Mrs. Charzewski and after corresponding with her sisters and exchanging photographs it became obvious that the lost was found.

Mrs. Knutson's sister, Mrs. Beryk with her husband Rev. Anton Beryk of Menzies, Man., motored to Harve, Mont., last week and returned with her and her Norwegian half-breed husband and five children. It was a strange but joyful meeting when the daughter met her parents in speechless embrace. Although able to speak four languages, Saulteau, Cree, French and English quite fluently she is not able to converse with her parents who speak only Ukrainian. This is her first recollection of association with Ukrainian people. "I can speak with my brothers and sisters in English," stated Mrs. Knutson, "but it is my mother whom I long to talk to."

Mrs. Knutson's earliest recollections are of living with an Indian couple Chief Nepapineau (Night-bird) and his family. They traveled from reserve to

reserve and from camp to camp, living the outdoor Indian life. She was told that she had been adopted from a Winnipeg Orphanage in 1901 at the age of five months. Chief Nepapineau of the Saulteau tribe, who passed away about fifteen years ago, was highly respected by all Indians and others who knew him. The chief and his wife, who is also deceased, treated Mary with utmost care, as one of their own children and she knew nothing but kindness from them. Mrs. Knutson speaks very highly of the Indians and cherishes the memories of her life among them.

At the age of seven years she was placed in the Roman Catholic Mission at Crooked Lake, Sask. There she was educated for eight years, although her holidays were always spent with her foster parents.

Twelve years ago she married James Knudson of Willow City, N.D. They resided at Grenfell, Sask., until last September when they moved to Harve, Mont. The trip was made by wagon camping nineteen night enroute. Mr. and Mrs. Knudson are the proud parents of five pretty daughters, Lillian, Margaret, Reta, Gloria and Laura.

It has not been positively proven that Mrs. Knudson is actually the daughter of Mr. and Mrs. Charzewski, but various facts make her identity almost a certainty. She bears a striking likeness in features to her mother and one of her sisters. The name of Mary is also identical. She bears a scar on the head which doctors ascertain was made by a saw. This is one of the strongest points in the identification as the missing Mary was insured by a saw which her older sister Lily had accidentally knocked down hitting her on the head leaving a bad mark. When the little girl was lost she wore ear rings having had her ears pierced. Mrs. Knudson now has faint marks of where her ears had been pierced. Another thing of interest is that the Charzewski family are subject to styes on their eyes, and Mrs. Knudson also suffers occasionally with this affliction. A blood test was made by Dr. Dicks of Dauphin to ascertain whether the mother and daughter were of the same blood.

Mr. Charzewski is quite convinced that he has found his long lost daughter, but Mrs. Charzewski is rather reluctant in accepting her as she cannot realize that time and environment would change her daughter so much. Her language, religion and customs all differ from her parents. Besides her parents to welcome her home Mrs. Knudson has four sisters, Mrs. M. Toporowski, Pine River; Mrs. A. Beryk, Menzies, Man.; Mrs. J. Serwa, Camperville, Man., and Johanna at home, and three brothers, Tony Charzewski, merchant at Pine River and Albert and Tabian at home.

[From *The Dauphin Herald & Press*, August 17, 1933, p. 4, as reproduced ("retyped") in a Master's Thesis by Dorothy Cherewick, "Woman in Ukrainian Canadian folklore and reminiscences", University of Manitoba, 1980, pp. 233-234.]

Variant no.2

circa 1930

As there was an Indian reserve about 40 miles north and east of us, quite often several wagon loads of Indians passed through town [Ethelbert, Manitoba] and often camped on the southern outskirts. This created some consternation as well as curiosity amongst us youngsters. We had been told that about ten years previously at Pine River a young girl of four had been kidnapped by Indians. Thus we adopted a habit of scurrying away on their approach and eyeing them inquisitively from a distance. More than likely that kidnapping was an isolated case and these particular ones had no similar intentions towards us at all. However the rumor proved to be correct as her parents made an unceasing effort to find her. It came back as a shock and a joy to find that she had been located in B.C. She was well and happily married to a Indian. She was positively identified by her blood and a scar made by a saw in her childhood. She returned with her husband and although her parents tried to accustom them to their life both eventually returned to British Columbia.

From an unpublished typescript by Natalia Evasiuk, "Sunrise Years in Manitoba: Lifestyle in twenties and thirties – Natalia Michaleevna", Ahabasca, Alberta, 1981, p.18. Archives of Manitoba location code: MG9 A122.

Variant no. 3

(2003, publication date)

[Synopsis:]

In a small village in northern Manitoba, three non-Aboriginal children belonging to the local postmaster and railroad station agent are missing. For three days the local citizens, from far and wide, form search parties; they fight mosquitoes and rain to scour forest and waterways from the air as well as on land. Nothing shows up. Some individuals say that "Those Indians" are to blame: "they like to look for the nice kids and steal them... maybe they sell them off to other Indians."

Finally, in desperation and grudgingly, some local Indians are consulted since their children are known wander off as well. An older Indian suggests that the missing children could have climbed into one of the empty box-cars sitting on the railway track: "Perhaps they've ended up in The Pas or in Churchill."

...A local Aboriginal, David Cook, along with his wife Bela and their three children, decide to move to David's family home where summer work awaited him. To reach their destination, David and his wife and children climb into an empty box-car but discover three young strangers in an adjacent box-car: three sad and whimpering children whom they comfort. All six children -- Aboriginal and "white"-- get along famously. Ironically, the Mounties come to arrest and handcuff David who is falsely accused of stealing the three children. David is imprisoned.

...Orest, the Ukrainian bush pilot, comes across an Aboriginal baby. The dead mother lies in water nearby. Orest buries the body and sets out to identify the baby. His efforts are unsuccessful, and the baby ("Petryk") is, so to speak, adopted by a trio ; bush pilot Orest, his Aboriginal spouse Harieta, and a friendly Mountie -- Constable Peter.

...David Cook, the accused child-abductor, escapes captivity and reportedly wanders from place to place to escape the authorities.

Adapted from the Ukrainian of Mariian Morys Koval'chuk's book, *Kanads'kyi Pilot (Bush Pilot): Povist'* [=The Canadian Pilot (Bush Pilot): A Tale], Hazelridge, Manitoba: the author, 2003, pp.54-73 (= "Rozshuk za dit'my" [= The search for children]).

UKRAINIAN IMMIGRANTS & ABORIGINAL PEOPLE

by

Myron Shatulsky (Winnipeg, Manitoba)

Over the years, I've come across a number of references to early Ukrainian immigrant homesteaders meeting with Aboriginal people here on the prairies, and in the foothills of Alberta. And, knowing this, I wondered what effect, if any, did these meetings have on the lives of both peoples?

Not being a sociologist, nor having any extensive knowledge regarding these particular relationships, or of the form within which they exist, I decided to look at this question from a different point of view. Specifically: from my own personal perspective – whatever it's worth.

Not unlike today, most of us kids grew up playing "Cops and Robbers", and "Cowboys and Indians". We went to movies, and listened to analogous stories on the radio that constantly portrayed the so-called "red man" as a brutal, heathen savage. Thus, we grew up with a one-sided and a definitely perverted image of the people upon whose land we had settled.

My interest in the lives and culture of Aboriginal people, both in Canada and the U.S., began about fifty years ago when Olga and I, on our way to Yellowstone National Park, stopped off just outside of Browning, Montana. We had noticed a sign announcing an Aboriginal Pow-wow, and decided to go there. It turned out to be not only an eye-opener, but a real treat as well. I guess what one might call a magic moment came when an old man, dressed quite plainly, but wearing a deep blu-purple shirt, buckskin pants, and a solitary eagle feather in his jet-black hair, stopped forward and joined the high dance circle, which was slowly and gracefully moving around. To our astonishment, it was announced over the P.A. system that that old man, now 90 years old, had been witness to the battle of The Big Horn, in the spring of 1876. It was immensely moving, to say the least.

But this was only the beginning. The National Festival, honouring Taras Shevchenko and the 70th Anniversary of Ukrainian settlement in Canada, held in Toronto, in 1961, with Eugene Dolny's and my *Canadian Dance Suite*, also immersed us into the virtually unknown territory of Aboriginal dance and music.

Gradually, oh so gradually, I became more aware of, and more interested in, Aboriginal cultural history. And then, going through my father's library I came across a number of books that also wrote of the lives and traditions of North America's original people. Two, in particular, I intend to share with you. No, not in their entirety. You were, no doubt, already wondering when I was going to get to that portion about Ukrainian immigrants and Aboriginals? Well, we're there now.

The first book, *Spomyny* ("Recollections"), written and compiled by Vasyl' A. Chumer, and published in Edmonton, Alberta, in 1942, carries a host of interviews with Ukrainian immigrant-pioneers, and their reminiscences dating from 1892 to 1942. The following excerpts are a description, as related by Mariya Yurechuk, of Hemlin, Alberta, of her family's "sojourn" to a homestead (my translation):

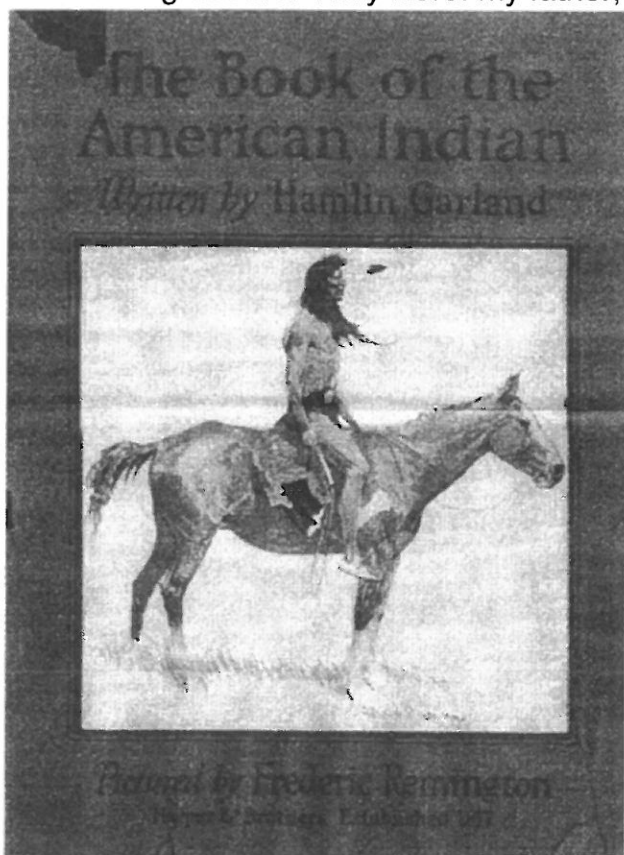
"This was at the end of September, 1899, when we, seven families – five from Bukovyna, and two, including us, from Halychyna – arrived in Strathcona, Alberta."

Looking for a place to homestead, her husband built a raft in order to travel along the South Saskatchewan River to Fort Saskatchewan. He also built a lean-to on the raft as a shelter and a place to sleep. An early and heavy snow-fall greatly hindered their travel, and as Mariya related: "I believed that by morning we would all be dead. My fate was drowned by tears, and I cursed my husband and his Canada."

"Later, around mid-day, a few Indians, who lived nearby along the bank of the river, looked in on us...and took us to their old house. They gave us some hot tea, some kind of dry cake, and we slowly warmed up...The Indians saved us with their boat, which they certainly used to go to the other side of the river...My husband was told in Edmonton to say: 'Me go homestead.' They probably understood him, and asked: 'You Galician?' The Indians then showed my husband which way to go to Stefan Ratsoy, Galician...My husband walked the 10 miles [to Ratsoy's]. In the meantime, I and the children stayed with the Indians..."

An interesting vignette of a Ukrainian immigrant family's meeting with Canada's Aboriginals, I'm sure. I'm also certain that there must be other similar stories.

Even after settling on their homesteads, how many of these immigrant pioneer-settlers, and later their children, thought about the Aboriginals, their lives, history, traditions and culture? Well, I know of two people who were not only concerned, but did something about it. They were: my father, Matthew Shatulsky and Matthew Popwich.



This book, written by Hamlin Garland and illustrated by Frederic Remington, in its first edition, was published in 1923.

Below, is a scanned copy of the letter author Hamlin Garland wrote to my father giving him permission to translate portions of the chapter titled "Silent Eaters".

HAMLIN GARLAND
GARY LEDGE
ONTONAGON PARK, N. Y.

July 20

Dear Sir: My publishers have sent to me the request which you have made for the privilege of translating and publishing in your paper, my SILENT EATERS. Your letter interested me very much and I am disposed to grant your request provided my publishers do not consider it a bad policy. In any event I must be well-guarded against any further use of the material. It should be for the paper you name and for no other.

