Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research

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THE UKRAINIAN PROTESTANT MISSIONS IN CANADA

A Thesis

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by

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P R E F A C E

Preparation for this thesis began in the spring of 1954 when the writer was appointed by the Board of Home Missions of the United Church of Canada to work in a community which was one of the first Presbyterian missions to the Ukrainians in the west. So intrigued was the writer with the stories he heard from the pioneers about the works, hopes and aspirations of the first Ukrainian missionaries that he pursued to collect early records and make extensive travels in order to acquaint himself at first hand with the life of the Ukrainian communities.

The writer was further privileged to live in the Ethelbert General Hospital where he had complete access to the hospital records and was able to acquaint himself with the type of work the medical missions have been carrying on through the years.

In addition to the two years out west, the writer has gained some knowledge and insight in the work of the United Church institutional missions during the depression and war years because of his affiliation with the Church of All Nations, Montreal since 1932.

This is a pioneer attempt to give a complete history of the Ukrainian Protestant missions in Canada. It is the wish

of the writer that perhaps the reading of this thesis may stimulate someone to do further research in this particular field of Canadian Church History.

Montreal, 1957 Michael Zuk

A C K N O W L E D G M E N T S

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Michael Zuk

C O N T E N T S

Chapter I

HISTORICAL AND RELIGIOUS BACKGROUND

The Ukrainians, numbering about four hundred thousand in Canada,[1] belong to the Slavonic family of the Aryan group whose birthplace is to be found in the Pripet River basin. Some archeologists would trace their origin to the area between the Elbe, the Vistula, and the Oder and Bug Rivers.[2] Pressure from the neighbouring tribes forced the Slavs to migrate as early as 500 B.C. from the land of their birth into the basin of the Dniester and the Dnieper Rivers which is known today as the territory of the modern Ukraine.[3] As time went on these Slavic tribes divided themselves into three large distinct groups: the western section which includes the Czechs, Slovaks, and Poles; the southern segment out of which emerged the Serbs, Croats, Slovenes, and Bulgarians; and the large eastern group to which belong the Russians, Byelorussians, and the Ukrainians.[4]

In spite of the fact that the Slavs made their appearance late in European history, the west was not without knowledge of their existence. The Greek historian, Herodotus took note

of them when he spoke of the Callepedas, the Alazones, and the husbandmen of Scythia, who have been identified with the Slavonians. Pliny was the first Latin writer who referred to the Slavs under the names of Venedi, Serbi, and Stavani. Probably the Romans' knowledge of the Slavs came through the German tribes who called their Slavic neighbours Wends. The Anglo-Saxons were also aware of the Slavs under the names of Winedas and Weonodas.[5]

The word "slav" has many derivations. In the Slavonic languages it means "glory". The word for Orthodoxy "Pravoslavie" means the correct glorification of God.[6] Under the rule of the conquering tribes, this proud name the Slavs gave themselves received a derogative connotation. Its meaning was transformed into servitude.[7] However, the Slavs called the German, "Niemets" which means "mute". This implies that the Slavs thought of themselves as the only people with true words of speech.[8]

Unlike the aggressive and adventurous Teutonic tribes, the Slavs were kind, gentle and peaceful people. They had no love for arms, nor did they thirst for conquest. When the Roman Empire was crumbling and the northern barbaric tribes were pressing hard against the Roman boundaries, the Slavs, strange as it may seem, did not trespass upon Roman territory.[9] Toynbee in A STUDY OF HISTORY, quotes from the annals of

A.D. 591, a description of three Slavs who had been captured by the Roman Imperial Body-Guard. He notes that these men were without any arms and their only baggage consisted of harps.[10]

By the third century A.D. the Slavs had reached a comparatively high degree of civilization.[11] They were primarily agricultural people. Orchards and vegetable gardens were cultivated; cattle breeding was also common. So close did the people live to the soil that there developed a religion of the soil in which Mother Earth was given a personal incarnation.[12]

Although they had only the basic necessities of life, and dwelt in humble quarters, nevertheless, the Slavs remained cheerful and vivacious. An early writer, Procopius, speaks of their kindness and generosity; Adam of Bremen, the famous German historian of the 11th century, remarks upon their lavish hospitality; and the biographer of Bishop Otho of Bamberg bears witness to the honesty of the race.[13]

The ruthless Avars did not allow the Slavs to remain in their peaceful seclusion, but descended upon their defenceless villages and rounded them up like cattle to be sold as slaves in the western markets; also, they kept a portion for slavery in their homeland. Under the iron rule of the Avars and later by the German tribes, the Slavs were crushed, exploited and despised.

In time the gentle traits of these oppressed people disappeared and they began to imitate the less desirable qualities of their masters. Toynbee believes that the present history of the Slavs would be far different if the early conquerors had awakened them in a much less brutal fashion.[14] The present attitude of the Germans and Hungarians towards the Slavs is not much better than it was centuries ago. For some reason the German and the Slav cannot be reconciled to one another particularly since the era of racial self-consciousness. In western Europe the Slavs appear as an enigmatic people since they are neither purely Aryan nor purely Asiatic. While they inherited the Byzantine culture, they also assimilated the cruel and violent disposition of the Asiatic hordes who once ruled over them.

In the 9th century, the Norse invaders descended from the north and quickly overpowered the Slavic tribes. Being only about one hundred thousand in number they were soon absorbed.[15] For the first time the eastern Slavs were integrated into a national unit with Kiev as the capital and the centre of their culture.

I

The Christian religion was officially introduced to the

Slavs by Vladimir the Great in 988 A.D. Princess Olga had been baptized earlier,[16] but her conversion made no great impact on her people. Before this they were nature worshippers. Procopius tells us that the Slavs worshipped the Thundermaker as the sole Lord of the Universe to whom various kinds of sacrifices were made.[17] Another feature of their pre-Christian religion was the three-headed god, Triglav, worshipped especially in Stettin. The three heads represented the three realms over which Triglav had sovereignty: the sky, the earth and the under-world.[18] Along with the worship of Triglav another deity, Svantovit was embraced.[19] They also believed that woods, fields, rivers and houses were inhabited by benevolent and malignant spirits.[20]

The rapid conversion of the Slavs to Christianity was mainly due to the work of Saint Cyril and Saint Methodius, who cooperated in creating the Slavic alphabet and translated the scriptures and liturgical books into the Slavonic languages.

The acceptance of eastern Orthodoxy and the preaching of the Gospel from the very beginning in the vernacular helped the Slavs to develop their own religious culture without coming under the influence of the Latin west or the Islamic east. Eastern Orthodoxy with its emphasis on music, colour, and design suited much better the soul of the Slavs than the

Latin Church with its stress on logic, scholarship and institutional organization. The Orthodox priest did not play such an important role in the service of worship as the clergyman in the west. There were no pulpits from which the priest could dominate the congregation or display his learning. He performed his religious acts in the bema thus permitting the laity to participate more in the service than their western counterparts. In addition, the religious pictures on the church walls helped to stimulate the imagination of even the illiterate.[21]

The Bishop of Kiev bore the title of Metropolitan and was usually a Greek appointed by the Patriarch of Constantinople.[22] In the Kievan state the relation between church and state was more intimate than in the west. The bishops often took an active part in the civil affairs and had great influence over the princes. In times of crisis the princes would seek the advice and counsel of bishops.

Vladimir's wise choice of embracing the eastern Orthodox culture enabled the Slavs to attain in a short time some distinction in European political affairs. Kiev in 1017 is reported to have had four hundred churches and a flourishing economy. But this national and economic development was not to last very long, for after the death of Yaroslav in 1054, the state was divided among his sons who fought among themselves

for the throne of Kiev. In addition to internal strife, there were external threats from the nomadic tribesmen in the Steppe zone who frequently raided the towns and villages.

In 1224 the forces of Genghis Khan invaded the Slavic principalities and in successive waves destroyed Kiev, plundered the land and either massacred or carried away the people as slaves. For the next two hundred years Kiev and its fertile plain remained a scene of desolation. Because the Slavs resisted heroically the forces of the Tartars, they helped to weaken the enemy and thereby saved western Europe from devastation.[24]

The Tartars were not only excellent warriors, but also efficient administrators. However, complete submission to the will of the Khans was demanded from every subject.

Although the Tartar conquerors were in many respects ruthless, yet they showed great tolerance for the Orthodox religion. Priests and bishops were exempted from taxation and were allowed to move freely from one community to another. In this way the clergy saved Slavic culture and kept alive the national spirit among the people.

In time the Mongolian Empire began to crumble; this process of disintegration was accelerated when the Empire was divided into principalities. With the help of the Lithuanian forces who were now strong enough to push back

the Tartars, the Kievan state was restored. The Kievan Slavs at this period of history were emerging as a distinct group and came to be known as the Ukrainians. Unfortunately, before the Ukrainians could enjoy their political freedom and culture under Lithuanian rule, the Poles formed a dynastic union in 1386 with the Lithuanians and gradually succeeded in subduing the Ukrainians.

Lithuania was at first pagan but later accepted Orthodoxy. Poland, however, had been converted earlier to Latin Christianity by the Jesuit missionaries. The Polish aristocracy used Latin in parliament, court and church, and despised all those who were not acquainted with the Latin culture. Instigated by the papacy the Polish government tried to undermine the Orthodox Church by promising various privileges to the bishops and priests in order to win them to Rome. The fruits of this intense policy of catholicizing the Orthodox were reaped in 1596 when the Latin and eastern clergy created the "Uniat Church".[25] This new church was to retain its eastern rite and ceremony; the priests were allowed to get married. The only thing that was required of them was to acknowledge the pope as the head of the Church.

After a long and bitter struggle the Uniat Church failed to unite the eastern and Latin Christians. The Jesuits' ingenious plan fell to the ground. The bishops and priests who joined the Uniat Church were disillusioned when the Polish

government did not give them the privileges they had promised.

