Memory, Identity, and the Challenge of Community Among Ukrainians in the Sudbury Region, 1901-1939

by

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Abstract

This dissertation examines the ways in which Catholic, Orthodox, nationalist, and progressive Ukrainian men, women, and children, both immigrants and those of Ukrainian descent, formed a distinct ethnic community in the Sudbury region between 1901 and 1939. Specifically, it demonstrates how the community developed, paying particular attention to the ways that individual and group identities, social networks, and power relations impacted its evolution over time. Moreover, this dissertation depicts the ways in which the host society, on a local, regional, and national level, perceived and treated Sudbury's Ukrainians.

Set in a period of change for this ethnic community, the region, and the country more broadly, this dissertation offers new narratives about World War I, the so-called "Roaring Twenties," and the Depression. In addition to viewing gender, ethnicity, class, region, and age as important categories of analysis, it regards community as a problem which ought to be studied. Community, in this instance, is not a simple and static entity, but rather an imagined reality, a social interaction, and a process. The adoption of a fluid model thereby enables an examination of the varying ways in which individuals, Ukrainians and non-Ukrainians, attached different meanings to community. These meanings, as this dissertation argues, were dependent upon the geographic spaces that these individuals occupied, the social networks to which they belonged, and the real and imagined identities and experiences that they had both within and on the margins of their communities.

This dissertation not only reconstructs the contours of this ethnic community and the ways in which its members negotiated their places within and outside of it, but

also includes a discussion of the author's archive stories. Sensitive to what constitutes as an archive, it is a highly personal journey into the author's imagined Ukrainian community, her Baba's (grandmother) Ukrainian community, and the communities which other Ukrainians in the Sudbury region have experienced. The archive stories which wind through the narrative of this dissertation detail the challenges of working with both written and memory sources and at the same time, offer new interpretative frameworks for understanding the histories of immigrant communities.

Acknowledgements

Reconstructing the history of Sudbury's Ukrainian community would not have been possible without the support and guidance of a number of people. In many respects, acknowledging their assistance reads much like an archive story.

After interning at the National Security Archive in Washington, D.C., in the summer of 2000, I decided to pursue a master's degree that concentrated on Canadian-American relations. I completed this degree at the University of Ottawa in a nine month period, and due to Carleton University's reputation in foreign policy circles and its proximity to Library and Archives Canada (LAC), I decided to enrol in its doctorate program. My interests however quickly changed when I began my course work. During my first year, I became excited about Canadian ethnic and immigration history. In particular, reading important studies, like Franca Iacovetta's *Such Hardworking People* and Frances Swyripa's *Wedded to the Cause*, and being from Northern Ontario and of Ukrainian descent led me to question this region's exclusion from social history. Mining drew thousands of immigrants to northern towns and yet most historians either did not mention them or only referred to them in the footnotes of their studies. Hoping to fill this void in the historiography, I made the decision to switch fields as well as thesis supervisors. Although this was a difficult decision because it required me to take two extra graduate courses and thus delayed my ability to publish articles and make conference presentations – two variables which are very important on a graduate *curriculum vitae* – I made this compromise because I believed that being passionate about my dissertation was of the utmost importance. Certainly, I never would have made this bold decision if it were not for Kerry Abel and Norman Hillmer. I thank them

for sharing my enthusiasm for this project. Moreover, I would like to thank my thesis supervisors, Marilyn Barber and John C. Walsh, for embarking upon this intellectual journey with me. I was both lost and behind when I began the research for this dissertation and therefore without their help as scholars, teachers, mentors, and friends it would never have come to fruition. Encouragement from other faculty members and graduate students of Carleton University's History Department has also been central to the writing of this dissertation. In particular, Bruce Elliott, David Dean, Jim Opp, Emily Arrowsmith, Jeff Noakes, Vadim Kukushkin, Andrew Burtch, and Kristina Guiguet have not only listened to me speak about Sudbury's Ukrainians, but also offered me sound advice when I needed it. For this assistance, I am truly grateful. Moreover, I thank Joan White for her unwavering support and guidance. In addition, I would like to thank the members of my examining board, Franca Iacovetta of the University of Toronto, Susanne Klausen of Carleton University, and Timothy Stanley of the University of Ottawa for their lively and thoughtful engagement with my dissertation. They asked many insightful questions that I will continue to ponder for many years to come.

Since the narrative of this dissertation has been based upon a scattered set of sources, I also owe a great deal of gratitude to a number of individuals who hail from a variety of institutions and communities. Myron Momryk, a recently retired archivist at LAC, was instrumental in getting this study off the ground. He engaged me in insightful conversations, directed me to sources that I otherwise would not have found, and translated sources which I could not read. He went well beyond his call of duty as an archivist and, undoubtedly, will be terribly missed at LAC. Rhonda Hinther, the

Western Canadian history curator at the Canadian Museum of Civilization, has also provided encouragement for this project; specifically, her work inspired me to think about how the experiences of Sudbury's Ukrainians and their subsequent identities were regionalized. Moreover, I also must thank Rhonda for introducing me to Larissa Stavroff. Larissa has been an integral part of this dissertation. Together with Rhonda, she stressed the importance of getting "inside Sudbury's Ukrainian community" through Ukrainian sources. When I admitted that I could not read them, she offered to translate them and thus spent many painstaking hours reading poor photocopies and writing detailed notes. For her help and her stimulating conversations, I am thankful. Furthermore, I must thank those who helped me find invaluable sources in the Sudbury region. Jim Fortin, the curator of the Greater Sudbury Museum, Heather Lewis, the curator of the Greater Sudbury Police Museum, and Mercedes Steedman and Guy Gaudreau, professors at Laurentian University, not only directed me to sources, but also spent a great deal of time discussing Sudbury's Ukrainians with me. In addition, Monsignor Theodore Pryjma, Father Peter Bodnar, Olia Katulka, and Mary Stefura, all connected to St. Mary's Ukrainian Catholic Church, provided support and direction for this dissertation. A number of Ukrainian Canadian historians have also aided with the research and writing of this dissertation. I thank Suzanne Holyck Hunchuck, Jars Balan, Andrij Makuch, and Orest Martynowych for offering advice and for reading drafts of this dissertation. Furthermore, I wish to thank Steven High, Canada Research Chair in Public History at Concordia University. Before I began conducting my oral history interviews, he offered me sound advice. Throughout the interview process, he reminded me of the importance of listening to my interviewees. And, when it came to reflecting

upon and writing about my interviews, he pushed me to pursue innovative theoretical and interpretive directions. Steven has become a friend and a colleague and I am truly grateful for all of his help. Leo Lariviere also deserves praise for the maps which have been included in the body of this dissertation.

Financial support from Carleton University, the Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies' Helen Darcovich Memorial Doctoral Fellowship, and the Ontario Graduate Scholarship Program has been critical to making this project possible.

I am also especially grateful for the encouragement that I received from my friends and family. Laura Grover, Chantal Mills, Leanne Dumitru, Todd Headon, Lesley Berry, Craig Duncan, Brent McLeod, Collin Forsberg, Amanda MacNeil, Sarah Nicholson, Glen Simm, and the late Dr. Jeno "Doc" Tihanyi have not only listened to me drone on about Sudbury's Ukrainians, but also offered me friendship and unwavering support throughout this process. Tina and Brian Douglas have also been extremely helpful. They have welcomed me into their family and have provided me with a perfect setting in which to write. Moreover, my parents, Dan and Gail, and my brother, Andrew, have played instrumental roles in this phase of my life. They have been among the first people that I have turned to for emotional, financial, and intellectual support, offering solid advice whenever I have needed it. I can not thank them enough for their love, enthusiasm, encouragement, and understanding. Most of all, I must thank my partner, Robert Douglas. He has kept me focused, determined, and positive throughout the researching, writing, and revising of this dissertation. I appreciate the many sacrifices he has made on my behalf and his ability to bring

perspective to every situation. Without Rob's love, patience, and support I never would have completed this dissertation.

Furthermore, I owe a debt of gratitude to the men and women who welcomed me into their homes and shared their stories with me. I appreciate their honesty and willingness to participate in this project. Although some of these men and women may not agree with what I have written, I hope that they can appreciate the ways that I have interpreted their stories.

Last, but certainly not least, I must thank Olga Zembrzycki, my Baba. While it may have taken me many years to realize the impact that she has had upon my life, I now recognize that her stories have played a major role in shaping my career. By sharing her stories with me, she not only sparked my imagination, but also instilled me with a love of the past. For this, as well as her invaluable help in organizing my oral history interviews, I am forever grateful. This dissertation, with much love and appreciation, is for Baba.

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List of Acronyms

AER	Algoma Eastern Railway
AO	Archives of Ontario
ATIP	Access to Information and Privacy
AUUC	Association of United Ukrainian Canadians
BANC	British America Nickel Corporation
CCC	Canadian Copper Company
CLDL	Canadian Labour Defence League
CPR	Canadian Pacific Railway
CPC	Communist Party of Canada
CSIS	Canadian Security Intelligence Service
CSO	Canadian Sitch Organization
FUSD	Federation of Ukrainian Social Democrats
INCO	International Nickel Company
LAC	Library and Archives Canada
MNC	Mond Nickel Company
MHSO	Multicultural History Society of Ontario
OUN	Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists
RCMP	Royal Canadian Mounted Police
TSA	Taras Shevchenko Association
UCAWA	Ukrainian Catholic Archeparchy of Winnipeg Archive
UCCLA	Ukrainian Canadian Civil Liberties Association
UHO	United Hetman Organization
ULFTA	Ukrainian Labour Farmer Temple Association
ULTA	Ukrainian Labour Temple Association
UNF	Ukrainian National Federation
URA	Ukrainian Rifleman's Association
USDP	Ukrainian Social Democratic Party
USRL	Ukrainian Self-Reliance League
UWVA	Ukrainian War Veteran's Association
WBA	Worker's Benevolent Association

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Chapter One

Memory, Identity, and the Challenge of Community Among Ukrainians in the Sudbury Region, 1901-1939

I grew up knowing that being Ukrainian was complicated. From a very early age, I discerned that at least two kinds of Ukrainians called Sudbury home. As far as I could tell, the distinction was quite straightforward: there were those who belonged to St. Mary's Ukrainian Catholic Church and those who did not. For me, this was a local community where belonging was premised upon organizational affiliations and identities. I never questioned why Ukrainians differed; I just knew that they did.

Spending time with my paternal Ukrainian Catholic grandmother, my Baba, helped me arrive at these conclusions. While my parents worked, Baba acted as my primary caregiver; when I was not in school, I was with her. To entertain me and pass the time, Baba and I would stroll downtown in the afternoons. As we walked hand in hand through Eaton's, Food City, and the Toronto Dominion Bank, we would stop and chat with other Ukrainians. These men and women would fuss over me and then speak to Baba in either English or Ukrainian, sharing the latest news and reminiscing about past experiences. Not long after saying good bye, I would often ask Baba whom we had been speaking with. As she explained how she knew the men and women with whom we had spoken, she would always casually mention the organizations to which they belonged. As a child, I paid little attention to these details, simply deducing that they were either like or unlike Baba.

Baba's stories provided me with some of the knowledge that I needed to make these observations. A born story-teller, Baba would reminisce about the past as we sauntered downtown, through the shopping centre, and then home. As a result, I learned

about my great grandparents and the ways that my childhood differed from the one that Baba had experienced. As I listened to Baba's fascinating and sometimes troubling stories about conflict and struggle, I formed opinions about the time and the place in which she grew up. Moreover, I drew conclusions about the people that Baba and I encountered in our excursions. Although Baba's friends belonged to a range of organizations, my way of understanding their place in Baba's life was limited to a simple "us" and "them" framework. Depending upon the organizations to which they belonged, I placed Baba's friends both inside and outside the local community which I constructed in my imagination. Organizational affiliations and the identities which resulted did not lead me to make judgements about Ukrainians; they just helped me contextualize Baba's stories.

Unlike Baba, I did not grow up within Sudbury's Ukrainian community. Although I attended Ukrainian language school in the basement of St. Mary's Ukrainian Catholic Church for a number of years, I, like so many other Ukrainian Canadian children from third and fourth generations, became involved in non-Ukrainian activities, effectively dissociating myself from my ethnic roots. Although I never forgot Baba's stories, as I grew older and spent more time away from her, I also distanced myself from them. It was not until I was well into my doctoral studies that I returned to them, realizing that Baba's stories about growing up as a Ukrainian Canadian Catholic girl in a Northern Ontario mining town were important and that they needed to be preserved. Certainly, as we shall see, these stories have helped me navigate my way into the history of Sudbury's Ukrainian community, serving as a foundation upon which to base the narrative of this dissertation.

Reconstructing Community

Viewing Baba's stories as historical sources necessitates an examination of the real and imagined communities in which they were created. Situated in the Sudbury region, an area which is comprised of a series of mining towns in Northern Ontario, this dissertation not only reconstructs Baba's Ukrainian community, but also reveals how other Ukrainian men, women, and children experienced this community between 1901 and 1939. Specifically, it demonstrates how the community developed, paying particular attention to the ways that individual and group identities, social networks, and power relations impacted its evolution over time. Moreover, this dissertation depicts the ways in which the host society, on a local, regional, and national level, perceived and treated Sudbury's Ukrainians. Providing a social history of citizenship from both within and outside of the boundaries of this ethnic community, it thereby demonstrates the ways that Ukrainians, as new citizens, negotiated their place in society as well as the ways society defined and identified these "strangers" within Canada's gates.[1] Beginning in 1901, a date which marks the onset of Ukrainian settlement in the region, and ending in 1939, a date which symbolizes the end of a distinct phase in the community's formation, this dissertation is set in a period of change for Sudbury's Ukrainians, the region, and the country more broadly. While it explores the ways that this community shifted over time and through experience, it also offers new narratives about World War I, the so-called "Roaring Twenties," and the Depression.

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[1] Franca Iacovetta has re-contextualized the social history of immigration and ethnicity as "citizenship," demonstrating that this is an effective category of analysis for understanding nation-building, especially as it pertains to "gatekeepers" and new immigrants in the postwar period. See Iacovetta, *Gatekeepers: Reshaping Immigrant Lives in Cold War Canada* (Toronto: Between the Lines, 2006).

In addition to viewing gender, ethnicity, class, region, and age as important categories of analysis, this dissertation regards community as a problem which ought to be studied. Rather than taking a "common sense" approach to community, a view which limits its scope to "the ideas of a shared place and a static, self-contained entity," it considers community as an imagined reality, a social interaction, and a process.[2] It is only through the adoption of a fluid model that we may begin to see the varying ways in which individuals, Ukrainians and non-Ukrainians, attached different meanings to community. These meanings, as we shall see, were dependent upon the geographic spaces which these individuals occupied, the social networks to which they belonged, and the real and imagined identities and experiences that they had both within and on the margins of their communities. Specifically, these variables led Catholic, Orthodox, nationalist, and progressive Ukrainians, Sudburians, and the mining companies which operated in and around the Sudbury region to imagine, negotiate, and experience community in distinct ways. Community was therefore an ongoing process, mediated through a range of conflicting and converging factors which changed over time, over space, and over generation.

Like the immigrant communities studied by Franca Iacovetta and Royden Loewen, Sudbury's Ukrainian community was in transition; as mentioned above, individual and group identities, social networks, and power relations played a major role

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[2] John C. Walsh and Steven High, "Rethinking the Concept of Community," *Histoire sociale/Social History* 32.64 (November 1999), 255-257. Also see Kerry Abel, *Changing Places: History, Community, and Identity in Northeastern Ontario* (Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2006), xi-xxiv; and Katharine Rollwagen, "'That Touch of Paternalism': Cultivating Community in the Company Town of Britannia Beach, 1920-58," *BC Studies* 151 (Autumn 2006), 39-67.

in shaping and reshaping it.[3] Specifically, the political, religious, ideological, and domestic individual and group identities of these Ukrainian men, women, and children complicated the creation of this ethnic community, in part determining both its membership and its boundaries. These were multi-layered identities which made belonging to the Ukrainian community, as well as to the region, and the nation difficult. Certainly, lived experience is important for reconstructing the ways that these identities impacted this community. A synthetic social history, this dissertation allows those who lived both within and on the margins of Sudbury's Ukrainian community to act "as protagonists in the transformative processes in which they were involved."[4] According to Frances Swyripa and Rhonda Hinther, diversity is central to understanding the experiences of these Ukrainian men, women, and children. Whereas Swyripa reconstructs how gender combined with ethnicity and class to shape the experiences of Catholic, nationalist, and progressive Ukrainian Canadian women, Hinther is concerned with the ways that the interaction between gender, class, ethnicity, age, and experience impacted the progressive movement and specifically, the identities of its male, female,

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[3] See Franca Iacovetta, *Such Hardworking People: Italian Immigrants in Postwar Toronto* (Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1992); and Royden Loewen, *Family, Church, and Market: A Mennonite Community in the Old and New Worlds, 1850-1930* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1993).

[4] Franca Iacovetta's *The Writing of English Canadian Immigrant History* has acted as an important entry point into studies which have shaped this dissertation. Both a polemic and a guide for writing about immigrants, Iacovetta's work draws together the historiography and outlines innovative approaches for the field while advocating an enlargement of the parameters which have constituted immigrant history. See Iacovetta, *The Writing of English Canadian Immigrant History* (Ottawa: Canadian Historical Association, 1997), 6. A longer version of Iacovetta's *The Writing of English Canadian Immigrant History* was published in *Labour/Le Travail*. See Iacovetta, "Manly Militants, Cohesive Communities, and Defiant Domestics: Writing About Immigrants in Canadian Historical Scholarship," *Labour/Le Travail* 36 (Fall 1995), 217-252.

and child members.[5] Building upon these important analyses, this dissertation examines the diverse experiences of Sudbury's Ukrainian men, women, and children in a highly localized northern setting, rather than the more typical western Canadian context favoured by both Swyripa and Hinther and much of the Ukrainian Canadian scholarly literature. Moreover, its inclusive narrative is not limited to narrow elitist and/or organizational agendas.[6] It tracks both similarities and differences, outlining how Ukrainians used their identities as well as their experiences to negotiate the fluid boundaries of the local, regional, and national communities to which they belonged.

Furthermore, social networks and the communal spaces in which these networks and the resulting individual and group identities were established, maintained, and reinforced played major roles in moulding the contours of this immigrant community.

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[5] See Frances Swyripa, *Wedded to the Cause: Ukrainian-Canadian Women and Ethnic Identity, 1891-1991* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1993); and Rhonda Hinther, "'Sincerest Revolutionary Greetings': Progressive Ukrainians in the Twentieth Century," Ph.D. Dissertation, McMaster University, 2005.

[6] Although rich in detail, the narratives written by many Ukrainian Canadian historians have tended to adhere to a political agenda and be written from an elite male perspective. See, for instance, O.W. Gerus, and J.E. Rea, *The Ukrainians in Canada* (Ottawa: The Canadian Historical Association, 1985); Vladimir Kaye, *Early Ukrainian Settlements in Western Canada, 1895-1900* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1964); Lubomyr Luciuk and Stella Hryniuk, eds., *Canada's Ukrainians: Negotiating an Identity* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1991); Manoly Lupul, ed., *A Heritage in Transition: Essays in the History of Ukrainians in Canada* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1982); Vera Lysenko, *Men in Sheepskin Coats* (Toronto: Ryerson Press, 1947); M.H. Marunchak, *The Ukrainian Canadians: A History* (Winnipeg: Ukrainian Academy of Arts and Sciences in Canada, 1982); and Jaroslav Petryshyn, *Peasants in the Promised Land: Canada and the Ukrainians, 1891-1914* (Toronto: Lorimer, 1985). Exceptions to this trend include Swyripa, *Wedded to the Cause: Ukrainian-Canadian Women and Ethnic Identity, 1891-1991*; and Hinther, "'Sincerest Revolutionary Greetings': Progressive Ukrainians in the Twentieth Century." It is important to note that although Orest Martynowych's rich study lacks a political agenda, "...it is essentially a history of public events and institutions, punctuated by dramatic episodes caused by prominent (male) personalities." See Martynowych, *Ukrainians in Canada: The Formative Years, 1891-1924* (Edmonton: Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies Press, 1991), xxv.

Specifically, St. Mary's Ukrainian Catholic Church, the Ukrainian Labour Farmer Temple Association (ULFTA) Hall, and the Ukrainian National Federation (UNF) Hall were important communal spaces that determined the ways in which Sudbury's Ukrainian men, women, and children belonged to their local community, as well as to the region, and the nation. Places like these, as Lynne Marks notes, defined community, enabling those who lived both within and outside of this community to not only negotiate membership, but also respectability and loyalty.[7]

Certainly, power relations combined with ethnicity, class, gender, age, and region to shape notions pertaining to respectability and loyalty. Although much of the literature that focuses upon Northern Ontario has tended to remain untouched by general trends within Canadian historiography, namely social history, the work that has been done by Nancy Forestell and Kerry Abel offers a framework for understanding the interconnections between and among these variables.[8] While Forestell demonstrates how the contours of a mining town impacted the gendered roles and identities of its citizens, Abel details the multiple conflicting and converging identities of these individuals, noting the ways in which they came together to create a community that was based upon a shared set of distinct northern experiences and values. In many

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[7] See Lynne Marks, *Revivals and Roller Rinks: Religion, Leisure, and Identity in Late-Nineteenth-Century Small-Town Ontario* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1996).

[8] For the most part, those who have written about Northern Ontario have focused almost exclusively upon resource development, labour radicalism, as well as urban settlement patterns and industrial development in single-industry communities. For a discussion about this historiographical problem see Nancy Forestell, "Women, Gender and the Provincial North," in Kerry Abel and Ken Coates, eds., *Northern Visions: New Perspectives on the North in Canadian History* (Peterborough: Broadview Press, 2001), 107-116; and Kerry Abel, "History and the Provincial Norths: An Ontario Example," in Kerry Abel and Ken Coates, eds., *Northern Visions: New Perspectives on the North in Canadian History* (Peterborough: Broadview Press, 2001), 127-140.

respects, this dissertation echoes Forestell's and Abel's analyses, in that it seeks to chart the evolution of a community as well as the impact of industry on it.[9] Specifically, it examines the distinct ways in which Ukrainians, Sudburians, and the mining companies which operated in the region imagined and experienced community. Respectability and loyalty to this community were, as we shall see, premised upon negotiations which occurred within and between these groups. While all Ukrainians struggled to prove that they were loyal citizens, only those who belonged to St. Mary's Ukrainian Catholic Church and the UNF Hall were regarded as respectable citizens by Sudburians and the

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[9] Nancy Forestell, "All that Glitters is not Gold: The Gender Dimensions of Work, Family, and Community Life in the Northern Ontario Gold Mining Town of Timmins, 1901-1950," Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Toronto, 1993; and Abel, *Changing Places: History, Community, and Identity in Northeastern Ontario.* Also see Nancy Forestell, "Bachelors, Boarding Houses, and Blind Pigs: Gender Construction in a Multi-Ethnic Mining Camp, 1909-1920," in Franca Iacovetta, Paula Draper, and Robert Ventresca, eds., *A Nation of Immigrants: Women, Workers, and Communities in Canadian History, 1840s-1960s* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1998), 251-290; and Forestell, "The Miner's Wife: Working-Class Femininity in a Masculine Context, 1920-1950," in Kathryn McPherson, Cecilia Morgan, and Nancy Forestell, eds., *Gendered Pasts: Historical Essays in Femininity and Masculinity in Canada* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), 139-157. It must be noted that in addition to Forestell's and Abel's studies, there are some other exceptional analyses, done by feminist and labour historians, which also consider region, class, gender, race, and ethnicity. See, for instance, Doug Baldwin, "A Study in Social Control: The Life of the Silver Miner in Northern Ontario," *Labour/Le Travail* 2 (1977), 79-106; Gail Cuthbert-Brandt, "The Development of French-Canadian Social Institutions in Sudbury, Ontario, 1883-1920," *Laurentian University Review* 11.2 (February 1979), 5-22; Eileen Goltz, "A Corporate View of Housing and Community in a Company Town: Copper Cliff, 1886-1920," *Ontario History* LXXXII.1 (March 1990), 29-52; Thomas Dunk, *It's a Working Man's Town: Male Working-Class Culture in Northwestern Ontario* (Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1991); Guy Gaudreau, *L'histoire des mineurs du nord ontarien et québécois* (Sillery, Quebec: Septentrion, 2003); Ian Radforth, *Bushworkers and Bosses: Logging in Northern Ontario, 1900-1980* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1987); Oiva Saarinen, *Between a Rock and a Hard Place: A Historical Geography of the Finns in the Sudbury Area* (Waterloo: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 1999); and Karen Dubinsky, *Improper Advances: Rape and Heterosexual Conflict in Ontario, 1880-1929* (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1993).

region's mining companies. The individual and group identities of Sudbury's Ukrainians and the communal spaces which helped to reinforce these identities were therefore signifiers of difference, central to the power relations that structured the community and thereby determined who did and did not belong. Community, in this particular context, must be regarded as "an exercise in power, of authority, legitimacy, and resistance," acting to include, exclude, nurture, and alienate.[10]

Remembering Community

From the beginning, I knew that researching Sudbury's Ukrainian community would be a highly personal dissertation topic. Instead of trying to maintain a disingenuous distance, I made a conscious decision to embrace the subjective element that I brought to this study. It must be noted that this self awareness has led me to make important decisions in the narrative and it has in no way hindered my ability to deal with the power relationships which have been central to the writing of this narrative. Growing up in Sudbury and listening to stories about its Ukrainian community allowed me to foster an important connection with this place and its people. Although I would never know what it was like to live in a time when men were paid in cents rather than dollars, I do know what it is like to smell and taste the sulphur being emitted from the International Nickel Company's (INCO) super-stack on a hot summer day. This familiarity and attention to detail has invariably shaped the ways that I have approached the history of Sudbury's Ukrainian community.

In many respects then, this dissertation not only reconstructs the contours of this ethnic community and the ways in which its members negotiated their places within and

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[10] Walsh and High, "Rethinking the Concept of Community," 262 and 267.

outside of it, but also includes a discussion of my archive stories.[11] Nothing was simple when it came to researching Sudbury's Ukrainians. Initial searches at local, provincial, and national archives resulted in few pertinent documents and therefore I turned to oral history interviews. Since Baba could vividly recall her past as well as the history of Sudbury's Ukrainian community, then I believed that others could do the same. The creation of this type of source was however not without its complications.

When I started to conceptualise this oral history project I, somewhat naively, believed that because I was Ukrainian, and most importantly Olga Zembrzycki's granddaughter, I would invariably be accepted as an insider by the community. It was not until I placed my first advertisement in the bulletin at St. Mary's Ukrainian Catholic Church and failed to receive a single response that I realized that my ethnicity and my relationship with Baba did not necessarily make me an insider. While I recognized that my questionable connection to the community was not the sole reason why individuals did not come forward – shyness, apathy, and a tendency to devalue personal stories were among some of the other reasons – I nevertheless determined that if I was going to proceed with this kind of research, I would need help from someone who was not only familiar with the Ukrainian community, but also trusted and known by the members of that community. I would need a true insider and, not surprisingly, I approached my Baba. At first, I asked Baba if she had any friends who would be willing to share their memories with me. Eager to help, she not only gave me a parish directory, but also

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[11] For an important discussion about expanding the boundaries of "archives" see, for instance, Antoinette Burton, ed., *Archive Stories: Facts, Fictions, and the Writing of History* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2005); and Burton, *Dwelling in the Archive: Women Writing House, Home, and History in Late Colonial India* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003).

began to construct a list of her friends and acquaintances. Although I proceeded to telephone these individuals, few agreed to be interviewed; I suspect that in many cases poor hearing led some to believe that I was a telemarketer. Fearing that the project would come to an abrupt stop, I visited Baba once again and asked her how I ought to proceed.[12]

Since Baba had done pastoral visits at local hospitals and nursing homes on behalf of St. Mary's Ukrainian Catholic Church for thirty-five years, she suggested that I start by approaching the Ukrainian men and women who lived in these places because their time was more limited. Due to their age, most were well into their 80s and 90s, Baba offered to accompany me to these places to solicit potential interviewees. We both agreed that it would be easier for those having problems with their vision or hearing to be introduced to my project by a friendly and familiar face. It was at this point that a number of the potential interviewees requested that Baba be present for the interviews; many were shy and thus felt more comfortable speaking with her than with me. These requests caused me to rethink my approach and at the same time, turned my interviews into something quite different from what I had envisioned. I quickly learned that preparing for an oral history project and reading the necessary literature is very different from actually doing an interview.[13] There are no words to express how comfortable and uncomfortable and how personal and impersonal an interview can be. For fear of losing

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[12] There is a fine line to be walked when writing personal history. As Franca Iacovetta notes, "...history cannot be treated exclusively as anthropology or ethnography, especially with regard to the remote past." See Iacovetta, "Post-Modern Ethnography, Historical Materialism, and Decentring the (Male) Authorial Voice: A Feminist Conversation," *Histoire sociale/Social History* 32.64 (November 1999), 282.

[13] For similar reflections see, for instance, Donald Ritchie, *Doing Oral History: A Practical Guide* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2003).

potential interviewees, I found myself agreeing to this arrangement without having a chance to think about the ramifications. The first thing that I noticed was the dynamics of the interview environment. Having Baba present put the interviewees as well as myself at ease. Baba was an insider and I was just her granddaughter. In most cases, she had known the interviewees for years and in some respects, it was like spending an afternoon among old friends who were sharing memories. From the beginning then I had to establish, with Baba and the interviewees, that I had to play a role that was well beyond that of a granddaughter; I had to structure how the interviewees reminisced. Baba could not interfere and I had to find a way for the interviewees to interact with me and not Baba.

This was not an easy process. At times, it ended up being difficult, frustrating, and methodologically problematic. I spent many post-interview periods reflecting on the interviews themselves and the ways that Baba, as a third person but as an insider, was both helping and hindering the process. In the early interviews there was an implicit power struggle between Baba and me and Baba and the interviewees. When I asked a question, Baba would often follow up with her own questions and when interviewees discussed their memories Baba would try to relate to them by responding with her own memories. This could not carry on and so I began to conduct interviews on my own. It was at this point, that I realized that although I was getting results they were neither as rich nor as detailed as when Baba was present. Interviewees were shy and although they warmed up to me they did not seem to trust me completely. After a handful of these solo interviews, I decided to try to include Baba once again. We discussed the subtle ways that she could consciously and unconsciously change the

dynamics of each interview space and I decided that she could accompany me only if she agreed to remain silent during the duration of the interviews. At the end of each interview she could then ask any questions that she had and add any relevant memories of her own. I decided to keep the digital recorder on throughout this process, so that both my exchanges and her exchanges could be preserved. Although Baba was not a trained historian, it must be noted that her questions and memories often enabled interviewees to recall things that my questions had not helped them to remember. We never perfected this three-way relationship, but we managed to transform it into a working relationship that eased my frustrations and suited my needs as well as those expressed by Baba and the interviewees.

It is important to note that if Baba did not know an interviewee personally, I did not include her in the interview process. I did not want to overwhelm those who had granted me an interview with two strangers; one was enough. Growing up as a child, Baba had always been forbidden to associate with the "communists" and their Spruce Street Hall and so I tried to restrict her from attending the interviews that I conducted with members of the ULFTA, later renamed the Association of United Ukrainian Canadians (AUUC). At the outset, I believed that it was important to do these interviews by myself because, unlike Baba, I thought that I was the only one capable of examining the progressive element of this ethnic community in a non-judgmental way. Interestingly, Baba quickly broke this rule. Her strict Ukrainian Catholic father may have forbidden her to associate with members of the ULFTA but that did not stop Baba from becoming friends with a number of progressives. Throughout her life, Baba formed relationships with Ukrainians who belonged to not only the ULFTA, but also

the UNF and St. Volodymyr's Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church. She interacted with these Ukrainians in a variety of places and spaces, namely at school, at work, at social functions like dances, and in community spaces like shopping centres. Despite my initial wish, Baba and I therefore interviewed those who belonged to the ULFTA, the UNF, and St. Volodymyr's Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church; not surprisingly we also interviewed those who belonged to Baba's church, St. Mary's. Clearly, the boundaries of Baba's Ukrainian community were more fluid than the ones which I had imagined.

Since the men and women that I interviewed were children during the interwar years, the period upon which this dissertation is based, the richest details to come out of these interviews relate to childhood and specifically to growing up as a first or second generation Ukrainian Canadian child in Sudbury. If I had been interviewing those who had held prominent roles in society, I would have been able to obtain details about their lives from the public archive prior to conducting interviews with them. There is however a significant difference when it comes to preparing for interviews with individuals who have lived private lives. Although I could familiarize myself with the context in which these individuals lived, namely the place and the time, I was unable to obtain any kind of personal information about them from the public archive. As Michael Riordon notes: "The people that matter leave records, they make history. By corollary, people who leave no records make nothing and have no value."[14] Having Baba involved in these interviews was therefore quite invaluable because we were interviewing her friends and acquaintances, and thus these were people she had known for many years. In many respects, speaking with Baba was like doing research. Prior to an interview or

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[14] Michael Riordon, *An Unauthorized Biography of the World: Oral History on the Front Lines* (Toronto: Between the Lines, 2004), 4.

on the way to it, Baba was able to give me a short briefing about the interviewee and her relation to them. Although these briefings were based on her subjective opinions and perspectives, and to a degree, the gossip she had heard over the years, they were usually quite helpful, allowing me to prepare my questions in advance. For instance, knowing the particular neighbourhood in which an interviewee grew up allowed me to examine interviews I had done with others from the same neighbourhood before going into the interview environment. This therefore enabled me to ask specific and contextual questions during the interview. Unless one conducts a series of interviews with an individual, a single interview is a relatively short period of time for an interviewee to reflect upon his or her life. This approach thus maximized my time with an interviewee and the knowledge that I brought to an interview showed the interviewee that even though I had not lived in the neighbourhood under discussion, I had reconstructed it nonetheless.

This approach also made the interviews as constructive as possible because I always knew what subjects and questions ought not to be discussed or which issues required sensitivity. Although I went into many interviews knowing something about my interviewees' pasts, I always gave them the opportunity to freely discuss whatever memories they deemed relevant. If they did not want to talk about a positive or a negative event that they had experienced and I had known about prior to the interviews, then I did not push them. In some instances, the parts of the interviews that I believed were missing ended up being nothing at all as sometimes Baba's briefings were completely inconsistent with the stories recalled by my interviewees. Certainly, discrepancies reminded me of the subjective and layered nature of memories and

particularly the importance of asking how variables like gender and class shape both the construction of historical memories and the telling of stories.[15] Specifically, it was at these junctures that I realized that Baba's subjective memories were valid but that they were not by any means complete or entirely correct. As Alessandro Portelli remarks, oral history makes us "uncomfortably aware of the elusive quality of historical truth itself."[16] By having Baba present at the interviews, I was forced to separate myself from her subjective understanding of the past and what had been my imagined world since childhood. Listening to her memories as well as the memories of my interviewees allowed me to reconceptualise my understanding of the past, recognizing that everyone experiences a time, a place, and a space differently and it is only in putting these memories together that we can attempt to collectively reconstruct what ceases to exist. As Steven High notes, although each narrative may be unique, patterns of shared meaning and collective memories emerge nevertheless.[17] In this sense, the community that I attempted to reconstruct worked best when it was envisioned as an imagined reality, a social interaction, and a process.[18]

Bringing Baba to these interviews also made me realize that there is an uneasy balance that must be maintained when combining oral history with local history. Because Baba knew or was familiar with the individuals that we interviewed, she was able to pick up on the subtleties that I would have missed during the course of an

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[15] Joan Sangster, "Telling Our Stories: Feminist Debates and the Use of Oral History," *Women's History Review* 3.1 (March 1994), 5-28.

[16] Alessandro Portelli, *The Death of Luigi Trastulli and Other Stories: Form and Meaning in Oral History* (Albany: State University of New York, 1991), viii.

[17] Steven High, *Industrial Sunset: The Making of North America's Rust Belt, 1969-1984* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2003), 42.

[18] Walsh and High, "Rethinking the Concept of Community," 256.

interview. Together we were able to use these small details to begin to understand the silences or uneasy periods that had occurred during interviews; even when people leave major details out of their narratives, they drop hints and leave markers which can be pieced together if one is aware of those major details. Sudbury is a relatively small community and it is hard to go into a public space and remain unknown or anonymous. These interviews revealed that the Ukrainian community within Sudbury is even smaller and more closely linked. Many of the immigrants who settled in Sudbury between 1901 and 1939 still have family members living in the region. So, even if a second, third, or fourth generation Ukrainian has not been involved in any aspect of organized life, there is a good chance that the majority of Ukrainians will nevertheless still be familiar with their particular family or know that individual personally. People talk amongst themselves and thus it was very difficult for an interviewee to get away with constructing a false or an embellished narrative during an interview. The nature of the community made it quite easy to reflect upon the ways that individuals remember and reminisce about their experiences. Some people had little to hide while others sought to protect family secrets and to ensure that their families' names would not be tarnished. This was, for instance, often the case when discussing bootlegging. Specifically, most interviewees readily admitted that they had known that there was bootlegging in their neighbourhood. In fact, they could often name the individuals in charge of these businesses and vividly describe the houses in which this activity took place. But when it came to admitting whether their parents had bootlegged, most were silent. It was only through interviews with others who had lived in those respective

neighbourhoods that I discovered when an interviewee had remained silent about an issue such as this.

This example about silences and conflicting stories is, as we shall see, but one of many. Undoubtedly there will always be people who will think that I have gotten the story of Sudbury's Ukrainians wrong. My facts will not be consistent with what they believe to be the truth. However lamentable this is not one of my concerns. I have come to realize that the ways that people remember are sometimes more important than what it is they remember.[19] Memories may not be entirely reliable but they do nevertheless have their strengths. A truth is a highly subjective thing and it is really only through an interviewee's embellishments or silences that we may gain a sense of the ways that that person constructs and defines his or her past.

Writing About Community

Together, Baba and I conducted seventy-two oral history interviews, between October 2004 and June 2005, with Ukrainians who were either born, or raised, or came to the Sudbury region prior to 1945; I conducted ten other interviews on my own. Fifty of these interviewees were women and thirty-two were men. Moreover, twenty-three of these interviewees grew up in Manitoba and Saskatchewan, while forty-nine grew up in Northern Ontario; it must be noted that the ten remaining interviewees grew up elsewhere, usually in Eastern Europe.[20]

This dissertation is a journey into my imagined Ukrainian community, Baba's Ukrainian community, and the communities which other Ukrainians in the Sudbury

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[19] See Portelli, *The Death of Luigi Trastulli and Other Stories: Form and Meaning in Oral History*, 50.

[20] For a detailed synopsis about these oral history interviewees, see the Appendix.

region have experienced. Organized both chronologically and thematically, it makes extensive use of Ukrainian and English written sources and English oral sources; Larissa Stavroff's translations have been central to the writing of this history. The archive stories which wind through the narrative of this dissertation thereby detail the challenges of working with both of these types of sources. Beginning in 1901 and ending with the outbreak of World War I, Chapter Two maps the physical landscape of Sudbury's early Ukrainian community. Although the absence of pertinent sources made the writing of this chapter difficult, it nevertheless reconstructs the heavily masculine and highly transient multi-ethnic community which took shape in the region. Specifically, it explores the gendered experience of belonging and the start of organized Ukrainian life in this fluid community. Also dependent upon a set of problematic yet valuable sources, Chapter Three, which focuses upon the First World War, is concerned with the ways in which war affected both the identities of Sudbury's Ukrainians and the community that they constructed. Labelled as "enemy aliens", this chapter not only examines how the host society, in this case the local community, the region, and the nation, identified Ukrainians, but also demonstrates how Ukrainians, as new citizens, negotiated their places within these communities. Moreover, this chapter discusses the important power relations which began to structure the community, pointing out how the region's mining companies and the organizational affiliations and political and religious identities of Sudbury's Ukrainians determined loyalty, respectability, and belonging. Using both written and oral sources, Chapter Four tracks demographic growth and organizational changes during the 1920s. Concerned with the ways that ethnic communal spaces impacted identity, it reconstructs the overlapping gendered,

ethnic, and age-defined identities of Ukrainian Catholic and progressive men, women, and children. In addition, it notes how the building of these ethnic communal spaces led to a deepening of the division which plagued the community. Focused upon the Depression era and utilizing both written and oral sources, Chapters Five and Six place Baba's narrative at the centre of the analysis, examining how her personal truth coincided with and/or diverged from the collective truths presented by my other interviewees. Since Baba attended most of the oral history interviews and shaped the ways that I viewed Sudbury's Ukrainian community, her stories have been examined against those which were recalled by other Ukrainian men and women. Certainly, as we shall see, this web of stories is central to understanding how Ukrainian men, women, and children imagined and experienced their communities during the 1930s. In particular, an examination of the religious, political, ideological, and domestic individual and group identities that were assumed by these men, women, and children will demonstrate the important role which conflict and consensus played in shaping Sudbury's Ukrainian community.

Chapter Two

"We All Had The Same Purpose – To Make Our Home in a New Land": Gendering the Experience of Belonging to a Multi-Ethnic Region, 1901-1914

I arrived in Quebec from Western Ukraine aboard the "Marta" Hamburg Line on July 6, 1911, chaperoned by my uncle Dmetro Mateyko and destined for Fort William, Ontario to reside with my oldest sister, Mrs. Sam Babyn. I had left behind three brothers and two sisters and my mother – my father having passed away three years prior to my departure for Canada. I was...seventeen years of age, which was considered mature at that time. I was very excited at the prospect of living in Canada.

When my uncle and I arrived in Sudbury, enroute to Fort William, we decided to visit some relatives in Copper Cliff, Creighton, Crean Hill Mine and Mond Nickel Mine. We walked to Copper Cliff from the Sudbury station as there were no taxis then or buses...I can tell you I was very tired when we arrived in Copper Cliff. I was also very thirsty and our first stop in Copper Cliff was pleasant. Just to have a glass of water was precious. From Copper Cliff my uncle went on to Creighton, leaving me in Copper Cliff. The next day I was driven to Creighton via horse and buggy to meet my uncle as I was too tired to continue the journey to Creighton with him on the day of our arrival. Our relatives in Creighton induced us to stay in Creighton and my uncle obtained a job in the mine and I went to work in a boarding house at a salary of ten dollars a month...

[While visiting friends at] Mond Nickel Mine I met my husband to be, John Parchewski. He came from the same village that I did in the Ukraine, a small village called Potocheska, Horodenka. We had a lot in common [and we] talked about our relatives and our friends at home. We were both lonely in this strange new land of forests, hills and sparse settlements. Mr. Parchewski proposed and I accepted. We were married on October 22, 1911 at Victoria Mine in St. Paul's Roman Catholic Church. I recall driving to the church in a horse and buggy, a distance of three miles, and I was happy that I did not have to walk to church on my wedding day. It seemed that since my arrival in Sudbury all I did was walk from one place to another.

Our first home was in Mond Nickel Mines – a log cabin partitioned off into living quarters by drapes for four families; two families were Ukrainian and the other two were French. Our first tragedy was the death of our first born, a son born [in] July 1912. He died shortly after birth. I recall how the other families helped to lessen our sorrow – how they helped us. One of the men constructed a little coffin for our baby and his wife sewed a little dress for the baby to be buried in. They drove my husband to Whitefish with our baby where they buried him. I was ill and did not attend.

There were about twenty families in that little mining community. There was a store also. In the community there were four Ukrainian families, the rest were French, German, Finnish, Scotch, and English. We got on well together [as] we all had the same purpose – to make our home in a new land...[1]

Sophia Parchewski's (nee Mateyko) narrative, recorded by her daughter Mary Hansen in 1952, is one of the few surviving accounts of Ukrainian immigrant life in the Sudbury region at the beginning of the twentieth century.[2] Whereas some individuals tend to recall the past in general terms when telling their life stories, Sophia's memories were anecdotal and intensely personal. The mining companies that built and shaped the region during this period were not the historical actors in her story, she was. Although we get a sense of what daily life was like for Ukrainians in this rough and rugged environment, it is the ways in which Sophia was made to feel as though she was a part of this multi-ethnic community that are most evident here. For Sophia, her new friends

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[1] Archives of Ontario (AO), Multicultural History Society of Ontario (MHSO) Fonds, F 1405, Series 56-27, Ukrainian Canadian Papers, Mary Hansen Papers, typed article for the *Sudbury Star*, dated 1952.

[2] I say few because there are only a handful of MHSO oral history interviews, conducted by Mary Stefura in the late 1970s and early 1980s with the first generation of Ukrainian immigrants, which remain accessible today. It must be noted that interviewees' maiden names have been included in the body of this dissertation as well as in the footnotes. Many female interviewees married men who descended from other ethnicities and thus they assumed non-Ukrainian surnames. This inclusion is meant to denote their Ukrainian heritage.

and neighbours were a vital part of her story, rallying around her and her husband in difficult times. In reducing the history of the area to personal terms, Sophia's memories allowed her to order and validate her experiences and understand the ways in which the past impacted her life.[3]

While some critics may question my decision to begin a dissertation about a heavily masculine, multi-ethnic mining community with a woman's memories, I would argue that it is gendered narratives like this one which provide an entry point into understanding the formative years of the Ukrainian communities which emerged in and around the Sudbury region at the turn of the twentieth century. A story like this highlights individual gendered experiences and identities, specifically demonstrating how one woman travelled and settled in a new country, re-connected with family, married a man from her village, and handled heart-breaking challenges when it came to motherhood. Moreover, stories like the one recounted by Sophia allow us to place notions pertaining to the concept of community at the centre of this analysis. Specifically, if we make community a problem which ought to be studied and

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[3] Michael Frisch uses this line of reasoning to review Stud Terkel's *Hard Times: An Oral History of the Great Depression* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1970). In turning history into biographical memories, Frisch argues that Turkel's interviewees tried to retain a deeper sense of validation about their life while attempting to understand the society in which they lived. See Michael Frisch, *A Shared Authority: Essays on the Craft and Meaning of Oral and Public History* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1990), 12-13. For a related discussion about the subjective ways in which biographical memories help interviewees to understand the past also see Luisa Passerini, *Fascism in Popular Memory: The Cultural Experience of the Turin Working Class*, Translated by Robert Lumley and Jude Bloomfield (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987); Passerini, "Work Ideology and Consensus Under Italian Fascism," in Robert Perks and Alistair Thomson, eds., *The Oral History Reader* (London: Routledge, 1998), 53-62; and Alexander Freund and Laura Quilici, "Exploring Myths in Women's Narratives: Italian and German Immigrant Women in Vancouver, 1947-1961," *BC Studies* 105-106 (Spring/Summer 1995), 159-182.

understand it as an imagined reality, a social interaction, and a fluid process, as John C. Walsh and Steven High advocate, then we may begin to ask why these particular communities emerged, how they worked, and most importantly, what impacts they had upon the gendered experiences and identities of the Ukrainian men and women who felt at home within these ethnic spaces.[4]

This chapter, which builds upon the work of Kerry Abel, Nancy Forestell, Lynne Marks, Franca Iacovetta, and Royden Loewen, will reconstruct the early years of these Ukrainian settlements from a gendered perspective to track the often changing and conflicting ideas that Sudbury's Ukrainian men and women held about their places within their communities.[5] Although mutual aid across ethnic boundaries was essential for survival during the pioneering stage of community development – as Sophia's story demonstrates – it must be noted that this theme will not play a significant role in this

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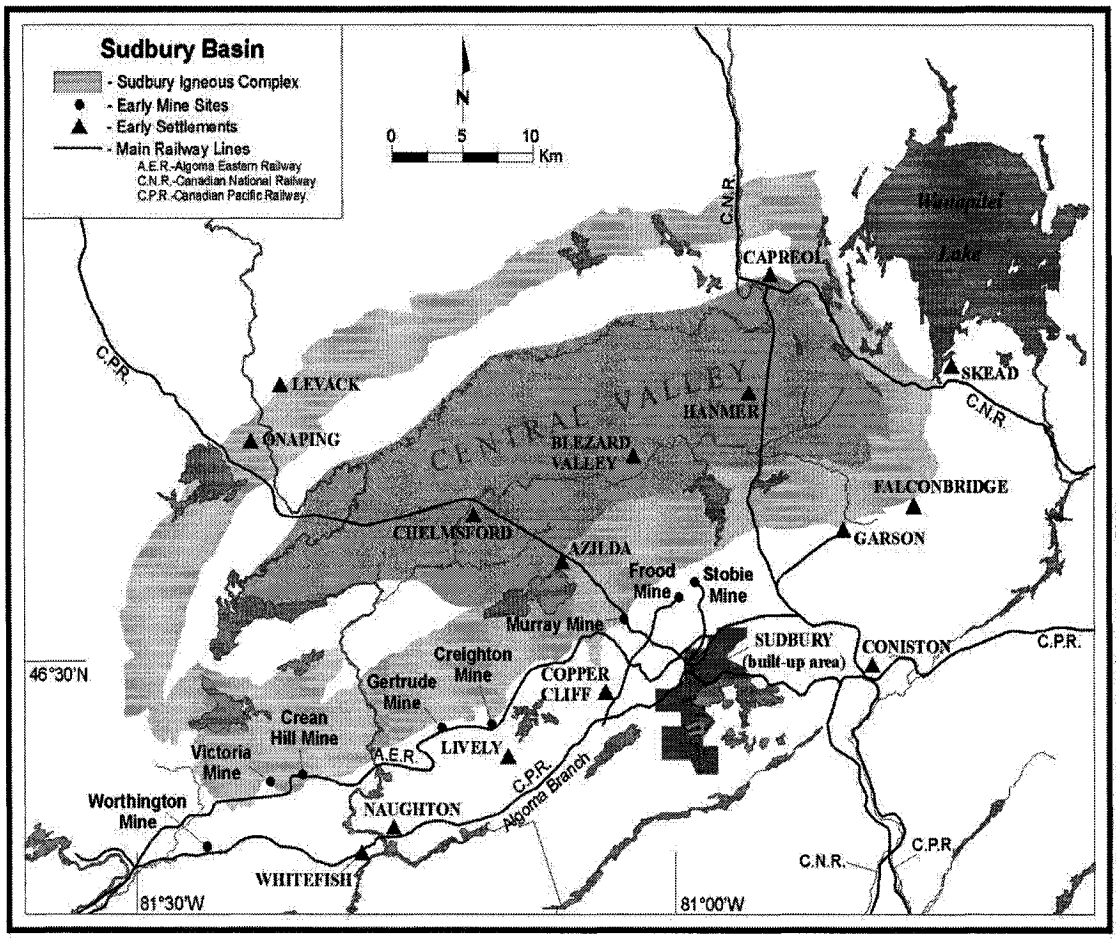
[4] John C. Walsh and Steven High, "Rethinking the Concept of Community," *Histoire sociale/Social History* 32.64 (November 1999), 256.

[5] I mention these Canadian historians because they place notions of community at the centre of their work. See Kerry Abel, *Changing Places: History, Community, and Identity in Northeastern Ontario* (Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2006); Nancy Forestell, "All that Glitters is not Gold: The Gender Dimensions of Work, Family, and Community Life in the Northern Ontario Gold Mining Town of Timmins, 1901-1950," Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Toronto, 1993; Forestell, "Bachelors, Boarding Houses, and Blind Pigs: Gender Construction in a Multi-Ethnic Mining Camp, 1909-1920," in Franca Iacovetta, Paula Draper, and Robert Ventresca, eds., *A Nation of Immigrants: Women, Workers, and Communities in Canadian History, 1840s-1960s* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1998), 251-290; Forestell, "The Miner's Wife: Working-Class Femininity in a Masculine Context, 1920-1950," in Kathryn McPherson, Cecilia Morgan, and Nancy Forestell, eds., *Gendered Pasts: Historical Essays in Femininity and Masculinity in Canada* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), 139-157; Lynne Marks, *Revivals and Roller Rinks: Religion, Leisure, and Identity in Late Nineteenth-Century Small-Town Ontario* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1996); Franca Iacovetta, *Such Hardworking People: Italian Immigrants in Postwar Toronto* (Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1992); and Royden Loewen, *Family, Church, and Market: A Mennonite Community in the Old and New Worlds, 1850-1930* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1993).

chapter. Rather, it will focus upon the social networks to which Ukrainian men and women belonged. As we shall see, these social networks played a major role in dividing these communities into factions, essentially determining who did and did not fit in. The gendered experiences that Ukrainian men and women faced within the spaces in which they lived, worked, and played impacted how they engaged with their communities. In reconstructing these experiences it will become clear that even though these immigrants may have had the same purpose – "to make [their] home in a new land" – their responses to this challenge differed and thereby proved to be substantial obstacles when it came to the creation of a collective group identity.

The Formation of Ethnic Sudbury

Sudbury began as a Canadian Pacific Railway (CPR) construction camp in 1883. Located within the township of McKim, the camp served as a junction point, marking the intersection of the Algoma Eastern Railway (AER) and the main CPR rail lines.



Map 2.1: The Sudbury Basin

Despite the fact that Sudbury was also the centre of a seasonal but prosperous lumber industry, company officials believed that like countless other CPR company towns located in frontier environments, Sudbury would be abandoned when construction ceased. This may have been the case had it not been for the discovery of ore in the summer of 1883. Although this discovery incited a rush to the region, it was not until 1885, when Samuel Ritchie, an American entrepreneur, arrived in Sudbury that mining began to gain precedence as a major industry. Ritchie spent his first few months in the region acquiring mining properties and in January 1886 he created the Canadian Copper Company (CCC). The CCC's main site of operation was in the western part of McKim,

about ten kilometres outside of Sudbury. In May 1886, a crew of twenty-five workers, composed of English, French, and Finnish men, began blasting at Copper Cliff Mine.[6] A few months after blasting began, the excitement which had marked the founding of the CCC turned to despair, as the promise of high-grade ore was replaced with a crippling reality: the ore was of a low-grade and contained nickel, an element which was expensive to refine and, more importantly, lacked an international market.

It was not until May 1889, when James Riley, of the Steel Company of Scotland, delivered a paper to a meeting of the Iron and Steel Institute of Great Britain, entitled "The Alloys of Nickel and Iron," that the CCC's future in the Sudbury region was assured. According to Riley, a combination of nickel and steel was the best material for armour and would thereby be indispensable to the military.[7] What thus began as a mining camp around the Copper Cliff Mine quickly turned into the village of Copper Cliff in 1890. Owned and operated by the CCC, the company's policy was to provide housing to its British workers, thereby restricting private building in its town to that group. According to Eileen Goltz, "land leases and house rentals thus became powerful tools with which the company enforced social control over those living on its property."[8] As a result, all of the other members of the CCC's workforce were required

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[6] C.M. Wallace, "The 1880s," in C.M. Wallace and Ashley Thomson, eds., *Sudbury: Rail Town to Regional Capital* (Toronto: Dundurn Press, 1993), 21.

[7] Ibid., 27.

[8] Eileen Goltz, "A Corporate View of Housing and Community in a Company Town: Copper Cliff, 1886-1920," *Ontario History* LXXXII.1 (March 1990), 30. Interestingly, Kerry Abel problematizes Goltz's findings, arguing that mining companies were quite limited when it came to controlling those who lived on their property. Specifically, she asserts that company towns, like those located in Northeastern Ontario, contained many similar but different communities. These were places where "[conflict] and consensus tripped around one another in a sometimes clumsy dance as both company and worker tried to shape a living space while

to settle elsewhere. They did so in what became known as "fringe developments," small, informal hamlets that sprang up on the outskirts of the company's property. The workers who resided in these areas, which were often located close to the heart of the company's mining operations – the smelter, rock house, and roast yard – were expected to lease their own land and build their own housing. As the company expanded its operations and attracted more workers – in most instances ethnic men willing to do the dangerous and difficult work involved in mining – the fringe developments became ethnocultural communities.[9] With the CCC's housing located in the middle of the village, the Crows Nest settlement, northeast of this area, lodged Italian workers, the Johnson extension, southeast of the village, became a Ukrainian and Polish hamlet, and Finnish and French-Canadian workers and their families lived in Shantytown, just east of the village.[10]

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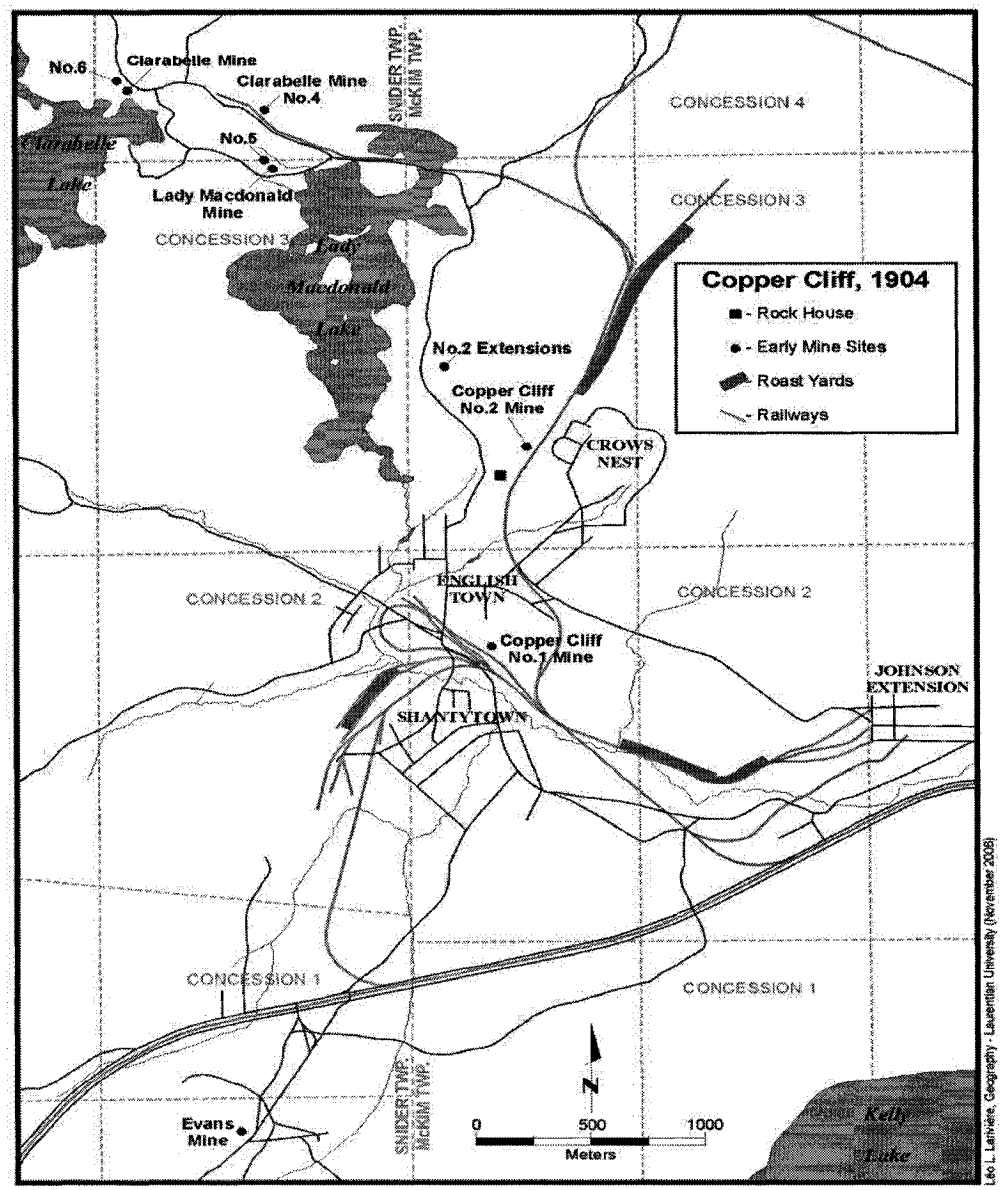
exploiting the raw materials of a resource economy..." See Abel, *Changing Places: History, Community, and Identity in Northeastern Ontario*, 248.

[9] For a discussion about the willingness of immigrants to do the dangerous and difficult work often declined by Anglo-Canadian and British citizens see Donald Avery, *"Dangerous Foreigners": European Immigrant Workers and Labour Radicalism in Canada, 1896-1932* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1979); and Avery, *Reluctant Host: Canada's Response to Immigrant Workers 1896-1994* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1995).

[10] Goltz, "A Corporate View of Housing and Community in a Company Town: Copper Cliff, 1886-1920," 38.



Map 2.2: Copper Cliff, circa 1904

In 1901 however, these boundaries changed. The CCC had the village incorporated into the Town of Copper Cliff, effectively uniting the fringe developments with the company settlement in the centre. Spurred on by local officials, the goal of incorporation was to enable the company to gain "better control of the village in

everything," including its "sanitary affairs, [keeping] cattle out of the streets, [giving its citizens] better streets...[and doing] something toward its fire protection."[11]

Figure 2.1: Copper Cliff, circa 1910[12]

As the photograph above demonstrates, Copper Cliff was a stark and desolate place during this period; it must be noted that Sudbury and Coniston, which will be discussed below, were not much better. The natural vegetation had been destroyed early on by sulphur fumes that were emitted in the roasting yards and the town lacked any type of infrastructure to deal with sanitation problems. Animals roamed freely, outdoor privies lacked proper drainage, the streets were either dusty in dry weather or muddy when it rained, and garbage was strewn throughout the area. Moreover, many of the creeks and wells were contaminated and, as a result, diseases, especially typhoid fever,

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[11] This information was also quoted by Goltz. Ibid., 39-40.

[12] Graeme Mount, *The Sudbury Region: An Illustrated History* (Northridge: Windsor Publications, 1986), 34.

posed a constant threat to the town's inhabitants. In addition, the infant mortality rate in the area was among the highest in the country.[13]

Incorporation of the town was meant to rectify some, if not all, of these problems. However, as Goltz notes, these problems continued to plague the ethnocultural communities within the town, as early improvements were only made to the British section of the company's property.[14] Soon after the town's incorporation, in 1902, the CCC and several other companies interested in the production of nickel merged to create the International Nickel Company (INCO), an American holding company with headquarters in New York City. The CCC thus became a subsidiary company of INCO, with the Canadian headquarters located in Copper Cliff.[15] Improvements to the British section of town continued as INCO assumed responsibility for Copper Cliff.

At the same time, Ludwig Mond, a Swiss inventor then living in England, began to purchase property in the area. Mond possessed a new way of refining nickel and in 1900 he formed the Mond Nickel Company (MNC), which soon employed 300 men in its nickel mines.[16] Originally located west of Copper Cliff, the MNC operated its Victoria Mine smelter operation there until 1913 when it then moved to Coniston, a small town located in the Township of Neelon, about fifteen kilometres east of Sudbury; it must be noted that the MNC opened another mine in Levack around the same time, a town which was also located in the Township of Neelon. Like the CCC, the MNC

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[13] Goltz, "A Corporate View of Housing and Community in a Company Town: Copper Cliff, 1886-1920," 40.

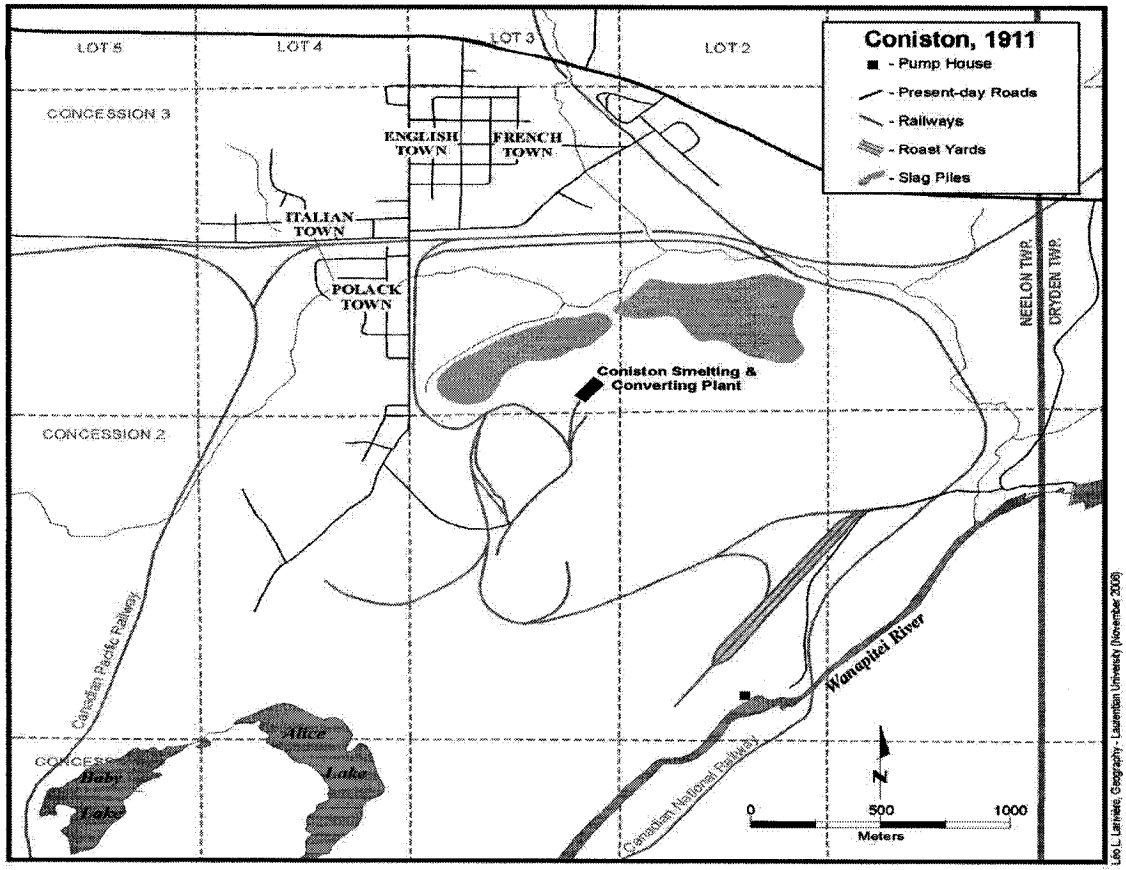
[14] Ibid.

[15] Ibid.

[16] Ashley Thomson, "The 1890s," in C.M. Wallace and Ashley Thomson, eds., *Sudbury: Rail Town to Regional Capital* (Toronto: Dundurn Press, 1993), 52.

purchased all of the land in the Coniston area and quickly began to build company housing. Based upon an ethnic hierarchical pyramid of privilege, with those of British descent at the top and those of the immigrant working classes at the bottom, management, many of whom were British, lived in executive homes, while housing provided for the company's many other workers, if it was provided at all, was simple in comparison. Unlike INCO however, the company included all of the settlements, ethnic or otherwise, in the town site from its inception. Not surprisingly, Coniston's development mirrored that of Copper Cliff and thus it was not long before ethnic hamlets developed in and around the town. The company's housing, known as English Town, was located in the centre of Coniston and east of this centre, in Old Coniston, was French Town. A CPR line further divided the town along linguistic lines, with Italians settling on the north side of the tracks in Italian Town and Ukrainians and Poles calling Polack Town, on the south side of the tracks, home.[17]

[17] Mike Solski, ed., *The Coniston Story* (Sudbury: Journal Printing, 1983), 10.



Map 2.3: Coniston, circa 1911

Figure 2.2: A Company House Located on First Avenue in English Town[18]

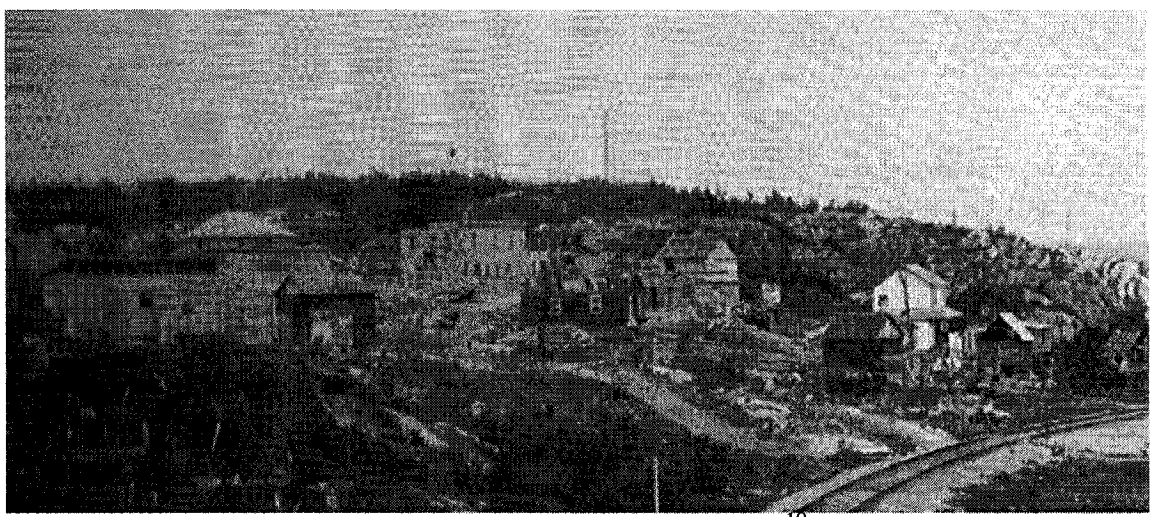


Figure 2.3: A View of Polack Town[19]

[18] Greater Sudbury Heritage Museum Digital Collection.
[19] Solski, *The Coniston Story*, 3.

As these photographs indicate, the MNC like the CCC and then INCO was most concerned with accommodating its British workforce. Unlike the Poles and Ukrainians who lived in Polack Town in shabby, single-story dwellings which often lacked running water, the company provided its British workers with beautiful two-story houses, complete with running water inside and wooden sidewalks outside; it is significant to note that the company did not subsidize housing costs in Polack Town.

Although Sudbury's economy grew alongside that of Copper Cliff and later Coniston, it failed to attract many of the immigrants who came to the area in search of employment. While it certainly became a service centre for the region, immigrants, including Ukrainians, chose to settle in communities located close to the mines which employed them.[20] For the most part, this chapter will therefore focus upon the Ukrainian settlements located in Copper Cliff and Coniston and also make mention of Worthington, Victoria Mine, Murray Mine, Creighton, and Garson; these were smaller mining communities, also located on the outskirts of Sudbury, with vibrant Ukrainian populations (see Map 2.1). This trend – of settling in the region surrounding the town of Sudbury – continued until the mid-1920s when the creation of a rail line between Copper Cliff and Sudbury in 1915 and the opening of Frood Mine in 1926, a major mining site located in the northwest corner of Sudbury and lacking a company town site, made living in Sudbury a more feasible option.

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[20] See Gilbert Stelter, "Community Development in Toronto's Commercial Empire: The Industrial Towns of the Nickel Belt, 1883-1931," *Laurentian University Review* 16.3 (June 1974), 3-53; Stelter, "The Origins of a Company Town: Sudbury in the Nineteenth Century," *Laurentian University Review* 3.3 (February 1971), 3-37; Stelter and Alan Artibise, "Canadian Resource Towns in Historical Perspective," *Plan Canada* 18.1 (March 1978), 7-15; and Noel Beach, "Nickel Capital: Sudbury and the Nickel Industry, 1905-1925," *Laurentian University Review* 16.3 (June 1974), 55-74.

The first wave of Ukrainian immigration to Canada began in 1891. Pushed out of Austria-Hungary and Russia by overpopulation, the nobility's control of forest and pasture lands, and the absence of an industrial sector, Ukrainians were pulled to Canada with promises of free land and jobs.[21] They boarded ships bound for Canada with the hope that they would be able to live a better life in this strange, new land. Many, like Anne's* father, immigrated because they had received letters from friends, already living in Canada, which emphasized that it "was...a rich place where [they] could make some money" and live comfortably.[22] Although the destination for the bulk of this early group of immigrants was Western Canada, many Ukrainians also began to settle in industrial communities located in Northern Ontario, Northwestern Quebec, and parts of Eastern Canada shortly after the turn of the twentieth century.[23]

Unfortunately, when it comes to reconstructing the formative years of the Ukrainian communities which emerged in the Sudbury region during this period, we are left with very few sources. Since these early settlers could often neither read nor write

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[21] These push and pull factors are outlined by Orest Martynowych. See Martynowych, *Ukrainians in Canada: The Formative Years, 1891-1924* (Edmonton: Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies Press, 1991), 3. It is significant to note that Stella Hryniuk makes a slightly different case for Ukrainian immigration from Southeastern Galicia, arguing that Ukrainians left their homeland not because of poverty but simply because they sought better opportunities in a new country. See Hryniuk, *Peasants with Promise: Ukrainians in Southeastern Galicia, 1880-1900* (Edmonton: Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies Press, 1991), 205.

[22] Interviewees who wished to remain anonymous were given the opportunity to choose an alias. When quoted, an interviewee's alias will be followed by an asterisk, like the one above. Anonymous interviewee, interview by author, Sudbury, 20 January 2005.

[23] For a discussion about those Ukrainians who settled in Quebec see Alexander Biega and Myroslaw Diakowsky, eds., *The Ukrainian Experience in Quebec* (Toronto: The Basilian Press, 1994). Although Martynowych focuses upon the Ukrainians who settled in Western Canada, he also briefly discusses those who immigrated to Ontario, Quebec, and Eastern Canada. See Martynowych, *Ukrainians in Canada: The Formative Years, 1891-1924*, 109-128.

they did not leave written records to which we can now return. Moreover, few recounted their experiences to the next generation and thus the early memories of those still living tend to date back to the period after World War I. Indeed the handful of articles which have been written by local historian Mary Stefura reflect this problem with sources, leading one to wonder whether the story of Sudbury's Ukrainians ought to begin after the war.[24] Digging deeper however reveals serious problems with omitting the pre-war period. By beginning the story almost twenty years after the first Ukrainian settlers arrived in the region, we not only risk misunderstanding the foundations upon which these communities were built, but also lose the ability to track the many consistencies and changes which characterized these settlements. Specifically, this narrative must date back to the opening years of the twentieth century so that we may be able to show the ways in which both conflict and consensus figured in the development of these communities. Few sources, oral or otherwise, may exist but the aggregate and manuscript census data from 1901 and 1911 provide us with a context within which we may ground this local case study. In particular, this data will not only permit a reconstruction of the size, shape, and location of the first Ukrainian communities in the region, but also supply enough information to establish how these communities were divided along gender lines.