The fact that you should want this particular story surprises me, I derive a certain satisfaction in it, also for it is a favorite of mine. It was in my mind to write a kind of prose epic of the redman in the last stages of his sorrowful progress, and to have your people interested in the book is a high compliment. I should be glad to have more information. How many subscribers have you? Are they mostly in Western Canada? Have you readers in the Old country?

With best wishes for your paper, I am

Hamlin Garland

Quite a few years ago I came across a book, *The Book of the American Indian*, in my father's library. Later, going through his correspondence, I found a letter, written to my father by the author, Hamlin Garland, giving him the right to translate a chapter, *The Silent Eaters*, from the book. The book was printed in 1923, and my father's copy was a first edition, bountifully illustrated by the renowned American painter and sculptor, Frederic Remington. While doing my articles on the early history of the Ukrainian folk dance in our organization, I found the translation of that chapter.

Introducing the coming translation in the September 23, 1926, issue of *Ukrains'ki robotnychi visti* ("Ukrainian Labor News"), the article said that: "...with the next issue... we will begin to print a very interesting story about the life and struggle of the Indians for their freedom, for their land, or in other words, the tragedy of the Indian tribe on their own land on the American continent... Until now, there are no books in the Ukrainian language about the Indians, about the people and their country in which we live."

The story was translated by M. Volynets (one of Matthew Shatulsky's pseudonyms), and the songs and prayers by M. Popowich. Beginning on September 25, and concluding on Christmas Day, December 25, 1926, thirty-seven issues of the paper published the story of *The Silent Eaters*.

While preparing this article, I reread that chapter a number of times and was particularly interested in the story of the battle of The Big Horn. In case you've forgotten, that was the battle, instigated by the U.S. government forces led by General Custer, that saw the Cheyennes, Ogallallahs, and other tribal camps, led by their chiefs, The Sitting Bull, Crazy Horse, American Horse, Two Moon, Chief Gall and Old Horse, wipe out the constantly pursuing cavalry.

The Sitting Bull's eloquent proclamation to Colonel Miles, who had come to take him to Washington, is truly inspiring:

"I have not declared war against Washington, but I will fight when you push me to the wall. I do not like to be at strife. It is not pleasant to be always fleeing before your guns...All that I got of you I have paid for. My band owes you nothing. Go back to the sunrise and we will live as the Great Spirit ordained that we should.

"We went far away and your warriors folloed us. They fell upon us while we were unprepared. They shot our women and children and they burned our tepees. Then we fought, as all brave men should, and we killed many. I did no desire this, but so it came about. Do not blame me.

"So long as there is a prairie dog for my children, or a handful of grass for my horses, The Sitting Bull will remain Uncapappa and a free man."

There is more to understanding the unknown than just one story, but printing the *The Silent Eaters*, Shatulsky and Popowich, in my opinion, saw the need to develop a feeling of friendship towards the people who were the original inhabitants of our Ukrainian immigrants' "new homeland".

(From *The Ukrainian Canadian Herald*, January 2008, page 10)

THE FOURTEENTH PIPE [excerpts]

by

Ivan Kulyk (1897 – 1937)

[NOTE: According to the author the title, above, is meant to serve as a kind of addendum to a collection of stories (“The Thirteen Pipes”) written about a decade earlier by the prominent Soviet Russian writer, Illja Grigorovich Erenburg (1891-1967). That collection reflected “the class struggles of capitalism”. For more about Ivan Kulyk, see the end-note, below., as well “Between Two Fires: The National-Communist Utopia of Ivan Kulyk” = chapter 2 in Yohanan Petrovsky-Sherin, *The Anti-Imperial Choice: The Making of the Ukrainian Jew* (Yale University Press, 2009, pp. 62-110).]

Come closer, my white faced brother! I know that you’re an emissary from a faraway cold country. You crossed over the Great Water, so boundless that I never could imagine its limits, even though my powers of sight and knowledge could once track the whereabouts of a buffalo that was still a night’s journey away from my wigwam. Your country is so distant that my nostrils could never grasp its scent, -- even though they never failed to indicate the approach of an enemy – one or more. Even when the smoke from his campfire was a journey of two nights away, even when that campfire was barely flickering.

I’m unable to see you. I can’t see my own squaw and I don’t know if she’s still as beautiful as her name – Woman of a Spring Morning – or whether, perhaps, she’s old, like I am, her skin wrinkled like the that of doe skin drying in the sun.

I’m unable to see you. I don’t see my own shadow, and I don’t even know if I still have a shadow. But I can feel your face. It’s not an insult. You’re an emissary from a cold country where everything’s wrapped in ice – only hearts are hot like the fire that comes out of a gun / rifle...

.....

.....I’m old and blind. I can’t hunt any longer...

.....I’ll tell you how this happened...

I had just killed my first buffalo and gave its hide to the girl with whom I was dancing all night by the Red River... I brought most of the meat to the teepee of her father, Wandering Spirit, to ask for his permission to marry...

“That’s a fine trophy,” he said. “But from now you’ll not slay buffalo but English dogs....”

.....

“These lands belong to us and the Metis, our brothers. But the whites from Hudson Bay company say that these are their lands... English warriors, called soldiers, come here to drive us and our Metis brothers away from

the Red River. But these lands are ours and we're not giving them up. Like Riel the Metis leader said, there'll be much bloodshed...

"Your father is the leader of the Raven tribe of Ravens. And you are his son, and also my son-in-law.

"... keep this pipe as a token of my loyalty."

And so I've kept this pipe ever since.

I'll not tell you about the battle on the Red River. We smashed the English but many reinforcements followed from over the Great Water. You read about this in the books of the white people and you know that we lost this land. We fled here, to the Northwest – whoever was left alive. There were no white people here at that time, just us and our Metis brothers...

.....

... I offered my precious pipe to Riel. He did smoke from it refused to accept my gift saying that he only had his heart to offer in return. I kept the pipe which was even more precious now that it had touched the lips of Riel himself....

.....

Take this pipe and bring it to comrade Lenin. Tell him that it's a gift from me...

Translated R.B.Klymasz from the Ukrainian text published in Ivan Julianovych Kulyk, *Zapysky konsula* [=The Notes of Consul] Kyjiv, 1958, pp. 3-22. Kulyk served as a Soviet consul in Canada for about two years, from 1924 to 1926. This piece was reportedly written in 1934.

SMOKED FISH

by
Myroslav Irchan (1896-1937)

I met a man with two nice, black dogs by the river. He was eating some cured meat and kept teasing his hungry dogs with its smell. In his eyes I was a just a "foreigner" while he was a local.

We began to talk.

He catches fish and makes a living from this. But this year he's not making much. Perhaps in the world of the fish some drastic changes have taken place, because they're not taking to the fishhooks. It's even probable that the fish have become smarter, while it's still easy to catch people... throw anybody a dainty something and – eureka!

For some reason, my friend resembles a fish, a smoked one (is this because he's a fisherman?). He looks dried up, sunburned, and his eyes glisten just like those of a fish. He's a sad descendant of some forgotten Indian tribe. His father used to live in the forest as a youth but now he's dying in a lonely hut. This son of his sitting by the river fought in the war in France and came back with a shattered hand. Here's how he spends his days:

In the morning he and his wife (they have no children) boil up some homebrew. Then his wife runs to the store and brings back some cured meat. They drink and eat, then they fight and yell. And then they sleep, and after that they get up and drag themselves to the Red River for fish. And so it goes day after day. But they don't complain about their lives.

This sad descendant of an Indian tribe, sitting by the river and hopelessly chewing at some cured meat, feels that somehow he needs to impress me.

"See that big building over there?" he says.

I looked over to the opposite side of the river and took some time to study some buildings protected by a stone-wall. Situated on a high slope over the Red River and encased within a wreath of forest, they reminded me of the lonely villas, seemingly clothed in secrecy that once belonged to French marquis.

"Yes, I see them" I replied after a moment. "What is it?"

"That used to be a fort, my boy... A fantastic fort. You haven't seen it? If you like, I'll take you over there in my canoe and you'll see for yourself! A historical fort..."

"So what's its history?"

"O it's very historical, but you won't get it..."

O you sad descendant of a dying tribe! You're greatly mistaken, --- I probably know the story of this fort better than you do. Beneath it lie the bones of your brave people who not so long ago were defending their primeval ways before the "pale faces." But you don't know this now...

“So what’s with this historical fort nowadays?”, I ask casually.

“Right now there’s a wonderful restaurant and lots of noisy dancing in the evenings. Hundreds of gentlemen and ladies drive in from the city and have a great time. But that’s no business of ours, and not yours either...”

The man who reminds me of a smoked fish, kept chewing at his hunk of dried meat and tossed a tin can. Then he glanced at me somewhat haughtily. He obviously thinks I’m just an eighteen year-old dummy – a “foreigner” who can hardly be expected to understand a history which even he doesn’t know. He sits aimlessly by the Red River, chewing away at his dried meat and catches fish to earn money for his home-brew and preserves. But in the nearby fort – there’s music-making, squeals, shouting, and wanton forgetfulness. But that’s none of his business...

The man who reminds me of a smoked fish, steps aside, casts his line and chews up the rest of his meat. But I keep looking at the walls of the old fort on the other side of the Red River. And for some reason, it’s a wonder that I’m even here. I think about the fact that I’m sitting on a riverbank irrigated by the blood of Indians and Metis* [(Irchan’s note:) Indians mixed with whites, or so-called “half-breeds.”], followers of Louis Riel who had given up their lives a few decades earlier at those very same walls. For some reason it’s amazing that I’m sitting on a piece of land that not so long ago actually served as a short-lived republic of insurgents. All of that’s now forgotten; the only witnesses that remain as mute witnesses to those days of despair are the old walls built by the Hudson Bay Company to defend its interests. And on the grave of the hung ringleader, Riel, in the Catholic cemetery in Saint Boniface, anonymous hands never forget to place fresh flowers...

I turned my eyes away from the fort, glanced at the man who reminds me of a smoked fish, and now he approaches me showing his rotted teeth in a wide grin.

“Well, do you like the fort?” he queries. “Is it true that there aren’t any like it over there where you come from?...”

I keep silent, and he steps away to tend to his fish-line. Then I simply look at the dogs licking at the empty tin nearby, bruising their muzzles as they do so. And I think to myself:

People erred when they divided a person’s lifespan into “children” and “adult.” After all, there are very many people in the world who never go beyond the boundaries of a child’s way of thinking even into old age. ‘Progress’ leaves them behind for entire centuries, while its falsehoods and injustices find in them their strongest support.

Translated by R.B.Klymasz, November 2011 from the original Ukrainian (“*Vudzhenar yba*”) as published in Irchan’s collection, *Proty smerty / Against Death*, Montreal, 1927, pp. 64-67.

Camperville Stomp

At our Ukrainian Orthodox wedding held in Duaphine, Manitoba, in the later 1970s, a number of older men danced a local dance that locals called the Camperville Stomp. These men were from north of Dauphin from a small Ukrainian village relatively close to the First Nation community of Camperville.

It was said that many people in the area learned Aboriginal dance steps which they began to perform to Ukrainian fiddle music.

This form of expression developed into something which allowed older men to participate in wedding and zabava Hopaks without having to perform the acrobatic, energetic Kozak dances. The Camperville Stomp became an old man's Ukrainian Canadian dance.

I have no way of determining how much of the Camperville Stomp is based on authentic First Nation's Pow Wow Ceremonial Dance, how much is stylized Ukrainian Dance, and what is from the Quebec roots of the Métis.

V. Rev. Roman Bozyk

TV Series Review

PART ONE by Cory Chetyrbok (Dauphin, Manitoba)

Mixed Signals about *Mixed Blessings*

This paper is a review and critique of the APTN (= Aboriginal Peoples Television Network) series “Mixed Blessings”, with focus on the cultural elements of the story and characters. My wife Jennifer and I are both of Ukrainian descent and participate widely in Ukrainian language, study, and culture. We live in Dauphin, Manitoba, a town that has active and visible Aboriginal and Ukrainian communities.

The introduction of *Mixed Blessings* to Jennifer and I was made almost a full calendar year before being able to see the show. In an effort to supplement research relating to cultural contact points of Aboriginal and Ukrainian communities in Canada, we were asked to watch and review the show. The APTN series summary of *Mixed Blessings* and its lead characters Hank Kowalchuk (the “Ukrainian Plumber”) and Josie Fraser, (a “Cree waitress”) piqued our interest and raised high the expectation for cultural content in the stories we had yet to see. The mixed signals (as quoted from the title here) are due to a bit of over-preparation and also presumption about the level of cultural content the show would contain, as hinted at in its premise. In reality, *Mixed Blessings* contains scant evidence of Ukrainian-Canadian community or identity, en masse or by Hank. Expectations for *Mixed Blessings* were many, though not entirely unfulfilling as several interesting thoughts and questions are raised.