A fighting nationalist force called the Cossacks, who owed allegiance to no one, came to the assistance of the Ukrainian clergy and thereby checked the Polish persecution of the Orthodox Church. The Cossacks under the leadership of Hetman Bohdan Khmelnystky were able to establish an independent state for a brief time. In 1615 a famous Ukrainian Divinity School was established in Kiev. Here Latin was introduced and students were exposed to western theological ideas and discipline. Yet, this innovation did not help the integration of eastern Orthodoxy with Roman Catholicism.

The Uniat Church survived until the Soviet occupation of Galicia. The Russians forced the Uniat Church to unite with the Orthodox Church, for they argued that the Uniat Church had been forced upon the Russian Orthodox in the 16th century by the papacy and the Poles. Now the Russian armies were liberating the people from the foreign yoke and bringing them back to their true faith. On March 8, 1946 two hundred and sixteen clergy voted for the union.[26] Those priests who refused to join the union were either deported or liquidated; a few succeeded in escaping to other lands.

For a very short period - 1917 to 1921 - when the independent Ukrainian state was created, the Ukrainians established the Autocephalous Orthodox Church, a national church, which was

free from all extraneous ties; but under Soviet rule this church was also suppressed. However, an idea was created which was later to come to fruition in Canada with the establishment of the Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church.

I I

People do not often leave their native land to become pioneers in some far off country unless the conditions in their homeland are such that it becomes more tolerable to face the uncertainties of the new land than to remain within the old social order. The Ukrainians, among other nationalities in the 19th and 20th centuries, dared to uproot themselves from their native soil in the hope of a better life in a new land.

There are at least three basic factors that brought about the Ukrainian exodus: economic, political and social. Although the feudal system was abolished by the Austrian government in the 19th century, the land however was not equitably divided. The nobles retained more land than they were able to cultivate, and large estates were left in the hands of the clergy. While the peasant was struggling to keep body and soul together from his small plot of land, the nobles and clergy allowed their huge estates to remain largely uncultivated. There was no way the peasant could acquire more land when the population increased. This overcrowding condition meant that the peasant

had to seek employment elsewhere. Some went to the German industrial centres as their country provided practically no occupational opportunities.

In Galicia, from where the majority of immigrants came to Canada, the Ukrainians were politically exploited.[27] The Poles had always resented the Ukrainians and used every means to de-nationalize them. They prevented the Ukrainians from having their own national schools and barred even talented peasants from obtaining a higher education. Furthermore, the Polish government enforced upon the Ukrainian youth a long military service. The only way a person of Ukrainian origin could get any social recognition in Galicia was to turn Polonophil.

On the social side the Ukrainians were made to feel that they were inferior people. The word "kaban" which literally means "pig" was commonly addressed to the Ukrainian peasant. Such unhealthy social conditions produced unrest among the masses, and they began to look for a country that would relieve them from oppression, discrimination, poverty and military service.

At the turn of the century, the Canadian government embarked on a large-scale immigration programme. Through an intensive advertising campaign, Clifford Sifton, cabinet minister of the Laurier government, succeeded in capturing

the attention of the people of Europe and the United States. From 1897 to 1912, there were in Canada 961,000 immigrants from Britain and 594,000 from Continental Europe.[28]

Britain contributed her share in populating the Canadian west, but the numbers from that highly industrialized Island were not sufficient, nor were they all able to adjust themselves to pioneer conditions. Consequently, Canada had to look elsewhere to find people who would be suitable for the unpopulated west. It was in the central and eastern Europe that settlers were found.

In spite of great opposition from the Conservative party, Clifford Sifton believed that the best type of person for the Canadian prairie was "the stalwart peasant in sheepskin coat, born on the soil, whose forefathers have been farmers for ten generations..."[29] The Ukrainian peasants from Galicia and Bukovina were ideal. They were attached to the soil for centuries. They were land hungry and Canada was offering them as much land as they could possibly cultivate. Besides, they were seeking political, cultural and religious freedom, and Canada was prepared to give them that. The only thing required of them was the willingness to roll up their sleeves and go to work.

Out of the six million Ukrainians who emigrated from their homeland, three million settled in western Siberia and the Far East and the other three million made their homes in other

countries of Europe, Argentine, Brazil, United States and Canada.[30] In North America they first settled in the United States in 1877 and in Canada as early as 1892. It is recorded that from 1892 to 1931, 233,723 Ukrainians entered Canada by way of ocean ports.[31]

Trainload after trainload of Ukrainians passed through Winnipeg on their way to populate the west. With the help of interpreters, they registered for homesteads and for the small sum of ten dollars received 160 acres of bushland. Some of the land was stony and poorly drained and as a result yielded comparatively little.

Once the bushland near some river or creek was acquired, the Ukrainian peasant immediately built himself a living quarter which was either a mud hut similar in structure to the one he had left behind in the old country, or just dug a hole in the ground and covered it with logs and branches. Some of these early huts are still in use. However, one can see a modern home erected along side of the humble cottage which once was a dwelling place.

While the land was being slowly cleared by oxen, it was necessary for the men to seek employment elsewhere in order to earn some money for the goods and articles that were needed on the farm. Some found work on railroads, others in the building trade. Often a band of men ranging from thirty to

forty in number would walk a hundred miles or more to work as hired help during the harvest season. In those early days the harvest lasted from four to six weeks and when the men brought back forty dollars they considered the venture a success.

The women did their share of the work as they still do. Besides the daily chores around the farm, they were called upon to cultivate large gardens, thereby providing vegetables for the whole winter. They made their own bread, preserved their own wild berries and mushrooms, and made clothes for all the members of the family.

Many stories can be told of the hardships of the early settlers. As no form of assistance was received from the government, the pioneers had to rely on their own resources in order to survive the bitter winters of the west.

With this brief historical and religious survey of the Slavs, it is now possible to approach our study of the Ukrainian Protestant missions in Canada with a clearer understanding of the challenge provided by this uprooted and religiously confused people.

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Chapter II

THE BEGINNINGS OF MISSIONS TO THE UKRAINIANS

As we have noted earlier the Ukrainian people are deeply religious. In the old country their social life was mainly church centred. On Sunday they would faithfully attend their village church and after the service wander aimlessly about the country-side chatting with their friends and neighbours whom they had not seen during the week. Religious festivals were numerous and were strictly observed.

In the new land the Ukrainian pioneers were "like sheep without a shepherd". Unfortunately, the Greek Catholic and Greek Orthodox priests did not come with their people to Canada. If they had arrived simultaneously, much of the early religious rivalry and confusion would have been averted. The only thing that was left for the settlers to do on Sunday was to gather in private homes and chant the mass as best they could. For christening of children, marriages and burials the settlers went to the Roman Catholic or Protestant clergy.[1]

Many Ukrainian communities had erected small wooden

chapels long before they were able to have the services of the priest. For example in Ethelbert, Manitoba, a typically Ukrainian community, a small log chapel was built in 1900. As the settlers steadily moved into the Ethelbert area the small log chapel was replaced by a larger one in 1906 at the cost of $1000.00. It had three altars and twenty pews.[2]

The settlers' plea for pastoral oversight not only reached the Canadian government but also an elaborate petition was sent to Queen Victoria in 1901.[3] Though no direct response was received from these official petitions, nevertheless, four distinct religious groups came to their aid: the Roman Catholic Church, the Russian Orthodox Church, the Presbyterian Church, and the Baptist Church.

I

The Roman Catholic Church was anxious to meet the religious needs of the Ukrainian immigrants. Archbishop Adelard Langevin of St. Boniface, Manitoba, attempted to provide services as he was aware of the fact that the majority of the immigrants were from Galicia and by faith they were Greek Catholics.

Father Albert Lacombe, a man of seventy-five, who had labored for years among the Indians in the North-West, was sent to Europe in 1900 to plead the cause of the Ukrainian settlers. He brought his petition before Franz Joseph at the Imperial Palace

in Vienna and other Catholic dignitaries of Austria urging that funds be raised to build chapels and that priests be sent to attend to the spiritual needs of the settlers. His mission resulted only in a visit of M. l'Abbe Zholdak and the coming of three Basilian priests in 1902 accompanied by four sisters of the same Order.[4]

Having mastered the Ukrainian language the Basilian priests began to work as missionaries among the Ukrainian people who were scattered across the three prairie provinces. At first the priests conducted the mass in the small huts of the settlers in Latin, but when the people clamoured for their own Greek rite they soon gave in after having received the approval from the pope.

The Ukrainians had a mixed feeling towards the Basilian fathers. They admired them for learning their language, for enduring hardships as they travelled from one community to another through mud, swamps, snow and ice. However, they resented their autocratic attitude; moreover, they feared that the Basilians were aiming at converting them to Roman Catholicism. When the priests began to organize cooperatives in which the settlers were urged to place all their earnings, this was too much for them, and so most of them joined either the Independent Greek Church which was being organized at that time or the Russian Orthodox Church.

Archbishop Langevin's desire to bring the Ukrainian settlers

into closer harmony with the Canadian ecclesiastical hierarchy caused him to interfere in the church affairs of Sts. Vladimir and Olga, the first Greek Catholic Church in Manitoba which resulted in the resignation of the parish priest and a split in the congregation. One group favored complete independence from the Roman hierarchy, the other advocated closer cooperation with the Canadian Roman Church. The latter group also wanted to incorporate their church property under the Roman Catholic Charter. This schism lasted until the arrival in 1910 of Count Andrew Sheptitsky from Galicia. He was well received in many Canadian cities with the exception of Vancouver where Ukrainian Socialists unkindly showered him with eggs.[5] On his return home he visited Rome and brought the state of the Ukrainian Catholic Church in Canada to the attention of the papacy. He recommended that a Ukrainian bishop, according to the eastern rite, be appointed to Canada as only in this way he felt the work of the church would progress.