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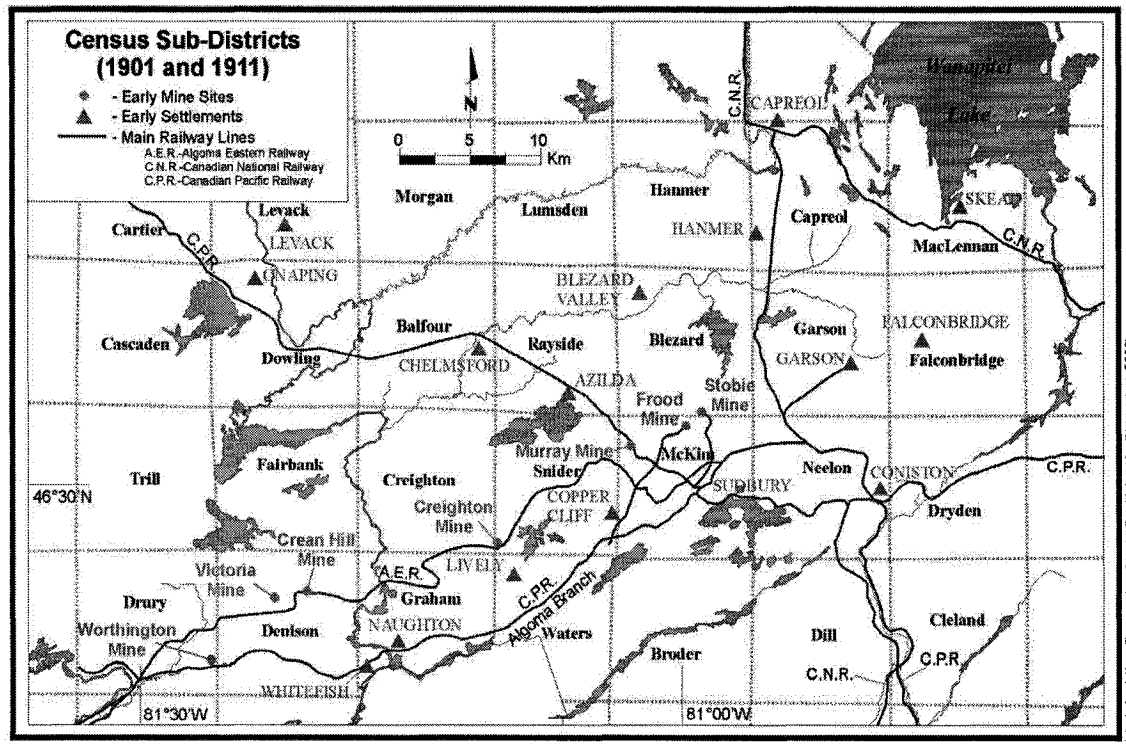
[24] See, for instance, Mary Stefura, "Ukrainians in the Sudbury Region," *Polyphony* 5.1 (Spring/Summer 1983), 71-81; Stefura, "Sudbury Ukrainian Timeline," *Polyphony* 10 (1988), 66-74; and Stefura, "The Process of Identity: A Historical Look at Ukrainians in the Sudbury Area Community," *Laurentian University Review* 15.1 (November 1982), 55-64.

Orest Martynowych states that Ukrainian migrant male labourers began to settle in frontier towns like those surrounding Sudbury around 1906.[25] Although Stefura places them in Copper Cliff somewhat earlier, asserting that the first Ukrainian child was born there in 1902 to Ivan and Paraska Ostrowski, it is clear from the 1901 manuscript census that few, if any, Ukrainians lived in the area prior to the turn of the century.[26] Before embarking upon a discussion of the data revealed by the manuscript census and the ways in which this data is different from the aggregate census statistics, it must be noted that I have examined several sub-districts in order to discern the Ukrainian make-up of the region. These sub-districts, all located within the Nipissing district include: Sudbury, McKim, Snider and Waters, and Dryden, Neelon, and Garson.



Map 2.4: Census Sub-Districts in 1901 and 1911

[25] Martynowych, *Ukrainians in Canada: The Formative Years, 1891-1924*, 109.
[26] Stefura, "Ukrainians in the Sudbury Region," 71.

The McKim and Snider and Waters sub-districts contained Copper Cliff, Creighton, Victoria Mine, and Worthington, and the Dryden, Neelon, and Garson sub-district contained Coniston and Garson. For the most part, it must be noted that my city boundaries do not reflect what is now Greater Sudbury. For instance, I have not included the sub-districts of Blezard or Capreol. This is not to say that Ukrainians did not live and thrive in these places. In fact a number of Ukrainians farmed in the former sub-district and worked for logging companies in the latter sub-district. However, this study must set limits and will thus focus on the predominant mining communities in the region, namely Copper Cliff, Coniston, Creighton, Worthington, Murray Mine, Victoria Mine, Garson, Sudbury, and after 1928, Falconbridge.

The Demographic Structure of the Region's "Ukrainian" Community

Before analyzing the manuscript census data, the 1901 and 1911 aggregate census data must be discussed. For the most part, these statistics make it quite difficult, if not impossible, to determine how many Ukrainians lived in the Sudbury region during this ten year period. The "Origins of the People" aggregate census category did not include a "Ukrainian" label until 1921. Instead, Ukrainians were subsumed within other Eastern European aggregate census labels in both 1901 and 1911. Specifically, the 1901 aggregate census statistics identified Eastern Europeans as either "Austro-Hungarians" or "Russians" and the 1911 aggregate census statistics identified them as either "Austro-Hungarians", or "Poles", or "Russians"; these were the only labels accorded to those who immigrated from Eastern European countries. Clearly, these aggregate census labels leave us with more questions than answers because they effectively concealed the Ukrainian population. In order to deconstruct these aggregate census labels we must

therefore consult the 1901 and 1911 manuscript census data and consider the following manuscript census categories: "Country or Place of Birth", "Racial or Tribal Origin", and "Nationality".[27]

Problems with the aggregate census data explain why those who have reminisced and/or written about Sudbury's Ukrainians have used the interwar period instead of the opening years of the twentieth century as a starting point for their historical narratives. Prior to the rather recent opening of both the 1901 and 1911 manuscript censuses, researchers were hard pressed to find Sudbury's Ukrainians in the public record. The categories applied by census statisticians essentially rendered Ukrainians invisible in the archival record. Invisibility however does not mean that there is not a story to be told. Rather, as Antoinette Burton argues, we must question "the limits and possibilities of the archive as a site of knowledge production, an arbiter of truth, and a mechanism for shaping the narratives of history."[28] Fortunately, the

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[27] For similar conclusions about the ways in which these statistical categories mask information about the population see the work done by scholars who have been involved with the Canadian Families Project, a Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada project analyzing the 1901 manuscript census. In particular, see Bettina Bradbury, "Single Parenthood in the Past: Canadian Census Categories, 1891-1951, and the 'Normal' Family," *Historical Methods* 33.4 (Fall 2000), 211-217; and Lynne Marks, "Exploring Regional Diversity in Patterns of Religious Participation, Canada in 1901," *Historical Methods* 33.4 (Fall 2000), 247-254. Also see Eric Sager and Peter Baskerville, eds., *Household Counts: Canadian Households and Families in 1901* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2007). For a related discussion about the systematic quantification of people also see Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (London: Verso, 1991), 163-185.

[28] Antoinette Burton, "Introduction: Archive Fever, Archive Stories," in Antoinette Burton, ed., *Archive Stories: Facts, Fictions, and the Writing of History* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2005), 2. For a related discussion that also questions the legitimacy of the public archive see Antoinette Burton, *Dwelling in the Archive: Women Writing House, Home, and History in Late Colonial India* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003).

opening of the 1901 and 1911 manuscript censuses enable us to cast doubt upon the "total knowledge" of the public archive, revealing that Sudbury's early Ukrainians composed a series of legitimate and dynamic ethnic communities which are worthy of study. Instead of merely recording the number of Eastern Europeans who were living in the region, this section of the chapter, which will heavily rely upon the 1901 and 1911 manuscript censuses, will attempt to introduce the reader to those individuals who composed this segment of the population. By referring to these individuals by name and learning their religion, ethnicity, place of birth, year of immigration, age, gender, and occupation, we will not only build a rich foundation for this local case study, but also deconstruct the aggregate census labels so as to make the Ukrainians who lived in the Sudbury region visible within the public record.

Comparing and Contrasting the 1901 Aggregate and Manuscript Censuses

Sub-District	Total	British	French	Austro-Hungarian	Russian
Sudbury	2027	1139	702	1	1
McKim	3012	1395	803	11	393
Snider and Waters	687	238	204	1	8
Dryden, Neelon, and Garson	506	145	326	0	0

Table 2.1: 1901 Aggregate Census Data[29]

Other than determining that the sub-district with the largest total population was McKim – the location of INCO's base of operations – the information derived from the 1901 aggregate census is disappointing because it masks the identities of those Eastern Europeans who settled in the region. The publication of statistics using only the broad

[29] Canada, Bureau of the Census, *Population, Volume I* (Ottawa, 1902).

imperial categories of "Austro-Hungarians" and "Russians" conceals the particular ethnic identities of individual migrants.

It must be noted that Ukrainians were not the only Eastern Europeans to be labelled as either "Austro-Hungarians" or "Russians". Specifically, Finns and Poles lacked their own distinct ethnic labels and therefore they were also identified as either "Austro-Hungarians" or "Russians". Manuscript census enumerators may have indicated that Ukrainians came from Austria, Finns from Finland, and Poles from Poland, Russia, or Austria, but the statisticians who composed the aggregate census data shown in Table 2.1 used this information to make rather large generalizations. Depending upon the details provided, Ukrainians and Poles were labelled as either "Austro-Hungarians" or "Russians" while Finns were almost always identified as "Russians". This method effectively simplified the data, making neat categories out of what tended to be rather messy identities. I refer to these identities as messy because immigrants did not always ethnically identify with the countries in which they were born. Certainly, this was often the case for Ukrainians. Although most immigrated from Austria-Hungary and Russia, they did not identify with these countries. Instead, their identities were often multi-layered in nature. Although Ukraine had ceased to exist as either a separate entity or a distinct province within Austria-Hungary or Russia, a Ukrainian nationalist movement worked to transmit a sense of Ukrainian identity. Most Ukrainians however, and especially peasant migrants, tended to identify with the regions or villages from which they immigrated rather than with a broader national

identity.[30] Unfortunately, the absence of sources pertaining to migration patterns makes it difficult to discuss this sense of identity at length. However, it must be noted that family and village migration patterns were mentioned in many of the oral history interviews that I conducted with members of Sudbury's Ukrainian community, suggesting the important role that these connections played in identity. Although I did not interview Sophia Parchewski (nee Mateyko), it is significant to point out that her story, which opened this chapter, speaks to the important role that people and places played in identity. Specifically, she married a man who immigrated to Canada from the same village as her. Moreover, census enumerators, as we shall see, identified Galicia and Bukovyna as immigrants' countries of birth even though these were regions rather than countries, further indicating the degree to which Ukrainian identities were shaped by local and/or regional factors. The aggregate labels, in creating overarching political categories, thus concealed the individual ethnic identities of these immigrants and the baggage that they brought with them from their Old Worlds. Fortunately, the manuscript census data enable us to deconstruct these neat categories of identity.

In attempting to reconstruct the early Ukrainian communities which emerged in the Sudbury region, I created a database from the 1901 manuscript census. This database contains all of the information provided for those who were labelled as either "Austrians", "Poles", or "Russians" by manuscript census enumerators; the figures that I have arrived at are based upon the following manuscript census categories: "Country

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[30] For a related discussion about the multi-layered nature of Italian identity in Toronto prior to World War II see John Zucchi, *Italians in Toronto: Development of a National Identity, 1875-1935* (Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1988).

or Place of Birth", "Racial or Tribal Origin", and "Nationality". As we shall see, the manuscript census data allow us to develop a more nuanced picture of the population.

Sub-District	Total	Austrian	Polish	Russian
Sudbury	2027	1	26	6
McKim	3012	11	16	0
Snider and Waters	687	1	0	0
Dryden, Neelon, and Garson	506	0	0	0

Table 2.2: 1901 Manuscript Census Data[31]

Sub-District	Total Male	Total Female	Austrian (m/f)	Polish (m/f)	Russian (m/f)
Sudbury	1095	932	1/0	13/13	3/3
McKim	2110	902	11/0	11/5	0/0
Snider and Waters	474	213	1/0	0/0	0/0
Dryden, Neelon, Garson	299	207	0/0	0/0	0/0

Table 2.3: Gendering the 1901 Manuscript Census[32]

[31] Total population figures for the sub-districts were obtained from Canada, Bureau of the Census, *Population, Volume I* (Ottawa, 1902). The rest of the figures come from my database, which is derived from the 1901 manuscript census. It must be noted that "Austrian", "Polish", and "Russian" were the Eastern European labels used by local census enumerators. See Census of Canada, 1901, Sudbury, McKim, Snider and Waters, and Dryden, Neelon, and Garson sub-districts, 14 November 2005, Library and Archives Canada (LAC), 14 February 2006 http://www.collectionscanada.ca/archivianet/020122_e.html.

[32] The total male and female population figures were obtained from Canada, Bureau of the Census, *Population, Volume I* (Ottawa, 1902). The gender break-down within the "Austrian", "Polish", and "Russian" categories was obtained from Census of Canada, 1901, Sudbury, McKim, Snider and Waters, and Dryden, Neelon, and Garson sub-districts, 14 November 2005, LAC, 14 February 2006 http://www.collectionscanada.ca/archivianet/020122_e.html.

Despite the fact that the 1901 manuscript census data indicate that there was a small Eastern European population in the Sudbury region composed of "Austrians", "Poles", and "Russians", a detailed examination of this data show that there were no Ukrainians living in the area at this time. It is important to note that I have based this conclusion upon the information reported in the following manuscript census categories: "Country or Place of Birth", "Racial or Tribal Origin", and "Nationality".

Comparing and Contrasting the 1911 Aggregate and Manuscript Censuses

Since there was no Ukrainian settlement to speak of in 1901, Orest Martynowych's claim that Ukrainians began to flock to frontier towns around 1906 ought to be taken seriously. In turning to the 1911 aggregate census data, it is clear that the years between 1901 and 1911 were transformative ones for the Sudbury region. As INCO and the MNC increased production and opened new mines, the companies began to attract thousands of immigrants, in search of a decent wage, to the many mining communities in the area. Like the aggregate statistical labels applied to residents in 1901 however, the 1911 aggregate census data also tended to conceal the Ukrainian population. Although a new Eastern European label, "Polish", was added to this set of statistics, this label as well as the "Austro-Hungarian" and "Russian" labels continued to make Ukrainians invisible within the public record.

Sub-District	Total	British	French	Austro-Hungarian	Polish	Russian
Sudbury	4150 (2027)	2218 (1139)	1518 (702)	22 (1)	14 (N/A)	6 (1)
Copper Cliff	3082 (3012)	1168 (1395)	251 (803)	260 (11)	126 (N/A)	537 (393)
Creighton, Snider and Waters	1270 (687)	237 (238)	234 (204)	148 (1)	20 (N/A)	342 (8)
Garson and Neelon	1082 (506)	285 (145)	434 (326)	0 (0)	0 N/A	0 (0)

Table 2.4: 1911 Aggregate Census Data[33]

Note that the 1901 aggregate census data has been included in brackets to enable an easy comparison. Although the McKim sub-district changed in 1911 and as a result Copper Cliff became its own sub-district, the 1901 aggregate census data for McKim has been included in the Copper Cliff section of this table.

By 1911, Sudbury had doubled in size. Its population of 4150, which contained 2219 males and 1931 females, was predominantly British and French-Canadian. Incidentally, these two ethnic groups formed Sudbury's upper class, owning most of the town's property and thus controlling its affairs, a trend which, according to Donald Dennie, lasted well into the 1950s.[34] Likewise, as Table 2.4 demonstrates, the "Austro-Hungarian", "Polish", and "Russian" populations within this sub-district also increased during this period. Although it is hard to discern Copper Cliff's size in 1901, because its statistics were a part of the larger McKim sub-district, it is evident that this company town also increased in size; out of a population of 3082, 1989 of these individuals were male and 1093 were female. It must be noted that Copper Cliff's Eastern European

[33] Canada, Bureau of the Census, *Population, Volume I* (Ottawa, 1913); and Canada, Bureau of the Census, *Religions, Origins, Birthplace, Citizenship, Literacy and Infirmities, Volume II* (Ottawa, 1913).

[34] See Donald Dennie, "Sudbury 1883-1946: A Social Historical Study of Property and Class," Ph.D. Dissertation, Carleton University, 1989.

population also doubled in size during this ten year period. Moreover, the population in the Creighton, Snider and Waters sub-district continued to grow during this decade; the population, which was heavily masculine in nature, was composed of 956 men and 314 women. And finally, the Garson and Neelon sub-district also experienced significant growth, increasing from 506 individuals in 1901 to 1082 individuals in 1911; this sub-district, like Creighton, Snider and Waters, was also heavily male, comprised of 701 men and 381 women.[35]

Like the database that I created for the 1901 manuscript census, my database for the 1911 manuscript census contains all of the information pertaining to individuals who were labelled as either "Austrians", "Poles", or "Russians" by census enumerators. Unlike the 1901 manuscript census database however, it also includes those who were labelled as "Galicians" and "Ruthenians" by census enumerators; these labels were not used by local enumerators in 1901. It must be noted that comparing the 1911 manuscript census for four sub-districts in the Sudbury region – this time Sudbury, Copper Cliff, Creighton, Snider and Waters, and Garson and Neelon – has been interesting because it has been possible to see that there was little consistency in how enumerators categorized people. In reference to the "Racial or Tribal Origin" category for Copper Cliff and Sudbury, for instance, a Ukrainian would have been labelled as either a "Galician" or a "Ruthenian" but in Creighton, Snider and Waters or Garson and Neelon that same immigrant would have been labelled as an "Austrian" or a "Pole". It is important to note that migrants' sense of identity may also account for these

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[35] Canada, Bureau of the Census, *Population, Volume I* (Ottawa, 1913); and Canada, Bureau of the Census, *Religions, Origins, Birthplace, Citizenship, Literacy and Infirmities, Volume II* (Ottawa, 1913).

inconsistencies. Their attachment to their Old World regions and villages may have impacted the varying ways in which they expressed their identities. Therefore, although the manuscript census gives us a sense of the community, it is at best an inconsistent, incomplete, and highly problematic source. Depending upon the sub-district in which one lived and/or the ways in which one conceptualised his/her Old World baggage, identity could be ascribed according to one's country, or place of birth, or racial origin, or nationality. Despite these challenges however, the manuscript census does enable us to deconstruct the inadequate aggregate census labels used to identify Sudbury's Ukrainians, giving us some sense of the make-up of the Eastern European community in the region.

Sub-District	Total	Austrian	Galician	Polish	Russian	Ruthenian
Sudbury	4150 (2027)	24 (1)	1 (N/A)	14 (26)	21 (6)	2 (N/A)
Copper Cliff	3082 (3012)	0 (11)	39 (N/A)	129 (16)	1 (the rest were Finn) (0)	216 (N/A)
Creighton, Snider and Waters	1270 (687)	142 (1)	Label Not Used (N/A)	26 (0)	58 (the rest were Finn) (0)	Label Not Used (N/A)
Garson and Neelon	1082 (506)	0 (0)	Label Not Used (N/A)	67 (0)	8 (0)	Label Not Used (N/A)

Table 2.5: 1911 Manuscript Census Data[36]

Again, note that the 1901 aggregate census data has been included in brackets to enable an easy comparison.

[36] Total population figures for the sub-districts were obtained from Canada, Bureau of the Census, *Population, Volume I* (Ottawa, 1913); and Canada, Bureau of the Census, *Religions, Origins, Birthplace, Citizenship, Literacy and Infirmities, Volume II* (Ottawa, 1913). The rest of the figures come from my database, which is derived from the 1911 manuscript census. It must be noted that "Austrian", "Galician", "Polish", "Russian", and "Ruthenian" were the Eastern European labels used by local enumerators. See Census of Canada, 1911, Sudbury, Copper Cliff, Creighton, Snider and Waters, and Garson and Neelon sub-districts, 5 October 2005, LAC, 14 February 2006 http://www.collectionscanada.ca/archivianet/1911/index-e.html.

Sub-District	Total Male	Total Female	Austrian (m/f)	Galician (m/f)	Polish (m/f)	Russian (m/f)	Ruthenian (m/f)
Sudbury	2219	1931	13/11	1/0	8/6	10/11	2/0
Copper Cliff	1989	1093	0/0	25/14	89/40	1/0	176/40
Creighton, Snider and Waters	956	314	131/11	Label Not Used (Called Austrian)	20/6	52/6	Label Not Used (Called Austrian)
Garson and Neelon	701	381	Label Not Used	Label Not Used	62/5	7/1	Label Not Used

Table 2.6: Gendering the 1911 Manuscript Census Data[37]

According to the manuscript census, there were thirteen male and eleven female "Austrians" living in Sudbury during 1911; the aggregate data indicate that there were twenty-two "Austrians" living there at this time. Three of these "Austrians" were born in Ontario, twelve in Galicia, five in Manitoba, and four in Austria. In terms of religion, one was Greek Catholic and twenty-three were Roman Catholic; it must be noted that a discussion of the religious composition of this group is pertinent because it can play an important role in uncovering identity. The one male Greek Catholic "Galician", Andrew Ostrowski, who lived in Sudbury during this period, immigrated to Canada from Austria in 1899 and worked as a grocer.[38] Moreover, there were eight male and six female

[37] The total male and female population figures were obtained from Canada, Bureau of the Census, *Population, Volume I* (Ottawa, 1913); and Canada, Bureau of the Census, *Religions, Origins, Birthplace, Citizenship, Literacy and Infirmities, Volume II* (Ottawa, 1913). The gender break-down within the "Austrian", "Galician", "Polish", "Russian", and "Ruthenian" categories was obtained from Census of Canada, 1911, Sudbury, Copper Cliff, Creighton, Snider and Waters, and Garson and Neelon sub-districts, 5 October 2005, LAC, 14 February 2006 http://www.collectionscanada.ca/archivianet/1911/index-e.html.

[38] Census of Canada, 1911, Sudbury sub-district, 5 October 2005, LAC, 14 February 2006 http://www.collectionscanada.ca/archivianet/1911/index-e.html.

"Poles" living in this sub-district in 1911. Eight of the "Poles" were born in Poland, four in Austria, one in Quebec, and one in Ontario; eight "Poles" were Roman Catholic, two were Jewish, one was Greek Catholic, and three did not indicate a religion.[39] The "Russian" population of twenty-one included ten men and eleven women, eighteen of whom were born in Russia, and three in Ontario; all of these "Russians" were Jewish merchants in the town of Sudbury.[40] Lastly, both "Ruthenians" were male Greek Catholics who were born in Austria.[41] As a side note, the manuscript census indicates that most of these Eastern European immigrants came to Canada between 1904 and 1910.[42]

If we add the "Austrian", "Galician", and "Ruthenian" figures noted in Table 2.5 together, then we get a sense of those who were included in the "Austro-Hungarian" aggregate statistical category outlined in Table 2.4. In this instance, the numbers in the aggregate and manuscript census data are quite similar: twenty-two versus twenty-seven. In comparison, the "Polish" figures appear to be exactly the same in both sources while the "Russian" figures are quite different. Although I did not include Finns in my 1911 manuscript census database, it must be noted that I do not believe that Finns were counted as "Russians" in the Sudbury sub-district, as the many Finns who appeared in the manuscript census do not seem to have been counted in the "Russian" aggregate category. Like the 1901 manuscript census data, it is difficult to ascertain who was and was not Ukrainian. The information provided in the "Country or Place of Birth", "Racial or Tribal Origin", and "Nationality" categories of the manuscript census do not

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[39] Ibid.
[40] Ibid.
[41] Ibid.
[42] Ibid.

allow us to make any definitive claims. I would however infer that Andrew Ostrowski, the male Greek Catholic "Galician" grocer, and the two "Ruthenian" Greek Catholic men who were born in Austria were probably Ukrainian; it is significant to note that the "Ruthenian" label always seemed to denote Ukrainian identity. I have used their Greek Catholic religious affiliations to draw this conclusion. Interestingly, the gender balance among Eastern Europeans is quite even here, and thus the numbers are very similar to the overall gender break-down of the town of Sudbury.

The census enumerators in Copper Cliff used a labelling system that was similar to the one employed in Sudbury, identifying some of the town's Eastern European citizenry as "Galicians" and "Ruthenians" in the "Racial Origins" category of the census. During this period, the "Galician" label tended to refer to either Polish or Ukrainian immigrants, since Galicia was composed of both Poles and Ukrainians, while the "Ruthenian" label often applied to those Ukrainians who immigrated from the western part of Austria-Hungary and favoured this appellation.[43] Although I make this distinction, it is important to note that enumerators do not seem to have based their labels on this rationale. Since the 1911 aggregate and manuscript censuses included a "Polish" label for citizens, I believe that enumerators used the "Galician" and "Ruthenian" labels to categorize the town's Ukrainian population. While enumerators certainly used these labels quite haphazardly, I would argue that the application of these ethnic distinctions was related to the fact that Copper Cliff was home to the region's first Ukrainian church: St. Nicholas Greek Catholic Church; this church was built in 1909. Having a church meant that Ukrainians were more likely to declare their ethnic

[43] I am grateful to Orest Martynowych for sharing this distinction with me.

identities and distinguish themselves from other Eastern Europeans who resided in the town. It is significant to note that the manuscript census' "Religion" category does not help us make this distinction. All of those who were labelled as "Galicians" or "Ruthenians" were enumerated as Roman Catholics, thereby implying that those who were identified as Roman Catholic "Galicians" or Roman Catholic "Ruthenians" could have been either Polish or Ukrainian; in Sudbury, recall that those who were labelled as "Galicians" or "Ruthenians" were enumerated as Greek Catholics.[44] Certainly, this inconsistency could have been the result of confusion and/or a lack of knowledge on the part of census enumerators. The Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church, as Mark McGowan notes, had no institutional base in Canada between 1891 and 1912 and thus relied upon its Latin rite hosts, both the Anglophone and Francophone Roman Catholic communities, for chapels, clergy, and sacraments.[45] St. Nicholas Greek Catholic Church, in particular, was partly financed by Roman Catholic Bishop David Scollard of Sault Ste. Marie and perhaps this connection explains why enumerators labelled "Galicians" and "Ruthenians" who resided in Copper Cliff as Roman Catholics.[46] Although this religious identity marker creates some confusion, I would argue that it should not detract from my overarching conclusion. To reiterate, the "Galician" and

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[44] These immigrants could have been either Polish or Ukrainian because the majority of those who immigrated from Galicia and the western part of Austria-Hungary identified themselves as Greek Catholics while a minority identified themselves as Roman Catholics.

[45] Mark McGowan, "'A Portion of the Vanquished': Roman Catholics and the Ukrainian Catholic Church," in Lubomyr Luciuk and Stella Hryniuk, eds., *Canada's Ukrainians: Negotiating an Identity* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1991), 219-225. Also see Martynowych, *Ukrainians in Canada: The Formative Years, 1891-1924*, 182-213.

[46] McGowan, "'A Portion of the Vanquished': Roman Catholics and the Ukrainian Catholic Church," 220.

"Ruthenian" labels were used to refer to the town's Ukrainian citizenry while the "Polish" label indicated those of Polish descent. I say this with a degree of certainty because enumerators did not make any religious distinctions when it came to Copper Cliff's Eastern European community. Specifically, every "Galician", "Ruthenian", and "Pole" was enumerated as a "Roman Catholic"; again, to reiterate, perhaps this confusion was the result of a communication problem between census enumerators and immigrants or simply a lack of knowledge on the part of the enumerators.

For Copper Cliff then, the "Austro-Hungarian" aggregate census category seems to refer to the town's Ukrainian citizens, and specifically to those who were labelled as "Galicians" and "Ruthenians" by manuscript census enumerators; the aggregate figure of 260 is close to the 255 that I counted in the manuscript census thereby indicating that these labels connoted the same meaning. Within this population there were 39 "Galicians", 25 of whom were male and 14 were female, and 216 "Ruthenians", 176 of whom were male and 40 were female. In terms of their birthplace, twenty-five "Galicians" were from Galicia, ten from Ontario, and four from Austria.[47] On the other hand, 1 "Ruthenian" came from Austria, 194 from Galicia, 19 from Ontario, 1 from Bukovyna, and 1 from the United States; incidentally those who came from Ontario were probably children. Again, just to reiterate, all of these "Galicians" and "Ruthenians" were enumerated as Roman Catholics.[48]

In terms of its "Polish" population, there were 129 Roman Catholic "Poles" living in Copper Cliff in 1911; 89 were male and 40 were female. Forty-eight "Poles"

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[47] Census of Canada, 1911, Copper Cliff sub-district, 5 October 2005, LAC, 14 February 2006 http://www.collectionscanada.ca/archivianet/1911/index-e.html.

[48] Ibid.

were born in Ontario, forty-three in Austria, twenty-eight in Germany, nine in Russia, and one in Galicia.[49] Although it is difficult to determine if some of these "Poles" were Ukrainian, it is highly likely that some or all of the "Poles" who were born in Austria and Galicia were Polish. Lastly, if the aggregate statistics indicate that there were 537 "Russians" calling Copper Cliff home in 1911, then the manuscript census shows that only one of these "Russians", a Roman Catholic male from Russia, was either Russian or Polish while the rest were Finnish.[50]

Unlike the Eastern European gender break-down in the town of Sudbury, this segment of Copper Cliff's population was heavily male. Although the town's overall gender ratio of 1989 men to 1093 women suggests that there was a relatively even gender dynamic here, the break-down within the Eastern European community tells a different story. The figures from the manuscript census show that there were 291 men and 94 women. This segment of the population was therefore more imbalanced than the town's overall population, indicating that transient male migrant workers rather than established families composed the bulk of this population. Specifically, the majority of these men – single, married, and widowed – worked as labourers in INCO's Copper Cliff smelter, rock house and/or roast yard, earning anywhere from fifteen to twenty-five cents an hour and working seventy to eighty-four hours a week, eighty-four being the norm.[51] Although three of these Eastern European women worked as domestic servants, making a pittance compared to their male counterparts – working around eighty-four hours a week and earning about $200 a year – the rest of the women, who

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[49] Ibid.
[50] Ibid.
[51] Ibid.

were married and recorded as not having a job, ran their households.[52] These households, which often included a husband, a handful of children, a few family members, and a number of boarders, would have made for a very busy work day.[53] For instance, in addition to caring for her husband and their two daughters, a two year old and a nine month old, Vasylina Slivsting, a twenty-one year old "Ruthenian" who immigrated to Canada from Galicia in 1907, also had fourteen "Ruthenian" boarders to attend to.[54] Jenna Ostioski spent her days doing much of the same work as Vasylina. Jenna, a thirty-five year old "Ruthenian" who immigrated to Canada in 1899, tended to the needs of her husband, as well as their three children, and their eighteen "Ruthenian" male boarders.[55] Although their work and the wages that they earned were very different, it is clear that the men and the few women who lived in Copper Cliff during

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[52] Ibid. For an overview of the literature detailing the experiences of immigrant domestics see, for instance, Marilyn Barber, *Immigrant Domestic Servants in Canada* (Ottawa: Canadian Historical Association, 1991); Barber, "The Women Ontario Welcomed: Immigrant Domestics for Ontario Homes, 1870-1930," *Ontario History* 72 (September 1980), 155-166; Barber and Lorna McLean, "In Search of Comfort and Independence: Irish Immigrant Domestic Servants Encounter the Courts, Jails, and Asylums in Nineteenth-Century Ontario," in Marlene Epp, Franca Iacovetta, and Frances Swyripa, eds., *Sisters or Strangers? Immigrant, Ethnic, and Racialized Women in Canadian History* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2004), 133-160; Varpu Lindström, *Defiant Sisters: A Social History of Finnish Immigrant Women in Canada* (Toronto: Multicultural History Society of Ontario, 1988); Lindström, "'I Won't Be a Slave!' – Finnish Domestics in Canada, 1911-1930," in Jean Brunet, ed., *Looking into My Sister's Eyes* (Toronto: Multicultural History Society of Ontario, 1986), 33-53; Agnes Calliste, "Race, Gender, and Canadian Immigration Policy: Blacks from the Caribbean, 1900-1932," *Journal of Canadian Studies* 28.4 (Winter 1993/1994), 131-148; Franca Iacovetta, "Primitive Villagers and Uneducated Girls: Canada Recruits Domestics from Italy," *Canadian Women Studies* 7.4 (Winter 1986), 14-18; and Makeda Silvera, *Silenced: Talks with Working Class West Indian Women about Their Lives and Struggles as Domestic Workers in Canada* (Toronto: Williams-Wallace, 1983).

[53] Census of Canada, 1911, Copper Cliff sub-district, 5 October 2005, LAC, 14 February 2006 http://www.collectionscanada.ca/archivianet/1911/index-e.html.

[54] Ibid.

[55] Ibid.

1911 worked very hard; the manuscript census may indicate the annual income of miners and domestics but it does not denote the revenue that was generated from boarding businesses. Before moving on to the next sub-district, it is significant to note that the Ukrainians who settled in this town, most immigrating to Canada between 1903 and 1911, made up a predominantly Galician, rather than Bukovynian, settlement in Copper Cliff; this is not surprising given that most Ukrainian immigrants who came to Canada prior to 1914 immigrated from Southeastern Galicia and Northern Bukovyna, two crown lands located within the Austro-Hungarian Empire.[56] This settlement pattern may have been the result of village and/or family migration networks originating in Galicia; misspelled surnames and incomplete manuscript census data make it difficult to determine the degree to which family migration impacted the shape of this settlement.[57] Interestingly, we know that Copper Cliff's Ukrainian population comprised a heavily Galician settlement because this region and Bukovyna were the countries specified in the "Country of Birth" category of the manuscript census. Clearly, both migrants, in stipulating that Galicia and Bukovyna were their countries of birth, and census

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[56] Martynowych, *Ukrainians in Canada: The Formative Years*, 1891-1924, 3-33.

[57] For a related discussion about the migration process and patterns in migration see, for instance, Robert Harney, "Boarding and Belonging: Thoughts on Sojourner Institutions," *Urban History Review* 2 (1978), 8-37; Harney, "The Commerce of Migration," *Canadian Ethnic Studies* 9.1 (1977), 42-53; Bruno Ramirez, *On the Move: French-Canadian and Italian Migrants in the North Atlantic Economy, 1860-1914* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1991); Vadim Kukushkin, "Peasants on the Move: Early Twentieth-Century Labour Migration from Russia's Western Frontier to Canada," Ph.D. Dissertation, Carleton University, 2004; and Paola Corti, "Women Were Labour Migrants Too: Tracing Late-Nineteenth-Century Female Migration from Northern Italy to France," in Donna Gabaccia and Franca Iacovetta, eds., *Women, Gender, and Transnational Lives: Italian Workers of the World* (Toronto: University of Toronto, 2002), 133-159.

enumerators, in recording that Galicia and Bukovyna were the countries of birth of these immigrants, demonstrated the importance of regional identity.

Moving on to the manuscript census data for the Creighton, Snider and Waters sub-district, it is clear that the enumerators here were more traditional when it came to labelling those who lived in this area. Like the categories found in the aggregate census, all of the Eastern Europeans who resided in this sub-district were labelled as either "Austro-Hungarians", or "Poles", or "Russians" in the "Racial Origins" category of the census. Although the "Country or Place of Birth" category shows that the "Austro-Hungarian" label included those who immigrated from Galicia, Austria, and Bukovyna – again, Galicia and Bukovyna ceased to exist as countries – the enumerators in this sub-district, unlike those in Copper Cliff and Sudbury, did not use the "Galician" or "Ruthenian" labels in the "Racial Origins" category on the manuscript census form. Specifically, they enumerated 142 "Austrians", 131 of whom were male and 11 of whom were female; incidentally the aggregate data indicate that there were 148 "Austro-Hungarians" in this sub-district at this time. Forty-nine "Austrians" came from Galicia, eighty-six from Bukovyna, three from Ontario, three from Russia, and one from Austria and, in this instance, all were enumerated as Greek Catholic.[58] Although we can not definitively determine how many "Austrians" may have been Ukrainian, I would infer that those who immigrated from Galicia, or Austria, or Bukovyna, and were Greek Catholic were probably Ukrainian. It must be noted that unlike those who settled in Copper Cliff, the Ukrainians who came to this sub-district to work for the MNC in its

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[58] Census of Canada, 1911, Creighton, Snider and Waters sub-district, 5 October 2005, LAC, 14 February 2006 http://www.collectionscanada.ca/archivianet/1911/index-e.html.

nickel mines in places like Victoria Mine and Worthington came from both Galicia and Bukovyna; again, due to the absence of county and/or village names in the manuscript census it is impossible to determine more precisely where these immigrants came from. While it is odd to see men of various ethnicities sharing their living quarters, the manuscript census does however reveal that it was quite common for Galicians and Bukovynians to live together. Although there is no doubt that the Eastern European regions from which Ukrainians immigrated played a major role in shaping their identities, this settlement pattern also demonstrates the subtle ways that the Old World regional identities of these immigrants evolved in Canada, and specifically, in the Sudbury region.[59]

In terms of the "Polish" population in this sub-district, there were twenty men and six women comprising this ethnic segment of the community; the aggregate data indicate that there were a total of twenty "Poles" living here in 1911. Three reported that they were born in Galicia, two in Ontario, three in Bukovyna, four in Germany, and fourteen in Austria; ten were Greek Catholic and sixteen were Roman Catholic.[60] Again, although we can not make definitive claims, we can infer that those "Poles" who were born in Galicia, Bukovyna, or Austria, and who were Greek Catholic may well have been Ukrainian. Moreover, the "Russian" population, much like the one in Copper Cliff, contained more Finns than actual Russians. In particular, there were 342 "Russians" in the aggregate data and 58 actual "Russians" in the manuscript census: 52

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[59] For a related discussion about the evolution of Italian identity during the post war period, see Zucchi, *Italians in Toronto: Development of a National Identity, 1875-1935*, 63-67.

[60] Census of Canada, 1911, Creighton, Snider and Waters sub-district, 5 October 2005, LAC, 14 February 2006 http://www.collectionscanada.ca/archivianet/1911/index-e.html.

men and 6 women; 50 came from Russia, and 8 were born in Ontario. In terms of religion, forty-nine were Greek Catholic and nine were Lutheran.[61] Again, some of the Greek Catholic "Russians" may have been Ukrainian, depending on whether or not they immigrated to Canada from parts of Ukraine which were controlled by the Russian Empire.

Like Copper Cliff, the Eastern European population in the Creighton, Snider and Waters sub-district was dominated by men; there were 204 men and 22 women in this area, the bulk of whom came to Canada between 1905 and 1911. Moreover, the majority of the men living in this sub-district worked in the mining sector, in this case for the MNC. It is interesting to note that the men who disclosed information about their jobs to census enumerators reported that they worked sixty hours per week, a much shorter work-week than the eighty-four hours that INCO's employees spent labouring in the mines.[62]

When comparing the information found in the manuscript census with the details that I gleaned from my set of oral history interviews it is interesting to note that my interviewees tended to recall the MNC with more fondness than INCO, as a great company that had employed their fathers. It would thus seem as though these memories and the information derived from the manuscript census lead one to conclude that this company was more paternalistic toward its employees than INCO.[63] Like those women

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[61] Ibid.

[62] Ibid.

[63] Census of Canada, 1911, Copper Cliff and Creighton, Snider and Waters sub-districts, 5 October 2005, LAC, 14 February 2006 http://www.collectionscanada.ca/archivianet/1911/index-e.html. Many interviewees had very positive responses when it came to discussing the MNC. See, for instance, William Babij, interview by author, Sudbury, 16 December 2004. For a related discussion about

who lived in Copper Cliff, the few women who lived in this sub-district tended to their families as well as the many boarders who lived with them. Although she had help from her seventeen year old "Galician" domestic servant, Vaselina Valimshuk, Catherine Petruik's experience of looking after her husband, their nine month old son, as well as their twenty-six "Galician" and "Bukovynian" boarders was not unique.[64]

Lastly, if we were to solely rely upon the aggregate census statistics, there would be no need for us to examine the manuscript census data for the Garson and Neelon sub-district because according to these statistics there were no Eastern Europeans living there in 1911. The manuscript census however provides us with a different picture. Although "Poles" and "Russians" were the only Eastern European groups to appear in the manuscript census, they are there nonetheless. In particular, there were sixty-seven "Poles" and eight "Russians" living in this sub-district at this time. Sixty-two "Poles" were male and five were female and all of the "Poles" were Roman Catholic. Moreover, fifty-four "Poles" were born in Austria, four in Ontario, and nine in Russia.[65] Although there are no religious indicators, there is a slim possibility that some of the "Poles" who came from Austria may have been Ukrainian. Among the much smaller "Russian" group, all of whom were born in Russia, there were seven males and one female; in terms of religion six were Orthodox and two were

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the ways that company paternalism was essential to the success of the Italian community in Endicott, New York, see Diane Vecchio, *Merchants, Midwives and Labouring Women: Italian Migrants in Urban America* (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2006), 45-50.

[64] Census of Canada, 1911, Creighton, Snider and Waters sub-district, 5 October 2005, LAC, 14 February 2006 http://www.collectionscanada.ca/archivianet/1911/index-e.html.

[65] Census of Canada, 1911, Garson and Neelon sub-district, 5 October 2005, LAC, 14 February 2006 http://www.collectionscanada.ca/archivianet/1911/index-e.html.

Lutheran.[66] Like the male immigrants in Copper Cliff and Creighton, Snider and Waters, most of the men in this sub-district, who came to Canada between 1906 and 1910, worked in the nearby MNC nickel mines for about sixty hours a week.[67] Much like the other sub-districts discussed above, Garson and Neelon was a largely masculine area. Specifically, there were sixty-nine Eastern European men and six women living there at this time.[68] It is interesting to note that none of these migrant male labourers lived in bachelor households. The Eastern European women who lived in this sub-district, as well as a "Finnish" and a "Scotch" woman, ran six separate boarding households that accommodated these men.[69]

While this in-depth examination of the Sudbury, Copper Cliff, Creighton, Snider and Waters, and Garson and Neelon census sub-districts gives us a glimpse into the Eastern European communities within these areas, it also forces us to problematize the aggregate and manuscript censuses, questioning whether these are both viable and

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[66] Ibid.

[67] Ibid.

[68] Ibid.

[69] Ibid. Although Ukrainians who lived in the sub-districts in and around Sudbury did not tend to form bachelor households, men – Ukrainian and non-Ukrainian – living in other resource towns did. See, for instance, Forestell, "All that Glitters is not Gold: The Gender Dimensions of Work, Family, and Community Life in the Northern Ontario Gold Mining Town of Timmins, 1901-1950," 111-126; Forestell, "Bachelors, Boarding Houses, and Blind Pigs: Gender Construction in a Multi-Ethnic Mining Camp, 1909-1920," 259-265; and Abel, *Changing Places: History, Community, and Identity in Northeastern Ontario*, 67-99 and 246-248. For a more general discussion about bachelor households see Harney, "Boarding and Belonging: Thoughts on Sojourner Institutions," 8-37; Harney, "Men Without Women: Italian Immigrants in Canada," *Canadian Ethnic Studies* 11.1 (1979), 22-44; Anthony Chan, "Bachelor Workers," in Franca Iacovetta, Paula Draper, and Robert Ventresca, eds., *A Nation of Immigrants: Women, Workers, and Communities in Canadian History, 1840s-1860s* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1998), 231-250; and Adele Perry, *On the Edge of Empire: Gender, Race, and the Making of British Columbia, 1849-1871* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2001), 20-47.

reliable sources. In turn, this has been an effective exercise for showing how the aggregate census concealed the Ukrainian population in this region, rendering members of this community invisible within the public record. During this period, Ukrainians were called many things – "Ruthenians", "Galicians", "Bukovynians", "Poles", and "Austrians" to name a few – however if we look at the aggregate census statistics we are led to believe that these immigrants essentially did not exist and therefore did not compose their own dynamic ethnic communities. By fitting into two or three neat statistical categories during this period – two in the 1901 aggregate census and three in the 1911 aggregate census – they were invisible to researchers who lacked access to the manuscript censuses for this period. Clearly, the aggregate statistics made for an imprecise source. Using the manuscript census however allows us to begin to deconstruct the problematic identities which resulted from the aggregate census categories.

Before moving on to a discussion about the individual gendered experiences of the Ukrainian men and women who settled in the Sudbury region, it is important to spend some time reflecting upon the gender dynamics of the Ukrainian communities which emerged in Sudbury, Copper Cliff, Creighton, Snider and Waters, and Garson and Neelon during this period. By gendering the 1911 manuscript census data, see Table 2.6, it quickly becomes clear that the mining towns surrounding Sudbury contained heavily masculine Ukrainian communities; I make a point of saying surrounding Sudbury because this town had a small and rather insignificant Ukrainian population at this time. It should come as little surprise that the mining communities surrounding Sudbury were heavily masculine, given what Abel and Forestell

demonstrate in their works which focus upon Northeastern Ontario. Specifically, they argue that this predominantly male demographic was quite typical for the ethnic segments of northern frontier settlements. Mining communities, they state, were often bachelor communities well before they were family-focused communities.[70] As Abel notes, it took time for a sense of community to grow, especially among those living in ethnic hamlets who had to be convinced that a sense of permanency could be achieved in an area which depended so heavily on a boom or bust industry.[71] Undoubtedly then, women brought stability to a community by raising families, providing services, and building community institutions.[72]

Certainly, we can make similar observations when we examine the manuscript census data for the Ukrainian communities which emerged in the sub-districts surrounding Sudbury. These were heavily masculine and highly transient communities which lacked stability. Men were often enumerated in two or three sub-districts indicating that they moved between the region's mining communities to search for work; certainly this movement inflated the population and thereby complicates its analysis. It must be noted that this movement was not limited to the Sudbury region. Men, as Guy Gaudreau has observed for French-Canadian miners, often moved among

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[70] See Forestell, "All that Glitters is not Gold: The Gender Dimensions of Work, Family, and Community Life in the Northern Ontario Gold Mining Town of Timmins, 1901-1950; Forestell, "Bachelors, Boarding Houses, and Blind Pigs: Gender Construction in a Multi-Ethnic Mining Camp, 1909-1920," 251-290; and Abel, *Changing Places: History, Community, and Identity in Northeastern Ontario*. For a general discussion about the predominantly male population of single-industry communities see Rex Lucas, *Minetown, Milltown, Railtown: Life in Canadian Communities of Single Industry* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1971).

[71] Abel, *Changing Places: History, Community, and Identity in Northeastern Ontario*, 93 and 103-135.

[72] Ibid., 227.

towns throughout Northern Ontario looking for a decent and reliable wage.[73] Moreover, I say that these Ukrainian communities lacked stability because they contained very few women and children. For instance, Copper Cliff's "Galician" and "Ruthenian" population may have consisted of fifty-four females but of that number only twenty-four were women while thirty were girls, daughters to the women who resided in the town; specifically, twenty-two of these women were mothers, one was a sister to one of the mothers, and one worked as a domestic servant. Although these twenty-four women brought some degree of stability to Copper Cliff, running large boarding households that accommodated most of the "Galician" and "Ruthenian" men and helping to construct St. Nicholas Greek Catholic Church, this small number of women speaks to the community's highly transient and unstable dynamics. The 24 women were greatly outnumbered by the 186 "Galician" and "Ruthenian" men, although interestingly there were only 15 boys in comparison to 30 girls in this community.[74]

Furthermore, if we examine the manuscript census data for the Creighton, Snider and Waters sub-district we see a similar pattern. By focusing upon those who were labelled as "Austrians" by census enumerators – this was, as we have seen, a term that was used to identify some of the Ukrainians who resided in this area – we see that 11 of the 142 "Austrians" in this sub-district were female. If we continue to break down these numbers, we see that five were married women, three were girls, and three were domestic servants. Like the women who resided in Copper Cliff, the five married women who lived in this sub-district ran five households that accommodated the 3

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[73] See Guy Gaudreau, *L'histoire des mineurs du nord ontarien et québécois* (Sillery, Quebec: Septentrion, 2003).

[74] See Census of Canada, 1911, Copper Cliff sub-district, 5 October 2005, LAC, 14 February 2006 http://www.collectionscanada.ca/archivianet/1911/index-e.html.

"Austrian" girls, 1 "Austrian" boy, and most of the 130 "Austrian" men who composed this community. Despite these living arrangements, the women who lived in this highly transient, masculine community were greatly outnumbered by the male segment of the community, and were therefore unable to bring much stability to the area.[75]

Lastly, if we look at the "Polish" segment of the Garson and Neelon sub-district – census enumerators applied this label to some of the Ukrainians who lived in this area – we see that this was also a heavily masculine and highly transient community. Four women and one girl composed the female segment of this population while four boys and fifty-eight men accounted for the male portion. Although these four women, three of whom had children, provided boarding services to some of the men who lived in this sub-district, they brought little stability to the area. In particular, this was a masculine community which consisted of just five children and no community institutions.[76]

The 1911 aggregate and manuscript census data therefore provide us with a starting point for this local case study. Sudbury's Ukrainian population may have been small, but this was not the case in the outlying sub-districts. For many of these Ukrainian immigrants, home meant living outside of Sudbury. In being able to say this with certainty, it is now clear that Eastern European, and particularly Ukrainian, immigration to the region went hand in hand with its industrial development. Furthermore, the manuscript census has shown that many of the Ukrainians who came to the region immigrated from Galicia and Bukovyna, with far more from Galicia than

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[75] See Census of Canada, 1911, Creighton, Snider and Waters sub-district, 5 October 2005, LAC, 14 February 2006 http://www.collectionscanada.ca/archivianet/1911/index-e.html.

[76] See Census of Canada, 1911, Garson and Neelon sub-district, 5 October 2005, LAC, 14 February 2006 http://www.collectionscanada.ca/archivianet/1911/index-e.html.

Bukovyna settling in the mining communities around Sudbury. Certainly, these regions played a major role in shaping the Old World identities of these immigrants. Moreover, the manuscript census reveals the gender dynamics which ordered the Ukrainian communities in these sub-districts. Sudbury's Ukrainian population was small in size but quite balanced in terms of gender while those communities in the sub-districts of Copper Cliff, Creighton, Snider and Waters, and Garson and Neelon were dominated by migrant male labourers. Although many Ukrainian families called Copper Cliff home in 1911, it is clear that this sub-district as well as Creighton, Snider and Waters, and Garson and Neelon were very masculine environments in which to live. These were, as we have seen, highly transient communities which lacked stability and permanence. Ukrainians moved among the towns in the Sudbury region, in constant search of a decent and reliable wage. In establishing the location and gender dynamics of the numerous Ukrainian settlements located within the Sudbury region it is therefore now possible to turn to an examination of how Ukrainian men and women experienced life in these masculine mining towns.

Social Constructions of Community: Trying to Belong as a Ukrainian Woman

Unless Ukrainians lived in ethnic hamlets which were composed of family members and/or Ukrainian and non-Ukrainian citizens who became friends, life in the mining communities surrounding Sudbury could be quite desolate for new immigrants, especially women. Although tragic, Sophia's narrative about belonging, which opened this chapter, demonstrated how one woman made a successful move to the area, quickly planting roots and making both Ukrainian and non-Ukrainian friends who helped her

adapt to her surroundings. However, as Maria Zarichna's (nee Vasiliuk) story shows, this was not always the case for other Ukrainian women.

Maria, an orphan from Karashyntsi in Galicia, came to Garson in 1913 at the age of fourteen. Brought to Canada by her older brother Fred, Maria recounted that the first bit of news she learned upon her arrival to this town was that Fred had been badly injured in a mining accident. A month later, Marko Zarichny, a man who was much older than Maria, coerced her into marrying him. Marko liked to drink and soon after he and Maria wed, he began to beat his young bride on a regular basis. Although Maria eventually left her husband – ten years later – her story is very different from Sophia's.[77] Unlike Sophia, Maria lacked a community support network and thus her narrative focused upon the miserable life that she endured as a young Ukrainian immigrant woman; it must be noted that it is unclear whether Maria remained in touch with her brother Fred. Had Maria settled in Worthington, where Sophia lived, she might have been able to establish a network among other Ukrainian and/or non-Ukrainian women who could have helped her deal with and/or escape from this situation. However, by settling in Garson – a sub-district in which men outnumbered women by a ratio of more than 2 to 1, specifically 701 to 381 – Maria was left to deal with the domestic abuse that she endured alone.[78] Significantly, even if Maria had formed a community network, like the one to which Sophia belonged, it is questionable whether

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[77] MHSO Archive, MHSO Oral History Collection, #437-0979-ZAR, Maria Zarichna (nee Vasiliuk), interview by Mary Stefura, Kirkland Lake, 14 June 1977.

[78] Maria's story about loneliness, isolation, and domestic abuse builds upon the work done by Frances Swyripa. See Swyripa, *Wedded to the Cause: Ukrainian-Canadian Women and Ethnic Identity, 1891-1991* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1993), 28-42, for a discussion about the ways that Ukrainian women dealt with these challenges in western bloc settlements as well as on isolated farm settlements.

its members would have intervened in this situation. Supporting a woman after the death of a child was very different from interfering with a woman's abusive relationship with her husband.

The geographic dispersion and transience of the region's Ukrainian population made networking and the establishment of ethnic spaces difficult. Although Ukrainians who lived in Copper Cliff quickly resolved this problem by building a church, those who lived in other parts of the region dealt with their isolation by establishing informal support networks among friends. Networking depended, at least in some ways, upon numbers. Clearly, this was less of a problem for those who lived in Copper Cliff as it was here that Ukrainians came together to build the Sudbury region's first Ukrainian institution: St. Nicholas Greek Catholic Church. Dissatisfied with the English-language, Roman Catholic services held in St. Stanislaus Kostka Church, Ukrainians established a church building committee in 1908 and in the following year, erected a simple wooden-framed building on Poplar Street. At this time, priests lived in neighbouring boarding houses, as there were no formal living quarters, and parishioners paid a monthly fee of fifty cents for the upkeep of the building.[79] Reverend Timothy Wasylewych, the first pastor, consecrated the church on 12 February 1909 and a bronze bell was installed that spring. Wasylewych thus proceeded to offer masses, administer sacraments, and offer counselling to his parishioners.[80] As is evident from the manuscript census, Copper

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[79] Margaret Bertulli and Rae Swan, eds., *A Bit of the Cliff: A Brief History of the Town of Copper Cliff, Ontario: 1901-1972* (Copper Cliff: Copper Cliff Museum, 1982), 39.

[80] Theodore Pryjma, "St. Mary's Ukrainian Catholic Parish: A History," Unpublished Paper, No Date, 2. The early history of this church is also discussed in Michael Marunchak, *The Ukrainian Canadians: A History* (Winnipeg: Ukrainian Academy of Arts and Sciences, 1982), 215.

Cliff had the largest Ukrainian female population in the region at this time and hence it is not surprising that the first Ukrainian church was located there. Building a church signified the community's desire for permanence, stability, and continuity in a changing environment, characteristics which were emblematic of a strong female presence in this area.[81]

Although Lynne Marks has explored the meanings of Protestant culture in Southern Ontario among non-immigrants, her argument about the gendering of church-going makes sense here. According to Marks, church-going was a feminine activity among the middle and working classes. If, as Marks argues, church-going appealed more to women during the late nineteenth century than to men, then the large Ukrainian female population in Copper Cliff also helps to explain why there was an impetus to build a church there.[82] In addition, oral history interviews reveal that this church not only served as a place of worship, but also acted as a community centre for the women who, according to interviewees, served as the "backbone" of this institution.[83] St. Nicholas attended to the needs of all Ukrainians living in the Sudbury region, however its popularity and existence was short lived. By 1914 it became clear that parishioners

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[81] Kerry Abel makes a similar argument in her study about Northeastern Ontario, stating that although there were few spaces for women in mining communities they did nevertheless represent stability and permanence in the region. See Abel, *Changing Places: History, Community, and Identity in Northeastern Ontario*, 227-231. It must also be noted that Royden Loewen argues that family, church, and market were symbolic representations of the Old World, and hence signs of stability, for Mennonite families that settled in the western regions of Canada and the United States. See Loewen, *Family, Church, and Market: A Mennonite Community in the Old and New Worlds, 1850-1930.*

[82] Marks, *Revivals and Roller Rinks, Religion, Leisure, and Identity in Late-Nineteenth-Century Small-Town Ontario*, 22-51.

[83] See, for instance, Monsignor Theodore Pryjma, interview by author, Sudbury, 21 January 2005.

had neither the time nor the means to raise funds or donate money to cover the church's mortgage and subsequent expenses. Certainly, the transient nature of the community probably had much to do with the church's decline as well. St. Nicholas continued to operate until 1920 when a fire destroyed the interior of the church and the parish's records.[84] Due to dwindling interest and a shut-down at the Copper Cliff Smelter that year, parishioners decided not to resurrect the church. In fact, most Ukrainian families moved from Copper Cliff to Sudbury and Coniston at this time to look for jobs.

In any event, it must be noted that even though a church and a social network of Ukrainians existed in Copper Cliff, not all Ukrainian women belonged to this organized element of the community. Clearly not all Ukrainian men belonged to it either because if they had the church would not have faced a financial crisis soon after it was opened; just five years after St. Nicholas' inaugural mass, twenty of the parish's remaining families were forced to deal with a debt of $7500. Formal institutions did not necessitate belonging. Many women chose not to attend church, either not believing in the cause or simply lacking the time to commit to it, living outside instead of inside the organized Ukrainian community.[85] Although contrasting the experiences of these "outsiders" with those who functioned within the organized community would undoubtedly reveal a diversity of experiences among the Ukrainian women who lived in Copper Cliff, sources limit us from proceeding in this fashion.[86] In particular, we know

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[84] Mary Stefura, "Sudbury Ukrainian Time Line," *Polyphony* 10 (1988), 66-67.

[85] For a discussion about the ways that community works to "include and exclude as well as nurture and alienate" see Walsh and High, "Rethinking the Concept of Community," 267-268.

[86] Contributors to *Sisters or Strangers? Immigrant, Ethnic, and Racialized Women in Canadian History* have attempted to write more inclusive immigrant histories, considering those who lived both within and outside of their immigrant

less about those who fit into the organized community and more about those who lived outside of it because they led difficult lives which often challenged the laws and values which structured the community.

Catherine Hawryluk and Mary Kurhanewich were two women who lived on the margins of Copper Cliff's Ukrainian community. On 25 July 1914 Catherine was taken into police custody for the murder of her newborn twins. Neighbours suspected that she had been concealing her pregnancy and they had reported her to the police; their motive for reporting this crime is unknown. Catherine denied these allegations before admitting that she had given birth to twins: a boy and a girl. After giving birth, Catherine smothered the babies and buried them about two miles from her home. Anton Hawryluk, Catherine's husband, swore that he had no knowledge of the murders, stating that she had carried on with her daily routine as usual, performing the housework and preparing him and their boarders a meal before they left for work that day.[87] Catherine had come to Canada from Galicia two years before, at the age of sixteen, to live with her uncle who resided in Copper Cliff. While living at his boarding house she had fallen "victim to the wiles of some man" who was later called a "villain" by Catherine's defence lawyer.[88] Although Catherine lived in a home with her relatives, this incident clearly demonstrates the sexual vulnerability that young women faced when living in a heavily masculine environment, like Copper Cliff. Moreover, Catherine's drastic action speaks to the double standard which pertained to sexual morality at this time.

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communities. See all of the contributions in Marlene Epp, Franca Iacovetta, and Frances Swyripa, eds., *Sisters or Strangers? Immigrant, Ethnic, and Racialized Women in Canadian History* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2004).

[87] "Twin Children were Destroyed," *Sudbury Star*, 25 July 1914, 1.

[88] "Guilty, but Clemency Asked for 18-year-old Murderess," *Sudbury Star*, 24 October 1914, 1.

Consensual or not, intercourse with a man other than her husband reinforced Catherine's sexual immorality and thus she went to great lengths to hide the proof which implicated her in this immoral act. Although they had only known each other for two weeks, Catherine agreed to marry Anton, a fellow Ukrainian, in January 1914, about two months after the incident with this "villain" occurred; the murders took place seven months after this wedding. During the course of the trial Anton declared that he had not known that his wife had been concealing her pregnancy. Catherine was sentenced to be hanged for the death of her newborn twins, although this sentence was later commuted to life imprisonment.[89]

Mary Kurhanewich also lived a difficult and tragic life on the edges of Copper Cliff's Ukrainian community during this period. In May 1910, she was shot in the back by her husband, Peter, who suspected that she had been cheating on him with one of their boarders.[90] Five years after this incident, Mary was bludgeoned to death with an axe by her lover, Wasyl Dejbuck. Mary and her husband had been separated for about a month when she was murdered. She had been having an affair with Wasyl and according to Steve Dejbuck, Wasyl's brother, Mary had promised to go and live with him after she had left her husband. She later reneged on this pledge. On the night of 11 January 1915 Mary was visiting a sick friend, caring for her and cooking dinner for her husband and their boarders. When she went to leave, Wasyl arrived and insisted on walking her home. When she realized that he had been drinking, Mary declared that she would walk home alone. She feared that if they ran into her husband there was bound to

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[89] LAC, Record Group (RG) 13, Volume (Vol.) 1479, File CC 30, Catherine Hawryluk, Memorandum Dated 14 February 1918.

[90] See "Jealous Husband Shoots Wife in Quarrel," *Sudbury Star*, 4 May 1910, 1. Also see "Committed on Charge of Attempted Murder," *Sudbury Star*, 18 May 1910, 1.

be an altercation. Mary and Wasyl began to argue, he struck her down, and then he continued to beat her with an axe that he had hidden behind his back. Before being arrested, Wasyl fled to his brother's house and it was there that he admitted: "I have killed! She will no more leave me or her husband."[91] He also told another boarder living at the house that "She did not need to fool me, she was telling her husband one thing and telling me another, always fooling me."[92] Steve Dejbuck's testimony proved to be damning evidence that ultimately resulted in Wasyl Dejbuck's conviction and hanging on 2 June 1916.

In reconstructing these horrific stories, there is no doubt that Catherine and Mary were victims of domestic violence.[93] Despite the fact that they were victims, they

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[91] LAC, RG 13, Vol. 1470, File 570A C-1, Wasyl Dejbuck, *Rex vs. Dejbuck*, 79.

[92] Ibid., 52.

[93] For a related discussion pertaining to domestic violence in the Ukrainian bloc settlement of Vegreville, Alberta, see Frances Swyripa, "Negotiating Sex and Gender in the Ukrainian Bloc Settlement: East Central Alberta Between the Wars," *Prairie Forum* 20.2 (Fall 1995), 149-174. For a more general discussion about domestic violence in a Canadian context see, for instance, Franca Iacovetta, *Gatekeepers: Reshaping Immigrant Lives in Cold War Canada* (Toronto: Between the Lines, 2006), 222-231; Kathryn Harvey, "To Love, Honour and Obey: Wife-battering in Working-Class Montreal, 1869-79," *Urban History Review* 19.2 (October 1990), 128-141; Harvey, "Amazons and Victims: Resisting Wife-Abuse in Working-Class Montreal, 1869-1879," *Journal of the Canadian Historical Association* 2 (1991), 131-148; Terry L. Chapman, "'Till Death Do Us Part': Wife Beating in Alberta, 1905-1920," *Alberta History* 36.4 (1988), 13-22; Annalee Golz, "'If a Man's Wife Does not Obey him, What Can He Do?': Marital Breakdown and Wife Abuse in Late Nineteenth-Century and Early Twentieth-Century Ontario," in Louis Knafla and Susan Binnie, eds., *Law, Society and the State: Essays in Modern Legal History* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1995), 324-350; Golz, "Uncovering and Reconstructing Family Violence: Ontario Criminal Case Files," in Franca Iacovetta and Wendy Mitchinson, eds., *On the Case: Explorations in Social History* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1998), 289-311; Lisa Mar, "The Tale of Lin Tee: Madness, Family Violence, and Lindsay's Anti-Chinese Riot of 1919," in Marlene Epp, Franca Iacovetta, and Frances Swyripa, eds., *Sisters or Strangers? Immigrant, Ethnic, and Racialized Women in Canadian History* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2004), 108-129; Kathleen Lord, "'Rendering the Invisible, Visible': A Day and Night on Notre-Dame Street in Saint-

received little community support from either Ukrainians or non-Ukrainians. While they may have belonged to social networks within Copper Cliff's multi-ethnic community, they were relegated to the margins of this community because of the voluntary and involuntary sexual relationships that they had with its male members. Like the domestic abuse endured by Maria, these experiences made it difficult for Catherine and Mary to turn to the community; again the death of a child, like Sophia's, led to a different community response because it was an experience that did not violate the values of its members. Specifically, members of the community considered Catherine's and Mary's relationships to be sexually immoral and thus they were met with community disapproval.[94] In both cases, the women's fears about their moral standing eclipsed concerns about their physical well-being and safety. Instead of seeking help after falling "victim to the wiles of some man," Catherine concealed her pregnancy, carried her twins to term, and then murdered them shortly after giving birth. Like so many young Ukrainian women who came to the Sudbury region during this period, she quickly married so as to ensure that she would have financial security in her new homeland. Although the sources are silent on this issue, Catherine's uncle, in attempting to save her from being disgraced by the community, may have also "married off" his niece

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Henri, Quebec, June 12, 1895," *Atlantis* 28.1 (Fall/Winter 2003), 91-105; and Karen Dubinsky, *Improper Advances: Rape and Heterosexual Conflict in Ontario, 1880-1929* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1993). Internationally, family violence has also received much attention from scholars. See, for instance, Linda Gordon, *Heroes of Their Own Lives: The Politics and History of Family Violence, Boston 1880-1960* (New York: Penguin Books, 1988); Elizabeth Pleck, *Domestic Tyranny: The Making of American Social Policy Against Family Violence from Colonial Times to the Present* (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1987); and Nancy Tomes, "'A Torrent of Abuse': Crimes of Violence Between Working-Class Men and Women in London, 1840-1875," *Journal of Social History* 11.3 (1978), 328-345.

[94] Dubinsky, *Improper Advances: Rape and Heterosexual Conflict in Ontario, 1880-1929*, 15.

when and if he discovered the relationship Catherine had with one of his boarders. The trial transcripts from Mary's murder are clearer when it comes to establishing her place within the community. The local physician, for instance, testified that she had had a "loose reputation."[95] And in being asked whether she was a powerful woman, another doctor replied that "she was certainly well developed."[96] Members of the ethnic community who were called to testify echoed this sentiment. Steve Bodnaruk, a labourer who lived in Mary's neighbourhood, stated that "Mary's general reputation was not good around town," while the court appointed Ukrainian interpreter, John Wagner, admitted: "Yes, I knew she had a bad reputation in Copper Cliff."[97] Clearly, Mary was an outsider to most of those who lived in this mining community, Ukrainian and non-Ukrainian alike.

Ukrainian women who came to the Sudbury region between 1901 and 1914 had a diverse set of immigrant experiences. Belonging was not a universal experience. Rather, it was something that divided Ukrainian women. Like Sophia, there were those who developed strong multi-ethnic networks within the communities in which they lived, and like Maria, Catherine, and Mary, there were those who felt as though they could not turn to their communities. Often faced with community disapproval, these women survived on the margins of their communities. Although making a home in a place with a sizeable female population made adapting easier for some women, others had a hard time wherever they lived, whether that was in Garson or in the larger

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[95] LAC, RG 13, Vol. 1470, File 570A C-1, Wasyl Dejbuck, *Rex vs. Dejbuck*, 56.
[96] Ibid., 58.
[97] Ibid., 50 and 62.

Ukrainian community in Copper Cliff. Clearly, some women had an easier time fitting in than others.

Social Constructions of Community: Trying to Belong as a Ukrainian Man

Like the Ukrainian women who settled in the Sudbury region, men also had a diverse set of immigrant experiences during this early period. These experiences however differed from the ones faced by women. Specifically, men had more opportunities to network and thus did not tend to feel as isolated. There is no doubt that the extreme gender imbalance of this heavily masculine region speaks to these experiences. Nevertheless, it must be noted that similarities in the daily life cycles of the region's Ukrainian men – living in boarding houses, and working in harsh mining conditions – did not lead them to have analogous experiences. Boarding house culture varied from one man to another as did the ways men thought about and did their jobs.

Living in predominantly male boarding houses constituted a large part of this masculine immigrant experience. Depending upon the group of men living in a house at one time, these masculine spaces – where men ate, slept, debated, gambled, and drank – could be calm and welcoming or rough and rugged places. More often than not, they were loud but safe spaces where boarders co-habited with families and fellow countrymen. However, when some men started drinking and engaging in heated debates about work, women, or their homeland, these spaces could quickly turn into highly politicized and dangerous places in which to live. Although most debates were resolved with a simple fist fight, some, like the one which took place between Dmytro Wandesko and a Mr. Matura in a boarding house located in Garson in June 1914, were settled with weapons and invariably resulted in death. According to the *Sudbury Star*, the two men

had been drinking a "considerable amount" that day and there had been an exchange of objectionable words. The two men proceeded to struggle and Matura then stabbed Wandesko, killing him shortly thereafter. Although the newspaper failed to mention the cause of the dispute, it did highlight the fact that alcohol had been a factor in the fight.[98] There is no doubt that this was an extreme case of rough boarding house behaviour, but it nevertheless challenges the notion that these houses were places that regulated ethnic behaviour and produced stability. Robert Harney argues that boarding house operators, who demanded a specific code of behaviour, brought men together and helped them transplant their culture to their new country. Boarding houses, in his opinion, invariably led to the formation of a united ethnic community.[99] Crimes like these however lead us to question this argument, showing that boarders encountered a diversity of experiences when it came to living in these establishments. John Weaver's claim, that immigrants often killed, assaulted, or stole from other immigrants within the same ethnic group, highlights an ethnic pattern that could be applied to boarding house happenstance.[100] Indeed Harney's notion of boarding house culture masks the complexities of the male immigrant experience. Transplanted cultures did not necessarily lead to unity and similar working-class experiences.

Moreover, men were consumed by their jobs. If they worked anywhere from sixty to eighty-four hours a week, then it is quite plausible that they spent the bulk of their spare time discussing, among other things, their jobs. All men knew that every

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[98] "Fatal Stabbing at Garson Mine," *Sudbury Star*, 20 June 1914, 1.

[99] See Harney, "Boarding and Belonging: Thoughts on Sojourner Institutions," 8-37.

[100] John Weaver, *Crimes, Constables, and Courts: Order and Transgression in a Canadian City, 1816-1970* (Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1995), 219.

hour they spent working at the mines involved a considerable amount of risk. One of the strongest indications of the dangers of mining is John Babij's gravestone in the Whitefish cemetery outside of Worthington. Although it is now difficult to make out the Cyrillic markings, it reads:

Here Rests John Babij
Died December 10, 1910
Crushed by Ladle
Victoria Mines Smelter
Eternal Memory[101]

Babij may have been one of the first Ukrainians in the region to die in the mines, but he was certainly not the last. Myroslav Sichynskyi and Vasyl Lazarovych were just two of the many other Ukrainians who were killed while working in the mines between 1907 and 1914.[102] The provincial government tracked these deaths in their annual reports but we also know about these fatalities because Ukrainian men honoured their friends by writing into *Robochyi narod* (*The Working People*), the newspaper representing Ukrainian Social Democrats in Canada and the United States between May 1909 and September 1918, to report the deaths and to announce that they would be donating money to the newspaper on behalf of their deceased co-workers.[103]

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[101] John Babij's Gravestone, Whitefish Cemetery. The writing on the gravestone itself is in Ukrainian. For the translation see Stefura, "Ukrainians in the Sudbury Region," 71. For a related discussion about using material culture to reconstruct the past see Hilda Kean, *London Stories: Personal Lives, Public Histories* (London: Rivers Oram Press, 2004).

[102] The names of those Ukrainians who were killed in mining related accidents in the Sudbury region began to appear in the annual provincial reports in 1907. See, for instance, Ontario Department of Mines, *Report on the Mining Accidents in Ontario in 1907* (Toronto, 1908), 3. For a similar discussion pertaining to the dangers of mining during this period see Doug Baldwin, "A Study in Social Control: The Life of the Silver Miner in Northern Ontario," *Labour/Le Travail* 2 (1977), 79-106.

[103] See, for instance, Ivan Gnap, *Robochyi narod*, 11 December 1911, 3, translated by Larissa Stavroff.

The dangers of mining were a common subject which led Ukrainian men to share a similar set of experiences. Although it should have led to the creation of a common identity, like the one which, according to Kerry Abel, was forged among miners in Timmins, it was ultimately the subject of hostile contention, acting as the divisive foundational structure upon which this ethnic community was built.[104] Certainly, if we knew more about migration patterns we would be able to discuss whether Old World convictions and identities played a role in this division. While some men immigrated as devout Greek Catholics other men, like many of those who came from Southeastern Galicia, immigrated with strong beliefs which were developed through enlightenment societies, reading clubs, and the press; these beliefs were fostered through both socialist and nationalist movements.[105] When combined with the terrible working conditions, this Old World baggage would have given many men the impetus to both question and challenge the unfavourable situations in which they found themselves.[106] Although we may not be able to definitively determine the source of this division, we do nevertheless know that there were two groups of miners living in the Sudbury region during this period: those who were grateful to have a job and thus did not question the conditions in which they laboured and those who were thankful to be

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[104] For a concise summary about the ways in which a core set of values led to the creation of a community in Northeastern Ontario see Abel, *Changing Places: History, Community, and Identity in Northeastern Ontario*, 361-415.

[105] For a discussion about the important role that popular education played in the lives of peasants who lived in Southeastern Galicia see Hryniuk, *Peasants with Promise: Ukrainians in Southeastern Galicia, 1880-1900*, 86-114.