The new (and cleverly named) “Uke-Cree-nian” family doesn’t really become introduced to itself for several episodes after Josie and Hank are

married. The Ukrainian/Cree combination is never quite as astute as the moniker itself. This lack of cultural content is not entirely negative and may have unintentionally become the impetus for later thoughts regarding a changing face of what may be an emerging Canadian identity.

Following a loose structure while writing our reviews apart from each other, Jennifer and I decided to introduce the topic, and then discuss *Mixed Blessings* from three points of view. One being the Aboriginal cultural content of the show and our thoughts about it, the second being the Ukrainian cultural content and our thoughts again, then finally (or in the case of my writing, generally) the positive and/or negative affects on the quality of the show due to the cultural proclamation in its premise and the subsequent presence throughout.

The characters hint at several cultural and social influences they may have, though they do not earn much screen time. An early example of this being Josie's eldest son Mick, making the choice to return to live on the reserve, a decision met with Josie's disapproval. Mick states that the move was something he has to do as the reserve is where he "belongs". Josie mentions her concern regarding the unsafe highway drive Mick would regularly have to take and the anticipated habits of three young men living in a house on the reserve. Josie's concerns were stated, and then retired with the exception of a brief statement about money, and job opportunities that exist off reserve. Mick wears a constant and defiant scowl as he often jumps in and out from his large red pickup truck (as opposed to Hank's white one, for what it's worth). His character seems as though it could symbolize a cultural defiance that would be appreciated more if only we

knew more about it. Personal interest may be the reason for critiquing the lack of expansion on this subject matter, but at the same time the story may be missing the opportunity of greater dramatic or comic satisfaction that could come via its unique setting.

When the secret of Hank and Josie's marriage is revealed and conflict is running high, Josie recommends that a type of ritual be performed. Josie suggests a ritual wherein a stick is passed and only the holder of the stick leads discussion while discussing the new family scenario. An act prompting democratic family discussion akin to the 'conch' in Golding's *Lord of the Flies*. It was disappointing for the custom not to be used afterwards or seen later in the show. In this same episode, a subsequent interrogation of Hank by Mick at a police station was a nice bit of direction, but arguably delivered no more humor than could have been from a scene that recalled the cultural element mentioned earlier by Josie. This example summarizes the way I believe *Mixed Blessings* fundamentally missed the opportunity to create unique cultural solutions to the equally unique cultural problems the couple and their union posits. If both problem and solution were rooted in the individual cultures of Josie and Hank, the title 'mixed blessing' could possibly become manifest.

Culture aside, the mixed blessing may be that Josie and Hank are dedicated parents who create a new family that wants to care for itself the best it can, just as they did while being single parents. The question is why is Hank's Ukrainian ancestry is even mentioned. Aside from a few shallow culinary jokes, Hank's Ukrainian-ness is nowhere near as important or present as his trade,

plumbing. Hank's co-workers present the more visual sub-cultural presence of oil-industry and trade in Fort McMurray. While not a disservice or harmful at all to Ukrainian culture, reasons for Hank's background being anything other than a white plumber, are moot. Multiple directions call for the viewers focus, such as: Hank's peers, Hank's family, coffee shop buddies, and hints at his being Ukrainian. All are valid but all would require individual attention to allow greater character development and better serve the story of Hank and Josie.

This half-hour long sitcom doesn't have the luxury to go much beyond introduction to many of the characters seen early in series one. With less effort, Hank's character could more easily have brought a type of trade sub-culture to his union with Josie (as the wrench in the title font conveys), as opposed to Ukrainian culture. If he drank coffee with Ukrainian Canadians, as opposed to expatriate Maritimers, the exposition based on the culture Hank provided would likely have increased. An imaginary Hank who was more Ukrainian, more distinct, and more at odds with the upcoming idiosyncrasies of culture that Josie and her family brings to the table, could have beefed up the content and humor where it otherwise seems squandered or hurried. While the series is comedic, occasionally over the top and unrealistic, the cultural mix of the couple could have been anchor to the characters and the program alike.

Some unique and specifically Canadian cultural behaviors in *Mixed Blessings* were seen in neither Ukrainian nor Aboriginal characters. A girlfriend Mick brought home in one episode, a dyed blonde white girl with a cowboy hat and a motor mouth, explained how a distant relative of hers was native (making

her 1/32 Native, as Josie exclaimed while rolling her eyes). Whether in this scene or several cases from personal experience, the “trying to be Native thing” is a distinctive habit that writers pick up, and a nice display of a behavior rooted in cultural contact. I don’t know why that character or people like her feign or amplify their heritage, but it is an interesting observation and it would be interesting to seek equivalents in cultures outside of Canada. (I’m reminded of a study I read years ago stating that 30% of the people in the United States who claimed Irish ancestry, in fact had none.)

In another instance, Hank learns that his daughter went on a date with an Indian boy, and Kookum (Grandma in Cree) jokes, “like father like daughter, only in reverse”, referring of course to Hank and Josie. Further irony comes from the fact that the ‘Indian’ boy Hank’s daughter is dating is of Asian descent, not North American, though when asked where he is *from*, he says, “Vancouver...”

The Chinese-speaking owner of the restaurant Josie is a waitress at, threatens her job by introducing a young family member from Singapore to work at his restaurant. While ‘supporting his own’, as it is, the owner tells Josie that her employment will end. This presents another cultural incident that may be unique to certain parts of Canada. The young Chinese waiter struggles with job duties, a bit of language, and the pace of the job. While pouring another cup of coffee to an Aboriginal man, the young Chinese fellow begins to speak Mandarin to him. The Aboriginal customer looks up to the young waiter dumbfounded, and the following reverse shot reveals an insignia on the back of his coat that reads “Cree Nation”, indicating the customer is not Asian at all. The visual similarity of

the Native man confused the Singaporean newcomer. The cultural mishap was fun, well served in a short scene, and unfortunately not seen more often by major characters throughout the series. This Mandarin/Cantonese/Cree mishap scene in the coffee shop is example again of how *Mixed Blessings* touches on but generally overlooks culture.

A few seasons later with the family settle in its new home, Hank and male members of Josie's family go hunting. Being the experienced hunter that he is, Hank shoots a cow through some light forest brush, mistaking it for a deer. The more interesting misinterpretation of identity is in one of the scenes that follow, when one of Hank's hunting mates calls him "a dumb Russian". Frank replies with "I'm not Russian, I'm Ukrainian!" At this or any other point in the series, neither the characters in the story nor viewers of it could state Hank's cultural identity with the same certainty he does. Hank just *is* of Ukrainian descent. He doesn't speak the language, has no artifacts in his home or personal habits that earmark his culture, and if he weren't to openly state his being Ukrainian nobody should be expected to have indication that he is.

Critique of *Mixed Blessings* inspires writing of it that reflects the ambitious nature of the show itself. The situation Hank and Josie represent contains dozens of variables that include every aspect of language and culture. The Uke-Cree-nian family is one I envisioned comparison to Métis culture with before viewing, but subsequently my vision of the family changed, becoming more pragmatic.

The Kowalchuks are *Nouveau-Métis* rather than *proto-Métis*, I suppose. Métis culture holds dignity in embracing the culture of both Native and European ancestry and the unique qualities that both bring to its people. In advance of becoming acquainted with the show, I thought that this pre-formed family would be like a prototype for the Metis nation. Complete with displays of individual cultural aspects, how they meet and interact, then what different behaviors come from it (including new children, which Hank and Josie do have in the story).

Times don't call for this antiquated and maybe overly anthropologic application of culture to the protection of people in Canada today. At times in Canadian history the unique aspects of culture were protective knowledge to folks. In villages and communities that existed in rural, urban, or hinterland parts of a country as geographically diverse as its people are now, they were arguably vital. Hank and Josie are parents of a large family, and the Northern Alberta oil industry and the industries that serve the oil industry, provide the societal cloak of protection: a role which cultural distinction once held a greater part of.

Further theory on the Kowalchuks representation of Canadian culture is that it may be absolutely astute in its display just as it is seen in *Mixed Blessings*. To the average family, finances are paramount, leaving language and ritual to dissolve while cutting ties to the root or *reason* they were created in the first place. Is the Canadian mosaic becoming more the cultural melting pot of our neighbors to the south? Will the average non-identifiable white Ukrainian-Canadian go as un-noticed as Hank Kowalchuk does? Questions worth considering and questions raised by *Mixed Blessings*.

It has to be mentioned that three seasons of the series were watched as quickly as any other program I've enjoyed, and Jennifer and I looked forward to every show we watched. The negative I feel for it is more a type of letdown than disappointment, because I want the show to be better and really think that it could be. I believe the show could be a greater one for the same reasons that Canada *may* rate higher than other countries and in part because of its truly embracing and enjoying its cultural diversity. I like cultural defiance, I like Mick's character and his scowl, and I like seeing things like Montreal Canadian fans protesting a non-French speaking coach, as purposeless as it may be.

After watching the last episode and even the bonus features disc kindly provided by producers of *Mixed Blessings*, we let the credits roll out to completion. Without the next episode to look forward to, Jennifer and I talked a bit before setting to task on completing these critiques. The name of a producer at APTN came up the screen at the end of the credits, and it was someone that I knew, Marty! Marty was a good friend of mine, and literally a next-door neighbor in Vancouver for five years. I have visited his home several times, attended his wedding at the UBC First Nations House (longhouse) of learning, and often went for coffee with him before and after he would make the journey to Northern Alberta for work on a show he was currently on. "What's it about?" I remember asking while referring to this shoot. "Oh, it's a comedy about an Aboriginal woman and her family after she marries a plumber". Poor Hank and his Ukrainian-ness, it was un-noticed even by people who helped put it to screen.

Behavior changes and evolves to meet the needs of people in the present. Gifts that culture provides are guidance to those behaviors and they are hidden in language and practice. This wisdom, we use to navigate around rocky territory familiar only because of cultural memory. Culture is a gift that humans have, but maybe the change that occurs to it shouldn't be feared so much. People are good at creating new habits. In theory, new trade deals our Mr. Harper is making in China with Canada's resources may find that one day an Albertan oil-patch employee will look up from his cup of coffee to a Cantonese speaking Singaporean waiter, and simply answer back.

PART TWO by Jennifer Chetyrbok (Dauphin, Manitoba)

During a casual conversation with a professor of Ukrainian Canadian Studies at the University of Manitoba, my husband and I were first introduced to the TV series, *Mixed Blessings*. We were asked to write our own reviews of the series. *Mixed Blessings* was introduced to us as two Albertan families mixing, one with Ukrainian heritage, and one with Aboriginal heritage.

At that point, we had only learned of the series for the first time, and began our search for the shows. In a short while, the box sets of the seasons arrived at our door, as my husband had contacted the production company and arranged for it to be delivered to us.

I presume we were asked to write reviews for specific reasons relating to our background in Ukrainian Canadian culture and academia. I teach the middle school Ukrainian Bilingual program in a rural Manitoban community that is rich of both active Ukrainian and Aboriginal cultures. I see both Ukrainian and Aboriginal cultures exist simultaneously in my classroom each day. I have also grown up in a community where these are the two most dominant and active cultures, and have coexisted in this community for a century.

The approach to my commentary will be taken from three angles: The presence of Ukrainian culture in the show, the evident presence of Aboriginal culture in the show, and the affect the cultural content has on the general quality and sense of enjoyment of the shows.

Before even watching the series, examining the DVD box sets, I noticed that the words "Ukrainian" and "Cree" both appear at least twice in the commentary and introduction. At that point, it was evident that the show would equally draw upon the two cultures. From the information I was initially given and then viewing the DVD sets, I established a solid idea of what was to come.

The first episode was pleasant. I enjoyed the humor, became acquainted with the characters, and gained a sufficient sense of the tone and mood of the series. I found myself on the edge of my seat, waiting for the characters to bring Ukrainian culture into the plot, but as the episodes and seasons passed, my anticipation eroded.