The pope appointed Nicetas Budka as the head of the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church in Canada, after he had an interview with Father Achille Delaere, a Redemptorist missionary who worked for many years among the Ukrainian settlers. This appointment pleased the Uniats and the schism which occured in the Sts. Vladimir and Olga Church was partly healed.

II

Another religious figure who added his share to the confusion of the church life of the new-comers was Bishop Seraphim whose real name was Stefan Ustvolski. He came to Canada in 1903 with the intention of organizing an all Russian Orthodox Church in Canada.[6] Anxious to get his plan into action, Bishop Seraphim, claiming to have been consecrated by the Patriarch of Constantinople, ordained into the priesthood almost anyone who could read and pay the fee. Before he had sufficient time to complete the organization of the church, the priests he ordained met in Winnipeg under the leadership of Ivan Bodrug and formed themselves into the Independent Greek Church with the approval and financial backing of the Presbyterian Church.

When Bishop Seraphim saw that his better priests were leaving him, he decided to destroy the newly created Independent Greek Church. He publicly denounced them and excommunicated its members from the priesthood, but without achieving his purpose he returned to Russia in 1908 leaving behind a "crude, scrap-iron cathedral" which amused the people. A few priests carried on for awhile until they too lost the confidence in the project.

III

While the Roman priests were roaming the prairies in an effort to win the Slavic soul to the Roman Church, the English-speaking Protestants did not remain idle. Dr. James Robertson, Superintendent of missions of the Presbyterian Church, became greatly alarmed at the steady influx of foreigners separated into racial units in various parts of the west. Unless something was done for these people, he foresaw a serious danger to the social and political development of the country. At the same time the Conservatives in Ottawa became concerned over the indiscriminate immigration policy of Clifford Sifton. They feared that western Canada could easily become a colony of central-eastern Europe and with clever leadership these foreigners might well gain the reins of government.[7]

Before the Twenty-Sixth General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in Canada, Dr. Robertson sized up the character of the Ukrainian people with these penetrating words:

> "...these people are blessed with average health, and are men and women of good physique. They do not flock to cities and towns, but stay on the land, and they gladly accept land that Canadians and others rejected years ago. Men and women are not afraid to work; they are helping to solve the "servant girl" problem, and the problem of cheap labour. They have much to learn yet, but they are apt pupils, and because of their industry and thrift, and their inexpensive mode of living, they are sure to prosper in worldly matters. In faith they are Roman or Greek Catholics, Lutherans, or members of the Reformed Church. Although they understand English but imperfectly, the Roman and Greek Catholics attend religious services in considerable numbers,

> when conducted within their reach, even when the ministers are Protestants."[8]

Dr. Robertson's description of the Ukrainian people of his day is quite valid and with the passing of years his prophecy came true. The Ukrainians, as a general rule, did remain on the land and made good where others had failed. For years the west was developed by the strength and sweat of the Ukrainians. The digging of ditches, the building of bridges, the laying of steel rails were done by the Ukrainians who were not afraid of hard manual work. Because of their "inexpensive mode of living" they prospered in worldly goods particularly when times were good.

Dr. Campbell Munro, medical missionary to Ethelbert, enlarges on the older Canadians impression of the Ukrainian people in these words:-

> "The people have never shewn themselves otherwise than friendly and hospitable. They are a very religious people in their own way, and yet in many ways ignorant. They have not much knowledge of the Bible... It will be the aim of the missionaries to help these people to a knowledge of the Word and the spirit of the Gospel."[9]

The Ukrainian biblical illiteracy to which Dr. Munro refers is easily explained: the priests in the old country denied the reading of the scriptures to the common man. Moreover, the illiteracy was so high in Galicia that even if the people had access to the scriptures they would have been unable to read them. Polish oppression is responsible

for the high rate of illiteracy among the Ukrainians who came to Canada before the First World War. The educational system was greatly improved after the war so that the Ukrainians coming into Canada after 1923 knew how to read and write in their own language.[10]

Dr. Robertson encountered no difficulty in persuading the Presbyterian Church to take an active part in helping these new-comers with the result that the Church embarked immediately on a medical and educational programme.

IV

It was Alexander Grant, Baptist minister in Winnipeg, who felt that the Canadian Baptist Church should help the Ukrainian immigrants to come to know the "Saviour". An attempt was made to send German preachers who had some knowledge of the Ukrainian language to the Ukrainian colonies. Such men as Litivin, Peckrul, Kneisler, and George Burgdorff were the first Baptist missionaries to the Ukrainian settlers.[11]

Historically the year 1852 marks the beginning of the Baptist movement among the Ukrainian people. John Onishenko, of the village of Osnowa not far from the Black Sea, is traditionally regarded as the first Ukrainian to be baptized by immersion.[12] Many others followed him and before long three small Baptist churches sprung up in Osnowa, Lubomirka and Carlovka.[13] By 1900 the Ukrainian Baptists were numbered in

the millions.[14]

The German Baptists who settled in the eastern section of Ukraine a generation earlier are mainly responsible for the spreading of the Baptist faith. This was, however, not the first Protestant contact with the west. As early as the 16th century there were over a hundred evangelical churches organized in Ukraine, but when the violent Catholic persecution swept eastern Europe, not one evangelical church survived. Two hundred years passed before another Protestant church took roots in Ukraine.[15]

In North America the first Ukrainian Baptist Church was organized by A. H. Nickolaus, who came to Canada from Rumania in 1887 and settled with his family in what is known today as the territory of Saskatchewan. Here he came in contact with German Baptists who converted him to their sect and in 1896 he was baptized by Pastor Pelman. That same year he moved to the fertile plains of North Dakota where under his leadership the first Ukrainian Baptist Church was organized on the 4th of April, 1901, in the small settlement of Liberty which later was renamed Kiev after the famous city of Ukraine.[16]

In 1899 the Women's Missionary Society of the Canadian Baptist Church promised to contribute annually the sum of six hundred dollars toward the support of a missionary to the Ukrainians. Under this arrangement George Burgdorff was appointed as the first missionary.[17]

The first Canadian Ukrainian Baptist Church was organized in August, 1904 at one of the homes near Overstone, Manitoba. The people gathered at homes for 28 years before they were able to build a church for themselves.[18]

A council was called in 1905 by the First Baptist Church, Winnipeg to examine two candidates for the ministry and to discuss how the missionary work to the Ukrainians could be advanced. The Examining Board was satisfied with the Biblical knowledge and religious experience of Ivan Shakotko and M. Krievetsky and both were ordained. Shakotko was sent to Saskatchewan where he laboured until 1932 organizing churches; Krievetsky remained in the province of Manitoba. William Boobis, who had a burning zeal for missionary work, was sent to Alberta and is regarded as the first Ukrainian Baptist missionary to that province.[19]

Attempts were made to secure an English-speaking minister to act in the capacity of a superintendent for the Ukrainian Baptist missions, but without success. For a long while the missionary work was uncoordinated, as there was no one to supervise the work.

Up to the present day the Ukrainian Baptist missions have been supported by the Baptist Union. In the pioneer days the Union guaranteed each missionary six hundred dollars and an equivalent sum had to be raised by the missionary himself

from his preaching circuit. Married men with large families found it hard to live on such small stipends with the result that many abandoned the mission work completely.

While the Ukrainian Baptist work comes under the oversight of the Union, the Ukrainians have been allowed to hold annual conferences in mid-summer to which large crowds have been attracted. Often the attendance exceeds the thousand mark and lately the conferences have been held in Saskatoon, the stronghold of the Ukrainian Baptist work. These conferences have been successful in planning projects and giving general leadership and inspiration to the churches, but no policies are adopted without the approval of the Baptist Union. A special committee is set up for this purpose composed of three Anglo-Saxons and three Ukrainians.[20]

Recently a monthly paper "The Christian Herald", edited by Peter Kindrat, a faithful missionary of the west since 1921, is published in Winnipeg.

In 1955 there were eighteen Ukrainian Baptist churches, mostly scattered throughout the west, served by seven missionaries.[21] The mission in Montreal has been revived in recent times and this is due mainly to the large inflow of Ukrainian Baptists from Germany.

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Chapter III

THE INDEPENDENT GREEK CHURCH

To understand the causes for the rapid growth and the sudden decline of the Independent Greek Church, it is helpful to become acquainted with the thoughts and feelings of Ivan Bodrug, the originator of the movement.[1]

Ivan Bodrug was born in Galicia in the year 1874. He came to Canada May 1st, 1897 at the age of twenty-three.[2] About this time the Presbyterian Church was looking for Ukrainian young men with some schooling to study English and some theology at Manitoba College in order that they might become leaders and interpreters of the Canadian ways to their people. Filled with youthful zeal and ambition Ivan Bodrug and Ivan Negrych were the first to enroll; others followed them and rapidly advanced in their course of studies. During the summer months the College sent them to teach at the various schools which they had built for the Ukrainian immigrants in Manitoba and Saskatchewan.[3]

While still a student Bodrug wondered how he could best help his people in Canada. Having been in contact with an

evangelical church in Galicia, he began to explore the possibility of organizing a similar church in Canada. The odds were against him, as there was no Ukrainian evangelical literature at the time. The fact, however, that in 1899 the scriptures had been translated into the Ukrainian vernacular did give some hope of success. Before this the scriptures had been available only in the Old Slavonic.

The Presbyterian leaders strongly urged Bodrug to accept Presbyterian ordination and begin evangelical work among his compatriots. This he would not do, for he felt that his people would not accept the Presbyterian form of evangelism. If there is to be a Ukrainian evangelical church, he thought, it must be created by Ukrainians themselves. So Bodrug left Manitoba College and turned to school teaching.