[106] Ian Radforth makes a similar statement about Finnish men who worked in Northern Ontario lumber camps, declaring that the vitality of radicalism was also rooted in the tough working conditions that the men experienced. See Radforth, *Bushworkers and Bosses: Logging in Northern Ontario, 1900-1980* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1987), 107-110.

employed but seriously challenged the dangers that they faced on a daily basis. We know less about the former group of men because in not creating controversy, they left few records. These men, many of whom had families and attended church, accepted the status quo so that they could feed their families. However, there were many men who protested the conditions silently, by quitting their jobs and finding work elsewhere. For instance, Pauline Kruk's (nee Mykoluk) father, Jacob, got a job at INCO when he arrived in Sudbury in 1913. One day when he was working in the smelter he spilled acid on his clothes, which burned through to his skin. Shortly thereafter, Jacob quit his job because it was too dangerous and he went to work for Sudbury Steam.[107]

Those who openly challenged conditions within the mines, on the other hand, left many records, especially in the pages of *Robochyi narod.* From the beginning, the men who wrote into this newspaper framed the deaths of their co-workers in terms of a class struggle, dramatically stating that these deaths showed "...how capitalism [devoured them] – one by one, day by day, hour by hour."[108] Some of the men, many of whom had been active in the socialist movement in Galicia, were so affected by the terrible working conditions and the injuries and deaths of their co-workers that they met in Copper Cliff, at the Finnish Hall, where they formed a local branch of the Federation of Ukrainian Social Democrats (FUSD) on 16 March 1913. The FUSD was one of the original parties which helped to establish the Ukrainian progressive movement in Canada and, as such, it was a precursor to the Ukrainian Labour Temple Association (ULTA). In 1909 and 1910 Ukrainian socialists formed the FUSD, a party aligned with

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[107] Pauline Kruk (nee Mykoluk), interview by author, Sudbury, 20 January 2005.

[108] M. Pomeichuk, "Yet Another Death," *Robochyi narod,* 15 October 1913, 1, translated by Larissa Stavroff.

the Canadian Social Democratic Party, as a way of uniting all socialist organizations under one centrally co-ordinated leadership. Throughout 1910 the party's membership numbers in Northern Ontario rose among the many miners who worked there and by 1913 there were forty-three committed members in the Sudbury region who vowed to help ease the burdens of capitalism for the working class.[109] Those who joined the FUSD believed that such a party was necessary to stop the mining companies from exploiting their Ukrainian labourers. Although, as Peter Krawchuk has observed, the party's early years were quite problematic, made difficult by in-fighting, poor leadership, and the fact that its central executive was located in Montreal while its newspaper, *Robochyi narod*, was located in Winnipeg, the party appealed to many Ukrainian workers in Sudbury.[110]

Being aligned with the FUSD however had serious implications for miners. John Buchowski, who came to Copper Cliff in 1908 because his uncle, Wasyl Buchowski, owned a Ukrainian general store there, found out first hand how links to the FUSD could destroy a career. Although his early days were spent working in the store alongside his relatives, it was not long before John got a job at the INCO Smelter in Copper Cliff. A hard-working man who attended masses at St. Stanislaus Church, John "got blackballed" as a communist and lost his job at INCO a couple of years later. When he was fired from his job, an event which left John angry and bitter for most of

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[109] Ivan Rohozhynsky, *Robochyi narod*, 26 March 1913, 5, translated by Larissa Stavroff.

[110] Peter Krawchuk, *Our History: The Ukrainian Labour-Farmer Movement in Canada, 1907-1991*, Translated by Mary Skrypnyk (Toronto: Lugus Publications, 1996), 7-17.

his life, company officials also blacklisted his name, barring him from ever working for another mining company in the region.[111]

As John's story demonstrates, being a member or even being accused of being a member of the FUSD had serious implications at this time. The FUSD and those who associated with it were considered to be a menace to the mining companies' operations in the region. Miners were expected to accept mining conditions and the risks associated with this kind of work, or find a job elsewhere. Mining therefore may have led many men to have common workplace experiences but what they thought about during and after work and what they did about these thoughts in their leisure time divided them. This division, as we shall see, took root during World War I and by the beginning of 1930, polarized the community, thereby setting Ukrainian men who did and did not support the FUSD – and after 1918 the ULTA – against each other.

Conclusion

According to the 1901 and 1911 aggregate and manuscript census data, Ukrainians who lived in the Sudbury region during the early years of the twentieth century called the many outlying mining communities outside of Sudbury home. These were heavily masculine and highly transient places where men and women spent their time working long days doing tough jobs. Men endured the difficult and dangerous conditions that came with mining while women laboured at home, attending to the many needs of their families and their boarders. Men and women may have had different immigrant experiences, but these masculine and feminine experiences were not homogeneous either. In terms of the region's Ukrainian women, some belonged to

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[111] Steve Buchowski, interview by author, Coniston, 16 May 2005; and John Buchowski Jr., interview by author, Sudbury, 18 May 2005.

vibrant Ukrainian communities, like the one structured around St. Nicholas Greek Catholic Church, while others lived on the edges of those communities, enduring the isolation of living in a masculine environment; it is important to note that many of these women also belonged to multi-ethnic communities which offered support during difficult times. Men, on the other hand, tended to be more successful when it came to finding a place for themselves within these ethnic communities, networking on the job and in their leisure time. Despite the fact that men lived and worked in similar places however, they also had a diversity of experiences. They lived in different kinds of boarding houses and had various responses when it came to dealing with the dangerous mining conditions that they faced on a daily basis. Belonging was thus complicated by how men thought about their jobs and the organizations that they chose to belong to in their spare time. This, as we shall see, had serious ramifications for the war years. It did not take long for diversity to divide the Ukrainian communities in the Sudbury region, quickly making it unfeasible for Ukrainians to come together and develop a shared sense of group identity.

Chapter Three

"They Cannot Stay Here Because They Are Not Welcome by the People of This Country": Regionalizing the Enemy Alien, 1914-1919

...Also why these people want to get away from Canada is because the Canadian press – I should say the capitalistic press – are trying to throw all kinds of dirt on that nation [Austria-Hungary] and make the people hate them, although during the war these people were producing nickel and all the necessary things with which to fight the German and Austrian militarism. That is why these people feel as bad now and want to leave the country. They are forced to do so especially as thousands of them realize they cannot stay here because they are not welcome by the people of this country even for the good they do to this country...[1]

Belonging to the many Ukrainian communities which emerged in the Sudbury region prior to the onset of World War I was complicated by the gendered experiences of Ukrainian men and women. Geographic dispersion, transience, a lack of ethnic spaces, and the heavily masculine nature of these communities hindered a woman's ability to belong, while the ways that men thought about their jobs and the organizations that they frequented in their spare time seriously affected the ways that they fit into their communities. These diverse experiences thus made the creation of a collective group identity difficult during these formative years. Ukrainians struggled to belong while they negotiated the highly unstable foundations of their communities.

World War I continued to complicate belonging to these local Ukrainian communities, as well as to the region, and the nation. Although the 1901 and 1911 manuscript and aggregate censuses essentially rendered Ukrainians invisible within the public record, they were assigned very different and highly visible identities during the

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[1] Canada, *Industrial Relations Royal Commission, 1919* (Ottawa, 1919), 1953.

war. Labelled as "enemy aliens" – a term which will be discussed at length within this chapter – this status, as the opening quote makes clear, led unnaturalized Ukrainians, and especially those who participated in socialist Ukrainian politics in the region, to feel like they did not fit into the communities which they had built during the first decade of the twentieth century.

National Definitions of the Enemy Alien

Before we can discuss the regionalization of the enemy alien label and its impact on the Sudbury region's Ukrainian communities, we must establish how this status affected Ukrainians on a national level. In August 1914 the Canadian government passed the War Measures Act, giving it "powers of 'arrest, detention, exclusion, and deportation'...and specifically [denying] the rights of bail and of *habeus corpus*" to anyone arrested upon suspicion of being an enemy alien.[2] The enemy alien label referred to those unnaturalized immigrants who had come to Canada from the enemy states of Germany, Austria-Hungary, Turkey, and Bulgaria; about 20 000 Germans and 60 000 Ukrainians were among the unnaturalized enemy aliens residing in Canada at this time.[3] In addition to suspending the civil liberties of those who had immigrated from these enemy states, this act required unnaturalized immigrants to register at the offices of their local magistrates.[4] Those who did not register were arrested and detained at twenty-six internment camps which were located throughout the country. Between 1914 and 1919, 8579 enemy aliens were incarcerated in internment camps; 1192 Germans and 5954 Austro-Hungarians, the bulk of whom were Ukrainian, composed

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[2] As quoted in John Herd Thompson, *Ethnic Minorities During Two World Wars* (Ottawa: Canadian Historical Association, 1991), 7.

[3] Ibid., 5.

[4] Ibid., 7.

this figure.[5] In 1917, the Canadian government issued another discriminatory blow to the nation's minorities by passing the Wartime Elections Act. Although registration and internment only applied to unnaturalized enemy aliens, this act disenfranchised immigrants from enemy countries who had been naturalized after 31 March 1902. According to John Herd Thompson, these government measures not only legitimized both real and imagined enemies, but also sent nativists – those who were opposed "to an internal minority on the grounds that it posed a threat to Canadian national life" – a strong message supporting Anglo-conformity.[6] In essence, the enemy alien label became quite ambiguous after the passing of the Wartime Elections Act, blurring the boundary between those who were enemy aliens, unnaturalized immigrants, and those who were not, naturalized immigrants.

Not surprisingly, these wartime measures had serious implications for Canada's Ukrainian population. "The passions aroused by the war," as Orest Martynowych insists, "led many Anglo Canadians to see all 'foreigners' and 'aliens' as a single, hostile 'enemy' bloc."[7] It is however important to note that there were national patterns when it came to the ways that these wartime measures affected Ukrainians. First, the War Measures Act used nationality rather than political ideology to define those Ukrainians who were not Canadian citizens. Moreover, as Martynowych stresses, we must "distinguish between unnaturalized enemy aliens, a fraction of whom were

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[5] Ibid.

[6] Ibid., 3-6. It is significant to note that Thompson's reference to nativism builds upon the work done by John Higham. In particular, Higham defines nativism as including "every type and level of antipathy toward aliens, their institutions, and their ideas." See Higham, *Strangers in the Land: Patterns of American Nativism* (New York: Atheneum, 1963), 3.

[7] Orest Martynowych, *Ukrainians in Canada: The Formative Years, 1891-1924* (Edmonton: Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies Press, 1991), 420.

interned, and the Canadian-born or naturalized people who were disenfranchised... [Most] internees were not women or children or even homesteaders with families, but single, migrant labourers with little property to be confiscated."[8] Prior to 1917, internment was, for the most part, a means through which municipal governments could purge their towns of unemployed immigrant workers.[9] Often released to alleviate labour shortages, the internment of these unemployed immigrants thus had little to do with national security.[10] The Russian Revolution which occurred in November 1917 however induced an important shift in national internment patterns. Prompted by the emergence of a highly international socialist subculture, an upsurge in labour militancy, and increased co-operation between Anglo-Canadian and foreign-born labour radicals, the Canadian government shifted its focus from "enemy aliens" to "radical aliens", harassing, arresting, and interning unnaturalized Ukrainians who belonged to the Ukrainian Social Democratic Party (USDP); the Federation of Ukrainian Social Democrats (FUSD), which was discussed in Chapter Two, was renamed the USDP on 31 January 1914.[11]

Despite these national patterns, proponents of the recent Ukrainian redress campaign have tended to exploit, and as Frances Swyripa argues, even distort the Ukrainian internment experience to meet a contemporary community agenda. In her

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[8] Orest Martynowych, *Ukrainian Weekly*, 8 April 1988. These national patterns are also cited by Frances Swyripa. See Swyripa, "The Politics of Redress: The Contemporary Ukrainian-Canadian Campaign," in Franca Iacovetta, Roberto Perin, and Angelo Principe, eds., *Enemies Within: Italian and Other Internees in Canada and Abroad* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2000), 365.

[9] Thompson, *Ethnic Minorities During Two World Wars*, 7.

[10] Swyripa, "The Politics of Redress: The Contemporary Ukrainian-Canadian Campaign," 357.

[11] Martynowych, *Ukrainians in Canada: The Formative Years, 1891-1924*, 419 and 427-436.

opinion, the goal of this agenda has been to create an over-riding historical narrative which puts a positive spin on the nation-building experiences of Ukrainian Canadians.[12] Spurred on by the Japanese redress campaign, those involved in efforts to attain atonement for Ukrainians have argued that internment constituted a "war against ethnicity."[13] Specifically, they have maintained that "the institutions of state and the not always silent majority put up their guard against ethnicity within" and hastily arrested and incarcerated individuals with little evidence.[14]

In contrast, those opposed to this argument stress that this view constitutes "simple history."[15] Specifically, they assert that the wartime experiences of those who were interned were "far more complicated, sordid, and turbulent than the community

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[12] Swyripa, "The Politics of Redress: The Contemporary Ukrainian-Canadian Campaign," 356.

[13] See Lubomyr Luciuk, *In Fear of the Barbed Wire Fence: Canada's First National Internment Operations and the Ukrainian Canadians, 1914-1920* (Kingston: Kashten Press, 2001). Although this is just a selection, for the Japanese internment experience see, for instance, Patricia Roy, J.L. Granatstein, Masako Iino, and Hiroko Takamura, *Mutual Hostages: Canadians and Japanese During the Second World War* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1990); Ken Adachi, *The Enemy That Never Was: A History of the Japanese Canadians* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1991); and Ann Gomer Sunahara, *The Politics of Racism: The Uprooting of Japanese Canadians During the Second World War* (Toronto: J. Lorimer, 1981).

[14] Norman Hillmer, "The Second World War as an (Un) National Experience," in Norman Hillmer, Bohdan Kordan, and Lubomyr Luciuk, eds., *On Guard For Thee: War, Ethnicity, and the Canadian State, 1939-1945* (Ottawa: Canadian Committee for the History of the Second World War, 1988), xii. Also see the other articles in Norman Hillmer, Bohdan Kordan, and Lubomyr Luciuk, eds., *On Guard For Thee: War, Ethnicity, and the Canadian State, 1939-1945* (Ottawa: Canadian Committee for the History of the Second World War, 1988). Although these citations focus upon the internment experiences of those who were detained during World War II, it is significant to note that a similar argument has been employed by those who have fought for atonement for World War I internees. For an example see, for instance, Lubomyr Luciuk, *In Fear of the Barbed Wire Fence: Canada's First National Internment Operations and the Ukrainian Canadians, 1914-1920.*

[15] See all of the articles in Franca Iacovetta, Roberto Perin, and Angelo Principe, eds., *Enemies Within: Italian and Other Internees in Canada and Abroad* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2000).

version permits."[16] As such, they argue that we must therefore push past the emotional responses to internment and critically examine both the social memories and social silences of this experience. Consequently, all of the evidence is important. Rather than casting aside the evidence that does not fit, a tactic often used by supporters of the "war against ethnicity" argument, we must question its importance and/or irrelevance to the stories we tell.[17] To this end, Franca Iacovetta and Robert Ventresca warn that we must be wary of the ways that history can serve as a "'therapeutic tool' for contemporary ethnic relations."[18]

Regional Definitions of the Enemy Alien

Although the view that internment must not be distorted to meet contemporary community agendas has provoked a great deal of anger and resentment among those who support the "war against ethnicity" position, this chapter will also argue that the "war against ethnicity" thesis needs revision. Specifically, it will show the importance of applying local knowledge to what has until now been a national narrative. In asking

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[16] Franca Iacovetta and Robert Ventresca, "Redress, Collective Memory, and the Politics of History," in Franca Iacovetta, Roberto Perin, and Angelo Principe, eds., *Enemies Within: Italian and Other Internees in Canada and Abroad* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2000), 398.

[17] Franca Iacovetta and Roberto Perin make a similar statement about those who have been involved in the Italian redress campaign. See their article "Introduction: Italians and Wartime Internment: Comparative Perspectives on Public Policy, Historical Memory, and Daily Life," in Franca Iacovetta, Roberto Perin, and Angelo Principe, eds., *Enemies Within: Italian and Other Internees in Canada and Abroad* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2000), 6. For a more general discussion pertaining to Italian internment during World War II see, for instance, Joseph Anthony Ciccocelli, "The Innocuous Enemy Aliens: Italians in Canada During World War II," M.A. Thesis, University of Western Ontario, 1977; and Kenneth Bagnell, *Canadese: A Portrait of the Italian Canadians* (Toronto: Macmillan of Canada, 1989).

[18] Franca Iacovetta and Robert Ventresca, "Redress, Collective Memory, and the Politics of History," 398.

national questions on a local, and thus more manageable, level, we will see that the regional enemy alien experiences of Ukrainians are significant.

Before I embark upon a discussion about regional patterns pertaining to the Canadian government's wartime measures, it is important to acknowledge, at the outset, that a lack of sources makes it difficult to reconstruct the history of this period. Certainly, the transience of the region's Ukrainian communities speaks to this problem. Those Ukrainians who lived in the Sudbury region during the war years were in the early stages of building their communities. These were, as Chapter Two demonstrated, highly unstable masculine communities that contained few women and children. Men moved between these communities searching for work, staying long enough to save money to return to their native countries. Disenfranchisement did not have a major effect on those living in the region because few were naturalized citizens who owned property in this resource environment; due to a lack of sources, I have been unable to ascertain how many of the region's Ukrainians were naturalized citizens. Moreover, the constantly changing social dynamics of these communities makes it difficult to determine how internment affected the region's unnaturalized Ukrainian residents. Unlike the experiences recalled by Japanese Canadians who were interned during World War II, there is no collective narrative to which we can now return.

Despite these source problems, it is significant to note that Ukrainians who lived in the Sudbury region during World War I endured experiences that were similar to those that were faced by Ukrainians who lived in other parts of Canada. Specifically, the enemy alien label was applied to all unnaturalized Ukrainian men, women, and children. It denoted their national origins rather than their political affiliations.

Although a lack of sources makes it difficult to reconstruct the ways in which Ukrainians defined themselves during this period, we do know, as this chapter will demonstrate, how they reacted to the War Measures Act and its particular stipulations. Moreover, we may not be able to discern why three of the International Nickel Company's (INCO) Ukrainian employees were interned in 1916 – available sources only indicate that the men were employed at the time of their internment – but it is clear that there was a regional link between socialism and internment after 1917. Specifically, my fragmented sources reveal that internment was a means through which the region's mining companies could purge their mines of disloyal and thereby unacceptable enemy alien Ukrainian workers. These mining companies used their power to structure the community, determining who did and did not belong. In this instance, internees, all of whom were male, were not naïve victims but members of the USDP, an ideologically suspect minority group which operated in the region.[19]

There is no doubt that a similar enemy alien label was inscribed upon all of the region's unnaturalized Ukrainians but this label did not make for a common set of experiences. Like the experiences of belonging discussed in Chapter Two, the wartime experiences of the region's Ukrainians were also quite diverse. As we shall see, politics and gender complicated these experiences, intensifying the initial division which polarized the Ukrainian communities within the region.

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[19] Reg Whitaker and Gregory Kealey make a similar argument about German internees. See "A War on Ethnicity? The RCMP and Internment," in Franca Iacovetta, Roberto Perin, and Angelo Principe, eds., *Enemies Within: Italian and Other Internees in Canada and Abroad* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2000), 137.

Wartime in Sudbury

The immediate pre-war years were prosperous ones for INCO and the Mond Nickel Company (MNC); production levels of nickel rose from 34 million pounds in 1911 to 49.9 million pounds in 1913.[20] Although the ethnic composition of the workforce responsible for these increased production levels is unclear, there is no doubt that many of the Ukrainians who settled in the Sudbury region prior to the onset of World War I made up a large part of this workforce. Those who came to the area, hoping to achieve some semblance of financial security, were however soon disappointed when, in the winter of 1914, an international recession caused production levels to plummet. Like other companies in Canada, INCO and the MNC responded to this economic crisis by cutting costs and reducing their workforces; the Canadian Pacific Railway (CPR), which employed a large number of immigrants in the town of Sudbury, followed suit and also laid off a portion of its workforce.

In response to the lay-offs, approximately 400 men gathered about a mile outside of Sudbury, near the old Stobie Mine, and formed a "colony" where they took over a set of abandoned boxcars. Although reports do not indicate the ethnic make-up of the group, the *Sudbury Star* stressed that the men were immigrants and specifically it referred to them as "foreign."[21] On 29 June 1914, the men took their protest one step further by marching through the streets of Sudbury's downtown core to express their discontent over the labour situation.[22] This was one of the first protests to occur in the

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[20] Matt Bray, "1910-1920," in C.M. Wallace and Ashley Thomson, eds., *Sudbury: Rail Town to Regional Capital* (Toronto: Dundurn Press, 1993), 91.

[21] See "The Out-Of-Works Parade Streets," *Sudbury Star*, 1 July 1914, 1; and "The Out-Of-Works Number 300 to 400," *Sudbury Star*, 4 July 1914, 1.

[22] "The Out-Of-Works Number 300 to 400," *Sudbury Star*, 4 July 1914, 1.

town and as a result a number of concerned Sudburians, like Geo Loney of the Balmoral Hotel, wrote frantic letters to the Minister of Labour, emphasizing that the town needed federal assistance with this matter. In his letter, entitled "Danger from Unemployed at Sudbury," Loney wrote:

> This town is up against a very serious problem. There are about 8 or 9 hundred unemployed men camped outside this town on the verge of starvation. They are all foreigner [sic] and men who have been brought into the country to do railway work and that kind of work being exhausted there is no work for them. In former years this has been a great hiring point and men have flocked here from every point...Please send an officer here at once to investigate. Two of them have gone crazy.[23]

Another worried citizen, a Mr. O'Connor, echoed this sentiment and sent a telegram which stated: "An influx of some four to five hundred foreigners never residents of Sudbury are camped about one mile north of the town limits for [the] last two weeks. Without work or means of support. Have paraded through town. Fear they may do some damages. Cannot your department act. Answer."[24] Action was swift and within a week, local police officers dispersed the colony.

However, as these letters indicate, foreigners, especially those in large groups, incited fear among native Sudburians. The unemployed had merely paraded through the streets and yet because they were foreign there was an assumption that damage and violence would result. This nativist depiction of the foreigner, most often applied to Southern, Eastern, and Central Europeans during this period, was hardly particular to

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[23] Library and Archives Canada (LAC), Record Group (RG) 13, Volume (Vol.) 190, Series A-2, File 1914-1937, Department of Labour – Danger from Unemployed at Sudbury, Letter to the Minister of Labour from Geo Loney, Balmoral Hotel, July 1, 1914.

[24] LAC, RG 13, Vol. 190, Series A-2, File 1914-1937, Department of Labour – Danger from Unemployed at Sudbury, Letter to the Minister of Labour from L. O'Connor, July 1, 1914.

Sudburians however. Nativism, as John Herd Thompson points out, was well established before World War I. Taking many forms and depicting these immigrants as uncultured, morally and sexually dangerous, and most importantly, inferior, the belief among English-speaking Canadians was that "immigrants to Canada should be forced to assimilate to the language and customs of the majority."[25] The recession, which led to an increase in the number of unemployed immigrants nation-wide, merely reinforced unfavourable stereotypes about these men among Anglo-Canadians.

The outbreak of war did little to help the region's unemployment issue. Shortly after Britain declared war on Germany on 4 August 1914, INCO laid off 550 workers and issued the following statement:

> As was to be expected with a commodity so closely allied to Armageddon the nickel industry is one of the first to feel the direct result of the great conflict in Europe. The demand for nickel in the construction of the engines of war is practically suspended, while the demand in the remaining avenues of commerce in which the commodity is used is more or less affected by the general trade conditions. A temporary retrenchment is to be expected.[26]

For the most part, the international nickel market was slow to recover during the early years of the war and although INCO rehired some of the men it had laid off in April 1915, it along with the MNC did not rehire the bulk of those laid off until 1916, when a shortage of men forced the companies to offer the men their jobs back.[27]

In many respects, the onset of war complicated matters for Ukrainians who lived not only in the Sudbury region, but also throughout the country. In addition to dealing with the loss of their jobs, family reunions had to be postponed because war made travel

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[25] Thompson, *Ethnic Minorities During Two World Wars*, 3-4.

[26] *Sudbury Star*, 8 August 1914, 1. Also cited by Matt Bray. See Bray, "1910-1920," 92.

[27] Bray, "1910-1920," 92-93.

to or from the enemy Austro-Hungarian and Russian Empires impossible. Moreover, Ukrainians were also forced to contemplate their loyalty to both Canada and their homeland during this period. Several days before Britain and Canada entered the war, for example, Bishop Nikita Budka, who oversaw the Ukrainian Catholic clergy in Canada, issued a controversial letter asking Ukrainian men who were Austro-Hungarian army reservists to return to Austria-Hungary to fulfill their military obligations. Britain's declaration of war a few days later however led Budka to issue a second letter which asked his followers to disregard the first letter and to behave like loyal Canadian citizens. Although sources do not allow us to discern the impact that these two letters had upon Sudbury's Ukrainians, we do know that nationally, by the time Budka issued his second letter, Anglo-Canadians had already construed the first letter as an expression of anti-British sentiment among all Ukrainians. Ultimately, it helped to persuade the Borden government that something had to be done to control these enemy aliens.[28]

A term used by the Borden government to refer to all of the unnaturalized immigrants who had come from countries with which Canada was at war, the enemy alien label also had local ramifications, acting as a powerful rhetorical device for not only the municipal government, but also local newspapers, mining companies, and native Sudburians. Unlike the 1901 and 1911 manuscript and aggregate census categories which rendered Ukrainians invisible, this identity effectively grouped all unnaturalized immigrants into one negative and discernible category. Signifying disloyalty and thereby providing an image against which native Sudburians could define

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[28] Thompson, *Ethnic Minorities During Two World Wars*, 5-6.

themselves, the enemy alien was the antithesis of what these individuals strove to represent.[29] In defining the enemy alien and the native Sudburian during this period, it is helpful to examine the definitions which Edmund Bradwin applied to "whites" and "foreigners" between 1903 and 1914. Through his observations of those who worked in railway construction camps, Bradwin concluded that there were two types of workers: "whites" included English and French Canadians, British immigrants, Americans, and the odd Scandinavian and Finn while "foreigners," who were often dismissed by the "whites," included "Bohunks," "Hunkies," and "Douks."[30] The enemy alien thus came to represent those who had been labelled as foreigners prior to the war. It must be noted that the onset of World War I undoubtedly added a new urgency and intensity to this label, signifying the fear, hostility, and resentment of the "white" segment of the population.

Although this study is not concerned with reconstructing the group identities of those outside of the Ukrainian community, we may draw on Kerry Abel's study about Northeastern Ontario to offer some conclusions about this "manufactured" threat. She states:

> The First World War provided the "enemy alien," a socially acceptable target for animosities that had been building anyway. English- and French-speaking Canadians who had previously emphasized what divided them now discovered an "other" in the immigrants of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, and they were

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[29] Thomas Dunk makes a similar argument about the ways in which white, working-class men defined themselves against the Aboriginal population in Thunder Bay, Ontario. See Dunk, *It's A Working-Man's Town: Male Working Class Culture* (Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1991), 96, 115, and 130.

[30] Edmund Bradwin, *The Bunkhouse Man: A Study of Work and Pay in the Camps of Canada, 1903-1914* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1929), 92, 105-106. Kerry Abel also cites Bradwin in her work. See Abel, *Changing Places: History, Community, and Identity in Northeastern Ontario* (Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2006), 346.

> able to imagine new definitions of themselves that had the possibility, at least, of rapprochement. The jingoism and rhetoric of wartime that portrayed the citizen of enemy countries as a danger and a threat to "good" people at home fitted easily with the unstated but apparently widely held sense of threat that Canadians felt about the gangs of immigrant workers who flooded into the region. Animosity toward one segment of the population was given a public airing and accorded the moral high ground, helping drag that segment out (sometimes literally, sometimes figuratively). In the process, it helped bring other groups together.[31]

For Abel, the construction of the enemy alien was a fundamental element in the community-building process, uniting those who had previously been divided in an "us" versus "them" structure. This study may not be attempting to determine whether having this common target for hostility served as a rallying point for the Sudbury region's non-Ukrainian segment of the population, but the letters which addressed the unemployment crisis in 1914 make clear that native Sudburians certainly felt threatened by foreigners. To use Abel's language, the "good" people of Sudbury began to define themselves against this "other" in the days prior to the onset of war and certainly the enemy alien label initiated discussions in which they were able to openly declare their superiority and moral disgust. Since this is an in-depth examination of the region's Ukrainian communities, it is interesting to note that those who were labelled as enemy aliens did not perceive themselves as a united group of "others." Specifically, Ukrainians were divided along religious and political lines and, as we shall see, the local mining companies used these differences to set them apart.

In an attempt to deal with Canada's enemy aliens, many of whom were unemployed like the protesting workers in Sudbury, the Borden government began, in the beginning of August 1914, to implement comprehensive measures to circumscribe

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[31] Abel, *Changing Places: History, Community, and Identity in Northeastern Ontario*, 407.

the movements and activities of these immigrants. These measures did not explicitly address the unemployment issue crippling the nation. Rather they questioned the loyalty of enemy aliens and stated that those who attempted to aid the enemy would be subject to internment. Unnaturalized Ukrainian men were the largest group of immigrants to come from enemy states and hence they were the most affected by these measures. Although they were free to continue living and working as they had before the start of the war, they were required to register and report to their local magistrates on a regular basis. If an enemy alien failed to report regularly or relocated without the permission of local officials, then he/she would be interned. In addition to reporting, enemy aliens were also required to submit any firearms they had in their possession to the local police. On 18 August, the Borden government followed up these measures by unanimously passing the War Measures Act; this act formally gave the government the right to suspend the civil liberties of anyone suspected of collaborating with an enemy state. It is clear from the measures outlined above that the Borden government dodged the unemployment issue. Instead of offering those enemy aliens who had lost their jobs relief or alternate employment, it questioned their loyalty to the state and set in motion its internment procedures.[32] Bishop Budka's first letter to his Ukrainian followers gave the government justification to proceed in this manner but, as Frances Swyripa and John Herd Thompson argue, Anglo-Canadian treatment of Ukrainians during the war really had less to do with their status as enemy aliens and more to do with pre-existing

[32] Orest Martynowych also makes this claim, arguing that the policies were a result of unemployment issues rather than those arising from disloyalty to the state. See Martynowych, *Ukrainians in Canada: The Formative Years, 1891-1924*, 325-326.

prejudices fed by wartime patriotism.[33] Peter Melnycky echoes this sentiment, stating that internment was prompted less by a concern for national security than by a combination of existing prejudices that were fed by wartime patriotism and economic factors.[34]

The Sudbury Region's Ukrainian Communities React to Wartime Formalities

The *Sudbury Star* was quick to cover Bishop Budka's call to service, stating that Copper Cliff's Austrian colony had received a telegram from the Austrian Consul in Montreal warning every man to be ready to return to the old country for active service.[35] As Chapter Two made clear, ethnic identity was a slippery subject during this period and the labels employed by census enumerators in 1901 and 1911 – "Austrians", "Poles", and "Russians" – were frequently adopted by the local newspaper, mining companies, and native Sudburians. When I refer to "Austrians" during the rest of this chapter, I am simply using the newspaper labels applied to Ukrainians during this period. Peter Marko, for example, an "Austrian" living in Copper Cliff, reacted to Bishop Budka's call to service by affirming that most of his fellow countrymen would respond if needed.[36] That Marko would make such a comment is interesting given the

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[33] Frances Swyripa and John Herd Thompson, "Introduction," in Frances Swyripa and John Herd Thompson, eds., *Loyalties in Conflict: Ukrainians in Canada During the Great War* (Edmonton: Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies Press, 1983), viii. Lubomyr Luciuk makes a similar point stating that he is unconvinced that Budka's letter had a direct link to the government's measures. See Luciuk, *In Fear of the Barbed Wire Fence: Canada's First National Internment Operations and the Ukrainian Canadians, 1914-1920*, 93.

[34] Peter Melnycky, "The Internment of Ukrainians in Canada," in Frances Swyripa and John Herd Thompson, eds., *Loyalties in Conflict: Ukrainians in Canada During the Great War* (Edmonton: Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies Press, 1983), 19.

[35] "Cliff Austrians Receive the Call," *Sudbury Star*, 5 August 1914, 4.

[36] Ibid.

fact that many Ukrainians residing in the Sudbury region at this time had left Austria-Hungary and Russia to avoid serving in their armies.[37] Some Ukrainians in fact went to great lengths to leave these countries before the war broke out. For instance, John Behun risked imprisonment and came to Canada from Chorostkiv, Ukraine on a false passport; certainly, documents like this one further attest to the inaccuracies of statistics and personal information during this period. When it was clear that a war was immanent, John wrote to some friends who were residing in Coniston and asked them to send him a passport. Using the passport of another young and single Ukrainian man, John came to Coniston where he obtained a job at the MNC.[38] Like the diverse stories about belonging discussed in Chapter Two, conflicting stories about wartime sentiment and personal safety in the war zones help to illuminate the evolving boundaries and membership of the region's Ukrainian communities. Unnaturalized Ukrainians may have shared an enemy alien label, but, as we shall see, this status did not lead to the creation of a collective group identity.

A number of ethnic battles between "Austrians" and "Russians" – again, these were ethnic labels used by the *Sudbury Star* – also give us a sense of the ways in which the wartime experiences of Ukrainians contributed to a divided rather than a shared group identity. At the same time, they demonstrate how national sentiment was transplanted to these immigrants' new country. Not all Ukrainians were loyal to their new country and this directly impacted the ways that they belonged to their local communities, as well as to the region, and the nation. That some "Austrian" and

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[37] See, for instance, William Babij, interview by author, Sudbury, 16 December 2004. During this interview, Bill discussed how his father Michael made a conscious effort to leave Ukraine before the outbreak of war.

[38] Paul Behun, interview by author, Coniston, 12 May 2005.

"Russian" men, married and single, felt strongly about the war is not surprising given that many routinely sojourned between Canada and their homeland and had family in the war zones.[39] On 12 September 1914 the *Sudbury Star* reported that a battle between a group of "Austrians" and "Russians" took place in a boarding house located in downtown Sudbury. Other than noting that liquor had been a factor, the newspaper did not highlight the reasons why these two groups of men had fought, although it may be assumed that the battle was related to international tensions.[40] I say this because a few weeks later a similar battle made headlines once again. In this instance, the newspaper article was more detailed, stating that "the inhabitants of Garson Mine [seemed] to be taking the European war to heart."[41] In particular, a group of "Russian" and "Austrian" men had squared off against each other, and "unlike their comrades in Europe, the Austrians had been victorious."[42] In discussing the outcome of the fight, the article was quick to point out that the "Austrian contingent" had been punished for their disloyalty and thus, their "victory [had] only [been] a temporary one."[43] It is interesting to note that in bringing up the disloyalty of the men the newspaper was making a subtle reference to the enemy, highlighting who was and was not welcome in the community.

In addition to being divided over whether they believed the war was or was not just, Ukrainians were also split when it came to the War Measures Act and the Borden government's enemy alien measures. On 5 September 1914 the *Sudbury Star* indicated

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[39] See Martynowych, *Ukrainians in Canada: The Formative Years, 1891-1924*, 109-128.

[40] "Our Busy Police Court: The Battle of Minto Street," *Sudbury Star*, 12 September 1914, 8.

[41] "More Fighting at Garson," *Sudbury Star*, 30 September 1914, 8.

[42] Ibid.

[43] Ibid.

that some of those who were affected by the measures had begun to fall into a pattern, registering at the local police station and reporting there on the second of each month. Upon registering, these individuals had their names added to a list and were issued an identification card which they were required to carry with them at all times. Interestingly, the article went on to note that the measures were seriously affecting the "Austrian" men who resided in the region, stating that "in most cases no one would give them employment..."[44] According to Magistrate Brodie, in charge of determining the fate of criminals from 1902 to 1928, the only feasible solution for this problem entailed putting these men "to work on colonization roads or on government farms, where they could be kept out of mischief and be doing useful work without competing with the Canadian labourer."[45] Frances Swyripa argues that comments like these were common in the Anglo-Canadian press at this time. By examining a series of western Canadian newspapers published during wartime, Swyripa concludes that the press provided its readers with two images of Ukrainians, those which argued that Ukrainians supported Britain and British institutions and those which were quick to identify treasonous behaviour. Clearly, as Swyripa states, Ukrainians had both defenders and enemies among the Anglo-Canadian population.[46] Although Brodie was sympathetic to the fact that "Austrian" men were losing their jobs, his comment about keeping these unemployed men "out of mischief" indicates that he did not defend and, by extension,

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[44] "What To Do With Austrians," *Sudbury Star*, 5 September 1914, 5.

[45] Ibid.

[46] See Frances Swyripa, "The Ukrainian Image: Loyal Citizen or Disloyal Alien," in Frances Swyripa and John Herd Thompson, eds., *Loyalties in Conflict: Ukrainians in Canada During the Great War* (Edmonton: Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies Press, 1983), 47-68. Also see Martynowych, *Ukrainians in Canada: The Formative Years, 1891-1924*, 424, for a discussion about the ways in which the opinions of Anglo-Canadians differed.

trust, the members of this ethnic community. Working-class immigrant masculinities needed to be contained not only to ensure that there would be jobs available for the "Canadian labourer," but also to maintain order in the community.[47] According to Brodie, internment was a solution to the unemployment crisis plaguing the men who composed the "Austrian" segment of the population. It is important to note that Brodie's opinion was similar to those upheld by the federal government. Internment, during the early years of the war, was a solution to the country's unemployment problems.

While some voluntarily registered, other unnaturalized Ukrainians evaded the measures: "Scarcely a day passes in police court but that one or more Austrians callously admit they are not registered."[48] Evasion however took many forms, varying from ignorant offences to conscious and desperate acts. Conceivably, some Ukrainians had no idea that they had become enemies of the state. Two such "Austrians" who resided in Garson and did not speak English were a case in point; the names of these men were not reported by the newspaper. Arrested in December 1914 and charged with being enemy aliens who had not delivered their firearms to the nearest police headquarters, these two men were quick to admit that they were not aware of the wartime measures and immediately offered to hand over their shotguns, which they used for sporting purposes, to police. Convinced that this was indeed a case of ignorance, Magistrate Brodie concluded that the men had not been trying to evade the order. He did nevertheless confiscate the guns and charge them a ten dollar fine, stating that he hoped that this case would serve as a warning to other enemy aliens residing in

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[47] "What To Do With Austrians," *Sudbury Star*, 5 September 1914, 5.
[48] "Many Aliens in Sudbury Fail to Register," *Sudbury Star*, 4 February 1916, 7.

the region.[49] It must be noted that it is hard to believe that these men were completely ignorant of the fact that they had become enemies of the state. Details about the enemy alien measures were frequently published in the local English newspaper as well as in Ukrainian newspapers like *Robochyi narod*, the newspaper representing Ukrainian Social Democrats in Canada and the United States between May 1909 and September 1918. Although some immigrants may not have had access to these sources or simply may not have been able to read them, it is likely that they would have learned about the enemy alien measures through discussions they had had within their community networks. Certainly, when examining this particular case it is best to make a distinction. While the men probably knew that they had become enemies of the state perhaps they did not know and/or understand the other restrictions imposed by the government measures.

These two "Austrians" may not have been aware of the details of the government's enemy alien measures, but there were others, like Jim Yasson, who were quite conscious of them. Yasson, who declared that he was a Russian and not an Austrian, enlisted with the 227th Canadian Battalion in May 1916. Brought to police by another Russian who discovered the "Hun's real nationality," Yasson was sentenced to thirty days in jail. If caught masquerading as "a royal subject of the Triple Entente" again, Magistrate Brodie declared, Yasson would be sent to internment camp.[50] It must

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[49] "Ignorance No Excuse," *Sudbury Star*, 23 December 1914, 8.

[50] "Austrian 'Listed with 227th Bn. As a Russian," *Sudbury Star*, 31 May 1916, 2. Lubomyr Luciuk shows that this was not an isolated incident. A number of Ukrainian men who lived in Canada, as many as 10 000, changed their names and enlisted in the military either to evade police or to serve their country as loyal Canadian citizens. See Luciuk, *In Fear of the Barbed Wire Fence: Canada's First National Internment Operations and the Ukrainian Canadians, 1914-1920*, 33.

be noted that we will never know whether Yasson actually wanted to serve his new country, enlisted so as to evade police, was a spy for the enemy, or simply wanted to receive the three square meals that the army offered its soldiers on a daily basis. In making an effort to show that he was a Russian and not an Austrian however it is quite clear that Yasson was aware of the enemy alien measures which applied to him.

Incidents and warnings like these appear to have had an impact on the region's Ukrainian community. Efforts by local police to track down, arrest, and register enemy aliens led to a sizeable exodus from the area. Exact numbers are not available but reports in the *Sudbury Star* indicate that this crack down led many to flee to the then still-neutral United States. Although, as Orest Martynowych notes, flights such as these posed a major problem for the federal government in the early weeks of the war, they did not become a local problem in Sudbury until July 1915.[51] At that time, the *Sudbury Star* reported that it was difficult for the local police force to enforce the War Measures Act, stating that out of the sixty "Sudbury aliens" who had initially registered at the police station, only five had regularly reported to the chief of police in the first year of the war. The article went on to explain that most had fled to the United States, "easily entering the country for a small fee of fifty dollars."[52] For the duration of the war, the

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[51] Martynowych, *Ukrainians in Canada: The Formative Years, 1891-1924*, 323-324. Also see Desmond Morton, "Sir William Otter and Internment Operations in Canada During the First World War," *Canadian Historical Review* LV.1 (March 1974), 32-58.

[52] "Sudbury Aliens Fail to Report; Many Have Left," *Sudbury Star*, 10 July 1915, 2. For a very different account about Ukrainian life during this period, focusing upon the experience of being arrested and interned, see Phillip Yasnowskyj, "Internment," in Harry Piniuta, ed, *Land of Pain, Land of Promise* (Saskatoon: Western Producer Prairie Books, 1978), 179-195. As Yasnowskyj's story demonstrates, it was not always easy for immigrants to flee to the United States during wartime.

Sudbury Star continued to publish stories indicating that most enemy aliens had either left the region or simply had not registered.[53]

Internment and Socialism: The Local Experience

As the stories published in the *Sudbury Star* indicate, few Ukrainians living in the town of Sudbury appear to have been sentenced to be interned by Magistrate Brodie. Furthermore, detailed criminal registers for the town during this period do not exist. However, as the manuscript census data reveal, the majority of Ukrainians who lived in the Sudbury region during this period did not live in the town of Sudbury but rather in the outlying towns of Copper Cliff, Coniston, and Creighton. Therefore, if any Ukrainians from the region were interned, INCO and the MNC company records would indicate as much. I say this because these were company-owned towns and thus the companies rather than the municipalities were in charge of, among other things, administering justice.[54] The MNC and INCO hired members of the local police force, operated the local jails, and appointed the local judges in these towns.

Although I made several attempts to gain access to the INCO archive, I was not permitted to do so. Officials from the company went as far as to say that the collection would not be helpful for this study because it does not contain anything about Ukrainians who resided in the Sudbury region. When asked about documents pertaining to the company's town of Copper Cliff, officials also denied that the collection contained pertinent documents.[55] This is surprising given that researchers who were

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[53] See, for instance, "Aliens Must Register," *Sudbury Star*, 6 December 1916, 5.

[54] See Chapter Two for a discussion about the ways in which company towns worked.

[55] A conflicting response given that Eileen Goltz wrote a Ph.D. dissertation and an article about Copper Cliff that was based upon the company's municipal records. See

writing a history of Sudbury's Ukrainian community in the 1980s were granted access to the archive and while there, managed to go through the company's employee files and thereby devised a list of "problem" Ukrainian employees during this period.[56] Although I can not determine how complete the list is, it does indicate that four Ukrainian INCO employees were interned; the list also reveals those Ukrainians who were fired, blacklisted, or died on the job between 1912 and 1939.[57]

The usefulness of these records is reflected in the following examples. Sam Matejczyk was a forty year old married Austrian man who was hired as a labourer and worked in the converter building for thirty cents an hour until he was interned on 2 August 1916 in Kapuskasing. Wasyl Ruskonotozyn was a thirty-eight year old married Austrian who also worked at INCO for thirty cents an hour and was interned from 9 June 1916 to 14 July 1919 in Kapuskasing. Jack Schazuk was a twenty-three year old single Austrian who was hired as a machine runner at INCO's Creighton Mine where he worked for forty-four cents an hour until he was interned on 3 August 1916. And Nick

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Goltz, "The Exercise of Power in a Company Town: Copper Cliff, 1886-1980," Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Guelph, 1988; and Goltz, "A Corporate View of Housing and Community in a Company Town: Copper Cliff, 1886-1920," *Ontario History* LXXXII.1 (March 1990), 29-52. Incidentally, the INCO archive was open to researchers until the early 1990s when a disagreement between officials at INCO and Laurentian University led the company to close the archive and move it to Toronto. The archive, which was catalogued by members of Laurentian's History Department but remains largely unorganized, has yet to be re-opened to researchers.

[56] Despite a significant amount of funding from the province, the research for this book was completed but it was never written. I have since acquired the bulk of the material that was supposed to be used to write the book; the donor of this private collection wishes to remain anonymous. For citation purposes I will refer to this collection as "The Ukrainians in Sudbury Collection."

[57] Although this list may be incomplete, it notes that between 1912 and 1939 four men were interned, five were fired, four were blacklisted, and eight died on the job. See Author's Possession, Ukrainians in Sudbury Collection, INCO or Canadian Copper Employment Records, 1912-1939.

Yawney, who was a twenty-seven year old stoppe boss, earning fifty-six cents an hour, was reportedly "not working" so he was sent to the Kapuskasing internment camp on 1 February 1918.[58] Orest Martynowych notes that internment during the early years of the war was, for the most part, an economic solution to unemployment. Instead of issuing "destitute enemies" relief, the government chose to intern them. In referring to Ukrainian miners and frontier workers, Martynowych indicates that a number of bitter confrontations between Ukrainians and their fellow workers also resulted in the internment of some of these men.[59] After 1917, Martynowych states that the federal government used internment to control Canada's "radical alien" Ukrainian population. Those who participated in the socialist movement were harassed, arrested, interned, and occasionally deported during this period.[60] While sources do not allow us to discern why Matejczyk, Ruskonotozyn, and Schazuk were interned in 1916 – they were all employed at this time and thus do not fit the national pattern – we shall see that Yawney and a couple of his contemporaries were interned because they held suspect views and belonged to a suspect organization, namely the USDP.[61]

Other than this rather vague information, we know little about these Ukrainian men or their experiences in the internment camps. In addition to the restrictions placed on INCO's collection, the culling of internees' records in the 1950s by archivists at the then named Public Archives of Canada also makes it difficult, if not impossible, to find

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[58] Ibid.

[59] Martynowych, *Ukrainians in Canada: The Formative Years, 1891-1924*, 327.

[60] Ibid., 419-449.

[61] This argument is contrary to the one maintained by Frances Swyripa. Specifically, she states that "Ukrainians had been interned during the First World War because they were Austrian subjects, not because they held suspect views or belonged to suspect organizations." See Swyripa, "The Politics of Redress: The Contemporary Ukrainian-Canadian Campaign," 362.

out anything about these or other Ukrainian men who lived in the Sudbury region and spent time in internment camps.[62] Although those involved in the Ukrainian redress campaign have gone to great lengths to piece together a list of the names of those who were interned, this "Roll Call," which indicates where and for how long a prisoner was interned, does not reveal where that prisoner originated.[63] Therefore, we may know the names of those prisoners who were interned in camps across the country, but this source does not allow us to determine whether there were regional or local patterns when it came to internment. Moreover, cross-referencing local sources, which reveal the names of some of those who were interned from the Sudbury region, with the names on the "Roll Call" also proves to be quite complicated; this list is incomplete and in this instance most of the local names that I found to be linked to internment do not appear on it.[64]

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[62] In the early 1950s archivists at the Public Archives of Canada were faced with storage problems. As such, they were required to select those files from the First World War which would be preserved and in the process destroyed the individual files of Canadian soldiers as well as those files pertaining to Ukrainians who were interned. In the end, they kept only relevant files, the bulk of which detailed the release date of Ukrainian internees. Eliminating these files seemed logical at the time because ethnic and more specifically, social history was not being done by Canadian historians. In recent years however some historians, especially those involved in the Ukrainian redress campaign, have interpreted this selection process as a deliberate attempt to cover up this dark chapter of Canadian history. See, for instance, Luciuk, *In Fear of the Barbed Wire Fence: Canada's First National Internment Operations and the Ukrainian Canadians, 1914-1920*; and Bohdan Kordan, *Enemy Aliens, Prisoners of War: Internment in Canada During the Great War* (Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2002). It must be noted that I am grateful to Myron Momryk for sharing the history of these records with me.

[63] "Roll Call," Main., Lubomyr Luciuk, 11 November 1999, Ukrainian Canadian Civil Liberties Association (UCCLA), 15 December 2005 http://www.infoukes.com/history/images/internment/pdf/roll_call.pdf.

[64] Ibid.

There is however an interesting entry on the "Roll Call" pertaining to prisoner number 1080, Wasyl Buczkowski. When examined in conjunction with INCO's "problem" employee list, this entry seems to suggest that there was in fact a company connection to internment. According to the information on this list, Wasyl was interned on 14 June 1916 in Copper Cliff and then in Kapuskasing. This is the only entry of this kind and as such it may well be that Wasyl was sentenced to be interned by INCO company officials who imprisoned him until he could be taken to the larger internment camp in Kapuskasing.[65] In this respect, it would be interesting to know why Wasyl and the men listed as "problem" employees were interned and not charged or sentenced to serve time in a local jail like those prosecuted by Magistrate Brodie in the town of Sudbury. Could their political beliefs have led to internment? Those involved in the Ukrainian redress campaign have been quick to condemn the wartime measures, however little has been said about whether the men who were interned belonged to socialist organizations like the USDP.[66]

Without access to INCO's archive we cannot discern internment patterns in Copper Cliff and specifically whether there even was a local pattern. However, articles in *Robochyi narod* mention one of the internees' names above, Nick Yawney, and

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[65] It is important to note that Wasyl may have been related to John Buchowski who was "blackballed" as a communist by INCO company officials and discussed in Chapter Two and/or to the Buchowski's who owned Copper Cliff's only Ukrainian general store; this store and the ways in which internment impacted it will be discussed later in this chapter.

[66] For a related discussion about how those involved in the Italian redress campaign have neglected to include the Italian community's link to fascism and fascist organizations see, for instance, Angelo Principe, "A Tangled Knot: Prelude to 10 June 1940," in Franca Iacovetta, Roberto Perin, and Angelo Principe, eds., *Enemies Within: Italian and Other Internees in Canada and Abroad* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2000), 27-51.

reveal socialist happenstance in the region. Interestingly, these articles also expose some links between INCO, internment, and socialism. Few articles about the Sudbury region appeared between 1914 and 1916, but a number of articles published in 1917 and 1918 indicate that the FUSD, renamed the USDP on 31 January 1914, continued to operate during the war; since few articles were published during the early years of the war we can not determine whether those who were interned in 1916, and mentioned above, maintained connections to the local socialist movement. Nationally, this organization condemned the war and was eventually banned by the Canadian government in September 1918.[67] There is little doubt that the government's enemy alien measures had a dramatic impact on the movement's membership and activities. Moreover, economic recession and widespread unemployment also impacted the local branch of the USDP. Not surprisingly then, the Sudbury region's USDP had ten committed members in 1918 compared to the forty-three it had had in 1913.

May Day celebrations in 1918 marked the re-emergence of this organization and a joint meeting with members from Sudbury, Copper Cliff, and Murray Mine at the end of May signalled the beginning of attempts to organize a serious socialist movement in the region.[68] In particular, members used this meeting to establish a *Prosvita* Hall, a cultural community centre which included an amateur group that performed popular but instructional plays to raise both money and awareness. Although the USDP had few members, those committed to the movement were confident that it would only be a

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[67] Peter Krawchuk, *Our History: The Ukrainian Labour-Farmer Movement in Canada, 1907-1991*, Translated by Mary Skrypnyk (Toronto: Lugus Publications, 1996), 18.

[68] See "Coniston," *Robochyi narod*, 15 May 1918, 4, translated by Larissa Stavroff; and "Sudbury," *Robochyi narod*, 29 May 1918, 3, translated by Larissa Stavroff.

matter of time before their membership base would increase, noting that this was inevitable since "[the] priests won't bring us the truth because they don't have it." The article, which discussed the proceedings of the meeting, went on to declare that there was only "[strength] in unity and truth in socialism."[69]

The USDP may have had few official members but it appealed to many Ukrainian men and women who informally attended the meetings and plays. This kind of attendance was precipitated by the fact that if a Ukrainian man did not formally join the organization, then the mining company that he worked for could not formally link him to it. Informal attendance thus meant that Ukrainians could enjoy the social dynamics which these events offered with few repercussions. Certainly, one need only refer to the revenues generated by "The Murderers," a play performed in Copper Cliff and Creighton Mine in the summer of 1918, to see the appeal of these meetings and plays.[70] Although the resulting profit was only $41.55, the play brought in a total of $243, a rather large sum of money at this time. Clearly, few leisure opportunities led many Ukrainians, regardless of their political persuasions, to attend plays like these.[71] Members had planned to send the play's profits to Winnipeg to support the building of the Ukrainian Labour Temple but thirty dollars ultimately went to defend a number of men who were arrested after the play because they belonged to the USDP; it must be

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[69] "Sudbury," *Robochyi narod*, 29 May 1918, 3, translated by Larissa Stavroff.

[70] "The Murderers" was one of the most popular plays performed by Ukrainian immigrants who resided in Canada. Written in 1905 by Ivan Bodrug, an Independent Greek Catholic church minister, this play focused upon the tragic consequences of alcoholism and illiteracy. For the most part, it was performed by drama circles of all political and religious persuasions because it did not contain a radical and/or subversive political message. It must be noted that I am indebted to Orest Martynowych for this valuable information.

[71] See Mary Stefura, "Aspects of Culture in the Ukrainian Community of the Sudbury Area," *Polyphony* 5.2 (Fall/Winter 1983), 29-32.

noted that eleven dollars and fifty-five cents also went to the wife and two children of one of the arrested men.[72]

In particular, Ukrainians who wrote to *Robochyi narod* reported that those workers who had participated in the play and belonged to the USDP were "being prosecuted" by INCO.[73] A day after the play was performed in Copper Cliff, in late August 1918, company police went to the house of Y. Harsymovych, a USDP member and an actor in the play, where they arrested him. They then proceeded to arrest P. Ubohy, N. Yavny (Yawney), P Stefaniuk, P. Rudeichuk, S. Sokolovsky, N. Tuchenko, and the USDP Branch Secretary, L. Mikhnievych. The police confiscated seditious literature from all of the men, sending it to Ottawa to be translated, and transferred the men to Sudbury, which had the largest jail in the region, to await trial.[74] In the end, one of the men was sentenced to two years in jail or a $2000 fine, three were shipped to the "farms," a term for referring to the internment camps, and three were released under the condition that they would work in Creighton and refrain from speaking freely with others. The following day, L. Mikhnievych, who was the prisoner with a wife and two boys, was sentenced to three years in prison or a $3000 fine.[75]

Federal justice files located at Library and Archives Canada (LAC) indicate that Nick Yawney, a name found on the "problem" INCO employee list, Joseph Harrasan, and Pete Stefaniuk were the three men who were sent to the "farms," interned for

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[72] "From the Life of the Workers in Creighton Mine," *Robochyi narod*, 21 September 1918, 4, translated by Larissa Stavroff.

[73] Ibid.

[74] For a discussion about restrictions on the foreign language press and foreign literature see, for instance, Martynowych, *Ukrainians in Canada: The Formative Years, 1891-1924*, 436-37.

[75] "From the Life of the Workers in Creighton Mine," *Robochyi narod*, 21 September 1918, 4, translated by Larissa Stavroff.

having objectionable literature in their possession. Although articles in *Robochyi narod* tied the arrests to the play, and specifically to the men's USDP affiliation, reports in the *Sudbury Star* and in the justice files indicate that the men were arrested for possessing seditious literature.[76] An examination of the literature seized by company police reveals that it was in fact seditious and the internment of Yawney, Harrasan, Stefaniuk, and Mikhnievych was a direct result of their involvement in the local socialist movement.

According to the *Sudbury Star*, the USDP, referred to as the Russian Social Revolutionary Party by the newspaper because it had amalgamated with this party in the early part of 1918, had been under surveillance for months when the police staged the coup and arrested the men.[77] In short, the article outlined that the literature told "the story of the down-trodden labouring man under the heel of the capitalist, and [pictured] the worker dying on the battlefield while the capitalist at home [was] growing rich on war profits."[78] This depiction is quite accurate when compared with the translated document which is entitled: "Who Needs War." The literature does indeed condemn the European capitalist war lords, stating:

> Wake up you slaves your master is calling you, he is your good friend, he calls you 'MY BROTHERS' he pretends to be equal with you today, but what would have happened yesterday if your worker would have appear [sic] in front of your master, and ask him for a mouthful of bread? He would throw you out, he would send dogs on you, he would course [sic] you and your family, and tell you that you are a disgrace to humanity, he would send you to hell. But you soon forget this [sic] disgraceful actions of your master, and you go like a blind man with weapons to destroy property, wounding and killing each others [sic], but whom

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[76] See LAC, RG 13, Vol. 226, Series A-2, File 1918-1874, Seditious Literature Found on One Mechnavech at Sudbury (August 20, 21, 1918); and LAC, RG 13, Vol. 228, Series A-2, File 1918-2295.

[77] See Martynowych, *Ukrainians in Canada: The Formative Years, 1891-1924*, 447, for a reference pertaining to this amalgamation.

[78] "Seditious Literature is Seized; Co. Police Make Nine Arrests," *Sudbury Star*, 24 August 1918, 4.

> are you fighting? Whom are you killing? You are murdering the same kind of worker as you are. You are offering your own life to kill your comrades in a foreign country, for the benefit of a man who is your worst kind of enemy, and they are millionaires, Capitalists, Rulers, or all kinds...Step under the Revolutionary Red Flag and help us to kill our present enemy. THEN WHEN THE WAR WILL BE IN OUR HANDS THEN WE WILL ENJOY OUR OWN PROSPERITY AND WILL PROCLAIM THE EVER LASTING PEACE ABOVE THE HEADS OF OUR CONDEMNED ENEMIES. LET LIVE THE NIGH, DESIRED SOCIALISTIC REVOLUTION. LET LIVE THE VICTORY OF THE SOCIALISTIC BROTHERHOOD OF NATIONS.[79]

Clearly, Yawney, Harrasan, Stefaniuk, and Mikhnievych possessed seditious literature and therefore their internment was justified.

Although articles in *Robochyi narod* do not discuss the experiences of these men, they do reveal some of the outrage felt by local Ukrainians and, in particular, the wife of Mikhnievych, Anastazya. Left with two sons, poor health, and no source of income, Anastazya wrote to the newspaper to explain her situation and plea for help. According to Anastazya, her husband had been quite active in Ukraine's socialist movement and had merely brought his beliefs to Canada; it is unclear when the Mikhnievych family immigrated to Canada. She appealed to Ukrainian workers who had a "raised consciousness" to come to her aid with donations so that she could free her husband. She went on to explain that the company judge who heard her husband's case had been an INCO miner for twenty-five years and barely listened to his defence.[80]

There is no doubt that Anastazya found herself in a desperate situation. In losing her husband, who was also the family's sole breadwinner, Anastazya was left to fend for herself and, in the process, had to find ways to feed her two young sons. To a certain extent, in receiving some of the profits from "The Murderers," she relied upon the

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[79] LAC, RG 13, Vol. 225, Series A-2, File 1918-1974, "Who Needs War," 4, 6.

[80] "More About Arrests in the Sudbury Area," *Robochyi narod*, 21 September 1918, 4, translated by Larissa Stavroff.

generosity of her husband's comrades in the USDP. Clearly, the socialist community was alive and well in the Sudbury region. Internment, which was an extraordinary event in the lives of these family members, challenged Mikhnievych's masculinity and made it impossible for him to provide for his wife and two children.[81] Consequently, the socialist faction of this fragmented Ukrainian community came to Anastzya's aid and attempted to ease her personal crisis. Although we do not have the stories of other Ukrainian women who found themselves in similar situations, an examination of Copper Cliff's Buchowski General Store reveals that places like this also came to the aid of women like Anastazya. By extending credit to those women who had interned or unemployed husbands, the store, which was quite successful up until November 1917, also found itself in a serious crisis because of the enemy alien wartime measures. A discussion of the store's tumultuous and final years will ultimately provide another example of the subtle but important ways that this northern community functioned during World War I.

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[81] For a similar discussion about the ways in which internment provoked a crisis of masculinity see Ian Radforth, "Political Prisoners: The Communist Internees," in Franca Iacovetta, Roberto Perin, and Angelo Principe, eds., *Enemies Within: Italian and Other Internees in Canada and Abroad* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2000), 202.

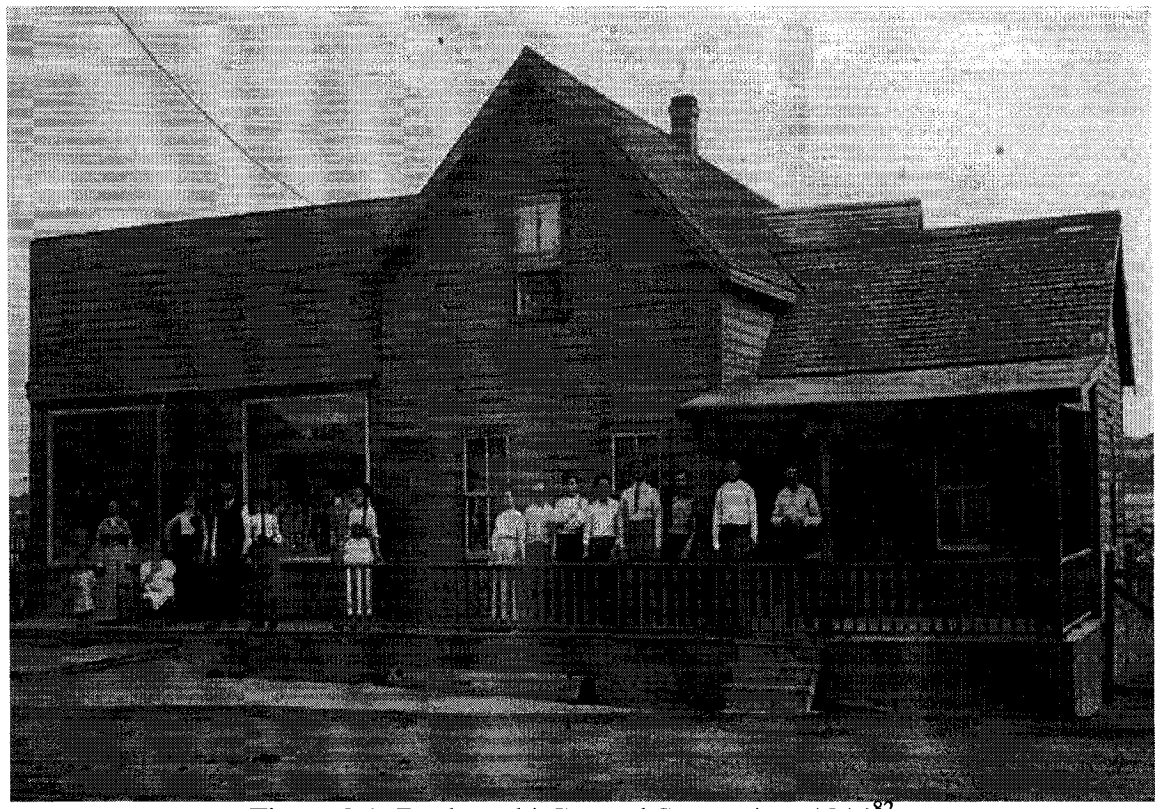

Figure 2.1: Buchowski General Store, circa 1914[82]

Group standing on the left, from left to right, includes Eugene Buchowski, Olena Buchowski, Harry Buchowski, Unknown Nurse, Wasyl Buchowski, Walter Buchowski, and Nadzia Buchowski. Group standing on the right includes the store's employees. The man second from the right is John Rozinski, a man who married Nadzia in 1915.

This photograph of the store is interesting because it represents one of the only community spaces for Ukrainians who lived in Copper Cliff at this time. It was a place where Ukrainians could meet to share news about the Old World, as well as local happenstance, and politics. Besides being a public space, this was, as the photograph demonstrates, also a private space where kinship networks functioned. Nadzia's and John's marriage, which occurred a year after this photograph was taken, is just one indication of the ways in which networks like these brought people together during this period. At the same time, it is also interesting to note the ways in which this private space may have been divided, the Buchowski family was on one side of the photograph while the store's employees were on the other. Nadzia is practically in the middle, seemingly acting as a bridge between these two groups of individuals.

Wasyl Buchowski came to Canada from the village of Serafyntsi, in the Horodenka area of Ukraine, in 1904 and settled in Copper Cliff at 139 East Smelter

[82] Photograph comes from the personal collection of Mary Anne Buchowski.

Road where, by the time his wife and children arrived in 1910, he had established the first Ukrainian general store in the region; it is unclear why Wasyl chose to settle in this part of the country.[83] According to Mary Anne Buchowski, Wasyl's granddaughter, the family had been relatively affluent peasant small holders in Ukraine. This would explain how Wasyl could immigrate to Canada and almost immediately establish a business. From this photograph, it is clear that Wasyl's entrepreneurial endeavour was a success. The store was doing well enough to hire a significant number of employees and the family had a nurse/nanny on hand to care for the children. Other informal family photographs further attest to the family's prosperity. One, in particular, shows Olena being driven to mass at St. Nicholas Greek Catholic Church by a horse-drawn sleigh. It would thus appear as though the Buchowski's had a high standing in the community.[84]

Sadly, the family's good fortune came to a quick end on 19 November 1917 when a fire destroyed the store. If not for a handwritten account about the details surrounding the fire written by Wasyl's book-keeper – the name of this book-keeper is unknown – as well as a letter written by Wasyl, and Mary Anne's memories, we would be led to believe that this fire was like many of the others that ravaged the area. This fire's story however was unique. According to Mary Anne, when Wasyl's fellow countrymen began to lose their jobs and were interned, Wasyl started to sell much of his goods to the wives of these men on credit: "He was a good-hearted man who cared

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[83] See Census of Canada, 1911, Copper Cliff sub-district, 5 October 2005, LAC, 14 February 2006 http://www.collectionscanada.ca/archivianet/1911/index-e.html; and "Comrade W.N. Buchowski Has Died," Mary Anne Buchowski, Personal Collection, Obituary, 1934.

[84] Mary Anne Buchowski, interview by author, Ottawa, 13 March 2006.

about people and did not want to see them go without."[85] In normal circumstances, this system of credit would have worked itself out eventually, as wives would have paid their balances when their husbands were issued their pay cheques. However, since many Ukrainian men were unemployed or interned there was often no pay cheque to rely upon. Consequently, Wasyl eventually issued so much credit, which could not be collected, that he found his business in trouble. By November 1917, he was unable to pay for his stock or meet his mortgage payments. According to the letter left by Wasyl's book-keeper, a wealthy local merchant held the mortgage on the store. Wasyl, who hoped to recover his losses, confided in this man and asked him to give him more stock on credit. The merchant refused and told Wasyl that "the best business [was] to make a fire that [would] bring in money. Everybody [was] making a fire when they [were] hard up." In burning the building, the merchant explained that it would then be possible to collect the insurance money and recover some of Wasyl's losses. From the book-keeper's account, it appears that Wasyl did not see this as an option. It was dishonest and not logical, since his building and the goods within the store were worth more than he could collect in insurance money; the building was worth $4000 and the goods were worth $8000 and the insurance only covered $4000 in losses.[86]

Although there are no records regarding an investigation into the fire, a letter, written by Wasyl and resembling a suicide note, seems to implicate the local merchant in the fire. When Wasyl confronted him about the fire however, the man stated: "Keep silent if you don't want to go to jail, as they punish here for this, and it was not my

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[85] Ibid.

[86] Mary Anne Buchowski, Personal Collection, "Buchowski General Store Burning," 19 November 1917.

fault, and nobody will believe you."[87] During this confrontation, the local merchant tried to convince Wasyl to sign the insurance policy over to him. Since he was a Canadian the merchant argued that he could collect the money faster than a "foreigner." Wasyl refused to transfer the insurance policy over to him and in time, paid off the balance of the mortgage. Left without a business and very little money, Wasyl eventually convinced the merchant to give him one of his many lots in the area so that Wasyl could be repaid for part of his losses. After the fire, Wasyl moved his family to a farm he owned in Long Lake, just south of the town of Sudbury. In 1928 Wasyl left his wife Olena and his three youngest sons and moved to Sudbury where he remained until his death in 1934. According to Mary Anne, Wasyl never recovered from the incident surrounding the burning of the store.[88]

We may never know what happened to the Buchowski General Store, but evidence indicates that the store's initial difficulties were related to the federal government's wartime measures. By extending credit to the wives of those who were jobless or interned because of their enemy alien status, the store came close to going bankrupt before it was burned. The store thus acted as an important public space in which Ukrainian men and women could air their troubles and seek solutions to their problems. Like the members of the USDP which came to Anastazya's aid, Wasyl and his family also made significant sacrifices in order to help those Ukrainians who were affected by

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[87] Mary Anne Buchowski, Personal Collection, "Letter from Wasyl Buchowski Regarding the General Store's Burning," 6 May 1920.

[88] Mary Anne Buchowski, interview.

the wartime measures. By extending credit, the Buchowski General Store served as a vital link in this local community.[89]

Ukrainian Life After the Enemy Alien Measures

If, by the war's end, INCO had rehired many of the men it had fired during the 1913 recession, then in the early months of 1919 it returned to its pre-war ways. Fearing that there would not be enough jobs for returning soldiers, INCO dismissed 2200 of its 3200 employees, many of whom were foreigners.[90] Soon after, concerns about the status of Canada's "alien" workers and their ties to socialism – internment effectively politicized many enemy aliens – led to the appointment of the Royal Commission on Industrial Relations on 4 April 1919. The members of the Commission travelled across the country and held meetings in twenty-eight industrial centres, Sudbury being one of them. The testimonies of industrialists stressed that foreign workers were often doing the work "that white men [did not] want" while those provided by workers indicated that many able bodied men were unemployed because of their political affiliations, and specifically their support of unionization.[91] Recall that at this time, according to Edmund Bradwin, those grouped into the "white" category were quite different than those who fell into the "foreigner" category. Whiteness was a socially and historically constructed category which, as Matthew Frye Jacobson argues, ascribed public power

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[89] It is significant to note that sources do not reveal whether the store, as a communal space, played a role in bridging the community's division. Moreover, little is known about the store's clientele and their political and/or religious affiliations.

[90] Donald Avery, *Reluctant Host: Canada's Response to Immigrant Workers 1896-1994* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1995), 76.

[91] Ibid., 77.

upon those to whom it was applied.[92] Whiteness was not a monolithic category. Rather, it was quite fluid, containing many different shades of white. Contrary to the comments issued by industrialists, the testimonies of workers revealed that daily life, both on and off the job, was complicated because it was riddled with discrimination and difficult living and working conditions. Testimonies by those living and working in the Sudbury region attested to these issues. In this instance, it is most effective to compare the testimonies given by officials and workers here. If place and politics made belonging difficult prior to the war, then the wartime measures made it nearly impossible for many foreign labourers to fit in after 1918.

One of the first men to testify was C.V. Corless, a mining engineer for the MNC who lived in a beautiful company house like the one shown in Chapter Two. When asked about the living conditions of MNC employees he stated that the company's housing was in good condition and that the men typically worked an eight hour day and were paid sixty to seventy cents an hour. Although, as he noted, the mining industry was cut in half at the time, he was quick to maintain that there was little unemployment in Sudbury and that there were no strikes to report: "...as far as I can see, our men have been happier than they would have been had they been highly organized and had outside interference."[93] D.J. Fortin, a structural iron worker, however revealed a very different picture of life in this mining community in his testimony, making clear that although he had not come to the meeting intending to speak he could not sit idle and

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[92] Matthew Frye Jacobson, *Whiteness of a Different Color: European Immigrants and the Alchemy of Race* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1998), 276. Also see David Roediger, *The Wages of Whiteness: Race and the Making of the American Working-Class* (New York: Verso, 1991), for a related discussion pertaining to the construction whiteness.

[93] Canada, *Industrial Relations Royal Commission, 1919*, 1902.

listen to the lies put forth by the mining companies: "...I see some of these employers claim that they are not antagonistic to organized labour and I know the reverse to be the fact. I know that immediately [when] a man takes an active part in labour organizing he is immediately discharged from his position."[94] If we take Fortin's remarks seriously, it is quite conceivable that, like the internment of men, the mining companies took it upon themselves to suppress any unrest among their labourers; an unorganized workforce was a much more controllable workforce. Hence, there were no strikes because the companies made certain that they did not occur. Despite the long reach of the companies' arms, Fortin declared that about ninety percent of Finns living in the region were organized under the auspices of a variety of labour organizations.[95] In the process of addressing questions about how Sudbury's Finnish workers were organizing, Fortin noted that Ukrainians were not far behind, constantly reading about labour issues in some of the many "Russian" newspapers circulating in the area. In mentioning that one of these newspapers was published in Winnipeg, it is quite conceivable that Fortin was referring to the socialist Ukrainian newspaper *Robochyi narod.*

The testimony of Michael Balandaski, a Ukrainian machinist's helper from Bukovyna, is significant when added to the comments made by Corless and Fortin because it is representative of the Ukrainian experience. Balandaski, who came to Canada in 1905, spoke English and stated that there were thousands of Ukrainians living in the Sudbury region at this time, many of whom were currently unemployed; a contradictory statement when compared with the comments made by Corless. Balandaski went on to express his utter dissatisfaction with the labour situation by

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[94] Ibid., 1934.
[95] Ibid., 1935.

noting the irony of the layoffs. He stated that just three days after INCO laid off 1400 men in Copper Cliff, the company posted a sign outside the front of its head office announcing that it needed 100 labourers to work for thirty cents an hour. According to Balandaski, this was an unfair situation given that the men had been making at least thirty-seven cents an hour three days before.[96] For Balandaski, this wage was unsuitable because thirty-seven cents, let alone thirty cents, was not enough to cover the high cost of living in the region; many of those who testified stressed that food and rent costs were beyond the means of most working men.[97] In the process of testifying, Balandaski admitted that he had been blacklisted by INCO for carrying a union card while on the job and thus made clear that he had little at stake when it came to declaring his opinions at the meeting. Balandaski closed his testimony with the remarks which opened this chapter. Clearly, his statement that "thousands of them [Ukrainians] realize they cannot stay here because they are not welcome by the people of this country" indicates how he and his fellow countrymen felt in 1919.[98] Faced with being depicted as enemies by Anglo-Canadians, and especially the "capitalistic" press, he sent a strong message to those in attendance at the meeting. Despite the fact that Ukrainians had worked difficult jobs and, in the process, had supported the war effort, their contributions went unnoticed. Instead of feeling as though they had earned the right to call themselves Canadians they were made to feel as though they did not belong in the country.