The Ukrainian culture that was drawn upon in the show was merely the surface of what is visible and branded Ukrainian culture. A person living among Canadians with any European ancestry would have similar experiences and knowledge of the culture that Hank demonstrates, and is not unique to specifically Ukrainian heritage. Some small details that suggest that Hank and his family are of Ukrainian Canadian ancestry are, that his Ukrainian mother visits in one episode, there is a

Ukrainian vase on the shelf of a bedroom in the house, their family name is "Kowalchuk", characters exchange some Ukrainian jokes at the coffee shop, and Hank mentions that he likes eating perogies. I believe that one could argue that Hank's occupation defines him considerably more than his culture does. The symbols on the DVD boxes even suggest so.

The series merely briefly touches upon small aspects of Ukrainian culture in Canada, and does not explore this culture more deeply, and what it means to truly be Ukrainian Canadian.

While I was paying such close attention in anticipation for the details of Ukrainian culture in the episodes, I found myself noticing and appreciating the flavors of Cree culture in the show. It is very evident that Sofie and her family are active members of their Native Cree culture.

Very early in the series, Cree culture was actively present. This is shown in both Sophie's home and the new Kowalchuk home, through their cuisine, exchange of humor between characters, artifacts on the walls of the home, the physical appearance of the characters, family members, family issues and values.

It is evident in the series that the Kowalchuk family shares strong family values, but it is uncertain as to if these values come from Aboriginal culture, Ukrainian culture, both, or neither.

Watching the TV series for the pure sense of enjoyment, with no expectations or pre-tenses, I would agree that the show is enjoyable to watch, as the characters are easy to relate to, and there's always another real-life dilemma presented.

Although each episode in itself is enjoyable to view, the link or connection between episodes may be missing. For example, in one episode, Josie becomes pregnant and has a child, and in the following episode, there is no mention or presence of their child.

In one episode Hank's mother comes to visit to help take care of the family, but there is no explanation of when and why she leaves, as there is no appearance of her in the episode that follows.

The fast-paced storyline of the series accommodates family viewing on a weekly basis, but if one were to view all the shows in the series consecutively, one may get confused and wonder about the missing pieces in the content.

In general, the series was enjoyable and a great evening family show. If it were to continue as a TV series in the future, I would make a point to watch it regularly. The series does an excellent job displaying how Aboriginal Cree

culture in an Albertan “boomtown” coexists with the mixtures of other cultures in the community.

I would also conclude that the show misleadingly presents its story base as a Ukrainian and Aboriginal family mixing with each other, and would suggest that the series is more about a Cree woman and her family mixing with a white Albertan tradesman and his family.

Because I was asked to review the series specifically in the point of view of a Ukrainian Canadian, and offer feedback on the “Ukrainian-ness” of the show, I would conclude that the Ukrainian cultural content that the show draws upon is very minimal and does not sufficiently display how Canadians express their Ukrainian heritage. The show does not equally draw upon the two cultures.

I will conclude that the series celebrates a colorful Aboriginal culture and evidently exhibits how active and alive it is within Canadian culture. I feel as though I have completed the series being more familiar and informed about Cree culture in terms of day-to-day family living, issues that arise within the culture, and family values. The characters continuously brought these details to life while entertaining the viewers, whether they are Aboriginal, Ukrainian or of any other culture. One does not need to be of Cree or Ukrainian heritage to receive more enjoyment out of the series, as any cultural group can receive equal enjoyment and pleasure out of viewing the series.

ARNIE STRYNADKA, "THE UKE-CREE FIDDLER"
By Marcia Ostashewski

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 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. 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.

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. 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.

Aboriginal/Ukrainian groups have not 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.

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. 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 - can be understood as the active location of individuals and groups, of Aboriginal people and descendants 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 of Arnie Strynadka the Uke-Cree Fiddler.

AN INDIAN SOIREE

by
Pavlo Popovych

NOTE

The following is a condensed, translated version of "Indians'ki vechornytsi" published in Pavlovych's collection of narratives describing his personal experiences as a railway "gang" worker during the 1920's: Ukrains'ka pisnia v tundri Kanady [=The Ukrainian song in Canada's tundra], Toronto, 1975, pp. 252-259.

That evening the supper was especially tasty -- as always on Sundays. After supper the workers sat around in their wagon-cars. Some read newspapers, others wrote letters, and still others lay on their beds mulling over things.

From the direction of a nearby Indian settlement, we could hear violin playing and rhythmic drumming. From our wagon-cars it was easy to see a group of youths gathered near one of the houses. The doors to the house were open. It was apparent that there was dancing inside.

Our guys were curious. It would be interesting to see Indians entertain themselves, their kind of dancing, and of course the Indian beauties inside. Without waiting for an invitation, the guys hopped out of their wagon-cars and headed for the soiree -- or *vechornytsi* as they said in their native Ukrainian.

The house itself was quite roomy inside although it didn't look that big from the outside. This was because, like all Indian houses, this one only had one main room with doors leading off from it. Benches were set up along the walls. The stove stood in the corner. A picture of Christ's crucifixion was on the wall with large wall-calendars hanging one either side. On one of the calendars was a picture of a half-naked girl from the civilized world, and on the other -- a boat on a lake. In the center of the room hung a gasoline lamp. In another corner -- a trio of musicians. An elderly Indian was playing the violin, tapping his feet to the tempo. His whole body was working. A young fellow, perhaps the old man's son, accompanies him on the banjo, with so much enthusiasm that he sweats. His long black hair flops down over his eyes. From time to time, his hand moves to throw it back onto his head, but after a moment it just falls over again. Surrounded by drums of various sizes, the third musician, short and stocky, keeps hammering the drums in time with the tempo. His drumming sounds surprisingly in tune. He uses the palms of his hands or just his fingers. The rhythm of the music stimulates the desire to dance.

The fellows from the extra-gang watch this dance-scene through the open doors and look through the two windows on each side of the door. A Canadian "square dance" swirls around. One man near the musicians sings out and sways to the rhythm. The dance features three groups, each group composed of two

pairs. At times, when given the command, they all meet together and make one big circle. When the singer gives the command, the boys switch girls. Then the girls separate themselves and come together to form a tight circle, while the boys encircle them with a wide circle. They keep dancing with various steps. Everyone found it interesting to watch.

The dance stopped – and the guests who had come to look began to applaud enthusiastically. They all liked the “square dance” – it reminded them of the *kolomyika* and waltz dancing. Our onlookers felt there was something close and familiar here.

Kost’ had disappeared, but soon enough he reappeared with his mandolin. The musicians smile warmly and make room for him to join.

The girls retreated into a corner, gazing shyly at the strangers. They were wearing brightly coloured dresses in city style. Some had cut their hair, but most of them had long braids. Their black braids were resplendent, their faces – darkly tanned. Their brows and dark eyes were similar to those that the strangers had left behind in the Old Country.

Most of the fellows were wearing black pants and store-bought white shirts. They all had moccasins decorated in many folksy ways. All were cleanly shaven, washed up. It was obvious that they had dressed up to please the girls.

The workers from the extra-gang lined up along the walls so as not to get in anyone’s way. A second dance, called the “jig”, and after that – the “two step”. Jacob found the chief, approached him, bowed, and offered his hand. The chief rose and greeted Jacob warmly. Jacob said that the workers from the gang preferred to see authentic Indian dances, -- others, like the “two step” were not as interesting since these could be seen everywhere in Canada. The chief smiled, summoned the fellows and explained it to them. Then he went up to the musicians and told them what to play. And then he announced before all what dance was to take place now.

The girls sat down in a large circle, almost from wall to wall. Eight fellows came into this circle with meter-long canes. The drum sounded, the violin sang forth, the banjo strings were struck. As the chief explained later, this was the “dance of victory”. With their feet the fellows beat out some complicated steps which included jumps and bangs. Sometimes they would lower their heads, at other times they would lift them up proudly. The canes held by the male dancers represented arrows. These were used to suggest flying arrows in different ways. And it was apparent that these arrows were meant to kill somebody – perhaps an animal during the hunt or enemies in a life-or-death struggle.

The dance was executed so well that it was possible to comprehend its essence. The girls, as they sat, kept bowing their heads right to the ground and then they would shake with frenzy and happily in celebration of a victorious outcome. The Ukrainian guests were so captivated by the Indian dance that they began to automatically clap their hands in time to the music. One could say that they too were participating in the victory dance.

The dance ended with the raising of hands and extraordinary joy, triumphantly. The Ukrainians applauded the Indian dance loud and long. In this way they understood their culture, their art and traditions. Everyone was happy.

And all this jollity brought the Ukrainian workers closer to the inhabitants of the Indian reservation. Even the shy girls began to welcome the guests with smiles.

With the onset of twilight, the lamp inside the house was lit. The chief turned to Jacob and asked him to invite the guests to show their Ukrainian dance. When he informed his people of this idea, everyone responded with loud and welcoming applause.

Jacob hesitated for a minute as he recalled his native land, his village where - in spite of tough times -- he would lead the performance of the *arkan* on the village green. He knew all the steps. He knew how to call out the various changes in the dance. Perhaps he could show these strangers something from his own youth, his Ukrainian traditions. He told Kost' to teach the Indian musicians how to play the *arkan*. There were eight men ready to dance the *arkan*. Jacob asked the Indian fellows to lend them the canes with which they had danced.

"Here you are, guys – we've even got axes!" he said to the dancers. "And now listen to the music and my commands as we dance."

The music began to play. Eight Ukrainian dancers took their place in the center of the Indian house. They linked their hands together over one another's shoulders, swayed to the rhythm of the music, and moved their left feet energetically in one direction and then in another. Although the fellows came from different villages, they were all likely from the same area, since they were able to obey the commands in unison.

They kept to the proper rhythm just as though they were professional dancers. Everyone was smiling happily thanks, stimulated by memories of earlier years filled with youthful life and confidence.

The chief's eyes lit up in wonder. As he played, the older musician rose to take a better look at the performers. The girls and boys studied every moment of a dance they had never seen before. They turned their heads this way and that way. At the same time they began clapping their hands in keeping with the music, spurring on the dancers.

At the end of their *arkan* the dancers stood in line and bowed to all sides. Literally everybody applauded – the Indians and our men. The Indians surrounded our dancers. They wanted to be near them, especially near Jacob, who led the dancing. Over all the noise, the chief kept repeating one of the Ukrainian words he knew: "*Dobre! Dobre!*" In truth, the soiree had turned into a festival of dance.

It was difficult to foresee the end of that festival. Frank the pastry cook arrived in a hurry with orders for all to return to our wagons and prepare for the steam engine that was ready to pull our entire caravan of wagons further north. And suddenly all that jollity came to an end. The Ukrainians began to say their goodbyes with the Indians they had just met and thanked them for their hospitality. And so did the Indians. As they parted company, both groups waved their hands in farewell. For everyone this was an evening of great, unforgettable surprises.

"Now the Indians will have a job to learn Ukrainian dancing" said Kost'.

From Danny Schur (Winnipeg, Manitoba)

The following is a descriptor about my on-going Louis Riel Musical, which will be titled, "Louis".

Winnipeg's Danny Schur & Rick Chafe, the award-winning team behind the acclaimed musical *Strike!* have begun work on a new musical about the life of one of Canada's most controversial historical figures - and the now-acknowledged "Father of Manitoba" - Louis Riel.

How does the second-generation Ukrainian-Canadian Schur find interest in the Franco-Métis Riel? Schur explains:

"Riel's vision of a multi-cultural Manitoba, as evidenced in his consensus building prior to the creation of the Manitoba Act, and his oft-stated position at Red River and Batoche, was of a society with room for all. In that sense, he foresaw a multicultural Canada that welcomed my Ukrainian ancestors. Riel's knew that the Métis could only survive culturally within a society that respected the rights of minorities in legislation. That the New York Times recently praised Winnipeg for its "parka-clad diversity" can be traced back to the very origins of the province, and Riel. To be sure, Riel encountered a fierce Anglo-Saxon push back to his multicultural view, which, one can argue, led to his death on the gallows. But even in that struggle with the Anglo majority, I feel a kinship with Riel."

"From a dramatic perspective, Riel is one of Canada's few truly romantic stories. The very premise of a Prairie martyr put to death for an idealistic cause is the stuff of operas and musicals. Indeed, there has already been one opera and dozens of plays and literary treatments of the Riel Story."