While teaching near Sifton, Manitoba, in 1903, Bodrug received a telegram from a friend in Winnipeg informing him that an Orthodox Bishop had arrived from Russia and was ordaining priests. Within two weeks Bodrug arrived in Winnipeg and met Bishop Seraphim in the Immigration Building; the latter was quite pleased with Bodrug's academic and theological training and was prepared to ordain him. Although Bodrug insisted that he had evangelical tendencies and would never be a true Orthodox priest, the confidence of Bishop Seraphim was not disturbed and he told Bodrug that he was going to

make him into an exceptionally fine Orthodox priest.

Before a large congregation in the basement hall of the Immigration Building, Bodrug and a companion of his from Ethelbert were made deacons. The people were greatly impressed with the service and the fine sermon which Bishop Seraphim delivered. On the following Sunday, May 1, 1903 the Bishop consecrated both of these deacons as priests in the small church at Brokenhead, Manitoba, northwest of Winnipeg. At this service Bodrug delivered his first sermon as the priest of the Russian Orthodox Church in Canada. The Bishop was delighted with Bodrug's message, kissing him in front of the people, while giving him a golden crucifix which he had brought from the Church of Our Lord's Tomb in Jerusalem.

That same Sunday Bodrug returned to Winnipeg and went at once to see the Principal of Manitoba College, and discussed with him the chances of organizing an Independent Orthodox Church in Canada to be responsible for the spiritual and cultural affairs of the Ukrainian people and at the same time to be truly evangelical. The Principal promised Bodrug that he would call the professors of the College together along with the members of the Board of Home Missions to a special meeting and allow him to voice his ideas before them.

At the meeting the Presbyterian leaders listened atten-

tively to Bodrug's views and after some deliveration assured him of assistance in creating this new church. Here was a golden opportunity, so the Presbyterians thought, to work among the Ukrainian settlers through their own leaders. In addition to the medical missions they had established in Sifton and Teulon they were now entering upon an even larger missionary enterprise. This venture, as we shall see later, proved very costly to the church.

Bodrug had no trouble in persuading the better priests, fifteen in all, of Seraphim's church, to join his movement. The first meeting of the Independent Greek Church was held in the fall of 1904; a constitution, prepared by Winnipeg lawyers in consultation with Bodrug and the Presbyterian leaders, was unanimously accepted. Jesus Christ was accepted as the highest authority of the church and the scriptures were acknowledged as the only rule of faith and life. The sacraments were reduced to two, Baptism and the Lord's Supper, while the confessional was reformed. The church was to retain the Greek rite and ceremonies and priests were to wear the ecclesiastical robes. Also, it was to be governed by a consistory, composed of all the ministers and an equal number of laymen; this was to meet annually and oftener if necessary. However, the consistory was not to take any important step without the knowledge and approval of the executive of the Synodical Home Missions

Committee of the Presbyterian Church in Winnipeg.[4]

In 1908, the consistory organized three Presbyteries, one for each of the Provinces of Manitoba, Saskatchewan and Alberta. The executive council, consisting of representatives of the Presbyteries, later replaced the consistory. Each Presbytery elected two members to serve on the executive council. These six elected members were to be the governing body of the church.[5] Theoretically, the Independent Greek Church had complete power of self-government and assumed full responsibility for its creed, polity, organization, discipline and the extension of its work among its people, but for all intents and purposes it was a daughter church of the Presbyterian Church of Canada.

The Ukrainian settlers gladly received the new church with its reformed confession, its stress on the scriptures, and its independence from Rome or from any patriarch. Also, the Home Missions Committee of the Presbyterian Church was pleased that the evangelical work of the Independent Greek Church was steadily progressing. They felt that they had achieved two important things:

(a) made the Independent Greek Church ministers evangelical; secured that ministers be ordained by the consistory instead of by the prelate, as formerly, and won the approval of the people to this radical change in church government;
(b) prevented from 30,000 to 40,000 people from falling under the sway of the Church of Rome.[6]

In order that the missionary work might be carried on more effectively, an intelligent ministry was needed. The ministers of the new movement were recruited from all walks of life; they were intellectually wide awake, but they had not all been introduced to the rich heritage of the Christian faith as understood by Protestantism. The Presbyterians tried to overcome this defect in their theological training by offering them a course of studies at the Manitoba College. Principal Patrick was asked to instruct them in Biblical studies. So enthused were they with Patrick's lectures that they sought him to extend the course the next year. These Bible classes which began in October and lasted from three to four weeks were provided for them for a number of years.

Besides raising the theological standard of the ministers, the Presbyterian Church helped to finance a newspaper, the "Ranok" so that the church members might have some reading material. It was founded in 1905 and the first editor was Ivan Bodrug himself. By 1907 it had a circulation of two thousand. Copies were sent to people where the minister of the Greek Church would not be welcomed, to homes in the outlying and relatively inaccessible districts of the three prairie provinces, to the United States, South America and eastern Europe. The cost of the printing press and equipment was $1,200.00 and this sum was raised mainly by the Ukrainians.[7]

Although the Presbyterian Church helped to finance the newspaper and guide the writing of the editorials, it was in no way responsible for its content. Bodrug and his associates succeeded in expressing the spirit of the new movement and the people read it eagerly. The newspaper is still in existence, published bi-monthly in Winnipeg, though its circulation has considerably decreased with the passing years.

Apart from the Bible there was hardly any other religious book in the Ukrainian language for settlers to read. In order to overcome this deficiency a project was set on foot to translate John Bunyan's THE PILGRIM'S PROGRESS. The task of translation was assigned to Bodrug, who had a competent knowledge of both languages. The work was completed in 1911 when the book was published by the American Tract Society.[8]

The progress of the Independent Greek Church during the first five years was so encouraging that the leaders of the Presbyterian Church began to think that perhaps it was destined to shape the moral and intellectual life of the Ukrainian people in the west. The first check, however, to the soaring optimism of the Presbyterian Church in the new movement came in 1909 when J. A. Carmichael, Superintendent of Home Missions, reported to the General Assembly that Ivan Bodrug, one to whom they looked for information and suggestion to further the work of the Independent Greek Church, had accepted a call from one

of the American Presbyterian Churches in the State of New York.[9] Six others left with Bodrug and one was removed when he was found unfit for missionary work. The loss of these missionaries was keenly felt, particularly in the Manitoba area. Their place, however, was filled up by a theological student who broke away from the Uniat Church; two other students who had almost completed their theological training, and two students from Manitoba College. All these were received into the ministry of the Independent Greek Church.[10]

Bodrug went to the States not because it offered him a better opportunity to express his evangelical faith, but rather because of a quarrel with Ziegmond Bychinsky, a student at Manitoba College. Bychinsky regarded Bodrug as a great nationalist and an enemy of the English-speaking people in Canada. He said that Bodrug was not attending to his church duties but was keeping alive the national sentiments and traditions of the older people.

As has been noted earlier, Bodrug believed that if there were to be an evangelical church it must be Ukrainian in character. He argued that the Ukrainians could never imitate the Presbyterian Church service. That is why he insisted on retaining the Greek rite and ceremonies and had urged the priests to wear their ecclesiastical vestments. Time has

proved the wisdom of this opinion as the Ukrainians were too deeply rooted in the eastern Orthodox faith to accept the more drab Protestant services. Eventually the controversy between Bodrug and Bychinsky split the church into two groups. It was because the Presbyterians favoured Bychinsky's views that Bodrug left the country.

During the trying days that followed this division, fifty-one missionaries of all kinds continued working at cross purposes among the Ukrainian settlers. They consisted of three English-speaking missionaries, four medical men with sufficient knowledge of the language for medical work; six Uniat priests, three French priests, four Baptist missionaries, and twenty-five missionaries of the Independent Greek Church.[11] In the midst of this confusion, Bodrug returned to Canada in 1911 to assist both an ailing brother and mother. The Presbyterian Church had now a change of heart and urged Bodrug to resume his work among the Ukrainians. He accepted the invitation and attended the annual meeting of the Independent Greek Church held in Winnipeg in the spring, but was coldly received by some of the ministers who belonged to Bychinsky's faction. By this time Bychinsky had resigned from the church and was teaching school somewhere in Alberta. Much to his displeasure, Bodrug noticed that there were ministers in the church who were insincere. He wasted no time in informing

the Presbyterian leaders about the degenerate state of the Independent Greek Church. The Presbyterian Church gave him permission to call a new meeting of the executive council and to place the work of the church on a higher moral basis. Eventually the church was purged and those ministers who had left the church with Bodrug in 1908 returned.

Although Bodrug improved the administrative side of the church, he could do very little to overcome the religious indifference that swept the congregations across the prairies. Everywhere he went he found the church work neglected

After 1912 when Bishop Budka became the head of the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church in Canada, the Independent Greek Church came under fierce attack. The Greek Catholics organized a newspaper, the "Canadian Rusin" and successfully used it against Bodrug. The editor of the "Ranok" was unable to cope with the innuendo circulated by the "Canadian Rusin". Finally the editorial board of the "Ukrainian Voice" sued the "Canadian Rusin" for libel and won its suit.

So hostile were the Greek Catholics against the ministers of the Independent Greek Church that in Saskatchewan in 1912 Joseph Czerniawski was killed by some Catholic fanatics. Also, during the winter of 1914, Dmytro Jarema was assaulted in the Church at Gimili, Manitoba. The case was taken to court

and after twelve days of court proceedings the judgment was handed down in favor of Jarema. Gabriel Tymchuk, who served the Ethelbert area for many years, is said to have been driven away many times by the Catholics with stones and curses.

In addition to the growing opposition from the Uniat Church, there arose a demand from the English-speaking ministers, particularly among those who were in close contact with the Ukrainian mission fields, that it was time to reorganize the movement along more Presbyterian lines, as they felt, and rightly so, that the movement was not properly supervised from Winnipeg. They held that the ministers of the Independent Greek Church should be under the supervision of the Presbytery within the territory where the work was being carried on. A few went so far as to say that it was time to teach the Ukrainian people in Canada to speak English so that they could better understand the religion of the Presbyterian Church.