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[96] Ibid., 1949.

[97] See Martynowych, *Ukrainians in Canada: The Formative Years, 1891-1924*, 434, for a discussion about the ways in which inflation impacted Ukrainians during the war.

[98] Canada, *Industrial Relations Royal Commission, 1919*, 1953.

Surprisingly, an English engineer from the Algoma Eastern Railway, William Young, affirmed some of the remarks made by Balandaski, stating that the cost of renting a house in Sudbury was unreasonable and often required men to live beyond their means. To cope with the "rotten" conditions, he testified that some men packed their families into houses with three to four other families so that they could afford to live, stressing that "They might be Finnlanders or Austrians, but they [were] honest working men..."[99] In closing, Young stressed that there were dozens of men living in the region who had wanted to testify before the commissioners but were too afraid to do so, fearing that they would be discriminated against afterwards.[100]

Whether Ukrainians testified or not, discrimination was widespread during this period and as Balandaski's comments make clear, they were made to feel as though they did not belong in Canada. Discriminated against by the mining companies in the region, Ukrainians also faced hostile returning soldiers looking to stop the spread of Bolshevism in their country. Although, as Donald Avery notes, assaults on aliens by returning soldiers were common during this period, they did not become a serious local issue until July 1919.[101] The Ukrainian, Russian, and Austrian residents involved in one particular incident were so shaken by the confrontation that they sent a petition to the Governor General of Canada not only complaining about the ways in which they were treated by the soldiers, but also stressing that they felt like their lives were in danger. The petition read:

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[99] Ibid., 1970.

[100] Ibid., 1972.

[101] Avery, *Reluctant Host: Canada's Response to Immigrant Workers 1896-1994*, 76. Also see Martynowych, *Ukrainians in Canada: The Formative Years, 1891-1924*, 437-442, for a discussion about the discontentment expressed by returning soldiers.

> The petition of the undersigned residents of the town of Sudbury and vicinity and being Ruthenians by birth, some from Russia and some from parts of what was formerly Austria, HUMBLY SHEWETH
>
> Whereas your petitioners are engaged in various occupations as labourers in the vicinity of the Town of Sudbury.
>
> And whereas most of us are anxious to return to our native countries so soon as we can obtain passports and transportation to do so.
>
> And whereas we have been engaged in our occupations steadily and have lived quietly and orderly without desiring to cause trouble for some years past, and continue our work in order to earn our living.
>
> And whereas there are various returned men in the town of Sudbury who at the present time are not engaged in occupation whatever, and some of whom having in some way obtained liquor, desire to create a disturbance and to abuse your petitioners.
>
> And whereas on the day of the Peace celebration and since then, about a dozen of us have been assaulted by some of these returned men while going peacefully about our affairs, and on the day of Peace celebrations while joining the general rejoicing.
>
> And whereas some of the said dozen have been seriously injured, and at least one of the said returned men carries an iron ring reaching around the knuckles of his right hand with which to deal harder blows upon your petitioners when assaulted by him.
>
> And whereas when the local police arrested one of the returned men who was creating a disturbance as aforesaid, the other returned men demanded and obtained his release.
>
> And whereas some of the said returned men have uttered threats that they intend to kill off all Austrians.
>
> And whereas we feel imminent danger, but unless we are forced to do so to protect ourselves, we do not wish to band together to resist these assaults, because we fear that a riot would be caused and bloodshed a result.
>
> And whereas we feel unless the government interferes in the matter, it will go from bad to worse, as the local authorities do not appear to be strong enough to protect us.
>
> Now therefore, your petitioners humbly pray that your government will take active measures at once to restrain these returned men from the assaults which they appear to contemplate against your petitioners.
>
> Signed Alex Wowchuk, T. Barniuk and fifteen others[102]

On behalf of the Governor General, the Canadian Chief Commissioner of Police responded to the allegations made by the petitioners, stating that although one

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[102] LAC, RG 13, Vol. 240, Series A-2, File 1919-2104, Austrians Complain of Treatment By Returned Soldiers, Letter to the Governor General of Canada, 23 July 1919.

"Austrian" had been assaulted on Peace Day by a returning soldier, that soldier had received a warning from the three police officers who had witnessed the incident. The officers assured the Chief Commissioner that had it not been Peace Day the soldier would have been arrested. The letter went on to declare that "Ruthenians" were not being continually assaulted by the "very good lot" of returned soldiers residing in Sudbury, about 600 in all. Interestingly, the Chief Commissioner went on to question the integrity and character of the region's "Austrians", stressing that they had made money during the war while Canadian soldiers had sacrificed their lives at the front:

> The Austrians in that district have mostly been there for a number of years, and have since the Armistice adopted a kind of "don't care mode." They are all pretty well fixed for money and are dressed well. One Austrian, who on account of having lost both legs was pardoned from reporting as an Alien Enemy, was the other day fined $500 for having in his possession eleven gallons of Highwines, and in his connection it was ascertained he has $6000 in the bank. The Austrians are of the opinion they should be released from reporting and hundreds of them want to return home.[103]

Captain Osborne, Assistant Director of the Military Intelligence of the Dominion Police, disagreed with the Chief Commissioner and in a letter dated 14 August 1919 he noted:

> It would be idle to say there is no feeling against the foreigners in the North Country. There is an intensive feeling against the Austrians and Bulgarians who have made large sums of money through the high wages paid during the war and who are now idling in luxury while the returned men are getting back to work. These foreigners have obtained practically all the licences for restaurants, cigar stands, taxi cab services, and a boycott by the English speaking residents would not harm them any as the greater proportion of the population is foreign born and these people naturally trade with each other. It is most aggravating to note to how great an extend [sic] these foreigners have the situation in their own hands.[104]

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[103] Ibid., August 11, 1919, Letter from Chief Commissioner of Police, Canada.
[104] LAC, RG 24-C1, Vol. 445, File HQ 54-21-1-181.

Indeed Osborne's straightforward letter captured many Anglo-Canadians' animosity toward Ukrainians during this period. Although they had worked difficult jobs and had saved their money so as to live better lives and, in some cases, establish local businesses, soldiers and citizens resented Ukrainians, stressing that they had experienced little to no suffering during the war. Living life as an enemy alien was not seen as a sacrifice by many Canadians, especially returning soldiers who had lived in European trenches for four years. Despite this very frank assertion, Mr. Barniuk and his fellow petitioners received a letter from the federal Department of Justice declaring that "it would appear that there are no grounds for your complaint that returned soldiers have created disturbances and have abused yourself and the other petitioners."[105] To follow up, the *Sudbury Star* also carried a story which dismissed the allegations, making clear that the town was not harbouring vengeful soldiers.[106]

Conclusion

Geographic dispersion, transience, a lack of ethnic spaces, and the heavily masculine nature of the region's Ukrainian communities made the creation of a collective group identity difficult prior to the outbreak of World War I. Certainly, there is little doubt that the diverse set of wartime experiences endured by Ukrainian men and women continued to hinder rather than help foster the building of a strong and united community during the war years. Politics were, as this chapter has demonstrated, central to complicating the identities of the region's Ukrainian men and women.

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[105] LAC, RG 13, Vol. 240, Series A-2, File 1919-2104, August 18, 1919 to Mr. Nykota Baraniuk from WS Edwards Asst DMJ.

[106] "No Foundation for Complaints of Foreigners," *Sudbury Star*, 13 August 1919, 1.

Although all unnaturalized Ukrainians were labelled as enemy aliens and subjected to the federal government's wartime measures, only those who maintained links to the local socialist movement were interned. The available sources may not allow us to determine what kind of an impact this policy had on the Ukrainian community – specifically, it is unclear whether internment mobilized the region's Ukrainians into politicized and opposing groups – but they do suggest that the mining companies in the region, and especially INCO, used internment to delineate differences among their enemy alien employees.[107] Specifically, internment was a means through which INCO could deconstruct the homogenizing enemy alien label, differentiating between acceptable and hence good enemy alien workers and unacceptable and thereby bad enemy alien workers. Certainly, it is clear that politics were a fundamental element of these definitions, determining who did and did not belong to the local community, as well as to the region, and the nation.

Although we may never know why three of INCO's employees were interned in 1916, it is clear that Sudbury's enemy aliens endured experiences that were quite similar to those which were faced by other Ukrainians who lived in Canada during the war. While disenfranchisement does not seem to have affected many members of the region's highly transient and heavily masculine communities, Ukrainians were forced to deal with the restrictions and labels precipitated by the War Measures Act; some, for instance, chose to voluntarily register and report to their local magistrates while others

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[107] In other Canadian cities and towns, local governments would have been responsible for internment, but in this instance it is important to recall that since INCO owned and operated most of the company towns in the region it was responsible for administering justice. This is significant given that INCO employed the bulk of those who lived in the region.

decided to evade the measures altogether. Moreover, like national internment patterns, this local case study demonstrates a link between internment and socialism during the latter years of the war. In this instance, internment affected the ideologically suspect minority and thus did not constitute a "war against ethnicity." Socialist, working-class masculinities needed to be contained. Incidentally, this containment challenged the manhood of internees. Unable to attend to the needs of their families, women were forced to find alternative ways to feed, clothe, and house their children. It is in these sorts of circumstances that community flourished. The USDP and the Buchowski General Store, as this chapter has revealed, were two community networks which attempted to ease the challenges evoked by this crisis in masculinity.

When the war ended, Ukrainians were expected to go back to living as they had prior to 1914. This was however an impossible expectation for this first generation of immigrants. Not surprisingly, the wartime experiences of these Ukrainians had diverse and often conflicting effects upon them. On the one hand, some Ukrainians withdrew from Canadian society, changing their names to conceal their ethnicity and refusing to either apply for Canadian citizenship, or open bank accounts, or buy insurance. On the other hand, the wartime measures politicized others, giving them a reason to convert to, among other things, socialism.

The Sudbury region's Ukrainian communities, as Chapter Four will demonstrate, underwent significant demographic and organizational changes during the 1920s. Although it is impossible to determine whether the wartime measures polarized Ukrainians and led them to build ethnic spaces, it is clear that the gender inequalities which characterized the region's early Ukrainian communities began to abate as more

women settled in the district. Moreover, organizational growth occurred because many of the region's Ukrainians moved out of the outlying mining communities and into the town of Sudbury, creating a more concentrated and stable, family-focused ethnic settlement. Not surprisingly, these demographic changes prompted the building of a number of Ukrainian communal spaces, namely halls for the Sudbury and Coniston Branches of the Ukrainian Labour Temple Association (ULTA), later renamed the Ukrainian Labour Farmer Temple Association (ULFTA), and St. Mary's Ukrainian Catholic Church. Although there may have been significant in-fighting within these organizations, as Rhonda Hinther demonstrates in her history of the Ukrainian left, Ukrainians were among equals in these spaces.[108] Moreover, it is significant to note that these organizational affiliations were central in dividing the community, demonstrating to the Anglo-Canadian population that there were, as the local mining companies helped to make clear, two kinds of Ukrainians: progressives and Catholics. Belonging, as we shall see, was premised upon these group identities.

[108] See Rhonda Hinther, "'Sincerest Revolutionary Greetings': Progressive Ukrainians in the Twentieth Century," Ph.D. Dissertation, McMaster University, 2005.

Chapter Four

Godless Bolsheviks and Backward Catholics: Organized Ukrainian Life in the Sudbury Region, 1920-1929

...The tactics of Bolshevism are thieving and robbery. They see evil in everything but themselves. Our church preaches logical principles of labour and capital. Churches are built for God and when blessed they are His property and people who help and donate to the church should remember this. The church is for all classes but before it can attain co-ordination it must fight Communism which is preaching atheism.[1]

...Here in Copper Cliff and Sudbury we have around ten parishioners...In Sudbury, at a meeting held in one of those parishioner's homes, it was unanimously decided to bring in a new priest...Now he's [the priest] telling them fairytales which they, like children, believe...You should be ashamed at your backwardness...It's time to wake up and take an example from workers who are aware...[2]

Ukrainians had a diversity of experiences when it came to belonging in the Sudbury region prior to 1920. Between 1901 and 1914 gender played a large role in this process. Women who lived in small, isolated, and heavily masculine company towns often felt alone while those living in larger centres formed networks, composed of family members and both Ukrainian and non-Ukrainian friends, which helped them reconstruct a home away from home. Men, on the other hand, had different experiences when it came to fitting into the communities in which they lived. Exposed to a variety of people while working and enjoying their leisure time, most men more easily adapted to their new surroundings. It was not long however before politics combined with gender to complicate this immigrant experience. Specifically, the outbreak of World

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[1] "New Ukrainian Church Bound to Christianity," *Sudbury Star*, 19 December 1928, 13.

[2] "Letter From V.S. – Sudbury," *Ukrainski robitnychi visti*, 27 April 1921, 4, translated by Larissa Stavroff.

War I and the imposition of the War Measures Act led many to question their place in Sudbury's Ukrainian communities, as well as in the region, and the nation. Although the enemy alien label was applied to all unnaturalized Ukrainians who lived in the Sudbury region, the organizations with which men associated and the belief systems that they adopted had a great deal to do with whether they were regarded as respectable and loyal citizens; this was most evident in Copper Cliff.[3]

As the opening quotes make clear, the political, religious, and ideological division plaguing the region's Ukrainian communities did not go away in the 1920s. Instead, it deepened as Catholics and progressives established formal organizations and constructed politically and socially exclusive ethnic communal spaces; more women, as we shall see, began to settle in the Sudbury region, forming stable, family-focused ethnic settlements which helped to facilitate the building of these places.[4] It must be noted that the division which polarized Catholic and progressive Ukrainians was

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[3] Again, it must be noted that a lack of sources makes it difficult to ascertain how many of the region's Ukrainian men, women, and children were naturalized citizens.

[4] Up to 1918, I have referred to those who belonged to the Ukrainian left as "socialists". After 1918, I have chosen to refer to this group of Ukrainians as "progressives"; it must be noted that the socialist label no longer applied to this group because the federal government outlawed the Ukrainian Social Democratic Party (USDP) in 1918, and, after the Russian Revolution, the Ukrainian left began to reject all socialist parties and movements which opposed Bolshevism. Although many historians, like Orest Martynowych, have used a "pro-communist" label when referring to the Ukrainian left after 1918, arguing that it suits this group because it endorsed communist objectives in the Soviet Union and Canada, I have employed the progressive label out of sensitivity to those that I interviewed for this dissertation. This was the label that was used by the Ukrainian left and thus it is the term with which my interviewees were most comfortable. For a discussion about these labels see Orest Martynowych, *Ukrainians in Canada: The Formative Years, 1891-1924* (Edmonton: Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies Press, 1991), xxix; and John Boyd's "Editor Preface" in Peter Krawchuk, *Our History: The Ukrainian Labour-Farmer Movement in Canada, 1907-1991*, Translated by Mary Skrypnyk (Toronto: Lugus Publications, 1996), v-vii.

considerable. Whereas Catholics believed that the souls of progressive Ukrainians were being led astray within their organization, progressives argued that their lives were being destroyed by the church. Undoubtedly, politics continued to complicate the ways in which Catholic and progressive Ukrainians belonged to the mining communities that they called home.

Before embarking upon an examination of these differences – a subject which will be explored in the following chapter – it is interesting to look at the ways in which Catholic and progressive Ukrainian identities overlapped during this period. Specifically, a discussion about these identities reveals that Catholic and progressive men and women undertook similar gender roles within their very different organizations. Men assumed leadership roles within the Ukrainian Labour Farmer Temple Association (ULFTA) Halls and St. Mary's Ukrainian Catholic Church, while women were relegated to supportive positions which held less authority and power than those accorded to men. Certainly, as we shall see, male chauvinism and prescribed gender roles limited women's opportunities.[5] Gender however had little to do with the ways in which organized children identified themselves. Rather, ethnicity and age determined the roles that Catholic and progressive Ukrainian children assumed during this period.

The Changing Demographics of the Region

The "Roaring Twenties" was a significant decade in Sudbury's development. Specifically, it was a period in which the town and its inhabitants came to rely fully

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[5] For a similar and related argument about women's roles within the progressive movement see Rhonda Hinther, "'Sincerest Revolutionary Greetings': Progressive Ukrainians in the Twentieth Century," Ph.D. Dissertation, McMaster University, 2005, 118.

upon the nickel industry and the mining companies – the International Nickel Company (INCO), the Mond Nickel Company (MNC), and after 1928, Falconbridge Nickel Mines Limited – operating in the region, becoming for all intents and purposes a "mining town."[6] Improvements to Sudbury's infrastructure, namely the addition of streetcar and bus services, made it possible for people who lived in the outlying mining communities to move into the town and commute to work. A decision made by INCO and the MNC, in March 1926, to develop their adjacent Frood deposits in the northwest corner of the town also led many to give up their company homes and move to Sudbury where they either rented or bought homes of their own.

Municipality, Township, or Subdivision	Total Population in 1911	Total Population in 1921	Austrian	Polish	Russian	Ukrainian
Copper Cliff	3082	2597	29	48	4	13
Dryden	177	146	0	5	0	0
Garson	740	710	50	9	5	8
Levack	N/A	252	20	7	21	23
McKim	310	440	4	1	18	0
Neelon	342	1528	36	14	6	179
Snider	N/A	1157	5	54	36	56
Sudbury	4150	8621	125	50	42	13
Waters	N/A	455	0	0	0	0

Table 4.1: 1921 Aggregate Census Data[7]

[6] A.D. Gilbert, "The 1920s," in C.M. Wallace and Ashley Thomson, eds., *Sudbury: Rail Town to Regional Capital* (Toronto: Dundurn Press, 1993), 113.

[7] Canada, Bureau of the Census, *Population, Volume I* (Ottawa, 1924).

As these aggregate census statistics indicate, Sudbury's population more than doubled between 1911 and 1921, while Neelon's population quadrupled during this period; although, as discussed in Chapter Two, the MNC moved its mining operations to Coniston and Levack in 1913, Neelon, the sub-district in which these towns were located, continued to experience growth well into the 1920s. These statistics thus give us a sense of the changing demographics of the region. By 1921 many citizens who lived and worked in the outlying mining communities made the decision to move to Sudbury, Coniston, or Levack, where the male breadwinner of the household could easily commute to and from work. It is significant to note that in nearly all of the other sub-districts for which statistics are available, population declined during this period. Like the similar northern resource towns studied by Kerry Abel, some of these communities flourished while others faded.[8]

The demographics for the region's Ukrainian population further illustrate this pattern, showing that the majority of those who resided in Copper Cliff moved to either Sudbury or Neelon. In addition to the improvements made to Sudbury's infrastructure, a temporary shutdown at INCO's Copper Cliff Mine and the lingering effects of the War Measures Act may also account for this exodus. Ukrainians either relocated within the region or left the country altogether, fearing that similar instances of discrimination would occur in the years to come. Unfortunately, the 1921 manuscript census has yet to be opened to researchers and thus we can not determine how many Ukrainians relocated to other areas in the region or left the country. Likewise, it is impossible to ascertain

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[8] Kerry Abel, *Changing Places: History, Community, and Identity in Northeastern Ontario* (Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2006), 88.

how many Ukrainians came to the region from other parts of Canada or from Eastern Europe, as second wave immigrants; this second wave accounts for those who arrived in Canada between 1918 and 1939.

While addressing these challenges, we must also account for other inherent flaws and/or absences in the aggregate census statistics, namely the problems that come with labelling and categorizing people. Although the 1921 aggregate census statistics were more inclusive and precise than the 1901 and 1911 manuscript censuses and the resulting aggregate statistics because enumerators used "Ukrainian" as a category when identifying citizens, we must still contemplate whether the labels attached to citizens were indeed accurate. For instance, we need to consider whether enumerators incorrectly identified citizens or whether citizens incorrectly identified themselves while being enumerated, as was often the case with previous censuses. If we take these problems into account when analyzing the aggregate statistical data without access to the manuscript census data, then it becomes clear that we must continue to include all of the Eastern Europeans who were labelled as "Austrian", "Polish", "Russian", and "Ukrainian" to get a sense of the changing demographics of the community.[9]

Despite the fact that we can not deconstruct these labels, the aggregate census statistics confirm that Copper Cliff's Eastern European population significantly decreased in size during this period; a community that was composed of well over 300 Eastern Europeans in 1911 was reduced to 94 by 1921. Again, we can not discern where or why these immigrants moved out of this company town but the data suggest that many may have moved to Sudbury, as this town's Eastern European population nearly

[9] See Chapter Two for a detailed discussion about the importance of using these categories to determine Eastern European settlement patterns in the Sudbury region.

quadrupled during this period; the community of 62 swelled to 230 by 1921. At the same time, it is quite conceivable that those who lived in Copper Cliff may have also moved to Coniston or Levack to work for the MNC. Statistics support this contention, indicating that Neelon's Eastern European community grew from 75 to 235 during this same period.

Like deconstructing the labels assigned to members of the region's Eastern European communities, determining the gender make-up of this group of people is also a difficult task. Although the aggregate census data provide us with a break-down of the number of foreign born men and women who lived in the Sudbury region, these statistics do not indicate how many were "Austrian", "Polish", "Russian", and "Ukrainian". Nevertheless, the aggregate census statistics provide us with some important information pertaining to gender. Historians, like A.D. Gilbert, have been quick to point out that Sudbury was unlike other mining towns during this decade, stressing that men did not vastly outnumber women.[10] However, if we examine the following table it becomes clear that the gender break-down of the region was a little more complex than this statement suggests.

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[10] Gilbert, "The 1920s," 114.

Municipality, Township, or Subdivision	Total Male	Total Female	Canadian/ British Born Male	Canadian/ British Born Female	Foreign Born Male	Foreign Born Female
Copper Cliff	1320	1277	1033	1030	287	247
Creighton	27	19	26	19	1	0
Dryden	79	67	69	56	10	11
Falconbridge	18	10	13	8	5	2
Garson	391	319	297	258	94	61
Levack	142	110	80	72	62	38
McKim	273	167	209	148	64	19
Neelon	808	720	628	614	180	106
Snider	603	554	400	404	203	150
Sudbury	4423	4198	3928	3889	495	309
Waters	246	209	171	153	75	56

Table 4.2: Gendering the 1921 Aggregate Census Data[11]

Although the overall gender break-down supports Gilbert's contention, that men only slightly outnumbered women, it is clear that this merely reflected the Canadian- and British-born segments of the population. If we examine the gender dynamics of the foreign born population we begin to see that, like the 1901 and 1911 manuscript censuses, men continued to outnumber women in this region. In Sudbury, for instance, 197 of the 495 foreign born men were single, while 290 were married and 8 were widowed; in contrast the majority of the 309 women, 208, were married while 89 were

[11] Canada, Bureau of the Census, *Population, Volume I.*

single and 12 were widowed.[12] Again, it would be interesting to gain access to the manuscript census to see what percentage of these men and women were actually Ukrainian. Certainly, access to this record would also allow us to make a more definitive connection between women and the construction of ethnic spaces in the region. Moreover, an analysis of the manuscript census would provide insight into how many of these men were migrant labourers; it is significant to note that sources like the Sudbury and Coniston ULFTA Branches' minute books, which report constantly changing male memberships, suggest that many of these men were probably transient migrant labourers.[13] Clearly, Gilbert's claim that Sudbury's population was unlike those of other mining communities does not seem to be the case when examining the foreign segment of the region's population.

Sudbury Becomes a Mining Town

Despite the development of the Frood deposit, and the subsequent connotation that this expansion was a sign of prosperity, the twenties were a difficult decade for the region's mining companies and its inhabitants. Both experienced the "boom and bust" syndrome that came with relying on a single resource. Subject to the whims of the international market, a severe downturn in the American economy in November 1920 led INCO to both cut back production by a quarter and lay off around 300 of its employees. Three weeks later, INCO slashed its production by another third and laid off more men. In November 1921, after announcing that its remaining employees would

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[12] Ibid.

[13] See Library and Archives Canada (LAC), Peter Krawchuk Fonds, Manuscript Group (MG) 30, Volume (Vol.) 21, Series D403, File 7, Coniston Minute Book, 1924-1926, translated by Larissa Stavroff; and LAC, Peter Krawchuk Fonds, MG 30, Vol. 21, Series D403, File 5, ULFTA Sudbury Minute Book, 1926-1931, translated by Larissa Stavroff.

retain their jobs but take a fifteen percent wage decrease, INCO completely shut down its Copper Cliff operations. The MNC, on the other hand, depended on the more stable European markets, and although workers also took a pay cut and their shifts were reduced, it continued to operate during this difficult period; clearly the labour situation had a significant impact upon the growth of Neelon's population, which was home to the MNC's operations.[14]

INCO resumed production in September 1922 at a third of its wartime levels. Luckily, the nickel industry continued to boom after these trying opening years of the decade as new products, like the five-cent nickel, heavy machinery, aircrafts, and automobiles, forced production levels to exceed those attained during the war. Although the British America Nickel Corporation (BANC), which became the third mining firm to operate in the region in 1916, stumbled during this period, INCO and the MNC continued to flourish. In fact, the future of these two companies was quite bright and as a result they came together and absorbed the troubled BANC in 1925. By the mid 1920s then, INCO and the MNC had a monopoly on the world's nickel supply. Interestingly, the two were never in direct competition as INCO catered to North American markets while the MNC supplied Europe.[15] Shortly after this joint purchase however, the MNC, which was much smaller than INCO, decided to try to compete with this nickel giant on the North American market; like INCO, it too would develop its Frood deposit. Managerial failures and ultimately the decision to compete with INCO and develop this deposit, which was a huge financial drain on the company's pockets, resulted in the

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[14] Gilbert, "The 1920s," 118-119.
[15] Ibid., 121-122.

company's demise and consequent merger with INCO in October 1928.[16] Ironically, INCO maintained a monopoly on the nickel industry for about a week, at which time Falconbridge Nickel Mines Limited acquired the nickel deposit in the region's Falconbridge Township.

In the latter part of the 1920s, INCO undertook some major construction projects. In particular, the building of a new smelter with a 510-foot stack, which would divert the hazardous yellow fumes that came with roasting nickel into the atmosphere, and a new copper refinery, both of which were located in Copper Cliff, led INCO to announce that it would soon be able to employ 2865 men temporarily and 3100 permanently at its Frood and Copper Cliff operations.[17] INCO did not however plan to build any more company houses and thus as more men came to the area in search of jobs, the region faced a severe housing shortage. Consequently residential construction in Sudbury boomed and the town's neighbourhoods, referred to as Gatchell, the Flour Mill, the Donovan, and the East End, were transformed almost overnight.

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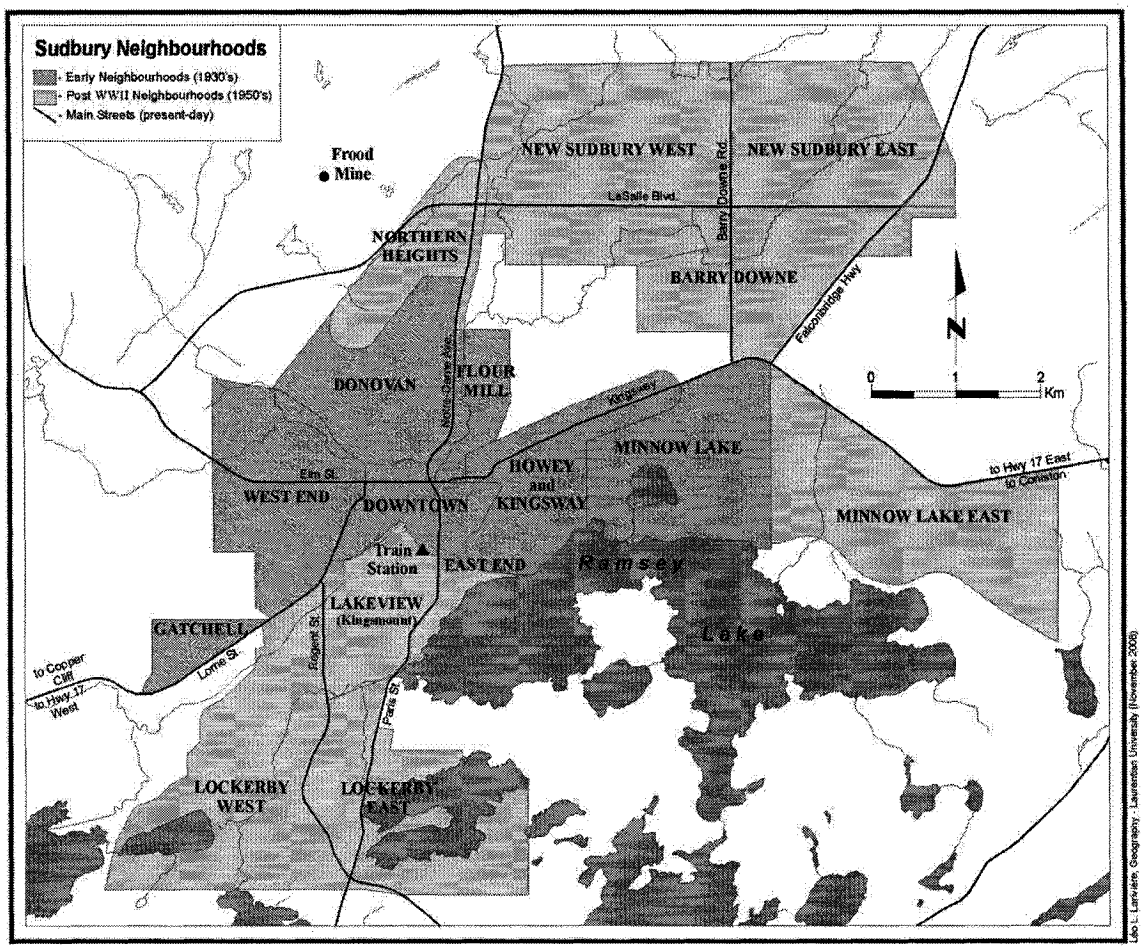
[16] See Matt Bray and Angus Gilbert, "The Mond-International Nickel Merger of 1929: A Case Study in Entrepreneurial Failure," *Canadian Historical Review* LXXVI.1 (March 1995), 19-42.

[17] Gilbert, "The 1920s," 123.



Map 4.1: Sudbury Neighbourhoods

Gatchell, which was a neighbourhood located in Sudbury's west end, became home to many of the Italians residing in the region. The Flour Mill, located just northeast of the downtown core and informally referred to as French Town, was dominated by French Canadians. The Donovan, which was just northwest of the downtown core and within walking distance of INCO's Frood Mine, was a mixed immigrant neighbourhood that was home to families with breadwinners who laboured at this mine. Lastly, the East End, especially the Shaughnessy section of this area, which was located just one block east of the train station, was a transient Slavic section of town that was home to many of the single men who both worked in the region or were unemployed. Gilbert thus argues that during this period Sudbury "was beginning to take on the appearance of a cluster of

communities, each with a distinctive ethnic, religious, and occupational atmosphere." Following from this, he states that "there was surprisingly little evidence of animosity between the various groups of which the town was composed."[18]

Examining the political and religious identities of Sudbury's Ukrainian men, women, and children helps to problematize Gilbert's findings. There may not have been much animosity between the ethnic groups residing in the region but there was certainly a great deal of tension between the two very divided groups which emerged within the Ukrainian community: the progressives and the Catholics. Ukrainian Catholic and progressive men, women, and children may have lived in the same neighbourhoods, shopped at the same neighbourhood stores, and attended the same schools but the ways that they belonged to the communities in which they lived were very different. Their identities were multi-layered and overlapped to a certain degree – many were mothers, fathers, wives, husbands, daughters, sons, miners, and Sudburians – but when it came to belonging to the Ukrainian community itself, their political and religious identities set them apart.[19]

Although Catholic and progressive Ukrainian men, women, and children had a diversity of experiences when it came to belonging in the Sudbury region – an issue that will be discussed at length in the following chapter – they assumed similar gendered, ethnic, and age-defined identities within the organizations to which they belonged and it is to this subject that we will now turn. In order to appreciate the differences that

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[18] Ibid., 114.

[19] Kerry Abel makes a similar argument in her study about community and identity in Northeastern Ontario, stating that local identity was part of a complex and changeable "mental map." Residents' sense of community was not some "thing." Rather people experienced multiple identities at the same time. See Abel, *Changing Places: History, Community, and Identity in Northeastern Ontario*, 412.

divided the community, it is interesting to examine these organizational identities, noting that despite their ideological, political, and religious beliefs, Sudbury's Ukrainians undertook similar gendered, ethnic, and age-defined roles within their halls and churches.

Progressive Masculine Identity

Ukrainian miners who lived in the region shared a similar working-class immigrant experience. They faced every shift not knowing whether it would be their last and during the course of each and every day, they struggled to understand and be understood by those around them. Despite these notable similarities, Ukrainian men were divided along political and religious lines. Their identities were therefore layered, converging and conflicting simultaneously. In particular, men were miners, fathers, husbands, and Ukrainians but, above all, they were either Catholics or progressives. Although this division was not new to the community, it did become stronger and more clearly defined during the 1920s. The construction of formal ethnic communal spaces, namely the building of the Coniston and Sudbury Labour Temples in 1924 and 1925 and St. Mary's Ukrainian Catholic Church on Beech Street in Sudbury in 1928, were significant developments in the community's formation, securing these polarized identities in both mind and place and leading to increased tensions among the region's Ukrainians. As Kerry Abel demonstrates, organizations like these brought men together and gave them a sense of belonging to a group other than the workforce.[20] Ethnic

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[20] Abel, *Changing Places: History, Community, and Identity in Northeastern Ontario*, 321. Franca Iacovetta makes a similar argument in her study about Toronto's postwar Italian community, arguing that ethnic organizations were places in which these immigrants could maintain their heritage and recreate a sense of community. See Iacovetta, *Such Hardworking People: Italian Immigrants in Postwar Toronto* (Montreal

organizations like the ULFTA and St. Mary's Ukrainian Catholic Church may have given progressive and Catholic men a place in which to root their sense of identity but these spaces caused a serious division within the community, forcing the two groups of men to define themselves in a variety of different ways.

It is interesting however to note that when we examine the gendered identities that were assumed by Catholic and progressive men within their very different organizations we see striking similarities. The working-class immigrant experience that they shared in the workplace was not isolated to that place but rather it crossed over into the spaces where men spent their leisure time. Men, regardless of their political or religious beliefs, undertook leadership roles within the ULFTA Halls and St. Mary's

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& Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1992), 125-127. For a related discussion about the ways in which organized life impacted the identities of other Italian communities as well as the communities of other ethnic groups also see John Zucchi, *Italians in Toronto: Development of a National Identity, 1875-1935* (Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1988); Bruno Ramirez, *Les premiers Italiens de Montréal* (Montreal: Boréal, 1987); Gail Cuthbert-Brandt, "The Development of French-Canadian Social Institutions in Sudbury, Ontario, 1883-1920," *Laurentian University Review* 11.2 (February 1979), 5-22; Lawrence Lam, *"The Whites Accept Us Chinese Now": The Changing Dynamics of Being Chinese in Timmins* (Toronto: Institute of Behavioural Research, 1983); Lillian Petroff, *Sojourners and Settlers: The Macedonian Community in Toronto to 1940* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1995); Varpu Lindström, *Defiant Sisters: A Social History of Finnish Immigrant Women in Canada* (Toronto: Multicultural History Society of Ontario, 1988); Carmela Patrias, *Patriots and Proletarians: The Politicization of Hungarian Immigrants in Canada* (Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1994); Royden Loewen, *Family, Church, and Market: A Mennonite Community in the Old and New Worlds, 1850-1930* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1993); Ewa Morawska, *For Bread with Butter: The Life-Worlds of East Central Europeans in Johnstown Pennsylvania, 1890-1940* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985); Virginia Yans-McLaughlin, *Family and Community: Italian Immigrants in Buffalo, 1880-1930* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1977); Donna Gabaccia, *From Sicily to Elizabeth Street: Housing and Social Change Among Italian Immigrants, 1880-1930* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1984); and Valerie Matsumoto, *Farming the Home Place: A Japanese American Community in California, 1919-1982* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1993).

Ukrainian Catholic Church, ensuring that their organizations would have a future in the community. Men's roles as fathers may not have been central to their Catholic and progressive identities but certainly their roles as breadwinners were vital.[21] Although, as Frances Swyripa argues, progressives adopted the Soviet belief that men and women were free and equal, within the ULFTA movement this notion was not implemented by members of the organization.[22] According to Swyripa, "equality often remained an elusive and contentious ideal."[23] As men assumed leadership roles, women were relegated to subordinate positions within the progressive movement, forced into roles which not only reinforced male chauvinism, but also mirrored the prescribed gender roles that they played within their homes.[24] In comparison, Catholic men were equally dominant when it came to undertaking leadership roles within the church. They, like their progressive counterparts, formed building committees and decided how much money they needed to raise to succeed; ironically, as this chapter will demonstrate, it was the women who raised the money needed by the organizations. Despite these similarities however Catholic and progressive men remained divided along political and religious lines.

Ukrainians began to divide shortly after settling in the Sudbury region. As discussed in Chapter Two, Catholics, both men and women, built St. Nicholas Greek

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[21] Although she does not emphasize this argument, Rhonda Hinther makes a similar statement when comparing the roles assumed by men and women involved in the progressive movement. See Hinther, "'Sincerest Revolutionary Greetings': Progressive Ukrainians in the Twentieth Century," 134.

[22] Frances Swyripa, *Wedded to the Cause: Ukrainian-Canadian Women and Ethnic Identity, 1891-1991* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1993), 150.

[23] Ibid., 151.

[24] Hinther, "'Sincerest Revolutionary Greetings': Progressive Ukrainians in the Twentieth Century," 118.

Catholic Church in Copper Cliff in 1909 and attended masses there until it burned down in 1920 while progressives, who were mostly men, began meeting in 1913 in Copper Cliff, calling themselves the Federation of Ukrainian Social Democrats (FUSD), then the Ukrainian Social Democratic Party (USDP) in 1914, the Ukrainian Labour Temple Association (ULTA) in 1918 and finally, the Ukrainian Labour Farmer Temple Association (ULFTA) in 1924. Unlike Catholics, progressives lacked a building throughout these early years. Instead they met in informal spaces, congregating in various halls and private homes in the region. We know a great deal about the history of this local movement because male members frequently wrote to the national socialist and progressive newspapers, *Robochyi narod* (*The Working People*) and *Ukrainski robitnychi visti* (*Ukrainian Labour News*), summarizing local events and using the newspapers as outlets for both condemning Catholicism and singing the praises of being enlightened by socialism, and after 1917, Bolshevism and communism; it must be noted that although these two newspapers were established by the same group of people, the Russian Revolution led to a significant ideological shift among these individuals.[25] On 25 September 1918 the Canadian government banned the USDP and its newspaper *Robochyi narod.* Prior to this, members of the USDP had begun to build a Ukrainian Labour Temple, which was meant to act as a national educational and cultural centre, in the north end of Winnipeg in May 1918. Despite the fact that the USDP was banned, members had to address the legalities of owning the building. In order to continue assuming ownership, members dodged the stipulations imposed by the government and formed a new organization, one which rejected the USDP's socialist origins and

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[25] Peter Krawchuk, *Our History: The Ukrainian Labour-Farmer Movement in Canada, 1907-1991*, 28-30.

endorsed both Bolshevist and communist objectives. On 14 May 1918 progressives incorporated the ULTA and on 22 March 1919 they launched a weekly newspaper: *Ukrainski robitnychi visti.*[26]

Letters written by men living in the Sudbury region and published in *Ukrainski robitnychi visti* during the early years of the 1920s did not discuss these national developments. Instead men used the newspaper as a forum to complain about "other" Ukrainian workers in the area, those who did not subscribe to progressive ideals or belong to any formal ethnic organizations, and Ukrainian Catholics. For instance, on 15 January 1921 an anonymous miner living in Creighton wrote to the newspaper stating that there was a "considerable number of Ukrainian workers [there who had forgotten] about books or newspapers. [Instead the] poolrooms [were] always full. Shouting, singing, sounds of card playing and drunkenness [emanated] from workers' homes." He closed his letter by stressing that it was refreshing to read the newspaper and see that "in other locales, the workers [gathered] and [were] beginning to organize."[27] It is interesting to note the ways in which this individual associated morality with the progressive movement, implying that those who belonged to this organization would not be found in disreputable places partaking in seedy activities. After the USDP was outlawed in 1918, progressives continued to meet regularly, forming "enlightenment societies" in many of the mining communities in and around Sudbury. They read *Ukrainski robitnychi visti* on a regular basis, viewing it as an important educational tool. Many, like the miner quoted above, used the newspaper to not only learn about

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[26] Ibid., 32-33.

[27] "Creighton, Ontario," *Ukrainski robitnychi visti*, 15 January 1921, 4, translated by Larissa Stavroff.

Bolshevism and communism, but also monitor how progressives living in other parts of the country were organizing and forming local branches of the ULTA. In addition to complaining about unorganized men who spent all of their spare time engaged in illicit activities, progressives used the newspaper to rant about the inadequacies of Catholicism. As the opening quote of this chapter demonstrates, progressives believed that religion was simply a way to squander time and money. Specifically, money spent by parishioners who paid priests to churn out "fairytales" about life was, in their opinion, a waste. Instead, progressives argued that Catholics would be "better off organizing into workers' groups and putting [their] money toward paying off the Ukrainian Labour Temple debt," since priests only brought Ukrainians "backwardness."[28] In the words of "a worker from Sudbury," it was imperative that all men become members of "one large labour family."[29]

Criticizing other Ukrainian men went hand in hand with complaining about the local labour situation. As this chapter has demonstrated, the early years of the decade were difficult ones for the region's miners. After INCO shut down its Copper Cliff operation and the MNC cut back its workforce in 1921, many men found themselves without a job. Progressives thus questioned the local state of affairs, asking why "Canada, which [was] supposed to have better economic conditions than other countries," treated its workers so poorly.[30] Although the letters noted that most of the unemployed men were suffering because they could not afford food or shelter, a Mr.

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[28] "Letter From V.S. – Sudbury," *Ukrainski robitnychi visti*, 27 April 1921, 4, translated by Larissa Stavroff.

[29] "Letter from Sudbury – A Worker," *Ukrainski robitnychi visti*, 19 October 1921, 4, translated by Larissa Stavroff.

[30] "Sudbury – H.S.," *Ukrainski robitnychi visti*, 14 May 1921, 4, translated by Larissa Stavroff.

Sverdlyk took the opportunity to stir up the situation, reporting that even when the mines were not operating the city's taverns and poolrooms were benefiting from the cutbacks. He noted: "Unemployment doesn't affect the ignorant worker who'll find a few dollars for a bottle, a poolroom, and cards."[31]

Acting as social spaces in which to debate the local labour situation and condemn Ukrainians who did not believe in the progressive movement, informal enlightenment societies continued to operate in and around the region until April 1924 when a group of Ukrainian workers living in Coniston held a meeting to establish a local branch of the ULTA. The organizer of the meeting, Ivan Pereima, stressed that it was time for progressives to plant roots in the region, arguing:

> ...We must stop kidding ourselves about making a few hundred dollars and returning to the old country. Those times have passed...We have to make ourselves think, instead, about how to do something to serve ourselves and the interests of the workers...We have to give our children the opportunity to see the world clearly...Let's not follow in the footsteps of our parents and grandparents who blindly allowed themselves to be manipulated by the ruling landowners...[32]

After hearing about the significance of the ULTA as a national movement, thirty-nine men signed up for the organization. Together they elected an executive and decided that it was time to start looking for a suitable piece of property to build a labour temple.[33]

Establishing a local branch of the ULTA in Coniston was a risky venture. As discussed in Chapter Two, Coniston was a MNC company town that was divided along ethnic and linguistic lines; Ukrainians lived in Polack Town, in the southwest corner of

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[31] "Sudbury, from Sverdlyk," *Ukrainski robitnychi visti*, 26 October 1921, 4, translated by Larissa Stavroff.

[32] "Letter Submitted by I. Pereima, Coniston," *Ukrainski robitnychi visti*, 12 April 1924, 4, translated by Larissa Stavroff.

[33] Ibid.

Coniston (see Map 2.3). Monitored by a small force of company policemen, citizens were always under surveillance and thus one wrong move could result in the loss of both a job and a place to live. An examination of a list of "problem MNC employees," for instance, reveals that men were routinely fired for fighting, drinking, and/or causing disturbances during their leisure time.[34] Similarly, a look at the daily journals kept by a number of the MNC's constables reveals that weddings and holiday celebrations in Polack Town were always diligently monitored by company police; it must be noted that there were never any serious incidents during these celebrations.[35] Like the situation in Copper Cliff, the MNC's arms wielded a lot of power, and while on company property citizens were obliged to follow the rules of the town. It is interesting then that the company allowed some of its Ukrainian citizens to establish a local branch of the ULTA; in truth, I suspect that the company knew very little about the organization in these early years.

The history of the Coniston Branch of the ULTA is fascinating. When I began researching this part of my dissertation, I knew very little about this branch. The only piece of evidence that I had to support its existence was a short piece written about it in *The Coniston Story*, a local history of the town and its people.[36] I did not spend much time thinking about this branch in the early stages of my research because I believed that interviews with local residents would help to shed light on the history of it. The

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[34] Author's Possession, Ukrainians in Sudbury Collection, Mond Nickel Company Employment Records, 1912-1930.

[35] See, for instance, Sudbury Regional Police Museum, Constable Boucher's Daily Journal 1922; Sudbury Regional Police Museum, Constable Boucher's Daily Journal 1923; and Sudbury Regional Police Museum, Constable Brennan's Report Book, Coniston 1927.

[36] Mike Solski, ed., *The Coniston Story* (Sudbury: Journal Printing, 1983), 82-86.

interviews however were quite unsatisfying when it came to revealing the history of this organization and its place in the community. No one – I interviewed thirteen people who were born and raised in Coniston during the 1920s and 1930s – could tell me anything about this branch of the ULTA. Although it ceased to exist both physically and in the living memories of my interviewees, I looked for absences and/or silences in the interviews that would tell me something about this branch.

Conducting more interviews helped me detect and understand some of these silences. In speaking to other Ukrainians who had grown up in the region, I learned that some of my Coniston interviewees' parents had been blacklisted by INCO for participating in the ULTA movement; recall that INCO took over the MNC and its company town in 1928. Digging a little deeper and examining the names listed under some of the photographs in *The Coniston Story* also confirmed what I had considered up until that point to be gossip: some of my interviewees' immediate family members appeared in the ULTA photographs. The majority of my interviewees were quite forthcoming when it came to recalling their pasts, happily answering any of my questions and maintaining that they had little to hide. However, being blacklisted shamed many families and thus it is quite understandable why some of my interviewees chose not to divulge their family's connection to the ULTA.

On the other hand, there may very well be another explanation for this apparent silence. Perhaps the organization failed to leave an impression on my interviewees. As young children they may have just gotten caught up in the atmosphere, paying little attention to the movement's message because they were too busy having a good time with other Ukrainian children. Regardless of their families' connection to the ULTA,

some of my Coniston interviewees were quick to point out that they had attended some kind of Ukrainian school as children. The majority however could not tell me whether it had been a church- or a ULTA-run school and thus this suggests that perhaps lack of knowledge explains this silence.

Memories are thus a rather disappointing resource when it comes to both reconstructing the history of Coniston's ULTA Branch and determining what kind of an impact this space had on the Ukrainian identities of the progressive men who lived in this company town. Newspaper accounts in *Ukrainski robitnychi visti* and a surviving minute book found in the Peter Krawchuk Fonds at Library and Archives Canada (LAC) are all that remain of this branch. Therefore these sources will be used to uncover what it meant to be a progressive Ukrainian man living in Coniston during the 1920s.

Sources may reveal little about the formative years of Coniston's ULTA Branch, but we do know some details about the general onset of organized life in this company town. According to *The Coniston Story*, Ukrainian Catholics living in Polack Town built a *Prosvita* Hall in 1926, to which they added a chapel in 1928. Calling the structure St. Michael's Ukrainian Catholic Church, they worshipped in this space until a fire destroyed the building in 1934.[37] Interestingly, Coniston interviewees had a difficult time recounting the history of this space as well and instead, frequently referred to the history of the second St. Michael's Ukrainian Catholic Church, which was built in 1951. In fact, John Holunga was the only one to remember that there had been two St.

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[37] Ibid., 40.

Michael's, the first of which burned down when he was a young child.[38] I mention the Catholic Church here because an entry detailing the history of the Coniston ULTA Branch in a national ULFTA almanac published in 1930 makes clear that the branch was engaged in a fierce battle with the church.[39] In response to "attacks" by the church, male members – women did not yet belong to this branch of the organization – chose to restructure the branch so that it would have a more secure place in the community. Although the branch continued to adhere to the national ULFTA constitution, members voted to rename the organization, calling it the Taras Shevchenko Association (TSA) in May 1924.[40] This name was certainly less controversial. Taras Shevchenko was a renowned Ukrainian poet and in choosing this name for the branch members thereby stressed the cultural aspects of the movement. Certainly, Shevchenko's name distanced the local branch from the ULFTA movement, making it difficult for outsiders to make the connection. According to Swyripa, progressives considered Shevchenko a "social revolutionary whose concerns for the common people were addressed to humanity in general and to the tsarist regime in particular."[41] The branch's minutes also reveal that

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[38] John Holunga, interview by author, Coniston, 16 May 2005. An article in *Ukrainski robitnychi visti* reveals that by June 1932 the Coniston Branch of the ULFTA had been abandoned by progressives. Most of the members had been fired by INCO and thus moved to other locales in search of work. See "Before the Conventions of Our Mass Organizations," *Ukrainski robitnychi visti*, 30 June 1932, 5, translated by Larissa Stavroff.

[39] "History of the ULFTA Branch in Coniston" in *Almanac, 1918-1929*, (Winnipeg: ULFTA, 1930), 133, translated by Larissa Stavroff.

[40] LAC, Peter Krawchuk Fonds, MG 30, Vol. 21, Series D403, File 7, Coniston Minute Book, 1924-1926, 1, translated by Larissa Stavroff. Also see "Coniston, From a Member of the Proletariat," *Ukrainski robitnychi visti*, 10 July 1924, 3, translated by Larissa Stavroff.

[41] Swyripa, *Wedded to the Cause: Ukrainian-Canadian Women and Ethnic Identity, 1891-1991*, 139. It is significant to note that both the Ukrainian left and right revered Shevchenko.

the name was changed because members refused to pay the five dollar entrance dues required to belong to the ULFTA.[42]

The male members of the TSA may have chosen a less controversial name but they proceeded to organize cultural activities that had a sharp political edge. Prior to the opening of their building on 23 November 1924, members held a number of concerts in Coniston and staged a play at the Finnish Hall in Sudbury. Performed during July 1924, the play, a three-act comedy, depicted the ways in which priests and landowners had abused peasants and workers in tsarist times, and ultimately showed how common Ukrainians had defeated those "tyrants."[43] In addition, members also took steps to invite speakers from other parts of the country to the region. More often than not, these speakers tended to be members of the Communist Party of Canada (CPC) who would make several appearances to try to convince members of the TSA to join the CPC.[44] Moreover, members of the TSA quickly established a children's school, arguing that it was vital that their children learn the Ukrainian language and culture and become acquainted with the aims of the international communist movement early on in life.[45] In organizing activities for youth, the TSA was merely following the directives outlined by the national executive of the ULFTA, which voted to organize youth sections in 1924.

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[42] Note that nationally, members of the ULTA decided that the organization would try to appeal to farmers in Western Canada and therefore at the ULTA's fifth convention in 1924 members voted to change the name of the organization to the ULFTA.

[43] "Coniston, From a Member of the Proletariat," *Ukrainski robitnychi visti*, 10 July 1924, 3, translated by Larissa Stavroff.

[44] See, for instance, "Sudbury – A Worker," *Ukrainski robitnychi visti*, 26 June 1924, 3, translated by Larissa Stavroff; and "Sudbury – Ivan Soroka," *Ukrainski robitnychi visti*, 15 November 1924, 3, translated by Larissa Stavroff.

[45] "Coniston, From a Member of the Proletariat," *Ukrainski robitnychi visti*, 10 July 1924, 3, translated by Larissa Stavroff.

Despite the fact that there was a small group of men arguing that it was also vital to start a women's section in the branch so that progressive children would have socially enlightened and educated mothers, women did not form a section until the following year in May 1925; the identity assumed by progressive women will be discussed later in the chapter.

Shortly after the TSA's building opened, members voted to change the name of the organization one last time. In January 1925 the national executive of the ULFTA called on all independent and loosely associated organizations, like the TSA, to unite under the ULFTA banner and after a lengthy discussion, members voted to assume the ULFTA name.[46] Publicly, all of the Coniston Branch's male members now officially associated with the Ukrainian left, becoming a part of the national movement at a local level. Like other branches across the country, this was a masculine organization, run by men, for men. Those who belonged to this branch believed that they had an important role to play in the community. As Rhonda Hinther argues, they were "determined to preserve and celebrate their sense of identity as Ukrainians while at the same time improving their circumstances as workers and farmers."[47] Education was the means through which they attempted to achieve these goals, sponsoring speeches, performing countless plays, and organizing socials and dances. Anyone who jeopardized these aims was seen as an enemy and thus when two men who belonged to the branch began to sympathize with the Ukrainian Catholic community, members did not hesitate to expel

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[46] LAC, Peter Krawchuk Fonds, MG 30, Vol. 21, Series D403, File 7, Coniston Minute Book, 1924-1926, 21-22, translated by Larissa Stavroff.

[47] Hinther, "'Sincerest Revolutionary Greetings': Progressive Ukrainians in the Twentieth Century," 15.

them.[48] For the most part however, these progressives did not spend a considerable amount of time attacking "other" Ukrainians after the opening of their building. Instead, most of their energy went to raising money so that they could quickly pay off their building. Members worked hard and by 30 December 1925, they had only $300 left to pay on the building's $5000 debt.[49]

As previously mentioned, the Eastern European communities in Sudbury and Neelon were similar in size. Unlike the smaller mining communities that were scattered throughout the region prior to 1920, these were concentrated centres where Ukrainians, both Catholics and progressives, lived in close quarters. Distance had been a major reason why Ukrainians had not built more ethnic spaces in the years before. It is therefore not surprising that progressive men in Sudbury constructed a building of their own shortly after the branch in Coniston opened. This company town was quite a distance from Sudbury, about fifteen kilometres east, and the men wanted an ethnic space that was located close to their homes and could thereby act as a community centre for Sudbury's progressive Ukrainians.

Unlike the Coniston Branch of the ULFTA, the Sudbury Branch continues to hold a place in the memories of Sudbury's Ukrainians. Whereas the Coniston Branch suddenly closed in the early 1930s, the Sudbury Branch has remained a vibrant community centre for four generations of Ukrainians. Although membership has dwindled over the last ten years, members have gone to great lengths to keep the hall open; the Jubilee Orchestra calls it home, individuals can still rent the hall for special

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[48] LAC, Peter Krawchuk Fonds, MG 30, Vol. 21, Series D403, File 7, Coniston Minute Book, 1924-1926, 47, translated by Larissa Stavroff.

[49] Ibid., 119-120.

occasions, and part of the building has been turned into a successful daycare centre for children, essentially securing the hall's future to a degree. This chapter will both discuss the history of the branch and establish the hall's place in the community while the subsequent chapters will focus upon the memories of those who grew up in the hall.

On 6 January 1921 a small group of men formed a Sudbury Branch of the ULTA. There were twenty-five male members at this time and they elected an executive. During these early years they held meetings, performed plays throughout the region, and donated money to both pay off the Winnipeg Labour Temple debt and support the Association for Aid to the Liberation Movement in Western Ukraine, a fund established by the national executive of the ULFTA. Due to the local labour situation this branch declined in 1922 and 1923. Many of the members lost their jobs when INCO and the MNC cut back production and thus by the end of 1923 only five members remained. According to the ULFTA's national almanac, these members spent the next year drumming up support and re-organizing the branch. On 6 October 1924 members purchased a plot of land on Spruce Street in Sudbury's west end and on 1 November 1925 they held their first concert in their new building.[50]

Although Ukrainian Catholics had yet to build a church in Sudbury, tension between the two groups began immediately as each side attempted to stake a claim in the community. Unlike those in Coniston, men living in this town were quick to identify themselves as either Catholics or progressives. Certainly, when it came to publicizing identity, Ukrainians had less to lose when living in a town that was not owned by the local mining companies which employed them. Shortly after the Sudbury Branch

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[50] "The ULFTA Branch, Sudbury, Ontario," in *Almanac, 1918-1929* (Winnipeg: ULFTA, 1930), 133, translated by Larissa Stavroff.

opened, a "worker" wrote into *Ukrainski robitnychi visti* complaining about the rivalry which had begun between Ukrainian Catholics and progressives. As the members were building their hall they canvassed their neighbourhoods, asking for donations to pay off the building's debt and, at the same time, enrolling children in their branch's children's school. According to the "worker," Father Mykola Shumsky, the local Ukrainian priest who said mass at various locations throughout the region, followed the branch's members and "went to the same homes to tell those families that the school was being run by godless Bolsheviks who would teach the children to reject their parents." Apparently the priest had a small impact on enrolment, as fifty-eight of the seventy children who enrolled attended the branch's first class on 1 December 1925.[51]

During 1926 and 1927, petty rivalries between progressives and Catholics were kept to a minimum. Lacking both a space and a newspaper of their own, Ukrainian Catholics found it difficult to stage attacks against their opponents. Progressive members of the Coniston and Sudbury Branches of the ULFTA thus spent this period recruiting and attempting to increase their membership bases. Working together on a variety of different ventures, the two branches staged a large number of plays and concerts, – one to two different plays a week – shared a children's school teacher, invited key figures in the movement to speak to their members, and held joint picnics, socials, bazaars, and dances to help raise money to pay off the building debts of both

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[51] "Letter from a Worker in Sudbury," *Ukrainski robitnychi visti*, 2 January 1926, 3, translated by Larissa Stavroff. The *Sudbury Star* also covered the opening of the children's school. See "Plan Classes to Teach Children Ukrainian Lore," *Sudbury Star*, 5 December 1925, 1.

branches.[52] In addition, members of the Sudbury Branch formed a local section of the Worker's Benevolent Association (WBA). The WBA, which was formed by the national executive of the ULTA in 1922, provided sick and death benefits to progressives in difficult times.[53] There is no doubt that an insurance policy like this helped to ease the minds of those who worked in dangerous settings. It must be noted that the two branches often organized joint functions with the progressive Finns who also had a hall on Spruce Street. Despite the fact that they differed in terms of ethnicity, these two groups of immigrants celebrated events like Lenin's birthday, May Day, and International Women's Day together, as a united political entity.[54] Certainly, these events demonstrate the ways in which working-class solidarity was central to the success of the local progressive movement.

When examining the minute books of the Coniston and Sudbury Branches of the ULFTA it quickly becomes clear that male members spent the bulk of their spare time at these halls discussing politics and devising strategies which would ensure that their local branches would have a future in the community. Men, as Hinther argues, assumed

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[52] See LAC, Peter Krawchuk Fonds, MG 30, Vol. 21, Series D403, File 5, ULFTA Sudbury Minute Book, 1926-1931, translated by Larissa Stavroff.

[53] See Hinther, "'Sincerest Revolutionary Greetings': Progressive Ukrainians in the Twentieth Century," 63-64. Ivan Pereyma was one local Ukrainian progressive who benefited from being a member of the WBA. When he broke his leg on the job, the WBA provided him with financial and moral support. See "Coniston – Letter from Ivan Pereyma," *Ukrainski robitnychi visti*, 8 February 1927, 4, translated by Larissa Stavroff.

[54] See LAC, Peter Krawchuk Fonds, MG 30, Vol. 21, Series D403, File 5, ULFTA Sudbury Minute Book, 1926-1931, 5, translated by Larissa Stavroff. Kerry Abel also shows that progressive Ukrainians and Finns formed similar alliances in Timmins. See Abel, *Changing Places: History, Community, and Identity in Northeastern Ontario*, 120-121.

the branches' leadership roles, using politics to define their masculinity.[55] The bulk of the male members may have been working-class immigrant miners, but they identified themselves politically, as progressives, in the public and private spaces in which they lived, worked, and played. From a local perspective, the identity of progressive men was based on a strong anti-Catholic sentiment. From the outset, the rivalry between the two groups of Ukrainians forced progressives to carve out their own spaces within the community. Belonging was no longer just a gendered experience, but a political one as well. Although tensions between progressives and Catholics were minimal during this decade, the building of St. Mary's Ukrainian Catholic Church in 1928 intensified the division within the community, bitterly dividing Ukrainians along political and religious lines.

Progressive Feminine Identity

While men assumed the leadership roles within the Coniston and Sudbury Branches of the ULFTA, women were assigned to subordinate supporting roles, ensuring that the fundraising ventures proposed by progressive male members were successful. Swyripa argues that women's roles within left and right Ukrainian organizations during this period were defined by gender differences: "These differences gave men and women separate spheres, and they exploited so-called 'female' qualities to place homemaking and motherhood above community work and to dictate the form that community work took."[56] Catholic and progressive women who participated in organized life were to have their consciousness raised, or as Swyripa demonstrates, they

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[55] Hinther, "'Sincerest Revolutionary Greetings': Progressive Ukrainians in the Twentieth Century," 17.

[56] Swyripa, *Wedded to the Cause: Ukrainian-Canadian Women and Ethnic Identity, 1891-1991*, 144.

were to conform to an ideal community stereotype.[57] Hinther, who builds on Swyripa's analysis and shows that submissiveness was part of the progressive community's stereotype, asserts that women's roles within the ULFTA were not surprising given that they essentially reinforced male chauvinism and traditional European gender roles, keeping women in inferior positions. According to Hinther, women were "relegated to positions of lesser authority and power than men....[since their] participation was framed largely through peasant female roles as wives and mothers."[58] As we shall see, Swyripa's and Hinther's contentions hold true in this local case study.

For the most part, women were drawn into the progressive movement for a variety of reasons. In particular, some had been exposed to radical politics in their peasant villages prior to coming to Canada and hence had a strong predisposition to progressive politics.[59] "For others," as Hinther notes, "the working conditions they encountered upon their arrival were sufficient to underscore the inequality inherent in the capitalist system and Canadian society."[60] Moreover, many women were pulled into the progressive movement because of anti-clerical sentiments that they developed either in Canada or in their peasant Ukrainian villages.[61] Lastly, some women joined the ULFTA because friends and family members encouraged them to do so.[62] For these women, the ULFTA Hall became a social space where they could gather with other like-minded Ukrainian women in their spare time. Certainly, the ULFTA as well as the

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[57] Ibid.

[58] For a similar argument see Hinther, "'Sincerest Revolutionary Greetings': Progressive Ukrainians in the Twentieth Century," 118.

[59] Ibid., 129.

[60] Ibid., 130.

[61] Ibid.

[62] Ibid.

Ukrainian Catholic Church enhanced women's sense of belonging to the community. If these organizations brought men together outside of the workplace and contributed to a sense of group identity then they played the same role in women's lives, uniting them outside of the home and enabling them to have a shared set of experiences. The feminine identity that developed within these spaces was however quite different from the one which was adopted by the male members of these organizations.

As previously mentioned, it took about a year for members of the Coniston Branch of the ULFTA to organize a women's section. Although women did not assume a formal role within the branch at the outset, they were present nevertheless, cleaning and decorating the hall and sewing costumes for the various plays staged throughout the region. Motions to begin a women's section were discussed by progressive men at several general meetings throughout the branch's first year but it was not until 24 May 1925 that men and women came together to "struggle...to build a better life and...a new society."[63] Interestingly, the seven women in attendance at this meeting did not form a section of their own, but decided to become members of the men's section. Insecurity appears to have played a role in this decision as the women argued that they needed to "gain experience and have their consciousness raised," before they could form their own section. Local letters published in *Ukrainski robitnychi visti* and *Robitnytsia* (*Working Woman*), a national progressive semi-monthly newspaper published by men for women between April 1924 and August 1937, demonstrate that men played a large

[63] LAC, Peter Krawchuk Fonds, MG 30, Vol. 21, Series D403, File 7, Coniston Minute Book, 1924-1926, 70, translated by Larissa Stavroff.

role when it came to instilling this insecurity in progressive women.[64] Despite the fact that the local letters, which were written by men, encouraged the women to form their own section, they constantly stressed the fact that the majority of Ukrainian women were backward, illiterate, and uneducated.[65] One man, who was more sympathetic when it came to discussing women's roles within the branch, maintained that "If women [were] at a lower level of development than men it [was] not because they [were] lacking in capability, it [was] because they had no opportunity to develop." He went on to note that "[their] husbands [were] also to blame because they [did not] want to let their wives go to the organization," asking "Why does she need an organization; she only needs to be able to cook."[66] Although most Ukrainian women living in the Sudbury region during this period were indeed illiterate and uneducated, it is little wonder that, with comments like these, they lacked the confidence needed to establish their own section within the branch.[67] Over the next few months, more women joined

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[64] For a discussion about *Robitnytsia's* role in the Ukrainian community see Hinther, "'Sincerest Revolutionary Greetings': Progressive Ukrainians in the Twentieth Century," 142-156; and Joan Sangster, "*Robitnytsia*, Ukrainian Communists, and the 'Porcupinism' Debate: Reassessing Ethnicity, Gender, and Class in Early Canadian Communism, 1922-1930," *Labour/Le Travail* 56 (Fall 2005), 51-89.

[65] Rhonda Hinther points out a similar pattern of male chauvinism in *Robitnytsia*. See Hinther, "'Sincerest Revolutionary Greetings': Progressive Ukrainians in the Twentieth Century," 145.

[66] "Coniston," *Ukrainski robitnychi visti*, 13 October 1925, 4, translated by Larissa Stavroff.

[67] See, for instance, "Letter From Ivan Soroka," *Robitnytsia*, 15 January 1925, 24, translated by Larissa Stavroff. For a discussion about illiteracy rates among Ukrainian peasant women see Swyripa, *Wedded to the Cause: Ukrainian-Canadian Women and Ethnic Identity, 1891-1991*, 24. For a related discussion about the role that women played in other socialist and left-wing organizations during this period see, for instance, Joan Sangster, *Dreams of Equality: Women on the Canadian Left, 1920-1950* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1989); Linda Kealey, *Enlisting Women for the Cause: Women, Labour, and the Left in Canada, 1890-1920* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1998); Varpu Lindström, *Defiant Sisters: A Social History of Finnish*

the branch's men's section and a few even undertook some of the more formal masculine roles involved in holding a general meeting. For instance, on 23 July 1925 Maria Uhryn chaired a meeting and two weeks later she seconded a number of motions initiated by male members.[68] Practice and a more formal role within the branch appear to have given the women the courage and knowledge that they needed to organize their own section. On 24 September 1925, just four months after becoming members of the men's section, the women came together to organize their own section, electing an executive and quickly announcing that they would donate eighty-eight dollars to pay off the branch's building debt.[69]

In contrast, progressive women living in Sudbury did not wait long to organize their own section within the branch. On 14 December 1925, just a month after the opening of the Sudbury Branch's building, the women decided to form a section of their own; six women signed up on the spot while four more joined a week later.[70] Although they may have organized earlier than women in Coniston, members of Sudbury's

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Immigrant Women in Canada; and Janice Newton, *The Feminist Challenge to the Canadian Left, 1900-1918* (Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1995). Also consider the role that women played in religious and right-wing organizations during this period. See, for instance, the literature discussing the Women's Christian Temperance Union: Wendy Mitchinson, "The WCTU: 'For God, Home and Native Land': A Study of Nineteenth Century Feminism," in Linda Kealey, ed., *A Not Unreasonable Claim: Women and Reform in Canada, 1880s-1920s* (Toronto: Women's Press, 1979), 151-167; Mariana Valverde, *The Age of Light, Soap, and Water: Moral Reform in English Canada, 1885-1925* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1991), 58-61; Lynne Marks, *Revivals and Roller Rinks: Religion, Leisure, and Identity in Late Nineteenth-Century Small-Town Ontario* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1996), 95-101; and Craig Heron, *Booze: A Distilled History* (Toronto: Between the Lines, 2003), 153-157.

[68] LAC, Peter Krawchuk Fonds, MG 30, Vol. 21, Series D403, File 7, Coniston Minute Book, 1924-1926, 86 and 89, translated by Larissa Stavroff.

[69] Ibid., 101 and 108.

[70] "Sudbury – Letter from Elena Bezkrovna and M. Matvitchuk," *Robitnytsia*, 15 February 1925, 21, translated by Larissa Stavroff.

women's section were also assigned supporting roles within the branch, cleaning the hall, cooking for socials and picnics, collecting donations to pay off the branch's debt, and ensuring that there were items to bid on at the bazaars.[71] Like their male counterparts, most of the women spent the bulk of their spare time at the hall involved in fundraising ventures. Between cooking, cleaning, and tying up all of the loose ends for fundraising events, women were kept quite busy and there is no doubt that the amount of time that they spent at the hall was equivalent to working a full-time job; it is little wonder that some men were concerned about their wives not having enough time to look after their households. Clearly, as Swyripa and Hinther emphasize, women were responsible for all of the unpaid work that occurred behind the scenes so to speak, and their subsequent identity within the movement was thus shaped by their roles as working-class housewives and mothers.[72]

It is significant to note that although women did not challenge their subordinate roles within the branch, cooking and cleaning and thereby replicating the dynamics that they experienced within their own homes, they did take their roles as mothers quite seriously, making certain that their children had a place within the branch. According to Hinther, women were responsible for caring for the movement's young members and thus any problems that arose were blamed on them.[73] In examining the activities of the Sudbury Branch's youth section it quickly becomes clear that there were problems with

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[71] See LAC, Peter Krawchuk Fonds, MG 30, Vol. 21, Series D403, File 5, ULFTA Sudbury Minute Book, 1926-1931, translated by Larissa Stavroff.

[72] See Swyripa, *Wedded to the Cause: Ukrainian-Canadian Women and Ethnic Identity, 1891-1991*, 155-166; and Hinther, "'Sincerest Revolutionary Greetings': Progressive Ukrainians in the Twentieth Century," 132-134.

[73] Hinther, "'Sincerest Revolutionary Greetings': Progressive Ukrainians in the Twentieth Century," 135.

its children's school. However, the women were not held responsible for these problems. Instead, the women held the teacher accountable and did not hesitate to complain when they began to notice problems with the school and the teacher. Stressing that I. Soroka, the teacher, was always late, the head of the women's section filed a formal complaint against him on 6 May 1928 and Soroka resigned shortly thereafter acknowledging that he was not capable of being a good teacher.[74] Women, as Hinther notes, may have had little formal power within the ULFTA, but events like this demonstrate that women did nevertheless possess agency, defining progressive politics on their own terms.[75] Motherhood was undoubtedly quite central to their identity, providing motivation and strength for their activism.

Interestingly, and unlike local letters published in *Ukrainski robitnychi visti*, the progressive newspaper that was directed toward male members, *Robitnytsia*, the progressive newspaper published by men for women, did not address anti-Catholicism. As such, we can not discern the ways in which anti-Catholicism affected the identity of progressive women. In any event, we can conclude that progressive women were relegated to subordinate supporting positions within the Coniston and Sudbury Branches of the ULFTA. Their progressive identity reinforced male chauvinism as well as the prescribed gender roles that they assumed within their homes.

Progressive Youth Identity

Until recently, Canadian children had lacked a history of their own; they were passive rather than active agents in the writing of their history. As Hinther points out,

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[74] LAC, Peter Krawchuk Fonds, MG 30, Vol. 21, Series D403, File 5, ULFTA Sudbury Minute Book, 1926-1931, 113, translated by Larissa Stavroff.

[75] Hinther, "'Sincerest Revolutionary Greetings': Progressive Ukrainians in the Twentieth Century," 120-121.

historians writing about children tended to focus on various social reform movements and the social policies and state institutions which evolved out of those movements and which, depending on one's perspective, helped to improve or impinge upon the lives of children.[76] The notable exceptions include Bettina Bradbury's, John Bullen's, and Robert McIntosh's important work on child labour.[77] In recent years, North American studies dealing with children's everyday lives have increased in number, although they have generally dealt with children in cities, focussing for example on how urban immigrant and working-class children used the streets as their playgrounds.[78] Still, to date, few of the studies that have tried to get "inside" childhood and recover children's lived experiences have taken small towns or rural areas as their site of study.

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[76] Ibid., 210-211. For a discussion about the ways in which social reform movements, social policies and state institutions impacted the lives of children see, for instance, Cynthia Comacchio, *"Nations are Built of Babies": Saving Ontario's Mother's and Children, 1900-1940* (Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1993); Joy Parr, ed., *Childhood and Family in Canadian History* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1982); Nancy Janovicek and Joy Parr, eds., *Histories of Canadian Children and Youth* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003); and Neil Sutherland, *Children in English-Canadian Society: Framing the Twentieth Century Consensus* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1978).