"My partner, Rick Chafe and I, have discovered a unique 'way in' to the Riel story that has not yet been told - the fascinating 'buddy story' of Riel's secretary, Louis Schmidt. Schmidt, being a blonde, blue-eyed Métis is himself a metaphor for the Métis quest for self-determination. Although originally named "Louis Laferte", Bishop Tache arbitrarily changed his name to "Schmidt" in a deliberate attempt to lessen Schmidt's Métis identity. Schmidt, along with Riel, was one of the four chosen by Tache to study for the priesthood in Montreal. Both left their studies, both were involved with the Manitoba Act (Schmidt becoming the Secretary of the Provisional Government) and it was in fact Schmidt who suggested Riel be summoned to Batoche to fight for Métis rights there in 1884. But the deeply religious Schmidt fell out with Riel over Riel's desire to create a Protestant Métis church, and wound up testifying against Riel at his trial. A surprising later rapprochement indicates that Schmidt had a profound change of heart about his life-long colleague and friend - all told, a fascinating new view into the Riel saga, and one that directly relates to a multicultural Canada that is still dealing with the aftermath of its treatment of Aborigines and Métis."

Schur and Chafe plan to complete the musical by 2013, with a Winnipeg premiere as soon as 2014.

From Danny Evanishen (Summerland, British Columbia)

Here is a list of what I have gathered about Ukrainians and "Indians".

Zenia Stechishin said that around Wroxton, SK there was a Ukrainian girl with long blond braids who was taken by the Indians, who had never seen such hair before. Marion Huziak apparently knows the story 416-924-2952.

Tantoo Cardinal is half Ukrainian.

Savella Stechishin said that around St Julien-Fish Creek an Indian boy was raised by Ukrainians.

She also told me about a Canadian Indian fellow in the war, who was injured or sick in Ukraine and never left with his regiment. Now his granddaughter in Ukraine wants to find her Indian roots in Canada.

Barry Verbiwski from Winnipeg visited a New Mexico Indian family, and on the wall was a blanket with the same design as one his baba had made years ago.

Ukrainians & Indians both work with beads.

Dennis Tkachuk's baskets, which he learned from a Sioux, look like my Baba's baskets.

Arnie Strynadka from Enoch, AB calls himself the Ukree. He plays a mean fiddle, and I met him at the Vegreville Pysanka Festival.

Steve Whitford was known in Alberta as the Ukrainian Indian. He was written up in Balan's book Salt and Braided Bread, but with the wrong information. I went to see Steve a while before he died, and got the true story.

Lily Tokaryk told me that when she was very young, her grandfather and an Indian medicine man would wander the fields and the woods, comparing plants, which the children would run and pick for them.

From Thomas Prymak (Toronto, Ontario)

In the summer of 1973, my friend Allen, my cousin from Poland, Joseph, and I were on our way home to Winnipeg from the Dauphin Ukrainian Festival and stopped to camp in Riding Mountain National Park. It was a beautifully clear Manitoba evening. We had set up our tent and were settling in when a park ranger who was checking out the campsites walked up to us and said 'hello.' He was about our age or slightly older, was dressed in his uniform, and looked very much the park ranger, indeed, he even physically appeared to be of native Canadian Indian background or ancestry.

He asked us where we were from and I told him that Allen and I were from Winnipeg and that Joseph was from Poland. To our astonishment, he immediately began conversing with Joseph in what seemed to me to be perfectly fluent Ukrainian. At least, Joseph and he had no trouble understanding each other. (Joseph's first language was Ukrainian, not Polish, and he knew almost no English, while I knew very little Ukrainian at the time as I had only begun studying it in 1972.) This struck me at the time as quite an irony: a Ukrainian Canadian who could speak very little Ukrainian and a native Canadian Indian who seemed to have no trouble at all with the language, speaking in Ukrainian with a Polish tourist who knew no English!

Afterwards, Allen, Joseph, and I discussed what we thought of this remarkable turn of events and Joseph speculated that the ranger's presumed Ukrainian ancestor, maybe a grandfather, had probably inter-married with an Indian woman, as there were certainly more men than women among the Ukrainian pioneers of those days. I do not recall discussing the man's ancestry with him, but we might have, as we all three were quite sure of his Indian background.

VARIA: SNIPPETS FROM HERE AND THERE in chronological order

Note: A year shown in parentheses signifies a year of publication that does not necessarily coincide with year of reported occurrence.

1890s

It's likely that America's Aborigines met their first Ukrainians in the form of Orthodox missionaries from Tsarist Russia. These focused their efforts on the populations of Alaska on the upper West Coast where a number of Slavic religious and quasi-religious customs (such as caroling) along with sacred iconography reportedly took hold. (See the reports of Canadian anthropologist Marius Barbeau and "Field Notes from Ukrainian Canada" 8:1 [winter 2012], p. 7.)

1897

Canadians see our people as worse than Indians, because here the Indians are considered to be a cultured people... One administrator actually urged me to send some of our people to the Indians to learn a thing or two from them.

Translated from an account written by Ukrainian American priest, Nestor Dmyriv describing Ukrainians in Winnipeg and beyond, published as *Kanadijs'ka Rus': podorozhni spomyny* [= Canadian Ruthenia: a Traveler's Memoirs], Winnipeg, 1972(= foto-reprint of first edition published in Mt.Carmel,Pa., 1897), p. 4.

1899

"...the colony was rocked by the particularly brutal murder of Stuartburn farmer Bozectzko and his four children in a robbery... Before separating the three [accused Ukrainians] agreed to blame the crime on Indians."

Based on a newspaper report cited by John C.Lehr in his *Community and Frontier: a Ukrainian Settlement in the Canadian Parkland*, Winnipeg2011, pp.153 and 198 (n3).

1905

In the spring of 1905, a Ukrainian farmer near Andrew lost his wife when she was giving birth to their sixth child, a baby boy.[...] Sympathetic to the man's plight, the hunters [Cree Indians] took the week-old child with them to be raised by the women on the Goodfish Lake Reserve... the boy – now named Steve Whitford – eventually became one of the most respected members of the Goodfish Lake

community in which he married, living just outside the perimeter of the reserve (since he was never legally recognized as an Indian).

This story along with a b/w photo of this 'Ukrainoian Indian' was published in Jars Balan, *Salt and Braided Bread: Ukrainian Life in Canada* (Toronto 1984), pp.116-117.

1908

But of course, you can understand how difficult it is to evangelize these people – these 100,000 Catholic Ukrainians [...] As for the Indians, they have their own missionaries who speak their languages, but not a single Ukrainian priest arrived with the first settlers...

Translated from "La question ukrainienne" by At. Conter (originally published in *Voix du Redempteur* [1908]) reprinted in Bohdan Kurylas and Antoine Bosschaert, *Lettre sur l'Ukraine*, vol.2 (Mons, Belgium, 1953), chapter 4 ("Ukrainiens au Canada"), p.83.

As reflected in this commemorative volume dedicated to Redemptorist missionary activities, Canada's Indians and early Ukrainians were both targeted as crucial problems that challenged Canada's religious establishments: both groups needed attention and both share a history of proselytization on the part of missionaries from near and far.

1911

[Note: The following item is a translation from a Ukrainian text published in an elementary school book.]

The Indian Boy

I am an Indian Boy. I am dark-haired and strong. I can run very quickly. I can shoot with an arrow from a bow. I have a big canoe. Daddy made it for me. He made it from birch bark.

Most of the time I stay outside. I don't know how to read or write. I don't go to school. Sometimes I get very cold. I wrap myself in a blanket. I know the birds and animals in the forest. I like to crawl over tree-stumps all day long.

This item appeared in a school manual prepared to meet the needs of Ukrainian-speaking school children in Alberta and Saskatchewan: *Pomichnyk dlja malyx shkolojariv / do uzhytku v pochatrokovij shkil'nij nauci v Al'berjti i Saskachevan* [=A help-book for small schoolchildren / for use in elementary school study in Alberta and Saskatchewan]. Vegreville, Alberta, 1911, p.60.

1914

If American Indians could treat [Christopher] Columbus like a god, why shouldn't Ukrainian Indians find me fantastic? ... I somewhat agree with those who say that whoever comes to Canada becomes stupid: after all, only an insane person would think of going among the Ukrainian Indians living in Canadian cities. Unless it's for research -- like going to Central Africa or the wilds of the Far North.

Translated from the writings of Pavlo Kamans'kyj (1878-1956) as published posthumously in *MAVPJACHE DZERKALO / Monkey's Mirror* (prepared by Myroslav Shkandrij). Winnipeg, 1998, pp. 50 and 75. Kamans'kyj's pejorative reference to "Ukrainian Indians" possibly constitutes the earliest suggestion of a new kind of Metis or "half-breed" -- an extension of the standard definition ascribed to Aboriginal people of "mixed blood."

1920

[Letter (translated below from French) dated Tuesday July 8, 1920 addressed to Bishop Budka of the Ruthenian Church in Winnipeg, Manitoba,-- from the "Union Nationale Metisse St. Joseph" in St. Boniface, Manitoba:]

I have the honour of inviting you to join us as we commemorate the 50th anniversary of the entry of Manitoba into Canadian Confederation. There'll be a solemn service at 10 hours for all the dead Metis who died for their *patrie*, followed by a banquet, a conference and historical discussion. Hoping we have the pleasure of being honored by your presence, I have the honor of being your most obedient servant, [signed:] G.J.Charette, President.

(1934)

On a visit to Victoria, British Columbia, the inveterate traveler and politico Osyp Nazaruk (1883-1940) argues that both Ukrainians and "Indians" have much to learn from the political know-how of the English / British. See his *Na spokiinim okeani: vrazhinnia i dumky z dorohy* [=On the quiet/pacific ocean: impressions thoughts from the road], L'viv 1934, pp. [3], 22.

1937

"...the native Redskin Indians do not work, because they are not suitable for any kind of work: the state has granted them enormous reserves of forests and lakes where they hunt and fish and receive 'support' from the state somewhat like that received by the Ukrainian émigrés in the Czech land, and they go to the train stations where they stare at the passengers from across the ocean, and the passengers look at them."

Ukrainian historian Dmytro Doroshenko (1882-1951) as quoted in English translation by Thomas M. Prymak in his piece on "Dmytro Doroshenko, and Canada", *Journal of Ukrainian Studies*, 30:2 (2005), 1-15.

circa 1946

The Pas [Manitoba] – Indians a weak, colourless group – illustration of impact of Anglo-Saxon individualism destroying vitality [...] Contrast with Ukrainians – abundant vitality [...]

From *The Idea File of Harold Adams* [1894-1952], University of Toronto Press, 1980, p.63.

1952

“Eskimosy” [=Eskimos]. *Kalendar-al'manakh Novoho shliakhu na 1952 rik*, [= the yearly almanac for 1952 published by the Ukrainian newspaper, *Novyi shliakh / New Pathway*], Winnipeg, 1952, pp. 163-165. In Ukrainian.

In this introductory survey, the “Eskimos” are considered to be generally uncivilized but very happy since they manage to laugh more than twelve times as often than a “modern person” laughs.

1954

Romaniuk, Gus. “High Spirits and Indians” = chapter six in his *Taking Root in Canada: an autobiography*. Winnipeg, 1954, pp. 59-70. A Ukrainian version of the passage quoted below appeared in his *Moi pionirs'ki pryhody v Kanadi, avtobiografiia* [My pioneer adventures in Canada, an Autobiography], Winnipeg, 1958, p.45 and passim.

“The river bank was lined with canoes when we arrived [at the Indian encampment]. Set back a safe distance were many wigwams; a small cheering fire in front of each. Near our landing point were three large wigwams side by side. There we found a group of Indians; men, women and children. Walter took the initiative, shaking hands all around. We followed his lead. The Indians seemed glad to see us, happy for the company.

“An old squaw sat cross-legged on the ground calmly puffing her pipe. Walter advanced, took the pipe from between her teeth, and replaced it with a big cigar. He lit it, and she puffed appreciatively savoring the mellow tobacco. We passed cigars around to the grownups, cigarettes to the young bucks and maidens and candy to the children. The gifts established friendship. In fact, we moved among the Indians like visiting royalty. They followed us in eager affability as we toured their little village, examining with curious interest everything we saw.

“We came to some strips of meat and fish hung up in long strings to dry, and we inquired in English whether we might sample the food. They nodded assent almost in unison, and one proudly replied in English: “You want? Eat.” We were hungry and needed no further urging. The meat was tasty and we ate our fill. Then bidding our new friends good-bye, we put our boat back in the river and moved easily downstream with the current. It was late that evening when we returned to our bunk-car. It had been a big day, and an exciting one.

[...]

“On the fourth day we again visited the Indians. This time our pockets bulged with candies, chocolate bars and 15-cent rings. Walter ringed all four fingers on the hand of a beaming old squaw. He also put four rings on her husband's right hand. There were rings enough for all the older Indians, candy for the others. They were so pleased with the gifts, they laughed like merry children during the two hours we visited among them.

[...]