At the same time the Ukrainian ministers were pressing the Board of Home Missions for larger stipends, as they barely received a subsistence salary. Moreover, they were asking the Presbyterian Church to provide them with manses.

The Board could not grant them their requests since they were not ministers of the Presbyterian Church. Furthermore, the Board was not going to spend money on property that did

not come under the direct control of the Presbyterian Church.[12]

A special committee was formed to study the conditions under which the Ukrainian ministers laboured. A meeting was held for this purpose in Winnipeg in August, 1912.[13] It was decided that the Board should withdraw completely its support of the Independent Greek Church as such, and establish Presbyterian Ukrainian missions. Thus, the Ukrainian mission fields would come under the direct supervision of the Presbyteries. This report was approved by the Board of Home Missions and as a result another committee was set up to interview the ministers of the Independent Greek Church desirous of being received into the ministry of the Presbyterian Church.

In June, 1913 nineteen Ukrainian missionaries were formally accepted into the ministry of the Presbyterian Church by the General Assembly in Toronto, and thus was brought to an end the Ukrainian evangelical church.[14]

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Chapter IV

TIME OF TROUBLES

Though there were signs of serious social disintegration in the Ukrainian community following the absorption of the Independent Greek Church by the Presbyterian Church, the missionaries nevertheless remained optimistic as to the future of their missions. There were a few Ukrainian ministers and congregations who refused to take that radical step and so remained without any church affiliation or were gradually drawn back to the Orthodox or Catholic orbit.

With the financial aid from the Board of Home Missions small country churches were built at various charges. The people were learning to assume greater responsibility for the support of their ministers. There were twenty-eight Ukrainian missions in 1914 within the territory stretching from Fort William, Ontario to the northern part of Alberta.[1] The social influence of the Presbyterian missions on the life of the community was noted by the revealing statistics based on the temperance referendum taken in the Province of Manitoba around 1915. In Teulon, Valley River, Sifton, Ethelbert, Garland where

missions had been opened the communities voted in favor of prohibition.[2]

This optimism, however, did not last for very long. With the Communist Revolution taking place in Russia and the sudden establishment of an autonomous Ukrainian state, the Canadian Ukrainians turned their thoughts and attention to the European scene. At last the hopes and aspirations of their forefathers were being realized in their own day; they believed that now was a new opportunity to shape the religious, political and cultural patterns of their country.

While still uninformed about the Canadian political position in the war, Bishop Budka precipitated a period of troubles by circulating a pastoral letter urging his people to return to the homeland and bear arms for Austria.[3] The Canadian government interpreted Budka's letter as being the consensus of opinion of the majority of the Ukrainians and so they were classified for the duration of the war as Austrians and hostile to the Allies.[4] Budka later recanted and called upon his people to support the Allies in the war, but the government questioned Budka's sincerity and as a result many Ukrainians were interned, others were dismissed from their work. This policy of discrimination, persecution and suspicion contributed heavily to the development of the Ukrainian national feeling.

I

As the Ukrainian national storm swept across the prairie provinces it left behind it division, hatred and ill-feeling. The Presbyterian missions came under fierce attack first by the Uniat Church and then by the new movement of independence which was gathering strength day by day. Both warring parties accused the Presbyterians of attempting to destroy their religion and culture by means of their missions. The Presbyterian Church was unable to cope with the situation and had to wait patiently until the storm died down.

Bishop Budka's aggressive plan to bring all the Canadian Ukrainians under his care by means of incorporating church property, controlling the education and directing the development of Ukrainian culture, was met by strong opposition. Budka overlooked the fact that the Ukrainian pioneers had learnt to be independent in the frontier areas of the Canadian west. A new generation was coming upon the scene which began to appreciate democratic practices and institutions. Some were taking full advantage of the higher forms of learning. They were now getting a taste of political, cultural and religious freedoms unknown to their forefathers in the old country. To submit to Budka would be to submit to Rome.

The new movement which was to challenge the power of the Uniat Church received its initial impetus when two law students,

Wasyl Swystun and Michael Stechishin rallied enough support from the Ukrainian teachers and professional men to bring the issues involved in Budka's plan before the people. The weekly newspaper "Ukrainian Voice" came to their aid. Controversial editorials and articles inundated the pages of the newspapers and arguments generated in the press and conference rooms stirred the imagination of the people across the country. Those who were dissatisfied with the authoritarian attitude of the Uniat Church quickly joined the new movement; those who were indifferent at first were soon agitated by both parties and had to take sides. The writer was told by one pioneer who lived through the religious war that in Ethelbert the Catholics and Orthodox refused to allow even their horses to stand near each other.

The religious struggle did not always remain on the intellectual level. In the remote farming communities where the people had not learned the give and take of argument resorted to brutal force to settle their differences. Lawsuits were common and for about two years the ownership of the church property at Tolstoi, Manitoba was contested in the courtrooms at Winnipeg. When the decision was handed down in favour of the Uniats, the rejoicing was shortlived as the church building went up in flames within a week. Eventually, the leaders of the new movement sued the "Canadian Ukrainian", the official

paper of Budka, for libel; they won their suit and the paper was ordered to pay a fine of $7,000.00.[5]

When the national feeling was at its height, a special convention was held in Saskatoon in August, 1917 for the purpose of organizing a national movement. Great efforts were made to unite the Ukrainians in Canada and to make them more conscious of their language, culture and history. The conference urged the Ukrainians to preserve their heritage by means of resisting the influence of Canadian institutions. Such slogans as "no assimilation by the English" were echoed throughout the towns and villages of the west.

These national sentiments had an ill effect on the minds of the children. In some communities the school teacher whose aim was to teach his pupils to speak English well would punish them if they spoke Ukrainian in the school grounds. At the same time the children were punished for speaking English among themselves when they attended a Ukrainian concert or play at the community hall.

A more significant convention was held in Saskatoon in July, 1918. It is out of this assembly that the Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church was created. This new church was to be organized on democratic principles and was to avoid the pitfalls that had plagued the Uniat Church.

The new church was to be governed by a consistory composed

of eighteen members of whom nine were to be clergy and nine laymen.[6] These were to be elected at a council of the church to be held every five years. All has gone as planned and the Board meets yearly to discuss the welfare of the church. The day by day work is carried on by the executive of the Board, headed by the president.

The Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church is divided into three doceses: eastern (Toronto), central (Winnipeg), and western (Edmonton). Each docese is headed by a bishop elected by the council and the three are under the Metropolitan. Parish appointments are made by the consistory with the assent of the bishop.

The scriptures, the eastern Orthodox tradition and the dogmatic decisions of the seven Ecumenical Councils were accepted as the doctrinal basis of the church. This means that the scriptures are to be expounded in the light and teachings of the seven Ecumenical Councils, the Church Fathers and the early Christian Church. The Nicaean Creed without the FILIOQUE clause was accepted.

Christ, instead of the pope, was acknowledged as the head of the church. The dogma of papal infallibility was interpreted as belonging to the whole assembly of the true believers and here refers to the council of the church. The seven Sacraments: Baptism, Confirmation, Communion, Penance, Holy Orders,

Marriage and Holy Unction were accepted. The Slavonic ritual was translated into modern Ukrainian.

The first priests of the church were ordained by Metropolitan Germanos of the Assyrian Church. Samuel W. Sawchuk, the present president of the executive council, was among the first Canadian students to be ordained into the priesthood and under his vigorous leadership the church has grown steadily in membership.[7]

As the new religious movement gained momentum, it attracted large numbers from the Russian Orthodox Church, the Presbyterian missions and the Uniat Church. The Russian Orthodox Church suffered the most by being deprived of financial aid from the homeland when the Tsar's government fell and by the rapid growth of Ukrainian nationalism. Next to the Russian Church, the Presbyterian missions were seriously undermined. In 1914 there were twenty-eight missions; in 1921 there were only sixteen.[8] Yet, the cost of maintaining them remained the same. For instance, the Presbyterian Church spent $94,085.89 on Ukrainian missions alone in 1921.[9] The Uniat Church suffered as far as the youth was concerned, but it is doubtful whether the new movement made any serious impact upon the older generation.

II

After the dark clouds of nationalism were dispersed and emotions calmed, the Presbyterians discovered that much ill-

feeling and confusion would have been prevented if their ideas and ideals would have been made better known to the nationalists before the struggle had got out of control. The nationalists thought that the Presbyterians were aiming to assimilate them through their missions and thereby exterminate all the distinctive national characteristics of their group. What they really wanted was to be partners along side of other national groups each contributing in blood and in character to the enrichment of Canadian life. They were willing to accept the best of the Ukrainian culture and help to preserve it.[10] However, in a religious struggle when emotions are greatly wrought-up distortion and misrepresentation of one another's views seems inevitable. Such was the case with regard to the Presbyterian missions. A few irresponsible individuals went about sowing seeds of discontent in the minds of the Ukrainians who might well have remained loyal to the Presbyterian missions, but were sympathetic to the ideals of the new movement.

In spite of the uncharitable tactics the new movement used in achieving its end, it succeeded in checking the encroachment of the Uniat Church on the life of the Canadian Ukrainians. Out of the struggle the Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church emerged as the second largest Ukrainian Church in Canada. It is truly a Ukrainian national church.

III

For almost a generation the unattractive frontier conditions of the west enabled the Ukrainian community halls and churches to carry on their religious and cultural activities with the minimum pressure from the two major cultural groups in Canada. This is no longer true. With the passage of time, Ukrainian children are forgetting the language of their parents, thus making it much harder for the priests of both churches to carry on religious work unless it is conducted in the English language. If this process of assimilation continues, and the prospects are that it will, than both the Uniat and the Orthodox churches will have to accommodate themselves to the changing times. To scold the younger generation for its lack of interest in the Ukrainian culture and language will only antagonize them and draw them that much sooner into the Anglo-Saxon camp.