[77] See Bradbury, "Gender at Work at Home: Family Decisions, the Labour Market, and Girls' Contributions to the Family Economy," in Bettina Bradbury, ed., *Canadian Family History* (Toronto: Copp Clark Pitman, 1992), 177-198; John Bullen, "Hidden Workers: Child Labour and the Family Economy in late Nineteenth Century Urban Ontario," in Bettina Bradbury, ed., *Canadian Family History* (Toronto: Copp Clark Pitman, 1992), 199-219; and Robert McIntosh, *Boys in the Pits: Child Labour in Coal Mines* (Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2000).

[78] See Neil Sutherland, *Growing Up: Childhood in English Canada From the Great War to the Age of Television* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1997); Rhonda Hinther, "'Sincerest Revolutionary Greetings': Progressive Ukrainians in the Twentieth Century"; Enrico T. Carlson Cumbo, "'As the Twig is Bent, The Tree's Inclined': Growing Up Italian in Toronto, 1905-1940," Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Toronto, 1996; and David Nasaw, *Children of the City: At Work and At Play* (Garden City: Anchor Press, 1985).

Due to a lack of sources, we know very little about what it was like to grow up in the Sudbury region, let alone what it was like to grow up there as a Ukrainian boy or girl prior to 1920. Oral history interviews with those born during or immediately after World War I and local letters submitted to *Robitnytsia's* children's page and the progressive national youth newspaper *Svit Molodi* (*The World of Youth*), which was published between 1927 and 1930, thus help to begin to fill this void in the historiography, allowing us to both examine the experiences and identities of progressive boys and girls and determine their places and/or roles within the local branches.

As previously stated, the national executive of the ULFTA felt that appealing to boys and girls was vital to the movement's future and therefore it began to organize children's schools and youth sections within local branches throughout the country in 1924. In establishing a place for youth in the movement, children were thereby exposed to Ukrainian culture, traditions, and language as well as communist ideals at an early age, in the hope that they would eventually become devoted adult members of the movement. Indeed some branches, like those in Coniston and Sudbury, regarded children as such a high priority that they organized schools and youth sections well before they established women's sections. Although there was a diversity of childhood experiences, boys and girls played a similar role in the branches since their activities were not segregated by sex. Boys and girls played together, sang together, laughed together, performed together, and learned together and thus gender was, as Hinther

notes, less important in the construction of their identities.[79] Unlike the leadership roles played by men and the supportive roles assigned to women, progressive boys and girls were encouraged to work together in a common class struggle.

Since most Ukrainian adults had received very little education as children, parents, and in particular mothers, encouraged their children to attend the Sudbury and Coniston Branches' children's schools so that they would receive a better education than them. This was certainly the case for Anne Macks (nee Ladyk) and Mary Brydges (nee Ladyk), whose mother constantly reiterated the importance of education. Sending her daughters to the hall every night, Barbara Ladyk, who had never learned to read or write, encouraged her children to attend the Sudbury Branch's children's school so that they "would not be like her," arguing "don't be stupid like me." As a result of their participation in the branch, the girls not only made their mother proud but also learned to speak Ukrainian and play the mandolin.[80] Mary Kardash (nee Kostaniuk), who lived in Coniston during the late 1920s with her parents Myron and Katherine, also had a positive educational experience at the ULFTA Hall there, stating that she was grateful to her Ukrainian school teacher for instilling a "love for the Ukrainian language and for Ukrainian literature, music, and song" in her.[81]

Letters submitted to *Robitnytsia* and *Svit Molodi* reveal that this educational experience gave Ukrainian children, like Anne and Mary, confidence and a sense of

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[79] Hinther, "'Sincerest Revolutionary Greetings': Progressive Ukrainians in the Twentieth Century," 208-209.

[80] Anne Macks (nee Ladyk), interview by Mercedes Steedman, Sudbury, 3 May 1993. See also Mary Brydges (nee Ladyk), interview by author, Sudbury, 28 October 2004.

[81] Peter Krawchuk, *Reminiscences of Courage and Hope: Stories of Ukrainian Canadian Women Pioneers*, Translated by Michael Ukas (Toronto: Kobzar Publishing Company Ltd., 1991), 296.

pride in their heritage. Reporting on the events in both branches, youth living in the Sudbury region gained a great deal of satisfaction from learning Ukrainian and participating in the many plays and concerts that they staged. Children were thrilled to be able to read books in Ukrainian and to receive standing ovations and chocolates after a performance; members of the audience frequently threw chocolate bars onto the stage at the end of a play to signify that they had enjoyed the performance.[82] Some letters may have reiterated the movement's rhetoric about the class struggle with which its members were engaged, but the bulk of the letters written by boys and girls during the 1920s indicate that most children joined the Coniston and Sudbury Branches' youth sections to have fun and meet other children. For instance one letter read: "I appeal to all the young people to join us. Together we'll learn to read, sing, and put on plays."[83] Although they often sang the "International" and performed communist plays and music, children do not seem to have taken the movement's political aims seriously. Much to the chagrin of the branches' teachers and parents, boys and girls spent their time joking around and, in the words of one female youth member, "wasting time."[84] Consequently, events involving members of the Coniston and Sudbury youth sections were often risky ventures because they were either huge successes or embarrassing failures. For the most part, youth performances – plays, concerts, and dances – tended to be quite successful. They were of a high quality and raised a significant amount of

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[82] See, for instance, "Coniston – Letter from Nastusia Pereima," *Robitnytsia*, 1 September 1924, 16, translated by Larissa Stavroff; and "Sudbury – Maria Bezkrovna," *Robitnytsia*, 15 March 1926, 26, translated by Larissa Stavroff.

[83] "For the Youth Section," *Robitnytsia*, 15 May 1926, 27, translated by Larissa Stavroff.

[84] "Sudbury – From One of the Amateur Players," *Robitnytsia*, 15 November 1926, 22, translated by Larissa Stavroff.

money for the local branches. However, there were also instances in which events failed to capture and hold the attention of the branches' youth members. "Revolt of the Dolls" for instance, a three-act comedy with singing and dancing, was one of a handful of plays that flopped and thereby received very little applause from the audience.[85] Moreover, letters about poor attendance give us a sense of the difficulty the branches had in trying to hold the attention of their young members. Although the size of the youth sections in Coniston and Sudbury ranged between twenty and sixty children, few seem to have attended rehearsals, classes, or organized lectures on a regular basis and those who did, tended to be late and disruptive when they showed up to participate.[86]

Children were not as devoted to the ULFTA as their parents. If activities at the Coniston or Sudbury Branches did not interest progressive children then they spent their spare time elsewhere, engaged in activities that they deemed to be fun and enjoyable; it is significant to note that while some parents knew that their children avoided activities at the hall, others had no idea that their children were spending their time engaged in other activities. Clearly, as Hinther asserts, youngsters "exercised agency and power by complaining or voting with their feet when activities arose that they did not enjoy."[87] Unlike their parents, most of the children were born and/or raised in Canada and could speak both English and Ukrainian. Moreover, they went to school with children who hailed from a variety of backgrounds. Although immigrant parents who were devoted

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[85] Ibid.

[86] "Sudbury," *Svit Molodi*, April 1929, 14, translated by Larissa Stavroff. For a sense of the size of the youth sections in both branches also see LAC, RG 146, Record of the Canadian Security Intelligence Service (CSIS), Part 1, Request Number (No.) AH 2003 00297, "News 183 Ukrainian Labour News 23-1-26, Sudbury," 146.

[87] Hinther, "'Sincerest Revolutionary Greetings': Progressive Ukrainians in the Twentieth Century," 226.

members of the ULFTA wanted their children to spend their spare time at the Coniston and Sudbury Branches' halls, boys and girls were not limited to spending time in these spaces. This may have been the only accessible and welcoming space for their immigrant parents but children were able to find a place for themselves both inside and outside of the movement; the next chapter will focus upon these experiences, showing the ways in which progressive children did and did not fit into the public spaces which they frequented. Hinther writes about this cultural- and language-based generational gap which was created at home and at the hall and effectively argues that the Canadian-born generation was less devoted to the ULFTA than their parents.[88] Clearly, this argument can be applied to the progressive boys and girls who frequented the Coniston and Sudbury ULFTA Halls during the 1920s. Furthermore, age and ethnicity rather than gender and/or politics appears to have played a major role in the construction of their identities.[89] The youth section neither delineated roles for boys and girls nor did it force children to adopt an anti-Catholic stance. Instead, progressive boys and girls were encouraged to have fun in a cultural setting, bearing few responsibilities. Adult members hoped that spending time in this space would encourage the children to become devout members of the progressive movement. As we shall see, events in the 1930s may have showed progressive boys and girls that they were in fact different from their Catholic counterparts but these differences did not always compel them to assume the political baggage of their parents.

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[88] Ibid., 240-241.

[89] Hinther makes a similar argument about age being a defining factor in progressive children's identities. Ibid., 207-283.

Building St. Mary's Ukrainian Catholic Church

Examining the organizational structure of St. Mary's Ukrainian Catholic Church reveals that Catholic men, women, and children assumed identities that were similar to those undertaken by progressive Ukrainians who resided in the Sudbury region. Although they defined themselves against progressive ideals, arguing that their identities were bound to religion, morality, and anti-communism, Catholic men undertook leadership roles, women were relegated to supportive roles, and children, both girls and boys, were encouraged to learn about faith, culture, and the Ukrainian language in an ethnic and age-defined environment. Catholic men, women, and children took on a variety of identities and thus their involvement at the church did not make for a homogeneous working-class experience. Like progressive Ukrainians, being a Ukrainian Catholic was different for men, women, and children. It must however be noted that dissimilar experiences and varying gendered, ethnic, and age-defined identities did not hinder the formation of a united group identity. As the following chapter will demonstrate, Ukrainian Catholics regarded themselves as a homogeneous group which struggled and eventually succeeded in belonging to the local community, as well as to the region, and nation.

Although this chapter will not focus upon the ways in which Ukrainian Catholics developed a sense of group identity, it will discuss how this segment of the population began to gain acceptance from native Sudburians. In addition to reconstructing the identities of Sudbury's Ukrainian Catholics, it will show how the church's early priests tried to convince these citizens, as well as the region's mining companies and the *Sudbury Star*, that Catholics were different from progressive

Ukrainians. Rather than regarding life as a class struggle and believing that the mining companies were exploiting them, priests affirmed that Ukrainian Catholic men would maintain the status quo and thus comprise a reliable component of the workforce. Simply put, it did not take long for native Sudburians, the region's mining companies, and the *Sudbury Star* to conclude that there were two types of Ukrainians: good Catholics and evil progressives

Unlike progressives, Ukrainian Catholics left few sources detailing their experiences in the Sudbury region. Although St. Mary's Ukrainian Catholic Church had men's, women's, and youth leagues, its members did not contribute letters to a national newspaper. Past parishioners and priests composed several versions of the church's history and the parish's baptismal, marriage, and death records as well as a Ukrainian Catholic Women's League minute book have survived, but the best sources for reconstructing the history of the region's Ukrainian Catholics and particularly, the masculine, feminine, and youth identities of those who participated in the Catholic movement within the community during the 1920s, are oral history interviews and articles published in the *Sudbury Star*.

As demonstrated in Chapter Two, Ukrainians divided along political and religious lines shortly after settling in the Sudbury region. Although both Catholics and progressives met regularly and formed pockets within the ethnic community, Ukrainian Catholics constructed the first ethnic building in the region. Between 1900 and 1907, Ukrainians living in Copper Cliff attended mass at St. Stanislaus Kostka Church. French-speaking Jesuit priests operated the church and thus its services and sacraments were conducted in French according to the Roman Rite. As Mary Stefura notes, these

ceremonial procedures were foreign and even suspect to Ukrainians and thus inspired these immigrants to build their own church. Andrii Ostrowski, one of the earliest Ukrainian settlers in the region, headed the church building committee, while I. Shlemkevych, D. Haluschak, and A. Ostapovych served on the founding executive; all of these parishioners were men. Their work resulted in the building of the first Ukrainian church in Ontario on Poplar Street in Copper Cliff, consecrated as the Church of St. Nicholas by Pastor Reverend Timothy Wasylevych on 12 February 1909. Unfortunately parishioners had neither the time nor the means to raise funds or donate money to cover the church's mortgage and subsequent expenses and consequently, by 1914, about twenty of the parish's remaining families were left with a debt of $7,500. St. Nicholas continued to operate until 1920 when a fire destroyed the interior of the church as well as the parish's records.[90] Due to dwindling interest, the temporary but devastating shut-down at the Copper Cliff Smelter that year, and the fact that most of the Ukrainian families living in Copper Cliff moved to Sudbury, Coniston, and Levack, parishioners decided not to rebuild the church.

Ukrainians living in Sudbury celebrated informal masses and sacraments in other Catholic churches and private residences until 1923, when eleven families met with Father Mykola Shumsky to form a new Ukrainian parish. Mary Dudowich (nee Kuchira), an immigrant who arrived from Boroshiw, Ukraine in 1921, often recalled her early days in Sudbury and the difficulties which arose from not having a Ukrainian parish to attend. Within weeks of settling in Sudbury, Mary met a man named Metro who proposed to her shortly thereafter. After some hesitation, he was twenty-three years

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[90] Mary Stefura, "Sudbury Ukrainian Time Line," *Polyphony* 10 (1988), 66-67.

older than her, Mary decided to marry Metro. Since there was no Ukrainian church in Sudbury, the couple travelled to Coniston to be married by a French priest at Our Lady of Mercy Church, the only Catholic Church in the area. Although there was a translator present, Mary spent most of her married life joking that since she had not understood her vows perhaps she and Metro had never married.[91] The founding families therefore organized a parish council to overcome obstacles like the one outlined by Mary. They spent the next five years raising money to build a church of their own, a place where they would be comfortable both worshipping in their own language and embracing their own traditions. Founding parishioners performed plays, organized picnics, and held bazaars to raise money for this cause. By the time Father Joseph Bala purchased a lot at 78 Beech Street, in Sudbury's downtown core, the young parish had raised about four thousand dollars.

INCO also contributed to the new parish by donating twenty thousand dollars. As mentioned in the previous chapter, the INCO archive remains closed to researchers and thus it is not known why this company chose to support the church. Discussions with interviewees however shed some light on why INCO donated this rather large sum of money, making clear that this donation was part of a larger plan to establish an anti-communist league which linked St. Mary's Ukrainian Catholic Church, originally named Our Lady of Pokrov, to the largest employer of men in the region. Moreover, I suspect that this donation helped INCO continue to regulate its workforce. Like

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[91] Mary Dudowich passed away shortly before I began my oral history interviews; she was just shy of turning 100 years old. This story was recounted by a close friend who chose to remain anonymous. Anonymous interviewee, interview by author, Sudbury, 16 November 2004.

internment, the church was a means through which INCO could distinguish between its good Catholic and its bad progressive workers.

INCO recognized that it needed foreigners to perform the difficult and dangerous underground labour that British and Anglo-Canadian citizens refused to do, a fact that the *Sudbury Star* had acknowledged as early as 1911: "Mining men are coming to New Ontario and Sudbury from all parts of the world in greater numbers than at any time in our history and thither they return. With what impression of Sudbury? History is in the making in New Ontario today. The stranger within our gates is worthy of our best courtesies."[92] Therefore, in order to attract a stable workforce to the nickel capital – men with families were considered more reliable than sojourners – INCO decided to invest in Sudbury's infrastructure. Like building baseball diamonds and hockey rinks, a church was viewed as an appropriate social outlet for employees.[93] If Sudbury had a Ukrainian Catholic Church then those men with religious convictions interested in working for INCO would feel comfortable putting down roots in a place where they could worship in their own language and interact with fellow Ukrainians. Moreover, St. Mary's was an obvious choice for donating twenty thousand dollars. As one of the largest ethnic churches in the region, INCO could forge a relationship with the parish priest and thereby monitor the bulk of its Ukrainian employees, ensuring that its workers were against communism as well as union activity.

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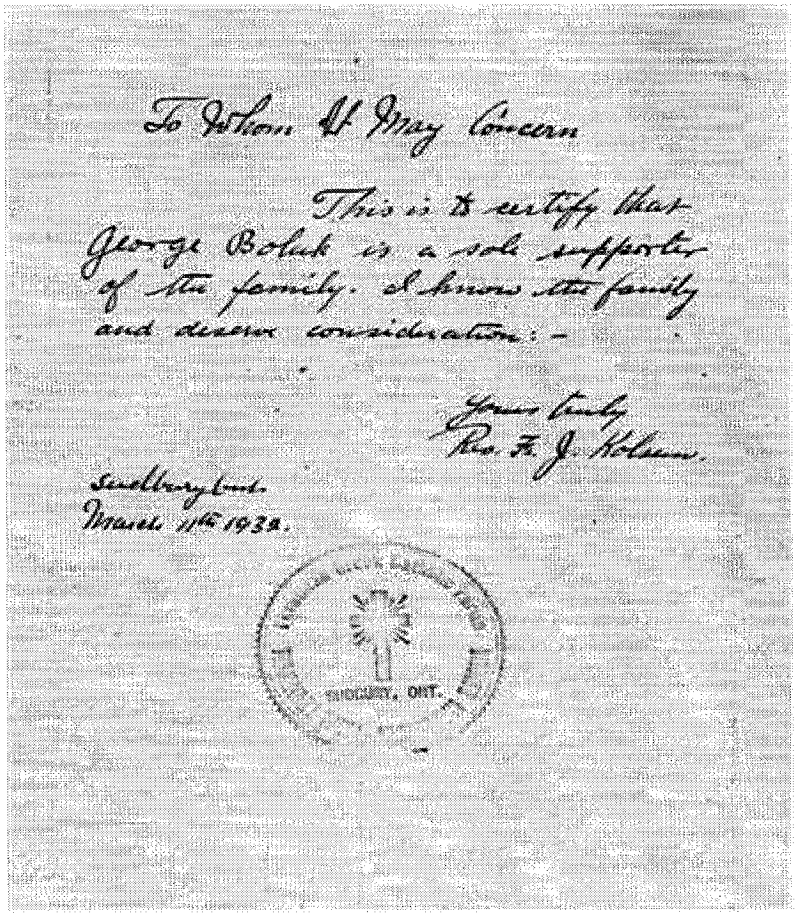
[92] "News and Views of the New North," *Sudbury Star*, 22 November 1911, 5.

[93] For a discussion about working-class leisure see Marks, *Revivals and Roller Rinks: Religion, Leisure, and Identity in Late Nineteenth-Century Small-Town Ontario.*


To Whom It May Concern

This is to certify that George Boluk is a sole supporter of the family. I know the family and deserve consideration: -

Yours truly
Rev. F. J. Koltsun.

Sudbury Ont.
March 11th 1932.

SUDBURY, ONT.

Figure 4.1: Father Ivan Koltsun Vouches for a Ukrainian Catholic Man[94]

Although this letter, which was written in the early 1930s, is quite short, it nevertheless demonstrates the relationship between INCO and the local Ukrainian Catholic priest. A parishioner, like George Boluk, would meet with the priest and ask him for a reference. If the priest believed that the parishioner was a committed member of the church and deserved a job then he would write a subtle letter such as this one, indicating that the man was indeed a member of the church and not the ULFTA. Incidentally, Father Ivan Koltsun's letter was instrumental in getting George Boluk rehired as a converter labourer at INCO's Copper Cliff Smelter.[95] Interestingly, interviewees were also quick

[94] Author's Possession, Ukrainians in Sudbury Collection, INCO or Canadian Copper Employment Records, 1912-1939.

[95] Ibid.

to point out that shift bosses frequently visited the Ukrainian Catholic parish priest to ask about the activities of the men that they oversaw while on the job at INCO.

It is not surprising then that progressives strongly opposed the relationship between INCO and St. Mary's Ukrainian Catholic Church. A letter submitted to *Ukrainski robitnychi visti* in 1928 warned progressive men about this arrangement, stating that "Here, if you want to work, you must be a Catholic and belong to the society which the priest is founding."[96] The building of St. Mary's not only intensified the division within the community, but also complicated the identities of Catholic and progressive men. Clearly, St. Mary's did not waste time when it came to assuming some of INCO's objectives, condemning communism, identifying communist supporters, and if possible, converting those men to Catholicism. The relationship forged by that large donation thus benefited both partners. The Ukrainian Catholic Church would grow, its pews would be filled with working and thus financially supportive parishioners, and INCO would be assured a trustworthy, employable, and essential foreign workforce. Although politics, religion, and ideology polarized the Ukrainian community before the opening of St. Mary's in December 1928, this division only got worse in subsequent years.

Defining Ukrainianness in Sudbury

As previously mentioned, the founding families of St. Mary's parish took five years to raise enough money to build a church. The years between 1923 and 1928 were thus difficult for these Catholic immigrants because they did not have an ethnic space in which to worship. According to Monsignor Theodore Pryjma, this period was also

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[96] "Creighton – Letter From Kliuvychenko," *Ukrainski robitnychi visti*, 15 December 1928, 3, translated by Larissa Stavroff.

complicated by the fact that Ukrainian Catholics did not have a full-time priest to guide the mostly male immigrants who worked in the nearby mines. As a result, they were "...deceived by the Red smoke screen...[and] they forgot about God and their purpose on earth."[97] The first priest of St. Mary's, Father Nicholas Bartman, wasted little time conveying the church's new role in the community and attempting to rectify this problem.

The opening ceremony for St. Mary's was a highly publicized event, used to introduce native Sudburians to Ukrainian Catholics. The ceremony received a full page of coverage in the *Sudbury Star* and was attended by members of the Ukrainian, French, and English Catholic communities as well as by Father Traynor of St. Joseph's Roman Catholic Church, located to the left of St. Mary's on Beech Street, and Father Mailhot of St. Anne's Parish, a French Catholic Church also located to the left of St. Mary's.

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[97] Monsignor Theodore Pryjma, "St. Mary's Ukrainian Catholic Parish," Unpublished Paper, No Date, 4.

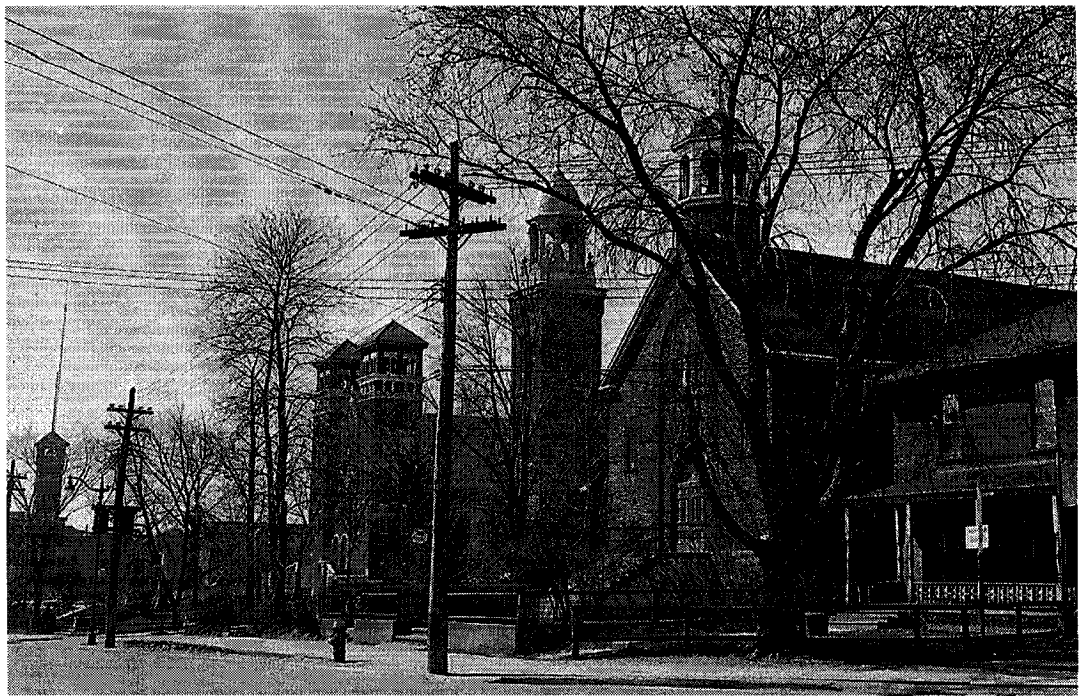

Figure 4.2: Sudbury's Anti-Communist Catholic Parishes

If Spruce Street, the street on which the Finnish and Ukrainian progressive halls were located, served as a progressive stronghold, then Beech Street, in Sudbury's downtown core, acted as an anti-communist bastion.

It must be noted that prior to building their own parish, Ukrainians held masses in the basements of both of these churches. Moreover, Traynor had been instrumental in obtaining the donation from INCO.[98] It is unknown what kind of relationship Traynor had with the mining company or whether he or any other priests in the region acted as informers but what is clear is that St. Mary's was not the only church to take a very public stand against communism.[99] The head office for the Finnish progressive newspaper *Vapaus* was located in Sudbury and when it was charged with publishing

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[98] Ibid.

[99] For a related discussion about the ways in which local churches aligned with INCO to fight the threat of communism see Mercedes Steedman, "Godless Communists and Faithful Wives, Gender Relations and the Cold War: Mine Mill and the 1958 Strike Against the International Nickel Company," in Jaclyn G. Gier, and Laurie Mercier, eds., *Mining Women: Gender in the Development of a Global Industry, 1670-2005* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006), 236.

seditious literature just before the opening of St. Mary's other priests in the area also took a hard-line public stance against communism.[100] There was however much more at stake for Ukrainians than for English-speaking parishioners who had to neither establish themselves in the community nor prove that they were hard-working and credible individuals worthy of respect and employment. According to Bartman, the church would not only assimilate Ukrainians and "make good Canadian citizens out of them," but also show that those belonging to "red" organizations were "opposed to good citizenship [and] to the ideal of Christian religion and morality."[101]

Bartman's opening address, given in English and printed in full by the *Sudbury Star*, is interesting then because it provides an example of the ways in which he tried to reach out to the larger community. Most of those in attendance would have been Ukrainian immigrants with little knowledge of the English language and yet Bartman chose to address them in English, taking the opportunity to condemn communism and Bolshevism while illustrating that there were two kinds of Ukrainians:

> Today is the age of progress and consequently of precision. Therefore, as freedom is indispensable to a nation, so atheism is impossible to the welfare of a people. But atheism in forms of some more significant "isms" is one of the most terrible calamities that can overtake a sane, civilized and white man-made nation like ours. Are we not a bit disposed to be of the number of those who having eyes sees not, and having ears hears not? It is not our business that in the international camp a hornet's nest exists, at which round table councils are being held to assume more power in this world than is good for anyone concerned. That is no wonder to us. People who fall short of success usually become nervous and seek sacrificial goats in order to vent their anger on them instead of looking for the cause of their failure in their own selves, in their unfitness or in failure to comprehend the principles of sound and common sense. But it is our

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[100] See "Vapaus Editor is arrested on Sedition Charge," *Sudbury Star*, 15 December 1928, 1. Also see "Pastor Relates Methods Used by Communists," *Sudbury Star*, 15 December 1928, 1.

[101] "New Ukrainian Parish Serves Flock of 10,000," *Sudbury Star*, 13 October 1928, 13.

> business as Canadian citizens and Christians to see to it that hell, starvation, misery and horrors, material and otherwise, are not preached to us as our standards of life. It is not our fault that instead of ideal husbandry in the Soviet Union there came after years of terrible capital punishment for virtue, and the unbroken line of thievery and systematic reduction of national and moral wealth to zero. But it will be our fault if we are likely to be deceived by this doctrine, which, to put it gently, hasn't been a success. Day in and day out, devils on the wall in shape of "servants of bourgeois" and "religious monsters" are being painted and represented to the ignorant and careless of our land with prodigy that almost frightens one. And I know of what I speak. To argue with these artists is useless. It only sends up their temperature. To remain silent is like turning a volcano to light a child to bed. There is no headmark by which one can recognize such men before they have proven themselves. Our sane attitude towards such a situation is that of the apostles of good will and sound national principles. The future story of this little church is destined to bear record of those pioneers who clad in the armour of a righteous cause, cross in hand, rode out with and in advance of the community and broke the trail for their brother's use. I simply wish to draw your attention to the good half million of Ukrainians who have settled on the vast spaces of the Canadian soil some thirty years ago. Fifty percent of them at least have made their homes here for better or for worse, to live and to die with the community of men of diverse but allied race and identical aims.[102]

Following this address, Bartman allowed Father Andrij Sarmatiuk of Toronto to give a "straight-from-the-shoulder sermon...on Communistic Atheism and the Ukrainian Church:"

> Communism and Bolshevism are not a new thing. They were seen in Egypt and Babylon before the birth of Christ. After the war this doctrine was displayed as a novelty which was to save the situation of "the downtrodden" but which has proved time and again to be a humbug. A number of newcomers to Canada think that it is just the right doctrine and because it is preached on every street corner they think that it is the doctrine of the present day. Perhaps the people of Russia had the same idea. But what have they got now? The fundamentals of Bolshevism consist in blaming capital for every evil that occurs. Capital and riches in themselves are either a blessing or an evil entirely according to whose hands they are in. The tactics of Bolshevism are thieving and robbery. They see evil in everything but themselves. Our church preaches logical principles of labour and capital. Churches are built for God and when blessed they are His property and people who help and donate to the church should remember this.

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[102] "New Ukrainian Church Bound to Christianity," *Sudbury Star*, 19 December 1928, 13.

> The church is for all classes but before it can attain co-ordination it must fight Communism which is preaching atheism."[103]

The *Sudbury Star* went on to note that this opening mass was followed by a concert which included the singing of "O Canada" in both English and Ukrainian. Bartman's and Sarmatiuk's speeches illustrate the division within the Ukrainian community, demonstrating the ways that ethnicity, class, politics, and religion formed the basis of this division; we will return to the construction of this division in the following chapter. They made it clear that those who did not subscribe to Catholicism were of a class inferior to parishioners. Speeches like these effectively determined the ways that Ukrainian Catholics, both parents and their children, viewed progressive Ukrainians. Bartman spent the next year educating his parishioners about the evils of communism, getting them on side with the church, and converting those with wavering perspectives. In fact, by February Bartman had persuaded about eighty members of his congregation to sign a resolution which affirmed their fidelity to the King and their adopted country, stating that "they wished to take their place as citizens in Canada and had learned from experience the mistakes of Communistic organizations."[104]

Ukrainian Catholic Masculine, Feminine, and Youth Identities

For the most part, St. Mary's Ukrainian Catholic Church was organized in a gendered and generational manner. Like progressive Ukrainians, Catholic men undertook leadership positions within the parish and their roles as breadwinners and protectors of their households were central to their masculine identity. Men established building committees and along with the church's various priests they organized a

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[103] Ibid.

[104] "Ukrainians Avow Loyalty; Bar Communism," *Sudbury Star*, 23 February 1929, 13.

number of fund-raising campaigns. I refer to the men as protectors of the church because many of the early male members of St. Mary's were also members of the Sudbury Branch of the Canadian Sitch Organization (CSO). Renamed the United Hetman Organization (UHO) in 1934, Pryjma states that this early group of men "contributed much to vanquishing communism in Sudbury and the vicinity," acting as soldiers in this struggle.[105] According to a letter in *Ukrainski robitnychi visti* and several Royal Canadian Mounted Police (RCMP) surveillance reports, Father Mykola Shumsky organized branches of the CSO in Coniston and Creighton in 1925 to combat the actions of the region's progressives; members of this organization as well as St. Michael's Ukrainian Catholic Church in Coniston would have been the Ukrainian Catholics who reportedly staged attacks against progressives and were mentioned earlier in this chapter.[106] According to Orest Martynowych, the CSO was "a Ukrainian athletic association that had been founded on secular...principles, and persuaded its members to reject the trappings of democracy and to recognize Hetman Pavlo Skoropadsky as Ukraine's only legitimate and hereditary ruler."[107] Committed to Catholicism, "its repudiation of democracy and popular sovereignty, its militant anti-communism, and its goal of forming cadres of disciplined Ukrainian state-builders won the church's enthusiastic support."[108] Moreover, the CSO was affiliated with and modelled after the

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[105] Pryjma, "St. Mary's Ukrainian Catholic Parish," 5.

[106] LAC, RG 146-3, Royal Canadian Mounted Police (RCMP), Request No. 94-A-00180, Vol. 38, File 1, Ukrainian United Hetman Organization, 1928-1942, report dated 18/2/25. Also see "Creighton," *Ukrainski Robitnychi visti*, 25 April 1925, 4, translated by Larissa Stavroff.

[107] Orest Martynowych, "The Hetmanite Movement and the Ukrainian Catholic Church in Canada, 1924-1940: Allies or Adversaries?" Unpublished Paper, Presented at the Annual Conference of the Canadian Association of Slavists, 1 June 2004, 1-2.

[108] Ibid.

Canadian General Council of the Boy Scouts Association. It must however be noted that the Boy Scouts severed its ties to the CSO in 1935 as it came under heavy RCMP scrutiny, citing that the CSO did not "do enough scouting to influence them along the right lines."[109] Similarly, the church's alliance with the CSO was also strained by the late 1930s.[110] Priding itself on obedience, discipline, order, and respect for religion, this organization helped propel men into leadership roles within the church. Like progressives, Ukrainian Catholic men used their beliefs to define their identity. Certainly, being Ukrainian was a different experience for members of both camps, yet pushing past the political limits of these identities allows us to see that Catholic men assumed the same gendered organizational roles as progressives.

Examining the minute book of St. Mary's Ukrainian Catholic Women's League and listening to the stories told by long-time members of St. Mary's enable us to draw similar conclusions about Catholic women. Although they were divided along political, religious, and ideological lines, Catholic and progressive women were relegated to similar subordinate roles within the organizations to which they belonged. According to Swyripa, progressive women were required to be class-conscious mothers and wives while Catholic women were expected to be good Christians, good companions to their husbands, good mothers, good parishioners, and good daughters of the church and its

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[109] See LAC, RG 146-3, RCMP, Request No. 94-A-00180, Vol. 38, File 1, Ukrainian United Hetman Organization, 1928-1942, letters dated 12 December 1936 and 25 November 1935.

[110] For a discussion about the disintegrating relationship between the CSO, later renamed the UNO, and the Catholic Church see Martynowych, "The Hetmanite Movement and the Ukrainian Catholic Church in Canada, 1924-1940: Allies or Adversaries?"

people.[111] Despite these different yet overlapping expectations, Catholic women found themselves in supporting roles which were quite similar to those assigned to progressives.

From the outset, the women organized a league and held a series of weekly tea parties to raise money for decorating the church and completing the furnishings on the altar.[112] As Swyripa notes, teas were not part of the Ukrainian peasant culture and thus women essentially "Ukrainianized" the activity to suit their needs. A fascinating example of how culture becomes more hybrid over time, women "served their teas on cross-stitched tablecloths, sold Ukrainian handicrafts instead of crocheted potholders at their bazaars, and replaced the chicken supper with the *pyrohy* supper."[113] Interestingly, one of my interviewees, Eugenia Maizuk (nee Kureluik), was quick to point out that her Catholic mother Stephania spent a lot of time at the local Anglican Church teas, learning how to pour tea properly and seeing how they set their tables so that her teas at St. Michael's would be successful Ukrainian affairs.[114] In addition, the minute book of St. Mary's Ukrainian Catholic Women's League reveals that the women were responsible for cleaning the church, organizing fundraising dances and balls, and cooking for church functions and weddings. Women also organized an immigration and

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[111] Swyripa, *Wedded to the Cause: Ukrainian-Canadian Women and Ethnic Identity, 1891-1991*, 148.

[112] Pryjma, "St. Mary's Ukrainian Catholic Parish," 5.

[113] Swyripa, *Wedded to the Cause: Ukrainian-Canadian Women and Ethnic Identity, 1891-1991*, 164.

[114] Eugenia Maizuk (nee Curlook), interview by author, Sudbury, 19 January 2005. For a related discussion about cultural exchanges which occurred between Anglican women and Aboriginals in Northern British Columbia, the Yukon, and the Canadian Arctic see Myra Rutherdale, *Women and the White Man's God: Gender and Race in the Canadian Mission Field* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 2002).

traveler's aid committee which was responsible for both welcoming new female Catholic immigrants to the region and uniting those who were married with their husbands.[115] As mothers of the next generation of Catholics, the women also played a major role in the church-run children's school, convincing local children who went to Catholic schools to attend mass and the children's school and awarding rosaries to the best Ukrainian students.[116] Like progressive Ukrainian women, Catholic women took an active role in the organization's youth education program.

In writing about religion, leisure, and identity in small-town Ontario in the late nineteenth century, Lynne Marks argues that women's Protestant church groups, composed of both middle- and working-class women, served to domesticate and feminize church interiors. She regards these actions as women assuming a degree of leadership within the churches since, as she concludes, women had some control over spending the money that they raised. According to Marks, spending this money was part of the gendered experience of being a Protestant woman.[117] Hinther, on the other hand, draws a very different conclusion about progressive women, stating that they had little control over the money that they raised; evidently fund-raising was central to these women's organizational roles but spending money was not.[118] Certainly, the local minute books of both the progressive and Catholic women's organizations make it

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[115] Archives of Ontario (AO), Multicultural History Society of Ontario (MHSO) Fonds, Reverend Theodore Pryjma, Microfilm MFN 115, St. Mary's Ukrainian Catholic Church, Minute Book of the Ukrainian Junior Catholic Women's League of Sudbury, 10 December 1929.

[116] Ibid., 21 January 1930; and 11 February 1930.

[117] Marks, *Revivals and Roller Rinks: Religion, Leisure, and Identity in Late Nineteenth-Century Small-Town Ontario*, 53-69.

[118] Hinther, "'Sincerest Revolutionary Greetings': Progressive Ukrainians in the Twentieth Century," 138.

difficult to draw conclusions about whether women had power over the money that they worked hard to raise. Women in both camps seem to have discussed the ways in which they spent their money but we do not know whether male members of the organizations or the local priest had a role in directing the women in their spending. We do however know that Ukrainian Catholic women, like Marks' Protestant women, did domesticate and feminize church interiors; arguably progressives played a similar role, deciding what colours to paint walls and which pictures to hang throughout the ULFTA Halls. Moreover, women in both camps seem to have had complete control over their space: the kitchen. It is safe to say that the kitchen was an important feminine space for progressive and Catholic women because, as Hinther notes, it was free of male scrutiny and control.[119] Central to their identity as working-class housewives and mothers, the kitchen was the place in which the identity of these women was constructed and reinforced.

In studying middle- and working-class women, Marks also argues that Protestant women's church groups contributed to a deepening of class inequality within the churches. In particular, working-class women were not able to participate in activities held at the church as often as middle-class women because they had neither the extra money nor the time to do so.[120] Despite the fact that the women who participated in the women's groups at St. Mary's and the ULFTA were all members of the working-class, interviewees revealed that internal politics, personality clashes, and gossip rather than class inequalities divided the women who frequented both of these

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[119] Ibid.

[120] Marks, *Revivals and Roller Rinks: Religion, Leisure, and Identity in Late Nineteenth-Century Small-Town Ontario*, 72.

spaces.[121] Specifically, all women, both Catholics and progressives, may have assumed the gendered roles of support workers but an internal power hierarchy led the women to assert themselves in different manners in these feminine spaces. While some women took charge of these spaces, others sat on the sidelines and "did not do their fair share." According to Helen Pihursky (nee Ciotka): "There were the mouthy ones and then the workers."[122] In particular, a story told by Anne Matschke (nee Kuchmey) sheds light on this internal power struggle. She noted that although all of the women in the Ukrainian Catholic Women's League would take turns washing the church floors, there was always one woman who would show up after the floors had been washed. When the priest would arrive, this latecomer would nevertheless take credit for the work. As Anne recalled, the women soon put an end to this dishonesty, confronting the woman about the ways in which she was isolating herself from the larger group.[123] An article in *Robitnytsia* reveals that local progressive women faced similar problems. Specifically, the article emphasized that some did more than others and thus it called on the indolent women to take more of an active role in the local branch.[124] Catholic and progressive women may have been relegated to subordinate roles within their organizations however internal power struggles among these working-class women workers and "*fina*

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[121] For a discussion about gossip and rumour and the ways in which they can be used by historians see Franca Iacovetta, "Gossip, Contest, and Power in the Making of Suburban Bad Girls: Toronto, 1945-1960," *Canadian Historical Review* 80.4 (December 1999), 585-623; Lynne Marks, "Railing, Tattling, and General Rumour: Gossip, Gender, and Church Regulation in Upper Canada," *Canadian Historical Review* 81.3 (September 2000), 380-402; and Luise White, *Speaking with Vampires: Rumor and History in Colonial Africa* (Berkley: University of California Press 2000).

[122] Helen Pihursky (nee Ciotka), interview by author, Sudbury, 13 January 2005.

[123] Anne Matschke (nee Kuchmey), interview by author, Sudbury, 7 May 2005.

[124] "Coniston," *Robitnytsia*, 15 August 1927, 16, translated by Larissa Stavroff.

panis" (a derogatory reference to refined and often unhelpful ladies) led the women to have a diversity of experiences within their respective organizations.

Although they were assigned similar gender roles, internal politics complicated the ways in which women belonged to both St. Mary's and the ULFTA Hall. Oral history interviews enable us to problematize the experiences of women. As support workers, women raised money, cooked ethnic food, and cared for children and thus these activities were quite central to the identities that they assumed within their organizations. Despite these similarities, an examination of the internal politics of these local organizations shows that these activities did not make for a homogeneous working-class experience. Religion and politics may have divided progressive and Catholic women, thereby forcing them to construct separate group identities, but internal politics and gossip complicated these group identities.

Like progressive boys and girls, Catholic children also participated in the organizational life which consumed their immigrant parents. In addition to attending mass, members of the youth league participated in language, catechism, and dance lessons, sang in the church choir, learned to play the mandolin and the violin, and staged plays which had a religious rather than a class-driven appeal. Although reaching adolescence meant that boys and girls joined the separate junior men's and women's leagues, children were taught in an environment which was free of gender constraints. Instead of emphasizing that the children ought to identify in terms of their gender, the school wasted little time in conveying the evils of belonging to the progressive community and thus acted to "counteract the effect, as much as possible, of

Communistic doctrines."[125] About one month after the church's opening ceremony, Father Bartman established a children's school in the basement of St. Mary's. During these first few months, the congregation included 150 parishioners and the children's school was reported to have 20 pupils; by May 1929, the number of pupils increased to 40. Classes were held four days a week, from five to eight o'clock in the evening and thus children walked to church after supper. Like progressive children, some Catholic boys and girls enjoyed this educational experience more than others. Some interviewees recalled joking around and not learning very much, while others learned a great deal in this environment. Since children acted as cultural mediators, associating with their immigrant parents as well as the Anglo-community, they were able to choose where they wanted to spend their time. If catechism did not appeal to the children, then they walked past the church and into the local movie theatre where they would spend the money that their parents had given them for school. Despite the fact that the youth section at the ULFTA Hall was meant to encourage children to become devout progressives while the church's children's school taught the virtues of being a committed Catholic, boys and girls who belonged to both of these organizations assumed similar ethnic and age-defined identities.

Unorganized Ukrainians

Before making some concluding remarks it is important to mention those Ukrainians who did not belong to either the ULFTA or St. Mary's Ukrainian Catholic Church. Like the unorganized Ukrainians referred to in Chapter Two, gender rather than politics or religion played a major role in the experiences of these men and women.

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[125] "Fr. N.J. Bartman is Optimistic," *Sudbury Star*, 22 May 1929, 16.

Those men who were able to obtain jobs tended to work at the local mines while women, due to a lack of opportunities in the public sphere, remained at home, undertaking roles as housewives and mothers; while most women remained at home, it is important to mention that there was a small minority who worked outside of the home as domestic servants or as cooks at local boarding houses.[126] Men, for the most part, thus had more opportunities to build social networks in the region. On the other hand, unless a woman had boarders, the only social interaction she had was with her children and possibly her neighbours. Stories published in the *Sudbury Star* reveal that life was difficult for those who did not have an ethnic network upon which to rely. Although members of the organized community were not immune from suicide, physical and sexual assault, gambling, alcoholism, and domestic abuse, these issues seem to have plagued Ukrainians who lived on the outside edges of the organized community.[127] Having no one to turn to meant that unorganized Ukrainians had to deal with these

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[126] For a discussion about the limited opportunities available to women in resource towns see Abel, *Changing Places: History, Community, and Identity in Northeastern Ontario*, 227; Nancy Forestell, "All that Glitters is not Gold: The Gender Dimensions of Work, Family, and Community Life in the Northern Ontario Gold Mining Town of Timmins, 1901-1950," Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Toronto, 1993; Forestell, "Bachelors, Boarding Houses, and Blind Pigs: Gender Construction in a Multi-Ethnic Mining Camp, 1909-1920," in Franca Iacovetta, Paula Draper, and Robert Ventresca, eds., *A Nation of Immigrants: Women, Workers, and Communities in Canadian History, 1840s-1960s* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1998), 251-290; Forestell, "The Miner's Wife: Working-Class Femininity in a Masculine Context, 1920-1950," in Kathryn McPherson, Cecilia Morgan, and Nancy Forestell, eds., *Gendered Pasts: Historical Essays in Femininity and Masculinity in Canada* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), 139-157; and McIntosh, *Boys in the Pits: Child Labour in Coal Mines*, 137-138.

[127] See, for instance, "Russian Took His Own Life," *Sudbury Star*, 21 February 1920, 1; "Sordid Tale of Unhappy Home Told At Assizes," *Sudbury Star*, 16 October 1920, 4; "Boarder Lured His Wife Away, Asks Damages," *Sudbury Star*, 31 March 1923, 1; "Man Walks to Cemetery and Takes Own Life," *Sudbury Star*, 22 August 1925, 1.

problems alone. Certainly unorganized women were at more of a disadvantage than men since this northern resource town was a masculine environment which offered more opportunities for men than women. Although the following chapter will focus exclusively upon the experiences of organized Ukrainians, Chapter Six will return to the stories of unorganized Ukrainians, reconstructing the dynamics of the Ukrainian household as well as the masculine culture available to Ukrainian men in both public and private spaces. Emphasizing that gender was central to the experiences of Sudbury's Ukrainians, regardless of age or political or religious beliefs, it will demonstrate that all Ukrainians living in this town were engaged in a working-class struggle to survive.

Conclusion

Similarities abound when we examine the gendered, ethnic, and age-defined identities which Sudbury's Catholic and progressive Ukrainian men, women, and children assumed within their organizations during the 1920s. Men undertook leadership roles within the ULFTA Halls and St. Mary's Ukrainian Catholic Church, while women were relegated to supportive roles within these ethnic spaces. Gender was therefore central to the identities of these Ukrainians. Children's identity, on the other hand, had little to do with gender. Although the tenets of their education were very different, one was based upon class and the other upon religion, Catholic and progressive boys and girls were encouraged to learn in an ethnic and age-defined environment. The leadership roles adopted by men may have reinforced their identity as breadwinners while women's roles emphasized their identity as mothers and working-class housewives, but children's roles and subsequent identity were rooted in definitions

of Ukrainianness and childhood. Keeping children interested and having them identify as Catholics or progressives meant that the organizations had to hold their attention long enough to make an impression. Leaving an impression however did not mean that the children were as devoted to the organizations as their parents. They may have identified themselves as Catholics or progressives but more often than not these political and religious identities were less pressing than the one that they assumed as Canadian children.

This chapter has thereby attempted to reconstruct the identities of those Ukrainians who partook in organized life in the Sudbury region. In doing so, it has shown that men, women, and children assumed different gendered, ethnic, and age-defined roles and thus their participation was not part of a homogeneous working-class experience. In addition, it has demonstrated that belonging to the women's section at the ULFTA Hall and to the Ukrainian Catholic Women's League at St. Mary's was complicated by internal power struggles; clearly being a member of the organized community made for a diversity of experiences. Unorganized Ukrainians, on the other hand, lacked social networks within the ethnic community and therefore were on their own when it came to dealing with any problems which arose in this northern resource town. Belonging was therefore quite a bit more complicated for unorganized Ukrainian men and women.

Similarities aside, the following chapter will focus upon difference and in particular, the ways that politics and religion both divided the community and figured in the identities that were assumed by Catholic and progressive men, women, and children. Rather than denoting the ways in which their working-class experiences and identities

were similar, it will reconstruct how each side defined itself and constructed the other. Based upon the memories of those who grew up in the Sudbury region during the 1930s, it will examine the public confrontations which occurred among Catholics and progressives and at the same time, it will interrogate the ways in which each side carved a space for itself in the Sudbury region. Gender, ethnicity, and age were major factors when it came to belonging to the ULFTA or St. Mary's Ukrainian Catholic Church but politics and religion were central when it came to belonging to the larger community.

Chapter Five

A Culture of Difference: Grounding Group Identities and Constructing "Other" Ukrainians, 1930-1939

I remember a communist attack in the 1930s. There were a group of men – about twelve [of them] – throwing stones [and] calling father names. They broke all of our windows. We had no phone to call police and I remember being huddled in the bedroom. We were attacked because we were Catholic. Maybe father had gotten into a dispute with them. He was an easy target because he was a leader in the community. He kept a high profile. We were attacked because we were religious not because we were Ukrainian.[1]

The Ukrainian men, women, and children who settled in the Sudbury region prior to 1930 had a difficult time forging a community that was based upon a single, shared group identity. While gender certainly complicated the ways in which Ukrainians belonged, politics made the possibility of a collective identity unfeasible. Unable to negotiate the differences which polarized their community, Ukrainians thus formed two separate groups with distinct, collective identities during the 1920s. Split along ideological, religious, and political lines, Catholic and progressive Ukrainians composed a community of divided people.

Ukrainian men may have faced the dangers of mining every time they made their descent into the underground caverns in which they worked and they may have undertaken similar leadership roles within the spaces in which they spent their leisure time, but their identities as Catholics or progressives made them different from one another. Likewise, Ukrainian women may have spent their days cooking, cleaning, and attending to the many needs of their children and boarders, but the church and the Ukrainian Labour Farmer Temple Association (ULFTA) kitchens and halls where they

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[1] Olga Zembrzycki (nee Zyma), interview by author, Sudbury, 6 October 2004.

spent their spare time in supportive roles – labouring, gossiping, and organizing –set them apart. Moreover, Ukrainian Canadian children may have attended the same schools and fooled around in the same playgrounds, but the ethnic places in which they laughed, learned, danced, and sang made them markedly different. Although Catholic and progressive Ukrainians assumed similar gendered, ethnic, and age-defined identities within their organizations, their political and religious identities drew them apart.

Organizational growth continued to complicate the identities of those who composed this community. As more Ukrainians settled in the region and formed family-focused settlements, they established more organizations and hence more groups. Although progressives remained united, Catholics, as we shall see, divided into a number of factions, building separate politically and socially exclusive ethnic communal spaces (see Table 5.1). Not surprisingly, the region's Catholic, Orthodox, nationalist, and progressive Ukrainian men, women, and children went to great lengths to assert and maintain their distinct group identities, making certain to distinguish themselves from "other" Ukrainians.

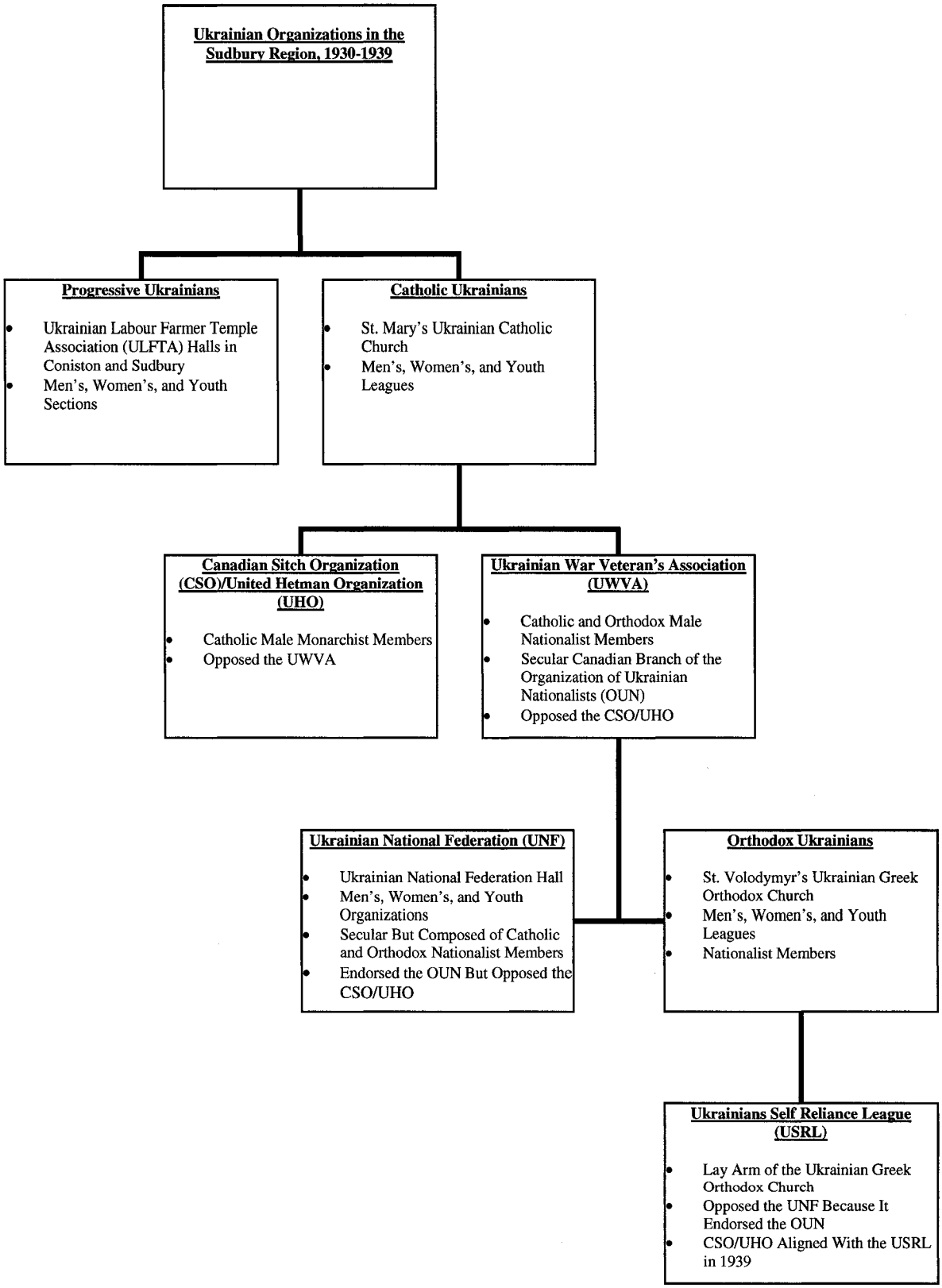

Table 5.1: Ukrainian Organizations in the Sudbury Region, 1930-1939

Sudbury's Catholic, Orthodox, nationalist, and progressive Ukrainian men, women, and children used the region's public spaces to both construct and reinforce these distinct group identities. In addition to their ethnic halls and churches, Sudbury's streets, school yards, playgrounds, and alleys all served as public spaces in which these Ukrainians could work out their group identities as well as their definitions of the "other". The parades, demonstrations, public ceremonies, and habitual taunting, gossiping, and name calling that occurred within these spaces enabled Catholic, Orthodox, nationalist, and progressive Ukrainians to not only assert but also maintain their differences while they negotiated the boundaries of their community. Not surprisingly, these were often hotly contested sites of conflict, where tempers flared and bodies clashed. As we shall see, this public airing of difference solidified the group identities of Sudbury's Ukrainians and ultimately determined who did and did not belong to the local community, the region, and the nation.[2]

In addition to using a range of textual sources from institutions and newspapers, this chapter relies upon the childhood memories of Sudbury's Ukrainian men and women. It is here, therefore, that I need to step away from the past and discuss more fully my oral history methodology, and specifically my role as a vulnerable observer.

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[2] For similar and related discussions about the public airing of differences see, for instance, Scott W. See, "The Orange Order and Social Violence in Mid-Nineteenth Century Saint John," in Franca Iacovetta, Paula Draper, and Robert Ventresca, eds., *A Nation of Immigrants: Women, Workers, and Communities in Canadian History, 1840s-1960s* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1998), 5-34; Michael Cottrell, "St. Patrick's Day Parades in Nineteenth-Century Toronto: A Study of Immigrant Adjustment and Elite Control," in Franca Iacovetta, Paula Draper, and Robert Ventresca, eds., *A Nation of Immigrants: Women, Workers, and Communities in Canadian History, 1840s-1960s* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1998), 35-54; and Mary Ryan, *Civic Wars: Democracy and Public Life in the American City During the Nineteenth-Century* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997).

For as we shall see, my own role in this process impacted how my interviewees told stories about the Catholic, Orthodox, nationalist, and progressive group identities that they constructed and reinforced within these public spaces.

The Historian as a Vulnerable Observer

As historians we begin all of our new projects as detectives. Although our investigative work takes us to many places, one of our first stops is often at the public archive; in this case I am referring to those archives that are built and maintained by nation-states. We not only feel at home in this space, but also consider it to be a place where we may attain objectivity, truth, and concreteness when it comes to recovering the past.[3] As we spend hours sifting through mouldy documents and dusty artefacts, we are comforted by the thought that our work will be grounded in legitimate textual evidence.

The public archive is however a complicated and highly political site of knowledge and power which ultimately determines the national narratives we can and can not write.[4] It is, as Durba Ghosh argues, a "contact zone" where we are forced to

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[3] Carolyn Steedman, *Dust: The Archive and Cultural History* (New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 2002), 72. For a similar and related discussion also see Harriet Bradley, "The Seductions of the Archive: Voices Lost and Found," *History of the Human Sciences* 12.2 (May 1999), 117.

[4] For a discussion about the ways in which the power of a state is manifested in its public archive see, for instance, Jacques Derrida, *Archive Fever: A Freudian Impression*, Translated by Eric Prenowitz (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996), 4; Marlene Manoff, "Theories of the Archive from Across the Disciplines," *Libraries and the Academy* 4.1 (January 2004), 9-11; Antoinette Burton, *Dwelling in the Archive: Women Writing House, Home, and History in Late Colonial India* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), 140; and Burton, "Introduction: Archive Fever, Archive Stories," in Antoinette Burton, ed., *Archive Stories: Facts, Fictions, and the Writing of History* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2005), 1-24.

read through silences and confront what counts as history.[5] Our experiences both inside and outside of the archive are therefore just as important as the narratives we write.[6] We are not, as Tony Ballantyne reminds us, exterior to the objects we use to reconstruct the past: "[We] are marked before [we] interrogate the markings, and this pre-impression shapes [our] interrogation."[7]

Unlike anthropologists, historians have been slow to write about their archive stories.[8] Wary about writing vulnerability into our narratives, we have refrained from revealing how the impersonal has become personal and, at the same time, how we as observers have become participants in the historical processes in which we engage. Opening this Pandora's box, as Ruth Behar suggests, is "an awful prospect" because we

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[5] Durba Ghosh, "National Narratives and the Politics of Miscegenation: Britain and India," in Antoinette Burton, ed., *Archive Stories: Facts, Fictions, and the Writing of History* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2005), 28.

[6] Franca Iacovetta, Karen Dubinsky, Tina Chen, Barrington Walker, and David Churchill made a similar point in a round table discussion at the Canadian Historical Association Annual Meeting. "Personal History and the Historian's Relationship to the Subject," Round Table Discussion at the Canadian Historical Association Annual Meeting, York University, 31 May 2006.

[7] Tony Ballantyne, "Mr. Peal's Archive: Mobility and Exchange in Histories of Empire," in Antoinette Burton, ed., *Archive Stories: Facts, Fictions, and the Writing of History* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2005), 97. Ballantyne makes this point by drawing on the work of Verne Harris and Jacques Derrida. See, as cited by Ballantyne, Verne Harris, "A Shaft of Darkness: Derrida in the Archive," in Carolyn Hamilton, et. al. eds., *Refiguring the Archive* (Cape Town: David Philip, 2002), 65; and Derrida, *Archive Fever: A Freudian Impression*, 53.

[8] The archive stories discussed in the collection edited by Antoinette Burton thus mark an important shift in the discipline. See Burton, ed., *Archive Stories: Facts, Fictions, and the Writing of History* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2005). Also see Franca Iacovetta, "Post-Modern Ethnography, Historical Materialism, and Decentring the (Male) Authorial Voice: A Feminist Conversation," *Histoire sociale/Social History* 32.64 (November 1999), 275-293; and Pamela Sugiman, "'These Feelings That Fill My Heart': Japanese Canadian Women's Memories of Internment," *Oral History* 34.2 (Autumn 2006), 69-84.

believe that it involves "giving up [our] cloak of academic objectivity."[9] This however need not be the case. If, in the process of pondering what counts as history, we also reconceptualise what counts as an archive, we may broaden our understanding of a place which is, as Antoinette Burton asserts, "...everywhere and hence nowhere..."[10] Although this democratization of the archive has led to a deep rift among those working in the discipline, it does not have to symbolize the end of history.[11] By discussing our archive stories we may open up a dialogue between the sources which have and have not been housed in the public archive. This discussion will enable us to not only critique the boundaries of the public archive, but also recover the histories which have been concealed by exclusion.[12]

From the onset of this project, I have been forced to ponder what counts as an archive. Faced with the reality that the City of Greater Sudbury lacked a public municipal archive, the International Nickel Company (INCO) archive was closed to researchers, and exhaustive searches at the Archives of Ontario (AO) and Library and Archives Canada (LAC) resulted in few pertinent textual documents, I was left to look elsewhere for sources that would enable me to reconstruct the history of Sudbury's

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[9] Ruth Behar, *The Vulnerable Observer: Anthropology That Breaks Your Heart* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1996), 11.

[10] Burton, "Introduction: Archive Fever, Archive Stories," 5.

[11] See, for instance, Jacques Derrida, *Archive Fever: A Freudian Impression.*

[12] For a related discussion about the ways in which memory sources can speak to and against the sources that are contained in the public archive see Tina Campt, *Other Germans: Black Germans and the Politics of Race, Gender, and Memory in the Third Reich* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2004), 81-89; and Ann Stoler, *Carnal Knowledge and Imperial Power: Race and the Intimate in Colonial Rule* (Berkley: University of California Press, 2002), 162-203.

Ukrainian community.[13] My archive stories are therefore quite pertinent to the ways in which I was able to both navigate my way into this history and write it. Although the public archive seemed to indicate that this community lacked a history, I knew that this silence was a serious exclusion in the public record because, as Chapter One indicated, I grew up listening to my Baba's stories about it. If Baba had spent most of her adult life telling stories about the Ukrainian community and her place in it, then I assumed that others had done the same. Oral history would therefore provide the means through which I would be able to compensate for the archives' exclusion.

A lack of archival sources however put me in a different, and ultimately more complicated, position than other oral historians. My knowledge of the community was premised upon Baba's subjective memories rather than upon a range of sources. Her story, so I thought, was the story about the community and its history. Like the similar problems encountered by Penny Summerfield and Carolyn Steedman, I had participated imaginatively in Baba's world and had thus shared her vision of the past.[14] I no doubt

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[13] The City of Greater Sudbury does not have a public municipal archive *per se*. Due to funding cuts, an unstaffed abandoned school serves as the location for the city's collection of municipal documents. Unfortunately, the collection has not been catalogued and the documents themselves are not organized. Furthermore, access to the collection is complicated by the fact that researchers wishing to view it must first request access – there is no established system of procedures when asking for permission – and then be accompanied by a city employee when viewing the collection. Access to the collection is therefore contingent upon the availability of a city employee. For documents pertaining to Sudbury's history one may also view the local collection at the Laurentian University Archive and the City of Greater Sudbury Local History Collection housed at the main branch of the city's public library.

[14] Penny Summerfield and Carolyn Steedman share similar complications when dealing with their mother's stories and their writing of the past. See Summerfield, *Reconstructing Women's Wartime Lives: Discourse and Subjectivity in Oral Histories of the Second World War* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1998), x; and Steedman, *Landscape For A Good Woman: A Story of Two Lives* (New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 1986), 8-12. For a related discussion also see Iacovetta,

continued to complicate the ways in which I reconstructed the history of this community by bringing Baba to most of the oral history interviews that I conducted. Those I interviewed had a diversity of life experiences, but I was always drawn back to Baba's version of the past and the similarities that interviewees shared with it. In an attempt to achieve some semblance of objectivity, I spent a great deal of time seriously debating whether I could omit Baba's story, and hence my vulnerability, from this Depression-era narrative. Although it would be a much easier history to write, I have concluded that I must place her story at the centre of this narrative.[15]

As we engage in the process of archive-building, creating for all intents and purposes, a living history of the past, we are often made "...uncomfortably aware of the

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"Post-Modern Ethnography, Historical Materialism, and Decentring the (Male) Authorial Voice: A Feminist Conversation," 275-293; Sugiman, "'These Feelings That Fill My Heart': Japanese Canadian Women's Memories of Internment," 69-84; and Olive Stickney, "My Mother's Trunk," in Sarah Carter, Lesley Erickson, Patricia Roone, and Char Smith, eds., *Unsettled Pasts: Reconceiving the West Through Women's History* (Calgary: University of Calgary Press, 2005), 241-249. Although other scholars have used the memories of family members to construct their histories, they have spent very little time exploring their subjective link to the resulting narratives. See, for instance, Leslie Robertson, *Imagining Difference: Legend, Curse, and Spectacle in a Canadian Mining Town* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 2005); Robert Bruno, *Steelworker Alley: How Class Works in Youngstown* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1999); Jennifer Scuro, "Exploring Personal History: A Case Study of an Italian Immigrant Woman," *Oral History Review* 31.1 (September 2004), 43-69; Cristine Georgina Bye, "'I Think So Much of Edward': Family, Favouritism, and Gender on a Prairie Farm in the 1930s," in Sarah Carter, Lesley Erickson, Patricia Roone, and Char Smith, eds., *Unsettled Pasts: Reconceiving the West Through Women's History* (Calgary: University of Calgary Press, 2005), 205-237; and Yong Chen, "Remembering Ah Quin: A Century of Social Memory in a Chinese American Family," *Oral History Review* 27.1 (January 2000), 57-80.

[15] I am grateful to Steven High for encouraging me to write such a narrative. Michael Riordon also argues that those who conduct oral history interviews must explore their connection to those interviews. See Riordon, *An Unauthorized Biography of the World* (Toronto: Between the Lines, 2004).

elusive quality of historical truth..."[16] "Oral sources," as Alessandro Portelli argues, "tell us not just what people did, but what they wanted to do, what they believed they were doing, and what they now think they did."[17] In other words, nothing is certain in oral history. This kind of source tells us less about events than about their meanings. By placing Baba's story at the centre of this narrative I will thereby evaluate the way in which her personal truth coincided with and/or diverged from the collective truths presented by my other interviewees. These truths essentially form a web of stories that are vital to my understanding of the history of Sudbury's Ukrainian community and, in particular, the public spaces in which Catholic, Orthodox, nationalist, and progressive Ukrainians constructed their group identities and reinforced their definitions of the "other".

Establishing Baba's Place in the Community

Baba (Olga Zembrzycki) was born in a house on Montague Street in the Donovan on 21 February 1927. The fourth child born to Peter and Ann Zyma, Baba's birth occurred at an interesting period in the community's development. Specifically, the group identities of Sudbury's Ukrainian Catholics and progressives were being grounded in ethnic spaces. Ukrainian Catholics were hard at work raising money to build a church while the region's progressives were performing plays, conducting meetings, holding socials, and educating children in their two newly built ULFTA Halls in Sudbury and Coniston.

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[16] Alessandro Portelli, *The Death of Luigi Trastulli and Other Stories: Form and Meaning in Oral History* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1991), viii-ix.

[17] Ibid., 99.

Baba's parents were devout Catholics who participated in the organized life of St. Mary's Ukrainian Catholic Church; incidentally Baba was named after St. Olga. Peter, a Ukrainian who immigrated to Northern Ontario from Horoskiw in search of work in the early 1920s, undertook leadership roles within this organization, joining the church building committee, the United Hetman Organization (UHO), the church choir, and the drama group. In addition, he was the president of the parish council, he read the Apostles' Creed during every Sunday mass, and he acted as the church *dyak* (cantor) when needed. Devoting all of his spare time to the church and maintaining close ties with the parish's priests, Peter regarded himself as "Catholic first, Ukrainian second, and Canadian last."[18] Ann, a Ukrainian Canadian who was one of eleven children born on a farm in Winnipegosis, Manitoba, also engaged in the organized activities of the church. She spent her days cooking, cleaning, and caring for her children and boarders and when she had spare time, she cooked for church events, organized fundraising dinners and socials, and participated in the drama group, the church choir, and the Ukrainian Catholic Women's League.[19] Like the Ukrainian Catholics discussed in Chapter Four, Peter and Ann Zyma assumed the typical gender roles expected of those who participated in the organized life of the community.

In order to undertake these roles however, Peter and Ann had to make some important choices. By becoming members of St. Mary's Ukrainian Catholic Church, they placed themselves, as well as their four children, in the middle of the differences which polarized Sudbury's Ukrainians. This family's place in the community was further complicated by the fact that Peter was very active in the parish. He regarded

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[18] Olga Zembrzycki (nee Zyma), interview.
[19] Ibid.

himself as a servant of the church and participated in its politics, vouching for fellow Catholics and denouncing those who did not belong to this group. Peter made both friends and enemies as a result of his actions and therefore it is not surprising that one of Baba's earliest memories, the quote which opened this chapter, is about a clash which occurred between her father and a number of men from the progressive community. This confrontation, as we shall see, marked the end of Baba's childhood innocence, establishing her place in the community and teaching her the importance of recognizing difference.

Although I grew up hearing about this confrontation, it never really occurred to me to ponder whether there were two sides to this story. Every time I listened to Baba's version of this incident, I was always left with the impression that Baba and her family had been victimized by the "communists from the Spruce Street Hall." Continually told from the vantage point of a six year old child, I now recognize that this was the opinion that Baba formed in the minutes, hours, and years after this altercation occurred. In essence, this notion of the "other" was reinforced through the telling and retelling of this story. Regardless of whether Baba's narrative was composed of a series of facts or myths, it ultimately became the basis of her personal truth.[20]

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[20] Personal truth is revealed through the collective threads of an interview. It is the ways in which interviewees subjectively represent their lives through stories. For a Canadian discussion about self-representation and truth see, for instance, Marlene Epp, *Women Without Men: Mennonite Refugees of the Second World War* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1999); Epp, "The Memory of Violence: Soviet and East European Mennonite Refugees and Rape in the Second World War," *Journal of Women's History* 9.1 (Spring 1997), 58-87; Paula Draper, "Surviving Their Survival: Women, Memory, and the Holocaust," in Marlene Epp, Franca Iacovetta, Frances Swyripa, eds., *Sisters of Strangers? Immigrant, Ethnic, and Racialized Women in Canadian History* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2004), 399-414; Pamela Sugiman, "Passing Time, Moving Memories: Interpreting Wartime Narratives of

Since family stories, like the one recounted by Baba, can act as powerful personal truths, they must be deconstructed to reveal the layers upon which they are based.[21] In this instance, Baba's version of this story is an important point of reference for the creation of her Ukrainian Catholic identity, serving as a physical reminder of the time when she was forced to personally confront the differences which polarized the community. Specifically, it marked the moment when she became aware of the fact that there were "other" Ukrainians living in the region who were markedly different from her and her family. Although the church had been a part of her life prior to this incident, Baba became a Ukrainian Catholic that day, assuming the group identity which structured the lives of her parents. Baba may have lacked the conceptual and contextual

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Japanese Canadian Women," *Histoire sociale/Social History* 37.73 (May 2004), 51-79; Sugiman, "'They Must Have Really Suffered': Japanese Canadian Mothers and Daughters and the Transmission of Historical Memory," Unpublished Paper, Presented at the Labouring Feminism and Feminist Working Class History in North America and Beyond International Conference, 1 October 2005; Sugiman, "'These Feelings That Fill My Heart': Japanese Canadian Women's Memories of Internment," 69-84; Joan Sangster, "Telling Our Stories: Feminist Debates and the Use of Oral History," *Women's History Review* 3.1 (March 1994), 5-28; and Michael Riordon, *An Unauthorized Biography of the World.* For an international discussion, see, for instance, Luisa Passerini, *Fascism in Popular Memory: The Cultural Experience of the Turin Working Class*, Translated by Robert Lumley and Jude Bloomfield (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987); Paul Thompson, *The Voice of the Past: Oral History* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1988); Portelli, *The Death of Luigi Trastulli and Other Stories: Form and Meaning in Oral History*; Portelli, "The Peculiarities of Oral History," *History Workshop* 12 (Autumn 1981), 96-107; Michael Frisch, *A Shared Authority: Essays on the Craft and Meaning of Oral and Public History* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1990); and Kathleen Blee, *Inside Organized Racism: Women in the Hate Movement* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002).

[21] Paul Thompson with John Byng-Hall, "The Power of Family Myths," in Raphael Samuel and Paul Thompson, eds., *The Myths We Live By* (New York: Routledge, 1990), 217. For a related discussion see, for instance, Iacovetta, "Post-Modern Ethnography, Historical Materialism, and Decentring the (Male) Authorial Voice: A Feminist Conversation," 275-293; and Alexander Freund and Laura Quilici, "Exploring Myths in Women's Narratives: Italian and German Immigrant Women in Vancouver, 1947-1961," *BC Studies* 105-106 (Spring/Summer 1995), 159-182.

knowledge needed to arrive at this conclusion during and/or immediately after this confrontation, but it has both consciously and unconsciously continued to shape her identity as a Ukrainian Catholic.[22]

Placing Baba's story within the context of this study not only enables a deconstruction of its meanings but also permits another reading of this version of the past. Although Baba's personal truth has formed the basis of my knowledge about the division which has plagued the community, I recognize that as an historian I must view it with the same scepticism that I would apply to those stories told by other interviewees. If I had been able to interview the progressives who threw rocks at the house that day for instance, it is quite likely that their stories would have been very different from the one recalled by Baba, perhaps even implicating Peter in the confrontation. In particular, the men may have recalled that the attack was a means through which they had attempted to achieve some semblance of revenge for having lost their jobs. The reasons behind this attack however are less important than what they say about Baba's identity as a Ukrainian Catholic. As she hid beneath the bed in the back bedroom of her house listening to the sound of breaking glass, Baba was faced with a striking depiction of the "other". This public airing of differences thus gave her a framework for understanding her place in the community.