“We returned several times to the Indian camp and were always welcomed with open arms. It wasn't just the gifts that paved the way for this hospitality, however.. I learned later that the Indian is very friendly by nature. He is usually happy to share with a hungry stranger whatever food he has. If there is a

pot of boiled meat in front of the wigwam, no invitation is necessary. One may simply sit down beside it and eat his will. The Indian seems to regard it as a privilege to share his wood with others.”

(1959)

“Our Ukrainians also drink a lot... they’re masters when its comes to moon-shine...a real nice example for the Indians to follow!

“One Ukrainian fellow decided to dedicate his life for the Indians... Although we strongly advised him against wasting his life in this way, he was adamant – “No, I’ll go amongst them to work. And he became a teacher on the reservation. After a year he took to his heels, almost a mental case...”

And that’s how history (or rather liquor) washed away an entire people in spite of its stalwartness and unique, luxuriant culture. Something our “masters of moon-shine” should take note of.

Translated from the Ukrainian of Dokiia Humenna, *Vichni vohni Al’berty* (added title in English: *Eternal Flames of Alberta*), Edmonton, 1959, p. 123.

A propensity for alcohol plagued many segments of the early immigrant population – single males in particular. In one of his many pieces, humorist Jakiv Maidanyk (1891-1984) depicts an incident that involves an imagined Ukrainian bootlegger (“*Mister Shtif Tabachniuk*”) and his unwary “Indian” prey. See “Iak Tabachniuk napyvav sia z Indiiianamy” [= How Mr.Tabachniuk drank it up with the Indians], in *Kaliendar Shifa Tabachniuka na [...] 1924*, (Winnipeg) pp. 131-132 with one b/w drawing.

1970

On tour in Ukraine in August, 1970, , the AUUC’s Shevchenko dance ensemble “won the hearts of the [Kiev] audience with its youthful forcefulness, temperament, exact interpretation and colourful execution of Ukrainian, Eskimo and Indian folk dances...”

From a review by Maria Zahaikevich reportedly published in the Soviet tabloid, *News from Ukraine*, subsequently quoted by Mary Skrypnyk in the October 1970 issue of *The Ukrainian Canadian* and reprinted by the *The Ukrainian Canadian Herald* in its issue for July / August 2010, p.12.

1976

This is the skinning job that Eskimo society assigned to menfolk. Perhaps it is typical of most primitive societies to have such a natural selection of male and female roles. I recall, at home on the farm in Manitoba with my Ukrainian parents, the unwritten rule that mother killed and prepared chickens, geese, turkeys. But father butchered the cows and pigs... There is another resemblance between that Ukrainian family picture and this one. It is that Arctic people of necessity had to work together...

From William Kurelek's commentary on "Flensing a Walrus" as reproduced in his *The Last of the Arctic*, Toronto 1976, p.45.

Zvarych / Svarich, Petro . *Spomyny 1877-1904* (added title in English: *Memoirs 1877-1904*). Winnipeg, 1976, pp. 162-163.

First person accounts relating the Ukrainian pioneering experience often depict incidental encounters with Aborigines as positive experiences. In addition to this item, see also above for the entry under 1954 (Gus Romaniuk).

(1978)

My route took me past a tepee, a rather fine-looking dwelling alongside the road. I began to hurry in order to get past it quickly, for I had been warned at home to be on guard against a tribe of black people in Canada who were called Indians and who killed and ate our people. Just as I was about to pass by the tepee, an old Indian with braided hair rushed out of it, grabbed me by the hand, and began to drag me inside. Although I struggled and resisted him with all my might, he had me inside the tepee in no time and made me sit on an animal skin which was spread out on the ground. I was seized by fear. "There is no question; he is going to kill me right here and now.

From Harry Piniuta, *Land of Pain, Land of Sorrow: First Person Accounts by Ukrainian Pioneers 1891-1914*, Saskatoon, 1978 p.84. Translated from the Ukrainian of Dokiia Humenna, *Vichni vohni Al'berty* (added title in English: *Eternal Flames of Alberta*, Edmonton, 1959, p. 52.

This particular episode was pictured in an artwork (entitled "I resisted but he continued to drag me into his tent") by artist Peter Shostak in his *For Our Children: a series of paintings depicting early Ukrainian pioneer settlement in Western Canada* (Victoria, B.C.), p.9. .

1986

I seem to invite people's curiosity even when I'm not trying. Speaking at a writers' conference, I appear my usual, conservative self wearing three, layered peasant skirts – green, purple, yellow – a Northwest Territories beaded jacket, a gypsy necklace of braided horsetail, silver space boots and a four-colour Afro wig.

A woman approaches me.

Are you the Indian Mee-Tee writer? She asks brightly.

You're pretty close, I reply.

Actually, I'm Chief Dan George.

From Maara Haas, *On Stage with Maara Haas* (Winnipeg, 1986), pp.80-81.

1996

[Synopsis:] Sergei and Viktoria Tsyganyuk of Kharkiv have taken on “Indian” names: Broken Hand and Butterfly respectively. Every year the couple prepares feathered headgear and practises native dances for an annual “gathering of the tribes” where they set up camp and spend days sharing tribal rituals with hundreds of others. The couple is drawn to Aboriginal environmental awareness with its pure, close relations to the earth: “it’s a choice of the soul” says Viktoria. Some “post-Soviet Indians” have even emigrated to North America in order to live with Aboriginal tribes.

From “‘Sioux’ of the Ukraine: Native Americans inspire Slavs”, by Angela Charlton writing from Kyiv, Ukraine for the Associated Press, published in *The Chronicle-Herald* (Halifax, Nova Scotia), May 20, 1996, p.A6. With b/w foto showing “Ukrainian Sergei Tsyganyuk... as he tries on his dancing costume in their Kharkiv, Ukraine apartment”.

1998

...”it is not an uncommon sight on entering a local pub to see an Indian dance to cowboy music sung to the accordian [sic] in the Ukrainian language.”

From a foreword by Gregory Grace in *A Place Not Our Own: North End Winnipeg, Photographs by John Paskievich*, Winnipeg, 1998 [p.ii].

2001

The Encyclopedia of Manitoba (Winnipeg, 2007) reports that in 2001 the Province of Manitoba had 157,655 individuals of Ukrainian origin and 150,040 Aboriginal people.

(2003)

When he heard that both Orest and Stefan were Ukrainians, Ross Bentley [English-born government agent for Indian affairs] declared that “Their blood and Indian blood were the same thing – foreign.”

From Mariian Morys Koval'chuk, *Kanads'kyi Pilot (Bush Pilot): povist* [=Canadian pilot (bush pilot): a tale]. The author: Hazelridge, Manitoba, 2003, p. 43. (above snippet is a translation of the Ukrainian text).

(2005)

When I was five years old, my mostly Ukrainian mother courageously – this was the early sixties – left my mostly Polish father for a Metis man, earning the everlasting scorn of her family, and moved us all to Red Lake, Ontario.

Professor Paul Kulchyski (Dept. of Native Studies, University of Manitoba), *Like the Sound of a Drum*, University of Manitoba Press, 2005, acknowledgements section.

2008

The Welcome Home Easter Service was celebrated at St. Andrew's on Holy Saturday evening [...] people of aboriginal and Ukrainian descent (and others, too) singing "Christ is Risen" with one hearty voice and the children ringing bells with abandon.

Fr. Len Ratushniak in *The Welcome Home Newsletter*, Winnipeg, summer 2008, [p.4]. "Welcome Home" is an inner city ministry of the Ukrainian Redemptorists (a religious order based in Yorkton, Saskatchewan). The mission building is located in a section of Winnipeg that features a strong Aboriginal component as part of its demographic profile.

2009

"SOMETHING IN COMMON

"In the early days of the credit union movement, most of them were open only to people who shared common bonds [...]. Today there just three closed – bond credit unions left in Manitoba. – North Winnipeg Credit Union (which serves Canadians of Ukrainian heritage residing in Greater Winnipeg); Carpathia Credit Union (whose members are Manitobans of Ukrainian descent); and the Me-Dian Credit Union (which services people of Indian or Metis heritage)."

From The Winnipeg Free Press, April 19, 2009, p.B3.

"Viewed as a King David of the Metis and the Indians, Riel was arrested, accused of high treason, and hanged. [Ivan] Kulyk was not as ambitious vis-à-vis Ukrainians as Riel was vis-à-vis Metis, but his desire to decolonize Ukrainians fits well with Riel's ethical program and perhaps even Riel's messianic zeal. Kulyk not only knew of Riel, he glorified him."

From page 87 in "Between Two Fires: The National-Communist Utopia of Ivan Kulyk" (= chapter 2, Johanan Petrovsky-Shtern, *The Anti-Imperial Choice: The Making of the Ukrainian Jew* [Yale University Press, 2009], pp.62-110).

2010

Professor James Mace (1952-c2004) had "Red Indian blood in him. Among his ancestors were warriors of the Cherokee... For James it was no less a shock when he was just beginning to investigate Holodomor The fate of his Cherokee

ancestors was also very tragic... That is why James reacted so emotionally to the tragedy that had befallen the Ukrainians..."

<http://www.wemag.kiev/index2.php?param=pgs2083/84> (retrieved 07/09/2010)

(2010)

A case of mispronunciation:

On September 26, 2010 Dr. Peter Kondra of Winnipeg offered anecdotal information about a "Cree Indian" who was mistakenly registered as a "Ukrainian" in the the military during World War Two. Apparently the enlisting officer misheard the former term [u-Cree- nian]-and entered the latter one instead. They sounded close enough to allow for such an error.

Harry Messel, "a boundlessly energetic son of Ukrainian immigrants [...] loved trapping and fishing – skills he says he learned largely from Sioux natives he befriended as a youth" in Rivers, Manitoba. Later in life he became Australia's leading expert on crocodiles...

From a piece by Randy Boswell published in the *Winnipeg Free Press*, May 2010.

Jordan Tootoo (born February 2, 1983 in Churchill, Manitoba) is a professional hockey player with the "Nashville Predators" of the National Hockey League. He is both the first Inuk player and the first player who grew up in Nunavut to participate in an NHL game. Joran's mother Rose is of Ukrainian descent.

2011

"A favourite musical instrument of the Ukrainians is the dulcimer or 'tsymbaly'. Since this instrument was unknown in Cape Breton, Mr. Shewchuk made his own. Hwe wwentua;ly made a dozen or so for other people. A couple are still in existence with family members. H also made a few violins. The scrolls on his violins had carved 'Indian Heads'."

From John Huk, *Strangers in the Land: The Ukrainian Presence in Cape Breton*, Sydney, Nova Scotia, 2011 (2nd ed.), 2011, p.38

"The regional correlation between Ukrainian prairie settlers and First Nations has strongly influenced how later generations of Ukrainian Canadians (...) write about their ethnic identity."

From Lindy Ledohowski, " 'A Vaguely Divided Guilt' " The Aboriginal Ukrainian", *Re-imagining Ukrainian Canadians*, eds. R.L Hinthier and J. Mochoruk (Toronto, 2011), p. 88.

RECOMMENDED READINGS

1.0

GENERALITIES: BASICS, CONTEXT, BACKGROUND, HISTORY, COMPARATIVE WORKS AND VARIA

Balan, Jars, ed. *Identifications: Ethnicity and the Writer in Canada*. Edmonton, 1982, xii+158 pp.

These proceedings from a ground-breaking conference held in 1979 record the perspectives of such leading literati as M.Campbell, A.Suknaski, M.Haas, M.Kostaash, G.Ryga, and Y.Slavutych.

Butrymowicz, Magdalena. "Nineteenth century Indian-White relations, what remain to XXI century? Changes in the Indian tribes regime, from the divided small community to democratic state, Canadian example," *Materiialy pershoi mizhnarodnoi konferentsii z kanadoznavstva* [...]. (Added title in English: *Proceedings of the First Bi-Annual Conference on Canadian Studies* [...]), Chernivtsi, 2011, pp. 182-193. In English with an introductory summary in Ukrainian, bootnotes, bibliography.

This piece shows the following sub-headings: *Introduction – Why XIX century is so important? – People on Canadian land – Tribal structures -- Two centuries on one land – How indigenous word has changed in XIX century—To summarize.*

Bychyns'kyi, Z. "Pershi meshkantsi Kanady" [=Canada's first inhabitants], in Bychyns'kyi's *Istoriia Kanady* [=The History of Canada], Winnipeg, 1928., pp.20-26. In Ukrainian.

With an English introduction by C.W.Gordon (=Ralph Connor), this history of Canada marks the first work of its kind in Ukrainian . The pages cited above cover the following topics: The name Indians, -- The tribes inhabiting Canada, -- The Eskimos, -- the Algonquins, -- The Iroquois, -- The Religion of the Indians, -- The culture of the Indians.