The church that is most flexible and able to adjust itself to the changing conditions without losing its religious and cultural identity will be the one that will grow and win the confidence of the Canadian Ukrainians. At the present it seems that the majority of the Canadian Ukrainians are being drawn closer to the English-speaking group than to the French-Canadian and that means that the Ukrainians will have closer ties with the Protestant churches than with the Roman Catholic.

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Chapter V

MEDICAL MISSIONS

Although the Protestant missions succumbed before the nationalist spirit of the Greek Orthodox Church, yet its most concrete contribution to Ukrainian Canadian development were preserved in the medical missions. In this chapter we shall concern ourselves mainly with the medical missions that were established in the Ukrainian colonies. We shall note the early beginnings, the obstacles the medical missionaries had to face and overcome, the various functions the institutions assumed through the years, and the influence they have had on the moral and social life of the community.

The experiment in medical home missions began among the Ukrainians in 1900 when Dr. Robertson found a final year student in the Presbyterian Theological College, Montreal by the name of J. T. Reid, M.D., graduate of the McGill Medical School and established him in Sifton, Manitoba.[1]

Before Dr. Reid set out for the west, he was able to get a good supply of drugs through the help of his friends. When he reached Sifton, he set out to work by visiting the settlers.

He saw that they were not properly clothed to meet the winter weather and so he appealed once more to his eastern friends and succeeded in obtaining a large quantity of clothing which he distributed among the most needy in the community.

After a year the Presbyterian Church persuaded Dr. Reid to return east in order that he might interest the Anglo-Saxon congregations in supporting the medical programme at Sifton, with the hope of extending the work to other Ukrainian communities urgently in need of medical care. The Sifton mission alone had already cost $7,500.00.[2]

I

Besides opening a small hospital and dispensary at Sifton, the Presbyterian Church began in 1901 to supply schools mainly in the Dauphin colony, completing three the first year. John A. Cormie, a student of theology at Manitoba College, was appointed missionary and building superintendent. The settlers supplied the labor while the church purchased lumber and other building materials. By 1903 the church had missionary teachers working in the public schools at Sifton, Riding Mountain, Valley River, Ethelbert and Insinger.[3] So great was the influx of immigrants into these areas that the church recognized that such service as the missionaries were rendering in the field of education must ultimately be assumed by the provincial

government. Although the public schools of the Presbyterian Church were short-lived, nevertheless, this was the first religious body that demonstrated in a practical way a deep concern for the educational needs of the settlers. For years these schools were used by the medical missionaries on Sundays for the purpose of worship.

II

While Dr. Reid was touring the east stimulating interest by his lectures and talks on the habits, customs and needs of the new-comers in the hope of re-directing some of the missionary funds to the west, the Board of Home Missions was contemplating establishing another medical mission in the Pleasant Home District about 50 miles north of Winnipeg. In the fall of 1902, Dr. Alexander J. Hunter was assigned to this Ukrainian colony.[4] He made his headquarters at Teulon and began his missionary work by selling drugs, visiting the settlers and learning their language. Under his leadership a hospital was built in 1904 which not only met the medical needs of the settlers but also had a tremendous moral and cultural influence on the life of the community. Besides his medical work, he took keen interest in Ukrainian literature, and at one time acted as editor of the "Canadian Ranok". He died in 1940 having served the Ukrainian people for

thirty-eight years.

In order to meet adequately the medical needs of the Ukrainian people three types of hospitals were organized. Some of these institutions in recent times have been either closed as in Wakaw, Saskatchewan, or taken over by the municipal authorities as in Canora and Teulon. However, such hospitals as the Archer Memorial Hospital, Lamont, Alberta and the William Edmund Cruise and William Forest Cruise Memorial Hospital at Vita, Manitoba are the largest ones and come under the supervision of the United Church, though the Woman's Missionary Society contributes generously to their support.

The second type of hospital is like the one in Ethelbert, a twenty-bed institution built in 1915 at the cost of ten thousand dollars, and is controlled by the Woman's Missionary Society alone. The administration of the mission hospital is in the hands of the matron appointed by the Society. The resident doctor receives free living quarters and a fixed retaining fee. Income from private patients is usually the doctor's own income.

The third type is the hospital unit like the one established at Pine River and at Amaranth, Manitoba. These hospital units have already passed into history. They were usually small cottages converted into a hospital. Miss Rose A. Bolton served at the Pine River Unit from 1925 to 1946. In 1945

she was honoured by the Canadian government for her distinguished service during a Scarlet Fever epidemic which broke out in that area.[5] Many people owe their lives to these doctors and nurses who served in these remote and lonely areas in the early days of their settlement.

III

The first obstacle the pioneer doctor and nurse had to overcome or adjust themselves to was the poor roads on which they had to travel. In spring when the snow began to melt and the rains descended almost continuously, the roads were closer to impassable. To travel forty miles in the early days would take a doctor a whole day. Such farm calls were not uncommon. Dr. Hunter recalls an experience in his book A FRIENDLY ADVENTURE. He said that he travelled forty miles to find out that at the end of his long and dreary journey his services were no longer required as the baby was already born. Dr. Samuel Eshoo, a Persian refugee who served the Ethelbert General Hospital for nineteen years, said he travelled in his first year 7,000 miles by horse and train, treated 1,800 patients in the hospital and 650 in their homes.[6] Dr. R. E. Scott, who did splendid missionary work in the Wakaw area for thirty-six years, used horse and buggy in summer and sleigh in winter.[7]

The spring and autumn roads were relatively mild compared to the winter roads when the temperature dropped far below zero and the strong winds added their share to the bitter cold. A common practice was to heat up stones in the oven, wrap them up in old clothes and place them near the feet when one travelled by sleigh. More often than not a nurse would accompany the doctor on such long winter trips.

Another obstacle which the early doctors and nurses had to overcome was the attitude of the Ukrainian settlers toward the scientific knowledge of medicine and its application to the cure of illness and disease.[8] The Ukrainians had reason for treating the missionaries at first with suspicion. Here was an English-speaking physician setting up his practice in their community and claiming that his knowledge of medicine was superior to the home-made remedies which had been handed down from time immemorial.

The Ukrainians held, and some hold to this day, a fatalistic attitude to pain and suffering. They believe that God is Sovereign and claim that if God wills that you suffer than you must endure it without complaining. Of course, the pain was endured only after all types of remedies and treatments were given to the sick. Some of the most common remedies used by the settlers were herbs of various kinds, consumption of

home-brew particularly for colds and chest pains, cupping, blood-letting by means of leeches and massaging. Sometimes housewives would resort to magic. They believed that the pouring of wax into a bowl of water over the sick and uttering certain prescribed words would drive the evil spirit from the person.

It seems that the only time the Ukrainians sought the services of the hospital in the early days was when they were dying or near death. The hospital was looked upon as the last resort. One seldom called a doctor on a maternity case; either the midwife was asked to assist or simply a neighbourly housewife who gained experience through giving birth to her own children.

With such a fatalistic attitude to sickness and suffering and the use of home-made remedies, it is no wonder that the doctors and nurses had a hard battle to wage before they won the confidence of the people. Dr. F. O. Gilbart, who supervised the building of the Ethelbert General Hospital, writes to the "Missionary Messenger" the following account of the medical work:

> "...The writer knows of instances where nurse Mullen has literally gone out into the highways and hedges and compelled them to come in. But her great work is done in attending the sick in their homes or in the little dispensary connected with the hospital."[9]

At times the doctor would allow the nurse to remain in the home of the sick for a few days in order that she might impart a general knowledge of hygiene. Such things as ventilation, sanitation, proper diet and cleanliness were emphasized.

Through hard work and much sacrifice on the part of the missionaries, the medical mission as an institution grew next in importance to the local church. The doctors and nurses were kept busy and soon the hospitals became too small to accommodate all who sought medical attention. Some patients came as far as 100 miles to have operations done at the mission hospitals.[10]

IV

Although the hospitals were established mainly for the care of the sick, other functions were forced upon them. Dr. Reid during his first year out west, as we recall, took note of the needs of the people and immediately appealed for clothing from the east, thus involving the hospital in the role of a social agency. In 1908 the Woman's Missionary Society recorded that 133 bales of clothing were sent out valued at $5,000.00. For years these bales of clothing reached the hospital missions and good uses were made of them.

A far more important task which the hospital mission assumed than that of the social service was the organizing

of school homes for boys and girls. These schools were opened with the view of giving the children of families who were living in the outlying districts of the west the advantage of public school education. They continued until the publicly organized schools were substituted in their place. The age of the pupils attending these school homes ranged from eight to twenty-four years.[11]

These school homes were first organized in 1912 at Teulon and Vegreville, Alberta. Soon others were established in Sifton, Ethelbert, Canora and Wakaw. The parents were asked to contribute toward their children's support, but their contribution proved so meager that the Board of the Woman's Missionary Society agreed to provide clothing for each child and pay fifty dollars for his support.

Dr. Hunter spoke very highly of the school homes and felt that the results he observed in later years justified their establishment. He stressed personal character, honesty and discipline and as a result left a permanent mark upon the youth. Most of the boys and girls who attended the schools became good citizens; some continued their education elsewhere and became prominent leaders of their people. In 1917 the Woman's Missionary Society supported one hundred and nineteen children in the school homes of Teulon, Ethelbert, Sifton and Vegreville.[12]

V

The medical missionaries were not concerned primarily with proselytism. Perhaps the reason is that they were too occupied with their own medical practice. However, they did take an active part in the religious life of the church, conducting church services for their own people, supervising Sunday Schools and organizing Bible classes for adults.