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[22] Neil Sutherland discusses the challenges that historians face when adult interviewees recall their childhoods, stating that these memories are "...really a reconstruction of what is being recalled rather than a reproduction of it..." See Sutherland, "When You Listen to the Winds of Childhood, How Much Can You Believe?" in Nancy Janovicek and Joy Parr, eds., *Histories of Canadian Children and Youth* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), 23. Also see Sutherland, *Growing Up: Childhood in English Canada From the Great War to the Age of Television* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1997).

The stories recalled by my other interviewees will build upon Baba's narrative, showing how Ukrainians who lived in the Sudbury region during the 1930s defined themselves and constructed the "other". This chapter pays particular attention to the ways in which politics and religion structured the memories of Catholic, Orthodox, nationalist, and progressive Ukrainian boys and girls. As we shall see, Baba's story was by no means unique. She was neither the first nor the last Ukrainian to experience the differences which polarized the community. In other words, the personal truth revealed through the deconstructing of Baba's narrative often coincided with the collective truths maintained by other Ukrainians.

Contextualizing the Confrontation

Although the confrontation which occurred on the front steps of Baba's home speaks to her identity as a Ukrainian Catholic, it also reveals a great deal about this period in the community's history. The 1930s were marked by parades, mass demonstrations, public ceremonies, and instances of violence that were frequently set off by taunting, name calling, and shouting matches. Like the twelve men who launched rocks at Baba's windows, Catholic, Orthodox, nationalist, and progressive Ukrainians used the region's streets, school yards, playgrounds, and alleys to confront "other" Ukrainians. These confrontations, as Baba's story made clear, played a major role in both defining the identities of Sudbury's Ukrainians and constructing the differences which characterized the "other".

This public culture of confrontation began in the 1930s. Although, as Chapter Three demonstrated, small groups of Ukrainians infrequently paraded through the region's streets prior to this period, mass demonstrations and public spectacles did not

tend to occur because the Ukrainian segment of the population was too small and too divided to organize any large scale events. Significant in-migration to the region, however, changed the dynamics of the community, giving it a large enough demographic base to affect change.

Although the building of St. Mary's Ukrainian Catholic Church in 1928 and the ULFTA Halls in Coniston in 1924 and Sudbury in 1925 gave Ukrainians a public face and enticed some men and their families to relocate to the region, the promise of a decent job in the mining sector continued to be the main attraction for Ukrainians. In particular, INCO and Falconbridge recorded peak levels of nickel production in the late 1920s and early 1930s and expanded their workforces, thereby inciting a period of sustained regional growth. The table below presents a statistical overview of this growth:

Municipality, Township, or Subdivision	Total Population in 1921	Total Population in 1931	Austrian	Polish	Russian	Ukrainian
Copper Cliff	2597	3173	17 (29)	134 (48)	0 (4)	33 (13)
Falconbridge	28	445	13	11	1	2
Frood Mine	0	173	0	0	0	0
Garson	710	1218	0 (50)	1 (9)	0 (5)	1 (8)
Levack	252	420	24 (20)	28 (7)	8 (21)	14 (23)
McKim	440	533	10 (4)	0 (1)	3 (18)	0 (0)
Neelon	1528	2400	0 (36)	70 (14)	10 (6)	324 (179)
Snider	1157	1465	21 (5)	78 (54)	2 (36)	86 (56)
Sudbury	8621	18 518	198 (125)	134 (50)	0 (42)	761 (13)
Waters	455	524	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	3 (0)

Table 5.2: 1931 Aggregate Census Data[23]

Note that, when available, the 1921 aggregate census data has been included in brackets to enable an easy comparison.

Although all of the townships in the region increased in size during this period, Sudbury's growth was tremendous, more than doubling in a ten year period. Carl Wallace appropriately states that Sudbury became an overcrowded "destination city," a

[23] Canada, Bureau of the Census, *Population By Areas, Volume II* (Ottawa, 1933).

new home for those who could not find work elsewhere.[24] We may not be able to determine whether the labels applied to Eastern Europeans residing in this city were indeed accurate since the 1931 manuscript census remains closed to researchers, but the aggregate data indicate that Sudbury's Ukrainian population also experienced significant growth during this period. Increasing from a size of 13 to 761 – the gender make-up of this group is unknown – Ukrainians composed roughly 5 percent of Sudbury's population in 1931, becoming the fourth largest ethnic group in the city behind those of English, French, and Finnish descent.[25]

This growth is astonishing given the fact that the country was in the middle of an international recession.[26] Although the 1929 stock market crash crippled the economies of most Canadian towns and cities, Sudbury remained relatively untouched by this crisis. The majority of the region's men were employed in the local nickel mines, making a wage that was impossible to attain in other locales. The fact that INCO

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[24] C.M. Wallace, "The 1930s," in C.M. Wallace and Ashley Thomson, eds., *Sudbury: Rail Town to Regional Capital* (Toronto: Dundurn Press, 1993), 139. Also see "Sudbury Mecca For Hundreds Seeking Work," *Sudbury Star*, 19 April 1930, 22.

[25] Wallace, "The 1930s," 139.

[26] See, for instance, Michiel Horn, *The Dirty Thirties: Canadians in the Great Depression* (Toronto: Copp Clark, 1972); Horn, *The Depression in Canada: Responses to Economic Crisis* (Toronto: Copp Clark, 1988); Pierre Berton, *The Great Depression, 1929-1939* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1990); Barry Broadfoot, *Ten Lost Years, 1929-1939: Memories of Canadians Who Survived the Depression* (Toronto: Doubleday Canada, 1973); Robert Collins, *You Had to Be There: An Intimate Portrait of the Generation that Survived the Depression, Won the War, and Re-invented Canada* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1997); Barbara Ann Lambert, *Rusty Nails and Ration Books: Memories of the Great Depression and WWII, 1929-1945* (Victoria: Trafford Publishing, 2002); Blair Neatby, *The Politics of Chaos: Canada in the Thirties* (Toronto: Macmillan of Canada, 1972); Allen Seager and John Thompson, *Canada 1922-1939: Decades of Discord* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1985); and Denyse Baillargeon, *Making Do: Women, Family, and Home in Montreal During the Great Depression*, Translated by Yvonne Klein (Waterloo: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 1999).

and Falconbridge did not slash their workforces sent a message to the thousands of unemployed men looking for work in other parts of the country. Specifically, this promise of security led the men to Sudbury, turning the city into a "Mecca" for the country's unemployed.[27]

Creating a Public Culture of Confrontation

Ukrainian men who found themselves in Sudbury were however not guaranteed jobs at the local mines. INCO and Falconbridge continued to use Ukrainian informers and priests from St. Mary's Ukrainian Catholic Church to determine who would and would not be hired. Incidentally, this was a lucrative business for priests like Father Nicholas Bartman. In addition to receiving "generous financial assistance" from the mining companies, he also collected an eighteen to twenty dollar fee from the men for whom he found jobs.[28] Moreover, if a Ukrainian man was lucky enough to find a job then he also faced the challenges that went hand in hand with keeping it. Specifically, if company officials found out that one of their workers was associated with the local progressive movement then they either fired that worker or put him "on indefinite suspension."[29] Dismissals were often accompanied by comments like this one: "You're a red with communist leanings and for that reason, you're a danger to us. We're putting

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[27] "Sudbury Mecca For Hundreds Seeking Work," *Sudbury Star*, 19 April 1930, 22.

[28] Ukrainian Catholic Archeparchy of Winnipeg Archive (UCAWA), Nicholas Bartman File, NB 65, letter written by Bishop Ladyka to Bartman, 4 April 1931, translated by Orest Martynowych; and UCAWA, Nicholas Bartman File, NB 42-44, letter written by Vasyl Iavorsky to Bishop Ladyka, 2 January 1931, translated by Orest Martynowych.

[29] "Coniston – Letter From Maksym," *Ukrainski robitnychi visti*, 20 February 1930, 4, translated by Larissa Stavroff. Also see "Sudbury," *Ukrainski robitnychi visti*, 8 July 1930, 4, translated by Larissa Stavroff.

you on this blacklist so that you'll never get work in our company again."[30] According to company officials, progressives were disloyal members of the community who jeopardized the operation of their companies. Calls to organize a local union of miners did nothing but solidify this view.

In addition to protesting the dangerous working conditions, progressives argued that a union was needed to combat the unfair hiring practices of the companies. They desired protection and thus they began to organize small public parades and protests in the early part of 1930.[31] Although these public events accomplished little, they did provide the momentum for a large joint May Day rally, organized by progressive Ukrainians and Finns, which occurred that year. May Day, which takes place on the first day of May, was, as Craig Heron and Steve Penfold maintain, the preferred workers' celebration for socialists and communists. In comparing this "workers' festival" to Labour Day, they demonstrate that it was a day of defiance and protest which offered an explicit threat to the social order of the nation.[32] Like the St. Patrick's Day parades and celebrations organized by Irish immigrants in the nineteenth century, May Day was one day of the year when progressives could claim Sudbury's streets as

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[30] "Sudbury's Unemployed Demand Work or Bread, But the Police Beat Them With Clubs," *Ukrainski robitnychi visti*, 13 November 1930, 4, translated by Larissa Stavroff.

[31] See "Form Workless Workers' Union; To Labor Means Quick Expulsion," *Sudbury Star*, 22 February 1930, 3; and "'Reds' Planning Demonstration in Town Streets," *Sudbury Star*, 5 March 1930, 1.

[32] Craig Heron and Steve Penfold, *The Workers' Festival: A History of Labour Day in Canada* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2005), 187.

their own, asserting their presence, demonstrating their solidarity, and publicizing their distinctiveness.[33]

First observed in Canada in Montreal in 1906 by members of the local socialist organizations and the garment workers' union, May Day was not regarded as a major holiday by progressives who resided Sudbury until 1930.[34] Although accounts in the *Sudbury Star* and *Ukrainski robitnychi visti* vary, the former estimating that there were 200 Finnish and Ukrainian progressive men, women, and children in attendance, while the latter reported that there were 5000 strong, the newspapers do confirm that these individuals demanded better working conditions, a five day work week, and a seven hour work day. They also make clear that the city's local police force regarded the holiday rally as a serious matter, arresting eighteen Finnish and Ukrainian progressive men and women.[35] Sentenced to disturbing the peace because they had held up traffic when parading from Spruce Street to Bell Park in a peaceful manner, the charges against the three women who were arrested were eventually dropped while eight of the fifteen men were charged with a range of fines.[36] This May Day rally, as we shall see, established the foundation for a public culture of confrontation among the region's progressives. Dissatisfied with the ways in which INCO and Falconbridge operated the

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[33] See Cottrell, "St. Patrick's Day Parades in Nineteenth-Century Toronto: A Study of Immigrant Adjustment and Elite Control," 37-38.

[34] Heron and Penfold, *The Workers' Festival: A History of Labour Day in Canada*, 166. It must be noted that Sudbury's socialists celebrated May Day in the late 1910s and throughout the 1920s, but the rallies which took place on this holiday were small and thus received little coverage in the local newspaper.

[35] "Line Broken Up By Police Squad; 18 Are Arrested," *Sudbury Star*, 3 May 1930, 1; and "Report From a Member of the CPC," *Ukrainski robitnychi visti*, 8 May 1930, 4, translated by Larissa Stavroff. Also see "First of May Celebration," *Robitnytsia*, 1 June 1930, 28, translated by Larissa Stavroff.

[36] "'Reds' in Court Are Sentenced for Disturbing," *Sudbury Star*, 17 May 1930, 1.

local mines and condoned unsafe working environments, progressives emerged from their halls with a message for the rest of the community. In taking to the streets, they began to define themselves against the region's Ukrainian Catholics, and as a group which would not tolerate the exploitative measures of the mining companies.

Members of St. Mary's, under the direction of Father Bartman, used the *Sudbury Star* to disassociate themselves from this "other" group of Ukrainians. Specifically, it was a forum for demonstrating their loyalty to the local community, as well as to the region, and the nation. In addition to composing a young and thriving parish which was "engaged in combat" with local progressives, they established a branch of the Canadian Sitch Organization (CSO) as well as a "League of Christian Workers."[37] The CSO and the "League of Christian Workers" set Catholics apart from progressives because they aimed "[to] counteract the effects of Communistic propaganda and to spread the ideals of the Canadian constitution..." These Ukrainian Catholics proceeded to compare themselves to loyal Canadians, intent on ensuring that the region's miners composed a "law abiding brotherhood."[38] Unlike progressives, Catholics argued that they were not dangerous because they valued the democratic ideals of the community and hence the nation.[39] Moreover, they did not take to the streets and threaten Sudbury's social order.

In line with this reasoning, seventeen veterans of the Ukrainian National Army formed Branch Ten of the Ukrainian War Veteran's Association (UWVA), also referred to as the Ukrainian Rifleman's Association (URA), on 9 February 1930 to break up the

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[37] "Parochial Work of Ukrainians Fast Expanding," *Sudbury Star*, 2 August 1930, 21.

[38] "Ukrainians Combat 'Red' Propaganda," *Sudbury Star*, 19 March 1930, 12.

[39] Ibid.

"communist stronghold" that had engulfed the region.[40] A precursor to the Ukrainian National Federation (UNF), – a secular Canadian branch of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN) – this group of men co-operated with St. Mary's, joining the parish's "League of Christian Workers" and holding meetings in the church's basement to devise strategies for "rescuing" the men "who'd fallen into the clutches of the Bolsheviks."[41] The relationship between the UWVA and St. Mary's however was short lived.[42] A group of parishioners, who were also members of the CSO, opposed the UWVA and convinced Father Bartman to revoke its hall privileges. Although both of the organizations advocated the creation of an independent Ukrainian state in Europe, the CSO believed that this state ought to be a monarchy ruled by Hetman Pavlo Skoropadsky and his descendents while the UWVA argued that this state ought to be a republic, first ruled by a revolutionary nationalist elite and then ultimately by a democratically elected government. Moreover, the CSO, which claimed to stand for order and authority and thereby rejected any tactics which led to chaos and anarchy, took strong exception to the UWVA's acceptance of sabotage, armed expropriations, and political assassinations, all of which characterized OUN actions in, what is now,

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[40] *Ukrainian National Federation of Canada, Sudbury Branch, Anniversary Book, Twenty-Five Years of the Branch* (Sudbury, Ukrainian National Federation, 1957), 19.

[41] Ibid., 20. Headed by Colonel Evhen Konovalets, the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN) was a mass revolutionary organization "dedicated to an uncompromising armed and political struggle against the Soviet, Polish, Romanian, and Czechoslovak regimes occupying various regions of Ukraine." See Oleh Gerus, "Consolidating the Community: The Ukrainian Self-Reliance League," in Lubomyr Luciuk and Stella Hryniuk, eds., *Canada's Ukrainians: Negotiating an Identity* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1991), 166.

[42] "The Face of the Rifleman's Community is Thoroughly Fascist," *Ukrainski robitnychi visti*, 22 November 1930, 6, translated by Larissa Stavroff.

Western Ukraine.[43] After losing their meeting space, those Ukrainians who belonged to the UWVA continued to meet at the Royal Canadian Legion until the region's economy collapsed in the latter half of 1931.[44] Like Sudbury's Ukrainian Catholic community, members of the UWVA attempted to identify themselves as "law abiding residents of [Sudbury] and as supporters of the government of Canada."[45] They emphasized their loyalty and respectability in order to demonstrate that they deserved to belong to the local community, the region, and the nation.

The Depression Hits Sudbury

Father Bartman believed that the collapse of the region's nickel market was the result of the choices made by Sudbury's Ukrainians: "the workers and the unemployed don't pray enough, don't attend church, and don't go to confession."[46] Progressives however pointed out that religion had little to do with whether a Ukrainian lived in poverty. Parishioners were, according to them, among the poorest of workers, often "giving their last penny to the priest."[47] The experiences of some of Sudbury's Catholics support this latter argument. Devout Catholic men, like Baba's father Peter, had their shifts cut back at the local mines and thus still struggled to make ends meet

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[43] I am grateful to Orest Martynowych for clarifying the differences which characterized the Canadian Sitch Organization (CSO) and the Ukrainian War Veteran's Association (UWVA).

[44] *Ukrainian Rifleman's Community in Canada, 1928-1938* (Saskatoon: *Novyi shliakh*, 1938), 69, translated by Myron Momryk.

[45] "Military Drill Being Sought by Ukrainians," *Sudbury Star*, 24 December 1930, 1.

[46] "There's Misery in the World Because People Don't Want to Pray Says Sudbury Priest," *Ukrainski robitnychi visti*, 8 January 1931, 4, translated by Larissa Stavroff.

[47] Ibid.

regardless of their regular church attendance.[48] Although faith gave some Ukrainians the strength that they needed to endure the difficulties which resulted from the Depression, it did not give Catholics an advantage over progressives when it came to their material conditions.

Moreover, it is significant to note that membership in the church often went hand in hand with an implicit financial obligation. Despite the personal financial struggles suffered by men like Peter, parishioners were expected to make a donation to the church as the priest passed the collection plate through the isles during Sunday mass. Unlike the anonymous collection plates placed at the entrances of the region's ULFTA Halls,[49] parishioners engaged in a public display of giving and there were, as Mary's* story reveals, certain expectations when it came to making this contribution. Although Mary's struggling but devout family of ten always made a weekly donation regardless of its financial situation, there were times when very little money was left at the end of the week. Mary recalled one particular Sunday for instance when "Mamma had eleven cents in her pocket and that was all the money [the family] had in the world." Intending to place her last dime in the collection plate, Mary's mother Anne accidentally donated the penny instead. Much to Anne's embarrassment, this donation did not go unnoticed by the priest. According to Mary, the priest approached her mother at the end of the mass and "said if you haven't got any money to put in the collection plate, don't put in a penny because it is an insult to God." Although she only had eleven cents left until her husband's next pay cheque, Anne left the church that day in shame,

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[48] Olga Zembrzycki (nee Zyma), interview.

[49] "They Put Their Last Pennies in the Collection Plate at the ULT," *Ukrainski robitnychi visti*, 6 February 1932, 4, translated by Larissa Stavroff.

feeling like she had let down her beloved parish.[50] Evidently, faith came with a price tag during this period. In addition to undertaking the gendered organizational roles discussed in Chapter Four, Catholics were expected to make difficult financial sacrifices for the good of the church, often giving their last penny, so to speak, to this cause.

Politics and religion aside, times were tough for all Ukrainians by the winter of 1931. As the mining companies reduced their workforces, "...bankruptcies, and default of mortgage payments and taxes became commonplace" in the region.[51] Unemployed men wandered through the city's streets begging for work, shelter, and food, eating once a day if they were lucky.[52] In response to the difficult times, progressives decided to open their hall to those who were unemployed; incidentally the church did not follow suit.[53] Serving as a community centre, a hostel, and a soup kitchen, Oryst Sawchuk recalled that "the men would hop off the trains...and they would come to the hall" where "the ladies would be cooking borscht or some [kind of] soup." Raised in an "atmosphere of social concern," Oryst's mother Sophie, a committed progressive, also billeted unemployed men during this period. Oryst vividly remembered sharing the kitchen table with strangers who cut wood or did household chores in exchange for a meal.[54]

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[50] Anonymous interviewee, interview by author, Sudbury, 6 June 2005.

[51] Wallace, "The 1930s," 143.

[52] "As A Soldier, I Fought for this Country and Now I'm Starving," *Ukrainski robitnychi visti*, 24 February 1931, 4, translated by Larissa Stavroff. Also see A. Kostiuchek, "I Wandered into Sudbury in Search of Work," *Ukrainski robitnychi visti*, 4 July 1931, 4, translated by Larissa Stavroff.

[53] Myron Kostaniuk, "Recollections From the Life of a Ukrainian Pioneer," *Ukrainian Canadian* (October 1990), 36.

[54] Oryst Sawchuk, interview by author, Sudbury, 26 January 2005.

In addition to providing these vital necessities, the ULFTA Hall was also a space in which unemployed progressive Ukrainians could come together to discuss their concerns and problems.[55] Specifically, a group of "Parading Communists"[56] used this ethnic space to organize a large march on city hall on 25 February 1931, demanding "work or relief" from the "capitalist class."[57] Unlike the May Day rally which took place the year before, this march quickly turned into a violent confrontation when the group, composed of progressive Ukrainians and Finns, reached its destination. As the group of men attempted to cross the police line, they were "beaten over the heads with iron bars" and their placards, which were inscribed with revolutionary slogans, were broken by police. Although a handful of progressive women tried to stop this "bloody massacre" by helping some of the men escape from the grasp of the police, their attempts were unsuccessful.[58] Progressives lost "control of the street"[59] and nine "Reds" were arrested, facing charges ranging from vagrancy to unlawful assembly.[60] In "transgressing the hospitality of this country," the men were identified as disloyal

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[55] Meetings were often held immediately after meals so as to attract new unemployed members to the Ukrainian Labour Farmer Temple Association (ULFTA). See, for instance, "Winter Approaching, Necessary to Prepare for Sharper Class Struggles," *Ukrainski robitnychi visti*, 1 October 1931, 4, translated by Larissa Stavroff.

[56] Wallace, "The 1930s," 141.

[57] "Even Though I Was Severely Ill, I Rallied and Went to the February 25th Demonstration," *Ukrainski robitnychi visti*, 10 March 1931, 5, translated by Larissa Stavroff.

[58] "Sudbury Unemployed in Brave Struggle with Police; Blood in the Streets," *Ukrainski robitnychi visti*, 5 March 1931, 4, translated by Larissa Stavroff.

[59] "Participant in the Demonstration," *Robitnytsia*, 1 April 1931, 25, translated by Larissa Stavroff.

[60] "Reds Remanded on Appearance in Police Court," *Sudbury Star*, 28 February 1931, 1.

Canadians who did not respect the nation's laws.[61] They were sentenced to a term of imprisonment and warned about the possibility of deportation.[62] Clearly, progressives were very different from the "loyal" and "law abiding" members of St. Mary's Ukrainian Catholic Church and the UWVA.

Sudbury's progressives responded to this incident by organizing a meeting at their hall one week later. Although members were encouraged to join the Canadian Labour Defence League (CLDL), an organization which would protect them against deportation in the event of another violent protest, this meeting turned into a forum for condemning the actions of local police. In fact, members passed a resolution denouncing "the bloody terror of the police and protesting the incarceration of innocent workers."[63] Interestingly, the municipal government also reacted to the demonstration, stating that it would provide jobs to those workers who had not participated in the February clash.[64] Disloyal and unrespectable citizens, like Sudbury's progressive Ukrainians, were not entitled to these jobs.

Despite this news, progressive Ukrainians and Finns organized another march in late April 1931. Although the intention was to hold a peaceful rally to draw attention to the region's unemployed, this event, like those held previously, turned into a violent confrontation. Unable to contain the large crowd, policemen pulled out their clubs and revolvers to gain control while firemen sprayed the group with their hoses. Progressive men, women, and children responded to these actions by hurling rocks at their

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[61] "Bench Scores Seven Accused For Defying Law," *Sudbury Star*, 7 March 1931, 1.

[62] Ibid.

[63] "The Sudbury Workers Condemn Police Terror and Pogroms of February 25th," *Ukrainski robitnychi visti*, 12 March 1931, 5, translated by Larissa Stavroff.

[64] Ibid.

opponents. When the crowd was dispersed about two hours later, nine Ukrainian and Finnish men and one Ukrainian woman, Anna Ivoniuk, were arrested and charged with assault; incidentally, Anna assaulted a police officer and was badly beaten as a result of her actions.[65] Dissatisfied with the economy and the ways in which the municipality responded to the local state of affairs, progressives used the city's streets to solidify their group identity. Men, women, and children participated in the events which occurred in this public space, airing their discontentment and thereby asserting not only their unity, but also the differences which characterized their identity as progressives.

Ukrainian Catholics, on the other hand, did not use the city's streets to reinforce their identity as a group. When the church had to temporarily close its doors in April 1931 for instance, news was sudden and action was swift. Instead of making the private difficulties faced by Father Bartman and his parishioners public, this information remained a church affair until the last possible moment. Bartman, as discussed in Chapter Four, staged an effective media campaign in the region, convincing the local newspaper, officials at INCO and Falconbridge, and citizens of the English- and French-speaking community that Ukrainian Catholics were different from the region's progressives because they were loyal and good Canadians who were opposed to communism. Citing a "lack of funds and co-operation from the church authorities," as well as "internal dissension," Bartman hoped that the close of this "school of Christianity and good citizenship for the immigrant" on 29 April 1931 would not be

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[65] "On Streets of Sudbury, Workers in Heated Battle with Police Legion and Firemen," *Ukrainski robitnychi visti*, 23 April 1931, 4, translated by Larissa Stavroff. Also see "Four Are Fined for Part Taken in Disturbance," *Sudbury Star*, 2 May 1931, 1.

permanent.[66] Interestingly, Bartman's wish did not go unanswered. Three days after the church locked its doors, the *Sudbury Star* reported that the parish had reopened to the public and Father Ivan Koltsun had assumed responsibility of the church; this change in leadership will be discussed below.[67]

I knew very little about this aspect of the community's history when I began to research Sudbury's Ukrainians. Neither Baba, nor my other Ukrainian Catholic interviewees recalled a time when the parish had been closed. According to them, it had always been a successful and thriving ethnic space. An interview with Anne Matschke (nee Kuchmey) however provided some insight into this silence. Before discussing Anne's memories, it must be noted that my oral history methodology, namely Baba's presence at the interview, was essential to retrieving the gossip which enabled me to read past this silence.[68]

Although Baba had arranged this interview, she was diffident about accompanying me to it because she did not know Anne personally. While she had lived in Sudbury as a youth, Anne had spent the bulk of her life in Toronto and thus, not recognizing Anne's last name, Baba was hesitant about attending the interview. I nevertheless persisted, arguing that her presence was needed for the sake of consistency

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[66] "Lack of Funds Forces Church to Close Doors," *Sudbury Star*, 29 April 1931, 23.

[67] "Parish Control is Transferred," *Sudbury Star*, 2 May 1931, 1.

[68] For a discussion about gossip and rumour and the ways in which they can be used by historians see, for instance, Franca Iacovetta, "Gossip, Contest, and Power in the Making of Suburban Bad Girls: Toronto, 1945-1960," *Canadian Historical Review* 80.4 (December 1999), 585-623; Lynne Marks, "Railing, Tattling, and General Rumour: Gossip, Gender, and Church Regulation in Upper Canada," *Canadian Historical Review* 81.3 (September 2000), 380-402; and Luise White, *Speaking with Vampires: Rumor and History in Colonial Africa* (Berkley: University of California Press, 2000).

– Baba attended the majority of my interviews – and thus Baba reluctantly agreed to come to the interview. The first half of this interview may have been similar to others, but when Baba realized that she had grown up with Anne, the dynamics of the interview space changed. The two women returned to their youth, reminiscing about the people that they had known and the places that they had both frequented and these shared memories quickly led to an interesting gossip session. Not surprisingly, my ears perked up when I heard Father Bartman's name.

Anne did not remember the church's closure *per se*, but she did recall the gossip that had engulfed Father Bartman. In particular, one Sunday mass stood out in her memory. Seated beside her family in a pew in the front row of the church, Anne remembered that just as Father Bartman was about to begin his weekly sermon a woman ran into the church with a baby, screaming: "It's his! It's his!" She then proceeded to place the baby on the church altar before she ran out of the building shouting: "Don't listen to him, he's a liar!" Although Anne declared that this had been a "communist prank," she went on to point out that Father Bartman had had a child and when this news became public he was reduced to a lay state and became a lawyer; incidentally Ukrainian Catholic priests could not marry after they were ordained.[69]

Father Bartman's pastoral file at the Ukrainian Catholic Archeparchy of Winnipeg Archive (UCAWA) enables us to contextualize Anne's memories as well as the article in the *Sudbury Star*. Bartman began to have problems with his parishioners in January 1931. Specifically, they sent a letter to Bishop Ladyka claiming that the church was neglected and its finances were mismanaged; St. Mary's may have had an $1800

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[69] Anne Matschke (nee Kuchmey), interview by author, Sudbury, 7 May 2005.

surplus when Bartman arrived in 1928 but by 1931 that surplus had turned into a $4000 debt.[70] Moreover, parishioners alleged that Bartman was collecting money for church services he never performed.[71] Letters exchanged between Father Bartman and Bishop Ladyka indicate that Bartman was in fact taking advantage of his position, apportioning himself a generous salary and collecting a great deal of financial assistance from the local mining companies; sources do not indicate whether progressives made any use of Bartman's mismanagement and appropriation of funds.[72] When Bishop Ladyka relieved Bartman of his responsibilities at St. Mary's, reassigning him to a parish in Sydney, Nova Scotia, Bartman declared that the Bishop's response was unfair and he launched a law suit against the Ruthenian Greek Catholic Episcopal Corporation claiming that he was owed $6929.50 in promissory notes signed by Bishop Budka, the Bishop who preceded Ladyka.[73]

Bishop Ladyka transferred Bartman to another church because of his mismanagement of St. Mary's. It is however significant to note that Bartman's duties at his new parish in Sydney were complicated by an illicit relationship that may have begun in Sudbury. Although this affair was not mentioned in Bartman's pastoral file

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[70] UCAWA, Nicholas Bartman File, NB 42-44, letter written by Vasyl Iavorsky to Bishop Ladyka, 2 January 1931, translated by Orest Martynowych.

[71] UCAWA, Nicholas Bartman File, NB 47-48, letter written by N. Melnyk to Bishop Ladyka, 3 March 1931, translated by Orest Martynowych.

[72] UCAWA, Nicholas Bartman File, NB 61, letter written by Bishop Ladyka to Nicholas Bartman, 23 March 1931, translated by Orest Martynowych; and UCAWA, Nicholas Bartman File, NB 65, letter written by Bishop Ladyka to Nicholas Bartman, 4 April 1931, translated by Orest Martynowych.

[73] UCAWA, Nicholas Bartman File, NB 69, letter written by Nicholas Bartman to Bishop Ladyka, 18 April 1931, translated by Orest Martynowych; and UCAWA, Nicholas Bartman File, NB 72-73, letter written by J.W. Arsenych (lawyer) to Ruthenian Greek Catholic Episcopal Corporation, 12 May 1931, translated by Orest Martynowych.

until he was settled in Sydney, where his "wife" gave birth to a daughter and thereby set off a highly contentious scandal among parishioners, tidbits about this relationship suggest that Bartman had been carrying on with this woman long before he was transferred.[74] Anne's story thus seems to indicate that Sudbury's progressives learned about Bartman's affair before Bishop Ladyka. Since Bartman had spent the bulk of his time in Sudbury condemning the "evil Bolsheviks", it is quite feasible that progressives may have used Bartman's illicit relationship to devise a public spectacle that enabled them to gain some degree of revenge for his actions.

Like the battle which occurred on Baba's front steps, the details of Anne's story are however less important than their meanings. Anne was raised by devout Catholic parents who condemned communism and ensured that their children had little connection with the ULFTA Hall. In the course of her interview, Anne also recalled that progressive children often launched tomatoes and eggs at her and her friends when leaving church events.[75] These "other" Ukrainians were "bad" people and the prank at the church served only to reinforce this idea.[76] Although it had shamed Father Bartman, the prank helped to solidify Anne's identity as a Ukrainian Catholic, providing a personal point of reference for delineating difference.

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[74] See, for instance, UCAWA, Nicholas Bartman File, NB 137, letter written by Bishop James Morrison (Antigonish) to Bishop Ladyka, 3 January 1933, translated by Orest Martynowych.

[75] Anne Matschke (nee Kuchmey), interview.

[76] Ibid.

Using Public Confrontations to Define Difference

Despite heightened tensions in the community, May Day celebrations which took place during St. Mary's temporary closure were peaceful.[77] In the months that followed, the local economy grew worse and the number of unemployed men in the region increased. According to an anonymous progressive, by August 1931 only 300 of Creighton Mine's 1200 miners were still employed by INCO.[78] Workers were laid off on a daily basis while those who retained their jobs were required to boost their output in order to compensate for the shortage of men. According to D. Barabash, miners routinely collapsed as a result of the hot temperatures underground and therefore found it difficult to meet their new quotas.[79] Despite the fact that they were required to work harder, men who managed to remain employed by INCO also faced a ten percent salary reduction by November 1931.[80]

The following year was not much better for Sudbury's Ukrainians. Lacking a permanent address, many were arrested for vagrancy and thus spent a significant amount of time in the local jail, where they were at the very least guaranteed a daily helping of bread and soup.[81] Despite the desperation of the times, mass demonstrations

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[77] "'Revolution' All Peaceful at Bell Park," *Sudbury Star*, 2 May 1931, 1.

[78] "We're Working in the Mines to the Point of Exhaustion," *Ukrainski robitnychi visti*, 4 August 1931, 4, translated by Larissa Stavroff. Also see "Miner Being Kept From Working," *Ukrainski robitnychi visti*, 27 October 1931, 4, translated by Larissa Stavroff.

[79] D. Barabash, "INCO Preparing to Cut Miners' Salaries," *Ukrainski robitnychi visti*, 29 October 1931, 4, translated by Larissa Stavroff.

[80] Ibid.

[81] See Sudbury Regional Police Museum, Sudbury Police Department Criminal Registers, 1930-1939. Also see Department of the Provincial Secretary, *Annual Report on Common Gaols, Prisons and Reformatories, 1930-1939* (Toronto: LK Cameron, 1931-1940); and E.G. Higgins, *Twelve O'Clock and All's Well: A Pictorial History of Law Enforcement in the Sudbury District: 1883-1978* (Sudbury: Journal Printing, 1978).

were kept to a minimum until 1 May 1932, when progressives launched their most explosive protest. Ironically, May Day fell on the same day as Easter – Ukrainian Catholics followed the Julian calendar – and thus this date marked notable holidays for both progressives and Catholics. Refusing to comply with a local bylaw which required progressives to carry the Union Jack at the head of their May Day parade, the celebration quickly turned into a violent confrontation.[82] Led by Myron Kostaniuk, a prominent progressive in the region, the group of 600 demonstrators proceeded to march down the street with the "red flag of the worker's revolution," because the Union Jack represented the "flag of the bosses."[83] Since the demonstrators broke the bylaw, police were ordered to break up the crowd and, according to an anonymous demonstrator, "...fell upon the marchers like wild dogs...beating them brutally on their heads."[84] Shortly thereafter a number of concerned citizens, who regarded the action as a "fight for the Union Jack," also became involved, beating and rounding up progressives to help the police; it is unclear whether any of these concerned citizens were Ukrainian Catholics. Mayor Peter Fenton, a police officer, and nearly all of the eighteen Ukrainian and Finnish men and women who were arrested were injured during the confrontation. Later that evening, the Finnish Liberty Hall and the Sudbury ULFTA Hall were raided by police and all of the organizations' records were seized.[85] In

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[82] See Kelly Saxberg, Director, *Letters From Karelia*, National Film Board of Canada, 2004, for a discussion about this May Day confrontation.

[83] "18 Arrested in Battle Over Flag As Communists Attempt May Day Parade," *Sudbury Star*, 4 May 1932, 5.

[84] "Police and Hirelings Attacked the Workers," *Ukrainski robitnychi visti*, 12 May 1932, 4, translated by Larissa Stavroff.

[85] "Special Telegram," *Ukrainski robitnychi visti*, 3 May 1932, 1, translated by Larissa Stavroff; and "One, Two, Three, We Don't Fear the Bourgeoisie," *Ukrainsky holos*, 4 May 1932, 1, translated by Larissa Stavroff. It must be noted that police did not

addition, police confiscated the halls' pictures of Karl Marx as well as any emblems which contained the hammer and sickle.[86] According to Chief Louden, the region's progressives had "flouted the law and offended the loyalty of Canadians," and thus it was time to "stop being lenient" and "combat communism."[87] The police, Louden made clear, would not tolerate any more "Communistic meetings or parades."[88] An anonymous Sudburian, who submitted an opinion piece to the *Sudbury Star*, concurred with Louden, stating that "[communists] in Sudbury [had] at last appeared before the public in their true colors," deliberately "flaunting British sentiment in the community."[89] Native Sudburians thus assumed the opinions adopted by Ukrainian Catholics in the years before, concluding that there were in fact two groups of Ukrainians. The "Reds," unlike the region's Ukrainians Catholics, were disloyal Canadian citizens and thus could not be trusted. By refusing to carry the Union Jack, progressives violated "an informal code of respectable public performance," and thus contested their citizenship.[90] Certainly, public protests like this were unforgettable settings for displaying identity, directly impacting the ways in which progressives belonged to the local community, the region, and the nation.

Progressives argued that the Sudbury arrests were "just the beginning of an overall campaign which...[would] lead to the deportation of almost all foreign-born,

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raid the Coniston ULFTA Hall because it was no longer in operation, closing sometime between late 1931 and early 1932.

[86] "Police and Hirelings Attacked the Workers," 4.

[87] "18 Arrested in Battle Over Flag As Communists Attempt May Day Parade," 4.

[88] "No More Meetings Will Be Tolerated; Parade Prevented," *Sudbury Star*, 7 May 1932, 1.

[89] *Sudbury Star*, 4 May 1932, 4.

[90] Heron and Penfold, *The Workers' Festival: A History of Labour Day in Canada*, 10-11.

leading Communists."[91] While it is unclear whether any of those who were arrested were actually deported, it is significant to note that some, like Myron Kostaniuk, were later interned in Canadian facilities during World War II.[92] The Royal Canadian Mounted Police (RCMP) became involved in these May Day arrests, thus acquiring the information that it later used to intern these men. Most of the men and women involved in the demonstration were charged with unlawful assembly and sentenced to a term of imprisonment, but Kostaniuk's arrest was the central story in the days that followed this particular May Day.[93] Although he declared that he had not seen the red flag that day, as the organizer of the event and the leader of the parade, he was handed the toughest sentence and consequently served "seven months of hard labour in the Burwash prison."[94]

Like the clash which occurred at Baba's home, this bloody confrontation was a defining moment for Sudbury's progressives, enabling individuals, like Mary Kardash (nee Kostaniuk), to work out their identities. Although Mary had been involved in the local progressive movement before May Day, this "black day became well fixed in [her] memory," because it represented the moment when she was forced to personally

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[91] *Ukrainski robitnychi visti*, 7 May 1932, 1, translated by Larissa Stavroff.

[92] Kostaniuk, "Recollections From the Life of a Ukrainian Pioneer," 37. For a related discussion about the experiences of those who were interned see, for instance, Peter Krawchuk, *Interned Without Cause: the Internment of Canadian Anti-Fascists During World War Two* (Toronto: Kobzar Publishing, 1985); Ian Radforth, "Political Prisoners: The Communist Internees," in Franca Iacovetta, Roberto Perin, and Angelo Principe, eds., *Enemies Within: Italian and Other Internees in Canada and Abroad* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2000), 194-224; and Rhonda Hinther, "'Sincerest Revolutionary Greetings': Progressive Ukrainians in the Twentieth Century," Ph.D. Dissertation, McMaster University, 2005, 74-84.

[93] "May Day Disturber Denies Ever Seeing Red Flag in Parade," *Sudbury Star*, 25 May 1932, 1.

[94] Kostaniuk, "Recollections From the Life of a Ukrainian Pioneer," 37. Also see "May Day Rioter Receives Term 6 to 18 Months," *Sudbury Star*, 28 May 1932, 2.

confront the differences which polarized the community.[95] Seeing her father Myron being beaten by police and then hauled into jail became a vivid reminder of why she assumed a progressive identity. She stated:

> My political convictions, which I formed in my home and within the organization, assumed their final shape at this time. I was able to see with my own eyes the great injustice that was being perpetrated against ordinary people by the capitalist system and I came to the conclusion that workers and farmers [could] put an end to this sort of exploitation of mankind and the consequent suffering only by replacing that system with a socialist order, one in which there is no exploitation of man by man, no private profit, and where common people enjoy the benefits accruing from the wealth of the nation. The Soviet Union, I saw, was a shining example of this.[96]

Although this is a written rather than a spoken memory text, it is clear that Mary used this experience to understand both her identity as well as her place in this heavily divided community in the days, months, and years after this violent confrontation occurred.

The ULFTA Hall and its principles may have given progressives, like Mary, "some sense of tranquility in their lives," but the intersection of Birch and Spruce Street, where the hall was located, was "like a gateway to hell for other Ukrainians."[97] Both Ukrainian Catholics and those without any organizational affiliations demonized the "Spruce Street Hall" and the public activities which were organized by and for its members. As a result, May Day parades, celebrations, and confrontations were events which stood out in the minds of my interviewees. May Day, in particular, helped to

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[95] Mary Kardash, in Peter Krawchuk, ed., *Reminiscences of Courage and Hope: Stories of Ukrainian Canadian Women Pioneers*, Translated by Michael Ukas (Toronto: Kobzar Publishing, 1991), 297.

[96] Ibid., 297-298.

[97] Oryst Sawchuk, interview.

establish and reinforce their identities, offering them an image against which they could define themselves.

As a rule, Ukrainians who did not belong to the ULFTA tended to stay off of the streets on May Day, silently protesting against the holiday while ensuring that they would not be branded as "communists". In order to avoid this label, Steve and Mary Evanshen issued an annual warning to their teenage son, demanding that he stay away from the May Day celebrations. Despite his parents' wishes, Nick, a Ukrainian with no organizational affiliations, would often hide behind the buildings lining the route of the parade, "watching all the fights and celebrations" which took place on this day. Steve and Mary had been members of the ULFTA when they first arrived in Sudbury but when they realized "how political it was" Nick stated that "they quit the hall and never joined any other organizations, washing their hands of everything." When I continued to question Nick about his parent's withdrawal from this organization he recalled the words of his father: "I am in Canada now and I am a Canadian citizen."[98] Although Nick did not attempt to explain this statement, I suspect that his father was well aware of the consequences of belonging to the ULFTA and thus he and Mary withdrew so that they would be regarded as loyal and respectable citizens by members of the local community as well as by officials at INCO's Copper Cliff Smelter, where Steve worked. When Nick chose to participate in the May Day events as a spectator, he thereby defied his parents' wishes, becoming aware of the "other" Ukrainians who lived in the region.

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[98] Nick Evanshen, interview by author, Sudbury, 14 May 2005.

Ukrainian Catholics, like Anne Matschke (nee Kuchmey), were not as willing to participate in the ULFTA's May Day activities. Since she regularly attended mass and was often hit with eggs and tomatoes by "communists" when leaving church functions, Anne was well aware of the evils which characterized progressives and thus she dreaded May Day. Unlike Nick, Anne did not have to be warned about staying away from the celebrations. If by chance she was forced to go out in public on "the communist day", Anne recalled that she would often run from destination to destination, hoping to avoid being confronted by those who belonged to "the Spruce Street Hall."[99] May Day events as well as the pranks progressives pulled on Anne served to solidify her identity as well as her definitions of the "other". Happenstance which occurred on this day of defiance thereby left indelible marks on Nick's and Anne's memories because these were times when both of them were forced to personally confront the differences which polarized the community.

Catholic Factions

Although the Depression finally hit Sudbury in the latter half of 1931, desperation did not begin to set in until after the May Day confrontation of 1932 when INCO announced that it was closing its Coniston, Creighton, and Garson Mines for a three month period.[100] Leaving its Copper Cliff and Frood Mines in operation, INCO cut its workforce from 8839 in February 1930 to 2000 full- and part-time employees in July 1932.[101] At the same time, Falconbridge only offered 250 men employment in its

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[99] Anne Matschke (nee Kuchmey), interview.

[100] "Coniston, Creighton and Garson Closing for Three Months," *Sudbury Star*, 27 July 1932, 1.

[101] Wallace, "The 1930s," 144.

mines.[102] As a result, the early part of 1933 was a difficult period for most Ukrainians who lived in the region. They kept a low profile while they engaged in a working-class struggle to survive and thus events like the annual May Day celebration attracted large but peaceful crowds to the city's streets. The group of 1500 progressives left their red flags at home in 1933, choosing instead to carry the "biggest Union Jack available," while they protested the miserable local conditions.[103] Families could not afford to physically and emotionally deal with the legal ramifications which would result from a violent uprising.

Despite the desperation of the times, members of the fledgling UWVA managed to stage a comeback during 1933. Opposed to Bolshevism and in direct conflict with the Catholic men who belonged to the CSO, members of the UWVA met informally between 1931 and 1933 and expanded their organization by establishing the Ol'ha Basarab Ukrainian Women's Organization, a women's branch, in 1932.[104] On 20 July 1933, after listening to a speech given by Vasyl Hultay, leader of the nationalist movement in Canada, thirty-seven male and female members held a meeting and decided to form a local branch of the UNF, "in order to encompass a broader sphere of the Ukrainian community."[105] Membership would no longer be limited to the veterans of the Ukrainian National Army and their wives.

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[102] Ibid.

[103] "Police Lead Parade and Magistrate Gets Flag For Procession," *Sudbury Star*, 3 May 1933, 1.

[104] Irene Knysh, ed., *In Service of Our Homeland: The Ukrainian Women's Organization of Canada, Twenty-Fifth Anniversary* (Winnipeg: Ukrainian Women's Organization of Canada, 1956), 335, translated by Larissa Stavroff.

[105] Zynovy Knysh, ed., *Toward National Unity: Fifty Years of Service by the Ukrainian National Federation, 1932-1982* (Toronto: Ukrainian National Federation of Canada, 1982), 483, translated by Larissa Stavroff.

The UNF "programme rested on four pillars – non-sectarianism, bilingual education, economic self-reliance and political independence – with the first [being] the most important."[106] In addition to its fight against communism – like St. Mary's, the local mining companies recognized that this organization was an ally – the UNF was also engaged in a fierce battle against Catholic members of the CSO.[107] Although the UWVA had lost its right to meet in the church basement in 1930, members continued to frequent the parish as Catholics. The parish council, which included members of the CSO and the UNF, was thus paralyzed by politics during the early 1930s.[108] Letters written by Father John Koltsun to Bishop Ladyka indicate that this internal division took a heavy toll on the church. The parish debt, incurred during Father Bartman's reign, continued to grow and Koltsun could not make payments to the chancery or issue himself remuneration.[109] Although Koltsun tried to remain neutral when it came to the CSO/UNF division, Catholic members of the UNF often regarded his neutrality as CSO favouritism and thus attempted to sabotage many of his efforts;[110] ideologically the UNF was opposed to the church because it was not only deficient in Ukrainian patriotism, but also responsible for dividing Catholic and Orthodox Ukrainians.[111]

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[106] Orest Martynowych, *Ukrainians in Canada: The Formative Years, 1891-1924* (Edmonton: Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies Press, 1991), 246.

[107] Zynovy Knysh, ed., *Toward National Unity: Fifty Years of Service by the Ukrainian National Federation, 1932-1982*, 483.

[108] UCAWA, John Koltsun File, JKO 84, letter written by John Koltsun to Bishop Ladyka, 15 March 1932, translated by Orest Martynowych.

[109] See, for instance, UCAWA, John Koltsun File, JKO 116-19, letter written by John Koltsun to Bishop Ladyka, 28 March 1933, translated by Orest Martynowych.

[110] See, for instance, UCAWA, John Koltsun File, JKO 100-104, letter written by John Koltsun to Bishop Ladyka, 14 September 1932, translated by Orest Martynowych.

[111] Martynowych, *Ukrainians in Canada: The Formative Years, 1891-1924*, 247.

In addition to the ideological, and often personal, divisions which led to a rift among members of the UNF and St. Mary's Ukrainian Catholic Church, the rivalry took on a local element. In particular, the two institutions competed for committed members. Although my interviewees did not discuss the ideological issues mentioned above, they did note that because they were obligated to devote a lot of their time to these causes they were frequently forced to make a choice between the church and the UNF. These ethnic spaces became "second homes" to many of my interviewees and thus they could not physically be in two places at once.[112] Moreover, St. Mary's and the UNF often scheduled events at the same time, thereby forcing their members to choose between the two causes.[113] This drive for members invariably led to occasional conflicts between the two organizations.

Shortly after establishing this local branch of the UNF, members elected an all-male executive as well as an all-male building committee.[114] Like their Catholic and progressive counterparts, nationalist men assumed leadership roles while women were relegated to supportive roles, organizing fundraising campaigns to collect money for the building, establishing a *ridna shkola* (children's school), and cooking for UNF events.[115] Likewise, the organizational roles adopted by nationalist boys and girls were

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[112] See, for instance, Ramona Bendick (nee Shyluk), interview by author, Sudbury, 15 November 2004; and Helen Pihursky (nee Ciotka), interview by author, Sudbury, 13 January 2005.

[113] Anonymous interviewee, interview by author, Sudbury, 16 November 2004.

[114] Zynovy Knysh, ed., *Toward National Unity: Fifty Years of Service by the Ukrainian National Federation, 1932-1982*, 484-485.

[115] Frances Swyripa discusses the roles and identities assumed by Ukrainian nationalist women in Canada, arguing that in addition to being loyal Canadian citizens the organization sought to prepare them to be good mothers and homemakers. See Swyripa, *Wedded to the Cause: Ukrainian-Canadian Women and Ethnic Identity, 1891-1991* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1993), 157.

similar to those recounted by progressive and Catholic children during this period. Although their activities were rooted in nationalist ideals, Ukrainianness and childhood rather than gender defined their experiences within this organization.

Unemployed nationalist men living in the Sudbury region began to construct a building shortly after members elected the building committee. With just twenty dollars and twenty-nine cents in the UNF bank account, these men spent their days volunteering on site while nationalist women established a communal kitchen at the Voronchak home, where they took turns cooking for the men.[116] About six months later, nationalists – there were fifty-four official members at this point – held their first meeting in their new hall on Frood Road in the Donovan on 14 January 1934. Incidentally, members of the UNF had been successful fundraisers during this period, amassing donations and proceeds from UNF-sponsored events, and when their hall, valued at $5500, opened, they were left with a debt of $3640.[117] Interestingly, Father Peter Kamenetsky, who was transferred to St. Mary's in November 1933, personally supported the UNF and even asked Bishop Ladyka for permission to bless this secular space.[118] Not surprisingly, this request infuriated the Catholic men who belonged to the CSO and had had the support of past priests. Men, like Nykola Stus and Baba's father Peter, wrote to Bishop Ladyka reporting Kamenetsky's nationalist leanings and

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[116] Zynovy Knysh, ed., *Toward National Unity: Fifty Years of Service by the Ukrainian National Federation, 1932-1982*, 485; and Irene Knysh, ed., *In Service of Our Homeland: The Ukrainian Women's Organization of Canada, Twenty-Fifth Anniversary*, 338-339.

[117] Zynovy Knysh, ed., *Toward National Unity: Fifty Years of Service by the Ukrainian National Federation, 1932-1982*, 485.

[118] UCAWA, Peter Kamenetsky File, PK 125-29, letter written by Peter Kamenetsky to Bishop Ladyka, 27 December 1933, translated by Orest Martynowych.

requesting a new parish priest.[119] Personal preferences aside, Kamenetsky had no choice but to cater to the needs of nationalists. When the UNF Hall opened, about sixty families stopped attending church and thus Kamenetsky was left with just six families and no money with which to augment parish revenues.[120] Had Kamenetsky not sided with the nationalists and enticed them to return to church, St. Mary's would have been forced to close its doors permanently.[121]

It is important to note that this new ethnic space also served as a place of worship for Greek Orthodox Ukrainians until they built their own church, St. Volodymyr's Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church, in 1940.[122] Established in July 1918 by a group of nationalist-minded intelligentsia who believed in democracy and placed "Ukrainianism first and religious upbringing second," the establishment of the Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church of Canada was meant to signify "a conscious and

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[119] UCAWA, Peter Kamenetsky File, PK 170-72, letter written by N. Stuss to Bishop Ladyka, 5 February 1935, translated by Orest Martynowych. Also see UCAWA, Peter Kamenetsky File, PK 167-69, letter written by Peter Kamenetsky to Bishop Ladyka, 13 January 1934, translated by Orest Martynowych.

[120] See, for instance, UCAWA, Peter Kamenetsky File, PK 134-35, letter written by Peter Kamenetsky to Bishop Ladyka, 19 January 1934, translated by Orest Martynowych.

[121] By defeating the "parish aristocracy," which was composed of CSO members, and drawing nationalists back to the church, Kamenetsky increased the church's membership base to well over 200 members by March 1935 and by December 1935 he paid off the church's mortgage. When the Bishop transferred Kamenetsky to Our Lady of Perpetual Help Parish in Toronto in September 1937, Kamenetsky left $500 in St. Mary's bank account. See UCAWA, Peter Kamenetsky File, PK 179-81, letter written by Peter Kamenetsky to Bishop Ladyka, 2 March 1935, translated by Orest Martynowych; UCAWA, Peter Kamenetsky File, PK 202, letter written by Bishop Ladyka to Peter Kamenetsky, 2 December 1935, translated by Orest Martynowych; and UCAWA, Peter Kamenetsky File, PK 223-24, letter written by Bishop Ladyka to Peter Kamenetsky, 4 September 1937, translated by Orest Martynowych.

[122] "Greek Orthodox Members Form Sudbury Church," *Sudbury Star*, 20 February 1935, 10.

patriotic return to the faith of their ancestors, who had been obliged to renounce Orthodoxy and unite with Rome in 1596."[123] These nationalists, who were different from the Catholic members of the UNF, regarded themselves as "'born again' Orthodox because to them Ukrainian Orthodoxy now represented their national identity and their cultural heritage."[124] Refusing to recognize the sovereignty of the Pope, most "Ukrainian Greek Orthodox priests [thereby] regarded the inculcation of Ukrainian nationalism and patriotism as part of their pastoral work."[125] The UNF Hall was therefore an interfaith, and to a certain degree, a politically varied ethnic communal space where Catholic and Orthodox Ukrainians could mingle. Despite differences in faith and politics, they came together to stress upward mobility and integration, preserve the Ukrainian language and culture, and emphasize the need for an independent, non-communist Ukrainian state in Europe.[126] Co-operation in this space however did not necessarily mean that there was not a rivalry between the Catholic and Orthodox Churches. Nationally, the Ukrainian Catholic clergy "regarded the 'schismatic' church...as much too secular, too concerned with mundane ideologies and politics and too out of touch with the sacred and everlasting."[127] Locally, the priests at St. Mary's also regarded the developing Orthodox community as taking away its members.[128]

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[123] Gerus, "Consolidating the Community: The Ukrainian Self-Reliance League," 161.

[124] Ibid., 162.

[125] Martynowych, *Ukrainians in Canada: The Formative Years, 1891-1924*, 493.

[126] Swyripa, *Wedded to the Cause: Ukrainian-Canadian Women and Ethnic Identity, 1891-1991*, 8.

[127] Martynowych, *Ukrainians in Canada: The Formative Years, 1891-1924*, 496.

[128] See, for instance, UCAWA, Michael Irkha File, MI 111-112, letter written by Michael Irkha to Bishop Ladyka, 26 August 1940, translated by Orest Martynowych.

While Doris Sturby (Zaparynuik) recalled that "some people weren't happy about the new church," Helen Pihursky (nee Ciotka) was more blunt, stating that the competition "had to do with money and the priests didn't like each other."[129] In fact, Helen recounted an instance when a Catholic priest approached her to tell her that she "didn't belong to God...[because she] went to the opposing church."[130] Incidentally, it must be noted that INCO supported the development of a local Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church since it, like St. Mary's and the UNF Hall, "neutralized Bolshevik influences among its workers."[131]

These battles over membership did not however discount the fact that progressives were a common enemy. They may have challenged one another, but Catholic and Orthodox nationalist Ukrainians, who did not belong to the CSO, were able to manage their differences and recognize that their efforts had to go to fighting the "evil" element of their community. Their group identities may have varied but all of these Ukrainians continued to define themselves against progressives. Although St. Mary's had been instrumental in publicly confronting and condemning the ULFTA in the latter part of the 1920s, members of the UNF emerged from their hall to take up where Catholics had left off after 1933. This is not surprising given the pattern of passivity which developed among Catholics during the opening years of the 1930s. After Father Bartman left the church, Catholics lacked an aggressive and outspoken leader and hence they turned inward, neither making church matters public nor taking to

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[129] Doris Sturby (Zaparynuik), interview by author, Sudbury, 13 December 2004; and Helen Pihursky (nee Ciotka), interview.

[130] Helen Pihursky (nee Ciotka), interview.

[131] Archives of the Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church of Canada, Father Andrii Sarmatiuk File, letter dated 23 September 1940, translated by Orest Martynowych.

the streets to declare their differences. Moreover, Catholics had to fix their own problems before they could address those affecting the broader community. The parish's debt, a constantly fluctuating membership, and the CSO/UNF division were all issues which forced Catholics to withdraw from the public battles brewing among Sudbury's Ukrainians. Nationalists, on the other hand, began to condemn progressives almost immediately, making it clear that they were prepared to fight a public battle if need be. Progressives were also ready for a good fight and thus they began to issue negative statements soon after members of the UNF moved into their new hall, declaring that they were willing to defend their ideals if a "a war against communism" began in the region.[132]

Sudbury Emerges From The Depression

Sudbury's economy started to make steady improvements just as the ideological battle emerged with great force. On 17 June 1933 the *Sudbury Star* announced that INCO had reopened its Creighton Mine, expanded its Frood Mine, and refired the Coniston Smelter.[133] C.M. Wallace states that this dramatic change was brought on by the fact that "[nickel] and copper were essential for cars, electrical components, stainless steel, and shells, and the world nickel inventory was exhausted."[134] According to Wallace, production for 1933 rose by 275 percent and, not surprisingly, the peaks reported by INCO prior to the collapse of the local economy were easily surpassed in 1934.[135] While some letters written to *Ukrainski robitnychi visti* continued to speak of

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[132] Osyp Hryhorovych, "Sudbury," *Ukrainski robitnychi visti*, 10 February 1934, 5, translated by Larissa Stavroff.

[133] Wallace, "The 1930s," 144.

[134] Ibid.

[135] Ibid.

unemployment and relief, most reported the change in the nickel industry, going as far as to say that nickel was needed because "the imperialist world [was] rushing to war."[136] Moreover, progressives tried to use this news to attract more members to its organization, stating that it was imperative that workers come together and unite against the "fascist forces" that they believed were leading the world to war.[137] There was a localized element to this argument as well. Nationalists in Sudbury had begun to spread rumours about the ULFTA Hall, stating that its membership base was steadily decreasing because old members had "come to their senses" and joined the UNF. The progressive call for members was therefore issued to counter these rumours and thus did not hesitate to mention the hall's many recent successes. Members needed to not only unite against these "fascist forces", but also partake in the activities which were occurring in this flourishing hall.[138]

The rumour declaring that Sudbury's ULFTA Hall was on the verge of closing may not have been true, but certainly there were progressive members who defected to the nationalist camp. When a Mr. T. Moroz was thrown out of the labour organization for instance, he became a member of the UNF, declaring that he was prepared to denounce progressives if pushed to do so.[139] Although it is unclear whether Moroz actually followed through on his promise, spying and instances of betrayal became

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[136] N. Siry, "Nickel Industry in Sudbury Working For the Impending War," *Ukrainski robitnychi visti*, 8 December 1934, 4, translated by Larissa Stavroff. Also see "Hitlerite Agents in Sudbury Won't Be Allowed to Smash Labour Unity," *Ukrainski robitnychi visti*, 18 July 1935, 3, translated by Larissa Stavroff.

[137] Ibid.

[138] "Sent in by a Member of the Bazaar Committee," *Ukrainski robitnychi visti*, 26 January 1935, 3, translated by Larissa Stavroff.

[139] "*Novyi shliakh's* Fascist Liars Eating Away at the ULN," *Ukrainski robitnychi visti*, 5 February 1935, 4, translated by Larissa Stavroff.

commonplace during this period; this is not surprising given the fact that progressives were advocating the organization of a local branch of the Mine Worker's Union of Canada.[140] Before any unions were established, Bill Babij recalled that the men "had to suck up to their bosses" in order to keep their jobs. Bill's father Michael was no exception and thus there were times when Bill's mother Paraska was awoken in the middle of the night to serve drinks and cook a hot meal for Michael's shift boss.[141] Michael invited his boss home so that he could acquire some job security but certainly there were others who used this opportunity to report the activities of their co-workers.

In addition to being members of the UNF, those who spied for the mining companies belonged to the UHO; although the name of this organization changed in 1934, Ukrainians seem to have used the new and old name, the CSO or "Sitch" for short, interchangeably. Meeting at St. Mary's, the men who belonged to this organization were staunch anti-communists who, like their nationalist counterparts, were also devoted to vanquishing the progressive element in their community. In fact, on 4 September 1935 they went so far as to hold an anti-communist tag day, setting up a booth downtown at the corner of Durham and Station Street. Not far from this location, progressives posted a sign which read "Not a Cent for Sitch," urging all Ukrainians to boycott the UHO tag day. Upon noticing the sign, Walter Obork and Nick Gawur, two

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[140] *Ukrainski robitnychi visti*, 8 July 1935, 3, translated by Larissa Stavroff; and *Ukrainski robitnychi visti*, 13 July 1935, 2, translated by Larissa Stavroff.

[141] Bill Babij, interview by author, Sudbury, 16 December 2004.

Hetman supporters, walked over to rip it down and shortly thereafter, they were "attacked by a group of about twelve roving Reds."[142]

It is important to note that Sudbury was filled with Ukrainians who were willing company informers. Nationalist, Hetman, Catholic, and Orthodox Ukrainians happily betrayed their progressive counterparts if that meant that their jobs would be secure and that the local branch of the ULFTA would be weakened. I say this because of the information that I gathered from RCMP Access to Information and Privacy (ATIP) requests that I filed at LAC. Those who have requested RCMP documents for other locales with large Ukrainian populations have often been inundated with information, receiving substantially sized packages loaded with RCMP-gathered details.[143] I was thus quite surprised and disappointed when I received few documents after placing similar requests. Since the bulk of the documents that I did receive dealt with the

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[142] "Reds and Whites Clash on Street: Incident Shows Tension Between Factions in Sudbury," *Sudbury Star*, 4 September 1935, 1; and *Ukrainski robitnychi visti*, 19 September 1935, 3, translated by Larissa Stavroff.

[143] Myron Momryk made similar Access to Information and Privacy (ATIP) requests for Val D'Or, Quebec for instance and was inundated with documents detailing the information gathered by Royal Canadian Mounted Police (RCMP) informers in the area. Apparently, Val d'Or's gold mining companies did not rely upon voluntary or company-paid informers, choosing instead to use the information gathered by RCMP informers stationed in the area. Although Momryk has yet to publish a history that makes use of these documents, he has nevertheless published work detailing the history of Val d'Or's Ukrainian community. See Momryk, "The Ukrainian Community in Val d'Or-Bourlamaque, Quebec," in Alexander Biega and Myroslaw Diakowsky, eds., *The Ukrainian Experience in Quebec* (Toronto: The Basilian Press, 1994), 25-50. It must be noted that Sudbury is also rarely mentioned in the RCMP Bulletins edited by Greg Kealey and Reg Whitaker. See Kealey and Whitaker, eds., *RCMP Security Bulletins: The Depression Years*, Five Volumes (St. John's: Canadian Committee on Labour History, 1993, 1995, 1996, 1997). Significantly, Timmins, Ontario is mentioned quite frequently in these bulletins and thus Kerry Abel has made extensive use of this source in her recent history about Northeastern Ontario. See Abel, *Changing Places: History, Community, and Identity in Northeastern Ontario* (Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2006).

postwar period I chose to return to LAC to place another series of requests, changing the Ukrainian organizational names that I used on the initial request forms. Like my first set of requests, I received very little documentation and thus I concluded, with the help of newspaper articles published in *Ukrainski robitnychi visti*, that the RCMP did not need to station many informers in the region because the mining companies had a voluntary group of spies working for them. The community, for all intents and purposes, regulated itself thereby making formal surveillance tactics by the RCMP unnecessary. In addition, letters written to the progressive newspaper suggest that the companies hired a number of paid informers to watch the movements of all of the local Ukrainian organizations. Hence, if we are to uncover the silences revealed by this lack of RCMP documentation those answers would have to come from the currently-closed corporate archives of the mining companies.

Spying was a particularly effective tactic for local nationalists who, by 1936, declared that "Bolshevism [in the region was] disappearing entirely."[144] Having established Branch Number Two of the food co-operative *Buduchnist* (The Future) on 16 June 1935 and built a store on Frood Road in the Donovan,[145] members of the UNF announced that "Moscow-Bolshevism [had] been pushed out of the way.[146] Nationalists could thereby shift their focus off of this menace and work toward nationalistic goals. In

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[144] M. Pashchyn and V. Andrukhiv, *Novyi shliakh*, 14 January 1936, 7, translated by Larissa Stavroff.

[145] Zynovy Knysh, ed., *Toward National Unity: Fifty Years of Service by the Ukrainian National Federation, 1932-1982*, 486-487; and "First Annual Meeting of the Ukrainian Food Co-Operative *Buduchnist*," *Novyi shliakh*, 28 January 1936, 6, translated by Larissa Stavroff. For a pertinent discussion about the co-operative movement in Winnipeg see Jim Mochoruk with Nancy Kardash, *The People's Co-Op: The Life and Times of a North End Institution* (Halifax: Fernwood Publishing, 2000).

[146] M. Pashchyn and V. Andrukhiv, *Novyi shliakh*, 14 January 1936, 7, translated by Larissa Stavroff.

doing so they welcomed General Mykola Kapustiansky, officer of the general staff of the Ukrainian National Army during World War I, to Sudbury for ten days in March 1936. In addition to becoming acquainted with the UNF movement, Kapustiansky used his visit to "make clear to [his] countrymen the state of economic and political conditions in the Ukrainian territory."[147] Instead of being embroiled in local community affairs, nationalists used Kapustiansky's stay to get back in touch with their movement's national objectives, raising money to aid those who remained in the Polish-controlled territory in Europe.[148] Incidentally, Ukrainian Catholics also had a chance to refocus on their institutional goals when Bishop Ladyka celebrated a pontifical high mass in St. Mary's on 27 September 1936. Speaking to a group of 500 parishioners, Ladyka made it quite clear that he was happy with the progress that had been made by Sudbury's Ukrainian Catholic community; it must be noted that it is unknown whether Ladyka commented upon the internal division plaguing the region's Catholics.[149]

Despite nationalist claims that the local progressive movement was losing steam, members of the Sudbury Branch of the ULFTA persisted, holding membership drives and staging weekly concerts and plays in an attempt to maintain a "united front."[150] Moreover, progressive men continued to write to *Ukrainski robitnychi visti* protesting the working conditions in the nickel mines. They were not only slowly being replaced by modern technology, but also had to deal with the "capitalist speed-up system." Shift bosses would get bonuses if their workers exceeded the daily quotas set

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[147] "Ukrainian General Here to Urge Independence," *Sudbury Star*, 9 March 1936, 1.

[148] Zynovy Knysh, ed., *Toward National Unity: Fifty Years of Service by the Ukrainian National Federation, 1932-1982*, 488-489.

[149] "Bishop Pays Visit to Sudbury Parish," *Sudbury Star*, 28 September 1936, 9.

[150] "Sudbury," *Robitnytsia*, 1 June 1936, 17, translated by Larissa Stavroff.

by the company and hence miners faced intense pressure to meet this demand. As the company's profits rose, progressives argued that conditions underground grew worse while their pay cheques stayed the same.[151]

Progressives may have been having problems attracting new members to their organization but they continued to maintain a stronghold in the region nevertheless.[152] Propagandist claims aside, when General Kapustiansky left Sudbury, nationalists resumed their local battle against members of the ULFTA, recognizing that this element of the community was there to stay. On 8 November 1936, in particular, they organized a mass anti-communist rally to protest the progressive presence. Nationalists thus marched through the city's streets demanding that Ukrainians choose between their cause or communism, arguing that improved living conditions as well as Christian morals and ethics were the "foundation for unity against Bolshevism."[153] Taking to the city's streets with the Union Jack in hand, nationalists had the support of the local newspaper, mining companies, and municipal government and hence the peaceful protest was welcomed by members of the community. Like Father Bartman's efforts during the latter 1920s, nationalists had staged an effective media campaign to show native Sudburians that they were respectable and loyal Canadians. Reporters from the *Sudbury Star* were frequently invited to events which were held at the UNF Hall to photograph members in traditional costumes for instance; it must be noted that members

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[151] "INCO Making Millions on the Blood, Sweat and Injuries of the Workers," *Ukrainski robitnychi visti*, 3 August 1936, 3, translated by Larissa Stavroff.

[152] The men's, women's, and youth sections of the ULFTA all had problems attracting new members to their cause during this period. See "Let's Take an Example from the Women of Spain," *Robitnytsia*, 1 March 1937, 34, translated by Larissa Stavroff.

[153] N. Stus, "Mass Anti-Communist Rally in Sudbury," *Novyi shliakh*, 1 December 1936, 7, translated by Larissa Stavroff.

often wore traditional costumes when celebrating ethnic holidays like *Malanka* (New Years Eve) and Easter. A strategically placed Union Jack often appeared in a corner of the photographs to demonstrate that good Ukrainians were capable of both preserving their heritage and respecting their citizenship.[154] Unlike progressive protests, this nationalist event was regarded as a respectable public spectacle.

Despite the fact that Sudbury's nationalist and progressive Ukrainians were engaged in a power struggle, life within these organizations remained quite consistent. Nationalists staged concerts and folk dances, hosting the famous dance instructor Vasyl Avramenko,[155] and progressives performed plays and organized mass meetings to discuss the struggles faced by workers.[156] Women, in particular, seem to have taken charge of many of the organizations' events at this time, holding meetings to devise fundraising strategies for their halls.[157] Although progressives carried on with their work, letters written to *Robitnytsia*, the progressive national newspaper aimed at the movement's female members, make it clear that the hall was struggling. In addition to facing a constant barrage of nationalist attacks, the local branch of the ULFTA was never able to recover from the negative publicity it received during the May Day protests which occurred at the beginning of the decade. Moreover, company informers

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[154] See, for instance, "Dance Ukrainian Folk Rounds in Colorful Costumes," *Sudbury Star*, 16 October 1936, 3.

[155] "School of National Dance in Sudbury," *Novyi shliakh*, 26 January 1937, 4, translated by Larissa Stavroff; and "Ukrainian Folk Dances Attract Large Audience," *Sudbury Star*, 15 March 1937, 6. Also see Orest Martynowych, "The Life of Vasil Avramenko," Unpublished Paper, Presented at the monthly meeting of the Ukrainian Genealogy Group of the National Capital Region, Ottawa, 25 October 2005.

[156] "Let's Take an Example from the Women of Spain," *Robitnytsia*, 1 March 1937, 34, translated by Larissa Stavroff.

[157] Ibid.; and "Women's Organization Hold Meeting," *Sudbury Star*, 3 May 1937, 5.

made it difficult to attract new members to the hall. Progressive women may have vowed to "keep working at it," but realistically they knew that they faced an uphill battle for members, acknowledging that "women [did not] want to join up in case their husbands lose their jobs."[158]

Hetman Danylo Skoropadsky's visit to the Sudbury Branch of the UHO in December 1937 did nothing but hinder the efforts of progressive women.[159] As the son of Hetman Pavlo Skoropadsky, he advocated the establishment of a Ukrainian monarchy modeled upon the British imperial system of government,[160] and at the same time, he condemned the "Bolsheviks because they [tried] to destroy a sound Ukrainian nationalism."[161] Hetman supporters, as discussed in Chapter Four, believed that Pavlo Skoropadsky, Danylo's father, was Ukraine's only legitimate and hereditary ruler because he was a direct descendent of Hetman Ivan Skoropadsky, the ruler of Ukraine two centuries before. In addition to being treated to a tour of INCO's Copper Cliff Smelter, Danylo Skoropadsky was honoured by Catholics as well as Hetman supporters at a number of banquets and masses held at St. Mary's Ukrainian Catholic Church and

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[158] "Our Work in the March Campaign," *Robitnytsia*, 1 June 1937, 27, translated by Larissa Stavroff.

[159] Library and Archives Canada (LAC), Record Group (RG) 146-3, RCMP, Request Number (No.) 94-A-00180, Vol. 38, File 1, Ukrainian United Hetman Organization, 1928-1942, letter dated 14 November 1938.

[160] "Royalty Plans Sudbury Visit Over Week-End," *Sudbury Star*, 1 December 1937, 3.

[161] "Sees Ukraine Established On British Lines," *Sudbury Star*, 6 December 1937, 6. Also see *Ukrainskyi robitnyk*, 17 December 1937, 4 and 5. *Ukrainskyi robitnyk* was the national newspaper for the United Hetman Organization, established in December 1934.

St. Anne's French Catholic Church.[162] Despite this warm reception, Orest Martynowych notes that nationally the alliance between the Ukrainian Catholic Church and the Hetmanite movement was slowly unravelling due to the fact that members "placed partisan, political, and organizational interests above those of the Catholic Church, used religion for political ends, and undermined the Church's authority."[163] Locally, Father Kamenetsky was also concerned about the UHO, noting that "members promoted the slogan 'Sitch first, the Church second,' failed to attend Easter confession, demanded a pastor who was a Hetmanite, refused to pay parish dues until that demand was met, and impeded efforts to pay off the parish debt."[164] There is no doubt that Kamenetsky's favourable relationship with members of the UNF, as discussed above, had a major impact on this local situation as well. Skoropadsky's visit to Sudbury thus marked the beginning of the end for the local branch of this organization. By the winter of 1939, the UHO severed its ties with the church, choosing instead to align with the Ukrainian Self-Reliance League (USRL), the lay arm of the Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church.[165]

Tensions Come to a Head

Following Skoropadsky's visit, Catholic and nationalist Ukrainians intensified their efforts to rid the community of ULFTA supporters. Battling a constantly declining

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[162] John Esaiw, *For Ukraine: Danylo Skoropadsky's Tour of the USA and Canada, Fall 1937-Spring 1938* (Chicago: United Hetman Organization, 1938), 178-188, translated by Larissa Stavroff.