Hlady, Walter M. (1924-1986), compiler and editor. "Creeukrainian dictionary", 1962, 13pp. This unpublished document is on deposit with Archives Canada (Ottawa / Gatineau).`

This anthropologist / archeologist had a checkered career that included a stint on the railroads in Western Canada. On July 28, 2010, retired archivist Myron Momryk provided the following personal assessment of this "dictionary": "It is a compilation of mispronunciations and misspellings of various railway and everyday work terms by semi-literate Native and other local railway workers including recent Ukrainian immigrants. There are no Ukrainian or Cree words. I understand that Hlady was a bit of a character when he worked in the Department of Secretary of State office in Winnipeg. This dictionary may have been his idea of a joke."

Kostash, Myrna. *All of Baba's Children*. Edmonton, 1977. (Especially pp.158-159 [1987 paperback edition].

_____. *The Frog Lake Reader*. Edmonton 2009.

This work marks a stunning 'gone-native' phase in the writer's career. The book tracks the story of the Frog Lake Massacre at Frog Lake, Alberta in 1885 – not that far from Kostash's home base in that same province.

Loewen Royden, editor. Proceedings of conference: on the "History of Aboriginal-Mennonite Relations" held at the University of Winnipeg on 12-14 October 2000. = *Journal of Mennonite Studies* 19 (2001)278 pp.

Includes several research papers and a section on "reflections and memoirs."

Mak, Ol'ha. *Boh vohniu* [=Sun god]. 3 vols. Munich, 1955[v.2].

The narrative depicts the adventures of a Ukrainian youth living in Brazil and his encounters with "Indian" stories and beliefs.

Martynowych, Orest T. *Ukrainians in Canada: the Formative Period, 1891-1924*. Edmonton, 1991. Index at end shows 4 references under "Indians."

Shkil'nyk, Anastasia.

Dr.Anastasia M.Shkilnyk's publications include the following two titles:

Canada's Aboriginal Languages: an Overview of Current Activities in Language Retention. Ottawa: Dept. of the Secretary of State, 1986 (= revised version of 1985 version), 80 pp. (typescript).

This report is a geographical survey of efforts that focus on the preservation and enhancement of aboriginal culture and languages across Canada.

AND

A Poison Stronger Than Love: the Destruction of an Objibwa Community. Yale University Press, 1985. xx + 275 pp. map, tables, b/w fotos, notes, index

Based on Shkilnyk's doctoral dissertation, this work documents the destruction of an aboriginal village and its way of life due to rapid change and unprecedented stress. For a time, the author worked in Ottawa for the Federal Government as a policy adviser.

2.0

FROM THE EARLY PERIOD OF UKRAINIAN SETTLEMENT IN CANADA

Dmytriv, Nestor. *Kanadiis'ka Rus': Podoropzhni spomyyny*. (Added title in English: *Canadian Ruthenia: Traveler's Memoirs*. (Winnipeg [1897] 1972).

This is a photo-print copy of Dmytriv's original publication (Mt/ Carmel, Pa., 1897). An index to this work was included in "Winnipeg Papers No.4" (special theme title = "Searching for 'Kanadiis'ka Rus"); the index shows seven references for the entry under "Indians".

"Encounters with the Indians" in Harry Piniuta, translator, *Land of Pain, Land of Promise: First Person Accounts by Ukrainian Pioneers 1891-1914*, pp.79-84.

Kyriiak, Illia. *Syny Zemli: povist's z ukraiins'koho zhyttia.v Kanadi* [= Sons of the soil: a story about Ukrainian life in Canada]. 3 vols. Winnipeg 1939-1944.

The first volume of this famed trilogy – like other works on the early pioneering experience – reflects the subtle impact of Aboriginal culture on early Ukrainian life on the prairies. "The Indian trail" ("*indiians'ka doroha*"), "Indian moccasins" ("*indiians'ki postoly*") and hunting practices surface on pp.41-42, 52 and 112.

Rudnyts'kyi, J.B. *Materiialy do ukrains'koi-kanadiis'koi folkl'orystyky i diialektolohii, I* (added title in English: *Ukrainian-Canadian Folklore and Dialectological Texts, I*. Winnipeg, 1956, pp. 9-11.

Swyripa, Frances A. and Andrii Makuch. *Ukrainian Canadian Content in the Newspaper Svoboda 1893-1904*. Edmonton, 1985.

On page 120, this research instrument lists 7 references to "Indians", dated 1894-1902.

Negative perceptions never substantiated: fears of marauding bands of murderous Indians (see Cherewick MA, p.204?) dissolve in situations of amiable, face-to-face contacts (as reported by), -- a gentle people, accommodating, welcoming, civilized and helpful, teaching the newcomers how to survive in their new harsh environment. –

All this was tempered by the convenience of Indians as scapegoats for disappearing children (a role played by Old Country Jews and Gypsies).

The folklore attached to Ukrainian-Indian encounters was not confined to Canadian reportage but extends to Ukraine itself where the fiction of Fennimore Cooper and other American-English writers captivated the imaginations of generations of readers (see Hrymych). The persistence of this cultic endearment / fascination recently surfaced in Toronto's Ukrainian-language newspaper, *Homin Ukrainy / Ukrainian Echo*; to mark the 120th anniversary of Ukrainian settlement in Canada the newspaper published a special issue (dated October 25, 2011, page 47, with 5 foto-illustrations) that included a full-page detailed story /article / report about a certain Ivan Datsenko, a heroic Soviet Ukrainian pilot (reportedly shot down by enemy fire in 1944 and presumably dead) who in 1967 turns up on a Indian reservation in Canada as the leader of an Iroquois tribe outside Montreal. (A film project devoted to this "Ukrainian Iroquois" is the subject of an article by Vasyl' Nejizhmak – listed in the comprehensive bibliography provided elsewhere in this report.)

We can assume that such reports of “going native” help bolster the Ukrainian community’s efforts to claim entitlement to “founding people” status on the par with other segments of Canada’s ethno-cultural profile. Abroad, in Ukraine, the same material contributes to that country’s pantheon of Ukrainians whose lives, careers or accomplishments have influenced others on an international level.

3.0

IMAGINATIVE LITERATURE AND CREATIVE NON-FICTION / REPORTAGE

Balan, Jars. “Ukrainian Influences in George Ryga’s Work”, in Jars Balan, editor. *Identifications* (see full citation given above), pp. 36-52.

“Ryga uses his experience as a victim and outsider in creating [...] his plays and stories ... This is especially true in *Indian* and *The Ecstasy of Rita Joe*, where Ryga portrays the plight of Canada’s native peoples with a veracity that leads many people to assume that he himself is of Indian or Metis ancestry. Ryga has commented on more than one occasion that in the Alberta where he grew up in, Ukrainians and Indians were regarded as equals – i.e., as inferiors – by the socio-economically dominant “white” majority.” (p.50)

Balan, Jars, editor. *Identifications...* (see above for full citation).

Haas, Maara (born 1920). *On Stage wih Maara Haas. Winnipeg, 1986.*

See in particular her poem, “Ningeeyook”, “about an Inuit woman of the north who shares, with the Indian woman at Oxford House, the perils of change...” (pp.79-80). Her piece on “the ballad of seven oaks” appears on pages 61-65.

Humenna. Dokiia. *Vichni vohni Al’berty* (added title in English: *Eternal Flames of Alberta*). Edmonton, 1959, pp. 121-123.

In this work of creative reportage, the writer records some of the things she heard and saw regarding Aborigines. See also listing of “snippets” (under [1959]) included elsewhere in this report.

Ivakh, O[nufrii] (1900-1964). [=Honore Ewach], *Holos zemli: korotka povist’ z zhyttia v Kanadi* (added title in English: *The Call of the Soil: a short story of life in Canada*). Winnipeg, 1937. 2nd edition (1973): 122 pp. (In Ukrainian) With a short foreword by Michael Ewanchuk, glossary and chapter questions in English. See especially pp.30-31, 100.

This work of historical fiction is aimed at the juvenile reader. Set in “the forests of Manitoba, north west of Dauphin, in the period between 1914 and 1920”, the storyline includes incidental references to “Indians”—especially chapter eight (pp. 30-32) with its depiction of activities undertaken by the Klym family and neighbouring Aborigines during “Indian summer”.

Writers of historical fiction who focus on the initial years of Ukrainian settlement often touch on the aboriginal factor. Honore Ewach / Ivakh, for instance, not only equates Canada’s “Indian summer” with the Old Country’s “granny’s summer” he also highlights the overriding female labour-intensive component that is common to both cultures.

Karpenko-Krynytsia, Petro (born 1917). *Indians'ki ballady* (added title in English: *Indian Ballads*). New York, 1968, 95pp. with a b/w foto of the poet. In Ukrainian.

Profoundly elegiac, this is a work that bemoans the fate America's Aboriginal peoples. Most poems are devoted to specific tribes. Of special interest is an addendum composed of "Indian songs and laments" in Ukrainian translation (pp.87-94). Several "ballads" were composed in Canada (Toronto, Ottawa, Montreal).

Koval'chuk, Mariian Morys. All three of his works (all in Ukrainian) are infused with 'Indian' episodes. For example, a "Pav-vav" [= the pow-wow] is depicted in his *Dzhoni Melard (Johnny Mallard): povist'* (Hazelridge, Mb: the author, 1993), pp. 121-125. In Koval'chuk's *Kanads'kyi pilot (Bush Pilot)*, (2008), see pages chapters 6, 8, 9, and 11. In Koval'chuk's *Lyshe zemlia bula desheva* [=Only the land was cheap], (1990), chapter 33.

Ledohowski, Lindy. "A Vaguely Divided Guilt": The Aboriginal Ukrainian," *Re-imagining Ukrainian Canadians: History, Politics and Identity*, R.L.Hinther and J.Mochoruk, eds. University of Toronto Press, 2011, pp.85-102.

With its focus on the prose of Lisa Grekul and the poetics of Andrew Suknaski, this piece shows how " the regional correlation between Ukrainian prairie settlers and First Nations has strongly influenced ... later generations of Ukrainian Canadians...[who] write about their ethnic identity." (p.88)

Margolis, Rebecca. "Jewish Immigrant Encounters with Canada's Native Peoples: Yiddish Writings on Takahionwake," *Journal of Canadian Studies* 43:3 (fall 2009), 169-193, with notes and bibliography.

Of considerable interest for comparative purposes, this piece looks at the role of Mohawk-English writer .Pauline Johnson (Takahionwake) as a model for resistance to assimilation into Canada's dominant culture. For some writers, Canada's Aboriginal peoples symbolized the kind of loss and vanished landscapes suffered under the Nazi Holocaust.

Morrisette, George. *Finding Momat Eaton's*. Winnipeg, 1981, 55 pp.

Morrisette's "bastard's search" dominates his poetry which focuses on his Metis background and the discovery of his Ukrainian father, a motif that's found in his earlier (?), "folio" collection (*Two for Father*, Wood Mountain, Saskatchewan -- no date, no pagination -- circa 1978) in which Morrisette cites another poet, Andrew Suknaski (see below) as his father.

Murovych, Larysa. *Pionery sviatoi zemli* (added title in English: *Pioneers of Sacred Land: Selected Poems*). Toronto, 1969.

This collection of poetry (in Ukrainian), includes Murovych's ode on "the hands of a an Indian woman" (in Ukrainian, *Ruky indiianky*), three poems by "Polina Dzonson (1862-1913)" [Pauline Johnson], in Ukrainian translation, and "song of Hiawatha" (*Pisnia Haiavaty*), pp.13-16.

Rezerva Sarsi, indians'ka hromada, Editions Duval, 1993 (= a Ukrainian translation of *Sarcee Reserve: An Indian Community*, Edmonton, 1987).

The Ukrainian version cited above was prepared as a teaching tool aimed at juveniles learning the Ukrainian language.

Slavutych, Yar. *The Conquerors of the Prairies* (added title in Ukrainian: *Zavoiovnyky prerii*). R.H.Morrison, translator. Edmonton, 1974.112pp.

In this collection of poetry, three "ballads" have "Indian" motifs: "*Troje*" / "*The Three*" pp.22-25; "*Chomostopec*" [=the Blackfoot Indian], not translated, pp.26-27; and "*Spadshchyna*" / "*The Inheritance*" pp.28-33.. In "*The Three*" the poet lauds the historical role of Ukrainian "Ivan" in taking up the challenge of settling the prairies (while others – English "John" and French "Jean" -- retreated.). The other two "ballads" focus on the resolution of tacit Ukrainian / "Indian" land issues. Interestingly, in *The Inheritance*, a prosperous but aging Ukrainian farmer overcomes his personal aversion for Aborigines ("they" killed his only son) and adopts an "Indian" boy to serve as his surrogate grandson and heir.