The writer lived for two years in the Ethelbert General Hospital and became acquainted at first hand with the work of the medical mission. To illustrate the influence of the hospital on the life of the community, the writer would like to relate one of many incidents that occurred during his stay. A small Greek Catholic boy was admitted to the hospital and because of the nature of his illness, he was confined to bed for three months. At the end of this time he was able to sing Sunday School hymns and had some knowledge of the Bible stories. No one can be a patient in the hospital without coming in contact with the ideals and high morals of those who carry on the ministry of healing.

VI

At the present the Ukrainian communities in the west are relatively prosperous. With the increase of income during

the war years they are financially independent and can seek for medical attention where they will. Today it is quite common for a Ukrainian to go outside his community circle to see a specialist in one of our larger Canadian city hospitals. This means that medical missions are not as vital and essential to the welfare of the community as they were a few decades ago. In many areas government hospitals and Public Health Units are being built that are better equipped to cope with emergency cases, forcing thereby the small mission hospitals to become more and more an adjunct to the larger medical institutions.

It is not too soon to estimate the value of these medical missions and the contribution they have made through the years to the moral and cultural life of the Ukrainian communities. It is regrettable that evil should have been spoken of the good works of the missions. The Ukrainian nationalists thought at first that the Presbyterian mission hospitals were only incidental to objectives like conversion to Protestantism. The Ukrainian critic believed that the missionaries were only taking mean advantage of ignorant people, or exploiting the poor and sick through their poverty and disease. Moreover, he interpreted the school homes as Protestant propaganda centers, taking children at the most impressionable point of their lives

and indocrinating them. In time the Ukrainians realized that the missionaries were there because of a deep religious conviction and a burning zeal to serve. In the name of their Master such men as Hunter, Gilbart, Eshoo, Scott, Arthur, Archer, Waldon rendered a unique service to a badly confused people and demonstrated through their lives the dynamic, moral and spiritual force of the Protestant church. Nurses also in their quiet way performed a unique duty of solace through the years. The seeds which these "great Canadian missionaries" have sown in times of poverty, sickness and troubles will bring much fruit in the years to come.

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5. Based on personal interview and correspondence with Mrs. C. F. Timmins, formerly Miss M. McArthur, W.M.S. worker in the Ethelbert area from 1924 to 1943.
6. The Missionary Monthly, August, 1956. p. 365.
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8. Vide Charles H. Young, op. cit., pp. 209-240.

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10. Woman's Home Missionary Society, Presbyterian Church in Canada. 11th Annual Report (1913-1914), p. 20.

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12. Ibid., 1917, p. 34.

Chapter VI

INSINGER EXPERIMENT AND THE UNITED CHURCH MISSIONS

Ten years prior to Church Union, a need was felt among the Protestant clergy to help those restless and embittered Ukrainians who had become victims during World War I either of unprincipled Canadians or men of their own nationality to get a clearer and higher view of the Canadian life. The church leaders wanted to show them that Canada was a country where votes were not sold, where there is medical help even when there is no money to pay for it, where "compulsory education" did not mean "forced assimilation".

After a careful survey of the Ukrainian bloc settlements the leaders of the Methodist and Presbyterian churches decided to finance a unique approach: they were to cooperate in establishing Community Work Centres at Insinger, Calder, Hafford, Buchanan and Blaine Lake with the view of rendering Christian service without attempting to make converts to the Protestant faith. Peter Yemen was assigned to Insinger; G.G. Heffelfinger to Buchanan; Dr. A.O. Rose to Hafford; J.T. Stevens to Calder;

J.M. Singleton to Blaine Lake and others.[1]

Peter Yemen, Canadian born, began his work at Insinger in 1916. He discovered that the Ukrainian children helped early with the chores on the farm, but they had no knowledge of Canadian sports. While the English-speaking children would play games during school recess, the Ukrainian children would stand quietly beside the school wall and watch. It did not take long for Peter Yemen to teach the Ukrainian children how to play games and soon other social activities were introduced that were centred about the school programme.

In 1918 a terrible flu epidemic swept the country. Since there was no medical help available as the doctors were in great demand elsewhere, Peter Yemen learned from a doctor how to treat the disease. Many lives were saved by him as he went from home to home treating the disease. Finally, he contracted the disease and died the same year.

The vacancy created by the death of Yemen was filled by Thomas W. Johnson. He came to Canada in 1905 and began missionary work at Birch Hills. Two years later he decided to study for the ministry. He enrolled at the University of Manitoba and graduated in Arts in 1911. Three years later he was ordained into the ministry of the Methodist Church. In 1916 he joined the armed forces and served overseas where he was seriously wounded in a battle near Vimy Ridge. He recovered, however,

from his wound, returned to Canada, married a girl from Nova Scotia and volunteered for the work at Insinger.[2]

When Johnson and his wife arrived at the Social Centre of Insinger in 1919 he was met by strong opposition. He was accused by the Ukrainian priests and national leaders of attempting to bring the Ukrainians into the Methodist Church. Nevertheless, Johnson remained firm to his promise, and the church supported him, in that he would not make converts to the Methodist or any other Protestant church. His aim was to "link up the different schools and communities in his district in every possible way"[3] and to work for the best interest of all the people and their children. To him this meant practising Christian principles, presenting the democratic ideal at its best, helping the new-comers become acquainted with the language and customs of the country which was to be their permanent home. To this end he assisted them in making friends outside their racial circle, in obtaining adequate medical care, and in securing capable and understanding teachers for their schools.

Johnson took a teacher's training course at Saskatoon in 1921 and upon his return to Insinger he continued as a teacher. He organized a teacher's club so that the teachers in the surrounding districts could get together and study the problems that faced them in their local schools. The English-speaking teachers learned about the customs and manners of the Ukrainian

people from those teachers of Ukrainian origin.[4]

The children were early taught the democratic principle. They would vote for their class leaders and school captains. Responsibility was placed both on the voters and the officials they elected into office. Later, Boy Scout Troups, Girl Guides, school fairs, parades, camps, Christmas concerts, competitive sports were organized. Girls were taught to prepare Canadian dishes and make Canadian clothes. Prizes were awarded for the best work. Parents began to take pride in their children's handiwork and a happy relation developed between the Ukrainian parent and teacher.

Johnson encouraged the teachers to visit the Ukrainian homes, share in their common meal, attend their church services, weddings, funerals, and visit their sick pupils. He wanted the teachers to develop an appreciation for customs and manners different from their own.

Heavy drinking which is very characteristic of Ukrainian social gathering such as weddings and christening was not entirely eliminated, but it was considerably reduced. Similarly, many law suits that would have been brought before the courts were settled with Johnson acting as a counsellor.

During his nine years at Insinger, Johnson had not preached a single sermon nor made a single convert to the church which supported his work. Yet, his memory is rich in Christian service.[5]

The Protestant churches in supporting such work showed more than ordinary insight and understanding for the long-term needs of the Ukrainian people. Through these Community Centres the Protestant churches were creating a society where each in his own unique way contributed to the good of the whole.

II

In 1925 the United Church of Canada finally inherited the missionary problems of the Presbyterian Church. With the exception of the Oshawa congregation, all the Ukrainian Presbyterian congregations joined the Church Union. Yet, this enlarged Church body could in no way improve the rapidly declining state of the Ukrainian missions. On the other hand, the Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church with its strong appeal to national sentiments and tradition of the older people was growing by leaps and bounds.

From various church quarters doubts increased yearly as to the value of this type of missionary work among the non-Anglo-Saxons in Canada. Some United Church leaders wondered if the Presbyterian Church had approached the Ukrainian people in the most effective way. In spite of the pessimism which coloured nearly all the Board of Home Missions' reports on Ukrainian work, the United Church continued supporting these missions. At the

time of Union there were seventeen ministers and students of Ukrainian birth working in the mission fields; this number dropped to thirteen by 1930.[6]

It is during this period of consolidation that a "modus vivendi" was found and the three religious bodies, the Greek Catholic, the Orthodox and the United were forced to exist side by side. Where once the Protestant missionaries were driven out with stones and curses, now they were cordially received. Moreover, a growing spirit of cooperation was developing between the priests of the Orthodox and the ministers of the United Church.

For some reason the Orthodox Church has been unable to develop a Christian education programme for its youth with the result that Orthodox parents had encouraged their children to take full advantage of the United Church Sunday Schools and week-day activities. Some of the Orthodox children who had attended the United Church clubs are today prominent leaders in the communities of the west and are very sympathetic to the social and evangelical programme of the United Church.

The trials and ordeals of the hungry' thirties taxed heavily the resources of the United Church. In order to meet the spiritual and material needs created by the nation-wide depression, the United Church established an "All Peoples' Mission" in practically all the large Canadian cities. The Uniat and

and Orthodox churches were unable to do anything for their people in terms of social aid, consequently, many broke away from them and flocked to the missions for relief and comfort.

The situation was considerably intensified when the Ukrainians as well as other nationalities were forced to leave their farm land because of the terrible drought and pestilence and poured into towns and cities already hit hard by mass unemployment.

For a decade the United Church institutional missions provided foodstuffs, clothing and other relief materials. In time these missions became too small and inadequately staffed to meet the ever-increasing numbers who came daily to their doors. The ministers and deaconesses were called upon to serve daily as interpreters, legal advisers, confessors, letter-writers, peacemakers and general adjusters of a thousand difficulties of an economic and social nature.[7] Church services were overcrowded with the bewildered and hungry and the week-day clubs were bursting with activities.

While the institutional missions were growing and meeting a real need, the rural missions were just holding their own. In Manitoba, the province with the largest Ukrainian population in Canada, there were for a long time only two rural missions: one at Ethelbert, the other at Rossburn.[8] At present the Ethelbert charge is served by an English-speaking minister, and Rossburn is looked after by the editor of the "Canadian

Ranok."