[163] Orest Martynowych, "The Hetmanite Movement and the Ukrainian Catholic Church in Canada, 1924-1940: Allies or Adversaries?" Unpublished Paper, Presented at the Annual Conference of the Canadian Association of Slavists, 1 June 2004, 13-14.

[164] Ibid., 8. This information comes from the UCAWA, Peter Kamenetsky File, PK 153, letter written by Kamenetsky to Bishop Ladyka, 12 April 1934, translated by Orest Martynowych.

[165] Martynowych, "The Hetmanite Movement and the Ukrainian Catholic Church in Canada, 1924-1940: Allies or Adversaries?" 14.

and highly transient membership, progressives asserted that "[these] people showed no respect toward their own people by informing on their brothers to the company."[166] Clearly, Ukrainians continued to regulate their community, making formal company surveillance unnecessary. Progressives, in an effort to counter the rumours which had engulfed their organization, declared that the community ought to beware of nationalists because they were "fascist agents of Hitler and Mussolini" who praised the banning of all labour organizations and trade unions in Germany and Italy.[167]

In addition to this conflict, members of the UNF also instigated a battle among those with whom they shared their hall. Specifically, Greek Orthodox Ukrainians and Orthodox members of the USRL held their masses and meetings at the UNF Hall during this period. Like the Catholic supporters of the Hetmanite movement, the USRL strongly disagreed with the principles of the UNF. Belonging to the USRL, which was formed in December 1927 by the same intelligentsia that had established the Greek Orthodox Church of Canada, meant that these Ukrainians valued Ukrainian nationalism, Canadian patriotism, and democratic ideals and condemned the OUN tactics endorsed by members of the UNF. Although the USRL was the dominant nationalist organization in Canada prior to the formation of the UNF, its link to the Orthodox Church made many Ukrainians, the bulk of whom were Catholic, extremely uncomfortable and thus it failed to gain widespread appeal among right-wing Ukrainians; the UNF thereby

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[166] I. Soroka, "Sudbury," *Narodna hazeta*, 3 March 1938, 3, translated by Larissa Stavroff. Also see Maksymiv, "Sudbury," *Narodna hazeta*, 21 March 1938, 3, translated by Larissa Stavroff. Note that the National Executive of the ULFTA changed the name of its newspaper from *Ukrainski robitnychi visti* to *Narodna hazeta* (*People's Gazette*) on 1 September 1937

[167] A Worker, "Sudbury," *Narodna hazeta*, 15 March 1938, 3, translated by Larissa Stavroff.

adopted a secular foundation in the hope that this approach would unite the community. Despite these differences, members of the USRL chose to hold their meetings in the UNF Hall, rather than at St. Mary's, until April 1938 when their political differences made this arrangement unfeasible. Specifically, when Ivan Danylchuk, a USRL representative from Winnipeg, arrived at the UNF Hall to address a USRL meeting, he was attacked by members of the UNF and a fight between members of the USRL and the UNF ensued.[168] In line with the violent OUN tactics they endorsed, these "militant nationalists" of the UNF were compared to Bolsheviks by *Ukrainskyi holos* (*Ukrainian Voice*), the national newspaper representing the USRL.[169] Violent confrontations such as this one illustrate the deep division which ran through the nationalist segment of the community. Divided over the question of how best to establish an independent Ukrainian state, the organizations composing this segment of the community often had a difficult time looking past their differences and recognizing that they shared a common local enemy: progressives.

Progressives had an absolute field day with the Danylchuk incident, using it as an opportunity to point out the fact that, unlike the region's nationalists, they composed a strong and united front.[170] Petty bickering continued to characterize the rivalry between these two organizations until members of the UNF learned that the leader of the OUN, Evhen Konovalets, had been assassinated by a Soviet agent. Looking for

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[168] "Glory to Ukraine," *Ukrainskyi holos*, 6 April 1938, 4, translated by Larissa Stavroff.

[169] "The Appearance of a New Ukrainian Disease," *Ukrainskyi holos*, 20 April 1938, 5, translated by Larissa Stavroff; A Nationalist, "Isn't This Banditry?" *Ukrainskyi holos*, 20 April 1938, 6, translated by Larissa Stavroff; and P.I. Lazarovych and I. Kyriak, "Our Position," *Ukrainskyi holos*, 4 May 1938, 4, translated by Larissa Stavroff.

[170] "Sudbury," *Narodna hazeta*, 14 May 1938, 2, translated by Larissa Stavroff.

"revenge on Moscow," nationalists marched over to the ULFTA Hall on 12 June 1938, where progressives were holding a meeting to discuss Konovalets' death, to confront those who supported the Soviet Union.[171] Just as the meeting was about to begin, the nationalists who were seated in the crowd of about 200 Ukrainians rose and began to sing the Ukrainian national anthem. Evidently, the singing of this hymn was a nationalist signal "for the fireworks to start" and within minutes the crowd was engaged in a large scale fist fight.[172] The *Sudbury Star* stated that while one woman "hurled salt into the eyes of the milling crowd," men punched each other, hit each other's heads and shoulders with chairs, threw rocks at the windows of the hall, and even sent a chisel wielding into the crowd.[173] By the time the police arrived to disperse the group a few minutes later, twenty-five chairs had been smashed and all of the ULFTA Hall's windows had been broken; four men were sent to the hospital to receive medical attention for the injuries that they sustained during the fight.[174]

Progressives spent the weeks after this battle condemning the violent actions of Sudbury's nationalists, arguing that incidents like this one demonstrated the UNF's support of fascism and fascist tactics.[175] In addition to considering nationalists as "enemies of the Ukrainians in Canada,"[176] they also invited members of the USRL, who

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[171] "Sudbury," *Novyi shliakh*, 7 June 1938, 3, translated by Larissa Stavroff.

[172] "Use Rocks and Chairs During Racial Battle," *Sudbury Star*, 13 June 1938, 1. Also see LAC, RG 146-3, RCMP, Request No. AH-2003-00299, Vol. 4121, File Ukrainian National Federation of Canada, Sudbury, Ontario, "The Riot at Sudbury," 14/6/38.

[173] Ibid.

[174] Ibid.

[175] "We Condemn the Actions of Ukrainian Fascists in Sudbury," *Narodna hazeta*, 21 June 1938, 3, translated by Larissa Stavroff.

[176] "Despicable Deeds on the Part of Ukrainian Fascists in Canada," *Narodna hazeta*, 21 June 1938, 3, translated by Larissa Stavroff.

had been attacked by UNF members two months before, to unite in a battle against the UNF and its fascist ideals.[177] Although the OUN never subscribed to Nazi ideology, it is important to note that "it praised Hitler's strong leadership in turning Germany into an industrial and military power."[178] Since the UNF was the Canadian branch of this underground organization which operated in, what is now Western Ukraine, during the 1930s, it also held this position and its newspaper *Novyi shliakh* "carried admiring stories about the growth of German militarism and of positive German interest in Ukraine."[179] Through their newspapers, *Ukrainskyi holos* and *Narodna hazeta*, members of the USRL and the ULFTA separately condemned this viewpoint, the former accusing the UNF of fostering anti-democratic sentiments in Canada and the latter labelling this organization as a fascist enemy of the state.[180]

Like the confrontation which occurred at Baba's home, the battle between progressives and nationalists at the ULFTA Hall left a lasting impression on Oryst Sawchuck, a lifelong member of the ULFTA, and John Stefura, a Ukrainian Catholic nationalist. Although neither of them witnessed this confrontation, the telling and retelling of this story enabled them to not only assert their identities as progressive and nationalist Ukrainians, but also construct their images of "other" Ukrainians. In essence,

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[177] "UNO is the Enemy of the Ukrainians in Canada," *Narodna hazeta*, 21 June 1938, 3, translated by Larissa Stavroff. Also see Mike Szander, "The Kingdom of INCO and Its UNO Ruffians," *Narodna hazeta*, 27 June 1938, 3, translated by Larissa Stavroff. *Ukrainskyi holos*, the national newspaper for the Ukrainian Self-Reliance League (USRL), merely reported the battle which occurred in the ULFTA, abstaining from providing its view of the situation. See "They Persuaded the Bolsheviks with Rocks and Chairs," *Ukrainskyi holos*, 22 June 1938, 5, translated by Larissa Stavroff.

[178] Gerus, "Consolidating the Community: The Ukrainian Self-Reliance League," 171.

[179] Ibid.

[180] Ibid.

this memory served as the basis of their personal truths, giving them a means through which they could understand their places within the community. While neither Oryst, who was ten years old in 1938, nor John, who was nine at the time, could recall why the fight had occurred, both were quick to state that this had been the only time that the two organizations had ever been engaged in a physical battle. For them, one clash was enough to realize the high stakes involved in participating in the organized life of the community, personally reminding them that progressives and nationalists did not associate with one another because they were different. Oryst and John thus spent the bulk of their childhoods living and playing in the neighbourhoods that their parents deemed appropriate, maintaining the distance which, this fight made clear, was necessary.[181]

My interview with Oryst was particularly interesting because he spent a great deal of time reflecting upon the fact that he had always felt a sense of isolation and exclusion from the larger community because of his membership at the ULFTA Hall. According to Oryst, his progressive label made it difficult for him to be a Ukrainian in Sudbury.[182] This fight therefore served as a personal symbol, reminding him of the obstacles that he had faced when it came to belonging. Although John and other nationalist, Catholic, progressive, and Orthodox Ukrainians that I interviewed were well aware of the differences which solidified their political and religious identities, mentioning defining moments like the ones discussed in this chapter, it is significant to note that the bulk of them did not, for the most part, share Oryst's opinion. They may

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[181] Oryst Sawchuck, interview; and John Stefura, interview by author, Sudbury, 24 January 2005.

[182] Oryst Sawchuck, interview.

have participated in the organized life of the Ukrainian community, but they stressed that their political and/or religious affiliations had not handicapped and/or inhibited them. For instance, Steve Balon and Helen Smilanich (nee Pasichnyk), both members of the ULFTA, stated that they never felt like they were treated differently because of their participation at the hall while others, like Doris Sturby (nee Zaparynuik), an Orthodox Ukrainian, admitted that she often crossed over into forbidden territory when she played with a girl who frequented the ULFTA Hall.[183] Even Baba, whose identity was rooted in the confrontation which occurred on the front steps of her home, defied her parent's wishes at one point and attended a dance with her sister Barbara at the ULFTA Hall.[184]

While public confrontations certainly drove home the fact that the religious and political division which polarized the community made Ukrainians different from one another, Ukrainian Canadian children recognized that they lived between two worlds: the immigrant world which defined the experiences of their parents and the Canadian world which affected their own childhood experiences. Not surprisingly, the political and religious identities which were reinforced by their parents were often secondary to the one that they assumed as Canadians. Clearly, this argument speaks to the cultural and language-based generational gap discussed in Chapter Four.[185] Like the roles that they took on within the organizations to which they belonged, children's commitment levels also varied when it came to their group identities. To a large extent, the identities undertaken by Ukrainian Canadian children were therefore quite fluid. They were

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[183] Steve Balon, interview by author, Sudbury, 20 April 2005; Helen Smilanich (nee Pasichnyk), interview by author, Sudbury, 20 April 2005; and Doris Sturby (nee Zaparynuik), interview.

[184] Olga Zembrzycki (nee Zyma), interview.

[185] Hinther, "'Sincerest Revolutionary Greetings': Progressive Ukrainians in the Twentieth Century," 240-41.

exposed to a variety of children in the neutral playgrounds, schoolyards, streets, and alleys where they spent their spare time and thus unbeknownst to their immigrant parents, they were able to see a different side of these "other" Ukrainian Canadian children. They may have belonged to a variety of conflicting organizations but playing together made them realize that they were nevertheless "all in the same boat."[186] They were, as Chapter Six will demonstrate, all engaged in a working-class struggle to survive, especially during the difficult years of the 1930s.

The Outbreak of War

Progressive and nationalist Ukrainians continued to verbally attack one another in the months leading up to the outbreak of World War II; the latter declared that UNF members were dangerous fascists while the former stressed that those who frequented the ULFTA Hall were disloyal Canadians who could not be trusted.[187] Nationalists may have spent the war years engaged in patriotic activities to sustain the homefront – members of the UNF staged major fundraising events for the Canadian war effort and devoted a significant amount of time to the Red Cross – but local progressives continued to think of them as fascists.[188] Not surprisingly, a progressive allegation stating that nationalists had sent a gold watch to Hitler endorsing his efforts in Germany

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[186] Olga Zembrzycki (nee Zyma), interview.

[187] "Ukrainian Fascists – Enemies of the People," *Narodna hazeta*, 17 December 1938, 5, translated by Larissa Stavroff.

[188] "Ukrainian Red Cross," *Novyi shliakh*, 10 November 1938, 6, translated by Larissa Stavroff. Although this is just a sampling of nationalist activities during the opening year of the war also see "Ukrainians Boost Finnish War Chest Funds," *Sudbury Star*, 25 January 1940, 1; "To Assist at Canadian Legion Concert," *Sudbury Star*, 12 February 1940, 16; "Native Groups Make Concert Big Success," *Sudbury Star*, 19 February 1940, 6; "Folk Dances to Feature Red Cross Concert," *Sudbury Star*, 5 April 1940, 6; and "Many Nations Represented at Concert for Red Cross," *Sudbury Star*, 7 October 1940, 6.

prior to the outbreak of war did nothing but reinforce this negative depiction of the "other" among members of the ULFTA. Although this story, as Thomas Prymak asserts, can neither be confirmed nor denied, it has had an impact upon the personal truths maintained by local progressives.[189] In particular, Sonya Matichuk (nee Macks), a member of the ULFTA, stated that although the story about the gold watch ultimately made nationalists a "bunch of hypocrites," it was nevertheless "better to be a fascist than a red" in Sudbury during this period.[190] While Sonya made clear that she was never discriminated against because of her organizational affiliation, she was well aware that her progressive ties reinforced her identity and made her markedly different from "other" Ukrainians. Moreover, Sonya's comments also helped her deal with the fact that the ULFTA was declared illegal and banned by the Canadian government in June 1940.[191] Progressives needed some kind of truth in order to understand their place in the community and hence they turned to stories which depicted their nationalist counterparts in a fascist light. Left without a public ethnic space in which to congregate, progressives organized informal meetings in their homes where they discussed their status in the community, devised strategies to regain control of their hall, and continued to reinforce their definitions of "other" Ukrainians. Although the ULFTA Hall was

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[189] Thomas Prymak, *Maple Leaf and Trident: The Ukrainian Canadians During the Second World War* (Toronto: Multicultural History Society of Ontario (MHSO), 1988), 138-143.

[190] Sonya Matichuk (nee Macks), interview by author, Sudbury, 29 August 2005.

[191] Peter Krawchuk, *Our History: The Ukrainian Labour-Farmer Movement in Canada, 1907-1991*, Translated by Mary Skrypnyk (Toronto: Lugus Publications, 1996), 45. Also see "Two Halls, Paper May Feel Weight of New Regulations," *Sudbury Star*, 6 June 1940, 1; "Police Making Full Check on Outlaw Groups," *Sudbury Star*, 7 June 1940, 1; "Aliens Swear Their Loyalty to Dominion," *Sudbury Star*, 15 June 1940, 8; and "Aliens in City Make Rush to Obey the Law," *Sudbury Star*, 24 June 1940, 8.

reopened in October 1943, progressives never recovered from this closure; not surprisingly, their support of both the Soviet Union and the local movement to unionize workers led to further isolation in the postwar period.[192]

Conclusion

The Depression era was an important period for Sudbury's Ukrainian community. Like the 1920s, it underwent significant demographic changes and organizational growth. As Ukrainian men, women, and children flocked to the region in search of jobs, they built more politically and socially exclusive ethnic communal spaces. These spaces, in turn, led the community to divide into more distinct and often opposing groups. No longer composed of just Catholics and progressives, this community of divided people now included Orthodox and nationalist Ukrainians. Not surprisingly, the need to identify with one particular group became a significant part of daily life for the region's Ukrainians.

Catholic, Orthodox, nationalist, and progressive Ukrainian men, women, and children may have undertaken similar gender roles within the organizations to which they belonged, but the political, religious, and ideological group identities that they constructed and reinforced within Sudbury's public spaces made them markedly different. A public culture of confrontation was, as we have seen, quite central to grounding these group identities and defining the differences which set Ukrainians apart. Clearly, this public culture of confrontation was also central in determining who did and did not belong to the local community, as well as to the region, and the nation.

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[192] "Seized Halls To Be Returned," *Sudbury Star*, 15 October 1943, 1. Also see "Editorial – Keep Them Closed," *Sudbury Star*, 7 April 1943, 4; and "Backs *Sudbury Star* Stand on Ukrainian Hall Issue," *Sudbury Star*, 12 April 1943, 12.

While Catholic, Orthodox, and nationalist Ukrainians used the Union Jack and rhetoric of citizenship to assert a strong loyalty to Canada, progressives took over the city's streets and proclaimed their loyalty to both the Soviet Union and an international working class. Public parades, demonstrations, ceremonies, and the habitual taunting, gossiping, and name calling which occurred in the city's streets, school yards, playgrounds, alleys, and ethnic churches and halls gave Sudbury's Ukrainians a means through which they could negotiate the boundaries of their highly political and heavily polarized ethnic community.

Unlike the previous chapters, I was able to draw upon both written and oral sources to reconstruct this period in the community's development. In doing so, I have tried not to privilege one source over the other, choosing instead to integrate the two histories that these very different sources offer. As Pamela Sugiman notes, written sources tend to present a raw version of the past while those that are oral provide one that has had the opportunity to not only heal but also change over time.[193] As historians, we thus try to be attuned to this process of evolution, reading past the stories to decipher the meanings that they evoke.

Opening this chapter with a quote from my Baba gave me the opportunity to both navigate my way into this period in the community's history and to reflect upon the meanings that have been attached to a story that I have heard on many occasions. Specifically, placing Baba's story within the context of this chapter allowed me to affix new and more profound meanings to this part of Baba's past, making me keenly aware of the significant role which this confrontation played in shaping Baba's identity as a

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[193] Sugiman, "'These Feelings That Fill My Heart': Japanese Canadian Women's Memories of Internment," 81.

Ukrainian Catholic. The clash which occurred at Baba's home was a crucial identity-making experience that enabled her to forge a personal connection to the differences which polarized Sudbury's Ukrainians. In essence, Baba has negotiated the boundaries of her community through the telling and retelling of this story.

Interestingly, deconstructing the meanings attached to Baba's story has also allowed me to broaden the ways that I think about the history of this community. In particular, I no longer believe that Baba's version of the past is the story about the community and its history. However, since it has certainly served as a starting point for my historical thinking, consciously and unconsciously affecting my approach, I felt strongly about using it as a foundation for this chapter. Moreover, Baba attended most of my oral history interviews and thus her story is the thread which winds its way through the web of stories which I have used to write this chapter. Acknowledging this thread enabled me to see that Baba's experience may be unique but she was not alone when it came to using confrontational memories to construct, adopt, and reinforce group identities in the Sudbury region. Baba's personal truth coincided with those maintained by other Ukrainians, making the collective historical truth which has structured the community's narrative multi-layered in character. Each layer is just as valid as the next, enabling us to think about the community's division in new and individualized ways.

In particular, other Catholic, Orthodox, nationalist, and progressive Ukrainian men and women vividly recalled highly emotional confrontations which were central to their identity-making experiences. Touched by a personal connection to the division which plagued the community, public confrontations often gave these Ukrainians a means through which they could understand their place in the community. Set within a

Depression-era narrative about the community's development, the memories which are integrated into the body of this text provide a window into the personal identity-making experiences of Sudbury's Ukrainians.

Ukrainians, as Chapter Five makes clear, had many different options when it came to establishing their place within the community. They could choose to identify as either Catholic, progressive, nationalist, or Orthodox Ukrainians and thereby belong to either St. Mary's, the ULFTA Hall, the UNF Hall, or the Orthodox groups which had carved places for themselves within the community. Belonging to any one of these groups however was complicated. Personal and often highly localized feuds as well as debates about the future of Ukraine made membership difficult and, as a result, there was a division among the groups which were supposed to be united. Ukrainians could not get along with their enemies or their friends thereby making the possibility of a group identity unfeasible at times. In light of this division, Catholic, Orthodox, and nationalist Ukrainians often had a tough time realizing that they shared a common enemy: progressives.

Progressives, on the other hand, tended to compose a more united group. Ideology may have helped members make a connection, but the mining companies, the *Sudbury Star*, and the local barrage of Ukrainian attacks did nothing but hinder the success of this group and the ways that its members fit into the local community, region, and nation. Staging public confrontations to protest the deteriorating economy and the miserable mining conditions in the early 1930s grounded their group identity and their unrespectability in the community, a repercussion from which progressives never recovered. Regarded as the evil element among Ukrainians, those who belonged

to this group were often discriminated against and faced with the challenges that came with fitting in as outcasts. The ULFTA's Hall closure, fights to unionize workers, and the Red Scare no doubt continued to hinder belonging for progressives in the postwar period.

Confrontational experiences may have been central to the grounding of group identities and the ways in which Sudbury's Ukrainians defined "others", but it is important to note that Ukrainian Canadian children were not as devoted to maintaining the community's division as their immigrant parents. They may have witnessed and/or been involved in defining confrontations within the public spaces where they lived and played but they also partook in activities which enabled them to see past the group identities which were supposed to structure their places within the community. Certainly, as Chapter Six will demonstrate, coming to terms with their conflicting Canadian and Ukrainian identities was also made more difficult by the economic circumstances of the times. Specifically, the Depression did not draw boundaries within the community. As Ukrainians divided into politically, ideologically, and religiously exclusive factions, they all engaged in a working-class struggle to survive, adopting similar coping strategies to make ends meet.

Chapter Six

A Culture of Similarity: Getting Through the Depression as a Ukrainian Working-Class Family, 1930-1939

...And then during the Depression, my father worked three days a week...and he lost that house on Kathleen [Street]...[1]

Sudbury's Ukrainians composed a community of divided people during the interwar period. Engaged in a public culture of confrontation, they spent much of their time and energy asserting their distinct group identities and defining their differences. Certainly, demographic and organizational growth only served to strengthen the boundaries which polarized this community into factions. As more Ukrainians came to the region in search of employment during the difficult years of the Depression, they constructed a number of other politically and socially exclusive ethnic spaces. No longer divided along just Catholic and progressive lines, this community also grew to include Orthodox and nationalist Ukrainians. Pulled in four often conflicting directions, identity thus became a hotly contested and highly negotiated issue for Sudbury's Ukrainian men, women, and children.

Although Catholic, Orthodox, nationalist, and progressive Ukrainians had the power to choose the groups to which they would belong, it is important to note that they had very little control over the economic circumstances of the times. The Depression was, as the opening quote makes clear, a historical event that did not pick sides. All Ukrainians, regardless of their religious, political, and ideological convictions,

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[1] Olga Zembrzycki (nee Zyma), interview by author, Sudbury, 6 October 2004.

experienced a similar working-class struggle to make ends meet.[2] Consequently, the Depression-era narratives recounted by Sudbury's Ukrainians contain two conflicting layers. Specifically, one outlines differences in experiences, while the other speaks to similarities which marked those experiences. Ukrainians may have been divided in Sudbury's streets, school yards, playgrounds, and alleys, but these differences melted away in their domestic spaces. While the conversations at the dinner table certainly varied – for example, Catholics discussed church politics and Sunday sermons while progressives debated the merits of unionizing local miners – the gendered identities assumed by fathers, mothers, sons, and daughters were similar in all of these Ukrainian domestic spaces. In saying this I am not discounting the importance of politicized kitchen talk.[3] Rather, I note that similar gender hierarchies and a gendered division of labour cut across the political spectrum as well as the racial-ethnic divide in the Sudbury region.

This chapter will use a gendered approach to examine the domestic memories of the men and women that I interviewed. Specifically, it will discuss the ways in which

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[2] Although some Ukrainians who lived in the Sudbury region had achieved a degree of success by the time the economy collapsed, few could have been characterized as middle or upper class citizens. In this case, I refer to Ukrainians as working class because all of the Ukrainians that I interviewed characterized themselves as such.

[3] These discussions, often between mothers and daughters, took place within the homes of radical families. Recent feminist scholarship about radical immigrant women in North America has shed light on these multi-generational female worlds. See, for example, Jennifer Guglielmo, "Italian Women's Proletarian Feminism in the New York City Garment Trades, 1890s-1940s," in Donna Gabaccia and Franca Iacovetta, eds., *Women, Gender, and Transnational Lives: Italian Workers of the World* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2002), 247-298; and Caroline Waldron Merithew, "Anarchist Motherhood: Toward the Making of a Revolutionary Proletariat in Illinois Coal Towns," in Donna Gabaccia and Franca Iacovetta, eds., *Women, Gender, and Transnational Lives: Italian Workers of the World* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2002), 217-246.

men, women, and children contributed to the family economy, noting how father's breadwinning abilities and mother's boarding, bootlegging, gardening, and small-scale farming endeavours ensured a degree of survival during the difficult years of the Depression. Although the collapse of the economy did not usher in new coping strategies – as recent immigrants of humble and/or poor rural backgrounds, many working-class Ukrainians in the region were accustomed to subsistence living and penny capitalism – these well utilized strategies were nevertheless essential for ensuring survival during the thirties.[4] In addition, this chapter will also pay particular attention to the ways in which children contributed to the family economy, stressing that while boys assumed the breadwinning roles of their fathers, daughters replicated those adopted by their mothers. Certainly, as we shall see, there were also Ukrainians who lacked the means to generate any income and were thus forced to accept relief.

Catholic, Orthodox, nationalist, and progressive Ukrainian men, women, and children may have spent the 1930s engaged in public confrontations that enabled them to establish boundaries and define their differences, but, as we shall see, they also assumed similar working-class domestic identities while they struggled to make ends meet during the difficult years of the Depression. Clearly, there was a great degree of both conflict and consensus when it came to Ukrainian community-building in the Sudbury region.

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[4] It must be noted that Denyse Baillargeon makes a similar point about working-class housewives in Montreal, noting that they were already used to unemployment, low wages, and frugal living before the Depression crippled the economy. See Baillargeon, *Making Do: Women, Family, and Home in Montreal During the Great Depression*, Translated by Yvonne Klein (Waterloo: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 1999), 107.

Returning to Baba's Narrative

Nickel made Sudbury a safe destination for Ukrainians until the market collapsed in 1931, around Baba's fourth birthday. Peter had, by this time, become a stable breadwinner for his family. Certainly, he had come a long way since lining up outside of the company gates at the International Nickel Company's (INCO) Frood Mine, where he had stood among large groups of men begging "Mister Boss, please give me job."[5] While renting the Montague Street home where Baba was born, Peter managed to save enough money to purchase a plot of land on Kathleen Street, in the Donovan, where he built an eight room house. When construction was completed, his family as well as six boarders – men who had been friends with Peter in Horoskiw – moved into it. Ann assumed responsibility for these boarders, cooking, cleaning, and collecting their boarding fees so as to supplement the family economy. Ultimately, Ann's hard work as a boarding house operator paid off because the boarding fees, which amounted to about twelve dollars a month, essentially paid the mortgage on the house. Peter, who was always in search of some semblance of financial security, thus decided to purchase another lot on Frood Road, also in the Donovan, where he built another home which he rented to the Lachance family, a French family with twelve children.

Peter and Ann had no problem assuming responsibility for the mortgages on these two homes and paying the family's weekly grocery bill at the Perkovich neighbourhood store until Peter's shifts were cut back from six to three a week when the nickel market collapsed. They would have been able to manage their debts had their

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[5] Olga Zembrzycki (nee Zyma), interview.

boarders not been in the same situation. When times became tough in Sudbury, many of these men left the region to look for work elsewhere. Although they promised to return to pay their outstanding boarding fees, Peter and Ann never saw most of these men again and thus they were unable to pay the mortgages on both of these homes. As a result, the house on Kathleen Street was repossessed, the Lachance family, which was by this time on relief, was told to relocate, and Peter and Ann moved their family into the house on Frood Road.

Although Baba admitted that her family was quite lucky to have had another home into which it could move, she continued to be deeply affected by these Depression-era events. In particular, she was quick to declare that if the boarders who had lived with her family had not left her father "holding the bag," the family's financial situation would have been more manageable.[6] Had her parents been able to meet their monthly mortgage payments, she believed that they would not have had to evict the Lachance family. Certainly, Baba remained haunted by the images that she witnessed as a young child. Seeing Mrs. Lachance and her twelve children weeping outside of her family's Frood Road home was a difficult memory to recount.

Like the confrontation that occurred on the steps of her home – a story that was discussed at length in Chapter Five – this incident is also one of Baba's earliest memories. Since these two traumatic events occurred around the same time, Baba has always told them together. Although she often changed the order in which she told these stories, they both ultimately marked the end of Baba's childhood innocence. I say this

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[6] Ibid.

because these incidents played significant roles in shaping Baba's identity. Specifically, they made her keenly aware of her place in the community.

After witnessing the clash between her father and the group of "communist" men who converged on her home, Baba began to identify as a Ukrainian Catholic. Certainly, this identity was not formed immediately. Rather, the telling and retelling of this story, in the minutes, hours, and years after this traumatic event occurred, reinforced this identity. Undoubtedly, the economic difficulties that Baba's family endured during the early years of the Depression also impacted her identity. Watching the Lachance family move its belongings out of her home on Frood Road made her aware of an identity over which she had little control. While Baba may have embraced her Ukrainian Catholic identity, her working-class identity left her rather disconcerted. Clearly, this is reflected in the ways in which she has told and retold her story. When sharing this story, Baba always noted that her family was not unlike the one which was being evicted. Both were engaged in a working-class struggle that cut across the ethnic, religious, political, and ideological lines which divided the community, and while her family was certainly lucky to have had another house into which it could move, Baba was always quick to point out that her status as a member of the working class made her susceptible to the same fate as the Lachance family.

It is important to note that as Baba became aware of this vulnerability, through the telling and retelling of this story, she was also left with an enormous amount of guilt, fear, and anger. While she recognized that her family was fortunate to have another home, she knew that this luck came with a price. The Lachance family was forced to take to the streets in order for her to have a place to live. Moreover, after Peter

started to lose his shifts at Frood Mine, Baba lived in a constant state of fear, worrying about whether her family would be able to make ends meet. Certainly, Peter instilled a great deal of this fear in her. As he lost his home and his ability to provide for his family was jeopardized, Peter's masculinity, and specifically his ability to be a good breadwinner, was seriously challenged, often leaving him feeling overwhelmed and depressed.[7] Baba, who was a very perceptive four year old in 1931, picked up on these emotions and, as a result, she was often left feeling quite insecure; it must be noted that this insecurity has always been an integral component of her story. These feelings of guilt and fear were also accompanied by anger. Instead of pondering whether her parents, in assuming responsibility for two mortgages, had taken on too much, Baba felt angry and betrayed by the boarders who had left without paying their bills. Interestingly, Ann continued to keep a number of boarders in the family's Frood Road home after she and her husband suffered this loss of income. Faced with an uncertain future, Ann was forced to keep some boarders to supplement Peter's erratic pay cheques. For Ann, boarding was a means through which she could ensure some degree of survival for her family.

Before moving on, it is interesting to note the themes and silences which run through Baba's narrative. For the most part, Baba focused upon the economic dimensions of the Depression. Instead of considering whether her parent's financial decisions had harmed the family, she shifted the blame to those who were outside of her family unit: the boarders. In doing so, her narrative was silent on a number of fronts.

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[7] See Margaret Jane Hillyard Little, *'No Car, No Radio, No Liquor Permit': The Moral Regulation of Single Mothers in Ontario, 1920-1997* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), 76-80, for a related discussion about the ways in which the economic uncertainty of the times challenged notions of masculinity.

For instance, she did not discuss how the Depression affected her mother and her father and their relationship. As a result, we are left wondering how the dynamics of their relationship changed during this period and specifically, whether the Depression drew her parents together or forced them apart. Since she rooted her narrative in an economic structure, Baba did not have to address these issues. Although it was highly personal, this type of narrative allowed Baba to draw upon selective memories which essentially protected the integrity of her family. Like the story about the confrontation, it was a very particular narrative about the past, never considering whether there were other dimensions that were central to the story.

Since, as Michael Riordon asserts, "...people *are* their stories," their tales and the personal truths which result must be deconstructed to reveal their contradictions and complexities.[8] In other words, analyzing the layers of a narrative help us understand how these socially and culturally constructed communicative tools enable story-tellers, like Baba, to convey something essential about themselves while they make connections with others.[9] Certainly, in this instance, it is clear that Baba's stories gave her a means through which she could both order and validate her experiences and understand the meanings of her life. She acted as a subjective and central historical actor in her narrative so that she would be able to cope with the difficult memories which marked the early years of her childhood. In essence, these stories provided her with a framework for contextualizing her working-class identity and her place in the community.

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[8] Michael Riordon, *An Unauthorized Biography of the World* (Toronto: Between The Lines, 2004), 230.

[9] Ibid.

Significantly, Baba's story does not stand on its own. Her narrative must be read as one thread within the web of narratives that form the story of Sudbury's Ukrainians.[10] As we shall see, Baba was not alone when it came to constructing subjective memories about growing up ethnic and working class during the thirties. Specifically, Catholic, Orthodox, nationalist, and progressive Ukrainian men and women also understood and viewed the challenging years of the Depression in similar ways. Like Baba, many of them did not focus on the economic crash of 1929, an event that few children appreciated before they reached adulthood. Rather, they remembered the personal difficulties that their families faced during the Depression era. It must however be noted that their accounts of these difficulties often went hand in hand with memories that spoke to the issue of immigrant and working-class pride as well as stories about coping strategies, and ultimately, survival. Their working-class identity was forged in a tumultuous period and there is no doubt that their narratives reflected this reality.

Getting "Inside" Depression-Era Homes

While I certainly consider social and material conditions when turning to these childhood memories of the Depression, my main intention is to "communicate with the past more directly."[11] Childhood is a separate and socially constructed stage of existence which complicates the creation of a memory text; in terms of age, all of my interviewees were under the age of thirteen prior to 1939. Since, as Neil Sutherland

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[10] Daniel James uses a similar argument when telling the life story of a working-class political activist named Doña María Roldán. See James, *Doña María's Story: Life, History, Memory, and Political Identity* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2000).

[11] Michael Frisch, *A Shared Authority: Essays on the Craft and Meaning of Oral and Public History* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1990), 8.

notes, adults tend to use childhood memories that are "really a reconstruction of what is being recalled rather than a reproduction of it," this chapter will focus upon the form, content, and silences of these Ukrainian narratives.[12] In making the act of remembering just as important as the memories themselves, we will be able to explore and evaluate how Sudbury's Ukrainians used memory, experience, and history to construct their subjective Depression-era narratives.[13] Also, taking a cue from feminist gender historians of the immigrant working-classes, such as Franca Iacovetta, Ruth Frager, Nancy Forestell, and Rhonda Hinther, I will consider both male and female memories. Exploring the gender differences that marked these stories of the past permits an understanding of the gender dynamics which ordered the Depression-era households of Sudbury's Ukrainians.[14]

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[12] Neil Sutherland, "When You Listen to the Winds of Childhood, How Much Can You Believe?" in Nancy Janovicek and Joy Parr, eds., *Histories of Canadian Children and Youth* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), 23. Also see Sutherland, *Growing Up: Childhood in English Canada From the Great War to the Age of Television* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1997). For a related discussion about the social construction of adolescence see Cynthia Comacchio, *The Dominion of Youth: Adolescence and the Making of a Modern Canada, 1920 to 1950* (Waterloo: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 2006).

[13] For a discussion about the subjective nature of oral history and the importance of interpreting the silences which result in oral history narratives see, for instance, Luisa Passerini, *Fascism in Popular Memory: The Cultural Experience of the Turin Working Class*, Translated by Robert Lumley and Jude Bloomfield (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), 67-70; and Joan Sangster, "Telling Our Stories: Feminist Debates and the Use of Oral History," *Women's History Review* 3.1 (March 1994), 7-10.

[14] See Franca Iacovetta, *Such Hardworking People: Italian Immigrants in Postwar Toronto* (Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1992); Ruth Frager, *Sweatshop Strife: Class, Ethnicity, and Gender in the Jewish Labour Movement of Toronto, 1900-1939* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1992); Nancy Forestell, "All that Glitters is not Gold: The Gender Dimensions of Work, Family, and Community Life in the Northern Ontario Gold Mining Town of Timmins, 1901-1950," Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Toronto, 1993; Forestell, "Bachelors, Boarding Houses, and Blind Pigs: Gender Construction in a Multi-Ethnic Mining Camp, 1909-

Heavily masculine resource communities offered women few opportunities for earning incomes and this, of course, affected the gendered family strategies employed by those who lived in these kinds of environments. For example, Nancy Forestell shows how masculine and feminine roles and identities were shaped by the dynamics of Timmins' mining industry, where the virtual absence of female jobs meant that men were breadwinners and women were housewives who had little choice but to be economically dependent on their breadwinning husbands.[15] Although also a mining community, Sudbury, unlike Timmins, which was effectively owned by the Hollinger Company, was not a company town.[16] In Sudbury, there were more opportunities for small-scale entrepreneurial endeavours, including female boarding, bootlegging, and small-scale farming businesses. Ukrainian women may have had few formal job opportunities, but they were able to create their own economic opportunities at home. By taking in boarders, bootlegging, or selling milk and/or eggs they either

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1920," in Franca Iacovetta, Paula Draper, and Robert Ventresca, eds., *A Nation of Immigrants: Women, Workers, and Communities in Canadian History, 1840s-1960s* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1998), 251-290; Forestell, "The Miner's Wife: Working-Class Femininity in a Masculine Context, 1920-1950," in Kathryn McPherson, Cecilia Morgan, and Nancy Forestell, eds., *Gendered Pasts: Historical Essays in Femininity and Masculinity in Canada* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), 139-157; and Rhonda Hinther, "'Sincerest Revolutionary Greetings': Progressive Ukrainians in the Twentieth Century," Ph.D. Dissertation, McMaster University, 2005.

[15] See Forestell, "All that Glitters is not Gold"; Forestell, "Bachelors, Boarding Houses, and Blind Pigs"; and Forestell, "The Miner's Wife: Working-Class Femininity in a Masculine Context, 1920-1950." Although her study does not focus on a mining community, Joy Parr discusses the gendering of work in the industrial towns of Paris and Hanover, Ontario. See Joy Parr, *The Gender of Breadwinners: Women, Men, and Change in Two Industrial Towns, 1880-1950* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1990).

[16] Kerry Abel's recent book about identity in Northeastern Ontario also sheds some light on the dynamics of living in the company town of Timmins. See Abel, *Changing Places: History, Community, and Identity in Northeastern Ontario* (Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2006), 70-97.

supplemented their husbands' incomes or managed to be financially independent, supporting themselves and their children if their husbands had either lost their jobs, or abandoned them, or died prematurely. In many cases, women were the primary breadwinners in the homes in which they lived. By placing memories at the heart of this analysis it is thus possible to illuminate the ethnic and gendered roles performed by Ukrainian women in these Depression-era homes. Since these memories belong to children who grew up in these spaces, getting "inside" the houses also enables a discussion of the gendered contributions girls and boys made to these family economies.

Breadwinning

Before embarking upon a discussion of the strategies that Ukrainian families employed to cope with the economic difficulties that were brought on by the Depression, it is vital to understand the roles that fathers played within their families. If we were simply to discuss boarding, bootlegging, gardening, and small-scale farming, the important breadwinning role that fathers assumed would be lost, as mothers and children, both boys and girls, accepted responsibility for most of these domestic schemes.

If a Ukrainian father was employed at one of the local mines during the 1930s, he worked three shifts: days, afternoons and graveyards. Those men who worked these twelve-hour shifts did so six days a week, taking Sundays off when there was no over-time to be had. This meant that fathers spent most of their waking hours at the mines, remaining relatively absent from their children's lives; it must be noted that Catholic, Orthodox, nationalist, and progressive Ukrainian fathers spent much of their spare time

at their halls and churches, leaving even less time for their families. Certainly, this would explain why most of my interviewees spent very little time discussing the relationships that they had had with their fathers during my oral history interviews.[17] In Sudbury, a man's character hinged on his ability to earn a dependable wage and this invariably forced men to spend a great deal of time away from their families.[18]

Although a man could make more money mining than he could if he worked in the bush for one of the lumber companies that operated in and around the region, it was undeniably one of the most dangerous, laborious and undesirable jobs one could have. Jack Willard, a former Frontier College instructor, echoed this sentiment; as a university student he worked alongside the men employed at Frood Mine during the summer of 1934. In reflecting upon this experience some forty years later, he emphasized that he had great respect for his former co-workers and equated the miners to those slaves who had built the pyramids in Egypt.[19] In recalling this aspect of their fathers' lives, my interviewees – many of whom had also worked at the mines – tended to state that this terrible job had certain benefits. Namely, they stressed that the pay cheques that their fathers had received every two weeks made for a decent living and a stable family economy.

Despite this incentive, it is interesting to note that my interviewees were quite inconsistent when it came to discussing whether their fathers had encouraged them or

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[17] It must be noted that this may also explain why Baba did not spend a great deal of time reflecting upon the ways in which the Depression affected her father.

[18] Robert McIntosh makes a similar point about miners who worked in Canada's coal mines. See McIntosh, *Boys in the Pits: Child Labour in Coal Mines* (Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2000), 137.

[19] Library and Archives Canada (LAC), Frontier College Oral History Collection, R-8270, Jack Willard, interview by Marjorie Robinson, Toronto, 4 July 1975.

their siblings to become miners. On the one hand, some fathers believed that it was a good paying, secure job that their sons ought to have. Certainly, Baba's father Peter encouraged his sons, Mike and Steve, to work underground, emphasizing that it was the highest paying job that the boys could obtain in the region. Lorraine Jurgilas's (nee Burkotski, a name which was later changed to Burke) father Stefan, a devout Orthodox Ukrainian man, maintained similar views, often stating that logically "...the boys would go and work in the mines, [because they] would have good wages and a good pension."[20] On the other hand, there were some fathers who went to great lengths to keep their boys out of the mines, stressing the importance of education as a way to escape this dangerous avenue. Although the dynamics of this mining community dictated that most men seek employment at the local mines, Steve Evanshen, a Ukrainian who infrequently attended meetings at the Ukrainian Labour Farmer Temple Association (ULFTA) Hall, was one father who persuaded his son Nick to find another means of employment: "Father was sharp and didn't want me working at INCO. One of my hockey coaches was an important guy [there] and Dad sent me to get a job at INCO from him. Dad told me to get a job at the rock house and then the next summer Dad told me to get a job in the smelter in the converter building. These were terrible jobs to show me that working at INCO was not the ideal job."[21] Clearly, Steve did not want his son to risk his life in order to make a decent wage.

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[20] Lorraine Jurgilas (nee Burke/Burkotski), interview by author, Sudbury, 8 November 2004. Robert McIntosh makes a similar and related statement, arguing that the labour force in Canada's coal mines was family based. Specifically, fathers recruited and trained their sons to work in the mines. See McIntosh, *Boys in the Pits: Child Labour in Coal Mines*, 42.

[21] Nick Evanshen, interview by author, Sudbury, 14 May 2005.

In spite of the difficult nature of this type of employment, hundreds of Ukrainian men congregated in front of the INCO and Falconbridge company gates daily during the 1930s, hoping that they would be chosen out of the large crowd and given a job. As Charlie Rapsky, a Roman Catholic Ukrainian who attended St. Mary's as a child, commented: "The men were just a commodity [during this period]. It was a tough life."[22] Despite this observation, if a man got a job working at one of the region's nickel mines during the 1930s, he considered himself to be very lucky. The absence of unions however meant that there was little job security. A man could have a job one day and be laid off the next. Or, in the best case scenario, he could keep his job but have his shifts cut back like Baba's father Peter. Nickel market fluctuations and the frequent and often unpredictable production cut backs and mine closures discussed in Chapter Five took a toll on these men, jeopardizing their ability to provide for their families.

In addition to worrying about how the economy was affecting the mining sector, Ukrainian men also feared that their foreign surnames would hurt their ability to get and/or keep their jobs. Ukrainian men with foreign surnames, and especially those who had a direct or alleged link to communism, were, as we have seen, often among the first employees to be fired by the local mining companies. Many men therefore went to great lengths to change their names so that their jobs would not be jeopardized. Specifically, Eugenia Maizuk (nee Curlook) stressed that after her Ukrainian Catholic father Vasil Kureluik changed his name to William Curlook he had little difficulty obtaining and keeping a job, commenting that if a man's name looked English on paper than the

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[22] Charlie Rapsky, interview by author, Sudbury, 6 June 2005.

chance of him losing his job diminished.[23] Ironically, those who worked with the mining company's documents in the offices aboveground must not have had much contact with the men themselves, who often spoke very poor and broken English. In any event, it must be reiterated that if a man was accused of being linked to the local progressive movement, an English sounding surname did not save him from losing his job. This kind of allegation most often amounted to blacklisting, severely limiting the places where a man could find work in the region.

Those who worked in the local mines not only had to walk a fine line when it came to politics, but also had to physically risk their lives on a daily basis. As Nancy Forestell notes, families lived in a constant state of fear because they were forced to accept that a high risk of accidents and death went hand in hand with mining. If families did not have a means of supplementing their income in the event of injury, sickness, or death, the loss of its male breadwinner invariably led to economic collapse.[24] One full twelve-hour shift was often enough for a man and his wife to realize the price a mining job could exact. Sudbury and especially the company towns of Coniston, Garson, Creighton, and Copper Cliff were small communities and if there was an accident, residents often discussed it at length. When Anne's* Ukrainian Catholic mother Katarina immigrated to Creighton to meet her husband who was working at the mine there, it did not take her long to realize the dangers involved in mining: "Everyday it seemed like someone was getting hurt or killed...Mother worried and she wasn't happy

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[23] Eugenia Maizuk (nee Curlook), interview by author, Sudbury, 19 January 2005.

[24] See Forestell, "All that Glitters is not Gold: The Gender Dimensions of Work, Family, and Community Life in the Northern Ontario Gold Mining Town of Timmins, 1901-1950," 167-256; and Forestell, "The Miner's Wife: Working-Class Femininity in a Masculine Context, 1920-1950," 145-156.

to live there," so the family relocated to Massey where Anne's parents operated a small mixed farm to generate revenue.[25] Other families chose to ignore the warning signs, paying the price for a regular pay cheque. For instance, Michael Tataryn, a Ukrainian Catholic who worked at INCO's Frood Mine, nearly died in 1931 when the shaft where he was working collapsed on top of him. The Finnish man who had been working beside him perished in the accident but luckily, Michael's heart was still beating when his co-workers pulled him from the rubble. He spent two years in the Copper Cliff Company Hospital recovering from his injuries and years walking with a cane; incidentally, Michael returned to work upon being discharged from the hospital, performing "light duty" jobs aboveground.[26] Steve Balon's progressive father Dmytro was not as fortunate. He contracted silicosis in the early 1930s and died shortly thereafter. Sadly, the only contact Steve had with his father before his untimely death was from the ground outside of Dmytro's hospital window, where he would stand and wave to his father.[27]

As miners, fathers assumed an essential breadwinning role within their families. They spent much of their time labouring underground so that they could earn enough money to ensure their families' survival. Obtaining this sense of financial security however necessitated a significant amount of politicking and risk. Ethnicity and politics mattered. Ukrainian men constantly worried about whether their foreign surnames or the ways that they spent their leisure time would cause them to lose their jobs. Moreover, men and their families dealt with the dangers associated with mining on a

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[25] Anonymous interviewee, interview by author, Sudbury, 20 January 2005.
[26] Nellie Kozak (nee Tataryn), interview by author, Sudbury, 6 June 2005.
[27] Steve Balon, interview by author, Sudbury, 20 April 2005.

daily basis. The very real possibility of illness, injury, and/or death thereby added to the many stresses faced by Ukrainian families during this period.

Mining took men away from their families. It was a difficult and time-consuming job and thus it is little wonder that men were a limited presence in the daily operation of their households. In saying this, it is now important to turn to the ways in which women and children supplemented the breadwinning incomes that fathers earned during these difficult years. Boarding, bootlegging, gardening, and small-scale farming were, as we shall see, gendered working-class experiences that, for the most part, did not involve fathers.

Boarding

Opening their homes to boarders or roomers was one of the strategies adopted by Ukrainian families that lived in the Donovan, and the West and East Ends of Sudbury, and in Polack Town in Coniston during the difficult years of the 1930s. Like Baba, my interviewees tended to couple some of their childhood memories about financial instability with those that recalled the many men in their lives, namely the boarders with whom they shared their private domestic spaces. While significant gender differences marked these relationships (see below), the prevalence of male boarders in both girlhood and boyhood memories is striking; also surprising is the extent to which children were aware of the ways in which their family's boarding businesses functioned. Clearly, it reflected broader social patterns. As one of the most common survival strategies during the Depression years, boarding was a normal occurrence in this heavily masculine resource community and thus directly and indirectly touched the lives of most working-class residents. This is reflected in my sample: a majority of my

interviewees, roughly sixty-six percent, recalled having boarders or roomers living in their houses at this time. Together, these domestic working-class childhood narratives shed light on the collective and shared experiences as well as the noteworthy gender differences experienced by Ukrainian men and women.

North American historians who have studied boarding house culture have focused upon the experiences of male boarders or female boarding house operators. Although some have used oral history interviews to analyze the gendering of male and female roles in these spaces, memories have not been the central source used to reconstruct these histories. Instead, they have used census figures, government reports, newspapers, and literature written by social reformers to reconstruct boarding house culture from the "outside" rather than from the "inside"; since the majority of these studies have focused on the period before World War I, this is entirely understandable.[28]

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[28] For a discussion about Canadian boarding house culture and the gendered roles within these establishments see Robert Harney, "Boarding and Belonging: Thoughts on Sojourner Institutions," *Urban History Review* 2 (1978), 8-37; Harney, "Men Without Women: Italian Immigrants in Canada," *Canadian Ethnic Studies* 11.1 (1979), 22-44; and Harney, "The Commerce of Migration," *Canadian Ethnic Studies* 9 (1977), 42-53; Nancy Forestell, "Bachelors, Boarding Houses, and Blind Pigs"; Forestell, "All that Glitters is not Gold"; Peter Baskerville, "Familiar Strangers: Urban Families with Boarders, Canada, 1901," *Social Science History* 25.3 (Fall 2001), 321-346; Bettina Bradbury, "Pigs, Cows, and Boarders: Non-Wage Forms of Survival among Montreal Families, 1861-91," *Labour/Le Travail* 14 (Fall 1984), 9-46; and Richard Harris, "The End Justified the Means: Boarding and Rooming in a City of Homes, 1890-1951," *Journal of Social History* 26.2 (1992), 331-358. For a discussion of the pertinent American literature see Virginia Yans-McLaughlin, *Family and Community: Italian Immigrants in Buffalo, 1880-1930* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1982), 68 and 173-174; Mark Peel, "On the Margins: Lodgers and Boarders in Boston, 1860-1900," *The Journal of American History* 72.4 (March 1986), 813-834; Wendy Gamber, "Tarnished Labor: The Home, the Market, and the Boardinghouse in Antebellum America," *Journal of the Early Republic* 22.2 (Summer 2002), 177-204; John Modell and Tamara Hareven, "Urbanization and the Malleable Household: An Examination of Boarding and Lodging in American Families," *Journal of Marriage and the Family* 35.3 (August 1973), 467-479; Sandra Wheeler, "'To Get An Honest Livin':

As a result, we know very little about the family dynamics of these types of households and even less about children's lived experiences in these places. Just as children often lingered in the backgrounds of these boarding houses, eavesdropping on late night gossip sessions between adults huddled around the kitchen table and playing anywhere but under mothers' feet so as to keep out of the way, these same children linger in the backgrounds of the adult-centered narratives used to study boarding houses. It must be noted that the absence of children in these narratives is not particular to this literature. Until recently, as Chapter Four noted, Canadian children lacked a history of their own; they were passive rather than active agents in the writing of their own histories.

For Ukrainian families, as for others, boarding was a multi-faceted economic strategy, one that helped to bring in modest but critical funds in difficult times. There was also a definite gender dimension in these spaces, for most boarding house keepers were women; these women, like Baba's mother Ann, were usually wives and mothers who supplemented their husband's larger but often insufficient and/or unreliable wage. Still, there were also some men, usually fathers, who took in boarders. For instance, when Bill Semenuk's mother Mary passed away in 1932, his father John attended to the needs of the family's boarders.[29]

The boarding house has featured in many North American immigrant histories, but the emphasis has tended to be on the male boarders who, as Robert Harney observed for Italian migrant men, became more "civilized" as they traded the brute life of frontier

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Professional Boarding House Keepers in Hartford, 1890," *Connecticut History* 36.1 (1995), 48-65; and Joanne Meyerowitz, *Women Adrift: Independent Wage Earners in Chicago, 1880-1930* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1988).

[29] Bill Semenuk, interview by author, Sudbury, 11 November 2004.

jobs for the more morally decent surroundings of this space.[30] Feminist labour and immigration historians, however, have shifted the focus off of the boarders, giving boarding house keepers and their economic activities a more public face. Some have characterized the practice of keeping boarders, whether in a private home or a larger boarding house, as a form of ethnic entrepreneurship, arguing that it was "a business like any other, where services were provided in return for cash."[31] Others, including Bettina Bradbury, have portrayed keeping boarders as a form of working-class female income-earning that kept family economies intact.[32]

Donna Gabaccia and Franca Iacovetta suggest that it might be more helpful to think of this activity as a form of waged domestic service which allowed certain immigrant women to earn incomes within their own ethnic groups rather than in the homes of other North American families. And even under these conditions, at least some of the men were bound to be strangers. Although such work was never registered as wage-earning, it was otherwise similar to the work done by live-in Irish and Finnish immigrant domestics. Moreover, Gabaccia and Iacovetta note that boarding house

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[30] See Harney, "Boarding and Belonging: Thoughts on Sojourner Institutions," 8-37; Harney, "Men Without Women: Italian Immigrants in Canada," 22-44; and Harney, "The Commerce of Migration," 42-53.

[31] Diane Vecchio, *Merchants, Midwives and Labouring Women: Italian Migrants in Urban America* (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2006), 67. Also see Vecchio, "Gender, Domestic Values, and Italian Working Women in Milwaukee: Immigrant Midwives and Businesswomen," in Donna Gabaccia and Franca Iacovetta eds., *Women, Gender and Transnational Lives: Italian Workers of the World* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2002), 160-185; and Varpu Lindström, *Defiant Sisters: A Social History of Finnish Immigrant Women in Canada* (Toronto: Multicultural History Society of Ontario, 1992).

[32] Bettina Bradbury, *Working Families: Age, Gender, and Daily Survival in Industrializing Montreal* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1993), 175 and 178; and Bradbury, "Pigs, Cows, and Boarders: Non-Wage Forms of Survival among Montreal Families, 1861-91," 32.

keepers, much like domestics and factory workers, also faced sexual risks. Alternatively, illicit love affairs, usually between young male boarders and the housekeeper's daughters, could also take place. Hence, they argue that houses with boarders could be sites of pleasure and danger.[33] Whether we characterize keeping boarders as female waged labour, or as a form of petty ethnic entrepreneurship, which is the model I have adopted here, the various issues raised especially by this new historiography can help to frame the memories of Sudbury's Ukrainians during the Depression.

In considering the economic importance of boarding among Sudbury's Ukrainians, we must also understand it as part of a wider family economy and as a strategy, among others, for surviving in a particular set of economic conditions. As an ethnic entrepreneurship most often managed by my interviewees' mothers, it was a way for the family to earn extra money during these difficult years, improving its ability to pay the mortgage as well as the bills at the local grocery store. In addition to supplementing a father's wages, boarding was also an informal insurance policy when a father lost his job. Since Ukrainians with foreign surnames, or alleged links to communism, were the first to be fired during this period, a wife's boarding business ensured some steady income that allowed the family to survive such a disaster.[34]

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[33] Donna Gabaccia, Franca Iacovetta, and Fraser Ottanelli, "Laboring Across National Borders: Class, Gender, and Militancy in the Proletarian Mass Migrations," *International Labor and Working-Class History* 66 (Fall 2004), 69. Also see Donna Gabaccia and Franca Iacovetta, "Introduction," in Donna Gabaccia and Franca Iacovetta, eds., *Women, Gender, and Transnational Lives: Italian Workers of the World* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2002), 3-41.

[34] See, for instance, "Coniston – Letter From Maksym," *Ukrainski robitnychi visti*, 20 February 1930, 4, translated by Larissa Stavroff; and "Sudbury," *Ukrainski robitnychi visti*, 8 July 1930, 4, translated by Larissa Stavroff.

Moreover, since most fathers' days were spent at work or looking for extra work if they lost their jobs or had their shifts cut back, the mothers were the dominant figure in their children's lives.[35]

Boarding was always a risky business but during the Depression it was particularly precarious.[36] A successful business depended upon reliable and employed clientele who paid their bills regularly, and this was made difficult with the uncertainty of the times.[37] Boarding either eliminated the effects of the Depression or, as Baba's story demonstrated, it brought them right into the home, adding yet another challenge for the immigrant family to overcome. Nick Evanshen, a Ukrainian with no organizational affiliations, recalled the ways that his life changed when his parents, Steve and Mary, moved from their house on Whittaker Street to their new one at 268 Drinkwater Street; this was a large boarding house that had enough space for 30 boarders and roomers. Before undertaking this business, Nick remembered how his "mother went for days with very little food so she could scrape up enough to feed all

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[35] This was a generalized statement made by the majority of my interviewees. Ukrainian men and women regarded their mothers as dominant figures because in addition to running their households, they also handled most of the disciplining that occurred in these spaces. Nick Evanshen, for instance, recalled that his mother Mary was very strict: "If I did something that wasn't right she would make me go outside, get a handful of rocks, and then I would have to kneel in the corner on the rocks with a broom over my head...She was too busy to chase me around or spank me [and] that punishment stuck." See Nick Evanshen, interview.

[36] Although working-class Ukrainians who lived in Sudbury used boarding as a coping strategy, it must be noted that working-class families living in other parts of the country did not have the means to follow suit. In particular, Denyse Baillargeon notes that because of small and often crowded urban living spaces, boarding was not an option for working-class housewives living in Montreal during the thirties. See Baillargeon, *Making Do: Women, Family, and Home in Montreal During the Great Depression*, 97.

[37] It is unclear how much men paid for boarding arrangements. Children were not involved in the financial end of these businesses and thus interviewees could not comment on these fees.

five children," remarking "it wasn't very pleasant during the [the early days of the] Depression." After moving into the boarding house, he recalled how his mother would wake at three or four o'clock in the morning to make lunch pails and then she would spend her day cooking, cleaning, and doing laundry; a number of women worked at the boarding house with Mary and therefore Nick "helped by staying out of the way." He also understood that her labours mattered: the boarding fees "helped the family income, [and] improved the situation," and it meant that that they "always had enough food [to eat] when they lived on Drinkwater [Street]."[38] Like Baba, Nick realized that his family was engaged in a working-class struggle to survive. Instead of resenting his mother for not being able to spend time with him, Nick valued her work, knowing that it meant the difference between eating and starving.

For others, boarding proved to be more of a hassle than a solution to their family's economic difficulties. Pauline Kruk's (nee Mykoluk) parents, both of whom were members of Holy Trinity Roman Catholic Church, had to deal with the stresses that came with having boarders in their house. When their three boarders stopped paying their monthly fees, this family of twelve faced the possibility of losing its only house during the early years of the Depression. Had it not been for one boarder who was particularly close to Pauline's parents, and paid his fees, Malanka and Jacob would have lost their home. And, unlike Baba's family, they did not have another house to fall back on.[39] Pauline recognized that her parents struggled to make ends meet. They were "always working" so that they could afford to feed, clothe, and house their ten children. Although the boarders who could not pay their fees made life more difficult, Pauline

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[38] Nick Evanshen, interview.
[39] Pauline Kruk (nee Mykoluk), interview by author, 20 January 2005.

knew that even their infrequent contributions were necessary for ensuring the family's survival. Engaged in a difficult and sometimes uncertain venture, especially during the Depression, it is clear that boarding house keepers could not always find reliable boarders.

One way of trying to ensure more trustworthy boarders was to have relatives, such as uncles, cousins, or grandfathers, stay in the home. This proved to be a better arrangement for some interviewees. Financially, these family members helped to pay the bills; splitting the cost of living made it possible for more families to buy homes rather than rent them. Their presence could also ease the emotional difficulties that came with immigrating to a new country. For example, those who knew their *Gidos* (grandfathers) and Babas, even if only for a brief period before they sojourned back to the old country, considered themselves lucky.[40] Still, some relatives took advantage of the situation. Bernice Crowe (nee Haluschak) had a vivid childhood memory of the four uncles (her father's brothers) who came to live with her family after getting jobs at Falconbridge Mine. When her mother, who spent some of her "leisure" time cooking in the ULFTA kitchen, got angry about this arrangement and confronted the men, they replied: "well he's our brother and we don't have to pay."[41] Taking on family members, then, could also involve considerable economic risk.

If not family members, who, then, were these boarders? In some contrast to Italian immigrants, who, as Harney explained, came to Canada via family chain migration or through an organized *padrone* system, most Ukrainian men who came to

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[40] Anonymous interview, interview by author, Sudbury, 18 May 2005.
[41] Bernice Crowe (nee Haluschak), interview by author, Sudbury, 17 May 2005.

Sudbury did so in an unorganized manner, and often as a last resort.[42] Unless they had family in the region, most of my interviewees' parents came to Sudbury only after they had settled in another part of the country and had failed to obtain the standard of living that they had envisioned. Men saw advertisements for jobs in Sudbury or they learned about them from co-workers. John Stefura's father Alec, one of the founding members of the Sudbury Branch of the Ukrainian National Federation (UNF), received a letter from friends in the region who told him that "if you wanted a job INCO was hiring for twenty-five cents an hour and you could work for six and a half or seven days a week."[43] If the men had family or friends in the region, they usually stayed with them until they could get settled and send for any immediate family members who were living in other parts of Canada or in Eastern Europe. In contrast, those men without a connection to anyone living in Sudbury would ride the rails to the city and when they arrived they would either hear about a boarding house from the men that they encountered or they would visit St. Mary's Ukrainian Catholic Church, the ULFTA Hall or the UNF Hall where they would be welcomed and recommended to a boarding house operator. Thus, in contrast to the mixed neighbourhoods of the city, these boarding houses thereby tended to be ethnically, ideologically, politically, and religiously homogeneous; a progressive Ukrainian would not have boarded with a Catholic family for instance. Unless one of the operators was familiar with the men recommended to

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[42] See Harney, "Boarding and Belonging: Thoughts on Sojourner Institutions," 8-37; and Harney, "Men Without Women: Italian Immigrants in Canada," 22-44. Also see John Zucchi, *Italians in Toronto: Development of a National Identity, 1875-1935* (Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1988).

[43] John Stefura, interview by author, Sudbury, 24 January 2005.

them, they always took a chance when taking in boarders. The desperation of the times meant that one could not be particularly fastidious.

Children who grew up in these kinds of households recalled that there were always men in their houses, usually eating or sleeping. Moreover, they recognized that boarding was a means through which their mothers could ensure their families' survival. This was especially true for Paul Behun's family, all of whom were devout members of St. Michael's Ukrainian Catholic Church. When his father John died in 1932, his mother collected thirty dollars a month in mother's allowance to raise Paul and his older brother Bill. To supplement that income, Anna took in three boarders, one for every shift at the nearby INCO Smelter. While one man slept, the second man worked, and the third man remained awake. Anna had to do this in order to qualify for mother's allowance, rotating the men to prove to officials that she did not have a constant breadwinner in the house.[44] It is significant to note that although Anna's strategy was meant to help her evade officials, other Ukrainian women also employed bed rotation schedules to accommodate more men. By having the men sleep in shifts, a three bedroom home with two beds in each room for instance, could then meet the needs of eighteen men who worked the day, afternoon, and graveyard shifts at the local mines. According to Anne Matschke, "the beds were always warm."[45]

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[44] Paul Behun, interview by author, Coniston, 12 May 2005. For a discussion about mother's allowances and the moral regulation of women see Little, *'No Car, No Radio, No Liquor Permit': The Moral Regulation of Single Mothers in Ontario, 1920-1997*; and Little, "' A Fit and Proper Person': The Moral Regulation of Single Mothers in Ontario, 1920-1940," in Kathryn McPherson, Cecilia Morgan, and Nancy Forestell, eds., *Gendered Past: Historical Essays in Femininity and Masculinity in Canada* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), 123-138.

[45] Anne Matschke (nee Kuchmey), interview by author, Sudbury, 7 May 2005. In referring to the material conditions of boarding houses it is also important to note that

In these childhood memories, the boarders occupy different ranks with respect to the family. Some male interviewees elevated the men to the status of "uncles" while others could rarely remember the names of those with whom they had shared their domestic space. After Bill Semenuk's mother Mary died in 1932, his father John, a devoted member of St. Mary's Ukrainian Catholic Church, had to raise seven children alone. Luckily he worked steady day shift at INCO's Frood Mine and so he could come home in time to meet the children when they arrived from school. In those instances when he needed a babysitter, the male boarders looked after the children, congregating in the kitchen where they would play cards and tell stories that the children would sit around and listen to. For Bill, these men were like family. They provided a support system which gave his family financial and emotional assistance. Had it not been for these men, Bill recognized that his family would not have been able to make ends meet during the Depression.[46] Taciana*, who frequented St. Mary's and the UNF Hall, also remembered the men who lived in her parent's home fondly; she reminisced about the many Ukrainian holidays spent with them at her mother's kitchen table, eating traditional Ukrainian dishes and listening to stories about the old country.[47] It is, in this

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men ate in shifts. Women spent long days cooking for the men in order to ensure that each shift of boarders had enough food to eat. Although most homes had running water, these places lacked hot water. Using large wood-burning cook stoves, water thus had to be boiled for cleaning, cooking, bathing, and laundry purposes. On a related note, most homes had one indoor toilet and newspaper was often used as toilet paper. See Anne Matschke (nee Kuchmey), interview.

[46] Bill Semenuk, interview. Employing the work of pre-industrial British historian Naomi Tadmor, it is important to broach the term "like family" critically, noting that the boundaries of Ukrainian families were quite fluid at times and thus emanated from relationships of co-residence and authority. See Tadmor, "The Concept of the Household-Family in Eighteenth-Century England," *Past and Present* 151 (1996), 113 and 120-125.

[47] Anonymous interviewee, interview by author, Sudbury, 16 November 2004.

case, important to stress that adult memories about childhood are fallible and thus these now nostalgic stories may have been transformed with the passage of time.[48]

Other interviewees had very different memories of the boarders who had lived in their homes. These stories do not move toward a "happy ending," but rather interviewees remembered these men as simply strangers who had shared their space. For instance, Mary Brydges (nee Ladyk), who took mandolin lessons at the ULFTA Hall, stated that the men "used to come through the back door, through the kitchen and go straight upstairs," eating with her family but otherwise living separately. Mary left school at the age of thirteen to help her mother run the family's boarding house, and although she vividly recalled waking every morning to make thirteen or fourteen lunch pails to send to work with the men, she could not remember any particular man. It is however significant to note that while Mary did not recall the men who had lived with her, she did make a point of stating that her mother's boarding business had not been affected by the Depression. Although her mother would only buy what she needed, Mary stressed that the family never struggled during this period. Clearly, boarding gave her family the financial resources it needed to make it through the thirties.[49] Like Mary, Paraska* had few memories when it came to discussing the boarders who had shared her home, even though many of them attended mass alongside her family at St. Mary's Ukrainian Catholic Church or worked at INCO's Copper Cliff Refinery with her father. Since the men never stayed long, she never really got to know any of them.[50] Angela Behun (nee Bilowus), a member of St. Michael's Ukrainian Catholic Church, echoed

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[48] Sutherland, "When You Listen to the Winds of Childhood, How Much Can You Believe?" 20.

[49] Mary Brydges (nee Ladyk), interview by author, Sudbury, 28 October 2004.

[50] Anonymous interviewee, interview by author, Sudbury, 10 May 2005.

this sentiment, emphasizing that there were always different men staying with her family. Her house was like a "temporary stop-over," a place where the men would stay before switching to another boarding house or getting married.[51] Certainly, like Mary, Paraska and Angela realized that boarding was vital to their family's survival. Although they did not pay much attention to the men with whom they had shared their domestic space, they knew that this strategy was necessary to make ends meet.

If a child developed a relationship with a boarder, that child was usually the son, not the daughter, of the family. The girls spent a significant amount of time helping their mothers, while boys usually had few domestic chores. Nellie Kozak (nee Tataryn), one of five daughters in her Ukrainian Catholic family, remembered that when the one boy, her brother Steve, was born "...God was born. For Ukrainian people, the son was everything and the girls were nothing. The girls would just have to work."[52] Lynne Marks has well documented the different gendered dimensions of working-class leisure, and certainly, there were important gender distinctions in Sudbury as well.[53] Boys like Steve tended to have more spare time than their sisters. Consequently, some boys spent much of their leisure time with the men who lived in their homes, often getting to know these men better than their own fathers who worked long twelve-hour shifts at the local mines. It must be noted that boarders, with whom boys formed bonds, often did not work at the mines. Rather they worked odd jobs and thus had more time to spend at home. Peter Chitruk, a parishioner at St. Mary's, remembered developing close

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[51] Angela Behun (nee Bilowus), interview by author, Coniston, 12 May 2005.

[52] Nellie Kozak (nee Tataryn), interview.

[53] See Lynne Marks, *Revivals and Roller Rinks: Religion, Leisure, and Identity in Late-Nineteenth-Century Small-town Ontario* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1996).

relationships with many of the men living in his home, but one particular man, "Bill", stood out; Bill worked odd jobs in and around the region. They had a close bond and a special Sunday morning routine: Bill would buy the *Toronto Star* and read it to Peter while he sat next to him and looked at the pictures.[54] Nick Evanshen developed a similar bond with two brothers who boarded at his house, John and Peter Buyarski. When they were not working at the nearby East End Bakery, a job which took them away from home in the morning, John and Peter would baby-sit Nick, taking him swimming in the summer and skating in the winter. Nick admitted to seeing these men more often than his father, fondly recalling that they bought him his first pair of skates.[55] Although babysitting was normally part of a woman's daily routine, these boarders undertook this task, sharing parental responsibilities with the boarding house operators with whom they lived. Many interviewees, both girls and boys, elevated some boarders to "uncle" status. However, it was most often the boys in a family who developed special and memorable bonds with the men. Mothers and fathers had different expectations when it came to their children: daughters were to emulate their mothers, and boys the actions of their fathers.

While girls may have had less time to spend with male boarders because their workload in the home was heavier than that of their brothers, we must also address the other ways in which parents regulated these relationships. Parents subtly limited the time their daughters spent with these men and monitored any interaction they may have had with them to ensure that relations did not turn sexual. For instance, girls often ate at different times from the men and slept in bedrooms that were located on separate floors.

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[54] Peter Chitruk, interview by author, Sudbury, 10 January 2005.
[55] Nick Evanshen, interview.

I say that these measures were subtle because when asked about their relationships with boarders, my interviewees noted that their memories contained no recollections of undue sexual anxiety about having had men living in their homes. Although these silences seem to indicate that sexual anxiety was not a part of my interviewees' experiences, it is important to recognize that the Ukrainians with whom I spoke may have suppressed, transformed, and/or chosen not to reveal these kinds of incidents to me when asked about boarding house culture.

We must, as Gabaccia and Iacovetta argue, nevertheless view boarding houses as sexualized spaces of pleasure and danger. Although the childhood memories of the Ukrainian men and women that I interviewed downplayed the fear and/or alarmism expressed by social reformers who argued that crowded domestic spaces threatened girls' sexuality, there is no doubt that sexual tensions and sexual misconduct of various types did occur in some of these households.[56] Instances of boarders guilty of sexually assaulting the girls with whom they lived can be found within the written record even if they were not reported by my informants.[57] Despite their silences on the issue of sexual assault, some intriguing stories did emerge in these interviews which give us insight into some of the sexual tensions which occurred in these homes. Specifically, some

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[56] For an examination about the ways that social reformers depicted the moral boundaries of urban space and, in particular, the boarding house, see Jim Opp, "Re-imaging the Moral Order of Urban Space: Religion and Photography in Winnipeg, 1900-1914," *Journal of the Canadian Historical Association* 13 (2002), 86. For a similar discussion about the ways in which Italian and American "surveyors" depicted the work choices and morality of Italian women in Italy and the United States also see Maddalena Tirabassi, "Bourgeois Men, Peasant Women: Rethinking Domestic Work and Morality in Italy," in Donna Gabaccia and Franca Iacovetta, eds., *Women, Gender, and Transnational Lives: Italian Workers of the World* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2002), 106-129.

[57] See, for instance, Archives of Ontario (AO), Record Group (RG) 22-392, Box 151, File: Swerda, John, Sudbury, 1920, Carnal Knowledge of Girl Under 14.

interviewees recalled that certain boarding house keepers treated the younger men as a pool of potential husbands for their daughters, in some cases making their choices very clear to the community so as to avoid unnecessary competition for their daughters.[58]

Significantly, my interviewees were also silent when it came to discussing the sexual tensions and/or sexual relations that may have occurred between their mothers and their boarders. As Gabaccia and Iacovetta note, Harney probably exaggerated matters when he suggested that the presence of a woman, the boarding house keeper, was enough to make Italian men, emerging from the brutalizing frontier, abandon their rough behaviour and become complete gentlemen. Although we may not be able to determine whether my interviewees' houses were sexually charged places, some of the men and women were forthcoming when it came to telling negative stories about other boarding houses and their operators; gossip is therefore essential to shedding light on those issues which my interviewees refrained from discussing.[59] While stressing that their parents' boarding houses had been filled with respectable men, they referred to certain Ukrainian boarding house operators as "floozies" who had left their husbands for boarders. These women became outcasts in the Ukrainian community because in leaving their husbands they also often left their children. At least this was the case with religious Ukrainians; no one from the progressive community raised this matter. Those Catholics who did share their memories of "bad" women stressed that these women

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[58] See, for example, Olga Zembrzycki (nee Zyma), interview.