Suknaski, Andrew. *Wood Mountain Poems*. Toronto, 1976, 127 pp., b/w foto illus.

Of this collection Suknaski wrote: "For me *Wood Mountain Poems* is a return to ancestral roots in my birthplace." The poems also deal with "a vaguely divided guilt; guilt for what happened to the Indian [...]; and guilt because to feel this guilt is a betrayal of what you ethnically are – the son a homesteader [from Ukraine] and his wife [from Poland] [...]." The book celebrates a third group [...] "the memorable characters who people my boyhood memories and whose Sioux, Roumanian, English, Ukrainian, or Serbian pride moved them to tell a well-remembered story" (p.124).

In 1979, the National Film Board of Canada celebrated the work of Andrew Suknaski with the release of "*Wood Mountain Poems*", (in colour, 28 minutes) directed by Harvey Spak.

For more on Suknaski, see also entries under Lindy Ledohowski (2011) and George Morrisette (1981).

Vasenko, Vladken and Petro Kravchuk. *Myroslav Irchan : zhyttia i tvorchist'* [=Myroslav Irchan (1896-1937): his life and creativity]. Kyiv 1960.

On pp. 219-222, this book's introductory essay includes a good summary of Irchan's 'Indian' writings. For a sampling in English translation, see Irchan's story, "Smoked Fish", included elsewhere in this report.

4.0

'OLD COUNTRY' CONNECTIONS: STUDIES, UKRAINIAN TRANSLATIONS AND OTHER

4.1

During the heady era of "Ukrainianization" in the 1920s, Soviet Ukrainian scholarship experienced an unprecedented dose of cosmopolitanism that

allowed researchers to pursue and develop new methodologies. Ukraine's anthropologists, folklorists, and ethnomusicologists looked to Canada's aboriginal legacy for insights relevant to their fields of investigation. As noted below, two figures (one, the husband of poetess Lesia Ukrainka, the second was the daughter of historian Mykhailo Hrushevs'kyi) were especially active in this regard.

Hrushevs'ka, Kateryna (1900-1943). *Prymityvni opovidannia, kazky i baiky Afryky ta Ameryky* [= Primitive Narratives, Tales and Stories of Africa and America], Kyiv-Vienna, 1923. 192pp.

This collection of material includes a scholarly introduction on the "evolution of oral creativity and primitive prose" (pp.-3-34) and a selection of 35 annotated items (in Ukrainian translation) from America arranged under 8 subject / genre categories.

_____. *Vybrani pratsi* [=Collected Works]. Donetsk, 2007, vol. 3, 441 pp.

In this 3rd volume of a posthumous publication of Hrushevs'ka's collected works, several studies of "primitive cultures" focus on such topics as America's first peoples, "primitive ways of thinking and their reflection in Ukrainian folklore", totemism, the empowerment of ornamentation and incantation, "collectivism in primitive poetry", "primitive" economy, early monotheism, gender-communities in early societies, and so on.

Kvitka, Klement Vasyl'evych (1880-1953). "Muzyka (korennykh) narodov Severnoi Ameriki [SshA i Kanady]" [= Music of the aboriginal peoples of North America (U.S.A. and Canada)]. 18 leaves of material / notations preserved by the Glinka Memorial Museum of Musical Culture of the U.S.S.R. (in Russian: *Tsentral'nyi Muzei myuzikal'noi kul'tury SSSR im. Glinki*) as listed in a posthumous publication of Kvitka's studies, *Izbrannyye trudy* [=Collected Works], vol. 2, Moscow 1973, p.383.

4.2

Europe's long-standing fascination with 'the American frontier' and attendant Aboriginal peoples has strong cultic overtones and spills over into Ukraine. These two titles were published by a Catholic association in Western Ukraine; as adventure narratives, they were meant to inspire juvenile readers.

Arens, Bernar [?]. *V pralisakh Kanady: Opovidannia zi slavnoykh misiinykh chasiv sered Huroniv i Irokeziv Pivnichnoi Ameryky. Pereklad M.L.* [=In the primeval forests of Canada: stories from the glorious mission times among the Hurons and the Iroquois of North America. A translation by M.L.] L'viv, 1930, 94 pp.

Huonder, Antin [?]. *Prysiaha vatazhka huroniv: Opovidannia misiinoi istorii v*

Kanadi. Pereklav M.L. [=The oath of the chief of the Hurons: a story from the history of missions in Canada. Translated by M.L.]. L'viv, 1929, 86 pp.

4.3

For the Soviet reading public in Eastern Ukraine, the on-going romance with Canada's noble and free-as-the-wind "Indians" offered a dose of relief in the form of escapist literature (see Maryna Hrymych's blog, reproduced elsewhere in this report).

Since all Soviet publications included data that stated the given publication's "run" (i.e., the number of copies printed), we have included these official 'run' numbers as indicators relevant to the work's popularity – both real and anticipated. .

Dzhonson, Polin (Tekahionveik) [= Pauline Johnson (Takahionwake)]. *Dvi sestry:lehendy kanads'kykh indiiian* [=Two sisters: legends of Canadian Indians]. Kyiv, 1996. 93pp., col. ill. In Ukrainian (10,000 copies printed).

Compiled and partly translated by Mykhailyna Kotsiubyns'ka whose introduction (pp.3-12) underlines several striking similarities between Pauline Johnson and Ukraine's leading female writer, Lesia Ukrainka (see especially page 12).

Seton, Ernest Thompson (1860-1946) *Malen'ki dykuny* [cited as a Ukrainian translation of *Two Little Savages: Being the Adventures of Two Boys Who Lived as Indians and What They Learned* as published in 1903 by Grosset and Dunlap Publishers, New York]. Translated and illustrated by L.Solon'ko. Kyiv: *Veselka* [=Rainbow] state publishing house for children's literature, 1966.437 pp. (30,000 copies printed).

5.0

LOST AND FOUND

The Ukrainian-Aboriginal encounter has spawned two streams of legend-making. The first "stream" focuses on the child allegedly abducted by "Indians." Variants of this story appear...

Koval'chuk, Mariian Morys. *Kanads'kyi Pilot (Bush Pilot): Povist'* [=The Canadian Pilot (Bush Pilot): a Tale]. Hazelridge, Manitoba: the author, 2003. viii + 176 pp. with b/w drawings and a brief glossary at end. In Ukrainian (especially pp. 54-73).

The second stream celebrates the heroics of a Ukrainian air pilot (Ivan Datsenko) who was reportedly killed in enemy fire during World War Two but turned up in Canada in the 1960s in his new role as the chief of an Iroquois tribe.

Nejizhmak, Vasył'. "Ukrajinetś', jakyj stav indianś'kym vozhdem (VIDEO)" [=A Ukrainian who became an Indian leader (VIDEO)], *Ukrajina moloda*, 19.08.2011 (retrieved at <http://www.istpravda.com.ua/digest/2022/08/19/52961/>) With b/w/ fotos.

6.0

THE ARTS: VISUAL, SONG AND DANCE

Leo Mol and John Paskievich, listed below, are only two members of the Ukrainian Canadian arts community who have used their talents to record their encounter with Canada's Aboriginal cultures. (William Kurelek and Peter Shostak are cited elsewhere in this report.)

Paskievich, John. This photographer's works are featured in Larry Krotz, *Urban Indians: the Strangers in Canada's Cities* (Edmonton 1980). The Aboriginal-Ukrainian connection is vividly reflected on page 128 with a b/w foto showing an Aboriginal family grouping standing before a restaurant with window signage showing "Original Ukrainian Food Bar".

John Paskievich has produced and directed two documentary films for the National Film Board of Canada with Aboriginal subject matter: "Sedna: the Making of a Myth" (1992) and "If Only I Were an Indian"(1996).

Stepovyk, Dmyto. *Skul'ptor Leo Mol :Zhyttia i tvorchis'* [= Leo Mol the sculptor: his life and creativity], Kyiv, 1995.

According to this book, the late Leo Mol (Molodozhanyn) celebrated the Metis Leader Louis Riel with at least two works: a bronze statue in full stance (1987) and a portrait. A photo of the statue appears on 150 and both works are listed on 209.

LIST OF IMAGES (on following two pages)

Image No.1

[caption for b/w foto:] “*Dva zakhidno-kanadiis’ki Indiiiane.*” [=Two Indians in Western Canada.] Photo source: CNR [=Canadian National Railway]. From *Iliustrovanyi kaliendar Kanadiis’loho ukraintsia na rik 1928* (Winnipeg 1928), [p.193].

Image No.2

[b/w drawing:] Sunset couple, drawn by Elaine Dewandel. From Mariian Morys Koval’chuk, *Kanads’kyi pilot (Bush Pilot): povist’* (Hazelridge, MB), p.172.

Image No.3

B/w foto by John Paskievich showing Aboriginal family grouping standing in front of restaurant signage: “Ukrainian Original Food Bar”. From *Urban Indians: The Strangers in Canada’s Cities* by Larry Krotz, Photography by John Paskievich (Edmonton, 1980), p.128.

Image No.4

Col. poster for film, *Fire Crosser*, from Kyiv, Ukraine, 2011/12. (reproduced on cover page)

Image No.5

[b/w/drawing by Gordon Dale with caption:] “The Gifts established friendship” in autobiography by Gus Romaniuk, *Taking Root in Canada* (Winnipeg 1954), [p.58]. Same illustration published in the book’s Ukrainian-language version *Moi pionirs’ki pryhody v Kanadi* [= My pioneer adventures in Canada], Winnipeg 1958 [p.48] with caption in Ukrainian (“U vidvidynakh v Indiians’komu tabori” = On a visit to an Indian encampment).

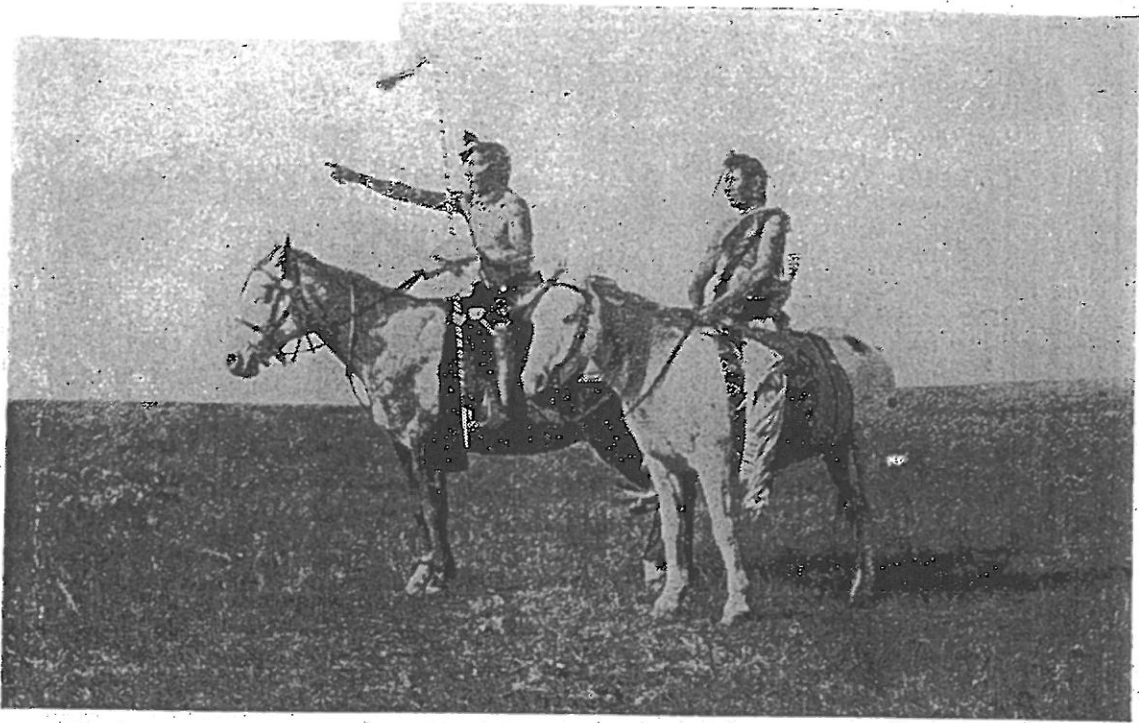


IMAGE #1

Два західно-канадійські Індіане.
(Від С.Н.Р. дане нам пасказо до поміщеня.)



IMAGE #2



IMAGE #3

IMAGE #5



У відвідинах в індійському таборі