At one time Canora, Saskatchewan was an important Protestant mission field, served by John Gregorash. He used to travel in all directions bringing services to a dozen preaching points that were widely scattered across the province. While religious services were being carried on, regular organizational work was impossible as the numbers were small and the distances separating each point so great.

The missionary work in the Peace River district showed for awhile signs of promise. The work was later consolidated with the result that one charge was formed, and was served for many years by E. Perich and then by Theodore Bay until his retirement in 1956.

The war years that followed the depression had an adverse affect upon the institutional missions. The young people's work suffered when many young men enlisted into the armed forces. The church attendance decreased when the men and women worked long hours at the war plants. The Uniat and Orthodox adherents returned to their own churches when their finances improved. Soon the missions were serving a small loyal group and the transients who came for social aid or pastoral counselling.

The pioneer missionaries who have faithfully served the church through the years are either being retired or removed by death. The vacancies which they have created are not being

filled by ordained men of Ukrainian origin. The few who have the command of the Ukrainian language or could master it quite easily have preferred working among the English-speaking people.

The Ukrainian mission in Winnipeg and Montreal are the two largest congregations in Canada. The Church of All Nations in Montreal was organized by Robert G. Katsunoff in 1930 and is more of a Slavic congregation than a purely Ukrainian group. At one time the Montreal group represented eighteen nationalities.

Should the Board of Home Missions of the United Church ever withdraw its financial support from the Ukrainian missions, the group in Winnipeg and Montreal would probably become self-supporting congregations; the other missions would undoubtedly disappear.

III

The loss of interest among the United Church leaders in Ukrainian mission work does not mean that there is no longer any need for this type of work among the Ukrainian Canadians. At the present time there are many young people in Canada who are slowly breaking away from the faith of their fathers. This younger generation is mentally wide-awake, thinking, reading, doubting, searching and is in need of a strong and sane leadership. The United Church is the only Protestant church outside

the Baptist group that has the experience and resources to meet the great intellectual and spiritual need of these young people. Unless there is a revived interest in Ukrainian missions in not a too distant future, it is possible that the remaining few missions to the Ukrainians will pass into history.

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Chapter VII

SUMMARY

The Ukrainian people are basically kind, hospitable and peace-loving. From the dawn of their history they have been content to live in humble quarters depending upon the soil for their livelihood. They love music, colour and design and have successfully employed them in their religion. Unfortunately, the acceptance of eastern Orthodoxy and Byzantine culture in the 10th-century isolated them for centuries from the main creative stream of western civilization. Perhaps that is why the Ukrainians have not been able to develop their rational faculty to the extent that western people have. They feel more than they think.

The national and political development of the Ukrainian people was greatly retarded by the fatal struggle against the invading Tartars. The territory of Ukraine was an easy prey for all the invading hordes as it is situated on the cross-roads between east and west and has no natural defence barriers. Having freed themselves from the Tartar yoke, they soon came

under the political domination of their covetous neighbours. Being oppressed, exploited and despised for centuries, the Ukrainian soul has been humbled. The Ukrainians can never think of themselves as a super-race; their simplicity and humility are the result of seemingly endless serfdom.

I

The intensive drive of the Laurier regime to fill up the vacant land of the west attracted only a small stream of Ukrainians to the Canadian prairies considering the millions who emigrated from eastern Europe. The Canadian government looked upon the Ukrainian peasant as an ideal settler for the west as he was born on the soil, used to a low standard of living and was physically fit to endure the hardships of pioneer conditions. For a long time the Ukrainian immigrants helped to develop the Canadian west.

The English-speaking settlers, who represented the advance culture, had difficulty in accepting the Ukrainian immigrants into their society. They would have preferred immigrants from northern Europe whose manners and customs were not in such sharp contrast to their own. When both English and Ukrainian settlers were busy building new homes, schools, churches, breaking new land and building roads there was little time for social intercourse. The tension began when after World War I

intense national sentiments emerged among the Ukrainians. What the British settlers wanted was for the Ukrainians to make a complete break with their homeland and tradition and conform to Canadian manners and customs.

From the psychological standpoint the English-speaking settlers were demanding from the Ukrainian immigrants the impossible. How could the Ukrainians break all ties with their dear ones whom they had left behind? How could they forget their homeland, the land of their birth, their cultural and religious heritage, for that was the main reason they came to Canada - to express themselves freely in the best way they knew how.

The more the English spoke about assimilation, the more the Ukrainians feared they might lose their national characteristics. To be pro-Ukrainian did not necessarily mean being disloyal to Canada. The Ukrainians had to settle many domestic problems before they began to speak of themselves as truly Canadian.

II

The Roman Catholic Church responded first to the spiritual needs of the Ukrainian settlers by sending Basilian priests who had learnt the language with the hope of bringing the people into closer harmony with the Canadian ecclesiastical

hierarchy. The Basilian priests, however, failed to win the confidence of the settlers because they were too few in number to do any effective missionary work and those few were associated in the minds of the settlers with the Latin form of Christianity which they positively disliked.

Because the Basilian missionaries were unpopular and the Uniat priests did not come to Canada with their people until much later, a spiritual vacuum was created in the frontier area that was temporarily filled by the Independent Greek Church which the Presbyterians helped to establish. The Ukrainian pioneers welcomed the ministers of the new church because they were of their racial origin, they kept the Greek rite and ceremonies, and they claimed complete independence from Rome or from any patriarch. Moreover, the people were free from any financial obligation as the ministers were supported by the Presbyterian Church.

Many have attempted to explain the failure of the Independent Greek Church to sustain the numerical strength which it gathered at first. The Presbyterian leaders claimed that the lack of well-trained Ukrainian missionaries and the failure to emphasize the positive message of the movement brought about the decline of the new church. It is true that the priests who broke away from the Seraphim movement were men without

any systematic theological training. They were ordained because of a need. The large numbers who were drawn into this new church understood very little about its religious meaning and significance, except that it was opposed to the old traditional churches which had oppressed them in their homeland. Many of the ministers were very anti-Catholic and so tended to emphasize the negative aspect of their movement. Internal strife among the Ukrainian ministers caused some to return to the Orthodox Church; others went back to secular work. A movement without an adequate personnel is bound to fail and such was the case with the Independent Greek Church.

The Ukrainian Baptists also have not been successful in winning many converts and perhaps for the same reason that brought about the decline of the Independent Greek Church - lack of trained missionaries. The early missionaries were ordained mainly on the ground of having had a deep religious experience. They did excellent work so long as the Uniat Church was not well organized. The work was greatly retarded during the religious war years and in recent times when they came under attack from such aggressive sects as the Seven-Day Adventists and Jehovah Witnesses. Internal strife has also contributed to the decline of missionary work. In Saskatoon

there are at present three small distinct Ukrainian Baptist churches existing side by side.

The Jehovah Witnesses have been vigorously at work among the Ukrainian people particularly in the rural areas of the west. Their vehement attack on all organized churches and clergy has appealed to those who have nurtured a resentment against organized religion, yet their converts have not reached proportions large enough to alarm either the Orthodox or Uniat priests.

Though the Presbyterian Church failed to win the Ukrainian settlers to the Protestant faith, it nevertheless won considerable success through its medical missions, school homes and community social centres. Through the establishment of hospital missions many lives were saved and countless thousands were restored to normal health. The Ukrainian settlers came to realize the moral and spiritual force of the Protestant Church as demonstrated through the lives and work of the early medical missionaries.

The school homes which were opened all over the Canadian west helped Ukrainian children to get a public school education. Most of the pupils who attend these school homes became responsible citizens while some continued their education elsewhere and became teachers and professional men.

The community social centres were organized in the Ukrainian bloc settlements mainly with the view of giving the Ukrainian people who had become victims of irresponsible Canadians during World War I a clearer picture of the Canadian life. No attempt was made to convert them to the Protestant faith.

Bishop Budka's aggressive plan to bring all the Ukrainian Canadians under the control of Rome brought about a strong reaction which resulted in the establishment of the Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church in Canada. This movement from Uniatism to Ukrainian Orthodoxy is still taking place in Canada and explains the powerful magnetic force of the Ukrainian ancestral religious tradition.

The United Church institutional missions achieved remarkable success in dealing with the social problems that were created by the depression years. In all the large Canadian cities these missions met the urgent material and spiritual needs of the people. The war years, however, relieved considerably the social burden of these missions.

III

There are perhaps two ways of viewing and estimating the evangelical work of the Protestant churches among the Ukrainian people in Canada. If one adopts the statistical

criterion for measuring the progress of the missions through the years, than the Protestant church has failed, for only a few have been found loyal. If, on the other hand, one accepts a less tangible method for gauging the Protestant missionary venture, than perhaps an affirmative answer can be given. There is no doubt that the Protestant churches through their religious, medical, educational and social projects have made a profound impact on the moral and social life of the Ukrainian settlers. The Ukrainians who were classified a generation ago as backward, illiterate, superstitious and poverty-stricken have become responsible citizens in Canada and are contributing to the cultural life of the country.

The younger generation of Ukrainian Canadians should be deeply indebted to the vision and farsightedness of the early Protestant church leaders who through their sympathy and understanding have taught the Ukrainians their ideals and democratic practices and at the same time have encouraged them to preserve their own cultural heritage.

While the majority of Ukrainians are still clinging to their traditional churches, there are some who join yearly the Protestant churches. This may be the result of the seeds which the Protestant missions have sown in the remote and isolated areas of the west in the years gone by.

At the present time the United Church Ukrainian missions are not as active as they were a few decades ago. Unless more interest is created among the Church leaders in Ukrainian missions and provisions are made to train young men to enter this type of missionary work, the United Church missions to the Ukrainians can easily pass into history.

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