[59] For a discussion about gossip and rumour and the ways in which they can be used by historians see Franca Iacovetta, "Gossip, Contest, and Power in the Making of Suburban Bad Girls: Toronto, 1945-1960," *Canadian Historical Review* 80.4 (December 1999), 585-623; Lynne Marks, "Railing, Tattling, and General Rumour: Gossip, Gender, and Church Regulation in Upper Canada," *Canadian Historical Review* 81.3 (September 2000), 380-402; and Luise White, *Speaking with Vampires: Rumor and History in Colonial Africa* (Berkley: University of California Press, 2000).

never returned to church. Living in a common law situation, or as Ukrainians negatively referred to it, living *na bushwel*, was not respectable. If a Ukrainian woman married, then the belief was that she had chosen a life partner. Regardless of whether a woman's husband abused her or their children, drank excessively, or lost his job, divorce was not considered to be an option.[60] The immigrant generation, and specifically Catholic, Orthodox, nationalist, and progressive Ukrainians, believed that there was no right or wrong reason for a woman to divorce, let alone abandon, her husband. Stories such as these therefore remind us that we need to study the silences that occur when doing oral history. Memories about boarders who became "uncles" need to be read alongside those of men who were cunning or abusive; memories of boarding houses as sites of pleasure alongside those that spoke to danger.

Although the sexual dynamics within boarding houses varied, all successful boarding businesses required thriftiness and this was especially true during the Depression. This burden fell upon the woman of the household. In performing this type of paid labour in the home, the boundaries between a woman's public and private spheres were inevitably blurred. Despite this compromise and the fact that boarding created more work for women and led to extra expenditures and infringements on their private spaces, this domestic business, as Bettina Bradbury reminds us, offered women a source of income comparable to a wage.[61] During the Depression, this wage came

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[60] In her study of the Ukrainian bloc settlement in Alberta, Frances Swyripa shows how the Ukrainian community regulated itself through informal networks. According to Swyripa, formal legal networks were the last resort for most Ukrainian women. See Swyripa, "Negotiating Sex and Gender in the Ukrainian Bloc Settlement: East Central Alberta Between the Wars," *Prairie Forum* 20.2 (Fall 1995), 149-174.

[61] Bradbury, *Working Families: Age, Gender, and Daily Survival in Industrializing Montreal*, 175-178.

with a catch. If budgeting for a single family during these tough times was a difficult task, requiring women to cut back on essentials and non-essentials, budgeting for both their families and a group of hungry men could be daunting.[62] The boarding house keeper had to prepare enough food for her boarders and at the worst of times, try to financially break even.

Figure 6.1: A Coniston Ukrainian boarding house operator and her Ukrainian boarders, circa 1930[63]

This photograph of a boarding house operator and her boarders standing on one of Coniston's wooden sidewalks in 1930 is interesting because the men have lunch pails in their arms. Clearly, they were either going to work or returning from one of their twelve hour shifts, indicating that they still had jobs during the early part of the Depression. Certainly, this picture would have been very different if it had been taken in 1932, after INCO announced that it had decided to close its Coniston Smelter.

Not surprisingly, budgeting for a boarding business was difficult to do when boarders did not have enough money to pay their boarding fees. Ukrainian women

[62] For a discussion about Depression era budgeting see Baillargeon, *Making Do: Women, Family, and Home in Montreal During the Great Depression*, 91-111.

[63] Mary Stefura, "Sudbury's People," *Polyphony* 5.1 (Spring/Summer 1983), 71.

responded to this challenge by preparing ethnic food. According to Harney, Italian boarding house operators and their boarders used food and language to insulate themselves from cultural change.[64] In the case of Ukrainian boarding house operators, ethnic food and language appeared to have had more to do with economics and less to do with an explicitly conscious effort to preserve ethnic culture and traditions. Ukrainian women stuck to what they did best and did not spend the few spare moments of their days pondering the ways that food and language defined ethnic boundaries. Ukrainian women, like most immigrant women feeding families on tight budgets, took their role as food providers seriously and drew on customary ways of stretching meals to feed their households.[65] A pot of borscht or a roast pan of perogies or cabbage rolls fed many hungry mouths and these foods could be made in large quantities for a relatively low price; it must be noted that these dishes were often made with seasonal ingredients. Such ethnic foods were a staple, made at least once a week to satisfy the boarders' hunger as well as the family's budgetary constraints. Boarding house operators also made a variety of soups. Like perogies made with flour and potatoes, and cabbage rolls made with cabbage and rice, large quantities of soup made with water, a

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[64] Harney, "Boarding and Belonging: Thoughts on Sojourner Institutions," 27.

[65] Food is central to understanding the narratives of immigrants, especially immigrant women. See, for example, Franca Iacovetta, *Gatekeepers: Reshaping Immigrant Lives in Cold War Canada* (Toronto: Between the Lines, 2006), 137-169; Franca Iacovetta and Valerie Korinek, "Jell-O Salads, One-Stop Shopping, and Maria the Homemaker: The Gender Politics of Food," in Marlene Epp, Franca Iacovetta, Frances Swyripa, eds., *Sisters or Strangers? Immigrant, Ethnic, and Racialized Women in Canadian History* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2004), 190-230; Marlene Epp, "The Semiotics of Zwieback: Feast and Famine in the Narratives of Mennonite Refugee Women," in Marlene Epp, Franca Iacovetta, Frances Swyripa, eds., *Sisters or Strangers? Immigrant, Ethnic, and Racialized Women in Canadian History* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2004), 314-340; and Hinther, "'Sincerest Revolutionary Greetings': Progressive Ukrainians in the Twentieth Century," 136-138.

small portion of meat and some kind of vegetable could be made quite inexpensively. Anne Matschke (nee Kuchmey), a member at St. Mary's Ukrainian Catholic Church, remembered her mother preparing a different pot of soup for her boarders almost every day, especially during the Depression. If she did not have enough food to feed her boarders as well as her seven children, her mother Malanka would just "add more water to the soup."[66] Like perogies and cabbage rolls, soup was a cost efficient answer for those struggling to feed many hungry mouths on a small budget.

However for those who ran larger boarding houses, a variety of Ukrainian foods and soups were simply not enough. Many boarders were not happy unless they had one or two different types of meat with every meal. The high cost of this commodity posed a difficult challenge to women already struggling to break even; they had to not only find ways to fit it into their budgets, but also ensure that everyone received an equal share. But Justine Bilowus, a member of St. Michael's Ukrainian Catholic Women's League, met this latter challenge head on. When preparing a pot of stew or some kind of soup, she would tie a string around each piece of meat so that every man at the table would get his share of it.[67] When women were able to afford meat, they had to make it stretch and thus wasted nothing. Although Ernie Lekun's Ukrainian Catholic mother Mary did not run a boarding house, her resourcefulness is typical of those who did: "Every year mother's uncle from out west would send us a whole, frozen pig; Dad would just have to pay for the shipping. Mother would use every part of that pig, hand grinding it. I vividly remember her grinding the pig's ears to make blood sausages. Mother would use the rest of the head to make a soup, boiling the hell out of it until it

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[66] Anne Matschke (nee Kuchmey), interview.
[67] Angela Behun (nee Bilowus), interview.

fell apart. The only thing that went into the garbage was the bones."[68] Interestingly, the children said that taste was never compromised; nearly every one of my interviewees made sure to report that their mothers had been exceptional cooks. Preparing ethnic food was an economically efficient way for women to provide their boarders with the calories that they needed to work underground for twelve-hour shifts. Ethnic food may have helped to preserve Ukrainian traditions but it was above all a way for women to ensure that their boarding businesses were successful in tough times.

Boarding was also a labour intensive business and thus many mothers asked for assistance. While some hired single or married women looking to make some extra money, most relied on their children, whose labour was free and often readily available. In addition to managing their boarding businesses and overseeing their family's finances, mothers supervised their children, assigning them tasks to be done in and around the home.[69] Although mothers and their children conversed in Ukrainian, the tasks assigned to children were not ethnic but gendered: girls undertook domestic tasks within the household while boys performed masculine chores and errands outside of the home.

After Bernice Crowe's (nee Haluschak) father passed away in the late 1930s, her mother Stella, a member of the ULFTA, decided to take in boarders to support her family. Although six men lived with them at a time, Stella cooked for about twenty-five to thirty men a day, serving as a type of restaurant cook for those who were rooming in the area. In speaking about the ways that she helped her mother, Bernice explained:

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[68] Ernie Lekun, interview by author, Sudbury, 9 May 2005.

[69] For a discussion about the ways in which women were financially responsible for budgeting the family income see, for instance, Bradbury, *Working Families: Age, Gender, and Daily Survival in Industrializing Montreal.*

"Every Saturday I would help mother with the cleaning, and I would sweep and then scrub those darn wood floors. It was hard. [During the week] I was going to school and I would have to come home and do the afternoon dishes and set the table." For the most part, Bernice did not enjoy her chores. Had she been given the choice, she would have spent her spare time doing things that interested her. However, Bernice recognized that her mother needed help making ends meet and thus she thought nothing about doing the chores which were assigned to her. Since her mother was the sole breadwinner in the household, Bernice knew that if she faltered and the business collapsed, life would become quite difficult.[70] Helen Cotnam (nee Cybulka), who attended a French Catholic school and had no Ukrainian organizational affiliations, also helped her mother with her rooming business. They did not cook meals for the men but every week Helen had to help her mother clean the rooms that they had rented. Although they were lucky enough to have indoor plumbing, she emphasized that this was a mixed blessing because she had to clean the bathrooms the men had used. As she vividly recalled, it only took her a few dirty toilets to issue an ultimatum, insisting that her mother buy her a toilet brush before she would clean another toilet. Like Bernice, Helen knew that her labour mattered. Her family could not afford to hire extra help and thus she accepted the chores that were assigned to her.[71] Anne Matschke (nee Kuchmey) also remembered the time she spent helping her mother run her boarding house, which included 10 men, at 295 Eyre Street. Before walking to school each morning, Anne had to make all of the beds in the house. She was also responsible for cleaning the floors: "I had to shake out all the old rag carpets and wash the floors on my knees. There were no mops, and I remember

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[70] Bernice Crowe (nee Haluschak), interview.
[71] Helen Cotnam (nee Cybulka), interview by author, Sudbury, 2 May 2005.

always looking backwards to see if I was almost done...[The kitchen] was so big..."[72] Helen Gniazdoski (nee Daniluk), a member of St. Michael's Ukrainian Catholic Church, also had to help her mother with the boarding business, and she recalled an incident when her mother left her and her sister alone to do the men's laundry. Her mother arrived home from picking blueberries to find that the men's underwear had been turned pink.[73] Clearly, these women knew that their chores made a difference. Although they often resented the fact that they could not spend their spare time engaged in activities of their choosing, they assisted their mothers with their boarding businesses, knowing that they were helping their families to make ends meet. While they may not have had an identity-making experience like the one recounted by Baba, they certainly knew that they were engaged in a struggle to survive.

Running a boarding business was always hard work. Those girls who helped their mothers often undertook daily domestic chores, mainly cleaning. Surprisingly, few of them learned to cook from their mothers. Cleaning was a task that could be assigned to a child. If not done properly, it would not send the business into disarray. But as the women interviewed explained, cooking was a greater responsibility – while men may not have minded coming home to a house with dirty floors and unmade beds, they would have been upset to find that a meal was not waiting for them at the end of a twelve-hour shift – and so it was left up to the older women in the household. It is important to note that none of my interviewees recalled instances in which their mothers had failed to prepare a meal. Therefore it is difficult to determine whether these women faced consequences from the men with whom they lived. In addition to these domestic

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[72] Anne Matschke (nee Kuchmey), interview.
[73] Helen Gniazdoski (nee Daniluk), interview by author, Sudbury, 13 May 2005.

duties, girls were also responsible for caring for their younger siblings. When the oldest daughter in the household married – they often did so at a young age to alleviate the financial strain placed on the family – the next oldest female sibling would take over her domestic and child-rearing responsibilities. This familial female cycle was another essential ingredient for a successful boarding business.

Boys, on the other hand, were assigned chores which often took them outside of the home. Whenever Paul Behun's mother needed wood for the stove, he and his brother Bill would go into the bush, cut logs, and then haul them home, splitting them before stacking them close to the house.[74] If boys were not splitting firewood, they were collecting coal and shovelling it through the chute which carried it into the basement. Many mothers, as we shall see, also kept a number of farm animals in the backyard, including cows, pigs, and chickens. Most often it was the boys in the home who were responsible for milking the cows and cleaning the chicken coops and then delivering milk or eggs to customers in the neighbourhood. It must be noted that although public health bylaws, which were enacted in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, prohibited animals like chickens and pigs from being kept close to homes in most districts within the Sudbury region, many interviewees admitted that their mothers had ignored these rules until the early years of the 1930s, so that they could ensure some degree of survival for their families. Certainly, the fact that these bylaws could be ignored with little repercussion during this period reflects the different pace of development in this region. Whereas large urban centres like Montreal and Toronto had outlawed animals from being kept in residential areas in the mid-nineteenth century,

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[74] Paul Behun, interview.

northern mining communities in the Sudbury region did not begin to seriously enforce similar bylaws until much later.[75] These were fundamentally different places where concerns for the blurring of rural and urban were simply less pressing.

Blueberry picking was another way for a Ukrainian family living in Northern Ontario to supplement its income and it was usually the boys in the household who were responsible for picking them. It was laborious and hot work, usually done during late July and early August.[76] Although he now enjoys picking blueberries, Stanley Hayduk, a Roman Catholic who attended St. John the Evangelist Church, remembered when he hated doing this task, recalling that he would only be allowed to play ball after

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[75] Although the municipal governments in Sudbury and Copper Cliff enacted bylaws in the late nineteenth century prohibiting small animals from being kept close to houses, the company town of Coniston, just east of Sudbury, did not enact similar bylaws until 1934. Therefore most of the interviewees who stated that their mothers had kept small animals hailed from Coniston. It is however significant to note that a number of interviewees who claimed that their mothers had kept small animals in their backyards also lived in Sudbury. Since these memories only date to the early 1930s, this suggests that the bylaws were not enforced in the working-class neighbourhoods where they resided until the mid-1930s. For a regional discussion about these bylaws see Ashley Thomson, "The 1890s," in C.M. Wallace and Ashley Thomson, eds., *Sudbury: Rail Town to Regional Capital* (Toronto: Dundurn Press, 1993), 33-57; and Mike Solski, ed., *The Coniston Story* (Sudbury: Journal Printing, 1983), 13-17. I am thankful to Jim Fortin for drawing this information to my attention. For a related discussion about how mothers who lived in Montreal during the mid-nineteenth century also maintained small gardens and kept a variety of animals to meet their families' dietary needs see Bradbury, *Working Families: Age, Gender, and Daily Survival in Industrializing Montreal*, 163-168; and Bradbury, "Pigs, Cows, and Boarders: Non-Wage Forms of Survival among Montreal Families, 1861-91," 9-46.

[76] Generally, interviewees stated that blueberry picking lasted about three weeks a year and supplemented the family income nicely. Although many interviewees recalled that this extra income helped to pay for groceries others, like Ernie Lekun's mother Mary, saved the money they earned. Mary, who made about fifty cents a basket, spent a number of years saving and in the end, purchased her first refrigerator with the money around 1947. See Ernie Lekun, interview. Also see "88, 000 Quarts of Blueberries are Harvested," *Sudbury Star*, 20 July 1932, 1; and "4,500 Baskets Sent to Toronto Each Day From District Points," *Sudbury Star*, 12 July 1933, 1.

he had filled a basket.[77] Like Stanley, Bill Semenuk spent many mornings during the 1930s picking blueberries to earn extra money. He looked forward to it though, as a morning of picking often went hand in hand with an afternoon of swimming at Ramsey Lake.[78] Boys rarely helped their mothers when it came to domestic chores although many, including Frank Makarinsky, have fond memories of watching their mothers cook, waiting for such things like fresh bread to come out of the oven.[79] In highlighting memories like those recalled by Frank, I am not trying to suggest that boys worked less than their sisters. Certainly chopping wood, shovelling coal into the house, and picking blueberries were difficult tasks. However, it is important to note that these chores were done less frequently than the daily domestic tasks assigned to girls.

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[77] Stanley Hayduk, interview by author, Garson, 19 May 2005.
[78] Bill Semenuk, interview.
[79] Frank Makarinsky, interview by author, Sudbury, 4 May 2005.

Figure 6.2: Nick Evanshen plays the mandolin on the back steps of his family's boarding house, circa 1934[80]

This photograph demonstrates one of the ways that Nick Evanshen entertained himself while his mother attended to the needs of her thirty boarders. Although Mary Evanshen can be seen looking through the window at her son and his dancing dog, she was often too busy to supervise Nick and thus he spent a significant amount of time with John and Peter Buyarski, two brothers who lived with the Evanshen family.

As this description of the gendered division of child labour suggests, Ukrainian parents, like other immigrant and Canadian parents, had gendered expectations for their children, and those expectations reflected a response to economic realities as well as cultural and ideological factors. Daughters were trained to be future wives while boys emulated their fathers and learned what it took to be a successful breadwinner. By sending their boys to deliver milk or pick blueberries, parents gave them not only independence, but also financial responsibility, teaching them the value of a dollar at an

[80] This photograph comes from the personal collection of Nick Evanshen.

early age. Ukrainian immigrants who arrived in early twentieth century Canada brought a distinct peasant culture with them. This baggage, as Frances Swyripa shows, included a set of clearly defined gender roles and stereotypes: "They [women] were essential to the functioning of the family as the basic unit of production and consumption, yet they were regarded as inferior beings subject to the authority of their menfolk."[81] But this view was not limited to Ukrainians or even immigrants more generally. In Denyse Baillargeon's study about the Depression experiences of French-Canadian women who lived in Montreal, one of her informant's comments was similar to the one made by Nellie Kozak (nee Tataryn): "Little boys were like little kings. Very few homes made the boys work. They couldn't be touched. If there was something to be done, the girls did it."[82] Within the wider Anglo-Celtic society, an enduring Victorian ideology of separate spheres (which in practice were never separate) did not necessarily justify male privilege (the point was that boys and girls were to be trained for separate but complementary worlds) but it could and did lead to a double standard. Boys were encouraged to undertake roles that would train them to be breadwinners while girls were trained for the domestic roles that they would eventually assume. Economic factors led many working-class families to make strategic decisions about children's

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[81] Swyripa, *Wedded to the Cause: Ukrainian-Canadian Women and Ethnic Identity, 1891-1991* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1993), 26. Rhonda Hinther also draws on Swyripa's argument and provides a convincing discussion pertaining to the ways in which this gendered cultural baggage impacted the Ukrainian left. See Hinther, "'Sincerest Revolutionary Greetings': Progressive Ukrainians in the Twentieth Century," 128-129. Although this cultural baggage affected gender roles within Ukrainian homes, it is important to note that Ukrainians also adapted to their new northern setting, making ad hoc decisions which depended upon the local context. Making lunch pails and having boarders sleep in shifts, for instance, were strategies that Ukrainian women adopted in order to cope in this northern resource community.

[82] Baillargeon, *Making Do: Women, Family, and Home in Montreal During the Great Depression*, 42.

work. If a boy could make more money than a girl in the public sphere then he was sent to work, not his sister.[83] These gendered roles, then, reflected the interplay of a number of economic and cultural factors, including the dynamics of this mining community and the differing job opportunities available to men and women, while the transplanted Old World ideas about what it meant to be a "Ukrainian man" and a "Ukrainian woman" reinforced these gender roles.

But accounting for the situation and living it are two different things. It must be stressed that in reflecting upon their childhoods, my interviewees, especially my female interviewees, were well aware of the gender dynamics that ordered their households.[84] In the women's opinions, boys were valued more than girls and were treated accordingly. Indeed, after all these years later, there is still a great degree of bitterness in the voices of women who recall the broken dreams and the many limitations placed on them. Some remain upset that their parents did not encourage them to stay in school; they are haunted by the memory of the rhetorical question that their father had put to them: "Why go to school [when] you are going to scrub floors and do housework anyway?"[85] Most of them, however, shrugged off their feelings and subtly warned me not to stress these gender inequalities because "this was normal" for that time. As Michael Frisch warns, we must be sensitive to such differences when doing oral history

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[83] See Bradbury, *Working Families: Age, Gender, and Daily Survival in Industrializing Montreal*; and Bradbury, "Gender at Work at Home," 177-198.

[84] Although the Ukrainian men that I interviewed openly admitted to being treated in a more superior manner than their sisters, they did so in more hesitant and guarded ways than women, making sure to indicate that they had contributed to the family economy nevertheless. See, for instance, Joseph Maizuk, interview by author, Sudbury, 25 January 2005.

[85] Olga Zembrzycki (nee Zyma), interview. Nellie Kozak's (nee Tataryn) mother echoed this sentiment, stating "...you don't need to go (to school) to wash dishes and diapers." See Nellie Kozak (nee Tataryn), interview.

or we risk creating a "discursive disconnect," essentially causing us to lose touch with the people we interview and the narratives we hope to reconstruct.[86] While we should listen attentively and read our interview transcripts carefully for trends and silences, we must not pass judgement on the opinions of past generations. Rather it is vital to note that these gendered notions structured the ways in which boarding houses operated and therefore they are central to the collective experience of Sudbury's Ukrainians. Moreover, these gendered notions of work are vital to understanding the child-rearing practices of most parents, not just Ukrainian parents, who struggled to raise a family during the first half of the twentieth century.

When it came to reminiscing about their pasts, Catholic, Orthodox, nationalist, and progressive Ukrainian men and women used deeply personal biographical memories to understand their boyhood and girlhood working-class experiences. Like Baba, boarders and boarding house culture left indelible marks on their memories, making them keenly aware of the working-class struggle in which they were engaged. As they recounted the men with whom they had shared their domestic spaces, Sudbury's Ukrainians told stories about the challenges that their families had endured during the difficult years of the Depression. Certainly, these experiences helped them understand and contextualize their working-class identity.

Bootlegging

In addition to boarding, many of my interviewees reported that their families had bootlegged in order to make ends meet during the Depression. This was, for all

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[86] Michael Frisch, "Working-Class Public History in the Context of Deindustrialization: Dilemmas of Authority and the Possibilities of Dialogue," *Labour/Le Travail* 51 (Spring 2003), 153-164.

intents and purposes, another gendered ethnic entrepreneurship that was often managed by my interviewees' mothers.[87] Unlike boarding however, this money-making venture was quite risky. It was an illegal activity which made families susceptible to police raids, fines, and terms of imprisonment. Despite these dangers, some Ukrainian parents decided to take their chances, hoping to earn extra money to support their families. According to Bill Babij, a Ukrainian Catholic, parents had little choice when it came to engaging in this illicit activity. Specifically, he stated: "No one was bootlegging to make money; they were just doing it to survive."[88] Clearly, Bill recognized that his mother's bootlegging business was an essential source of income during this period.

Drinking was a common activity among the Ukrainian men who lived in the Sudbury region. It was, as Kerry Abel argues, "a display of manhood equivalent to the display of strength and courage underground...something of a vehicle of empowerment for men who were relatively powerless at the bottom of a workplace hierarchy..."[89] Drinking was therefore an integral part of the rough and unrespectable working-class masculine identity assumed by Sudbury's Ukrainian men.[90] When they were not working, many single men, and undoubtedly some married men with children, spent

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[87] For a related discussion see Vecchio, *Merchants, Midwives and Labouring Women: Italian Migrants in Urban America*, 70-71; John Hallwas, *The Bootlegger: A Story of Small-Town America* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1998); and Judith Bennett, *Ale, Beer, and Brewsters in England: Women's Work in a Changing World, 1300-1600* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996).

[88] William Babij, interview by author, Sudbury, 16 December 2004.

[89] Abel, *Changing Places: History, Community, and Identity in Northeastern Ontario*, 201.

[90] For a related discussion see Marks, *Revivals and Roller Rinks: Religion, Leisure, and Identity in Late-Nineteenth-Century Small-town Ontario*, 81-106; and Forestell, "Bachelors, Boarding Houses, and Blind Pigs: Gender Construction in a Multi-Ethnic Mining Camp, 1909-1920," 251-290; and Forestell, "All that Glitters is not Gold: The Gender Dimensions of Work, Family, and Community Life in the Northern Ontario Gold Mining Town of Timmins, 1901-1950," 267-274.

their leisure time in blind pig establishments or, after 1934, in licensed beer parlours drinking away their hard earned money; it is significant to note that prohibition officially ended in 1927, at which point Ontario opened its first government controlled liquor stores, giving men a place where they could legally purchase spirits.[91]

Operating a boarding house often went hand in hand with bootlegging. Along with demanding meat, men wanted liquor, especially after liquor stores and beer parlours had closed for the night. Time was limited for those who worked shifts at the local mines, and this restricted how much time could be spent in legal drinking establishments. Many therefore turned to blind pig business operators to fulfill their after hour needs. Although Peter Chitruk recounted the quiet times he had shared with "Bill," one of the men who boarded with his family, Peter was also quick to emphasize that he had grown up in "a wild west show" on Van Horne Street in his mother's boarding house. Specifically, Peter stated that bootlegging was a family affair in his household. His father Alec hauled moonshine to various towns in Northern Ontario for an Italian man who had a store in Copper Cliff, selling the liquor in milk bottles for fifty cents a piece.[92] Although Peter did not play a role in this business venture, he vividly remembered trying to stay warm under a bear skin wrap when he accompanied his father on these runs during the winter months, travelling via horse and sleigh to the various drop-off points in the region. Likewise, Peter's mother Sophie also bootlegged. He stated: "She was more of a businessman than my father was; she ran the business.

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[91] Craig Heron, *Booze: A Distilled History* (Toronto: Between the Lines, 2003), 276.

[92] For a discussion about similar experiences see Antonio Nicaso, *Rocco Perri: The Story of Canada's Most Nortorious Bootlegger* (Toronto: John Wiley & Sons, 2004).

You couldn't fool her. She would pour the liquor on to a spoon and put a match to it to see if it would light," ensuring that her purchase was authentic. Although she was a well-known bootlegger among her Ukrainian contemporaries, Sophie would only sell liquor to her regular Slavic customers who knew exactly when to come to the house to buy beer for twenty-five cents a bottle. Like the Finnish blind pig establishments discussed by Varpu Lindström and Kerry Abel, Sophie's residence served as an ethnically homogeneous social space where men who spoke the same language and hailed from the same country could engage in the masculine experience of drinking while they discussed happenstance.[93]

Clearly, bootlegging accounted for a significant portion of the Chitruk's family income. Although Peter recalled that the Depression had been a tough time, he made it clear that his family never faced any major financial difficulties because of his mother's entrepreneurship, emphasizing: "Bootlegging meant the difference between keeping your house or losing it. You had to bootleg." Sophie's sound business sense as well as her ability to hide her liquor in the staircase or in snow banks in the backyard during police raids meant that the family always had enough money to live comfortably.[94] Like Sophie, Frank Makarinsky's mother Anna also bootlegged and ran a rooming house to supplement the family's income. She made perogies, cabbage rolls, and moonshine in her house and sold it to the men who lived in the neighbourhood. Like the Chitruk's,

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[93] See Lindström, *Defiant Sisters: A Social History of Finnish Immigrant Women in Canada*, 102-110; and Abel, *Changing Places: History, Community, and Identity in Northeastern Ontario*, 198-202. On a similar note, Suzanne Morton notes that gambling, another unrespectable masculine behaviour, also occurred in ethnically homogeneous spaces. See Morton, *At Odds: Gambling and Canadians, 1919-1969* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2003), 85-87.

[94] Peter Chitruk, interview.

Frank admitted that his family suffered few hardships because of his mother's bootlegging business, stating "You did all kinds of things to make ends meet."[95]

Similarly, when Bill Babij's Ukrainian Catholic mother Paraska realized that she and her husband did not have enough money to support their family, she resorted to bootlegging. Although Bill's father Michael had been a successful breadwinner in the late 1920s, working at the INCO Smelter in Coniston, he lost his job in the early 1930s and the family was forced to accept relief. In order to supplement this small pittance of fourteen dollars a month, Paraska decided to bootleg. Since she did not run a boarding house because she lacked the space needed to take in men, Paraska sold liquor to a number of Ukrainian men who resided in Polack Town. Although there was very little crime in Coniston, Bill admitted that his mother was just one of the many women who bootlegged in this company town, arguing that they had little choice when it came to engaging in this illegal venture "because there was no other way to make a living." Realizing this, Paraska made homebrew and sold it for twenty cents a bottle out of "necessity." While this extra income certainly helped to ensure the family's survival, Bill made sure to point out that life remained difficult during the Depression and had it not been for Paraska's ability to make "a dollar last as long as she could," the thirties would have been unbearable for his family.[96]

Like boarding, bootlegging was a means through which families could generate extra money during the Depression. It was a profitable and predominantly female ethnic entrepreneurship which gave families some sense of economic stability when times were tough. While there is no doubt that boys and girls smelled the fermenting

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[95] Frank Makarinsky, interview.
[96] William Babij, interview.

ingredients that their mothers mixed together to make homemade beer and spirits and they avidly watched the men gather at their kitchen tables to drink these illicit beverages, they did not participate in the business of bootlegging. Clearly, mothers did not want their children becoming involved in what could often be an extremely risky business. Although none of the parents of my interviewees were ever charged with bootlegging, they lived in fear knowing that if they were caught they would be fined, imprisoned, and the money that they had worked so hard to earn would be lost. Certainly these were fears that cut across the ideological, political, and religious division which polarized the community. Like boarding, the experience of bootlegging gave Ukrainians a means through which they could understand their place in the community. Specifically, this business made them aware of the struggle in which they were engaged and the vulnerabilities that they faced as working-class Ukrainians.

Gardening and Small-Scale Farming

In addition to boarding and bootlegging, mothers planted backyard gardens in order to live more comfortably during the 1930s. Interestingly, up until the mid-1930s, when municipal governments in the region began to seriously enforce public health bylaws which prohibited small animals from being kept close to homes, mothers also kept chickens, pigs, cows, and pigeons to ensure a degree of survival for their families.[97] Although they purchased items like sugar and flour from their neighbourhood stores, mothers practiced as much subsistence farming as they could during the short growing season in Northern Ontario.

[97] Note that these municipal health bylaws were discussed earlier in this chapter.

Charlie Rapsky, a Roman Catholic who frequented St. Mary's as a child, remembered the prevalence of green plants towering over the picket fences that divided the yards when he would walk through the back lanes in the Donovan, stating "it was like walking in the Ukraine…you would smell *kapusta* (sauerkraut) wherever you went. Everyone had a long garden…[The Ukrainians] were tillers of the soil when they came and that stayed with them." Despite this observation, Charlie was quick to point out the obstacles that mothers had faced when planting their gardens. Since the mining companies smelted the ore that they extracted in open roasting yards, he noted that a large amount of sulphur was often emitted into the air. This pollutant not only burned and eventually killed most of the trees and crops in the area, but also created a yellow haze over the city which made the air difficult and uncomfortable to breath. Open smelting devastated the Sudbury region and for Charlie, playing in the hills among the dead trees was like "playing amongst skeletons." Soon after planting her garden, Charlie's mother Anne would make similar remarks, often complaining about how she would have to replant her garden because the sulphur had destroyed her plants.[98] Mary Brydges' (nee Ladyk) progressive mother Barbara also planted a garden and when discussing it, sulphur was also one of the first sensory memories that she recalled: "Sulphur is the smell I think about when remembering Sudbury. It used to be low in the atmosphere and yellow coloured. It was so strong that it used to burn the tops off the crops in the garden, burning things like the heads of lettuce."[99] For the most part, those who grew up in Sudbury remembered the terrible side effects that accompanied mining but accepted them nonetheless, recognizing that there was a price to pay for having a

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[98] Charlie Rapsky, interview.
[99] Mary Brydges (nee Ladyk), interview.

steady income. In fact, some went as far as to say that they were lucky because "[You] always had enough food to eat. You may not have gotten what you wanted, but you always had food."[100]

In order to ensure that there was enough food, mothers who lived in the region also kept a number of small animals in the early 1930s. In particular, they raised chickens, pigs, rabbits, pigeons, and if they had enough money to purchase one, an occasional cow that would graze in vacant lots in and around their neighbourhoods. Like boarding and bootlegging, this strategy gave families the resources that they needed to survive. Certainly, this was the case for the Holunga family. When John Holunga's father Wasyl had his shifts cut back at the INCO Smelter in Coniston from six to two in the early thirties, his family, which included seven children, relied upon its gardening skills as well as its animals. Although Wasyl's income was quite insufficient, John stressed that he and his siblings always had enough to eat: "We had little money, [but] we always had food. We had a garden, kept a cow for milk, and pigs, chickens, and rabbits for food." He emphasized: "People didn't shop like today, you bought necessities and that's all...[like] sugar and flour by the one hundred pound bag. You kept your vegetables in the root cellar and made sauerkraut and pickles in large barrels." Incidentally, John emphasized that he and his brothers were always busy because it was their responsibility to look after the animals and deliver milk to their neighbours. Like the girls who performed domestic chores for their mothers, John and his brothers realized that their labours mattered. Looking after these animals gave their family a

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[100] Joseph Maizuk, interview. For a discussion about the role that senses play in memory see Joy Parr, "Notes For a More Sensory History of Twentieth-Century Canada: The Timely, the Tacit, and the Material Body," *Canadian Historical Review* 82.4 (December 2001), 720-745.

source of both food and revenue.[101] It is important to note that John did not discuss how Coniston's municipal bylaws, which restricted the keeping of animals after 1934, affected his family.

It is not surprising that the Holunga boys were assigned these chores. Boys, as previously mentioned, were often responsible for tending to these animals, feeding and cleaning them to help cut down on their mothers' workload. In addition to giving the boys a sense of responsibility, it also forced them into breadwinning positions, teaching them the value of a dollar at an early age. Certainly, John and Steve Buchowski's mother Justyna attempted to instil this identity upon her sons by having them care for the cow, pig, and chickens that the family owned. Although they may not have been particularly fond of this job, John and Steve realized the value of it, stating that "[the] thing about Polack Town was that everyone across the track owned their own home; we owned our house. We were self-supporting." Clearly, John and Steve recognized that getting ahead required a lot of hard work and they were willing to accept the responsibilities that went hand in hand with this struggle. Although it was unpleasant, they spent a lot of their spare time cleaning the family's chicken coups so that they would have food to eat and eggs to sell. Clearly, John and Steve also managed to have some fun when undertaking this job, mentioning that "When the chickens would fight [they] would pretend that each chicken was a hockey team like the Toronto Maple Leafs or the Chicago Black Hawks." John and Steve found ways to entertain themselves as they engaged in a working-class struggle to survive. Their narratives made clear that

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[101] John Holunga, interview by author, Coniston, 16 May 2005.

they had lived through difficult times and yet they made sure to emphasize that they "always ate good."[102]

Most of my interviewees readily admitted that the Depression was a difficult period for their families. While their fathers took to the streets in search of work and a steady pay cheque, their mothers found ways to be resourceful at home. In addition to boarding and bootlegging, they accepted the risks posed by sulphur emissions and planted small gardens so that they could feed their families. Moreover, mothers took advantage of poorly enforced bylaws, keeping small animals so that they could put food on their tables. Unlike boarding, sons were an integral part of this endeavour. In addition to caring for their families' animals, boys helped their mothers make extra money. By selling eggs and milk they ensured some degree of survival for their families during the Depression.

Relief

The Ukrainian men and women that I interviewed stressed that relief was always a last resort for their families. Specifically, they stated that their mothers and fathers had gone to great lengths to ensure that their families would not have to accept public help. Relief, as Margaret Jane Hillyard Little states, was associated with idleness, unworthiness, and shame and thus families looked for other ways to make ends meet.[103] Significantly, only three of my eighty-two interviewees admitted that their families had accepted relief, making clear that most Ukrainian parents did not see it as an option. Although the majority of my interviewees stressed that their parents had resisted the

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[102] John Buchowski, interview by author, Sudbury, 18 May 2005. Also see Steve Buchowski, interview by author, Coniston, 16 May 2005.

[103] Little, *'No Car, No Radio, No Liquor Permit': The Moral Regulation of Single Mothers in Ontario, 1920-1997*, 77.

need to accept public help, it is important to note that the raw details of the past do tend to heal over time. Specifically, the parents of my interviewees may not have accepted public assistance because they may not have met the strict requirements that would have made them eligible for this help.[104]

In any event, those who revealed that their families had accepted relief emphasized that the Depression had been a dark and shameful period in their lives. Their fathers, who had been accustomed to spending most of their time away from home working, spent much of their time sitting at their kitchen tables in a depressed state or hopelessly wandering the city's streets looking for jobs. Unemployment led many to question their masculinity and, more specifically, their identity as breadwinners. For the most part, my interviewees stated that their fathers believed that they had failed their families. They questioned their decision to immigrate to Canada, asking why they had not reaped the benefits of a place which had promised them opportunities and advancement. Living through these difficult times thus led many Ukrainian boys and girls to undergo significant identity-making experiences. Like Baba, they understood the Depression in deeply personal ways, associating this period in their lives with fear, resentment, sadness, and humiliation. These experiences marked the end of their childhood innocence, making them keenly aware of their working-class identity and the struggles that their families faced during this period. Although the Depression did not choose sides, it is important to emphasize that the narratives recounted by all of my interviewees, those who both did and did not accept relief, revealed various degrees of suffering. While most of them reported that life had been difficult during the thirties,

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[104] Ibid., 76-89.

many of them made sure to stress that there were always families which had suffered more than them. Certainly, these varying degrees of suffering, as we shall see, allowed my interviewees to put their experiences in perspective.

Shortly after Tom Zaitz's progressive father Nicholas arrived in Canada in 1912, he obtained a job at the Mond Nickel Company's (MNC) Creighton Mine. Although he enjoyed the steady pay cheque that this job offered, Nicholas soon realized that this economic stability came with a price. While he was working a shift in one of the shafts, a piece of loose rock fell and seriously injured the man with whom he was working. Fearing a potential accident, Nicholas quit this job and went to work in the bush for a lumber company. After spending a couple of years working in the bush, Nicholas returned to Sudbury, where he married Mary Shatkowsky in 1917. Over the next nine years, the Zaitz's had four children. Nicholas worked as a taxi driver to support his family and proudly purchased a home at 218 Drinkwater Street, in Sudbury's East End, during the mid 1920s.

If there was little job security to be had in the mines during the Depression, Nicholas had absolutely no job security working for a small and independent taxi stand. Not surprisingly, Nicholas lost his job during the early thirties and was thereby unable to support his family or pay the taxes on the home that he had purchased. Forced to accept relief, Nicholas moved his family to a smaller and more affordable homestead in Wahnupitae. Although the Zaitz's moved back to Sudbury in the mid 1930s and eventually regained control over the family home it had lost by paying its back-taxes, Tom recalled that this period was a sad and difficult time in his life, noting that he had lost a year of school because of this move. Like Baba, this identity-making experience

marked the end of Tom's childhood innocence. By telling and retelling this story in the months and years after this event occurred he became aware of his working-class vulnerabilities and specifically noted that his family had been unsuccessful in making ends meet.[105]

Like the Zaitz's, the Solski family was also forced to accept relief. After meeting and marrying in Coniston in 1917, Joseph and Anne, Ukrainians with no organizational affiliations, purchased a home in Polack Town and had eight children to feed by 1926; two of these children died in infancy. Although Joseph was a sound breadwinner through the 1920s, working at the INCO Smelter in Coniston, he lost his ability to provide for his family when the company temporarily closed its plant in 1932 and laid him off. In order to make ends meet, the Solski's accepted public assistance shortly after Joseph lost his job. Although this was a tough period for his family, Nick Solski, the sixth child born to Joseph and Anne, stressed that life was manageable. Thanks to public assistance, he stated that "[he] always had enough food to eat."[106]

Unlike the Zaitz and Solski families, the majority of my interviewees did not have to rely upon relief to make ends meet. Their families had the resources needed to take in boarders, bootleg, garden, and/or farm and hence they were able to support themselves during this difficult period. Avoiding relief however did not mean that my interviewees did not witness the effects of the program. In particular, many of them recalled families that had lived in their neighbourhoods and had relied upon public assistance. Like Baba, they associated the Depression with sad and traumatic memories

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[105] Tom Zaitz, interview by author, Sudbury, 25 November 2005. It must be noted that the original spelling of Zaitz was Zayatz.

[106] Nicholas Solski, interview by author, Sudbury, 7 December 2004.

about the poverty-stricken families that they had known during this period. For the most part, these memories, about the ways in which other families had suffered, allowed them to put their experiences into perspective.

Specifically, Charlie Rapsky admitted that he had never really thought about his family's finances until he ran a special errand for his mother:

> One time mother gave me a twenty dollar bill and she said don't you lose this. It was big bucks and it was around 1937 and I walked to Gatchel [a neighbourhood just west of where I lived] to one of [my mother's] friend's house who was dying of consumption. [When] I walked into her house, her husband had died as well, they were so poor it was hard for me to believe that people could be that poor. She had two sons around my age. I couldn't believe people could be that poor![107]

Witnessing this poverty made Charlie quite conscious of the fact that there were families that were suffering in the region. When he returned home from dropping off his mother's money, he spent a great deal of time thinking about how fortunate he was to be living a comfortable life.[108] Certainly, this experience gave Charlie a means through which he could understand the Depression and contextualize his working-class identity.

Like the Rapsky's, Lorraine Jurgalis' (nee Burke) Orthodox family never knew what it was like to be hungry. Her father Stefan worked at INCO's Frood Mine and, according to Lorraine, "he was a wonderful provider." Had it not been for the family which lived across the street, Lorraine probably would have remained untouched by the Depression. Composed of a handful of children and a widowed mother, this family had no source of revenue and thus depended upon relief and the generosity of its neighbours for survival. Stefan was one of many neighbours who would drop off extra food, clothes, and money when he could afford to do so. Seeing her old clothes worn by her

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[107] Charlie Rapsky, interview.
[108] Ibid.

neighbours undoubtedly sent an important message to Lorraine. She knew that she was lucky to have a stable breadwinning father who could provide for her family.[109]

Although relief was a last resort for most Ukrainian families, there were a number of families that had no choice but to accept public assistance. Faced with mounting bills and little revenue, Ukrainian mothers and fathers picked up vouchers at their local relief offices so that they could provide for their families. They may have been embarrassed and angry, but they knew that government assistance was the only way that they could ensure a degree of survival for their families. Interestingly, those who did not accept relief were also touched by the Depression in profound ways. Ukrainian boys and girls did not have to go without to realize that other families were struggling to survive.

Conclusion

While Sudbury's Catholic, Orthodox, nationalist, and progressive Ukrainians were engaging in public confrontations to solidify their distinct group identities, they were also struggling to make ends meet within their private domestic spaces. The Depression cut across the ideological, political, and religious lines which divided the community, deeply affecting all of the Ukrainians who lived in the region during this period. In order to make ends meet, men, women, and children adopted similar domestic working-class identities and thereby adhered to similar gender hierarchies within their homes. Specifically, Ukrainian fathers and their sons identified themselves as breadwinners while mothers and daughters undertook the responsibilities accorded to housewives. Interestingly, the times also dictated that mothers become providers, and

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[109] Lorraine Jurgilas (nee Burke), interview.

thus they boarded, bootlegged, gardened, and farmed in order to supplement their husband's unreliable pay cheques. This female wage was, as we have seen, vital in ensuring that families would not have to accept relief.

For the most part, Baba's Depression-era narrative has enabled us to arrive at this conclusion. Her stories pushed us to examine the complexities of oral sources, making us aware of the layers that they contain. Certainly, pairing discussions about the public confrontation which occurred at her home with those that spoke to the working-class struggle in which her family was engaged reveal that her individual and group identities often converged and diverged simultaneously. Baba's multiple identities clearly suggest that community-building was based upon a degree of conflict and consensus.

Examining the collective experiences recounted by Sudbury's Ukrainians reveal that Baba was not alone when it came to living with conflicting group and overlapping individual identities. Catholic, Orthodox, nationalist, and progressive men, women, and children may have had a diverse set of identity-making experiences but in the end, they all struggled to manage identities which were often at odds. Although their political, religious, and ideological group identities were quite different, their multiple and overlapping domestic identities were quite similar. Catholic girls who were chased down their streets by May Day protesters and progressive girls who were called "communists" in their schoolyards at recess both washed floors, did dishes, and ironed laundry when they went home at night. Progressive boys who learned to speak Ukrainian and play the mandolin at the ULFTA Hall and Catholic boys who spent their Sunday mornings as altar boys both ran errands for their mothers, tended to their

families' animals, and spent their leisure time telling jokes to the boarders who lived in their houses. Mothers who sang in the church choir or slaved over the ULFTA stoves all prepared perogies and cabbage rolls to satisfy their boarders, bootlegged to generate extra revenue, and planted gardens to ensure that their families had fresh produce in the summer months. Fathers who sat on the church organizing committee or led progressive marches through Sudbury's streets all worried about providing for their families during the difficult years of the Depression. Clearly, Ukrainians went to great lengths to make ends meet, employing similar gendered strategies in order to ensure their families' survival.

In many regards then, these narratives and their resulting ambiguities speak to the tensions which wind through the chapters of this dissertation. Discussions about differences have gone hand in hand with those that speak to similarities, compelling us to think of Sudbury's Ukrainians as composing a single community of divided people. Identity has, for the most part, enabled us to make this observation. In recognizing that Sudbury's Ukrainians formed multiple identities which they lived on several levels simultaneously we have been able to demonstrate the ways in which conflict and consensus figured in the community's foundation.

Chapter Seven

Conclusion: A Community Nevertheless

Although I grew up knowing that being Ukrainian was complicated, I had no idea that the childhood stories which fostered this knowledge would play such a prominent role in the narrative of this dissertation. I set out to reconstruct Sudbury's Ukrainian community from a safe and therefore objective distance, as an historian working with rather impersonal written and oral sources. My initial intentions however were quite different from the end result. Baba, through her stories and her participation in my oral history interviews, led me to write a deeply personal and highly subjective narrative about this community and its history. As a result, this dissertation has taken us into my imagined Ukrainian community, Baba's Ukrainian community, and the communities which other Ukrainians in the Sudbury region have experienced. While there is definitely a fine line to walk when functioning both as an historian and also as a vulnerable observer, this dissertation has embraced the idea that "the personal and emotional can be legitimate forms of scholarly writing."[1] Thinking and writing vulnerably has in turn enabled a critique of the boundaries of the public archive, facilitating a discussion about the ways that it can conceal the past. By corollary, this dissertation has thereby offered an alternative form of recovering a history which would otherwise be lost.

Baba's stories helped me navigate my way into the history of Sudbury's Ukrainian community. Although, at the outset, these stories structured my imagined

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[1] Franca Iacovetta, "Post-Modern Ethnography, Historical Materialism, and Decentring the (Male) Authorial Voice: A Feminist Conversation," *Histoire sociale/Social History* 32.64 (November 1999), 283.

community, I now recognize that Baba's version of the past is just one of many perspectives. Specifically, examining Baba's personal truth alongside the collective truths presented by my other interviewees forced me to acknowledge that the "us" and "them" framework which influenced my thinking as a child was a static and unworkable model for understanding the multiplicity of voices that constituted this very fluid community. Incidentally, these collective truths also pushed me to recognize important patterns which cut across the religious, political, and ideological lines which polarized the community, compelling me to think of Sudbury's Ukrainians as composing a single community of conflicting groups rather than a series of divided communities. Like Baba, other Ukrainian men and women understood this community in distinct ways, filtering their definitions through their identities and experiences. For them, it was an imagined reality, a social interaction, and a process that, as we saw in Chapters Three, Four, and Five especially, evolved over time. Appreciating both the similarities and differences which wound through these notions of community have therefore been quite central to reconstructing the history of Sudbury's Ukrainians.

Ukrainians began to arrive in the Sudbury region shortly after the turn of the twentieth century. Although a number of women were among these early settlers, the bulk of those who came to the area were migrant male labourers. In search of a decent and reliable wage, these Ukrainians tended to settle in the outlying multi-ethnic company towns that surrounded Sudbury, living close to the nickel mines where they formed heavily masculine and highly transient communities. The few Ukrainian women who lived in the region may have offered some stability to these communities by providing services and establishing St. Nicholas Greek Catholic Church, but there were

not enough of them to make a significant difference. The social dynamics of these communities were in a constant state of change, offering Ukrainians little permanency during these formative years.

Certainly, the fluidity and instability which characterized these communities affected the individual experiences of those who lived in the region at this time. Specifically, geographic dispersion, transience, a lack of ethnic spaces, and the masculine nature of the communities made belonging difficult for Ukrainian women. Although some women managed to form meaningful relationships with both Ukrainian and non-Ukrainian citizens, the company towns surrounding Sudbury offered women few opportunities for networking and thus there is no doubt that many felt quite isolated and alone, living on the margins of their communities. Men, on the other hand, tended to be more successful when it came to carving out spaces for themselves in these environments. They moved between the mines, their homes, and the places where they spent their leisure time, meeting other immigrant men who had similar goals, namely financial stability. While their political beliefs and the organizations to which they belonged divided them, they formed communities which revolved around the masculine experiences that they endured on a daily basis.[2]

The outbreak of World War I did little to change the demographics of the region's Ukrainian communities. These remained transient, masculine communities throughout the war, continuing to offer Ukrainian men and women a rather unstable

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[2] It must be noted that Nancy Forestell and Kerry Abel draw similar conclusions in their work about Northeastern Ontario. See Forestell, "All that Glitters is not Gold: The Gender Dimensions of Work, Family, and Community Life in the Northern Ontario Gold Mining Town of Timmins, 1901-1950," Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Toronto, 1993; and Abel, *Changing Places: History, Community, and Identity in Northeastern Ontario* (Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2006).

environment in which to live. The identity of the region's Ukrainians was however seriously impacted by the war. Specifically, unnaturalized Ukrainians were labelled as "enemy aliens" and their civil liberties were restricted throughout this period. They were required to register at the offices of their local magistrates or risk being detained in internment camps. This label had major implications for these immigrants. It negatively impacted their social respectability and perceived loyalty as citizens. It also, as we saw, affected the ways that they belonged to the local community.

Although all unnaturalized Ukrainians who resided in Canada during World War I were labelled as enemy aliens and subjected to the federal government's wartime measures, it is significant to note that those who lived in the Sudbury region had a distinct set of experiences. Specifically, disenfranchisement did not have a major effect on those living in the region because few were naturalized citizens who owned property in this resource environment. Moreover, there was a regional link between socialism and internment. While a lack of sources makes it difficult to discern why three International Nickel Company (INCO) employees were interned in 1916, it is clear that those who were interned after 1917 were punished for their connections to the local socialist movement. For INCO, as for other local governments, internment was a means through which the mining company could deconstruct the enemy alien category, distinguishing between the "acceptable" and "unacceptable," and namely its loyal and disloyal Ukrainian employees. Internment in this case did not constitute an undifferentiated "war against ethnicity."[3] Rather, it was directed at an ideologically-

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[3] See Norman Hillmer, Bohdan Kordan, and Lubomyr Luciuk, eds., *On Guard For Thee: War, Ethnicity, and the Canadian State, 1939-1945* (Ottawa: Canadian Committee for the History of the Second World War, 1988).

suspect minority within the region's Ukrainian communities. Unfortunately, the available sources do not allow us to reconstruct how these communities responded to the wartime measures. Politics may have helped local mining companies, like INCO, define their Ukrainian employees but it is unclear whether socialism and/or the local mining companies' treatment of socialists polarized the region's Ukrainians into opposing groups during this period. Again, the transience of these communities has made it difficult to untangle this complex story.

Despite the challenges of dealing with a fragmented set of sources, we do know that the region's Ukrainian communities experienced significant demographic growth and organizational changes during the 1920s. Specifically, Ukrainians moved out of the outlying districts and into Sudbury, Coniston, and Levack where they formed family-focused communities within the neighbourhoods being built within these towns. Although more women began to settle in these towns, it is important to note that these communities were still highly transient in nature. Subject to the whims of the local mining companies, migrant male labourers continued to move from town to town, searching for employment opportunities and hence stability.

Organizational growth went hand in hand with these demographic changes. As these towns developed, Ukrainians began to establish socially and politically exclusive ethnic communal spaces. Not surprisingly, the construction of the Coniston and Sudbury Branches of the Ukrainian Labour Farmer Temple Association (ULFTA) in 1924 and 1925 and St. Mary's Ukrainian Catholic Church in 1928 led to a deepening of the division which plagued the region's Ukrainian communities; there is little doubt that INCO's donation to St. Mary's contributed to this polarization.

Despite the ideological, political, and religious differences which fissured these communities, Ukrainian Catholic and progressive men, women, and children assumed similar gendered, ethnic, and age-defined identities within the organizations to which they belonged. In particular, men undertook leadership roles within the ULFTA Halls and St. Mary's Ukrainian Catholic Church which mirrored their domestic roles as breadwinners. Clearly, they defined their masculinity through the political and religious experiences that they had within these spaces. Women, on the other hand, were relegated to subordinate supporting positions which reinforced Old World peasant stereotypes, male chauvinism, and the domestic roles that they assumed as working-class mothers and housewives.

Unlike the identities taken on by their parents, those of Catholic and progressive children were rooted in definitions of Ukrainianness and childhood rather than gender. In addition to learning about class and religion, these children acted as cultural mediators between the Old World of their parents and the new Canadian world that they encountered in the Sudbury region. Undoubtedly, being pulled in these two different directions often affected the ways in which children participated in the activities that were held at the ULFTA Halls and St. Mary's Ukrainian Catholic Church. Like their parents, they may have identified themselves as Catholics or progressives but more often than not these political and religious identities were less pressing than the one that they assumed as Canadian children.

Since Ukrainians undertook different identities within the Sudbury and Coniston Branches of the ULFTA and St. Mary's Ukrainian Catholic Church, their participation within these spaces was not part of a homogeneous working-class experience. Certainly,

internal power struggles like those which plagued the women's branches of the ULFTA and St. Mary's Ukrainian Catholic Women's League also speak to diversity. Belonging was an individualized experience, complicated by gender, ethnicity, and age.

As we saw in this dissertation however, the political and religious identities of Sudbury's Ukrainians were often a source of conflict. As a whole, they formed a community of divided people, intent on celebrating and defining their differences rather than their similarities. Demographic and organizational growth only served to heighten the sense of importance that Ukrainians attached to these differences even as their experiences in various social spaces continued to feature similarity. As more Ukrainians came to the region in search of work during the difficult years of the Depression, they established even more organizations and in doing so, they contributed to the community's internal division. Polarized into four factions, Catholic, Orthodox, nationalist, and progressive Ukrainians all struggled to not only carve spaces for themselves within the Sudbury region, but also assert and maintain their distinct group identities. Politics and religion had major implications, ultimately determining who did and did not belong to the local community, the region, and the nation. Unlike the ULFTA Hall, native Sudburians, the local mining companies which operated in the region, and the *Sudbury Star* believed that St. Mary's Ukrainian Catholic Church, the Ukrainian National Federation (UNF) Hall, and St. Volodymyr's Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church were spaces that helped to neutralize Bolshevik influences among the region's Ukrainians.

For the most part, Ukrainians used public confrontations to display, perform, and assert their political and religious identities.[4] Public parades, demonstrations, ceremonies, and the habitual taunting, gossiping, and name calling which occurred in Sudbury's streets, school yards, playgrounds, alleys, and ethnic churches and halls gave Catholic, Orthodox, nationalist, and progressive Ukrainians a means through which they could negotiate the boundaries of their divided community. Certainly, my Baba's early childhood memory about the confrontation which occurred on the front steps of her home between her father and a group of "communist" men served as an important entry point into this public culture of confrontation. As both a vulnerable observer and an historian, I used this story to not only establish a sense of context, but also evaluate the personal truth and resulting myths which Baba attached to her identity as a Ukrainian Catholic. Deeply touched by the violence that she witnessed on this occasion, Baba used this experience, and the memory of this experience, to negotiate her identity as well as her place in the community. Significantly, Baba's story is by no means unique. Other Catholic, Orthodox, nationalist, and progressive Ukrainian men and women who lived in the Sudbury region during the 1930s also used confrontational experiences to forge, assert, and maintain their political and religious identities. These intensely

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[4] For similar and related discussions about the public airing of differences see, for instance, Scott W. See, "The Orange Order and Social Violence in Mid-Nineteenth Century Saint John," in Franca Iacovetta, Paula Draper, and Robert Ventresca, eds., *A Nation of Immigrants: Women, Workers, and Communities in Canadian History, 1840s-1960s* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1998), 5-34; Michael Cottrell, "St. Patrick's Day Parades in Nineteenth-Century Toronto: A Study of Immigrant Adjustment and Elite Control," in Franca Iacovetta, Paula Draper, and Robert Ventresca, eds., *A Nation of Immigrants: Women, Workers, and Communities in Canadian History, 1840s-1960s* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1998), 35-54; and Mary Ryan, *Civic Wars: Democracy and Public Life in the American City During the Nineteenth-Century* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997).

emotional confrontations were central to the community's collective narrative. Specifically, these experiences allowed the region's Ukrainians to situate themselves within this polarized community. Moreover, they determined who did and did not belong to the local community, as well as to the region, and the nation. While Catholic, Orthodox, and nationalist Ukrainians asserted a strong loyalty to Canada, progressives publicly demonstrated their allegiance to the Soviet Union and an international working class.

While Sudbury's Ukrainians were engaging in public confrontations to solidify their differences, they were also struggling to make ends meet in their private domestic spaces. The Depression was a common economic challenge which cut across the community's division. In order to survive, Ukrainian fathers and their sons assumed breadwinning roles while Ukrainian mothers and their daughters undertook those roles which were accorded to housewives. Significantly, mothers also became important financial providers, subsidizing the family economy by taking in boarders, bootlegging, gardening, and farming.

Again, Baba's stories served as a window into understanding these roles and survival strategies. In particular, pairing memories about the public confrontation which occurred on her front steps with those that detailed the private struggles which her family faced during the thirties clearly demonstrated how her individual and group identities converged and diverged; identity was complex because it was lived on many levels simultaneously. Using Baba's stories as a lens to examine those which were recounted by other Ukrainian men and women only served to strengthen this argument, making clear that community-building was premised upon both conflict and consensus.

Tensions wound through the stories which were recalled by Sudbury's Ukrainians and thereby played a major role in organizing the narrative of this dissertation.

The formative, heavily masculine and highly transient communities which developed around the nickel mines in the Sudbury region in the first decade of the twentieth century were very different from the polarized family-focused ones which took shape prior to the outbreak of World War II. Complex individual and group identities, social networks, and power relations combined with gender, ethnicity, class, age, and region to complicate community and foster this transition. These factors impacted how Ukrainians negotiated and fit into their community, and they also influenced how the host society perceived and treated these "strangers" within Canada's gates. Specifically, Catholic, Orthodox, nationalist, and progressive Ukrainians, Sudburians, and the mining companies which operated in and around the Sudbury region imagined, negotiated, and experienced community in a variety of conflicting and converging manners. Community, in this case, thereby served to include, exclude, nurture, and alienate those who lived both within and outside of this northern immigrant community.

Although this local case study provides a window into the experiences of Sudbury's Ukrainians in the first half of the twentieth century, there is still a great deal of scholarly study to be done. World War II and postwar immigration were forces which shaped and reshaped this community. A consideration of these events as well as the impact of education, language, Ukrainian nationalism, and the relationship between progressive Ukrainians and the Soviet Union will no doubt enable a more thorough

understanding of the ways that this community changed over time.[5] Moreover, we must continue to recognize that Ukrainians settled throughout the country and not just in Western Canada. Studies which focus upon the experiences of Ukrainians in other Northern Ontario resource towns, as well as in Northwestern Quebec, and Eastern Canada will allow us to develop a more nuanced historiography about the role which place played in shaping Ukrainian communities.[6] To this end, more comparative work is also needed. Examining the experiences of other immigrant groups which settled in these places will foster an appreciation of the similarities and differences which cut across ethnic lines. Certainly, it would be interesting to see how other immigrants dealt with the challenges of community-building and identity-making in these regional contexts.

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[5] The postwar period represents a burgeoning field of study among Canadian historians. Although there is still a great deal of work to be done, a number of historians have begun to provide valuable insights into this period. See, for instance, Marlene Epp, *Women Without Men: Mennonite Refugees of the Second World War* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1999); Franca Iacovetta, *Such Hardworking People: Italian Immigrants in Postwar Toronto* (Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1992); Iacovetta, *Gatekeepers: Reshaping Immigrant Lives in Cold War Canada* (Toronto: Between the Lines, 2006); Richard Cavell, ed., *Love, Hate, and Fear in Canada's Cold War* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2004); Dieter Buse, Mercedes Steedman, and Gary Kinsman, eds., *Whose National Security? Canadian State Surveillance and the Creation of Enemies* (Toronto: Between the Lines, 2000); Christopher Dummitt, *The Manly Modern: Masculinity in Postwar Canada* (Vancouver, University of British Columbia Press, 2007); and Magda Fahrni and Robert Rutherdale, eds., *Creating Postwar Canada: Community, Diversity, And Dissent, 1945-75* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, forthcoming).

[6] Studies which examine the intersections between and among gender, class, ethnicity, age, and region must be models for these analyses. See, for instance, Rhonda Hinther, "'Sincerest Revolutionary Greetings': Progressive Ukrainians in the Twentieth Century," Ph.D. Dissertation, McMaster University, 2005; Frances Swyripa, *Wedded to the Cause: Ukrainian-Canadian Women and Ethnic Identity, 1891-1991* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1993); and Abel, *Changing Places: History, Community, and Identity in Northeastern Ontario.*

In addition to pushing and pulling at the boundaries of Canadian ethnic and immigration history, it is important to be aware of the very practical benefit which this dissertation may yield. For the most part, Sudbury's Ukrainian men and women remain deeply divided as a result of their organizational affiliations. Collectively, these individuals have never sat down and discussed the strong emotions which have structured their community. Although they share a common Ukrainian heritage, they continue to pass each other on the streets, going out of their way to ignore each other. Having Baba, a Ukrainian Catholic community insider, present at oral history interviews with Catholic, Orthodox, nationalist, and progressive Ukrainians has led me to believe that change is possible. Although politics, religion, and ideology have made Ukrainians different, their stories, as this dissertation has demonstrated, also have much in common. It is significant to note that I am not the only person who has made this observation. In particular, Baba was one of the first to admit that everyone had a different story and different views about the same things.[7] If Baba, a person whose identity is heavily premised upon difference, can acknowledge that there are two sides to every story and patterns in experience which warrant discussion, is it not possible to envision other Ukrainians doing the same? Unity may not be possible, but dialogue can initiate important discussions which will in turn impact the ways in which Ukrainian men and women imagine, negotiate, and experience their community.

[7] Olga Zembrzycki (nee Zyma), interview by author, Sudbury, 17 June 2005.

Appendix

Oral History Interviews

My Oral History Interviews

I conducted oral history interviews with the following men and women in Sudbury, Coniston, Copper Cliff, Val Caron, Hanmer, and Ottawa, Ontario between October 2004 and June 2005. Their names are listed in the order in which I interviewed them. In addition to their names, their maiden names, name changes, sex, date of birth, birth place, the year that they came to Sudbury, the neighbourhoods in which they lived, religion, and the organizations to which they belonged have also been included. It is important to note that those who wished to remain anonymous have not been included in this list.

A number of acronyms have been used in this list. Their meanings are as follows:

Holy Trinity	Holy Trinity Roman Catholic Church
Mine Mill	Mine Mill and Smelter Workers' Union
RC	Roman Catholic
St. Clement's	St. Clement's Roman Catholic Church
St. John the Evangelist	St. John the Evangelist Roman Catholic Church
St. Mary's	St. Mary's Ukrainian Catholic Church
St. Michael's	St. Michael's Ukrainian Catholic Church
St. Patrick's	St. Patrick's Roman Catholic Church
St. Volodymyr's	St. Volodymyr's Ukrainian Orthodox Church
UCath	Ukrainian Catholic
ULFTA	Ukrainian Labour Farmer Temple Association
UNF	Ukrainian National Federation
UOrth	Ukrainian Orthodox
YMCA	Young Men's Christian Association

Name	Maiden/Name Change	Sex	D.O.B	Birth Place	To Sudbury	Neighbourhood	Religion	Organizations
Zembrzycki	Zyma	Female	1927	Sudbury, Ont	N/A	Donovan	UCath	St. Mary's
Brydges	Ladyk	Female	1914	Port Arthur, Ont	1922	Donovan	None	ULFTA
Dobranski	Harmaty	Female	1913	Winnipeg, Man	1945	West End	UCath	St. Mary's
Timchuk	Harach	Female	1914	Kroiter, Sask	1935	West End	UCath	St. Mary's/UNF
Sitko	Wolochatiuk	Female	1913	Ethelbert, Man	1938	Donovan	UCath	None
Samborski	Tyshynski	Female	1913	Cudworth, Sask	1942	Downtown Core	UCath	St. Mary's
Shkrabek	Temeriski	Female	1913	Fort Frances, Ont	1937	Donovan	UOrth	St. Volodymyr's
Jurgilas	Burke/Burkotski	Female	1928	Sudbury, Ont	N/A	Donovan	UOrth	None
Podorozny	Ogenchuk	Female	1914	Hafford, Sask	1937	West End	UCath	St. Mary's
Semenuk		Male	1921	Sudbury, Ont	N/A	Donovan	UCath	St. Mary's
Bilczuk	Bodnarchuk	Female	1930	Arbakka, Man	1941	Donovan	UCath	St. Mary's/Holy Trinity
Bendick	Shyluk	Female	1934	North Battleford, Sask	1940	West End	UCath	St. Mary's/UNF
Gawalko		Male	1936	Sudbury, Ont	N/A	West End	UCath	St. Mary's
Babuik	Havrachysky	Female	1925	Ukraine	1935	West End	UOrth	St. Volodymyr's
Babuik		Male	1916	Swan Plain, Sask	1937	Not Given	UOrth	St. Volodymyr's
Zaitz	Zayatz	Male	1922	Sudbury, Ont	N/A	East End	None	ULFTA (Infrequently)
Witwicky	Makowsky	Female	1921	Sundown, Man	1943	Downtown Core	UCath	None
Tarkin		Male	1932	Winnipeg, Man	1932	Donovan	UCath	St. Mary's
Hickey	Danchuk	Female	1939	Sudbury, Ont	N/A	Donovan/West End	UCath	St. Mary's
Zawierzeniec	Nykilchyk	Female	1925	Ukraine	1938	West End	UCath	St. Mary's/UNF
Solski		Male	1925	Coniston, Ont	N/A	Polack Town	RC	None
Solski	Kotyluk	Female	1929	Chicago, Illinois	1935	Little Britain	UCath	None
Sturby	Zaparynuik	Female	1929	Sudbury, Ont	N/A	Donovan	UOrth	St. Volodymyr's
Panas	Romanchuk	Female	1928	Winnipeg, Man	1949	Donovan	UCath	St. Mary's/UNF
Chmara		Male	1932	Coniston, Ont	N/A	Polack Town	None	YMCA
Babij		Male	1926	Coniston, Ont	N/A	Polack Town	UCath	St. Michael's
Martyn		Male	1944	Sudbury, Ont	N/A	Donovan/West End	UOrth	St. Volodymyr's
Bzdel		Male	1927	Wishart, Sask	1947	West End/Lively	UCath	St. Mary's/Red Cross
Bzdel	Poworoznyk	Female	1927	Glen Elder, Sask	1952	West End/Lively	UCath	St. Mary's
Chitruk		Male	1924	Sudbury, Ont	N/A	East End	UCath	St. Mary's/UNF

Name	Maiden/Name Change	Sex	D.O.B	Birth Place	To Sudbury	Neighbourhood	Religion	Organizations
Yawney	Puhach	Female	1923	Glen Hope, Man	1943	West End/South End	UCath	St. Mary's
Tkach		Male	1916	Dauphin, Man	1945	West End	UCath	St. Mary's
Pihursky	Ciotka	Female	1926	Colfax, Sask	1938	East End	UOrth	St. Volodymyr's/UNF
Kostiw	Steczyszyn	Female	1921	Poland	1942	Donovan	UCath	St. Mary's
Helash	Ciotka	Female	1927	Fishing River, Man	1946	Donovan	UCath	St. Mary's
Chytuk	Urchyshyn	Female	1919	Regina, Sask	1941	East End	None	ULFTA/Mine Mill
Maizuk	Kureluik	Female	1930	Coniston, Ont	N/A	Polack Town	UCath	St. Michael's/St. Patrick's
Kruk	Mykoluk	Female	1929	Sudbury, Ont	N/A	West End	RC	Holy Trinity
Pryjma		Male	1926	Ukraine	1956	Downtown Core	UCath	Priest at St. Mary's
Stefura		Male	1929	Saskatoon, Sask	1929	Donovan	UCath	St. Mary's/UNF
Udovicic	Kuczma	Female	1933	Creighton, Ont	N/A	Creighton	UCath	None
Maizuk		Male	1922	Coniston, Ont	N/A	Polack Town	RC	St. Patrick's
Stanyon	Kowalchuk	Female	1920	MacGregor, Man	1946	Levack	Anglican	Canadian Girl's in Training
Sawchuk		Male	1928	Winnipeg, Man	1930	West End	None	ULFTA
Rohatyn	Mysyk	Female	1928	Ukraine	1957	Donovan	UCath	UNF
Chyz	Demchuk	Female	1921	Poland	1940	Downtown/Coniston	UCath	St. Michael's
Balon		Male	1926	Timmins, Ont	1930	East End	None	ULFTA
Smilanich	Pasichnyk	Female	1926	Levack, Ont	N/A	East End	None	ULFTA
Cotnam	Cybulka	Female	1919	Levack, Ont	N/A	French Town	None	None
Sarmatiuk		Male	1933	Sudbury, Ont	N/A	West End	RC	St. Mary's
Makarinsky		Male	1929	Creighton, Ont	N/A	Donovan	RC	None
Hucal		Male	1938	Ukraine	1955	Donovan	UCath	UNF
Matschke	Kuchmey	Female	1923	Sudbury, Ont	N/A	West End	UCath	St. Mary's
Lekun	Lyhkun	Male	1937	Sudbury, Ont	N/A	Creighton	UCath	St. Mary's
Kotyluk	Kaben	Female	1938	Sudbury, Ont	N/A	West End	None	ULFTA
Max	Maksimovich	Male	1931	Sudbury, Ont	N/A	East End	UCath	None
Shelegey	Struk	Female	1936	Sudbury, Ont	N/A	West End	UCath	St. Mary's/St. Michael's
Shelegey		Male	1925	Ukraine	1939	Polack Town	UCath	St. Michael's/UNF
Behun	Bilowus	Female	1931	Coniston, Ont	N/A	Polack Town	UCath	St. Michael's
Behun		Male	1927	Coniston, Ont	N/A	Polack Town	UCath	St. Michael's/UNF

Name	Maiden/ Name Change	Sex	D.O.B	Birth Place	To Sudbury	Neighbourhood	Religion	Organizations
Giazdoski	Daniluk	Female	1927	Coniston, Ont	N/A	Polack Town	UCath	St. Michael's/St. Mary's
Evanshen		Male	1924	Sudbury, Ont	N/A	East End	UCath	ULFTA (Infrequently)
Buchowski		Male	1928	Coniston, Ont	N/A	Polack Town	UCath	St. Michael's
Clouthier	Werstiuk	Female	1934	Coniston, Ont	N/A	Polack Town	UCath	St. Michael's/UNF
Holunga		Male	1925	Coniston, Ont	N/A	Polack Town	UCath	St. Michael's
Crowe	Haluschak	Female	1930	Fort William, Ont	1931	Garson	None	ULFTA (Infrequently)
Buchowski		Male	1929	Coniston, Ont	N/A	Polack Town	UCath	St. Michael's
Hayduk		Male	1931	Falconbridge, Ont	N/A	Garson	RC	St. John the Evangelist
Rapsky		Male	1929	Creighton, Ont	1934	West End/Donovan	RC	St. Clement's/St. Mary's
Kozak	Tataryn	Female	1922	Espanola, Ont	1927	Donovan	UCath	St. Mary's
Matichuk	Macks	Female	1934	Sudbury, Ont	N/A	Donovan	None	ULFTA
Buchowski		Female	1944	Sudbury, Ont	N/A	West End	N/A	None

In addition to the oral history interviews that I conducted, I consulted a number of other oral history collections. The names of the collections and the particular interviews that I consulted are listed here.

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Jack Willard
O.E. Walli
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Bill Jarrett
Ted Kucharuk
Harry Navasneck
Harry Tarkin
Eli Shpaiuk

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Fred Anaka
Mary Hansen
Steve Hrycyshyn
William Krystia
John Shelestynsky

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Patricia Chytuk
Anne Macks

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Archives of Ontario

Multicultural Historical Society of Ontario Fonds
Ukrainian National Federation of Canada Fonds

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Greater Sudbury Public Library

Regional Collection
Vernon's Sudbury Directory

Laurentian University Archive

George Prusila Papers
Sudbury and District Historical Society Fonds
Sudbury and District Ministerial Association Fonds

Library and Archives Canada

Association of United Ukrainian Canadian Fonds
Communist Party of Canada Fonds
Finnish Organization of Canada Fonds
Frontier College Fonds
Frontier College Oral History Collection
Michael Horoshko Fonds
Peter Krawchuk Fonds
Ukrainian National Youth Federation of Canada Fonds

Multicultural History Society of Ontario

Ethnic Newspaper Collection
Finnish Canadian Historical Society Collection
Oral History Collection
The Sudbury Collection

Stacey Zembrzycki's Personal Archive

Ukrainians in Sudbury Collection

St. Mary's Ukrainian Catholic Church

Marriage Register, 1933-1937
Parish Register, 1928-on
Records of Baptisms, 1929-34, 1939-on
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E. Oral History Interviews

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